University of Wisconsin Library
Manuscript Theses

Unpublished theses submitted for the Master's and Doctor's degrees and deposited in the University of Wisconsin Library are open for inspection, but are to be used only with due regard to the rights of the authors. Bibliographical references may be noted, but passages may be copied only with the permission of the authors, and proper credit must be given in subsequent written or published work. Extensive copying or publication of the thesis in whole or in part requires also the consent of the Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin.

This thesis by James Donald Jarver
has been used by the following persons, whose signatures attest their acceptance of the above restrictions.

A Library which borrows this thesis for use by its patrons is expected to secure the signature of each user.

NAME AND ADDRESS

DATE

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE TRENDS IN WISCONSIN
1915-1945

By

JAMES DONALD TARVER
"

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

(RURAL SOCIOLOGY)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1 9 4 8

FOREWORD

This thesis is part of a research project in population sponsored by the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture and the Department of Rural Sociology of the University of Wisconsin. This project began in June, 1947, under the direction of Dr. George W. Hill, Professor of Rural Sociology. Mr. John C. Belcher was project supervisor in this program of research. Woodrow W. Scott and the writer were research assistants engaged in this study.

The author is indebted to many persons for valuable advice and assistance throughout the study. First, I wish to acknowledge the invaluable suggestions, advice, and criticisms given by Professor Hill during the entire research project. I am particularly indebted to Mr. John C. Belcher for his generous assistance during the early phases of this work. Acknowledgement for helpful suggestions and assistance is gladly given to: Harald A. Pedersen, Professor William H. Sewell, Miss Margaret L. Bright, Miss Esther Werblow, and Woodrow W. Scott. The author is grateful to Mrs. Marguerite Wiegand who has rendered invaluable aid in preparation of the charts and in typing. Mrs. Wiegand also read the entire thesis and made numerous suggestions.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation to my wife, Louise Tarver, for her assistance and encouragement in this study. She typed and proof read part of the material.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD	
TABLE OF CONTENTS	
LIST OF TABLES	
LIST OF FIGURES	
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. Marriage	5
B. Divorce	12
C. Problem and Scope of this Study	17
II. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH	33
A. Effects of Economic Conditions Upon Marriage and Divorce Rates	33
B. Differences Between Occupations in Age at Marriage	45
C. Comparisons between Farm and Urban Data on Mean Age of Brides and Grooms	64
D. Differences between Age of Bride and Age of Groom	71
E. Trend in Age at Marriage of Brides and Grooms	76
F. Differences in Age at Marriage as a Factor Affecting Divorce	83
G. Duration of Marriages that Result in Divorce	87
1. Comparison of the duration of marriage in the rural and urban population	88
2. Percentage of divorces that go to persons married less than ten years	90
3. Most frequent length of marriages that end in divorce	90
4. Percentage of divorces that involve persons married less than one year	91
5. Average duration of marriage for divorced couples	92
H. Proportion of Divorces which Involve Children	92
1. Percentage of childless divorces	93
2. Percentage of divorced families which involved one child	94
III. INTERPRETATION OF DATA	96

A. Effects of Economic Conditions Upon Marriage and Divorce Rates	96
B. Differences Between Occupations in Age at Marriage	118
1. Mean age of groom	119
2. Mean age of bride	127
C. Comparisons between Farm and Urban Data on Mean Age of Brides and Grooms	135
1. Mean age of groom	135
2. Mean age of bride	135
D. Differences between Age of Bride and of Groom	137
E. Trend in Age at Marriage of Brides and Grooms	144
1. Trends in age of groom	150
2. Trends in age of bride	155
F. Difference in Age at Marriage as a Factor Affecting Divorce	158
G. Duration of Marriages that Result in Divorce	169
1. Comparison of the duration of marriage in the rural and urban populations	169
2. Percentage of divorces that go to persons married less than ten years	173
3. Most frequent length of marriages that end in divorce	176
4. Percentage of divorces that involved persons married less than one year	176
5. Average duration of marriage for divorced couples	183
6. The probability of Wisconsin marriages ending in divorce	183
H. Proportion of Divorces which Involve Children	187
IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	200
APPENDIX A. METHODOLOGY FOR MARRIAGE DATA	218
1. Sources of Data	218
2. Scope of the Study	219
3. Occupational Classification	221
4. Calculation of Rates and Means	222
5. Evaluation of Methodology	229
6. Limitation of Data Used in this Study	230

	PAGE
APPENDIX B. METHODOLOGY FOR DIVORCE DATA	284
1. Sources of Data	284
2. Occupational Classification	284
3. Calculation of Means and Rates	286
4. Evaluation of Methodology	287
BIBLIOGRAPHY	311

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Marriages and Divorces, and Rates Per 1000 Population in Wisconsin, 1915-1945	97
2. Estimated Marriages and Divorces, and Rates Per 1000, United States, 1915-1945	102-103
3. Computation of Total Marriage, Wisconsin, and Crude Marriage Rate, 1920-1936	107
4. Computation of Total Marriage, Wisconsin, and Crude Marriage Rate, 1920-1936	108
5. Crude Farm and Urban Marriage Rates for Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	110
6. Farmers and Farm Laborers Inducted into the United States Army by State and Specified Periods, November, 1940-June, 1945	113
7. Number and Percentage of Agriculturally and Industrially Deferred Registrants by Age Groups, for Wisconsin, July 1, 1944, and August 1, 1945	115
8. Crude Rural and Urban Divorce Rates for Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	116
9. Mean Age at Marriage of Men, by Occupation, in Wisconsin, 1915	120
10. Mean Age at Marriage of Men, by Occupation, in Wisconsin, 1920	121
11. Mean Age at Marriage of Men, by Occupation, in Wisconsin, 1935	123
12. Mean Age at Marriage of Men, by Occupation, in Wisconsin, 1940	124
13. Mean Age at Marriage of Men, by Occupation, in Wisconsin, 1945	125
14. Mean Age at Marriage of Women, by Occupation of Husband, in Wisconsin, 1915	128

TABLE

PAGE

15. Mean Age at Marriage of Women, by Occupation of Husband, in Wisconsin, 1920	129
16. Mean Age at Marriage of Women, by Occupation of Husband, in Wisconsin, 1935	130
17. Mean Age at Marriage of Women, by Occupation of Husband, in Wisconsin, 1940	131
18. Mean Age at Marriage of Women, by Occupation of Husband, in Wisconsin, 1945	132
19. Mean Age of Groom and Mean Age of Bride, Farm and Urban, in Wisconsin, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	136
20. Mean Age at Marriage of Men and Women in Wisconsin, for Total Group, Urban and Rural, 1915-1945	138
21. Distribution by Age at Marriage of Men and Women in Wisconsin, 1915	141
22. Distribution by Age at Marriage of Men and Women in Wisconsin, 1920	141
23. Distribution by Age at Marriage of Men and Women in Wisconsin, 1935	142
24. Distribution by Age at Marriage of Men and Women in Wisconsin, 1940	142
25. Distribution by Age at Marriage of Men and Women in Wisconsin, 1945	143
26. Median Age at Marriage by Bride and Groom, for Wisconsin, 1915-1940	145
27. Proportion of the Total Population Married and of Age Groups, in Wisconsin, for Census Years, 1890 to 1940	148
28. Mean Age at Marriage of Men, by Occupational Groups, in Wisconsin, 1915 to 1945	151
29. Critical Ratios between Mean Ages at Marriage of Grooms, for Selected Years, by Occupations, 1915, to 1945, in Wisconsin	152
30. Mean Age at Marriage of Women, by Occupation of Husband, in Wisconsin, 1915-1945	156

TABLE

PAGE

31. Critical Ratios between Mean Ages at Marriage of Brides, for Selected Years, by Occupation of Husband, 1915 to 1945, in Wisconsin	157
32. Distribution, According to Number of Years Married of Divorces in Wisconsin, 1915, Classified According to Age of Husband at Marriage and Age of Wife at Marriage	159
33. Distribution, According to Number of Years Married of Divorces in Wisconsin, 1920, Classified According to Age of Husband at Marriage and Age of Wife at Marriage	160
34. Distribution, According to Number of Years Married of Divorces in Wisconsin, 1935, Classified According to Age of Husband at Marriage and Age of Wife at Marriage	161
35. Distribution, According to Number of Years Married of Divorces in Wisconsin, 1940, Classified According to Age of Husband at Marriage and Age of Wife at Marriage	162
36. Distribution, According to Number of Years Married of Divorces in Wisconsin, 1945, Classified According to Age of Husband at Marriage and Age of Wife at Marriage	163
37. Critical Ratios between Mean Duration of Marriages for Divorced Males and Females in Wisconsin from 1915-1945, by Age at Marriage, for Selected Age Groups	164
38. Median Years Married of all Persons Divorced, by Occupational Groups in Wisconsin for the Years, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	170
39. Median Years Married of all Persons Divorced by Occupational Groups in Wisconsin, for the Five Year Period, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	174
40. Number and Percentage of Divorced Couples who Had Celebrated Their Silver Wedding Anniversary before They Were Divorced	175
41. Total Number of Divorces, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married, 1915	177
42. Total Number of Divorces, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married, 1920	178
43. Total Number of Divorces, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married, 1935	179

TABLE

PAGE

44. Total Number of Divorces, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married, 1940	180
45. Total Number of Divorces, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married, 1945	181
46. Total Number of Divorces, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married, for the Years 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945 Combined	182
47. Computation of Divorce Rates for Wisconsin by Cahen's Method (Sum of Duration-Specific Rates) for 1945, 1940, 1935, 1920, and 1915	185
48. Proportion of Divorces which Were Childless and Proportion Involving Children with Specified Number of Children, Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	188
49. Proportion of Divorces which were Childless and Proportion Involving Children with Specified Number of Children, Wisconsin, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, by Urban and Farm Groups	190
50. Number and Percent of Divorces which Were Childless in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married	192
51. Number and Percent of Divorces which Had One Child in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married	194
52. Number and Percent of Divorces which Had Two Children in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married	195
53. Number and Percent of Divorces which Had Three Children in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married	196
54. Number and Percent of Divorce which Had Four or More Children in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married	197
55. Occupations Included in Each Major Occupation Group	223- 227
56. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 1782 Marriages, Classified as Total Marriages, in Wisconsin, 1915	232

TABLE

PAGE

57. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 67 Marriages, Classified as Proprietors and Managers, in Wisconsin, 1915	233
58. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 95 Marriages, Classified as Professional and Semi-Professional, in Wisconsin, 1915	234
59. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 203 Marriages, Classified as Clerical and Sales, in Wisconsin, 1915	235
60. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 62 Marriages, Classified as Domestic and Protective Service, in Wisconsin, 1915	236
61. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 400 Marriages, Classified as Skilled in Wisconsin, 1915	237
62. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 110 Marriages, Classified as Semiskilled, in Wisconsin, 1915	238
63. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 234 Marriages, Classified as Unskilled, in Wisconsin, 1915	239
64. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 587 Marriages, Classified as Farmers, in Wisconsin, 1915	240
65. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 24 Marriages, Classified as Not Reported, in Wisconsin, 1915	241
66. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 2209 Marriages, Classified as Total Marriages, in Wisconsin, 1920	242
67. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 140 Marriages, Classified as Proprietors and Managers, in Wisconsin 1920	243
68. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 103 Marriages, Classified as Professional and Semi-Professional, in Wisconsin, 1920	244

TABLE

PAGE

69. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 223 Marriages, Classified as Professional and Semi-Professional, in Wisconsin, 1920 . . .	245
70. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 66 Marriages, Classified as Domestic and Protective Service, in Wisconsin, 1920 . . .	246
71. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 591 Marriages, Classified as Skilled, in Wisconsin, 1920	247
72. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 176 Marriages, Classified as Semiskilled, in Wisconsin, 1920	248
73. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 275 Marriages, Classified as Unskilled, in Wisconsin, 1920	249
74. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 591 Marriages, Classified as Farmers, in Wisconsin, 1920	250
75. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 44 Marriages, Classified as Not Reported, in Wisconsin, 1920	251
76. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 2093 Marriages, Classified as Total Sample, in Wisconsin, 1935	252
77. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 76 Marriages, Classified as Proprietors, Managers, and Officials, in Wisconsin, 1935 . . .	253
78. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 158 Marriages, Classified as Professional and Semi-Professional, in Wisconsin, 1935 . . .	254
79. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 250 Marriages, Classified as Clerical and Sales, in Wisconsin, 1935	255
80. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 140 Marriages, Classified as Domestic and Protective Service, in Wisconsin, 1935 . . .	256

TABLE

PAGE

81. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 325 Marriages, Classified as Skilled, in Wisconsin, 1935	257
82. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 180 Marriages, Classified as Semiskilled, in Wisconsin, 1935	258
83. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 412 Marriages, Classified as Unskilled, in Wisconsin, 1935	259
84. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 450 Marriages, Classified as Farmers, in Wisconsin, 1935	260
85. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 102 Marriages, Classified as Not Reported, in Wisconsin, 1935	261
86. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 2335 Marriages, Classified as Total Sample, in Wisconsin, 1940	262
87. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 97 Marriages, Classified as Proprietors, Managers, and Officials, in Wisconsin, 1940	263
88. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 178 Marriages, Classified as Professional and Semi-Professional, in Wisconsin, 1940	264
89. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 342 Marriages, Classified as Clerical and Sales, in Wisconsin, 1940	265
90. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 94 Marriages, Classified as Domestic and Protective Service, in Wisconsin, 1940	266
91. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 393 Marriages, Classified as Skilled, in Wisconsin, 1940	267
92. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 279 Marriages, Classified as Semiskilled, in Wisconsin, 1940	268

TABLE

PAGE

93. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 398 Marriages, Classified as Unskilled, in Wisconsin, 1940	269
94. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 423 Marriages, Classified as Farmers, in Wisconsin, 1940	270
95. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 131 Marriages, Classified as Occupation Not Reported, in Wisconsin, 1940	271
96. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 2514 Marriages, Classified as Total Sample, in Wisconsin, 1945	272
97. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 64 Marriages, Classified as Proprietors and Managers, in Wisconsin, 1945	273
98. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 106 Marriages, Classified as Professional and Semi-Professional, in Wisconsin, 1945	274
99. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 132 Marriages, Classified as Clerical and Sales, in Wisconsin, 1945	275
100. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 78 Marriages, Classified as Domestic and Protective Service, in Wisconsin, 1945	276
101. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 276 Marriages, Classified as Skilled, in Wisconsin, 1945	277
102. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 175 Marriages, Classified as Semiskilled, in Wisconsin, 1945	278
103. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 245 Marriages, Classified as Unskilled, in Wisconsin, 1945	279
104. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 461 Marriages, Classified as Farmers, in Wisconsin, 1945	280

TABLE

PAGE

105. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 816 Marriages, Classified as Servicemen, in Wisconsin, 1945	281
106. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage in a Sample of 161 Marriages, Classified as Not Reported, in Wisconsin, 1945	282
107. Number and Percentage of Marriages in Wisconsin, Classified by Residence of Brides and Grooms, 1937-1940	283
108. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage of all Divorcees, in Wisconsin, 1915	290
109. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage of all Divorcees, in Wisconsin, 1920	291
110. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage of all Divorcees, in Wisconsin, 1935	292
111. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage of all Divorcees, in Wisconsin, 1940	293
112. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Marriage of all Divorcees, in Wisconsin, 1945	294
113. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Divorce of all Divorcees, in Wisconsin, 1915	295
114. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Divorce of all Divorcees, in Wisconsin, 1920	296
115. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Divorce of all Divorcees, in Wisconsin, 1935	297
116. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Divorce of all Divorcees, in Wisconsin, 1940	298
117. The Distribution of Brides and Grooms by Age at Divorce of all Divorcees, in Wisconsin, 1945	299
118. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married Classified as Total Divorces, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	300
119. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married, Classified as Proprietors and Managers, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	301

TABLE

PAGE

120. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married, Classified as Proprietors and Managers, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945.	302
121. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married, Classified as Clerical and Sales, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	303
122. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married, Classified as Domestic and Protective Service, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	304
123. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married, Classified as Skilled, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	305
124. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married, Classified as Semiskilled, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	306
125. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married, Classified as Unskilled, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	307
126. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married, Classified as Farmers and Farm Laborers, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	308
127. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married, Classified as Servicemen, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	309
128. Distribution of Divorces, by Length of Time Married, Classified as Not Reported, in Wisconsin, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	310

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. Marriage Rate Per 1000 Population in Wisconsin, 1915-1945	98
2. Divorce Rate Per 1000 Population in Wisconsin, 1915-1945	99
3. Marriage and Divorce Rates Per 1000 Population in Wisconsin, 1915-1945	101
4. Marriage and Divorce Rates Per 1000 Population for the United States and Wisconsin, 1915-1945	104
5. Marriage Rates Per 1000 Population for Wisconsin, 1915-1945	109
6. Crude Urban and Farm Marriage Rate for Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	111
7. Crude Urban and Farm Divorce Rates for Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	117
8. Mean Age at Marriage of Men, by Occupational Groups, in Wisconsin, for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	126
9. Mean Age at Marriage of Women, by Occupation of Husband in Wisconsin, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	133
10. Mean Age at Marriage for Brides and Grooms of the Total, Urban, and Farm Population, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945	139
11. Median Age at Marriage of Men and Women in Wisconsin, from 1915-1940	146
12. Certificate of Marriage	220
13. Certificate of Divorce and Annulment	285

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years students of demography have made many sociological studies of the family. In almost every study of the family the subjects of marriage and divorce have been given great import. The early sociologists that contributed studies on the family were concerned with three principal interests¹: the origin and evolution of the family and its forms in primitive and historic society; appraisal of the institutional changes in the family since the industrial revolution; and contemporary social problems and their control.² Beginning about 1915, studies placed more interest in the social problems of the family and more emphasis was placed upon empirical study

1. Komarovsky, Mirra and Willard Waller, "Studies of the Family" The American Journal of Sociology, Volume L, Number 6, May, 1945, pp. 443-451.

2. Some of the most important works are: Bosanquet, Helen, The Family, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906; Cooley, Charles H., Social Organization, New York: Scribner, 1909; Dealy, J. Q., The Family in its Sociological Aspects, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1912; Howard, George E., A History of Matrimonial Institutions chiefly in England and the United States, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Callaghan and Company, 1904; LePlay, Pierre Guillaume Frederic, Les ouvriers europeens, 2nd ed., rev., Paris, 1879; Sumner, William G., Folkways, Ginn, 1906; Thomas, William I., Source Book for Social Origins, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909; Todd, Arthur J., The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915; Westermarck, Edward A., The History of Human Marriage, London: Macmillan and Company, 1891.

and quantitative methods.¹ In the present period, beginning about 1927, family research has been conducted on disorganization, stressing difficulties in obtaining happiness in marriage, tensions in parent-child relations, and inadequacy in the performance of other family functions.²

1. Burgess, Ernest W., "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities", Family, VII, 1926, pp. 3-9; Colcord, Joanna C., Broken Homes, New York, 1919; Ogburn, William F., "Factors affecting the marital condition of the population", Publications of the American Society of Sociology, December, 1923; Hall, Frederick S., and Elisabeth W. Brooke, American Marriage Laws in their Social Aspects, New York, 1919; Park, Robert E., and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924; Park, Robert E., and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1921; Patterson, Samuel H., and Henry R. Burch, American Social Problems, New York: Macmillan Company, 1919; Richmond, Mary Ellen and Frederick C. Hall, Child Marriages, 1925; Ross, Edward A., and Ray E. Baber, "Changes in the size of American Families in One Generation", University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 10, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1924; Thomas, William I., The Unadjusted Girl, Boston: Little, Brown, 1923; Thomas, William I., and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1918.

2. Bakke, Edward T., Citizens Without Work, New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1940; Becker, Howard and Reuben Hill, Marriage and the Family, Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1942; Bernard, Jessie, American Family Behavior, Harpers, 1942; ----- "The Differential Influence of the Business Cycle on the number of Marriages in several age groupings", Social Forces, 18:539-549; 1940; Bossard, James H. S., "The age factor in Marriage", The American Journal of Sociology, 38: 536-547, 1933; ----- Social Change and Social Problems, Harpers, 1938; -----, Marriage and the Child, University of Pennsylvania, 1940; ----- "War and the Family", The American Sociological Review, 6: 330-344, 1941; Burgess, Ernest W., and Leonard S. Cottrell, Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939; Burgess, Ernest W., and Harvey J. Locke, The Family, New York: American Book Company, 1945; Burgess, Ernest W., and Paul Wallin, "Homogamy in Social Characteristics", American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLIX, Number 2, September, 1943, pp. 109-124; Cahan, Alfred, Statistical Analysis of American Divorce, New York: Columbia University Press, 1932; Cavan, Ruth Shonle and Katherine Howland Ranck, The Family and the Depression,

Marriage and divorce, together with birth, puberty, and death make up the greatest crises in the life of the individual. Nearly every person gets married sometime during his life. In Wisconsin in

(footnote continued) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938; Cottrell, Leonard S. Jr., "Roles and Marital Adjustment", Publ. American Sociological Society, 27: 107-115, 1933; Cox, Oliver C., "Sex Ratio and Marital Status among Negroes", The American Sociological Review, 5: 937-947, 1940; Davis, Allison John and John Dollard, Children of Bondage, The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1940; Dickinson, Robert L., "Today's Mothers and Tomorrow's Children", Survey Midmonthly, January, 1942; Dickinson, Robert L., and Lura Beam, A Thousand Marriages, Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1931; Dollard, John, "Needed Viewpoints in Family Research", Social Forces, 14, pp. 109-113, 1935; -----, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937; Eliot, Thomas D., "The Bereaved Family", Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, 160: 184-190, 1932; -----, "Why Family Harmony?", Mental Hygiene, 16: 85-100, 1932; Elmer, Manuel C., Family Adjustment and Social Change, New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1932; Folsom, Joseph K., The Family and Democratic Society, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1947; -----, "The Changing Role of the Family", Annals, 212: 64-71, 1940; -----, Adjustment and Marriage, United States Department of Agriculture Graduate School, Washington, D. C., 1938; Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro Family in Chicago, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932; -----, The Negro Family in the United States, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939; -----, "The Impact of Urban Civilization upon Negro Family Life", The American Sociological Review, 2: 609-618, 1937; Goodsell, Willystine, Problems of the Family, New York: The Century Company., 1930; Groves, Ernest R., Social Problems of the Family, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1927; -----, The Marriage Crisis, Longmans, 1928; -----, Marriage, Holt, 1933; -----, The American Family, 1934; -----, The Family: Its Social Functions, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1940; -----, "A Decade of Marriage Counseling", Annals, 212: 72-80, 1940; Hamilton, G. V., A Research in Marriage, Boni, 1929; Hamilton, G. V., and Kenneth MacGowan, What is Wrong with Marriage, Boni, 1930; Hankins, Frank H., "Divorce", in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Macmillan, 1931; Komarovsky, Mirra, The Unemployed Man and His Family, The Dryden Press, 1940; Lorimer, Frank, et. al., Foundations of American Population Policy, Harper, 1940; McKain, Walter G., and N. L. Whetten, "Size of Family in Relation to Homogeneity of Parental Traits", Rural Sociology, 1: 20-27, 1936; Morgan, Winona L., The Family Meets the Depression, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1939; Monroe, Day, Chicago Families, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932; Mowrer, Harriet R., "Clinical Treatment of Marital Con-

1940, 91.9 percent of all males 65 years old and over were reported

(footnote continued) Flicts", The American Sociological Review, 2: 771-778, 1937; -----, "Personality Disorganization and Domestic Discord", Social Forces, 10: 338-394, 1932; -----, Personality Disorganization and Domestic Discord, New York: The American Book Company, 1935; Mowrer, Ernest R., Family Disorganization, An Introduction to a Sociological Analysis, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927; -----, The Family, Its Organization and Disorganization, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932; -----, "Recent trends in Family Research", The American Sociological Review, 6: 499-511, 1941; -----, Disorganization, Personal and Social, New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942; Notestein, Frank W., "Differential Age at Marriage According to Social Class", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XXXVII, Number 1, July, 1931, pp. 22-48; Ogburn, William F., "Recent changes in Marriage", The American Journal of Sociology, 41: 285-298, 1935; Ogburn William F., and Ernest R. Groves, American Marriage and Family Relationship, New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1928; Ogburn, William F., and Myer F. Minkoff, Sociology, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946; Popenoe, Paul, "Where are the Marriageable Men?", Social Forces, 14: 257-262, 1935; -- "Re-Marriages of Divorcees to Each Other", The American Sociological Review, 3: 693-699, 1938; -----, Modern Marriage: A Handbook for Men, New York: Macmillan, 1940; Powdermaker, Hortense, After Freedom, New York: The Viking Press, 1939; Reuter, Edward B., Population Problems, Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937; Reuter, Edward B., and Jessie R. Runner, The Family, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931; Rubinow, I. M., "After Divorce -- What?", New Republic, 63: 226-228, 1930; -----, "Some Statistical Aspects of Marriage and Divorce", Pamphlet No. 3 of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1936; Stouffer, Samuel A., and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression, Social Science Research Council, 1937; Stouffer, Samuel A., and Lyle M. Spencer, "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years", Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, 138: 56-69, 1936; -----, "Recent Increases in Marriage and Divorce", The American Journal of Sociology, 44: 531-555, 1939; Stern, Bernhard J., "The Family and Cultural Change", The American Sociological Review, 4: 199-208, 1939; Terman, Lewis M., Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938; -----, "The Effect of Happiness or Unhappiness on Self-Report Regarding Attitudes, Reaction Patterns, and Facts of Personal History", Psychological Bulletin, 36: 197-202, 1939; Thompson, Warren S., Population Problems, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1930; Thompson, Warren S., and P. K. Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933; Truxal, Andrew G., and Francis E. Merrill, The Family in American Culture, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947; Waller, Willard, The Old Love and the New, Liveright, 1930; -----, The Family, A Dynamic Interpretation, Gordon, 1938; -----, War and the Family, The Dryden

as having been once married during life; 92.9 per cent of the females reported likewise.¹ All marriages do not end in divorce, however, but the divorce rate is increasing. The reasons for the ascending rate of divorce are to be found in all those influences which have reduced the importance of family life and altered its character. Since divorce is probably as old as marriage itself, it can be best understood only after changes in the type of family life have been noted.

Marriage

Marriage, in our society, is a socially designed contrivance by which two individuals begin the process culminating in the complete family. One of man's basic biological urges or drives is the sex drive which leads to the procreation of the species. But the biological drive itself doesn't determine the precise way in which the sex drive will be satisfied. The sex drive must be satisfied, however, in one way or another when man reaches adulthood. Man has a distinct physiological make-up in that he doesn't mate in any particular season of the year. Lower animals, however, mate only at certain seasons. Also, man is different from other animals in that

(footnote continued) Press, 1940; Westermarck, Edward A., A Short History of Marriage, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930; Whelpton, P. K., and Clyde V. Kiser, "Social and Psychological Factors affecting the Family", The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, 22, January, 1944; Zimmerman, Carl O., and Merle E. Frampton, Family and Society, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1935.

1. Population, Fourth Series, Characteristics by Age, Wisconsin, 16th Census of the United States, 1940, p. 11.

from one generation to the next. Man is the only animal that can pass on his accumulation of knowledge to succeeding generations. The group, as well as being the bearer of culture, is also the selector of culture in that it decides on what shall be passed onto its followers and what shall be discarded. It also sees that there are recordings of certain events which take place within the culture.

While monogamy is the ideal type of marriage in our society, it is not the only kind of marriage known in history. The early theories that the family was a result of the satisfaction of instincts and that the family advanced through an evolutionary period of primitive promiscuity toward a monogamous type has fallen into disrepute.¹ There have been times, where polygyny existed, when rich men had several wives. King Solomon is quite famous for his group of wives and many children. In other countries, as in Tibet, where one man is not able to support even one wife, the custom has been for one woman to have several husbands. This type of marriage is known as polyandry. In the western world, generally, the monogamous union has been the usual form of the human family. Economic, social and religious factors have tended to support the marriage of one man and one woman. The Hebrew religion and the Christian church added sanction to the monogamous marriage. The church recognized man's control over his wife and family.

1. Opler, Marvin K., "Woman's Social Status and the Forms of Marriage", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLIX, Number 2, September, 1943, pp. 125-146.

When the early settlers came to America from Europe, they brought their culture and social institutions with them. Up until 1700, all of the population in the United States lived in rural areas. The farm families were largely single economic units because they produced all their goods at home and were self-sufficient. All members of the family worked for the success of the unit as a whole. When the family experienced a crisis, all members sacrificed to help through the difficulty. The self-sufficient unit created social-psychological isolation for the farm family. This strengthened the attitudes and values of the group, and social change developed slowly.

The social interaction of the self-sufficient family was largely limited to the immediate family as visitors did not come often. All contacts that a child had before he entered school were with the members of his family. Thus, the early rural family in America was the center of economic, social, recreational, and educational life.

The church strengthened the husband's authority over his family. The husband was greatly supported by law and public opinion in his patriarchal control. The only alternative for a woman, other than marriage, was domestic service work which offered little job security. When a woman did marry, her property automatically was given to the groom. This authoritarian control created the great family system as the father held complete sway over the wife and children all through his life. This large patriarchal family has been referred to as the "institutional" family because the individual members are completely

subordinated to the interests of the large family group.¹ The "institutional" family emphasizes subordination to social control.

It is readily apparent that the characteristic family of rural America of the eighteenth and nineteenth century has been undergoing a remarkable change in the last fifty years. The family is no longer a self-sufficient economic unit. Some of the factors which have brought about this change in family life will be presented. These particular factors that will be discussed below are not singled out as dominant or significant, while all other factors are dismissed as subsidiary or insignificant. For the purpose of causal analysis, MacIver says, "We should not assume that when a number of conditions are together operative in the production or emergence of any phenomenon each of these conditions can be assigned a specific weight or influence, a percentage of contribution towards the resultant phenomena."² The factors which will be examined here represent only a few of the total number which have been operative in bringing about this change in family life. The ones selected, however, probably best illustrate the transition of our most primary institution from the "institutional" family to the modern "companionship"³ type of family.

1. Burgess, Ernest W., "The Effect of War on the American Family", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLVIII, Number 3, 1942, pp. 343-352.

2. MacIver, R. M., Social Causation, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1942, p. 94.

3. Burgess, loc. cit., pp. 343-352.

One of the first factors to break down the authoritarian control of the father was the opening of the western frontier in the United States for settlement. After new lands opened up for settlement, when the adult children married, they migrated away from the great family. The father could not keep the family intact and his control dwindled.

Among other reasons for the undermining of the old traditional family are the economic changes that accompanied the Industrial Revolution. The factory system needed large numbers of laborers so a great many of the families migrated to the cities. The mass production method could produce goods more cheaply than the farm family could make at home. Thus, began the process of urbanization which is still increasing at the present time. Women and children worked in industry and the number of female employees increased rapidly. The Industrial Revolution was, thus, a factor in breaking up family unity and undermining the authority of the father, who now ceased to be the sole supporter of the family. Women could now support themselves and refuse to be dictated to by parents or men.

The farm family has been undergoing urbanization by means of the radio, automobile, and newspaper which has caused a breakdown in its isolation. It has increasingly given over more of its functions to the school and church. The protective function of the family has been passed over more and more to the law agencies of the community. All of the institutional functions of the farm family are declining, but not as fast as that of the urban family. There has been a shift from family mindedness to more individualism. Farm families have become more interested in the material aspects of culture, especially the

young children and women, who want better clothing, automobiles, and technological goods. The mechanical revolution has brought striking alterations in rural institutions and attitudes.

The family in urban society is also a primary group but not to the same extent as that of the farm family. The institutional functions of the urban family have declined more rapidly than that of the rural family. In urban society the child is taken out of the home a year before his formal education begins and is placed in kindergarten school. The nursery school gained tremendous popularity with working mothers during World War II. Longer schooling and organized recreation draws the child out of the urban family. In contrast with the rural family, the urban family members direct their efforts more toward individual goals instead of working for the benefit of the group as a unit. The urban family has lost much of its former prestige and unity; for it is no longer a well integrated economic, educational, recreational, and social unit. These urbanized traits, however, have not permeated the rural family to the same extent as they have the city dwellers. While there has been a tremendous urbanization of the farm family, there has also been ruralization of the city which has been caused partly by rural-urban and urban-rural migration. This fact is narrowing the differences between rural and urban culture and making them more alike than they have ever been before.

Another outstanding change in family life is that democratic ideals have given women more freedom. Women are more efficient than men in some occupations and have become useful in industry. Women have now entered professions which were formerly filled completely

by men. The Nineteenth Amendment was passed in 1920, which gave women the right to vote. Women could now express their rights before the law because they gained legal independence. The opening of education to women has made it difficult to hold them in subservient positions.

The authoritarian control of the father has changed greatly in recent years. The control is becoming more democratic as women and children now help the father make important decisions affecting the family. The progress made by women in securing economic and legal independence has had a distinguished effect on marriage and the home. In the Colonial period, many women sought marriage because they could not secure attractive employment opportunities. The old cultural values taught women that they should marry, have homes, and raise large families. Some women today prefer to work rather than depend upon a husband for support. If a girl does not want to marry, she can find a job and earn her own living. If she does want to marry, she can still continue working on her job. At present, if a woman doesn't cherish married life, she can leave her husband and support herself. By our present values she will suffer but little degradation from the community and her associates. Since women have become more independent, they have undoubtedly become more careful and exacting in their choice of husbands.

Divorce

The frequency of divorce today is one of the chief evidences of the break-up of the old type of family life. These changes in the family have weakened the ties uniting the adult members of the family. The old traditional family was held together by many different bonds;

economic, social, religious, and protective. Today the chief remaining bond is affection. Naturally one bond is not as stable as several. While this affectional bond is often very strong at the time of marriage, it sometimes weakens and the family is separated.

Divorce is the legal recognition by proper civil authorities that a husband and wife wish to terminate their relationship. Although divorce is a symbol of family disruption, it does not cause family disruption. It is just as logical to say that laws against bastardy are the cause of the birth of illegitimate children as it is to say that divorce is the cause of family disruption. All of the tensions and conflicts which have brought about the decision for one mate to secure legal separation from the other occurred before the couple has anything to do with divorce. Divorce is a symbol of this accumulated dissatisfaction. The causes of family disruption, however, must be found elsewhere.

There is considerable variation in the degree of marital stability in primitive cultures. In some societies divorce was not allowed at all, while in others it was permitted only for good reasons. If a man were lazy and did not support his family, it was permissible for the wife to separate from him. Wives might be cast out of the husband's home for similar reasons. The ancient Occidental and Jewish laws permitted the husband divorce whenever sufficient justification existed. The early Christians granted divorce in the Roman Empire. Since that time, the Catholic Church has refused to sanction divorce, although it allows legal separation and annuls marriages in special circumstances. The Protestant churches, however, have believed that divorce should be

allowed for good and sufficient cause. The stability of marriage is often affected by the individual's opinion of his church. The church's attitude is, however, affected by the various social forces that are changing the family.

Divorce was discouraged greatly in the United States by religious pressure up until the Industrial Revolution occurred. Since that time, the rapid urbanization of our society has weakened the influence of the church among most social classes. Generally, the factors that are associated with the increase in the divorce rate in all countries of recent years have been the growth of cities, industrial development, the entrance of women into industry, and their rising social status. Only in one highly urbanized country in the world has there been an exception to this. In Japan, which is the latest country to industrialize, the divorce rate per 1,000 population decreased from 1.42 in 1900 to .62 in 1938.¹ The break-up of the old family system is in part responsible for this decline. The lowest rate of divorce in Japan is found in the city; the highest rates in the country where the old type family is still prevalent. The rural and urban rates are just the opposite of this in the United States.² National and regional differences in divorce cannot be solely explained by differences in industrialization. The differences can be partly explained by religion

1. Mowrer, Ernest R., Disorganization, Personal and Social, Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942, p. 479.

2. Folsom, Joseph K., The Family and Democratic Society, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947, p. 510.

but obviously the number of divorces depend very much upon cultural values which cut across economic, class, and religious lines.

Mowrer has established some relationship between mobility and divorce.¹ MacIver sets forth the hypothesis: "the general indication is that divorce is more prevalent in those areas where the continuity of the family through several generations has less significance in the scheme of cultural values than formerly or than elsewhere."²

When we think of broken families we probably assume that the largest proportion are the results of divorce, but such is not the case. The instability of the family is far greater than indicated by the divorce rate. In 1940, eleven times as many homes were broken as a result of death or separation of one mate than because of divorce.³ Twelve and seven-tenths per cent of the heads of families in the United States reported that they were widowed; 3.5 per cent of the heads were separated from their spouses; and in only 1.6 per cent of the families did the head report that he or she was divorced. These data have one limitation in that there is no way to determine the number of divorcees that had been remarried. One authority on the family estimates that

1. Mowrer, Ernest R., "Family Disorganization and Mobility", Publications of the American Sociological Society, XXII, 1929, pp. 134-45.

2. MacIver, op. cit., p. 338.

3. Bureau of the Census, Population: Types of Families, 1940, Washington, 1943.

not more than 25-35 per cent of female and 40-50 per cent of male divorcees ever remarry.¹

Desertion accounts for several thousand broken homes annually. Real desertion should be distinguished from framed-up desertion, which is the intended grounds for divorce. Most desertions are found among the lower economic classes and for this reason has been referred to as the "poor man's" divorce. About one in twenty families in the United States in 1940 was broken temporarily or permanently by the separation of husband and wife other than through divorce or death.²

Finally, it should be noted that marriages which end in divorce are not greatly different from other marriages. Waller states:

"...The tendency to set up two contrasting categories of marriages-which-end-in-divorce and marriages-which-persist-until-death is in fact a disguised value judgment expressing disapproval of divorce."³

"...marriages which end in divorce are selected from the less satisfactory group of marriages, but it is certain that they do not represent the whole group of unsatisfactory marriages, and possibly they are not the worst of the group."⁴

Divorce is an expensive process which involves a considerable fin-

1. Popenoe, Paul, "Remarriage of Divorcees to each other", The American Sociological Review, Volume 3, Number 5, October, 1938, pp. 695-699.

2. Ogburn, William F., "Marital Separations", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLIX, Number 4, January, 1944, pp. 316-323.

3. Waller, Willard, The Family, New York: The Dryden Press, 1938, p. 525.

4. Ibid, p. 537.

social expenditure and the willingness to suffer a certain amount of social disapproval after its termination. Some unhappy married couples prefer to remain together rather than to suffer from gossip or censure from their friends. Other well-adjusted spouses may choose to obtain divorces and suffer some social disapproval. All factors that induce individuals to obtain a divorce must be present before the marriage is dissolved. Hence, it is not logically possible to place all marriages which end in divorce in one category as unhappy and classify all continued marriages in a separate category as well-adjusted and happy.

Problem and Scope of this Study

Before stating the problem and scope of this study, mention should first be made concerning the status of marriage and divorce studies in the social sciences and, immediately following this, some remarks on generalizations formulated by sociologists will be presented.

During the past two decades, much greater interest has been focused on the family than at any time previously. Never before has so much importance and significance been devoted to the role of the family in American culture. After the realization that the family is probably the most important primary institution in our culture, the number of studies and research projects concerning this subject has increased tremendously. The number of courses offered on marriage and the family in colleges and universities have steadily multiplied. Adult education for marriage and family life has permeated almost every young adult club in all communities. Night schools and formal classes

conducting lectures and forums on family life and marital problems are now numerous. With greater attention oriented to the solving of family problems, many services for the family have been further developed, such as, marriage and family counseling, legal aid for families, family social work, domestic and family relations institutes, child study, maternal and child health, and child guidance.

Along with this mounting emphasis on marriage, divorce, and the family, a vast number of books and articles in journals have been written on every aspect of the field. In recent years, marriage and divorce has been a subject of research and speculation among many students of the social sciences. In a great number of these treatises, the author has set forth a number of generalizations regarding marriage and divorce which is accepted by most every reader as common sense knowledge.

More often than not, statements made by any reputable sociologist in a book on marriage and divorce goes unquestioned if it follows along with what the reader regards as true from his past observations of the same thing in his local community. But when one reads a statement in such a book that is not true in light of his past experiences and observations, a certain amount of doubt arises questioning the authenticity of such a statement. Upon probing through different books to see what other sociologists maintain concerning any such doubtful generalization, one often finds opposed and inconsistent views expressed.

In one book a writer may assert one stand on marriage and divorce, while in other publications just the opposite statement is made. This inconsistency and ambiguity of generalizations among the authors of

books on marriage and the family can be demonstrated on many points of view. Some sociologists, no doubt, formulate such generalizations on the grounds of their past limited knowledge of the phenomena. They assume that what they have observed in their particular milieu conforms to the larger society in general and in certain instances they seize upon an idea which holds true for their past experience and state in one of their books that the same is true for the entire American culture. Such unfounded speculation is sometimes entirely erroneous.

One example concerning selective migration can probably best illustrate this point. Professor Ross, a noted man in social science circles, after observing migration of the rural-farm population to urban centers, concluded that this process was drawing off the superior population and leaving an inferior group on the farm. He states:

"In New England, there are rural counties which have been losing their best for three or four generations, leaving the coarse, dull, and hide-bound. The number of loafers in some slackwater villages of the middle states indicates that the natural pacemakers of the locality have gone elsewhere to create prosperity. In parts of southern Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and even as far West as Missouri, there are communities which remind one of fished-out ponds populated chiefly by bull-heads and suckers."¹

This generalization has since been proved to be untrue but is a good example of inferences made by sociological writers based more upon speculation than established facts. Professor Ross was probably reared on a farm and after achieving success as a sociologist, he undoubtedly became aware of the fact that the majority of his acquaint-

1. Ross, Edward A., The Outlines of Sociology, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1924, pp. 23-24.

tances, who were bright lads on the farm, had since migrated to urban centers. Assuming that this is somewhat his trend of logical deductions, he then stated from this limited experience that farm areas are "chiefly populated by bull-heads and suckers".

Another writer, after completing a study of marriage based on a 37 year period in one county of a southern state formulates a generalization based on his findings to be true of the whole rural population. He states that, "The marital behavior of a rural population group is distinctive in that the bulk of all marriages occur from two to three years earlier than is true for city populations."¹

This sociologist's basis of comparison was one rural county with another study of one urban city. His broad generalization greatly exceeds his limited spatial study and is entirely meaningless. Generalizations which apply for one particular cultural area may be true for the rest of the universe. However, this can never be assumed; it must be first demonstrated. Generalizations must be formulated to apply only to those certain culture patterns in which they are found and not to the whole universe.

One further instance will be presented to indicate that generalizations which apply to limited culture patterns should not be extended to apply to all culture patterns. This example applies to marital be-

1. Duncan, Otis D., John H. McClure, James Salisbury, Jr., and Richard H. Simmons, "The Factor of Age in Marriage", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XXXIX, Number 4, January, 1934, p. 469.

havior of the population in the different countries. In 1930, 13.2 per cent of females and 21.2 per cent of males in the ages 30-34 were unmarried in the United States.¹ It might seem logical to infer from these data that the United States is representative of the rest of the world in respect to marital conditions and to generalize that in all countries about the same proportion of people in this age group are unmarried. But such is not the case. For instance, in India in 1931, only 1.9 per cent of the females age 30 to 34 years old were unmarried, while in Ireland in 1926, 41.6 per cent of females and 62.4 per cent of males in this same age group were single.²

Cultures are widely divergent between Ireland, India, and the United States. Customs vary between these three cultures and one set of social conditions in one area may mean quite a different thing to people in another area. Hence, generalizations can be assumed to apply to no more than that culture area in which they are found. Certain generalizations applying to culturally-conditioned behavior must also be limited in time, as well as space, for human definitions are always changing.

The findings listed in this study are true only for Wisconsin within the time period covered. No attempt is made to apply these generalizations to a larger spatial area or longer time period. For

1. International Vital Statistics, pp. 436-439. C.F. Landis, Paul H., Population Problems, New York: The American Book Co., Inc., 1943, pp. 66 and 222-223.

2. International Vital Statistics, pp. 436-439, c.f. Landis, Ibid, pp. 222-223.

what is true of Wisconsin today may be radically different from that which might be found in a similar study fifty years from now.

This study is confined to an analysis of marriage and divorce trends in Wisconsin from 1915 to 1945. The study is directed to the verification or rejection of eight main generalizations formulated by sociologists concerning marriage and divorce. Each generalization is regarded as a hypothesis to be tested. The standards used for the verification or rejection of these hypotheses will be data on marriage and divorce for the State of Wisconsin, from the years 1915 to 1945. Marriage and divorce statistics from 1915 to 1945 in Wisconsin will be subjected to statistical treatment to test each hypothesis.

The hypotheses to be tested in this study are significant aspects of marriage and divorce. Some of the hypotheses have been frequent points of disagreement between sociologists.

The first hypothesis of this study is that "when business is good, marriage and divorce rates go up. When business is bad, they go down."¹ The dependence of the marriage and divorce rates upon economic conditions has long been a subject of research by numerous investigators. The relationship is so close that the marriage and divorce rates have often been designated as barometers of business prosperity. This is probably the most universally applied generalization that has ever been made concerning the phenomenon of marriage and divorce.

1. Stouffer, Samuel A., and Lyle M. Spencer, "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years", Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci., November, 1936, p. 56.

Probably the first American sociologist to state this generalization was Willcox. After his study on marriage and divorce rates in Massachusetts in 1843, he remarked, "depressions in trade have had a tendency to decrease divorces as well as marriages."¹ Have boom and bust cycles in Wisconsin from 1915 to 1945 been accompanied by correspondingly high and low marriage and divorce rates? One is apt to accept, without question, the statement that during times of prosperity marriage and divorces are high. But to some, it may seem contrary to popular opinion that during depression years the divorce rate reaches its lowest levels. Depression is accompanied by unemployment and we assume that it creates insecure feelings to families who are forced to accept relief doles. Assuming that bust periods are characterized by feelings of insecurity, one might think that personal and social disorganization is greatest in these times. If that is so, then is it not true that the divorce rate increases rather than decreases? Both Stouffer and Spencer and also Willcox have expressed just the opposite view. Is the hypothesis as stated, verified or refuted by data of marriage and divorce rates in Wisconsin from 1915 to 1945? This will occupy our attention in Chapter III, Interpretation of Data and the findings will be set forth in Chapter IV, Summary and Conclusions.

The second hypothesis concerns the age at marriage of the different social classes. In our past observations of marriage among our acquaintances, we, no doubt, think that certain occupational groups marry

1. Willcox, Walter F., "A Study in Vital Statistics", Political Science Quarterly, Volume 8, March, 1893, p. 82.

earlier or later than others. But is such a generalization valid? Landis thinks so. He states: "On the average, marriage comes later for higher income groups, for those of the more favored occupations, and for the better educated groups."¹ The same position is taken by another writer. He says, "In both the urban and rural populations the modal ages at marriage of the women increase with the rising status of the social class."² This generalization will be subjected to verification or rejection by analyzing statistics on age at marriage of the social classes in Wisconsin. The mean age at marriage will be used rather than the modal age at marriage. An enumeration of these findings are presented in Chapter IV, Summary and Conclusions.

Another generalization commonly accepted by demographers is that there is a differential between age at marriage of rural and urban people. That there are differentials in reproductive behavior, sex and age composition, to mention a few, between rural and urban society, is a matter of fact. Regarding age at marriage, Notestein says that "the women of the urban population married later in life than those of the rural population."³ But is this also true for men as well as women? Duncan remarked that "marital behavior pattern of a rural population group is distinctive in that the bulk of all marriages

1. Landis, op. cit., p. 131.

2. Notestein, Frank W., "Differential Age at Marriage According to Social Class", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XXXVII, Number 1, July, 1939, p. 48.

3. Notestein, op. cit., p. 48.

occur from two to three years earlier than is true for city populations!"¹

The hypothesis that rural males and females marry earlier than urban men and women will be tested to see whether this is true in Wisconsin or not. One might be curious to know the cause for this differential, if one does exist. This study makes no attempt to demonstrate causal relationships.

The fourth generalization deals with supposition that women marry earlier than men. Gynecologists often designate certain age differentials as most suitable between the bride and groom. Van de Velde recently stated that "the man should be not less than five, or more than seven years the senior.....I would retain thirty as the desirable age for marriage in men, and raise that of girls from twenty to twenty-three or twenty-five."²

It is generally assumed that social and cultural factors have some influence on age at marriage in all societies. Is the mean age at marriage of brides lower than that of the grooms? Do more women marry under 25 years of age than men? If this is so in Wisconsin, how many more women are married under 25 years of age than men? These questions will be answered in Chapter IV, Summary and Conclusions.

Ogburn brings out the fact that more young women are married than men. He says, "in the first part of life's span more girls and young

1. Duncan, Otis D., et. al., op. cit., p. 469.

2. Van de Velde, T. H., Ideal Marriage, New York: Covici, Friede, 1930, p. 274.

women are married than boys and young men."¹ Since span is an ambiguous word and may mean anything from a short space of time, nine inches, a pair of horses, to the space from the point of the thumb to that of the little finger when extended, the generalization stated as it is, is not amenable to either verification or rejection. The hypothesis that will be employed here, which is also amenable to test, is that women in Wisconsin marry at an earlier age than men.

The fifth hypothesis to be tested in this study is that Wisconsinites married at a younger age in 1915 than they did in 1920, 1935, 1940, or 1945. The trend in age at marriage has been the subject of much controversy among the sociologists and many adverse inferences have been set forth. Assuming that it requires a minimum of seven years of college or university study for a sociologist to secure a Ph. D. degree, it is suspected that several of these people have had to postpone marriage until their education could be completed. Some writers are aware of the fact that their parents married several years younger than themselves. Seizing upon this idea, some have generalized from this and other observations that people are getting married later today than they did a generation ago. One sociologist writes that, "with the growth of industrialism and the increasing standards of higher education during the last century, the age of marriage has been forced upward."² Another writer expounds just the opposite point of view

1. Ogburn, William F., "Recent Changes in Marriage", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLI, Number 3, November, 1935, p. 292.

2. Terman, Lewis M., Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company., 1938, p. 180.

when he says, "moreover, the average age at entrance into marriage, contrary to popular impression is falling."¹ Obviously, one writer is mistaken. Or, if the age at marriage has remained the same over a long period of years both of these men's generalizations are erroneous. Has the age at marriage increased in recent years or has it decreased? Or, has it remained about constant? The hypothesis that the age at marriage has been increased, will be subjected to marriage statistics in Wisconsin using data from 1915 to 1945 to verify or refute it.

The sixth hypothesis concerns divorce and more specifically age at marriage of divorcees. Almost everyone is prone to think that the age at marriage of divorcees is radically different from the age of the people whose marriages don't terminate in the divorce court. Some think that a greater percentage of the marriages that are contracted in the 'teens later result in divorce than do those marriages which take place between couples in their 20's, 30's, or 40's. Others think that a larger proportion of marriages entered into in the waning years of life end in divorce. While another group follows the reasoning of a judge who reports that "in recent years economic pressure has been forcing a large proportion of young girls to marry men much older than themselves, and it is a common cause of divorce or other family maladjustment."² Bossard concludes that marriage data in a study of

1. Lichtenberger, J. P., Divorce A Social Interpretation, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1931, p. 424.

2. See Judge George A. Bartlett, Men, Women and Conflict, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931, pp. 211-12.

Philadelphia does not confirm Judge Bartlett's generalization.¹ Ogburn remarks that "indeed there is both belief and evidence that early marriages break up more readily than do those contracted at a more mature age."² Is Ogburn's generalization true in light of divorce data for Wisconsin? His statement must be worded more precisely before it has a definite meaning. The hypothesis that we shall devote our attention to is, that in Wisconsin, of all the marriages which end in divorce, marriages entered into by both brides and grooms under 20 years of age result in divorce earlier than do marriages entered into in other age groups, i.e., 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, etc.

The seventh hypothesis which is set forth in this study relates to the questions regarding the length of time that marriages last before divorces are granted. Questions such as: Don't most divorces occur in the first year of marriage? What is the modal length of time married in all divorces? What is the median length of marriage of all divorces? What per cent of all divorces come within the fifth year of marriage?; in the tenth year?; or in the 20th year? These are all timely inquiries. Some conflicting views are expressed by different investigators on the above questions that were set forth. Differentials, nevertheless, exist in length of time married of all divorcees in different cultural groups for each cultural setting has a distinctive ethos. One might infer that the rural couples that get divorces

1. Bossard, James H. S., "The Age Factor at Marriage", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XXXVIII, Number 4, January, 1933, p. 547.

2. Ogburn, William F., op. Cit., p. 287.

are married longer than urbanites who likewise appear in the divorce court. But is this true for Wisconsin? And if so, in which social classes do marriages tend to last longer? The following hypotheses will be subjected to test concerning the length of time married of divorced couples:

1. The farm marriages that end in divorce, on the average, last longer than those marriages which end in divorce in other social classes.
2. "Two-thirds of all divorces go to those who have been married less than ten years."¹
3. "The point of greatest frequency of divorce is now in the fourth year of marriage,....."²
4. "Less than five per cent of the divorces annually granted involve persons married less than one year."³
5. "Very few people are divorced the same year they are married; in fact, the median average lag between marriage and divorce is about seven years....about half of the divorces occur during the first seven years."⁴

The last hypothesis that this study is limited to has to do with the number of children that are involved in divorces in Wisconsin.

1. Ogburn, William F., and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, p. 719.

2. Folsom, Joseph K., The Family and Democratic Society, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947, p. 508.

3. Truxal, Andrew G., and Francis E. Merrill, The Family in American Culture, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947, p. 654.

4. Cahen, Alfred, Statistical Analysis of American Divorce, New York: The Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 116-117.

One popular notion is that since divorce breaks up so many homes in which there are children, it is one of the most significant causes of personal and social disorganization. Do the largest per cent of divorces occur in families with children or without children? Two hypotheses will be tested by the subjection of divorce data in Wisconsin:

1. "Almost two-thirds of divorces come from the childless married population."¹

2. "Some eighty-five per cent of all divorces come from a small section of families, those with either no children or only one child."²

In the preceding pages, the scope of this study was stated. Eight main hypotheses were enumerated to be either verified or rejected as borne out by marriage and divorce data in Wisconsin from the years 1915 to 1945. These hypotheses will again be stated in an attempt to gain greater explicitness and clarification, although it does involve some repetition of what has already been said.

This study is confined to an analysis of marriage and divorce trends in Wisconsin from 1915 to 1945 and directs itself to the testing of the following hypotheses:

1. "When business is good, marriage and divorce rates go up. When business is bad, they go down."³

2. "On the average, marriage comes later for higher income groups,

1. Cahen, op. cit., p. 112.

2. Ogburn, op. cit., p. 719.

3. Stouffer and Spencer, op. cit., p. 56.

for those of the more favored occupations, and for the better educated groups."¹ Or the same hypothesis stated in different words, "In both the urban and rural populations the modal ages at marriage of the women increase with the rising status of the social class."²

3. Rural males and females marry earlier than urban men and women.

4. Women marry at an earlier age than men.

5. Wisconsinites married at a younger age in 1915 than they did in 1920, 1935, 1940, or in 1945.

6. In Wisconsin, of all the marriages which end in divorce, marriages entered into by both brides and grooms under 20 years of age result in divorce earlier than do marriages entered into in other age groups, i.e., those marrying in ages 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, etc.

7. Duration of marriages that result in divorce.

A. The farm marriages that end in divorce, on the average, last longer than marriages which end in divorce in other social classes.

B. "Two-thirds of all divorces go to those who have been married less than ten years."³

C. "The point of greatest frequency of divorce is now in the fourth year of marriage...."⁴

1. Landis, op. cit., p. 131.

2. Notestein, op. cit., p. 48.

3. Ogburn, and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 719.

4. Folsom, op. cit., p. 508.

D. "Less than 5 per cent of the divorces annually granted involve persons married less than one year."¹

E. "Very few people are divorced the same year they are married, in fact, the median average lag between marriage and divorce is about seven years...about half of the divorces occur during the first seven years."²

8. Percentage of divorces in which children are involved

A. "Almost two-thirds of divorces come from the childless married population."³

B. "Some eighty-five per cent of all divorces come from a small section of families, those with either no children or only one child."⁴

1. Truxal and Merrill, op. cit., p. 654.

2. Cahen, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

3. Ibid, p. 112.

4. Ogburn, and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 19.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Effects of Economic Conditions upon Marriage and Divorce Rates

There have been many studies made concerning the effect of the business cycles upon marriage and divorce rates. Since most of these studies have reported similar findings, only the most important ones will be mentioned.

In 1885, an Englishman, Sir William Farr, then Superintendent of the statistical Department of England's Registrar General's office, remarked:

"The number of marriages in a nation perhaps fluctuates independently of external causes, but it is a fair deduction from the facts that the marriage returns in England point out periods of prosperity little less distinctly than the funds measure the hopes and fears of the money market. If the one is the barometer of credit, the other is the barometer of prosperity, present in part, but future, expected, anticipated, in still greater part."¹

An English economist, William Ogle, presented the fluctuations in the marriage rate, the price of wheat, the value of exports, and the proportion of unemployed. He states:

"When the standard of living is extremely low among the working classes, the question of marrying or not marrying is decided simply by the possibility of getting sufficient food, and consequently the price of food is then the main factor in determining the marriage rate, but when the standard of living has been considerably raised, mere sufficiency of food is no longer held to be an adequate justification of marriage, and consequently the price of wheat ceases to be the one determining factor, and becomes quite subordinate to the amount of wages."²

1. Farr, Sir William, Vital Statistics, London, Stanford, 1885, p. 68.

2. Ogle, William, "On Marriage Rates and Marriage Ages with Special Reference to the Growth of Population", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Volume 53, June, 1890, p. 258.

Walter F. Willcox was perhaps the first American to study the effects of the business cycle on marriage and divorce rates. He found that depressions in trade tended to decrease both marriage and divorce rates and he concluded that the decrease in the marriage rate was greater in the cities than in the rural areas.¹ He also stated the decrease of the divorce rate was greater in cities than in rural areas during depression periods.

Hooker was the first man to use statistical methods in computing correlations between business indices and marriage rates. By the use of moving averages to eliminate erratic fluctuations he found a high correlation between marriage rates and trade.²

Davies' study of the effect of the business cycle on the marriage rate from 1870 to 1920 in the United States found a correlation of $\pm 0.67 \pm 0.08$ between the price of cycle and the marriage rate.³ Later in 1922, Ogburn and Thomas made one of the most distinguished studies that has ever been made of the influence of business conditions on marriage and divorce rates. They used nine business indices to con-

1. Willcox, op. cit., p. 75.

2. Hooker, R. H., "On the Correlation of the Marriage Rate with Trade", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Volume 64, September, 1901, pp. 485-492.

3. Davies, George R., "Social Aspects of the Business Cycle", The Quarterly of the Journal of the University of North Dakota, Volume 12, January, 1922, pp. 107-121.

4. Ogburn, William F., and Dorothy S. Thomas, "The Influence of the Business Cycle on Certain Social Conditions", Journal of the American Statistical Association, Volume 18, September 1922, pp. 324-340.

struct one composite index. They then removed random and erratic fluctuations by using a nine-year moving average to compute correlations from 1870 to 1920. The correlation between the economic index and the marriage rate was + .81. From 1867 to 1906, they found a correlation of + .70 between the economic index and the divorce rate. Hence, Ogburn and Thomas summarized in their findings that there is a close relationship of marriage and divorce rates and the business cycle and that marriage and divorce rates tend to follow the business cycle.

Thomas later extended this study further and made an analysis of the effects of the business cycle on marriage and divorce rates in England and Wales. In this study which covered a period from 1854 to 1913, she found a correlation of + .67 between the marriage rate and economic conditions. However, she found no relationship between the divorce rate and the business cycle in England and Wales. She explained that this condition was due to the fact that divorces are largely restricted to a small social class in England and Wales and that a depression would not ordinarily decrease the divorces there as it would in the United States where divorce is not necessarily restricted to any one class of the population.¹

The most recent study of the effect of business conditions upon the marriage rates in England and Wales was made by D. V. Glass in 1938. The economic index that Glass used was the change in net real wages for unemployed and employed workers. He computed a refined marriage rate, the number of marriages of males ages 20 to 44 years.

1. Thomas, Dorothy S., Social Aspects of the Business Cycle, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925.

He found that the relationship between business fluctuations and marriage rates tended to be high. For the longest time period that he studied, 1856-1932, the correlation was + .72. He also divided this period into four sub-periods and found the following correlations: from 1856-1873, + .86; 1873-1890, + .71; 1890-1907, + .66; and 1926-1932, + .71. Glass stated that correlation between real wages and marriage rates will decrease in importance and will continue to do so in the future because a larger proportion of women are entering employment.¹

Hexter studied the effect of business conditions upon marriage and divorce rates in Boston from 1903 to 1908. The highest correlation between the economic index and the marriage rate was + .47. He concluded that divorce rates do not follow changes in the business cycle as closely as do marriage rates.²

Alfred Cahen's study of the effect of business conditions on divorce rates from 1870 to 1929 found but little relationship between these two variables.³

Rubinow concluded that economic changes do affect marriage rates

1. Glass, D. V., "Marriage Frequency and Economic Fluctuations in England and Wales, 1851 to 1934", Chapter VI in Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies (edited by Lancelot Hogben), New York, the Macmillan Company, 1938, pp. 251-282.

2. Hexter, Maurice B., Social Consequences of Business Cycles, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925.

3. Cahen, Alfred, Statistical Analysis of American Divorce, New York: Columbia University Press, Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law No. 360, 1932, p. 156.

perhaps more than they do divorce rates.¹

In Bossard's study of 20,000 marriages in Philadelphia which occurred between 1928 and 1935, he found that the effect of the depression upon marriage rates was not uniform for all groups or classes in the population. He found that the presence in large proportions of Negroes, Russian Jews, and to a lesser extent, of Italians, among the marriageable males in the city, coincided with a rise in the marriage rates of those areas during the depression. However, in areas where older native-white stock and of northern and western European stock were concentrated, the marriage rate was lowered during the depression. His explanation for this differential marriage rate is as follows:

".....on the whole, however, it is suggested that the older, more established groups tend, especially in any economic crisis like a depression, to give priority to the maintenance of their plane of living, thus postponing marriage. Status must be maintained, and if this is not possible in marriage, it is maintained without the marriage rate.

"On the other hand, in the newer, less established groups, and with those where a minimum plane of living is more or less passively accepted, the tendency appears to be to marry, regardless of its implications for the plane of living. Marriage, rather than a given plane of living, seems at least in certain groups, to be the status conferring conditions. This is particularly true with the Russian Jews....."²

Stouffer and Spencer made an extensive study of marriage and divorce rates in the United States for the period 1887 to 1937. They

1. Rubinow, I.M., Some Statistical Aspects of Marriage and Divorce, Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Pamphlet Series No. 3, 1936.

2. Bossard, James H. S., "Depression and Pre-Depression Marriage Rates: A Philadelphia Study", The American Sociological Review, Volume 2, Number 5, October, 1937, p. 695.

pointed out that there was a close relationship of marriage and divorce rates to follow the business cycle. They state: "As the American family slowly emerged from the depression which touched bottom in the winter of 1932-33, the marriage and divorce rates have climbed steadily upward."¹ Stouffer and Spencer stated in another article that, "When business is good, marriage and divorce rates go up. When business is bad they go down."²

In a study of divorce and business cycles in Holland, Gulden remarked, "The Bureau of Statistics of the city of Amsterdam has calculated the correlation between various economic indices and the marriage rate for the years 1930-1914. These data indicate an undeniable positive correlation between economic conditions and the frequency of marriages."³ In the period from 1852-1873, he found a negative correlation of -0.31 between the price of wheat and the divorce rate. When the price of wheat rises, the divorce rate then declines. On this point he states:

"It is noteworthy that with the absolute increase in divorces, consequently the spreading of the phenomenon over the laboring classes, the correlation between divorce and business cycles has increased considerably. It appears from this that the population

1. Stouffer, Samuel A., and Lyle M. Spencer, "Recent Increases in Marriage and Divorce", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLIV, Number 4, January, 1939, p. 551.

2. Stouffer and Spencer, "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," Annals of the American Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci., Volume 188, November, 1936, p. 56.

3. Gulden, Tess, "Divorce and Business Cycle", The American Sociological Review, Volume 4, Number 2, April, 1939, p. 217.

as a whole is more sensitive to the influence of economic ebb and flow than the propertied classes alone."¹

Nimkoff, commenting on the effect of business conditions on marriage and divorce rates, states:

"The marriage rate is, however, temporarily affected by war and by economic depression. Ordinarily there is some increase in marriages before a war starts, a decline during the war, and a spurt to high levels after the war. As for the effect of economic depression, the marriage rate follows the business cycle so closely that the curve is virtually the shadow of the other."²

"During the depression of the early 1930's the divorce rate dipped, although not to the low levels of previous decades, then rose to new high levels exceeding even the extraordinary rates of the post-war period of World War I."³

Hauser analyzed the effects of economic conditions on marriage and divorce rates in the United States from 1925 to 1941. His excellent description of this relationship is stated as follows:

"It has been demonstrated in the past that the marriage rate is highly sensitive to the influences both of the business cycle and of war...The marriage rate (rate per 1,000 persons) declined sharply during the depression to a low of 7.9 in 1932. It rose slowly after that date to a high of 11.2 in 1937, with economic recovery, and dropped again to 10.2 in 1938, with recession. With renewed economic recovery and prosperity since 1939, the marriage rate rose sharply to 11.9 in 1940 and to 12.6 in 1941."⁴

"The divorce rate is positively correlated with the business cycle. It is not surprising, therefore, that the divorce rate increased in 1939 and 1940 with the economic prosperity produced by war. The divorce rate (divorce per 1,000 persons), which is plotted for the period 1925-1940 in Chart I, (chart is left out)

1. Ibid, p. 223.

2. Nimkoff, Meyer F., "The Family", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLVII, Number 6, May, 1942, pp. 865-66.

3. Ibid, pp. 865-866.

4. Hauser, Philip M., "Population and Vital Phenomena", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. XLVIII, Number 3, November, 1942, p. 313.

dropped to a low of 1.28 in 1932, rose to 1.93 in 1937, dipped to 1.38 in 1938, and then rose to an all-time peak in the United States of 2.0 in 1940."¹

McCormick and Brooks conducted probably the first study of the effects of the business cycle upon marriage rates in the state of Wisconsin. In their study, which included the years from 1920-1936, they found that "farm and city marriage rates were much the same in average level and in trend over the 16 year period, except that the farm rates did not fall so low in the depression and turned up a year or two earlier."² They found that the marriage rates of the "overall" class recovered faster than those of the "white-collar" class after 1932.³ McCormick and Brooks concluded that "marriage rates were somewhat sensitive to changes in business conditions in the cities, but not on the farms."⁴

In a more detailed exposition of difference in trends of rural and urban marriage rates, Brooks states:

"The farm trend fell from 42 (marriage rate) in 1920 to 25 in 1924 and then, after a slight further decline to 23 in 1929, it rose to 34 in 1936. The urban trend declined... slowly until 1929 and then rapidly---from 31 in 1923 to 20 in 1932. By 1935 this trend had recovered all that it had previously lost. It may be noted that the rise in farm birth

1. Ibid., p. 313.

2. McCormick, Thomas C., and Melvin S. Brooks, "Occupational Birth and Marriage Rates, Wisconsin, 1920-1936", The American Sociological Review, Volume 6, Number 6, December 1941, p. 817.

3. Ibid., p. 817.

4. Ibid., p. 817.

rates preceded the rise in urban birth rates."¹

Concerning the effects of the business cycles on marriage rates, Brooks says that, "There is no doubt, however, that urban marriage rates are affected by economic conditions. The correlation between them, .73, was highly significant. Farm marriage rates apparently were not related to farm economic conditions, the correlation between the two being - .18."²

McCormick and Oberdorfer made the most elaborate study of the effect of economic conditions on marriage and divorce rates in Wisconsin from 1920 to 1935. They stated that the crude marriage rate fell in Wisconsin from 8.8 per 1,000 population in 1922 to a low of 6.5 in 1932. In 1933 there was an upturn in the marriage rate and by 1935 it had reached 9.9. Four economic indices were used as a measure of business conditions: bank debits in Wisconsin, gross income of Wisconsin farmers, average weekly earnings of Wisconsin industrial workers, and the United States Department of Commerce index of industrial production for the United States. The dependence of marriage rates in Wisconsin upon business conditions was computed for the four indices. Correlation coefficients of .70, .87, .75, and .75, were found for the four indices. Correlation coefficients between divorce rates and the four economic indices were .80, .87, .90, and .59, respectively.

1. Brooks, Melvin S., Wisconsin Birth and Marriage Rate Trends by Occupations, 1920-1936, Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1941, p. 5.

2. Ibid., p. 7.

Regarding the dependence of marriage rates upon business fluctuations, they state:

"The response of the marriage rate to changes in business conditions must have been immediate; for, when the marriage rate was lagged one year behind the economic indices, the values of the correlation coefficients dropped. However, marriage rates were more highly correlated with the economic indices themselves than with the annual percentages of change in such indices."¹

In a more detailed analysis of the influence of business conditions on marriage and divorce rates in Wisconsin from 1920-1935, Oberdorfer states: "the Wisconsin crude marriage rate seems most sensitive to variations in gross farm income."² "It seems evident that the influence of business conditions on the Wisconsin crude marriage rate is immediate, or at least is felt within the period of one year."³

Oberdorfer concluded that the correlations obtained between the statewide crude divorce rates and the economic indices for the period from 1920-1935 weren't as consistent as those obtained with the statewide crude marriage rates. He thinks that the crude divorce rate tends to fluctuate more with the indices of urban economic conditions than rural. He suggests that the relationship between business conditions and the divorce rate is not as close as the relationship between business conditions and marriage rates.

1. McCormick, Thomas C., and Douglas W. Oberdorfer, "Marriage and Divorce Rates in Wisconsin, 1920-35", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLVII, Number 4, January, 1942, p. 564.

2. Oberdorfer, Douglas W., The Effects of the Depression on Wisconsin's Marriage and Divorce Rates, Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1941, p. 87.

3. Ibid, p. 89.

Oberdorfer computed both the crude marriage rates (number of marriages per 1,000 population) and adjusted marriages for Wisconsin from 1920-1936 in his analysis. The adjusted marriage rates allowed for the occurrence of "out-of-state" marriages of Wisconsin residents. He estimated the number of "out-of-state" marriages for each year and added it to the recorded resident marriages. This raised the level of the marriage rates, but their variations from year to year remained the same.¹

It should be noted that Wisconsin has strict marriage laws. For a quarter of a century, Wisconsin has required a waiting period of five days between the time a marriage license is granted and the time that a person can get married in the state. To avoid this waiting period, thousands of Wisconsin residents have flocked to adjoining states to marry. Oberdorfer states that, "Hutchcroft, basing his remarks on a study of Stouffer of a sample of marriage certificates filed in surrounding states, says that of approximately 22,000 marriages of Wisconsin residents in 1933, less than 16,000 took place within the state. Of the remainder, 4,700 took place in Illinois, 950 in Minnesota, 250 in Michigan, and 100 in Iowa, all of which states have less exacting marriage laws than has Wisconsin."²

1. See Table A. Oberdorfer, op. cit., p. 243.

2. Hutchcroft, L. W., "The Gretna Green Angle of our Divorces", Wisconsin State Board of Health Bulletin, Volume 5, Number 18, April-June, 1934, p. 15. cf. Oberdorfer, op. cit., p. 246.

Table A

--Computation of Total Marriages, Wisconsin, 1920-1936¹
(corrected for estimated out-of-state marriages)

Year	'Recorded 'resident 'marriages 1/	'Percentage dist. 'of resident 'marriages 2/	'Estimated 'out-of-state 'marriages 3/	'Corrected 'total 'marriages 4/
1920	22,293	12,559	8,575	30,868
1921	18,759	10,568	7,214	25,973
1922	17,550	9,887	6,750	24,300
1923	17,758	10,004	6,829	24,587
1924	16,140	9,093	6,208	22,348
1925	16,385	9,231	6,302	22,687
1926	17,025	9,591	6,547	23,572
1927	16,818	9,475	6,468	23,286
1928	16,717	9,418	6,429	23,146
1929	18,058	10,173	6,945	25,003
1930	15,528	12,352	5,903	21,231
1931	14,954	12,051	5,759	20,713
1932	14,034	11,309	5,404	19,438
1933	15,962	12,863	6,147	22,109
1934	20,074	16,177	7,730	27,804
1935	21,075	16,983	8,116	29,191
1936	22,666	18,265	8,728	31,394

1/ Obtained from biennial reports of the Wisconsin Bureau of Vital Statistics

2/ Figures for 1920 through 1929 obtained from percentage distribution of total recorded resident marriages during 1920-1929, inclusive; figures for 1930 through 1936 obtained from percentage distribution of total recorded resident marriages during 1930-1936, inclusive.

3/ Estimates for 1920-1929 obtained by multiplying percentage distribution of resident marriages, 1920-1929, by 68,267, estimated total out-of-state marriages, 1920-1929; estimates for marriages, 1930-1936, by 47,789, estimated total out-of-state marriages, 1930-1936

4/ Obtained by adding recorded resident marriages and estimated out-of-state marriages of the given year.

Differences Between Occupations in Age at Marriage

Although there have been numerous American Studies on age at marriage, few of them include comparisons between occupational groups or social classes. The only published study ever made for the state of Wisconsin on this subject was by McCormick and Brooks.¹ Their study included the period from 1923-1935.

Information concerning marriages was taken from records of the Wisconsin Bureau of Vital Statistics at Madison. Grooms were classified into twelve different occupational groups: farmer, professional, semi-professional, proprietor-and-official, agent, clerical, skilled, domestic-and-personal-service, semi-skilled, unskilled, indefinite, and unclassified. In all urban classes the occupation on each marriage certificate was checked against the occupation of the husband listed in a city directory to correct any possible errors on information recorded on marriage certificates.

The findings of McCormick and Brooks' research can be best described in their own words. They state:

"The proprietor-and-official group had the highest mean age of groom throughout the period 1923-1935. The mean age for 1930 was 30.4 years, and for 1935, 31.2 years. The professional occupation was second with 29.5 years in both 1923 and 1935. The skilled workers were third oldest, averaging 28.2 years in 1923 and 28.4 years in 1935. Unskilled laborers began at 28.7 years in 1923 and ended at 27.8 years in 1935. The clerical and semi-skilled had lower mean ages of grooms than any other major occupation. The trend for the clerical occupation increased irregularly from 26.2 years in 1923 to 27.1 in 1935; that for the semi-skilled increased from 26.4 years in 1923 to 27.0 in 1935."²

1. McCormick and Brooks, op. cit., pp. 806-817.

2. Ibid, p. 815.

These mean ages are placed in table form below for an easier interpretation.

Occupation	Mean Age of Groom at Marriage		
	Year		
	<u>1923</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1935</u>
Proprietor-and-official		30.4	31.2
Professional	29.5		29.5
Skilled	28.2		29.4
Unskilled	28.7		27.8
Clerical	26.2		27.1
Semi-skilled	26.4		27.0

These data suggest that marriage does come later for men of the more favored occupations and higher income groups. The two highest social classes, proprietor-and-official and the professional group, marry at later ages than do the lower classes. The only possible exception revealed is that the unskilled occupation married later in 1923 than did the skilled, clerical or the semi-skilled.

Brooks stated that urban males must be classified into at least ten occupational categories in order to avoid lumping into one category specific occupations with diverse demographic characteristics.¹ He concluded that each occupation, with the possible exceptions of the semi-skilled and the indefinite occupations, represents a separate sociological universe.

In his study, Brooks selected nine cities in Wisconsin and treated them as a statistical universe for obtaining urban occupational data from 1923 to 1935. These cities were Fond du Lac, Green Bay, Kenosha, La Crosse, Madison, Manitowoc, Milwaukee, Racine, and Wausau. A 25 per cent sample was used for Milwaukee and complete enumerations were

1. Brooks, op. cit., p. 12.

taken in all of the other cities during this period. Two city directories were employed in each city in an attempt to spot-check brides and grooms and to verify their occupational recordings on the marriage certificates.

The various occupations which Brooks placed in each of the eleven major urban occupational groups is shown in the table on the following page.

1. Professional

Physicians and surgeons
Dentists
Teachers
Engineers (technical)
Clergymen
Journalists
Lawyers and attorneys
Musicians
Artists
Actors
Welfare workers
Statisticians
Librarians
Designers

2. Semi-professional (and technical)

Draftsmen
Pharmacists
Healers, chiropractors, and osteopaths
Photographers
Religious workers
Officials of lodges, clubs, societies, labor unions, etc.
Keepers of charitable and penal institutions
Technicians
Laboratory assistants
Notaries
Justices of Peace

3. Proprietor and Official

Proprietors of retail, wholesale, manufacturing concerns, etc.
Managers of retail, wholesale, manufacturing concerns, etc.
Public officials, including inspectors
Contractors
Bank cashiers
Bankers
Brokers
Peddlers and junk dealers

4. Agents

Insurance salesmen or agents
Real estate salesmen or agents
Wholesale salesmen
Advertising salesmen or agents
Auditors
Commercial travelers
Purchasing agents

5. Clerical

Clerks
Salesmen
Book-keepers
Accountants
Telephone, telegraph, and radio operators
Collectors
Mail carriers
Office managers
Messengers
Creditmen
Ticket and station agents
Canvassers and solicitors
Cashiers
Bank tellers

6. Skilled Laborers

Carpenters
Engineers
Machinists
Mechanics
Printers
Painters and paper hangers
Plumbers
Foremen
Electricians
Die setters and sinkers
Tailors
Conductors
Shoe repairers and cobblers
Policemen, sheriffs, etc.
Sheetmetal workers and tinsmiths
Fitters, steam, pipe, and gas
Molders and casters
Jewelers
Masons
Plasterers
Bricklayers
Blacksmiths
Cabinetmakers
Forgemen and hammermen
Firemen
Piano tuners
Stone cutters

7. Semi-skilled Laborers

Operators and operatives
Drivers, truck, taxi, and bus

Bakers
Welders
Butchers and meat cutters
Watchmen and guards
Brakemen
Switchmen
Motormen
Shoe workers
Buffers and polishers
Grinders
Apprentices
Oilers
Attendants
Helpers to skilled workers
Dyers
Packers

8. Unskilled Laborers

Laborers
Helpers
Teamsters
Fishermen
Stevedores

9. Domestic and Personal Service

Janitors
Cooks
Elevator operators
Barbers
Waiters and bartenders
Bell boys
Hospital attendants
Porters
Shoe shiners
Gardener
Counter men
Stewards

10. Not Classified

No occupational information given

11. Indefinite¹

Employees
Workers

1. Brooks, op. cit., pp. 183-186

The mean age of grooms and the mean age of brides for each eleven occupational groups was then computed for each year from 1923 to 1935. See Tables B and C.

The grooms of the proprietor-and-official group had the highest mean age throughout the 13 year period. The professional occupation had the second highest trend of mean age of the groom. The unskilled laborers had the most irregular trend of mean age at marriage over the entire period. From an examination of the table on mean age of groom, it is noted that the clerical and the semi-skilled occupations had far lower trends of mean age than the other major occupations. These data verify the generalization that the higher the social class, the older is the age at marriage.

Brooks found that the mean age at marriage of bride data resembles the mean age of groom data so closely that all generalizations and descriptions made of the latter can be applied to the former. The mean age of bride at marriage varied only about four years, at the most, between the occupations in any year. The spread between the mean ages of grooms in any year was almost five years.

Brooks computed a correlation coefficient between the mean age of grooms and the mean age of brides. In 1923, the correlation was .96 and in 1924 the correlation fell just slightly to .95.¹ He states, "in other words, as far as inter-occupational levels are concerned,

1. Brooks, op. cit., p. 89.

TABLE B

MEAN AGE OF GROOM, ALL CITIES, BY OCCUPATION, 1923-1935¹

Year	Mean	Occupation										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1923	27.9	29.5	27.0	30.4	29.2	26.2	28.2	26.4	28.7	29.9	29.4	26.2
1924	27.8	29.4	27.1	30.6	28.5	26.3	28.0	26.3	28.4	30.4	29.4	25.8
1925	27.7	29.1	27.1	30.9	28.3	26.4	28.0	26.2	28.1	29.8	28.9	25.8
1926	27.6	29.2	27.0	30.9	28.9	26.5	28.0	26.1	27.9	29.4	28.6	25.8
1927	27.6	28.9	26.4	30.8	29.1	26.5	28.1	26.2	27.6	28.9	28.7	25.9
1928	27.6	28.8	26.2	31.0	28.6	26.5	28.3	26.1	27.4	27.3	28.6	26.7
1929	27.6	29.1	26.3	31.0	28.4	26.5	28.4	26.2	27.8	26.9	28.5	26.9
1930	27.8	29.1	26.7	30.7	28.6	26.7	28.5	26.6	28.1	27.9	28.6	26.8
1931	27.8	29.1	27.1	30.9	28.0	26.7	28.7	26.5	27.6	29.0	28.6	26.6
1932	27.8	29.3	26.9	31.4	27.2	26.6	28.9	26.2	27.0	29.5	28.5	26.3
1933	27.8	29.3	26.6	31.2	28.5	26.5	29.0	26.5	27.4	29.4	28.3	26.5
1934	27.9	29.3	26.7	30.9	29.9	26.7	29.2	26.7	27.8	29.0	28.0	26.7
1935	28.2	29.5	27.1	31.2	30.2	27.1	29.4	27.0	27.8	28.9	28.1	26.8

¹Brooks, op. cit., p. 128.

TABLE C
MEAN AGE OF BRIDE, ALL CITIES, BY OCCUPATION, 1923-1935¹

Year:	Mean :	Occupation										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1923	24.6	25.6	24.3	26.2	26.4	23.7	24.9	23.4	25.2	26.5	25.9	23.0
1924	24.6	25.8	24.5	26.4	25.6	23.8	24.8	23.3	25.1	26.8	25.6	23.2
1925	24.6	25.5	24.2	26.6	25.2	23.9	24.9	23.3	24.8	26.5	25.5	23.0
1926	24.5	25.5	24.2	26.5	25.5	23.8	25.0	23.4	24.4	26.0	25.5	22.5
1927	24.5	25.3	24.0	26.6	25.8	23.8	25.0	23.3	24.1	25.1	25.5	22.6
1928	24.4	25.4	23.9	27.0	25.8	23.8	25.0	23.1	23.8	23.7	25.5	23.6
1929	24.4	25.6	23.9	26.9	25.3	23.8	25.1	23.2	24.2	23.4	25.1	23.9
1930	24.6	25.8	24.1	26.5	25.4	24.0	25.2	23.5	24.6	23.9	25.0	23.6
1931	24.5	25.7	24.4	26.4	25.3	23.9	25.2	23.4	24.3	24.3	25.3	23.6
1932	24.4	25.8	24.6	26.8	24.9	23.6	25.3	23.1	23.7	25.0	25.5	23.5
1933	24.6	25.8	24.0	27.0	26.0	23.8	25.6	23.4	23.9	25.2	25.1	23.3
1934	24.7	25.6	23.8	26.9	27.1	24.0	25.8	23.6	24.2	25.0	24.9	23.3
1935	24.9	25.7	24.4	26.8	26.8	24.4	25.8	23.9	24.4	25.1	25.0	23.4

¹Brooks, op. cit., p. 129.

a high mean age of bride is associated with a high mean age of groom..¹

Brooks secured his occupational data for the farm group from marriage certificates at the state capitol in Madison. He used the total number of marriage certificates in which farming was listed as the occupation. It was noted that sampling was employed in one instance in securing his urban occupational data. Brooks selected only the even-numbered years in computing the mean ages of farm brides and grooms. These years were from 1920 to 1936, inclusive.

The mean age of farm brides and grooms are compared to the mean age of the total urban brides and grooms in Table D.

The mean age for farm grooms is almost the same as the mean age of the urban grooms. In 1924, both had the same mean age at marriage with 27.8 years. In three years, the mean age of the farm groom was slightly higher than for the urban. In 1932 and 1934, the urban grooms had a higher mean age.

The farm brides were about four years younger than the farm grooms. The outstanding difference in the age of farm brides is that they were nearly a year and a half younger than the mean age of the urban brides. Concerning this difference between farm and urban brides, Brooks writes, "the inferior employment opportunities for young women in rural areas, which make the alternatives to early marriage relative-

1. Ibid, p. 90.

MEAN AGE OF GROOM AND MEAN AGE OF BRIDE, FARM
AND URBAN, 1920-1936¹

YEAR	MEAN AGE OF GROOM		MEAN AGE OF BRIDE	
	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm
1920		27.4		23.2
1921				
1922		27.7		23.4
1923	27.9		24.6	
1924	27.8	27.8	24.6	23.4
1925	27.7		24.6	
1926	27.6	27.8	24.5	23.6
1927	27.6		24.5	
1928	27.6	27.8	24.4	23.3
1929	27.6		24.4	
1930	27.8	27.9	24.6	23.1
1931	27.8		24.5	
1932	27.8	27.4	24.4	22.8
1933	27.8		24.6	
1934	27.9	27.4	24.7	22.8
1935	28.2		24.9	
1936		27.8		23.2

1. Brooks, op. cit., p.12/ .

ly unattractive, probably account for at least part of this difference."¹

In an extensive study of marriages in Philadelphia during the period 1913-1916, Marvin found that men and women of the same occupation inter-married to a degree exceeding "chance expectation" in practically every occupation, and that in most cases the greater-than-chance excess was large.² This substantiates Brooks' generalization that the mean age of bride data resembles the mean age of groom data so closely that all generalizations concerning one can be applied to the other almost without modifications. It also supports Brooks' findings that a high mean age of groom is associated with a high mean age of bride and, vice versa.

Frank W. Notestein made a study on the differential age at marriage between women of the social classes.³ His study was based on records obtained from the 1910 census schedules for 17,876 women who were married between 1905 and 1910. These women were of native white parentage, and at the time of the census of 1910 they were living with their husbands, who were of like parentage. Neither the women nor their husbands had been married more than once. None of the women were over forty years of age at the time of their marriage.

Notestein took an urban sample from thirty-three cities in the

1. Brooks, op. cit., p. 80.

2. Marvin, Donald S., "Occupational Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection", Publ. Amer. Statist. Assn., 1918, 16: pp. 131-150.

3. Notestein, Frank W., op. cit., pp. 22-48.

northern part of the United States. The rural sample was also from this section of the country. The women were grouped into six urban and three rural classes on the basis of the husband's occupation.

The urban population was first divided, on the basis of the husband's occupation, into four broad social classes: Professional, business, skilled workers, and unskilled workers. The business class was then divided into proprietors and clerks and the skilled worker class was divided into skilled workers and semi-skilled workers. Notestein maintains that each occupational group represents a distinct sociological universe. He says, "it should only be observed that, while no claim of precision was made for the details of the classification, it was felt that each of these classes taken as a whole differed from the others with respect to its social background, standards of education and achievement, and economic status."¹

He divided the rural population into three classes: farm owners, farm renters, and farm laborers.

The following table gives the average age of women at marriage, by mean and modal ages for all occupational groups.

Mean and Modal Age at Marriage of Women of Native White Parentage who were under Forty Years of Age at Their Marriage, Married between April 16, 1900, and April 15, 1905, and Living with Their Husbands at the Census of 1910.²

1. Notestein, op. cit., p. 33.

2. Ibid, p. 40.

Social Class of Husband	Average Age of Women at Marriage	
	Mean	Mode
Total Urban	22.4	20.5
Professional	24.8	23.5
Proprietary	23.3	21.7
Clerks	22.9	21.3
Skilled workers	21.8	19.6
Semi-skilled workers	21.2	19.5
Unskilled laborers	21.4	18.5
Total Rural	21.4	19.2
Farm owners	22.3	20.0
Farm renters	20.9	19.0
Farm laborers	20.1	18.1

The professional class, which is customarily ranked highest in the social scale, also has the highest mean and modal age at marriage. The mean of the unskilled class is 3.4 years lower than the professional class. The intermediate classes have the same rank in order of age at marriage as that usually given to their social status. However, the difference between classes is not uniform.

In the rural occupation groups, the age at marriage advances with the social status of the class. Although the women of the rural group, taken as a whole, married earlier than did the total urban females, it isn't true for each class of the farm group. The farm laborers married younger than any of the rural or urban groups. However the farm owners married later than the unskilled laborers, semi-skilled workers, and the skilled workers in the urban group.

Notestein cites a study of the age at marriage of certain social classes in England.¹ English women married later than did American women of comparable social classes.

1. Census of England and Wales (1911), XIII, Part II, c.f. Notestein, op. cit., p. 45.

Notestein concludes: "for both the urban and rural classes age at marriage increases with rising social status."¹

During 1921-23, Professors Ross and Baber made a study of 750 families of the past generation (the females were born, on the average, in 1839, and the males, 1834) and 2500 families of the present generation (the males and females were born, on the average, in 1866). They secured the cooperation of students in widely scattered colleges and universities and this study is based on data obtained from these students' parents. The mother had to be 45 years of age or over, while no family was used unless the father and mother were both living and the grandfather on both sides of the family was native born.

The students' mothers and fathers were designated as families of the present generation. The students' grandparents were considered as families of the past generation in the study.

Questionnaires were mailed to the students' parents. Ross and Baber make no mention of what percentage of the mailed questionnaires were returned, other than that over half of the blanks never came back.² Nearly four-fifths of the families studied lived in the central and middle western states, with about one-third residing in Wisconsin.

1. Notestein, Ibid., p. 48.

2. Ross, Edward A., and Ray E. Baber, "Changes in the Size of American families in one generation," University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, Number 10, Madison, 1924, p. 9.

Ross and Baber failed to give a complete list of the occupations which they classified under the main occupational groups. The incomplete list that they presented is as follows:

To illustrate who were included in the different occupational groups the following occupations, picked at random, are shown as classified in the study: PROFESSIONAL: violinist, editor, journalist, civil engineer, mechanical engineer, inventor, chemist, minister, lawyer, teacher, certified public accountant, efficiency engineer, doctor, dramatic critic, music teacher, etc. BUSINESS: merchant, publisher, druggist, manufacturer, insurance, real estate, miller, undertaker, travelling salesman, contractor and builder, banker, etc. CLERICAL: clerk in office, railroad agent, railroad conductor, bookkeeper, etc. FARMER: farmer, rancher, truck farmer, etc. SKILLED LABORER: carpenter, painter, mechanic, printer, shoemaker, trapper and hunter, railroad engineer, barber, blacksmith, mason, etc. UNSKILLED LABORER: laborer, soldier, steel worker, sailor, etc. (In this last class the answer was usually "day laborer" or "common laborer"). The above list is taken from actual returns on the questionnaire.¹

The differential median ages at marriage among the six occupational groups appear in the table below.

The Occupation and Age at Marriage of Men of the Past and Present Generation, and the Mean Age at Marriage of Each Occupational Group.²

Occupation	Mean Age at Marriage	
	Past generation born about 1834	Present generation born about 1866
Total number of men	750	1,472
Totals	25.58	27.32
Professional	26.65	28.01
Business	26.01	27.27
Clerical	24.97	27.85
Farmer	25.32	26.89

1. Ibid., p. 16.

2. Ibid, pp. 42-43.

Occupation	Past generation born about 1834	Present generation born about 1866
Skilled laborer	24.68	26.74
Unskilled laborer	24.58	27.38
Total urban group	25.78 ¹	27.47 ¹

The comparison here is between men of two generations, fathers and sons. In the group that was born in 1834, the unskilled laborer married earliest. The professional, which is also assumed to be the highest social class, married the latest. It is interesting to note that with the exception of the clerical and unskilled groups in the present generation, the age at marriage increases with the rising social status.

The farm grooms in the past generation married later than the unskilled, skilled, and clerical groups did. In the present generation, only the skilled labor grooms were younger at marriage than the farm men.

It should be pointed out that Ross and Baber's study was of a select group of the families of students in several universities and colleges. They state: "However, we make no claim that we are dealing with a sample cross-section of the American population."² How much bias this factor introduces into the study cannot be determined. Their findings on age at marriage are open to question because they

1. These means for the total urban occupational groups were computed from the age distribution given in Ross and Baber's Book, pp. 42-43.

2. Ibid, p. 11.

made no attempt to secure a representative sample of the universe. They obtained data from a small number of marriages. Their results are, however, similar to those of other studies.¹

Ciocco made an extensive study on age at first marriage of the white population in Washington County, Maryland, from 1897 to 1938. The results of his study were based on 15,060 marriages or, an average of 310 per year. His findings on the age at marriage in relation to socio-economic status are in agreement with other studies.

The urban group was divided into three general classes according to the husband's occupation: I. Owners, managers, officials and professional men; II. Skilled and semi-professional workers; III. Laborers, unskilled and semi-skilled. He concludes that "there is a definite association between late marriage and socio-economic level observed in every year from 1915 to 1938. Men who are owners, officials, professionals etc., marry later than the artisans (skilled) who in turn marry later than unskilled laborers. The brides exhibit the same differences as do the grooms. Since 1915, the median age of marriage of the owners, managers, officials, and professional men has been consistently about 2 years higher than the average age of skilled and semi-professional workers. In turn, these have averaged about one year older than the laborers. The same differences are noted relative to the average ages of the brides."²

1. See McCormick and Brooks, op. cit., pp. 806-817; Brooks, op. cit., doctoral thesis, and Notestein, op. cit., pp. 22-48.

2. Ciocco, Antonio, "The Trend of the Age of Marriage in Washington County, Maryland, from 1897 to 1938," Human Biology, Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, Volume 12, Number 1, February, 1940, pp 73 & 75.

Sundal's study of marriages in the city of Madison during 1937-1938, 1940-1941, and 1943 presents statistics on mean age of brides and grooms, by occupational groups. His data is based on a sample during these three periods and is presented in the tables below.

Mean Age of Groom at First Marriage, by Groom's Occupation:
1937 - 1938 and 1940-1941.¹

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Time Periods</u>	
	1937-1938	1940-1941
Professional	28.03	27.15
Proprietors (etc.)	28.00	27.69
Clerical	26.40	25.81
Skilled	27.47	26.09
Semi-skilled and Unskilled	25.55	25.64

Mean Age of Bride at First Marriage by Bride's Occupation,
1937 - 1938, 1940 - 1941 and 1943.²

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Time Periods</u>		
	1937-1938	1940-1941	1943
Professional and Business	27.82	27.12	26.99
Nurses and Technicians	26.97	25.59	25.64
Clerical	24.88	24.28	23.03
Operatives (etc.)	23.66	23.49	22.71
Domestic	22.96	23.57	24.02
At home or Unknown	22.41	22.01	20.55

His data shows that marriage for the grooms of the more favored occupations comes later than for the unskilled and semi-skilled classes. It is apparent that there is a close relationship between mean age of

1. Sundal, Arnold P., Marriage and Mate Selection with Special Reference to Marriages in the Madison Community in Peacetime and War-time, unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Univ. of Wis., 1948, p. 153.

2. Sundal, op. cit., p. 185.

bride and her occupation, with a direct correspondence between the position on the socio-economic scale of a bride's occupation and her age at marriage.

Comparisons between Farm and Urban Data on Mean Age
of Brides and Grooms.

Melvis S. Brooks' study on age at marriage of Wisconsin farm and urban groups from 1920-1936 clearly shows these differentials. He computed mean age at marriage for brides and grooms of the Wisconsin urban group for every year from 1923 to 1935, inclusive. Mean age of brides and grooms of the farm population of Wisconsin was computed for each even-numbered year 1920-1936, inclusive.¹

In 1924, both farm and urban grooms were 27.8 years old. In 1926, 1928, and 1930, the farm grooms were slightly older than urban grooms. The mean ages at marriage being 27.6 years for urban and 27.8 years for rural in 1926, 27.6 years and 27.8 years in 1928, and 27.8 years and 27.9 years of age in 1930, respectively. However, from 1930 through 1936 there was a reversal in the age at marriage. The urban grooms married at a later age than did the farm grooms. In 1932, the mean age of urban grooms was 27.8 and 27.4 for rural grooms. In 1934, this differential increased slightly with urban grooms marrying at 27.9 years of age and farm grooms remaining the same age, 27.4 years. In 1935, the mean age at marriage of urban grooms increased to 28.2 years and in 1936, the farm men were 27.8 years old at marriage.

1. Brooks, op. cit., p. 127.

Brooks found that farm brides consistently married younger than urban brides. In 1926, the urban brides were .9 of a year older than the farm brides. This differential between age at marriage increased for each even-numbered year, until in 1934, the farm brides married 1.9 years earlier than urban brides.

From a glance at the table on mean age at marriage for the farm and urban groups, it can be noted that there was no definite trend in age at marriage between farm and urban grooms. Brooks' findings doesn't support the generalization that farm grooms marry younger than urban, because the age of farm and urban grooms changed places in several instances. His findings does verify the hypothesis that rural women marry younger than urban women. In all years from 1920-1936, this was true.

Notestein's findings in his study on the age at marriage of rural and urban women, are similar to that noted by Brooks. The mean age of rural brides was 21.4 years, while the urban brides married one year later, 22.4 years of age. If the modal ages at marriage are used, the farm brides married 1.3 years earlier than the urban brides.

The semi-skilled workers of the urban group did marry younger than the total farm brides, although the mean difference was only .2 of one year. He found that the mean age of the unskilled laborers were the same as that of the farm brides, 21.4 years. These differentials are between occupational groups, not urban and rural groups. When rural and urban brides are compared, the total for each group must be considered. Notestein's results verify the hypothesis that rural brides marry younger than urban brides.

Ross and Baber's study of mean age at marriage of men living in the central and middle western states gave only differential ages between the occupational groups.¹ However, the mean ages for the urban group of the men of the past and present generations were computed from their data.

The mean age at marriage computed for the urban group of the past generation was 25.78 years. The farm grooms married slightly earlier, with a mean average of 25.32 years of age. In other words, the farm grooms who were born about 1834, married about one-half year earlier than did the urban grooms. It seems that this mean age for grooms is entirely too low. Brooks found that grooms in Wisconsin married about two years older than Ross and Baber did. However, it must be noted that the grooms of the two studies were born about seventy years apart. Whether grooms born around 1834 married two years younger than in 1920-1936 may be open to question. This point will be taken up later in this chapter.

The farm grooms that were born about 1866 married a little earlier than the urban grooms of approximately the same period. The urban men were about .6 of a year older at marriage than the farm men.

Warren S. Thompson, in 1925, inferred that the farm women marry a little earlier than city women.

Thompson cites the 1920 census reports and remarks:

"of all women 15 to 24 years of age, 34.6 per cent of those in rural communities are married, while only 30.4 per cent of those in urban communities are married; for the age group 25-34 the percent-

1. Ross and Baber, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

ages are 82.0 and 72.6 respectively, and for the age group 35-44 they are 85.8 and 76.0. So far as I am aware, we have no comprehensive data in this country on the age at marriage of urban and rural women nor upon the duration of their marriages, but the percentages given above show that more rural women marry, and the probability is that they marry earlier."¹

In 1934, Duncan and others studied the age factor in marriage in Payne County, Oklahoma. Their study covered a thirty-seven year period, January 1, 1895 to December 31, 1932.

Duncan made a frequency distribution from his data by grouping males and females according to age at marriage by 3 year periods. Those who were 14, 15, and 16 years of age at marriage constituted one group; those marrying at ages of 17, 18, and 19, constituted another group, and so on.

He found that the modal age period at which men married was from twenty to twenty-two years, while that for women was from seventeen to nineteen years. He also stated that the single age at which men married in greatest frequency was twenty-one years, while the corresponding age for women is eighteen years.²

Duncan then compared his findings to Bossard's study of urban marriages in Philadelphia in 1931. Bossard found that the modal age period at which men married was from twenty-three to twenty-five years, while that for women was from twenty to twenty-two years. Bossard also stated that the single age at which men married in greatest fre-

1. Thompson, Warren S., "Rural Demography", Publications of the American Sociological Society, Volume XIX, October 1925, p. 151.

2. Duncan, et. al., op. cit., p. 473.

quency was twenty-two years, while the corresponding age for women in Philadelphia was twenty-one years.¹

Duncan then states, "this shows concretely the contrast in age at marriage between rural and urban populations for each sex. In other words, the differences in age at marriage between urban and rural people of the same sex seem to be about the same as those between the two sexes in the rural population, with the rural population marrying earlier than the urban by about three years."² Duncan infers that both males and females seem to marry earlier in rural than in urban areas. Concerning this point he says, "...agricultural societies favor early marriage by custom. In purely rural communities a person who remains unmarried beyond the usual age at marriage becomes more or less conspicuous and ill at ease among his fellows. In other words, marriage for rural people is rather highly scrutinized by the group, whereas in the city there is somewhat less interference in the affairs of individuals on the part of the group."³

In this study of Oklahoma farm marriages, no computations of median, mean, or modal age at marriage was given. In view of this, his findings are open to question. Other studies that have been noted in the preceding pages don't show this much variation between age at marriage of farm and urban brides and grooms.

1. Bossard, James H. S., "The Age Factor in Marriage; A Philadelphia Study, 1931", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XXXVIII, Number 4, January 1933, pp. 536-537.

2. Duncan, et. al., p. 474.

3. Ibid, p. 482.

Concerning age at marriage, Landis states, "urban persons taken as a whole marry considerably later than rural residents. Place of residence effects different groups in different degrees, however, in this respect."¹ Landis based this contention upon the study made by Notestein.²

Sims remarks that "country people marry younger than do city folks. This is true for both sexes but especially for women. Census data furnish the proof. For 1930 in the age group 15-19, 10.2 per cent of the urban and 15.5 per cent of the rural females are married. Likewise in the group 20-24, the per cents are 47.1 urban and 58.8 rural."³

Here again, the generalization was based upon percentages of population married, not age at marriage. Granting that the 1930 census data does show a larger percentage of rural females married than urban females in the younger age groups, if a large number of marriages are entered into by old farm spinsters this might place the mean age at marriage of farm brides higher than urban brides.

Kolb and Brunner follow Sims contention that the rural population marries earlier than the urban. They report that, "...country people marry earlier in life; the union is less frequently broken, and there is a tendency for the unmarried and those left by broken marriages

1. Landis, Paul H., op. cit., p. 103.

2. Notestein, op. cit., pp. 22-48.

3. Sims, Newell L., Elements of Rural Sociology, New York: Thomas T. Crowell Company, 1946, p. 503.

either by divorce or death, to migrate."¹

The Bureau of the Census made an elaborate study of age at first marriage of males and females. The data for females is based on a sample of women enumerated in the 1940 census. Women in this study were 45 to 64 years old, who were married, or had been married.

These data were classified by sex, white, non-white, and for the urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm and total population for the United States. The following table shows their findings:

Median Age at First Marriage, by Color and Sex, for the United States, Urban and Rural, Computed from 1940 Census Data²

(Medians for females based on data from Sample C for all women ever married, 45 to 64 years old. Medians for males estimated from complete count of male population by age and marital status.)

Area	Male			Female		
	Total	White	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White
United States	24.3	24.5	22.9	21.6	21.8	19.9
Urban	24.7	24.8	23.2	21.9	22.1	20.0
Rural						
Non-						
Farm	23.5	23.6	22.8	21.3	21.4	19.6
Rural						
Farm	24.3	24.7	22.7	21.0	21.2	19.8

The rural-farm males married slightly younger than urban males.

The rural-nonfarm males married 1.2 years younger than the urban males.

The difference in age at first marriage between females is not so great, however. The rural-farm women married, on the average, at 21.0 years of

1. Kolb, J. H., and Edmund De S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, p. 206.

2. Bureau of the Census. "Age at First Marriage," Population Special Reports, Series P-45, No. 7, May 28, 1945, p. 2.

age. The rural-nonfarm females ranked second highest, marrying at 21.5 years of age and the urban females oldest, being 21.9 years of age. It should be noted that this study deals with age at first marriage, which undoubtedly accounts for the lower ages at marriage than other studies have found.

The differences in the age at marriage is described like this: "The relatively high medians for men in rural-farm areas may be partly explained by a tendency for young men to leave the farm and enter the rural-nonfarm or the urban population before they marry, so that those who remain on the farm are principally the ones who marry comparatively late. Young men who remain on farms are, on the average, in a poorer position financially to get married than men in rural-nonfarm and urban areas. For example, nearly one-fourth of the employed males 20 to 24 years old living on farms in 1940 were working without pay for their parents or other relatives compared to only one per cent of those living in urban and rural-nonfarm areas."¹

Differences between Age of Bride and Age of Groom.

Several studies have pointed out that differences do exist between age at marriage between brides and grooms.

Bossard's study of 13,449 marriages entered into in 1931 by urban people living in Philadelphia shows that women marry younger than

1. Population-Special Reports, op. cit., p. 2. See also Sixteenth Census, Report on Population, "The Labor Force (Sample Statistics) Employment and Personal Characteristics", Tables 11 and 12.

men. The following table gives the age distribution of men and women according to age at marriage.¹

Number and Percentages of Men and Women Marrying,
Grouped by Three-Year Age Periods

Age Period	NUMBER		PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
14-16	3	163	--	1.2
17-19	194	2,252	1.4	16.8
20-22	3,015	4,559	22.4	33.9
23-25	3,353	2,726	24.9	20.3
26-28	2,355	1,335	17.5	9.9
29-31	1,444	741	10.8	5.5
32-34	870	392	6.5	2.9
35-37	605	353	4.5	2.6
38-40	449	246	3.3	1.8
41-43	265	193	2.0	1.4
44-46	231	152	1.7	1.1
47-49	163	99	1.2	.8
50-52	146	84	1.1	.6
53-55	109	51	.8	.4
56-58	68	37	.5	.4
59-61	62	26	.5	.2
62-64	38	17	.3	.1
65-67	41	11	.3	.1
68-70, etc.	38	12	.3	.1
	13,449	13,449	100.0	100.0

He states that "women marry at an earlier age than men. This is evident throughout the study. From table I (the table above), it will be seen that while but 1.4 per cent of the grooms are under 20 years, 18 per cent of all women marrying reported their ages under this year. Including the next three year period, it is found that while 23.8 per cent of the men are under 23 years, 51.9 per cent of the women fall within those years. If still another three-year period be added, i.e., including up to the end of the twenty-fifth year, it will be found

1. Bossard, op. cit., p. 539.

that half of the men (48.7 per cent) and three-fourths of the women (72.2 per cent) are less than 26 years of age."¹ It should be noted that Bossard did not report the average age at marriage of either the brides or grooms.

Duncan made a similar study of the farm population in Oklahoma. His findings follow that which Bossard pointed out. Upon examination of the table below, it can be seen that 47.8 per cent of the females were married under 20 years of age. Only 5.6 per cent of the males were married in this corresponding age. As was stated earlier, Duncan based his generalization on the percentage of the population married in certain age groups rather than upon average age at marriage.

Distribution by Age at Marriage of Men and Women
Married in Payne County, Oklahoma, from
1895 to 1932.²

Age at Marriage	Cumulative Percentage of Total Marriages	
	Males	Females
Below 20	5.6	47.8
22 or below	38.2	71.3
25 or below	60.7	82.4
28 or below	74.1	87.7

Ogburn supports the contention that women marry earlier than men in the United States. He reported that "in the first part of life's span more girls and young women are married than boys and young men."³

1. Bossard, op. cit., pp. 543-44.

2. Duncan, et. al., op. cit., p. 474.

3. Ogburn, William F., "Recent Changes in Marriage", The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLI, Number 3, November 1935, p. 292.

He advances a plausible explanation for this when he says, "young men find economic barriers to marriage which young women do not meet since man is the breadwinner. Hence, women marry earlier and men later. On the biological side, the fact that females mature sexually a little earlier would hardly explain the extent of this difference."¹

Ciocco cites a New York study on age at first marriage which shows that grooms marry older than brides. He states that, "similarly in New York State for 1921, the median age of the single grooms equalled 24.3 years, while that of the single brides equalled 20.9 years."² This fact agrees with what other studies have reported. In the study of one county in Maryland, Ciocco noted that single white grooms married, on the average, about three and one-half years older than single white brides, throughout the period from 1897 to 1938.³

Folsom infers that "the age at which a woman is most likely to be in the married state is from 30 to 44; a man from 45 to 55. Women tend to enter the married state earlier and to leave it earlier."⁴

Truxal and Merrill present further evidence to verify Folsom's statement. They state:

"An initial fact in considering the age composition of the family is the average age of marriage under normal conditions. In a peacetime year, the average groom standing before the altar for the

1. Ibid., p. 292.

2. Ciocco, op. cit., p. 66.

3. Ibid, p. 65.

4. Folsom, Joseph R., The Family and Democratic Society, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947, p. 477.

first time is 26.7 years old and his bride is approximately three years younger, or 23.6 years. When marriage takes place again, whether through death or divorce, the average age is naturally considerably older. In these cases, the average man is 42.4 years of age, whereas the woman is 36.8 or almost six years his junior. The more important consideration is the group marrying for the first time, since it constitutes the great majority of the family relationships in any particular period."¹

Ross and Baber also found that brides married earlier in their study of families of two generations. They remarked that, "another point worthy of mention is that the difference between the age of the husband and the age of the wife appears to be lessening. In the 'past generation' this difference was about 5 years, while in the 'present generation' it is only 4 years."²

Brooks verifies the generalization that brides marry earlier than grooms in his study of Wisconsin marriages. In the urban group he found that grooms were slightly over three years older than brides in all years from 1923 to 1935. In 1925, 1926, and 1927, there were 3.1 years difference in age at marriage. In 1932 the grooms were 27.8 years of age, while brides were 3.4 years younger, or 24.9 years of age.

The farm brides married about one year younger than the urban brides did during this period. However, there was a larger differential between age at marriage of farm brides and grooms than in the urban population. The farm brides were, on the average, 4.5 years

1. Truxal, Andrew G., and Francis E. Merrill, The Family in American Culture, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947, pp. 305-306.

2. Ross and Baber, op. cit., p. 22-23.

younger than farm grooms.¹

The Bureau of the Census report on "Age at First Marriage" findings are similar to that of the other studies that have been reviewed in the preceding pages.²

In 1940, the median age at first marriage for grooms in the United States was 2.7 years higher than for brides. The age for men was 24.3, for women, 21.6. In the urban population the difference was 2.8 years; the grooms being 24.7 years of age and the brides 21.9 years of age. Rural-farm grooms married 3.3 years older than rural-farm brides. The ages being 24.3, and 21.0, respectively. The smallest differential was found in the rural-nonfarm population where the median age at first marriage for brides and grooms was 21.5, and 23.5, respectively.

Trend in Age at Marriage of Brides and Grooms

The long-time trends and shifts in the age at marriage has been a subject of much controversy among the sociologists. Results of different studies reveal diverse generalizations on whether people are marrying at an earlier or later age today than formerly. Only the best of previous research on this subject will be presented here.

In 1924, Ross and Baber were quite concerned about the trends in age at marriage. They state:

1. See Brooks, op. cit. p. 127.

2. See Population -- Special Reports, "Age at First Marriage", p. 2.

"The popular opinion is that people are marrying later than formerly, but the United States figures do not bear out this belief. From 1890 (when first the needful data were gathered) to 1910 the proportion of men 20 to 24 years of age who had married increased a fourth. The proportion of women in this age-class who had taken a husband advanced from 47 per cent to 50 per cent. Out of a hundred American women in 1890, 32 were single; in 1900, 31; in 1910, 30."¹

Ross and Baber's study of families in the central and middle western states revealed that the sons married nearly two years later than their fathers, and the daughters nearly three years later than their mothers.² "The sons and daughters, instead of rushing into matrimony, are showing considerably more deliberation than did their parents."³

Lichtenberger takes just the opposite stand and infers that the population is marrying at a younger age than formerly. He states, "moreover, the average age at entrance into marriage, contrary to popular impression is falling. Thus the following table shows that most of the increase in the percentage of the married as revealed in the preceding table (this table is shown below) has taken place in the earlier age groups."⁴

1. Ross and Baber, op. cit., p. 21. c.f. Ross, E. A., Principles of Sociology, New York, 1920, p. 17.

2. Ibid., p. 22.

3. Ibid., p. 22.

4. Lichtenberger, J. P., Divorce A Social Interpretation, New York: Whittlesey House, 1931, p. 424.

Percentage Married of the Population
Fifteen Years of Age and Over¹

Census Year	Men	Women
1930	60.0	61.1
1920	59.2	60.6
1910	55.8	58.9
1900	54.5	57.0
1890	53.9	56.8

Lichtenberger continues:

"what these figures show then, is that despite the large and increasing number of individual marriage failures and the great publicity given to divorce, and despite the existence of many social changes which for large groups result in the postponement of marriage and in otherwise discouraging persons from venturing upon marriage, on the whole more persons are marrying or remarrying now than formerly in proportion to the population and on the average are entering into the relation at an earlier age."²

In Duncan's study of 1,362 farm families of Oklahoma in 1926, he found that the mean age of fathers at marriage was 23.6 years; that of sons was 21.4 years; the mean age for mothers at marriage was 19.5 years; and that of their daughters was 18.9 years.³

Ogburn thinks that somewhere around 1920 the extreme point of early marriage was reached.⁴ In his analysis of data for the United States, he stated that from 1920 to 1930, there was a definite slowing up

1. Population Census, 1920, Volume II, p. 387. Figures for 1930 from advance release of the Census Bureau, August 31, 1931.

2. Lichtenberger, op. cit., p. 424.

3. Duncan, et. al., op. cit., footnote on p. 474.

4. Ogburn, William F., op. cit., p. 288.

of the tendency of the young to marry.

Baber infers that the age at marriage has been toward a younger age. He says that, "coincident with the steady decline in the average age at marriage in the United States during the past 40 years (a trend almost halted only within the last few years), there has been a rising rate of marriage failure."¹ One person who expresses just the opposite view is Terman. He remarks that, "with the growth of industrialism and the increasing standards of higher education during the last century, the age of marriage has been forced upward."²

Ciocco's study of the age at first marriage of white residents of a Maryland county over a 42 year period shows that there was a decline in age of both males and females.³ He used median age at marriage for each year and fitted a straight line by the least squares method. The resulting equation for the straight line had a negative slope constant of almost the same value for both sexes and indicated a decline of the median age of marriage by about 5 per cent per annum. The equation for the straight line trend for grooms was:

$$Y_c = 25.305 - .046x; \text{ for brides: } Y_c = 21.476 - .048x.$$

However, from 1915 to 1958, the trend in age at marriage was not the same for all occupational groups. Ciocco says:

1. Baber, Ray E., Marriage and the Family, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939, p. 176.

2. Terman, Lewis M., Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 180.

3. Ciocco, op. cit., pp. 59-76.

"Since 1915 the median ages of the men who were skilled and semi-professional workers and of those who were laborers at the time of their marriage have not altered appreciably. The median ages of owners, managers, officials, and professional men has increased on the average, while those of "farmers" has declined.

"With regard to the brides, since 1915 the median ages of all except those marrying owners, managers, officials, and professional men have slightly declined on the average."¹

In a study of Wisconsin marriages from 1923 to 1935, McCormick and Brooks concluded that grooms, tended to marry later in 1935 than in earlier years. They state: "Thus for most occupations the mean age of groom was greater in 1935 than in 1923. This is further evidence that the men who did not marry during the peak of the depression tended to marry later as business conditions improved. The depression delayed marriages but there are no indications that it reduced total marriages during the 13-year period."²

Brooks found no definite trend in the age at marriage in his study of Wisconsin marriages over a sixteen year period, 1920-1936. Both mean age of brides and grooms fluctuated from year to year during this time. He did find a negative correlation between the fluctuations in the mean age of urban grooms and the mean age of farm grooms. His explanation for this is:

"We believe that the negative correlation between variations in the mean age of urban grooms and in the mean age of farm grooms was primarily caused by changes in farm-city migration. During most of the period 1923 to 1930 farm grooms were, on the average, older than urban grooms. This was a time of heavy migration of young adults from farms to cities, which would naturally tend to

1. Ibid., p. 75.

2. McCormick and Brooks, op. cit., p. 815.

lower the age of urban grooms and to raise the age of farm grooms. From 1930 to 1932--when the migration from farms to cities almost ceased--the mean age of farm grooms crossed that of the mean age of urban grooms, decreasing from 27.9 to 27.4 while the urban mean age remained constant. The latter, though, had increased from 27.6 in 1928 to 27.8 in 1930. It appears likely that the crossing of these trend lines was largely due to an increasing proportion of farm youths remaining on farms and lowering the mean age of farm grooms"¹

Brooks also found that there was a relatively sharp rise in the age at marriage after 1934 and he states that this was doubtless caused by a backlog of postponed marriages during the depression years.²

A Special Report by the Bureau of the Census reveals that the median age at first marriage has changed only a small amount over a period of fifty years. The table below presents the median age at first marriage for men and women as computed for each census from 1890 to 1940.³

Median Age at First Marriage for All Men and Women Who
Ever Marry, For the United States, Computed from the
Censuses of 1890 to 1940

(Medians for females in 1940 based on data from Sample C for all Women ever married, 45 to 64 years old.
Medians for females prior to 1940 and for males in all census years estimated from complete count of male and female population by age and marital status)

Census Year	Male	Female
1940	24.3	21.6
1930	24.3	21.3
1920	24.6	21.2

1. Brooks, op. cit., p. 79.

2. Ibid., p. 79.

3. Population-Special Reports, May 28, 1945, op. cit., p. 1.

Census Year	Male	Female
1910	25.1	21.6
1900	25.9	21.9
1890	26.1	22.0

Upon an examination of the above table, it can be seen there has been a slow trend toward earlier marriage for men. The trend for women is not as great as that for men. In fact, the lowest age for the bride occurred in 1920. Since that time the median age has slightly increased. The report states that "the trends between 1930 and 1940 may be explained on the supposition that a large number of couples had to defer their marriage for a time because of the economic depression."¹

The factors affecting the age at marriage is interpreted by the report as follows:

"Apart from biological factors, the ages at which people marry are largely determined by social customs, which change rather slowly within a given population group or area. During any one year, of course, the number of men and women who marry is affected by economic conditions and by psychological temper of the people at that time, and for a short while these factors may have some effect also on age at marriage. Over long periods, however, such variations have tended to balance out."²

Concerning the trend in age at marriage, Sims remarks that, "the tendency of marriages in America as a whole has been toward an earlier age during the past generation."³ Thompson and Whelpton have demonstrated this holds true for both rural and urban communities.⁴ They

1. Population--Special Reports, May 28, 1945, op. cit., p. 1.

2. Ibid, p. 1.

3. Ross, E. A., Outlines of Sociology, op. cit., pp. 15-16, c.f. Sims, op. cit., p. 503.

4. Thompson, W. S. and Whelpton, P. K., Population Trends in the United States, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, pp. 220, 226.

suggest that it is taking place concomitantly with the rapid spread of contraceptive information. The Bureau of the Census Report on this trend is not entirely in agreement with Sims' generalization.

Truxal and Merrill make the following contention about the trend in age at marriage:

"Contrary to the belief current before World War II, Americans were marrying younger and founding families at an earlier age than their ancestors, and a larger percentage of the population was married at an early age than ever before. The war accelerated this trend toward early marriages and the establishment of families at a comparatively precocious age. This tendency toward very early marriage will be somewhat curtailed by postwar events, but the average age of marriage in this country will continue to be relatively young."¹

Differences in Age at Marriage as a Factor Affecting Divorce.

It is a popular notion that the age at which the parties enter into marriage which in turn end in the divorce court, bears some relationship to that ending. It is commonly believed that the persons connected with divorce are in some way different in age from ordinary persons; that they are younger or older. This contention does seem reasonable and findings of the best studies will be given below.

A generalization made recently by a leading sociologist will be presented to set the background for this point. He states that, "indeed, there is both belief and evidence that early marriages break up more readily than do those contracted at a more mature age."²

1. Truxal and Merrill, op. cit., p. 305.

2. Ogburn, op. cit., p. 287.

Groves and Ogburn computed correlations between the percentages of young married persons 15-24 years of age and the percentage of divorced persons in 170 cities. They found a correlation of + .44 between these two variables. They concluded that, "there is thus a presumption of a relationship between early marriage and divorce, either easy divorce encourages early marriage or early marriage causes divorces."¹

Cahen approached the effect of the age factor upon divorce in a different manner than did Groves and Ogburn. Cahen's basic assumptions and findings can be described best in his own words:

"The latest available decennial census gives the percentage of divorced persons in the total population.² Although this number is admittedly underestimated, there is no reason to believe that the percentages of divorced persons in the total population by various age groupings are peculiarly biased in numbers for any particular age group. In other words, it may be assumed that the underestimate is similar for all age subdivisions of the population. To the total married population of the United States over fifteen years of age, the number of divorced persons bears a ratio of 1.18 per cent. There happen to be comparatively few persons either married or divorced under the age of fifteen, but if these very young marriages tend especially toward divorce, the ratio of divorced to married persons under fifteen years would obviously be higher than 1.18 per cent for the population over fifteen years in the classification by age groups. This ratio is just 1.05 per cent for the group under fifteen years of age. The ratio of divorced to married persons from fifteen to nineteen years of age, inclusive, was .97 per cent. For the age group twenty to twenty-four years, inclusive, the ratio is 1.04 per cent. These figures indicate that young marriages have a slightly lower divorce frequency than the total marriages of the general population."³

Cahen's results are not entirely in agreement with that of Groves

1. Groves, Ernest R., and William F. Ogburn, American Marriage and Family Relationships, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1928, p. 376.

2. U.S. Census, 1920, Vol. II, p. 388. c.f. Cahen op. cit., p. 81.

3. Cahen, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

and Ogburn. In fact, he found that young marriages are not the most fruitful in providing divorces.

In an extensive study of 3,306 actions filed in 1929 in the courts of Maryland for divorce, annulment, and alimony, Marshall and May found that in 50 cases, either one or both parties were minors.¹ (Minors are those persons under 21 years of age). In other words, 1.5 per cent of all parties affected were minors.²

Marshall and May made a more elaborate study of divorces in Ohio in 1930. Their sample included 18,474 litigants in this state over a period of six months. The median age at marriage of these persons was 24.7 years for the husband; 20.5 for the wife. Marshall and May then classified these persons by age at marriage, into five different groups. The average length of time married was then computed for each group. This is presented in Table E.

1. Marshall, Leon C., and Geoffrey May, The Divorce Court--Maryland, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932, p. 50.

2. Ibid., p. 50.

TABLE E

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION, ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED, OF DIVORCE, ANNULMENT, AND ALIMONY ACTIONS DISPOSED OF IN OHIO FROM JULY 1, 1930 TO DECEMBER 31, 1930; CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AGE OF HUSBAND AT MARRIAGE AND AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE¹

Number of Years Married	Age of Husband at Marriage					Age of Wife at Marriage				
	Actions:					:				
	un- known	under 21 years	21-24 years	25-29 years	30 yrs. and over	un- known	under 21 years	21-24 years	25-29 years	30 yrs. and over
Total actions	9174	849	1346	982	1068	4653	2461	923	492	645
Total percent	99.9	100.0	100.1	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0
Under 5 years	37.5	37.9	35.8	32.5	45.4	34.4	39.2	38.4	36.6	53.0
5-9 years	26.3	25.8	28.4	26.3	28.3	27.0	26.1	23.4	29.7	24.3
10-14 years	15.9	15.3	16.5	17.2	16.2	16.2	14.7	17.5	19.1	14.3
15-19 years	8.7	9.0	9.5	8.9	5.4	9.6	8.4	8.3	6.5	5.4
20 years & over	11.5	12.0	9.9	15.2	4.7	12.8	11.7	12.3	8.1	3.0
Median	7.0	7.0	6.9	8.0	5.5	7.6	6.6	6.9	6.9	4.7

¹ Marshall and May, The Divorce Court---Ohio, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933, p. 90

Remarking about the duration of marriage, they state: "As table XIII (table shown above) indicates, the marriages when contracted by either party is thirty or more years of age terminate distinctly sooner than do the marriages contracted at an earlier age. The difference is more marked for the wives than for the husbands. ...It seems reasonably clear that, so far as the available Ohio data are to be trusted, "earlier" marriages (unless very early) survive for a longer period."¹

It appears that men who marry between 25-29 years of age remain in married life longer than any other age group. The length of time married for this group was 8.0 years, while that for grooms aged 30 years and over was only 5.5 years. The striking thing brought out in this table, is that the duration of marriage for women aged 30 years and over was only 4.7 years.

Marshall and May's results nevertheless, throws some doubt on Ogburn's supposition that early marriages break up more readily than do those contracted at a more mature age. They find the marriages of persons over 30 years of age break up more readily than those marriages contracted in the earlier years of life.

Duration of Marriages that Result in Divorce

It is often said that some particular year, the first or second, is a critical period in marital life. Many generalizations have been advanced concerning the length of time that marriages last before ending in a divorce court. There is considerable interest in knowing

1. Ibid., p. 92.

how many years marriage continues before it is broken by divorce. Students of the family and domestic relations workers are especially concerned with these statistics and the social implications that they involve.

Comparison of the duration of marriage in the rural and urban population. One popular supposition is that urbanization and divorce are related phenomena. Lichtenberger, in 1909, cites a study of marriage and divorce concerning rural and urban differences made by the Bureau of the Census.¹ The census office arranged a table showing the "rank of the specified occupation in the order of the increasing ratio of married males (1900) to husbands divorced (1887-1906)."² This table was based upon returns from the nine states that submitted the most complete figures. This study found that actors, professional showmen, musicians and teachers of music, commercial travelers, telegraph and telephone operators, and physicians and surgeons had the highest divorce rates; farmers, planters and overseers, blacksmiths, draymen, hackmen, and teamsters, clergymen, and agricultural laborers ranked lowest in frequency.³

Groves and Ogburn contend that divorce is less frequent in the rural occupational groups. They state that, "In the United States in 1900, 39.4 per cent of all married males having an occupation were

1. Bureau of the Census, Special Report of the Census Office on Marriage and Divorce, 1908-9, cf. Lichtenberger, J. P., Divorce a Study of Social Causation, New York, 1909, p. 95.

2. Lichtenberger, Ibid., p. 95.

3. Ibid., pp. 95-96.

in agricultural pursuits; whereas for the period 1886-1906 only 28.4 per cent of the divorces granted, for which occupations of the husband were known, were for couples where the husband was engaged in agriculture. It seems, therefore, that divorce is less frequent for families where the husbands are engaged in agricultural pursuits than where they are engaged in all other occupations."¹ They went on to state that, "larger percentages of the urban population are reported as divorced than of the rural population. In 1920, 0.8 per cent of the urban population 15 years old and over was reported as divorced and 0.5 per cent of the rural population."²

Burgess and Locke confirm Groves and Ogburn's statement that divorce is more frequent in urban than in rural areas.³ Sims takes the same stand when he says that, "Divorce is only about half as frequent in the farm population as in the city or village population. Everywhere in the country districts, married life begins earlier for both sexes, lasts longer before being broken by divorce or death, and if thus broken, is more likely to be succeeded by a new union than in the large cities."⁴ Truxal and Merrill,⁵ and Folsom⁶ accept

1. Groves and Ogburn, op. cit., p. 353

2. Groves and Ogburn, op. cit., p. 368.

3. Burgess and Locke, The Family, New York: American Book Company, 1945, p. 653.

4. Sims, op. cit., pp. 502 and 504.

5. Truxal and Merrill, op. cit., pp. 691-692.

6. Folsom, op. cit., pp. 505 and 510.

the generalization that divorce among farmers is less frequent than among urban groups.

Percentage of divorces that go to persons married less than ten years.

There have been numerous statements that a certain per cent of divorces are granted to those married less than one, five, ten, and twenty years. The per cent of all divorces granted before 10 years of marriage will be presented here.

It has been found that about two-thirds of all divorces come before the tenth year of marriage. Burgess and Locke,¹ and Ogburn and Nimkoff² all agree on this generalization. Marshall and May, in their study of Ohio divorces, found that 63.8 per cent of divorces were of less than ten years' standing.³ Groves and Ogburn found that of the divorces granted in 1924, two-thirds (66.2 per cent) had been granted before 10 years of marriage.⁴

Lively made a study of divorces in Franklin County, Ohio from 1935 to 1944. During this ten year period, 1844 divorces were granted. Out of this number, 1,201 or 65.2 per cent were granted to couples who had been married less than ten years.⁵

Most frequent length of marriages that end in divorce. Truxal and Merrill point out that, "The early period between 1867-1886 saw a

1. Burgess and Locke, op. cit., p. 634.

2. Ogburn and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 719.

3. Marshall and May, op. cit., p. 87.

4. Groves and Ogburn, op. cit., p. 349.

5. Lively, Edward, A Trend Study of Selected Factors Appearing in Divorce Cases in Franklin County, Ohio, 1935-1944, Masters thesis, Ohio State University, 1946, p. 17.

relatively long modal distribution, with seven years as the most frequent length of marriage before divorce. By 1922-1928, the most frequent duration was three to four years..."¹ Folsom is in close agreement when he says that, "The point of greatest frequency of divorce is now in the fourth year of marriage, whereas in 1867-1886 it was in the seventh year."² Groves and Ogburn found that in 1924 the maximum percentage of divorces was granted during the fourth year of married life.³ Cahen found the modal year of divorce to be in the fourth year of marriage in his study of American divorce.⁴

Percentage of divorces that involve persons married less than one year. Some may believe that a large proportion of all divorces occur within the first year of marriage. Three sources of information on this subject show that only a small percentage of divorces take place before couples celebrate their first wedding anniversary. Truxal and Merrill state that, "less than 5 per cent of the divorces annually granted involve persons married less than one year."⁵ Marshall and May found that 4.7 per cent of all divorces occurred within the first year of marriage in Ohio in 1930.⁶ In Franklin County, Ohio, 161

1. Truxal and Merrill, op. cit., p. 694.

2. Folsom, op. cit., p. 508.

3. Groves and Ogburn, op. cit., p. 349.

4. Cahen, op. cit., p. 123.

5. Truxal and Merrill, op. cit., p. 654.

6. Marshall and May, op. cit., p. 86.

couples, who had been married less than one year, filed divorce petitions. This was 8.7 per cent of the total petitions filed.¹ Obviously, only part of these petitioners were granted divorces during their first year of marriage.

Average duration of marriage for divorced couples. The average (median) duration of all marriages studied among Maryland divorces in 1929 was 8.3 years.² The median duration of all marriages studied in Ohio was seven years.³

Truxal and Merrill state that, "The median length of marriages broken by divorce was seven years during the last decade, but it may have decreased since 1940."⁴ Cahen found the median duration of all marriages that ended in divorce in 1928 to be seven years.⁵ Authorities seem to agree that about one-half of all divorces now occur in the seventh year of married life.

Proportion of Divorces which Involve Children

It is commonly said that divorcees differ from other married couples--that they have more, or fewer, or no children. Much sympathy has been aroused by some writers for the ill-fated children of divorced couples. But, actually what percentage of divorces involve families

1. Lively, op. cit., p. 17.

2. Marshall and May, The Divorce Court--Maryland, op. cit., p. 32.

3. Marshall and May, The Divorce Court--Ohio, op. cit., p. 87.

4. Truxal and Merrill, op. cit., p. 654.

5. Cahen, op. cit., p. 117.

with no children at all, only one child, etc.?

Percentage of childless divorces. Several studies have been made concerning this factor. Whether the absence of children in married families is a cause of divorce or whether the presence of children is a bond in the marriage relation, is a debatable issue and will not be presented in this study.

Lichtenberger noted that, "the percentage of cases reporting children in the period, 1887-1906, was 38.9 while the instances 'reporting no children' or 'not reporting as to children' were 60.2 per cent. The corresponding figures for the period, 1876-1886, were 39.4 and 60.6. It thus appears that children are affected in about two divorces out of five."¹

Groves and Ogburn report that, "over one-half of the divorces granted in 1924 for which there are detailed statistics reported no children."² In 1916, of the persons granted divorces, 52.1 per cent reported no children.³

Lichtenberger shows that the percentage of divorces which are childless are increasing. In the period 1887-1916, 40.2 per cent of the divorcees reported that they didn't have any children. The proportion of divorces involving childless couples was 52.1 per cent in 1916, 56.0 in 1922, and 57.1 in 1929.⁴

1. Lichtenberger, 1909, op. cit., p. 91

2. Groves and Ogburn, op. cit., p. 351.

3. Ibid., p. 367.

4. Lichtenberger, 1931, loc. cit., p. 136.

Cahen found that almost two-thirds of all American divorces in 1928 came from the childless married population. In fact, 63.0 per cent of the divorced couples had no children.¹ Cahen estimated that the probability of eventual divorce is only 8 out of 100 for marriages with children and 71 out of 100 for childless marriages.²

Ogburn and Nimkoff state that, "it is interesting to learn that about two-thirds of divorces are granted to childless couples."³ Similar findings are reported by Truxal and Merrill. They said that, "In the years from 1887 to 1931, the percentage of divorces granted to childless couples varied from 60.2 in the early period to 66.0 in 1922 and 62 in 1931."⁴ Lively found that of all divorces granted in Franklin County, Ohio, from 1935 to 1944, 58.6 per cent of divorced mates were without children.⁵

Percentage of divorced families which involved one child. Cahen found that 20.5 per cent of divorced couples in 1928 reported that they had one child. His findings on the size of families is given in the following table:

-
1. Cahen, op. cit., p. 112.
 2. Ibid, p. 113.
 3. Ogburn and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 719.
 4. Truxal and Merrill, op. cit., p. 690.
 5. Lively, op. cit., p. 22.

Percentage Distribution of Divorces According to
Size of Family, 1928¹

No children	63.0
One child	20.5
Two children	9.5
Three children	3.9
Four children	1.7
Five or more	<u>1.4</u>
Total	100.0

Ogburn and Nimkoff agree with Cahen when they state: "Some eighty-five per cent of all divorces come from a small section of families, those with either no children or only one child."²

Out of 1,844 divorces granted in Franklin County, Ohio, during the ten year period, 1935-1944, inclusive, 58.6 per cent of the divorcees had no children; 20.6 per cent had one child; 10.8 per cent had two children; 5.8 per cent had three children; and 4.2 per cent had four or more children.³

1. Cahen, op. cit., p. 112.

2. Ogburn and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 719.

3. Lively, op. cit., p. 22.

CHAPTER III

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Effects of Economic Conditions Upon Marriage and Divorce Rates

The trend of the crude marriage rate in Wisconsin during the period 1915 to 1945 was quite variable as may be observed in Table 1 and Figure 1. The lowest number of marriages (11,890) was recorded in Wisconsin for the year 1918, with a correspondingly low crude marriage rate of 9.2. An abnormally large number of marriages were contracted in 1919 and 1920. The post war peak in the marriage rate was reached in 1919 when the crude marriage rate rose to 17.4. This may be associated with the demobilization of troops who were in the armed forces in World War I and the piling up of marriages which were postponed during the war years. The marriage rate declined slowly, reaching the pre-depression troughs in 1924 and 1928 with a crude marriage rate of 11.6. In 1929, the marriage rate showed some signs of recovery, but it fell off sharply in the depression years to a low of 9.4 in 1932. It rose slowly after that date to a high of 15.1 in 1937, with economic recovery. In 1938, a slight recession occurred and the rate declined to 13.4. With renewed economic prosperity in 1939, the marriage rate rose sharply to 18.4 in 1941. This rate was the highest ever recorded in Wisconsin. There was a decline in the marriage rate during World War II and an upward spurt beginning in 1945, accompanying demobilization of troops at the end of the war.

The dominant trend in the crude divorce rate has shown a marked increase during the 1915 to 1945 year period. (See Table 1 and Figure

TABLE I
MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES, AND RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION IN
WISCONSIN, 1915 - 1945

Year	Total Marriages	Rate Per 1,000 Population	Total Divorces	Rate Per 1,000 Population
1915	17,833	14.3	1,721	1.38
1916	18,526	14.7	1,775	1.41
1917	19,524	15.3	1,707	1.34
1918	11,890	9.2	1,585	1.23
1919	18,953	17.4	1,865	1.43
1920	22,293	16.8	2,425	1.83
1921	18,759	14.0	2,112	1.57
1922	17,550	12.9	2,089	1.54
1923	17,758	12.9	2,210	1.61
1924	16,140	11.6	2,378	1.71
1925	16,385	11.7	2,467	1.76
1926	17,025	12.0	2,457	1.73
1927	16,833	11.8	3,240	1.81
1928	16,717	11.6	2,714	1.88
1929	18,058	12.4	2,725	1.87
1930	15,328	10.4	2,553	1.73
1931	14,954	10.1	2,702	1.82
1932	14,034	9.4	2,404	1.61
1933	15,962	10.6	2,479	1.65
1934	20,074	13.3	3,231	2.13
1935	21,075	13.8	3,543	2.32
1936	22,666	14.8	3,741	2.44
1937	23,285	15.1	3,999	2.6
1938	20,732	13.4	3,568	2.3
1939	21,276	13.6	3,673	2.35
1940	23,379	14.9	3,599	2.29
1941	28,816	18.4	4,050	2.58
1942	24,860	15.8	3,905	2.48
1943	22,393	15.2	4,469	3.04
1944	21,190	13.5	5,326	3.40
1945	25,269	16.2	6,393	4.08

SOURCE: Data from State Board of Health of Wisconsin, Madison,
41st Report, 1946, p. 139.

Figure I
MARRIAGE RATE PER 1000 POPULATION IN WISCONSIN, 1915-1945

FIGURE II
DIVORCE RATE PER 1000 POPULATION IN WISCONSIN, 1915-1945

2.) The crude divorce rate reached its lowest level (1.23) during the war year 1918. Evidently postponed divorces accounted for the increased rates in 1919 and 1920. The rate for the latter year was a high of 1.83. The rate declined slowly until 1922, rose gradually until 1925, then declined slightly in 1926. Until 1931, the crude divorce rate remained about the same, with the exception of the year 1930. In the lowest depth of the depression years, 1932 and 1933, the rate dropped to 1.61 and 1.65, respectively. Then it climbed steadily upward to 2.6 in 1937, dipped to 2.3 in 1938, and reached an all-time peak in Wisconsin of 4.08 in 1945.

Figure 3 shows the rate of change of the crude marriage and divorce rates in Wisconsin from 1915 to 1945. The rates have been plotted individually on simple coordinate graphs to indicate absolute variations and together on semi-log graphs to indicate relative variations.

A visual comparison of the crude marriage and divorce rates for both Wisconsin and the United States is presented in Figure 4. The general pattern of variations in the United States crude marriage and divorce rates is quite similar to that of Wisconsin, although both rates for Wisconsin have been consistently a little higher.

Immediately the question of why the crude marriage rate of Wisconsin is above that of the United States, is raised. This differential probably lies in the difference in the age composition of the two populations since the marriage rate is dependent upon the number of people in the marriageable ages. Here we are concerned with crude rates, although a more detailed analysis of age, sex, and specific

FIGURE 3
MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE RATES PER 1000 POPULATION
IN WISCONSIN, 1915 - 1945

— crude marriage rate
— crude divorce rate

TABLE 2
ESTIMATED MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES, AND RATES PER 1,000
UNITED STATES (1915 - 1945)

Year	: Number of (3)* marriages	: Rate per (1)* 1,000	: Number of Divorces (3.5)*	: Rate per (2)* 1,000
1915	1,007,595	10.0	104,298	1.0
16	1,075,775	10.6	114,000	1.1
17	1,144,200	11.1	121,564	1.2
18	1,000,109	9.7	116,254	1.1
19	1,150,186	11.0	141,527	1.3
1920	1,274,476	12.0	170,505	1.6
21	1,163,863	10.7	159,580	1.5
22	1,134,151	10.3	148,815	1.4
23	1,229,784	11.0	165,096	1.5
24	1,184,574	10.4	170,952	1.5
1925	1,188,334	10.3	175,449	1.5
26	1,202,574	10.2	184,678	1.6
27	1,201,053	10.1	196,292	1.6
28	1,182,497	9.8	200,176	1.7
29	1,232,559	10.1	205,876	1.7
1930	1,126,856	9.2	195,961	1.6
31	1,060,914	8.6	188,003	1.5
32	981,903	7.9	164,241	1.3
33 : (4)	1,098,000	8.7	165,000	1.3
34 : (4)	1,302,000	10.3	204,000	1.6

1. Based on estimated population as of July 1. In computing the marriage rate for the war years, 1917-19 and 1940-46; population base figures represent population present, excluding armed forces overseas.
2. In computing the divorce data for the war years 1917-19 and 1940-46, population base figures include armed forces overseas.
3. For the years 1907-15, 1917-21, and 1937-40, estimates were made by the Bureau of the Census. Estimates for the years 1867-1906 and 1941-46 were made by the National Office of Vital Statistics.
4. Estimates used for 1933-36 were made by Samuel A. Stouffer and Lyle M. Spencer, see The American Journal of Sociology, "Recent Increases in Marriage and Divorce," Vol. 44, No. 4, pp.551-54, January 1939.
5. Includes reported annulments.

TABLE 2 (Cont.)
ESTIMATED MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES, AND RATES PER 1,000
UNITED STATES (1915 - 1945) (continued)

Year	: Number of (3)* marriages	: Rate per (1)* 1,000	: Number of Divorces (3,5)*	: Rate per (2)* 1,000
1935	: (4) 1,327,000	: 10.4	: 218,000	: 1.7
36	: (4) 1,369,000	: 10.7	: 236,000	: 1.8
37	: 1,451,296	: 11.3	: 249,000	: 1.9
38	: 1,330,780	: 10.3	: 244,000	: 1.9
39	: 1,403,633	: 10.7	: 251,000	: 1.9
1940	: 1,595,879	: 12.1	: 264,000	: 2.0
41	: 1,695,999	: 12.7	: 293,000	: 2.2
42	: 1,772,132	: 13.2	: 321,000	: 2.4
43	: 1,577,050	: 11.8	: 359,000	: 2.6
44	: 1,452,394	: 11.0	: 400,000	: 2.9
1945	: 1,603,139	: 12.1	: 494,000	: 3.5

1. Based on estimated population as of July 1. In computing the marriage rate for the war years, 1917-19 and 1940-46; population base figures represent population present, excluding armed forces overseas.
2. In computing the divorce data for the war years 1917-19 and 1940-46, population base figures include armed forces overseas.
3. For the years 1907-15, 1917-21, and 1937-40, estimates were made by the Bureau of the Census. Estimates for the years 1867-1906 and 1941-45 were made by the National Office of Vital Statistics.
4. Estimates used for 1933-36 were made by Samuel A. Stouffer and Lyle M. Spencer, see The American Journal of Sociology, "Recent Increases in Marriage and Divorce," Vol. 44., No. 4, pp.551-54, January 1939.
5. Includes reported annulments.

SOURCE: Marriage and Divorce Statistics, United States, 1946, Vital Statistics, Special Reports, Federal Security Agency, Vol. 27, No. 10, October 24, 1947, pp. 174-5.

FIGURE 4
MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE RATES PER 1000 POPULATION FOR THE
UNITED STATES AND WISCONSIN, 1915 - 1945

marriage rates would be highly desirable. They are omitted here because of time required for their computation. Since no attempt has been made to control the age composition of the two populations by computing refined marriage rates, the reason for the differential crude rates between Wisconsin and the United States cannot be demonstrated.

The crude marriage rate for the United States dropped to 9.7 in 1918 which was slightly above the rate for Wisconsin. (See Table 2.) This is the only year that the rate for the United States was above that of Wisconsin in the 30-year period. The pre-depression peak was reached in 1920 (12.0) in the marriage rate for the United States, while the highest pre-depression level occurred in Wisconsin in 1919 (17.4). The rate for the United States fluctuated slightly until 1928, when it dipped to 9.8, rose again in 1929 to 10.1, and then reached a low of 7.9 in 1932 at the bottom of the depression. With economic recovery, the rate climbed upward until in 1938, when a recession came, it dropped to 10.3. In 1939, the crude marriage rate again started upward until it reached an all-time high of 13.2 in 1942. In 1943 and 1944, the rate for the United States declined, and in 1945 accompanying the discharge of servicemen, the rate increased to 12.1.

The crude divorce rate for the United States constantly remained below the rate of Wisconsin, however, it follows the same pattern. (See Figure 4.) The United States divorce rate reached a pre-depression peak of 1.7 in 1928 and 1929, declined gradually to a low of 1.3 in 1932 and 1933, then began a steady upward climb to an all-time high of 3.5 in 1945.

One limitation of the recorded marriage statistics published by

the Bureau of Vital Statistics in Wisconsin is that it reports only marriages which are contracted in the state, disregarding residence altogether.¹ One author has estimated the volume of out-of-state marriages of Wisconsin residents from 1920-1936.² When the crude marriage rates are adjusted to allow for out-of-state marriages of Wisconsin residents, the level of the rates are raised but the variations remain the same. (See Table 3 and Figure 5.)

Oberdorfer refined the crude marriage rate for Wisconsin by adding the estimated out-of-state marriages of Wisconsin residents in each year. However, he made no correction for marriages of out-of-state residents that married in Wisconsin. If the crude marriage rate is to be corrected by adding out-of-state marriages of Wisconsin residents, the marriages of out-of-state residents in Wisconsin must be subtracted to obtain the correct rate. The rate has been adjusted to allow for these marriages of out-of-state residents in Wisconsin. (See Table 4 and Figure 5.) Upon inspection of Table 5, it can be seen that the adjusted corrected crude marriage rate has a lower level than the corrected marriage rate but their variations remain in the same temporal sequence.

A ten percent sample of Wisconsin marriages was taken for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. Crude urban³ and farm³ marriage rates were computed for each of these five years. (See Table 5 and Figure 6.)

1. The only exception to this was from 1937-1940, inclusive, when residence was presented.

2. Oberdorfer, op. cit. p. 248.

3. "Farm" and "urban", as used in this thesis, are occupationally derived classifications. Those whose occupation was listed as "farm" in either the marriage or divorce certificate were classified as farm; those whose occupation was listed as non-farm were classified "urban".

TABLE 3
COMPUTATION OF TOTAL MARRIAGE, WISCONSIN, AND CRUDE MARRIAGE RATE, 1920 - 1936

Year	(Corrected for estimated out-of-state marriages.)					
	Estimated 1 Population	Recorded 1 Resident Marriages	Estimated 2 Out-of-state Marriages	Corrected Total Marriages	Adjusted Marriage Rate per 1000 Population	
1920	2,647,991	22,293	8,575	30,868	23.3	
1921	2,683,209	18,759	7,214	25,973	19.4	
1922	2,715,408	17,550	6,750	24,300	17.9	
1923	2,745,277	17,758	6,829	24,587	17.9	
1924	2,775,475	16,140	6,208	22,348	16.1	
1925	2,805,450	16,385	6,302	22,687	16.2	
1926	2,834,907	17,025	6,547	23,572	16.6	
1927	2,863,823	16,833	6,468	23,301	16.3	
1928	2,892,175	16,717	6,429	23,146	16.0	
1929	2,920,229	18,058	6,945	25,003	17.1	
1930	2,947,085	15,328	5,903	21,231	14.4	
1931	2,972,208	14,954	5,759	20,713	13.9	
1932	2,991,513	14,034	5,404	19,438	13.0	
1933	3,008,871	15,962	6,147	22,109	14.7	
1934	3,028,092	20,074	7,730	27,804	18.4	
1935	3,047,792	21,075	8,116	29,191	19.2	
1936	3,063,348	22,666	8,728	31,394	20.5	

1. Data obtained from Forty-First Report of the State Board of Health of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 1946, p 139.

2. Oberdorfer, op. cit. p 248.

TABLE 4
COMPUTATION OF TOTAL MARRIAGE, WISCONSIN, AND CRUDE MARRIAGE RATE, 1920 - 1936

(Corrected for estimated out-of-state marriages of Wisconsin residents and also estimated out-of-state residents' marriages in Wisconsin.)

Year	Estimated Population ¹	Recorded ¹ Resident Marriages	Estimated Out-of-state Marriages	Corrected Total Marriages	Estimated Marriages Of out-of-state Residents in Wisconsin ³	Adjusted; Corrected Total ⁴ Marriages	Adjusted Corrected Marriage Rate per 1000 Population
1920	2,647,991	22,293	8,575	30,868	1121	29,747	22.5
1921	2,683,209	18,759	7,214	25,973	944	25,029	18.7
1922	2,715,408	17,550	6,750	24,300	883	23,417	17.2
1923	2,745,277	17,758	6,829	24,587	893	23,694	17.3
1924	2,775,475	16,140	6,208	22,348	812	21,536	15.5
1925	2,805,450	16,385	6,302	22,687	824	21,863	15.6
1926	2,834,907	17,025	6,547	23,572	856	22,716	16.0
1927	2,863,823	16,833	6,468	23,301	847	22,454	15.7
1928	2,892,175	16,717	6,429	23,146	841	22,305	15.4
1929	2,920,229	18,058	6,945	25,003	908	24,095	16.5
1930	2,947,085	15,328	5,903	21,231	711	20,520	13.9
1931	2,972,208	14,954	5,759	20,713	752	19,961	13.4
1932	2,991,513	14,034	5,404	19,438	706	18,732	12.5
1933	3,008,871	15,962	6,147	22,109	803	21,306	14.2
1934	3,028,092	20,074	7,730	27,804	1010	26,794	17.7
1935	3,047,792	21,075	8,116	29,191	1060	28,131	18.5
1936	3,063,348	22,666	8,728	31,394	1140	30,254	19.8

1. Data obtained from Forty-First Report of the State Board of Health of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 1946, p 139.

2. Oberdorfer, op. cit., p 248.

3. In the four year period, 1937 to 1940 inclusive, 5,759 grooms and 3,154 brides, who were residents of a state other than Wisconsin, were married in Wisconsin. During the same period 82,912 grooms and 85,515 brides, who were residents of Wisconsin, married in Wisconsin. In this four-year period 05.03 percent of the total marriages that occurred in Wisconsin involved out-of-state residents. The Recorded resident marriages in each year were multiplied by .0503 to get the estimated marriages of out-of-state residents in Wisconsin.

4. Adjusted corrected total marriages was obtained by estimated marriages of out-of-state residents in Wisconsin from corrected total marriages.

FIGURE 5
MARRIAGE RATES PER 1000 POPULATION FOR WISCONSIN,
1915 - 1945

(with corrected marriage rate which includes out
of state marriages for Wisconsin, 1920-1936)

(Also with adjusted corrected marriage
rate which includes out-of-state res-
idents' marriages in Wisconsin, 1920-36.)

TABLE 5
CRUDE FARM AND URBAN MARRIAGE RATES FOR WISCONSIN,
FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945

<u>Year</u>	<u>Rural Farm Population</u>	<u>Total Marriages</u> ^{1/} *	<u>p₁</u> ^{2/}	<u>Crude Marriage Rate</u>	<u>p₂</u> ^{2/}
1915	925,000	599	12.2	13.0	13.9
1920	915,237	613	12.6	13.4	14.4
1935	931,000	501	10.0	10.8	11.7
1940	872,189	488	10.3	11.2	12.1
1945	768,000	663	16.2	17.3	18.5

<u>Year</u>	<u>Urban Population</u>	<u>Total Marriages</u> ^{1/} *	<u>p₁</u> ^{2/}	<u>Crude Marriage Rate</u>	<u>p₂</u> ^{2/}
1915	1,564,061	1183	14.6	15.1	15.7
1920	1,732,754	1596	18.1	18.4	19.1
1935	2,116,792	1592	14.8	15.0	15.5
1940	2,270,967	1847	15.9	16.3	16.6
1945	2,369,587	1851	15.3	15.6	16.1

*In all five years of the total marriages in which the groom did not report an occupation, one-half were assumed to be farm; the other half urban. In 1945, 816 grooms gave their occupational status as servicemen. Fifteen percent were assumed to be farm and 85 percent were designated as urbanites.

^{1/} This total marriage represents a 10% sample of all marriages in each of the five years.

^{2/} Confidence limits are two points, one above (p₂) and one below (p₁) an estimate, which we can determine and expect to be right 95 times out of 100 in saying that they include the universe parameter.

FIGURE 6
CRUDE URBAN AND FARM MARRIAGE* RATES FOR WISCONSIN,
FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945 ^{1/}

* In all five years of the total marriages in which the groom did not report an occupation, one-half were assumed to be farm; the other half urban. In 1945, 816 grooms gave their occupational status as servicemen. Fifteen percent were assumed to be farmers and 85 percent were designated as urbanites.

^{1/} Data for 1925 and 1930 are not presented in this table.

No attempt was made to estimate out-of-state marriages for either urban or farm marriages in computing these crude rates. The crude rates were computed according to occupational classification of the grooms rather than for residence. For this reason, which is dealt with more fully in Appendix A, we caution against a blind acceptance of the data on marriage rates.

In 1915, the urban crude marriage was 15.1, the farm marriage rate just slightly lower, 13.0. The urban rate rose to its highest peak for the five year period in 1920 being 18.4. The farm marriage rate increased only a little in 1920 to 15.4. Both the urban and farm marriage rates had dropped in 1935 from the pre-depression year of 1920 to 15.0 and 10.8, respectively.

With renewed prosperity well underway in 1940, both the farm and urban crude marriages had risen. In 1945, the urban rate dropped to 15.6 from 16.3 in 1940. However, the farm marriage rate had taken a tremendous jump from 1940 (11.2) to 1945 (17.3). This is the only year in which the farm marriage rate surpassed the urban rate. It is probable that the subsequent rise in the farm marriage rate was influenced by the large number of farmers and farm laborers that were deferred from military service in 1945 who remained at home during the war. From November, 1940 to June 1945, farmers and farm laborers accounted for only 13.6 percent of the total inducted into the United States Army in Wisconsin. (See Table 6.) Undoubtedly some of the deferred farmers were sure that they wouldn't have to enter the armed forces and so they felt that they could marry rather than postponing marriage until after the war was over to begin a family.

TABLE 6
FARMERS AND FARM LABORERS INDUCTED INTO THE UNITED STATES ARMY BY STATE AND SPECIFIED PERIODS, NOVEMBER 1940 - JUNE 1945

State	November 1940 - June 1945		November 1940 - November 1942		December 1942 - December 1944		January 1945 - June 1945	
	Number	Percent of all Inductions	Number	Percent of all Inductions	Number	Percent of all Inductions	Number	Percent of all Inductions
Wisconsin	23,224	13.6	13,191	15.1	6,974	10.1	3,059	21.8

SOURCE: Selective Service System, Agricultural Deferment, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1947, p. 100.

It can also be demonstrated that more of the Wisconsin men who were deferred in agriculture were in the younger age groups than those men that were deferred in industrial employment during World War II. A larger percentage of the deferred farm men were in the age group 18-25 than those in the industrially deferred occupations. It is in their earlier ages (18-25) that most men enter marriage. On July 1, 1944, 40.8 per cent of the agriculturally deferred men were 18-25 years old, while only 2.2 of the industrially deferred men were in this age group. (See Table 7.) While 40.1 per cent of the agriculturally deferred men in Wisconsin were 30-37 years of age on July 1, 1944, 75.4 per cent of the industrially deferred men were in this age bracket. These age differentials remained almost as large on August 1, 1945, as on July 1, 1944. These data support the change in the position of the farm crude marriage rate and the urban rate in 1945, for they show that a larger percentage of the farm men remained on Wisconsin farms on deferment and they were substantially younger than the industrially deferred men who remained at home.

The general trend in the crude farm¹ and urban¹ divorce rates has been progressively upward during the five years studied, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. The urban rate is over twice as high as the farm rate in each of the five years. (See Table 8 and Figure 7.) The farm crude rate was 0.7 divorces per 1000 population in 1915, increased steadily to 0.8 in 1920, 1.1 in 1935; 1.2 in 1940; and 1.9 in 1945. The urban rate was 1.8 in 1915, rose to 2.3 in 1920, 2.9 in 1935, then decreased slightly to 2.8 in 1940, but almost doubled in 1945 with a crude rate of 4.8.

1. See p. 106 for the definition of farm and urban as used in this thesis.

TABLE 7
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF AGRICULTURALLY AND INDUSTRIALLY DEFERRED REGISTRANTS BY AGE GROUPS,
FOR WISCONSIN, JULY 1, 1944 AND AUGUST 1, 1945

Group	Deferments, July 1, 1944				Deferments, August 1, 1945			
	Ages 18-37	Ages 18-25	Ages 26-29	Ages 30-37	Ages 18-37	Ages 18-25	Ages 26-29	Ages 30-37
Agriculturally deferred								
Number	83,465	34,094	15,895	33,476	70,145	24,113	13,779	32,253
Percentage	100.0	40.8	19.1	40.1	100.0	34.4	19.7	45.9
Industrially deferred								
Number	114,207	2,494	25,597	86,116	87,771	1815	7,017	78,939
Percentage	100.0	2.2	22.4	75.4	100.0	2.1	8.0	89.9

SOURCE: Selective Service System, Agricultural Deferment, Government
Printing Office, Washington, 1947, pp. 94, 96, 240, and 246.

TABLE 8

CRUDE RURAL AND URBAN DIVORCE RATES FOR WISCONSIN,
FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945

<u>Year</u>	<u>Rural Farm Population</u>	<u>Total Divorces*</u>	<u>Crude Divorce Rate</u>
1915	925,000	320	.7
1920	915,237	371	.8
1935	931,000	502	1.1
1940	872,189	508	1.2
1945	768,000	715	1.9

<u>Year</u>	<u>Urban Population</u>	<u>Total Divorces*</u>	<u>Crude Divorce Rate</u>
1915	1,564,061	1371	1.8
1920	1,732,754	2012	2.3
1935	2,116,792	3108	2.9
1940	2,270,967	3139	2.8
1945	2,369,587	5703	4.8

* The total divorces in which occupation was not reported were divided equally between rural and urban groups. In 1915, of a total of 6 servicemen, 3 were counted as rural and 3 as urban. In 1945, 850 divorced males reported that they were in the armed forces. Fifteen percent of these divorces were counted as rural and 85 percent as urban.

FIGURE 7
CRUDE FARM AND URBAN DIVORCE RATES* FOR WISCONSIN,
FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945 ^{1/}

*The total divorces in which occupation was not reported were divided equally between farm and urban groups. In 1915, of a total of 6 servicemen, 3 were counted as farm and 3 as urban. In 1945, 850 divorced males reported that they were in the armed forces. Fifteen percent of these divorces were counted as farm and 85 percent as urban.

^{1/} Data for 1925 and 1930 are not presented in this table.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OCCUPATIONS IN AGE AT MARRIAGE

The age at marriage which men and more especially women of the various occupational groups marry plays a part in determining the rate of reproduction of those classes and is therefore a factor in determining the social and biological heritage of our future population. While an advanced age at marriage not only diminishes the chance of child-bearing, it also limits the exposure period to the less fertile years of life. It may also, affect the reproduction rate because the maternal mortality rate is much higher in older women than of younger women. Age at marriage is also important from other points of view. Do the occupational classes differ in the proportion of marriages which take place at the onset of maturity, or in older years after the habits of single life are well established? Does marriage take place before a suitable preparation has been made to provide economic sustenance of the family, or does it take place after the material goods of life seem assured? Undoubtedly these factors affect the health, education, and welfare of the family. Hence, the age at marriage of the occupational groups should be known as definitely as possible. This study attempts to demonstrate these differentials.

The mean ages at marriage of brides and grooms differentials according to occupation of groom, in Wisconsin were computed for the years 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. In Wisconsin, as in the United States, there are no registration statistics of marriage which separate the social classes or occupational groups. A ten per cent sample of all marriages in each of the five years was taken from the original

marriage certificates on file at the Bureau of Vital Statistics Office in Madison. The age at marriage and the occupation of the groom were among the items tabulated in these samples. When the tabulations were made on which this study is based, the marriages were divided, according to the husbands' occupations, into the following categories: (1) proprietors, managers, and officials, (2) professional and semi-professional, (3) domestic and protective service workers and service workers, (4) clerical, sales, and kindred workers, (5) skilled, (6) semi-skilled, (7) unskilled, (8) farmers, and farm managers, farm laborers, and farm foremen, (9) occupation-not-reported and indefinite. In 1945, servicemen was added to make a tenth group. The classification of these different occupational categories is presented in Appendix A. It should be pointed out, while no claim was made for the details of the classification, it was felt that each of these occupational groups taken as a whole differed from the others with respect to its social background, standards of education and achievement, and economic status.

Mean Age of Groom. The proprietor, manager, and official occupational groups had highest mean age at marriage (30.7) in 1915. (See Table 9.) The group which had the next highest mean age at marriage was the "occupation-not-reported" category. Since this category cannot be definitely identified, little can be demonstrated concerning it. Evidently most of its members would belong in the highest socially ranked occupations for their average age at marriage was quite high, 30.5 years. The professional and semi-professional grooms ranked third, being 29.9 years old. Following in order were domestic and

TABLE 9

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN, BY OCCUPATION, IN WISCONSIN, 1915

Occupation	: Mean Age of Men : at Marriage
Total	27.8
Proprietors, Managers and Officials	30.7
Occupation not Reported	30.5
Professional and Semi-Professional	29.9
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	28.2
Skilled	27.7
Farmers, and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	27.7
Clerical, Sales and Kindred Workers	27.5
Unskilled	27.0
Semiskilled	26.1

TABLE 10

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN, BY OCCUPATION, IN WISCONSIN, 1920

Occupation	: Mean Age of Men : at Marriage
Total	28.3
Occupation not Reported	35.5
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	30.8
Professional and Semi-Professional	29.2
Unskilled	28.5
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	28.2
Skilled	28.1
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	27.9
Semiskilled	27.5
Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers	27.1

protective service workers and service workers, 28.2; skilled, 27.7; farmers, and farm managers, farm laborers, and farm foremen, 27.7; clerical sales, and kindred workers, 27.5; unskilled, 27.0; and semi-skilled with the youngest age at marriage, 26.1 years.

In 1920, the occupation-not-reported grooms were the oldest group to enter marriage. (35.5 years of age). (See Table 10.) The proprietors, managers, and officials came next, 30.8 years, followed by professional and semi-professional grooms, 29.2 years of age. The unskilled grooms married next highest, 28.5 years, and just below this occupation came domestic and protective service workers and service workers, 28.2 years of age. The clerical, sales, and kindred workers married at the youngest age in 1920.

The proprietor, manager, and official grooms married at the oldest age in 1935 (31.8), 1940 (31.3), and in 1945 (33.4). All other occupational groups changed positions in these three years. The variations in levels of age at marriage is presented in graphic form in Figure 8 which depicts the changes for each of the five years.

The age of farm grooms fluctuates less than any other occupational group throughout the period. The semi-skilled and "occupation-not-reported" group had the most erratic variations. The mean age at marriage for all men increased from 27.8 in 1915 to 28.5 in 1920, 28.4 in 1935, then declined to 27.9 in 1940. In 1945, the mean age at marriage for all the grooms increased almost two years, from 28.4 in 1940 to 29.7 in 1945.

It appears from Figure 8, that the proprietor, manager, and official class, which is customarily ranked highest in the social scale, also

TABLE 11
 MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN, BY OCCUPATION, IN WISCONSIN, 1935

Occupation	: Mean Age of Men : at Marriage
Total	28.4
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	31.8
Professional and Semi-Professional	29.7
Semi skilled	29.2
Skilled	29.0
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	28.7
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	28.4
Occupation not Reported	28.1
Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers	27.8
Unskilled	27.3

TABLE 12

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN, BY OCCUPATION, IN WISCONSIN, 1940

Occupation	: Mean Age of Men : At Marriage
Total	27.9
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	31.3
Skilled	29.3
Occupation Not Reported	29.0
Professional and Semi-Professional	28.9
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	28.1
Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers	27.5
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	27.1
Semiskilled	26.9
Unskilled	26.8

TABLE 13

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN, BY OCCUPATION, IN WISCONSIN, 1945

Occupation	: Mean Age of Men : at Marriage
Total	29.7
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	38.4
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	36.6
Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers	34.1
Skilled	34.1
Professional and Semi-Professional	33.8
Unskilled	33.2
Semi skilled	30.7
Occupation not Reported	29.5
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	28.0
Servicemen	25.4

FIGURE 8

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, IN WISCONSIN, FOR
1915, 1920, 1935, 1940 AND 1945

has the highest mean age at marriage. The professional and semi-professional class, which is also ranked as one of the highest social classes, has the second highest trend of mean age of grooms. The unskilled class, usually ranked lowest in social status, has the lowest mean age at marriage in two years, 1935 and 1940. In 1915, it was second from the lowest, in 1920, fifth from lowest; and in 1945, fourth. The semi-skilled worker class, which is also placed near the bottom of the social scale, has consistently a low age at marriage, except in 1935. The intermediate classes, on the whole, have the same rank in order of average age at marriage as that usually given to their social status. The domestic and protective service workers and service workers are an exception to this. However, from year to year and from class to class the increase in the average age at marriage and the positions in age at marriage is far from uniform.

Mean Age of Bride. The brides were classified, on the basis of the husband's occupation, into the same groups as that presented for the grooms. In 1915, 1935, 1940, and 1945, the proprietor, manager, and official wives were married at the oldest ages. (See Tables 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18.) In 1920, this group ranked second highest, the occupation not reported group married at the oldest age in this year. The professional and semi-professional brides ranked third in highest age at marriage in 1915, third in 1920, second in 1935, fourth in 1940, and also fourth in 1945. The clerical, sales, and kindred workers fluctuated in rank position in each of the five years. The farmers and farm managers, farm laborers and farm foremen married either the youngest or next to the youngest age in all five years.

TABLE 14
 MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN, BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND, IN
 WISCONSIN, 1915

Occupation of Husband	: Mean age of Women : at Marriage
Total	24.2
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	26.4
Occupation not Reported	26.1
Professional and Semi-Professional	26.1
Clerical, Sales and Kindred Workers	25.1
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	24.4
Skilled	24.1
Unskilled	23.8
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	23.6
Semiskilled	23.5

TABLE 15

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN, BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND, IN
WISCONSIN, 1920

Occupation of Husband	: Mean Age of Women : at Marriage
Total	24.9
Occupation not Reported	30.8
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	26.9
Professional and Semi-Professional	26.2
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	25.1
Skilled	25.0
Unskilled	25.0
Semi skilled	24.7
Clerical, Sales and Kindred Workers	24.6
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	23.8

TABLE 16
 MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN, BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND, IN
 WISCONSIN, 1935

Occupation of Husband	: Mean Age of Women : at Marriage
Total	24.8
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	26.9
Professional and Semi-Professional	26.3
Occupation not Reported	25.5
Skilled	25.5
Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers	25.2
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	25.2
Semiskilled	24.2
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	24.0
Unskilled	24.0

TABLE 17
 MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN, BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND, IN
 WISCONSIN, 1940

Occupation of Husband	: Mean Age of Women : at Marriage
Total	24.6
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	27.0
Occupation not Reported	26.6
Skilled	25.8
Professional and Semi-Professional	25.5
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	24.8
Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers	24.7
Semiskilled	23.9
Unskilled	23.5
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	23.2

TABLE 18

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN, BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND, IN
WISCONSIN, 1945

Occupation of Husband	: Mean Age of Women : at Marriage
Total	26.0
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	32.5
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	31.1
Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers	29.3
Professional and Semi-Professional	29.1
Unskilled	28.8
Skilled	28.7
Semiskilled	26.7
Occupation not Reported	26.6
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers and Farm Foremen	23.8
Servicemen	23.1

FIGURE 9
MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN, BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND,
IN WISCONSIN, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, 1945.

The pattern of mean ages of the brides follows almost the same as that of the grooms. However, the ranges in age at marriage of the brides among the different occupations was the greatest in 1945 with a 9 year spread, in the same year there was approximately 13 years range in levels of mean age of grooms. Figure 9 illustrates the changes in age at marriage of women over the five years studied. The farm brides level of ages fluctuated less than any other occupational group. The occupation-not-reported category showed no definite trend. The total group of brides married at a mean age of 24.2 in 1915, then increased to 24.9 in 1920, declined slightly to 24.8 in 1935, dropped to 24.6 in 1940, then increased to 26.0 years in 1945.

In the occupational groups, the mean age at marriage of women increased with the rising status of the social class. There is a direct relation between average age at marriage and social status as conventionally ranked, for the higher and more favored occupational groups marry progressively later in life. These data demonstrate that the women who marry latest in life marry men who are also in the oldest age groups at marriage. In Wisconsin, during 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, there is a tendency for men, usually ranked lowest in the social scale according to occupational groups, to marry earliest in life and these data show that they marry younger women than higher occupational groups do. In other words, there is an association of progressive postponement of marriage with the rising social status of the occupational groups in Wisconsin for these five years. However, there are exceptions to this as may be observed in Figure 9, but in general, the trend is as mentioned.

COMPARISONS BETWEEN FARM AND URBAN DATA ON MEAN AGE OF BRIDES AND GROOMS

Mean Age of Groom. The mean age of farm grooms was lower than the mean age of urban grooms in 1915, 1920, 1940, and 1945. (See Table 19). But, in 1935, the farm grooms married later than did the urban grooms. In 1915, the urban grooms were 27.8 years of age and the farm grooms 27.7 years old. This age differential increased somewhat in 1920, the urban grooms being 28.3 and the farm grooms, 27.9 years old. In 1935, the farm men married later than did the urban grooms, 28.7 and 28.3, respectively. In 1940, the urban grooms again were older, 28.0 compared with 27.1 for the farm grooms. The age at marriage of urban grooms increased to 33.7 in 1945, while the farm grooms were 28.0 years old at marriage. The urban men married 5.7 years later than did the farm men in 1945. In 1915, 1920, and 1940, the urban men were less than one year older than the farm grooms. Figure 10 illustrates these differentials clearly in graphic form.

Mean age of Bride. The brides were younger than the grooms in all five years. (See Table 19.) The farm brides married younger in each year than did the urban brides. The mean age of urban women was .8 years older than the farm women in 1915, 24.4 and 23.6, respectively. In 1920, the urban women married 1.4 years later than the farm women. The mean age of urban women at marriage was 25.2, for the farm women, 23.8. The urban brides were only one year older than the farm brides in 1935, this difference increased to 1.6 in 1940, then jumped to 5.1 years in 1945.

The age of farm brides varied little during the five years studied.

TABLE 19

MEAN AGE OF GROOM AND MEAN AGE OF BRIDE, FARM AND URBAN, IN WISCONSIN,
1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945

Year	Mean Age of Groom		Mean Age of Bride	
	Urban	Farm	Urban	Farm
1915	27.8	27.7	24.4	23.6
1920	28.3	27.9	25.2	23.8
1935	28.3	28.7	25.0	24.0
1940	28.0	27.1	24.8	23.2
1945	33.7	28.0	28.9	23.8

However, the mean age at marriage of urban women increased 4.1 years from 1940 to 1945. This same trend is shown in the data on age at marriage of grooms. (See Figure 10.) The age of the farm grooms fluctuated only one year during the five years, while the age of urban grooms remained approximately the same until 1945. However, the age at marriage of the urban men increased 5.7 years between 1940 and 1945.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AGE OF BRIDE AND AGE OF GROOM

Wisconsin women married a little more than three years younger than men in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. The least difference in ages of the brides and grooms was in 1940 when the grooms were 3.3 years older than the brides. The grooms were 27.9 years old, the brides 24.6. In 1945, Wisconsin grooms were 3.7 years the senior, being 29.7 and the brides 26.0 years of age. (See Table 20 and Figure 10.) In 1915, the grooms were 27.8 and the brides 24.2; in 1920, 28.3 and 24.9; and in 1935, 28.4 and 24.8, respectively. For each of the five years the brides were from 3.3 to 3.7 years younger than the grooms in Wisconsin.

The age differential between age at marriage of urban men and women was similar to that found in the total population in Wisconsin. Women married 3.1 years younger than men in 1920; in 1945, this difference increased to 4.8 years. In 1945, both urban males and females married later than they did in 1940, but the men delayed marriage almost five years later than did the women.

Wisconsin farm women married about four years earlier than farm

TABLE 20

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN WISCONSIN, FOR TOTAL GROUP,
URBAN, AND RURAL, 1915 TO 1945

Year	Total Marriages		Urban		Farm	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1915	27.8	24.2	27.8	24.4	27.7	23.6
1920	28.3	24.9	28.3	25.2	27.9	23.8
1935	28.4	24.8	28.3	25.0	28.7	24.0
1940	27.9	24.6	28.0	24.8	27.1	23.2
1945	29.7	26.0	33.7	28.9	28.0	23.8

FIGURE 10
 MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR BRIDES AND GROOMS OF THE TOTAL, URBAN, AND FARM
 POPULATION, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945

men. In 1915, farm grooms were 27.7 years of age, brides, 23.6; in 1920, grooms 27.9, brides, 23.8; 1935, 28.7 and 24.0; 1940, 27.1 and 23.2; and 1945, 28.0 and 23.8, respectively. Only in one year (1940) were the brides less than 4 years younger than the grooms.

It can be seen upon observing Table 20 and Figure 10 that women married earlier than men in each year in Wisconsin. For the total population of Wisconsin the brides are well over three years younger than the grooms. In 1915, 1920, 1935, and 1940 the urban women married over three years younger than did urban men. However, the urban women were 4.8 years younger at marriage than urban men in 1945. The farm women married approximately four years before the farm men in all five years. Hence, the disparity between age at marriage of men and women was the greatest among the farm population in all years except 1945. In this year, the range between the age of urban men and women was 4.8 years, while for the farm brides and grooms it was 4.2 years.

Another way to analyze the age at marriage of men and women in Wisconsin is to compute the number and percentage of men and women marrying in the different age groups. From Table 21, it will be seen that while but 1.9 percent of the grooms are under 20 years old (1915), 22.8 percent of all women marrying reported their ages under this year. Including the next five-year period, it is found that while 43.5 percent of the men are under 25 years, 70.6 percent of the women are within those years. If still another five-year period be added, i.e., including up to the end of the twenty-ninth year, it will be seen that 75.9 per cent of the grooms and 87.8 percent of the brides

TABLE 21

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN WISCONSIN, 1915

Age at Marriage	Number		Cumulative percentage of Total Marriages	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Under 20	33	400	1.9	22.8
20 - 24	731	840	43.5	70.6
25 - 29	569	303	75.9	87.8
30 - 34	225	99	88.7	93.4
35 - 39	87	54	93.6	96.5
40 and over	112	61	100.0	100.0
Total	1757	1757		

TABLE 22

1920

Age at Marriage	Number		Cumulative percentage of Total Marriages	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Under 20	44	475	2.0	21.5
20 - 24	855	977	40.7	65.8
25 - 29	743	435	74.4	85.5
30 - 34	285	149	87.3	92.2
35 - 39	109	55	92.2	94.7
40 and over	171	116	100.0	100.0
Total	2207	2207		

TABLE 23
DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN WISCONSIN, 1935

Age at Marriage	Number		Cumulative Percentage of Total Marriages	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Under 20	45	480	2.2	23.0
20 - 24	826	937	41.7	67.8
25 - 29	661	373	73.3	85.6
30 - 34	291	125	87.2	91.6
35 - 39	104	55	92.2	94.2
40 and over	164	121	100.0	100.0
Total	2091	2091		

TABLE 24
DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN WISCONSIN, 1940

Age at Marriage	Number		Cumulative Percentage of Total Marriages	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Under 20	45	482	1.9	20.6
20 - 24	988	1120	44.2	68.6
25 - 29	779	451	77.6	87.9
30 - 34	243	123	88.0	93.2
35 - 39	112	49	92.8	95.3
40 and over	168	110	100.0	100.0
Total	2335	2335		

TABLE 25

DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN WISCONSIN, 1945

Age at Marriage	Number		Cumulative Percentage of Total Marriages	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Under 20	100	540	4.0	21.5
20 - 24	946	1052	41.7	63.4
25 - 29	676	406	68.6	79.6
30 - 34	289	189	80.1	87.1
35 - 39	161	119	86.5	91.8
40 and over	340	206	100.0	100.0
Total	2512	2512		

are less than 30 years of age. That women marry younger than men is evident for every year----1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. (See also Tables 22, 23, 24, and 25.)

In each year at least one-fifth of the brides married under twenty years of age. In contrast, the largest percentage of the grooms that married under twenty years of age in any year was four per cent in 1945. It can be seen that a greater percentage of women are married in every age group for all years, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945 in Wisconsin.

TREND IN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF BRIDES AND GROOMS

The trend in median age at marriage of Wisconsin men and women from 1915 to 1940 is presented in Table 26 and Figure 11. The Bureau of Vital Statistics in Wisconsin did not report on age at marriage after 1940.

The median age of Wisconsin grooms was 26.1 in 1915. The age of grooms increased irregularly to the highest peak for the twenty-five year period in 1921 (26.9 years). From 1921, the age at marriage decreased gradually through 1929, rose slightly in 1930 and 1931, then dropped to 25.9 in 1932. In 1933, the age of grooms began rising but in 1939 a decline occurred, with the lowest median age for the period being recorded, 25.8. Figure 11 depicts this trend in a graphic manner. A trend line was computed by the least squares method showing the trends in age at marriage for the entire period. There was a definite trend toward an earlier age at marriage of men over the twenty-five year period.

TABLE 26

MEDIAN AGE AT MARRIAGE BY BRIDE AND GROOM, FOR WISCONSIN
1915 - 1940

<u>Year</u>	<u>Brides</u>	<u>Grooms</u>
1915	22.9	26.1
1916	22.9	26.2
1917	23.0	26.0
1918	23.1	26.7
1919	23.2	26.6
1920	23.3	26.5
1921	23.3	26.9
1922	23.2	26.7
1923	23.1	26.6
1924	23.0	26.5
1925	22.9	26.3
1926	22.9	26.4
1927	22.8	26.1
1928	22.9	26.0
1929	22.8	26.0
1930	22.8	26.1
1931	22.8	26.2
1932	22.6	25.9
1933	22.7	26.0
1934	22.9	26.2
1935	23.1	26.4
1936	23.2	26.4
1937	23.1	26.3
1938	23.0	26.2
1939	23.1	25.8
1940	23.1	26.1

SOURCE: Reports of the State Board of Health of Wisconsin,
Madison, Wisconsin, 1915 - 1940.

FIGURE 11
 MEDIAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN
 WISCONSIN, FROM 1915 - 1940

The variations in the age at marriage of women followed about the same pattern as that for the age of men, except that the trend is not so pronounced. The median age of brides was 22.9 years in 1915, the age rose gradually to 23.3 in 1920 and remained the same in 1921. From 1922 the median age of brides began a steady decline and reached its lowest level in 1932 (22.6 years). The median age increased in 1933 and 1934 but remained about the same through 1940. The trend in age at marriage of women was toward earlier marriage but not as marked as that of the grooms. The equation for the trend line in age at marriage of brides was $y_c = 23.054 - .00366x$; for grooms, $y_c = 26.538 - .02482x$.

Another way to determine the trend in age at marriage in Wisconsin is to analyze the proportion of the total population that is married in the different age groups to see whether or not a greater or lesser percentage of the total population is marrying in the earlier age groups. Data for men and women for each ten year period from 1890 to 1940, is presented in Table 27.

In 1890, only 54.0 per cent of the Wisconsin males, 15 years old and over were married. This percentage decreased to 53.9 percent in 1900, but thereafter increased steadily upward until in 1940, 58.9 percent of all males 15 years and over were married. Only 0.1 percent of the total males ages 15-19 were married in 1890. In 1920 the proportion married in this age group had increased to 0.7 percent. But in 1930 and 1940, only 0.6 percent of the total males in this group were married. Of all the males ages 20-24 in 1890, only 11.4 percent were married, by 1940 this had increased to 19.5 percent. But the

TABLE 27
PROPORTION OF THE TOTAL POPULATION MARRIED AND OF AGE GROUPS,
IN WISCONSIN, FOR CENSUS YEARS 1890 TO 1940

Age	Percent of Total Males Married 15 Years Old and Over					
	Census Year					
	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890
All ages	58.9	57.9	56.5	53.6	53.9	54.0
15 - 19	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.1
20 - 24	19.3	20.5	18.3	14.4	13.3	11.4
25 - 29	57.7	56.2	52.2	48.9	47.1	47.8
30 - 34	75.3	73.7	70.5	69.6	69.5	72.3
35 - 44	80.5	79.6	78.5	79.4	80.4	83.8
45 - 54	80.2	79.7	80.6	82.8	84.5	86.9
55 - 64	76.1	77.3	78.8	81.2	82.3	84.4
65 & over	61.4	63.7	65.2	66.0	67.4	71.7
Not reported		24.9	28.1	19.2	28.7	25.0

Age	Percent of Total Females Married 15 Years Old and Over					
	Census Year					
	1940	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890
All Ages	60.8	61.5	59.6	57.7	58.5	59.7
15 - 19	5.8	7.1	5.6	4.6	5.9	5.5
20 - 24	45.0	46.5	42.2	39.1	41.3	42.6
25 - 29	73.3	73.8	70.5	69.7	70.6	73.6
30 - 34	81.0	82.4	80.5	80.7	82.0	84.4
35 - 44	82.6	83.5	82.9	83.4	84.5	87.0
45 - 54	78.7	79.3	78.6	80.2	81.0	82.9
55 - 64	67.5	67.6	67.7	69.7	69.4	71.5
65 & over	37.4	39.6	38.6	40.5	42.4	46.8
Not Reported		34.7	39.3	36.2	36.9	40.5

SOURCE: Population, Fourth Series, 16th Census of the United States, 1940, page 11.

largest percentage of the total males married in this age group was reached in 1930, 20.5 percent. In all age groups, however, the proportions married of the total males have not followed a consistent trend throughout the period 1890 to 1940. The highest proportion of the total male population which were married was reached in the age group 15-19 in 1920; in the age group 20-24 in 1930; in the age group 25-29 in 1940; and in the age group 30-34 also in 1940.

The percentage married of the total female population in the various age groups has remained approximately at the same levels from 1890 to 1940. A larger percentage of the total women ages 15-19, 20-24, and 25-29, were married in 1930 than in any other year. While in 1930, 7 women out of every one hundred between the ages 14 and 20 were married, in 1940 less than six out of every one hundred reported that they were married. There was also 1.5 less women out of every one hundred married in the age group 20-24 in 1940 than in 1930. It appears from Table 27, that there has been no definite trend in the percentage of men and women married over the fifty year period, 1890-1940, in Wisconsin. However, the percentage of the women married in each age-group was less in 1940 in all age groups than in 1930. Limitations of the census data restrains us from making a strong argument of this point. From 1890 through 1940, a large number of persons interviewed by the census takers failed to report on their marriage condition. In 1940, The Bureau of Census corrected the data by estimating the marital status of persons who did not report on this point and placed them into age categories accordingly. In all other years, the individuals who reported no marital status were grouped in the

category if "not reported." Hence, this lack of uniformity by the Census Bureau forces one to use these data with caution.

A more satisfactory approach to an analyses of the trends in age at marriage of Wisconsin men and women is to examine the changes in mean ages at marriage at different intervals from 1915 to 1945. Five years were studied in this thirty year period ----- 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. The changes in age at marriage among the nine occupational groups is a more refined and adequate method to analyze trends in age at marriage than to study only the changes in age at marriage of the total population. A study of the total population doesn't reveal the great differentials that exist in the ages of brides and grooms among the various occupations for any one year, nor does it shed any light on the trends that are taking place in a temporal sequence.

Trends in Age of Groom. Table 28, presents vividly the differential ages at marriage of Wisconsin men, by occupation, in each year (1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945) and also the trends of the age at marriage. (See also Figures 8 and 10.) The method of collection of these data was described earlier in this chapter.

The mean age at marriage of all these men in 1915 was 27.8 years. In 1920, the grooms were one-half year older than in 1915, 28.3 years of age. The statistical test of significance between the means of the two samples were computed to note whether or not the change in

TABLE 28
 MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, IN WISCONSIN,
 1915 to 1945

Occupation	Year				
	1915	1920	1935	1940	1945
Total	27.8	28.3	28.4	27.9	29.7
Total Urban	27.8	28.3	28.3	28.0	33.7
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	30.7	30.8	31.8	31.3	38.4
Occupation not Reported	30.5	35.5	28.1	29.0	29.5
Professional and Semi- Professional	29.9	29.2	29.7	28.9	33.8
Domestic and Protective Service	28.2	28.2	28.4	28.1	36.6
Skilled	27.7	28.1	29.0	29.3	34.1
Clerical and Sales	27.5	27.1	27.8	27.5	34.1
Semiskilled	26.1	27.5	29.2	26.9	30.7
Unskilled	27.0	28.5	27.3	26.8	33.2
Farmers	27.7	27.9	28.7	27.1	28.0
Servicemen					25.4

TABLE 29
CRITICAL RATIOS BETWEEN MEAN AGES AT MARRIAGE OF GROOMS, FOR
SELECTED YEARS, BY OCCUPATIONS, 1915 TO 1945, IN WISCONSIN

Occupation	: 1915 : and : 1920	: 1915 : and : 1935	: 1915 : and : 1940	: 1915 : and : 1945
Total	: 2.153	: 2.406	: 1.071	: 6.894
Total Urban	: 1.647	: 1.826	: .843	: 14.704
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	: .029	: .664	: .328	: 3.851
Occupation not Reported	: 1.516	: 1.043	: .656	: .502
Professional and Semi- Professional	: .716	: .264	: 1.076	: 2.954
Domestic and Protective Service	: .020	: .121	: .093	: 4.609
Skilled	: .731	: 2.220	: 2.580	: 8.733
Clerical and Sales	: .676	: 1.086	: .152	: 6.590
Semiskilled	: 1.781	: 4.999	: 1.128	: 4.518
Unskilled	: 2.033	: .449	: .339	: 6.846
Farmers	: .496	: 2.012	: 1.144	: .550

age was significant.¹ Wisconsin men did marry older in 1920 and the difference was statistically significant (C. R. = 2.153). The age of grooms increased to 28.4 in 1935. Using 1915 as a base year for comparison of the change in age at marriage during the other four years, a critical ratio of 2.406 was found between the mean age at marriage in 1915 and 1935. In other words, men married significantly later in 1935 than they did in 1915. The mean age of grooms declined to 27.9 in 1940. Between 1915 and 1940 there was no significant change in the age at marriage of Wisconsin males. Grooms were considerably older in 1945 (29.7) than they were in the four other years. They were also married significantly later than did the men who married in 1915 (C. R. = 6.894). The statistical tests of significance of changes in ages at marriage of men is shown in Table 29.

The urban men married at the same age as did the total males in 1915, 27.8 years. The urban males were 28.3 years of age at marriage in 1920. The urban men married at the same age in 1935, in 1940 the mean age lowered to 28.0 years. However, none of these changes in age

-
1. The formula $C. R. = \frac{M_1 - M_2}{\sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2}{N_2} + \frac{\sigma_2^2}{N_1}}}$ was applied where C. R. is the

$$\sqrt{\frac{\sigma_1^2}{N_2} + \frac{\sigma_2^2}{N_1}}$$

critical ratio. M_1 , is the mean of the first sample and M_2 is the mean of the second sample. σ_1^2 is the standard deviation of the first sample, squared, σ_2^2 is the standard deviation of the second sample squared and N_2 is the number of units in the second sample; N_1 , the number of units in the first sample. If C. R. is greater than 1.96, using the 5 per cent level of significance, then the difference between the two means are said to be significant.

at marriage were statistically significant. Urban grooms delayed marriage 5.5 years longer in 1945 than did those who married in 1940. Urban males married at a later age in 1945 than in 1915 and the difference is statistically significant (C. R. = 14.704).

Proprietor, manager, and official grooms postponed marriage until they were over thirty years of age (30.7) in 1915. They married later in 1920 (30.8), 1935 (31.8), and in 1940 (31.3) but the change in age was not significant. The proprietor, manager, and official grooms were 38.4 years old at marriage in 1945 and they were significantly older than the grooms in 1915 (C. R. = 3.851).

Age at marriage for men in the occupation not reported class fluctuated during the five years, but none of the changes in ages were statistically significant. The professional and semi-professional men married significantly older in 1945 than in 1915. In 1935 and 1940 the changes in age at marriage weren't significant. Only in 1945, did the domestic and protective service grooms marry later than did the grooms in 1915.

Hereafter, when it is stated that men and women marry older or younger the difference will signify statistical significance.

The skilled grooms did not marry older in 1920 than they did in 1915. However they did marry older in 1935, 1940, and 1945. The men of the clerical, sales, and kindred workers class married older only in 1945 than they did in 1915. The semi-skilled workers married older in 1935 and 1945; unskilled workers, in 1920 and 1945. The only year in which the farmers married later than in 1915 was in 1935. The difference in age of farm grooms in 1940 and 1945 was not statisti-

cally significant.

Men in all classes entered marriage significantly at a later age in 1945 than in 1915 except farmers and the occupation-not-reported group. In 1940, the skilled grooms were the only occupational class that married later than in 1915. In 1935, the total grooms, skilled, semi-skilled, and farmers married later than in 1915. While in 1920, only the total grooms and unskilled grooms married at an older age than in 1915. It can be said that the trends in age at marriage are not uniform between the occupational groups. The only general pattern that exists in the data is that most occupational groups were married significantly older in 1945 than in 1915.

Trends in Age of Bride ----- Almost the same pattern exists in the trends for ages of brides as that of the grooms. The clearest trend in levels of ages is for the skilled, farm, and occupation-not-reported classes. Women of the skilled group were married older in 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945 than they were in 1915. (See Tables 30 and 31.) Females of the farm and occupation-not-reported group had no statistically significant changes in age over the entire period.

Urban women and women of the total population married later in 1920, 1935, and 1945 than they did in 1915. Brides of the proprietor, manager and official, professional and semi-professional, domestic and protective service, clerical and sales, semi-skilled, and unskilled classes married older only in 1945.

The most distinguished fact that these data bear out is that both men and women delayed marriage in 1945, and they were significantly

TABLE 30

MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN, BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND,
IN WISCONSIN, 1915 - 1945

Occupation	Year				
	1915	1920	1935	1940	1945
Total	24.2	24.9	24.8	24.6	26.0
Total Urban	24.4	25.2	25.0	24.8	28.9
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	26.4	26.9	26.9	27.0	32.5
Professional and Semi- Professional	26.1	26.2	26.3	25.5	29.1
Occupation not Reported	26.1	30.8	25.5	26.6	26.6
Domestic and Protective Service	24.4	25.1	25.2	24.8	31.1
Skilled	24.1	25.0	25.5	25.8	28.7
Clerical and Sales	25.1	24.6	25.2	24.7	29.3
Semiskilled	23.5	24.7	24.2	23.9	26.7
Unskilled	23.8	25.0	24.0	23.5	28.8
Farmers	23.6	23.8	24.0	23.2	23.8
Servicemen					23.1

TABLE 31

CRITICAL RATIOS BETWEEN MEAN AGES AT MARRIAGE OF BRIDES, FOR
SELECTED YEARS, BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND, 1915 TO 1945 IN WISCONSIN.

Occupation	: 1915 : : and : : 1920 :	: 1915 : : and : : 1935 :	: 1915 : : and : : 1940 :	: 1915 : : and : : 1945 :
Total	: 3.036 :	: 2.655 :	: 1.673 :	: 6.994 :
Total Urban	: 2.534 :	: 2.021 :	: 1.198 :	: 12.157 :
Proprietors and Managers and Officials	: .410 :	: .325 :	: .420 :	: 3.591 :
Occupation not Reported	: 1.641 :	: .279 :	: .217 :	: .248 :
Professional and Semi- Professional	: .159 :	: .349 :	: .654 :	: 2.755 :
Domestic and Protective Service	: .565 :	: .694 :	: .369 :	: 4.203 :
Skilled	: 2.044 :	: 2.495 :	: 3.371 :	: 7.026 :
Clerical and Sales	: .841 :	: .303 :	: .742 :	: 4.787 :
Semiskilled	: 1.373 :	: .741 :	: .534 :	: 2.963 :
Unskilled	: 1.658 :	: .332 :	: .579 :	: 6.093 :
Farmers	: .445 :	: .862 :	: 1.078 :	: .372 :

older than in 1915. The farmers and occupation-not-reported group are the only exceptions. In fact there was no change in the age at marriage for the brides of these two groups or the grooms of the occupation-not-reported group. The only year in which the farm grooms married older than they did in 1915 was 1935.

DIFFERENCES IN AGE AT MARRIAGE AS A FACTOR AFFECTING DIVORCE

In this section attention is focused upon the age at marriage of divorced Wisconsin men and women. What is the relation between age at marriage and the duration of the marriage of Wisconsin divorced families who were divorced in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945?

Table 32 presents the distribution of age at marriage of men and women who were divorced in 1915. The mean duration of marriage for men who were between 30 through 34 years at marriage was the greatest, 12.9 years. It can be stated from this table that the marriages of men between 30 and 34 years of age lasted the longest period of time. But notice that the length of marriage for men who married at age 35 and over was only 9.1 years.

Critical ratios were calculated to test the hypothesis that marriages entered into by both brides and grooms under 20 years of age result in divorce sooner than do marriages entered into in other age groups. These tests of significance are shown in Table 37. In 1915, the divorced men who entered marriage between the ages 20 to 24, were married significantly longer than those men who married under 20 years of age (C. R. = 2.017). There was no significant difference in the length of marriage between the grooms married under 20 years and those

TABLE 32
DISTRIBUTION, ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED OF DIVORCES IN WISCONSIN, 1915, CLASSIFIED
ACCORDING TO AGE OF HUSBAND AT MARRIAGE AND AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE

Number of years Married	Age of Husband					Age of Wife				
	Under 20	20- 24	25- 29	30- 34	35 & over	Under 20	20- 24	25- 29	30 & over	
Total number	145	524	342	157	213	576	466	158	181	
Under 5 years	45	140	92	38	89	144	132	46	82	
5 - 9 years	41	169	81	40	58	180	121	42	46	
10 - 14 years	27	77	76	33	29	112	82	25	23	
15 - 19 years	10	67	44	15	17	67	54	19	13	
20 - 24 years	11	32	18	10	8	35	28	9	7	
25 - 29 years	10	28	16	9	3	30	29	3	4	
30 years old and over	1	11	15	12	9	8	20	14	6	
Mean	10.3	11.8	11.7	12.9	9.1	10.7	11.7	12.2	8.7	

TABLE 33
DISTRIBUTION, ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED OF DIVORCES IN WISCONSIN, 1920, CLASSIFIED
ACCORDING TO AGE OF HUSBAND AT MARRIAGE AND AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE

Number of years married	Age of Husband					Age of Wife				
	Under	20-	25-	30-	35 &	Under	20-	25-	30 &	
	20	24	29	34	over	20	24	29	over	
Total Number	228	813	462	258	325	865	685	234	302	
Under 5 years										
5 - 9 years	65	243	127	82	146	242	224	66	131	
10 - 14 years	70	281	126	61	85	276	209	57	81	
15 - 19 years	45	134	83	43	46	148	114	48	41	
20 - 24 years	19	68	50	22	19	90	52	20	16	
25 - 29 years	15	51	30	17	11	58	39	18	9	
30 years old and over	11	26	26	16	1	32	29	12	7	
	3	10	20	17	17	19	18	13	17	
Mean	10.3	9.7	11.6	12.0	8.8	11.6	10.0	11.9	9.3	

Total	2086
Unknown	450
Grand Total	<u>2536</u>

TABLE 34
DISTRIBUTION, ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED OF DIVORCES IN WISCONSIN, 1935, CLASSIFIED
ACCORDING TO AGE OF HUSBAND AT MARRIAGE AND AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE

Number of years Married	Age of Husband					Age of Bride				
	Under	20-	24	25-	30-	35 &	Under	20-	24	25-
	20	1325	802	368	461	over	20	1142	426	30 &
Total number	297	1325	802	368	461	over	1221	1142	426	464
Under 5 years	59	312	198	114	196	over	271	289	139	180
5 - 9 years	100	445	244	111	136	over	371	380	131	154
10 - 14 years	59	227	160	59	74	over	245	191	70	73
15 - 19 years	35	144	82	50	30	over	141	116	44	40
20 - 24 years	25	86	57	21	13	over	86	86	20	10
25 - 29 years	7	68	35	8	9	over	66	45	13	3
30 - 34 years	7	33	18	3	1	over	30	26	5	1
35 - 39 years	3	9	6	1	-	over	8	6	3	2
40 - 44 years	2	1	2	-	2	over	2	3	1	1
45 - 49 years	-	-	-	1	-	over	1	-	-	-
Mean	11.5	11.1	11.1	9.8	7.9	over	11.6	10.8	9.6	7.9

Total 3253
Unknown 335
Grand Total 3588

TABLE 35
DISTRIBUTION, ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED OF DIVORCES IN WISCONSIN, 1940, CLASSIFIED
ACCORDING TO AGE OF HUSBAND AT MARRIAGE AND AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE

Number of Years Married	Age of Husband				Age of Wife				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35 & over	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over
Total Number	333	1412	799	380	554	1283	1251	438	506
Under 5 years	75	374	218	129	259	291	376	146	242
5 - 9 years	88	358	169	100	150	330	311	107	117
10 - 14 years	74	257	166	71	75	263	225	71	84
15 - 19 years	44	170	102	33	42	159	138	53	41
20 - 24 years	24	104	64	20	21	106	88	27	12
25 - 29 years	19	84	43	17	4	81	59	21	6
30 - 34 years	2	31	16	4	2	20	23	10	2
35 - 39 years	4	20	13	6	1	20	19	3	2
40 - 44 years	2	10	6	0	0	7	11	0	0
45 - 49 years	1	3	1	0	0	4	1	0	0
50 - 54 years	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
Mean	11.9	11.9	12.1	10.0	7.5	12.4	11.3	10.7	7.6
TOTAL 3478									
Unknown 242									
Grand Total 3720									

TABLE 36
DISTRIBUTION, ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED OF DIVORCES IN WISCONSIN, 1945, CLASSIFIED
ACCORDING TO AGE OF HUSBAND AT MARRIAGE AND AGE OF WIFE AT MARRIAGE

[illegible]

TABLE 37
CRITICAL RATIOS BETWEEN MEAN DURATION OF MARRIAGES FOR DIVORCED MALES AND FEMALES IN WISCONSIN FROM
1915 - 1945, BY AGE AT MARRIAGE, FOR SELECTED AGE GROUPS

Males				
Year	Under 20 Years of Age : at Marriage and 20- 24 Years at Marriage	Under 20 Years of Age : at Marriage and 25- 29 Years at Marriage	Under 20 years of Age : at Marriage and 30- 34 Years at Marriage	Under 20 years of Age At Marriage and 35 years old and over at Marriage
1915	2.017	1.585	2.391	1.316
1920	1.099	1.858	2.004	1.954
1935	.810	.800	2.912	6.924
1940	.091	.377	2.973	9.724
1945	2.879	3.064	5.000	12.479

Females				
Year	Under 20 Years of Age : at Marriage and 20- 24 Years at Marriage	Under 20 years of Age : at Marriage and 25- 29 Years at Marriage	Under 20 Years of Age At Marriage and 30 Year Old and over at Marriage	
1915	1.795	1.894	2.954	
1920	4.013	.484	4.268	
1935	2.301	4.350	8.763	
1940	3.156	3.483	10.972	
1945	4.626	4.230	14.839	

marrying 25 - 29 years of age. Men who married between 30 - 34 years of age were married longer than men who married under 20 years old. (C. R. = 2.391). No significant difference existed in the duration of marriage between men under 20 and those 35 and over. Hence it appears that in 1915, the marriages contracted by men before they reached 20 years of age did end in divorce sooner than those who married between 20 - 24 years of age and 30 - 34 years of age.

The mean duration of marriage for divorced women in 1915 was 10.7 years for women marrying under 20 years of age; 11.7 years for those 20 - 24 years; 12.2 years for those 25 - 29 years, and only 8.7 years for those marrying 30 years and over. The women who married under 20 were married significantly longer than those women who appeared at the altar who were at least 30 years of age.

In 1920, the marriages of men under 20 years of age ended in the divorce significantly earlier than the men who married in their early thirties (30 - 34). (C. R. = 2.004). Women who married in their 'teens were married longer than females who were 20 through 24 and 30 years old and over at marriage. (See Table 33.) Although the mean duration of marriage for women 25 - 29 was slightly above that of women under 20, the difference was insignificant.

From Table 34 it can be observed that men marrying in the two oldest age groups were married less than 10 years. The very early marriages (men under 20), last longer than they did for those men marrying between 30 to 34 years of age and those marrying 35 or after. The women that married under 20 and who were divorced in 1935, had a

longer duration of marriage than for all other age groups. In 1940, the marriages, contracted by grooms in their 'teens lasted longer than did those marriages contracted by men ages 30 to 34, and 35 and over. The marriages of women before they reached their twentieth birthday was significantly longer than for all other age groups. (See Table 35.) Early marriages by both men and women lasted longer than those marrying in the later years of life; 30 and over for grooms and 20 and over for women.

From Table 36 it can be seen that there is a definite shortening of the duration of marriage as the progressive postponement of age at marriage increases. This is true for divorced men and women both in 1945. Men and women who married before they reached 20 years of age were married significantly longer than the older age groups. Critical ratios shown in Table 37 bear out this fact for several of the differences are highly significant. Men marrying under 20 years of age were in a married state almost twice as long as those men who married 35 years of age or over. Almost the same can be said for women under 20 and those 30 and over.

It is proper at this point to remember that Ogburn said that "indeed there is both belief and evidence that early marriages break up more readily than do those contracted at a more mature age."¹ Our data for Wisconsin women clearly disproves Ogburn's contention. In fact women who were divorced in 1935, 1940, and 1945 in Wisconsin and

1. Ogburn, op. cit., p. 287.

who were married before the twentieth birthday remained married, longer than did all those women marrying in older ages. For 1915, the women that married before age 20 were married significantly longer than women who married aged 30 and over. And in 1920, the 'teen aged brides were married longer than the brides 20 - 24 and also those 30 and over. It can be concluded that marriages entered into by Wisconsin women 30 years old and over break up sooner than do those marriages contracted by women before 20 years of age. This is true for women who were divorced in all years which were studied in Wisconsin.

Divorce data for three years, 1935, 1940, and 1945 shows that the duration of marriage is significantly longer for men that marry under 20 years of age than for men marrying 30 years of age and over. In these three years marriage entered into by men 30 years and over ends in divorce earlier than for men marrying before 20 years of age. Our data for divorced men in 1945 shows that the older the age at marriage, the quicker the marriage ends in divorce. However, in 1920 the marriages of men under 20 years did end earlier than did the marriages contracted by men age 30-34. And in 1915, marriages by men before 20 ended earlier than for the age groups 20-24 and 30-34. Divorce data for the past ten years in Wisconsin, 1935-1945, demonstrate that men who married before their 20th birthday remained in a married state significantly longer than men who contracted marriage after 30 years of age.

One interesting trend is shown in the age factor at marriage over the thirty year period. The divorce data clearly shows that there was a definite transition beginning in 1935 and existing through 1945 in Wisconsin. The years 1915 and 1920 belong to one period and the

years 1935, 1940, and 1945 falls in the later one. During 1915 men marrying at 20-24 and 30-34 years of age were married significantly longer than the men who married under 20. In 1920, men who married 30-34 years old also were married significantly longer than the 'teen aged grooms. But beginning in 1935 and continuing through 1945, the younger aged grooms remained in the married state longer than grooms entering marriage in their thirties. Data in 1935, for divorced women shows this change which has taken place in the age factor at marriage more vividly. In 1915 and 1920 the women marrying at ages 25-29 remained in a married state longer than women who married before reaching 20. But, in 1935, the women marrying before aged 20 were married significantly longer than all other aged groups. This is true for 1940 and 1945 as well.

Women who marry at thirty years of age and above were divorced sooner than women who married at younger ages in every year, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. The 30-year old brides' marriages ended in divorce earlier in all years than did the brides who married in the youngest age bracket, under 20. Men marrying at 30 and over in 1935, 1940, and 1945 were divorced earlier than the men who married before they reached 20 years of age. In 1915 and 1920 men who married at age thirty-five and over appeared in the divorce court sooner than did men who married in the younger age groups.

Does this mean that persons who marry late in life are "set in their ways" and make a poor adjustment with a newly acquired mate? However, isn't it generally agreed that the persons who marry latest have already obtained the necessities of life which would tend to

make the marriage more stable and secure? Or, does early marriage mean more children to unite the parties closer together insuring a greater marital stability? Or, is greater marital stability assured in the early marriages because of the greater adaptability of young people? These questions cannot be answered within the scope of this study but should be made central issues in future studies concerning marriage and divorce. These are questions that should be answered by "experts" (sociologists, divorce counsels, lawyers, etc.) who make sweeping generalizations regarding marriage and divorce, some of which have been quoted earlier in this study.

DURATION OF MARRIAGES THAT RESULT IN DIVORCE

Comparison of the duration of marriage in the rural and urban populations. Table 38 presents the median years of marriage in which divorce occurred by occupational groups for Wisconsin for the five years studied. In 1915, the median duration of marriage was greatest for the farmers and the proprietor, manager, and official occupations. The median year of marriage before divorce was ten years for these two classes. In all other occupation groups, the median length of marriages which ended in divorce was below this. In fact one-half of all divorces came in the fourth year of marriage for servicemen in this year. In 1920, the same two occupational groups had the highest median duration of marriage.

By 1935, the proprietor, manager, and official class had the longest median duration of marriage. One-half of the divorces came in the

TABLE 38

MEDIAN YEARS MARRIED OF ALL PERSONS DIVORCED, BY OCCUPATIONAL
GROUPS IN WISCONSIN FOR THE YEARS, 1915, 1920, 1935,
1940, and 1945

Occupation	Year in which Divorce Occurred				
	1915	1920	1935	1940	1945
Professional & Semi- Professional Workers	8	7	7	7	7
Farmers & Farm Managers, Farm Laborers & Farm Foremen	10	9	10	11	8
Proprietors, Managers & Officials, except Farm	10	9	11	9	11
Clerical, Sales & Kindred Workers	8	7	8	8	9
Skilled	8	8	10	10	10
Semiskilled	6	6	8	7	8
Domestic & Protective Service Workers & Service Workers	8	8	7	9	10
Unskilled	8	7	7	6	8
Servicemen	4	-	-	-	4
Occupation Not Reported	9	7	8	9	7
Total Divorces	8	7	8	8	8

SOURCE: Data was tabulated from divorce certificates on file at
the Wisconsin State Board of Health Office, Madison,
Wisconsin.

eleventh year of marriage. Farmers and the skilled group were tied for the second highest median length of marriage. Half of the divorces for these two occupational groups fell in the tenth year of marriage.

The farm group had the longest median duration of marriage in only one year -----1940. For this year, one-half of all farm divorces occurred in the eleventh year of marriage. The skilled class were next with a median of ten; then followed the proprietors, managers, and officials and the domestic and protective service groups with a median duration of marriage of nine years. The median year of marriage was also nine years for the occupation-not-reported group in 1940. By the eighth year of marriage, one-half of all clerical, sales, and kindred workers were divorced out of the total divorces in this group.

In 1945, the proprietor, manager, and official class possessed the longest median duration of marriage for all divorces. By the eleventh year of marriage half of this group were divorced. The skilled and domestic and protective service occupational groups had a median duration of marriage of ten years. The clerical, sales and kindred workers were the only other class to have a longer median duration of marriage above the average for the total group in 1945---nine years. One-half of all servicemen who were divorced in 1945 had been married only four years. These data show that both in 1915 and 1945 one-half of all divorced servicemen had only been married four years. This is evidence that many of the Wisconsin men entered marriage hastily during World War II and several of these couples were back in the divorce court in 1945. For in 1945, one-half of the servicemen had only been married four years, while the median duration for all Wisconsin divorces was

in the eighth year of marriage.

The median duration of marriage was calculated for the five-year average to secure rank positions for the occupational classes over the entire period. For the five-years, the proprietor, manager, and official class had the highest median-----ten years. Undoubtedly one reason for this is that the business-owner group must maintain a respectable name in our society in order to do well in business transactions. Family disruption and marital conflicts might create a bad impression among the businessman's customers. Max Weber has shown how thoroughly the Protestant ethic has permeated the American Business group.¹

The farm and skilled groups had the next highest median duration of marriage for the five-year average---nine years. For the two-average 1915 and 1945, one-half of all divorces were granted to the servicemen in the fourth year of marriage. The semi-skilled and the professional and semi-professional groups ranked intermediate with a median of seven years. Most people do think that the professional class reacts in a peculiar way of its own to American behavior norms. Most studies have shown that divorce rates are higher for this occupational group than for other occupational classes.

In the earlier part of this chapter it was demonstrated that the proprietor, manager, and official class married oldest in life in

1. See especially Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills) New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, pp 302-322.

1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. For the same five-year average, their marriages also lasted longer before divorce. This is evident from Table 39. It was also shown that the farm group married near the earliest age levels in all of these years, their marriages also tend to last longer than other occupational groups. That is, with the exception of the proprietor, manager, and official as well as the skilled class.

Table 40, shows the number and percent of all divorced couples that celebrated their silver wedding anniversary before getting a divorce. It can be demonstrated that after 25 years of marriage a sizeable proportion of divorces still occur in certain groups of Wisconsinites. One remarkable fact that these data illustrate is that 16 percent of all farm couples were divorced after they had celebrated their silver anniversary. This is a five year average for divorce data. In contrast, out of 856 divorced servicemen, divorced in 1915 and 1920, only two had been married as long as 26 years. There is obviously a great amount of instability in many of the marriages of servicemen. At least, these statistics force one to believe that marital instability exists to a higher degree in these families.

Only six out of every 100 divorced families had passed their twenty-fifth year of marriage for Wisconsin as a whole, while 16 out of every 100 farm divorces occurred after the 25th year of marriage.

Percentage of divorces that go to persons married less than ten years. What percentage of Wisconsin divorces occurred before their tenth year of marriage in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945? In 1915,

TABLE 39
 MEDIAN YEARS MARRIED OF ALL PERSONS DIVORCED, BY OCCUPATIONAL
 GROUPS IN WISCONSIN, FOR THE FIVE YEAR PERIOD
 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Median Year Married for All 5 Years Combined (1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945.)</u>
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials, except farm	10
Skilled	9
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers, and Farm Foremen	9
Clerical, Sales and Kindred Workers	8
Unskilled	8
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	8
Occupation not Reported	8
Semiskilled	7
Professional and Semi- Professional Workers	7
Servicemen	4 <u>1</u> / ₂
Total Divorces	8

1/ Median is for the two years 1915 and 1945 combined.

TABLE 40

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF DIVORCED COUPLES WHO HAD CELEBRATED THEIR
SILVER WEDDING ANNIVERSARY BEFORE THEY WERE DIVORCED

Totals are a five year average, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945
for Wisconsin.

Occupation	: Number Divorced :		
	: After 26 Years or :		
	: Divorces :	: More of Marriage :	: Percentage :
Farmers and Farm Managers, Farm Laborers, and Farm Foremen	: 1403 :	: 229 :	: 16.32 :
Occupation not Reported	: 1758 :	: 128 :	: 7.28 :
Skilled	: 3601 :	: 259 :	: 7.19 :
Proprietors, Managers, and Officials, except Farm	: 858 :	: 56 :	: 6.53 :
Professional and Semi- Professional Workers	: 796 :	: 49 :	: 6.16 :
Unskilled	: 4180 :	: 240 :	: 5.74 :
Clerical, Sales and Kindred Workers	: 1711 :	: 83 :	: 4.85 :
Domestic and Protective Service Workers and Service Workers	: 950 :	: 46 :	: 4.84 :
Semiskilled	: 1637 :	: 60 :	: 3.67 :
Servicemen	: 856 :	: 2 :	: .23 :
Total	: 17,750 :	: 1151 :	: 6.48 :

56.2 percent of all divorces went to those who had been married less than ten years. (See Table 41). Sixty and five tenths percent of all divorces were granted to couples who had been married less than ten years in 1920. (See Table 42). In 1935, 56.3 percent of all divorces were granted to couples who had not celebrated their tenth year of marriage; in 1940, 54.8 percent; and in 1945, 57.9 percent. (See Tables 43, 44, and 45). The average for the five-year period is 57.0 percent.

Most frequent length of marriages that end in divorce. The largest number of divorced couples (150) in 1915, had been married three years. The modal year for 1920 was also in the third year of marriage; in 1935, the greatest frequency of divorces occurred in the sixth year of marriage; in 1940, the third year; and in 1945, the third year of marriage. The modal length of marriage for all divorces for all years combined 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, was the third year. (See Tables 41-46).

The most frequent length of marriages that ended in divorce was the third year. Only in the year 1935, was there an exception to this, when the mode was in the sixth year of marriage. Undoubtedly the depression forced some couples to postpone divorce because of the high costs involved in court actions.

Percentage of divorces that involved persons married less than one year. In 1915, 2.6 percent of the families that received a divorce were married less than one year; in 1920, 5.5 percent; in 1935,

TABLE 41

TOTAL NUMBER OF DIVORCES, IN WISCONSIN, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, 1915

<u>Length of Time Married</u>	<u>Number of Divorces</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
Under 6 months	20	1.2	1.2
6-12 months	23	1.4	2.6
1 year	44	2.6	5.2
2 years	130	7.7	12.9
3 years	150	8.9	21.8
4 years	129	7.6	29.4
5 years	100	5.9	35.3
6 years	116	6.9	42.2
7 years	85	5.0	47.2
8 years	87	5.1	52.3
9 years	66	3.9	56.2
10-14 years	293	17.3	73.5
15-19 years	196	11.6	85.1
20-24 years	112	6.6	91.7
25 years and over	140	8.3	100.0
Total	1691	100.0	

TABLE 42

TOTAL NUMBER OF DIVORCES, IN WISCONSIN, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, 1920

<u>Length of Time Married</u>	<u>Number of Divorces</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
Under 6 months	82	3.4	3.4
6-12 months	50	2.1	5.5
1 year	40	1.7	7.2
2 years	171	7.2	14.4
3 years	243	10.2	24.6
4 years	163	6.8	31.4
5 years	163	6.8	38.2
6 years	154	6.5	44.7
7 years	142	6.0	50.7
8 years	120	5.0	55.7
9 years	114	4.8	60.5
10-14 years	411	17.3	77.8
15-19 years	208	8.7	86.5
20-24 years	151	6.3	92.8
25 years and over	<u>171</u>	<u>7.2</u>	100.0
Total	2383	100.0	

TABLE 43

TOTAL NUMBER OF DIVORCES, IN WISCONSIN, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, 1935

<u>Length of Time Married</u>	<u>Number Of Divorces</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
Under 6 months	42	1.2	1.2
6-12 months	112	3.1	4.3
1 year	110	3.0	7.3
2 years	209	5.8	13.1
3 years	229	6.3	19.4
4 years	227	6.3	25.7
5 years	240	6.7	32.4
6 years	264	7.3	39.7
7 years	220	6.1	45.8
8 years	200	5.5	51.3
9 years	181	5.0	56.3
10-14 years	652	18.1	74.4
15-19 years	414	11.5	85.9
20-24 years	251	6.9	92.8
25 years and over	<u>260</u>	<u>7.2</u>	100.0
Total	3611	100.0	

TABLE 44

TOTAL NUMBER OF DIVORCES, IN WISCONSIN, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, 1940

<u>Length of Time Married</u>	<u>Number Of Divorces</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
Under 6 months	74	2.0	2.0
6-12 months	116	3.2	5.2
1 year	104	2.9	8.1
2 years	234	6.4	14.5
3 years	300	8.2	22.7
4 years	270	7.4	30.1
5 years	238	6.5	36.6
6 years	219	6.0	42.6
7 years	159	4.4	47.0
8 years	146	4.0	51.0
9 years	140	3.8	54.8
10-14 years	676	18.5	73.3
15-19 years	414	11.4	84.7
20-24 years	247	6.8	91.5
25 years and over	310	8.5	100.0
Total	3647	100.0	

TABLE 45

TOTAL NUMBER OF DIVORCES, IN WISCONSIN,
BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, 1945

<u>Length of Time Married</u>	<u>Number Of Divorces</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
Under 6 months	143	2.2	2.2
6 - 12 months	184	2.9	5.1
1 year	273	4.2	9.3
2 years	478	7.5	16.8
3 years	570	8.9	25.7
4 years	474	7.4	33.1
5 years	391	6.1	39.2
6 years	318	5.0	44.2
7 years	265	4.1	48.3
8 years	332	5.2	53.5
9 years	284	4.4	57.9
10 - 14 years	964	15.0	72.9
15 - 19 years	773	12.0	84.9
20 - 24 years	488	7.6	92.5
25 years and over	481	7.5	100.0
Total	6418	100.0	

TABLE 46

TOTAL NUMBER OF DIVORCES, IN WISCONSIN, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED,
FOR THE YEARS 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940 AND 1945 COMBINED

<u>Length of Time Married</u>	<u>Number of Divorces</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Cumulative Percentage</u>
Under 6 months	361	2.0	2.0
6-12 months	485	2.7	4.7
1 year	571	3.2	7.9
2 years	1222	6.9	14.8
3 years	1492	8.4	23.2
4 years	1263	7.1	30.3
5 years	1132	6.4	36.7
6 years	1071	6.0	42.7
7 years	871	4.9	47.6
8 years	885	5.0	52.6
9 years	785	4.4	57.0
10-14 years	2996	16.9	73.9
15-19 years	2005	11.3	85.2
20-24 years	1249	7.1	92.3
25 years and over	<u>1362</u>	<u>7.7</u>	100.0
	17,750	100.0	

4.3 percent; in 1940, 5.2 percent; and in 1945, 5.1 percent. For the five-year total, only 4.7 percent of all divorces went to couples who had not celebrated at least one wedding anniversary. (See Tables 41-46).

Average duration of marriage for divorced couples. The median average lag between marriage and divorce in Wisconsin was eight years in 1915, 1935, 1940, and 1945. In other words, one-half of all divorces occurred during the first eight years of marriage. In 1920, the average (median) length of time between marriage and divorce was seven years. (See Table 38). The average duration of marriage for Wisconsin divorced couples for the total five years combined was eight years. (See Table 39).

The probability of Wisconsin marriages ending in divorce. The probability of a Wisconsin marriage ending in divorce was calculated for the years 1945, 1940, 1935, 1920, and 1915 by the Cahen method.¹ This method obtains a series of duration---specific rates for every year in which divorcees had earlier contracted marriage. The summation of these rates gives the proportional frequency of marriages expected to end in divorce, according to the divorce experience of any particular year.

1. Cahen, op. cit. pp 116-125.

When divorce data were tabulated for this study, the year of marriage was obtained for each couple.¹ The total number of divorces by year of marriage was distributed for each year studied---1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. The number of marriages for each of these years was divided into the number of divorces to find the yearly percentages of marriages that end in divorce. These percentages were then added to get the probability for a marriage ending in divorce for the last year.

For Wisconsin in 1945, out of 1000 couples 318, or 31.7 percent would eventually end in divorce according to the 1945 rate of divorce in Wisconsin. Out of 1000 couples, according the divorce rates in the coinciding year, 200 would eventually end in divorce in 1940; 212, in 1935; 146 in 1920; and 107 in 1915 in the state of Wisconsin. (See Table 47).

Cahen's probability of an American marriage ending in divorce in 1928 was 1,792 out of every 10,000 couples, or 18 percent.² Other computations of the probability of an American marriage ending in divorce by Cahen's method shows 139.796 in 1932; 171.847 in 1928; and 157.913 in 1924.³ That is, out of 1,000 marriages this many would be expected to eventually end in divorce.

1. See Appendix B for a more detailed description of our methodology of divorce data.

2. Cahen, op. cit., p. 118.

3. Chaddock, Robert E., et. al., "Methods of Estimating Proportional Frequencies of Divorce", The American Sociological Review, Volume 2, Number 3, June, 1937, pp. 398-405.

TABLE 47
Computation of Divorce Rates for Wisconsin by Cahen's Method (Sum of Duration-Specific Rates) for 1945, 1940, 1935, 1920, and 1915.

		D I V O R C E S									
		1945		1940		1935		1920		1915	
Yr. of:	No. of:	Per		Per		Per		Per		Per	
Marr-:	Marri-:	1000		1000		1000		1000		1000	
iage	ages	Marr-		Marr-		Marr-		Marr-		Marr-	
:	:	No.:	ages	No.:	ages	No.:	ages	No.:	ages	No.:	ages
:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
1945	:25,269:	180:	7.12:								
1944	:21,190:	434:	20.48:								
1943	:22,393:	480:	21.44:								
1942	:24,860:	549:	22.08:								
1941	:28,816:	484:	16.80:								
1940	:23,379:	409:	17.49:	74:	3.17:						
1939	:21,276:	337:	15.84:	226:	10.62:						
1937	:23,285:	322:	13.83:	310:	13.31:						
1936	:22,666:	286:	12.62:	282:	12.44:						
1935	:21,075:	245:	11.63:	247:	11.72:	56:	2.66:				
1934	:20,074:	227:	11.31:	228:	11.36:	230:	11.46:				
1933	:15,962:	179:	11.21:	156:	9.77:	223:	13.97:				
1932	:14,034:	155:	11.04:	152:	10.83:	242:	17.24:				
1931	:14,954:	156:	10.43:	147:	9.83:	239:	15.98:				
1930	:15,328:	151:	9.85:	:	8.10:	257:	16.77:				
1929	:18,058:	186:	10.30:	:	8.10:	283:	15.67:				
1928	:16,717:	149:	8.91:	680:	8.10:	235:	14.06:				
1927	:16,833:	157:	9.33:	:	8.10:	204:	12.12:				
1926	:17,025:	149:	8.75:	:	8.10:	179:	10.51:				
1925	:16,385:	149:	9.09:	:	4.73:	159:	9.70:				
1924	:16,140:	97:	6.01:	:	4.73:	128:	7.93:				
1923	:17,758:	90:	5.07:	410:	4.73:	122:	6.87:				
1922	:17,550:	91:	5.19:	:	4.73:	116:	6.61:				
1921	:18,759:	59:	3.15:	:	4.73:	93:	4.96:				
1920	:22,293:	74:	3.32:	:	2.72:	96:	4.31:	30:	1.35:		
1919	:18,953:	54:	2.85:	:	2.72:	85:	4.48:	183:	9.66:		
1918	:11,890:	50:	4.21:	248:	2.72:	58:	4.88:	200:	16.82:		
1917	:19,524:	46:	2.36:	:	2.72:	65:	3.33:	267:	13.68:		
1916	:18,526:	33:	1.78:	:	2.72:	62:	3.35:	183:	9.88:		
1915	:17,833:	35:	1.96:	:	1.84:	50:	2.80:	170:	9.53:	17:	0.95
1914	:17,245:	36:	2.09:	:	1.84:	50:	2.90:	167:	9.68:	88:	5.10
1913	:21,052:	20:	0.95:	175:	1.84:	46:	2.19:	161:	7.65:	172:	8.17
1912	:20,125:	25:	1.24:	:	1.84:	39:	1.94:	125:	6.21:	172:	8.55
1911	:18,730:	19:	1.01:	:	1.84:	34:	1.81:	128:	6.82:	153:	8.15
1910	:18,528:	13:	0.70:	:	0.63:	:	1.55:	118:	6.37:	114:	6.15
1909	:17,716:	11:	0.62:	:	0.63:	:	1.55:	70:	3.95:	134:	7.56
1908	:17,122:	8:	0.47:	57:	0.63:	139:	1.55:	59:	3.45:	104:	6.07
1907	:19,281:	13:	0.67:	:	0.63:	:	1.55:	73:	3.79:	106:	5.50
1906	:17,319:	3:	0.17:	:	0.63:	:	1.55:	82:	4.73:	73:	4.22
*1938	:20,732:	265:	12.78:	254:	12.25:						
1905	:16,315:	4:	0.25:	:	0.56:	:	0.80:	36:	2.21:	76:	4.66
1904	:17,575:	8:	0.46:	:	0.56:	:	0.80:	42:	2.39:	58:	3.30
1903	:17,095:	3:	0.18:	47:	0.56:	67:	0.80:	50:	2.92:	70:	4.09
1902	:16,731:	3:	0.18:	:	0.56:	:	0.80:	37:	2.21:	51:	3.05
1901	:15,925:	4:	0.25:	:	0.56:	:	0.80:	40:	2.51:	46:	2.89

Source: Marriage data for the years 1907-1945 were taken from the 41st report of the State Board of Health of Wisconsin, Madison, 1946, p. 139. Marriage data for 1870-1906 were taken from a Federal Security Report, "Marriages and Divorces in Wisconsin, 1867-1906."

1. Duration of marriages ending in divorce in several instances were given in five year intervals in 1945 and 1940, yearly rates were computed on the hypothesis that the divorce rate for marriages of a specified 5-year duration was the same for each year within the period.
2. Divorces occurring after the thirtieth year of marriage were centered at the 38th year.

Total	317.71	199.72	212.04	145.77	106.87
1870	7,475				
1871	8,410				
1872	9,082				
1873	8,862				
1874	9,145				
1875	9,566				
1876	9,548				
1877	9,686				
1878	9,846				
1879	10,580				
1880	11,451				
1881	11,666				
1882	13,308				
1883	14,233				
1884	13,967				
1885	13,536				
1886	14,122				
1887	14,138				
1888	14,711				
1889	15,041	0.06			
1890	15,760	0.06			
1891	16,869	0.06			
1892	17,664	0.06			
1893	17,514	0.06			
1894	17,805	0.06			
1895	18,902	0.06			
1896	18,362	0.22			
1897	18,502	0.22			
1898	19,528	0.05	19		
1899	16,404	0.06			
1900	15,423	0.13			
1901	15,925	0.25			
1902	16,731	0.18			
1903	17,095	0.18	47		
1904	17,575	0.46			
1905	16,315	0.25			
1906	20,732	12.78	254		
1907	17,319	0.17			
1908	17,122	0.47	57		
1909	17,716	0.62			
1910	18,528	0.70			
1911	18,780	1.01			
1912	20,125	1.24			
1913	21,052	0.95	175		
1914	17,245	2.09			
1915	17,833	1.96			
1916	18,526	1.78			
1917	19,524	2.36			
1918	18,526	2.72			
1919	17,833	2.72			
1920	17,833	2.72			
1921	17,833	2.72			
1922	17,833	2.72			
1923	17,833	2.72			
1924	17,833	2.72			
1925	17,833	2.72			
1926	17,833	2.72			
1927	17,833	2.72			
1928	17,833	2.72			
1929	17,833	2.72			
1930	17,833	2.72			
1931	17,833	2.72			
1932	17,833	2.72			
1933	17,833	2.72			
1934	17,833	2.72			
1935	17,833	2.72			
1936	17,833	2.72			
1937	17,833	2.72			
1938	17,833	2.72			
1939	17,833	2.72			
1940	17,833	2.72			
1941	17,833	2.72			
1942	17,833	2.72			
1943	17,833	2.72			
1944	17,833	2.72			
1945	17,833	2.72			
1946	17,833	2.72			
1947	17,833	2.72			
1948	17,833	2.72			
1949	17,833	2.72			
1950	17,833	2.72			
1951	17,833	2.72			
1952	17,833	2.72			
1953	17,833	2.72			
1954	17,833	2.72			
1955	17,833	2.72			
1956	17,833	2.72			
1957	17,833	2.72			
1958	17,833	2.72			
1959	17,833	2.72			
1960	17,833	2.72			
1961	17,833	2.72			
1962	17,833	2.72			
1963	17,833	2.72			
1964	17,833	2.72			
1965	17,833	2.72			
1966	17,833	2.72			
1967	17,833	2.72			
1968	17,833	2.72			
1969	17,833	2.72			
1970	17,833	2.72			
1971	17,833	2.72			
1972	17,833	2.72			
1973	17,833	2.72			
1974	17,833	2.72			
1975	17,833	2.72			
1976	17,833	2.72			
1977	17,833	2.72			
1978	17,833	2.72			
1979	17,833	2.72			
1980	17,833	2.72			
1981	17,833	2.72			
1982	17,833	2.72			
1983	17,833	2.72			
1984	17,833	2.72			
1985	17,833	2.72			
1986	17,833	2.72			
1987	17,833	2.72			
1988	17,833	2.72			
1989	17,833	2.72			
1990	17,833	2.72			
1991	17,833	2.72			
1992	17,833	2.72			
1993	17,833	2.72			
1994	17,833	2.72			
1995	17,833	2.72			
1996	17,833	2.72			
1997	17,833	2.72			
1998	17,833	2.72			
1999	17,833	2.72			
2000	17,833	2.72			
2001	17,833	2.72			
2002	17,833	2.72			
2003	17,833	2.72			
2004	17,833	2.72			
2005	17,833	2.72			
2006	17,833	2.72			
2007	17,833	2.72			
2008	17,833	2.72			
2009	17,833	2.72			
2010	17,833	2.72			
2011	17,833	2.72			
2012	17,833	2.72			
2013	17,833	2.72			
2014	17,833	2.72			
2015	17,833	2.72			
2016	17,833	2.72			
2017	17,833	2.72			
2018	17,833	2.72			
2019	17,833	2.72			
2020	17,833	2.72			
2021	17,833	2.72			
2022	17,833	2.72			
2023	17,833	2.72			
2024	17,833	2.72			
2025	17,833	2.72			
2026	17,833	2.72			
2027	17,833	2.72			
2028	17,833	2.72			
2029	17,833	2.72			
2030	17,833	2.72			
2031	17,833	2.72			
2032	17,833	2.72			
2033	17,833	2.72			
2034	17,833	2.72			
2035	17,833	2.72			
2036	17,833	2.72			
2037	17,833	2.72			
2038	17,833	2.72			
2039	17,833	2.72			
2040	17,833	2.72			
2041	17,833	2.72			
2042	17,833	2.72			
2043	17,833	2.72			
2044	17,833	2.72			
2045	17,833	2.72			
2046	17,833	2.72			
2047	17,833	2.72			
2048	17,833	2.72			
2049	17,833	2.72			
2050	17,833	2.72			
2051	17,833	2.72			
2052	17,833	2.72			
2053	17,833	2.72			
2054	17,833	2.72			
2055	17,833	2.72			
2056	17,833	2.72			
2057	17,833	2.72			
2058	17,833	2.72			
2059	17,833	2.72			
2060	17,833	2.72			
2061	17,833	2.72			
2062	17,833	2.72			
2063	17,833	2.72			
2064	17,833	2.72			
2065	17,833	2.72			
2066	17,833	2.72			
2067	17,833	2.72			
2068	17,833	2.72			
2069	17,833	2.72			
2070	17,833	2.72			
2071	17,833	2.72			
2072	17,833	2.72			
2073	17,833	2.72			
2074	17,833	2.72			
2075	17,833	2.72			
2076	17,833	2.72			
2077	17,833	2.72			
2078	17,833	2.72			
2079	17,833	2.72			
2080	17,833	2.72			
2081	17,833	2.72			
2082	17,833	2.72			
2083	17,833	2.72			
2084	17,833	2.72			
2085	17,833	2.72			
2086	17,833	2.72			
2087	17,833	2.72			
2088	17,833	2.72			
2089	17,833	2.72			
2090	17,833	2.72			
2091	17,833	2.72			
2092	17,833	2.72			
2093	17,833	2.72			
2094	17,833	2.72			
2095	17,833	2.72			
2096	17,833	2.72			
2097	17,833	2.72			
2098	17,833	2.72			
2099	17,833	2.72			
2100	17,833	2.72			
2101	17,833	2.72			
2102	17,833	2.72			
2103	17,833	2.72			
2104	17,833	2.72			
2105	17,833	2.72			
2106	17,833	2.72			
2107	17,833	2.72			
2108	17,833	2.72			
2109	17,833	2.72			
2110	17,833	2.72			
2111	17,833	2.72			
2112	17,833	2.72			
2113	17,833	2.72			
2114	17,833	2.72			
2115	17,833	2.72			
2116	17,833	2.72			
2117	17,833	2.72			
2118	17,833	2.72			
2119	17,833	2.72			
2120	17,833	2.72			
2121	17,833	2.72			
2122	17,833	2.72			
2123	17,833	2.72			
2124	17,833	2.72			
2125	17,833	2.72			
2126	17,833	2.72			
2127	17,833	2.72			
2128	17,833	2.72			
2129	17,833	2.72			
2130	17,833	2.72			
2131	17,833	2.72			
2132	17,833	2.72			
2133	17,8				

These probabilities should, however be accepted with some caution. The fact that many Wisconsin residents marry out-of-state every year distorts the actual marriage data. No attempt was made to control the residence factor. Another source of error enters because the residence factor has not been controlled for the divorce data. The amount of error that this introduces into the data can only be estimated. A further limitation of our method is that our tabulations show a larger number of divorces in Wisconsin during the five years than were reported by the State Board of Health. For the years 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945 the State Board of Health reported 1721, 2425, 3543, 3599, and 6393 divorces.¹ Our tabulations from which these probabilities were computed shows 1878, 2536, 3588, 3720, and 6452 divorces, respectively. The difficulties involved in the tabulation of divorce data from the divorce certificates is described more fully in Appendix B.

Our tabulation on the distribution of divorces by year at marriage is probably the most adequate that is available for the purposes of computing the probabilities of a Wisconsin marriage ending in divorce for the 5 different years. Since several factors would have to be corrected in order to secure an approximately accurate probability for each year, it was decided best to leave our computations as originally worked out. All the factors could not be controlled which might have biased the data and therefore, corrections or estimates of these errors would still be precarious. More refined computations

1. 41st Report of the State Board of Health of Wisconsin, Madison, 1946, p. 139.

would perhaps be nearer to the actual probabilities, however, the time and effort involved in the calculations would be quite tedious.

We believe that our probabilities for a Wisconsin marriage ending in divorce for the five different years is approximately correct. Anyway, the errors which remain in the data should not invalidate our conclusions.

PROPORTION OF DIVORCES WHICH INVOLVE CHILDREN

Slightly over 45 percent of the couples that received divorces in Wisconsin during the years studied were childless. (See Table 48). In 1915, 44.9 percent of the divorced couples had no children; in 1920, 47.4 percent; 1935, 45.35 percent; 1940, 43.5 percent; and in 1945 47.1 percent of the divorces came from infertile marriages. For the five years, an average of 45.8 percent of the divorcees were without children. In contrast, about 55 percent of the divorces during this period came from fertile marriages.

In 1915, in 25.8 percent of the divorce cases, one child was affected. A little over twenty-four percent of the divorced couples had one child for the five-year average. For the five years, 15.9 percent of the divorced mates had 2 children; 7.3 percent, three children; and 8.8 percent, four or more children. It can be observed from Table 48 that the proportions of divorced families which were childless and the number having children varied insignificantly from year to year.

Divorced farm families were more fertile than urban families in

TABLE 48

PROPORTION OF DIVORCES WHICH WERE CHILDLESS AND PROPORTION INVOLVING
CHILDREN WITH SPECIFIED NUMBER OF CHILDREN, WISCONSIN,
FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945

(Deceased children and adopted children weren't counted. Only
children by this marriage were counted.)

Year	Number of Children					Total
	0	1	2	3	4 & over	
1915	759	436	203	136	157	1691
Percentage	44.88	25.78	12.00	8.04	9.28	100.0
1920	1130	586	287	159	221	2383
Percentage	47.42	24.59	12.04	6.67	9.27	100.0
1935	1637	944	499	239	292	3611
Percentage	45.35	26.12	13.82	6.62	8.09	100.0
1940	1585	954	531	260	317	3647
Percentage	43.46	26.16	14.56	7.13	8.69	100.0
1945	3025	1378	955	493	567	6418
Percentage	47.13	21.47	14.88	7.68	8.83	100.0
Total for all five years	8136	4298	2475	1287	1554	17,750
Percentage	45.84	24.21	13.94	7.25	8.76	100.0

SOURCE: Data was tabulated from divorce certificates on file at the
State Board of Health Office, Madison, Wisconsin.

all five years. (See Table 49). In 1915, while only 53.9 percent of the urban divorced couples had children, 64.3 percent of the farm families were parents. But a more outstanding difference exists in the proportions of farm and urban families having four or more children. In 1915, in 21.2 percent of the total farm divorces, farm couples were parents of four or more children, while only 7.7 percent of the urban couples had this many children. By 1945, the proportion of divorced farm families with children decreased to 45.5 percent. Or conversely, 44.5 percent of divorced farm couples were childless. In this same year, the proportion of urban divorced families without children was just a little above that of the farm people, 47.3 percent.

Data for the combined five-years show that 46.3 percent of the divorced urban couples were childless, 24.6 percent were parents of one child; 14.1 percent, two children; 7.3 percent, three children; and 7.8 percent, were parents of four or more children. Fewer divorced farm couples were childless, 40.8 percent and also the proportion of farm families having one child was a little less, 19.2 percent. Twelve and one-half percent of the divorced farm couples had two children, in only 7.3 percent of the cases did the family have three, but 20.2 percent of the total farm couples that were granted a divorce had four or more children. There were almost half as many divorced farm couples that had four or more children (283) for the five-year average as there were farm couples that had no children (573).

From Table 48, it appears that about 46 percent of Wisconsin divorces came from the childless married population during the five years. Approximately seven-tenths of all divorces came from those

TABLE 49
PROPORTION OF DIVORCES WHICH WERE CHILDLESS AND PROPORTION INVOLVING
CHILDREN WITH SPECIFIED NUMBER OF CHILDREN, WISCONSIN, 1915,
1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945, BY URBAN AND FARM GROUPS^{1/}

(Deceased children and adopted children weren't counted. Only children by this marriage were counted.)

Year	Number of Children					Total
	0	1	2	3	4&over	
<u>1915</u>						
Urban	690	392	178	122	116	1498
Percentage	46.06	26.17	11.88	8.14	7.74	100.0
Farm	69	44	25	14	41	193
Percentage	35.75	22.80	12.95	7.25	21.24	100.0
<u>1920</u>						
Urban	1019	541	259	144	162	2125
Percentage	47.95	25.46	12.19	6.78	7.62	100.0
Farm	111	45	28	15	59	258
Percentage	43.02	17.44	10.85	5.81	22.87	100.0
<u>1935</u>						
Urban	1506	876	466	209	227	3284
Percentage	45.87	26.65	14.19	6.37	6.91	100.0
Farm	131	68	33	30	65	327
Percentage	40.06	20.80	10.09	9.17	19.88	100.0
<u>1940</u>						
Urban	1469	899	496	233	253	3350
Percentage	43.85	26.84	14.81	6.96	7.55	100.0
Farm	116	55	35	27	64	297
Percentage	39.06	18.52	11.78	9.09	21.55	100.0
<u>1945</u>						
Urban	2879	1321	900	477	513	6090
Percentage	47.27	21.69	14.78	7.83	8.42	100.0
Farm	146	57	55	16	54	328
Percentage	44.51	17.38	16.77	4.88	16.46	100.0
<u>Total for all five years</u>						
Urban	7563	4029	2299	1185	1271	16,347
Percentage	46.27	24.64	14.06	7.25	7.78	100.0
Farm	573	269	176	102	283	1403
Percentage	40.84	19.17	12.54	7.27	20.17	100.0

SOURCE : Data tabulated from divorce certificates on file
at the Wisconsin State Board of Health Office,
Madison, Wisconsin.

^{1/} Urban includes all groups (servicemen and occupation not reported groups) other than farmers.

families either with no children or only one child. Some 84 percent of the divorces were from families with either no children, one child, or two children, while 91 percent of the cases, families had less than four children.

Table 50 shows the number and percentage of the Wisconsin divorced couples, without children, in all five years, by length of time married. The statistics on the percentage of divorces without children is questionable for the group that were married only six months or less before divorce. In fact 88.8 percent in 1945, 93.2 in 1940, 88.1 percent in 1935, 84.2 percent in 1920, and 90 percent in 1915 of the divorced couples who had been married less than six months reported that they had no children by this marriage. Undoubtedly some who reported children by the present marriage gave this information through carelessness or ignorance. However, it might be that several of the divorced couples who remained in a married status less than six months, were forced to marry because of pregnancy of the woman, and after the child was born, they then decided to secure legal separation. Information to support this contention is however, not available. It would, of course, be important knowledge for the social worker.

It can be seen from Table 50 that the longer that couples were married, the smaller was the proportion that were childless. It is of interest to note the proportion of infertile families that were married twenty-six years or more before they were divorced. In 1945, of all divorced couples, married for at least twenty-six years, 18.1 percent had reared no children. The percentages for the couples married the same length of time was 12.1 in 1940; 8.9 in 1935; 13.3 in

TABLE 50

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF DIVORCES WHICH WERE CHILDLESS IN 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945, IN WISCONSIN, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED

Length of Time	1945		1940		1935		1920		1915	
	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent	Number	Per- cent
Under 6 mos:	127	88.8:	69	93.2:	37	88.1:	69	84.2:	18	90.0
6 - 12 mos :	167	90.8:	96	82.8:	93	83.0:	38	76.0:	21	91.3
1 year :	230	84.3:	75	72.1:	79	71.8:	37	92.5:	34	77.3
2 years :	371	77.6:	148	63.3:	139	66.5:	133	77.8:	95	73.1
3 years :	377	66.1:	191	63.7:	138	60.3:	145	59.7:	99	66.0
4 years :	264	55.7:	152	56.3:	138	60.8:	91	55.8:	73	56.6
5 years :	197	50.4:	117	49.2:	129	53.8:	73	44.8:	57	57.0
6 years :	142	44.7:	99	45.2:	148	56.1:	84	54.6:	59	50.9
7 years :	92	34.7:	70	44.0:	113	51.4:	72	50.7:	39	45.9
8 years :	126	38.0:	55	37.7:	111	55.5:	56	46.7:	43	49.4
9 years :	106	37.3:	56	40.0:	74	40.9:	43	37.7:	26	39.4
10 years :	103	41.2:	58	39.7:	69	41.8:	51	42.5:	33	42.9
11 years :	76	33.9:	67	45.3:	53	38.7:	44	63.8:	19	32.8
12 years :	58	32.6:	63	41.5:	49	38.6:	28	45.2:	19	27.9
13 years :	55	35.3:	41	36.0:	40	32.0:	32	40.0:	12	26.1
14 years :	62	39.7:	42	36.5:	33	33.7:	27	33.8:	13	29.6
15 years :	62	42.2:	37	34.3:	30	26.1:	14	35.9:	21	40.4
16 years :	64	34.4:	21	28.3:	29	29.0:	7	16.3:	11	35.5
17 years :	47	30.7:	26	26.3:	19	30.2:	16	30.2:	7	18.4
18 years :	43	29.1:	12	17.7:	27	38.0:	8	21.6:	7	18.9
19 years :	44	31.7:	18	27.7:	12	18.5:	9	25.0:	12	31.6
20 years :	46	30.5:	13	16.5:	14	23.3:	13	31.7:	11	52.4
21 years :	26	26.8:	14	31.1:	12	21.1:	6	28.6:	5	22.7
22 years :	21	22.8:	4	10.0:	11	22.9:	3	8.8:	3	15.8
23 years :	20	23.0:	2	4.7:	7	14.9:	2	8.3:	4	13.3
24 years :	12	19.7:	3	7.5:	6	15.4:	5	16.2:	3	15.0
25 years :	14	18.0:	5	9.3:	7	19.4:	4	19.1:	1	4.6
26 years :	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
& over :	73	18.1:	31	12.1:	20	8.9:	20	13.3:	14	11.9
Total :	3025	47.1:	1585	43.5:	1637	45.3:	1130	47.4:	759	44.9

1920; and 11.9 in 1915.

From Table 51 it can be seen that the largest proportion of divorced families that had one child were married from three to seven years. The proportion of fertile marriages in which two children were born in the union rises gradually as the duration of marriage increases. (See Table 52). However, the peak in 1945, was reached in couples divorced in their eighteenth year of marriage, when 29.1 percent reported there were two children in their family. The peak in 1940 was in the 24th year (37.5 percent); the 23rd year in 1935 (31.9 percent); 22nd year in 1920, (32.4 percent); and in the 13th year in 1915 (32.6 percent).

The proportion of couples who had three children increases irregularly as the duration of their marriage increases. (See Table 53). In 1915, 27.5 percent of the divorced families married for fourteen years had three children. The largest proportion of divorced couples having three children were married 19 years in 1920, 24 years in 1935, 25 years in 1940, and 26 years or more in 1945.

It would be expected that the proportion of divorced families having the largest number of children increased as the duration of their marriage was augmented. The divorced families having four or more children were married the longest time in 1945, 1940, 1935, 1920, and also in 1915. (See Table 54). Of all divorces which occurred in 1945 in which the couples had been married twenty-six years or more, 36 percent of the families had four or more children. Almost forty-two percent of the couples divorced in 1940, and married the same length of time, had four or more children; in 1935, 46 percent; in

TABLE 51

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF DIVORCES WHICH HAD ONE CHILD IN 1915, 1920, 1935
1940, and 1945, IN WISCONSIN, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED

Length of Time Married	1945		1940		1935		1920		1915	
	:Per-:		:Per-:		:Per-:		:Per-:		:Per-:	
	Number:	cent:	Number:	cent:	Number:	cent:	Number:	cent:	Number:	cent:
Under 6 mos:	15	:10.5:	3	:4.1:	5	:11.9:	12	:14.6:	2	:10.0
6 - 12 mos :	14	:7.6:	18	:15.5:	18	:16.1:	11	:22.0:	1	:4.4
1 year :	38	:13.9:	25	:24.0:	27	:24.6:	2	:5.0:	10	:22.7
2 " :	88	:18.4:	82	:35.0:	65	:31.1:	33	:19.3:	33	:25.4
3 " :	158	:27.7:	87	:29.0:	77	:33.6:	84	:34.6:	45	:30.0
4 " :	140	:29.5:	86	:31.9:	73	:32.2:	53	:32.5:	46	:35.7
5 " :	116	:29.7:	80	:33.6:	77	:32.1:	67	:41.1:	32	:32.0
6 " :	89	:28.0:	75	:34.3:	74	:28.0:	50	:32.5:	38	:32.8
7 " :	73	:27.6:	42	:26.4:	70	:31.8:	36	:25.4:	32	:37.7
8 " :	91	:27.4:	44	:30.1:	50	:25.0:	35	:29.2:	28	:32.2
9 " :	74	:26.1:	36	:25.7:	62	:34.3:	36	:31.6:	22	:33.3
10 " :	60	:24.0:	44	:30.1:	42	:25.5:	32	:26.7:	18	:23.4
11 " :	47	:21.0:	40	:27.0:	37	:27.0:	9	:13.0:	14	:24.1
12 " :	42	:23.6:	41	:26.8:	31	:24.4:	9	:14.5:	18	:26.5
13 " :	38	:24.4:	32	:28.1:	32	:25.6:	23	:28.8:	10	:21.7
14 " :	22	:14.1:	20	:17.4:	28	:28.6:	15	:18.8:	8	:18.2
15 " :	30	:20.4:	19	:17.6:	20	:17.4:	12	:30.8:	12	:23.1
16 " :	31	:16.7:	22	:29.7:	29	:29.0:	11	:25.6:	5	:16.1
17 " :	34	:22.2:	33	:33.3:	19	:30.2:	6	:11.3:	7	:18.4
18 " :	28	:18.9:	20	:29.4:	14	:19.7:	8	:21.6:	6	:16.2
19 " :	21	:15.1:	12	:18.5:	11	:16.9:	6	:16.7:	7	:18.4
20 " :	24	:15.9:	15	:19.0:	15	:25.0:	7	:17.1:	4	:19.1
21 " :	17	:17.5:	7	:15.6:	12	:21.1:	3	:14.3:	2	:9.1
22 " :	13	:14.1:	5	:12.5:	7	:14.6:	4	:11.8:	2	:10.5
23 " :	11	:12.6:	14	:32.6:	8	:17.0:	6	:25.0:	5	:16.7
24 " :	12	:19.7:	6	:15.0:	5	:12.8:	3	:9.7:	4	:20.0
25 " :	11	:14.1:	7	:13.0:	6	:16.7:	1	:4.8:	6	:27.3
26 & over :	41	:10.2:	39	:15.2:	30	:13.4:	12	:8.0:	19	:16.1
Total :	1378	:21.5:	954	:26.2:	944	:26.1:	586	:24.6:	436	:25.8

TABLE 52

Number and Percent of Divorces which had Two Children in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married

Length of Time Married	1945 :Number: :cent:	1940 :Number: :cent:	1935 :Number: :cent:	1920 :Number: :cent:	1915 :Number: :cent:
Under 6 mo:	0 : 0:	1 : 1.4:	0 : 0:	1 : 1.2:	0 : 0
6-12 mos. :	3 : 1.6:	2 : 1.7:	0 : 0:	1 : 2.0:	1 : 4.4
1 year :	3 : 1.1:	3 : 2.9:	2 : 1.8:	1 : 2.5:	0 : 0
2 " :	14 : 2.9:	2 : .9:	5 : 2.4:	4 : 2.3:	1 : .8
3 " :	30 : 5.3:	20 : 6.7:	13 : 5.7:	11 : 4.5:	4 : 2.7
4 " :	57 : 12.0:	28 : 10.4:	16 : 7.1:	18 : 11.0:	9 : 7.0
5 " :	61 : 15.6:	34 : 14.3:	30 : 12.5:	19 : 11.7:	8 : 8.0
6 " :	56 : 17.6:	37 : 16.9:	36 : 13.6:	16 : 10.4:	15 : 12.9
7 " :	63 : 23.8:	35 : 22.0:	23 : 10.5:	21 : 14.8:	10 : 11.8
8 " :	59 : 17.8:	33 : 22.6:	24 : 12.0:	15 : 12.5:	7 : 8.1
9 " :	57 : 20.1:	23 : 16.4:	29 : 16.0:	20 : 17.5:	9 : 13.6
10 " :	48 : 19.2:	29 : 19.9:	35 : 21.2:	18 : 15.0:	15 : 19.5
11 " :	56 : 25.0:	17 : 11.5:	22 : 16.1:	9 : 13.0:	12 : 20.7
12 " :	41 : 23.0:	21 : 13.7:	27 : 21.3:	13 : 21.0:	12 : 17.7
13 " :	32 : 20.5:	22 : 19.3:	28 : 22.4:	14 : 17.5:	15 : 32.6
14 " :	31 : 19.9:	26 : 22.6:	14 : 14.3:	17 : 21.3:	8 : 18.2
15 " :	22 : 15.0:	28 : 25.9:	35 : 30.4:	5 : 12.8:	10 : 19.2
16 " :	45 : 24.2:	11 : 14.9:	21 : 21.0:	9 : 20.9:	3 : 9.7
17 " :	35 : 22.9:	23 : 23.2:	12 : 19.1:	12 : 22.6:	9 : 23.7
18 " :	43 : 29.1:	12 : 17.7:	10 : 14.1:	8 : 21.6:	6 : 16.2
19 " :	30 : 21.6:	16 : 24.6:	15 : 23.1:	3 : 8.3:	8 : 21.1
20 " :	25 : 16.6:	19 : 24.1:	12 : 20.0:	6 : 14.6:	3 : 14.3
21 " :	15 : 15.5:	11 : 24.4:	16 : 28.1:	0 : 0:	5 : 22.7
22 " :	18 : 19.6:	11 : 27.5:	8 : 16.7:	11 : 32.4:	3 : 15.8
23 " :	17 : 19.5:	8 : 18.6:	15 : 31.9:	5 : 20.8:	5 : 16.7
24 " :	7 : 11.5:	15 : 37.5:	12 : 30.8:	9 : 29.0:	4 : 20.0
25 " :	19 : 24.4:	11 : 20.4:	5 : 13.9:	3 : 14.3:	2 : 9.1
26 or over:	68 : 16.9:	33 : 12.9:	34 : 15.2:	18 : 12.0:	19 : 16.1
Total	955 : 14.9:	531 : 14.6:	499 : 13.8:	287 : 12.0:	203 : 12.0

TABLE 53

Number and Percent of Divorces which had Three Children in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married

Length of Time Married	1945 :per-: :Number:cent:	1940 :Per-: :Number:cent:	1935 :Per-: :Number:cent:	1920 :Per-: :Number:cent:	1915 :Per-: :Number:cent:
Under 6 mo:	0 : 0:	1 : 1.4:	0 : 0:	0 : 0:	0 : 0:
6-12 mos. :	0 : 0:	0 : 0:	0 : 0:	0 : 0:	0 : 0:
1 year :	2 : .7:	1 : 1.0:	1 : .9:	0 : 0:	0 : 0:
2 " :	1 : .2:	1 : .4:	0 : 0:	0 : 0:	0 : 0:
3 " :	2 : .4:	2 : .7:	1 : .4:	2 : .8:	2 : 1.3:
4 " :	10 : 2.1:	2 : .7:	0 : 0:	1 : .6:	1 : .8:
5 " :	11 : 2.8:	7 : 2.9:	3 : 1.3:	4 : 2.5:	2 : 2.0:
6 " :	21 : 6.6:	7 : 3.2:	5 : 1.9:	3 : 2.0:	4 : 3.5:
7 " :	28 : 10.6:	6 : 3.8:	11 : 5.0:	11 : 7.8:	2 : 2.4:
8 " :	34 : 10.2:	10 : 6.9:	9 : 4.5:	9 : 7.5:	8 : 9.2:
9 " :	26 : 9.2:	17 : 12.1:	11 : 6.1:	13 : 11.4:	6 : 9.1:
10 " :	21 : 8.4:	11 : 7.5:	13 : 7.9:	12 : 10.0:	9 : 11.7:
11 " :	25 : 11.2:	16 : 12.8:	15 : 11.0:	3 : 4.4:	7 : 12.1:
12 " :	17 : 9.6:	16 : 10.5:	10 : 7.9:	8 : 12.9:	12 : 17.7:
13 " :	10 : 6.4:	8 : 7.0:	19 : 15.2:	5 : 6.3:	7 : 15.2:
14 " :	22 : 14.1:	10 : 8.7:	10 : 10.2:	11 : 13.8:	12 : 27.3:
15 " :	18 : 12.2:	8 : 7.4:	14 : 12.2:	1 : 2.6:	5 : 9.6:
16 " :	20 : 10.8:	15 : 20.3:	9 : 9.0:	4 : 9.3:	6 : 19.4:
17 " :	17 : 11.1:	8 : 8.1:	3 : 4.8:	5 : 9.4:	6 : 15.8:
18 " :	13 : 8.8:	9 : 13.2:	8 : 11.3:	4 : 10.8:	7 : 18.9:
19 " :	21 : 15.1:	9 : 13.9:	12 : 18.5:	13 : 36.1:	4 : 10.5:
20 " :	28 : 18.5:	9 : 11.4:	6 : 20.0:	6 : 14.6:	2 : 9.5:
21 " :	16 : 16.5:	6 : 13.3:	10 : 17.5:	3 : 14.3:	3 : 13.6:
22 " :	16 : 17.4:	7 : 17.5:	9 : 18.8:	4 : 11.8:	4 : 21.1:
23 " :	16 : 18.4:	7 : 16.3:	10 : 21.3:	5 : 20.8:	8 : 26.7:
24 " :	9 : 14.8:	7 : 17.5:	9 : 23.1:	3 : 9.7:	4 : 20.0:
25 " :	13 : 16.7:	14 : 25.9:	4 : 11.1:	3 : 14.3:	3 : 13.6:
26 or over:	76 : 18.9:	46 : 18.0:	37 : 16.5:	26 : 17.3:	12 : 10.2:
Total	: 493 : 7.7:	: 260 : 7.1:	: 239 : 6.6:	: 159 : 6.7:	: 136 : 8.0:

TABLE 54

Number and Percent of Divorces which had Four or More Children in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, in Wisconsin, by Length of Time Married

Length of Time Married	1945 :Number:	1945 :Per-:	1940 :Number:	1940 :Per-:	1935 :Number:	1935 :Per-:	1920 :Number:	1920 :Per-:	1915 :Number:	1915 :Per-:
Under 6 mo:	1	.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6-12 mos.	0	0	0	0	1	.9	0	0	0	0
1 year	0	0	0	0	1	.9	0	0	0	0
2 "	4	.8	1	.4	0	0	1	.6	1	.8
3 "	3	.5	0	0	0	0	1	.4	0	0
4 "	3	.6	2	.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 "	6	1.5	0	0	1	.4	0	0	1	1.0
6 "	10	3.1	1	.5	1	.4	1	.7	0	.0
7 "	9	3.4	6	3.8	3	1.4	2	1.4	2	2.4
8 "	22	6.6	4	2.7	6	3.0	5	4.2	1	1.2
9 "	21	7.4	8	5.7	5	2.8	2	1.8	3	4.6
10 "	18	7.2	4	2.7	6	3.6	7	5.8	2	2.6
11 "	20	8.9	8	5.4	10	7.3	4	5.8	6	10.3
12 "	20	11.2	12	7.8	10	7.9	4	6.6	7	10.3
13 "	21	13.5	11	9.7	6	4.8	6	7.5	2	4.4
14 "	19	12.2	17	14.8	13	13.3	10	12.5	3	6.8
15 "	15	10.2	16	14.8	16	13.9	7	18.0	4	7.7
16 "	26	14.0	5	6.8	12	12.0	12	27.9	6	19.4
17 "	20	13.1	9	9.1	10	15.9	14	26.4	9	23.7
18 "	21	14.2	15	22.1	12	16.9	9	24.3	11	29.7
19 "	23	16.6	10	15.4	15	23.1	5	13.9	7	18.4
20 "	28	18.5	23	29.1	13	21.7	9	22.0	1	4.8
21 "	23	23.7	7	15.6	7	12.3	9	42.9	7	31.8
22 "	24	26.1	13	32.5	13	27.1	12	35.3	7	36.8
23 "	23	26.4	12	27.9	7	14.9	6	25.0	8	26.7
24 "	21	34.4	9	22.5	7	18.0	11	35.5	5	25.0
25 "	21	26.9	17	31.5	14	38.9	10	47.6	10	45.5
26 or over:	145	36.0	107	41.8	103	46.0	74	49.3	54	45.8
Total	567	3.8	317	8.7	292	8.1	221	9.3	157	9.3

1920, 49.3 percent; and in 1915, 45.8 percent. In contrast, only between eight to nine percent of all divorced families, in all five years, had as many children.

While some people may contend that children bind the family closer together, these data demonstrate that divorces occur in the larger families as well as it does in childless marriages. Perhaps some of the couples postpone divorce until the children are old enough to shift for themselves. The statistics do lead to this speculation. Although it may be that the decision among these fertile families to secure the divorce may not be contemplated until they have been married for many years.

Is the absence of children in a family, a cause of divorce? Or, does the presence of children act as a deterrent to divorce? It is unsatisfactory to say that childlessness causes the divorce. Perhaps it does in some cases, but most of the relationship is probably due to other factors. Undoubtedly in some cases marital troubles frequently come before the couple is ready for children, and their seeming incompatibility makes them postpone children still longer, until they are sure on the outcome of their marriage. The most frequent year of marriage in which divorce occurred in Wisconsin was the third year. No doubt many couples postpone children for the first few years in order to better their economic security. It is therefore possible to conclude that divorce seems to select the less stable of the childless marriages and also those of the fertile marriages in a similar way.

Do earlier marriages mean a greater number of children who bind the parties together? Does divorce come about because of a greater

flexibility of temperament? Or, is some other factor more significant?

These data raise these and many more interesting as well as important questions which they cannot answer.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study attempted to analyze certain marriage and divorce trends in the state of Wisconsin for the period 1915 to 1945. Although part of the data were taken from census reports and the biennial reports of the State Board of Health of Wisconsin, the primary source was the original marriage and divorce certificates on file in the state capital at Madison, Wisconsin. The findings on each hypothesis that was examined will be taken up below. Also our findings will be discussed within a sociological frame of reference in an endeavor to explain the conclusions that have been set forth in Chapter III, Interpretation of Data.

Hypothesis 1:

"When business is good, marriage and divorce rates go up. When business is bad, they go down."¹

The fluctuations in the Wisconsin crude marriage and divorce rates does tend to follow the business cycles during the thirty-year period, 1915 to 1945. The marriage rate followed variations in business cycles more closely than did the crude divorce rate. Other studies have reported similar findings.² One can observe from Figures 1 and 2 that during periods of recession both rates dropped and as business resumed prosperity the rates began to move upward. Undoubtedly many of the persons in the marriageable ages are hesitant to enter marriage during

1. Stouffer and Spencer, op. cit., p. 56.

2. See Chapter II, Review of Previous Research.

times when jobs are scarce and employment uncertain. In the depression year of 1932, the marriage and divorce rates declined. When business conditions recovered, the crude marriage and divorce rates increased. The dominant trend in the divorce rate was decidedly upward. The changing values in American culture are responsible for this rise in the divorce rate.

Divorces as well as marriages were postponed during recession periods. It is believed that the relatively high cost of obtaining court action is a primary factor in the decline of divorces in these years. No doubt marriages are also postponed until greater economic security seems assured.

The trend in the variations of the crude marriage and divorce rates between Wisconsin and the United States are practically the same. The crude divorce rate was higher in Wisconsin in all years than in the United States and in only one year, 1918, did the crude marriage rate of Wisconsin fall below the rate for the United States. One plausible answer for this differential is that the age composition is different in the two populations for the marriage rate is dependent upon the number of eligible persons in the marriageable ages.

The Wisconsin crude marriage rate was corrected by including the estimated out-of-state marriages of Wisconsin residents and excluding the estimated marriages of out-of-state residents in Wisconsin. There is no way to determine whether our estimates are accurate or not. Until public agencies revise their methods of reporting on marriage and divorce, the residence factor cannot be controlled. Hence, the true rate can only be estimated with the existing data.

Crude marriage and divorce rates were calculated for the urban and farm populations. These rates were computed according to occupation and not residence. Since the marriage rates were computed from ten percent samples, confidence limits were figured for the rates in all five years.

During the first four years, 1915, 1920, 1935, and 1940, the urban marriage rate was higher than the farm rate. In 1945, the two rates changed positions. This fact requires an explanation. A Selective Service report shows that most of the farm men were deferred during World War II, whereas deferments were few among the non-agricultural men. Also, these deferred farmers were in the ages in which most men enter marriage, 18-25 years. Undoubtedly many of the single rural-farm men were able to marry and begin their families in 1945; whereas a large proportion of the urban bachelors in the armed forces preferred to postpone marriage until after they were demobilized.

The crude divorce rate for the urban population of Wisconsin was over twice that of the farm population in all five periods studied. From 1915 to 1945, the urban divorce rate increased from 1.8 per 1,000 population to 4.8 per 1,000 population, an increase of 167 percent. The farm divorce rate increased 171 percent from 1915 (.7 divorces per 1,000 population) to 1945 (1.9 divorces per 1,000 population.) This is evidence that the farm people are becoming urbanized. The traditional patriarchal rural family is undergoing a process of transition.

Hypothesis 2:

"On the average, marriage comes later for higher income groups, for those of the more favored occupations, and for the better educated

groups".¹ "In both the urban and rural populations the modal ages at marriage of the women increase with the rising status of the social class."²

Mean ages at marriage were calculated from a ten percent sample of Wisconsin marriages for five years-----1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. It was assumed that the groups within the population exhibited divergent marital patterns. Hence, mean ages for the occupational classes were computed to test our hypothesis that the higher income groups married oldest in Wisconsin. We assumed that there was a direct relation between age at marriage as one progressed from the lowest paid occupational groups to the highest income groups.

Mean age of groom. The proprietor, manager, and official grooms married oldest in all five years. The occupation-not-reported men were the oldest in 1920, but since this group cannot be identified little can be demonstrated for this class.

The professional and semi-professional grooms married third oldest in 1915, third in 1920, second in 1935, fourth in 1940, and fifth oldest in 1945. An explanation for the changes in rank order in the different years is lacking.

Undoubtedly the men of the proprietor, manager, and official class postpone marriage until the material necessities of life have been acquired. And, also it is reasonable to suspect that many of the professional men delay marriage until their education is completed. This

1. Landis, op. cit., p. 131.

2. Ogburn, and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 719.

is the most ostensible interpretation for the delay in marriage of men in these two occupations.

The unskilled and semi-skilled grooms married earliest in life, although variations did occur within the five years studies. The men of these two classes no doubt also married after the necessities of life had been assured. The grooms in these two lowest ranked occupational groups perhaps entered the employment fields a few years earlier than professional or proprietors and managers, therefore, they were able to support a wife as soon as they could secure steady employment. In contrast, many of the men of the proprietor, manager, and official and also of the professional and semi-professional classes were not financially able to support a mate while they remained in school preparing for their technical careers.

The domestic and protective service workers and service workers' age at marriage depicts some interesting points. In 1915, the men of this group married fourth oldest of all occupations; in 1920, fifth; 1935, sixth; 1940, fifth; but in 1945, ranked second oldest in age at marriage. Several sociologists have assumed that this class of people come from the lowest social strata of our population. For many years it has been thought that most of the domestic class men and women have come from the farm and the unskilled laboring classes. These data demonstrate that this contention was not true for the last few years--- 1940 and 1945 in Wisconsin. In 1945, the men of the domestic and protective service class delayed marriage until after their 36th year of life. This class entered marriage in the same age groups that the highest ranked occupations were getting married in 1940 and 1945. In

other words, their marital behavior was more like that of the upper social classes than the lowest classes---the unskilled and semi-skilled.

Mean age of bride. The same conclusions stated concerning age at marriage of men can be applied to age of brides with only slight modifications. The women that married proprietors, managers, and officials were married at the oldest age in 1915, 1935, 1940, and 1945. In 1920, they ranked just below the occupation-not-reported group. Farm women, on the average, married at the earliest age over the entire period. In almost every year the unskilled and semi-skilled women were near the lower end of the age scale.

The brides of clerical and sales occupations rose to the third highest age at marriage in 1945. The women that married domestic and protective service males in 1945, married late in life. The relatively high earning potential for female domestics, which is a recent national trend, may be operating to allow them to postpone marriage.

It can be concluded that the men who marry latest in life also married older women and the grooms that married at the earliest ages tend to marry women who are likewise young. It is evident that the proprietor, manager, and official occupations, which are always ranked in the highest social classes, married at the oldest ages in Wisconsin. Moreover, the occupations usually ranked lowest in the social scale,

marry in the earliest age groups. Some studies have shown that there is a direct relation between rising social status and age at marriage. Insufficient evidence exists in the data to demonstrate that the intermediate occupational classes have the same rank in age at marriage as that usually accorded them in social status. Many of these groups married at different levels in the different years. This is especially true of the clerical, sales, and kindred worker class.

Hypothesis 3:

Rural males and females marry earlier than urban men and women.

Mean age of urban and farm grooms. Farm men married earlier than urban men in 1915, 1920, 1940, and 1945. The urban grooms were younger in 1935, however. Undoubtedly, the depression forced several young farm boys to remain on the farms in 1935, who would have otherwise migrated to cities had employment opportunities been open. Selective migration studies in Wisconsin show that there is a heavy migration of young men from farms to cities. This would exert an influence toward lowering the age of farm grooms and increasing the age at marriage of urban men. However, in 1935, migration to the cities was somewhat smaller and this, no doubt, accounts for the rise in age of farm grooms over the urban grooms. In 1915, 1920, 1940, and 1945, the migration of farm men tended to lower the age of farm grooms.

Mean age of urban and farm brides. Farm women married earlier than urban women in Wisconsin for every year studied. Brooks contended that the inferior employment opportunities in the rural areas are

relatively unattractive and that women have few alternatives to early marriage. It is known that women migrate from the farm to city in their young adulthood and also that single women are more apt to leave the farm than married women. Perhaps a large proportion of Wisconsin farm girls, who failed to secure a husband early in life, migrated to the cities. This would have an inclination to lower the age of farm brides and also increase the age of urban brides.

Hypothesis 4:

Women marry at an earlier age than men.

Marriage data for Wisconsin demonstrate conclusively that women marry earlier than men. In the total population group, women married more than three years before the men in all five years. Urban women were likewise about three years younger when they appeared at the altar than the urban grooms. Farm women, on the other hand, married about four years before the farm grooms did in all five years.

Females do mature sexually a little earlier than men, but this would hardly explain the difference in age at marriage. Customs largely determine the age at marriage in most societies. Many young women in India, for instance, marry before they even reach the puberty stage in life. American customs prefer that men and women postpone marriage until they are fairly mature.

It is probable that men have to postpone marriage longer than women for economic reasons since men are the ones who generally support the family. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that men usually delay marriage until they can provide for a wife. Women, however, don't have this obstacle confronting them.

Hypothesis 5:

Wisconsinites married at a younger age in 1915 than they did in 1920, 1935, 1940, or in 1945.

For the twenty-five year period, 1915, to 1940, the trend in median age of Wisconsin brides and grooms was toward a younger age at marriage in 1940. The straight line trend for grooms in 1940 was over one-half year lower than in 1915. The straight line trend of brides' ages however, was only about one-tenth of a year lower in 1940 than in 1915.

Mean ages of brides and grooms for the occupational classes were computed for the five years in an attempt to show the trend in age at marriage. Since the mean ages of Wisconsin brides and grooms were calculated for only five years within the thirty year period, the yearly variations in age at marriage are not revealed. The mean age of brides and grooms for the five years discloses that the trend was toward a later age at marriage. The trend in median age at marriage discloses that the trend was toward an earlier age at marriage from 1915 to 1940.

Trend in mean age of grooms. For the total population of Wisconsin, men married significantly older in 1920, 1935, and 1945 than they did in 1915. The difference in age between 1915 and 1940 was not statistically significant. Hereafter, when it is stated that men or women marry older or younger in the different years, the difference will be statistically significant. (A five percent level of significance was used in this study.)

It is probable that the postponement of marriages during the war

years from 1916-1918 or 1919, forced the age at marriage of men upward in 1920. In 1935, there would also be a tendency for later marriage for we know that many weddings were postponed during the depression years because of financial reasons. In 1940, the war scare had begun. Hauser has shown that when the Selective Service Act was passed by Congress in 1940, the marriage rate increased.¹ Undoubtedly some young men married in order to remain at home, while others wanted at least a trial at marriage if they were not to return from the battlefield. This psychological effect of the imminence of war had a tendency to lower the age at marriage.

The age at marriage for all Wisconsin men was several years older in 1945 than for the previous year, except for two occupational groups -- the farmers and occupation-not-reported classes.

The proprietor, manager, and officials married over seven years later in 1945 than they did in 1940. The professional and semi-professional grooms were married almost five years later in 1945 than in 1940. The total urban males were married almost six years later in the year that World War II ended than five years previously. Many of the single men drafted into the armed services early in the 1940's delayed marriage until after the war. This would have an effect of raising the age at marriage in 1945. Data for Wisconsin grooms show definitely that men who married in 1945 were considerably older than the ones marrying in the other four years studied.

Men of the skilled class married later in 1935, 1940, and 1945

1. Hauser, Philip M., op. cit. p. 313.

than they did in 1915. The age of occupation-not-reported grooms remained about the same over the entire period. The test of significance showed no change in their ages. Likewise the farm men married about the same age over the thirty-year period. While all other classes of men, other than the occupation-not-reported, delayed marriage for three or four years in 1945, the farm men married less than one year older. A large proportion of the farmers were deferred from the armed forces during World War II, and one would expect their ages at marriage to change but little. Since a larger percentage of non-agricultural employed men were inducted into the armed forces, it is likely that quite a few thought best to delay their proposed marriages until the war was over. This is undoubtedly a cause for an older age at marriage of Wisconsin men in 1945.

Trend in mean age of brides. The Wisconsin women followed the same pattern in level of ages that men did over the thirty-year period. However, the brides delayed marriage only 1.4 years from 1940 to 1945; the grooms were 1.8 years older in 1945 than in 1940. Only two occupational classes married at approximately the same age over the entire period-----the farm and occupation-not-reported group.

The findings enumerated above for men of the different occupational groups can be applied to women of the same groups, with only minor changes. Our data show that the rank positions of age at marriage is approximately the same for men and women of the same occupational classes. Proprietor, manager, and official grooms married latest in life and they also married women that rank oldest in age at marriage.

And too, the unskilled and semi-skilled grooms marry near the youngest age and they likewise marry women that are in the lowest age groups.

Our study reveals that the trend in age at marriage was not uniform over the period. Men and women of the total population married later in 1920, 1935, and 1945 than in 1915. Both men and women delayed marriage in 1945 about one year longer than at any time previously. From our data it is unwise to speculate on the future trend in age at marriage.

Hypothesis 6:

In Wisconsin, of all the marriages which end in divorce, marriages entered into by both brides and grooms under 20 years of age result in divorce earlier than do marriages entered into in other age groups, i.e., those marrying in ages 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, etc.

Our findings reveal that marriage for women over thirty years of age is unsafe. In all five years women that married over thirty years of age were divorced earlier than women married in the younger age groups.

For 1935, 1940, and 1945, divorced women who were married before they reached their twentieth birthday were married significantly longer than divorced women who married later in life. This suggests that the best and safest ages for women to marry is before they reach twenty. The divorce statistics offer no reasons why women married early in maturity should remain married longer than women who marry at older ages. Do these data, rather, indicate that divorce tends to be more frequent when the parties are in certain age groups at the time of divorce----for example, when the wife is undergoing menopause? The

data enable us merely to raise this question, not to answer it.

Divorce statistics for all years reveal that the divorced men that married on or after their thirty-fifth birthday remained married a shorter time than did those men who married in the younger age groups. In 1935, 1940, and 1945, divorced men that married under 20 years of age were married significantly longer before divorce than men that married thirty years of age and over. These data supports the contention that divorce is a phenomenon connected with difficulties of adjustment in the late years of marriage. High absolute age for either spouse (30 and over for women and 35 and over for men) at marriage tends to mean shorter duration of marriage. The cause for these differentials should provide fruitful testing grounds for future studies.

Hypothesis 7:

Duration of Marriages that Result in Divorce

A. The farm marriages that end in divorce, on the average, last longer than marriages which end in divorce in other social classes.

The proprietor, manager, and official class had the longest median length of marriage for the thirty-year period. The farmer and skilled occupations ranked second highest with a median duration of marriage of nine years before divorce. The median average for Wisconsin was eight years.

Although the farm families are being rapidly urbanized, they still cling more to traditional marriage customs than the urban families. The proprietor, manager, and official and the skilled groups were the only classes that exhibited similar marital behavior. From our data it is obvious that divorce in the farm class is very little different

from Wisconsin urban families. We have shown that the farm divorce rate is lower than the urban rate, but it increased at a greater rate from 1915 to 1945 than did the urban divorce rate. Evidence reveals that the mores of the farm family are undergoing change.

Hypothesis B. "Two-thirds of all divorces go to those who have been married less than ten years."¹

Fifty-six and two-tenths percent of the divorces were granted to families married less than ten years in 1915; in 1920, 60.5 percent; 1935, 56.3 percent; 1940, 54.8 percent; and in 1945, 57.9 percent. Fifty-seven percent of the divorces went to couples married less than ten years, over the five years studied. In other words, about six-tenths of all divorces occurred within the first nine years of marriage in Wisconsin for this period. Our findings are similar to that reported by other studies.

Hypothesis C. "The point of greatest frequency of divorce is now in the fourth year of marriage."²

The greatest number of divorces were granted to families in their third year of marriage in 1915, 1920, 1940, and 1945. In 1935, the mode was in the sixth year of marriage. This year (1935) was in the recession period of the 1930's and many divorces were postponed because of the excessive expenditure involved in securing legal action.

1. Ogburn, and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 719.

2. Folsom, op. cit., p. 508.

Hypothesis D. "Less than five percent of the divorces annually granted involve persons married less than one year."¹

Of all divorces granted in Wisconsin in 1915, 2.5 percent involved couples who had been married less than one year; in 1920, 4.5 percent of the divorced families secured a divorce before their first wedding anniversary; in 1935, 4.5 percent; in 1940, 5.2 percent; and in 1945, 5.1 percent. For the five year average, less than one-twentieth (4.7 percent) of all divorced couples had been married less than one year.

Hypothesis E. "Very few people are divorced the same year they are married, in fact, the median average lag between marriage and divorce is about seven years.....about half of the divorces occur during the first seven years."²

The median duration of marriage for divorced families was eight years in 1915; seven years in 1920; eight years in 1935; eight years in 1940; and eight years in 1945. The median for the occupational classes ranged from four to eleven years. The median duration of the servicemen's marriages was four years in both 1915 and 1945. It is obvious that many of the war-time marriages were poorly planned. The farmers had the highest median length of marriage before divorce in 1940 with eleven years. In 1920 and 1945, the median for proprietors, managers, and officials was the highest, eleven years.

Hypothesis 8:

Percentage of divorces in which children are involved.

1. Pruxal and Merrill, op. cit., p. 554.

2. Cahen, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

- A. "Almost two-thirds of divorces come from the childless married population."¹

In 1915, 44.9 percent of all divorced families were without children; in 1920, 47.4 percent; 1935, 45.4 percent; 1940, 43.5 percent; and in 1945, 47.1 percent. For the five-years, an average of 45.8 percent of all the divorces were childless.

When the proportions of divorces which were childless are grouped by length of time married, it can be demonstrated that the longer the divorced families were married, the smaller is the percentage without children. The largest number of divorces were granted to persons who had been married three years. Our data shows that about 60 percent of the divorced couples, whose marriages lasted three years, had no children.

A smaller proportion of the divorced farm families were infertile than urban families in Wisconsin. For the five years, 40.8 percent of the farm couples were childless while 46.3 percent of the urban families were without children. The divorced farm and urban families differ little in the proportions that come from infertile unions.

Hypothesis B. "Some eighty-five percent of all divorces come from a small section of families, those with either no children or only one child."²

Twenty-four percent of the divorced families for the five years had one child. A larger proportion of the urban couples had one child

1. Ibid, p. 112.

2. Ogburn, and Nimkoff, op. cit., p. 719.

(24.6 percent) than farm couples (19.2 percent) for the five year average.

For the years 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, 13.9 percent of all Wisconsin divorcees were parents of two children. A larger percent of urban divorcees had two children (14.1) than farm divorcees (12.5) for the average for the same period.

Of all the couples divorced in Wisconsin during the entire period studied, only 7.5 percent had reared three children. The proportions for the farm and urban families were the same as the state as a whole.

Approximately 88 divorced couples out of every 1,000 in Wisconsin from 1915 to 1945 had four or more children. One-fifth of all divorced farm families had reared four or more children. In contrast, only 7.8 percent of the urban couples had a family as large as this. Differential fertility studies have demonstrated that Wisconsin farm families have a higher reproduction rate than the urban families. The divorced farm families are no exception.

When divorces are plotted by length of time married, the data depict clearly that the longer the divorced couples remained in a married state, the larger is the proportion that have four or more children. In 1945, for the divorced couples married twenty-six years and over, 36 percent had four or more children; in 1940 for couples married the same length of time, 41.8 percent had the same sized family; in 1935, 46.0 percent; in 1920, 49.5 percent; and in 1915, 45.8 percent had this many children.

Divorce data demonstrates that divorce occurs in fertile as well as infertile marriages. Obviously childlessness cannot be said to

act as a deterrent to divorce. It is probable that the less satisfactory, and the worst of the poorly adjusted couples of both the childless and fertile marital unions are the ones that are terminated by divorce.

APPENDIX A.

METHODOLOGY FOR MARRIAGE DATA

It should be reiterated that in Wisconsin, as well as in the United States there are no registration statistics of marriage or divorce which separate the social classes or occupational classes. The unavailability of this information and the lack of occupational bases has definitely restricted studies in the field. This study is a test of the practicability of using original marriage and divorce certificates as a source of occupational statistics.

Sources of Data

Statistics on the marriage and divorce rates for the total population of Wisconsin and the United States were taken from census publications and Reports of the Board of Health of Wisconsin. All other information on marriage and divorce data was transcribed from original marriage and divorce certificates filed in the Bureau of Vital Statistics Office at Madison, Wisconsin.

A ten percent sample of all marriages were taken for the years 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. The marriage certificates are bound in volumes, by counties, for each year. Every tenth marriage certificate was included in the sample. The first marriage certificate in the first volume of each year was chosen to be in each of the five samples. The eleventh marriage certificate was the next to be included. Then the marriage certificates were counted by hand up until the 21st certificate was reached. This marriage was included in the sample. This procedure was continued until every volume for each of

the five years had been sampled. A representative sample of the total marriages was thus secured because approximately one-tenth of the marriages in each county and also the city of Milwaukee, which was bound separately, were included in each sample.

The data transcribed from the marriage certificates included the year of marriage, the age at marriage of the bride and groom, and occupation of the groom. A copy of an original marriage certificate is shown in Figure 12. The amount of error resulting from the transcription of this data to tabulation sheets should be negligible. Probably a much greater error was in the incompleteness and illegibility of many certificates. It is impossible to estimate the bias of the sample created by these two factors.

Scope of the Study

The scope of this study was stated earlier as being confined to an analysis of marriage and divorce trends in Wisconsin from 1915 to 1945. Since the primary source of data for this study was the original records on file at the State Capital in Madison, it was soon evident that a tremendous amount of time and expense would be involved in securing adequate data for such a study. The ideal method for analyzing such a study would have been to make a complete retabulation of all marriages and divorces for each year in the 30-year period. However, this was impossible because the data had to be hand tabulated and would have involved a tremendous expense. Hence, it was obvious that a sacrifice had to be made somewhere along the line---either fewer years would have to be included in the study, or all years could be

WISCONSIN STATE
BOARD OF HEALTH
Bureau of Vital
Statistics

COPY OF ORIGINAL

State of Wisconsin

Certificate of Marriage

GROOM

BRIDE

Filing Date:

Local Register Number:

Name

(Please print)

Residence {
Town
Village
City

County

State

Date of Birth

Age

Color

Birthplace

County

State

Marital status: {
Single
Widowed
Divorced

Number of previous marriages

Relationship to Bride

Marital status: {
Single
Widowed
Divorced

Number of previous marriages

Relationship to Groom

Occupation

Occupation

Father's name

Father's name

Mother's maiden name

Mother's maiden name

Was a special dispensation issued?

Bride's maiden name

County Clerk:

License No.

Issued

19

by

County Clerk

CERTIFICATE OF MARRIAGE:

Place of Marriage:

I,

hereby certify

(Please print)

that on the day of 19, at

the (church, etc.) within the

County of
Town (or)
Village (or)
City of:

(Town, Village, City) of

County of

State of Wisconsin

the above named groom and bride were by me united in marriage as authorized by a Marriage License issued for that purpose by the

Official

day of

19

Signature

designation

My credentials are filed in the office of Clerk of

Circuit Court

County

Signature

Post Office

Address

Witnesses:

We, the undersigned, were present at the marriage of the above named groom and bride, as set forth in the foregoing certificate, at their request, and heard their declarations that they took each other for husband and wife.

Signatures of
Two Witnesses

Filed with Local Registrar

19

Local Registrar

The marriage certificates marked duplicate and triplicate duly signed shall be given by the officiating person to the persons married by him, and the certificate marked original legibly and completely filled out with untidying ink shall be returned by such officiating person, or in the case of a marriage ceremony performed without an officiating person, then by the parties to the marriage contract, or either of them, to the register of deeds of the county of marriage except when marriage occurs in a city, then to the city health officer, within three days from the date of marriage. (Sec. 245.25)

included if small samples were collected. It was decided that the best method would be to take adequate sized samples, ten percent, and sacrifice on the number of years to be studied within the 30-year period. The years 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945 were chosen to be representative of the entire period. It was assumed that these years were the best to depict the trends occurring within this period. Future studies might strive to improve this survey by including more years within the temporal period. This study makes no attempt to demonstrate that these five years are the best five to depict trends for this period. Two years were pre-war years, 1915 and 1940, two years were post-war years-----1920 and 1945, and the other year was in the midst of the depression cycle, 1935. These years seemed adequate for the purposes of this study due to the limitation of funds.

Occupational Classification

Most sociological studies using occupational classes have classified all occupations into only a few groups. Sometimes proprietors and clerks have been lumped together into one class and semi-skilled and skilled workers have been included together. The assumption made in this study that two few categories might include diverse groups and might also conceal differentials which are important. The marriages were classified into nine occupational groups: (1) professional and semi-professional, (2) farmers and farm managers, farm laborers and farm foremen, (3) proprietors, managers, and officials, except farm, (4) clerical, sales and kindred workers, (5) skilled, (6) semi-skilled, (7) unskilled, (8) domestic and protective service workers and service

workers, (9) occupation-not-reported and indefinite. In 1945, a tenth group was added, servicemen. It was felt that each of these classes taken as a whole differed from the others with respect to its social background, standards of education and achievement, and economic status.

The number of occupations classified by some governmental agencies number several thousand. It was finally decided that the most practical classification for the study was that used by the Bureau of the Census in 1940. With some revision this occupational classification was followed. The specific occupations which were grouped in each broad occupational category is presented in Table 55.

The marriage certificate data pertaining to occupation in some cases was either not given or inadequate. Occupations were often enumerated in such a general way that it was impossible to tell in which of the nine classes they belonged. In this case they were placed in the occupation-not-reported class.

Calculation of Rates and Means

Marriage rates, mean age of groom and age of bride, were calculated from these data. Tables are presented which show the distribution of brides and grooms by age at marriage, classified by occupational groups for the years 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. (See Tables 56 through 106). The marriage rates for the farm and urban population were computed from these samples for the five years studied-----1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. The population bases that were used were those published in Census publications.

TABLE 55
OCCUPATIONS INCLUDED IN EACH MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP

223

I. Professional and Semi-Professional Workers

- A. Actors
- B. Architects
- C. Artists and art teachers
- D. Authors, editors, and reporters
- E. Chemists, assayers, and metallurgists
- F. Clergymen
- G. College presidents, professors, and instructors
- H. Dentists
- I. Civil Engineers
- J. Electrical engineers
- K. Mechanical engineers
- L. Other technical engineers
- M. Lawyers and judges
- N. Musicians and music teachers
- O. Osteopaths
- P. Pharmacists
- Q. Physicians and surgeons
- R. Social and welfare workers
- S. Teachers (n.e.c.)* (including county agents)
- T. Trained nurses and student nurses
- U. Veterinarians
- V. Other professional workers
- W. Dancers, showmen and athletes
- X. Designers and draftsmen
- Y. Surveyors
- Z. Other semiprofessional workers

II. Farmers, Farm Managers, Farm Laborers, and Farm Foremen

III. Proprietors, Managers, and Officials, except farm

- A. Conductors, railroad
- B. Postmasters, and misc. government officials
- C. Other specified managers and officials
- D. Proprietors, managers, and officials (n.e.c.)* by industry:
 - 1. Mining
 - 2. Construction
 - 3. Manufacturing
 - 4. Transportation, communication, and utilities
 - 5. Wholesale trade
 - 6. Eating and drinking places
 - 7. Finance, insurance and real estate

*"N.e.c." means not elsewhere classified

III. Proprietors, Managers, and Officials, except farm (continued)

D. Proprietors, managers, and officials (n.e.c.)* by industry:

- 8. Business and repair services
- 9. Personal services
- 10. Miscellaneous industries and services

IV. Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers

- A. Baggage men, express messengers, and ry. mail clerks
- B. Bookkeepers, accountants, cashiers, and ticket agents
- C. Mail carriers
- D. Messengers, except express
- E. Office machine operators
- F. Shipping and receiving clerks
- G. Stenographers, typists, and secretaries
- H. Telegraph operators
- I. Telephone operators
- J. Other clerical and kindred workred workers
- K. Canvassers and solicitors
- L. Hucksters and peddlers
- M. Newsboys
- N. Insurance agents and brokers
- O. Real estate agents and brokers
- P. Other sales agents and brokers
- Q. Other salesmen

V. Skilled (craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers)

- A. Bakers
- B. Blacksmiths, forgemen, and hammermen
- C. Boilermakers
- D. Cabinetmakers and pattern makers
- E. Carpenters
- F. Compositors and typesetters
- G. Electricians
- H. Foremen (n.e.c.)** by industry
 - 1. Construction
 - 2. Manufacturing
 - 3. Transportation, communication, and utilities
 - 4. Miscellaneous industries and services
- I. Inspectors (n.e.c.)**
- J. Locomotive engineers
- K. Locomotive firemen
- L. Machinists, millwrights, and tool makers

*"N.e.c." means not elsewhere classified.

**Most inspectors in manufacturing are classified as operatives.

V. Skilled (craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers) (continued)

- M. Masons, tile setters, and stonecutters
- N. Mechanics and repairmen, and loom fixers
- O. Molders, metal
- P. Painters, (construction), paperhangers, and glaziers
- Q. Plasterers and cement finishers
- R. Plumbers and gas and steam fitters
- S. Printing craftsmen, exc. compositors and typesetters
- T. Rollers and roll hands, metal
- U. Roofers and sheet metal workers
- V. Shoemakers and repairers (not in factory)
- W. Stationary engineers, cranemen and hoistmen
- X. Structural and ornamental metal workers
- Y. Tailors and furriers
- Z. Other craftsmen and kindred workers

VI. Semiskilled (operatives and kindred workers)

- A. Apprentices
- B. Attendants, filling station, parking lot, and airport
- C. Brakemen and switchmen, railroad
- D. Chauffeurs, truck drivers, and deliverymen
- E. Conductors, bus and street railway
- F. Dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory)
- G. Firemen, except locomotive and fire department
- H. Laundry operatives and laundresses, exc. priv. family
- I. Linemen and servicemen, telegraph, telephone, power
- J. Mine operatives and laborers
- K. Motormen, railway, mine, factory, etc.
- L. Painters, except construction and maintenance
- M. Power Station operators
- N. Sailors and deck hands, except U. S. Navy
- O. Welders and flame-cutters
- P. Other specified operatives and kindred workers
- Q. Operatives and kindred workers (n.e.c.)*, by industry:
 - 1. Manufacturing
 - a. food and kindred products
 - b. tobacco manufactures
 - c. cotton manufactures
 - d. silk and rayon manufactures
 - e. woolen and worsted manufactures
 - f. knit goods
 - g. other textile-mill products
 - h. apparel and other fabricated textile products
 - i. lumber, furniture, and lumber products
 - j. paper, paper products, and printing
 - k. chemicals, and petroleum and coal products
 - l. rubber products

*"N.e.c." means not elsewhere classified.

VI. Semiskilled (operatives and kindred workers)

Q. Operatives and kindred workers (n.e.c.)*, by industry

1. Manufacturing

- m. footwear industries, except rubber
- n. leather and leather products, except footwear
- o. stone, clay and glass products
- p. iron and steel and not spec. metal industries
- q. nonferrous metals and their products
- r. machinery
- s. automobiles and automobile equipment
- t. transportation equipment, except automobile
- u. other manufacturing industries

2. Nonmanufacturing industries and services

VII. Domestic Service Workers, Protective Service Workers, and Service Workers

- A. Firemen, fire department
- B. Guards and watchmen
- C. Policemen, sheriffs, and marshals
- D. Soldiers, sailors, marines, and coast guards* (1)
- E. Barbers, beauticians, and manicurists
- F. Boarding house and lodginghouse keepers
- G. Charwomen, janitors, and porters
- H. Cooks, except private family
- I. Elevator operators
- J. Housekeepers, stewards, hostesses, exc. private family
- K. Practical nurses and midwives
- L. Servants, except private family
- M. Waiters and bartenders
- N. Other service workers, except domestic and protective

VIII. Unskilled (laborers, except farm and mine)

- A. Fishermen and oystermen
- B. Longshoremen and stevedores
- C. Lumbermen, raftsmen, and woodchoppers
- D. Other specified laborers

*excludes commissioned officers, professional and clerical workers and craftsmen.

(1) Soldiers, sailors, marines, and coast guards were classified under group VII in 1915, 1920, 1935, and 1940. In 1945 they were classified under group IX.

** "N.e.c." means not elsewhere classified.

VIII. Unskilled (laborers, except farm and mine)(continued)

E. Laborers (n.e.c.)**, by industry:

1. Construction
2. Manufacturing
 - a. food and kindred products
 - b. textiles, textile products, and apparel
 - c. lumber, furniture, and lumber products
 - d. paper, paper products, and printing
 - e. chemicals, and petroleum and coal products
 - f. leather and leather products
 - g. stone, clay, and glass products
 - h. iron and steel and not spec. metal industries
 - i. nonferrous metals and their products
 - j. machinery
 - k. automobiles and automobile equipment
 - l. transportation equipment, except automobile
 - m. other manufacturing industries
3. Nonmanufacturing
 - a. railroads (including railroad repair shops)
 - b. transportation except railroads
 - c. communication and utilities
 - d. wholesale and retail trade
 - e. personal services
 - f. other nonmanufacturing industries and services

IX. Servicemen (excludes commissioned officers)*

X. Occupation Not Reported (includes all indefinite occupations such as, employed by Oscar Mayer and Company and unreadable recordings.)

SOURCE: Population, Third Series, the Labor Force, Occupation, Industry, Employment, and Income; Wisconsin, 16th Census of the United States, 1940, pp. 16 - 17.

**"N.e.c." means not elsewhere classified.

*Soldiers, sailors, marines, and coast guards were classified as Servicemen in 1945. In 1915, 1920, 1935, and 1940 they were classified under group VII.

Since there was an occupation-not-reported group in each year, this category had to be divided some way into the urban and farm groups in computing the marriage rates. It was assumed that one-half of this unidentifiable class were farm and the other, urban. It was felt that this was a safe assumption for the purposes at hand. In 1945, an exceptionally large number of servicemen were included in the marriage sample, 816. The Selective Service System reports show that from November, 1940 - June, 1945 Wisconsin farmers and farm laborers inducted into the United States Army accounted for only 13.6 percent of all inductions from the state. These data support the assumption that about 15.0 percent of the total marriages in which the groom reported that he was a serviceman in 1945 were contracted by farmers. (See Table 36 and 37). The Selective Service's report is the only source which throws any light on the percentage of the marriages of servicemen that might have been from the farm population and from the urban population.

Brooks¹ and Oberdorfer² have shown that many of Wisconsin residents have flocked annually to adjoining states to get married. By going to adjoining states, couples can avoid the five day waiting period that the Wisconsin law requires between the time a marriage license is granted and the time a couple can get married. The Wisconsin State Board of Health reported on residence of persons married in Wisconsin only in four years, 1937, 1938, 1939, and 1940. Brooks' and Oberdorfer's

1. Brooks, op. cit., passim.

2. Oberdorfer, op. cit., passim.

data on out-of-state marriages are based only on estimates. But they fail to take account of the residents of other states who married in Wisconsin. Estimates were made of the out-of-state residents' marriages in Wisconsin for the years 1920 - 1936-----the years for which Oberdorfer corrected the crude marriage rate by adding the estimated out-of-state marriages of Wisconsin residents. (See Tables 3 and 4 and Figure 5). It was assumed that the proportion of the total marriages contracted in Wisconsin, that were among out-of-state residents, were constant over the period 1920 - 1936-----5.03 percent of the total marriages. (See Table 107). When this correction is made, it can be demonstrated that the true marriage rate for Wisconsin residents is not as high as Oberdorfer states. This is seen vividly in Figure 5.

Evaluation of Methodology

The sources of error have been mentioned earlier in this chapter. The amount of error was computed on farm and urban marriage rates for this study. Although it is impossible to estimate the amount of the total error remaining in this study, it should not be large enough to invalidate any of the conclusions set forth. The samples from which this study was based are large enough for the purpose of this survey. The samples were also drawn in a manner to secure representative data from all counties as well as for the state as a whole. Although this study selected a large sample of marriages for each year, ten percent, some of the data for small occupational groups----professional and semi-professional and domestic and protective service fluctuated so much that meaningful interpretation was sometimes impossible. However,

it is felt that if the whole universe or a larger sample of marriages is studied that this occupational classification is as satisfactory as any other might be. The differentials in age at marriage, marriage rates, combined with experimentation with different occupation classes should be central problems for future studies.

Limitation of Data Used in this Study

Public agencies provide little published data for a study of this nature. Surveys which deal with occupational classes must resort to original data----the tabulations of which are expensive and often very laborious. Studies on differentials among occupational groups are important but are quite difficult to make. Differentials among subgroups in our population frequently reveal greater differences than that between different population groups. For instance, the disparity in the fertility rates within the farm population is often-times greater than the difference between rural-farm and urban fertility rates.

Another serious limitation which hampered this study was that no registration statistics were available for occupational population bases for all the years which were covered. Therefore marriage rates were not computed for occupational classes. Marriage rates calculated for the occupational categories would necessarily be very precarious. Until this data is made available to sociologists, little information can be demonstrated on occupational differentials.

The Bureau of Vital Statistics reports only on marriages which are contracted in the state of Wisconsin. This public agency has discontinued the reporting of marriages by state residence. Earlier studies

have shown that because of the strict marriage laws in Wisconsin numerous residents of the state annually marry in bordering states. There is also a number of the residents of other states that marry in Wisconsin every year, as has been shown. In order to secure accurate data, these factors must be corrected.

Finally, mention should be made of the comparability of the data recorded on the marriage certificates. These certificates are filled out by many local county officials, doubtless not trained in accurate reporting and recording. This is evident from the fact that several certificates were incomplete and lack of precision was noted in recording of occupational information. But by way of contrast, Wisconsin ranks high among the states in its reliability of Vital Statistics data and the recording methods of these reports have been made more efficient from year to year. Nevertheless, the comparability of the data is still far from ideal for the demographers' purposes.

TABLE 56

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF
1782 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS TOTAL MARRIAGES IN WISCONSIN, 1915

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not
classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms
of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	26	7					33
20 - 24	237	440	48	4	1	1	731
25 - 29	107	292	135	28	5	2	569
30 - 34	21	79	77	36	11	1	225
35 - 39	7	17	25	18	14	6	87
40 - 44		4	14	7	13	11	49
45 & over	2	1	4	6	10	40	63
Total	400	840	303	99	54	61	1757

Unknown 25

Total 1782

TABLE 57
 THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
 OF 67 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS PROPRIETORS AND MANAGERS
 IN WISCONSIN, 1915

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20							
20 - 24	13	14				1	28
25 - 29	1	7	4				12
30 - 34		6	4	1			11
35 - 39	1		2	1	1		5
40 - 44			1	1	2		4
45 & over					1	6	7
Total	15	27	11	3	4	7	67

TABLE 58
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 95 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS PROFESSION AND SEMI-
PROFESSIONAL IN WISCONSIN, 1915

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20							
20 - 24	3	13	2				18
25 - 29	4	20	17	2			43
30 - 34	2	4	9	6	1		22
35 - 39			3	1			4
40 - 44			3			1	4
45 & over				1	1	2	4
Total	9	37	34	10	2	3	95

TABLE 59
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 203 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS CLERICAL AND
SALES IN WISCONSIN, 1915

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	1	2					3
20 - 24	12	60	9				81
25 - 29	8	33	29	2	2		74
30 - 34	2	6	10	2	1		21
35 - 39		1	6	2	1	1	11
40 - 44		1	2	1	1	3	8
45 & over					1	3	4
Total	23	103	56	7	6	7	202

Unknown 1

Total 203

TABLE 60
 THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
 OF 62 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS DOMESTIC AND PROTECTIVE SERVICE
 IN WISCONSIN, 1915

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20							
20 - 24	6	16	2				24
25 - 29	4	13	4	2			23
30 - 34		3	3				6
35 - 39			1	1			2
40 - 44			1	1			2
45 & over					1	2	3
Total	10	32	11	4	1	2	60

Unknown 2

Total 62

TABLE 61
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 400 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SKILLED IN WISCONSIN, 1915

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	9						9
20 - 24	52	105	9				166
25 - 29	22	77	29	4	1	1	134
30 - 34	3	16	12	5	5		41
35 - 39	2	6	3	5	5	1	22
40 - 44		3	2		3	3	11
45 & over	1	1	1	2		10	15
Total	89	208	56	16	14	15	398

Unknown 2

Total 400

TABLE 62

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 110 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SEMISKILLED IN WISCONSIN, 1915

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not
classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms
of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	3	2					5
20 - 24	19	31	2				52
25 - 29	6	17	6	3		1	33
30 - 34		2	7	4	1		14
35 - 39							
40 - 44			2				2
45 & over						2	2
Total	28	52	17	7	1	3	108

Unknown 2

Total 110

TABLE 65

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 234 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS UNSKILLED IN WISCONSIN, 1915

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not
classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms
of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	3	1					4
20 - 24	43	49	8	2			102
25 - 29	17	36	20	6	2		81
30 - 34	6	7	10	4	1		28
35 - 39		1	2	1	1	3	8
40 - 44				2	2	1	5
45 & over				1	2	2	5
Total	69	94	40	16	8	6	233

Unskilled 1

Total 234

TABLE 64
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 587 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS FARMERS IN WISCONSIN, 1915

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	10	2					12
20 - 24	86	146	16	2	1		251
25 - 29	44	87	26	9			166
30 - 34	8	30	21	13	2	1	75
35 - 39	4	9	7	7	6	1	34
40 - 44			3	2	5	2	12
45 & over	1		3	2	4	11	21
Total	153	274	76	35	18	15	571

Unknown 16

Total 587

TABLE 65
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 24 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS NOT REPORTED IN WISCONSIN, 1915

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20							
20 - 24	3	6					9
25 - 29	1	2					3
30 - 34		5	1	1			7
35 - 39			1				1
40 - 44						1	1
45 & over						2	2
Total	4	13	2	1		3	23

Unknown 1

Total 24

TABLE 66

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

	AGE OF BRIDES						
AGE OF GROOMS	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	Total
Under 20	32	11	1				44
20 - 24	275	503	70	4		3	855
25 - 29	134	349	223	30	5	2	743
30 - 34	26	82	102	62	12	1	285
35 - 39	6	29	24	26	19	5	109
40 - 44	2	2	11	16	8	20	59
45 & over		1	4	11	11	85	112
Total	475	977	435	149	55	116	2207
						Unknown Total	2 2209

TABLE 67
 THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
 OF 140 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS PROPRIETORS AND MANAGERS
 IN WISCONSIN, 1920

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20		1					1
20 - 24	5	32	5				42
25 - 29	3	19	15	1			38
30 - 34		8	13	4	1		26
35 - 39		3	6	2	2	1	14
40 - 44	1	1	2	1	1	3	9
45 & over		1			3	6	10
Total	9	65	41	8	7	10	140

244

TABLE 68
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 103 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS PROFESSIONAL AND SEMI-
PROFESSIONAL IN WISCONSIN, 1920

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	1						1
20 - 24	2	25	2	2			31
25 - 29	3	17	18	2			40
30 - 34	1	2	9	6			18
35 - 39		1	3	1			5
40 - 44				1		1	2
45 & over			1	2		3	6
Total	7	45	33	14		4	103

TABLE 69
 THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
 OF 223 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS CLERICAL AND SALES
 IN WISCONSIN, 1920

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	2	2					4
20 - 24	19	54	3			1	77
25 - 29	8	44	45	3			100
30 - 34		8	8	8	1		25
35 - 39		3	2	2	1		8
40 - 44				2		2	4
45 & over				1	1	1	3
Total	29	111	58	16	3	4	221

Unknown 2

Total 223

TABLE 70
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 66 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS DOMESTIC AND PROTECTIVE SERVICE
IN WISCONSIN, 1920

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	2						2
20 - 24	8	19	2			1	30
25 - 29	2	11	5				18
30 - 34		1	1	4			6
35 - 39		1		1	1		3
40 - 44				3			3
45 & over			1	1		2	4
Total	12	32	9	9	1	3	66

TABLE 71
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 591 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SKILLED IN WISCONSIN, 1920

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	4	3	1				8
20 - 24	71	140	19			1	231
25 - 29	35	90	68	7	1	1	202
30 - 34	7	23	28	21	3		82
35 - 39		6	3	11	6	2	28
40 - 44	1	1	5	1	5	5	18
45 & over				1	1	20	22
Total	118	263	124	41	16	29	591

TABLE 72
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 176 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SEMISKILLED, IN WISCONSIN,
1920

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	1						1
20 - 24	30	31	10				71
25 - 29	7	37	17	4	2	1	68
30 - 34	1	6	11	4	2		24
35 - 39		1			2		3
40 - 44				1		2	3
45 & over				1	2	3	6
Total	39	75	38	10	8	6	176

TABLE 73
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 275 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS UNSKILLED, IN WISCONSIN, 1920

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	10	4					14
20 - 24	46	52	12	1			111
25 - 29	19	42	16	2			79
30 - 34	4	8	7	8	2	1	30
35 - 39	2	3	3	4	2		14
40 - 44				3		3	6
45 & over				2		19	21
Total	81	109	38	20	4	23	275

TABLE 74

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 591 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS FARMERS IN WISCONSIN, 1920

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	11	1					12
20 - 24	87	143	17	1			248
25 - 29	56	87	38	7	2		190
30 - 34	13	25	21	7	3		69
35 - 39	4	11	7	3	5	2	32
40 - 44			4	4	2	4	14
45 & over			2	1	2	21	26
Total	171	267	89	23	14	27	591

TABLE 75
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 44 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS NOT REPORTED IN WISCONSIN, 1920

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	1						1
20 - 24	7	7					14
25 - 29	1	2	1	4			8
30 - 34		1	4				5
35 - 39				2			2
40 - 44							
45 & over				2	2	10	14
Total	9	10	5	8	2	10	44

TABLE 76

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 2093 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS TOTAL SAMPLE IN WISCONSIN, 1935

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not
classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms
of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	32	12	1				45
20 - 24	315	465	41	5			826
25 - 29	103	339	193	22	4		661
30 - 34	25	99	99	53	9	6	291
35 - 39	4	18	24	28	22	8	104
40 - 44	1	2	12	12	6	13	46
45 & over		2	3	5	14	94	118
Total	480	937	373	125	55	121	2091

Unknown 2

Total 2093

TABLE 77
 THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
 OF 76 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS PROPRIETORS, MANAGERS, AND
 OFFICIALS IN WISCONSIN, 1935

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20							
20 - 24	5	11					16
25 - 29	7	13	6	1			27
30 - 34	1	4	9	1			15
35 - 39		3	2		2		7
40 - 44			1		1	1	3
45 & over						8	8
Total	13	31	18	2	3	9	76

TABLE 78
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF
158 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS PROFESSIONAL AND SEMI-
PROFESSIONAL IN WISCONSIN, 1935

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20		1					1
20 - 24	5	27	3				35
25 - 29	5	37	25	2	2		71
30 - 34	1	7	13	6	1		28
35 - 39	1		1	4	2	1	9
40 - 44				5	1	1	7
45 & over					4	3	7
Total	12	72	42	17	10	5	158

TABLE 79
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF
250 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS CLERICAL AND SALES IN WISCONSIN,
1935

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	1	1					2
20 - 24	27	60	8	2			97
25 - 29	3	45	40	5			93
30 - 34		9	16	9	1		35
35 - 39		3	1	6	2		12
40 - 44			1			1	2
45 & over				1	1	7	9
Total	31	118	66	23	4	8	250

TABLE 80
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 140 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS DOMESTIC AND SERVICE
IN WISCONSIN, 1935

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	3						3
20 - 24	19	34	1	1			55
25 - 29	6	18	18	2			44
30 - 34	1	10	3	7	1		22
35 - 39			2	2	1		5
40 - 44				2		1	3
45 & over					1	7	8
Total	29	62	24	14	3	8	140

TABLE 81

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 325 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SKILLED IN WISCONSIN, 1935

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	5						5
20 - 24	33	67	9				109
25 - 29	19	67	28	4	1		119
30 - 34	3	13	13	8	2	5	44
35 - 39	1	5	7	5	2	1	21
40 - 44			3	2	1	1	7
45 & over			2		1	17	20
Total	61	152	62	19	7	24	325

TABLE 82
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 180 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SEMISKILLED IN WISCONSIN, 1935

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	3	2					5
20 - 24	33	37	4				74
25 - 29	9	29	19				57
30 - 34	2	9	11	6	1	1	30
35 - 39			2	1	2	1	6
40 - 44					1		1
45 & over					2	5	7
Total	47	77	36	7	6	7	180

TABLE 83
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 412 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS UNSKILLED IN WISCONSIN, 1935

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	9	2					11
20 - 24	85	113	6				204
25 - 29	22	56	30	2	1		111
30 - 34	4	16	12	7			39
35 - 39		3	2	8	8	2	23
40 - 44					1	3	4
45 & over				1	2	17	20
Total	120	190	50	18	12	22	412

TABLE 84
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 450 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS FARMERS IN WISCONSIN, 1935

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	6	5	1				12
20 - 24	86	94	7				187
25 - 29	30	61	18	4			113
30 - 34	13	26	21	9	2		71
35 - 39	2	4	7	2	3	3	21
40 - 44	1	2	5	3	1	3	15
45 & over		2	1	3	2	21	29
Total	138	194	60	21	8	27	448

Unknown 2

Total 450

TABLE 85
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 102 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS NOT REPORTED IN WISCONSIN, 1935

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	5	1					6
20 - 24	22	22	3	2			49
25 - 29	2	13	9	2			26
30 - 34		5	1		1		7
35 - 39							
40 - 44			2			2	4
45 & over					1	9	10
Total	29	41	15	4	2	11	102

TABLE 86

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 2335 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS TOTAL SAMPLE IN WISCONSIN, 1940

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	38	7					45
20 - 24	322	589	74	3			988
25 - 29	108	417	229	19	6		779
30 - 34	10	89	89	44	8	3	243
35 - 39	3	13	41	36	10	9	112
40 - 44	1	4	15	4	11	15	50
45 & over	-	1	3	17	14	83	118
Total	482	1120	451	123	49	110	2335

TABLE 87

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 97 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS PROPRIETORS, MANAGERS, AND
OFFICIALS IN WISCONSIN, 1940

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20							
20 - 24	3	17	2				22
25 - 29	2	21	14	2	1		40
30 - 34	1	6	7	1			15
35 - 39			3	1		1	5
40 - 44			1	1	2	1	5
45 & over				4	2	4	10
Total	6	44	27	9	5	6	97

TABLE 88
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 178 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS PROFESSIONAL AND SEMI-
PROFESSIONAL IN WISCONSIN, 1940

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20							
20 - 24	9	39	6				54
25 - 29	3	47	21	2			73
30 - 34		12	9	5	1		27
35 - 39		1	3	5	1	1	11
40 - 44		1	1		2	2	6
45 & over				1	3	3	7
Total	12	100	40	13	7	6	178

TABLE 89
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 342 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS CLERICAL AND SALES
IN WISCONSIN, 1940

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	2	1					3
20 - 24	27	101	14				142
25 - 29	14	60	47	2	2		125
30 - 34		15	17	6	1	1	40
35 - 39		3	8	4	1		16
40 - 44			1	1	1	3	6
45 & over				4		6	10
Total	43	180	87	17	5	10	342

TABLE 90
 THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
 OF 94 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS DOMESTIC AND SERVICE IN WISCONSIN,
 1940

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	1	1					2
20 - 24	9	21	7	1			38
25 - 29	4	18	8	2			32
30 - 34		6	3	1			10
35 - 39		1	1		1		3
40 - 44			3		1	1	5
45 & over				1	1	2	4
Total	14	47	22	5	3	3	94

TABLE 91
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 393 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SKILLED IN WISCONSIN, 1940

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	3	1					4
20 - 24	42	102	11	1			156
25 - 29	18	56	45	4	1		124
30 - 34		14	17	11	2		44
35 - 39		4	11	3	2	4	24
40 - 44		1	1		3	1	6
45 & over		1	2	4	5	23	35
Total	63	179	87	23	13	28	393

TABLE 92

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 279 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SEMISKILLED IN WISCONSIN, 1940

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	8						8
20 - 24	36	78	8				122
25 - 29	14	58	25	3			100
30 - 34		5	8	5			18
35 - 39	1	1	4	10	4	1	21
40 - 44			2	1		2	5
45 & over				1		4	5
Total	59	142	47	20	4	7	279

TABLE 93
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF
398 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS UNSKILLED IN WISCONSIN, 1940

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	7	2					9
20 - 24	79	108	9				196
25 - 29	17	75	30	1			123
30 - 34	2	16	9	5	2	2	36
35 - 39	1	1	6	5		1	14
40 - 44			4		1	1	6
45 & over					2	12	14
Total	106	202	58	11	5	16	398

TABLE 94
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 423 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS FARMERS IN WISCONSIN, 1940

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	12	2					14
20 - 24	101	86	12	1			200
25 - 29	34	64	26		1		125
30 - 34	6	13	15	9	2		45
35 - 39	1	2	5	5		1	14
40 - 44	1	1	1		1	2	6
45 & over			1	2		16	19
Total	155	168	60	17	4	19	423

TABLE 95
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 131 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS OCCUPATION NOT REPORTED IN
WISCONSIN, 1940

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	5						5
20 - 24	16	37	5				58
25 - 29	2	18	13	3	1		37
30 - 34	1	2	4	1			8
35 - 39				3	1		4
40 - 44		1	1	1		2	5
45 & over					1	13	14
Total	24	58	23	8	3	15	131

TABLE 96

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF 2514 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS TOTAL SAMPLE IN WISCONSIN, 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	80	19	1				100
20 - 24	354	532	54	6			946
25 - 29	83	382	187	23	1		676
30 - 34	17	85	106	55	23	3	289
35 - 39	4	25	35	46	32	19	161
40 - 44	1	6	13	28	21	20	89
45 & over	1	3	10	31	42	164	251
Total	540	1052	406	189	119	206	2512

Unknown 2

Total 2514

TABLE 97
 THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
 OF 64 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS PROPRIETORS AND MANAGERS
 IN WISCONSIN, 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20							
20 - 24	3	6	3				12
25 - 29	1	4	3	2			10
30 - 34		3	3	1	2		9
35 - 39				1	5		6
40 - 44	1		1	2	2	1	7
45 & over			1	2	8	9	20
Total	5	13	11	8	17	10	64

TABLE 98
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF
106 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS PROFESSIONAL AND SEMI
PROFESSIONAL IN WISCONSIN, 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20							0
20 - 24	3	15	3				21
25 - 29	1	14	17	1			33
30 - 34	2	4	9	3			18
35 - 39		2	2	6	1	1	12
40 - 44			1			2	3
45 & over		1		5	3	10	19
Total	6	36	32	15	4	13	106

TABLE 99
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 132 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS CLERICAL AND SALES
IN WISCONSIN, 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	1	1					2
20 - 24	8	19	4	1			32
25 - 29	5	14	11	3			33
30 - 34	2	4	6	3			15
35 - 39		3	1	4	4	2	14
40 - 44		1	1	3	5	2	12
45 & over	1		1	5	3	14	24
Total	17	42	24	19	12	18	132

TABLE 100
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF
78 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS DOMESTIC AND PROTECTIVE SERVICE,
IN WISCONSIN, 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	4						4
20 - 24	7	4	2				13
25 - 29	2	8	1	1			12
30 - 34		1	5	4			10
35 - 39		3	1	4	3		11
40 - 44				4	2	3	9
45 & over			2	2	3	12	19
Total	13	16	11	15	8	15	78

TABLE 101
 THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
 OF 276 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SKILLED IN WISCONSIN,
 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	1	4	1				6
20 - 24	25	28	3	1			57
25 - 29	7	52	16	2			77
30 - 34	3	14	11	7	3		38
35 - 39	1	5	10	5	3	1	25
40 - 44		2	7	6	6	2	23
45 & over		1	2	4	4	39	50
Total	37	106	50	25	16	42	276

TABLE 102
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF
175 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SEMISKILLED, IN WISCONSIN, 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	7	1					8
20 - 24	25	20	1	1			47
25 - 29	12	30	9		1		52
30 - 34	1	9	8	2	2		22
35 - 39			6	4	4	6	20
40 - 44		1	1	5		5	12
45 & over		1		1	2	10	14
Total	45	62	25	13	9	21	175

TABLE 105
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF
245 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS UNSKILLED, IN WISCONSIN, 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	8	4					12
20 - 24	19	42	3				64
25 - 29	14	30	12	2			58
30 - 34	2	10	7	12	5	2	38
35 - 39		2	6	3	2	4	17
40 - 44		1	1	1	2	1	6
45 & over			1	7	10	32	50
Total	43	89	30	25	19	39	245

TABLE 104

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE
OF 461 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS FARMERS IN WISCONSIN, 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	22	4					26
20 - 24	113	91	8				212
25 - 29	26	71	27	1			125
30 - 34	3	12	10	3	2		30
35 - 39	1	4	1	6	3	2	17
40 - 44		1	1	6		3	11
45 & over			2	5	8	23	38
Total	165	183	49	21	13	28	459

Unknown 2
Total 461

TABLE 105
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF
816 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS SERVICEMEN IN WISCONSIN, 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	34	4					38
20 - 24	133	270	24	3			430
25 - 29	11	127	76	8			222
30 - 34	4	21	40	16	6	1	88
35 - 39	2	6	8	10	6	3	35
40 - 44				1	1		2
45 & over			1				1
Total	184	428	149	38	13	4	816

TABLE 106
THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE IN A SAMPLE OF
161 MARRIAGES, CLASSIFIED AS NOT REPORTED, IN WISCONSIN, 1945

(Only grooms are classified by occupation. The brides are not classified according to occupation. These brides married grooms of this particular occupation.)

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES						Total
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40 & over	
Under 20	3	1					4
20 - 24	18	37	3				58
25 - 29	4	32	15	3			54
30 - 34		7	7	4	3		21
35 - 39				3	1		4
40 - 44					3	1	4
45 & over					1	15	16
Total	25	77	25	10	8	16	161

TABLE 107
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MARRIAGES IN WISCONSIN, CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE OF BRIDES AND GROOMS
1937 - 1940

Year	Total Brides & Grooms : Wisconsin Residents	Total Brides & Grooms		Percentage : Out-of-state : Marriages	Wisconsin Residents		Out-of-state : Residents		Unknown	
		State Residents	Grooms		Groom	Bride	Groom	Bride	Groom	Bride
1940	46,756	2301	21,809	4.92	22,646	1570	731			2
1939	42,551	2094	19,898	4.92	20,559	1377	717		1	
1938	41,463	2027	19,452	4.89	19,984	1280	747			1
1937	46,570	2491	21,753	5.35	22,326	1532	959			
Total	177,340	8913	82,912	5.03	85,515	5759	3154		1	3

SOURCE: Reports of the State Board of Health, Wisconsin, 1937 - 1940.

APPENDIX B.

METHODOLOGY FOR DIVORCE DATA

Sources of Data

Statistics used in computation of divorce rates for the total population of Wisconsin and the United States were obtained from the Bureau of Census publications and the Reports of the State Board of Health of Wisconsin. All other data on divorce were transcribed from the original divorce certificates in the same office where the marriage records were kept----the state capital of Wisconsin.

A total enumeration of all divorces was taken in the years 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. The data tabulated from the divorce certificates included the year of divorce, date of marriage, age of wife and husband, occupation of husband, and number of children by this marriage. An original divorce certificate is presented in Figure 13. The data was transcribed on tabulation sheets as carefully and accurately as possible. The amount of error that was made in the transcription cannot be estimated.

Occupational Classification

The same occupational categories were selected for divorce data as was used in the marriage data. Also the same occupational classifications were followed. In 1915 and 1945, servicemen were added to the other nine occupational classes. When a divorce certificate was blank in the space provided for the information on the occupation of the husband, or it was impossible to read, or too general to be classified, this divorce was placed in the occupation-not-reported group.

WISCONSIN STATE BOARD OF HEALTH

BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS

Reports of Actions For:

DIVORCE and ANNULMENT

Court

County

Record Number

LEGAL PARTICULARS

This is a record of:
 an original action
 a cross bill
 a review
 a revocation

Margin
 Reserved for coding

WIFE

HUSBAND

Name	Name
Age	Age
Color	Color
Birthplace	Birthplace
Occupation	Occupation
Usual Industry or Business	Usual Industry or Business
Residence when married	Residence when married
Residence at time of suit	Residence at time of suit

Party (check Plaintiff (which) : Wife Husband

Date of:	Month	Day	Year	Relief Prayed For:
Marriage				Alimony Asked: Yes No
Final Separation				Alimony Granted: Yes No
Filing Action				Was a cross bill filed? Yes No
Decree				Alleged cause of action

Number of Children: Total in family; By this marriage; (under 18 yrs. and living at home)

Nature of This Decree:	1. Annulment granted bonds of matrimony	2. Annulment not granted	3. Interlocutory divorce from bonds of matrimony
(Check One)	5. Temporary divorce from bed and board and board	6. Permanent divorce from bed and board	7. Divorce denied
	9. Divorce from bed and board set aside	10. Judgment revoked on remarriage	11. Other (specify)

I affirm that the above are the correct and proper facts in this case to the best of my knowledge and belief:

(Signed)

[Note: Sec. 69.52 requires reports "relative to each suit for [annulment or divorce brought or acted upon . . .]"

Clerk of Court

Calculation of Means and Rates

Divorce rates for the farm and urban populations were computed from these data for 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945. (See Table 8 and Figure 7). Population bases reported by census publications were used. The same assumptions were followed as those used in computing marriage rates in dividing the occupation-not-reported and the service-men classes into farm and urban divorces. No attempt was made to correct for the residence factor in the crude divorce rates for Wisconsin.

Mean duration of marriage was calculated for men and women by age at marriage. Although age at marriage is not listed on the divorce certificates, it was obtained by subtracting the number of years married from their ages at divorce. Some of the ages at marriage obtained in this manner were found to be exceedingly low. In fact, one woman would have been six years old at marriage and one man would have been only nine at the time of his appearance at the altar.

Mention should be made concerning the reliability of the information on age given by people who obtain divorces. That some misrepresent their ages will be generally agreed, but the proportion doing so or the degree of misrepresentation cannot be determined in any way. Undoubtedly many of these cases arose because of carelessness or ignorance of the persons giving information to the clerk. Some writers think that there is some tendency on the part of women, especially older ones, to understate their ages, while younger women intentionally overstate theirs.¹ Densen found that males also lie about

1. See Smith, T. Lynn and Homer L. Hitt, "The Misstatement of Women's Ages and the Vital Indices," Merton, XIII (1939), 95-108.

their ages for economic reasons, if not because of vanity, so that the sexes don't differ materially in misstatement.¹ Densen's study found that there was about as much overstatement as understatement in most cases. In the tabulations presented, the information given by the divorcees is utilized. This introduces an element of error, the importance of which is not known.

The distribution of divorced men and women by age at marriage is presented in Tables 108-112, inclusive. The distribution of divorced men and women by age at divorce is shown in Tables 113 to 117, inclusive. Tables showing the length of time married for all divorces in 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, and 1945, by occupational groups, are shown on the next pages. (See Tables 118 through 128). Median duration of marriage was computed in each year for all occupations.

Evaluation of Methodology

The amount of error was computed in divorce data for the crude rates of farm and urban populations. The amount of error which remains in the data should not disprove any of the major conclusions drawn. Further studies should experiment with out occupational classifications to see if they are valid or could be grouped more efficiently. The ideal to strive for in a survey of this nature would be to include every year in the period of the study.

Perhaps the greatest amount of error introduced into the divorce

1. Densen, Paul M., "Family Studies in the Eastern Health District II, The Accuracy of Statements of Age on Census Records," The American Journal of Hygiene, Vol. 32, No. 1, Sec. A, July 1, 1940, pp. 1-38.

data was that our tabulation showed more divorces than the actual number that were recorded in three of the five years studied.

The 41st Report of the State Board of Health in Wisconsin states that there were 1,721 divorces in 1915, 2,425 in 1920, 3,543 in 1935, 3,599 in 1940, and 6,393 in 1945.¹ In 1915, our total was 30 less than that reported by Board of Health, 1691. Our tabulation on total divorces in Wisconsin showed 2383 in 1920, 3611 in 1935, 3647 in 1940, and 6413 in 1945. (See Tables 118 to 128). Duplicate copies of divorce certificates were found in several instances. This undoubtedly accounts for this over enumeration. Sometimes two copies of the same certificate appeared one page after the other. In other instances duplicates of the same certificate were found ten to fifteen certificates apart from the first copy. Since these data had to be hand tabulated not all errors of this nature could be avoided. This is one limitation in the use of the original divorce records in this study.

Another tabulation of divorces was made in order to secure the year of marriage of all divorced couples in Wisconsin during the five years that we studied. Here again is evidence that duplicate copies of certificates caused our totals to differ from the other tabulation. (See Tables 108-117). Our totals show 1373 divorces in 1915, 2536 in 1920, 3588 in 1935, 3720 in 1940, and 6452 in 1945. This tabulation of divorces was used in our study only twice. This was in the calculation of divorce probabilities and the age at marriage of di-

1. Forty-first Report of the State Board of Health of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 1946, p. 139.

vorces. In all other divorce statistics presented, the totals listed in the above paragraph were used because they were nearer to the total divorces reported by the Bureau of Vital Statistics.

Comparability and reliability of the records also could be improved. Several certificates were improperly enumerated while others were incomplete. Some certificates were actually unreadable. These were usually filled out in ink with a poor grade of penmanship.

TABLE 108

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE
OF ALL DIVORCEES, IN WISCONSIN, 1915

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over	Total
Under 20	121	20	3	1	145
20 - 24	279	213	23	7	522
25 - 29	112	142	70	18	342
30 - 34	37	53	43	26	159
35 & over	23	39	22	129	213
Total	572	467	161	181	1381

Unknown 497

Total 1878

TABLE 109

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE
OF ALL DIVORCEES IN WISCONSIN, 1920.

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over	Total
Under 20	183	42	3	1	229
20 - 24	442	324	33	14	813
25 - 29	165	181	95	21	462
30 - 34	46	93	56	63	258
35 & over	29	45	47	203	324
Total	865	685	234	302	2086

Unknown 450

Total 2536

TABLE 110

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE
OF ALL DIVORCEES, IN WISCONSIN, 1935

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over	Total
Under 20	236	48	8	5	297
20 - 24	643	581	83	18	1325
25 - 29	250	346	154	52	802
30 - 34	66	115	107	80	368
35 & over	26	52	74	309	461
Total	1221	1142	426	464	3253

Unknown 335

Total 3588

TABLE 111

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE
OF ALL DIVORCEES IN WISCONSIN, 1940.

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over	Total
Under 20	266	59	8		333
20 - 24	688	630	73	21	1412
25 - 29	225	349	180	45	799
30 - 34	66	130	91	93	380
35 & over	38	83	86	347	554
Total	1283	1251	438	506	3478

Unknown 242

Total 3720

TABLE 112

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT MARRIAGE
OF ALL DIVORCEES IN WISCONSIN, 1945

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over	Total
Under 20	498	139	13	9	659
20 - 24	1292	1152	191	43	2678
25 - 29	339	614	303	124	1380
30 - 34	91	186	152	167	596
35 & over	45	128	130	540	843
Total	2265	2219	789	883	6156

Unknown 296

Total 6452

TABLE 113

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT DIVORCE
OF ALL DIVORCEES, IN WISCONSIN, 1915

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over	Total
Under 20	1	2			3
20 - 24	28	94	8	7	137
25 - 29	9	116	118	20	263
30 - 34	4	47	98	86	235
35 & over	2	20	79	642	743
Total	44	279	303	755	1381

Unknown 497

Total 1878

TABLE 114

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT DIVORCE
OF ALL DIVORCEES, IN WISCONSIN, 1920.

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over	Total
Under 20	2	2			4
20 - 24	41	149	26	3	219
25 - 29	19	201	185	35	440
30 - 34	7	75	161	141	384
35 & over	4	42	103	890	1039
Total	73	469	475	1069	2086

Unknown 450

Total 2536

TABLE 115

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT DIVORCE
OF ALL DIVORCEES, IN WISCONSIN, 1935

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over	Total
Under 20	4	1	1		6
20 - 24	50	173	24	4	251
25 - 29	18	232	320	71	641
30 - 34	6	96	299	261	662
35 & over	4	50	148	1491	1693
Total	82	552	792	1827	3253

Unknown 335

Total 3588

TABLE 116

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT DIVORCE
OF ALL DIVORCEES, IN WISCONSIN, 1940.

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over	Total
Under 20	10	1			11
20 - 24	61	185	30	4	280
25 - 29	14	293	258	57	622
30 - 34	10	95	266	267	638
35 & over	1	46	168	1712	1927
Total	96	620	722	2040	3478

Unknown 242

Total 3720

TABLE 117

THE DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDES AND GROOMS BY AGE AT DIVORCE
OF ALL DIVORCEES, IN WISCONSIN, 1945.

AGE OF GROOMS	AGE OF BRIDES				
	Under 20	20-24	25-29	30 & over	Total
Under 20	16	16	1		33
20 - 24	118	473	68	26	685
25 - 29	36	498	465	138	1137
30 - 34	9	144	452	508	1113
35 & over	5	60	246	2877	3188
Total	184	1191	1232	3549	6156

Unknown 296

Total 6452

TABLE 118
DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, CLASSIFIED AS TOTAL DIVORCES,
IN WISCONSIN, FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945.

Length of time married		Years																											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.	
Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.																												
1915	20	23	44	130	150	129	100	116	85	87	66	77	58	68	46	44	52	31	38	37	38	21	22	19	30	20	22	118	1691
1920	82	50	40	171	243	163	163	154	142	120	114	120	69	62	80	80	39	43	53	37	36	41	21	34	24	31	21	150	2383
1935	42	112	110	209	229	227	240	264	220	200	181	165	137	127	125	98	115	100	63	71	65	60	57	48	47	39	36	224	3611
1940	74	116	104	234	300	270	238	209	159	146	140	146	148	153	114	115	108	74	99	68	65	79	45	40	43	40	54	256	3647
1945	143	184	273	478	570	474	391	318	265	332	284	250	224	178	156	156	147	186	153	148	139	151	97	92	87	61	78	403	6,418

TABLE 119
DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, CLASSIFIED AS PROPRIETORS AND MANAGERS,
IN WISCONSIN, FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945.

Length of time married			Years																												
			Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.
1915	3		1	4	5	3	2	4	2	4	5	4	4	3	1		3	3	1	3	2	2	2	1		4				6	72
1920	4	2	4	4	8	7	3	3	1	6	4	1	4	1	6	5	1	2	3	2	1	6	1			2				9	90
1935	1		5	14	11	9	11	12	9	5	9	11	11	10	13	12	8	8	7	4	3	6	4	2		4	4	3	8		204
1940	9	9	7	7	9	10	11	15	11	9	6	10	3	1	9	8	9	7	9	4	5	6	4			2			5	15	200
1945	4	2	8	13	12	11	17	18	13	18	10	15	11	10	7	14	10	20	7	10	11	13	6	4	4	3	2	5	18		292

TABLE 120
DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED CLASSIFIED AS PROFESSIONAL AND
SEMI-PROFESSIONAL IN WISCONSIN, FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, 1945

Length of time married			Years																										
Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.	
1915	1	2	1	6	2	8	3	7	6	3	4	4	4	2	3			1		1	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	8	75
1920	1	1	5	8	12	7	5	6	4	2	5	6	4	4	3	4	2	3	1	2	1	1			2			5	98
1935	6	9	5	18	14	18	17	18	17	6	5	5	3	11	5	8	3	4	6	7	4	1			2	1	9	220	
1940	6	6	2	8	16	10	19	9	9	7	8	6	6	7	5	6	5	3	1	4	3	2	4	1	2	2	2	8	167
1945	8	10	13	17	17	14	19	12	9	10	16	5	11	7	3	3	3	6	10	4	5	3	3	1	1	1	1	19	236

TABLE 121
 DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, CLASSIFIED AS CLERICAL AND SALES,
 IN WISCONSIN, FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945

Length of time married		Years																													
		Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.	
1915	3	8	15	17	10	11	10	10	10	10	3	8	3	11	6	5	3	5	5	3	6	5			1	4	2			10	174
1920	4	1	1	17	30	6	20	18	23	8	8	8	4	4	7	4	11	4	2	1	5		2	3		1	1	1	9	199	
1935	8	12	18	23	35	23	28	40	27	27	28	18	16	18	8	15	10	15	8	8	13	11	6	3	7	6	4		16	451	
1940	6	14	17	28	48	34	28	22	14	22	14	23	20	23	12	18	17	10	15	14	11	8	4	4	4	8	4	4	20	462	
1945	7	9	20	23	37	23	25	18	18	25	23	19	18	9	16	7	13	12	9	11	6	5	14	4	10	5	11	28	425		

TABLE 122
DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, CLASSIFIED AS DOMESTIC AND
PROTECTIVE SERVICE, IN WISCONSIN, FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945

Length of time married		Years																										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.
Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.
	2	3	9	14	7	7	9	6	11	6	2	4	6	6	3	2	2	2	3	2			1	2	2	1	3	115
6	1	1	10	14	6	3	13	6	5	7	10	3	6	7	5	4	3	1		7	1		4		2	1	2	128
1	11	6	14	15	15	17	13	9	10	10	10	7	4	8	2	7	3	4	3	4	2	4		2	1	4	7	193
5	5	10	11	12	20	10	13	3	8	8	11	12	6	9	6	10	4	3	3	5	7	1	2	2	1		12	199
6	7	7	29	25	17	10	22	13	14	7	11	5	9	11	9	10	16	8	9	6	19	4	4	6	5	4	22	315

TABLE 123
DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, CLASSIFIED AS SKILLED,
IN WISCONSIN, FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1945, AND 1945

Length of time married		Years																										Tot.
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	
Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	
5	3	5	22	24	25	20	21	21	15	14	18	7	16	13	8	9	7	8	8	8	7	1	2	6	5	5	18	321
20	13	8	43	52	38	41	41	37	37	34	35	19	14	18	25	9	9	25	8	11	9	6	13	7	12	9	30	623
9	16	16	29	34	40	41	40	43	33	35	33	23	36	33	15	28	22	9	17	19	13	11	14	9	8	7	46	679
11	13	15	29	32	33	40	33	30	24	21	28	28	26	21	18	14	10	26	11	12	21	8	12	11	5	13	59	604
24	30	47	68	85	81	76	56	48	83	62	54	63	43	39	42	39	52	44	38	44	36	24	26	26	13	25	106	1374

TABLE 124
 DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, CLASSIFIED AS SEMISKILLED,
 IN WISCONSIN, FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945

Length of time married		Years																											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.	
Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.	
1915	2	3	1	7	12	9	9	13	3	6	3	2	2	3	3	2	4	4	4			3	2				3	100	
1920	4	3	2	11	12	7	8	9	8	7	8	5	4	1	4	3	2	3	1	1	2	1		2		1	1	110	
1935	1	10	9	17	20	24	19	25	22	21	18	12	16	11	12	13	11	6	5	7	3	3	6	4	2	1	1	11	310
1940	8	14	11	34	40	31	24	31	19	20	22	18	15	21	16	10	15	8	8	3	5	7	3	5	1	5	7	19	420
1945	11	24	28	53	45	49	47	38	29	38	28	32	27	28	15	20	17	24	16	18	17	22	11	10	9	8	7	26	697

TABLE 125
DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, CLASSIFIED AS UNSKILLED,
IN WISCONSIN, FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945

Length of time married		Years																											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.	
Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.																												
1915	6	3	13	25	41	37	25	20	24	15	18	24	17	8	10	14	4	7	5	10		8	4	6	5	9	13	396	
1920	22	19	11	40	61	59	48	37	41	37	31	37	14	12	22	19	11	14	12	12	6	16	7	9	5	6	34	651	
1935	8	31	27	60	58	64	73	67	56	44	51	46	28	32	21	20	28	24	14	17	7	9	11	15	14	2	5	45	877
1940	19	30	21	64	95	80	61	70	50	25	35	22	33	36	19	33	19	16	21	15	13	10	10	4	6	11	8	49	875
1945	33	32	45	92	105	117	69	63	60	75	77	67	52	36	34	38	32	30	40	31	31	32	23	24	18	14	12	99	1381

TABLE 126
DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, CLASSIFIED AS FARMERS AND FARM
LABORERS, IN WISCONSIN, FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945

Length of time married			Years																												
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.		
Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.																														
2	3	5	14	14	13	8	11	10	7	7	4	5	4	2	7	5	2	6	5	4	5	1	4	36	193						
8	5	3	24	27	17	13	17	7	7	9	8	9	6	7	4		5	4	5	3	3	5	2	6	2	47	258				
1	14	12	15	18	19	14	21	17	15	11	15	15	5	8	9	4	5	8	4	5	8	3	5	7	12	3	54	327			
7	13	8	20	23	16	11	7	8	13	9	9	11	9	5	8	8	8	6	6	6	9	5	6	6	5	9	46	297			
10	9	15	29	27	19	12	22	13	16	7	8	11	9	11	5	8	8	9	3	6	3	4	7	5	1	5	46	328			

TABLE 127
 DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, CLASSIFIED AS SERVICEMEN,
 IN WISCONSIN, FOR 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, AND 1945

Length of time married		Years																													
		Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.	
1915				1	1	2															1							1			6
1920																															
1935																															
1940																															
1945	24	43	63	124	159	98	80	51	45	39	25	23	14	12	8	6	4	7	4	5	4	3	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	850	

TABLE 128
DISTRIBUTION OF DIVORCES, BY LENGTH OF TIME MARRIED, CLASSIFIED AS NOT REPORTED,
IN WISCONSIN, 1915, 1920, 1935, 1940, 1945

Length of time married			Years																									
Less than 6 Mos.	6-12 Mos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	Tot.
1	4	7	27	20	15	15	16	7	7	9	17	11	5	5	5	14	4	4	6	5	3	2	3	2	2	2	21	239
13	5	5	14	27	16	22	10	15	9	11	11	6	11	8	5	4	3	3	3	2	2		3	1	3	1	13	226
7	9	12	19	24	15	20	28	20	27	13	15	16	8	11	7	11	14	4	5	4	4	11	5	2	3	8	28	350
3	12	13	33	25	36	34	19	15	18	17	19	20	24	18	8	11	8	10	8	5	9	6	6	5	7	6	28	423
16	18	27	30	58	45	36	18	17	14	29	16	12	15	12	12	11	11	10	13	10	13	7	8	7	10	7	38	520
1915																												
1920																												
1935																												
1940																												
1945																												

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baber, Ray E., Marriage and the Family, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939.
- Bartlett, George A., Men, Women and Conflict, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1931.
- Bossard, James H. S., "The Age Factor at Marriage," The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XXXVIII, Number 4, January, 1933, pp. 536-547.
- _____, "The Age Factor in Marriage; A Philadelphia Study, 1931," The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XXXVIII, Number 4, January, 1933, pp. 536-537.
- _____, "Depression and Pre-Depression Marriage Rates: A Philadelphia Study," The American Sociological Review, Volume 2, Number 5, October, 1937, pp. 686-695.
- _____, "Ecological Areas and Marriage Rates," in The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLIV, Number 1, July, 1938, pp. 70-85.
- Brooks, Melvin S., Wisconsin Birth and Marriage Rate Trends by Occupations, 1920-1936, Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1941.
- Burgess, Ernest W., "The Effect of War on the American Family," The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLVIII, Number 3, 1942, pp. 343-452.
- _____, and Locke, The Family, New York: American Book Company, 1945.
- Cahen, Alfred, Statistical Analysis of American Divorce, New York: The Columbia University Press, 1932.
- Chaddock, Robert E., et. al., "Methods of Estimating Proportional Frequencies of Divorce," The American Sociological Review, Volume 2, Number 3, June, 1937, pp. 398-405.
- Ciocco, Antonio, "The Trend of the Age of Marriage in Washington County, Maryland, from 1897 to 1938," Human Biology, Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, Volume 12, Number 1, February, 1940, pp. 59-76.
- Cooley, Charles H., Social Organization, Chapter III, New York: Scribner, 1925.
- Davie, Maurice R., and Ruby Jo Reeves, "Propinquity of Residence before Marriage," in The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLIV, Number 4, January, 1939, pp. 510-517.

- Davies, George R., "Social Aspects of the Business Cycle," The Quarterly of the Journal of the University of North Dakota, Volume 12, January, 1922, pp. 107-121.
- Densen, Paul M., "Family Studies in the Eastern Health District II, The Accuracy of Statements of Age on Census Records," The American Journal of Hygiene, Volume 32, Number 1, Section A, July 1, 1940, pp. 1-38.
- Duncan, Otis D., John H. McClure, James Salisbury, Jr., and Richard H. Simmons, "The Factor of Age in Marriage," The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XXXIX, Number 4, January, 1934, pp. 469-482.
- Ferr, Sir William, Vital Statistics, London, Stanford, 1885.
- Folson, Joseph K., The Family and Democratic Society, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947.
- Glass, D. V., "Marriage Frequency and Economic Fluctuations in England and Wales, 1851 to 1934," Chapter VI in Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies, (edited by Lancelot Hogben), New York, MacMillan Company, 1938.
- Groves, Ernest R., Marriage, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1933.
- _____, and William F. Ogburn, American Marriage and Family Relationships, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1928.
- Gulden, Tess, "Divorce and Business Cycle," The American Sociological Review, Volume 4, Number 2, April, 1939, pp. 217-223.
- Hauser, Philip M., "Population and Vital Phenomena," The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLVIII, Number 3, November 1942, pp. 309-322.
- Hexter, Maurice B., Social Consequences of Business Cycles, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925.
- Hooker, R. H., "On the Correlation of the Marriage Rate with Trade," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Volume 64, September, 1901, pp. 485-492.
- Hutchcroft, L. W., "The Gretna Green Angle of our Divorces," Wisconsin State Board of Health Bulletin, Volume 5, Number 18, April-June, 1934, pp. 15-16.
- Kolb, J. H., and Edmund De S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946.
- Komarovsky, Mirra and Willard Waller, "Studies of the Family," The American Journal of Sociology, Volume L, Number 6, May, 1945, pp. 443-451.

Landis, Paul H., Population Problems, New York: The American Book Company Inc., 1943.

Lichtenberger, J. P., Divorce A Social Interpretation, New York and London: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931.

_____, Divorce A Study in Social Causation, New York, 1909.

Lively, Edward, A Trend Study of Selected Factors Appearing in Divorce Cases in Franklin County, Ohio, 1935-1944, Masters thesis, Ohio State University, 1946.

MacIver, R. M., Social Causation, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1942.

Marshall, Leon C., and Geoffrey May, The Divorce Court---Maryland, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932.

_____, The Divorce Court---Ohio, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933.

Marvin, Donald S., "Occupational Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," Publ. Amer. Statist. Assn., 1918-1919, 16: pp. 131-150.

McCormick, Thomas C., and Melvin S. Brooks, "Occupational Birth and Marriage Rates, Wisconsin, 1920-1936," The American Sociological Review, Volume 6, Number 6, December, 1941, pp. 806-817.

_____, and Douglas W. Oberdorfer, "Marriage and Divorce Rates in Wisconsin, 1920-1935," in The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLVII, Number 4, January, 1942, pp. 563-574.

Mowrer, Ernest R., Disorganization, Personal and Social, Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1942.

_____, "Family Disorganization and Mobility," Publications of the American Sociological Society, XXII, 1929, pp. 134-145.

Nimkoff, Meyer F., "The Family," American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLVII, Number 6, May, 1942, pp. 865-875.

Notestein, Frank W., "Differential Age at Marriage According to Social Class," The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XXXVII, Number 1, July, 1931, pp. 22-48.

Oberdorfer, Douglas W., The Effects of the Depression on Wisconsin's Marriage and Divorce Rates, Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1941.

Ogburn, William F., "Recent Changes in Marriage," in The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLI, Number 3, November, 1935, pp. 285-298.

Ogburn, William F., "Marital Separations," The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLIX, Number 4, January, 1944, pp. 316-323.

_____, and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946.

_____, and Dorothy S. Thomas, "The Influence of the Business Cycle on Certain Social Conditions," Journal of the American Statistical Association, Volume 18, September, 1922, pp. 324-340.

Ogle, William, "On Marriage Rates and Marriage Ages with Special Reference to the Growth of Population," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Volume 53, June 1890, pp. 253-289.

Opler, Marvin K., "Woman's Social Status and the Forms of Marriage," The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLIX, Number 2, September, 1943, pp. 125-146.

Popenoe, Paul, "Remarriage of Divorcees to Each Other," The American Sociological Review, Volume 3, Number 5, October, 1938, pp. 695-699.

Richmond, Mary E., and Fred S. Hall, Child Marriages, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1925.

Ross, Edward A., The Outlines of Sociology, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1924.

_____, Principles of Sociology, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1930.

_____, and Ray E. Baber, "Changes in the Size of American Families in One Generation," University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, Number 10, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1924.

Rubinow, I. M., Some Statistical Aspects of Marriage and Divorce, Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, Pamphlet Series Number 3, 1936.

Selective Service System, Agricultural Deferment, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1947.

Sims, Newell L., Elements of Rural Sociology, New York: Thomas T. Crowell Company, 1946.

Smith, T. Lynn and Homer L. Hitt, "The Misstatement of Women's Ages and the Vital Indices," Merton, XIII, 1939, pp. 95-108.

Stouffer, Samuel A., and Lyle M. Spencer, "Marriage and Divorce in Recent Years," Annals of the American Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci., Volume 188, November, 1936, pp. 56-59.

_____, "Recent Increases in Marriage and Divorce," in The American Journal of Sociology, Volume XLIV, Number 4, January, 1939, pp. 551-554.

Sundal, Arnold P., Marriage and Mate Selection with Special Reference to Marriages in the Madison Community in Peacetime and Wartime, Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1948.

Terman, Lewis M., Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938.

Thomas, Dorothy S., Social Aspects of the Business Cycle, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925.

Thompson, Warren S., "Rural Demography," in Publications of the American Sociological Society, Volume XIX, 1925, pp. 150-160.

_____, and P. K. Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933.

Truxal, Andrew G., and Francis E. Merrill, The Family in American Culture, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947.

United States Bureau of the Census, "Age at First Marriage," Population Special Reports, Series P-45, Number 7, May 28, 1945.

_____, "The Labor Force (Sample Statistics) Employment and Personal Characteristics," Tables 11 and 12, Sixteenth Census Report on Population.

_____, "Marriage and Divorce, 1867-1906," Published in 1908-1909.

_____, "Marriage and Divorce Statistics, United States, 1940," Vital Statistics, Special Reports, Federal Security Agency, Volume 27, Number 10, October 24, 1947, pp. 174-175.

_____, Population Census, 1920, Volume II, p. 387.

_____, Population, Fourth Series, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, p. 11.

_____, Population, Fourth Series, Wisconsin, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, p. 11.

_____, Population: Types of Families, 1940, Washington, 1943.

United States Commissioner of Labor, "A Report on Marriage and Divorce in the United States, 1867 to 1886."

Van de Velde, T. H., Ideal Marriage, New York: Covici, Friede, 1930.

Waller, Willard, The Family, New York: The Dryden Press, 1938.

Weber, Max, Essays in Sociology, (Translated by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills) New York: Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 302-322.

Willcox, Walter F., "A Study in Vital Statistics," Political Science Quarterly, Volume 8, March, 1893, pp. 69-96.

Wisconsin State Board of Health, Biennial Reports, Madison, State of Wisconsin, 1909-1945.

Approved:

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jimmy", is written over a horizontal line.

August 4, 1948