

Caversham Working Paper, 1997-2
Intention to Marry Certificates
Preliminary Analysis 1893-1912

S. Ryan

The aim of this paper is to present a preliminary analysis of the dataset derived Intention to Marry Certificates 1893-1912. These certificates are held by the Births, Deaths and Marriages section of the Department of Courts. The certificates are simple in that they are essentially declarations of a couple's intentions. When a couple decided to get married they were required by law to file their intention with the Department of Courts; these are stored in folios. For the most part these records include both the names of the bride and groom and the groom's occupation. Most women's occupations went unrecorded. Information is also recorded on where the couple intended to marry; their age and conjugal status prior to marriage; their usual and present address and the length of time spent at that location. A minimum of three days residence was required to marry in any given place.

Unfortunately the Department of Courts has not been consistent in recording information and changed its classification of place of residence in 1913. Our intention was to gather information on all individuals who listed Caversham, South Dunedin or St Kilda as their usual or present place of residence. This we have managed to do on a consistent basis until 1913. After 1913 the Department of Courts began to classify all marriages that took place within Dunedin and boundaries simply as Dunedin.¹ The records that we obtained have been coded according to the standard coding classifications used by the Caversham Project. Residential location and occupation were coded to allow for analysis.

The data from the intention to marry certificates will be useful in extending the Electoral Roll database. We will be able to check previous assumptions we have in terms of who is married to whom; we will also be able to incorporate information on age. By using the small number of women's occupations recorded on the certificates we will be able to extend our knowledge of women's occupations by incorporating them to the larger database. So far we have been able to link 31.6 per cent of all brides and grooms to the main data base.

¹ This is a simplification of the actual classification system used by the Department of Courts.

Table 1: Brides and Grooms linked to Electoral Roll database

	<i>Number</i>	<i>% Linked</i>
Groom	468	17.5
Bride	376	14.1
Total	844	31.6

This brief paper will analyse the data from the Intention to Marry certificates in terms of demographics, geographic location in terms of residence, where the ceremony was proposed to be held, social class and occupation of those marrying. We have decided to operate on the premise that the act of filing an intention to marry certificate actually resulted in marriage and what information that we have has failed to suggest otherwise.

I.

To date we have 2668 couples on the database for the years 1893 until 1912. For most couples we have comprehensive data, except for women's occupations (we have occupations for 495 women, or 18 per cent, compared to 2659 men, 99 per cent).

Table 2: Numbers of Marriage for each year and Month of Marriage

Year of Marriage	Numbers
1893	48
1894	73
1895	76
1896	76
1897	80
1898	87
1899	104
1900	151
1901	155
1902	123
1903	156
1904	166
1905	147
1906	167
1907	167
1908	168
1909	191
1910	188
1911	200
1912	143
Unknown	2
Grand Total	2668

Month	Number	Per cent
Jan	164	6.1%
Feb	196	7.3%
Mar	258	9.7%
Apr	330	12.4%
May	174	6.5%
Jun	205	7.7%
Jul	188	7.0%
Aug	176	6.6%
Sep	202	7.6%
Oct	199	7.5%
Nov	201	7.5%
Dec	373	14.0%
Unknown	2	0
Total	2668	99.9%

Between 1893 and 1901 the number of people filing for marriage slowly increased. During this time the local population also slowly increased from 4690 persons in 1891 to 5266 in 1901. Population growth in the mid 1890s was very slow and the population only increased by 73 persons from 4690 to 4763 in 1896.² The small number of marriages in the 1890s may be explained in part by the Long Depression which lasted until 1896. Between the years 1885 and 1896 the rate of marriages in New Zealand actually fell.³ Our data shows that a peak was reached in the years 1909-1911 where between 188 and 200 intention to marriage forms were filed. This compares with the overall increase in the marriage rate across New Zealand for the years 1900-1912.⁴ The month of marriage was relatively evenly spread across the year. December was understandably a popular month with couples wanting a summer wedding, while the attraction of a long weekend at Easter may explain the popularity of April.

The majority of those who notified their intent to marry were, as expected, single men and women. Table 3 below outlines the status of brides and grooms before marriage. The percentage of single and divorced individuals are similar

² *Census of New Zealand, 1891, 1896, 1901.*

³ 'Graphs showing the rates of births, deaths and marriages in New Zealand, 1855-1912', *New Zealand Official Year Book*, Wellington, 1913, p.139.

between the sexes but it is evident from the sample we used that a larger number of widowers remarried. Remarriage was also evident amongst our sample with 200 Divorced and Widowed men (7.5%) remarrying as compared to 144 Divorced and Widowed women (5.4%). A total of 274 remarriages (or 10.2 per cent) involving one or both partners was recorded.

Table 3: Status at marriage

Status	Bride	%	Groom	%
Single	2522	94.5	2464	92.4
Divorced	23	0.9	10	0.4
Widowed	121	4.5	190	7.1
Unknown	2	0.1	4	0.1
Total	2668	100.0	2668	100.0

If we turn our attention to those first married we find that men tended to be older than their brides. This was reflected in trends evident from late last century where women married at a relatively young age. After 1900 it became evident that the average age of women at marriage was increasing, while a higher percentage of men were marrying and their average age at marriage was falling.⁵ Table 4 below outlines the average of age of first marriage of those living in the Flat 1893-1912. On average brides married at 24.9 years while men married at the average age of 27.5 years. The age distribution is of some interest to us because the average age of marriage on the Flat tended to be slightly younger than the New Zealand average. In 1911 the average age of marriage for all of New Zealand was 30.1 years for men and 26.48 years for women.⁶ The adjusted averages for men and women on the Flat for 1911 only reveals the average age of marriage was 24.7 years for women and 27.8 years for men.

Table 4: Distribution of Age at First Marriage

Distribution	Bride	Groom
Mean	24.9 years	27.5years
Mode	22 years	25 years
Median	24 years	26 years

Within our population of first marriages (2517 brides and 2462 grooms) there is some variation in the age cohorts of the bride and groom. As shown by Table 5 below, few men (1.0 per cent) in the 10-19 years old cohort married compared to 8.1 per cent of the brides. The youngest bride in the 10-19 years

⁵M. Gilson, 'The Changing New Zealand Family: A Demographic Analysis', in S. Houston (ed.), *Marriage and the Family in New Zealand*, Wellington, 1970, pp. 46-7.

old cohort was 15 years old while most in this cohort were aged 18 years on average (the mode was 19 years). On the other hand, the youngest groom was aged 17 years. In New Zealand females could, as in England, marry at the age of 12 years and men at 14 years, but from 1896 the age of consent was raised from 15 to 16 years.⁷ The oldest bride was aged 66 years while the oldest groom, aged 86 years, married a 42 year old woman.

Most marriages fell between the age cohorts of 10-39 years of age with 98.4 per cent of brides and 96.1 per cent of grooms falling within these cohorts. More grooms than brides were to be found in the age cohorts 40-59 years. This reflects either the relative older age of men at marriage, or the number of widowers remarrying. The pattern of couples marrying between the ages 10-39 years is reflective of what is happening in Dunedin and wider New Zealand as the Census for 1911 indicates that the majority of married men and women fell between the ages 21-35 years old.⁸ The age of marriage was probably similar across all churches although Karen Duder, in her study of Dunedin marriages between 1900 and 1930, found that couples marrying within the Presbyterian church tended to be slightly older than those married in the Catholic and Anglican Church or the Registry Office.⁹

Table 5: Age Cohorts 1893-1912

<i>Age Cohorts</i>	<i>Bride</i>	<i>Bride %</i>	<i>Groom</i>	<i>Groom %</i>
10-19	203	8.1	25	1.0
20-29	1973	78.4	1784	72.5
30-39	300	11.9	558	22.7
40-49	31	1.2	79	3.2
50-59	9	0.4	13	0.5
60-69	1	0.0	3	0.1
Total	2517	100	2462	100

Those who remarried are of some interest to us because they show different demographic characteristics. The average age of those remarrying which includes divorced and widowed, is 46.6 years for men and 38.8 years for women. When we separate out the divorced from the widowed the average age of remarriage changes again. Divorced men on the Flat remarried at the average age of 36.7 years and women 33.2 years, while widowed men remarried aged 47.1 years and widowed women were 39.8 years on average.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Census of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1911, 'Conjugal Condition - Numbers and Ages: Summary by Boroughs', p. 371, and 'Conjugal Condition - General Summary ...', p. 294.

⁹Karen Duder, 'Hegemony or Resistance? The women of the skilled working class and the

A total of 69 previously married couples remarried those who had been married themselves. As shown by Table 8 below 69 or 25.1 per cent of the 274 remarriages were between couples who had both married previously. The majority of remarriages between those who had previously been married were between widows/widowers and divorced women and men (57 out of the 274 remarriages, or 20 per cent).

Table 6: Age Distribution of all Remarriages

Distribution	Mean	Mode	Median
Groom Remarried	46.6 years	50 years	46 years
Bride Remarried	38.8 years	34 years	36 years

Table 7: Average Age of Remarriage (Divorced and Widowed)

Average Age of Remarriage	Groom	Bride
Divorced	36.7 years	33.2 years
Widowed	47.1 years	39.8 years

Table 8: Remarriage amongst those previously married

Marital Status	Number
Divorced - Divorced	1
Widow - Widow	11
Widow - Divorced	57
Total	69

As we have seen, the number of couples intending to marry steadily increased between the years 1893-1912. Caversham couples tended to marry younger than the New Zealand average but this seems to have little significance. The majority of couples were single at time of marriage but there is a number of divorced and widowed individuals who choose remarriage.

II.

Most men and women tended to choose partners from the same town and even the same suburb. As shown by Table 9 below, most brides and grooms resided in Dunedin or an area known as "The Flat" (Caversham, St Kilda, and South Dunedin). Table 9 needs to be read in conjunction with Table 10 which

outlines the period in which the bride and groom resided at a particular location before marriage. From the evidence it seems that men and women chose spouses from within a limited geographic area. One student suggests that future partners were chosen from within a relatively close area because of the distribution of population around the town. The implication being that most people choose a partner 'who is living within a distance that can easily be reached in an hour or two, at least once or twice a week for personal or financial reasons ... A person is much more likely to have more acquaintances in the immediate locality than the other side of the city and is therefore more likely to marry locally'. The further one moves from town, the smaller the population and hence a reduced likelihood of finding a partner. Transport links were also crucial in enabling couple to meet and carry out their courtship, thus geographic as well as social propinquity was an important factor in spouse selection.¹⁰

Table 9: Residence as Indicated on Intention to Marry Certificate

Location	Groom	%	Bride	%
Caversham	651	24.4	690	25.9
St Clair	26	1.0	35	1.3
St Kilda	293	11.0	287	10.8
Roslyn	48	1.8	57	2.1
Mornington	74	2.8	58	2.2
Dunedin	592	22.2	389	14.6
South Dunedin	809	30.3	957	35.9
Kensington	53	2.0	48	1.8
Nth East Valley	34	1.3	38	1.4
Total	2580	96.7	2559	95.9

Table 10. Length of Residence as Indicated on Intention to Marry Certificate

¹⁰Julian Kuzma, 'Geographic Propinquity and the tendency to Marry. A statistical project based on Intention to Marry Certificates from the Caversham Database, 1895-1910. History

Length of Residence	Bride	Per cent	Groom	Per Cent
1week	200	7.5	517	19.4
1week-1mth	111	4.2	71	2.7
1mth-1yr	307	11.5	308	11.5
1-5yrs	550	20.7	538	20.2
5-10yrs	300	11.3	279	10.5
10-15yrs	313	11.8	187	7.0
15-20yrs	171	6.4	138	5.2
20-25yrs	526	19.8	305	11.4
25 plus yrs	185	6.9	325	12.2
Total	2663	100	2668	100.0

Figure 1. Length of Residence 1893-1912



From the length of residence table and Figure 1 it is evident that brides were more likely to be resident on the Flat than their grooms. Some 19.4 per cent of grooms were resident for one less than one week which indicates that they travelled to the Flat to marry and were fulfilling the three-day residency requirement. It is also possible that they had lived on the Flat when they met their wives but had found work elsewhere. On the other hand, only 7.5 per cent of the brides were resident less than one week. Moreover, the figures are somewhat reversed when we compare brides who have been resident for 20-25 years (19.8 per cent) with grooms (11.4 per cent).

Those who remarried revealed similar patterns to those married for the first time. For example, 24.1 per cent of grooms who remarry are resident for less than one month compared to 11.7 per cent those marrying for the first time. Similarly, 28.1 per cent of brides who remarry are resident for one month or less compared to 22.1 per cent of brides marrying for the first time. The residential patterns of those remarried are also similar to those marrying for the first time. One exception is South Dunedin where more brides are to be found amongst those who remarried (40.8 per cent compared to 35.9 of those marrying for the first time). It is also apparent from Table 11 below that a larger number of brides and grooms moved into the Flat for the purpose of remarriage. The numbers of those remarried who were resident for one month or less are proportionately higher than those marrying for the first time.

Table 11: Residential Location of those who remarried

Location	Groom	%	Bride	%
Caversham	62	22.6	67	24.4
St Kilda	31	11.3	28	10.2
Dunedin	62	22.6	29	10.5
Sth Dunedin	93	33.9	112	40.8
Kensington	7	2.5	9	3.2
St Clair	6	2.1	6	2.1
Total	261	95	251	91.2

Table 12: Length of Residence for those who remarried

Length of Residence	Groom	%	Bride	%
Less 1 mnth	66	24.1	77	28.1
1 year	43	15.7	28	10.2
1 year plus	165	60.2	147	53.6
Total	274	100	274	100.0

All those who were marrying (and remarrying) with less than one month's residence (in many cases a week or less) are of some interest. Although the majority of these people gave their place of residence as either Caversham or South Dunedin, the age cohorts (see Tables 13 below) suggest that these are short-term arrivers who have probably moved in order to marry. The fact that the majority of those resident for less than one month are aged 20-29 years at marriage (which reflects the average age) tends to support this idea. Grooms were more likely to move into the Flat for purpose of marriage (623 grooms as resident for a month or less compared to 346 brides). This pattern tends to suggest that men were either marrying into the Flat with the intention of residence or brides are choosing to have the ceremony take place in their home area, close to their parents which was still a customary practice. Less than one per cent of those resident for less than a month were from places outside of Caversham.

Table 13: Location and Age Cohorts of those resident less than one month

Location	Number	%
Oamaru	1	0.3
Waitahuna	1	0.3
Caversham	105	30.3
St Clair	2	0.6
St Kilda	55	15.9
Roslyn	6	1.7
Mornington	6	1.7
Nth East Valley	1	0.3
Dunedin	33	9.5
Sth Dunedin	128	37.0
Abbotsford	3	0.9
Kensington	3	0.9
Evansdale	1	0.3
Vauxhall	1	0.3
Total	346	100.0

Age Cohorts	Bride	%	Groom	%
10-19	10	2.9	1	0.2
20-29	246	71.1	365	58.6
30-39	74	21.4	197	31.6
40-49	11	3.2	41	6.6
50-59	4	1.2	13	2.1
60-69	1	0.3	5	0.8
70-9	0	0.0	1	0.2
Totals	346	100	623	100

Location at the time of marriage has thrown up some interesting questions which will need further investigation. The majority of couples intending to marry gave Dunedin as their usual and present address and choose their partners from within a limited geographic area. It is apparent that a large number of both brides and grooms are only resident for a short time. From the analysis completed thus far it seems that a large number were already resident in Dunedin.

III.

Having looked at the demographic and residential information on the intention to marry certificates, we will now turn our attention to where couples chose to perform their wedding ceremony. A clear majority of couples, some 58.8 per cent, chose to perform their marriage ceremony in a location other than a church, while church weddings account for only 40.9 per cent of all weddings. Although the majority of weddings were conducted outside the church, a number were conducted within a semi-institutional setting with 4.6 per cent of weddings (122 couples) being held in the residence of a minister. For example, it seems that most Presbyterian marriages were conducted in the manse.¹¹ Of all marriages conducted outside the setting of a church, 1120 or 42 per cent of marriages were conducted within a private residence (described as 'House' on the tables). This is not surprising as a study of marriages amongst Caversham's

Methodists found that 43 per cent of marriages were conducted in a church, 3.8 per cent in a manse, and 49.1 per cent in a private residences.¹²

Table 14: Marriages conducted outside church setting

Location	Number	%
Registry	314	11.8
Manse	122	4.6
House	1120	42.0
Benevolent	1	0.0
Tearooms	3	0.1
Town Hall	1	0.0
Friendly Hall/ Town Hall	5	0.2
YMCA	1	0.0
School	2	0.1
City Hotel	1	0.0
Unknown	6	0.2
Total for above	1570	58.8
Total Marriages	2668	100

Table 15: Total marriages conducted at church

Church	Number	%
Anglican	310	11.6
Baptist	49	1.8
Catholic	255	9.6
Church of Christ	22	0.8
Congregational	28	1.0
Methodist	125	4.7
Jewish	1	0.0
Orthodox	1	0.0
Presbyterian	288	10.8
Salvation Army	12	0.4
Unknown	1	0.0
Total Church	1092	40.9
Total Marriages	2668	100

Table 16: Summary of Marriages celebrated within and outside the church

<i>Summary</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Marriages celebrated outside of Church	1570	58.8
Marriages celebrated within a Church	1092	40.9

A total of 1092 weddings, or 40.9 per cent of all weddings, were conducted in a church located in Dunedin (see Table 15 above). Of those

¹²see M. Wallis, 'Kew Primitive Methodist Church 1900-1914 and Caversham Methodist

marriages conducted within a Caversham church, St Peters Anglican celebrated the most with 193 marriages. Caversham Presbyterian celebrated 68 marriages. The small number of Presbyterian marriages can be explained by the numerous Presbyterian churches in Dunedin. St Patricks, located in South Dunedin, recorded 161 marriages. Many other couples chose to marry in churches in other Dunedin suburbs.

Overall, marriages performed in the Registry and in private residences account for 53.8 per cent of all marriages outside of a church and 53.7 of total marriages (church ceremonies inclusive). Of the 1092 marriages conducted within a church, Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Methodist ceremonies predominated.

IV.

Because the intention to marry certificates contain information on occupations, although mainly for men, we can make some analysis of the social and occupational composition of those who married. The occupational information also enables us to make some investigations into the social structure and composition of the churches if we take intention to conduct a marriage within a church as some indication of nominal adherence.

All individuals with a recorded occupation have been classified into a social and occupational class using standard Caversham classification categories. 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's occupations after 1905, we have been able to code women's occupations on the basis of descriptions recorded on the intention to marriage certificate.

<i>Occupational Class</i>	<i>Groom</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Bride</i>	<i>%</i>
1	45	1.69	0	0.0
2	166	6.22	0	0.0
3	66	2.47	40	1.5
4	403	15.10	9	0.3
5	69	2.59	3	0.1
6	370	13.87	49	1.8
7	778	29.16	261	9.8
8	211	7.91	78	2.9
9	548	20.54	55	2.1
10	1	0.04	0	0.0
16	1	0.04	0	0.0
99	10	0.37	2173	81.4

Table 18: Social Class of Caversham 1902-1914 (Per cent)

<i>Occupational Group</i>	<i>Year</i>			
	<i>1902</i>	<i>1905</i>	<i>1911</i>	<i>1914</i>
1	3.6	4.0	3.1	3.5
2	3.7	3.5	4.7	5.0
3	1.7	1.9	1.6	2.0
4	11.8	11.2	11.0	9.9
5	2.7	3.0	3.4	3.7
6	14.9	14.7	13.7	13.8
7	32.2	30.4	28.4	28.1
8	5.7	6.8	6.1	7.5
9	23.6	24.0	25.5	23.9
10	0.1	0.5	2.0	2.4
99	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1

Because the majority of women have no occupation recorded (81.4 per cent) our analysis will be confined to men. We can only compare grooms with the occupational structure of Caversham because the Caversham Table has been constructed from the Electoral Rolls.

If we compare the social class of those who declared their intention to marry to that of Caversham, and bearing in mind that we are comparing the wider Flat to Caversham, the following observations can be made. One measure of comparison is to analyse whether or not a particular group is over or under represented in comparison with a sample population. Here we have compared the occupational class of the intention to marriages with the average of the occupational structure of Caversham 1902-1914.

Table 19: Occupational Class of Grooms intending to marry compared to Caversham (1902-1914) - An Index of Under/Over Representation.

<i>Occ Class</i>	<i>Index</i>
1	0.5
2	1.5
3	1.4
4	1.4
5	0.8
6	1.0
7	1.0
8	1.2
9	0.8

Marriages in occupational classes 1 (higher managerial), 5 (officials) and 9 (unskilled) are under represented among those who declared their intention to marry. In terms of those in the higher managerial or official classes we may be able to speculate that these people were subject to upward mobility which took time. It may well be the case that people moved into these classes after marriage, and given the time need to reach a management position or to accumulate a substantial business, upward mobility after marriage was likely. There is no apparent reason why the unskilled are unrepresented, if anything, given the large numbers of unskilled men in South Dunedin, we may have expected them to be over-represented but wage differentials may have meant that a number of unskilled men delayed marriage until they had put enough to provide for a wife.¹³

Marriages from occupational classes 2 (professional), 3 (semi-professional), 4 (petty-proprietor), 6 (white-collar) 7, (skilled) and 8 (semi-skilled) are all over-represented when compared to Caversham. No one good explanation exists as to why these groups should be over-represented.

If we turn our attention the occupational analysis of marriages conducted within the churches, private homes and registry, a number of differences can be observed. Only those marriages conducted within Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic churches are included in this analysis of church weddings because of their size (marriages conducted at other churches were too small for analysis).

Table 20: Occupational Structure by Church (Anglican, Presbyterian & Catholic)

¹³Men were expected to provide the initial payment on the house, or the

Occ Class Church	Number		%		Number		%	
	Anglican		Presbyterian		Catholic			
1	9	2.9	5	1.8	2	0.8		
2	29	9.4	25	8.8	12	4.7		
3	12	3.9	4	1.4	6	2.4		
4	45	14.5	36	12.6	45	17.6		
5	7	2.3	9	3.2	9	3.5		
6	64	20.6	48	16.8	34	13.3		
7	83	26.8	81	28.4	55	21.6		
8	21	6.8	23	8.1	11	4.3		
9	39	12.6	53	18.6	80	31.4		
Total	309	99.7	284	99.6	254	99.6		

Table 21: Occupational Class of selected Church marriages compared to Caversham. An Index of Under/Over Representation

Occ Class	Index		
	Anglican	Presbyterian	Catholic
1	0.8	0.5	0.2
2	2.2	2.1	1.1
3	2.1	0.8	1.3
4	1.3	1.2	1.6
5	0.7	1.0	1.1
6	1.4	1.2	0.9
7	0.9	1.0	0.7
8	1.0	1.2	0.7
9	0.5	0.8	1.3

Table 22: Occupational Structure of Private Home and Registry Marriages

Location Occ Class	Number		%	
	House	Registry		
1	23	2	2.1	0.6
2	63	17	5.6	5.4
3	25	8	2.2	2.5
4	161	44	14.4	14.0
5	31	6	2.8	1.9
6	144	35	12.9	11.1
7	338	87	30.2	27.7
8	98	27	8.8	8.6
9	231	84	20.6	26.8
Total	1119	314	99.6	98.7

Table 23: Occupational Class of Marriages conducted at Home & Registry compared to Caversham. An Index of Under/Over Representation.

<i>Occ Class</i>	<i>Index</i>	
	<i>House</i>	<i>Registry</i>
1	0.6	0.2
2	1.3	1.3
3	1.2	1.4
4	1.3	1.3
5	0.9	0.6
6	0.9	0.8
7	1.0	0.9
8	1.3	1.3
9	0.9	1.1

There are a number of variations in the class structure of those who chose to marry in a church. If we direct our attention to Table 21 above it is apparent that professionals and petty-proprietors are over-represented in all church marriages. Semi-professionals were over represented in Anglican and Catholic marriages. Officials marrying in Presbyterian and Catholic churches are also over represented. Interestingly enough, professionals and semi-professionals marrying in the Anglican and Presbyterian churches contain twice the expected proportion (an index of 2 or more). White-collar workers were under represented in marriages performed within the Catholic church. The manual classes reveal some interesting patterns: the skilled are perfectly represented in Presbyterian church marriages as are semi-skilled Anglican church marriages (an index of exactly 1). As expected, unskilled marriages were over-represented in the Catholic church but under-represented in the Anglican and Presbyterian church.

Most marriages took place within a private residence, presumably one owned by family or friends. As shown by Table 23 above, most social classes are over-represented in those choosing to marry in a private residence. Those from the official and white-collar classes are under represented in marriages performed in private residences and this may be explained by the desire of these growing social classes to cement their claim to respectability by church marriage. Marriages in private residences by the higher managerial and unskilled social classes are also under represented.

Marriages celebrated at the Registry office showed similar trends to marriage within private residences except that the skilled were under represented and the unskilled were over represented compared to the numbers in Caversham. Duder's study of skilled working class women found that most Registry Office marriages from her 1900-1930 sample were amongst petty-proprietors, skilled and unskilled families. Our study tends to confirm her findings (see Table 23 above) although she does not provide an index of over/under

representation. Our findings have shown that there is some variation between social classes in where couples choose to marry.

V.

There is some variation in the age of marriage between different occupational classes. As shown by Table 24 below, those in occupational classes 1-3 (higher managerial & large employers, professional and semi-professionals) married at an older age than other occupational classes. The demands of professional training and the need to accumulate sufficient capital explain in part the higher average age of marriage for these classes. Overall, couples from the manual classes 7-9 (skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled) tended to marry at a younger age.

Table 24: Occupational Class and Average Age of Marriage

<i>OCC CLASS</i>	<i>Average Age</i>	
	<i>Groom</i>	<i>Bride</i>
1 - 3	30.0	29.2
4	28.9	28.7
5 - 6	27.0	25.0
7 - 9	26.9	24.6

Note: There are no higher managerial or large employers in the women's Occ Class 1-3 group.

Table 25: Average Age of Marriage by Occupations >10

<i>Occ Class</i>	<i>Occ Spec</i>	<i>Average Age</i>
3		
	Nurse	30.8
6		
	Clerk	26.1
	Saleswoman	24.5
7		
	Milliner	24.1
	Tailoress	25.0
	Dressmaker	25.5
8		
	Machinist	24.6
9		
	Waiter	22.5
	Factory Hand	22.0

Men:

Occ Class	Occ Spec	Average Age
2		
	Master Mariner	31.9
	Engineer (unspec)	27.7
	Elect Engineer	29.8
	Dentist	27.1
3		
	Teacher	28.8
4		
	Butcher	25.5
	Farmer	30.6
	Plumber	28.1
	Tailor	25.6
	ShopKeeper	31.1
	Coal Merchant	26.7
	Builder	30.3
	Grocer	25.1
5		
	Tram Conductor	24.9
	Artilleryman	26.7
6		
	Horse Trainer	27.7
	Clerk	26.5
	Salesperson	27.9
	Comm Traveller	27.2
	Telegraphist	28.3
	Drapers Assist	27.0
	Grocers Assist	25.3
	Storeman	26.2

Occ Class	Occ Spec	Average Age
7		
	Boilermaker	26.4
	Bootmaker	27.1
	Butcher	27.0
	Carpenter	26.5
	Compositor	26.7
	Engine Driver	27.3
	Joiner	25.0
	Plasterer	25.1
	Plumber	26.1
	Painter	26.2
	Tailor	28.6
	Cutter	27.1
	Carriage Painter	26.1
	Blacksmith	26.2
	Gardener	25.2
	Seaman	29.3
8		
	Iron Moulder	26.3
	Machinist	25.3
	Fireman	24.6
	Expressman	28.8
9		
	Labourer	27.9
	Miner	30.6
	Railway Empty	25.8
	Carter	26.8

Within women's occupations there some significant variation in the age of marriage. For example, nurses on average married at 30.8 years, while waiters and factory hands married aged 22 years on average. One explanation is that because nurses were expected to leave the profession on marriage they tended to work as long as they could. On the other hand, some women may have seen marriage as an escape from the drudgery of factory and service work. If we analyse the average of specific occupations within each occupational class we find that skilled women tended to marry at a younger age than skilled men (24.9 years for women and 26.6 years for men). The biggest difference between the sexes was in the unskilled occupations where women married on average at the age of 22 years, while men averaged 27.8 years.

The analysis of the age of marriage between different men's occupations revealed similar patterns. Professional men tended to marry at an older age than all other occupational groups and classes. Between the different occupations which made up each occupational class there is little variation in the age of marriage except for the following exceptions. Miners tended to marry at an older age than did others from the unskilled class. Amongst petty-proprietors there is

some variation between the age of marriage of the occupations, for example, builders married on average at 30.3 years while grocers and butchers married at the age of 25 years.

VI.

It is interesting to analyse the various occupations of grooms by church and by marriage at registry and in private residences. Brides have been excluded from this analysis because the majority of women have no occupation recorded. We have only considered those occupations which have 10 or more individuals belonging to one denomination, thus our analysis of the churches is limited to Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic.

Table 26: Individual Occupations >10 by Church Marriage

Anglican	Number	%
Farmer	10	3.2
Clerk	18	5.8
Carpenter	10	3.2
Storeman	11	3.5
Labourer	14	4.5

Catholic	Number	%
Farmer	12	4.7
Clerk	13	5.1
Labourer	39	15.3
Carter	16	6.3

Presbyterian	Number	%
Clerk	16	5.6
Carpenter	20	7.0
Labourer	22	7.7

The dominant occupations from those marriages performed within a church are farmers, clerks, carpenters and labourers. The most numerous group was labourers who made up some 15.3 per cent of all marriages conducted in a Catholic church.

Table 27: Individual Occupations >10 by Registry and Private Residence Marriage

Registry	Number	%
Farmer	10	3.2
Clerk	10	3.2
Carpenter	12	3.8
Labourer	54	17.2

House	Number	%
Accountant	14	1.3
Electrical Engineer	27	2.4
Butcher	11	1.0
Farmer	36	3.2
Blacksmith (04)	12	1.1
Clerk	37	3.3
Bootmaker	19	1.7
Butcher	14	1.3
Carpenter	66	5.9
Iron Moulder	12	1.1
Machinist	15	1.3
Painter	16	1.4
Blacksmith	13	1.2
Gardener	11	1.0
Fireman	20	1.8
Storeman	33	2.9
Labourer	117	10.5
Miner	14	1.3
Seaman	12	1.1
Carter	50	4.5

Labourers dominated marriages held in private residences and the registry office. Carpenters, clerks, carters and farmers were also predominant. Because so few women gave an occupation when filing their intention to marry we have not tabled their occupations. From those few women that did give an occupation, skilled and semi-skilled work dominated. Tailoresses, dressmakers and machinists were the main female occupations.

An analysis of marriage in terms of occupation and location/place reveals a number of interesting patterns (see Table 28 below). As expected, railway employees and firemen, who were probably also employed by the railways, were most numerous in Caversham and South Dunedin; suburbs handy to the Hillside workshops. Artillerymen predominated in St Kilda where the battery was located. Farmers, Carpenters, Clerks, Engineers, Carters predominated in Caversham, South and Central Dunedin, while labourers were the largest occupational group marrying in each location.

Table 28: Occupations >10 by Place

VI.

Our research thus far has thrown up a number of interesting patterns and will extend our main databases with the addition of information on age, place of marriage, residence and occupation for those individuals which we have been able to cross link. This brief paper has shown the number of marriages steadily increased and that the months of April and December were popular times of the year for marriage. We have also found that although most couples were single before marriage, a number of divorced and widowed individuals choose to remarry. The majority of couples resided on the Flat although there was variation in the length of residence between bride and groom, which suggests that individuals were moving into the area for the express purpose of marriage. Most people chose to marry in a private residence although a number still preferred a church wedding. Weddings in the manse and the registry office were also popular. Our study has revealed some class variations in terms of the overall population intending to marry and in terms of where they married. These variations are also present in the age of marriage between the different occupational groups and classes.