

Demographic Dynamics and Household Structures in 19th Century Bonyhád: A Multi-Source Linkage Analysis of a Diverse Hungarian Market Town

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Abstract. This study explores the demographic and socio-economic complexities of Bonyhád, a multi-ethnic and multi-religious market town in 19th-century Hungary, using linked data from two censuses (1857, 1869) and extensive genealogical records. Bonyhád's history fostered diverse population groups with distinct spatial and occupational patterns, including Germans, Hungarians, and Jews, shaping its role as a regional commercial centre. The analysis reveals dynamic family cycles and evolving household roles, with individuals frequently transitioning between simple and complex family structures. It identifies interesting demographic trends, such as higher accuracy in recorded male birth years, correlating with greater male literacy, and relatively stable occupational paths. Residential mobility was strongly influenced by home ownership and occupation, with women exhibiting higher mobility than men, often due to marriage patterns. The study also highlights the profound impact of homeownership on residential stability, revealing significant disparities across religious and occupational groups within Bonyhád. The analysis demonstrates that censuses significantly underreported the complex family structures. Through detailed case studies, the research illustrates intricate relationships involving children from multiple marriages, revealing how multi-source linkage is essential to fully grasp the nuanced realities of historical family dynamics beyond basic census classifications. This methodology provides a vital framework for understanding the complexities of past societies.

Keywords: historical demography, Bonyhád, household structure, record linkage, mosaic families

Historical demography often relies on fragmented data, making it challenging to fully reconstruct the intricate lives and social structures of past communities. (A Global History of Historical Demography 2016.) This study tackles this challenge by employing a multi-source linkage approach to illuminate the rich tapestry of Bonyhád, a Hungarian market town in the mid-19th century. By meticulously connecting census records with genealogical data, the research uncovers unprecedented details about family life, migration, and the impact of a diverse society. Furthermore, this analysis delves into the role of homeownership data in understanding residential stability and socio-economic stratification within the community.

1. Location of analysis: Bonyhád

The settlement under investigation is situated in southwestern Hungary, within the Völgyseg region of Tolna County. Bonyhád experienced depopulation during the Ottoman period, necessitating its resettlement at the onset of the 18th century. Among the German settlers, the population comprised not only Swabian Roman Catholics but also Bavarian and Württemberg Lutherans and Calvinists. Hungarian Calvinists and Roman Catholics, along with Jewish immigrants, were also permitted to reside in the village. Consequently, the settlement rapidly developed both ethnically and religiously diverse characteristics.

This ethnic and religious heterogeneity also influenced the settlement's spatial structure. Historical literatures refer to the eastern row of houses as “Hungarian Bonyhád” and the western row as “German Bonyhád”. However, this spatial segregation was primarily based on religious affiliation rather than ethnicity. Another source further delineates a division where Hungarians predominantly settled in the “lower part” and Germans in the “upper part”. The Jewish community was concentrated in the settlement's centre, between the Hungarian and German quarters. By 1784, the Jewish community had established a German-language school, their own administrative officials, and maintained significant commercial activity in the region (Knabel 1972: 19).

In 1782, Bonyhád was granted market town privileges and the associated right to host annual fairs by Joseph II, which allowed the organisation of four national fairs per year. Partially due to the activities of the Jewish population, the settlement evolved into an industrial and commercial centre within the otherwise agrarian Völgyseg region during this period. An ethnic division of labour was evident: Germans primarily engaged in commodity production through agriculture, Hungarians participated in agriculture (especially viticulture and fruit production) and industry, while Jews

predominantly focused on trade. Within agriculture, tobacco cultivation and viticulture were particularly significant. Cattle breeding and trade also constituted dominant animal husbandry practices. The industrial development is further evidenced by the continuous establishment of guilds from the 1780s onwards, followed by the proliferation of various factories in the 19th century. The census conducted by Joseph II recorded 581 families residing in 342 houses, with an enumerated population of 3,009 individuals (Census 1784–1787: 188). A subsequent enumeration in 1829 identified 511 houses, inhabited by 1,803 Roman Catholics, 1,209 Lutherans, 387 Calvinists, and 1,324 Jews, altogether 4,723 individuals (Cserna and Kaczián 1986: 58, Várady 2018: 463).

2. Sources and methods

The empirical database for this research was constructed by integrating three distinct source materials. Firstly, Bonyhád is one of the few contemporary Hungarian settlements for which individual-level data from two censuses (1857 and 1869) have survived, offering a comprehensive demographic profile for each respective year. These detailed, albeit static, sources were systematically linked to registry data spanning the relevant decades, a process facilitated by an online genealogical database (*Ortsfamilienbuch Bonyhád*).

The extant records from the 1857 census (TML IV. B. 152./b) are incomplete, encompassing approximately two-thirds of the population, and thus served as the foundational dataset for this investigation. The registration forms meticulously documented: country, county, municipality, name of the household owner, house number, names of all residents within the property, and their year of birth. Additional data, such as religion, occupation, age group, marital status, and presence/absence during the census, were recorded via predefined checkboxes. (Appendix 1.) This source material comprises data for 4,108 residents of Bonyhád; however, due to missing forms, information is unavailable for residents in houses numbered 173 to 352.

The subsequent census was organized by the Statistical Department, established in the year of the Compromise (1867) under the leadership of Károly Keleti. Consequently, the personnel involved in its execution, the methodology, and the conceptual framework of this census differed from the preceding one (Őri and Pakot 2011: 14). The census was ultimately conducted in 1870, with a reference date of December 31, 1869. During this enumeration, the focus was on counting the *de facto* population (Dányi 1993: 31).

The 1869 census (TML V. 709./c) provides comprehensive information for the entire population of Bonyhád, totalling 6,036 individuals. Recorded details for household members included names, genders, years of

birth, religions, marital statuses, occupations, employment types, and places of birth. Furthermore, it was noted whether individuals were local or foreign, present or absent, as well as their literacy status. A comments column at the end of each row recorded military affiliation, absence locations, and any physical or mental disabilities. The registration form also encompassed housing statistics, specifying the number and type of rooms, whether the building had a floor or mezzanine, and associated outbuildings. The final page listed domestic animals. (Appendix 2.)

Given these distinctions, it is crucial to acknowledge that the two censuses were administered under different criteria. Consequently, rigorous source criticism is imperative, considering the unique historical context of their creation. It is also important to note that despite seemingly identical or highly similar questions, the underlying conceptual frameworks, particularly concerning age (Dányi 1993: 43) and occupation (Pozsgai 2000: 166–224, 170–172), differed between the two enumerations.

The diverse demographic data collected from the censuses can be significantly enriched by integrating life events documented in the registers maintained by various religious denominations. By linking baptismal, marriage, and death records with data on individuals residing in the settlement at the times of the censuses, a comprehensive dataset is created, enabling highly diverse analytical possibilities. The registry data were utilized through an online genealogy, which already contains life events linked to specific individuals – if these data were available.

A complete genealogical personal data sheet (Appendix 3) typically includes an individual's name, date of birth and death, religious affiliation, occupation, godparents' names, and residence locations across different years. This is followed by information on their family, including spouse(s) – if multiple, all are listed chronologically – with their marriage, birth, and death dates, as well as details of children born from these unions. The sheet also includes the family of origin, listing parents' and siblings' names and their birth and death dates. However, complete information for every individual is rarely available; some data sheets are minimally filled, with only a single source mentioning the individual, and family members, for example, could not be identified. The Ortsfamilienbuch Bonyhád website offers researchers access to over 90,000 personal data sheets of varying completeness. This online genealogy database incorporates Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and, to a lesser extent, Jewish registry data from Bonyhád and its surrounding settlements and farms, spanning the period between 1729 and 1984.

To enable the utilization and analysis of the available data, source linkage was essential. (Some examples of record linkage studies: Richards, L., L. et al. 2014; Feigenbaum 2016; for Hungarian data, see Pakot 2013. A detailed discussion of the challenges inherent in linking the sources used in this analysis, with examples, can be found in Gyimesi 2023.) The material from the two examined censuses, housed in the Tolna County Archives, was digitized while preserving its original structure. A third dataset was created by integrating registry data from the genealogical database. One of the primary research tasks involved identifying individuals who appeared in multiple sources.

After comparing the approximately 10,000 individuals listed in the two censuses with the 90,000 individuals documented in the genealogy, the following results were obtained: Of the 4,108 individuals in the 1857 census, 2,376 were identified in the genealogy. Of the 6,036 individuals in the 1869 census, 4,063 were found in the genealogy. Furthermore, 1,448 individuals in our database were identified in both censuses and in the genealogy. Considering the high infant and child mortality rates characteristic of the era, the limited availability of sources, and the inherent complexity of record linkage rules, this outcome exceeded initial expectations.

3. Analysis

By linking these datasets, we can reconstruct diverse individual life courses. The length of these trajectories varies depending on the duration for which an individual can be traced, or the number of dated events linked to them. Some individuals resided in the settlement for extended periods and appeared in multiple registry entries, providing information on their presence during censuses, their birth, marriage, and death dates, and potentially on their children's births/baptisms. However, for other individuals, only one or two life events could be linked. For individuals identified across all three datasets, we compared their household types during the two censuses to analyse changes in their living arrangements over the study period.

Table 1. Classification of identified individuals into Laslett household types at the time of the two censuses

		1869				
		1. Solitaries	2. No family	3. Simple family	4. Extended family	5. Multiple family
1857	1. Solitaries	3	0	4	0	0
	2. No family	0	0	1	0	0
	3. Simple family	3	2	635	116	213
	4. Extended family	2	4	120	70	47
	5. Multiple family	1	0	83	60	84

Source: own calculations based on the census materials

Table 1 clearly corroborates the phenomenon described in the literature, as the linked individual life courses perfectly reflect the dynamics of family cycles (Chayanov 1966, Szoltysek 2015). While the proportion of individuals living alone or in non-family households is negligible, even within these categories, instances of household form changes were observed. For example, some individuals who lived in more complex household forms in 1857 were registered as living alone in 1869 (e.g., widowed, with children deceased or residing in separate households). Given that the nuclear family form characterized 2/3 to 3/4 of Bonyhád's population, it is unsurprising that most individuals resided in this family structure during both censuses. Nevertheless, a significant proportion of individuals “transitioned” between simple and more complex family forms (extended or multiple family cohabitation), thereby supporting the established concept of the family cycle. This implies that an individual may experience various cohabitation forms throughout their life course, as both individuals and families undergo so-called life cycles. Families can expand through births and marriages, decrease in size due to out-migration or mortality, or even fragment into smaller components in the case of complex households, and this process then reiterates with similar dynamism (Berkner 1972; Pozsgai 2001: 265–281).

In the context of cohabitation patterns, it is also pertinent to examine how individual roles within households evolved over the 12-year intercensal period. The titles listed in the table generally denote the relationship to the household head. However, for certain relatives (parents, siblings), the corresponding relative of the household head's spouse was also included in the analysis (e.g., the household head's mother-in-law/father-in-law, brother-in-law/sister-in-law living in the same household).

Table 2. The roles of identified individuals in the household at the time of the two censuses

		1869								
		Household head	Wife	Child	Daughter/son-in-law	Parent	Sibling	Grandchild	Other relative	Non-relative
1857	Household head	241	7	1	0	17	0	0	0	1
	Wife	41	172	0	1	11	0	0	0	0
	Child	109	92	518	44	0	25	4	1	3
	Daughter/son-in-law	15	14	1	6	0	1	0	0	0
	Parent	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	1	0
	Sibling	4	6	0	1	0	5	0	0	0
	Grandchild	4	2	46	6	0	0	13	1	0
	Other relative	4	4	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Non-relative	6	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Unknown	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: own calculations based on the census materials

Table 2 effectively highlights key trends while also allowing for detailed examination of seemingly contradictory cases. The data clearly illustrate typical roles and their logical progression. A total of 241 individuals in the analysed database served as household heads in both censuses. Individuals listed as wives in the initial census may have ascended to household headship by 1869, likely due to widowhood and subsequent assumption of family leadership. A significant proportion of individuals recorded as children or spouses of children in the earlier census were observed to be heading their own households a decade later. Conversely, some individuals listed as household heads in 1857 became wives in 1869 – presumably due to remarriage where the widowed woman was enumerated alongside her new husband – or were listed as parents, indicating a handover of household headship to a child within the same household (Husz 2002: 88). Two cases, however, appear problematic at first glance: one individual who was a household head in 1857 was listed as a child in 1869, while another former household head was not recorded as a relative in the subsequent census.

In 1857, 24-year-old Péter Jung resided at house number 490 with his wife Margaréta and four young children, in a property designated as his own, cohabiting with two other families. His occupation was recorded as a house and annuity owner. Concurrently, his father, Heinrich Jung, resided at house

number 397 with his wife and another son, János, and was registered as a landowner. By 1869, however, Péter Jung was living with his wife and children in the household managed by his father and mother at number 397. His father, Heinrich, was registered as a farmer and owner, and his son Péter as a farmhand. His son János, who previously lived with them, had since married and established his own household as a farmer with his wife and three children at number 540. The precise reasons for this shift were not explicitly revealed in the census records. It is certain that János did not have to relocate to his wife's family, necessitating Péter's return to the parental home. This situation likely relates to agricultural labour requirements and, specifically, inheritance practices. However, in the absence of additional sources, definitive conclusions cannot be drawn. Nonetheless, the data's support for such unusual shifts in the family cycle contributes to the complexity of this research area.

By 1869, János Graf had transitioned from being a household head to residing with another family as a non-relative. The craftsman, born in 1799, lived with his first wife at house number 472 in 1857. In the second census, the widowed man was enumerated as a weaver's assistant in the household of a master weaver, born in Bohemia and 35 years his junior. Registry records indicate he remarried after his first wife's death in 1859, but his second wife also died in 1868, and no children were recorded in either the censuses or the genealogy. This suggests that, despite his age of 70, this was likely his only option for self-sustenance, and he remained capable of work.

Similar observations can be made regarding the roles of wives. Apart from those consistently recorded as wives in both censuses, the most common trajectory for individuals recorded as children or daughters-in-law in the first census was to later become wives, forming separate households with their husbands. The only instance where an individual initially recorded as a wife became a daughter-in-law by 1869 was Péter Jung's wife, who moved in with her parents-in-law, representing a “step backward” in the conventional, linear life cycle progression.

Individuals enumerated as children in 1857 could assume various roles by 1869: they might head a household, become wives, or reside within the household as siblings or other relatives; some entered service and did not appear as relatives in the later census. The four children who became grandchildren were Péter Jung's children, who, unlike their parents, followed a divergent career path regarding role development.

Among Laslett's complex household types, he identified a distinct variant for married siblings cohabiting (5d - Laslett 1972: 30). It is noteworthy that several individuals in the database lived under the household headship of a

sibling. However, Bonyhád data suggest this did not typically involve married siblings living together, as only 4 of the 42 individuals identified as siblings or brothers-in-law in both censuses were married. In these cases, it was more likely that unmarried individuals (in two cases, the sibling was a widow, possibly already married) were living within their sibling's household. Variations also included widowed parents (usually the mother, who had transferred household management to an older, already married child) living with their adult children, or older siblings who had established independent households caring for younger, minor siblings after parental death.

4. Differences in demographic characteristics between different datasets

Based on the available data, we examined discrepancies in birth years. Since both censuses recorded individuals' birth years, we primarily compared these two sources, incorporating genealogical data where available. It is important to note that birth records for individuals identified across all three sources might not be available if they were born elsewhere and later migrated to the settlement. The differences in birth years recorded between the two censuses varied widely, from 0 (identical year in both sources) to 19 years. The average difference in birth years was 1.18 years, which might seem surprisingly low given the range. This is because 621 (42.86%) of the 1,449 identified individuals had the same birth year in both censuses, and an additional 490 individuals (33.82%) showed only a one-year discrepancy. We also investigated whether these birth year differences correlated with other individual characteristics like occupation or religion, but no significant differences were found. For Jewish individuals, the low case numbers led to significant distortions. However, a breakdown by gender revealed an interesting correlation:

Table 3. Differences in birth years recorded in censuses by gender

Difference	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+	Total
Male	343	258	71	22	14	8	2	1	1	2	7	729
Female	278	232	88	45	28	14	12	3	3	3	14	720
Total	621	490	159	67	42	22	14	4	4	5	21	1449

Source: own calculations based on the census materials.

Based on Table 3, we infer that a higher proportion of men had accurate birth data (47.05%), or a one-year discrepancy (35.39%) compared to women (38.61% and 32.22%, respectively). This aligns with the 1869 census findings on literacy (Table 4.), which indicated a significantly higher proportion of literate men than women. Thus, a greater proportion of men likely knew their exact age or year of birth.

Table 4. Proportion of literate persons among the population over 6 years of age by gender, 1869

	Male	%	Female	%
Illiterate	869	34.07	1622	62.44
Only read	6	0.24	113	4.35
Literate	1676	65.70	863	33.21

Source: Census 1870: 228.

We also incorporated birth years from the genealogy into the study where available. We then calculated the standard deviation of ages recorded across the three sources. The results were consistent with the above findings, confirming that genealogical birth years corroborated census data and reinforced the observed gender differences.

While comparing occupational data between the two censuses is challenging due to source criticism issues, we attempted to track occupational records for identified individuals using the available data structure. To investigate this, in Table 5 we compared the 1857 categories with the major occupational groups derived from the 1869 data for individuals identified across all three sources.

Table 5. Comparison of the occupations of individuals identified in all three sources based on the two censuses (1857 – rows and 1869 – columns)¹

	Non-manual	Craftsmen	Farmer	Unskilled manual	Missing
Health professionals	2	0	0	0	0
Other: women and children	2	17	40	252	5
Other: men over 14 years	2	6	11	16	0
Landowners	1	1	98	16	0
Manufacturers and craftsmen	0	53	1	10	0
House and annuity owners	0	2	2	9	0
Civil servants	4	1	0	1	0
Industrial assistants	0	13	0	16	0
Commercial assistants	0	0	0	2	0
Traders	0	1	1	1	0
Other servants	0	0	0	9	1
Agricultural labourers	0	1	16	27	0
Day labourers	0	3	0	21	0
Priests	1	0	0	0	0
Lawyers, notaries	1	0	0	0	0

Source: source: own calculations based on the census materials.

The previously noted issue with the 1857 occupational structure reappears here, as numerous individuals were categorized within the two “other”-groups in 1857. Those initially classified as “women and children” could have been assigned to any of the major occupational groups in 1869. Among the “intellectuals,” we find midwives. Individuals who reached adulthood within the 12-year intercensal period could have become craftsmen, merchants, or farmers by the second census; however, the most prominent group among them consisted of day labourers and workers. This is because women in households either contributed to their own farm labour or were employed in others' homes, while older children who were not yet independent typically started out as apprentices in crafts or agriculture.

¹ Using 5 categories based on HISCLASS according to Őri and Pakot 2014: 17.

In most instances, occupations and categories correspond from one census to the next, suggesting a low rate of occupational change in individual career paths. Even seemingly disparate occupations might not indicate social mobility but rather reflect the source criticism challenges frequently discussed in the literature. Since only one occupation could be recorded per person, the census taker's discretion, guided by instructions and their interpretation, significantly influenced the recorded information. A compelling example is the case of an individual registered as a landowner in 1857 but categorized as an intellectual in the 1869 census. This individual, Vince Perczel, a member of a local landowning noble family, was recorded as a county official in 1869. This does not imply that he had forfeited his estate; he remained a landowner but assumed an official position, which was recorded as his occupation in the subsequent census. As the sources do not specify when he assumed this official role, it is possible he already held it in 1857 (Bonyhád Lexikon 2017: 229). A similar inference can be made for those listed as civil servants in the first census who later became farmers or craftsmen: their original occupation may have been reinstated after their term of office expired.

5. Moves within the settlement

For individuals identified in both censuses, we also investigated whether they changed their place of residence within the settlement. Of the 1,449 individuals identified across all three sources, 624 were recorded in a different house in the two censuses, while 825 remained in the same building. We examined factors that might have influenced an individual's decision to change residence within the settlement, including gender, age, religion, occupational group, and home ownership status. We interpreted these results using a multivariate logistic regression model. The values in Table 6 below indicate how the given variables influenced the probability of an individual remaining in the same house during the second census as where they were first recorded.

Before interpreting these results, it is necessary to detail a step that enhanced the analysis's effectiveness. We expanded the occupation codes – originally created only for individuals with a recorded occupation during the census (e.g., typically not for children) – to encompass everyone. If this variable was unrecorded for an individual, the occupation code of the household head was assigned to them, thereby classifying family members according to the status of the household head.

Table 6. Logistic regression analysis of an individual's likelihood of remaining in the same place based on data from two censuses (1857, 1869)

		Exp (B)	Sig.	N	%
House ownership	Not living in own home	(ref.)		316	21,81
	Living in own home	14,62	***	1133	78,19
Sex	Male	(ref.)		729	50,31
	Female	0,44	***	720	49,69
Religion	Lutheran	(ref.)		817	56,38
	Calvinist	1,51	.	126	8,70
	Roman Catholic	0,94		501	34,58
	Jewish	6,76	.	5	0,35
Occupational groups	Higher status (non-manual)	2,39	.	41	2,83
	Craftsmen	0,96		291	20,08
	Farmer	(ref.)		516	35,61
	Unskilled manual	0,48	***	590	40,72
	Missing	4,24	.	11	0,76
Age groups	<16	(ref.)		642	44,31
	16–25	0,47	***	288	19,88
	26–35	1,48	.	193	13,32
	36–45	1,64	*	184	12,70
	46–55	2,73	***	103	7,11
	55<	2,29	.	39	20,69

*** $p < 0,001$; ** $p < 0,01$; * $p < 0,05$; . $p < 0,1$.

Source: own calculations based on the census materials.

Based on the logistic regression model, we can conclude that the probability of residential stability was strongly influenced by home ownership versus renting. Consistent with our previous studies, individuals residing in rented properties were typically more mobile, often employed in specific wage labour roles (day labourers, wage labourers) and subsequently relocating.

Gender also proved to be a significant determinant of residential stability, with women exhibiting a higher propensity to change their residence between censuses than men. This likely stems from the common practice where sons remained in the parental home, and new wives integrated into their husbands' families upon marriage.

Religious denomination did not emerge as a strong determinant of residential mobility. Compared to Lutherans, Calvinists were more likely to remain in place, while Roman Catholics showed a slightly higher tendency to change residence, though this effect was not statistically significant even at the

10% level. Given that only 5 Jewish individuals were identified across all three sources, drawing conclusions based on their observed significance is problematic. While their probability of remaining in the same house appears highly significant, this is likely an artifact of the small sample size and not necessarily characteristic of the Jewish community's residential patterns.

Regarding occupational groups, landowners served as the reference category. Compared to them, the values for artisans and merchants were neither significant nor significantly different. The model indicates that members of the intellectual group were more likely to remain in the same building at the time of the second census than where they were recorded in the first. This is likely because most official positions (clerks, priests, pastors, rabbis, etc.) were associated with institutional buildings (parsonage, town hall, etc.). Individuals identifiable in both censuses typically held the same office and resided in the same location throughout. This result might also be attributed to individuals who transferred to positions in other settlements moving out of town, thus reducing the likelihood of finding them among those who changed residence within the settlement, as their occupation made out-of-town relocation more probable than moving to another house within Bonyhád. Residential stability was also higher for individuals in the “other” category, though the number of cases included in the analysis is extremely low. These individuals were typically classified as “living on charity” and were elderly relatives taken in by younger family members, which explains their lower propensity to relocate between censuses. Individuals in the day labourer and worker categories were significantly more likely to change their place of residence than landowners, primarily because they typically did not own their homes, and their occupation inherently involved residential mobility (Husz 2002: 111–112).

Age also emerged as a significant factor influencing the likelihood of residential mobility. Using children (aged 0–15) as the reference category, all other age groups showed some level of significance. The 16–24 age group was less likely to remain in the same house, which is entirely understandable, as individuals in this age cohort typically entered service in other households or married for the first time, often involving a change of residence for at least one partner. Conversely, the older the age group, the more likely individuals were to remain in the same house at the second census as they were at the first.

6. Homeownership data

Amongst the factors significantly influencing population mobility during the period under study, the possession of residential property played a crucial role. Data concerning this can be gleaned from the unfortunately fragmentary census enumeration sheets of 1857. A comparison between the recorded owners of houses and their occupants in the 1857 census reveals several variations in the status of families.

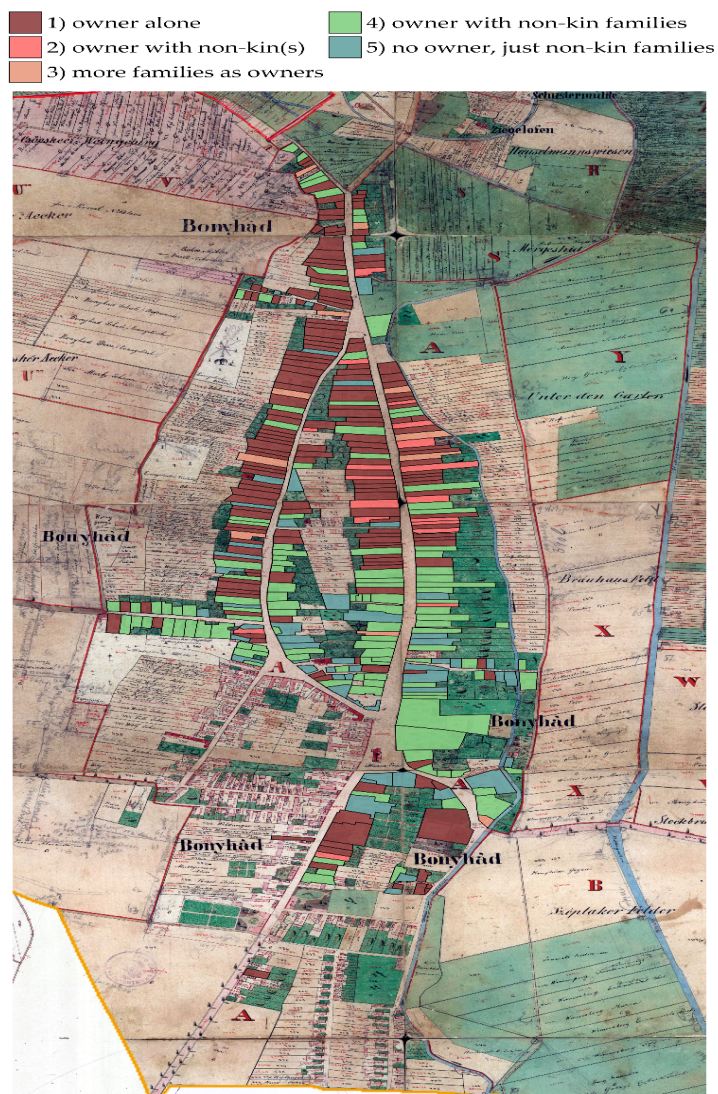
Some families resided in their own properties, with no other families living with them, nor any non-kin individuals recorded in the building (Category 1). A variation of this type, when families living in their own homes, but other non-kin individuals (typically single persons such as servants) were also present within their living quarters (Category 2).

A further scenario involved a family and their close relatives (often sharing the same surname) living in one house but occupying separate resident units. In such cases, either one family member owned the house, and the two related families lived in distinct quarters, or the ownership of the building reflected this arrangement, with two different owners listed for the two separate dwelling units, despite sharing the same house number. Alternatively, the designation of the homeowner might refer to a pair of siblings or an entire family (e.g., “Kliegl Familie”). Instances also occurred where there appeared to be no kinship between cohabiting units, yet ownership was similarly divided, meaning everyone within the house was listed as the owner of their own living space (Category 3).

The first three categories are very similar from the perspective of ownership, as they all share the commonality of the family residing in a self-owned building, not sharing it with other “outsider” (non-owner, non-kin) families. Consequently, when mapping these data, Categories 1, 2, and 3 were separated but represented with similar colours.

There were also cases where the owner's family lived in the house, alongside one or more unrelated households, recorded as separate units under the same house number (Category 4). Finally, some instances involved the owner not residing in the house, with unrelated family or families occupying the building. A specific variation of this was when the building was not owned by an individual but by the municipality (e.g., Rathaus/town hall) or a specific community (e.g., Israelitische Gemeinde, Kraus Isak Stiftung) (Category 5).

Figure 1. Homeowner and resident relationships in Bonyhád, 1857



Sources: own processing of the 1857 Census data, Cadastral Map²

² <https://maps.arcanum.com/hu/map/cadastral>.

The map (Figure 1) clearly illustrates the incompleteness of the 1857 census material, resulting in a significant lack of information for the southern streets of the town. Nevertheless, the accompanying figure, derived from the extant data, reveals discernible spatial patterns. It appears that individuals living in their own homes were predominantly located in the northern part of the settlement, whilst properties in the town centre were more frequently characterised by shared ownership with other families or by being entirely tenant-occupied.

Table 7 presents the distribution of houses according to the five categories established based on the owner's identity and the relationship of the occupants within them.

Table 7. Distribution of houses and co-resident units by ownership category, 1857

Category	No. of houses	%	No. of co-resident units	%
1 – owner alone	180	46,51	180	22,09
2 – owner with non-kins	18	4,65	18	2,21
3 – more families as owners	12	3,10	24	2,94
4 – owner with non-kin families	121	31,27	447	54,85
5 – no owner, just non-kin families	56	14,47	146	17,91
Total	387	100	815	100

Source: own calculations based on the census materials.

More than half of the houses were occupied by individuals who owned their property and did not share it with other families who were not owners (Categories 1-3). When examining co-resident units, the rates naturally shift, with an increase in the proportion belonging to types where multiple individuals cohabited, typically Categories 4 and 5.

The cohabitation types established here will also be examined by occupation and denomination. To facilitate this, the five categories above are simplified into two broad groups. The first group comprises those living in their own homes (Categories 1, 2, 3, and the families who own the house in Category 4), whilst the second group includes those residing in houses owned by others (the families who are not owners in Category 4, and Category 5).

Table 8. Proportion of Owners by Denomination, 1857

	Living as owner	%	Living as not owner	%
Lutheran	198	71,22	80	28,78
Calvinist	36	66,67	18	33,33
Roman Catholic	96	46,83	109	53,17
Jewish	23	8,27	255	91,73
Total	353	43,31	462	56,69

Source: own calculations based on the census materials.

Based on Table 8, significant differences in homeownership rates amongst the various denominations can be observed. The highest proportion of those living in their own property was found among Lutherans (71.22%), closely followed by the Calvinists, with two-thirds owning their homes. For Roman Catholics, this proportion was roughly half, whilst among Jews, the rate of homeownership did not even reach 10%.

The issue of house ownership – independently of denominational composition – is also linked to occupation. High-status groups typically did not live in their own homes; this could stem from the provision of service accommodation for various professions (doctor, priest, notary, etc.), meaning they resided in properties owned by the respective community or municipality whilst holding that position. Unskilled labourers and servants also predominantly lived as tenants in others' homes. This might imply that their employers provided accommodation, but there were also houses where multiple, unrelated families, possibly serving elsewhere, lived under one roof. A significant proportion of merchants also did not live in their own homes, primarily because they were largely Jewish, a group that owned very few properties during this period. Amongst artisans, two-thirds lived as tenants in someone else's house, with only one-third owning the property they inhabited.

Two groups exhibited inverse proportions: firstly, house and annuity owners, who, understandably, most often resided in their own properties, often with tenants living alongside them. Secondly, farmers, among whom almost 100% lived in their owned properties. For landowners, the house was typically owned along with the land. As observed, it was more common for multiple nuclear families to cohabit amongst them, with the property serving as the site of shared farming and household activities.

7. *Mosaic families*

Linking the censuses with genealogical data also enabled the examination of stepfamilies and/or blended families. In many instances, family relationships could be identified using registry data if individuals could be linked across different datasets. If only census data are available, the forms provide, at most, information on whether a stepchild resided in the family. However, since kinship status was recorded relative to the household head, a stepchild would only be identified if they were not a biological child of the head but had been adopted, or if the spouse had children from a previous marriage residing in the household. The census record does not distinguish whether a child was from the father's previous marriage, as the relationship to the household head would still be defined as “child”, regardless of the mother's identity. The issue is further complicated by cases where household heads listed children from their wife's (or, in the case of a widow, her husband's) previous marriage as their own during the census. Consequently, many more individuals listed as “stepchildren” in the census may have actually lived in families with both biological parents and siblings under the same roof.

As a preliminary step in a detailed analysis of this issue, we examined the number and characteristics of individuals registered as stepchildren in the censuses. Table 9 below presents the distribution of stepchildren by age group and gender for both censuses.

Table 9. Characteristics of persons registered as stepchildren in the censuses

Age group	1857		1869	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0–4	0	1	0	0
5–9	3	3	2	6
10–14	15	10	7	9
15–19	13	20	6	5
20–24	4	10	8	3
25–29	3	0	2	2
30–34	2	0	1	0
Total	40	44	26	25

Source: own calculations based on the census materials.

The number of individuals classified as stepchildren is relatively low, particularly in the 1869 census, especially considering that the entire dataset for this census has survived, while part of the 1857 census is missing. In 1857,

2,214 biological children were recorded in addition to 84 stepchildren, whereas in 1869, 2,859 biological children and 51 stepchildren were recorded. Individuals listed as stepchildren in the census could not always be identified in the genealogy (e.g., if they were not born locally and thus lacked registry records, or, as mentioned, a significant proportion of Jewish individuals could not be linked genealogically). Therefore, using the integrated census and genealogy database, we investigated how many households demonstrated, based on registry data, that not all children were full siblings, and in how many cases this coincided with the census taker explicitly noting the presence of a stepchild.

The 84 stepchildren recorded in the 1857 census resided in 39 distinct households. To identify stepchildren in the genealogy, the initial step involved cross-referencing the parents of individuals listed as children in the census with genealogical data. This required the successful identification of these individuals in both datasets. Of the 2,214 individuals registered as children in 1857, we were able to link 1,236 to their registry data, spanning 419 households. A new variable was created for each identified child by linking the identifiers of their two parents. We then examined whether this identifier differed for children registered in the same household. If it was consistent for all co-residing children, it indicated they shared the same biological parents (i.e., they were full siblings). If a difference was found, they did not share the same parents, meaning they were at least half-siblings. There were 51 households where children originated from multiple marriages, encompassing a total of 204 children living in stepfamilies or blended families. In almost all instances, this involved two distinct sets of parents; only three cases identified three different sets of parents among co-residing children. Of these 51 households, in 35 cases, the children were listed in the census without distinction as the children of the household head – meaning the census alone would not have revealed these were stepfamilies – while only 16 cases explicitly indicated that the co-residing children were not siblings.

Performing the same analysis with 1869 census data yielded the following results. The 51 children registered as stepchildren were recorded in 30 different households. Of the 2,859 individuals registered as children, 1,944 were identified in the genealogy, residing in 744 distinct households. Based on genealogical data and the parent ID variable, children residing in 59 households were determined not to be full siblings, affecting a total of 254 children. However, in 45 of these 59 households, the census alone would not have revealed that children from multiple marriages were co-residing, as the census did not identify these children as stepchildren.

The following brief case studies illustrate the complexities of families where children originated from multiple marriages, a system of relationships that the census alone could not fully capture. These specific cases also highlight the challenges inherent in identifying blended families.

7.1. The Hof family

Jakab Hof³, a master blacksmith, and his family were identified in all three datasets. In 1857, he resided at house number 171 with his wife Katalin, their two children, and, according to census annotations, his mother-in-law. Two other artisan families also occupied separate households within the same building. Genealogical records reveal that Katalin Helfenbein was Jakab's second wife, and one of their two children was from his first marriage, while the other was from his second marriage. The mother-in-law listed with them was Margit Vager, the mother of his first wife, who died in 1854. In 1869, the family was again enumerated, with Jakab Hof, his wife Katalin, their five children, and his mother-in-law residing at house number 171/a. Additionally, three other households – two day-labourers and a grocer with his family – occupied the building.

Comparing the census information with genealogical data again proves valuable. In 1869, Jakab Hof was living with his third wife, Katalin Hutter. Since wives were listed in the census under their husbands' surnames, distinguishing between wives with the same first name (as in this case) based solely on census records would be challenging, particularly if their birth years were proximate. The newly registered children were born from this third marriage. Thus, the five co-residing siblings were born to three different mothers, a fact only revealed through consultation of registry data. This occurred despite the census taker not making an “error” as all children were biologically related to the household head.

7.2. The Stahl family

Konrád Stahl⁴ (or Stall), a day-labourer from Cikó, and his family also appear in all three data sources. In 1857, he resided with his wife and two children in building No. 2, which housed a majority of the town's inhabitants. His wife, Erzsébet Scheidler, Konrád's first wife, and their two children, Terézia and József, lived with them. By 1869, Konrád was living with his second wife in a different house, where the village cowherd and shepherd also resided with their families. His wife, Magdaléna Müller, had also been previously married, and the

³<https://online-ofb.de/famreport.php?ofb=bonyhad&ID=I2257&nachname=HOF&modus=&lang=de>

⁴<https://online-ofb.de/famreport.php?ofb=bonyhad&ID=I44149&nachname=STALL&modus=&lang=de>

children from that marriage were listed in this census as stepchildren with their father's surname. In addition to the children from their previous marriages, they also had a child together, resulting in both stepsiblings and half-siblings within this household. The two children from his wife's first marriage, who had different surnames, were also recorded as stepchildren by the census taker.

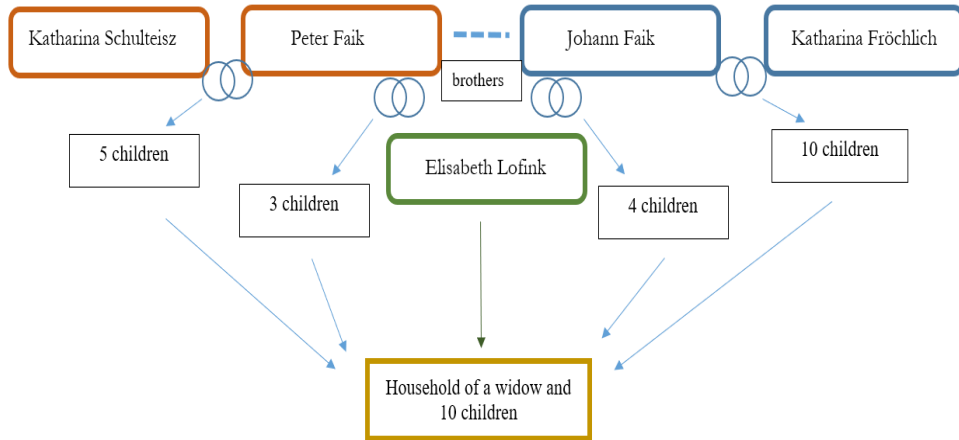
7.3. The Faik (Feig) family

In the 1869 census, Erzsébet Feig⁵, a 37-year-old widow and day-labourer, resided with her 10 children at number 368/a. One of her older sons was apprenticing as a carpenter. Another day-labourer family also occupied a separate part of the same building. Based on the available data, the household was classified as a simple nuclear family, with the widow and her children constituting a subcategory. A minor anomaly was that the children were not listed chronologically by birth year, which deviated from typical census instructions and practices observed in Bonyhád.

However, by combining census data with genealogical records, we were able to reconstruct an extremely intricate mosaic family structure. Erzsébet Feig (Faik), née Erzsébet Lofink, married János Faik in 1858, but her husband died in 1866. They had four children, three of whom were recorded in the census. This was not the first marriage for either of them. János Faik's first wife was Katalin Fröhlich, with whom he had 10 children. Erzsébet's first husband was Péter Faik, János's brother, and they had three children. Erzsébet was also Péter Faik's second wife; he had five children with his first wife, Katharina Schulteis. Thus, a total of 22 children were born from four different marriages, with the fathers being brothers, and both of their second wives being the same woman, Elisabeth Lofink. Erzsébet Lofink was ultimately left with 10 surviving children, all sharing the same surname and connected by various family ties. Despite appearing as siblings in the census, all were classified as children of the household head, even though some had no biological ties to the widow managing the household.

⁵ <https://online-ofb.de/famreport.php?ofb=bonyhad&ID=I73598&nachname=Lofink&lang=de>

Figure 2. The schematic representation of the Faik family's complex relationships



The cases presented above clearly illustrate the diverse types of blended families and the inherent complexity of their underlying relationship systems. They also highlight the difficulty – and in some cases impossibility – of fully capturing these relationships using a single source. We observed an example of a man, widowed twice, who lived with his third wife and children from each of his marriages in the same household. Although these children were half-siblings, the census data alone would not reveal this, as all were recorded as the household head's own children (as also noted in the census) and shared the same surname.

We also presented a mosaic family formed by the second marriages of both partners, with children from previous marriages and a child from their current marriage co-residing. Since the children from the woman's first marriage had different surnames from the other family members and were also recorded as stepchildren, part of the family relationship system would have been discernible in the census. However, the complete picture only emerged after linking the data to genealogy.

The household that initially appeared to be the simplest proved to be an exceptionally complex family: the widow with 10 children listed in the census encompassed children from the four marriages of two brothers and their former wives. This resulted in multiple types of relationships among the children. They were both stepsiblings and half-siblings, and simultaneously, due to their fathers' kinship, the children from the two branches were also cousins to each other.

8. Summary

This study explores the demographic and socio-economic complexities of Bonyhád, a multi-ethnic and multi-religious market town in 19th-century Hungary, using linked data from two censuses (1857, 1869) and extensive genealogical records. Bonyhád's history fostered diverse population groups with distinct spatial and occupational patterns, including Germans, Hungarians and Jews, shaping its role as a regional commercial centre.

The analysis reveals dynamic family cycles and evolving household roles, with individuals frequently transitioning between simple and complex family structures. It identifies interesting demographic trends, such as higher accuracy in recorded male birth years, correlating with greater male literacy, and relatively stable occupational paths. Residential mobility was strongly influenced by home ownership and occupation, with women exhibiting higher mobility than men, often due to marriage patterns. The study also highlights the profound impact of homeownership on residential stability, revealing significant disparities across religious and occupational groups within Bonyhád. A key contribution is the in-depth examination of “mosaic families” (stepfamilies and blended families). The study demonstrates that censuses significantly underreported these complex family structures. Through detailed case studies, the research illustrates intricate relationships involving children from multiple marriages, revealing how multi-source linkage is essential to fully grasp the nuanced realities of historical family dynamics beyond basic census classifications. This methodology provides a vital framework for understanding the complexities of past societies.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. The census sheet from 1857⁶

[illegible]

⁶ TML IV. B. 152./b

Appendix 2. The census sheets from 1869⁷

Ország } *Magyar*
Land }
Megye (Kerület, szék, vidék) } *Tolna*
Község (Kreis, Stuhl, Distrikt) }
Község }
Stadt (Gemeinde) }

Felvételi iv
a népesség és háziállatok számlálására
az 1869. évi december 31-diki állapot szerint.

Aufnahms-Bogen
zur Zählung der Bevölkerung und der Haustiere nach dem Stande vom 31. Dezember 1869.

Utzs }
Gasse } *Hátszám } 416.
Hans-Nro }*

A lakás van }
Die Wohnung ist } *ott.*
2. }
pinczeben? }
im Keller? }
földszint? }
zu ebener Erde? }
felemelen? }
im halben Stock? }
hanyadik emeleten? }
im wievielten Stock? }
padláson? }
auf dem Boden? }

A lakást képezi hány }
Die Wohnung besteht aus }
wie viel } *1.*
szoba? }
Zimmer? }
kamra? }
Kammern? }
előszoba? }
Vorzimmer? }
konyha? } *2.*
Küchen? }

Csopán lakására szolgál-e? }
Dient sie bloß als Wohnung? }
Ualatre is szolgál-e, és milyenre? }
Dient sie auch für einen Geschäftsbetrieb, und für welchen? }

lakt? }
Gewöl? }
kamra? } *1.*
Kammer? }
pincze? } *1.*
Keller? }
szécs (szin)? } *2.*
Schuppen? }
raktár? }
Magazin? }
istálló? } *1.*
Stall? }
akol (hodály)? }
Viehhef? }
csár (pajta)? }
Scheune? }

Jegyzet. 1. A felvételi ívbe felvennők még nem szállók családok, egyének akkor is bevezetendők, ha az ország határaitól távol vannak lakva.

⁷TML V. 709./c. This census contains various data on three pages of a large, folded sheet: 1) the front page with the property inventories, 2) detailed data of the individuals and 3) the enumeration of the domestic animals.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix 3. An example of a personal data sheet from the Ortsfamilienbuch⁸

♂ Jakob SCHMIDT

• 09.01.1834 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., [1]
 † 30.06.1873 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., [2]

Konfession: ag. ev.

Beruf: Colonist, Bauer, telkesgazda.

Ereignisse - Sonst. Ereignis: von 1843 bis 1850 led.,

Wohnsitz: in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

Tot: Adresse: als 36J, Verh.,

[2]

Taufpate: Jakob Becker

Taufpate: Anna Maria Feiden

Es gibt (eine) ähnliche Person(en) in anderen OFBs.
 Einblenden!

Ehegatten

1. Ehegatte: ♀ Elisabeth FRÖHLICH

• 21.09.1837 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,
 † 04.12.1921 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,
 = 26.05.1857 (standesamtlich) in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., [3]

Heirat: Zeuge Jakob Becker
 Zeuge Philipp Lehn
 Adresse: Er 24J, led., Sie 19J, led.,
 [3]

Wohnsitz: von 1857 bis 1863 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,
 Adresse: HNr. 36
 1873 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,
 HNr. 35
 von 1864 bis 1870 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,
 HNr. 32
 1921 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,
 Budai utca 52

Kinder

♀ Elisabeth SCHMIDT • 17.02.1859 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♂ Jakob SCHMIDT • 06.11.1860 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 20.11.1860 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♂ Jakob SCHMIDT • 07.01.1862 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 20.01.1862 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♂ Johann SCHMIDT • berechnet 17. Nov. 1862 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 19.10.1863 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♂ Johann SCHMIDT • 17.09.1863 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♀ Katharina Magdalena SCHMIDT • 16.12.1864 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 16.12.1864 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♂ Jakob SCHMIDT • 25.08.1866 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 09.06.1940 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♂ Johann SCHMIDT • 11.06.1870 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

Eltern

Vater:

♂ Johann SCHMIDT

• 07.06.1797 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,
 † 17.12.1857 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

Mutter:

♀ Elisabeth HESZ

• berechnet Apr. 1795
 † 28.11.1857 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

Geschwister

♀ Elisabeth SCHMIDT • 18.06.1814 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 14.10.1842 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♀ Margaretha SCHMIDT • 06.05.1817 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 06.12.1866 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♂ Johann SCHMIDT • 27.01.1821 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 05.04.1830 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♀ Anna Maria SCHMIDT • 18.02.1823 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 14.07.1841 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♀ Wilhelmina SCHMIDT • 21.05.1825 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 23.01.1860 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♀ Margaretha SCHMIDT • 13.10.1827 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 20.07.1841 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♂ Johann SCHMIDT • 08.11.1830 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 1830 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

♂ Daniel SCHMIDT • 26.12.1836 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn., † 06.05.1837 in Bonyhád, Tolna, Ungarn.,

⁸ <https://online-ofb.de/famreport.php?ofb=bonyhad&ID=I72494&nachname=Schmidt&lang=de>

