

HISTORICAL INTERVENTION, TRADITION, AND CHANGE: A STUDY OF THE AGE AT MARRIAGE IN GIBRALTAR, 1909-1983

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ABSTRACT: *This article examines the age at first marriage among a series of temporally defined marriage cohorts spanning the period 1909 to 1983 for the civilian inhabitants of the Rock of Gibraltar. The pattern of late marriage among Gibraltarians remained relatively stable until 'a stage of siege' was imposed by Spain. The reduction in matrimonial age is explored in terms of a host of factors, including a significant rise in the number of women entering the labour force, a reduction in spatially exogamous unions with Spain, and increased feasibility of marriage because of rises in income levels.*

INTRODUCTION

Dissecting the complex matrix of factors that determine if and when the young enter marriage has preoccupied the social historian for decades. A major development in this regard occurred in 1965 when Hajnal identified distinct patterns of marriage based on the proportions marrying and the age at first marriage. There was the 'Western European' marriage pattern characterized by late marriage and high celibacy and the 'Eastern European' pattern with early and almost universal

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marriage. Since then there have been numerous studies that have confirmed Hajnal's early observations and noted as well that there can be significant regional and temporal variation in these marital parameters (see e.g., Dixon 1971; van de Walle 1974; Watkins 1981; Wrigley and Schofield 1981; Lehning 1988; Rowland 1988; McQuillan 1989; Rettaroli 1990).

The following micro-level study hopes to shed additional insight into the complex nature of socio-cultural and demographic factors that influence marriage age by employing a research strategy of unusual attributes. First, the study employs a longitudinal approach and through the construction of a series of temporally defined marriage cohorts avoids the problems of using cross-sectional data. Second, the focal population, while numerically small and manageable, contains sufficient heterogeneity to explore the variability in marital age due to effects of social class and religious affiliation. Third, unlike many urban populations membership in this commercial centre and military fortress has been strictly regulated and highly definable over time. Finally, the unique set of historical circumstances that prompted a modern-day siege of this population provides an unusual backdrop to view dramatic and rapid social and economic changes on traditional marriage practices.

The study focuses on the civilian population that settled and developed within the confines of a military fortress on the Rock of Gibraltar since 1704. The singular identity and the close-knit nature of the population developed gradually as the small number of settlers on the Rock underwent a collective set of experiences over the next three centuries that would define and shape the character of the Gibraltarians. The objectives of this article are twofold: first, to quantitatively establish the nature and scope of the variation in age at marriage within and between the members of the Gibraltarian population over time and second, to account for the observed trends by concentrating on the unique set of historical circumstances that prevailed during the emergence of the Gibraltarian identity as well as developments that are currently altering life in Gibraltar today.¹

THE POPULATION AND HISTORICAL SETTING

Strategically located at the western entrance of the Mediterranean, the population of nearly 30,000 inhabitants (Government of Gibraltar 1981) are densely packed into a town that covers less than four square kilometres. Owing to its unique topography and limited size, there are no natural resources of economic importance. In normal times, the civilian population is largely dependent upon the existence of the Dockyard, tourist trade, facilities for provisioning and refueling of ships, the Garrison, the entrepot traffic with Spain, as well as those engaged in government services (Colonial Report 1946).²

To come to an understanding of the modern day Gibraltarian, one must acknowledge the unusual circumstances that gave rise to the development of a civilian population residing within the confines of a military fortress.³ When the Rock fell from Spanish hands to the British in 1704, a small civilian population emerged to service the needs of the military presence in Gibraltar. As early as 1754, a population of 1,810 civilians had settled on the Rock to service the needs of a

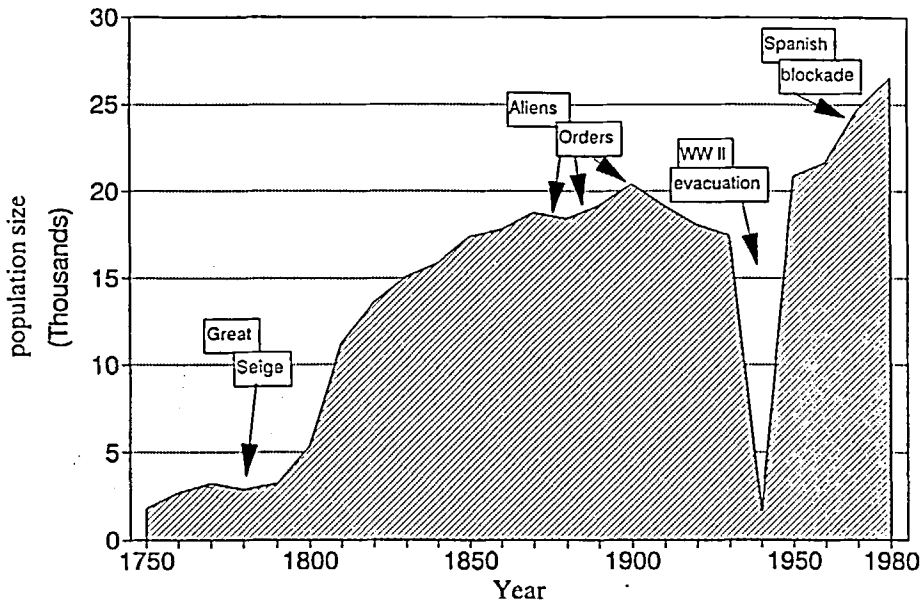


Figure 1. Population Size: Civilian Residents of Gibraltar

garrison of nearly 5,000. The development of the civilian community at Gibraltar during the eighteenth century for the most part was slow and marred by the near constant state of war that existed between Great Britain and Spain (see Figure 1).

When the tranquility was restored to the Rock following the Great Siege of 1779-1783, the civilian population had fallen to 2,874, a reduction of ten percent since 1777, and the town was in ruins. When Britain joined the war against revolutionary France in 1793, Gibraltar and its civilian population were to benefit considerably from the increased commercial activity associated with war and privateering.⁴ The wars of the French Revolution had transformed Gibraltar's economy from limited internal trade that primarily served the needs of the garrison to one of a major international entrepot centre. Thousands of immigrants from the Mediterranean region gravitated to Gibraltar seeking either quick fortune, employment, or refuge. A number of representatives from a number of large British trading firms also settled in Gibraltar and availed themselves of Gibraltar's position as a free port. By 1801, the civilian population of Gibraltar had increased to 5,339 and six years later, it had grown to 7,501. The Revolution in Spain in 1808 opened to Gibraltar great untapped riches in the Spanish territory and Gibraltar's fortunes soared as

The total exclusion, at one period, of the British Flag from Continental ports from the Baltic to the Adriatic, made Gibraltar a grand emporium where apparently was conducted the business of all European nations. Wealth flowed in fast, the value of landed property increased, and the fortunate landowner found himself suddenly wealthy and independent (Gilbard 1888, p. 33)

Over the next quarter century, Gibraltar was to enjoy its 'golden age' in terms of commercial and civilian interests (Benady 1989). Yet, conditions in the small fortress were anything but conducive for unbridled demographic growth, for, as Hennen (1830, pp. 81-82) observed,

Previous to the year 1814, the garrison was infamous for its filth; without sufficient common sewers, without an efficient scavenging department, without pavements on proper principles; in short, without everything that was requisite for ordinary purposes of public cleanliness; it had obtained the bad pre-eminence of being the dirtiest garrison under the British crown.

Under the enlightened guidance of the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor, George Don, Gibraltar and its civilian inhabitants underwent a period of remarkable transformation in terms of the development of civil rights, the emergence of Gibraltar as a major commercial centre, and the construction of numerous major public works and sanitation projects.⁵ The colonial administration was quick to recognize the heterogeneous nature of the civilian population and assisted, directly or indirectly, in the creation of separate facilities for the running of local affairs in education, regulating and policing its members, and providing health care for the sick and aged. The first available census of the nineteenth century is that of 1814 and it paints an intriguing picture of an emerging trade centre with a comparatively large merchant class, and thousands of foreign-born artisans and labourers.⁶

Gibraltar's 'golden age' proved short-lived for it was reported by the 1850s that one-third of the population was unemployed, there were beggars in the streets, and that there was sickness among the troops of the garrison (Howes 1951). From the perspective of the military authorities, the combination of the downturn in the economy, the lack of sufficient and affordable housing,⁷ the ever-present threat of a major epidemic breaking out,⁸ and the increasing foreign-born segment of the civilian population began to seriously threaten the security of the fortress. Radical steps were forthcoming. Through a series of acts entitled the Alien Orders in Council (Government of Gibraltar 1873, 1885, 1900), the government not only effectively curtailed immigration, but, in essence, restricted the choice of a marriage partner by excluding the right of residency to children issued of a union between a Gibraltarian female to a foreign-born male.

The opening of the Naval Dockyard in 1890 as well as the development of extensive scheme of Public Works (e.g., sewers, paving, water catchments) brought increased prosperity to Gibraltar and the need for additional labour (Howes 1951, pp. 184-185). While local Gibraltarians followed the time honoured tradition of filling 'white collar' positions, there was a shortage of local skilled and unskilled labour that had to be filled by the importation of foreign workers. The news of employment in Gibraltar spread rapidly through southern Spain. Stimulated by comparatively high wages and good working conditions, large number of Spanish workers gravitated to La Linea where they settled with their families and created a suburb of some 40,000 inhabitants dependent on the work in the nearby town of Gibraltar.⁹ At the close of the nineteenth century, some 10,000 workers entered Gibraltar daily from La Linea (Colonial Report 1898).

Table 1
Population Size Partitioned by Religious Affiliation, 1911-1981

| Census | Population Size | Percentage of Population | | |
|--------|-----------------|--------------------------|-------------|------|
| | | Roman Catholics | Protestants | Jews |
| 1911 | 19,120 | 80.52 | 11.63 | 5.87 |
| 1921 | 18,071 | 82.15 | 10.22 | 5.33 |
| 1931 | 17,405 | 84.94 | 8.40 | 5.09 |
| 1951 | 21,314 | 87.90 | 7.54 | 3.00 |
| 1961 | 21,785 | 87.42 | 7.49 | 3.00 |
| 1970 | 21,889 | 87.41 | 9.47 | 2.52 |
| 1981 | 24,339 | 81.13 | 10.23 | 2.42 |

Despite the efforts of the government, population growth continued into the twentieth century. The census of 1901 showed a fixed population of 17,373 inhabitants crowded into some 3,156 rooms. Overcrowding was at alarming heights with approximately two-thirds of the population living in tenement apartments of two rooms or less and often lacking a proper kitchen (Government of Gibraltar 1901). Part of the growth was due to a modest increase in the number of aliens resident in the town. The arrival of additional female domestic servants into Gibraltar was stimulated by an increase in demand by an expanding military population as well as an influx of a large number of English families taking up temporary residence in Gibraltar while on contract with work in the Dockyard.

By 1911, the civilian population began to decline as the result of a fall in the birth rate, increased emigration,¹⁰ and a modest reduction in the number of resident aliens. The published census returns of 1911, the first since 1881 to provide figures on religious affiliation, shows that the population was predominantly Roman Catholic (75.3%), with Protestants (11.6%) and Jews (5.9%) comprising the bulk of the remainder (see Table 1). With the outbreak of World War I, some short term economic relief was afforded to Gibraltar because of its importance as a coaming station to both the Royal Navy and Mercantile Marine (Colonial Report 1918). The post war period saw Gibraltar on the road to internal self-government when the City Council was established and subsequent elections were held on December 1st, 1921 (Jackson 1987, p. 268).

With the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the economy was once again depressed when commerce between Gibraltar and Spain was curtailed. When hostilities broke out in Algericas and as Moorish troops moved on to La Linea in July of 1936 some 10,000 British and Spanish subjects fled Spain into Gibraltar. Gibraltar's long standing tradition of charity surfaced once again when the Gibraltar Soup Kitchen and temporary shelters were made available to the poor. By the beginning of 1937, nearly one-half of the refugees remained and continued to strain the overcrowded conditions on the Rock (Mansell 1937). Two years later, WW II broke out and Gibraltar's position as a military fortress once again superseded civilian affairs. In 1940, a total of 16,700 civilians were evacuated (Finlayson 1991). Some 12,500 women and children as well as men not engaged

Table 2
Sex Ratio and Percentage Unmarried Males and Females
15-45 Years of Age

| Census | Sex Ratio | Percentage Unmarried | |
|--------|-----------|----------------------|---------|
| | | Males | Females |
| 1911 | 83.9 | 48.7 | 48.3 |
| 1921 | 85.3 | 48.7 | 47.4 |
| 1931 | 78.9 | 46.3 | 46.9 |
| 1951 | 85.8 | 47.0 | 44.9 |
| 1961 | 93.1 | 43.1 | 37.4 |
| 1970 | 97.3 | 42.9 | 32.6 |
| 1981 | 97.5 | 41.1 | 32.6 |

in essential services were evacuated to the United Kingdom, and 3,272 to Madeira and Jamaica. A remainder made their own arrangements and settled in Tangier and Spain (Jackson 1987, p. 278). While civilians began to return as early as 1944, the repatriation was not complete until 1951 owing to the serious shortage of housing.¹¹

Following a series of constitutional reforms that began in the 1950s (see Jackson 1987 for a more complete review), Spain in an effort to restate its sovereignty over Gibraltar initiated a series of actions designed to cripple the economy and political will of Gibraltarians. Restrictions on the issuing of frontier passes presented the first of a series of political and economic actions initiated by the Spanish authorities. These actions would have a serious impact on Gibraltar's labour force as over 12,000 foreign labourers crossed over the frontier daily (Colonial Report 1953). With the reduction in the number of foreign-born domestic servants permitted to reside in Gibraltar during the 1960s onward, the traditional imbalance in the sex ratio among reproductive adults began to progressively disappear (see Table 2).

Two years after the 1967 referendum in which a clear majority of Gibraltarians choose to remain under British rule/protection, the Spanish government on May 6, 1969 closed the frontier to all but a few people with special passes and Spanish workers. Tourists, a mainstay of the Gibraltar economy, were stopped from coming into Gibraltar on foot. On June 9, Spanish workers were deprived of their work permits. With the closure of the Spanish gates from June 22, 1969 to February 5, 1985, Gibraltar was to endure a siege of nearly fifteen years. During this interval, Gibraltar's economy suffered with a decline in tourism, an increase in the cost of food and building materials which now had to be shipped in from more distant localities, and a real shortage in the labour market. Inflation, low wages, and the shortage of labour led to several years of industrial unrest. Seeking better wages and working conditions, members of unions initiated a series of strikes and unrest from 1972 to 1975. Social unrest followed the slow implementation of the Scamp report which advocated a gradual increase in wages (June 1975). After continued arbitration, local unions finally attained parity with British wages in July of 1978 and during the remainder of the study period salaries continued to climb (see Figure 2).

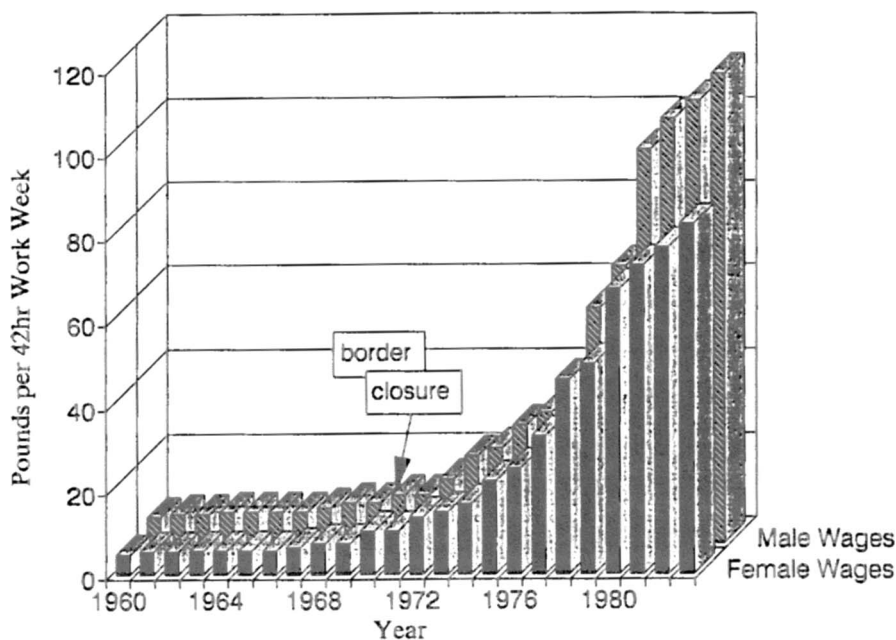


Figure 2. Wages Paid: 1960-1983

When the border reopened in 1985, Gibraltarians had undergone nothing short of a social and economic revolution the scope of which is only now becoming apparent. A generation of young Gibraltarians had lost all contact with the nearby Spanish hinterland, an area that once served Gibraltar's social and economic needs so well. The focus of this paper is on identifying elements of tradition and change in the marriage system among the various inhabitants of Gibraltar and how historical intervention has in the past and continues to play a profound role in shaping identity of the Gibraltarian people.

THE DATA

The empirical analysis is based on data drawn from: (1) published aggregate census returns, and (2) the civil registers located at the Supreme Court, Gibraltar. Temporal trends in marriage patterns were discerned by constructing a series of seven marriage cohorts spanning the years 1909 to 1983. Each marriage cohort was centered on a census point and included the two year period before and after the census. In other words, the first marriage cohort examined included marriages from 1909 to 1913 inclusive. The study period thus begins in 1909, seven years after marriage registration was made compulsory.

Specific data collected included date of marriage, age of husband, age of wife, occupation of husband, occupation of wife's father, occupation of husband's father, place of marriage, previous marriage of husband and wife. The data were coded and transferred into a computerized data bank using Paradox version 3.0. To eliminate the confounding effects of remarriage, only first marriages of both the husband and wife are considered in this study.

The approach used here broadly follows the Registrar General's (1938) scheme of a hierarchical classification of occupations according to special standing. Socioeconomic status was derived from the occupation of the husband at the time of marriage. Owing to the relatively small number of marriages in any given cohort after partitioning the data by social class and religious affiliation, marital unions were ascribed to three broad socio-economic categories: Upper or Class I (which included professional and intermediate occupations), Middle or Class II (which included clerical and skilled labour), and Lower or Class III (partly skilled and unskilled occupations).¹²

Religious affiliation was determined by place of marriage and pooled into three major groups: Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. Unions involving military personnel were excluded from the present study. The rationale here is that participants of such unions, by and large, do not remain in Gibraltar for any length of time (typically a two-year tour of duty) nor do they contribute progeny in any significant numbers to the indigenous population. Civil marriages that were contracted in the Supreme Court but did not specify religious affiliation were also omitted from the analysis.

RESULTS

Data on the age at first marriage for the bride and groom by marriage cohort is presented in Table 3. The results show that over the study period, men married on the average around 26.7 years while women married around 24. Examination of the data over time reveals that up until the last two marriage cohorts a pattern of late marriage prevailed for both sexes and thereafter the age at first marriage among both sexes fell dramatically.

From the aggregate perspective, there was a clear progressive demarcation in the groom's age at first marriage according to social rank with upper class males at 29.4 years, middle class males at 26.6, and lower class males at 26. A similar pattern of age differences between social classes can be seen among Gibraltarian females but the magnitude of the disparity was not as large between the respective groups (see Table 4).

Partitioning the data set by religious affiliation revealed that Jewish grooms married much later than their Christian counterparts with Jews marrying almost four years later than Protestants and in turn, Protestants marrying on the average one and a quarter years later than Roman Catholics (see Table 5). In contrast to the males, the disparity among women's ages at first marriage according to religious affiliation was much more muted with slightly more than one year as the largest gap between the respective female groups.

Table 3
Age At First Marriage Among Grooms and Brides by
Marriage Cohort, 1909-1983

| <i>Husband's Age</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev.</i> | <i>Cases</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| For Entire Population | 26.7398 | 6.1434 | 3924 |
| Marriage Cohort | | | |
| 1909-1913 | 27.7646 | 5.6660 | 548 |
| 1919-1923 | 28.1002 | 6.1557 | 599 |
| 1929-1933 | 27.7656 | 6.1824 | 704 |
| 1949-1953 | 27.1021 | 6.2288 | 519 |
| 1959-1963 | 27.1988 | 6.4874 | 493 |
| 1969-1973 | 24.5763 | 5.5676 | 649 |
| 1979-1983 | 24.0485 | 5.2802 | 412 |
| | | F = 40.35 _(6,3917) | Sig. = .0000 |
| <i>Wife's Age</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev.</i> | <i>Cases</i> |
| For Entire Population | 24.0808 | 7.0277 | 3924 |
| Marriage Cohort | | | |
| 1909-1913 | 24.8467 | 5.3569 | 548 |
| 1919-1923 | 24.9666 | 5.3169 | 599 |
| 1929-1933 | 24.9801 | 5.6704 | 704 |
| 1949-1953 | 24.6301 | 5.8852 | 519 |
| 1959-1963 | 24.3103 | 6.1518 | 493 |
| 1969-1973 | 22.1402 | 4.7898 | 649 |
| 1979-1983 | 22.3277 | 14.1131 | 412 |
| | | F = 18.20 _(6,3917) | Sig. = .0000 |

Table 4
Age At First Marriage Among Grooms and Brides by
Socio-Economic Class, 1909-1983

| <i>Husband's Age</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev.</i> | <i>Cases</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| For Entire Population | 26.7398 | 6.1434 | 3924 |
| High | 29.4168 | 7.3636 | 475 |
| Middle | 26.5975 | 5.7509 | 2129 |
| Low | 26.0061 | 6.0212 | 1320 |
| | | F = 56.65 _(2,3921) | Sig. = .0000 |
| <i>Wife's Age</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev.</i> | <i>Cases</i> |
| For Entire Population | 24.0808 | 7.0277 | 3924 |
| High | 25.3516 | 6.3926 | 128 |
| Middle | 24.5640 | 5.9812 | 344 |
| Low | 23.9881 | 7.1413 | 3452 |
| | | F = 8.98 _(2,3921) | Sig. = .0001 |

Table 5
Age At First Marriage for Grooms and Brides by Religion,
1909-1983

| <i>Husband's Age</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev.</i> | <i>Cases</i> |
|-------------------------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|
| For Entire Population | 26.7398 | 6.1434 | 3924 |
| Jews | 31.4297 | 7.1603 | 128 |
| Protestants | 27.5785 | 6.7530 | 344 |
| Roman Catholics | 26.4823 | 5.9608 | 3452 |
| F = 44.50 _(2,3921) | | Sig. = .0000 | |
| <i>Wife's Age</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev.</i> | <i>Cases</i> |
| For Entire Population | 24.0808 | 7.0277 | 3924 |
| Jews | 25.2813 | 6.3926 | 128 |
| Protestants | 24.5640 | 5.9812 | 344 |
| Roman Catholics | 23.9881 | 7.1413 | 3452 |
| F = 2.98 _(2,3921) | | Sig. = .0508 | |

Table 6
Multiple Classification Analysis of Average Age at First Marriage

| <i>Males</i> | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Variable</i> | <i>Unadjusted deviation</i> | <i>eta</i> | <i>Adjusted deviation</i> | <i>beta</i> | <i>F ratio</i> |
| <i>Marriage Cohort</i> | | | | | |
| 1909-1913 | 1.02 | .24 | .73 | .16 | 24.80** |
| 1919-1923 | 1.36 | | .85 | | |
| 1929-1933 | 1.03 | | .72 | | |
| 1949-1953 | .36 | | .24 | | |
| 1959-1963 | .46 | | .21 | | |
| 1969-1973 | -2.16 | | -1.30 | | |
| 1979-1983 | -2.69 | | -1.95 | | |
| <i>Social Class</i> | | | | | |
| High | 2.68 | .17 | 1.74 | .12 | 41.07** |
| Middle | -.14 | | .07 | | |
| Low | -.73 | | -.74 | | |
| <i>Religion</i> | | | | | |
| Jews | 4.69 | .15 | 2.94 | .09 | 23.96** |
| Protestants | .84 | | .43 | | |
| Roman Catholics | -.26 | | -.15 | | |
| Grand Mean | 26.74 | | | | |

Note: adjustment for factor (marriage cohort, social class, religion) and wife's age at marriage

** denotes significance at .01 level and *** at .001 level

Table 7
Multiple Classification Analysis of Average Age at First Marriage

| Variable | <i>Females</i> | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| | <i>Unadjusted deviation</i> | <i>eta</i> | <i>Adjusted deviation</i> | <i>beta</i> | <i>F ratio</i> |
| Marriage Cohort | | | | | |
| 1909-1913 | .77 | .16 | .13 | .04 | 1.39 |
| 1919-1923 | .89 | | .06 | | |
| 1929-1933 | .90 | | .22 | | |
| 1949-1953 | .55 | | .29 | | |
| 1959-1963 | .23 | | -.05 | | |
| 1969-1973 | -1.94 | | -.57 | | |
| 1979-1983 | -1.75 | | -.04 | | |
| Social Class | | | | | |
| High | 1.27 | .07 | -.22 | .02 | .58 |
| Middle | -.13 | | -.03 | | |
| Low | -.24 | | .12 | | |
| Religion | | | | | |
| Jews | 1.20 | .04 | -1.71 | .04 | 5.27* |
| Protestants | .48 | | -.06 | | |
| Roman Catholics | -.09 | | .07 | | |
| Grand Mean | 24.08 | | | | |

Note: adjustment for factor (marriage cohort, social class, religion) and wife's age at marriage

** denotes significance at .01 level and *** at .001 level

In order to gain more insight into the interrelationships of time, religion, and social class on age at marriage, a multivariate approach was taken using Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA). MCA allows for the assessment of the effect of each variable before and after adjusting for factors (that is, time, religion, and class) and the covariate (husband's or wife's age) on the age at first marriage.

After adjusting for the effects of religion and social class and the wife's age at marriage, the pattern of three distinct phases for the age at marriage for grooms remains despite the general reduction in the magnitude of each deviation (see Table 6). The overall male pattern can be depicted as essentially one of a plateau of late age at marriage (1909 to 1933), followed by gentle decline (1949 to 1963), and thereafter followed by a sharp fall (1969 to 1983). The F ratio of 24.8 indicates that there was indeed a significant reduction in the age at first marriage among males. Table 7 indicates that the pattern of deviations for the age at first marriage among women underwent a considerable change after controlling for factors and the covariate. After adjustment, the pattern among women was far more heterogeneous and unlike the males, devoid of any consistent or significant trend.

The highly significant differential in the age of first marriage among grooms according to social status persisted under MCA but controlling for the effects time, religion, and the wife's age at first marriage compressed the disparity between the classes. After adjusting for independents and covariates, upper-class males married

1.7 years later than the grand mean (26.7), for middle-class males 0.07 years later, and for lower-class males 0.7 years earlier (see Table 6).

In contrast to men, social class did not appear to play a significant role in the age at which women entered marriage for the first time. The age disparity in primary marriages among women of the three socioeconomic groups virtually disappeared under adjusting for factors and covariates (see Table 7).

MCA of the age at marriage by religious affiliation revealed that the disparity between the Protestants and Roman Catholics was markedly influenced by the defined set of factors and covariate. In the case of males, the disparity was reduced with Protestants marrying only .4 years above the grand mean while Roman Catholics married virtually at the level of the grand mean (26.6). As Table 7 indicates, removal of the same set of variables virtually eliminated any differences between the Protestant and Roman Catholic women.

GIBRALTAR AND MARRIAGE TYPOLOGY

In 1983, Laslett proposed a broad scheme of procreational and demographic features that revealed distinctive regional patterns. In a major review article, Kertzer and Brettel (1987) have criticized the broad sweeping generalizations of Laslett's scheme by pointing out that the classification ignored (i) variation over time, (ii) regional variability and (iii) intra-populational heterogeneity in the key parameters. As Table 8 shows, over much of the study period Gibraltar does not fit the 'Mediterranean' pattern in terms of three of the four characteristics; that is, age at marriage for females, proportion marrying, and the age gap between spouses. Given the overwhelming number of Roman Catholics in this study and their presumed historical affinity with Iberian and Italian traditions, one would expect to find concordance between Gibraltar and the Mediterranean pattern and not the 'western' pattern under Laslett's classification system. Thus, the Gibraltar marriage pattern throughout most of the twentieth century supports Kertzer and Brettel's scepticism that regional and temporal variation in matrimonial behaviour is far too great to be encapsulated in any simple classification scheme. Alternatively, it is also possible that in the case of Gibraltar, its unusual topography, high cost of

Table 8
Sets of Tendencies in Domestic Group Organization, After Laslett (1983)

| <i>Criteria</i> | <i>West</i> | <i>Mediterranean</i> | <i>Gibraltar¹</i> |
|-------------------------|-------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| Age at Marriage | | | |
| female | High | Low | High |
| male | High | High | High |
| Proportions Marrying | Low | High | Low |
| Age gap between Spouses | Narrow | Narrow | Wide |

Note: ¹ Marriage cohorts, 1908 to 1964.

living, and rigid class structure imposed serious constraints on marital behaviour, and this in turn stimulated the development of a marriage system that was particularly suited to life in a densely populated colonial garrison town.

AGE AT MARRIAGE AND RELIGIOUS HOMOGENEITY

As discussed earlier, the British colonial regime from the onset encouraged the creation and maintenance of separate religious activities and institutions in Gibraltar and this no doubt aided in the retention of group distinctiveness throughout the past three centuries. In fact, the distinctiveness of each group was further augmented by the creation of separate educational systems that spent considerable time on religious teachings (Traverso 1980; Kramer 1986). Notwithstanding occasional inter-faith unions which were strongly frowned upon by the respective religious leaders, each religious community had separate spheres of interaction, tradition, and attitudes to marriage; each would be expected to display divergent matrimonial behaviour. Two common arguments put forward to account for the disparity in the age at first marriage among Christians focus on (1) the avoidance of modern birth control among Roman Catholics contributing to a delay in marriage and family formation and (2) the Protestant world view that stresses personal autonomy and individual responsibility.

Preston and Richards (1975) have argued that later marriage among Roman Catholics may be related to their religion's proscriptions against birth control and divorce. Ultimately, then, Catholics would be more likely to postpone marriage since its consequences seem more portentous. McQuillan's (1989) work in the French region of Alsace proposes another explanation for the disparity in the timing of marriage between Protestants and Roman Catholics. Protestantism was viewed to be more conducive to the emergence of a world view that stressed personal autonomy and individual responsibility. This in turn, argues McQuillan, encouraged greater independence for young people from the influence of family and church. On this basis, Protestants could be expected to enter marriage earlier than Roman Catholics. The empirical evidence for Gibraltar does not lend support to either hypothesis. In fact, Protestant solemnized marriages among males occurred later than Roman Catholic unions.

In the case of the Hebrew community, the analysis has shown that even after adjustment Jewish men marry considerably later than their gentile counterparts. One factor contributing to the delay in marriage could be the difficulty in securing a suitable mate. As has been shown elsewhere (Sawchuk 1980), the size of the Sephardic community has undergone a considerable reduction since the onset of the twentieth century¹³ and in turn, this trend has put severe constraints on the availability of mates. By delaying marriage, Jewish men have increased the size of the potential mate pool and the probability of securing a suitable partner. Interestingly, the pattern of Jewish women marrying later than either Roman Catholics and Protestants underwent a reversal after adjustment under MCA and suggests that the age disparity was an artifact of the late age at marriage among their husbands.

SOCIAL CLASS AND MARRIAGE IN GIBRALTAR

The persistence of a marked differential in the age at marriage among the various economic groups has its roots deeply embedded in the matrix of class structure. The civilian population of Gibraltar, like many other colonial societies (see e.g., Pickens 1978), was characterized throughout its history by a broad base of labouring poor who in turn were dominated by a relatively small number of merchants and property owners. In addition to the fixed civilian inhabitants of Gibraltar, there was a relatively large number of aliens, referred to as the floating population, who took up daily or temporary residence in Gibraltar under a complex permit system¹⁴ and performed tasks of domestic service or manual labour. Yet another significant component of the population at Gibraltar was the military personnel as well as their wives and children. The entire population was under the administration of the Governor, who during his appointment assumed responsibility for both the civilian inhabitants and the military.

Since the British occupation of the Rock, the military and civilian communities on the Rock have coexisted with minimal social interaction and little scope for integration. One early illustration of the nature of this division dates back to the early 1800s when local men of standing were excluded from membership in what was at the time social and intellectual hub of the garrison, the Garrison Library.¹⁵ As Jackson (1987, p. 229) has observed,

But such was the divide between the military and civilian community—a fault common in most British colonial societies of the nineteenth century and that Gibraltarians, no matter how eminent, were not made welcome.

This sentiment was also echoed by Stewart (1967), a ten-year veteran of social conditions in Gibraltar during the 1950s, who described the rigidity of the social hierarchy in the following terms:

1. The Governor, senior officers and officials, all of them expatriots with a select few of the richest English-educated Gibraltarians. The latter paid their way in the rarefied social atmosphere by lavish entertaining. They were politely, but never intimately accepted in it.
2. Less senior ex-patriot officers, with selected, English-educated rich Gibraltarians or members of the liberal professions there.
3. Non-commissioned officers and Gibraltarians of moderate means.
4. Soldiers, sailors and airmen and most Gibraltarians, including the working class and small shopkeepers.
5. The Spanish community workers, the hewers of wood and drawers of water and the Indians.

While much has transpired since Stewart's residence on the Rock, many locals reluctantly confess that this social hierarchy remains intact and that class boundaries do in fact operate in the contemporary marriage market. Social stratification in Gibraltar is simply and openly accepted not only because it is so obvious but because it is so much a part of the military which was readily seen by all Gibraltarians

throughout their life. Class consciousness was also fostered by large gaps in wealth, and perceived occupational status as well as inter-related linguistic and educational differences.

Like their Victorian counterparts, Gibraltarians of property and wealth enjoyed a privileged life in the garrison with better housing, medical care, and education as compared to those of the lower classes. An early report by Hennen (1830) speaks of entire houses being occupied by a member of the merchant class while those less fortunate lived in damp, overcrowded, excessively priced one room accommodations that were frequently less hospitable than the outdoors. By the twentieth century, a distinctive residential pattern emerged with the poor labouring class residing in the upper portions of the town where rents are cheaper while the better-off families clustered in the lower and middle parts of the town (Yeo 1917). Those who were unable to afford the rents and the high cost of food and water in the town were forced to reside in the nearby Campo area and travel into Gibraltar daily for their work. The emergence and maintenance of distinctive residential patterning and the 'visible status' of house appearance and location reinforced the social order and effectively complemented the many barriers that existed to minimize meaningful social intercourse between the classes.

The type of occupation and the perception of suitable employment for local inhabitants by the community also defined one's social ranking. In the case of the former, Gibraltarians lived and worked in a colonial setting where for decades imported British workers received higher salaries than locals employed in the same occupations. In turn, Gibraltarians received higher wages than Spaniards performing identical duties. Thus, the differential salary structure complemented and reinforced the pre-existing class structure. It is also of interest to note that it was not only the salary structure that reflected social ranking but also that the positions of authority were seldom given to local Gibraltarians. Prior to the border closure, most of the senior positions in the H.M. Dockyard were occupied by imported British workers even when there were suitable senior local Gibraltarians eligible for the position (Garcia: personal communication).

For more than a century, Gibraltarians have been characterized by 'outsiders' as a group loath to undertake manual labour or domestic service. During the 1860s, Colonel Sayer, the former Police Magistrate, described the Gibraltarians in rather unflattering fashion as

... of such a peculiar character that it is absolutely necessary to admit into this confined and crowded town a considerable number of foreigners. The natives are for the most part idle, dissolute and phlegmatic; there are but few skilled artisans among them, and their demands for wages are exorbitant. Domestic service is almost entirely supplied by foreigners, the natives being quite unfitted for such duties. It would be difficult to instance a single possession under the British Crown where the material for general and domestic labour is worst than in Gibraltar (1862, p. 400).

Precisely when occupations involving manual and skilled labour became stigmatized is difficult to discern. The fact that the government used conscripted convict labour

to build and repair major works as early as 1842 no doubt contributed to emergence of the perception that labour equalled low status. The absence of any local industry and the absence of a tradition of pride of working with one's hands also contributed to the development of Gibraltar's unique attitude to manual or skilled labour. The perception of *empleos finos* (respectable employments) for Gibraltarians was also re-enforced when parents encouraged their sons to leave school early so that they could earn more money with far less drudgery in one of the branches of clerkship (Ryan 1927). Yet another factor contributing to the paucity of local domestic workers was that often foreigners were preferred over locals for such services. Foreign-born workers would accept lower wages and they were far more docile since they could be easily dismissed and replaced quickly from a vast pool of eager applicants from the nearby Campo area. Putting aside the origins of local perceptions of suitable employment, the fact remains that Gibraltarians continued to leave skilled manual work for more lucrative and more highly thought of clerical and white-collar occupations well into the 1960s (Marsh 1967).

In the case of local females, domestic work outside their own home was frowned upon and the public of Gibraltar had to look to aliens for domestic servants (Government of Gibraltar 1891). The stigma associated with domestic service was in part associated with the tradition of hiring outsiders for household duties among the British families on work contacts in Gibraltar as well as the military who also employed alien servants. Indeed, even today there is some social *cachet* conferred upon a Gibraltarian family by employing a resident maid (West 1956).

The rigid social hierarchy and open class consciousness among Gibraltarians was also reinforced by the local educational system. Following a long standing tradition, better-off children were either 'home educated' and sent off to boarding schools in the United Kingdom or sent to local private schools. As early as 1840, the private school known as the Rooke House Academy was opened in Gibraltar and catered to the children of "distinguished British and Foreign Officers and gentlemen, as well as the most respectable members of the community and neighbouring cities" (Gibraltar Chronicle 1858). While the upper-class children received tutoring in the classics and other elements of a 'proper' education, the children of the poorer class were often absent from school for want of proper clothing or funds necessary to attend school (Kramer 1986; Caruana 1989). In fact, prior to World War II educational activities (with the exception of a few small private schools) were handicapped by unqualified and untrained teachers, the lack of Government inspection of secondary schools, and the absence of grants and state-aided scholarships (Colonial Report 1946, p. 11). The disparity between those who could afford a better education and those who could not increased the social distance between various individuals in Gibraltar society and thus educational differences imposed further restrictions to mate choice among Gibraltarians.

Another barrier to open social intercourse operating within the confines of the garrison town was that of linguistic differences between the residents of Gibraltar. Dr. Howes, the newly appointed Director of Education in Gibraltar, writing about post WW II conditions, remarked that a greater knowledge of English was required to break down the barriers between Gibraltarians and Englishmen. Describing inter-community differences Howes (1951, p. 220) states,

The Services keep much to themselves. . . . Some members do try and mix with Gibraltarians, but often complain that they receive very little encouragement. . . . The Gibraltarian prefers to keep to his own, and generally speaking, does not want to mix freely with the English.

The linguistic differences in Gibraltar are in part due to the educational system which in the past encountered great problems when English speaking instructors using English textbooks tried to teach children who were brought up in households where Spanish was the working language (Traverso 1980). The bilingual tradition continues today where English is in common usage for professional businesses and commercial purposes, while Spanish is primarily used in the homes and elsewhere (Government of Gibraltar 1951, p. 3).¹⁶

Our primary expectation that premarital socioeconomic roles were and remained of considerable import in the timing of entrance into marriage and that marital age will be inversely related to social class was fully met. Each social class appears to have defined its own prerequisite sum of funds/resources necessary before undertaking marriage and, concomitantly, procreation. When wages increased during the 1970s and 1980s, each group was able to attain that minimum standard of living and at the same time it was now feasible to enter marriage at an earlier age. It is important to add here that the timing of marriage was not simply a function of economic self-sufficiency to the point where a man was able to create a new and separate household. Gibraltar had a long tradition of the vast majority of young married couples moving in with one of the parents, usually the one that had sufficient space, and remaining there until suitable accommodation could be found usually at a much later date. Commenting on housing conditions on the Rock, La Fay (1966, p. 110) has observed that

Living space of any kind is rare in the town; few Gibraltarians can boast a house of their own. While everyone lives comfortably in public-owned apartments at rentals—subsidized by the government—as low as \$2 a week, lodging represents a formidable problem for newlyweds; last Christmas an eminently successful lottery offered as its sole prize a lease on a flat.

Living in a separate and independent household for the vast majority of young married couples remains today a luxury few Gibraltarians can afford.¹⁷

The absence of a significant differential in the age at marriage among women of different social standing can be attributed in large part to the traditional role of the women in Gibraltar. Until the border closure, most Gibraltarian women would remain at home until marriage and thereafter fulfill the duties of wife, mother and homemaker (Government of Gibraltar 1891). Given the expense and the lack of local post-secondary schools, young females were seldom encouraged to pursue professional careers, for, as Stewart observed, “only rarely was a girl sent off to school in England, for her parents, however rich and aspiring they might be, would be preoccupied about their virtue” (1967, p. 201). For many Gibraltarian families retention of their daughter’s ‘virtue’ and at the same time ‘getting her off the shelf’ as quickly as possible took precedence over any career development.

ENTRY INTO MARRIAGE: STABILITY AND CHANGE

As the empirical evidence demonstrates, the Gibraltarian males retained a high age at marriage prior to WW II and thus they conformed to the classic 'western' European pattern of late marriage. Throughout the study period, the age difference between husbands and wives at first marriage was nearly three years in favour of males. Given the very low wages and the difficulty of finding affordable accommodations in the densely populated town of Gibraltar, marriage was typically delayed until the mid-twenties for males. Late marriage among the Roman Catholic majority was facilitated by a common practice of courting for extended periods of time (*noviazgo*). Following the Spanish custom of extended courtship (see e.g., Price and Price 1966; Brandes 1976; Aspbury 1977), many Gibraltarians in their late teens entered a relationship, which did not involve sex or living together, but for all practical purposes implied that the couple was 'married.' Long courtships were seen to be desirable as a period in which the couple could save for all their future household needs as well as a period during which the couple could get to know each very well and avoid potential problems of incompatibility. The restrictive town setting and close-knit nature of Gibraltar society fostered friendship between the sexes and thereby acted to reduce the number of potential mates as well as reducing the chances of marriage. Furthermore, dating was discouraged unless there was the intention of marriage. Finally, means of sexual gratification outside marriage were available in the nearby Campo area and this type of behaviour for unmarried males was, generally speaking, acceptable. In contrast, preservation of 'virginity' in the bride was extremely important and highly desirable among local women. The common practice of long courtships, friendship, dating behaviour, and lowered levels of sexual tension facilitated postponement of marriage until the mid-twenties for most couples.

In the next two marriage cohorts (i.e., 1950s and 1960s), males began to enter marriage at a slightly earlier age. The modest decline in the age at first marriage during the post World War II pattern in many countries has been attributed in part to a growing prosperity and a broader world view (cf. Easterlin 1968). It is likely that the Gibraltarians experienced a similar phenomenon, particularly when it is recalled that as the result of WW II many young Gibraltarians were compelled to reside abroad and for many to live in a very different environment—an all English-speaking society. The introduction of local radio and television, in 1958 and 1962 respectively, complemented the trend of a growing awareness of the outside world. Yet, as the analysis has shown the reduction in the age at marriage in the first two post WW II marriage cohorts was a modest decline in and this reduction was confined to the males.

The tempo and scope of change in the marriage pattern of Gibraltarians after the border closure was nothing short of remarkable. Gibraltar's isolation from the Spanish hinterland is seen as a main factor that precipitated change in concert with a set of interrelated factors, both internal and external to Gibraltar. It must be recalled that while Gibraltar and its inhabitants have been under British rule/protection for nearly three centuries, Spain has never ceased in its efforts to regain possession of Gibraltar. This preoccupation in the twentieth century resulted in what

Jackson (1987) has called the “fifteenth siege of Gibraltar” that lasted from the summer of 1969 to 1985. This latest blockade combined with the forced evacuation of the civilian population during WW II would set in motion forces that would dramatically and irreconcilably change the nature and character of life on the Rock.

In a prelude to the closure of the frontier, the Government of Gibraltar dropped the voting age from 21 to 18 in the summer of 1969. While its impact is seemingly of little import relative to the major changes that would quickly befall Gibraltar, it did give the young an increase in personal autonomy and this in concert with a multitude of factors would influence matrimonial behaviour in the marriage cohorts of the 1970s and 1980s.

Among the first direct consequences of the frontier closure was the demise of social intercourse with its Spanish neighbour. Spain’s geographic proximity, lower cost of living, and a common ethno-linguistic background provided many Gibraltarians with an environment that served most of their social needs. With a strong English pound and relatively weak Spanish currency, groups of young Gibraltarians would frequent Spanish restaurants and bars, attend bullfights and dances, and engage in other evening pleasures. Within easy walking distance, even the less well off Gibraltarian could cross the border and enjoy the social offerings of Spain. From the perspective of the local male, the Campo area represented a vast potential pool of marriageable females not simply because of geographic propinquity but also because residents of the area shared a common language, religion, culture, and history with residents of the Rock. From the Spanish perspective, the attractiveness of a marriage to a Gibraltarian was stimulated by no small measure of economic, social, and political benefits. Relative to the economically depressed Campo area, marriage to a Gibraltarian was a giant step up the social and economic ladder affording the spouse upward mobility and the acquisition of a Gibraltarian passport. By curtailing the flow of Spanish workers and domestics into Gibraltar as well as the daily movement of Gibraltarians into the Campo area for recreation and shopping for fresh foods and building materials, the Spanish government effectively terminated social and economic networks that had proven over numerous generations to be of paramount importance in facilitating spatially exogenous unions between the two countries.

Under a state of siege, a corporate spirit of solidarity was fostered among the inhabitants of Gibraltar and from the community level at least, there was a concomitant decrease in the attractiveness of a Spanish woman as a potential bride. With the elimination of the nearby Campo area as a potential source of mates, Gibraltarian males turned their attention to local females. With less competition from ‘outsiders’, the greater desirability of marriage to a local girl and a more equitable sex ratio now in the local marriage market following the removal of the domestic servants from Gibraltar, there was a substantial increase in the number of married native-born females (see Table 2).

The attractiveness of marriage for many Gibraltarians increased at this time as the result of the frontier closure. As Preston and Richards (1975) have pointed out, the attractiveness of marriage can increase when there is a reduction in the cultural opportunities and sports activities, a diminution in extramarital sexual opportunities, and a decline in the number and availability of persons who share

special interests. Young Gibraltarians would rationalize early entry into marriage by stating that with the border gates closed "there was with nothing else to do but get married."

Yet, a further incentive to marriage was introduced by the Government itself when in 1972, they introduced the Housing Allocation Scheme in which availability of government-controlled housing was based on a point system. Under this scheme, Gibraltarians received additional points if they were married and they would move up the priority list faster relative to their unmarried counterparts. For many Gibraltarians, the government-sponsored scheme increased the desirability of marriage particularly when viewed against the backdrop of the high cost of local private housing and the curtailment of the nearby Campo area as a source of affordable housing following the border closure.

Isolated from La Linea and other neighboring Spanish towns, Gibraltar was cut off from a source of plentiful and cheap labour as well as an inexpensive source of fresh food. The overland route for the large and lucrative European tourist trade also came to a halt with the frontier closure. Gibraltarians were braced for hard times and the depletion of the labour market had to be resolved quickly. Initially, the military stepped in and maintained essential services. To meet the crisis in the labour market, many local men held down two jobs or assumed long working hours, women volunteered to work without pay; such was the public spirit of Gibraltar under a state of siege.

However, the number of local men available to work fell short of demand. The separation of couples during the WW II evacuation had dramatically dampened the birthrate. The diminished size of the male birth cohort meant that now there were insufficient numbers of local males to fill the labour needs of the community. A long term solution to Gibraltar's labour needs was clearly needed and this was partially accomplished with the importation of thousands of Moroccan day workers. However, it is another remedy that was to have profound consequences to the social and economic landscape of Gibraltar. For the first time in Gibraltar's history, a significant number of local women entered the labour force in positions with the government, city council, and private industry. Prior to the blockade, only a small number of unmarried women worked outside the home and they for the most part held down traditional positions as typists and stenographers. Prior to the frontier closure, there was, in general, "a reluctance of women and girls to enter paid employment" (Marsh 1967, p. 10).¹⁸

While the blockade created a critical shortage in the labour market, other factors also contributed to create an increase in the number and types of employment opportunities now available for women. During the initial period of the blockade when public spiritness and cooperation was at an all time high, women volunteered their help to maintain essential services without pay. Later, local companies and the government encouraged women to seek paid full or part time employment. In the small and closed community, word of mouth quickly spread the news that not only were positions open but that employers and families were openly encouraging women to apply for positions. As women were successful in their pursuit of employment, this, in turn, encouraged more and more women to seek employment. It is important to recall that as a result of a greatly improved educational system,

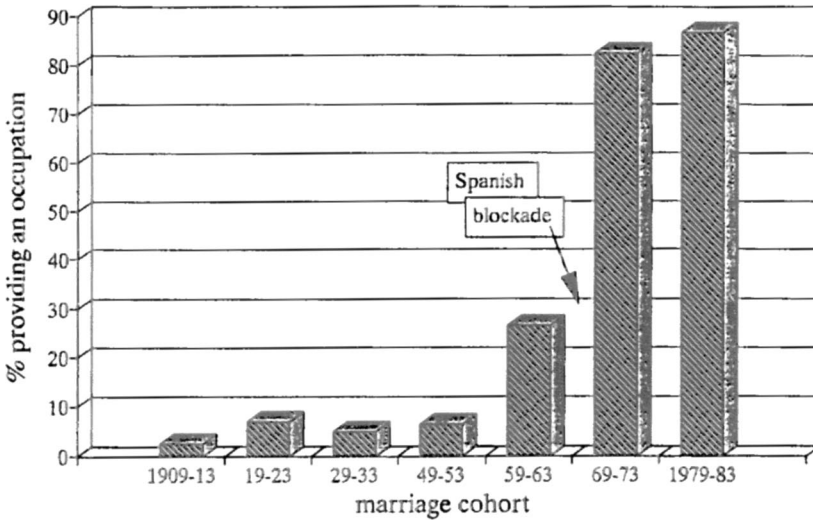


Figure 3. Women Providing an Occupation at Time of Marriage

the post WW II educated cohort of women were better equipped to secure and retain new found employment opportunities. Better wages and working conditions for women no doubt contributed to the growing attractiveness of full time employment.

The transformation in the workplace was not simply one where more women entered the work force and participated in a greater range of positions, but it was also a reflection of the emergence of changing interrelationships between the sexes. The traditional role of the unmarried woman remaining at home, isolated and awaiting marriage, was quickly abandoned in favour of women participating in unheard-of numbers in the workplace (see Figure 3). In the workplace, members of the opposite sex worked side by side and made day-to-day and face-to-face contact. The nature and scope of this interaction was a new experience for many young Gibraltarians who had attended separate schools since their teens. The number and variety of linkages and networks that were potentially available to the young, particularly in the case of women, increased as the result of increased participation in the work force and in turn, a growing sense of economic independence. The departure from the earlier form of homogeneity of nuptiality occurred within a generation and the transformation of the marriage system was closely linked to economic, demographic, and socio-political changes that were precipitated with closure of the frontier and the immediate demand for Gibraltar's labour needs.

While increased participation in the workplace by women has meant, in some societies, a delay or elimination of marriage plans (see e.g., Salaff 1976; Preston and Richards 1975), such was not the case in Gibraltar. The limited size and space of Gibraltar as well as the lack of cultural and recreational facilities on the Rock,

particularly in the immediate period after the blockade, dampened the prospects for any activities other than marriage and family formation. Furthermore, there were few real alternatives to marriage during the 1970s and 1980s as the lack of a local post-secondary educational infra-structure eliminated any possibility of further career development or attainment of university education for most women. During the last two marriage cohorts, economic gains in salary and the novel occurrence of a joint income increased the feasibility of marriage. While each strata of Gibraltar society now entered marriage earlier, each group still adhered to the custom of achievement a standard of living that befitted their social standing before contemplating marriage. The traditional marriage pattern of Gibraltarians was not abandoned but redefined in terms of changing local economic, demographic, and social conditions.

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NOTES

1. Botev (1989) has recently argued a similar research strategy for the Balkans where he states that 'the cultural-institutional approach' has to be broadened and that 'the specific characteristics of historical development of a given country or region' must be taken into account when examining matrimonial behaviour.

2. During the early twentieth century, a fair number of men and women were also engaged in tobacco manufacture and to a lesser extent, the repairing of small craft (Colonial Report 1918). A number of Gibraltarians continue to be engaged also in the lucrative trade of smuggling tobacco and cigarettes.

3. While much has been written of Gibraltar's military history (see e.g., Drinkwater 1785; Mann 1870; Bradford 1970), there is an unfortunate paucity of information on the history and development of the Rock's civilian inhabitants. Preston (1966) cites two factors contributing to this lack of interest. First, Gibraltar's internal affairs were relatively unimportant compared with its external affairs and secondly, the colony was never larger than a small market town and its topography made a great increase in population size impossible. Another factor contributing to the sparsity of material on the civilian community is that the colourful military history has been developed at the expense of Gibraltar's social history.

4. Letters of marque were given to privateers fitted out by Gibraltar merchants, and all the prizes captured in the Mediterranean whether by privateers or by ships of the Royal Navy were disposed of at very little cost.

5. In 1830, responsibility for Gibraltar's affairs was transferred from the War Office to the newly created Colonial Office, and the status of the Rock was changed from "the Town and Garrison in the Kingdom of Spain" to the "Crown Colony of Gibraltar" (Jackson 1987, p. 229). The proclamation of a new charter of justice and granting of civil liberties

legitimized the development of a civilian population and commercial community on the Rock.

6. During that census tally, a total of 10,136 civilian inhabitants were enumerated and they resided in 1,852 distinct households. The origin of the household heads was listed as: Genoa (25.5%), Spain (22.1%), native-born (18.5%), Portugal (13.2%), the United Kingdom (14.5%), Barbary (5.1%) and the remainder coming from France, Germany, Sicily, and Sweden. The fusion of this heterogeneous group of people, languages, and cultures within the confines of a military garrison was to ultimately shape the population into a community with a collective and singular Gibraltarian identity.

7. The difficulty of finding suitable and affordable housing in the overcrowded town of Gibraltar has been a perennial problem. Hennen noted in the 1830s that the ground for building was very dear and house rents were excessively high, and as a consequence, there were numerous instances of cellars and stables being converted into dwelling houses. In response to an enquiry made by General Sir George Don regarding the cost of living in Gibraltar relative to that of Malta, Mr. Sweetland commented in 1829 that a decent house in the City of Calleta would cost approximately 40 pounds a year, with a great abundance of good water; while an uncomfortable dwelling house in the City of Gibraltar was at least 600 dollars a year. Given the scarcity of water on the Rock, it was estimated that the cost of water for the use of a small family would amount to 100 dollars a year.

8. The fears of the Colonial Administration were partially justified given Gibraltar's experience of infectious epidemics throughout much of the nineteenth century. Major epidemics of yellow fever had broken out in 1804, 1813, 1814 and 1828, killing 4868, 883, 246, and 1677 civilians, respectively. Gibraltar was also visited by two major cholera epidemics. In addition to the pain and suffering caused by this water-borne infectious disease, the toll of lives taken in 1834 was 380 and 572 in the 1865 epidemic.

9. The attraction of Gibraltar was related to the fact that in the Campo area, a region of vast underexploited *latifundia*, there was no labouring work for nine months of the year (Hills 1974, p. 381). In addition to employment opportunities, Gibraltar offered to the Spanish workforce an opportunity to purchase highly sought after goods that were unavailable or of poorer quality in their native homeland.

10. The steady increase in rents forced many of the poorer Gibraltarians to reside outside of Gibraltar in the nearby towns of La Linea, San Roque, and Algeciras where the cost of living was considerably cheaper.

11. The government undertook a major housing scheme in 1945 that would eventually culminate in the construction of some 2,968 units by 1988 (Government of Gibraltar 1988).

12. A review of the relative advantages and drawbacks of using such a simplified scheme is beyond the scope of the present paper; however, the reader can find a comprehensive examination of this subject by Heath 1990.

13. The reduction in the Hebrew community of Gibraltar can be attributed to a number of factors: (1) a falling birthrate, (2) relatively high rate of celibacy among both men and women, (3) the lack of any sizable Jewish immigration into Gibraltar of the Aliens Orders in Council, and finally, (4) increased Jewish movement out of Gibraltar beginning in the twentieth century.

14. The evolution of Gibraltar's permit system is complex and a subject unto itself. During the 1830s, for example, 1st class permits replaced those that were formerly understood to be permits of residence. Second class permits replaced 'servant permits' and generally speaking were given to clerks, mechanics, tradesmen, labourers, domestic servants, and all others in the employment of others if their period of residence was less than fifteen years. By 1873, there were some nineteen different categories used to characterize aliens and define length of residency in Gibraltar (Government of Gibraltar 1873).

15. In recourse to their non-admission to the Garrison Library, members of the civilian population formed the Exchange Committee by the voluntary subscription of the merchants of Gibraltar on April 16, 1817. Representatives of each religious persuasion were in attendance.

16. The question of why Spanish has remained the language of the people in Gibraltar has been addressed by Kramer (1986). He cites the following reasons: the physical proximity to the Campo area, the power of Spanish media through radio and later television communication, the Spanish origin of many of the founding families and the continuous inflow of Spanish women as mates for local men all served to reinforce the use of the Spanish language by the indigenous population.

17. To this day, the majority of Gibraltarians live in government rented flats (65%) with a small fraction (5%) of the population residing in owner occupied housing (Government of Gibraltar 1981).

18. A survey taken in the 1960s by a local trade union revealed that most women who worked outside the home did so to 'help out at home' and for 'pocket money' (Report on Enquiry on Work 1963-1964). It is also of interest to note that forty of the fifty-four females surveyed acknowledged that there were few opportunities for work by women in Gibraltar at this time.

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