

‘They live in indifference together’. Marriage mobility in Zeeland (The Netherlands) 1795-1922.

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In the past, what did it mean when a person found a marriage partner from another social group? Given the dominant norms in a class-ridden society, we may surmise that such a couple had followed their own heart and flouted the wishes of their parents. Thus, an increase in marriage mobility may herald the spread of ‘romantic love’ and the demise of ‘traditional’, ‘instrumental’ marriage motives.¹ The interpretation of marriage mobility involves forces operating at different levels: the ‘micro’ level (individuals and families), the ‘meso’ level (local communities) and the ‘macro’ level (the society at large). Perhaps the couple’s own life’s experience, e.g. former marriages, geographic mobility or occupational career had made it easier for them to resist parental and community control. Marriage mobility, however, may have had a different meaning in different occupational and social groups. In some groups such as farmers, social status and livelihood were inextricably tied to homogamy, that is a partner had to be found within the same group. For such groups, increasing heterogamy may point to structural changes in the economy that endangered social reproduction. Likewise, other social forces had an impact on courtship and marriage, and, eventually, on the meaning of social group differences. For instance, the spread of transport, communication, and leisure increased the number of contacts between people with different backgrounds. Potentially even more important was the spread of secondary and higher education in improving individual resources and lessening the effect of one’s social background. Marriage mobility is an important topic of study not just because it highlights social forces operating at the micro, meso and macro level, but because it reveals their interconnectedness. On the one hand, shifting individual preferences and family strategies with regard to spouse selection result in changes at the aggregate ‘meso’ and ‘macro’ level. And on the other hand, local demographic changes and structural shifts in the economy change the ‘social landscape’, forcing people to adjust their matrimonial ideals. The interplay between forces at the micro, meso and macro level forms the angle from which we look at marriage mobility or ‘heterogamy’.

The historiography of social mobility in the Netherlands has addressed overall national and regional patterns of mobility but does not provide us with a clear picture of the determinants of heterogamy. Most studies concentrate on one or several cities, whereas only very few include the countryside.² None of these studies systematically include contextual demographic, cultural or economic factors that affect the local marriage market. Only recently have techniques been applied that allow for the study of relative mobility. By controlling for group size, these log-linear models indicate whether or not the openness of society has increased. The main conclusion is that, prior to the Second World War, Dutch society as a whole had not become more fluid.³ However, log-linear models tend to amalgamate experiences from people from all classes and in widely different local contexts. In our view, it is vital to retain information on individual characteristics, as well as social position and local context, while controlling for group size in order to detect the determinants of social homogamy. A highly stimulating method using logistic regression has recently been proposed by Van de Putte in his analysis of partner choice in three 19th century Flemish cities.⁴

In this article, we employ Van de Putte’s method on an even larger scale: all marriage certificates from the Dutch province of Zeeland in the period 1796-1922, covering both countryside and cities. Situated in the southwestern corner of the Netherlands this province, consisting of islands, peninsulas and part of the Belgian mainland, had been an important region of market-oriented agriculture and played a significant part in the Republic’s industry and trade since the late Middle Ages. However, after the Spaniards conquered Antwerp at the

end of the fifteenth century, the influential role of Zeeland's trade and industry dramatically declined and economic development became characterised by a process of ruralisation, making the province dependent on its commercialised agricultural sector, which specialized in the production of cash crops such as wheat, rapeseed, flax and madder, and – later on in the nineteenth century – in the cultivation of potatoes, sugar beets, pulse and onions as well.⁵ Husbandry was of little importance: few cattle were kept and almost no milk and butter were produced. Two-third of the population lived in the countryside, which was dotted by many small-sized communities.⁶ In 1795, 33 per cent of the population lived in one of the cities, in 1909 this was even reduced to a quarter.⁷ On every island, a little town functioned as a trading centre in agricultural produce and provided services for the farming population, linking the town populations inextricably to agriculture. The only two cities were Middelburg, the capital, which hosted the provincial government, and Vlissingen (Flushing), a port and ship wharf city. Even in the twentieth century both were still provincial cities; in 1953 they counted not more than 20.000 inhabitants.⁸

In many reports and studies on Zeeland province, strong class barriers differences are emphasized. The social differentiation between the major groups in Zeeland, i.e. workers on one hand and farmers and middle-classes on the other hand, appears to have been rigid, both in terms of living conditions and with regard to social class relations. In the cities, the situation of the workers was plainly miserable. The physician Coronel described around 1860 the apathy of the urban workers in Middelburg who waited idly in the streets every day for a temporary job as a porter. Because of malnutrition, most of them were too weak to do any heavy work.⁹ The rural labouring population did not live under much better conditions. In a provincial report made up after the subsistence crisis of the 1840's, it was noted that two-thirds to three-quarters of the workers were unemployed in winter.¹⁰ The report stressed above all the isolation and mutual indifference in which the two groups lived. 'In general there is little familiar association between the residents of the countryside (...). They live, except for the mutual obligatory assistance, which is always instigated by money, completely thrown back upon themselves'. According to the writers of the report, farmers severely lacked in attention for the well-being of their labourers. But the labourers did not take an interest in their bosses either, as became visible in the indifference with which the work was carried out and in the frequent change of address of farmhands, even of those with permanent appointments.¹¹ This proletarianized and polarized social structure existed well into the twentieth century as becomes apparent from oral history interviews. As one rural labourer reminisced on the 1920s: 'on Saturday nights you saw the difference very well. Because then you went walking. To find a girl of course. But it was so that the labourers were walking in School street and the farmers and bourgeois youngsters walked around the Market. Completely divided. A labourer's boy with a farmer's daughter? Oh God no, they would have poisoned you!'¹²

Is the impression of strong social class differences in Zeeland corroborated by the empirical facts on marriage mobility? Under what individual and family circumstances were the social barriers easier to cross? Was there a difference in this respect between localities, regions and time periods? Our research questions can be specified at the levels of the individual, the community, the region and the province at large.

(1) How did individual characteristics and the family situation affect partner choice? We hypothesize that individual access to extended social networks is a crucial mechanism for heterogamy. Thus, it seems likely that migrants had lower chances of marrying outside their own group, because they lacked access to local information channels and social gatherings that may have brought them into contact with other groups. Was there a difference between migrants with a rural and those with an urban background? We also expect that domestic servants among the brides had been in contact with more diverse (urban) marriage markets,

which will have heightened their chances of marrying outside their original social class. Age at marriage may also be of relevance. Did older persons have a more extended network and were they able to cross class boundaries easier than younger ones? Another factor is the extent of social control on courtship, from both the parents and the peer group. Strong social control will favour high levels of social class homogamy. Individuals who were (half) orphaned might have experienced less parental pressure to marry into their own social class. Moreover, they could rely less on their parents' resources in helping them to establish themselves in their own class. Also, when the bride already had borne a child before marriage, we may surmise a weak social control of courtship. Was this associated with inter-group marriages? One's previous relational history is of interest as well. Is it so that, as has been argued, widowed individuals could choose their new partners more freely, perhaps because communal pressure to marry into one's own social class decreased? Divorce, on the other hand, carried a social stigma that may have induced downward mobility at remarriage.¹³ Obviously, one's social class background is a very important determinant in itself. Particularly those individuals originating from families that were characterized by location- and occupation-specific capital and in which tacit knowledge was usually transferred from generation to generation (farmers, shop-owners, artisans) can be expected to contract homogamous marriages.

(2) In determining chances of inter-group marriage, the local context is equally relevant. As elsewhere, peer groups in Dutch communities tended to ward off suitors from outside.¹⁴ In very small or isolated localities, this may have resulted in greater heterogamy when the preference for a local partner overruled the preference for a socially equal one. Both population size and 'isolation' (indicated by relative geographic mobility) will be included in the model. A similar mechanism may occur in municipalities with religious minorities; we may surmise that people will cross either geographical or social boundaries to marry a partner with the right creed.¹⁵ Zeeland mentality and culture was marked by strongly religious beliefs and church-going practices. In the nineteenth century, about 65 per cent were Dutch Reformed, a quarter was Catholic and 15 per cent belonged to one of the many Orthodox-Calvinist denominations. Whatever their denomination, the Church played an important role in determining the norms and values by which most Zeelanders lived.¹⁶ During the pillarization process of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, many Zeeland communities, especially those of mixed religion, knew turbulent interconfessional relations.¹⁷ In communities with large Catholic or Orthodox-Calvinist minorities and in religiously highly mixed communities, social intermarriage might have occurred more frequently as a result of a higher priority given to religiously homogamous marriages. Local economic conditions will also affect the process of partner selection. A rough indication is provided by migration surpluses. Clearly, municipalities with a large migration deficit are faring worse than those that attract people. Moreover, communities with large migration surpluses might have stimulated heterogamy also because the influx of newcomers made the atmosphere of a community more 'modern' and 'open' compared to places which were relatively isolated and closed off. Furthermore, we include local marriage rates to see whether periods with depressed marriage prospects were also periods with less heterogamy. Finally, demographic and social aspects of the marriage market need discussion. Unfortunately, the censuses do not provide enough information on marital status by age. Thus, we cannot include the sex ratios for nubile adolescents. However, we can measure the impact of the social composition of the marriage market by controlling for the relative 'supply' of fathers-in-law of particular social groups (see also the section on the multivariate analysis).

(3) In terms of systems of land-use, religion and social differentiation, there were distinct regions within Zeeland, possibly resulting in regional intermarriage patterns.¹⁸ The most

southern region of *Zeeuws-Vlaanderen* belonged geographically to the Belgian mainland. It became part of France already in 1795 and remained more strongly orientated towards Belgium than the islands. The region was characterized by wheat-growing and large-scale farms.¹⁹ Its eastern part (*Oost-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen*) was predominantly Catholic, while the western part (*West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen*) contained both communities with substantial Catholic and Protestant populations. With the cities of Middelburg and Vlissingen, *Walcheren* was the most urbanized island, but its farms were relatively small-scale and sober, while more cattle-keeping and pasture-land were found here than on other islands. Most communities in *Walcheren* were Dutch Reformed or orthodox-Calvinist.²⁰ *Zuid-Beveland* was one of the regions with the largest and most efficient farms in Zeeland.²¹ In the beginning of the twentieth century, when population growth in other Zeeland regions stagnated, *Zuid-Beveland* was able to retain her population and even attract newcomers because of the diversification of her agricultural economy with fruit growing, fishing, oyster growing and the development of trade and transportation hubs.²² The southern part ('the pocket') contained a number of Catholic enclaves who won in population over the nineteenth century. Besides, many communities also had substantial orthodox-Calvinist minorities and these places were the sites of religious battle during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. *Noord-Beveland* had even larger farms, with a number of them over 40 hectares. On this island the 'farm aristocracy' wielded a lot of power, and the social difference between workers and farmers was very pronounced.²³ In comparison, *Schouwen-Duiveland* had more small and medium-sized farms (especially in *Duiveland*). It was a typical expulsion area, with agricultural workers migrating out of the area as from the last quarter of the nineteenth century in order to find work in one of the Dutch cities. However, in this region many workers were also able to start their own small farm, when wages rose after the agricultural depression. As a consequence, the social distance between farmers and workers became less sharp.²⁴ Finally, *Tholen* and *Sint-Philipsland*, the most northerly located islands, which bordered on the Catholic province of Noord-Brabant, were marked by religious (calvinist) orthodoxy. Farm size was relatively small and the owner (and his family) were used to participate themselves in the field work.²⁵ In regions such as *Tholen* and *Sint-Philipsland*, *Schouwen-Duiveland* and *Walcheren*, with smaller-sized farms and less social distance between farmers and workers, more heterogamy can be expected than in regions such as *Noord-Beveland* and *Zuid-Beveland* where the farms were bigger and the social contrasts were larger. Finally, in Zeeland, countryside and cities were separate worlds, particularly for the rural working classes. Farm workers who were born in the vicinity of the Zeeland cities in the beginning of the twentieth century declared that they hardly visited them.²⁶ The two cities allow us to test the hypothesis that urban life stimulates heterogamy through decreased social and parental control and a less traditional approach to human relations.²⁷

(4) Finally, our analysis of the temporal trends in social heterogamy will reveal influences at the level of the province. Over the period 1795-1922, ups and downs in the national and provincial economy influenced cohorts of Zeelanders' chances of marriage mobility differently. The late 1840s were marked by a subsistence crisis, affecting as we saw the social situation of the poorest agricultural workers. The 1850s were relatively neutral years, while some of the best years of the century were the 1860s and early 1870s. These 'Champaign Years' were followed by the agricultural depression between 1878 and 1895. A report from 1908 on the social and economic situation of the agricultural workers in *Schouwen-Duiveland* stated that 'in the bad agricultural years, few marriages were contracted.'²⁸ 'Out of fear for poverty several men at an age above 30 years are still unmarried'.²⁹ During bad economic periods marriages were postponed or not contracted altogether.³⁰ In addition, some people may have been forced to marry outside their original social group. The international agricultural depression of the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the ensuing

mechanization and rationalization process of farming practices led to a decline of employment opportunities in agriculture.³¹ As a consequence, many workers migrated to the cities and to the United States. On the other hand, the wages of the remaining agricultural workers rose and more workers were able to hire or buy a little plot of land to be cultivated for their own use. Increased educational and work opportunities and easier opportunities to meet potential partners due to public and private transport will have stimulated a greater openness and marriage mobility among the youngest marriage cohorts.

Stratification and mobility in Zeeland

Our analysis is based on data derived from an automatic index on marriage certificates that has been built recently for genealogical purposes.³² The index includes 163.715 certificates of marriage from the province of Zeeland in the period 1811-1922. The beginning of the period coincides with the start of the civil registration, inaugurated by the Code Napoleon. In fact, the southern Zeeland region of Zeeuws-Vlaanderen was already occupied by the French in 1795. Thus, the data from this region start as early as 1796. The end of the period has been dictated by privacy regulations. In contrast with most other indexes, the Zeeland one is particularly rich in procuring additional information on bride and groom. Their occupations as well as those of their parents are given, there is information on the ages of bride and groom, their birth places, their previous marriages and their eventual premarital born children. The municipality of marriage was the official place of residence of at least one of the spouses. However, we are primarily interested in the locality or area where the choice of partner had taken actually had taken place. To what extent is the municipality of marriage helpful in this respect? An analysis of all marriage certificates in the database of the Historical Sample of the Netherlands shows that of Zeeland brides (1831-1922) 90,8% actually resided in the place where they married (N=946), for the grooms this percentage is lower, but still 72,7%.³³ The difference is caused by the tendency of migrant women to return to their parents some time before the intended marriage and to marry in that locality. Thus, we miss information on the place where they had found their husbands and probably returned to after the marriage.³⁴ However, we feel that, on the whole, we can use the place of the marriage ceremony as a proxy for the place of courtship.

In Figure 1 we take a first look at the social landscape of Zeeland, using the HISCLASS classification by skill level.³⁵ For the countryside, figure 1 presents a skewed picture: farm workers and farmers dominated the social landscape, whereas other groups of workers, clerical and sales people and managers were relatively rare. In the cities, the occupational structure was more diversified, reflected by the large presence of managers of all types and of skilled workers.

Figure 1. Social stratification in Zeeland province, 1796-1922.

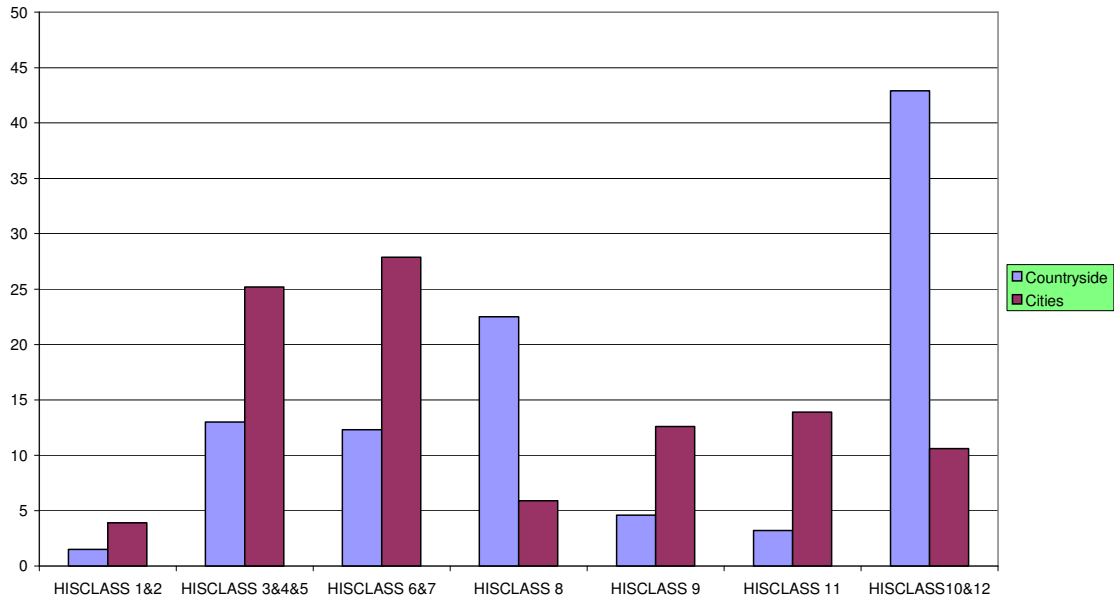
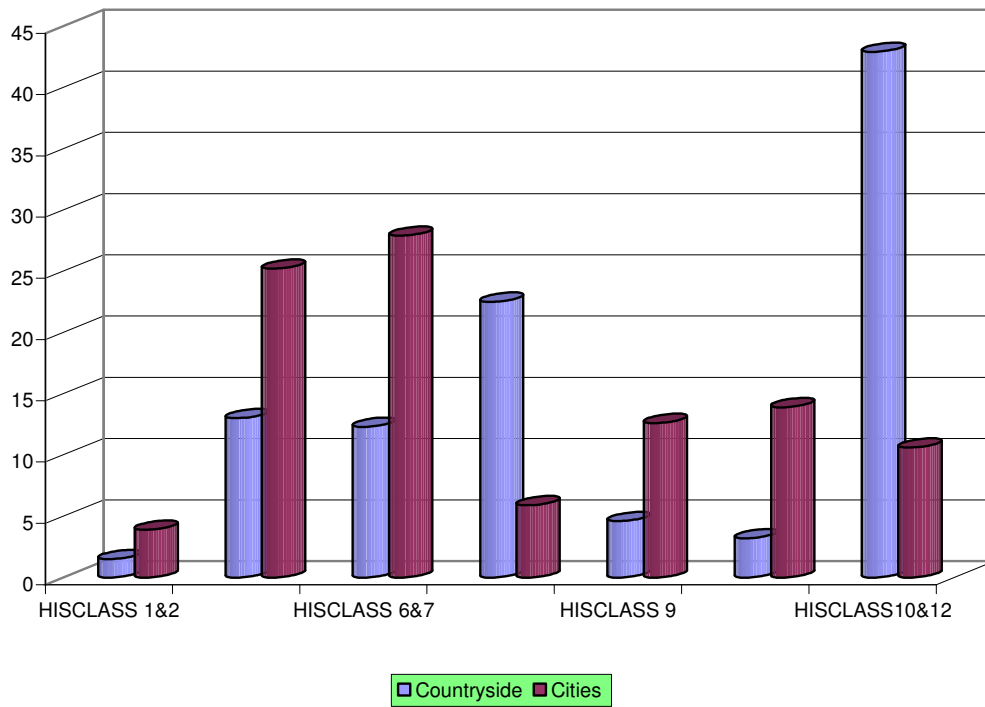


Figure 2. Social stratification in Zeeland province (by occupation of grooms' fathers), 1796-1922



A first look at (absolute) heterogamy over time (Figure 2) shows few conspicuous developments. This reflects the stability of the social structure in Zeeland; throughout the period it remained a rural province with hardly any industrialization. Heterogamy was higher in the cities (Middelburg and Vlissingen) than in the countryside: almost 70% of the fathers-in-laws of urban groom were in a different group than their own fathers, versus about 45-50% in the case of rural grooms. At closer inspection, we do find some interesting trend in heterogamy. In the cities, we witness a modest rise in 1885-1894. This coincides with high levels of (inter) urban geographic mobility.³⁶ In the countryside, on the other hand, the entire period 1865-1904 seems characterized by lower levels of heterogamy than the first half of the 19th century. Only after 1905 do we find a clear increase. How to explain this? Zeeland had been hit hard by the agrarian depression of the 1880's, which stimulated mass emigration of agrarian labourers to the Americas. Possibly, the changes we witness reflect the decline in the 'supply' of farm workers, leading to 'forced mobility' into other groups. Or had Zeeland society as a whole become more 'open'? Was this 'openness' also the reason for the higher urban mobility rates? In our multivariate analysis we will try to answer these questions. Before we move on to perform such an analysis, we take a brief look at the actual mobility rates (Table 1). The highest levels of immobility or homogamy are found among the farm workers (70,1%) and the farmers (60,8%). In the countryside, mobility could practically only be brought about through intermarriage between children of farmers and farmworkers. However, in Zeeland, these groups were divided by strong class barriers. Still, many ties must have existed, if only because impoverished (sons of) farmers ended up in the class of farm workers. Workers' daughters tended to work as servants in farmers' households.³⁷ These manifold ties ensured that intermarriage was not entirely absent: 16,5% of farmer's sons married a farm worker's daughter and 8,6% of farm worker's sons married a farmer's daughter. For the farmers themselves, homogamy was clearly related to their marriage strategies. Zeeland farmers actively sought partners for their children who, with their inheritance either in cash or land, could counteract the divisive effect of equal inheritance. This is not to say that they arranged the marriages of their children themselves. For a month during the sleek winter period, older children would 'go for a walk', that is they left for short stays in the households of befriended or related farmers in roughly the same wealth position.³⁸ Finally, small social groups, such as the skilled workers and the (urban) lower skilled workers, tended to mingle with adjacent classes. However, to interpret this mobility, we need to take the relative for group sizes into account.

Table 1. Marriage mobility in Zeeland province, 1796-1922. Distribution of social group of the fathers-in-law by social group of the fathers.

HISCLASS Fathers	HISCLASS Fathers-in-law							Total
	1,2	3,4,5	6,7	8	9	11	10,12	
1, 2	30,8	32,3	13,7	14,3	3,8	1,2	4,0	826
3, 4, 5	3,7	29,9	17,8	12,8	7,6	5,7	22,4	7041
6,7	1,4	20,3	24,9	16,3	8,8	6,6	21,7	6559
8	1,2	8,5	8,4	60,8	2,9	1,8	16,5	10126
9	1,4	19,4	21,2	11,5	9,9	8,1	28,4	2659
11	0,4	15,4	15,5	6,6	7,2	22,9	31,9	2291
10, 12	0,1	7,6	6,6	8,6	3,3	1,4	70,1	18046
Total	793	6796	5970	10259	2458	2422	18850	47548

Multivariate analysis of marriage mobility

Overall model (1796-1922)

We study marriage mobility by comparing the social groups of the fathers of bride and groom. Only fathers (in law) whose occupations were mentioned are included, which means that we select only those marriages where both fathers were still alive and not retired or unemployed. We take the grooms as our point of departure, because we need to control for their own occupational mobility. Clearly, a groom who was himself (intergenerationally) mobile had entered a new social environment that made him a likely candidate for a heterogamous marriage. Controlling for the groom's own mobility will allow us to observe even closer the (im)permeability of class walls. People choose a partner for various reasons, among them is the preference for a partner from the proper social class. Other preferences include age, religion and geographic origin. To isolate the social class aspect, we need to control for all the other types of homogamy, but can only do so for geographic origin and age.³⁹ The variable 'endogamous marriage' controls for the preference to choose a partner with the same birth place. Similarly the variable 'same age' marriage control for age homogamy. It is defined as a marriage with less than two years age difference between the partners.

The larger one's own social group, the lower the chances of heterogamy will be. In order to control for 'group size', that is for the 'supply' of fathers-in-law, we have calculated the relative presence of the social groups of the fathers-in-law within regional marriages markets, per ten-yearly period. This procedure is feasible because our database contains all marriages in the province. In Zeeland, marriage markets were bounded by the fact that the province consists of various islands and an isolated area in the south.⁴⁰ For example, for sons of farm worker's marrying in the region Zeeuws-Vlaanderen in the period 1785-1894 the variable 'group size' is 48,6. This means that in the marriage certificates of this period and in this region 48,6% of the brides' fathers were farm workers.

Table 2 presents a logistic regression for the whole Zeeland dataset (1796-1922). In this method, the probability (p) of the dependent variable – in this case contracting a heterogamous marriage – being a yes or no is calculated in terms of *odds*, that is the probability of a "yes" divided by the probability of a "no" ($p/(1-p)$). The regression coefficients of the independent variables are the natural logarithms of the odds. By exponentiating them, we obtain *odds ratios*. These indicate the increase in the odds of the dependent variable of being a yes resulting from an increase of one unit in the independent variable.⁴¹ Table 2 shows that the intergenerational mobility of the groom himself was a very important factor: the odds ratio of marrying a woman from a different social group increases with 154% when the groom himself was already mobile. Similarly, group size is a critical factor. An increase of one percent in the relative supply of fathers-in-law in the same group as one's own father decreases the odds ratios of marrying in a *different* group with 3,7%. Both geographic and age homogamy were closely associated with social homogamy: partners from the same age (no more than two years difference) and from the same birth place, tended to be from the same social group as well. Apart from these more or less expected results, we have found a host of interesting effects.

To begin with, we find no evidence of a linear increase in relative marriage mobility that would be consistent with the notion that 'individualization' or 'romantic love' was spreading. A significant rise in heterogamy is only visible from 1905 onwards. Can this be explained by a rise in 'romantic love', in the sense of individual choice freed from community and parental control in urban places? For one thing, the Zeeland cities, once we control for the occupational structure, were certainly not places where class boundaries were fluid. In Vlissingen and Middelburg the odds ratios were lower than in the region of Zuid-Beveland.

Even lower ratios were found in Noord-Beveland and Zeeuws-Vlaanderen, in particular the latter's Western part. These regional differences are more in less in line with the descriptions of the social divide between local farmer's 'aristocracies' and the mass of propertyless workers. This divide was more pronounced in certain regions than in others. The social group differences were very strong and confirm the impression we gained from Table 1: the higher managers, farmers and farm workers tended towards homogamy. Thus, the odds ratios of farmers' sons to marry heterogamously were 66% lower than the reference group of the sons of lower managers and professionals. Interestingly, the odds of heterogamy increase (with 16%) when the marriage certificate listed the occupation of the bride as 'domestic servant'. This may indicate that the experience of working in middle or upper class households had broadened the marriage horizon for servants. Migration had the same effect, but only among women who had migrated from one city to another. For migrant men and for migrant women with a rural provenance the odds of heterogamy were lower than for local residents. Overall, parental control on partner choice seem to have been ineffective in stimulating homogamy. At least, we found no increase in heterogamy with an increase in age at marriage nor did we notice more heterogamy among second marriages. However, the odds of heterogamy increased when the bride's mother was deceased. Was this related to diminished parental control? Or were girls from the middle classes simply less effective in maintaining their social position when their mother had died? This question can be answered in the next section where we look at heterogamy models per social group.

[Table 2 about here]

Community contexts (1855-1922)

In what way did aspects of the community in which the marriage was contracted influence the groom's odds of intermarriage? Was it easier to marry someone from another social group in localities with many in-migrants? And in what way did the overrepresentation of certain religious groups in a community – especially during the process of pillarization – affect opportunities for heterogamy? In Table 3 we estimate what the effects were of the population number, marriage rate, net migration rate, relative geographical mobility and the relative shares of Orthodox Protestants and Catholic residents in the marriage locality on the groom's odds of contracting a heterogamous marriage. The population size has been included for every municipality for each ten-year period. The local marriage rate gives the average yearly number of marriages per 1000 of the population. Net migration is calculated as the net migration deficit of the municipality per ten-year period per 1000 of the population. Relative geographical mobility totals in- and out migration per ten-year period per 1000 inhabitants. Finally, the share of Orthodox-Protestants has been calculated by grouping the secessionist orthodox churches in Zeeland.⁴²The variables were derived from the censuses, our set of marriage certificates and the Historical Database of Dutch Municipalities.⁴³ However, information on the community level was only available for the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the twentieth century. Therefore, we compare a model without context variables for this period (model 1) with a full contextual model (model 2).

Table 3 shows that in villages with a population between 1000 and 5000 residents, the odds of contracting a heterogamous marriage were higher than in either very small hamlets (< 1000 inhabitants) or in larger localities and cities. Small hamlets probably did not have much intermarriage anyway for they only sheltered farm workers and farmers. In somewhat larger villages all social groups were present, but the social cohesion and control in these small communities might have prioritised geographic endogamous marriages above marrying into

one's own social group.⁴⁴ Places with high marriage rates seemed to have stimulated social intermarriage, just like communities with high net migration rates, that is in which many new migrants settled. The same can be said for places with a high relative geographical mobility, although the estimates are not significant. Perhaps the atmosphere of such 'migratory' communities (e.g. starting or stopping places for ferries and carriages to Holland and garrison towns) made it easier for persons to cross social barriers. The strongest determinant of heterogamy on the community-level was the share of Catholics.⁴⁵ The higher their percentage, the larger the odds that the groom married outside his social group. Although Catholics in Zeeland were only a minority comprising of a quarter of the population, they were well attended to by the dioceses of Breda and Haarlem. They could dispose of more religious personnel than either the dominant group of Dutch-Reformed or the Calvinist-Orthodox. Catholic priests probably quite effectively encouraged religious homogamous marriages, even when they came about at the expense of socially mixed weddings.⁴⁶

[Table 3 about here]

Marriage mobility of specific social groups

So far, we have addressed the issue of intermarriage for all social groups together. However, the mechanisms for explaining whether and why persons would marry outside their social group, and whether this was considered profitable or detrimental behaviour varied across social groups, depending on the respective economic and social resources at hand. Moreover, certain determinants could have had a different effect on the odds of marriage mobility in one social group and not in another. Third, mapping out group-specific determinants also allows us to disentangle which social groups accounted for the most important general effects as observed in Table 2, for instance the increasing openness in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In Table 4, we have considered marriage mobility for each social group separately. Six social groups are distinguished according to the occupation of the groom and the type of community of marriage – either rural or urban. The latter differentiation was made because we expect the mechanisms of heterogamy to differ substantially between the urban and rural worlds. We focus most extensively on the two most important groups in the Zeeland occupational hierarchy: the agricultural workers and the farmers.

As we saw before (in Table 1) agricultural workers were on the whole very immobile, 70 per cent of them married a bride from their own social group. The multivariate model for this group (second column in Table 4), including besides farm workers, also lower skilled workers and unskilled workers who married in the countryside, has the highest fit so far ($R^2=0.325$). When we assume that the agricultural workers were at the bottom of the social hierarchy, heterogamy for this group effectively meant upward mobility. Farm workers have about 65 per cent higher odds of marrying mobile than the other two groups; they were the 'best-situated' workers who held (semi)tenured jobs at the farms and who were the most likely to secure a change of social status to the farmers' group. Apart from the 'obvious' group size and the groom's own mobility, the migration and work experience of the bride, and the region of marriage were important determinants of intermarriage. When the bride was an urban migrant, the groom's odds of marrying outside his social group (i.e. marrying upwards) increased with 457 (!) per cent compared to marrying a woman born in the rural place of marriage. Marrying a bride from another village, on the other hand, reduces the odds of an heterogamous marriage by 10 per cent. When the groom himself was a migrant to the marriage community, his odds of marrying up significantly increased, although the size of this effect is not as large as that of the bride's migration experience. In terms of chances for social

ascendance it was thus profitable for agricultural workers to spend part of their youth outside their village or region of birth. Migration in youth was – for farm workers at least – a prerequisite for heterogamy and upward mobility later in life.⁴⁷ Marrying a bride who had been a domestic servant, which was the most geographically mobile occupational group in the nineteenth century, decreased the groom's odds of becoming socially mobile through marriage by a third. In Zeeland, domestic servants mostly originated from families of unskilled agricultural workers. Thus, marrying a domestic servant often meant a homogamous marriage. To be sure, the picture looks very different when we consider the odds of heterogamy from the perspective of the servant brides of whom a considerable amount found their marriage partners outside Zeeland's rural working classes.⁴⁸

Apart from migration, marrying a bride whose mother had already deceased augmented the odds of an upward marriage. Half-orphaned women thus married more often beneath their original social group. The absence of a mother and the pressure related to the entrance of a stepmother in the broken household, may have caused a less advantageous marriage. In the same vein we can explain the result that when a groom's own mother was deceased his odds of marrying up decreased as well. [When a labourer legitimated a child at marriage, his odds of marrying heterogamously decreased with 29 per cent. The large majority of single mothers, whether living in concubinage with the 'legitimizing' husband or not, had proletarian backgrounds.⁴⁹] Similarly, farm workers who remarried had smaller odds of 'escaping' their occupational group. Widowhood too might have carried a lower social status on the marriage market. Finally, in the agricultural workers' group temporal effects diverge from the main picture. The shortage crisis of the 1840s and the latter part of the agricultural depression (1885-1894) have interestingly enough a positive effect on the odds of heterogamy; in these bad economic times agricultural workers have around 30 to 50 per cent higher odds of marrying outside their original group. Perhaps, they might have been able to marry the daughters of farmers who had fallen in poverty. Also in contrast to the general increasing societal fluidness since the turn of the twentieth century, such as observed in Table 2, are decreasing agricultural workers' odds of heterogamy in the 1910s. If you were still an agricultural worker in the first decade of the twentieth century, your odds of becoming mobile were worse than a century before, mostly because the occupational spectrum had widened, placing the agricultural worker at an even adverse position for marriage mobility.

Farmers intended above all to reproduce their own social group: homogamy was the ideal, not socially mixed marriage. This is reflected in the estimates (column 3 in Table 4), which show that the same variables in many cases had reverse effects compared to the agricultural workers' group. A mobile groom and a bride who had been a domestic servant were the most important causes of heterogamy. As said, servants were mostly the daughters of agricultural workers; a marriage of a farmer's boy with the maid thus resulted in downward mobility. Other aspects that augmented the odds of farmers of marrying outside the farming class were the legitimisation of a child (almost 200 per cent increase), an old age and the status of widower. When the bride's mother had died, when the bride was an urban migrant or when the bride was older than the groom, he was also less often able to reach the ideal of homogamy. Besides familial history, macro-structural characteristics made a difference as well. Farmers' odds of heterogamy increased in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Because of the restructuring of Zeeland agriculture after the agricultural depression, keeping alive in the farm business became harder and harder and many former farmers had to switch to other occupations. Thus, the observed general increasing 'openness of society' in the first decades of the twentieth century (Table 2) can be accounted for almost solely by the farmers' group growing incapacity of social reproduction. There were also regional differences: farmers in Noord-Beveland could marry more often in their own class than farmers from Zuid-Beveland. Their colleagues from Schouwen-Duiveland and Tholen were even more

often forced to leave it and marry a bride from another social group. As we have described above, the farms of Noord-Beveland were known because of their large scale; the sons of these huge – and probably rich – estates must have had little trouble of finding a farmer's daughter as a marriage partner. In contrast, farms in Tholen and also in parts of Schouwen-Duiveland were of smaller acreage; the smaller potential heritage of such grooms could possibly have given them more trouble to remain farmer and they might more often have had to marry a worker's girl.

We will also briefly comment on heterogamy in the urban Zeeland context. Comparing the urban unskilled and skilled workers to the agricultural workers, we see that it is much harder to predict heterogamy for urban workers. An obvious reason for this is the much smaller sizes of the two urban working groups. Especially the groom's and bride's migration histories seem to be of importance in explaining intermarriage odds ratios of unskilled urban workers. When the groom is a migrant from a rural community, he has smaller odds of marrying a bride who does not originate from the same social group –most likely the agricultural workers' group- as himself. Thus immigrants in cities do not seem to have married autochthonous urban brides. When the bride is a rural migrant the odds of heterogamy are 90 per cent higher than when the bride is born in the urban place of marriage. Strangely enough, unskilled urban working class grooms who contract a geographically endogamous marriage also have smaller odds of marrying mobile in a social sense. There are no significant period effects in the sense of increasing intermarriage in the twentieth century such as was reported in Table 2. Skilled urban workers have higher odds of heterogamy when their brides have migrated from rural locations. Moreover, when the groom is older than the bride he more often marries socially mobile. Compared to the beginning of the 19th century (1815-1824) it is more difficult for skilled workers to marry heterogamously in the middle of that century (1855-1864), during the agricultural depression (1875-1884) and during the period 1895-1922. As from the end of the nineteenth century the size of the group of urban unskilled workers increased at the expense of the rural working classes. Therefore it is not strange that the unskilled urban workers could more often marry into their own social group.

The intermarriage patterns of the group of lower managers, professionals and clerical and sales persons (HisClass 2) and of the elite group of higher managers and professionals (HisClass 1) has been investigated irrespective of urban or rural type of location. Just as in the farmers' class, the petty bourgeoisie and shop owners quite often had capital and tacit knowledge to transfer to the next generation. It can thus be assumed that homogamy was strived for. From the multivariate analysis for this class (sixth column) we learn that the odds of marrying outside one's class, that is downwardly, increased when the bride's mother was deceased or a child was legitimated at marriage or when the bride had been a domestic servant. On the contrary, grooms odds to marry outside their own group decreased when they married a bride from the same community, or when the groom or the bride had migrated. Strangely enough, both geographical endogamous marriages and migration were means to remain into one's own social group. The effects of migration are reverse compared to the agricultural workers for whom migration meant higher odds of heterogamy. However in both cases migration helped in achieving the dominant goal in the respective social groups: either reproduction or change. Just as in the farmers' group, the odds of heterogamy of the petty bourgeoisie also significantly increased in the second decade of the twentieth century, possibly because of the diversification of the occupational structure and the growth of large chain stores. Finally, despite the very small size of the elite group in Zeeland, the model measuring the odds of heterogamy of elite grooms has a relatively high fit ($r^2=0.277$). Intermarriage in this group can largely be explained by the intergenerational mobility of the groom himself. Grooms who were downwardly mobile also married in that way. Besides, marrying an older bride or a bride who was a former domestic servant contributed to higher

odds of heterogamous (i.e. downward) marriage. In the city of Vlissingen, grooms had higher odds of intermarriage compared to grooms in Middelburg and in the rural regions; perhaps due to the more open and radical atmosphere in this city.⁵⁰

[Table 4 about here]

Conclusion

In this article, we have investigated developments in and determinants of socially mixed marriage in a Dutch province during the long nineteenth century by taking forces at the level of previous individual and family histories, characteristics of communities and temporal influences and trends at the macro level of society at large into account. We have particularly focused on how these forces interacted in different social groups, in particular within the groups of agricultural workers and farmers, as they were the most important social classes in the rural social hierarchy of Zeeland. In the Zeeland countryside, farmers and workers lived, as a report from the 1850s described, 'in indifference together'. Apart from the work, little contact and ties seem to have existed between them. The social wall between these groups showed up in their high levels of homogamy: 70 per cent of all farm workers and 60 per cent of all farmers married into their own social group. For the farmers, homogamous marriage was indeed the ideal as they strived for reproduction in order to hand down their farms and land to the next generation. Conversely, Zeeland workers might not have actively avoided socially mixed marriage, but they often disposed over so few social and financial resources that they were severely hampered to ascend the social ladder. From the perspective of nineteenth-century social reporters, the workers had become 'apathetic' and 'indifferent' as a consequence. In fact, the indifference and isolation observed by social reporters was due to contradictory ideals with regard to life in general, and marriage in particular. However, the picture was not as grim and static as painted by contemporaries. Our evidence points out that mutual ties leading to intermarriage were not at all entirely absent: still 30 to 40% of these rural residents married outside their original social class. About 17% of the farmers' boys even married a workers' daughter while 8% of the workers' sons married a farmers' girl. Uncovering the antecedents of these 'deviant' mixed marriages is instructive as they explain how social group differences worked in the nineteenth century.

Of course, general social and economic changes and trends influenced the process of intermarriage in rural Zeeland, both for workers' and farmers' sons. In economic bad times, workers' opportunities to find a bride from a higher social group increased, while for farmers regional agricultural schemes and acreage influenced their possibilities to establish themselves as a farmer again. In the beginning of the twentieth century, possibly as a consequence of a differential increase in education, workers' odds of heterogamy in general decreased while those of farmers increased. However, socially mobile marriages were caused first and foremost by the shape of the groom's and bride's previous individual and family histories.

For farmers' boys, choices with regard to occupation and place of residence in youth were crucial in this respect. Obviously, farmers' boys who choose another occupation than their fathers often married into another social class. But also marrying a bride who herself had worked in another occupation, and specifically as a domestic servant, resulted in a heterogamous marriage. A groom's former migration experience too meant that the ideal of reproduction often was not reached. The same was true with regard to the geographical mobility history of the bride. One's previous relational history played a significant role in a similar way: being orphaned, having legitimised a child, carrying the status of widower or being on age, hampered establishment into the farming class. Thus, in a social group context

where homogamy was very strong and actively strived for, a groom's own and his bride's previous familial history were important factors in explaining whether he was able to reach this ideal. Those who 'had' to marry heterogamously were tainted by certain deviations in their own or family's previous life course, which made them less desirable partners on the farmers' marriage market.

In the case of agricultural workers' sons who might have strived, more or less consciously, for social ascendance, previous life histories were just as important, although the meaning of both mixed marriage and the life leading to it was often the reverse from that of his peers from farm families. For a workers' youth or his bride, it was profitable to spend part of his adolescence outside his birth environment if he wanted to escape his social class. Deviations in the previous familial career or in the sphere of former intimate relations decreased workers' youth odds of escaping his lot. It is of course hard to say whether previous choices with regard to occupation, geographic mobility and personal relations were the cause or the consequence of one's initial social position. A fact is that these individual characteristics were inextricably linked through the life course leading to accumulation of disadvantage or advantage later in life, in this case specifically to marriage outside one's original social group.

In the social stratification and mobility literature, an overwhelming amount of attention has been devoted to the structural and temporal causes of mobility and heterogamy, often to such an extent that the mechanisms by which heterogamy, or for that matter homogamy, came about remain hidden or are only very generally explained. By laying bare differences in determinants between social groups and offering group-specific explanations, we have shown the importance of forces at the level of individual and family life courses in shaping such a phenomenon as a socially mobile marriage. This is not to say that general trends and macro-structural forces did not play a role. They however trickled down via specific social groups to families with specific histories, in order to influence specific individual lives.

Tables

Table 2 Logistic regression of heterogamy of grooms (difference between social position of father and father-in-law), Zeeland 1796-1922 (odds ratios) (Main model).

	Odds ratio of contracting a heterogamous marriage
Age of groom	1.002
Age of bride	1.005
Groom is widower (first marriage=ref.)	1.040
Groom is divorced	1.216
Bride is widow ((first marriage=ref.)	0.978
Bride is divorced	2.693
Groom's mother is deceased (still alive=ref.)	0.985
Bride's mother is deceased (still alive=ref.)	1.131***
Child legitimated	1.104
Endogamous marriage (exogamous=ref.)	0.832***
Groom is a rural migrant (born in the place of marriage=ref.)	0.896**
Groom is an urban migrant	0.851**
Bride is a rural migrant (born in the place of marriage=ref.)	0.931*
Bride is an urban migrant	1.223*
Older husband marriage (same age=ref.)	1.072**
Older wife marriage	1.093*
Group size (relative supply of father's-in law's social group)	0.963***
HISCLASS 1&2 (HISCLASS 3&4&5=ref.)	0.548***
HISCLASS 6&7	1.624***
HISCLASS 8	0.343***
HISCLASS 9	1.733***
HISCLASS 11	1.548***
HISCLASS 12	0.658***
Groom intergenerationally mobile (not mobile=ref.)	2.541***
Bride a (former) domestic servant	1.160***
1796-1804 (1815-1824=ref.)	0.974
1805-1814	1.147
1825-1834	1.088
1835-1844	1.154
1845-1854	1.006
1855-1864	1.000
1865-1874	0.875
1875-1884	0.901

1885-1895	1.082
1895-1904	1.039
1905-1914	1.170*
1915-1922	1.221**
Middelburg (Zuid-Beveland=ref.)	0.927
Vlissingen	0.847**
Noord-Beveland	0.776***
Schouwen-Duiveland	0.905**
Tholen	1.080
Walcheren	0.944
Oost-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen	0.901**
West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen	0.748***
Constant	2.398***
N	46889
Model Chi-square	11821,157
Nagelkerke R square	0,297

* significance level $p < 0.05$ ** significance level $p < 0.01$, *** significance level $p < 0.001$;

Table 3 Logistic regression: the effects of characteristics of the local community on social heterogamy (1855-1922)

Covariates	Model 1; main model for period 1855-1922	Model 2 including municipal-level variables
Age of groom	1.002	1.002
Age of bride	1.002	1.001
Groom is widower (first marriage=ref.)	0.999	1.003
Groom is divorced	1.554	1.657
Bride is widow (first marriage=ref.)	0.974	0.984
Bride is divorced	2.678	2.820
Groom's mother is deceased (still alive=ref.)	0.987	0.972
Bride's mother is deceased (still alive=ref.)	1.107***	1.093**
Child legitimated	1.045	1.018
Geographically endogamous marriage (exogamous=ref.)	0.841***	0.837***
Groom is a rural migrant (born in the place of marriage=ref.)	0.880**	0.874***
Groom is an urban migrant	0.839**	0.827**
Bride is a rural migrant (born in the place of marriage=ref.)	0.919**	0.899**
Bride is an urban migrant	1.132	1.097
Older husband marriage (same age=ref.)	1.084**	1.079**
Older wife marriage	1.141**	1.141**
Group size (relative supply of father's-in law's social group)	0.961***	0.961***
Father higher manager/professional (Lower managers and professionals, clerical and sales=ref.)	0.637***	0.632***
Father skilled worker	1.539***	1.549***
Father farmers or fisherman	0.344***	0.351***
Father lower skilled worker	1.896***	1.915***
Father unskilled worker	1.460***	1.447***
Father farm worker	0.659***	0.659***
Groom intergenerationally mobile (not mobile=ref.)	2.554***	0.837***
Bride is a (former) domestic servant	1.164***	1.179***
1865-1874 (1855-1864=ref.)	0.871*	0.867*
1875-1884	0.898	0.868*
1885-1894	1.091	1.034
1895-1904	1.060	1.010
1905-1914	1.87**	1.153*
1915-1922	1.235***	1.216**
Middelburg (Zuid-Beveland=ref.)	0.950	0.833*
Vlissingen	0.864**	0.725**
Noord-Beveland	0.763***	0.828*

Schouwen-Duiveland		0.880**	0.902*
Tholen		1.056	1.132*
Walcheren		0.986	1.049
Oost-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen		0.892**	0.786***
West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen		0.736***	0.693***
Population	<1000 (1000-5000=ref)		0.825**
	5000-20000		0.857**
	>=20000		0.813
Marriage rate	0-5 (5-7=ref)		1.443
	7-10		1.072*
	>=10.		0.932
	Unknown		1.256
Net migration	-36 until -15 (-15 until -5=ref.)		0.974
	-5 until 5		0.956
	5 until 15		1.166*
	15 until 53		1.166
	Unknown		0.442*
Relative mobility	0-50 (50-100=ref.)		0.897
	100-150		0.978
	150-200		1.009
	200-315		1.057
% Orthodox- Reformed	12-18 (0-12=ref.)		1.078
	18-23		1.025
	23-32		0.975
	>=32		0.965
% Catholics	10-20 (0-10=ref.)		1.025
	20-60		1.134*
	60-95		1.242***
	95-100		1.360***
More than 10% orthodox-reformed and more than 10% Catholics			1.010
Constant		2.665***	3.166***
N		38602	38602
Model Chi-square (df)		10218.581 (39)	10338.541 (64)
Nagelkerke R Square		0.310	0.313

Note: * significance level $p < 0.05$ ** significance level $p < 0.01$, *** significance level $p < 0.001$.

Table 4 Logistic regression of heterogamy by social group

Covariates	Rural occupational groups		Urban occupational groups		Occupational groups independent of location	
	Agricultural workers (class 5,6&7)	Farmers (class 4)	Unskilled workers (class 5&6)	Skilled workers (class 3)	Lower managers & professionals, clerical and sales (class 2)	Higher managers & professionals (class 1)
Age of groom	1.014	1.018**	1.034	0.968	0.990	0.983
Age of bride	0.996	1.002	0.972	1.030	1.002	0.957
Groom is widower (first marriage=ref.)	0.721**	1.684***	2.855	0.641	1.132	1.469
Groom is divorced	4.315	0.000	0.541	0.000	1.3212	----
Bride is widow (first marriage=ref.)	1.136	0.745	4.446	1.487	0.785	3.837
Bride is divorced	2.553	1.039	---	0.000	0.000	----
Groom's mother is deceased (still alive=ref.)	0.894**	1.094	0.864	0.789	1.037	1.133
Bride's mother is deceased (still alive=ref.)	1.263***	1.128*	1.155	0.790	1.156*	0.808
Child legitimated	0.712**	2.977***	0.774	0.971	1.602*	0.000
Geographically endogamous marriage (exogamous=ref.)	0.917	1.036	0.588*	1.119	0.674***	0.963
Groom is a rural migrant (born in the place of marriage=ref.)	1.154**	0.823**	0.618*	1.270	0.762**	0.868
Groom is an urban migrant	1.963***	1.125	0.640	1.182	0.623***	0.791
Bride is an rural migrant (born in the place of marriage=ref.)	0.904*	0.960	1.903**	1.484*	0.800**	0.760

Bride is an urban migrant	5.573***	1.790*	0.967	0.679	0.690**	0.487
Older husband marriage (same age=ref.)	1.012	1.086	0.871	1.539*	1.051	0.945
Older wife marriage	1.124	1.301**	1.180	0.782	0.955	2.672*
Group size (relative supply of father's-in-law's social group)	0.912***	0.959***	0.900***	0.943*	0.946***	0.816
Father lower skilled worker (farm worker ^a / father unskilled worker ^b =ref.)	0.360*** ^a	----	1.447* ^b	----	----	----
Father unskilled worker	0.366***	----		----	----	----
Groom intergenerationally mobile (not mobile=ref.)	2.901***	3.247***	1.515**	1.284*	1.929***	4.271***
Bride is a (former) domestic servant	0.677***	3.707***	0.937	1.186	2.347***	9.727*
1796-1804 (1815-1824=ref.)	0.790	0.987	----	----	1.936	0.000
1805-1814	0.887	1.469	1.447	1.164	0.706	2.278
1825-1834	1.222	0.967	0.855	1.129	0.879	0.951
1835-1844	1.531**	1.007	0.860	0.406	1.003	1.503
1845-1854	1.436**	0.828	0.776	0.489	1.058	0.984
1855-1864	1.192	0.860	0.944	0.369*	0.899	1.999
1865-1874	1.034	0.824	0.872	0.531	0.854	0.870
1875-1884	0.998	0.723*	1.160	0.364*	1.041	1.214
1885-1894	1.302*	1.011	0.880	0.442	1.255	2.539
1895-1904	1.055	1.159	0.834	0.361*	1.252	1.258
1905-1914	0.964	1.616**	0.883	0.387*	1.376	2.855
1915-1922	0.825*	1.926***	0.913	0.379*	1.508*	1.761

Table 4 (continued)

Middelburg (Zuid-Beveland ^c / Vlissingen ^d =ref.)	----	----	0.864 ^d	1.080 ^d	1.431*	2.053
Vlissingen	----	----	----	----	1.220	2.317*
Noord-Beveland	1.310**	0.597***	----	----	1.067	0.784
Schouwen-Duiveland	0.634***	1.665***	----	----	0.922	0.668
Tholen	1.149*	1.330**	----	----	1.203	0.745
Walcheren	0.378***	1.234	----	----	1.143	0.784
Oost-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen	1.038	0.988	----	----	0.783**	1.860
West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen	0.694***	1.026	----	----	0.974	0.698
Constant	17.796***	0.312***	16.859**	18.2727**	5.094***	5.413
N	20588	95457	1500	1638	6730	727
Model Chi-square (df)	5595.970 (37)	1460.215 (37)	120.776 (31)	73.775 (31)	474.521 (37)	160.055 (37)
Nagelkerke R Square	0.325	0.194	0.121	0.061	0.097	0.277

Note: * significance level $p < 0.05$ ** significance level $p < 0.01$, *** significance level $p < 0.001$;

NOTES

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⁹ S. Sr. Coronel, *Middelburg voorheen en thans. Bijdrage tot de kennis van den voormaligen en tegenwoordigen toestand van het armwezen aldaar* (Middelburg, 1859), pp. 250-251.

¹⁰ *Rapport naar aanleiding van een ingesteld onderzoek omtrent den zedelijken en materiële toestand der arbeidende en dienstbare bevolking ten plattelande, uitgebragt op de Algemeene Vergadering der Zeeuwsche Maatschappij van Landbouw te Tholen, den 7^{de} junij 1849* (Middelburg, 1849), p. 6.

¹¹ *Rapport naar aanleiding van een ingesteld onderzoek*, pp. 20-21.

¹² K. Slager, *Landarbeiders. Verhalen om te onthouden* (Nijmegen, 1981), p. 23.

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- ¹³ F. van Poppel, *Trouwen in Nederland. Een historisch-demografische studie van de 19^e en vroeg-20^e eeuw* (Wageningen, 1992) p. 540.
- ¹⁴ J. L. de Jager, *Volksgebruiken in Nederland. Een nieuwe kijk op tradities* (Utrecht and Antwerpen, 1981) p. 45.
- ¹⁵ E. Beekink, A. Liefbroer en F. van Poppel, “Changes in choice of spouse as an indicator of a society in a state of transition: Woerden, 1830-1930”, *Historical social research* 23 (1998), pp. 231-253.
- ¹⁶ Bouman, *Geschiedenis van den Zeeuwschen landbouw*, p. 293.
- ¹⁷ M. Wintle, *Zeeland and the churches: religion and society in the province of Zeeland (Netherlands) in the nineteenth century* (Middelburg, 1988), pp. 145-153.
- ¹⁸ J. ‘t Gilde et al., *Zeeland met Goeree-Overflakkee* (Den Haag, 1993), p. 32.
- ¹⁹ Bouman, *Geschiedenis van den Zeeuwschen landbouw*, p. 255.
- ²⁰ Meertens, “Walcheren”, p. 76.
- ²¹ B. Breek, “Noord- en Zuid-Beveland”, in: W. Banning (ed), *Handboek Pastorale Sociologie. Deel I Zeeland, Zuid-Hollandse eilanden, Noord-Brabant en Limburg* (Den Haag, 1953), p. 47.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 63.
- ²⁴ H. Cramer, J. M. T. Hefting en M.G. Westerhof, “Schouwen-Duiveland”, in: W. Banning (ed), *Handboek Pastorale Sociologie. Deel I Zeeland, Zuid-Hollandse eilanden, Noord-Brabant en Limburg* (Den Haag, 1953), pp. 123, 125.
- ²⁵ R.C. van Putten, “Tholen en St.-Philipsland”, in: W. Banning (ed), *Handboek Pastorale Sociologie. Deel I Zeeland, Zuid-Hollandse eilanden, Noord-Brabant en Limburg* (Den Haag, 1953), pp. 93-94.
- ²⁶ J. Zwemer, *Een zekel om geit-eten te snieën. De geschiedenis van de landarbeiders op Walcheren 1900-1940* (Middelburg, 1987), p. 10.
- ²⁷ Van de Putte, “Het belang van de toegeschreven positie”, pp. 25-30.
- ²⁸ “Verslag betreffende den toestand der landarbeiders in Zeeland”, in: *Verslagen betreffende den oeconomische toestand der landarbeiders in Nederland. II. Utrecht-Limburg* (’s Gravenhage, 1908), p. 252.
- ²⁹ “Verslag betreffende den toestand der landarbeiders in Zeeland”, p.255.
- ³⁰ F. Thomése, [xx] (to be completed).
- ³¹ J.L. Van Zanden, *De economische ontwikkeling van de Nederlandse landbouw in de negentiende eeuw, 1800-1914. A.A.G. Bijdragen 25* (Wageningen, 1985), pp. 69-70.
- ³² The database Marriage Certificates from the Civil Records of Zeeland 1796/1811-1922 has been granted specifically for this research by the Zeeuws Archief in Middelburg. The data have been entered by volunteers in the period 1997-2001. We would like to thank Leo Hollestelle for his kind advice.

³³ For this database, see K. Mandemakers, “Historical Sample of the Netherlands”, in: P. Kelly Hall, R. McCaa en G. Thorvaldsen (eds), *Handbook of International Historical Microdata for Population Research* (Minneapolis, 2000), pp. 149-178.

³⁴ We have controlled for this effect as good as possible by including whether the bride had been a domestic servant before her marriage. Since domestic servants were the quintessential migratory female group, this variable is a proxy indicating, among others, those couples who may have met elsewhere, i.e. not in the locality of marriage.

³⁵ M.H.D. van Leeuwen and I. Maas, *HISCLASS*. Paper presented at the 5^e European Social Science Conference (Berlin, 24-27 March 2004); I. Maas and M.H.D. van Leeuwen, SPSS recode job from HISCO into HISCLASS, May 2004.

³⁶ J. Kok, “Choices and constraints in the migration of families: The central Netherlands, 1850-1940”, *The History of the Family. An International Quarterly* 9 (2004), p. 144.

³⁷ H. Bras, *Zeeuwse meiden. Dienen in de levensloop van vrouwen* (Amsterdam, 2002).

³⁸ Description pertains to the Zeeland region of West-Zeeuws Vlaanderen in the early 19th century, P. Van Cruyningen, *Behoudend maar buigzaam. Boeren in West-Zeeuws-Vlaanderen 1650-1850* (Wageningen, 2000).

³⁹ Van de Putte, “Het belang van de toegeschreven positie”, pp. 153-162.

⁴⁰ See also J. Kok, “‘Vrijt daar je zijt’; huwelijk en partnerkeuze in Zeeland tussen 1830 en 1950”, *Zeeland* 7 (1998), pp.131-143.

⁴¹ S. Menard, *Applied Logistic Regression Analysis* (Thousand Oaks etc., 1995).

⁴² *Christelijk Afgescheidenen, Christelijk Gereformeerden and Gereformeerde Kerken*.

⁴³ For a description, see E. Beekink, O. Boonstra, Th. Engelen en H. Knippenberg (eds), *Nederland in verandering. Maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen in kaart gebracht* (Amsterdam, 2003).

⁴⁴ The sanctions against persons marrying outside their own village are well documented. See for Zeeland: Kees Slager, *Landarbeiders*, p. 103; Van Poppel, *Trouwen in Nederland*, pp. 79-80.

⁴⁵ Of course it would be preferable to include individual-level indicators of the economic position of farmers and workers, and of the individual religious denominations as well in order to avoid ecological fallacies.

⁴⁶ Wintle, *Zeeland and the Churches*, pp. 70, 100.

⁴⁷ The same was found for Zeeland women who spend part of their youth migrating to the cities and working as domestic servants H. Bras (forthcoming), ‘Social change, youth and service in the lives of rural-born Dutch women, 1840-1940’, *Continuity and Change* 19 (2004) 2, [xxx].

⁴⁸ Namely xxx per cent of all Zeeland servants came from a rural working class background. [xx] per cent of them married a partner outside their original social group. H. Bras (forthcoming), ‘Social change’, [xxx].

⁴⁹ J. Kok, *Langs verboden wegen. De achtergronden van buitenechtelijke geboorten in Noord-Holland 1812-1914* (Hilversum, 1991) pp. 100 ff.

⁵⁰ B. Altena, *Een broeiest der anarchie. Arbeiders, arbeidersbeweging en maatschappelijke ontwikkeling. Vlissingen 1875-1929 (1940)* (Amsterdam, 1989).