

## Caversham Working Paper, 1997-1

### Friendly Societies: Caversham & South Dunedin

In order to identify the relationship between the mobility structures and social structuration we have, among other things, drawn upon friendly society records. Caversham and indeed, the Flat itself, was marked by a number of friendly societies. As one historian has put it, Caversham and South Dunedin, adjacent industrial suburbs dominated by the Hillside railway workshops, typify the urban environment in which lodges flourished.<sup>1</sup> It is our aim to link the membership from the Friendly Societies to the larger Caversham Database and to incorporate information on age and ethnicity. This working paper will become the basis for an article on the friendly societies. Little work has been done on the friendly societies in New Zealand, and work that has been done has suggested that friendly societies were at best weak and limited as a mean of thrift. We intend to explore the claims that few people ever joined friendly societies; few older men (and women) belonged; and that few men and women belonged to a society for any length time. Eventually, we hope to be able to test the claim that friendly societies gave uncertain protection.<sup>2</sup> We also hope to explore the membership of the various lodges and to test the assumption made for British friendly societies that they were closed to the lower manual classes by profiling the membership of each lodge. It is likely that we will find that skilled men dominated the lodges because they dominated Caversham's industrial structure anyhow, and we will test the assumption 'that the areas in which sizeable railway workshops existed showed a marked tendency to have a high density of lodges belonging to different societies'. One explanation for such a hypothesis is that railway employees enjoying job stability dominated the membership of the lodges.<sup>3</sup> Linkage to the railway records and the larger database will enable us to explore such generalisations.

#### I.

We have obtained from National Archives photocopies of the reports filed to the Registrar of Friendly Societies. The List of Members Admitted and Return of Sickness,

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<sup>1</sup> E. Olssen, 'Friendly Societies in New Zealand, 1840-1990', in M. van der Linden (ed.), *Social Security Mutualism. The Comparative History of Mutual Benefit Societies*, Bern, 1996, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Taken from David Thomson in a short article where he provides one of the few assessments of friendly societies in New Zealand. He concludes that friendly societies were limited as a means of social insurance, 'Colonial Thrift', *History Now*, Vol 3, 1 (1997), p. 8-13.

<sup>3</sup> E. Olssen, 'Friendly Societies in New Zealand, 1840-1990', p. 195.

Mortality and Other Contingencies filed under the Friendly Societies Act have been used for the following Caversham and South Dunedin Lodges: Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Druids (Royal Oak Lodge, South Dunedin), Foresters (Court of St Andrew), Rechabites (Star of the South Tent), Hibernians (St Patricks). A Research Assistant collected details from the membership books of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (Unity Lodge, St Kilda and Miriam Rebekah - a womens' lodge) from their head office in Glasgow Street, South Dunedin.

The information from the List of Admissions was entered into a database. This included name, age, date of birth, date of admission, how admitted (initiation, clearance, transfer, readmission etc.), occupation, marital status, and contributions (either weekly or monthly) in shillings and pence. Additional information including spouse's name, maiden name of wife, age of spouse, the date and reason for leaving the lodge (arrears, died, transferred, resigned etc.) was available for Unity and Miriam Rebekah IOOF.<sup>4</sup> Much of the data entered has been coded to allow for computer analysis. All jobs were coded according to the Caversham Occupation Codes and checked against Stones' Trade Directory to sort out petty proprietors from other occupational classes. Some new job codes were made up to include apprentices, which were not covered by the existing codes. These codes were designed after consulting the Census Occupational Classification for Urban New Zealand and the Efficiency's Board's Classification of Industries, Profession and Occupations.<sup>5</sup> Where the occupational data were missing, as was the case for those admitted to the Druids in 1896, names were compared with the cumulative alphabetical listing in Stone's *Otago and Southland Directory*, for the occupational details. Some of the returns for the lodges contained information on members admitted as discharged soldiers.

## II.

To date we have 2670 individual records in the database for members of lodges from 1894-1930, although a small proportion of names appear more than once because a member sometimes rejoined a lodge after resigning. Membership sometimes overlapped, although the actual numbers of people belonging to more than one lodge is small. One example is Thomas William Graham, a journeyman tailor, who belonged to both the Unity and St Kilda IOOF lodges. We need to be careful about making claims about the size of any given friendly society. As Green and Cromwell

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<sup>4</sup> For more a detailed description on the nature and problems of the records used and their method of entry into a database see S Ryan, 'Report on Friendly Societies', November 1996, and 'Report on IOOF', February 1997.

<sup>5</sup> Working Papers on Occupations and Occupational Classification In Caversham and New Zealand, 1902-1922/66, Papers Relating to the Achievement Audit: UOO510 Urban Society and the

warn us, because lodges provide services for the whole family any claims relating to the relative size or importance of any lodge should include some allowance for dependents. They argue, following a warning from the Australian *Commonwealth Year Book*, that 'membership figures, must, even when due allowance is made for young and unmarried members, be multiplied by four at least to arrive at the total number of persons more or less connected with societies'.<sup>6</sup> The table below outlines the membership for each lodge and the time period for which we have data. Table one below outlines the number of entries and the years for each lodge and society.

Table 1: Years and Number of Entries

Lodge	Druids	Foresters	Manchester	Miriam	Rechabites	St Kilda	St Pats	Unity
Number of Entries	400	258	274	422	163	136	57	960
Years	1896-1922	1896-1922	1907-1922	1894-1930	1911-1919	1910-1922	1914-1922	1875-1929

Note: There are very few Unity entries before the 1890s.

### III.

Much of our initial analysis is focused upon the population structure of the friendly societies. The majority of the lodge's membership in Caversham and South Dunedin were men, except for Miriam Rebekah, a lodge for women in Kensington. Others contained a small scattering of women.

Table 2: Sex Composition of Lodges c 1890-1930

Count	Lodge								
Sex	Druids	Foresters	Unity	Manchester	Miriam	Rechabites	St Kilda	St Pats	Total
F	0	9	0	0	422	55	0	2	488
M	400	249	960	274	0	108	136	55	2182
Total	400	258	960	274	422	163	136	57	2670

Women constituted 33.7 per cent of the membership of the Rechabites, a pro temperance lodge, which goes some way towards explaining the interest of women's groups in the issue of temperance. Unity and St Kilda IOOF lodges were exclusively male oriented in membership, although women could participate in the Rebekah lodge system of the IOOF. The secret ritual and the ancient lineage of the Druids was limited to

<sup>6</sup>David Green & Lawrence Cromwell, *Mutual Aid Or Welfare State. Australia's Friendly Societies*,

men only.<sup>7</sup> Manchester Unity also had separate lodges for women, but none were located in the area of study. The authors of a study on Australian friendly societies, found that 'since the whole family benefited few married women joined, and those women who did join tended to be young and single'. They also found that 'the few women who did join a friendly society joined separate female societies or separate female lodges'.<sup>8</sup> The provision of maternity benefits (which quickly spread to mixed and male lodges), may in part explain the popularity of women's lodges.<sup>9</sup>

There is considerable variation in the age structure between different lodges although this may well be the result of the data we have captured. As indicated by Table 1 we have not captured data from identical time periods. It is to be expected that the younger lodges, ie the Rechabites, Miriam Rebekah and St Kilda IOOF, would have a correspondingly younger membership than older lodges such as the Druids. One surprising result is the fact that very few older men belonged to any lodge. Because the attraction of the friendly societies as a means of thrift and mutual welfare one would expect a proliferation of older members. Indeed, as David Thomson has argued, 'it is precisely the later stages of life that see the greatest needs for support and for which thrift was supposed to provide'. He also found in 1882 that 15 to 20 per cent of all men in their 20s and 30s were members, but just five per cent of men in their 50s, and less than one per cent of those in their sixties or older. The position changed only slowly in the following few decades.<sup>10</sup> Our findings indicate that the mean age of admission for all members for the lodges under this study was 25 years. Our level of analysis is unique in that we been able to provide an age structure for the lodges under study. The age structure was calculated by (year-doayear+age) subtracting the year of admission from the base year and adding the age; age was calculated (dobyear-doayear) by subtracting the year of birth from the year of admission. The base years chosen were 1912 and 1922, to coincide with a early year for which we had information for all lodges (except for St Patrick's), and the year closest to the end point of the data for most lodges.

Figure 1: Age Structure of Lodges 1912.

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<sup>7</sup> The Druids are part of an ancient Celtic culture which once included women as high priests. The United and Ancient Order of Druids dates as a friendly society from 1871 with the purpose of bringing men together in a fraternal brotherhood. Women were excluded from membership of the revived Druidism. See *Fifty Years of Druidism, Jubilee of the Otago Lodge No. 1*, Dunedin, 1930.

<sup>8</sup> David Green & Lawrence Cromwell, *Mutual Aid Or Welfare State*, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> E. Olssen, 'Friendly Societies in New Zealand, 1840-1890', p. 188.

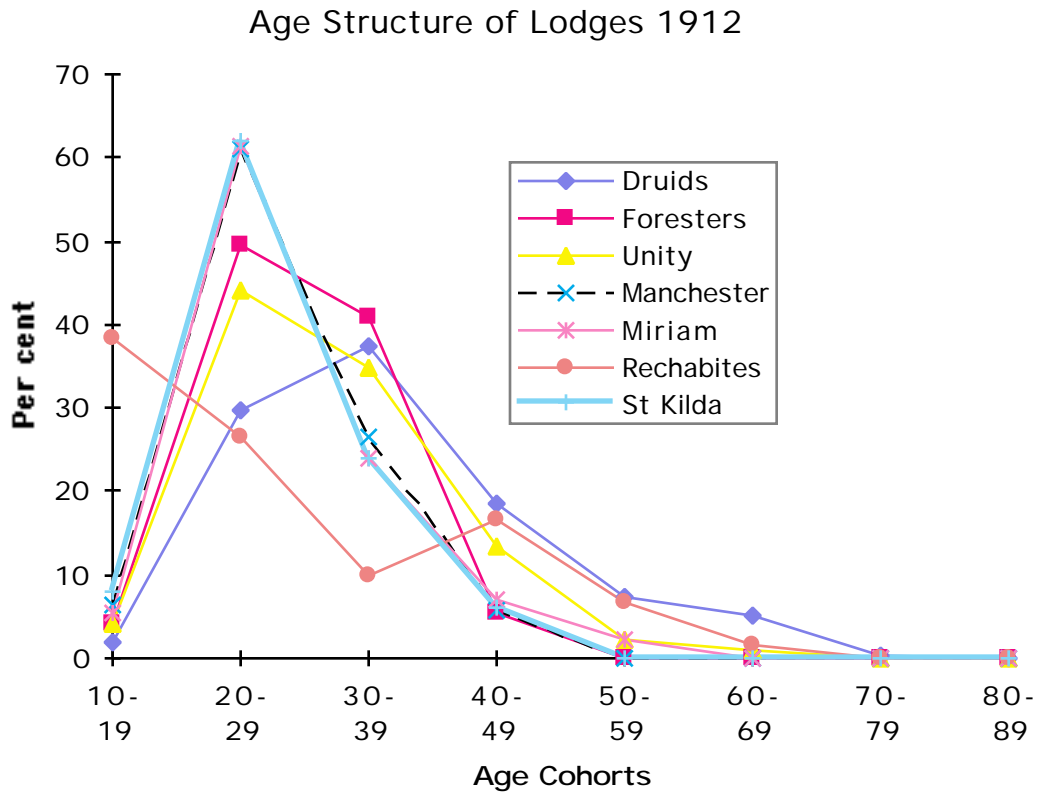
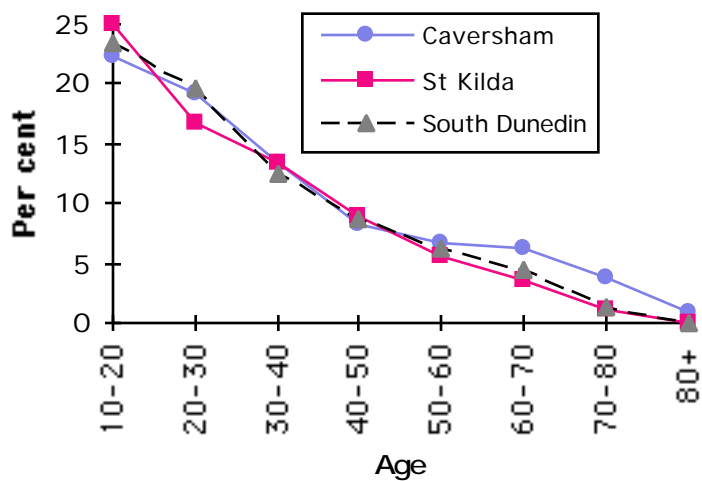


Figure 2: Age of the "Flat" (Caversham/St Kilda/South Dunedin) 1901

### Age Structure of the "Flat" from the 1901 Census



Note: The age cohorts do not exactly match those used for the Friendly Societies because of the way the Census age data has been ordered.

Figure 3: Age Structure of Lodges 1922

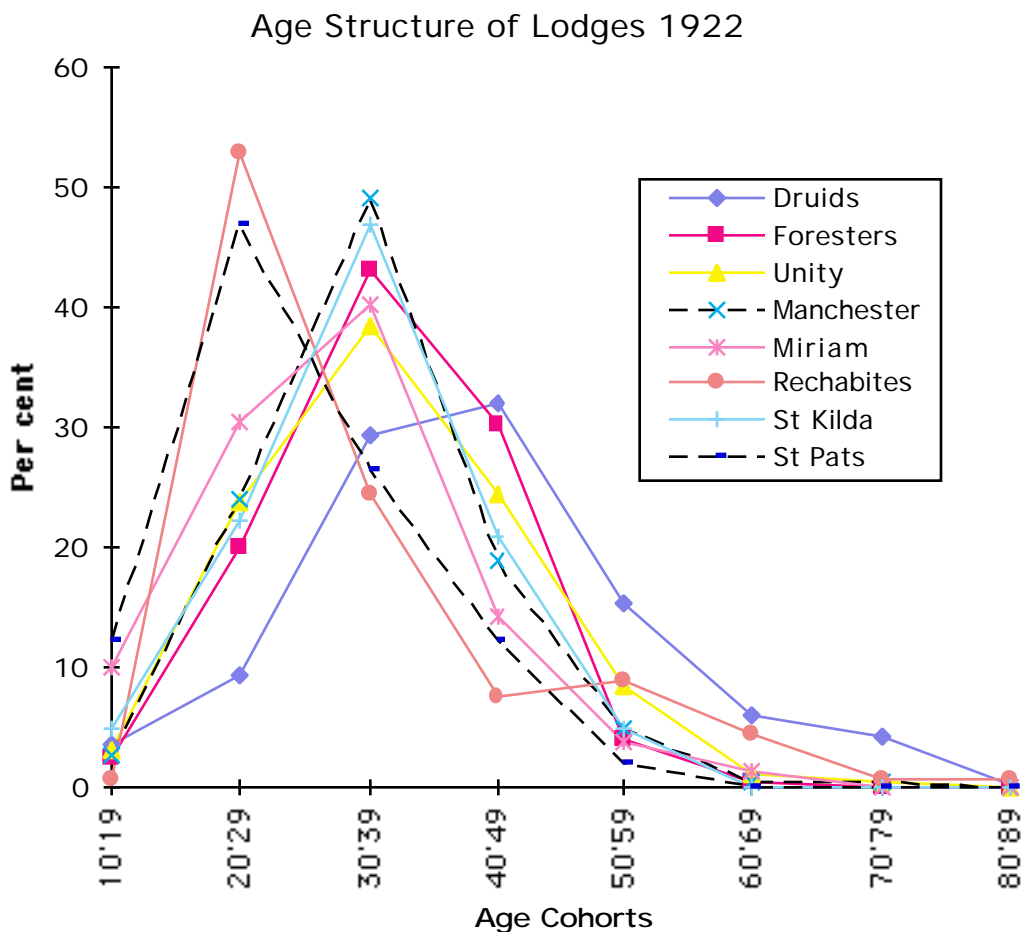
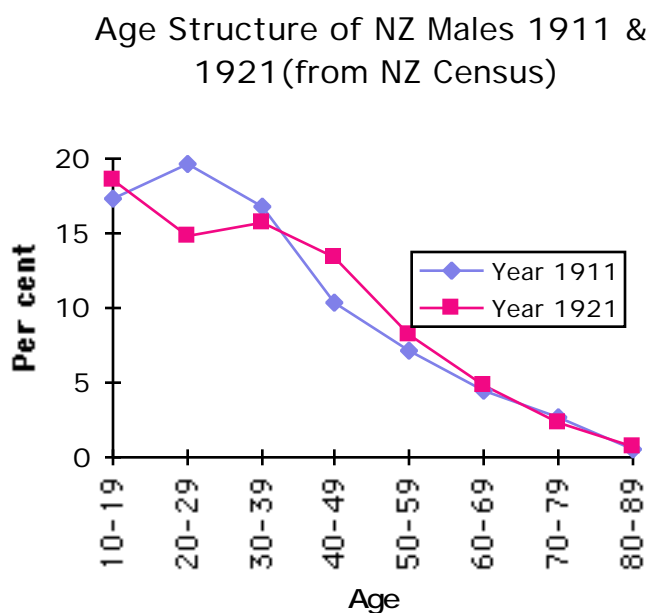


Figure 4: Age Structure of NZ Males.



For the time periods 1912 and 1922, the average age of all members was 31 and 36 years. Most lodges tended to have a younger membership which was skewed

by a decreasing number of older members. As indicated by the quartile range, most members fell between the ages of 24 and 42 years for both time periods.

Table 3: Age Quartiles 1912 & 1922

Quartiles	1912	1922
25th	24 years	29 years
75th	36 years	42 years
Av Age	31 years	36 years

Different lodges tended to have different age structures. For example, the Rechabites had a correspondingly younger membership than the other lodges, as the number of members aged between 10-19 years old was disproportionately larger than the other lodges for 1912. The newly formed St Kilda IOOF lodge also had a much narrower range of members, with most in the 20-29 year age cohort for the year 1912. It is interesting to note that the lodges with the youngest memberships were relative latecomers to Caversham and South Dunedin.<sup>11</sup> They were also the smallest. By 1922 there is a greater range of ages across all lodges, although the Rechabites and St Patrick's retained a younger membership in comparison. The popularity of the Druids for older members is evidenced by the greater proportions of members aged 50 years or older in this lodge. However, the age structure of the lodges tended to match the overall structure of Caversham in 1901 and New Zealand males in 1921 (see Figures 2 & 4). The age structure impacted on the nature of the friendly societies in New Zealand. One historian concludes that the lack of aged members 'severely limited the relevance of friendly societies to the risks and experiences of later life'.<sup>12</sup> As shown by the table below, members aged fifty years or over significantly decreased from the membership of all lodges from 1902.

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<sup>11</sup> The Star of the South Tent, Independent Order of Rechabites was instituted in 1911, the Hibernians (St Patrick's) in 1914 and St Kilda, IOOF, in 1910.

Table 4: The Age Structure of all Lodges 1902, 1912 &amp; 1922

Year Age Cohort	1902		1912		1922	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
10-19	20	6.12	73	7.61	85	9.34
20-29	167	51.07	555	57.87	455	50.00
30-39	85	25.99	252	26.28	257	28.24
40-49	32	9.79	70	7.30	86	9.45
50-59	21	6.42	8	0.83	20	2.20
60-69	2	0.61	1	0.10	5	0.55
70-79	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.11
80+	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.11
Total	327	100.00	959	100.00	910	100.00

Note: This table was calculated from those member for which we had clear dates of birth and admission by using the following formula, year (1902,1912, 1922)-doayear+age.

The marital structure of the friendly societies in Caversham and South Dunedin is of some interest. As shown by the table below, single men and women dominated the lodges as a whole but there was significant variation between lodges.

Table 5: Marital Structure of all Lodges (Men and Women)

Marital	Total	Per cent	Code	Explanation
D	1	0.04%	D	Divorced
M	1022	38.28%	M	Married
S	1329	49.78%	S	Single
U	299	11.20%	U	Unknown
W	19	0.71%	W	Widow
Grand Total	2670	100%		

Table 6: Marital Structure by Lodge

Lodge	Druids	Foresters	Unity	Manchester	Miriam	Rechabites	St Kilda	St Pat's
Martial								
D	0	0	0.10%	0	0	0	0	0
M	29.75%	23.64%	61.77%	33.33%	6.87%	26.54%	52.21%	22.81%
S	53.00%	70.54%	35.10%	66.67%	46.92%	72.84%	41.91%	75.44%
W	0	0	1.56%	0	0.24%	0	2.21%	0
U	17.25%	5.81%	1.46%	0	45.97%	0.62%	3.68%	1.75%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Married men were a feature of Unity and St Kilda IOOF. One explanation for this may be the fact that the Odd Fellows organised a parallel lodge structure for women. A brief investigation into marriage linkages between the Unity and St Kilda lodges with



Miriam Rebekah does indicate that married couples belonged to the IOOF. But until further work is done on the marriage linkages, we can only speculate. The fact that the majority of women from Miriam Rebekah are of unknown marital status compounds the problem.

#### IV.

Analysis of the persistence of the lodge's membership, the reasons for members leaving and their age of departure, provide further information on the nature of the friendly societies in Caversham and South Dunedin. The admissions for each friendly society, whether by initiation, clearance or transfer allow us some insight into the recruitment patterns for each lodge. In his brief study of colonial thrift in New Zealand, David Thomson, a welfare historian, has speculated that

few men belonged to a society for any length of time. The Registrar estimated that ten to fifteen per cent of members dropped out ever year. Most of these were young men who drifted in and out within a year or two. This was great for the finances - young men paid contributions and left before claiming any benefits.<sup>13</sup>

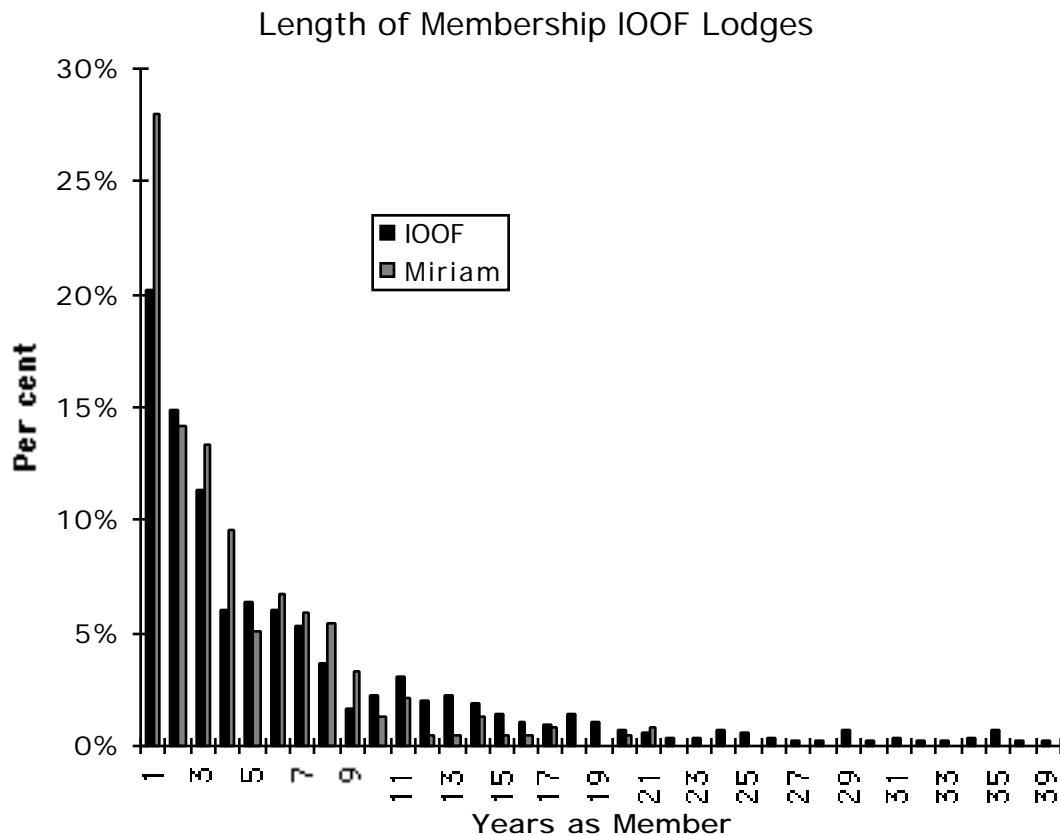
We can test this assumption by analysing the number of members who left and arrived into each branch, their length of membership and the reason recorded by the lodges for their departure. In this section, our analysis has been confined to the Unity and Miriam Rebekah lodges as these were the only lodges for which we obtained exit dates and explanations for departure. We have data for all lodges relating to admissions.

From our analysis of the departure dates of those who left Unity and Miriam Rebekah lodges we can establish that average length an individual belonged to a lodge was 6 years for men and 4 years for women, and that the average age of departure was 32 years for men and 25 years for women. This compares with Olssen's earlier tentative findings. In an earlier analysis of Miriam Rebecca Lodge, he found that most women joined as teenagers when entering their first paid job. Most married women retained their membership but single women resigned or soon fell into arrears within five years of admission. He suggests that "It may be not be entirely coincidental that the exits occurred at about the age when, given the national average, they might be expected to marry." Financially prudent young women may have who joined friendly societies to find financially prudent young men.<sup>14</sup>

Figure 5: Length of Membership

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<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 9.



The figures for the IOOF lodges tend to confirm the Registrar's claim that there was high turnover of the male membership. Our findings show the turnover for women in the Miriam Rebekah lodge, at least, was higher than men's. Nearly 30 per cent of Miriam Rebekah left after one year as compared to just over 20 per cent for men. Women were more likely than men to leave their lodge in the first nine years of their membership. Marriage may well be an explanation, but without further detailed research, we can only speculate.

The most probable reason for leaving, however, was the inability to pay. We have exit details for the Unity and Miriam Rebekah IOOF lodges which has been coded into nine different groups. These are as follows: (A) arrears; (C) clearance; (CO) crossed out, ie. name crossed out in the membership folio and presumed left; (D) died; (DS) discharged soldier, (KIA) killed in action, (NPD) non payment of dues; (R) resigned membership; (T) transferred membership to another lodge.

Table 7: Reasons for Leaving IOOF

Lodge	Unity	Miriam
Reason	Total	Total
A	43.72%	62.58%
C	5.66%	1.53%
CO	1.24%	4.29%
D	8.50%	1.23%
DS	0.35%	0.00%
KIA	0.88%	0.00%
NPD	21.95%	4.29%
R	4.42%	22.39%
T	13.27%	3.68%
Grand Total	100%	100%

Most members left the Unity and Miriam Rebekah lodges because they were unable to meet their arrears to the lodge. These members were expelled as were those who did not pay their dues. It was apparent from the membership folios for the IOOF that the lodges reappraised the membership of each member every quarterly or half-yearly period. Those in arrears or in default on dues were expelled. Women were more likely than men to be expelled for arrears and this no doubt reflects their marginal employment status and limited opportunity.

While a number of women were expelled for arrears, a significant number (22 per cent) also resigned from Miriam Rebekah. We have no explanation for this, but marriage and inability to pay seem plausible reasons. Death featured as a reason for leaving Unity Lodge (8.5 per cent). Males in the Unity Lodge seem to be reasonably transient and if we combine the clearance and transfer numbers, 18.9 per cent of those who left took their membership to another lodge. The relatively high turnover of the membership of the two lodges may well be an explanation for the prevalence and popularity of lodges in Caversham and South Dunedin. The absence of growing numbers of older men, in our time period at least, meant that young men would not 'shy away from joining a society loaded with needy old men'.<sup>15</sup>The implication being, friendly societies and lodges were able to keep contributions low and attract members in the hope that true costs would not be felt for some years to come.

The mode of admission allows us to make some generalisations about the recruitment patterns of Caversham and South Dunedin friendly societies. Most members joined by the process of initiation, although the percentage of these members varied from lodge to lodge and from society to society.

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Table 8: Admissions across all Societies and Lodges

Count of Admission		
Admission	Total	% of Total
Clearance	260	9.74%
Initiation	2259	84.61%
Juvenile	1	0.04%
Readmission	38	1.42%
Transfer	22	0.82%
Unknown	90	3.37%
Grand Total	2670	100%

Table 9: Admissions by Individual Lodge

Admission	Druids	Foresters	Unity	Manchest	Miriam	Rechabites	St Kilda	St Patrick
C	7%	4%	11%	13%	5%	21%	18%	12%
I	77%	91%	86%	84%	91%	77%	80%	86%
J	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
R	0%	1%	2%	4%	1%	1%	0%	0%
T	0%	0%	2%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%
U	17%	4%	0%	0%	1%	1%	2%	2%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

A number of the friendly societies contained within their membership those whose experience of friendly societies had begun within other lodges of a particular society. The number of members admitted by clearance suggests that the membership of any given lodge or society was mobile, if only across town, and that local lodges placed few obstacles in the way of membership transfers. Membership rights could be transferred to other branches within a particular friendly society. 'The member's old branch issued him [or her] with a clearance certificate which he [or she] "threw in" into the new branch.' The clearance system operated on an international basis and migrants soon found themselves amongst fraternal brothers and sisters.<sup>16</sup> We do not know whether those joining Caversham and South Dunedin's friendly societies were intra- or intercity migrants. But we do know that migrating members were important in the membership of most of the local friendly societies and that members on clearance made up more than 10 per cent of the membership of five out of the seven local lodges. For example, Clearance members provided 22 per cent of the total membership of the Rechabites. It does seem likely that a number of members on clearance were locals. The number of clearance members in the St Kilda IOOF lodge may well be explained in terms of the rapid expansion of the suburb of St Kilda and the desire of new settlers to belong to a more convenient lodge.

As we have just seen, the majority of a particular society's membership was initiated members. What attracted such people to join friendly societies - was it because

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<sup>16</sup> *Journal of the History of Freemasonry*, 1977, 1, 1-2.

of real or perceived benefits or was it the attraction of a fraternal brother/sisterhood? From the data we have gathered it is evident that nearly all the members of the local friendly societies were benefit members. That is, they joined a society or lodge for the mutual aid function of a society and to pay regular welfare benefits to one another in times of need.<sup>17</sup> Fraternalism and conviviality were added attractions, although by our period most lodges had toned down their conviviality. All the friendly societies under this study instituted non-benefit sections for Honorary membership, whereby members could enrol for medical benefits alone.<sup>18</sup> The numbers applying for admission for honorary membership are so small that they do not warrant detailed analysis (less than one per cent of the total friendly society membership). Two exceptions are worth noting however. The small Catholic lodge of St Patricks admitted Priests as honorary members and Miriam Rebekah had several men on its books (who were also members of the male IOOF lodges) as honorary members.

Although Thomson points out that the New Zealand societies offered few benefits and that the membership was constantly changing, this was not unique to New Zealand, nor it did it diminish the appeal of lodges to the men and women of Caversham and South Dunedin. The 1876 Victorian Royal Commission found that during the previous ten years Manchester Unity in Victoria had accepted 2724 clearances whilst 2517 members had left by clearance.<sup>19</sup> This suggests that each lodge probably had a stable core of membership from which the leadership was drawn. The high turnover of members through clearance and attrition through payment defaulters ensured that the membership of Caversham's and South Dunedin's lodges remained young and there were few drains upon lodge funds from the aged. Despite the Registrar of Friendly Societies constant call for financial restraint and his dire warning about the ability of some lodges to pay out, the attraction of mutual welfare remained strong in Caversham and South Dunedin.

## V.

The social composition of the friendly societies is of most interest to us as it allows us to compare the social structures of Caversham to the institutions within the suburb and neighbouring South Dunedin. Several questions beg to be asked: does the social make up of friendly societies reflect Caversham as a whole, and what implication does this have for social mixing and notions of equality and liberty?

We have derived the social class of individual members from their occupations

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<sup>17</sup>David Thomson, 'Colonial Thrift', p. 8.

<sup>18</sup>E. Olssen, 'Friendly Societies in New Zealand', p. 188.

and classified these according to standard categories used by the Caversham Project. The categories used are as follows: (1) large employers and higher managerial; (2) professionals; (3) semi-professionals, (4) small employers and the self employed, sometimes referred to as petty proprietors; (5) officials and supervisory; (6) 'white collar'; (7) skilled; (8) semi-skilled; and (9) unskilled. Two further categories were also used: (10) retired; and (99) no occupational data. Unlike the Caversham Project which has based its occupational coding on descriptions given in the electoral rolls, and which excludes women after 1905, we have been able to code women's occupations on the basis of descriptions recorded in the returns to the Registrar of Friendly Societies. **Appendix A** lists the relative size of each occupational group by friendly society and lodge. **Appendix B** lists the specific occupations which constitute each occupational group.

Table 10: The Occupational Composition of Caversham and South Dunedin Lodges, 1894 -1930, at age of joining.

Occgroup	Total
1	0.3%
2	2.4%
3	1.0%
4	6.1%
5	2.9%
6	13.7%
7	32.0%
8	8.1%
9	24.2%
10	0.0%
99	9.3%
Grand Total	100.00%

The occupational and social structure of the Caversham and South Dunedin lodges was dominated by the manual classes which made up 64.3 per cent of the total lodge membership. Of the manual classes the skilled were most prevalent (32 per cent), followed by the unskilled (24.2 per cent). 'White-collar' employees were the next most numerous group. Many of these 'white-collar' workers originated from the manual classes and seem to have shared with skilled a belief in mutual aid.<sup>20</sup> The occupational structure of the friendly societies was not unique to the lodges themselves and roughly mirrors the occupational structure for Caversham men.<sup>21</sup> The only point of divergence is that large employers and higher managerial and professionals were under-represented.

<sup>20</sup>E. Olssen, 'Friendly Societies in New Zealand', 1840-1900', p. 199.

<sup>21</sup>Because the Caversham database relies on Electoral Roll records which exclude women after 1905,

Table 11: Occupational Structure of Caversham Males 1902-1922.  
Taken from Electoral Rolls.

	Year					
Occ Group	1902	1905	1911	1914	1919	1922
1	3.56%	4.03%	3.13%	3.48%	4.11%	3.21%
2	3.70%	3.50%	4.72%	4.97%	5.79%	4.36%
3	1.75%	1.92%	1.64%	2.00%	2.23%	1.96%
4	11.80%	11.16%	10.97%	9.88%	7.78%	8.52%
5	2.65%	2.97%	3.44%	3.69%	4.06%	3.78%
6	14.94%	14.66%	13.67%	13.77%	13.87%	14.70%
7	32.19%	30.45%	28.35%	28.11%	28.43%	29.50%
8	5.66%	6.80%	6.15%	7.53%	7.78%	6.32%
9	23.60%	24.04%	25.49%	23.91%	23.03%	22.32%
10	0.14%	0.46%	2.01%	2.36%	2.58%	4.93%
11	0.00%	0.00%	0.42%	0.26%	0.35%	0.38%
99	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.05%	0.00%	0.00%

There are variations in the social structure and occupational class between the friendly societies and lodges. Large employers and higher managerial occupational groups were largely absent from the friendly societies under this study. The most in any given lodge was three each in St Kilda IOOF and Manchester Unity MUIOOF. All lodges contained a relatively even scattering of professionals except for St Patrick's, which was conspicuous for the absence of the higher managerial and professional occupations. Semi-professionals made up the smallest occupational group within the structure of all lodges, although this is reflected in the occupational composition of Caversham as a whole. One exception is St Patrick's where semi-professionals constituted a disproportionate percentage of the membership (8.77 per cent). Both St Patricks, the smallest lodge, and Unity IOOF, the largest of the lodge's, had five professionals each within their membership.

The self employed and petty proprietors tended to prefer different lodges. Unity with 88 was the largest. For some reason few petty proprietors joined the Foresters and this lodge could only claim five such members. Likewise, officials also preferred to belong to a select few lodges in any numbers. Unity, again, could lay claim to most officials with 52 such members and St Patricks had none. Because the number of officials within each lodge is so small (an average of 2.9 per cent or 1-9 members, excluding Unity) we cannot generalise with any confidence. Most lodges also had an even spread of 'white collar' members relative to their size with the exception of the smaller lodges of St Kilda IOOF and St Patricks. White collar workers made up 26.4 per cent and 21 per cent of the membership of St Kilda and St Patrick's lodges. The number of white collar workers belonging to the St Kilda lodge may be explained by these workers moving

into the newly expanding suburb of St Kilda.

As explained earlier, the manual classes - the skilled, semi- and the unskilled - made up the substantial majority of the membership of Caversham and South Dunedin's friendly societies. The percentage of the skilled is fairly even across most of the lodges as a proportion of the total membership except for the Foresters and Manchester Unity, where the skilled constituted 41 per cent of each society. Semi-skilled workers are also evenly spread across the lodges constituting five to ten per cent of the membership. As expected, semi-skilled women make a high percentage (10.19 per cent) of Miriam Rebekah, reflecting the relative importance of semiskilled work for women. Unskilled workers made up the second largest occupational group across all the friendly societies and lodges except for St Kilda IOOF. The percentage of the unskilled varied from 16 percent (St Kilda) to 33.3 per cent, or a third of the Foresters' membership. We will discuss the various occupations which made up each occupational class and category in some detail in the next section.

Under and Over representation tables are a useful way of comparing the occupational structure of the friendly societies with the occupational structure of Caversham as a whole. The numbers of each occupational class for Caversham were averaged across 1902-1922. In terms of measuring over or under representation, a value of one or higher denotes over representation, while zero or less denotes under representation. The tables below provide an index of over or under representation. Table 12 shows that white collared, skilled, semi- and unskilled occupational classes were over represented in the membership of the friendly societies.



Table 12: The Occupational Structure of all Friendly Societies (1894-1930) compared to Caversham (1902-1922) - An Index of Under/Over Representation.

Occ Group	Index
1	0.10
2	0.55
3	0.58
4	0.66
5	0.90
6	1.03
7	1.17
8	1.28
9	1.10

Table 13: Occupational Structure by Friendly Societies (1894-1930) compared to Caversham (1902-1922) - An Index of Under/Over Representation.

Lodge	Druids	Foresters	Unity	Manchester	Miriam	Rechabites	St Kilda	St Pats
1	0.07	0.00	0.06	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.60	0.00
2	0.64	0.66	0.58	0.46	0.05	0.52	0.94	0.00
3	0.00	0.39	0.53	0.55	0.60	0.93	0.00	4.43
4	0.45	0.19	0.91	0.65	0.30	0.36	0.80	0.52
5	0.63	0.22	1.51	0.92	0.07	0.34	0.61	0.00
6	0.65	0.77	0.93	1.10	0.76	1.26	1.81	1.44
7	1.00	1.38	0.98	1.38	0.87	1.16	1.07	0.99
8	0.83	0.78	1.31	1.00	1.47	1.42	0.85	1.27
9	1.12	1.37	0.96	0.86	0.88	1.09	0.67	1.08

If we compare each individual friendly society to Caversham it soon becomes clear that a number of occupational classes are over represented in the lodges' membership. White collar occupational groups are over represented in Manchester Unity, the Rechabites, St Kilda and St Patricks. On the other hand, the unskilled are over represented in the Druids, Foresters, the Rechabites and St Patricks. Surprisingly, officials are over represented in the membership of Unity IOOF. Most of the lodges and societies contain an over representation of skilled workers expect for Unity and Miriam Rebekah IOOF.

There are a number of explanations for the nature of the occupational structure of the friendly societies. As we have seen, all the societies were dominated by the manual classes. This should not surprise us, because as Olssen has pointed out, the skilled dominated Caversham's occupational structure and large numbers of unskilled and semi-skilled workers were prominent in the occupational structure of South Dunedin.<sup>22</sup> Minimum wage barriers and limits on age of admission, common in British friendly



main occupations which made up each occupational group, their numeric count and their percent of the total of the occupational group.

Table 14: Prominent Occupations within each Occupational Group.

Occgroup	Occ Spec	Number	% of Occgroup
1			
	Merchant	3	33.33%
2			
	Engineer (unsp)	38	60.32%
	Accountant	4	6.35%
	Solicitor	4	6.35%
	Electrical Eng	4	6.35%
	Dentist	4	6.35%
3			
	Teacher	10	35.71%
	Photographer	4	14.29%
4			
	Butcher	10	6.17%
	Farmer	17	10.49%
	Grocer	13	8.02%
5			
	Tram Conducto	36	46.15%
	Artilleryman	9	11.54%
	Conductor	16	20.51%
6			
	Clerk	98	26.78%
	Typist	21	5.74%
	Grocers Assist	41	11.20%
	Storeman	31	8.47%
7			
	Bootmaker	45	5.26%
	Butcher	28	3.27%
	Carpenter	92	10.76%
	Fitter	34	3.98%
	Painter	43	5.03%
	Blacksmith	46	5.38%
	Tailoress	76	8.89%
	Dressmaker	32	3.74%
8			
	Machinist	69	32.09%
	Moulder	16	7.44%
	Fireman	41	19.07%
	Striker	16	7.44%
9			
	Labourer	285	44.12%
	Domestic Dutie	84	13.00%
	Carter	70	10.84%

Within each occupational group there was usually one dominant occupation except for petty proprietors and the skilled. Merchants dominated the small number of large employers; engineers and teachers the professional and semi-professionals; conductors dominated the officials, and clerks the habits called occupational occupations.

while machinists and labourers provided the bulk of the semi-skilled and unskilled occupational groupings. The diversity and range of occupations which made up the skilled and the petty proprietors is indicated by lack of a single dominant trade or occupation. Amongst the petty proprietors farmers constituted the majority of this group with 10 per cent and carpenters with 10 percent for the skilled. As we can see from the tables in **Appendix B** there are 65 separate occupations included for petty proprietors and 105 separate occupations for the skilled. The overall occupational structure of the lodges was not unique and reflects almost exactly the percentage of occupations which made up each occupational grouping from the Caversham Electoral Roll database. This would tend to suggest that the social composition and, indeed, the structure of the friendly societies themselves, mirrored the wider suburb.

Between the different lodges, however, there was considerable occupational diversity which suggests that work place recruitment may well have been an important means of maintaining membership for some lodges. As evidenced in the table below, clerks, carpenters, carters and labourers provided the main occupational pools for each of the male dominated lodges. Women employed in the clothing and bespoke trades provided the bulk of the specific occupations within Miriam Rebekah, although we should note that we did not have a occupation for one quarter of this lodge's membership.

**Table 15: Individual Occupations >10 by Friendly Society and Lodge**

Lodge	Occupation	Number	% of Lodge
Druids	Engineer (unspec)	11	2.75
	Clerk	10	2.5
	Carpenter	14	3.5
	Plumber(Jym)	13	3.25
	Labourer	59	14.75
	Carters	19	4.75

Foresters	Carpenter	18	6.79
	Labourer	59	22.80

Unity	Clerk	35	3.65
IOOF	Carpenter	36	3.75
	Blacksmith (jym)	19	1.98
	Fireman	34	3.54
	Tram Conductor	23	2.40
	Labourer	119	12.40
	Carter	27	2.81
	Engineer (unspec)	14	1.46
	Grocers Assistant	20	2.08
	Storeman	15	1.56
	Railway Employee	14	1.46
	Painter (jym)	19	1.98
	Farmer	12	1.25
	Grocer	10	1.04
	Salesman	11	1.15
	Boilermaker	10	1.04
	Bootmaker (jym)	19	1.98
	Fitter	15	1.56
	Joiner	10	1.04
	Plumber (jym)	13	1.35
	Motorman	16	1.67
	Conductor	14	1.46

Manchester	Clerk	12	4.38
Unity	Bootmaker (jym)	10	3.65
	Carpenter	12	4.38
	Fitter	12	4.38
	Labourer	24	8.76
	Carter	12	4.38

Miriam	Saleswomen	15	3.55
	Typist	16	3.79
	Machinist	41	9.72
	Tailoress	66	15.64
	Domestic Duties	69	16.35
	Dressmaker (not tra	26	6.16

Rechabites	Clerk	10	6.13
	Tailoress	10	6.13
	Labourer	12	7.36
	Domestic Duties	13	7.98

Table 16: Individual Occupations &gt; 5 by Lodge

St Kilda	Clerk	15	11.03
	Carpenter	9	6.62
	Railway Employee	5	3.68
	Labourer	6	4.41
	Painter (jym)	5	3.68
St Pats	Carter	4	7.02
	Labourer	6	10.53
	Clerk	6	10.53

Labourers, unlike miners in the Australian friendly societies, were the biggest occupational group across all the friendly societies and lodges (except for Miriam Rebekah) providing 285 members for the various lodges or 12.6 per cent of the male dominated lodges (excluding Miriam Rebekah). Until further work is done on linking friendly society records to the list of railway employees we can only speculate on how many railway employees joined friendly societies. However, it does seem likely that significant numbers of railway employees joined friendly societies. A large percentage of fitters, blacksmiths, engineers, boilermakers, clerks, and all the conductors and firemen which were the feature of some lodges were employed by the Hillside railway workshops. There is also anecdotal evidence that railway employees preferred to join the IOOF.<sup>28</sup>

Another important group within the friendly societies were 'white collar' workers, particularly clerks and clerical workers, including typists with Miriam Rebekah. It is not surprising to find an increasing number of white collar workers in the friendly societies within our time period. White collar work rapidly expanded across our period (c1900-1920) and while these workers may have eschewed unionism they were not adverse to joining friendly societies. The fact that many clerical workers lived in a predominantly working-class community meant they probably absorbed and shared with the manual classes, albeit in a less radical form, the idea of brother/sisterhood, fraternalism and mutual aid.<sup>29</sup>

## VII.

This working paper has raised a number of interesting points relating to the friendly

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<sup>28</sup> Unity had amongst its membership a number of fitters, boilermakers, blacksmiths, engineers, and a large number of labourers who most likely worked at Hillside. There was also a number of firemen, conductors and men describing themselves as 'railway employees' who belonged to Unity and St Kilda IOOF. The present Grand Secretary of the IOOF, Mr W. Leith, recalls that Hillside and other railway employees featured among the membership of the IOOF.

societies in Caversham and South Dunedin. We have found that the gender make-up of most lodges was predominantly male (except for Miriam Rebekah). Most lodges as a whole tended to attract younger single people although there was some variation between the different societies and lodges. The majority of members joined a lodge as initiates or took their clearance to another lodge for the purpose of benefits and mutual aid. Few joined as honorary members. We also found from the case study of two lodges that the membership was likely to be transient and that most would have had a constant turnover of members. Members tended to leave because of inability to maintain the dues set by each lodge. We also found that the social structure of the friendly societies matched the wider social structure of Caversham, although different lodges appealed to different classes and occupational types. Overall, we found that like Australian and British friendly societies, the Caversham and South Dunedin societies were dominated by the manual classes in terms of membership. From our work so far we have been unable to make any generalisations about ethnicity from the friendly society records, but we have now incorporated some useful information on age to the main database.

Shawn Ryan

25 July 1997.

**Attached are Appendices A and B**

**A - Occupational Group by Lodge/Society**

**B - Composition of Each Occupational Group**

Also attached is the research assistant's reports on the Friendly Societies and an update on other lodges which have since been added to the database.