The London School of Economics and Political Science

Melting Pot or Salad Bowl?

Assessing Irish immigrant assimilation in late nineteenth century America

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Declaration

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Abstract

This dissertation assesses the degree of assimilation achieved by Irish immigrants in the US in the last decades of the nineteenth century. It employs a matching technique to link specific individuals in both the 1880 and 1900 US censuses. I use this technique to create matched samples of Irish immigrants and native born Americans, allowing me to capture significant information concerning these individuals and their families over this timeframe. Utilising these samples, together with other data, I assess the degree of assimilation achieved by Irish immigrants, in aggregate and in selected subsets, with native born Americans across a range of socio-economic characteristics over this period.

Among my principal findings are that Irish immigrants did not assimilate quickly into American society in this period, nor did they achieve occupational parity with native born Americans. Younger Irish and those who immigrated to the US as children experienced greater assimilation and achieved higher levels of occupational mobility, as did those Irish immigrants who married a non-Irish spouse. Higher levels of geographic clustering were associated with lower degrees of assimilation and lower occupational outcomes. My research provides support for the argument that such clustering delays immigrant assimilation. My results also indicate continued cultural persistence by Irish immigrants as it relates to their choice of names for their children. Irish immigrants who gave their children a common Irish name closely resembled those who married an Irish-born spouse - they underperformed in the workplace and experienced a lower degree of assimilation. These results suggest that the flame burning under the Irish melting pot in the last decades of the nineteenth century was not very hot, and that the assimilation process for Irish immigrants into American society was a varied and multidimensional one.

Acknowledgements

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Organisation of dissertation

In this dissertation, Chapter I comprises the introduction and literature review. Chapter II reviews data sources and key methodological approaches. Chapter III presents a comparative analysis of Irish immigrant assimilation and occupational mobility in the US in the late nineteenth century. Chapter IV employs ethnic intermarriage as a distinct measure of assimilation for a sample of Irish immigrants. Chapter V assesses the impact of geographic clustering on the degree of assimilation achieved by Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. Chapter VI utilises information about the first names given to the children of Irish immigrants to draw further conclusions about the assimilation of these Irish immigrants into American society in the late nineteenth century. Chapter VII concludes.

I. Introduction and Literature Review

"America is God's crucible, the great Melting Pot where all races of Europe are melting and re-forming! ... At Ellis Island, here you stand in your fifty groups, with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty blood hatreds and rivalries. But you won't long be like that…Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians - into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American."

From Israel Zangwill's *The Melting Pot* (1908)[1]

Israel Zangwill's theatrical work entitled *The Melting Pot* gave birth to a metaphor for the assimilation of immigrants into American society that has lived on long after his play stopped running on Broadway in the early years of the twentieth century. The concept that immigrants to the United States ("US") were melded into a new culture, combining their attributes with those of native born Americans, attracted widespread attention at the time. It has since become an important concept not only in popular culture, but also in the academic literature on immigration and assimilation. While subsequent work in the fields of economics, economic history and sociology has led to a more nuanced and multifaceted approach to immigrant assimilation, the melting pot concept popularised by the theatrical work of Zangwill still provides a useful metaphor for the study of immigrant assimilation.

This dissertation will seek to assess the degree of assimilation achieved by Irish immigrants in the US in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In particular, it will

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[1] Israel Zangwill, *The Melting Pot* (New York: 1909), pp. 37-38.

focus on those immigrants who arrived from Ireland prior to 1880, and will track their progress in the US during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In this dissertation, I will employ a matching technique to link specific individuals from the 1880 and 1900 US censuses, capturing significant information concerning these individuals in both 1880 and again in 1900. I will utilise this matching technique to create samples of both Irish immigrants and native born Americans, and will use these samples to track the lives of these individuals over this twenty year period. (A more complete description of this matching technique, together with a review of the data sources and methodological approaches to be used in this dissertation, is presented in Chapter II.) Utilising these samples, I will assess the degree of assimilation achieved by Irish immigrants with native born Americans across a range of socio-economic characteristics available in the US census data. Of these various socio-economic characteristics, one which will receive particular attention is the occupation of these immigrants, and their occupational mobility over the course of this time period. Examining the experience of Irish immigrants in the workplace will be a significant focus of this dissertation. However, I will also assess immigrant assimilation across a broad range of socio-economic characteristics, and seek to develop a clearer sense for how these immigrants adapted to their new surroundings, both in and outside the workplace. In this process, I will create various additional samples using US census data as well as other sources. Marriage and children's naming patterns will be analysed to assess the degree of assimilation achieved by the Irish in the US as measured by these indicators. In addition, the role of geographic location will also be examined, with a particular focus on its impact on the assimilation and labour market outcomes of Irish immigrants who lived in more ethnically concentrated areas.

In this dissertation, the following principal questions will be addressed: Were the Irish immigrants of the late nineteenth century melded in the crucible of the American melting pot, being reformed into "the American" so dramatically described by Zangwill? Or did they retain their distinctiveness in their new homeland? Was the melting pot in fact more of a salad bowl where different ethnic groups were mixed together, but with each retaining its own identity? Or were there certain areas where the Irish adapted quickly to their new surroundings and others where their socio-economic outcomes did not come to resemble those of native born. Was the assimilation process in fact multi-dimensional as opposed to being uniform in nature? Did the assimilation outcomes of Irish immigrants vary depending on which subset of the Irish sample was being reviewed, and which socio-economic variables were under consideration? And finally, what was the nature of the relationship between assimilation and occupational mobility for Irish immigrants in this time period?

In addition to addressing these questions, this dissertation will also examine the concept of assimilation itself. Assimilation has been approached and defined in a variety of manners by economists, economic historians and sociologists. Various frameworks have been developed to analyse assimilation, which will be reviewed in this chapter. In this dissertation, I will approach assimilation as the process by which an immigrant group attains a level of social and economic integration into their new host society such that their overall position in these sectors of society, as measured by observable outcomes, is similar to those of the native born members of the society. Using this approach, I will focus on gathering and analysing individual characteristics which can be readily and accurately measured. Irish immigrant assimilation will be assessed primarily through the various socio-economic characteristics available in the

US censuses of 1880 and 1900, together with relevant data drawn from other sources. This author views assimilation as a process, where multiple outcomes are possible, as are variations in the degree of assimilation achieved in different areas under study. The definition of assimilation provided above represents a framework against which to assess the assimilation outcomes achieved by the immigrants in my study. In addition, as will be discussed, there are compelling reasons to analyse the assimilation of Irish immigrants in this timeframe, and recent advances in the access to and availability of US census data allow for enhanced methodological approaches to be utilised.

So why should we be interested in the assimilation of Irish immigrants into US society at the end of the nineteenth century? There are a variety of reasons. First of all, the Irish were the most prolific of immigrants groups during this timeframe and the US was their primary destination. In excess of two million Irish immigrated to the US between 1850 and 1900,[2] and in this period Irish per capita emigration was significantly larger than any other European immigrant group.[3] According to Fitzgerald (1985), the US in 1890 contained approximately two-thirds of all overseas Irish as well as one quarter of all Irish natives.[4] In this period, the Irish were ascendant, becoming the primary immigrant group in many areas of the US including such leading cities as New York, Philadelphia and Boston. They established significant support networks and began to achieve prominence in local politics and in labour unions, perhaps benefiting from the economic and political inroads made by previous generations of Irish immigrants. In addition, unlike the extreme circumstances which led to high Irish emigration during the Famine years, these Irish immigrants would

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[2] Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox, *International Migrations,* Volume 1 Statistics (New York: 1929), pp. 418-433.
[3] Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffery G. Williamson, *Migration and the International Labor Market, 1850-1939* (London: 1994), p. 7.
[4] David Fitzgerald, *Irish Emigration 1801-1921* (Dublin: 1985), p. 5.

have had greater control over the decision to emigrate, and their adjustment into the US economy would not have been subject to the same dire circumstances which faced the distressed Irish immigrants of the late 1840s. In the second half of the nineteenth century, emigration to the US became significantly less expensive for Irish labourers and real wages in the Irish economy rose steadily.[5] These Irish had much more of a choice as to whether to emigrate than did the Irish immigrants of the famine era. They had more options: staying in Ireland was becoming more feasible as the Irish economy improved, and leaving for overseas destinations such as the US was becoming both less expensive and less dangerous as a result of advances in sea transport. The risks of either choice were lower than they were for the prior generation of Irish. In addition, economic historians have also found that the Irish exhibited some unique demographic behavior in this time period. In addition to their unusually high propensity to emigrate, they were also noted for their distinct marriage patterns, which included a reluctance to marry coupled with a tendency to have large families when they did marry.[6] The degree to which the Irish maintained these distinct demographic attributes after their arrival in the US is also a question which merits attention. Finally, the Irish also had very low levels of return migration.[7] Whereas some scholars have questioned the benefit of studying the assimilation of first generation immigrants in a new society,[8] the Irish stayed and settled in the US. Hence it is clearly valid to study their assimilation process in their new homeland. In sum, the Irish were the most prolific of immigrant groups in the nineteenth century, they possessed several distinct

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[5] Timothy W. Guinnane, *The Vanishing Irish* (Princeton: 1997) pp. 57, 109.
[6] Mark C. Foley and Timothy W. Guinnane, "Did Irish Marriage Patterns Survive the Emigrant Voyage? Irish-American Nuptiality, 1880-1920", *Irish Economic and Social History*, 26 (1999), p. 15.
[7] Fitzgerald (1985), p. 7. Fitzgerald notes that estimates of return migration for Irish immigrants were approximately 6%.
[8] Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, "Introduction: The Second Generation and the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 6, (November, 2005), p. 985. They describe first generation immigrants as "a restless bunch, here one day and gone the next: in the society, but not yet of it."

demographic attributes, and the vast majority of them came to America and stayed. The last two decades of the nineteenth century represent a fascinating time period to assess their assimilation into American society.

While there has been a great deal of literature written about the Irish in America, there remain questions, issues and methodological approaches which merit further attention. For example, there is a lack of consensus regarding whether the Irish achieved occupational parity with native born Americans in the workplace by the end of the nineteenth century. In the literature, there are conflicting views. Borjas (1994) found that European immigrants (including those from Ireland) who arrived in what he terms The First Great Migration (1880-1924) did not achieve convergence in occupational levels with native born white males for as long as four generations.[9] On the other hand, Kenny (2006) and Doyle (1975) argued that Irish Americans had achieved relative occupational parity with native born white Americans by 1900.[10] This debate on Irish occupational mobility will be reviewed in more depth in the literature review, and Chapter III of this dissertation will seek to develop new evidence with which to assess this issue.

This dissertation will also examine the assimilation of Irish immigrants away from the workplace. Ethnic intermarriage ("Intermarriage") is another important indicator of assimilation for immigrants. It also has the attractive property of measuring

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[9] George J. Borjas, "Long-Run Convergence of Ethnic Skill Differentials: The Children and Grandchildren of the Great Migration*", Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (July 1994) pp. 571-572.

[10] Kevin Kenny, "Labor and Labor Organizations" in *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*, J.J. Lee and Marion R. Casey (eds) (New York: 2006), p. 360; David N. Doyle, 'Irish and American Labour, 1880-1920', *Saothar*, vol. 1, 1975, pp. 42-43. In his analysis, Doyle's definition of Irish Americans includes both immigrants as well as second generation Irish living in the US.

assimilation in the home. As marriage was viewed as a lasting, long term commitment in the nineteenth century, the decision to marry someone from a different ethnic background provides a strong signal about an immigrant's willingness to adapt to a new ethnic and social environment. In addition, as the Irish were noted for possessing distinct marital attributes in this time period, the study of Irish marriage patterns in the US is an important area for assessing their overall assimilation into American life. In the literature, intermarriage has been viewed by historians, economists and sociologists as a critical indicator of assimilation. However, while researchers have examined the marital behaviour of Irish immigrants in the US in this time period,[11] none have focused specifically on the issue of intermarriage and its use as a measure of assimilation. Chapter IV will provide such an analysis for my sample of Irish immigrants living in the US in the late nineteenth century. The focus will be on using US census data to identify certain causes and consequences of intermarriage, as well as to examine its impact on assimilation and labour market outcomes.

In the literature on immigrant assimilation, there also exists a debate as to whether geographic clustering accelerates or delays the assimilation of immigrants into their new society. By geographic clustering, I refer to the decision by an Irish immigrant to live in an area which contained a relatively large percentage of Irish immigrants. Economists and sociologists such as Borjas (1999) and Light and Isralowitz (1996) have argued that geographic clustering delays immigrant assimilation. Borjas (1999) found that this was particularly true in cases where the human capital of an ethnic group is lower than that of the host society.[12] However, there is a literature on Irish immigrants in urban areas such as New York City which argues that the networking

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[11] See Foley and Guinnane (1999), Landale and Tolnay (1993).
[12] George J. Borjas, *Heaven's Door* (Princeton: 1999), p. 56.

opportunities and support systems which had developed in these cities by the late nineteenth century aided Irish immigrants in finding work and successfully settling into American life.[13] In addition, sociologists Portes and Rumbaut (1996) have argued that ethnic enclaves provided significant advantages for immigrant entrepreneurs and also facilitated immigrant success in the political arena.[14] More recently, Cutler et al. (2008) found that the impact of geographic clustering may be more nuanced, with potential positive outcomes for some immigrant groups, but negative ones for immigrant groups with comparatively low levels of education.[15] Their work would appear to confirm that of Borjas (1999) in finding that the level of human capital of an immigrant group is an important element in assessing the impact of geographic clustering on assimilation and labour market outcomes. In Chapter V, the issue of geographic clustering will be examined to determine its impact on the assimilation and occupational mobility of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. This chapter will also examine the degree to which the geographic settlement patterns of earlier cohorts of Irish immigrants influenced the geographic clustering of Irish immigrants at the end of nineteenth century.

Finally, this dissertation will also analyse the names given to the children of Irish immigrants as a measure of their parent's assimilation into American society. The use of children's names as a measure of assimilation is particularly appealing as it represents another avenue for assessing the assimilation of immigrants outside of the workplace. The selection of a non-Irish name for a child is a potential sign of how

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[13] Lawrence J. McCaffrey, "Forging Forward and Looking Back", in *The New York Irish*, Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J, Meagher (eds) (Baltimore: 1996), pp. 222, 227; John R. McKivigan and Thomas J. Robertson, 'The Irish American Worker in Transition, 1877-1914" in *The New York Irish*, Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J, Meagher (eds) (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 312.
[14] Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America* (Berkeley: 1996) p. 54.
[15] David M. Cutler, Edward L. Glaeser and Jacob L. Vigdor, "When are Ghettos Bad? Lessons from immigrant segregation in the United States", *Journal of Urban Economics* 63, (2008), p. 772.

willing that immigrant parent is for his children to become more assimilated as an American, whereas the selection of a distinctly Irish name could be viewed as a sign of cultural persistence and a reduced desire to assimilate. The naming of children can also be seen as a sign of how parents see themselves, as well as what aspirations they hold for their children. In the literature, there is a surprising dearth of research into the use of children's names as a measure of assimilation and cultural persistence, despite their widespread acceptance as effective cultural measures.[16] Lieberson (2000) has argued that it would be extremely difficult for an ethnic group to avoid the influence of the larger society on the naming patterns of their children, mentioning in particular the influence of media, literacy and mobility aspirations.[17] Chapter VI will seek to assess to what degree Irish immigrants in the US were able to resist this influence, or whether, in fact, they sought a greater level of assimilation for themselves and their children by choosing non-Irish names for their children. In addition, the chapter will also examine the relationship between the assimilation and labour market outcomes of Irish immigrants and the types of names they gave their children.

In the chapters to follow, the questions, issues and methodological approaches described above will be analysed, in each case bringing to bear relevant data from the US censuses of 1880 and 1900, in addition to other sources, to enhance the understanding of the assimilation process of Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America. In this research, I will also seek to make contributions to a range of literatures concerned with the assimilation experience of immigrants. With respect to the cliometric literature, my use of matched Irish and native born samples in Chapter III will enable me to assess the assimilation and occupational mobility of Irish

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[16] See Rossi (1965), Zelinsky (1970), Lieberson and Bell (1992).
[17] Stanley Lieberson, *A Matter of Taste* (New Haven: 2000), p. 221.

immigrants in the US at the end of the nineteenth century across a range of important characteristics.   In Chapter IV, my use of these matched samples will allow me to conduct a longitudinal study of potential causes and consequences of intermarriage for Irish immigrants. In Chapter V, I will examine the relationship between the level of geographic clustering and the assimilation and occupational outcomes of Irish immigrants. Finally, in Chapter VI, my contribution to this literature will be to assess the assimilation of Irish immigrants using the naming of children as the unit of measurement.

For the literature on Irish immigration, my research in Chapters III and V will contribute to the understanding of the occupational mobility of Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America. As will be discussed, there is some evidence in this literature which suggests that the Irish made advances in areas such as local government, unionised work and the clergy. My research in Chapter III will allow me to take a broad and systematic approach to assessing the labour market outcomes of the Irish in this time period. In Chapter V, my research will allow me to assess the literature which argues that the Irish benefited from networks and support systems in their new communities which helped them to find work and settle into American life.

Finally, with respect to the literature on immigrant assimilation, I will approach assimilation as a multi-dimensional process without pre-ordained outcomes. Throughout this dissertation, I will examine relevant segments of both the Irish and native born populations in addition to aggregate analyses, and will also explore issues of assimilation which extend beyond the frequently analysed areas of occupational mobility and earnings. My research will analyse other aspects of assimilation including

variables such as marriage and spousal characteristics, fertility, child mortality, literacy, geographic location (both in terms of rural vs. urban locations as well as ethnic clustering), home ownership and the choice of children's names. This dissertation will also address the relationship between assimilation and occupational mobility, as well as that between assimilation and the ethnic environment in which immigrants lived in the late nineteenth century.

Literature Review

Although Zangwill (1908) saw immigrant assimilation into American society solely in terms of his melting pot metaphor, others who have studied assimilation have since developed a broader and more nuanced view encompassing a range of possible outcomes for immigrants in a new homeland. In his classic work *Assimilation in American Life*, sociologist Milton Gordon (1964) views assimilation as being a question of degree, where various stages can be identified. In his work, he outlines seven distinct stages of the assimilation process. Within these stages, varying degrees of assimilation can occur.[18] Gordon also identifies three primary philosophies of assimilation that he views as being applicable to the American experience. These are "Anglo-conformity," "the melting pot" and "cultural pluralism." Under Anglo-conformity, immigrants completely renounce their ancestral culture in favour of the behaviour and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group. The melting pot has the same meaning as expressed in the work of Zangwill (1908). Cultural pluralism describes the maintenance by immigrants of significant portions of their ancestral culture in the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society.[19] Gordon (1964) thus expands the spectrum of possible assimilation outcomes to encompass both the complete acceptance of the host culture and significant retention of ancestral ways. This broader approach, and the recognition that assimilation can occur in varying degrees across characteristics, helps to provide a more robust basis to consider the assimilation of the Irish into American society in the late nineteenth century.

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[18] Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: 1964), p. 71.
[19] Gordon (1964), p. 85.

Moynihan and Glazer (1963) also question the idea that American society was a melting pot in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In *Beyond the Melting Pot*, they examine the experiences of five distinct ethnic groups in New York City beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing into the mid-twentieth century. They conclude that the melting pot did not happen, "at least not in New York and, mutatis mutandis, in those parts of America which resemble New York."[20] They find that "the assimilating power of American society operated on immigrant groups in different ways," but nonetheless left them "distinct and identifiable."[21] In analysing the Irish, along with Negroes, Jews, Puerto Ricans and Italians, they find that ethnic differences survive multiple generations across a range of characteristics, and they conclude their book by noting that even Zangwill himself, in the years following the publication of *The Melting Pot*, "retreated from his earlier position on racial and religious mixture."[22] Kelly (2005) also rejects the idea of a single melting pot model for immigrant assimilation. She argues that immigrants (including the Irish) "retained important aspects of their heritages through succeeding generations." She also supports the view that immigrant assimilation is not a linear progression towards complete adaptation, but rather one in which variation can occur, influenced by social, economic and cultural factors.[23]

More recent work by scholars across a range of academic disciplines continues to emphasise that a broad approach to defining assimilation is required. Kurther and Heisler (2009) argue that immigrant integration in Western democracies is not linear,

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[20] Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge: 1963), p. v.
[21] Glazer and Moynihan (1963), pp. 13-14.
[22] Glazer and Moynihan (1963), p. 290.
[23] Mary C. Kelly, *The Shamrock and The Lilly – The New York Irish and The Creation of a Transatlantic Identity 1845-1921* (New York: 2005), p. 4.

but a complex patchwork of multidimensional frameworks.[24] Freeman (2004) also argues for a multi-sectoral framework for understanding immigrant incorporation into a new society. For Freeman (2004), immigrant assimilation is the result of the interaction of institutions and decisions of immigrants. He expects that immigrant assimilation outcomes will vary across different domains of society, with results "being a mixed bag not fully assimilationist, pluralist, or multicultural."[25] Brubaker (2001) argues for an approach to assimilation which is willing "to consider multiple reference populations" and "segmented forms of assimilation".[26] He supports the view that immigrant assimilation research should be multidimensional and agnostic about its outcomes. For Brubaker (2001), assimilation is not a theory, but simply a concept.[27] Light and Isralowitz (1996) define assimilation as the "ultimate absorption" of ethnic groups into their new society. They argue, however, that complete adaptation by immigrants is much more of a goal than a reality. They advocate the need for the concept of acculturation, where fluency in language and culture is achieved, but broader assimilation does not occur. This more limited form of assimilation is more frequently observed in their research.[28] Portes and Rumbaut (1996) also endorse the dual concepts of assimilation and acculturation in the study of immigrant assimilation. In their view, acculturation is the first step in the process of adaptation of immigrants into a new society. They view assimilation as the final stage, but argue that the process

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[24] Hermann Kurthen and Barbara Schmitter Heisler, "Immigrant integration: comparative evidence from the United States and Germany", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (January 2009), p. 139.
[25] Gary P. Freeman, "Immigrant Incorporation in Western Democracies", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Fall 2004), p. 960.
[26] Rogers Brubaker, "The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration in France, Germany and the United States", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 24, No. 4 (July 2001), p. 540.
[27] Brubaker (2001), p. 544.
[28] Ivan Light and Richard E. Isralowitz, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs and Immigrant Absorption in the United States and Israel* (Aldershot: 1996), p. viii.

is not uniform. Outcomes are varied and can be segmented, reflecting a wide range of immigrant experiences.[29]

Within the literature on immigrant assimilation, the study of the occupational mobility of immigrants has attracted a great deal of attention from scholars. Gans (2007) clarifies that assimilation and mobility are independent processes, and that immigrants "can assimilate without being mobile and vice versa".[30] He argues that studies of European immigrant assimilation during the age of mass migration must take account of the fact that this period was one of "nearly universal upward mobility" and that most Europeans were extremely poor when they arrived in the US "and could only move up".[31] He makes the case that assimilation and mobility need to be examined as independent processes and not treated as the same phenomenon, particularly in the late nineteenth century period. In an analysis of contemporary immigrants to the US, Portes and Zhou (1993) also argue that immigrants can achieve economic advancement without broader assimilation into their new host society.[32]

In this area of research, the question of whether late nineteenth century Irish immigrants achieved occupational parity with native born Americans has been addressed by several researchers, but with differing conclusions. Kenny (2006) argues that the Irish in America made significant progress in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and "achieved rough occupational parity with the native born" by 1900. He does make an adjustment for the fact that the Irish were much more

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[29] Portes and Rumbaut (1996), pp. 247-8.
[30] Herbert J. Gans, "Acculturation, assimilation and mobility", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1 (January 2007) p. 152.
[31] Gans (2007), p. 152.
[32] Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 530, (November 1993), p. 96.

urbanised than the broader American population to reach this conclusion. Kenny (2006) argues that while the Irish were much more heavily concentrated than the national workforce in skilled and unskilled labor, and significantly underrepresented in agriculture, that this outcome is the result of their more urban orientation. Adjusting for this fact, Kenny (2006) finds that the Irish by 1900 were less concentrated in "menial labour" and were disproportionately represented in higher skilled, better paid and unionised trades than the broader population.[33]

Doyle (1975) researched Irish immigrants in America in the nineteenth century and found them to be the first urban as well as the first working class Irish. He notes that in the 1850s, while fewer than 20% of native born Americans were urbanised, more than 75% of Irish Americans were.[34] With regard to the issue of occupational mobility, he argues that by 1900, "Irish America had attained class-structure parity with native stock Protestant white America."[35] To support this assertion, Doyle (1975) argues that only 15% of all working Irish Americans were "unskilled manual laborers" and that only in what he refers to as the "atypical" state of Massachusetts were most of the unskilled workers still Irish.[36] Doyle (1975) argues that while approximately 60% of Irish American workers were blue collar in 1900, "5-6% were of middle class proper social and economic standing" and a further "16-17% were lower middle class." Doyle (1975) finds these levels to be in aggregate "comparable to the rates of native Protestant stock and far advanced on the patterns of new immigrants."[37] However, Doyle (1975) does not provide supporting evidence for this argument, nor does he

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[33] Kenny (2006), p. 360.
[34] Doyle (1975), pp. 42-43.
[35] Doyle (1975), p. 43.
[36] Doyle (1975), p. 43.
[37] Doyle (1975), p. 50.

provide detailed footnotes for the proper referencing of his data sources.[38] This author would also question the accuracy of referring to the native born as being "Protestant", given that religious affiliation was not a question asked of respondents to the US census. In addition, by 1900 the US had witnessed more than a century of significant levels of immigration from such predominantly Catholic nations as Germany and Ireland.

Miller (1985) also addresses the occupational assimilation of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. While endorsing Doyle's (1975) view that the Irish had been successful in achieving occupational parity with native born white Americans, he stresses that it was the children of immigrants who "took fullest advantage of the mushrooming growth of corporate staffs and public service bureaucracies."[39] He states that by 1900, the domination of trade unions by the Irish and the "relative maturity of Irish-American societies" provided newcomers with a "wide range of kinship networks and formal social, political and charitable institutions" which enabled the Irish to achieve upward social mobility in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[40] Notwithstanding this economic success, Miller (1985) finds that a "significant minority" of Irish Americans saw themselves as exiles from their homeland and that "homesickness and discontent were remarkably widespread in turn of the century Irish America."[41] This concept of Irish immigrants as exiles and its implications for their assimilation into American society will be examined later in this chapter.

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[38] Doyle lists selected secondary sources and refers to the "Census of Occupations, 1890 and 1900, U.S. Bureau of the Census" and "Congressional Record, 1890-1915", but does not provide section or page references.
[39] Kerby A. Miller, "Assimilation and alienation: Irish emigrants' responses to industrial America, 1871-1921", in *The Irish in America: Emigration, Assimilation and Impact*, P.J. Drudy (ed) (Cambridge: 1985), p. 89.
[40] Miller (1985), p. 92.
[41] Miller (1985), p. 107.

In contrast to the work of Kenny (2006) and Doyle (1975), Borjas (1999) reaches a very different conclusion regarding the occupational mobility of Irish (as well as other European) immigrants during this timeframe. With regard to these turn of the century immigrants, Borjas (1999) does not support the idea of a melting pot where ethnic differences melt away, nor does he accept the idea of Anglo-conformity. In his view, a "simmering pot", where differences take several generations to disappear is more appropriate.[42] In his analysis of European immigrants (including those from Ireland) who arrived in what he terms The First Great Migration (1880-1924), he finds that these immigrants did not achieve convergence in occupational levels with native born white males for as long as four generations.[43] Using US census data from 1910, 1940 and 1980 and creating synthetic cohorts to analyse subsequent generations of the First Great Migration, Borjas (1994) tracks the occupational outcomes of these immigrants and their descendants and finds that "ethnic skill differentials do not converge within three generations."[44] Borjas (1999) finds a significant role for what he calls ethnic capital – "the whole set of ethnic characteristics - including culture, attitudes, and economic opportunities" – to which members of particular ethnic groups are exposed.[45] He argues that these influences have spillover effects on human capital accumulation and that the "quality" of the ethnic environment matters. Borjas' (1994) results would appear to repudiate the conclusions of Kenny (2006) and Doyle (1975). In this dissertation, I will address this difference of opinion regarding Irish occupational mobility using a new sample of Irish immigrants drawn from the 1880 and 1900 US censuses.

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[42] Borjas (1999), p. 144.
[43] Borjas (1994), pp. 571-572.
[44] Borjas (1994), p. 566.
[45] Borjas (1999), p. 148.

One of the first scholarly works to address the occupational skill levels of immigrants during the First Great Migration is Douglas' (1919) classic work "Is the New Immigration More Unskilled Than The Old?" In this article, Douglas reviews the relative skill levels of immigrants to the US in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For Douglas (1919), the purpose of his work is to review the contemporary view that the then newer immigration from Southeastern Europe was more unskilled than the older immigration from Northwestern Europe. He had two principal findings which led him to refute the contemporary viewpoint of a decline in the skill levels of the newer immigrants. The first was that previous analysis had erroneously excluded Hebrews from the category of new immigrants (with this group being "the most skilled of all the newer races.")[46] The second, and in Douglas'(1919) view the more important finding, was that the prior analyses by the Immigration Commission and other scholars had compared the two waves of immigrants at the same point in time (1899-1909). In so doing, these analyses had failed to examine the skill levels of these immigrants when both were the "dominant element" in immigration to the US.[47] With these two adjustments, Douglas (1919) finds that the newer immigrants are in fact not less skilled than the older ones.[48] Though he was writing almost a century ago, Douglas' (1919) effort to assess immigrant skill levels based on analysing data in an unbiased manner provided a sound foundation for future immigration research.

More recently, several scholars have also assessed the occupational mobility of European immigrant groups in the late nineteenth century time period. Some of these

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[46] Paul H. Douglas, "Is the New Immigration More Unskilled than the Old?", *American Statistical Association*, Vol. 16, No. 126 (June 1919), p. 393.
[47] Douglas (1919), p. 394.
[48] He does find that among the older immigrant groups, the Irish were much less skilled than the English, French and German immigrants in this timeframe.

works lend support to the idea that the Irish immigrants could have achieved convergence with native born Americans in this time period. Blau (1980) examines the wages of immigrants relative to native born Americans using data from the Reports of the (US) Immigration Commission. This wage data, which was assembled in the year 1909, allows for a comparison of various immigrant groups relative to native born white Americans across a range of occupations. Her principal conclusion is that immigrant skill levels and the amount of time living in the US are the two primary variables which explain the gap in wage levels between immigrants and natives. In her regression analysis, she controls for differences in skill levels (among other factors) and predicts that male immigrants from a poorer group of regions including Ireland, Southern Europe and French Canada will achieve convergence in wage levels with native born white males approximately 17 years after their arrival in the US.[49] Her conclusions would appear to lend support to the argument that immigrants could achieve convergence with native born white Americans in just one generation.

In a study involving a sample of approximately 4,000 immigrants in the US state of Iowa in the last decade of the 1800s, Eichengreen and Gemery (1986) also find that time in the US is a crucial variable in immigrant occupational mobility. While their study does not conclude that immigrants achieved parity with native born Americans, they do reach some interesting and relevant conclusions regarding the occupational mobility of immigrants in late nineteenth century America. In their study, they find that immigrants with prior skills had an initial wage advantage over unskilled immigrants. Their definition of a skilled worker meant that a person possessed

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[49] Francine D. Blau, "Immigration and Labor Earnings in Early Twentieth Century America", *Research in Population Economics*, Volume 2 (1980), p. 32.

"training which could be put to use in their US occupation."[50] They also highlight three main influences which they believe are reflected in the relative earnings of skilled and unskilled immigrants. These are the quantity of skills, the quality of skills, and age (where age captures the concept that older workers will assimilate less quickly into American society than younger ones). In their sample, immigrants earn less than natives, and are older, less unionised and more likely to be married. Even when they control for these characteristics, they still find that immigrants earn less than natives. They conclude that while skilled immigrants have an initial advantage over unskilled immigrants, the unskilled narrow this advantage as they spend more time in the US. They find that this catch-up by unskilled immigrants is driven by all three influences: skill quantity (where the unskilled acquire skills), skill quality (where the skills they learn are of a higher quality because they are acquired and are able to be applied in the US labor market) and age (they are younger and thus assimilate more rapidly).

Hanes (1996) utilises two regional datasets of workers earnings and occupations to assess the occupational mobility of late nineteenth century immigrants in the US labour market. Using state labour bureau surveys conducted in California in 1892 and in Michigan in 1888 and 1890, Hanes (1996) finds that immigrants from Northwestern Europe (including those from Ireland) experienced slower growth in wages and occupational status than did the native born.[51] He does accept that the surveys are very limited in terms of their range of occupations, but notes that there are no other similar sources available.[52] As such, one potential weakness of his work is that the datasets are

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[50] Barry Eichengreen and Henry A. Gemery, "The Earnings of Skilled and Unskilled Immigrants at the End of the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XLVI, No. 2 (June, 1986), p. 442.
[51] Christopher Hanes, "Immigrants' Relative Rate of Wage Growth in the Late 19th Century", *Explorations in Economic History*, 33, 35-64. (1996), p. 60.
[52] Hanes (1996), p. 39. Hanes notes that the 1888 Michigan survey "is limited to workers in the manufacture of slate, grindstone, gypsum, and building stone; a small number of coal miners; and

not representative of the broader labour market at that time. In his results, he finds that all the immigrant groups in his study under perform the native born. He uses this result to argue that discrimination against immigrants was not a significant factor in the labour market, as immigrants from England, Scotland and British Canada under performed the native born in a similar manner to those from Ireland and Germany.[53]

Hatton (1997) also examines the issue of the immigrant occupational mobility as measured by earnings in the late nineteenth century. Utilising similar regional earnings data sources to Hanes (1996); he finds that pre-1890 immigrants to the US did in fact achieve convergence with the native born in the workplace.[54] In his analysis, he specifically takes into account the worker age, as well as whether an immigrant arrived as a child or as an adult. With respect to age, he finds that there is a pattern in which late nineteenth century workers "exhibit rapid earnings growth up to the mid-20s and then slower earnings growth thereafter."[55] He also finds that immigrants who arrive as children closely resemble the native born in earnings whereas those that arrive as adults experience an initial disadvantage but do assimilate gradually to native born earnings standards.[56] For Hatton (1997), specifying an earnings function which takes into account these factors leads him to conclude that immigrants to the US in the late nineteenth century did in fact assimilate well in the labour market.

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workers in the "fire clay" industry." The 1890 Michigan survey covers workers "in foundries, and machine shops." The California survey is the "most comprehensive," including workers "in construction and manufacturing."

[53] Hanes (1996), p. 59.

[54] Timothy J, Hatton, "The Immigrant Assimilation Puzzle in Late Nineteenth Century America," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 57, No. 1, 34-62, (March 1997), p. 59.

[55] Hatton (1997), p. 59.

[56] Hatton (1997), p. 58.

Minns (2000) employs US census data to assess the occupational mobility of turn of the century immigrants. While acknowledging that "no consensus has emerged regarding the performance of American immigrants over the period 1890-1910," he finds that immigrants performed well in both blue and white collar occupations, either catching up or surpassing native born workers in earnings.[57] Minns (2000) also finds that immigrants in this timeframe had significant occupational mobility and "were able to move across sectors when opportunities presented themselves."[58] He finds particularly strong earnings growth for those immigrants who were able to move into white collar employment. His work, while not distinguishing the Irish from other immigrant groups, does suggest that immigrants in the US at the turn of the century were able to achieve occupational convergence with native born workers.

The issue of whether the geographic clustering of immigrants aids or impedes assimilation and occupational mobility has also received much attention from scholars. With respect to Irish immigrants, this issue will be addressed in detail in Chapter V of this dissertation. Similar to other questions involving immigrant assimilation, the literature on this topic crosses a variety of academic disciplines including economics, economic history and sociology. Portes and Rumbaut (1996) argue that geographic clustering aids immigrants, in particular for entrepreneurs and for those immigrants operating in the political arena. For entrepreneurs, they find that ethnic clustering can provide "access to working capital, protected markets and pools of labor." In the realm of politics, they stress that there is "strength in numbers" and argue that politics "can serve as an avenue of individual upward mobility when other paths remain blocked."[59]

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[57] Chris Minns, "Income, Cohort Effects, and Occupational Mobility: A New Look at Immigration to the United States at the Turn of the 20th Century", *Explorations in Economic History*, 37 (2000), p. 328.
[58] Minns (2000), p. 344.
[59] Portes and Rumbaut (1996), p. 54.

They specifically mention the late nineteenth century Irish as an example of this phenomenon. While Portes and Rumbaut (1996) do not argue that geographic clustering accelerates the assimilation of immigrants, they do believe that it can lead to greater opportunities for upward occupational mobility. For contemporary immigrants to the US, Portes and Zhou (1993) also find support for the argument that geographic clustering aids occupational mobility. They argue that immigrants benefit from networks in their ethnic communities that can provide "moral and material resources well beyond those available from official assistance programs."[60] Gordon (1964) also supports the idea that geographic clustering is beneficial to immigrants. He argues that the vast majority of newcomers "will need and prefer the security of communal life made up of fellow immigrants from the homeland." He believes that acculturation, where immigrants learn the language, culture and institutions of their new country, and not more complete assimilation, is the appropriate goal for new immigrants. Gordon (1964) stresses the benefits of "the comfortable sociological and psychological milieu which the communality of his own group provides."[61]

In the more specific literature on the Irish experience in the late nineteenth century America, there is support for the idea that geographic clustering is a benefit to both the assimilation and occupational mobility of these immigrants. This literature argues that the clustering of the Irish in urban centres such as New York City contributed to their economic success and facilitated their assimilation into American society. McCaffrey (1996) argues that the Irish were particularly effective in achieving influence in "the Catholic Church, politics and the labor movement" and that this success helped to

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[60] Portes and Zhou (1993), p. 86.
[61] Gordon (1964), p. 243.

"launch Irish America into the middle class."[62] He finds that the Irish were in fact "overrepresented in the upper echelons" of the labor movement, though he provides no evidence to support this assertion. McKivigan and Robertson (1996) also find the Irish to be highly adept at using their political strength to bolster their economic progress in New York City. In particular, they stress the success of the Irish in entrenching themselves in city government jobs such as "policemen, firefighters, rapid transit workers and school teachers," as well as in employment such as foremen and superintendent positions and white-collar clerical work." They attribute their economic success to their "knowledge of English and political connections."[63] Finally, Kelly (2005) also presents evidence supporting the view that geographic clustering aided Irish immigrants, in her case the area under study was New York City. She focuses on the role of support organisations such as the Ancient Order of the Hibernians and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which provided "mid and late nineteenth century arrivals with a support base in a strange city" and helped immigrants to secure employment. Although she stresses that a meaningful percentage (perhaps as high as 20%) of Irish immigrants in this period were Protestant, she finds that these Catholic Church affiliated organisations, together with the Church itself, were the "cornerstones of ethno-religious success for the Irish in New York City.[64]

In contrast to this group of scholars, however, there are several researchers who have questioned the benefits of geographic clustering for the assimilation and occupational mobility of new immigrants. Borjas (1999) argues that geographic clustering results in skill differences across ethnic groups which persist over time and across generations. He states that exposure to other ethnic environments with higher human capital can

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[62] McCaffrey (1996), p. 222.
[63] McKivigan and. Robertson (1996), p. 312.
[64] Kelly (2005), pp. 147,150.

have a positive influence on reducing skill differentials. He asserts that "ethnic capital creates a type of stickiness in the process of social mobility, making it difficult for persons in disadvantaged ethnic groups to move up and for persons in the advantaged ethnic group to move down."[65] Utilising evidence on contemporary immigrants, he finds a negative correlation between the rate of economic assimilation of immigrants (as measured by wage growth) and the geographic clustering of that immigrant group.[66] He views the "warm embrace" of the ethnic enclave as an "economic stranglehold," and concludes that "the more intense the ethnic clustering in the immigrant generation, the longer it takes for the melting pot to do its job of dissolving the ethnic differences and forging the 'New Americans.'"[67] Light and Isralowitz (1996) also argue that participation in the general labour force speeds assimilation, while participation in the ethnic community slows it. They view ethnic enclaves as slowing the cultural and linguistic acculturation of contemporary immigrants, which has the economic effect of slowing the immersion of these immigrants into the general labour pool.[68]

More recently, Cutler et al. (2008) have also addressed this issue using contemporary data on first generation immigrants to the US. In their work, they use US census data for 1990 to address the debate as to whether immigrant segregation in more ethnically concentrated areas hinders their educational and labour market outcomes.[69] They argue that the conclusion is nuanced – that ethnic concentration can have benefits as measured by educational and labour market outcomes for contemporary immigrants to

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[65] Borjas (1999), p. 14.
[66] Borjas (1999), p. 56.
[67] Borjas (1999), p. 57.
[68] Light and Isralowitz (1996), p. xi.
[69] Cutler et al. (2008), p. 762.

the US. However, they also find that groups with very low education levels "appear to suffer negative consequences associated with living in an enclave community."[70]

As this section of the literature review has demonstrated, there is a sharp debate over the impact of geographic clustering on the assimilation and occupational mobility of immigrants. Interestingly, economists, economic historians and sociologists line up on both sides of the debate. For the Irish, having access to strong support networks in their ethnic communities may have provided them with initial advantages in finding work and settling into their new host society. But did it actually slow their subsequent assimilation and occupational mobility? Did these networks and support systems improve their starting position in American society, but also reduce their incentive to assimilate and learn about the wider American experience? With my sample data, I will seek to analyse the experience of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century to bring new evidence to bear on this issue. As mentioned previously, the late nineteenth century represents an ideal time period for assessing this question as several historians have argued that the Irish immigrants to the US in this era benefited from a strong network established by prior Irish immigrants, and that they were not subject to the extreme conditions faced by Irish immigrants during the mid-nineteenth century. In addition, the subsequent arrival of large numbers of Southern and Eastern Europeans beginning in the first decade of the twentieth century began to challenge the advantaged position of the Irish in local government and labour unions.[71] Thus, if there were positive benefits to geographic clustering for Irish immigrants in the US, they are likely to be found in the late nineteenth century time period which is the focus of this dissertation.

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[70] Cutler et al. (2008), p. 772.
[71] Glazer and Moynihan, (1963), pp. 260-2.

Related to the issue of geographic clustering is the impact of an immigrant's ethnic environment on their assimilation and labour market outcomes. Hatton and Leigh (forthcoming) argue that immigrants do not assimilate as individuals, but as communities. They find that history does play a role in the subsequent assimilation experience of immigrant groups in that the more established is the tradition of an immigrant group, the more integrated that immigrant community will be in its new host society. As a result, they argue that newly arrived immigrants from more integrated groups assimilate more easily into the labour market.[72] Borjas (1999) places emphasis on ethnic capital, which he defines as "the whole set of ethnic characteristics - including culture, attitudes, and economic opportunities" – to which members of particular ethnic groups are exposed. He argues that ethnic capital "effectively lowers the flame under the melting pot from a full boil to a slow simmer" and makes it difficult "to escape the economic fate implied by one's ethnic background."[73] Borjas (1999) argues that the influences of ethnic capital have spillover effects on human capital accumulation and hence that the "quality" of the ethnic environment has a key role to play in immigrant assimilation. He also credits sociologist James Coleman with developing the concept of social capital, of which ethnic capital represents but one type. Coleman (1988) defines social capital as "a particular kind of resource" available to an individual in a social structure that enables that person to take an action he would not otherwise be able to take. This resource results from "changes in the relations among persons that facilitate action." Coleman (1988) argues that while social capital is "less tangible than physical capital or human capital," it is equally able to facilitate productive activity. He uses as an illustration a group having "extensive

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[72] Timothy J. Hatton and Andrew Leigh, "Immigrants assimilate as communities, not just as individuals", *Journal of Population Economics,* (forthcoming), p. 2.
[73] Borjas (1999), p. 14.

trustworthiness and trust" being able to accomplish "much more than a comparable group without that trustworthiness and trust."[74] The impact of social capital is primarily in its ability to affect the formation of human capital. The concept of social capital is applicable to this dissertation in the analysis of the impact of ethnic ties and geographic clustering on the assimilation of immigrants into American society.

Other scholars have also examined the impact of social capital on immigrant assimilation. Portes (1995) defines social capital as "the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures." He views social capital as representing the positive economic effects resulting from these social structures.[75] Similar to Hatton and Leigh (forthcoming), he stresses that immigrants are not just individuals but members of groups, and participants in social structures that affect their economic mobility. From this vantage point, Portes (1995) finds ethnic enclaves to be of significant value to immigrants, "creating numerous economic opportunities for newcomers that are unavailable in the external labor market."[76] He acknowledges that there are hidden costs to social capital in the form of constraints on individual activity imposed by community norms, and a frequent obligation to "share the wealth" with other group members.[77] Notwithstanding these hidden costs, he is nonetheless an advocate of the benefits of ethnic clustering for immigrant adjustment into a new society.

Roberts (1995) also examines the influence of social capital on the success of new ethnic groups in America, but reaches a different conclusion than Portes (1995). He

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[74] James S. Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital", *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 94 (1988), pp. S100-101.
[75] Alejandro Portes, *The Economic Sociology of Immigration* (New York: 1995), p. 12.
[76] Portes (1995), p. 28.
[77] Portes (1995), p. 14.

notes that neo-classical economics tends to focus on the endowments of individuals within immigrant groups as an explanation for the varying adjustment of these groups into American society. He believes, however, that the usefulness of these individual endowments "depends not only on the economic context but on a supportive social environment."[78] With respect to ethnic enclaves, he acknowledges that immigrants can create enclaves "in which they speak their native language, shop in stores owned by co-ethnics, and even be employed by co-ethnics." However, he finds that "many good employment opportunities lie with employers who are not co-ethnics" and "a whole range of government services … are likely to be run by people of a different ethnic origin."[79] With respect to the Irish, he makes the interesting observation that the combination of their status as "cultural exiles" (also noted previously by Miller (1985)), together with the significant flow of new Irish immigrants over many decades, had the effect of helping them to sustain a distinct ethnic identity in America. Relative to many other immigrant groups, he finds the ethnic cohesion of the Irish to be quite strong. He explains this strength by stressing that the Irish were more likely to be permanent versus temporary residents of the US (owing to their strong sense of being cultural and political exiles from their homeland), and from the reinforcing effect which constant, high levels of immigration had on their ethnic identity.[80] Roberts (1995) does not address, however, what impact this strong sense of ethnic identity had on the assimilation of Irish immigrants, though his concerns about the economic limitations of ethnic enclaves may provide a sense of what his views may have been.

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[78] Bryan R. Roberts, "Socially Expected Durations and the Economic Adjustment of Immigrants", in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration,* Alejandro Portes (ed) (New York: 1995), p. 42.
[79] Roberts (1995), pp. 57-58.
[80] Roberts (1995), p. 64.

The literature on Irish immigrants has also focused on several aspects of assimilation beyond occupational mobility. Akenson (2000) brings a different perspective to the study of the assimilation experience of the Irish in the nineteenth century by focusing on what he sees as the misconceptions of that experience. In particular, he rejects the notion that the vast majority of Irish immigrants and their children were Roman Catholic, arguing that Protestants were a meaningful percentage of Irish immigrants and in fact may make up the majority of present day Irish America.[81] He also urges an integrated focus on Irish immigrants in both the US and Canada, claiming that the porous Canadian border and cheaper transport to many Canadian ports in the nineteenth century resulted in many Irish immigrants coming to America via Canada (in addition to those who chose to reside in Canada). With respect to the assimilation of Irish immigrants, he argues that the perception that the "culture of Roman Catholicism" left the Irish "backward and not fully able to cope with modernising America" is incorrect. He claims that this view, which he attributes to Miller (1985), ignores the success of Catholic immigrants in Canada and the US, as well as those of the Protestant Irish community. He concludes that "the idea that the Gaelic-Catholic culture was a heavy disability" for Irish individuals in the modern world of nineteenth century North America is not valid.[82]

This dissertation will explore aspects of assimilation beyond occupational mobility and will assess whether the issue of cultural persistence applies to other socio-economic characteristics of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. Guinnane, Moehling and O'Grada (2006) address one such aspect by examining the fertility experience of

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[81] Donald Harman Akenson, "Irish Migration to North America, 1800-1920", in *The Irish Diaspora*, Andy Bielenberg (ed) (London: 2000), p. 111. Given that the US census did not ask about a respondent's religion, it is not possible to accurately assess religious affiliation using US census data.
[82] Akenson (2000), p. 131.

turn of the century Irish immigrants in America. They find that the Irish do not adopt the fertility patterns of the native born white population, but retain a much higher level of fertility. They also show that this gap cannot be explained by differences in observable characteristics such as occupational class, home ownership or other similar socio-economic factors.[83] Like Roberts (1995), they note that Irish immigrants in the US retained strong links to their Irish heritage. They present evidence from the 1910 US census to argue that this distinctiveness also carried over to their fertility patterns. Unlike most other immigrant groups, the Irish reduced their fertility through their marriage patterns. They combined relatively low levels of nuptiality with relatively high levels of marital fertility. This fertility pattern is unique to the Irish, both in Ireland and in first generation immigrants in the US (though the Irish in Ireland had larger families than those in the US).[84] The authors conclude that this fertility pattern indicates the "persistence of cultural differences."[85]

No review of the immigrant assimilation literature would be complete without acknowledging the groundbreaking work of Thernstrom (1964, 1973), and the subsequent work of scholars including Kessner (1977) and Bodnar et al. (1982). These scholars were among the first to address the occupational and social mobility of immigrants and other working class Americans beginning in the nineteenth century. Thernstrom (1964, 1973), Kessner (1977), and Bodnar et al. (1982), produced detailed studies which made use of a host of local data sources including census manuscripts, city directories, marriage licenses, housing deeds, mortgage data, and birth and tax records to explain the experience of working class natives and immigrants in specific

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[83] Timothy W. Guinnane, Carolyn M. Moehling and Cormac O'Grada, "The fertility of the Irish the United States in 1910", *Explorations in Economic History* 43 (2006), pp. 483-484.
[84] Guinnane, Moehling and O'Grada (2006), p. 467.
[85] Guinnane, Moehling and O'Grada (2006), p. 482.

towns and cities. Thernstrom (1964), in his pioneering work on the residents of Newburyport, Massachusetts, was perhaps the first scholar to attempt to assess the openness of nineteenth century American class structure. He describes his classic work, entitled *Poverty and Progress – Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City*, as a volume which "deals with the lives of hundreds of obscure men who resided in a New England community in the latter half of the nineteenth century."[86] Interestingly and perhaps not surprisingly, Irish immigrants were an important source of labour in Newburyport throughout his period of analysis.[87] Thernstrom's (1964) principal conclusion is that social mobility for working class men in Newburyport in the second half of the nineteenth century was limited - 'Few of these men and few of their children rose very far on the social scale."[88] In a subsequent work on social mobility in the city of Boston, Thernstrom (1973) finds that immigrants fared "much less well than natives in the occupational competition." On a comparative level, he finds that "the Irish and Italians moved ahead only sluggishly and erratically," while the English and the Jews "found their way into the higher occupational strata with exceptional speed."[89] Thernstrom (1973) concludes that relative to Newburyport, working class natives and immigrants experienced greater upward mobility in the larger and more diversified economy of Boston.

Kessner (1977) and Bodnar et al. (1982) also examine the experience of working class immigrants in the cities of New York and Pittsburgh, respectively. Kessner (1977) chooses to tackle New York City, the largest and most important American city at the

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[86] Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress – Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge: 1964), p. 3.
[87] Thernstrom (1964), pp. 86, 200. During his period of analysis (1850-1880), Thernstrom finds that the Irish "entered the labor market at the bottom and climbed slowly."
[88] Thernstrom (1964), p. 223.
[89] Stephan Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians – Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis* (Cambridge: 1973), p. 250.

turn of the century. He studies the experiences of Italian and Jewish immigrants in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He finds that ethnicity does have an impact on immigrant occupational outcomes, with the Jewish immigrants outperforming the Italians in his study.[90] In contrast to Thernstrom (1973), Kessner (1977) finds that immigrant mobility was meaningful in New York City. He notes that "social mobility was both rapid and widespread, even for immigrants who came from the peasant towns of southern Italy and the Russian Pale."[91] In Pittsburgh, Bodnar et al. (1982) find modest occupational mobility for the Italian and Polish immigrants in the early decades of the twentieth century.[92] At the turn of the century, Pittsburgh was a leading industrial city and was the largest steel producing centre in America.[93] The study is noteworthy both in its choice of a heavily industrial location, and also for the fact that it attempts to compare the experience of Black Americans to those of immigrants.

It is important to note, however, that notwithstanding the pioneering nature of these studies, there are significant methodological limitations associated with the works of Thernstrom (1964, 1973), Kessner (1977) and Bodnar et al. (1982). In each case, the authors present analysis based on a group of people who were resident in the town or city under study. The principal limitation of this approach is that immigrant or native workers who leave the town or city during the period of analysis also leave the study. Due to the inability to track individuals who leave, these studies rely for their data solely on those who remain. Given that the persistence rates for these studies range

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[90] Thomas Kessner, *The Golden Door – Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City 1880-1915* (New York: 1977), p. 126.
[91] Kessner (1977), p. 165.
[92] John Bodnar, Roger Simon and Michael Weber, *Lives of Their Own* (Urbana: 1982), p. 255. They also examine the experience of Blacks, who lag materially behind the immigrant groups in their study.
[93] Bodnar et al. (1982), p. 13.

from approximately 20% in the case of Kessner's New York City to 40% in the case of Thernstrom's Boston, the experiences of the vast majority of the potential subjects of their studies cannot be utilised.[94] In addition to this crucial loss of relevant data, there is also the question of the representativeness of the experiences of those who remained. Are these persisters representative of the broader population or in what ways are they different from those who chose to leave, Boston, Pittsburgh, Newburyport or New York? Finally, these studies do not easily permit conclusions to be reached regarding regional or national level questions. As the dataset of experiences is limited to a particular town or city, it is not feasible to extrapolate and draw meaningful conclusions regarding immigrant assimilation at the national level during this timeframe.

More recent studies by Ferrie (1997, 1999), Long and Ferrie (2004, 2005, 2007), Stewart (2006) and Abramitzky et al (2010) have taken advantage of improvements in the availability of and access to US census data to create datasets that are able to track individuals over time regardless of their geographic location. These studies also benefit from improvements in computer software and processing capacity. Ferrie (1997) utilises this approach to take a fresh look at the argument that new immigrants to the US in the first half of the twentieth century had limited occupational mobility. Using one such newly created dataset, Ferrie (1997) is able to locate male immigrants in ships lists of arriving immigrants, as well as in the 1850 and 1860 US census manuscripts. He is able to use the data available in these sources to track the date of arrival, occupation in Europe as well as in the US, geographic location, age, and

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[94] Joseph P. Ferrie, *Yankeys Now – Immigrants in the Antebellum U.S. 1840-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 131. In this work, Ferrie references a survey of persistence rates in 63 separate studies of nineteenth century American communities in which Donald Parkerson calculated an average persistence rate of 38.3%.

various other individual and community characteristics of these new immigrants. Ferrie (1997) focuses on pre- versus post-migration occupational mobility, as well as the change in occupational mobility over time in the US. Ferrie's (1997) work represents an improvement over prior studies in that he is able to track the status of a large group of immigrants in the US from a range of European destinations. He is also able to observe these immigrants over a period of time through the use of the 1850 and 1860 US census manuscripts. Prior studies had located European occupational data only for narrowly circumscribed areas in Europe or relied on records of occupational mobility in small local economies.[95] Ferrie's (1997) principal conclusion is that European immigrants to the US in this period experienced considerable occupational mobility. He also finds that immigrants experienced more occupational mobility in their earlier years in the US than in their later ones, and that among the three primary immigrants groups in this period, British and German immigrants experienced greater occupational mobility than did the Irish. Ferrie (1997) suggests that this poor Irish performance "may have been the result of a combination of a lack of readily transferable labor market skills and labor market discrimination."[96] Most interestingly, Ferrie (1999) also finds that immigrants and natives who moved (i.e. became non-persisters in the terminology of Thernstrom) experienced greater occupational mobility (both upward and downward) than those who remained. Ferrie (1999) notes that this exclusive focus on persisters in studies such as those of Thernstrom (1964, 1973), Kessner (1977) and Bodnar et al. (1982) "may have imparted a significant bias to the magnitudes of both upward and downward occupational mobility" for the groups under study.[97]

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[95] Joseph P. Ferrie, "The Entry into the U.S. Labor Market of Antebellum European Immigrants, 1840-60", *Explorations in Economic History* (July 1997), p. 3.
[96] Ferrie (1997), p. 21.
[97] Ferrie (1999), p. 188.

Ferrie's (1997, 1999) work represents a clear advancement on prior studies that were more regional in their focus and lacked the ability to track the progress of individuals in the US over time. However, there are potential problems with his reliance on ship lists for occupational and ethnic data. A number of researchers including Erickson (1989) have questioned the accuracy of the pre-migration occupational data recorded in ships lists. These researchers note that the Passenger Ship Act of 1819 did not specify whether an immigrant's actual or anticipated occupation should be recorded, and also point to the poor and incomplete nature of many lists.[98] Erickson (1986) argues that many of these lists are not "complete, detailed or accurate," particularly with respect to the occupation data.[99] Ferrie (1997) defends this data by referencing a work by Swierenga (1986) which tests the accuracy of ship list occupational data for Dutch immigrants versus municipal records maintained by the Dutch Interior Ministry for those same individuals. According to Ferrie (1997), Swierenga (1986) found for a sample of 878 Dutch immigrants in the period between 1841-1850 that accuracy levels were 83% for white collar workers, 77% for skilled/semi-skilled workers, 55% for unskilled workers and less than 40% for farmers.[100] While Ferrie (1997) professes himself satisfied with this level of accuracy, it is unclear that such low accuracy levels for farmers and unskilled workers should be accepted so readily. Erickson (1989) also finds systemic problems in the accurate identification of Irish and Scottish immigrants in ship lists in the period between 1820 and 1850, particularly those arriving in the port

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[98] Ferrie (1997), p. 5.

[99] Charlotte Erickson, "The Uses of Passenger Lists for the Study of British and Irish Emigration", in *Migration Across Time and Nations*, Ira A. Glazier and Luigi de Rosa (eds) (New York: 1986), p. 319. Erickson notes that "anyone who has examined some of the lists is likely to be appalled when he comes across one in which the occupation column is filled in with ditto marks covering whole pages." In contrast, Cohn (1995) argues that the "information recorded on many of the lists is accurate and internally consistent." Raymond L. Cohn, "A Comparative Analysis of European Immigrant Streams to the United States during the Early Mass Migration", *Social Science History*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring, 1995), p. 75.

[100] Ferrie (1997), pp. 5-6.

of New York.[101] This is of concern as this port was the most important point of entry for immigrants from the British Isles during the nineteenth century. As Ferrie (1997) has access to no other systematic sources for pre-immigration data on occupations and ethnicity, he is forced to rely on this data despite its potential shortcomings.

In a series of recent articles, Long and Ferrie (2004, 2005, 2007), Stewart (2006) and Abramitsky et al (2010), also use census matching techniques to track the experiences of specific individuals over time. In one study, Long and Ferrie (2005) analyse the degree of occupational and geographic mobility in the US and the UK in various historical time periods. They conclude that the US had greater occupational and geographical mobility in the nineteenth century than did the UK, but that this higher level of mobility had disappeared by the mid-twentieth century.[102] Long and Ferrie (2007) have also tracked individual fathers and sons over time in the US and UK censuses to draw conclusions regarding intergenerational occupational and geographic mobility. Stewart (2006) also utilises census matching techniques in his study of migrants to the American frontier in the mid-nineteenth century. Stewart (2006) creates two matched samples, one of households who migrated to the frontier, and a second of households which remained in the interior of the US. Using these samples, he is able to observe the pre- and post-migration characteristics of these households, and to address the question of who moved to the frontier in this period. His methodology allows him to make judgements on the impact of migration to the US frontier on wealth accumulation, and he finds a positive relationship between

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[101] Charlotte Erickson, "Emigration to the British Isles in 1841: Part I." *Population Studies* 43 (1989), pp. 352-3.
[102] Jason Long and Joseph Ferrie, "'Everything in Common… But the Language?' Intergenerational Mobility in Britain and the US since 1850", *NBER Working Paper 11253* (2005), p. 36.

migration and economic opportunity.[103] Most recently, Abramitsky et al (2010) use matched samples to assess the economic return to migration for Norwegian immigrants to the US. In their article, they make use of two fully digitised Norwegian censuses (1865 and 1900), and create a novel data set of Norwegian men living in the US in 1900 using the genealogy website Ancestry.com. With these datasets, they then create linked samples of migrants and non-migrants, who are all observed in 1865 in Norway and in 1900 in the US (migrants) or Norway (non-migrants). In their results, they find that the return to migration was relatively low, and that men with poorer economic prospects were more likely to migrate to the US in this timeframe.[104] These recent works of Ferrie (1997, 1999), Long and Ferrie (2004, 2005, 2007), Stewart (2006) and Abramitsky et al (2010) demonstrate the significant potential of tracking specific individuals over time using census data and represent a clear improvement over previous studies that were only able to track individuals in a single geographic location. In this dissertation, the tracking of specific Irish immigrants in the 1880 and 1900 US censuses will be a critical component in my analysis.

Another measure of assimilation which will be used in this dissertation is that of intermarriage. For many decades, intermarriage has been viewed by historians, economists and sociologists as a key indicator of assimilation. Several sociologists have developed theories to address the issue of how people make decisions regarding marriage, some of which are highly applicable to the question of intermarriage.

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[103] James I. Stewart, "Migration to the agricultural frontier and wealth accumulation, 1860-1870", *Explorations in Economic History*, 43 (2006), p. 573. As a point of reference, Stewart's samples number 846 and 892 for frontier households and non-frontier households respectively. They are slightly smaller than the Irish sample to be used in this dissertation and significantly smaller than my native born sample.
[104] Ran Abramitsky, Leah Platt Boustan and Katherine Erickson, "Europe's Tired, Poor, Huddled Masses: Self-Selection and Economic Outcomes in the Age of Mass Migration", *NBER Working Paper No. 15684* (January, 2010), p. 5.

Hollingshead (1950) was one of the first sociologists to assess the influence of cultural factors on the decision to marry. In a 1948 study of marriages in the city of New Haven, CT, he found that cultural factors such as religion and ethnicity had a very strong effect on marriage choices.[105] His approach to marriage theory stated that marriage decisions were either homogamous (where like attracts like) or heterogamous (where opposites attract). In his New Haven study, he found strong evidence for the theory of homogamy, and concludes that one's subculture, race, age and class position "effectively determine the kind of person one will marry."[106]

More recent work by sociologists has focused to a greater extent on the influence of relative group size on inter-group relations including intermarriage. Blau et al. (1982) studied intermarriage using nationwide marriage data and developed their own theories to explain when members of different groups decide to intermarry. Using 1970 US census data, they found support for the theorems that 1) a group's relative size is inversely related to the proportion of its members who intermarry and 2) the heterogeneity of an area is directly related to the rate of intermarriage in it.[107] In their work, heterogeneity "depends on the number of groups and the population's distribution among them"[108] and effectively represents the chance of two people from different groups being in the same area. The authors argue that in the absence of any "in-group pressures" to marry someone from their own group, that the relative size of different groups and the degree of heterogeneity in a given area "would govern the extent of all social relations, including marriage, between members of different

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[105] August B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 15 (Oct. 1950), p. 627.
[106] Hollingshead (1950), p. 627.
[107] Peter M. Blau, Terry C. Blum, and Joseph E. Schwartz, "Heterogeneity and Intermarriage", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 47, (February 1982), p. 45.
[108] Blau et al. (1982), p. 46.

groups."[109] They argue that heterogeneity in a given area helps to promote intermarriage. Schoen (1986) also argues that intermarriage is influenced by the group composition of the population. He finds that when one group is small relative to another, that members of that group "may face a restricted market for in-group marriage but an extensive one for out-group marriage." Controlling for other factors, the relatively smaller group in his analysis is more likely to intermarry. Schoen (1986) also argues that members of the larger group have less chance of intermarriage "simply because there are relatively few members of the smaller group available.[110] In this dissertation, the theories of Hollingshead (1950), Blau et al. (1982) and Schoen (1986) will be applied to the results of my analysis of intermarriage among the Irish immigrants in my sample data.

Beyond theories of marriage, historians, economists and sociologists have also studied intermarriage as a measure of assimilation for different ethnic and racial groups in a given society. Alba and Goldin (1986) examine patterns of ethnic intermarriage using 1979 Current Population Survey data for the US. They are interested in marriage because more so than any other type of relationship, they believe it "tests social boundaries and the willingness of insiders and outsiders to accept each other" in a long-lasting relationship."[111] In their study, they also find support for the argument that smaller ethnic groups have higher rates of intermarriage than do larger ones. In addition, they argue that individuals of "ethnically related" backgrounds are also more likely to intermarry. For example, their results show significant levels of intermarriage among individuals of European ancestry, but very few of European and Asian

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[109] Blau et al. (1982), p. 51.
[110] Robert Schoen, "A Methodological Analysis of Intergroup Marriage", *Sociological Methodology*, Vol. 16 (1986), p. 50.
[111] Richard D. Alba and Reid M. Goldin, "Patterns of Ethnic Marriage in the United States", *Social Forces*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (September 1986), pp. 202-3.

ancestry. In their results, the mid-twentieth century Irish are more likely to intermarry than most ethnic groups in their sample.[112]

Pagnini and Morgan (1990) also study intermarriage among different ethnic groups in the US, but their focus is on the turn of the century period. Using US census data for 1910, they analyse intermarriage for eight different ethnic groups, including the Irish. Their results also point to higher levels of intermarriage among ethnically related groups. In this case, the "old" immigrants from Northwestern Europe are more likely to intermarry, than they are to marry an individual from one of the "new" immigrants from Southeastern Europe.[113] As for the Irish, they are more likely to intermarry than the British and Germans, but less likely than the Jews, Poles, Italians and Scandinavians in their study.[114] The native born have the lowest rates of intermarriage in their study, again confirming the argument that group size has a meaningful impact on rates of intermarriage.

Chiswick and Houseworth's (2008) recent study seeks to examine the determinants of intermarriage using contemporary data from the 1980 US census. They view assimilation as "the process by which the foreign born acquire the human capital specific to the host country."[115] The authors state that country specific human capital includes investments in language and culture as well as knowledge of local labour markets. In their study, they use a logistic regression analysis and find that the

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[112] Alba and Goldin (1986), p. 206.
[113] Deanna L. Pagnini and S. Phillip Morgan, "Intermarriage and Social Distance Among US Immigrants at the Turn of the Century", *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 96 No. 2, (September 1990), p. 429.
[114] Pagnini and Morgan (1990), p. 413.
[115] Barry R. Chiswick and Christina A. Houseworth, "Ethnic Intermarriage among Immigrants: Human Capital and Assortative Mating", *Discussion Paper No. 3740, The Institute for the Study of Labor* (2008),
p. 3.

probability of intermarriage decreases with the age of an immigrant at time of migration, and increases with level of education and time spent in the US. Their work also confirms the previous studies which argue that group size is negatively related to intermarriage.[116]

Several researchers have studied the marital behaviour of the Irish, as well as other immigrant groups, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century time period. Landale and Tolnay (1993) use 1910 US census data to analyse variations in marriage timing among the native born, and first and second generation immigrants. While they do not focus specifically on the Irish, they do include them in their study, which finds that ethnic differences in the timing of marriage do exist in both first and second generation immigrants in this time period. With regard to the Irish, they find that Irish men are less likely to marry than most other immigrant groups and that Irish women delay the timing of marriage to a greater extent than do other ethnic groups.[117] Their work would support the argument that cultural persistence did affect the demographic behaviour of immigrant groups in the US in this timeframe, including the Irish.

Foley and Guinnane (1999) have compiled a comprehensive study of Irish immigrant marriage patterns in the US in the period between 1880 and 1920. They argue that the Irish were famous for three distinct demographic behaviours at the end of the nineteenth century - "they migrated in huge numbers, were reluctant to marry, and had large families when they did marry."[118] Using US census data from 1880 to 1920, they compare the experience of Irish immigrants to that of native born white Americans.

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[116] Chiswick and Houseworth (2008), pp. 30-31.
[117] Nancy S. Landale and Stewart E. Tolnay, "Generation, Ethnicity and Marriage: Historical Patterns in the Northern United States", *Demography*, Vol. 30, No.1 (February 1993), pp. 117-118.
[118] Foley and Guinnane (1999), p. 15.

Similar to Landale and Tolnay (1993), they find that the Irish were less likely to marry than most other immigrant groups, as well as the native born. However, they also find that these differences were almost entirely accounted for by the urban residence and lower socio-economic status of the Irish relative to the native born in the earlier periods under study. In 1910 and 1920, their results did find that Irish men were less likely to marry even after controlling for other variables.[119] They also found differences between the marriage patterns of Irish men and women, with the women being more likely to marry and more closely resembling the experience of the native born than were the Irish men. Hence they find qualified support for the argument of cultural persistence in Irish marriage patterns in the US, but with interesting differences between the experience of male and female immigrants, as well as across the time period under study. In my research, I will also assess whether this issue of cultural persistence applies to various socio-economic characteristics of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century.

One final area in which this dissertation will seek to measure the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century will be an analysis of the first names married Irish immigrants gave to their children. The use of children's names represents another measure for assessing the assimilation of immigrants outside of the workplace. The selection of a non-Irish name for a child by an Irish immigrant father can be viewed as a sign of how willing that parent is for his child to become more assimilated as an American. Similarly, the selection of a distinctly Irish name can be viewed as a sign of cultural persistence and of a lesser desire to assimilate. In the literature, there is a surprising dearth of research into the use of names as a measure of assimilation or

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[119] Foley and Guinnane (1999), p. 33.

cultural persistence. Rossi (1965) was perhaps the first researcher to use the naming of children in a systematic manner in her study of naming patterns in middle class American families in the 1960s. She argued that because parents in the US had considerable freedom in choosing their children's names, that this "permissive environment" produced naming patterns that were valid for use as social indicators.[120] Her analysis focused on the impact of kinship on the naming process. Zelinsky (1970) assigned even greater value to the naming of children, arguing that the choice of a child's name "is closer to fulfilling the criteria for an ideal cultural measure than any other known item."[121] He also suggested that the use of children's names permitted "an approach to one of the most profound questions in cultural geography, the extent to which different places are becoming more or less alike in a cultural sense."[122] Zelinsky's interest in measuring differences is quite similar to this author's focus on assimilation of immigrants in American society.

Sociologist Stanley Lieberson has perhaps given the most attention to the study of children's names. Lieberson and Bell (1992) argue that first names can "demarcate subgroups of a society along such lines as gender, race and ethnicity" and, of critical importance for this dissertation, they can also "signal shifts in assimilation and identification."[123] Using large-scale data on births in the state of New York in the 1970s and 1980s, they analyse gender differences in naming patterns. With respect to the relationship between the naming of children and assimilation, Lieberson (2000) argues that it would be extremely difficult for an ethnic group to avoid the influence of

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[120] Alice S. Rossi, "Naming Children in Middle-Class Families," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (August, 1965), p. 499.
[121] Wilbur Zelinsky, "Cultural Variation in Personal Name Patterns in the Eastern United States," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 60, No. 4 (December, 1970), p. 746.
[122] Zelinsky (1970), p. 769.
[123] Stanley Lieberson and Eleanor O. Bell, "Children's First Names: An Empirical Study of Social Taste," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 98, No. 3, 511-554 (November 1992), p. 514.

the larger society on their naming patterns. He states that "the influence of mass media, literacy and mobility aspirations requiring entry into the dominant society" all undermine efforts to have distinct cultural or ethnic "tastes."[124] From a methodological standpoint, he uses the 20 most common names in a given category and looks for overlaps among categories to make his comparisons.

Watkins and London (1994) use US Census data to analyse the naming patterns of immigrants. In their research, they use names drawn from the 1910 US Census to compare patterns of given names among first and second generation immigrants of Jewish and Italian descent. In contrast to the approach of this author, they do not attempt to identify ethnicity based on first name, but rather use the ethnicity of the parents to classify names. They then seek to compare the diversity and concentration of name choice among these immigrant groups versus each other, and versus a sample of native born white Americans.[125] In their study, they find that Jewish immigrants use a smaller and less diverse universe of names than the Italian or native born groups,[126] and that there is limited overlap in names between the three groups.[127] They also find a "subtle transformation" in given names between generations, with the second generation adopting more names common among the native born.[128]

More recently, Fryer and Levitt (2004) have produced an article on the causes and consequences of the choice of distinctly Black names by a child's parents in the US. Using four decades of data from the state of California, they analyse the changing

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[124] Lieberson (2000), p. 221.
[125] The use of the top 20 most popular names is a primary form of comparison in this analysis.
[126] Susan Cotts Watkins and Andrew S. London, "Personal Names and Cultural Change", *Social Science History* 18:2 (Summer, 1994), p. 178.
[127] Watkins and London, p. 187.
[128] Watkins and London, p. 197.

patterns in child naming and seek to address whether cultural differences are a cause or a consequence of continued economic disparity between Blacks and Whites in the US.[129] They view the choice of a child's name as a means of measuring "cultural investments."[130] In their results, they find stark differences in naming patterns between Blacks and Whites, and conclude that having a distinctly Black name is primarily a consequence as opposed to a cause of segregation and poverty.[131] In this dissertation, I will use information regarding the naming of Irish immigrant children to assess the degree of assimilation of their parents.

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[129] Roland G. Fryer, Jr. and Steven D. Levitt, "The Causes and Consequences of Distinctively Black Names", *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* Vol. CXIX, Issue 3 (August 2004), pp. 768-9.

[130] Fryer and Levitt (2004), p. 769.

[131] Fryer and Levitt (2004), p. 801. This analysis is also reported in more extensive detail in Steven D. Levitt and Stephen J. Dubner, *Freakonomics* (New York, 2005). Similar to Watkins and London (1994) and Lieberson (2000), Levitt and Dubner also use the 20 most common names in a given category as the basis for their analyses.

II. Data and Methodology

Description of US census data and matching technique – As discussed in Chapter I, the assimilation of Irish immigrants will be measured in this dissertation primarily by various socio-economic characteristics available in the US censuses of 1880 and 1900. The 1880 US census has been converted in its entirety into a machine readable dataset by the North Atlantic Population Project (NAPP)[132]. NAPP was created by the Minnesota Population Center at the University of Minnesota in collaboration with the University of Ottawa, Université de Montréal, University of Essex, Statistics Iceland, University of Bergen, and the University of Tromsø. NAPP has created a machine-readable database of the complete censuses of Canada (1881), Great Britain (1881), Iceland (1870, 1880, 1901), Norway (1865, 1900), and the US (1880). With respect to the 1900 US census, a sample of this census has also been converted into a machine readable dataset, again by the Minnesota Population Center. Their Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS)[133] is a project dedicated to collecting and distributing US census data from 1850 to the present. In the case of the 1900 US census, I was given access to an enhanced dataset representing a 2.5% sample. The IPUMS samples are cluster samples, with the sample unit being household dwellings (as opposed to individuals). The choice of household dwellings as sample units allows for the analysis of topics such as fertility, marriage patterns and the naming of children that would not be possible with an individual based random sample. The IPUMS samples are also geographically stratified. NAPP and IPUMS data are fully compatible with one

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[132] Minnesota Population Center. North Atlantic Population Project: Complete Count Microdata. Version 2.0 [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: Minnesota Population Center, 2008.
[133] Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek. Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0 [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010.

another, and thus provide a rich source of longitudinal data on the American population over the last decades of the nineteenth century.

In my research, I have employed a matching technique to link specific individuals across these two datasets. I have created a sample of Irish male immigrants of working age drawn from the 1880 US Census, and then located as many unique matches as possible of these individuals in the 1900 US Census. I have similarly created a separate, random sample of native born white males of working age. Utilising these samples, together with various other data sources, this dissertation will assess the degree of assimilation achieved by Irish immigrants with native born white Americans[134] across a range of census characteristics including: occupation, employment status, geographic location, literacy, home ownership, marital status and children's names, as well as several characteristics related to their spouses such as fertility, nationality, literacy and labour market participation. The reason for using this matching technique is to enable me to track the experience of particular individuals, as well as to locate information regarding their spouses and children. This approach allows me to measure changes in socio-economic variables over time and represents an improvement over several previous immigrant studies in which researchers were only able to track the experience of individuals who remained in the same location.[135] In addition, this matching technique will also allow me to assess the relationship between

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[134] I have chosen to exclude all males not classified as white in the census data, the vast majority of which were black. The reason for this exclusion is that in the time period under analysis, black Americans had only recently gained emancipation from slavery. As such, their levels of human capital were far lower than those of whites, as well as those of most of the immigrants arriving in the US. For example, in 1880 the literacy rate among black men of equivalent age to my sample data was just 43%. As we will see later in this chapter, literacy rates among native born white males and Irish immigrants were in excess of 90%.

[135] See Thernstrom (1964, 1973), Kessner (1977), Bodnar et al. (1985).

characteristics of family members, such as spouse nationality and children's names, and the assimilation and labour market outcomes of these Irish immigrants.

In order to create these samples, individual level census data on first name, last name, age and marital status, was used to link individuals from the 1880 US census to the 1900 US census sample. To create my Irish born sample, I utilised the NAPP sample extraction system to select all males between the ages of 16 and 45 years of age who were recorded as being active in the labour force, were born in Ireland, and were listed in the 1880 US census manuscripts. This selection generated a universe of 522,180 observations. I then performed a similar selection procedure using the IPUMS 2.5% sample of the 1900 US census, in this case specifying ages between 35 and 65 years of age. In order to reduce the chances of false positive matches, I also specified that the 1900 US census sample include only those males who had become resident in the US on or before 1880, thus excluding the possibility of an immigrant who arrived after 1880 being matched with an Irish immigrant of the same name living in the US before 1880 who was also present in the 1900 dataset. This selection process for the IPUMS 1900 US census dataset generated 8,356 observations. Utilising Soundex, a phonetic algorithm frequently used to match individuals in nineteenth century US census data, I then created alpha-numerical codes for first and last names. I then merged the two files into one and identified those individuals whose Soundex last name code and first name code matched from the 1880 dataset to the 1900 dataset. As errors in age reporting as well as age heaping were common in nineteenth century US census data (these issues will be discussed later in this chapter), I allowed for a one year variation in the reported age of an individual in 1880, and the reported age of that individual in

1900.[136] I further refined the matching process by using certain marital status data available in the 1880 and 1900 US censuses to eliminate those individuals who were married in 1900 and had a marriage with duration greater than 20 years, yet were listed as single in 1880. As all these variables were available in both censuses, this technique allowed me to further refine the matching process.

A subsequent review of the file revealed that there were many observations where common names were resulting in multiple matches of the same individual across the two datasets. If individuals from the 1880 and 1900 censuses could not be successfully matched, that individual had to be dropped from the sample. To address this issue, I dropped any matches resulting from common names (based on Soundex last name and first name codes) for which there were more than four duplicates. I then individually inspected each remaining set of matches, both the unique ones as well as those with up to four duplicate matches. I undertook this exercise for two reasons: (i) to further reduce the chances of a false positive match, and (ii) to try to increase the number of successful matches from the sets which had a limited number of duplicates as described above. This inspection allowed me to eliminate matches where the first and/or last name of the uniquely matched individuals was materially different, but the Soundex coding had been the same. It also allowed me to identify incremental matches from the group with a limited number of duplicates. With this approach, I was able to generate a final sample of 937 unique matches of Irish born males drawn from both the 1880 and 1900 US censuses. With an effective universe of 8,356 individuals who fit my initial criteria in the IPUMS 2.5% 1900 US census dataset, this process generated a successful matching rate of 11.2%. Of these 937 individuals, 611 were married with

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[136] Other researchers have recently allowed for a two year age variation, but I chose a one year limit to reduce the chances of false positive matches. See Abramitsky et al (2010), p. 11.

their spouse present in the household at the time of the 1900 census, allowing me to capture data on all of these spouses as well.

To create my native born sample, I utilised the identical process as described above for the Irish born sample with one minor exception. Given the extremely large universe of potential native born males, I chose not to seek to identify incremental matches on an individual inspection basis where the process created multiple duplicates. I defined native born as an individual whose birthplace, along with those of both of his parents, was in the US. For this sample, I was able to identify 15,985 unique matches drawn from both the 1880 and 1900 US censuses. With an effective universe of 123,979 individuals who fit my initial criteria in the IPUMS 2.5% 1900 US census dataset, this process generated a successful matching rate of 12.9%. I again sought to locate the spouses of my native born males using the 1900 US census dataset. Of these 15,985 individuals, 13,149 were married in 1900, again allowing me to capture data on all of these spouses of native born males. Table 2.1 provides a summary of the matching process results for both the Irish and native born samples.

Table 2.1
Summary of Irish and Native Sample Matching Process

	Irish Sample	Native Sample
1880 NAPP 100% Sample Population (a)	522,180	5,404,325
1900 IPUMS 2.5% Sample Population (a)	8,356	123,979
Final Matched Sample	937	15,985
Successful Matching Rate (b)	11.2%	12.9%

(a) Represents all individuals in the dataset who met sample criteria with respect to birthplace, gender, age, labour force participation, year of immigration (Irish sample only), and race (Native sample only).
(b) Matching rate expressed as a percentage of the 1900 IPUMS 2.5% sample population. By way of comparison, Ferrie (1999) achieved a matching rate of 10.6% using 1850 US census data and passenger ship lists. Long and Ferrie (2004) achieved a rate of 22% linking individuals from the 1850 and 1880 US censuses.

The decision to use Soundex to code and then match the names in my database was made based on the nature and time period of my data. Working with late nineteenth century US census data, using Soundex was the preferred approach for several reasons. First of all, the US government used Soundex coding to organise all Federal census data from 1880 until 1920. This was done in large part because many of the actual enumerators who recorded the census information were discovered to have been spelling respondent's names phonetically.[137] As this could lead to multiple possible outcomes for an individual's name across different census periods, the use of a phonetic code to match individuals in this time period was deemed critical. In addition, the US Government's National Archives and Records Administration continues to use Soundex as its preferred index for accessing census data on its online database. Finally,

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[137] Dick Eastman, *Eastman's Online Genealogy Newsletter*, April 6, 2005.

the Soundex code is the choice of many currently active researchers working with US census data to match individuals in the mid- to late-nineteenth century.[138]

In Table 2.2, I have compared my sample results to the relevant populations from which they were drawn to assess their representativeness. For the populations, I have used the same NAPP and IPUMS datasets as were used to create my matched samples. These matched samples, though not statistically identical to the populations from which they were drawn, do appear on the surface to be quite representative. A statistical analysis using a t test for age and the chi squared test of independence for the remaining variables was employed as further test of representativeness.[139] As Table 2.2 shows, the Irish sample was statistically representative of the population from which it was drawn in many variables, including rural status, marital status and literacy. The native sample was not similarly statistically representative. However, the magnitudes of the biases in the native sample are quite small, and these biases all vary in the same direction as those of the Irish sample. For example, for both the Irish and native born, their samples are slightly more rural, more likely to be married, more likely to own a home and more likely to be literate than the populations from which they were drawn. As a result, the effect of these biases on my ability to assess the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the US using these samples should not be material.[140]

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[138] See Ferrie (1996, 1997, 1999), Long and Ferrie (2004, 2005, 2007), Stewart (2006).

[139] The chi squared test of independence was employed for the non-age related variables because each of these variables is expressed as a proportion which sums to one.

[140] In a recent article in which matched samples were created to analyse census data over time, Abamitzsky et al. (2010) p. 17, also found that their samples were not statistically identical to the populations from which they were drawn. However, they also noted that the direction and extent of the biases between their two samples were nearly identical, and were thus not likely to affect their estimates or conclusions.

Table 2.2
Representativeness of Irish and Native Samples

Variable	Irish Sample	Irish Population
Age (years)		
1880	32.0***	34.1
1900	51.9***	52.7
Rural Status		
1880	43.2%	41.3%
1900	35.3% ***	30.2%
Marital Status (1900)		
Married	74.5%	74.0%
Never Married	14.4%	14.5%
Widowed	10.8%	11.3%
Divorced	0.3%	0.2%
Home Ownership (1900)	52.6% ***	48.9%
Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	92.6%	90.3%
Read or write only	1.1%	2.1%

Variable	Native Sample	Native Population
Age (years)		
1880	28.0***	28.8
1900	48.0***	47.3
Rural Status		
1880	86.0% ***	82.5%
1900	74.7% ***	70.6%
Marital Status (1900)		
Married	84.4% ***	83.3%
Never Married	9.1%	9.9%
Widowed	6.1%	6.2%
Divorced	0.4%	0.6%
Home Ownership (1900)	60.2% ***	57.2%
Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	94.0% ***	93.5%
Read or write only	1.5%	1.4%

***Differences between the individuals in the matched samples and those from the populations from which they were drawn are significant at the 1, 5 and 10% levels using a t test for age and the chi squared test of independence for the remaining variables. Irish sample rural status is statistically different in 1900 only.

Additional US census data samples - In addition to my Irish and native born samples, I have also created additional samples using the 1880 and 1900 US censuses. These samples are utilised in various chapters to address specific questions that cannot be addressed with my matched Irish and native born samples. In Chapter III, I have created an additional sample for use in assessing the degree of assimilation of Irish immigrants at the end of the nineteenth century. This sample is designed to represent the American population as a whole, and to provide a comparison for both my Irish and native born samples against the American population in this timeframe. Using the analogy of the melting pot, this sample could be described as a "melted" sample, and represents another framework against which the assimilation of Irish immigrants can be measured. In constructing this melted sample, I have utilised the NAPP and IPUMS datasets with only minor changes. I have maintained the same selection criteria with respect to gender, age, race and labour force participation as utilised in my Irish and native born samples. Apart from these filters, I have not made any further adjustments to the underlying datasets and have used the NAPP and IPUMS samples in their entirety. However, one significant difference in the melted sample versus the Irish and native born samples is that I have not attempted to match individuals across the two datasets. The rationale for this decision derives directly from the purpose of the melted sample - that is to represent the broader American population in both 1880 and in 1900. By matching individuals across the two datasets (and thus excluding from the melted sample anyone who immigrated to the US between 1880 and 1900), I would miss changes which were occurring in the American population in this time period. My melted sample would not be reflective of the broader American population in 1900 if I included only individuals who could be matched back to the 1880 US census. With this approach, my melted sample totalled 9,267,544 observations in 1880 and 89,854

observations in 1900. In Chapter III, I also created samples of German and English immigrants living in the US in 1880 and 1900 for use in an occupational analysis. Similar to the melted sample, the German and English immigrants are not matched at the individual level. I have used the same criteria in terms of gender, age and workforce participation to select these individuals from the NAPP and IPUMS census samples.

In Chapter V, I have used the county level US census data available from the University of Virginia Historical Census Browser[141] to create a database which illustrates the percentage of Irish immigrants living in each county in the US in 1900. The University of Virginia census data is based on a complete sample of the relevant censuses, and thus provides a robust basis for examining the issue of geographic clustering in late nineteenth century America.[142] Using this data, I have constructed a measure of geographic clustering of Irish immigrants at the county level in 1900. In addition, I have also created a sample of Irish immigrants who came to the US prior to 1900 using the IPUMS 2.5% US census sample for 1900. This sample is comprised of 26,722 male immigrants between the ages of 25 and 65 years old, who were in the workforce in 1900. I have created this new sample so as to have the largest possible sample of Irish immigrants with which to assess the impact of geographic clustering at the county level. My matched sample of 937 Irish immigrants is simply too small in size for the purpose of examining the issue of geographic clustering at the county level throughout the US in this time period.

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[141] Historical Census Browser. The University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html. (2004).

[142] However, the University of Virginia Historical Census Browser has only limited fields of information. Thus it would not have been possible to use this source as an alternative to the IPUMS 1900 US census data for my other samples.

Finally in Chapter VI, I have created samples of children's names which also include significant information regarding their parents. In the first sample, I have utilised my matched Irish sample and located the children who were living in the household with their Irish immigrant father and his spouse in 1900. Using information variables provided in the IPUMS data extraction system regarding the location of the father and his spouse, it is possible to locate their children. For the 611 households in my matched sample where the Irish immigrant was married with the spouse present, I was able to locate any children living in the household and then was able to go back into the database and obtain their names. This process generated a total of 1,976 children's names of Irish immigrants in my sample, which is linked to the significant amount of socio-economic information regarding their parents available in that sample.

In Chapter VI, I also created samples of Irish immigrant children's names for children born in each decade from the 1870s through to the 1920s using the complete US census sample data available from IPUMS. This approach, while not linked to my matched sample of Irish immigrants, allowed me to access a much broader distribution of name outcomes, and to analyse the relationship between children naming patterns and assimilation over time. For these samples, the IPUMS system allowed me to screen for children born to an Irish immigrant father, and to ensure that the father was the natural father of the child and not a step father. This distinction was critical as it would have been the natural father who would have been involved in the naming of a child.

Occupational categories and incomes – In addition to using US census data to study the issue of assimilation of Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America, this

dissertation also assesses the occupational mobility of these immigrants, as well the relationship between assimilation and occupational mobility for Irish immigrants in this time period. In order to measure occupational mobility, it is necessary to create a framework in which to evaluate occupational levels and changes in those levels during the period under analysis. As noted by Sobek (1996), "our understanding of historical social structure and where people fit in is bound up with the interpretation of occupations."[143] Thernstrom (1973) pointed out in his groundbreaking study *The Other Bostonians* that the measurement of occupational mobility "requires a specification of the broad occupational categories that may be considered socially distinct, and a definition of which jobs fit in which category." He noted that such a specification is not straightforward, requires flexibility, and is subject to change over time.[144] As this researcher (and, I am sure, many others) has found, where you draw the lines between occupational classes can have a meaningful impact on your results. In creating the occupational categories for use in this dissertation, I have drawn on the groundbreaking work of Thernstrom (1964, 1973), which itself was originally inspired by the work of the US census statistician Alba Edwards. In my research, I have separated my samples into six occupational categories (High White Collar, Low White Collar, Farmer, Skilled, Semi-skilled and Unskilled), and will examine the changes in these categories over the period from 1880 to 1900.

In addition, I have drawn on the work of Sobek (1996), who assembled a dataset of occupational incomes in the US as of 1890. The primary benefit of an income level is that it is a continuous variable more easily suited to econometric analysis, and it does not require one to draw arbitrary lines between occupations in order to make

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[143] Matthew Sobek, "Work, Status and Income – Men in the American Occupational Structure since the Late Nineteenth Century", *Social Science Review* 20:2 (summer 1996), p. 170.
[144] Thernstrom (1973), p 46.

comparisons. However, there are significant shortcomings involved with income estimates as well. First of all, a mean occupational income figure ignores the fact that many people in the same occupation may earn different incomes, and that incomes may also vary based on the impact of skill levels, career trajectories, regional differences and other factors. In addition, several researchers have speculated that certain nineteenth century immigrants to the US were the victim of discrimination, and may have been paid less than native born workers for the same work.[145] A single income level per occupation would not capture this effect. Finally, the measurement of the income level of farmers in this time period is particularly problematic. Economic historians such as Preston and Haines (1991) chose to exclude farmer income from their own income estimates due to the uncertainty surrounding the "type and size of farm, crop prices and harvest size." They concluded that there was simply too much uncertainty to make a single estimate for this group.[146] Inconveniently, farming was the leading occupation of native born Americans in this time period and hence in my native born sample. In this dissertation, my analysis of occupational mobility among Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America will draw on both the occupational categories as well as income estimates, and will make particular note of the treatment of farmers in these results.

Data quality issues - With respect to data quality, there are certain issues that must be acknowledged regarding the use of US census data in this time period, as well as the matching technique described herein. As noted by Steckel (1991), nineteenth century US census data is not entirely reliable, suffering from three main types of error: underenumeration, overenumeration and misreporting. The first type of error occurs

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[145] See McGouldrick and Tannen (1977), Hannon (1982a, 1982b).

[146] Samuel H. Preston and Michael R. Haines, *Fatal Years – Child Mortality in Late Nineteenth Century America* (Princeton: 1991), p. 212.

when a record or element is entirely omitted, the second when a person or unit is included more than once, and the third when attributes such as name, age, gender or occupation are recorded with error.[147] Sobek and Dillon (1995) also found that late nineteenth and early twentieth century US censuses suffered from data quality problems, in particular as it relates to occupational coding. While their work highlighted the underenumeration of domestic female servants in the 1880 US census, they concluded that "the Census Office coded by the seat of its pants," and that researchers should "not be naïve about the sanctity" of US census occupational data.[148] Underenumeration is a particular concern for techniques seeking to match individuals across census years. Steckel (1991) found that the underenumeration is "often selective," with "the poor, the unskilled, ethnic minorities, the very young, residents of large cities, and residents of frontier areas" being more likely to have been uncounted.[149] Magnuson and King (1995) estimate that the US censuses taken between 1880 and 1920 resulted in "levels of undercounts between 6.5 and 7.4 percent."[150] Steckel (1991) does note that the 1880 US census is regarded as "one of the higher quality efforts of the nineteenth century,"[151] and Magnuson and King (1995) argue that the 1880 US census "marked a turning point, with the replacement of marshals by supervisors answerable to the Census Office and efforts by the Washington office to provide training, oversight, and correction of fieldwork."[152] Nonetheless, it is evident that any research based on nineteenth century US census data must make note of its shortcomings.

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[147] Richard H. Steckel, "The Quality of Census Data for Historical Inquiry: A Research Agenda," *Social Science History* 15:4 (Winter, 1991) p. 580.
[148] Matthew Sobek and Lisa Dillon, "Interpreting work: Classifying occupations in the Public Use of Microdata Samples", *Historical Methods,* Winter 1995, Volume 28, Number 1, p. 73.
[149] Steckel (1991), p. 581.
[150] Diana L. Magnuson and Miriam L. King, Comparability of the Public Use Microdata Samples: Enumeration Procedures", *Historical Methods*, Winter 1995, Volume 28, Number 1, p. 31.
[151] Steckel (1991), p. 589.
[152] Magnuson and King (1995), p. 31.

With respect to the matching process to be employed in this dissertation, there is an additional issue that must also be addressed. Common names can limit the ability to obtain a successful match of an individual across census datasets. When two or more individuals share a common name that cannot be distinguished on the basis of their birth year, marital status or other variables, those individuals must be removed from the matched sample. For example, in a study in which he sought to match a sample of native and foreign born individuals across the 1850 and 1860 US censuses, Steckel (1988) found that Irish immigrants had a 4.6% probability of having a common name.[153] However, in a separate analysis of US census data from the same years (1850 and 1860), Ferrie (1999) found no meaningful bias resulting from the inability to match common names on his own matched sample results.[154] If the data sources allow, the issue of common names should be addressed by analysing the matched samples for representativeness based on dimensions measurable with broader census data.[155] In this chapter, I have examined the representativeness of my samples in such a manner. In that analysis, I found that many of the variables in my Irish sample were statistically representative of the broader datasets from which they were drawn. For those variables in both my Irish and native born samples which were not statistically representative, the differences were small, and all of them varied in the same direction, thus presenting no meaningful bias in their use. Taken together, the issues of underenumeration, misreporting and common names (in addition to the death of an individual between 1880 and 1900 and any return migration on the part of Irish

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[153] Richard H. Steckel, "Census Matching and Migration: A Research Strategy," *Historical Methods*, 21:2 (Spring: 1988) p. 54. The probability of an English immigrant having a common name was 3.5% and the probability for all other foreign born individuals was 5.6%.
[154] Ferrie (1999), p. 21.
[155] Long and Ferrie (2005), p. 14.

immigrants) will reduce the percentage of successful matches that one can obtain through the matching technique described herein.

One final data issue to be addressed is age heaping in US census data. Age heaping occurs when respondents to a survey or census tend not to give their exact age. Instead, some percentage of respondents round their age up or down to the nearest number that ends in either a zero or five (as these ages represent a less specific and more general response). One way to identify whether age heaping exists in the data is to graph the distribution of ages. Instead of finding a smooth distribution, one will find that there are "heaps" over the ages ending in zero and five. In Figure 2.1, I have graphed the distribution of ages for my Irish sample in 1900. As can be seen, there is a clear pattern of heaps in the distribution in the years ending in zero and five. In percentage terms, ages ending in zero or five represent 33.3% of the total number of observations, whereas if there was no age heaping, that percentage would be 20%. Figure 2.2 illustrates the corresponding distribution for my native born sample. In the case of the native born, age heaping does exist, but is much less pronounced than it is in the Irish sample. In percentage terms, ages ending in zero or five represent just 23.8% of the total number of observations. Because of the existence of age heaping in the US census data that was used to create my samples, and the corresponding lack of precision in age data which it implies, I did allow for a minor degree of variation in age in the process of creating my matched samples.

Figure 2.1

Distribution of Irish Sample Age in 1900
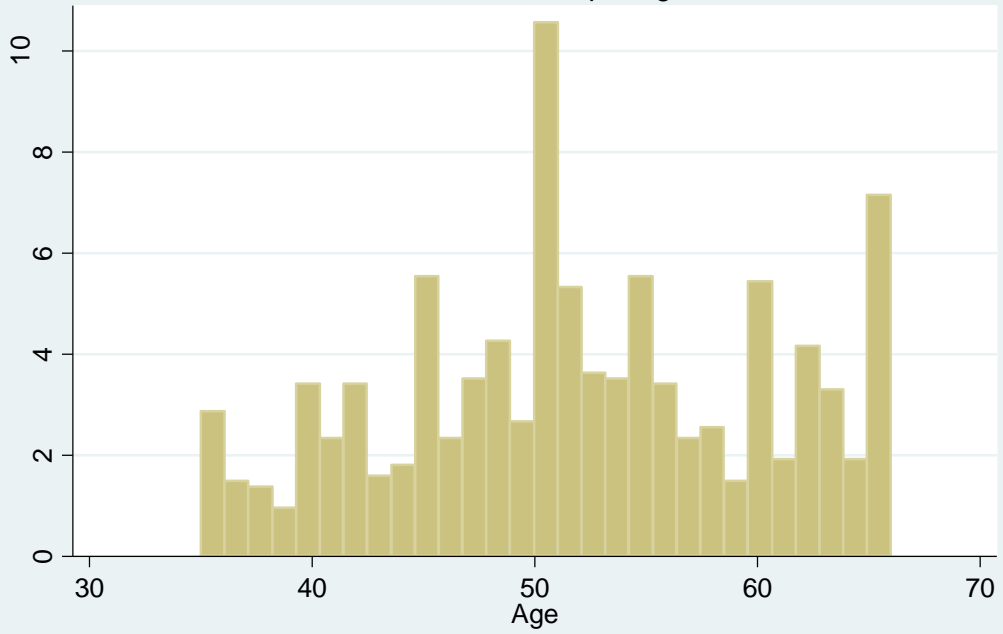
Figure 2.2

Distribution of Native Sample Age in 1900
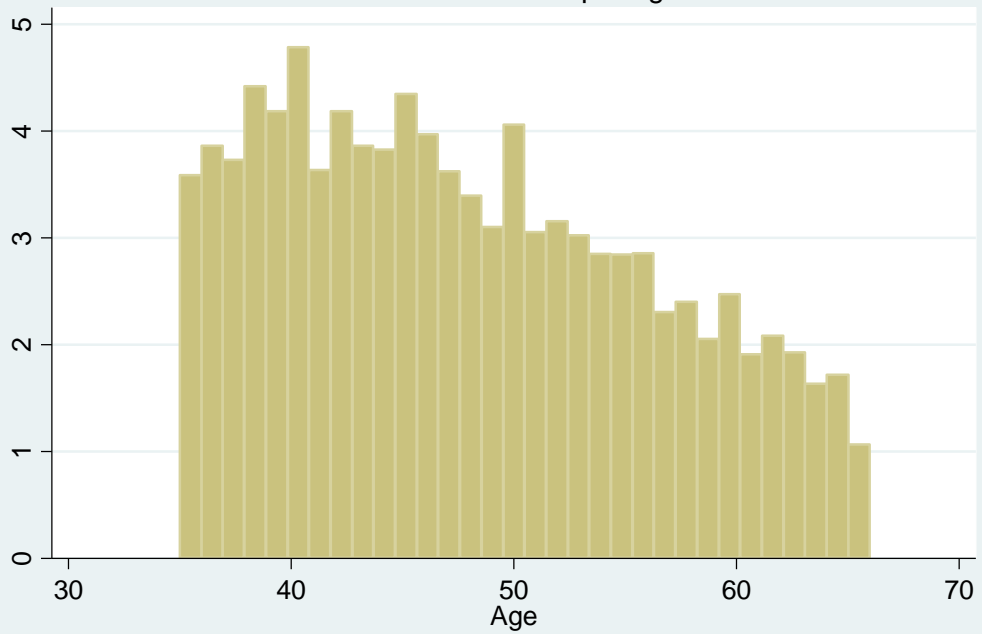
III. Assimilation and Occupational Mobility of Irish Immigrants in Late Nineteenth Century America

In this chapter, I will use my sample data to address the following two principal questions: Did Irish immigrants assimilate quickly into American society at the end of the nineteenth century and did they achieve occupational parity with the native born? In the literature, there has been a great deal written about the assimilation experience of immigrants in the US in this time period. The Irish in particular have been the subject of significant analysis and discussion. In this chapter, I will apply my newly created matched sample data, together with other data sources, to the study of the Irish assimilation experience in the US in the last decades of the nineteenth century. My approach to the assimilation process will be a multi-faceted one. While I will assess occupational mobility and income levels in some detail, I will also explore issues of assimilation which extend beyond the workplace. I will assess areas such as marriage and spousal characteristics, fertility, child mortality, literacy, geographic location and home ownership. This multifaceted approach is critical to understanding the assimilation experience of Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth century. In addition, I will also assess the debate which exists in the literature as to whether the Irish achieved occupational parity with the native born in this time period. As mentioned in Chapter I, there is a lack of consensus regarding whether the Irish achieved occupational parity with native born Americans in the workplace by the end of the nineteenth century. Borjas (1994) found that European immigrants (including those from Ireland) who arrived in what he terms The First Great Migration, the period from 1880 to 1924, did not achieve convergence in occupational levels with native born white males for as long as four generations.[156] On the other hand, Kenny (2006)

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[156] Borjas (1994) pp. 571-572.

and Doyle (1975) argued that Irish Americans did achieve relative occupational parity with native born white Americans by 1900.[157] In this chapter, I will bring to bear evidence from my matched samples of Irish immigrant and native born workers to further assess this issue of Irish occupational mobility at the end of the nineteenth century.

In addition to assessing the overall assimilation and occupational mobility of Irish immigrants relative to the native born, this chapter will also analyse various subsets of the Irish and native born samples to draw more specific conclusions regarding the assimilation of the Irish. I will assess whether the assimilation experience of specific subsets of the Irish differed from that of the aggregate Irish immigrant population. In addition, I will also compare the results of my Irish and native born samples to those of my melted sample to assess their assimilation and occupational mobility relative to the broader American population. Finally, I will also compare the occupational mobility of my Irish sample to that of German and English immigrants; the purpose of this comparison being to assess how the Irish fared in the workplace relative to the two other principal immigrant groups present in the US economy at the end of the nineteenth century. By moving beyond a comparison of my Irish sample to my native born sample and also analysing various subsets of these samples, and also by making comparisons between these samples and the broader American population and other prominent immigrant groups, I will seek to assess in broad terms the degree of assimilation and occupational mobility achieved by Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. In particular, I will seek to address the question of whether assimilation can vary across different socio-economic characteristics of a given

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[157] Kenny (2006), p. 360; Doyle (1975), pp. 42-43.

population, and also across different subsets of that population. Did the Irish achieve assimilation in certain areas, but retain a distinct Irish identity in others? Were there subsets of the Irish who assimilated differently and came to more closely resemble the native born than others? Is assimilation a uniform process or is it a multi-dimensional one that varies based on different socio-economic characteristics and population subsets?

In this chapter, my contribution to the literature derives from the use of these matched Irish and native born samples to assess the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the US at the end of the nineteenth century. The matching technique used to link specific individuals across the two US census datasets enables me to track the experience of particular individuals over time, as well as to gather information regarding their spouses and children. This approach allows me to assess behavioural changes over time as opposed to simply measuring the status of a group of individuals at one point in time. This ability to measure changes in socio-economic variables for specific individuals over time represents an improvement over several previous studies in which researchers were only able to track the experience of individuals who remained in the same location.[158] While other researchers have used this matching technique in their research to study themes involving immigrants and domestic migrants[159], none have used this technique to address the assimilation of the Irish and their relative occupational mobility in the US in the late nineteenth century timeframe.

As mentioned in Chapter I, one of the main factors differentiating these Irish immigrants from those who had arrived during the famine period was that they had

[158] See Thernstrom (1964, 1973), Bodnar et al. (1985).
[159] See Ferrie (1996, 1997, 1999), Long and Ferrie (2004, 2005, 2007), Stewart (2006), Abramitzky et al (2010).

much greater control over the decision to leave Ireland and immigrate to a foreign country such as the US. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Irish economy was much stronger than it had been in the earlier years of that century. The Irish economy experienced steady growth and achieved meaningful economic convergence with its European neighbours, as well as with the US. As noted by Guinnane (1997), by the beginning of the twentieth century, "most Irish people were much better off than their counterparts in 1850." Relative to the UK, real wages for unskilled Irish workers increased from 60% of British levels in 1852 to 92% by 1905.[160] The cost of transport to the US had also declined such that "the average unskilled Irish worker could save for the journey without difficulty."[161] This decline in the cost of transport was important as most Irish emigration was self-financed, with the state and other potentially interested parties such as landlords playing only a minor role in providing assistance to those seeking to emigrate.[162] As a result of these developments, Irish immigrants had more choice in the decision to emigrate than had their famine-era predecessors. If they chose to stay in Ireland, they had a better opportunity to sustain themselves in the domestic economy. If they chose to emigrate, the cost of making the journey had fallen within the reach of most of the Irish population.[163]

In addition to this greater choice on whether to emigrate, these immigrants were also more likely to have had some level of primary education than did their predecessors. National primary schools were introduced in Ireland during the 1830s, with the goal of

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[160] Guinnane (1997), pp. 57-8.
[161] Guinnane (1997), p. 109.
[162] Fitzgerald (1985), p. 15.
[163] Fitzgerald (1985), p. 22. Fitzgerald found that the passenger trade between Ireland and North America was highly competitive, and that the basic cost of one passage to America was "roughly equivalent to the value of a heifer or the rent of a typical Mayo farm at the end of the century."

providing a basic level of education to all Irish citizens.[164] These new schools had a

material effect on increasing literacy levels among Irish men and women. As measured

by the 1841 Irish census, literacy levels were just over 50% for males and slightly

higher for females. By the time of the 1911 Irish census, illiteracy for either men or

women had become extremely rare.[165] Rising wages in their home economy,

increasing literacy, and declining transport costs combined to give the late nineteenth

century Irish a much greater ability to make economic decisions for themselves,

including the decision to emigrate. The post famine Irish who made the choice to come

to the US should have had a greater opportunity to succeed in the US economy. In this

chapter, through the use of my sample data, we will assess whether in fact they did.

Table 3.1 provides a comparison of the Irish and native born samples across a broad

range of descriptive characteristics. These characteristics includes age, rural status,

marital status, home ownership, literacy, un- and under-employment, spouse fertility as

measured by children ever born as well as by children surviving, child mortality,

spouse age, spouse birthplace, spouse literacy and the percentage of spouses in the

workforce.   The results of this comparison are quite striking. As Table 3.1 indicates,

with the exception of the percentage of spouses in the workforce, the Irish living in the

US in 1880 did not attain the levels of native born white males across a range of socio-

economic characteristics captured in US census data in 1900. The differences between

the two samples are statistically significant at the 1% confidence level for every

category except for literacy and spouse in the workforce. The native born were much

more likely to have lived in rural areas, and although the US was becoming more

urbanised during this period, this substantial difference in geographic location between

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[164] Guinnane (1997), p. 64.
[165] Guinnane (1997), p. 65.

the two samples continued to persist as of 1900. Native born males in my sample were more than twice as likely to live in rural areas in 1900 as their Irish counterparts. The native born were also much more likely to be married, with a 10% gap between the two samples in 1900. In addition, the Irish were also more likely to have never been married than the native born, with 14.4% of the Irish sample never having been married versus 9.1% for the native born. These statistics are even more striking given that the Irish sample is approximately four years older on average than the native sample. As for home ownership, the principal measure of wealth available in US census data during this time period, the native born had achieved a noticeable advantage by 1900. In terms of employment stability, the native born reported lower levels of both unemployment and underemployment (as measured by the number of quarters unemployed in the past year) than did the Irish in 1900. In the area of fertility and child mortality, the results also varied quite materially. Measured in 1900, the Irish in my sample had had on average 20% more children than the native born, with a much higher rate of child mortality (23.3% versus 16.7%). Finally, the Irish were much more likely to have married a spouse also born in Ireland, whereas more than nine out of ten native born males chose to marry an American-born spouse. An analysis of the impact of intermarriage on the assimilation and occupational mobility of Irish immigrants will be presented in Chapter IV.

Despite the statistical differences, however, there are a few areas where the two samples did appear to achieve some degree of convergence. In the area of literacy, both the Irish and native born achieved roughly similar levels. More than nine out of ten males in my two samples were literate in 1900. As mentioned previously, the institution of national schooling in Ireland in the 1830s had a significant effect on

increasing the basic literacy levels of the Irish in the second half of the nineteenth century. With such a small difference between the literacy of Irish immigrants relative to native born males, it would appear that any differences in occupational mobility and other aspects of assimilation must be explained by factors other than literacy. In addition, the spouses of the male observations in my samples also had certain similarities as measured by census data. For example, the average age of spouses in both samples was approximately five years younger than their husbands in 1900 (4.7 years for the Irish and 5.2 for the native born). In this variable, they effectively mirrored the age gap between my two samples of approximately four years. In addition, the spouses also had very similar rates of labour force participation. In both cases, less than 3% of spouses were recorded as being in the workforce in 1900.[166] Finally, although the spouses of the native born had a slight advantage in literacy levels relative to the spouses of my Irish males in my sample, more than nine out of ten spouses in both my samples were literate in 1900.

Upon an initial review of the sample results, it would appear that Irish immigrants had not achieved meaningful convergence with the native born in any significant socio-economic variable by the year 1900. However, before concluding that Irish immigrants did not assimilate vis-à-vis the native born in this time period, it is important to note that the two samples do not correspond precisely to each other in their initial conditions. For example, the average age of the Irish sample in 1880 is 32.0 years versus 28.0 for the native born sample. The rural status of the Irish sample is 43.2% in 1880 versus 86.0% for the native born. To adjust for these differences in initial conditions, I undertook an exercise to standardise my native born sample versus my

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[166] Though there is evidence to suggest that this figure may underestimate the actual labour market participation of women in this time period. See Sobek and Dillon (1995), p. 73.

Irish sample. Alternatively using various key characteristics such as age, rural status, home ownership, occupational level and income, I standardised the larger native born sample to the smaller sized Irish sample in 1880 for each of these variables, and then observed the impact of this standardisation on the remaining variables in 1900. In each case, the Irish continued to differ materially from the native born in rural status, marital status, home ownership, fertility, child mortality, unemployment, spouse literacy and nationality. Standardising my sample did not materially alter any of my original conclusions. Table 3.2 shows the impact on my native born sample when standardised for Irish sample age in 1880. As can be seen from Table 3.2, the impact of this standardisation exercise is minimal. Aside from age itself (as well as spouse age); there is no statistically significant convergence between the two samples in any category. Overall, the effect of standardising my native born sample results has no effect on my original conclusions.

Table 3.1
Summary Statistics

Variable	Irish Sample	Native Sample
Observations	937	15,985
Age		
1880	32.0 years***	28.0 years
1900	51.9***	48.0
Rural Status		
1880	43.2%***	86.0%
1900	35.3%***	74.7%
Marital Status (1900)		
Married	74.5%***	84.4%
Never Married	14.4%	9.1%
Widowed	10.8%	6.1%
Divorced	0.3%	0.4%
Home Ownership (1900)	52.6%***	60.2%
Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	92.6%*	94.0%
Read or write only	1.1%	1.5%
Quarters Unemployed (1900)		
Not unemployed	82.5%***	86.6%
1 Quarter	6.0%	5.6%
2	7.4%	5.8%
3-4	4.1%	2.0%
Spouse Fertility (1900)		
Avg. Children Ever Born	6.4***	5.3
Avg. Children Surviving	4.9***	4.4
Implied Mortality Rate	23.3%	16.7%
Spouse Age (1900)	47.2 years***	42.8 years
Spouse Birthplace (1900)		
Ireland	53.9%***	0.4%
Other Foreign Country	8.8%	2.7%
US	37.3%	96.9%
Spouse Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	90.0%***	93.6%
Read or write only	3.1%	1.7%
Spouse in workforce (1900)	2.5%	2.2%

***Differences between the individuals in the two samples are significant at the 1, 5 and 10% levels, respectively, using a t test for age and fertility variables, and the chi squared test of independence for the remaining variables.

Table 3.2
Summary Statistics Standardised for Irish Sample Age in 1880

Variable	Irish Sample	Native Sample
Observations	937	15,985
Age		
1880	32.0 years	32.0 years
1900	51.9***	51.6
Rural Status		
1880	43.2%***	85.4%
1900	35.3%***	75.6%
Marital Status (1900)		
Married	74.5%***	84.7%
Never Married	14.4%	7.7%
Widowed	10.8%	7.1%
Divorced	0.3%	0.5%
Home Ownership (1900)	52.6%***	63.1%
Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	92.6%***	93.8%
Read or write only	1.1%	1.5%
Quarters Unemployed (1900)		
Not unemployed	82.5%***	86.3%
1 Quarter	6.0%	5.2%
2	7.4%	6.1%
3-4	4.1%	2.4%
Spouse Fertility (1900)		
Avg. Children Ever Born	6.4***	5.5
Avg. Children Surviving	4.9	4.6
Implied Mortality Rate	23.3%	16.4%
Spouse Age (1900)	47.2 years	46.0 years
Spouse Birthplace (1900)		
Ireland	53.9%***	0.4%
Other Foreign Country	8.8%	2.3%
US	37.3%	97.3%
Spouse Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	90.0%**	92.8%
Read or write only	3.1%	2.2%
Spouse in workforce (1900)	2.5%	2.3%

***Differences between the individuals in the two samples are significant at the 1, 5 and 10% levels, respectively, using a z test. All variables with proportions that sum to 1 were converted to a maximum of two values for application of this test. Z test used in this instance due to data limitations inherent in the standardisation process.

The second primary question to be addressed in this chapter is whether the Irish achieved occupational parity with the native born by the end of nineteenth century. According to Kenny (2006) and Doyle (1975), the Irish in America did achieve such parity by 1900.[167] Other researchers, most notably Borjas (1994), concluded that the Irish, like other European immigrants who arrived in the US in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, did not achieve convergence in occupational levels with native born white males during their lifetime. Borjas (1994) found that it took as many as four generations for these immigrants to achieve such occupational convergence.[168] So did the Irish achieve occupational parity with native born Americans by the end of the nineteenth century based on my sample data? The clear result of the analysis of my matched samples is that they did not.

Table 3.3 presents the results of my Irish and native born samples grouped according to the occupational levels developed by Thernstrom (1964, 1973). The one change I have made to Thernstrom's approach is that I explicitly break out the results for farmers into a separate category. As Thernstrom had researched primarily urban workers in his now famous studies of Newburyport and Boston, Massachusetts, he had included farmers as part of the low white collar category and had not chosen to show them as a separate group. As my sample includes a high percentage of farmers, I found that separating them into their own group provided more clarity as to their role in the results of my occupational analysis.[169] Breaking out farmers into a separate group will also enable me to specifically analyse this form of occupation and to draw conclusions

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[167] Kenny (2006), p. 360; Doyle (1975), pp. 42-43.
[168] Borjas (1994), pp. 571-572.
[169] In creating the farmer category, I specifically excluded workers who were classified in the census data as farm labourers. Labourers who worked on farms were classified as unskilled. The farmer category is designed to capture only those individuals who either owned or managed farms.

with respect to the socio-economic characteristics of farmers relative to other occupational groupings.

As Table 3.3 illustrates, the Irish were more likely than the native born to occupy lower levels of the occupational ladder in 1880. Approximately 61% of the Irish sample was identified as being in the unskilled or semi-skilled categories. This compares with a level of 40% for my native born sample. While this was not unexpected, as the Irish in my sample would have been relatively new to the US labour market in 1880, the Irish continue to lag well behind the native born in 1900 as well. My results indicate that the Irish were twice as likely to occupy the unskilled and semi-skilled categories in 1900 as were the native born (46% versus just 22% for the native born). While both samples would have been impacted by the relatively young age of workers in 1880 (32 and 28 years old for the Irish and native born respectively), the Irish clearly do not progress out of these categories nearly as quickly as do the native born. As can be seen from the percentage change figures in Table 3.3, the percentage of unskilled workers in the native born sample declines 57% from 1880 to 1900. The corresponding decline for the Irish is just 20%. More than a quarter of Irish workers in my sample are still in the unskilled category in 1900, versus a figure of just 13% for the native born.

In the white collar segments of the workforce, the Irish made up a lower percentage in both the professional and low white collar areas in 1880 and again in 1900. However, the Irish are surprisingly close to the levels of native born in 1880 in the high white collar segment (7.2% versus 7.7%). In 1900, this comparison is still quite close, though the native born experience a slightly higher percentage change from 1880 levels of

68% versus 60% for the Irish. Excluding the impact of farmers from the analysis, the Irish would appear to approach the native born levels in the combined high and low white collar categories (18.3% versus 20.1%). However, if one were to include farmers in the low white collar grouping (as Thernstrom and most historians of this time period would have done), the native born advantage over the Irish increases dramatically. In this comparison, the native born would have almost twice the level of white collars workers as the Irish in 1900 (65.9% for the native born versus just 35.3% for the Irish).

Table 3.3
Irish and Native Sample Occupational Groupings 1880-1900

1880 Irish Sample	No.	%	Cum %	
High WC	67	7.2%	7.2%	
Low WC	40	4.3%	11.4%	
Farmer	111	11.9%	23.3%	
Skilled	148	15.8%	39.1%	
Semi-skilled	268	28.6%	67.7%	
Unskilled	303	32.3%	100.0%	
Total	937	100.00%		

1900 Irish Sample	No.	%	Cum %	% Change from 1880
High WC	107	11.4%	11.4%	60%
Low WC	64	6.8%	18.3%	60%
Farmer	160	17.1%	35.3%	44%
Skilled	175	18.7%	54.0%	18%
Semi-skilled	190	20.3%	74.3%	-29%
Unskilled	241	25.7%	100.0%	-20%
Total	937			

1880 Native Sample	No.	%	Cum %	
High WC	1,223	7.7%	7.7%	
Low WC	1.011	6.3%	14.0%	
Farmer	5,987	37.5%	51.4%	
Skilled	1,460	9.1%	60.6%	
Semi-skilled	1,437	9.0%	69.6%	
Unskilled	4,867	30.5%	100.0%	
Total	15,985			

1900 Native Sample	No.	%	Cum %	% Change from 1880
High WC	2,052	12.8%	12.8%	68%
Low WC	1,159	7.3%	20.1%	15%
Farmer	7,322	45.8%	65.9%	22%
Skilled	2,003	12.5%	78.4%	37%
Semi-skilled	1,338	8.4%	86.8%	-7%
Unskilled	2,111	13.2%	100.0%	-57%
Total	15,985			

I also calculated the Duncan dissimilarity index (DDI)[170] to further compare the occupational distributions of the Irish and native born samples. The DDI is an index developed by Duncan and Duncan (1955) which compares the similarities and differences between two distributions. The index takes a value between zero and one, with one reflecting no overlap between distributions and zero representing identical distributions. The index may be interpreted as the proportion of subjects in a group that would have to change category in order to obtain the same relative distribution as the group to which it is being compared. Using the specific occupational code for each individual in my sample, I calculated the index for both 1880 and 1900. Table 3.4 provides the results of this calculation. I obtained a value of .482 in 1880 and one of .427 in 1900. These results would imply that more than four out of ten workers in my Irish sample would be required to change occupation in order for the Irish to have a similar occupational profile to the native born sample. This outcome only further confirms that there was a substantial difference between the occupational distributions of the two samples in 1880, and that there was only a modest degree of occupational assimilation achieved in the twenty years to 1900.

Table 3.4
Calculation of Duncan Dissimilarity Index for Irish and Native Sample Occupation

1880	.482
1900	.427

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[170] DDI = 0.5 x sum|Ai/sum(A) - Bi/sum(B)| where N(A) and N(B) are the two overall distributions.

In Chapter II, I described how in addition to creating occupational groupings to assess occupational mobility, I also generated mean income estimates based on the occupational codes available in the NAPP and IPUMS datasets. Table 3.5 provides the results of an analysis of occupational income levels for the Irish and native born samples. As can be seen from the table, the Irish lagged well behind the native born in income in 1880. More importantly, they were not able to close this gap with more time spent in the US labour market. The gap between the two samples only increases, with the native born earning 17% more on average than the Irish in 1900. Between 1880 and 1900, average Irish incomes grow at a 12% rate, whereas for native born that figure is 14%.[171] As Table 3.5 relies on a single estimate of income for each occupation for both the 1880 and 1900 samples, changes in the mean income levels for the Irish and native born samples reflect solely changes in the occupational distributions of these two groups between 1880 and 1900. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the Irish sample experienced an increase in the number of occupations of 7% between 1880 and 1900 (from 68 to 73 occupations), whereas the native born sample increased by 10% (from 114 to 125 occupations).

Importantly, this analysis excludes farm workers for whom income estimates in this period are highly problematic. As noted in Chapter II, estimating the income of farmers in the nineteenth century was fraught with difficulty. Some researchers have responded to this challenge by making alterations to farmer income estimates to reflect the lower cost of living in farming areas.[172] Others have chosen to exclude farmer income from their estimates due to the issues of developing a reliable estimate.[173] In

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[171] Income estimates for Table 3.5 are taken from Sobek (1996), and represent a single estimate per occupation as of 1890.
[172] See Minns (2000).
[173] See Preston and Haines (1991).

this section, I have chosen to exclude farmer income as I believe that making adjustments to reflect cost of living differences would only create another level of required adjustments to address potential rural/urban and regional differences in living costs elsewhere in my sample. As a result, I have chosen to present my income analysis without the impact of farmer incomes. The results of this analysis further confirm that there was a gap in occupational progress between the Irish and the native born in income as well as in occupational mobility.

Table 3.5
Estimated Mean Income Levels Excluding Farm Workers
($ per annum)

	Irish	Native
1880	554	637
1900	621	727
% Growth	12%	14%

In order to better understand the occupational experience of Irish immigrants relative to the native born, I also reviewed the change in occupations groups from 1880 to 1900. By assessing the patterns of occupational group movements, I sought to identify any systematic differences in the occupational mobility of my Irish sample relative to my native born sample. In Tables 3.6 and 3.7, I present the changes in occupational groups for both the Irish and native born. I use percentages as opposed to absolute figures in order to more easily illustrate the comparison between the two groups. The tables present the percentage of workers in a given occupational group in 1880 along

the vertical axis, and the occupational group of these same workers in 1900 along the horizontal axis.

What is most immediately striking about Tables 3.6 and 3.7 is the significant level of upward as well as downward mobility experienced by both the Irish and native born in this time period. For example, 9% of Irish and 10% of native born workers who were listed in the unskilled category in 1900 had been classified as having a high white collar job in 1880. Similarly, 19% of Irish and 9% of native born workers who had reached the high white collar category by 1900 had been classified as being unskilled in 1880. This fluidity in the labour market appears to have existed for both Irish newcomers to the US as well as for the native born.[174] The sole exception to this high level of mobility would appear to be farmers. They are the least likely of the six occupational groups to move to another group between 1880 and 1900. For both the Irish sample as well as the native born sample, a majority of those workers who were identified as farmers in 1900 had also been classified as farmers in 1880. There are, however, some noticeable differences between the occupational group movements of the two samples. For the Irish, the unskilled category in 1880 provides the highest percentage of workers for other categories in 1900. For the native born, it is workers who were classified as farmers in 1880 who provide the highest percentage to the other occupational groupings in 1900 (though 60% of those who were farmers in 1880 remained so in 1900). A review of Tables 3.6 and 3.7 leads to the conclusion that labour markets provided for significant upward and downward mobility for both native

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[174] In a study of immigrant and native born occupational mobility in the mid-nineteenth century, Ferrie (1999) finds that immigrant and native born workers had comparatively lower upward occupational mobility than the results presented in Table 3.6 (as measured by the percentage of unskilled workers who were able to move to a higher occupational category between 1850 and 1860). With respect to downward mobility, the immigrants in his sample experienced significantly higher downward mobility whereas the native born had downward mobility levels similar to the results presented in Table 3.6. See Ferrie (1999), p. 146.

born as well as for Irish newcomers to the US in the late nineteenth century. However, the predominance of the native born in farming and the Irish in unskilled work is quite distinct. The Irish do appear to make noticeable progress in moving up the occupational ladder, but not in a markedly different pattern than the native born.

Table 3.6
Irish Sample Occupational Group Movements

	1900					
1880	High WC	Low WC	Farmer	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled
High WC	34%	18%	8%	7%	12%	9%
Low WC	10%	25%	5%	5%	5%	7%
Farmer	10%	10%	53%	9%	12%	14%
Skilled	13%	13%	11%	41%	16%	15%
Semi-skilled	12%	20%	8%	16%	26%	23%
Unskilled	19%	15%	15%	23%	26%	32%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 3.7
Native Sample Occupational Group Movements

	1900					
1880	High WC	Low WC	Farmer	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Un- skilled
High WC	36%	20%	9%	12%	11%	10%
Low WC	10%	21%	4%	7%	10%	7%
Farmer	30%	32%	60%	29%	31%	44%
Skilled	9%	11%	8%	34%	15%	12%
Semi-skilled	7%	8%	6%	8%	19%	9%
Unskilled	9%	9%	12%	10%	14%	17%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

In addition to analysing the changes in occupational groups between 1880 and 1900, I have also created a transition matrix based on occupational groups for each of the Irish and native born samples. In a transition matrix, each row includes the probabilities of moving from the state represented by that row (in this case an occupational group), to the other states (i.e. other occupational groups). The horizontal rows of a transition matrix each sum to one. Transition matrices are based on the Markov property, under which future states are independent of past states. Under this property, future states are reached through a probabilistic process instead of a deterministic one. In Tables 3.8 and 3.9, I present transition matrices for the Irish and native born samples. As can be seen from these tables, there are certain occupational groups where the probability of moving to other groups is quite similar for both the Irish and native born samples. Movements between the high white collar and low white collar categories, for example, are very similar for the two samples. However, there is a significant difference in the farmer category, where the native born show a much higher probability of entering (or remaining in) this occupational category than do the Irish. In Table 3.9, we see that for the native born, the probability of moving from any other occupational group into farming is greater than 30%. These probabilities are roughly three times as high as for the corresponding occupational group in the Irish sample. In contrast, the Irish have a much higher probability of moving into (or remaining in) semi- and un-skilled work than do the native born. The native born demonstrate a much higher probability of exiting unskilled work than do the Irish. The transition matrices presented in Tables 3.8 and 3.9 serve to reinforce the conclusion that while there was a significant degree of occupational mobility for both the Irish and native born in the US economy at the end of the nineteenth century, there remained material differences between the occupational experiences of these two groups.

Table 3.8
Irish Sample Occupational Group Transition Matrix

1880	1900 High WC	Low WC	Farmer	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Total
High WC	34%	10%	10%	13%	12%	19%	100%
Low WC	18%	25%	10%	13%	20%	15%	100%
Farmer	8%	5%	53%	11%	8%	15%	100%
Skilled	7%	5%	9%	41%	16%	23%	100%
Semi-skilled	12%	5%	12%	16%	26%	28%	100%
Unskilled	9%	7%	14%	15%	23%	32%	100%

Table 3.9
Native Sample Occupational Group Transition Matrix

1880	1900 High WC	Low WC	Farmer	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Un-skilled	Total
High WC	36%	10%	30%	9%	7%	9%	100%
Low WC	20%	21%	32%	11%	8%	9%	100%
Farmer	9%	4%	60%	8%	6%	12%	100%
Skilled	12%	7%	29%	34%	8%	10%	100%
Semi-skilled	11%	10%	31%	15%	19%	14%	100%
Unskilled	10%	7%	44%	12%	9%	17%	100%

One potential criticism of the results presented thus far is that some might argue that the Irish could not have been expected to attain the occupational levels of the native born given their recent arrival in the US and their propensity to reside in the more urban regions of the US. The native born, as we have observed, were much more likely to have lived in rural areas in this time period. The Irish who immigrated to the US in the post famine period were recorded as coming primarily from Connaught and other western regions of the country. These areas were characterised by an overwhelmingly agrarian economy, relatively small sized farms by Irish standards, and greater levels of poverty.[175] According to Guinnane (1997), though these Irish immigrants "had skills most applicable to the farm," they generally looked for work in cities. He found that "the Irish emigrant's occupational background was less useful in industrial countries."[176] Fitzpatrick (1985) concurs that "the great majority" of Irish emigrants left Ireland without marketable skills. He also found that emigration from Ireland after the 1840s was "most heavily concentrated in the regions of greatest poverty and least off-farm employment."[177] He noted that Irish emigrants to the US were "drawn from the surplus of a rural population which had formerly subsisted upon potato production before the coming of the blight."[178] As these comments illustrate, Irish immigrants to the US in the late nineteenth century came primarily from poor, agrarian backgrounds. Yet, despite their lack of experience in non-farm occupations, the vast majority settled and looked for work in the more urban regions of the US economy. A detailed analysis of the settlement patterns of Irish immigrants will be presented in Chapter V.

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[175] Guinnane (1997), pp. 107-8.
[176] Guinnane (1997), p.106.
[177] Fitzgerald (1985), pp. 8-9.
[178] Fitzgerald (1985), p. 11.

To address this issue, I have also segregated my Irish and native born samples to include only those individuals residing in urban areas[179] at the start of my period of analysis in 1880. Since the Irish in the US were overwhelming urban in 1880, this approach would compare their overall assimilation and occupational mobility against a native born subset that was more likely to resemble the Irish in this time frame. This analysis would eliminate the significant advantage that the native born enjoyed in farming, a white collar occupation where the Irish had achieved little convergence with the native born by 1900. In Table 3.10, I present summary statistics for my sub-samples of Irish and native born individuals who lived in urban areas in 1880. Interestingly, these results are broadly consistent with the prior analyses using the complete samples of the Irish and native born. Even when restricted to solely an analysis of individuals living in urban areas, the Irish and native born maintain clear and statistically significant differences in areas such as marital status, literacy, employment status, spouse fertility, child mortality and spouse birthplace. Only in home ownership do the urban Irish achieve any convergence with the urban native born, though they still lag on an absolute if not on a statistically significant basis. It is also notable that 26% of the Irish urban sample and 50% of the Native born urban sample have relocated to rural areas by the time of the 1900 US census. Given the fact that the US was becoming a more urbanised nation in this time period, these figures indicate a high degree of geographic mobility among the US population and underscore the continued attraction of farming as an occupation (particularly for the native born) despite a rapidly urbanising American economy. They would also indicate

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[179] Under the NAPP definition, an urban area in 1880 is comprised of villages, thickly settled areas, cities and incorporated places with 2,500 or more inhabitants. It also includes townships and other political subdivisions (not incorporating municipalities) with a total population of 10,000 or more and a population density of 1,000 or more per square mile.

that American labour markets were internally integrated in this period, not just between urban locations but between urban and rural settings as well.

Table 3.10
Irish and Native Urban Sample Summary Statistics

Variable	Irish Urban	Native Urban
Observations	532	2,236
Age		
1880	31.6 years***	28.9 years
1900	51.6***	48.9
Rural Status		
1880	0.0%	0.0%
1900	25.8%***	49.8%
Marital Status (1900)		
Married	74.1%***	81.6%
Never Married	13.9%	11.5%
Widowed	11.8%	6.4%
Divorced	0.2%	0.5%
Home Ownership (1900)	51.9%	55.0%
Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	91.7%***	96.5%
Read or write only	1.1%	0.9%
Quarters Unemployed (1900)		
Not unemployed	80.5%***	86.5%
1 Quarter	6.8%	5.4%
2	8.5%	5.4%
3-4	4.2%	2.7%
Spouse Fertility (1900)		
Avg. Children Ever Born	6.2 ***	4.7
Avg. Children Surviving	4.7 ***	3.9
Implied Mortality Rate	24.2%	17.0%
Spouse Age (1900)	46.9 years***	43.5 years
Spouse Birthplace (1900)		
Ireland	55.1%***	0.7%
Other Foreign Country	8.1%	3.9%
US	36.8%	95.4%
Spouse Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	89.0%***	95.9%
Read or write only	4.2%	1.5%
Spouse in workforce (1900)	2.6%	2.6%

***Differences between the individuals in the two samples are significant at the 1, 5 and 10% levels, respectively, using a t test for age and fertility variables, and the chi squared test of independence for the remaining variables.

Table 3.11 presents the change in occupational groupings over time for my samples of Irish and native born urban dwellers. As the results illustrate, the native born urban have a sizeable advantage over the Irish urban in terms of occupational levels in 1880. While this advantage may have been expected, the scale of the difference is quite significant. The native urban have more than three times the percentage of white collar jobs as do the Irish urban and roughly one third the percentage of unskilled jobs. Although the Irish do reduce these differences by 1900 (as evidenced by their higher percentage change figures), they still lag the native born urban by a ratio of 2:1 in white collar employment and have approximately three times the percentage of unskilled workers as do the native born urban in 1900. While both groups show a strong inclination to move into farming, this trend is particularly strong for native born urban dwellers that held low white collar jobs in 1880. While the native born moved into farming from several other categories, 28% of those native born who were low white collar workers in 1880 moved into farming by 1900. Along with those low white collar workers who moved into high white collar work, these movements help to explain the significant 45% decline in the native born urban low white collar category over the period.

Table 3.12 presents the mean income levels for my Irish and native born urban sub-samples. As in previous cases, I have excluded farm workers from this analysis. As these results indicate, the Irish urban also lagged well behind the native born urban in income levels. In fact, the gap in income between the Irish and native born living in urban areas is actually greater than for the overall sample results presented in Table 3.5. In this case, the mean native born urban income level is 21% higher than for the Irish urban. The corresponding figure for the overall samples was 17%. It is true that

the Irish urban experienced a higher rate of income growth than did the native born urban dwellers, but the gap in mean income levels in 1900 remains quite significant. These results for occupational mobility and income, together with the summary statistics analysis presented in Table 3.10, indicate that during the period from 1880 to 1900, the Irish living in urban areas did not assimilate quickly relative to the native born urban, nor did they come close to achieving occupational parity with the native born urban in the workplace. Narrowing the focus of the analysis to those Irish and native born who lived in urban areas in 1880 does not alter the conclusions reached with respect to the broader samples.

Table 3.11
Irish and Native Urban Sample Occupational Groupings 1880-1900

1880 Irish Urban	No.	%	Cum %	
High WC	44	8.3%	8.3%	
Low WC	27	5.1%	13.4%	
Farmer	1	0.2%	13.5%	
Skilled	114	21.4%	35.0%	
Semi-skilled	176	33.1%	68.1%	
Unskilled	170	31.9%	100.0%	
Total	532	100.00%		

1900 Irish Urban	No.	%	Cum %	% Change from 1880
High WC	66	12.4%	12.4%	50%
Low WC	36	6.8%	19.2%	33%
Farmer	56	10.5%	29.7%	5500%
Skilled	103	19.4%	49.1%	-10%
Semi-skilled	116	21.8%	70.9%	-34%
Unskilled	155	29.1%	100.0%	-9%
Total	532			

1880 Native Urban	No.	%	Cum %	
High WC	401	17.9%	17.9%	
Low WC	535	23.9%	41.9%	
Farmer	49	2.2%	44.1%	
Skilled	509	22.76%	66.8%	
Semi-skilled	493	22.1%	88.9%	
Unskilled	249	11.1%	100.0%	
Total	2,236			

1900 Native Urban	No.	%	Cum %	% Change from 1880
High WC	406	18.2%	18.2%	1%
Low WC	292	13.1%	31.2%	-45%
Farmer	628	28.1%	59.3%	1182%
Skilled	403	18.0%	77.3%	-21%
Semi-skilled	266	11.9%	89.2%	-46%
Unskilled	241	10.8%	100.0%	-3%
Total	2,236			

Table 3.12
Estimated Mean Income Levels Excluding Farm Workers
($ per annum)

	Irish Urban	Native Urban
1880	562	695
1900	616	747
% Growth	10%	7%

Although the majority of Irish immigrants chose to reside and seek work in the urban regions of the US, there were a meaningful number of Irish immigrants who entered farming in this period. In 1900, 160 out of the 937 individuals in my Irish sample were engaged in farming.[180] While this figure, which equates to 17% of my sample, is substantially lower than for the native born sample (46%), it is nonetheless worthy of analysis.[181] Were these Irish immigrants somehow different from the urban Irish we have just reviewed? What were the factors that would have led almost one in five of the Irish in my sample to seek work in farming at a time when the US economy was becoming more urban and industrialised?[182] How does the assimilation patterns of this group compare to those Irish who did not enter farming as an occupation?

In Table 3.13, I have segregated those Irish who were engaged in farming in 1900 from those who were not. I have also added a column to show the summary statistics for native born farmers in 1900. The results suggest that there were meaningful differences between Irish farmers and Irish non-farmers, and that there were some interesting

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[180] In my Irish sample, the only occupation with a larger number of workers in 1900 was unskilled labourers, a broad category which numbered 190 (21% of the sample).

[181] Fitzpatrick (1985), p. 32. It must be noted, however, that in addition to being less likely to engage in farming than the native born, the Irish appear to have lagged other immigrant groups as well. Fitzpatrick found that there was, in fact, no immigrant group in the US in the nineteenth century that was "so disinclined to work in agriculture as the expatriate Irish."

[182] In my Irish sample, approximately 35% of the Irish who were engaged in farming had been living in urban areas in 1880. In addition, just 7% of my sample chose to move from a farming to a non-farming occupation between 1880 and 1900.

similarities between the Irish and native born farmers. As Table 3.13 illustrates, the Irish farmers were older, more likely to be married, and much more likely to own their home than Irish non-farmers. The difference in home ownership levels is quite striking, with more than 80% of Irish farmers owning their own home versus just 47% of non-farmers. Irish farmers reported much lower levels of unemployment in the 1900 US census than did non-farmers (there was just one farmer in my sample who was reported as being unemployed versus 21% of non-farmers who reported some level of un- or under-employment in 1900). Also of note is the higher level of fertility among Irish farming families and the noticeably lower level of child mortality compared to Irish non-farmers. Finally, Irish farmers were also less likely to marry an Irish spouse than were their non-farming peers.[183]

As for the comparison of the Irish farmers to the native born farmers, the results reveal some interesting patterns of assimilation. Both these groups had a very high percentage of married couples, much higher than for the non-farming Irish. In addition, they also had higher levels of home ownership. In fact, the Irish actually had a higher percentage of home ownership than did the native born farmers. An impressive 81% of Irish farmers in my sample were home owners in 1900. Finally, the child mortality rates for the Irish farmers were much lower than for the Irish non-farmers and virtually identical to those of native born farmers. Interestingly, the Irish farmers nonetheless had higher levels of marital fertility than either of these groups. Taken as a whole, the Irish who engaged in farming appeared to assimilate more quickly in certain areas (such as home ownership, marital status, child mortality and nationality of spouse), but not in other areas (such as marital fertility), where their behaviour would suggest a lesser degree of

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[183] It is highly likely that living in a rural area (as opposed to an urban one) may have influenced both the marriage choices of these Irish immigrants, as well as had an effect on their fertility and child mortality patterns.

assimilation. It is also quite striking to compare the significant level of assimilation achieved by Irish farmers relative to native born farmers, versus the much lower degree of assimilation achieved by the urban Irish vis-à-vis the urban native born. These results would confirm that the assimilation process for Irish immigrants was not uniform, but varied depending on which subset of the Irish sample was being reviewed, and which socio-economic variables were under consideration. In addition, Irish immigrants who engaged in farming were less likely to be surrounded by fellow immigrants, and were much more likely to have had a greater exposure to native born Americans. Although a detailed analysis of the relationship between geographic clustering and assimilation will be conducted in Chapter V of this dissertation, these results would appear to provide some evidence for the argument that an increased exposure to the native born enhanced the assimilation of Irish immigrants in many respects relative to those who lived in urban areas.

Table 3.13
Summary Statistics for Irish and Native Farmers, and Irish Non-Farmers in 1900

Variable	Irish Farmers	Irish Non-Farmers	Native Farmers
Observations	160	777	7,322
Age			
1880	35.1 years	31.3 years	28.8 years
1900	55.0	51.3	48.7
Rural Status			
1880	65.0%	38.7%	91.4%
1900	96.9%	22.7%	97.8%
Marital Status (1900)			
Married	83.1%	72.7%	90.1%
Never Married	11.3%	15.1%	4.8%
Widowed	5.6%	11.4%	4.9%
Divorced	0.0%	0.4%	0.2%
Home Ownership (1900)	81.3%	46.7%	74.2%
Literacy (1900)			
Read and write English	93.1%	92.5%	91.7%
Read or write only	0.6%	1.3%	2.2%
Quarters Unemployed (1900)			
Not unemployed	99.4%	79.0%	95.2%
1 Quarter	0.0%	7.2%	2.3%
2	0.0%	8.9%	1.7%
3-4	0.6%	4.9%	0.8%
Spouse Fertility (1900)			
Avg. Children Ever Born	7.0	6.2	6.1
Avg. Children Surviving	5.9	4.6	5.1
Implied Mortality Rate	16.3%	25.1%	16.3%
Spouse Age (1900)	50.2 years	46.5 years	43.4 years
Spouse Birthplace (1900)			
Ireland	45.6%	55.8%	0.3%
Other Foreign Country	12.8%	7.9%	1.6%
US	41.6%	36.3%	98.1%
Spouse Literacy (1900)			
Read and write English	90.4%	89.9%	90.8%
Read or write only	2.4%	3.3%	2.9%
Spouse in workforce (1900)	0.8%	3.0%	1.5%

In an effort to more specifically assess the influence of certain socio-economic factors on Irish assimilation into American life, I have also segregated my Irish sample into a variety of subsets. Specifically, I have segregated my Irish sample into categories including: younger Irish versus older Irish, recent Irish immigrants versus earlier immigrants, and those Irish who immigrated to the US as adults versus those who came as children. In this analysis, a "young" person is one who was 30 years of age or less in 1880, while an "old" person was over 30 years of age in 1880. A "recent" immigrant is one who came to the US after 1865, while an "earlier" immigrant came on or before 1865.[184] And those who immigrated at an age of 16 or under were considered to be children whereas those who were over 16 years of age were considered to be adults at the time of immigration. The rationale for creating these specific subsets of my Irish sample was so that I could examine the influence of age and year of immigration on the assimilation process. Were there differences between younger and older immigrants in occupational levels and mobility? Did the Irish who immigrated as children have different characteristics and occupational mobility than those who came as adults? Was the amount of time living in the US a key factor in the assimilation of Irish immigrants? The following section addresses these questions.

In Table 3.14, I present a comparison of the summary statistics for these various cohort groups. I also include the native sample summary statistics for comparison purposes. As these results illustrate, age, year of immigration, and age at time of immigration do appear to impact the assimilation process for my Irish sample in this time period. With respect to age, the younger Irish were more likely to live in urban areas than were older Irish. In fact, the younger Irish were the most urban of any of the cohorts in this

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[184] 1865 was the year the American civil war ended and thus represents a useful break point to separate Irish immigrants to the US into separate groups.

analysis. The younger Irish were also more literate (as were their spouses), and were much more likely to marry an American born woman than were the older Irish. The one category where older Irish had an advantage was in home ownership, indicating a potential positive relationship between age and home ownership in the data. The younger Irish also had a lower level of spouse fertility and child mortality than did the older Irish. But again, these results could also just reflect the fact that with the passage of time, the older had had more time both to have children and for more of those children to have not survived once born. Analyses of the summary statistics for recent versus earlier immigrants also provides some interesting results, though the differences here are of a lesser magnitude. Recent immigrants, like the younger immigrants, were less likely to be home owners and were more likely to reside in urban areas. It is possible that the tendency for these cohorts to live in urban areas reflects the fact that they settled in areas near the ports where they may have first entered the US, where jobs may have been more easily found, and nearer to areas where other Irish immigrants had previously settled. (A more detailed analysis of the geographical location of Irish immigrants in the US will be presented in Chapter V of this dissertation). Apart from these differences, they resembled the earlier immigrants quite closely in other characteristics, none of which were statistically significant in their differences. Whether the Irish immigrated as children as opposed to as an adult does appear to impact their subsequent assimilation in several areas. The Irish who came as children were more literate, as were their spouses. They were the most likely of any cohort group to marry an American woman. They also recorded the lowest levels of un-and under-employment of any cohort group at the time of the 1900 US census (though this difference was not statistically significant).

Table 3.15 presents the occupational groupings and mean income levels for the Irish cohorts groups. Again, the impact of age, year of immigration, and age at time of immigration is significant. Irish who immigrated as children recorded the highest mean income levels in 1900, as well as a high percentage of white collar employment and the lowest percentage of unskilled work. Their income growth between 1880 and 1900 was also one of the highest. Similarly, those Irish who were young at the start of our period of analysis in 1880 also recorded high levels of income, as well as the highest rate of income growth. They were also more likely to work in white collar employment than most of the other cohort groups. Older Irish and immigrants who came to the US before 1865 were slightly less likely to have white collar employment and were much more likely to be farmers. There appears to be a strong relationship between the amount of time living in the US, and age, and the propensity of an Irish immigrant becoming a farmer. These groups also were less likely to be working in an unskilled occupation by 1900. The group which appears to have had the lowest levels of occupational mobility were those Irish who immigrated to the US as an adult. In the case of this group, not only were they more likely to be unskilled labourers, but they also recorded the lowest mean income level in 1900.

Table 3.14
Irish Sample Cohort Comparison

Variable	Over 30 in 1880	Under 30 in 1880	Immigrated pre-1865	Immigrated post-1865	Immigration Age Under 16	Immigration Age Over 16	Native Sample
Observations	513	424	461	476	431	501	15,985
Age							
1880	38.1 years	24.5 years ***	36.0 years ***	28.1 years	30.2 years ***	33.5 years	28.0 years
1900	58.1	44.5	56.0	48.0	50.1	53.5	48.0
Rural Status							
1880	45.8% ***	40.1%	44.5%	42.0%	43.6%	43.1%	86.0%
1900	39.4% ***	30.4%	39.7% ***	31.1%	35.5%	35.1%	74.7%
Marital Status (1900)							
Married	75.2%	73.6%	73.7%	75.2%	72.6%	76.0%	84.4%
Never Married	9.6%	20.3%	13.7%	15.1%	17.9%	11.4%	9.1%
Widowed	14.6%	6.1%	11.9%	9.7%	9.3%	12.2%	6.1%
Divorced	0.6%	0.0%	0.7%	0.0%	0.2%	0.4%	0.4%
Home Ownership (1900)	59.3% ***	44.6%	57.3% ***	48.1%	53.4%	55.1%	60.2%
Literacy (1900)							
Read and write English	91.4%	94.1%	92.2%	93.1%	95.4% ***	90.4%	94.0%
Read or write only	1.6%	0.7%	1.7%	0.6%	0.5%	1.6%	1.5%
Quarters Unemployed (1900)							
Not unemployed	83.4%	81.4%	82.4%	82.6%	84.7%	80.6%	86.6%
1 Quarter	5.1%	7.1%	6.1%	5.9%	6.0%	6.0%	5.6%
2 Quarter	6.4%	8.5%	6.9%	7.8%	6.3%	8.4%	5.8%
3-4 Quarters	5.1%	3.0%	4.6%	3.7%	3.0%	5.0%	2.0%
Spouse Fertility (1900)							
Avg. Children Ever Born	6.9 ***	5.7	6.5	6.2	6.1 *	6.6	5.3
Avg. Children Surviving	5.2 ***	4.5	5.0	4.8	4.7	5.0	4.4
Implied Mortality Rate	24.60%	21.10%	23.10%	22.60%	23.00%	24.20%	16.7%
Spouse Age (1900)	52.7 years ***	40.5 years	51.1 years ***	43.6 years	45.5 years ***	48.5 years	42.8 years
Spouse Birthplace (1900)							
Ireland	60.6% ***	45.9%	52.8%	54.9%	40.4% ***	64.6%	0.4%
Other Foreign Country	10.4%	6.8%	8.4%	9.2%	7.4%	10.1%	2.7%
US	29.0%	47.3%	38.8%	35.9%	52.2%	25.3%	96.9%
Spouse Literacy (1900)							
Read and write English	86.3% ***	94.4%	88.8%	91.1%	95.0% ***	86.1%	93.6%
Read or write only	3.6%	2.6%	3.1%	3.1%	3.3%	2.7%	1.7%
Spouse in workforce (1900)	2.5%	2.6%	2.8%	2.3%	1.7%	3.3%	2.2%

***Differences between the individuals in the linked cohort samples are significant at the 1, 5 and 10% levels, respectively, using a t test for age and fertility variables, and the chi squared test of independence for the remaining variables.

Table 3.15
Comparison of Irish Cohort Groups and Native Born 1900 Occupational Groupings and Income Growth

	Over 30 in 1880				**Under 30 in 1880**				**Immigrated pre-1865**				**Immigrated post-1865**		
Occupational Group (1900)	Freq.	Percent	Cum.		Freq.	Percent	Cum.		Freq.	Percent	Cum.		Freq.	Percent	Cum.
High WC	53	10.3	10.3		54	12.7	12.7		50	10.9	10.9		57	12.0	12.0
Low WC	37	7.2	17.5		27	6.4	19.1		31	6.7	17.6		33	6.9	18.9
Farmer	114	22.2	39.8		46	10.9	30.0		103	22.3	39.9		57	12.0	30.9
Skilled	95	18.5	58.3		80	18.9	48.8		95	20.6	60.5		80	16.8	47.7
Semi-skilled	96	18.7	77.0		94	22.2	71.0		81	17.6	78.1		109	22.9	70.6
Unskilled	118	23.0	100.0		123	29.0	100.0		101	21.9	100.0		140	29.4	100.0
Total	513	100.0			424	100.0			461	100.0			476	100.0	

Mean Income Levels Excluding Farm Workers

	Over 30 in 1880				**Under 30 in 1880**				**Immigrated pre-1865**				**Immigrated post-1865**		
1880	583				526				581				532		
1900	618				625				635				610		
% growth	6%				19%				9%				9%		

	Immigration Age Under 16				**Immigration Age Over 16**				**Native born**		
Occupational Group (1900)	Freq.	Percent	Cum.		Freq.	Percent	Cum.		Freq.	Percent	Cum.
High WC	52	12.1	12.1		55	11.0	11.0		2,052	12.8	12.8
Low WC	31	7.2	19.3		33	6.6	17.6		1,159	7.3	20.1
Farmer	75	17.4	36.7		84	16.8	34.3		7,322	45.8	65.9
Skilled	95	22.0	58.7		78	15.6	49.9		2,003	12.5	78.4
Semi-skilled	83	19.3	78.0		107	21.4	71.3		1,338	8.4	86.8
Unskilled	95	22.0	100.0		144	28.7	100.0		2,111	13.2	100.0
Total	431	100.0			501	100.0			15,985	100.0	

Mean Income Levels Excluding Farm Workers

	Immigration Age Under 16				**Immigration Age Over 16**				**Native born**		
1880	566				545				637		
1900	648				598				727		
% growth	14%				10%				14%		

It is clear that age, year of immigration, and age at time of immigration were significant factors in the assimilation of Irish immigrants in this timeframe. Younger Irish immigrants and those Irish who immigrated to the US as children achieved the highest levels of occupational mobility, income and income growth. They were also the most literate and the most likely to marry an American born spouse. These results confirm the work of Eichengreen and Gemery (1986), which studied immigrant workers in the US state of Iowa in the late 1800s and also found that younger immigrants and those that immigrated as children assimilated more rapidly.[185] Older Irish and those Irish who immigrated earlier were less successful in obtaining white collar work but were more likely to become farmers. They had lower income levels and income growth. Irish who immigrated as adults had the weakest occupational performance. They were more likely to work in an unskilled occupation and had the lowest income level of any of the cohort groups in 1900.

In order to better understand the assimilation experience of Irish immigrants in the US, in addition to comparing the Irish sample cohort groups to each other, it is also important to compare them to the native born sample. Through this comparison, we can identify in which areas these cohorts of Irish immigrants may closely resemble the native born, and perhaps draw more substantive conclusions regarding the assimilation of the Irish in this time period. In comparing the Irish cohort results with the summary statistics of the native born also presented in Table 3.14, it is evident that in most respects, the native born continue to have significant differences with each of the Irish cohort groups. In areas such as rural status, marital status, spouse fertility, child mortality and spouse nationality, none of the Irish cohort groups resembles the native

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[185] Eichengreen and Gemery (1986), p. 442. They argued that these characteristics (being younger and immigrating as children) increased the ability of immigrants to learn skills necessary to succeed in the US economy.

born sample. The native born are much more likely to live in rural locations and are more likely to be married. Their spouses have fewer children and more of their children survive. Their spouses are also much more likely to be American born than any of the Irish cohort groups. The older Irish immigrants do approach the native born level of home ownership, with age again appearing to display a positive correlation with home ownership. In addition, those Irish who immigrated when they were young had similarly lower levels of unemployment to the native born. Apart from these two examples, however, none of the Irish cohort groups appear to have achieved meaningful levels of assimilation with the native born sample by 1900 in any variable under analysis.

With respect to occupational mobility and income, the Irish cohort groups also fail to achieve the levels of the native born sample. As Table 3.15 illustrates, the native born outperform all of these groups. The native born have a mean income level which is 12% higher than the best performing Irish cohort group in 1900. Only the young Irish cohort achieves a higher rate of income growth, but their mean income level is nonetheless 16% lower than that of the native born. With respect to occupational levels and mobility, the native born again have higher levels of white collar employment than any cohort group. Including farmers as white collar workers only further increases this advantage. In 1900, the percentage of native born working in white collar employment is 65% higher than the best performing Irish cohort group. In addition, the native born sample also had a far lower percentage of unskilled workers. This figure is 40% lower than the best performing Irish cohort group.

In summary, the Irish do not appear to achieve meaningful assimilation with the native born, either in aggregate or when analysed in specific cohort groups. The native born also experience greater occupational advancement and higher income levels. They remain distinctive in most of the socioeconomic variables available for study using US census data. Nonetheless, there are several interesting conclusions about the Irish that can be drawn from this cohort analysis. First of all, youth, both in terms of absolute age as well as in age at time of immigration, appears to be associated with greater occupational mobility. Was it the case that the Irish who arrived as children had a greater ability to adapt to the US economy than those who were older? In line with the analysis of Eichengreen and Gemery (1986), perhaps youth and immigrating to the US as a child increased the ability of immigrants to learn the skills necessary to succeed in the US economy of the late nineteenth century. The young also had higher rates of literacy and were the most likely to marry an American spouse. In all these respects, they appear to have assimilated more quickly than those Irish who were older or came to the US as adults. Two areas in which youth does not appear to have aided assimilation relative to the native born were farming and home ownership. In these areas, age and time living in the US were the driving factors enabling the Irish to approach the levels of the native born sample. Age at immigration had surprisingly little influence on whether the Irish entered farming as a career relative to these two factors.

We have clearly established in this chapter that Irish immigrants did not assimilate quickly relative to the native born in the last decades of the nineteenth century, nor did they achieve occupational parity in the workforce. But how did the Irish fare relative to the broader American population in this timeframe? Did they come to resemble the

broader American population captured in my melted sample? Were their experiences in the workforce more similar to those individuals in my melted sample?

This section will compare the Irish and native born experience with that of those individuals captured in my melted sample. Recall from Chapter II that the melted sample was assembled using the same criteria with respect to gender, age, race and labour force participation as were my Irish and native born samples. The one difference in the construction of the melted sample was that I did not attempt to match specific individuals from the 1880 to the 1900 US census. The idea is for the melted sample to accurately resemble the broader American population in both 1880 as well as in 1900. The constraint of matching individuals would not permit me to maintain this representativeness with an ever-changing American population, including the arrival of many millions of new immigrants between 1880 and 1900. Thus, whereas the Irish and native born samples capture the experience of the same individuals over time, the melted sample does not. The composition of the melted sample changes between 1880 and 1900 in order to reflect the changes in the broader American society over this time period.

A review of the summary statistics presented in Table 3.16 for the Irish, native born and melted samples reveals that for the most part, the Irish did not melt. In other words, they did not come to resemble the melted sample in most characteristics under review. The Irish were more likely to live in urban areas and were less likely to be married than was the broader US population captured in the melted sample. They had higher rates of spouse fertility and child mortality, and were far less likely to marry an American born spouse. They did achieve convergence in literacy and, in contrast to

their performance relative to the native born sample, they also achieved convergence in home ownership and unemployment levels in 1900. However, the home ownership result may be influenced by the fact that the Irish sample is older on average than the melted sample by approximately five years.

As for the native born, they also remained distinct from the melted sample in most respects, but in the opposite direction. In contrast to the Irish, the native born were more rural and more likely to be married than were the melted sample. They also had lower levels of spouse fertility and child mortality. The native born were more likely to marry an American born spouse, enjoyed higher levels of home ownership and lower levels of unemployment than did the broader American sample. In effect, the melted sample falls squarely between the Irish and native born samples in most of the socioeconomic variables under consideration.

With respect to occupational mobility and income, the story is a similar one. As Table 3.17 indicates, the Irish lag both the melted and native born samples in occupational mobility. The Irish have a significantly higher level of semi- and un-skilled workers in 1900 than do the other two samples, and a lower level of white collar workers. The Irish also lag significantly behind the other two samples in farmers as well. As for the native born, they outperform the melted sample as well as the Irish. They show the greatest ability to exit the semi-and un-skilled categories between 1880 and 1900 and the highest levels of white collar workers. They also have the highest percentage of farmers in 1900 of any of the sample groups. Whereas the Irish make only moderate progress in exiting the lowest two rungs on the occupational ladder between 1880 and 1900 (a reduction of approximately 24%), the native born have a reduction in these

two categories of 45%. As with my prior analysis, the melted sample falls in between the levels of the Irish and native born samples. With respect to mean occupational income comparisons, the results are again similar. As Table 3.18 illustrates, the native born achieve both the highest mean income level in 1900 as well as the highest rate of income growth over the period. The Irish again lag behind both the other samples.

In Table 3.19, I calculate the Duncan Dissimilarity Index for the occupational groups in the Irish and melted samples. As the results indicate, the Irish do achieve some convergence with the melted sample between 1880 and 1900. The index result for 1900 indicates that approximately one-third of Irish or melted sample workers would need to change their job in order for the two distributions to exactly resemble each other. This represents a narrowing of the index of approximately 7% from its 1880 value. The index levels in this table are lower than the results achieved in Table 3.4, which compared the Irish occupational distribution to that of the native born sample. It is important to remember, however, that the composition of the melted sample changes between 1880 and 1900, whereas my Irish and native born samples do not. As a result, part of the convergence that the Irish sample achieves with the melted sample in occupational outcomes is undoubtedly a result of the fact that many new, largely less skilled immigrants would have come to the US in the years between 1880 and 1900. Nonetheless, this result does reinforce the conclusion that the Irish more closely resembled the overall population than they did the native born during this time period.

Table 3.16
Irish, Native and Melted Sample Summary Statistics

Variable	Irish	Native	Melted
Observations (1900)	937	15,985	89,854 (1880) 9,267,544
Age			
1880	32.0 years	28.0 years	29.0 years
1900	51.9	48.0	46.5
Rural Status			
1880	43.2%	86.0%	70.6%
1900	35.3%	74.7%	57.2%
Marital Status (1900)			
Married	74.5%	84.4%	81.4%
Never Married	14.4%	9.1%	12.3%
Widowed	10.8%	6.1%	5.9%
Divorced	0.3%	0.4%	0.5%
Home Ownership (1900)	52.6%	60.2%	52.7%
Literacy (1900)			
Read and write English	92.6%	94.0%	93.0%
Read or write only	1.1%	1.5%	2.3%
Quarters Unemployed (1900)			
Not unemployed	82.5%	86.6%	83.2%
1 Quarter	6.0%	5.6%	7.9%
2	7.4%	5.8%	6.7%
3-4	4.1%	2.0%	2.3%
Spouse Fertility (1900)			
Avg. Children Ever Born	6.4	5.3	5.8
Avg. Children Surviving	4.9	4.4	4.7
Implied Mortality Rate	23.3%	16.7%	19.4%
Spouse Age (1900)	47.2 years	42.8 years	46.1 years
Spouse Birthplace (1900)			
Ireland	53.9%	0.4%	4.6%
Other Foreign Country	8.8%	2.7%	22.0%
US	37.3%	96.9%	73.4%
Spouse Literacy (1900)			
Read and write English	90.0%	93.6%	91.0%
Read or write only	3.1%	1.7%	2.3%
Spouse in workforce (1900)	2.5%	2.2%	3.2%

Table 3.17
Comparison of Irish, Native and Melted Sample Occupational Groupings

1880

	Irish		Native		Melted	
	%	Cum.	%	Cum.	%	Cum.
High WC	7.2	7.2	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7
Low WC	4.3	11.4	6.3	14.0	7.5	15.2
Farmer	11.9	23.3	37.5	51.4	26.9	42.2
Skilled	15.8	39.1	9.1	60.6	12.9	55.0
Semi-skilled	28.6	67.7	9.0	69.6	16.5	71.5
Unskilled	32.3	100.0	30.5	100.0	28.5	100.0

1900

	Irish		Native		Melted	
	%	Cum.	%	Cum.	%	Cum.
High WC	11.4	11.4	12.8	12.8	12.9	12.9
Low WC	6.8	18.3	7.3	20.1	8.7	21.6
Farmer	17.1	35.3	45.8	65.9	32.2	53.8
Skilled	18.7	54.0	12.5	78.4	15.9	69.7
Semi-skilled	20.3	74.3	8.4	86.8	13.9	83.6
Unskilled	25.7	100.0	13.2	100.0	16.4	100.0

Table 3.18
Estimated Mean Income Levels Excluding Farm Workers
($ per annum)

	Irish	Native	Melted
1880	554	637	597
1900	621	727	670
% Growth	12%	14%	12%

Table 3.19
Calculation of Duncan Dissimilarity Index for Irish and Melted Sample Occupation

1880	.349
1900	.326

One final question to be addressed is whether this Irish experience of lagging behind the native born in the workplace at the end of the nineteenth century was unique to the Irish, or whether other immigrant groups also experienced this outcome. How does the Irish experience compare to the other principal immigrants group in the US in this timeframe? In order to address this question, I have chosen to examine the occupational progress of German and English immigrants in the US in the same timeframe. I have chosen these two immigrant groups because they were the most prominent immigrant groups in the US other then the Irish in the late nineteenth century. Similar to the Irish, these two groups had a long history of immigration to the US dating back into the eighteenth century, and had come to the US in sizeable numbers during the nineteenth century. According to Baines (1991), more than 15 million immigrants from Britain and Germany came to the US in the period from

1815-1930.[186] As such, these two immigrant groups represent an excellent yardstick by which to assess the relative performance of the Irish in the workplace at the end of the nineteenth century.

Table 3.20 presents the results of a comparison of German and English immigrants to the Irish and native born employing the occupational groupings used previously to compare the Irish and native born. While the German and English immigrants in these samples are not matched at the individual level, they have been selected using the same criteria in terms of gender, age and workforce participation as my matched samples. In addition, to further aid the comparison with my the matched samples, the German and English immigrants in the 1900 sample also have the requirement of having been present in the US on or prior to 1880. As Table 3.20 shows, both the Germans and the English achieved better occupational outcomes relative to the native born than did the Irish. Both the Germans and English had a higher proportion of white collar jobs than did the Irish, coupled with a much lower proportion of workers classified as unskilled. In fact, were it not for the high percentage of the native born who were engaged in farming, both the English and German immigrants would have attained a higher proportion of white collar jobs than the native born. In any event, the results are quite similar to those of the native born, with both the German and English actually having a lower proportion of workers in the unskilled category than did the native born in 1900. From this evidence, it is apparent that the Irish underperformed not only the native born in the workplace at the end of the nineteenth century, but also their fellow immigrants.

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[186] Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930* (Cambridge: 1991), p. 3.

Table 3.20
Comparison of German, English and Native Sample Occupational Groupings

1880

	Irish		German		English		Native	
	%	Cum.	%	Cum.	%	Cum.	%	Cum.
High WC	7.2	7.2	11.1	11.1	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7
Low WC	4.3	11.4	7.0	18.1	8.1	15.8	6.3	14.0
Farmer	11.9	23.3	13.6	31.7	14.2	30.0	37.5	51.4
Skilled	15.8	39.1	23.2	54.9	20.6	50.6	9.1	60.6
Semi-skilled	28.6	67.7	25.6	80.5	33.7	84.3	9.0	69.6
Unskilled	32.3	100.0	19.5	100.0	15.7	100.0	30.5	100.0

1900

	Irish		German		English		Native	
	%	Cum.	%	Cum.	%	Cum.	%	Cum.
High WC	11.4	11.4	14.6	14.6	12.3	12.3	12.8	12.8
Low WC	6.8	18.3	6.3	20.9	9.0	21.3	7.3	20.1
Farmer	17.1	35.3	30.9	51.8	23.8	45.1	45.8	65.9
Skilled	18.7	54.0	20.5	72.3	22.9	68.0	12.5	78.4
Semi-skilled	20.3	74.3	14.6	86.9	20.9	88.9	8.4	86.8
Unskilled	25.7	100.0	13.1	100.0	11.1	100.0	13.2	100.0

In conclusion, it is evident from the results of the analysis in this chapter that Irish immigrants did not assimilate quickly into American society in the period from 1880 to 1900. Relative to the native born, the Irish were more likely to live in urban areas, less likely to marry or own a home, and more likely to suffer un- or under-employment. They had higher rates of fertility as well as child mortality. And the majority of these Irish immigrant males chose to marry an Irish born spouse, whereas the vast majority of native born males in my sample had an American–born spouse. Standardising my sample results to adjust for the impact of initial differences in key variables such as age, rural status, home ownership and other variables did not affect these outcomes.

With respect to occupational mobility and income levels, the Irish again did not achieve convergence with the native born. With respect to the debate in the literature, my results would support the view of Borjas (1994), who argued that immigrant groups during the era of mass migration did not achieve convergence in occupational levels with native born white males.[187] The Irish were much more likely to remain on the lower rungs of the occupational ladder than were the native born, who were more than twice as likely as the Irish to work in a white collar occupation. Using the Duncan dissimilarity index confirmed that there was a substantial difference in the occupational distributions of the Irish and native born samples, which narrowed only slightly between 1880 and 1900. The native born mean income level in 1900 (excluding farm-related workers) was 17% higher than the equivalent Irish level, and the native born had a higher rate of income growth over the period. An analysis of the occupational mobility of the two samples showed that though both the Irish and the native born experienced significant upward and downward mobility over the period,

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[187] Borjas (1994), pp. 571-572. In his analysis, it took as many as four generations for such convergence to occur.

the Irish were far more likely to find themselves in semi- and un-skilled work in 1900, whereas the native born were more likely to have a white collar job and were much more likely to become a farmer. A transition matrix analysis confirmed that while movements between the high white collar and low white collar categories were quite similar for the two samples, there was a significant difference in the farmer category, where the native born show a much higher probability of entering (or remaining in) this occupational category than did the Irish. The Irish demonstrated a much higher probability of moving into (or remaining in) semi- and un-skilled work, whereas the native born had a much higher probability of exiting unskilled work. The transition matrix analysis reinforced the conclusion that while there was a high degree of occupational mobility for both the Irish and native born in the US economy at the end of the nineteenth century, there remained clear differences between the occupational experiences of these two groups.

To address the possible criticism that the newly arriving, predominantly urban dwelling Irish should not be compared to the more rural and land owning native born sample, I also segmented my sample data to compare the urban Irish to the urban native born. Again, the results confirmed a lack of assimilation by the Irish and an even more dramatic difference in occupational mobility and mean income levels. The native born in this analysis were three times as likely to work in white collar employment in 1900 as were the Irish and one-third as likely to be in an unskilled occupation. Their income levels were 21% higher in 1900 as well.

I also compared the Irish farmers in my sample to the non-farming Irish, as well as to the native born farmers. These results reflected major differences between the two

groups of Irish, and some interesting similarities between the Irish farmers and the native born farmers. From this analysis, it is clear that the Irish who engaged in farming assimilated more quickly in certain areas (such as home ownership, marital status, child mortality and nationality of spouse), than they did in others (such as marital fertility). It is also striking that while Irish farmers achieved a significant level of assimilation relative to native born farmers, the urban Irish realised a much lower degree of assimilation relative to the urban native born. These results confirm that the assimilation process for Irish immigrants was not uniform, but in fact was a multi-dimensional one, which varied depending on which subset of the Irish sample was being reviewed, and which socio-economic variables were under consideration. They would also appear to support the argument that an increased exposure to the native born enhanced the assimilation of Irish immigrants relative to those who lived in urban areas.

Segmenting the Irish sample into cohorts based on age, year of immigration, and age at time of immigration also reinforced the conclusion that the assimilation process for the Irish was a varied and multi-dimensional one. The younger Irish and those Irish who immigrated to the US as children achieved the highest levels of occupational mobility, income and income growth. They were also the most literate and the most likely to marry an American born spouse. The older Irish and those Irish who were not recent immigrants were less successful in obtaining white collar work, but were more likely to own a home or to become a farmer. They had lower income levels and income growth. Finally, those Irish who immigrated as adults had the weakest occupational performance. They were more likely to work in an unskilled occupation and had the lowest mean income level of any of the cohort groups.

In comparison to the broader American population (as measured by my melted sample), the Irish again lagged in occupational mobility and income levels and they did not achieve convergence across a range of socio-economic variables. They did appear to assimilate more quickly in the areas of literacy, unemployment and home ownership (though the older age of the Irish sample relative to the melted sample would be an important contributing factor to the home ownership results). However, the Irish trailed both the native born as well as the melted sample in occupational mobility and income levels. In general, the melted sample fell squarely between the Irish and native born samples in my assimilation and occupational mobility analyses.

Finally, it was also important to undertake a comparison of the occupational performance of the Irish relative to the other principal immigrant groups in the late nineteenth century. As we discovered, the Irish also lagged behind the performance of both German and English immigrants during this time period. Both these groups had higher levels of white collar occupations and lower levels of unskilled workers than did the Irish, and they also more closely resembled the native born in terms of their occupational mobility.

These last results raise an interesting question: given that the Irish had high literacy levels and had the advantage of speaking English as a native language (unlike the Germans, for example), why did they fail to achieve higher levels of assimilation and occupational mobility during this time period? One potential explanation would be that they were subject to discrimination. Several researchers have argued that there were meaningful levels of discrimination against Irish immigrants in the workplace during

the nineteenth century.[188] However, while this explanation may help to justify Irish underperformance relative to native born Americans, it would not easily explain why they also lagged other immigrant groups as well (in particular the Germans, for whom English was not a native language). Another possible explanation may lie in the differences between the Irish and American economies in this timeframe. Perhaps the Irish lacked the appropriate human capital necessary to succeed in the increasingly industrial and less agrarian American economy? As noted by Fitzpatrick (1985) and Guinnane (1997), the Irish arrived in the US without many marketable skills, and their occupational backgrounds were not well suited for the more industrialised US economy.[189] Despite their high levels of literacy and English language skills, perhaps the Irish lacked other critical skills necessary to advance up the occupational ladder in late nineteenth century America? In the literature, there is evidence that despite their seemingly high literacy rates, the Irish lagged behind the other principal immigrant groups in the US in terms of their level of education. Mitch (1992) found that the school attendance and literacy rates of the mid-nineteenth century English lagged behind that of Americans, Germans and Scandinavians.[190] In a separate study, Atkinson (1969) found that the Irish lagged behind inhabitants of England, Wales and Scotland in areas such as primary school attendance, teacher pay and teacher training.[191] This research supports the view that the Irish were less well educated than the other principal immigrant groups in the US in the late nineteenth century. It is also interesting that the Irish cohorts which achieved the highest levels of occupational mobility and income were those Irish who were young or had immigrated as children. It is equally telling that the group which fared the poorest in the workplace were those

[188] See McGouldrick and Tannen (1977), Hannon (1982a, 1982b).
[189] Fitzpatrick (1985) pp. 8, 32; Guinnane (1997) p. 106.
[190] David F. Mitch, *The Rise of Popular Literacy in Victorian England* (Philadelphia: 1992), p. 1.
[191] Norman Atkinson, *Irish Education* (Dublin: 1969), pp. 101-2.

Irish who arrived in America as adults. These results support the view that developing skills while living and working in the US may have aided the younger Irish versus those who developed much of their human capital in the less developed and largely pre-industrial Irish economy prior to immigrating.

It would appear from the results presented in this chapter that the flame burning under the Irish melting pot in the last decades of the nineteenth century was not very hot. Irish immigrants did not assimilate quickly relative to either the native born or the broader American population, and they lagged noticeably in measures of occupational mobility and income levels. The claims of Irish occupational parity at the turn of the century made by Kenny (2006) and Doyle (1975) appear overly optimistic. Based on this evidence, the Irish assimilation experience in the US would appear to be better described as salad bowl, where different ingredients are added together but with each retaining its distinctiveness. While certain subsets of the Irish immigrant population examined in this chapter did exhibit greater levels of assimilation and occupational mobility, Irish immigrants, in the aggregate, did not. In the chapters to follow, the assimilation and occupational mobility of the Irish will be further examined, using both a variety of measures, and by further segmenting the Irish immigrant population. In these analyses, the question of whether the Irish assimilation experience more closely resembles a melting pot or a salad bowl will be further assessed.

IV. Assimilation of Irish Immigrants as Measured by Ethnic Intermarriage

In this chapter, I will employ ethnic intermarriage ("Intermarriage") as another measure of assimilation for my sample of Irish immigrants living in the US in the late nineteenth century. Intermarriage is an important indicator of assimilation for immigrants and it has the attractive property of measuring assimilation in the home. As marriage was viewed as a lasting, long term commitment in the nineteenth century, the decision to marry someone from a different ethnic background can provide a strong signal about an immigrant's willingness to adapt to a new ethnic and social environment. It is also likely that the non-Irish spouses of the immigrants who chose to intermarry contributed to the assimilation of their husbands.

In my research, I will first compare those Irish who married after arriving in the US with the married native born in my matched samples. I will examine the relationship between intermarriage and a host of socio-economic variables available in my sample data to ascertain the characteristics of Irish immigrants who chose to marry a non-Irish spouse. I will estimate a logistic regression to ascertain which characteristics of Irish immigrants and their spouses are most strongly associated with the likelihood of an Irish immigrant marrying a non-Irish spouse. I will also seek to examine the relationship between intermarriage and the subsequent behaviour of Irish immigrants as captured in the longitudinal data available in my sample. Throughout this chapter, I will seek to identify both the consequences of intermarriage as well as potential causes, using the US census data at my disposal. By isolating on those Irish immigrants who were married in the US on or prior to 1880, I will be able to examine socio-economic outcomes in 1900 that may permit me to reach conclusions about the consequences of intermarriage. Similarly, I may be able to reach conclusions about certain causes of

intermarriage by isolating on the socio-economic characteristics of those Irish who were not married in 1880 but were in 1900.

The principal questions I will seek to address in this chapter include: what were the key characteristics of Irish immigrants who chose to intermarry and in which areas did they differ significantly from those Irish in my sample who married an Irish born spouse? Did the intermarried achieve greater occupational mobility than those Irish who married an Irish born spouse and did they achieve greater assimilation relative to the native born? What were the key differences in the characteristics of Irish born spouses versus those spouses of Irish immigrants who were born elsewhere? One note of caution is that there may be unobservable attributes of the individuals in my sample that may also influence their socio-economic outcomes. As a result, it may not always be possible to distinguish the direction of causation between intermarriage and these outcomes. Given this caveat, in this chapter I will seek to reach careful conclusions about which Irish immigrants intermarried as well as the potential consequences of intermarriage on their assimilation into American society in the late nineteenth century.

In this chapter, my contribution to the literature is twofold. First, I will undertake a detailed study of intermarriage as a measure of assimilation using my sample data of first generation Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America. While several scholars have examined the marital behaviour of Irish immigrants in the US in this time period,[192] none have focused specifically on the issue of intermarriage and its use as a measure of assimilation. Secondly, I will make use of the longitudinal nature of

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[192] See Foley and Guinnane (1999), Landale and Tolnay (1993).

my matched sample data to explore the relationship between intermarriage and a series of socio-economic variables. In particular, I will assess the relationship between those Irish who were intermarried on or prior to 1880, and their subsequent occupational mobility as captured in US census data in 1880 and 1900. I will also use this longitudinal approach to analyse the relationship between intermarriage and other socio-economic variables such as geographic location, employment status, home ownership, and literacy. The matched sample approach will also allow me to explore potential socio-economic causes of intermarriage for those Irish immigrants in my sample who were not married in 1880 but became married prior to the 1900 US census. This use of a matched sample to conduct a longitudinal study of potential causes and consequences of intermarriage is also a contribution to the existing literature on the assimilation of Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America.

Intermarriage has been viewed by many historians, economists and sociologists as a key indicator of assimilation. As noted by Schoen (1986), "intermarriage is the ultimate sign of social acceptability."[193] What this author finds particularly interesting about intermarriage is that it is a measure of assimilation which is based in the home. Unlike occupational mobility, which measures assimilation in the workplace, intermarriage provides a window into the home life of those we are seeking to understand. The Irish immigrants who came to the US needed to find work in order to try to build an economic future for themselves and their families in the US. They needed to adapt to the US labour market and compete with the native born and other immigrant groups in the workplace. But when they returned to their home after a day's work, they did not need to continue to try to be like those around them in the

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[193] Schoen (1986), p. 49.

workplace. Subject to finding a suitable Irish-born woman in the area in which they lived, they could choose to marry an Irish native and maintain an additional and more intimate link to the country of their birth. To a much greater extent than in the workplace, they had a choice in the decision of whom to marry. In addition, whereas the choice of occupation was a decision that could be and often was changed based on individual skill development, labour market conditions and other factors, marriage was a long term commitment. It is this ability to choose, as well as the intimate and long term nature of the commitment, which makes intermarriage such an interesting and important area for the study of assimilation.

In the literature, Gordon (1964) has provided us with a firm foundation for the study of assimilation into American society with his seven stage model of the assimilation process. The first level, which is called acculturation or behavioural assimilation, involves a change of cultural patterns to better reflect those of the host society. Gordon (1964) sees the next level of assimilation as structural; the process by which the foreign born are accepted into the institutions of the host country. These institutions include among others, schools, clubs and work. The combination of these first two stages paves the way for the widespread possibility of marital assimilation (or intermarriage) as the third stage in the assimilation process.[194] Chiswick and Houseworth (2008) also view intermarriage as a key indicator of assimilation. For them, assimilation is "the process by which the foreign born acquire the human capital specific to the host country."[195] They also note, however, that there is a question of causality as it relates to intermarriage and assimilation. It is not clear whether intermarriage leads to greater assimilation in the host country of whether greater

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[194] Gordon (1964), p. 80.
[195] Chiswick and Houseworth (2008), p. 3.

assimilation itself facilitates an increase in intermarriage.[196] In this respect, intermarriage may represent both a measure of, and as well as a contributing factor to, assimilation. Alba and Goldin (1986) argue that given the intimate and enduring nature of marriage, that intermarriage, more so than any other type of relationship, "tests social boundaries and the willingness of insiders and outsiders to accept each other" in a long-lasting relationship. They argue that intermarriage has "fundamental importance as a measure of social distance and structural assimilation."[197]

Sociologists have developed theories to address the issue of how people make decisions regarding marriage, some of which are highly applicable to the concept of intermarriage. Hollingshead (1950) was one of the first sociologists to assess the influence of cultural factors on the decision to marry. In a study of marriages in the city of New Haven, CT in the mid-twentieth century, he found that cultural factors such as religion and ethnicity had a strong effect on marriage choices.[198] His rather straightforward approach to theory stated that marriage decisions were either homogamous (where like attracts like) or heterogamous (where opposites attract). In his results, he found strong evidence for the theory of homogamy.[199] Blau et al. (1982) studied intermarriage and developed two central theorems to explain when members of different groups decide to intermarry. Using 1970 US census data, they found support for the theorems that 1) a group's relative size is inversely related to the proportion of its members who intermarry and 2) the heterogeneity of an area is directly related to the rate of intermarriage in it.[200] In their work, heterogeneity "depends on the number

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[196] Chiswick and Houseworth (2008), p. 4.
[197] Alba and Goldin (1986), pp. 202-3.
[198] Hollingshead (1950), p. 627.
[199] Hollingshead (1950), p. 627.
[200] Blau et al. (1982), p. 45.

of groups and the population's distribution among them"[201] and effectively represents the chance of two people from different groups being in the same area. The authors argue that in the absence of any "in-group pressures" to marry someone from their own group, that the relative size of different groups and the degree of heterogeneity in a given area "would govern the extent of all social relations, including marriage, between members of different groups."[202] Schoen (1986) also advances the theory that intermarriage rates are influenced by the group composition of a given population. He argues that when one group is small relative to another, that members of that group "may face a restricted market for in-group marriage but an extensive one for out-group marriage." This small group is more likely to intermarry, ceteris paribus. Schoen (1986) also argues that members of the larger group have less chance of intermarriage "simply because there are relatively few members of the smaller group available.[203] In this chapter, we will look to apply the theories of Hollingshead (1950), Blau et al. (1982) and Schoen (1986) to the results of my analysis of intermarriage among Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century.

As it is clear that intermarriage is an important measure of assimilation, one further question to address is why it is interesting or useful to study the marriage patterns of the Irish in the US in this timeframe? There are two primary reasons. First of all, there are several unique demographic features of the Irish that merit our attention. As noted by Foley and Guinnane (1999), 'The Irish at the end of the nineteenth century were famous for three demographic behaviours: they migrated in huge numbers, were reluctant to marry, and had large families when they did marry."[204] They also found

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[201] Blau et al. (1982), p. 46.
[202] Blau et al. (1982), p. 51.
[203] Schoen (1986), P. 50.
[204] Foley and Guinnane (1999), p. 15.

that relative to other immigrant groups in their study, the Irish were "unusually willing to marry members of other ethnic groups."[205] Thus the Irish were not only the most prolific of immigrant groups in the US in this timeframe, they also exhibited distinct demographic behaviour. Secondly, the use of intermarriage as a means of studying their assimilation has not been applied to the Irish in this time period.[206] Studying the role of intermarriage among Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth century is thus important not only as a means to understanding the assimilation of this important immigrant group, but also to contribute to the broader historiography of Irish demographic behaviour in this time period.

Before analysing the role of intermarriage in the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the period from 1880 to 1900, I first compare those Irish who chose to marry to their married native born counterparts. As we are interested in the assimilation of the Irish relative to this group, it is important to conduct this initial comparison. Table 4.1 presents the summary statistics for those Irish immigrants and native born from my matched samples who were married with their spouses present in the household at the time of the census in 1900.[207] Of the 937 Irish immigrants in my matched sample, 611 were married with spouse present in 1900.[208] For the native born, 13,149 were

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[205] Foley and Guinnane (1999), p. 26.

[206] Foley and Guinnane (1999) mention intermarriage in this article but are primarily focused on whether the broader marital and fertility patterns of the Irish in Ireland survived in the US after emigration. Pagnini and Morgan (1990) do include some findings for Irish immigrants in their study which uses 1910 US census data, but their results focus primarily on a comparison of intermarriage patterns of the "old" Northwestern vs. the "new" Southeastern European immigrant groups.

[207] In order for the NAPP and IPUMS databases to capture any data regarding the spouse, it was necessary for the spouse to be present in the household at the time of the census. For the Irish sample, there were 30 cases (3% of the Irish sample) of an individual being married but with the spouse not present in the household. For the native born, the equivalent figure was 342 (2% of the native born sample). These figures do not include individuals who were divorced or widowed, as there are separate categories in the census for those marital statuses.

[208] This figure includes only those Irish who married in the US, thus excluding those who were already married upon their arrival in the US. The rationale for using this approach is to enable an examination of those Irish who made their marriage decisions in the US, as opposed to those who arrived already married.

similarly married from an original sample of 15,985. As Table 4.1 illustrates, the married Irish and married native born have noticeable and statistically significant differences in many socio-economic areas. With respect to age, the Irish sample is older than the native born, and both the Irish immigrants and their spouses were slightly older than their native born counterparts at the time of marriage. The gap in age between husband and wife is quite similar, with the Irish men being approximately 5.1 years older than their brides, and the native born men being approximately 5.2 years older. In keeping with the results of our full samples presented in Chapter III, the married Irish were much more likely to live in urban areas in both 1880 and 1900 than were the married native born. In both cases, the native born were more than twice as likely to live in a rural location as was an Irish immigrant. The Irish were also less likely to own a home, though this difference was not substantial and is statistically significant only at a 5% confidence interval. The native born, as well as their spouses, were also more likely to be literate than were the Irish, though these differences were slight and statistically significant only in the case of the spouses. The native born were also more likely to be employed than were the Irish at the time of the 1900 US census, though this result was also statistically significant only at a 10% confidence interval. With respect to fertility and child mortality rates, the results are consistent with those found in Chapter III. The native born who are married with their spouse present in 1900 have fewer children and a lower child mortality rate than do the Irish, and these results are statistically significant. Perhaps the most dramatic difference between the two samples is in the area of spouse birthplace. This variable, which we will use extensively in this chapter as a measure of intermarriage, indicates a substantial difference in the marriage choices of Irish immigrants' vis-à-vis the native born. As can be seen in Table 4.1, a slight majority of Irish immigrants chose to marry an Irish

born spouse, with a sizeable minority marrying either an American born or non-Irish foreign born spouse.[209] For the native born, there is an overwhelming preference for a native born spouse, with only 3.1% choosing to marry a foreign born woman. This result probably reflects both a preference for native born to marry a spouse who was also native to the US, as well as the fact the vast majority of available spouses living in the US were native born in this time period.[210] These results would also support the marriage theories advanced by Schoen (1986) and Blau et al.(1982), who argue that members of large groups are less likely to intermarry due to a relative lack of smaller group potential spouses, whereas members of smaller groups are more likely to intermarry. Hollingshead's (1950) theory of homogamy appears to apply to the native born, but does not reflect the experience of Irish immigrants in this timeframe.

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[209] It should be noted that the vast majority (84%) of Irish immigrants in my sample who married a non-Irish spouse chose to marry a native born woman.
[210] 88% of single, white females of similar ages to my sample living in the US were native born in 1880, based on data drawn from the NAPP US census data for that year.

Table 4.1
Summary Statistics of Irish and Native Born Married (a)

Variable	Irish	Native Born
Observations	611	13,149
Age		
1880	31.6 years***	28.1 years
1900	51.6***	48.0
Age at Marriage (1900)	28.5 years***	27.7 years
Rural Status		
1880	42.9%***	86.6%
1900	35.8%***	75.9%
Home Ownership (1900)	57.1%**	61.8%
Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	93.8%	93.9%
Read or write only	1.0%	1.6%
Quarters Unemployed (1900)		
Not unemployed	85.1%*	87.7%
1 Quarter	5.7%	5.1%
2	6.1%	5.3%
3-4	3.1%	1.9%
Spouse Fertility (1900)		
Avg. Children Ever Born	6.2***	5.3
Avg. Children Surviving	4.8***	4.4
Implied Mortality Rate	22.6%	16.7%
Spouse Age (1900)	46.4 years***	42.8 years
Spouse Age at Marriage (1900)	23.4 years***	22.5 years
Spouse Birthplace (1900)		
Ireland	52.4%***	0.4%
Other Foreign Country	7.4%	2.7%
US	40.3%	96.9%
Spouse Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	90.7%***	93.6%
Read or write only	3.1%	1.7%
Spouse in workforce (1900)	2.8%	2.2%

(a) Includes those individuals classified as "Married, spouse present" at the time of the 1900 US census.

***Differences between the individuals in the two samples are significant at the 1, 5 and 10% levels, respectively, using a t test for age and fertility variables, and the chi squared test of independence for the remaining variables.

Table 4.2 presents the summary statistics for those Irish who married an Irish born spouse ("Married Irish") versus those who married either a native born spouse or a spouse from a foreign country other than Ireland ("Intermarried"). I have also added the figures for the married native born in order to facilitate comparison with these two Irish immigrant groups. In the case of the two Irish groups, these samples are limited to marriages which occurred after the husband had arrived in the US. I have chosen to limit these samples to only those Irish immigrants who married in the US in order to analyse the marriage decision as a measure of assimilation. If an Irish immigrant had married before arriving in the US, he would not have realistically had the opportunity to enter into an inter-ethnic marriage. With this restriction, I will be able to assess the assimilation and occupational mobility of Irish immigrants based on the nationality of their spouses.

In my research, there are striking and statistically significant differences between those Irish who intermarried and those that married an Irish born spouse.[211] With respect to age, the married Irish are older than the intermarried Irish, yet chose to marry at a younger age. The spouses of the married Irish are also older than their intermarried peers, yet both of these groups were roughly the same age at marriage. In Figures 4.1 through 4.4, I present histogram distributions of the ages of both the married Irish and the intermarried, along with those of their spouses. The distributions reflect the fact that Irish born couples were more likely to be older than were the intermarried ones. The Irish born distributions are skewed to the right (towards higher ages) whereas both the intermarried distributions are skewed left towards lower ages. Returning to an analysis of the results in Table 4.2, the married Irish were more likely to live in an

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[211] For the avoidance of doubt, the statistical tests in Table 4.2 highlight the significance of differences solely between the two Irish groups – Married Irish and Intermarried. The native born column is provided for comparative purposes only.

urban location than were their intermarried peers, with the gap between these two groups increasing markedly between 1880 and 1900. The intermarried Irish experienced only a modest decline in the percentage living in rural areas, whereas the married Irish witnessed a 26% decline in the percentage living in rural areas between 1880 and 1900 (41.3% in 1880 falling to just 30.6% in 1900). Analysing the role of rural occupations such as farming will be important to understanding this significant difference between the two sets of Irish immigrants, and will be explored later in this chapter. Notwithstanding their more urban location, the married Irish were actually slightly more likely to own a home (though this advantage was not statistically significant). The married Irish were noticeably less literate, as were their spouses, where the gap in literacy versus the intermarried Irish spouses measured a full 14 percentage points. The married Irish were also more likely to have been un- or under employed in 1900, again by a statistically significant margin. They had more children than did their intermarried peers, and experienced higher rates of child mortality. This higher rate of child mortality may have been influenced by the fact that they were more urban than their intermarried peers.[212] In summary, there were important and statistically significant differences between the intermarried and the married Irish in virtually every socio-economic variable under review with the exception of home ownership. The intermarried were younger, more literate (both husband and spouse), more likely to live in rural areas and more likely to be fully employed in 1900. They also had less children and experienced lower levels of child mortality than did the married Irish.

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[212] In my Irish sample, child mortality rates were 25% in urban areas versus 19% in rural areas, measured using 1900 US census data.

Table 4.2
Summary Statistics of Married Irish, Intermarried and Native Born (a)

Variable Born	Married Irish	Intermarried	Native
Observations	320	291	13,149
Age			
1880	33.1 years***	30.0 years	28.1 years
1900	53.0***	50.0	48.0
Age at Marriage (1900)	27.5 years***	29.6 years	27.7 years
Rural Status			
1880	41.3%***	44.7%	86.6%
1900	30.6%***	41.6%	75.9%
Home Ownership (1900)	58.8%	55.3%	61.8%
Literacy (1900)			
Read and write English	91.3%***	96.6%	93.9%
Read or write only	1.6%	0.3%	1.6%
Quarters Unemployed (1900)			
Not unemployed	80.9%***	89.7%	87.7%
1 Quarter	7.2%	4.1%	5.1%
2	7.8%	4.1%	5.3%
3-4	4.1%	2.1%	1.9%
Spouse Fertility (1900)			
Avg. Children Ever Born	6.6***	5.7	5.3
Avg. Children Surviving	5.0**	4.6	4.4
Implied Mortality Rate	24.2%	19.3%	16.7%
Spouse Age (1900)	49.1 years***	43.5 years	42.8 years
Spouse Age at Marriage (1900)	23.6 years	23.1 years	22.5 years
Spouse Birthplace (1900)			
Ireland	100.0%***	0.0%	0.4%
Other Foreign Country	0.0%	15.5%	2.7%
US	0.0%	84.5%	96.9%
Spouse Literacy (1900)			
Read and write English	84.1%***	97.9%	93.6%
Read or write only	5.0%	0.7%	1.7%
Spouse in workforce (1900)	3.4%	2.1%	2.2%

(a) Includes those individuals classified as "Married, spouse present" at the time of the 1900 US census.

***Differences between the individuals in the Married Irish and Intermarried samples are significant at the 1, 5 and 10% levels, respectively, using a t test for age and fertility variables, and the chi squared test of independence for the remaining variables. The Native Born sample results are provided for comparison purposes only and are not included in the statistical testing.

Figure 4.1
Distribution of Married Irish Age in 1900

Skewness   -.1647437

Figure 4.2
Distribution of Intermarried Age in 1900

Skewness   .1534659

138

Figure 4.3
Distribution of Married Irish Spouse Age in 1900

Skewness   -.0359496

Figure 4.4
Distribution of Intermarried Spouse Age in 1900
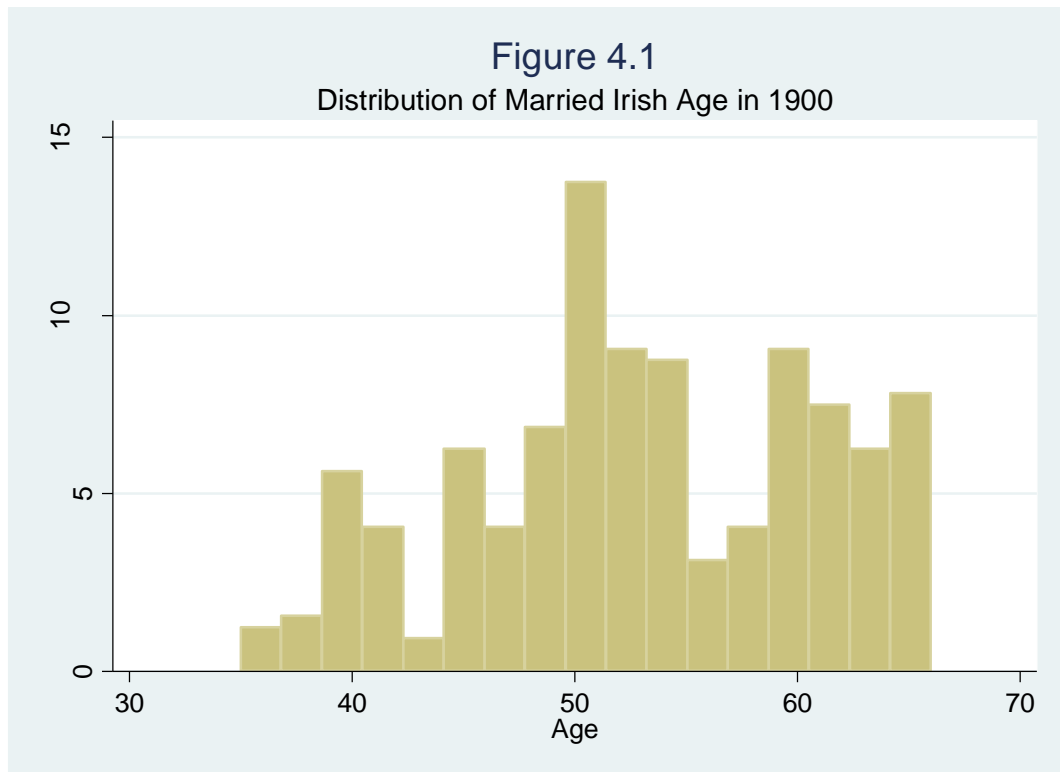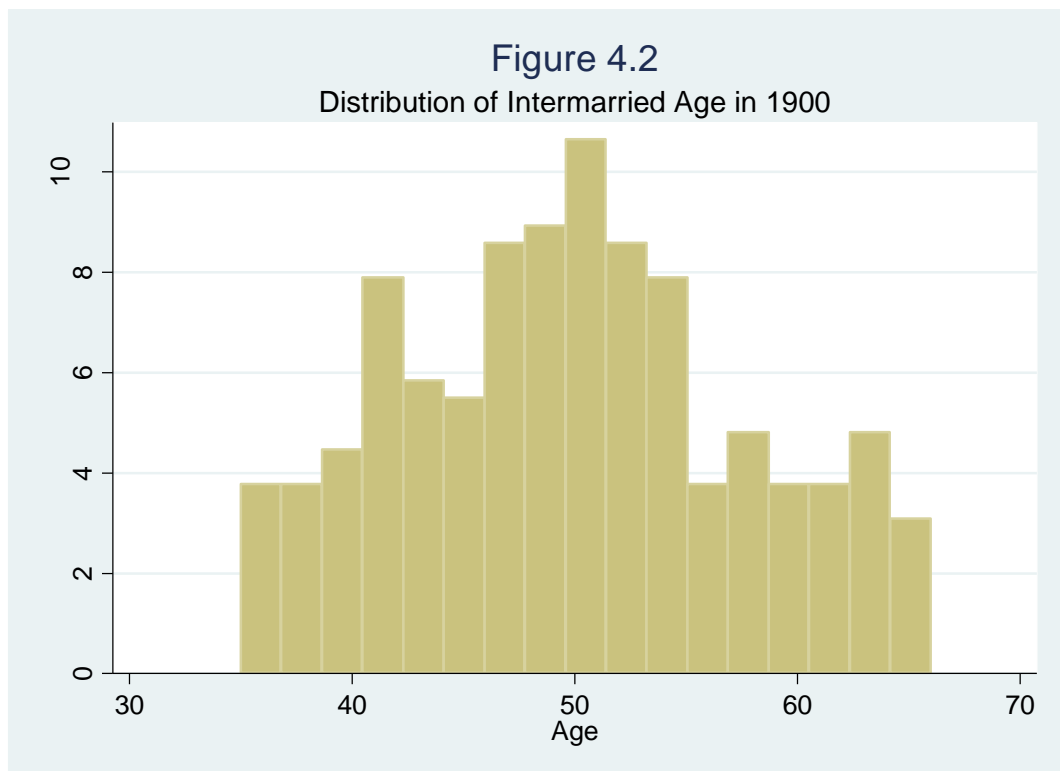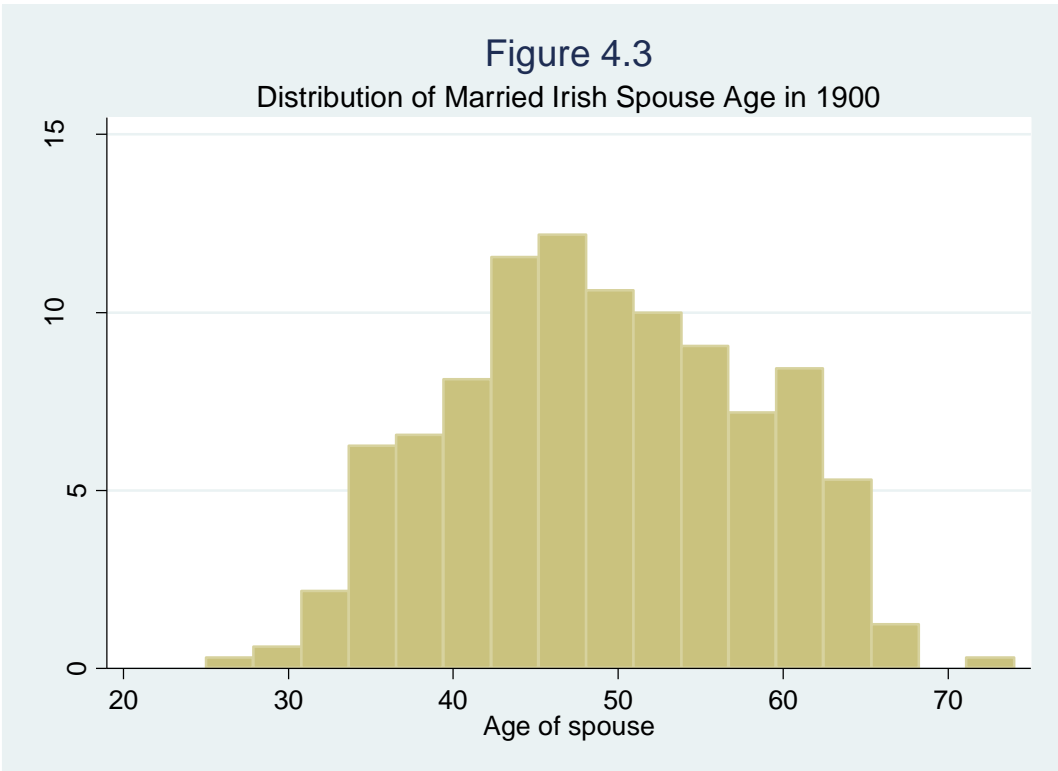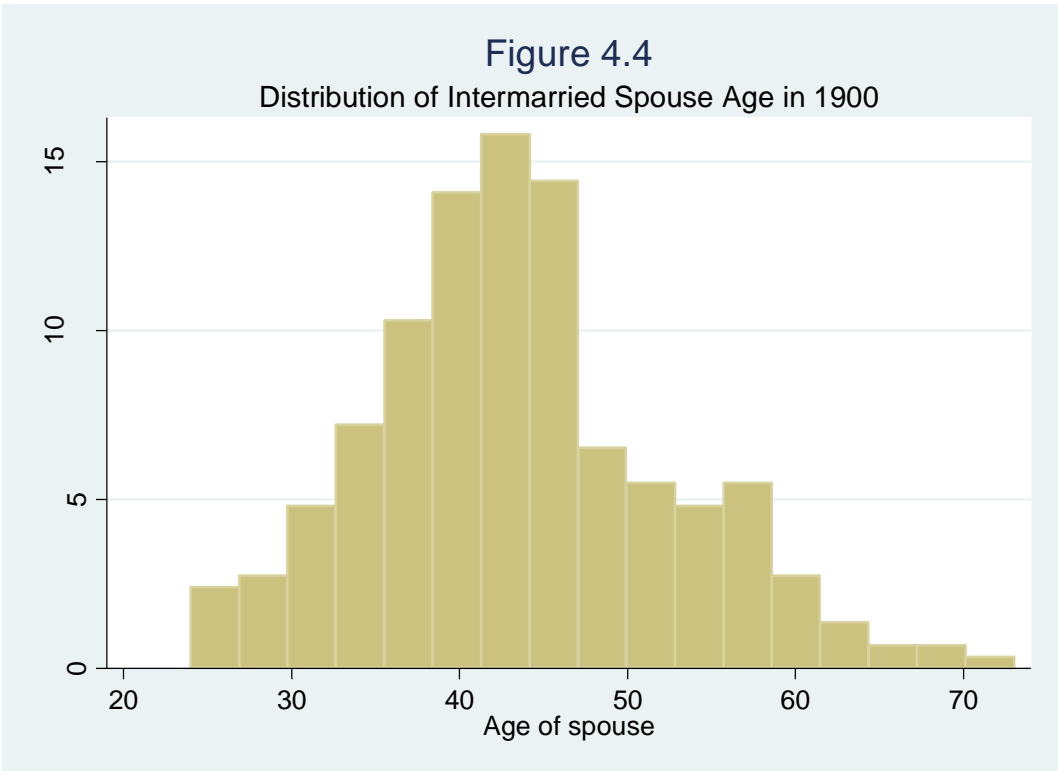
Skewness   .4130734

One interesting feature of the intermarried which emerges from the prior analysis is that they were both more rural than the married Irish and married at an older age. One possible explanation for this combination of attributes is that they may have had less access to Irish born spouses as a result of living in a rural location and hence spent more time looking for a suitable spouse before finally deciding to marry a non-Irish one. A review of US census data for 1880 reveals that 71% of single Irish females of a similar age to those in my sample of Irish immigrants resided in urban areas, with only 29% living in rural areas. For an Irish immigrant living in a rural location, it may have been more difficult to find a suitable Irish born spouse, hence contributing to the noticeably higher percentage of intermarried living in rural locations and the fact that they married at an older age than did the married Irish. These results would also support the argument of Schoen (1986) that members of a smaller group are more likely to encounter a "restricted market"[213] for potential spouses from the same ethnic group and are hence more likely to intermarry, if they marry at all. They would also support the arguments of Blau et al (1982) that comparative group size does affect the likelihood of intermarriage, with members of a relatively smaller group being more likely to intermarry.

With respect to the question of which of the married Irish or intermarried groups more closely resembled the married native born, Table 4.2 provides clear evidence. The intermarried Irish much more closely resembled the married native born than did the married Irish group. In the areas of rural status, literacy, spouse literacy, unemployment status, fertility and child mortality, the intermarried results were closer to those of the married native born than were those of the married Irish. In fact, the

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[213] Schoen (1986), p. 50.

intermarried actually had more impressive outcomes than did the married native born in several areas, including unemployment status, literacy and spouse literacy. In other words, the intermarried Irish actually had lower unemployment and higher literacy and spouse literacy than did the married native born in 1900. The married Irish only more closely resembled the married native born in home ownership. But even in this instance, the difference in home ownership between the married Irish and the intermarried was not statistically significant. In summary, there were clear and statistically significant differences between the married Irish and intermarried groups in virtually every socio-economic variable under review. And in virtually all of these socio-economic variables, the intermarried more closely resembled the married native born.

We can also use the results in Table 4.2 to make some assessments about the causes and consequences of intermarriage.[214] With respect to those Irish who married on or before 1880, the 1900 outcomes in rural status, home ownership, employment status, spouse fertility, child mortality and spouse workforce participation may all shed light on the consequences of an Irish immigrant having intermarried. Using the results in Table 4.2, we see that the intermarried in 1900 were more rural, had lower levels of un- and under-employment, had lower levels of both spouse fertility and child mortality, and had lower spouse workforce participation than did the married Irish. Only in the area of home ownership do we find the married Irish with a more favourable outcome. As mentioned previously, in all these areas with the exception of home ownership, the intermarried more closely resemble the native born. It would

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[214] In an additional analysis not reported here, I separated my sample into those Irish immigrants who were married on or before 1880 as well as into those who were single in 1880 but married prior to 1900, in both cases comparing the married Irish to the intermarried. I then reviewed the results of these sub samples versus those in Table 4.2 and found no differences in the direction of the comparative results.

appear from these results that the intermarried may have been more successful in acquiring the human capital necessary to succeed in the US than were the married Irish. As for potential causes of intermarriage, a review of the 1880 results for rural status, as well the results for literacy and spouse literacy[215] may help to assess this aspect of intermarriage. In Table 4.2, the results indicate that those Irish who intermarried lived in more rural areas in 1880 and that both they and their spouses had higher levels of literacy than did the married Irish. This relationship between living in a rural location and higher levels of intermarriage would suggest that Irish immigrants living in rural locations may have been more likely to intermarry as a result of the reduced likelihood of finding a suitable Irish born bride. As I have mentioned, the vast majority of Irish born single women resided in urban areas in this timeframe and the availability of Irish born spouses in rural areas was thus more limited than it was in urban areas. This result again confirms the theories of Schoen (1986) and Blau et al. (1982), where members of a smaller group (in this case Irish immigrants living in rural locations) are more likely to intermarry. With respect to literacy, an illiterate Irish immigrant may have experienced greater difficulty in attracting a non-Irish spouse as the data shows that a very high proportion of these women were literate in this timeframe. As marriage involves two parties, it may have been the case that a literate non-Irish spouse may have been less inclined to marry an illiterate Irish immigrant.

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[215] The US census did not ask questions regarding literacy in 1880.

This analysis of intermarriage will now seek to address the question of who among the Irish immigrants living in the US in the late nineteenth century married a non-Irish spouse. In Table 4.3, I present the results of a logistic regression analysis which assesses the probability of an Irish immigrant marrying a non-Irish spouse. Using a dependent variable which identifies whether or not the immigrant is intermarried, the model has as its independent variables: age and spouse age, year of marriage, years living in the US, rural status in 1880, literacy and spouse literacy. This logistic regression analysis allows me to assess the relationship between these socio-economic variables and the likelihood of an Irish immigrant marrying a non-Irish spouse. The results of this analysis will illustrate which socio-economic characteristics are positively and negatively associated with intermarriage among Irish immigrants in the late 1800s, hence shedding further light on the potential causes of intermarriage.

The results in Table 4.3 indicate that spouse literacy is positively associated with intermarriage and is also statistically significant at the 1% confidence level. Using the marginal effects column (dy/dx), we can estimate the impact of a discrete change in an independent categorical variable (in this case, spouse literacy) on the change in our dependent variable (Irish immigrant intermarriage). In the case of spouse literacy, the probability of an Irish immigrant being married to a non-Irish spouse is 36.6% higher if that spouse is literate as opposed to illiterate. The data shows that if an Irish immigrant married an illiterate spouse, that spouse was highly likely to have been born in Ireland. Spouse age, year of marriage and the number of years living in the US are also statistically significant at the 1% confidence level. In the case of spouse age, an increase of one year in age is associated with a 1.7% lower probability of intermarriage. This result is consistent with the results in Table 4.2 showing that

intermarried spouses were younger than their married Irish counterparts. An increase of one year in the year of marriage is associated with a 1% higher probability of intermarriage. Finally, an increase of one year in the number of years living in the US is also associated with a higher probability of intermarriage; in this case it is 1.7%. These last results would suggest that the process of marrying a non-Irish spouse took longer to occur than a marriage to an Irish born woman. It may be the case that Irish immigrants may not have been actively seeking to intermarry, but became increasingly willing to do so the longer they lived in the US. In summary, the results of this logistic regression would suggest that spouse literacy, years living in the US and a later year of marriage are all positively associated with intermarriage, while the age of the spouse had a negative association. Irish immigrants took longer to decide to intermarry than did those who married an Irish born spouse. Those who did intermarry were more likely to marry a younger and literate woman.

Table 4.3
Logistic Regression Estimates of Intermarriage for Irish Immigrants

Logistic regression			Number of obs	611	
			LR chi2(10)	121.63	
			Prob > chi2	0.0000	
Log likelihood = -362.0			Pseudo R2	0.1438	

	Coef	z	P>|z|	dy/dx	x	Odds Ratio
age	-0.013	-0.63	0.530	-0.003	51.56	0.987
spouse age	-0.069	-3.65	0.000	-0.017	46.44	0.934
marriageyear	0.040	2.63	0.008	0.010	1876.92	1.041
yearsinUS	0.069	5.47	0.000	0.017	36.12	1.071
urban1880	-0.236	-1.29	0.196	-0.059	1.57	0.790
literacy	-0.227	-0.50	0.614	-0.057	0.94	0.797
spouse literacy	1.844	3.78	0.000	0.366	0.91	6.319
constant	-75.327	-2.57	0.010	-	-	-

While the logistic regression analysis illustrated which socioeconomic characteristics were most strongly associated with intermarriage by Irish immigrants, it did not address consequences of intermarriage such as occupational mobility. In Table 4.4, I present results for the married Irish and intermarried samples grouped according to occupational level. For this analysis, I have taken the additional step of limiting the two samples only to those individuals who were already married in 1880. The purpose of this adjustment is to allow me to look specifically at those Irish who had already decided to marry prior to the 1880 US census. As a result, I am able to examine the relationship between marriage choices and the subsequent occupational mobility of my sample of Irish immigrants in the period between 1880 and 1900. In creating the occupational groups, I use the same format as was developed in Chapter II. Again following the approach of Thernstrom, I continue to make an exception for farmers, who are separated into their own category to facilitate more detailed analysis of their role in the results.

As Table 4.4 illustrates, those immigrants who married an Irish born spouse lag slightly behind the intermarried in terms of white collar employment. If one were to include farmers in the white collar category, this difference increases, with 46% of the intermarried working in white collar employment in 1900 versus 36% for the married Irish sample. In addition, the intermarried are also more successful in exiting the semi- and unskilled occupational groups between 1880 and 1900. Approximately one-third of the intermarried remain in the two lowest occupational groups in 1900 versus 45% of the married Irish sample. In the unskilled category, the decline in the intermarried sample is more than twice the decline in the married Irish sample between 1880 and

1900. These results clearly demonstrate that intermarriage is associated with higher levels of occupational mobility for Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century.

Table 4.4
Married Irish and Intermarried Occupational Groupings 1880-1900

1880 Married Irish	No.	%	Cum %	
High WC	17	7.3%	7.3%	
Low WC	4	1.7%	9.0%	
Farmer	34	14.5%	23.5%	
Skilled	43	18.4%	41.9%	
Semi-skilled	61	26.1%	68.0%	
Unskilled	75	32.1%	100.0%	
Total	234	100.00%		

1900 Married Irish	No.	%	Cum %	% Change from 1880
High WC	26	11.1%	11.1%	53%
Low WC	16	6.8%	18.0%	300%
Farmer	41	17.5%	35.5%	21%
Skilled	45	19.2%	54.7%	5%
Semi-skilled	49	20.9%	75.6%	-20%
Unskilled	57	24.4%	100.0%	-24%
Total	234			

1880 Intermarried	No.	%	Cum %	
High WC	11	7.3%	7.3%	
Low WC	5	3.3%	10.7%	
Farmer	27	18.0%	28.7%	
Skilled	26	17.3%	46.0%	
Semi-skilled	38	25.3%	71.3%	
Unskilled	43	28.7%	100.0%	
Total	150			

1900 Intermarried	No.	%	Cum %	% Change from 1880
High WC	17	11.3%	11.3%	55%
Low WC	12	8.0%	19.3%	140%
Farmer	41	27.3%	46.7%	52%
Skilled	32	21.3%	68.0%	23%
Semi-skilled	27	18.0%	86.0%	-29%
Unskilled	21	14.0%	100.0%	-51%
Total	150			

In addition to analysing the occupational groupings of the married Irish and intermarried samples in 1880 and 1900, I also calculated the Duncan dissimilarity index (DDI) to compare the occupational distributions of these two samples to each other, as well as to those of the native born sample. This DDI comparison allows me both to assess whether the intermarried and married Irish occupational distributions became more similar in the period between 1880 and 1900, and also to determine which of the two sample distributions more closely resembles that of the native born in this time period. As first described in Chapter III, the DDI is an index which compares the similarities and differences between two distributions. The index takes a value between zero and one, with one reflecting no overlap between distributions and zero representing identical distributions. The index may be interpreted as the proportion of subjects in a group that would have to change category in order to obtain the same relative distribution as the group to which it is being compared. Using the specific occupational code for each individual in my sample, I calculated the index for both 1880 and 1900.

For the comparison of the intermarried and married Irish groups, the results confirm a widening in the difference between the occupational distributions for these two groups. As Table 4.5 illustrates, the DDI calculations for these groups result in a value of .224 in 1880 rising to .299 in 1900. This increase of .075 in the DDI calculation implies that the intermarried and married Irish have increasingly different occupational outcomes between 1880 and 1900. Table 4.5 also shows the corresponding results for those married Irish and intermarried individuals who were already married in 1880. For this subset, the differences in occupational outcomes increase further. In 1880, the DDI calculation is .238, rising to .367 in 1900. This result implies that more one out of three

workers in the intermarried group (who were already married in 1880) would be required to change occupation in order for that group to have a similar occupational profile to the corresponding married Irish group. What these results indicate is that the intermarried and married Irish groups became less similar in their choice of occupations between 1880 and 1900, and that this result was only accentuated when the samples were limited to individuals who had made their marriage decision prior to 1880. These results, particularly those for the Irish who married on or before 1880, would indicate that intermarriage had a meaningful influence on the subsequent occupational mobility of Irish immigrants.

Given that the intermarried and married Irish groups had such differing occupational distributions; one important question to be addressed is which group more closely resembled the married native born. In an additional analysis using the DDI calculation, I compared the married native born occupational distributions in 1880 and 1900 to those of both the intermarried and married Irish subsets. As Table 4.6 illustrates, the married Irish had a significantly higher DDI score than did the intermarried when measured against the married native born. In 1880, the married Irish had a DDI score relative to the married native born of .527, which declined to .517 in 1900 (a 2% decline). The intermarried, on the other hand, had a DDI score relative to the married native born of .474 in 1880, but this figure declined by 15% to .404 in 1900. Although the gap between either of the Irish married groups and the married native born is significant, the intermarried demonstrated a much greater level of assimilation in the workforce than did the married Irish group. The intermarried DDI figure in 1900 is 22% lower than the corresponding figure for the married Irish. And although the intermarried DDI figure implies that approximately four out of ten workers would need

to change their occupation for the intermarried distribution to exactly resemble the married native born distribution; this result still reflects a much greater degree of occupational assimilation relative to the married native born than does that for the married Irish.

Table 4.5

Calculation of Duncan Dissimilarity Index for Married Irish and Intermarried Occupational Distributions

	Full Sample	Those Married in 1880
1880	.224	.238
1900	.299	.367

Table 4.6

Calculation of Duncan Dissimilarity Index for Married Native Born, Married Irish and Intermarried Occupational Distribution

Married Native Born Occupational Distribution Relative To:

	Married Irish	Intermarried
1880	.527	.474
1900	.517	.404

In additional analyses not reported here, I estimated a pair of logistic regressions to further assess the impact of a range of socio-economic variables on the occupational mobility of the married Irish relative to the intermarried. The purpose of these regressions was to examine the relationship between marriage choices and the subsequent occupational mobility of my sample of Irish immigrants in the period between 1880 and 1900. In the first regression, I assessed the impact of certain socio-economic variables on the likelihood of a married Irish immigrant being in one of my six occupational categories (High White Collar, Low White Collar, Farmer, Skilled, Semi-skilled, Unskilled). The results of this multinomial logistic regression confirmed that an Irish immigrant who married a non-Irish born spouse had a higher probability

of working in white collar employment or in farming in 1900 than did an Irish immigrant who married an Irish born spouse. In the second regression, I estimated a logistic regression on the upward occupational mobility of my sample of Irish immigrants. In this analysis, upward mobility was classified as the movement of an Irish immigrant worker into a higher occupational category between 1880 and 1900. In this regression, the results were inconclusive.

In one final analysis of the occupational trends of the intermarried and married Irish groups, I have reviewed the individual level occupations of both groups to look for important patterns in the data. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the intermarried Irish were more likely to live in rural areas than were the married Irish. I also found that the intermarried were also more likely to be engaged in farming. In reviewing the occupational choices of both these groups, it is clear that the intermarried have a much greater involvement with farming than do the married Irish. In 1900, 61 out of the 291 intermarried individuals in my sample (21.0%) were engaged in farming. This represents the single largest occupation among the intermarried in my sample. As for the married Irish, farming represented just 14.7% of their sample, with 47 out of a total sample size of 320 individuals being classified as farmers in the 1900 US census. In the case of the married Irish, their largest occupation in 1900 was that of an unskilled urban labourer. In this category, the married Irish significantly outnumbered the intermarried. In 1900, 62 married Irish immigrants were engaged in unskilled urban work, representing 19.4% of the total sample. For the intermarried, this figure was just 23 urban labourers equalling 7.9% of that sample. The married Irish had more than twice as many unskilled urban workers on a percentage basis in 1900 as did the intermarried. These two results shed light on the question of why the intermarried were

more rural than were the married Irish. The intermarried had adopted farming as a livelihood to a much greater extent than did those Irish immigrants who married an Irish born spouse, whereas the married Irish had greater difficulty emerging from the lowest rung on the occupational ladder – that of the unskilled urban worker. And, as we learned in Chapter III, farming was also far and away the leading occupation of native born Americans. As such, the fact that farming was also the largest occupational choice of the intermarried only further supports the argument that the intermarried were more assimilated in the workforce than were the those Irish immigrants who married an Irish born spouse.

Extending this comparison to other occupational categories, the intermarried had a higher percentage of managers (which contributed to their advantage over the married Irish in the high white collar category). They were also disproportionately well represented among semi-skilled operatives, as well as in the certain skilled occupations such as stationary sales and moulding work. As for the married Irish, they were comparatively well represented as blacksmiths, brick masons, shoe makers, policemen and longshoremen; all occupations falling in the semi-skilled and skilled classifications. In summary, the propensity of the intermarried to become farmers and managers, and for the married Irish to frequently find themselves in unskilled urban work, contributed significantly to the differing occupational outcomes of these two groups in 1900. These specific occupational results also support the conclusions reached in the DDI comparison in Table 4.6, where the intermarried were more successful in assimilating in the workplace in the late 1800s than were those Irish immigrants who married an Irish born spouse.

The last issue to be addressed in this chapter is that of the rural status of the married Irish and intermarried. As we have noted, the intermarried were far more likely to reside in rural areas than were the married Irish. And in this respect, they more closely resembled the native born who were also predominantly rural dwellers. We have also previously noted that the US as a whole was becoming a more urbanised society in this time period. But were there material differences in the propensity for the married Irish or the intermarried to migrate from rural to urban locations between 1880 and 1900? And what do these differences imply for their assimilation into American society in this time period? In an analysis of the rural-urban and urban-rural migration patterns of Irish immigrants between 1880 and 1900, 60% of the married Irish who lived in an urban area in 1900 were found to have moved from a rural one in 1880, while just 24% of those living in rural areas in 1900 had moved from an urban location in 1880. For the intermarried, 42% of those who lived in an urban area in 1900 had moved from a rural one in 1880, and 29% of those living in rural areas had moved from an urban location in 1880.[216] There are two principal conclusions to draw from these figures. First of all, the married Irish were more likely to migrate from rural to urban areas between 1880 and 1900 than were the intermarried. Secondly, far more of those Irish immigrants who did migrate were leaving rural areas and heading to urban ones. These two results would support the argument that even in a country which was becoming more urban; one further consequence of marrying a non-Irish spouse was an increased propensity for the intermarried to remain in rural areas.[217]

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[216] These results are for all married Irish and intermarried regardless of year of marriage. A separate analysis not reported here shows that when the two groups are limited to those who had married on or prior to 1880, the results are approximately the same.

[217] A review of those Irish immigrants engaged in farming also confirms this conclusion. 46% of those intermarried who were farmers in 1900 had also been engaged in farming in 1880, versus just 32% for the married Irish.

Mincer (1978) analysed the role of the family on migration decisions and developed a highly useful framework through which to assess such decisions. He argued that families decided whether to migrate based on the net family gain (not just that of the head of household).[218] He also argued that family ties often deterred migration. In his framework, spouses were "tied" to the mover (or stayer in the event that migration did not occur).[219] In this section, we have seen how the married Irish were much more likely to move from rural to urban areas, or to remain in urban areas, than were the intermarried. In Mincer's (1978) framework, this outcome would imply that living in an urban setting was more beneficial to the net family position for the married Irish than living in a rural one. Two possible reasons for this outcome could potentially be the ability of both Irish immigrant spouses to more quickly find gainful employment in urban areas,[220] as well as the non-economic benefits of the greater support networks that existed there (which might be particularly appealing to a "tied mover" spouse). By contrast, the intermarried were more likely to remain in rural areas and were relatively less likely to move to urban areas. A likely reason for this result was the greater tendency of the intermarried to engage in farming, an occupation from which they were much less likely to leave. In addition, native born spouses of Irish immigrants might have also had stronger ties to farming communities, as this was the leading occupation of the native born in this period.

In conclusion, this chapter has sought to use ethnic intermarriage as a measure of assimilation for Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. It has examined the

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[218] Jacob Mincer, "Family Migration Decisions," *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 86, No. 5 (Oct., 1978), p. 750.
[219] Mincer (1978), p. 751.
[220] Although the reported labour force participation of women, including Irish immigrant spouses, was quite low in this time period, researchers have questioned the accuracy of these US census figures. See Sobek and Dillon (1995), p. 73. In addition, Irish immigrant spouses may have been able to find part time work more easily in urban areas.

characteristics of those Irish immigrants who married a non-Irish spouse, as well as how these characteristics differed from those of the married Irish. It has addressed the question of whether the intermarried became more assimilated vis-à-vis the married native born, and whether they achieved greater occupational mobility in the workplace than did the married Irish. It has also examined which characteristics of the intermarried Irish and their spouses were most strongly associated with intermarriage, and has assessed both causes and consequences of intermarriage for Irish immigrants in this time period.

With respect to the comparison of the married Irish and intermarried, there were important and statistically significant differences in virtually every socio-economic variable under review. The intermarried were younger, more literate (both husband and wife), more likely to live in rural areas and more likely to be fully employed in 1900. They also had fewer children and experienced lower levels of child mortality than did the married Irish. Compared to the married native born, the intermarried Irish achieved a much greater degree of assimilation than did the married Irish. In the areas of rural status, literacy, spouse literacy, unemployment status, fertility and child mortality, the intermarried results reflected greater levels of assimilation than did those of the married Irish. In certain areas, including unemployment status, literacy and spouse literacy, the intermarried actually recorded stronger results than did the married native born. Only in home ownership did the married Irish more closely resemble the married native born, but this result was not statistically significant. These results provide clear support for the argument that the intermarried Irish achieved greater levels of assimilation vis-à-vis the married native born than did the married Irish.

Using logistic regression, I assessed which of a range of socio-economic characteristics were associated with the probability of an Irish immigrant marrying a non-Irish spouse. The goal of this analysis was to examine potential causes of intermarriage and to answer the question of what type of person was likely to enter into an ethnic intermarriage. The logistic regression found that intermarriage by Irish immigrants at the end of the 19th century was positively associated with the literacy of the spouse, as well as with the number of years living in the US and a later year of marriage. These results support the argument that Irish immigrants took longer to decide to intermarry than did those who married an Irish born spouse, and when they did marry; their spouse was more likely to be younger and literate. These results would suggest that among the causes of intermarriage for Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century was residing in a rural area where the supply of potential Irish born spouses was more limited, resulting in a longer search for a spouse. These results also lend support to the theories of Schoen (1986) and Blau et al. (1982), who argue that relatively smaller groups in a given population are more likely to intermarry due to a more restricted marriage market for spouses from their own group.

In order to analyse the relationship between intermarriage and the occupational mobility of the Irish in the US labour market, and also to begin to assess the consequences of intermarriage, I grouped the married Irish and intermarried samples according to occupational level. I also limited the samples to those individuals who were already married in 1880, allowing me to examine the relationship between marriage choices and the subsequent occupational mobility of my sample of Irish immigrants. The results of this analysis showed that immigrants who married an Irish born spouse lagged slightly behind the intermarried in terms of white collar

employment, but with this differential increasing materially when farmers are included in the white collar category. The analysis also confirmed that the intermarried were more successful in exiting the semi- and unskilled occupational groups between 1880 and 1900 than were the married Irish.

DDI calculations confirmed a widening in the difference between the occupational distributions of the intermarried and married Irish groups between 1880 and 1900. A larger difference existed when the two samples were restricted to those individuals who had made their marriage decision prior to 1880. These results reinforce the argument that those Irish who entered into an inter-ethnic marriage had increasingly different occupational outcomes than those who married an Irish born spouse. The DDI calculation was also performed for each of the two Irish groups relative to the married native born to assess which of the two groups more closely resembled the married native born in the workplace. In this case, the intermarried again demonstrated a much greater level of assimilation in the workforce than did the married Irish group.

I also examined the individual level occupational data in my samples to identify important patterns relating to intermarriage. This analysis highlighted the greater propensity of the intermarried to become farmers and managers, and for the married Irish to more frequently find themselves in unskilled urban work. Taken together with the results of the DDI comparison, this analysis further confirmed that the intermarried were more successful in assimilating in the workplace in the late 1800s than were those Irish immigrants who married an Irish born spouse.

In one final analysis, I examined the migration patterns of the married Irish and intermarried between rural and urban areas in the period from 1880 to 1900. The results showed that the married Irish were more likely to migrate from rural to urban areas than were the intermarried. In addition, net migration for both these groups was from rural areas to the cities. These results led to the conclusion that marrying a non-Irish spouse was associated with an increased propensity for the intermarried to remain in rural areas, notwithstanding the increasing levels of urbanisation in the US in this time period.

Taken as a whole, these results indicate that greater levels of assimilation across a range of socio-economic characteristics, coupled with a higher level of occupational mobility, and a greater degree of assimilation with the native born in the workplace, were the likely consequences of intermarriage for Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. These results also support the argument that a further consequence of intermarriage was the increased propensity for Irish immigrants who married non-Irish spouses to remain in rural areas and not migrate to the cities.

Returning to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, it is clear that the Irish immigrants in my sample who intermarried were noticeably different from those who married an Irish-born spouse, and that these differences were virtually always statistically significant. In addition, their spouses also had marked and statistically significant differences in most of the categories for which we have data: age, literacy, fertility and child mortality. The evidence clearly supports the argument that the intermarried adapted more quickly to life in America. They much more closely resembled the native born across a range of socio-economic characteristics and

achieved greater occupational mobility in the workforce than did the married Irish. Their spouses also more closely resembled the native born spouses than did those of the married Irish. While the question of causality remains, it is clear that one of the effects of intermarriage was for Irish immigrants to achieve better labour market outcomes, as well as to be more likely to work in fields popular with the native born such as farming. One could conclude from the analysis presented in this chapter that it was the influence of the non-Irish spouses which led their husbands to assimilate more effectively in this time period. However, one cannot dismiss the possibility that the Irish who chose to intermarry were somehow more open to adapting to their new environment, including in the choice of their spouse, and that it was in fact certain pre-existing unobservable attributes of these immigrants which led them to assimilate more rapidly. Notwithstanding this question of causality, it is clear that there is a strong positive relationship between the intermarriage of Irish immigrants and their comparatively greater levels of assimilation and occupational mobility in late nineteenth century America.

V. The Impact of Geographic Clustering on the Assimilation of Irish Immigrants

In this chapter, I will assess the impact of geographic clustering on the degree of assimilation achieved by Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth century. By geographic clustering, I refer to the decision by an Irish immigrant to live in an area which contained a relatively large percentage of Irish immigrants. In the literature on immigrant assimilation, there exists a debate as to whether geographic clustering accelerates or delays the assimilation of immigrants into their new society, and whether such clustering can enhance the occupational mobility of immigrant groups. Economists and sociologists such as Chiswick (2002), Borjas (1999) and Light and Isralowitz (1996) have argued that geographic clustering delays immigrant assimilation. Borjas (1999) found that this was particularly true in cases where the human capital of an ethnic group is lower than that of the host society.[221] However, there is a literature on late nineteenth century Irish immigrants which argues that the networking opportunities and support systems which had developed in cities with large concentrations of Irish immigrants aided these immigrants in finding work and successfully settling into American life. McCaffrey (1996) argues that the Irish in particular were able to make advances in local government, trade unions and the Catholic Church, and that "employment connected to politics" in particular "provided a base of confidence that eventually launched the Irish into the middle class."[222] McKivigan and Robertson (1996) argue that the Irish in New York City used their political connections to entrench themselves "in city government jobs for policemen, firefighters, rapid transit workers and school teachers." They also argue that by 1900, significant numbers of the city's Irish had moved up into the ranks of professionals and

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[221] Borjas (1999), p. 56.
[222] McCaffrey (1996), p.222.

entrepreneurs."[223] Chiswick (2002) also finds that "immigrant/ethnic concentrations provide information networks that can be very valuable in … employment activities."[224] Sociologists such as Portes and Rumbaut (1996) and Gordon (1964) have argued that ethnic enclaves provided significant advantages for new immigrants and immigrant entrepreneurs, and allowed politics to become 'an avenue of individual upward mobility when other paths remain blocked.'[225] In a recent analysis, Cutler et al. (2008) found that the impact of geographic clustering may be more nuanced, with positive educational and labor market outcomes for some immigrant groups, but negative ones for immigrant groups with comparatively low levels of education.[226] In this chapter, I will use my sample data on Irish immigrants to assess the impact of geographic clustering on the assimilation and occupational mobility of Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America.

With respect to the potential impact of geographic clustering on immigrant assimilation, I will seek to address the following questions. To what extent did geographic clustering exist for the Irish in late nineteenth century America? How did the clustering of the Irish in the US compare to the experience of other prominent immigrant groups in this timeframe? What were the occupational and socio-economic characteristics of the Irish who lived in more "Irish" areas? Did geographic clustering lead to a greater degree of assimilation as measured by the socio-economic variables available in the US census data? Did it assist Irish immigrants in achieving greater occupational mobility? Were the more geographically clustered Irish disproportionately represented in certain occupations? With regard to the potential

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[223] McKivigan and Robertson (1996), p. 312.
[224] Barry R. Chiswick, "Do Enclaves Matter in Immigrant Adjustment?", *Discussion Paper No. 449, The Institute for the Study of Labor* (2002), p. 4.
[225] Portes and Rumbaut (1996), p. 54.
[226] Cutler et al. (2008), p. 772.

benefits of clustering described in the literature such as enhanced support networks and preferred access to trade union or public sector job opportunities, is there evidence in my sample data to support these assertions? Is it possible to assess the influence of previous generations of Irish immigrants on the geographic settlement patterns of these late nineteenth century immigrants?

My unit of measurement for this analysis will be the county, the primary legal division of states in America and often the most local level of state government. Counties are also the smallest unit of measurement for which it is possible to obtain complete US census information on the number of Irish immigrants relative to the total population in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[227] In undertaking this analysis, I believe it is important to consider the impact of geographic clustering at the smallest possible unit of measurement in order to most accurately assess its impact on the assimilation of Irish immigrants. Using the state as the unit of measurement would have simplified the analysis, but it would have raised issues in terms of the robustness of the results. Many states in the US are quite large in size, and whether Irish immigrants were more clustered or more evenly distributed within a state could have significantly influenced the results of my geographic clustering analysis.

In this chapter, I have used the county level US census data available from the University of Virginia Historical Census Browser to create a database which illustrates the percentage of Irish immigrants living in each county in the US in 1900. The University of Virginia census data is based on a complete sample of the relevant censuses, and thus provides a robust basis for examining the issue of geographic

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[227] Obtaining 100% of the census sample information is crucial, as a partial sample would not be sufficiently robust for measuring the percentage of Irish immigrants in any given location.

clustering in late nineteenth century America. Using this data, I have constructed a measure of geographic clustering of Irish immigrants at the county level in 1900. Separately, I have also created a new sample of Irish immigrants who came to the US prior to 1900 using the IPUMS 2.5% US census sample for 1900. This sample is comprised of 26,722 male immigrants between the ages of 25 and 65 years old, who were in the workforce in 1900. In addition to capturing the broad range of socio-economic variables used elsewhere in this thesis, I have also included their state and county of residence in 1900. I have created this new sample so as to have the largest possible sample of Irish immigrants with which to assess the impact of geographic clustering at the county level. My matched sample of roughly one thousand Irish immigrants that is used extensively in other chapters of this thesis is too small in size for this purpose. This new sample, when cross referenced with the complete county level data available from the University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, allows me to examine in a more robust manner the effect of geographic clustering on the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century.

To assess the influence of previous generations of Irish immigrants on the geographic settlement patterns of the Irish immigrants living in America in 1900, I again accessed the University of Virginia Historical Census Browser to determine the percentage of Irish immigrants living in each county in the US in each decade from 1870 until 1900.[228] I then analyse this data to determine if there are patterns in the settlement choices of Irish immigrants during these earlier decades that may have influenced the settlement patterns of the Irish immigrants living in America in 1900.

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[228] I would have preferred to have had historical data for periods prior to 1870, but complete county level data is only available from 1870 onwards.

My primary contribution to the literature in this chapter is that no researcher has examined the impact of geographic clustering on the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the nineteenth century. In addition, my ability to examine the relationship between the level of geographic clustering and occupational outcomes of Irish immigrants in this timeframe is also a contribution. I would hope that my work will also contribute to the debate that currently exists in the literature as to what extent such ethnic clustering hinders or accelerates the assimilation of immigrants in the US, and may also provide useful information for academics and policy makers who are involved with the contentious issue of immigrant assimilation in contemporary American society.

The first question that I will seek to address in this chapter is to what extent geographic clustering existed for the Irish in late nineteenth century America. Using data from the University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, I have created a map of the US which illustrates the percentage of Irish born residents relative to the total population of each county in the US in 1900. The map in Figure 5.1 shows each county based on its percentage of Irish immigrants to the total population, and groups the counties into five categories based on this percentage (0-2.5%, 2.5-5%, 5-10%, more than 10%, and counties for which there were no data available). As can be seen from Figure 5.1, there was a significant concentration of Irish immigrants in the Northeastern section of the US in 1900. In and around of the cities of Boston, Providence, New York and Philadelphia were found the highest percentages of Irish immigrants. Regional cities in the Northeast such as Springfield, Massachusetts, Hartford, Connecticut (the capital of the state of Connecticut) and Albany, New York (the capital of the state of New York) also exhibited relatively high percentages of Irish immigrants in their populations. The Chicago metropolitan area had a lower but still prominent percentage of Irish

immigrants relative to its total population. What is also noticeable from this map is that there were small pockets where a relatively high percentage of Irish immigrants lived in a number of Western counties. In Table 5.1, I list the 25 counties in the US in 1900 that had the highest percentage of Irish immigrants relative to their total populations.

So what conclusions can we draw from this initial review of the data on the percentage of Irish immigrants living in each county in the US as a percentage of the total population of that county? First of all, there is clear evidence of geographic clustering of Irish immigrants in this timeframe. The Irish were not evenly spread across the country, but tended to live in certain regions where they constituted a much higher percentage of the overall population. In many sections of the US, the percentage of Irish immigrants was extremely low. For example, in the underlying data there are actually 2,172 counties in the US where the Irish constituted less than 1% of the total population.[229] There were 379 counties where the Irish constituted less than .01% of the total population. With the exception of one county in rural Pennsylvania, all of these 379 counties were located in the Southern and Western regions of the US. What is quite clear from the evidence is that the Irish tended to cluster in or near the major cities of the Northeast. As can be seen in Table 5.1, most of the highest clustered counties were in the Northeast. In fact, 22 of the 25 counties with the highest percentage of Irish immigrants in 1900 were located in Northeastern states. Several of the main cities in this region, in particular Boston, New York and Philadelphia, were also the leading ports of entry for immigrants coming from Europe to the US in this timeframe. So it would appear that Irish immigrants often settled in locations that were near to where they may have first entered the US. In addition, these cities were also the

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[229] To put this number in perspective, there were only 2771 counties listed in the University of Virginia Historical Census Browser for 1900.

largest in the US in this time period and thus would have been a logical place for immigrants to seek employment. Finally, it is also striking that some Irish immigrants were willing to travel clear across the vast heartland of the US to find work in frontier areas in the West. In counties such as Storey, Nevada, and Silver Bow and Deer Lodge in the state of Montana, mining jobs drew Irish immigrants to live and work in these remote, sparsely populated areas of the US. Many also worked in the railroad and farming industries in Western states such as California, Nevada and Montana.

From this evidence, it would appear that Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth century were drawn to areas close to where they may have entered the US and close to the major population centres of the Northeast where jobs were most likely to be available. Certain of them were also willing to move long distances to work in mining, railroad and farming jobs in the West. They were not evenly distributed across the US, but were highly clustered in the Northeast. By number they were most likely to live in the New York City and Boston metropolitan areas. In the next section, I will examine to what extent their choice of residence may have been influenced by the choices made by prior generations of Irish immigrants in the US.

Figure 5.1

Percentage Irish by county in the United States in 1900

0-2.5 %
2.5-5 %
5-10 %
10+ %
No Data
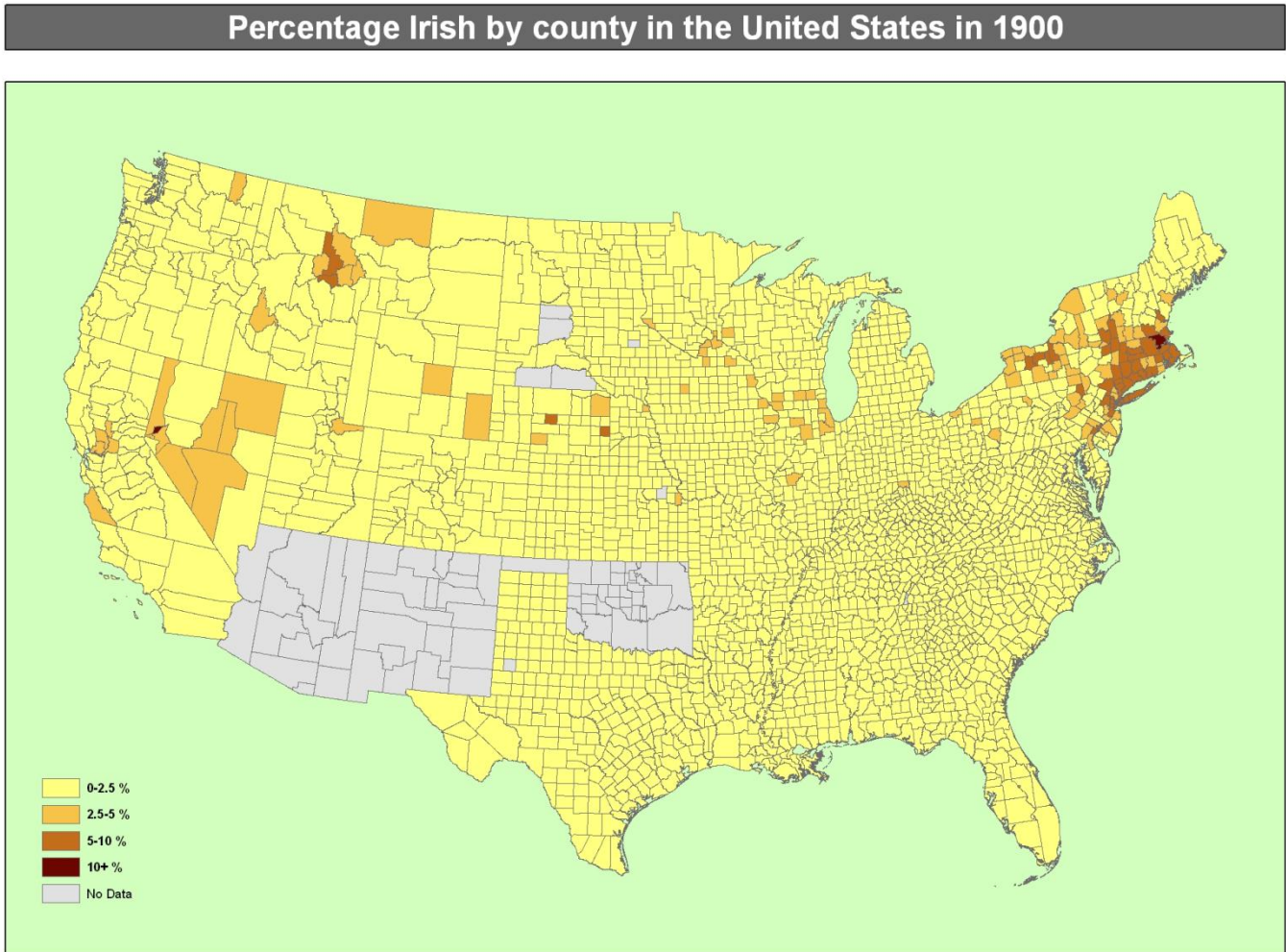
Table 5.1
Top 25 Counties Ranked by Percentage of Irish-born Population in 1900

County	State	Description	Number of Irish-born	% Irish-born
Suffolk	Massachusetts	Boston metropolitan area	73,501	12.02%
Storey	Nevada	Mining region	400	10.89
Middlesex	Massachusetts	Boston metropolitan area	57,496	10.16
Norfolk	Massachusetts	Boston metropolitan area	14,716	9.71
Silver Bow	Montana	Mining region	4,582	9.62
New Haven	Connecticut	New York metropolitan area	24,666	9.16
Newport	Rhode Island	Providence metropolitan area	2,962	9.09
Providence	Rhode Island	Regional city	29,740	9.05
Hampden	Massachusetts	Springfield metropolitan area	15,891	9.05
New York	New York	New York metropolitan area	178,886	8.72
Hartford	Connecticut	Regional city	17,044	8.72
Westchester	New York	New York metropolitan area	16,047	8.71
Rensselaer	New York	Albany metropolitan area	10,389	8.54
Hudson	New Jersey	New York metropolitan area	31,225	8.09
Deer Lodge	Montana	Mining region	1,295	8.02
Fairfield	Connecticut	New York metropolitan area	14,348	7.79
Worcester	Massachusetts	Regional city	26,873	7.75
Essex	Massachusetts	Boston metropolitan area	27,488	7.70
Philadelphia	Pennsylvania	Philadelphia metropolitan area	98,427	7.61
Richmond	New York	New York metropolitan area	4,858	7.25
Kings	New York	New York metropolitan area	83,400	7.15
Bristol	Rhode Island	Providence metropolitan area	898	6.83
Hampshire	Massachusetts	Springfield metropolitan area	3,970	6.75
Union	New Jersey	New York metropolitan area	6,610	6.65
New London	Connecticut	Regional city	5,506	6.65

An additional question that I will seek to address is to what extent Irish immigrants were drawn to areas where earlier generations of Irish immigrants had also settled after arriving in the US. Using the University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, I have created maps of the US which illustrate the percentage of Irish born residents relative to the total population of each county in the US in each of 1870, 1880 and 1890, in addition to 1900. These maps, beginning with Figure 5.2, group the counties into six categories based on the percentage of Irish immigrants to the total population (0-2.5%, 2.5-5%, 5-10%, 10-15% and more than 15%, and counties for which there were no data available). As these maps illustrate, there is a clear pattern of settlement of Irish immigrants in the major metropolitan areas of the Northeast as far back as 1870 which is very similar to the settlement patterns we observed for Irish immigrants in the 1900 map in Figure 5.1. In 1870, in addition to the major metropolitan areas in the Northeast, Midwestern areas such as Chicago, Illinois and Western counties in states including Nebraska, Minnesota and California also had high percentages of Irish immigrants in their populations. In terms of the absolute numbers of Irish immigrants, the New York and Boston metropolitan areas were much more significant than any other regions in the analysis (as they continue to be in 1900). The maps for 1880 and 1890 in Figures 5.3 and 5.4 illustrate the continued importance of the major metropolitan areas of the Northeast, coupled with a decline in the number of Midwestern and Western counties with very high percentages of Irish immigrants. The 1900 map further reinforces this trend. There are several likely reasons for this trend. First of all, whereas Irish immigrants were the dominant immigrant group in the decades following 1850, other immigrant groups from Southern and Eastern Europe were becoming more important as the twentieth century approached. In addition, these maps only capture first generation Irish immigrants, and do not show the presence of

second and third generation Irish immigrants who also would have been a very sizeable presence in these communities. Finally, general population growth would also contribute to a reduction in the percentage of Irish immigrants in the US over this time period.

Figure 5.2

Percentage Irish by county in the United States in 1870
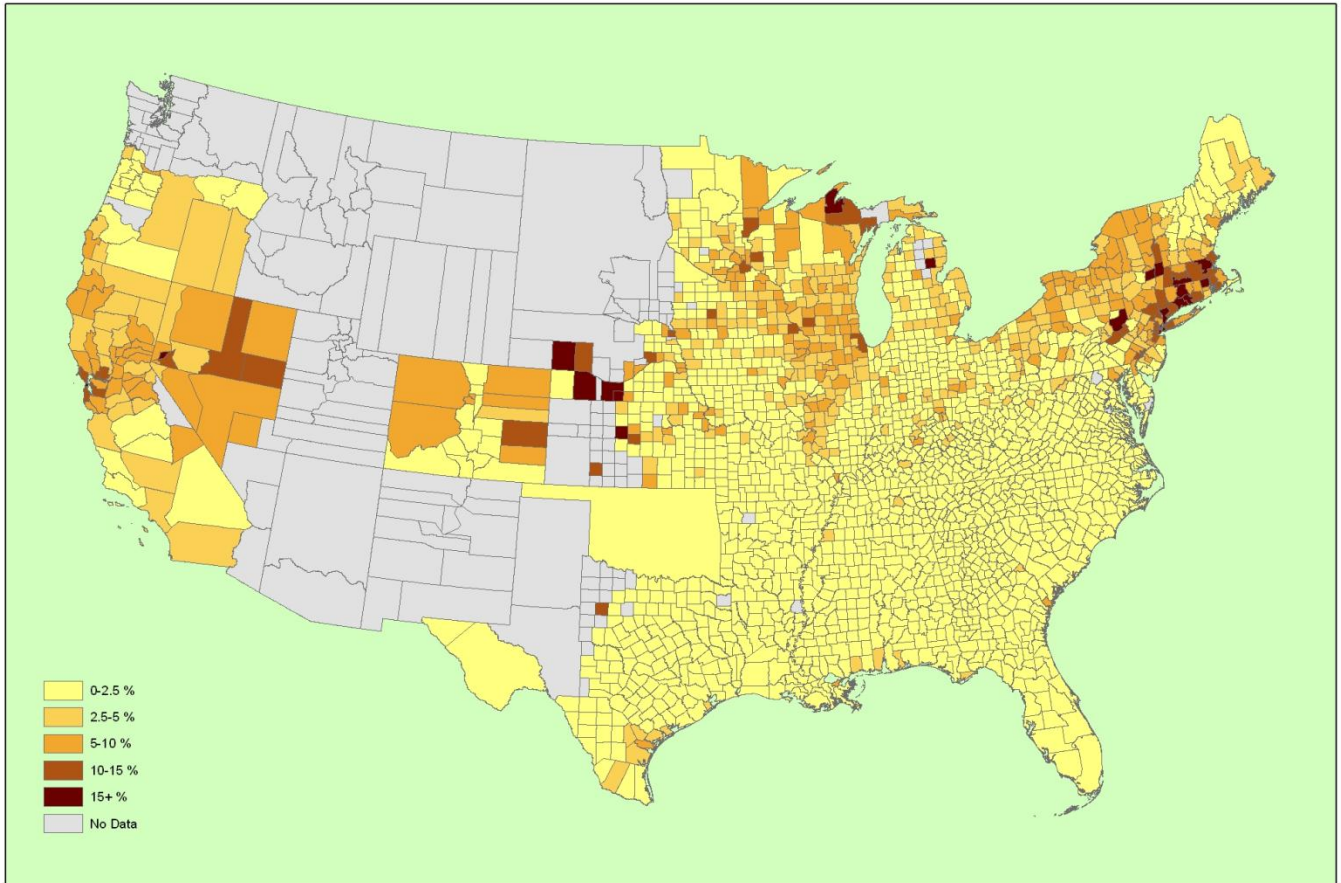
Figure 5.3

Percentage Irish by county in the United States in 1880
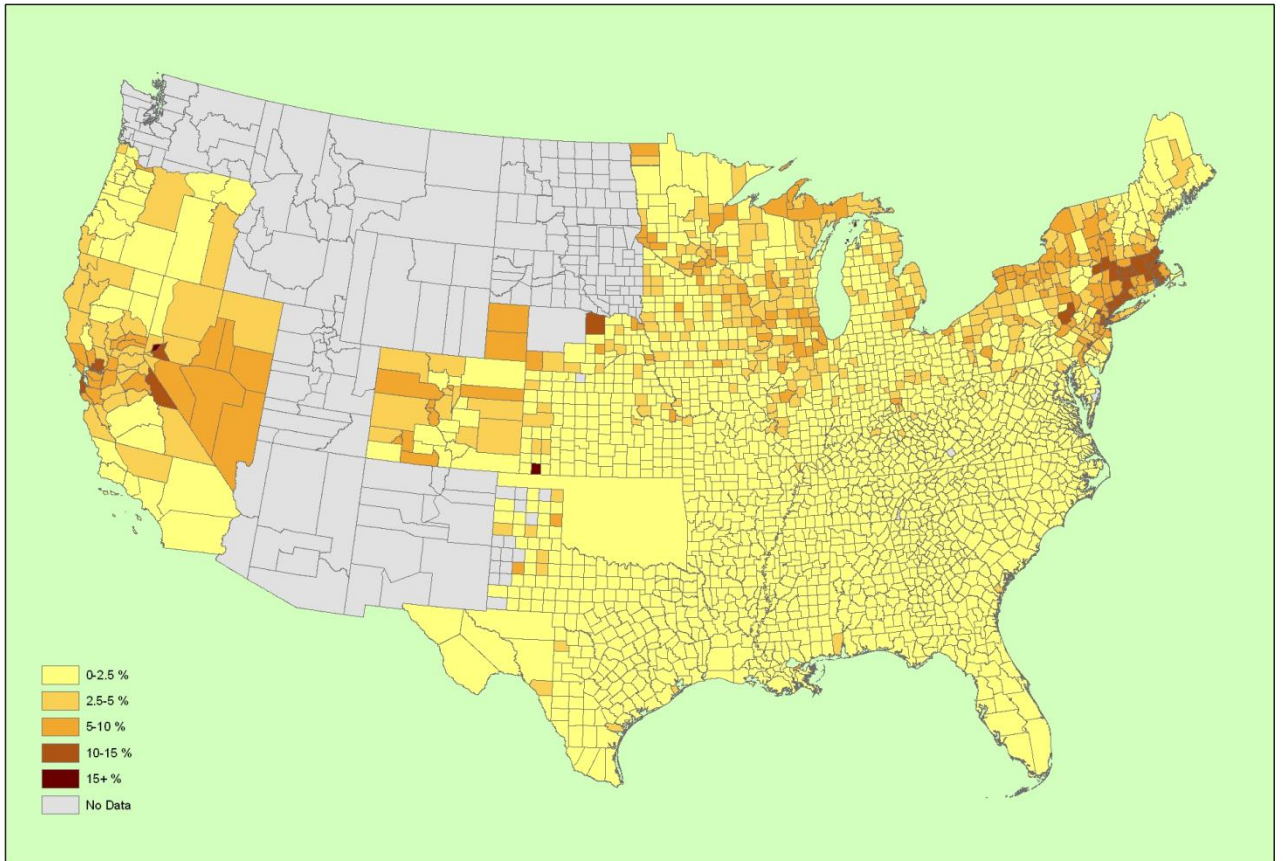
Figure 5.4

Percentage Irish by county in the United States in 1890

Figure 5.5

Percentage Irish by county in the United States in 1900
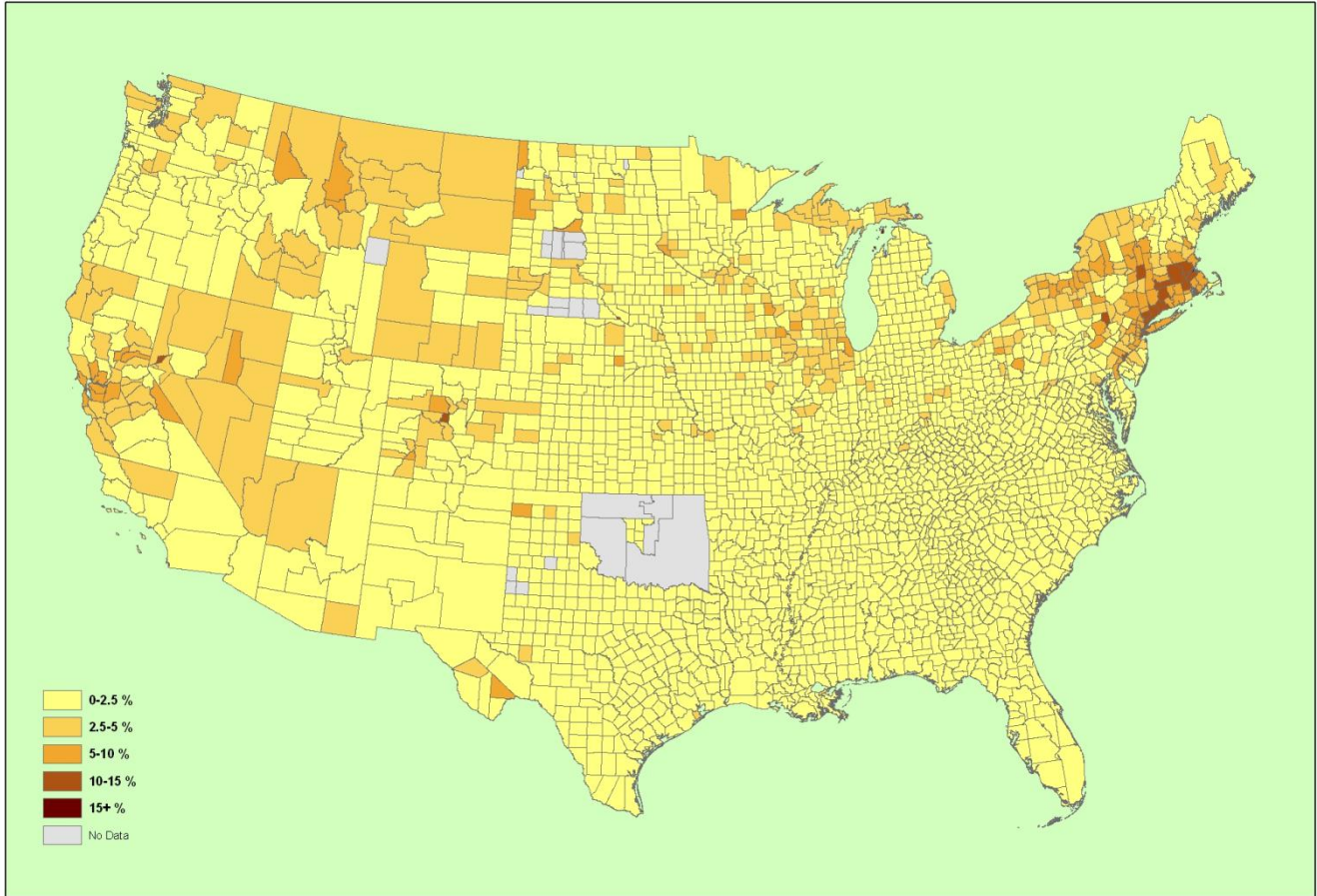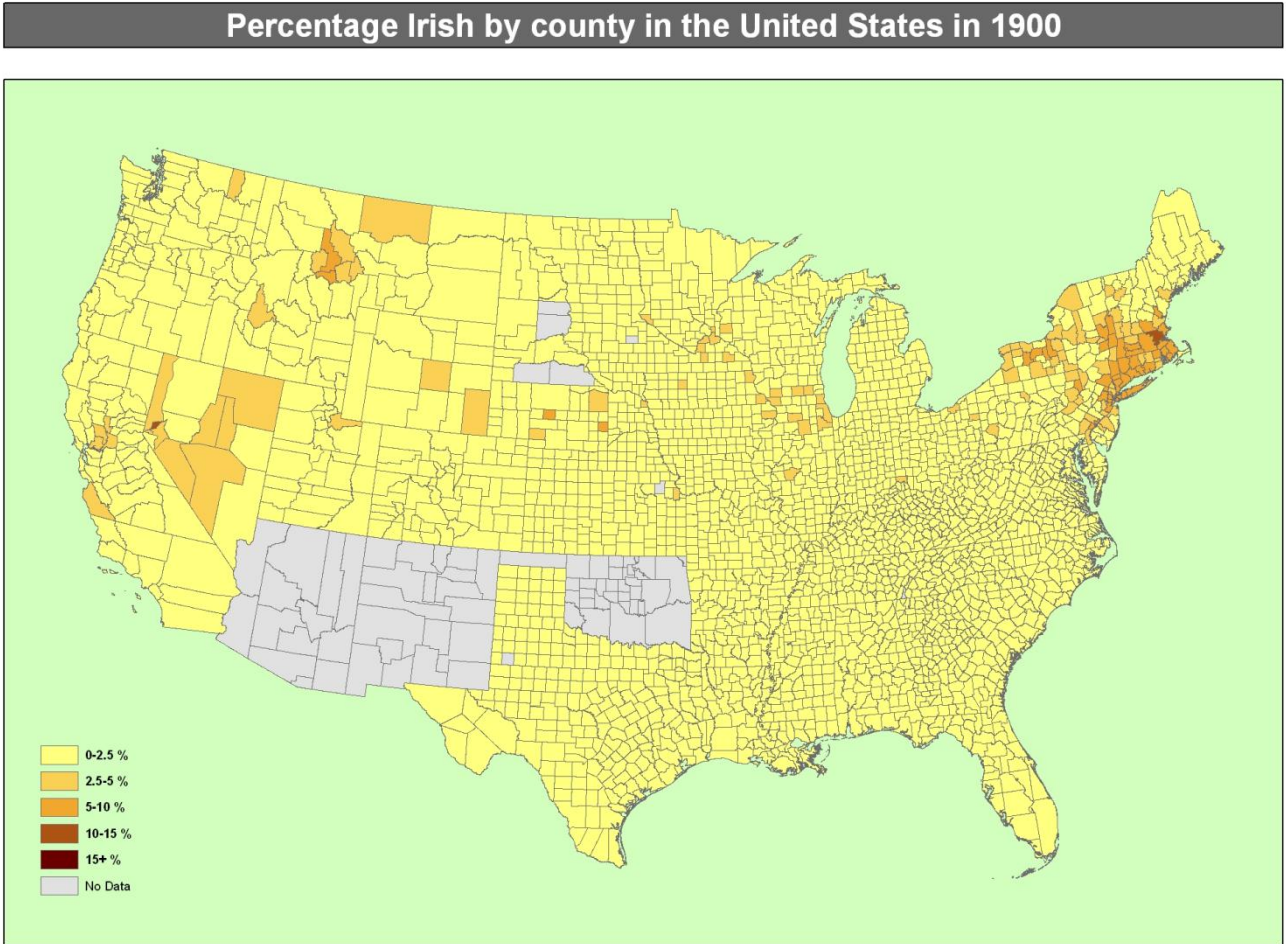
Before continuing with the geographic clustering analysis of the Irish, it is important to understand how the Irish experience compared to that of the other leading immigrant groups in this timeframe. As mentioned in Chapter III, the two other leading European immigrant groups in the US in the late nineteenth century were the English and the Germans. For this clustering analysis, I have also included the Scottish, in order to have a better sense of how the Irish compared to another similar immigrant group coming from the UK. The results are quite striking. As can be seen from the Tables 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4, the most clustered areas where German, English and Scottish immigrants chose to live looked very different from those chosen by the Irish as presented in Table 5.1. Whereas the Irish were most likely to cluster in and around the major cities of the Northeast, with smaller numbers willing to venture out to the West in search of employment primarily in the mining industry, none of the other immigrant groups in this comparison had a similar experience. The Germans, who were the largest European immigrant group in the US in this timeframe, were much more likely to congregate in the Midwest, in particular in the states of Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, where farming was the primary occupation. None of the 25 counties where the German clustering levels were highest were in the East. As for the English and Scottish, their results also differed from the Irish. Both these British groups were more likely to cluster in high percentages in the West, primarily in mining regions. They were not as well represented in the Eastern parts of the country as were the Irish. And for the Eastern counties that were among the highest in clustering levels for the English and Scottish, few were in and around the urban centres of New York, Boston and Philadelphia. These immigrant groups, in particular the English and Scottish, did resemble the Irish in that in many parts of the US, the percentage of these immigrants in the population was quite low. The Germans were somewhat less concentrated,

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settling in larger percentages in more counties throughout the US than did the other groups. In this respect, the Germans more closely resembled the native born. In summary, the geographic clustering experience of the Irish differed from that of the other leading immigrant groups in the US in the late nineteenth century. The Irish were unique in that the areas in which they were most concentrated were the major urban centres of the Northeast, whereas the English, German and Scottish, while still living in large numbers in these urban areas, experienced their highest levels of geographic concentration in the Midwest and West.

Table 5.2
Top 25 Counties Ranked by Percentage of German-born Population in 1900

County	State	Number of German-born	% German-born
Taylor	Wisconsin	2,462	21.86%
Marathon	Wisconsin	8,712	20.14
Sheboygan	Wisconsin	10,067	20.00
Milwaukee	Wisconsin	63,952	19.38
Jefferson	Wisconsin	6,739	19.37
Dodge	Wisconsin	8,868	19.02
Carver	Minnesota	3,198	18.23
Ozaukee	Wisconsin	2,972	18.16
Scott	Iowa	9,234	17.91
Cuming	Nebraska	2,571	17.63
Green Lake	Wisconsin	2,705	17.12
Washington	Wisconsin	3,984	16.89
Brown	Minnesota	3,326	16.81
Grundy	Iowa	2,280	16.57
Shawano	Wisconsin	4,524	16.47
Calumet	Wisconsin	2,738	16.03
Crawford	Iowa	3,436	15.85
Ottawa	Ohio	3,515	15.82
Du Page	Illinois	4,418	15.67
Douglas	Nevada	240	15.65
Sibley	Minnesota	2,634	15.62
Lincoln	Wisconsin	2,526	15.53
Outagamie	Wisconsin	6,786	14.67
Marquette	Wisconsin	1,506	14.33
Winnebago	Wisconsin	8,299	14.25

Table 5.3

Top 25 Counties Ranked by Percentage of English-born Population in 1900

County	State	Number of English-born	% English-born
Bailey	Texas	1	25.00%
Davis	Utah	838	10.48
Salt Lake	Utah	7,130	9.17
Summit	Utah	859	9.10
Bristol	Massachusetts	20,584	8.17
Beaver	Utah	295	8.16
Morgan	Utah	166	8.12
Juab	Utah	816	8.09
Rich	Utah	154	7.91
Weber	Utah	1,942	7.69
Owyhee	Idaho	289	7.60
Silver Bow	Montana	3,555	7.46
Tooele	Utah	541	7.35
Marquette	Michigan	3,020	7.32
Iron	Utah	255	7.19
Utah	Utah	2,205	6.79
Uinta	Wyoming	815	6.67
Granite	Montana	281	6.49
Eureka	Nevada	123	6.29
Cache	Utah	1,088	6.00
Houghton	Michigan	3,955	5.99
Storey	Nevada	220	5.99
Hansford	Texas	10	5.99
Providence	Rhode Island	19,624	5.97
Bear Lake	Idaho	419	5.94

Table 5.4
Top 25 Counties Ranked by Percentage of Scottish-born Population in 1900

County	State	Number of Scottish-born	% Scottish-born
Sweetwater	Wyoming	291	3.44%
Washington	Vermont	1,189	3.25
Uinta	Wyoming	359	2.94
Grundy	Illinois	698	2.89
Meagher	Montana	63	2.49
Wasatch	Utah	116	2.45
Carbon	Utah	113	2.26
Passaic	New Jersey	3,401	2.19
Carbon	Montana	160	2.12
Fergus	Montana	147	2.12
Park	Montana	155	2.11
Washington	Rhode Island	505	2.09
Terry	Texas	1	2.08
Allegany	Maryland	1,093	2.04
Natrona	Wyoming	36	2.02
Rich	Utah	38	1.95
Fresno	California	734	1.94
Hooker	Nebraska	8	1.85
Tooele	Utah	131	1.78
Glasscock	Texas	5	1.75
Jefferson	Pennsylvania	985	1.67
Summit	Utah	154	1.63
Cascade	Montana	395	1.53
Bottineau	North Dakota	114	1.51
Salt Lake	Utah	1,167	1.50

In Table 5.5, I present summary statistics from my sample of Irish immigrants based on their level of geographic clustering. The table separates the sample into those immigrants who lived in counties with above and below average levels of geographic clustering. The results from this analysis are striking. The two groups have marked and statistically significant differences in virtually every characteristic under review. In fact, the two groups have differences which are statistically significant at the 1% confidence level in every category with the exception of spouse literacy. Those Irish immigrants who lived in counties with below average levels of Irish immigrants were substantially more rural, more likely to own a home and more likely to have married a non-Irish born spouse. In addition, their spouses had lower levels of infant mortality and were less likely to be in the workforce. In all these respects, these Irish immigrants more closely resembled the native born, whose characteristics we examined in detail in Chapter III. Only in the area of literacy did the above average clustered Irish more closely resemble the native born, and in this instance the difference, though statistically significant, is not very meaningful as more than nine out of ten of both groups were classified as literate in the 1900 US census.

A possible explanation for the results in Table 5.5 is that perhaps the Irish living in the more clustered areas (which were generally in more urban areas) had more recently arrived in the US and would then gradually move to less clustered areas with more time spent living in the US. This theory is supported by the evidence in Table 5.5, which shows that the more clustered Irish immigrants were younger and had lived in the US almost five years less than those Irish immigrants who lived in less clustered areas. Notwithstanding this potential explanation, it would appear from this initial analysis of summary statistics that geographic clustering did in fact have a significant

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effect on the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth century.[230] Those Irish immigrants who lived in less geographically clustered areas differed significantly from those who lived in more clustered areas across a range of socio-economic characteristics. And in virtually all of these characteristics, they also more closely resembled the native born, reflecting a greater degree of assimilation. These results would also support the views of Chiswick (2002), Borjas (1999) and Light and Isralowitz (1996), who argue that geographic clustering delays immigrant assimilation.

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[230] To control for the potential influence of an immigrant living in an urban area on these results, I also generated the summary statistics presented in Table 5.5 including only those Irish immigrants who lived in urban areas. The purpose of this analysis was to examine whether the differences which exist in Table 5.5 may have reflected wider differences in socio-economic conditions between rural and urban areas in this timeframe. The results showed that although the differences between the above and below average clustered groups did narrow slightly when restricted to a comparison of urban populations, they were still statistically significant at the 1% level in every category with the exception of spouse literacy.

Table 5.5
Summary Statistics of Irish Immigrants Based on Level of Geographic Clustering

Variable	Above Avg.	Below Avg.
Observations	13,552	13,170
Age	42.1 years***	46.0 years
Age at Marriage	27.0 years***	27.9 years
Years in US	22.9 years***	27.8 years
Rural Status	12.8%***	36.0%
Home Ownership	24.2%***	46.9%
Literacy		
Read and write English	93.4%***	91.6%
Read or write only	1.2%	1.8%
Spouse Fertility		
Avg. Children Ever Born	5.4***	5.9
Avg. Children Surviving	4.1***	4.7
Implied Mortality Rate	24.4%	21.1%
Spouse Age	40.0 years***	42.9 years
Spouse Age at Marriage	23.7 years***	23.4 years
Spouse Birthplace		
Ireland	74.7%***	53.5%
Other Foreign Country	6.1%***	9.6%
US	19.2%***	37.0%
Spouse Literacy		
Read and write English	90.2%	89.9%
Read or write only	2.1%	2.2%
Spouse in workforce	3.0%***	1.8%

***Differences between the individuals in the two samples are significant at the 1, 5 and 10% levels, respectively, using a t test for age and fertility variables, and the chi squared test of independence for the remaining variables.

In Table 5.6, I again separate my sample into above and below average levels of geographic clustering, in this case to facilitate the analysis of occupational mobility of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. For my occupational groups, I use the format developed in Chapter III, which follows the approach of Thernstrom (High White Collar, Low White Collar, Farmer, Skilled, Semi-skilled, Unskilled). I continue to make an exception for farmers, who are separated into their own category to facilitate more detailed analysis of their role in the results. The results presented in Table 5.6 again demonstrate that geographic clustering had a significant impact on the lives of Irish immigrants in this timeframe. Those Irish immigrants who lived in above average clustered areas were less likely to be in the white collar categories and in farming, and were more likely to be in semi- and un-skilled work. In Table 5.6, we find that only 15.4% of those Irish who lived in above average clustered counties were engaged in white collar work or in farming, versus a figure of 30.7% for the less clustered group. Similarly, almost two thirds of the more clustered Irish were engaged in semi- or un-skilled work, versus approximately 55% for those Irish who lived in less Irish neighbourhoods.[231] One limitation of this analysis is that it does not control for the influence of other socio-economic characteristics of these Irish immigrants. In order to confirm the statistical significance of these characteristics on occupational outcomes, it is necessary to undertake a regression analysis.[232]

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[231] I also created comparisons for Irish immigrants who lived in the top and bottom quartile, as well as in the top and bottom decile based on their level of geographic clustering. The occupational outcomes for these comparisons were progressively more differentiated as the degree of clustering moved from halves to quartiles to deciles. The less clustered Irish became even more likely to be in white collar work and in farming, whereas the more clustered Irish were even more likely to be in semi-and un-skilled work.

[232] I did control for the potential influence of an immigrant living in an urban area by generating the occupational mobility results presented in Table 5.6 including only those Irish immigrants who lived in urban areas. The results confirm those in Table 5.6, with the differences in occupational mobility between the two groups actually increasing slightly in the white collar and skilled categories.

Table 5.6
Irish Immigrant Occupational Groupings in 1900
Based on Level of Geographic Clustering

Above average clustered Irish

	No.	%	Cum %
High WC	944	6.97	6.97
Low WC	931	6.87	13.84
Farmer	212	1.56	15.40
Skilled	2,365	17.45	32.85
Semi-skilled	4,119	30.39	63.25
Unskilled	4,981	36.75	100.00
Total	13,552	100.00	

Below average clustered Irish

	No.	%	Cum %
High WC	1,203	9.13	9.13
Low WC	958	7.27	16.41
Farmer	1,888	14.34	30.74
Skilled	1,861	14.13	44.87
Semi-skilled	2,937	22.30	67.18
Unskilled	4,323	32.82	100.00
Total	13,170	100.00	

Table 5.7 presents the results of a multinomial logistic regression on the likelihood of an Irish immigrant in my sample being in one of the six occupational categories (High White Collar, Low White Collar, Farmer, Skilled, Semi-skilled, Unskilled). This form of regression allows me to assess the impact of individual variables on the likelihood of being in one of these six occupational categories, while controlling for the impact of all the other variables used in the regression. The results in Table 5.7 show the marginal effects of these variables for each occupational level. With this approach, I am able to demonstrate the impact which these variables have on the likelihood of an Irish immigrant being in a particular occupational group. In particular, this approach allows me to observe the influence of geographic clustering on occupational outcomes, while controlling for a host of other socio-economic variables. As a result, it will allow me to reach more definitive conclusions about the specific impact of geographic clustering on occupational outcomes. In this logistic regression analysis, I have included the following variables: age, spouse age, years living in the US, duration of marriage, literacy, spouse literacy, home ownership, urban status, employment status, intermarriage, and the percent of population in the immigrant's county of residence whom were born in Ireland.

The results in Table 5.7 confirm that geographic clustering was in fact an important factor in the occupational outcomes of Irish immigrants at the turn of the century. In every category except the unskilled, the influence of geographic clustering (as measured by the percentage of the population in a given county of residence whom were born in Ireland), was statistically significant. For the high white collar category, this measure of geographic clustering was significant at the 1% confidence level and was negative, indicating that those Irish who lived in more heavily concentrated Irish

counties were less likely to be in the highest occupational category in 1900. The marginal effect output also allows us to calculate the magnitude of this effect. If we were to assume that an Irish immigrant moved from a county with no other Irish immigrants to the county in the greater Boston area with the highest percentage of Irish immigrants (12.02%), the effect of this change in geographic clustering, holding other variables constant, would be to reduce his likelihood of being in a high white collar occupation by 2.4%. While this result may not sound significant, it represents a 30% reduction in the share of Irish immigrants who held high white collar occupations in 1900 (Irish immigrants in this category being approximately 8% in my sample). The results for the low white collar category were similar in terms of statistical significance and direction, with the marginal effect of geographic clustering indicating a larger 3.6% reduction in the likelihood of being in a low white collar occupation. This figure represents a 51% reduction in the share of Irish immigrants who would have held low white collar occupations. As for farming, the results indicate that the impact of geographic clustering was similar to that for the white collar categories with a 30% reduction in the share of Irish immigrants in this occupational group. The results for the farming category were also significant at the 1% confidence level. These results clearly show that geographic clustering did not aid Irish immigrants in reaching the highest occupational categories in 1900, but was in fact a hindrance to advancing up the occupational ladder. In each of these occupational categories, Irish immigrants who lived in more geographically clustered counties were less likely to be employed in 1900. As for the skilled and semi-skilled categories, Irish immigrants who lived in more geographically clustered counties were more likely to work in these sectors of the workforce. The relationship between geographic clustering and working in these occupational categories in 1900 was statistically significant and positive, reflecting a

1% confidence level for the skilled worker level and a 5% confidence level for the semi-skilled category. The marginal effects calculations indicate a 2% and 8% increase in the likelihood of being in these two categories, respectively. These effects would have resulted in increases in the share of Irish immigrant workers in these categories of 15% and 32%, respectively. Only in the unskilled category was the effect of geographic clustering not statistically significant. In this category, factors such as years living in the US, literacy and intermarriage were critical, in each case with the relationship being negative. Irish immigrants that were newer to the US, married to an Irish born spouse, and less literate were more likely to find themselves in unskilled work. These factors were more important than whether an Irish immigrant lived in a geographically clustered area for unskilled workers.

Table 5.7
Multinomial Logistic Regression Results for Occupational Groups

High WC	dy/dx	std err	z	P>|z|	x
age	0.003	0.000	6.28	0.000	45.31
spouse age	-0.001	0.000	-2.00	0.046	41.39
yrsinUS	0.001	0.000	5.04	0.000	26.75
yrsmarried	-0.001	0.000	-3.68	0.000	17.85
literacy*	0.053	0.006	8.24	0.000	0.94
spouse literacy*	0.044	0.007	6.49	0.000	0.92
home*	0.050	0.005	10.07	0.000	0.39
urban*	0.021	0.004	4.62	0.000	0.77
employed*	0.089	0.004	23.38	0.000	0.77
intermarried*	0.047	0.005	9.31	0.000	0.36
% Irish	-0.002	0.001	-2.74	0.006	5.53

Low WC	dy/dx	std err	z	P>|z|	x
age	0.001	0.000	1.40	0.162	45.31
spouse age	-0.001	0.000	-2.39	0.017	41.39
yrsinUS	0.000	0.000	1.63	0.103	26.75
yrsmarried	-0.000	0.000	-0.52	0.605	17.85
literacy*	0.054	0.006	9.22	0.000	0.94
spouse literacy*	0.035	0.007	4.73	0.000	0.92
home*	0.001	0.004	0.34	0.732	0.39
urban*	0.024	0.004	5.50	0.000	0.77
employed*	0.071	0.004	18.74	0.000	0.77
intermarried*	0.046	0.005	9.22	0.000	0.36
% Irish	-0.003	0.001	-4.08	0.000	5.53

Farmer	dy/dx	std err	z	P>|z|	x
age	0.000	0.000	4.17	0.000	45.31
spouse age	0.000	0.000	0.51	0.608	41.39
yrsinUS	0.000	0.000	3.75	0.000	26.75
yrsmarried	-0.000	0.000	-0.97	0.334	17.85
literacy*	0.002	0.001	2.10	0.036	0.94
spouse literacy*	0.002	0.001	1.22	0.224	0.92
home*	0.012	0.001	8.45	0.000	0.39
urban*	-0.148	0.009	-17.39	0.000	0.77
employed*	0.015	0.001	11.27	0.000	0.77
intermarried*	0.001	0.001	1.62	0.106	0.36
% Irish	-0.002	0.000	-10.87	0.000	5.53

(*) dy/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1

Skilled	dy/dx	std err	z	P>|z|	x
age	-0.002	0.001	-2.29	0.022	45.31
spouse age	0.000	0.001	0.25	0.804	41.39
yrsinUS	0.003	0.000	7.63	0.000	26.75
yrsmarried	0.000	0.001	0.44	0.657	17.85
literacy*	0.138	0.010	13.91	0.000	0.94
spouse literacy*	0.088	0.011	7.78	0.000	0.92
home*	0.004	0.007	0.59	0.555	0.39
urban*	0.084	0.008	11.26	0.000	0.77
employed*	-0.033	0.008	-4.36	0.000	0.77
intermarried*	0.061	0.008	8.06	0.000	0.36
% Irish	0.002	0.001	1.97	0.049	5.53

Semi-skilled	dy/dx	std err	z	P>|z|	x
age	-0.003	0.001	-3.11	0.002	45.31
spouse age	-0.001	0.001	-1.06	0.289	41.39
yrsinUS	0.001	0.001	2.12	0.034	26.75
yrsmarried	0.000	0.001	0.36	0.717	17.85
literacy*	0.006	0.018	0.33	0.743	0.94
spouse literacy*	-0.033	0.017	-2.03	0.043	0.92
home*	0.005	0.009	0.59	0.555	0.39
urban*	-0.002	0.010	-0.19	0.847	0.77
employed*	0.060	0.009	6.87	0.000	0.77
intermarried*	0.017	0.009	1.94	0.052	0.36
% Irish	0.007	0.001	5.27	0.000	5.53

Un-skilled	dy/dx	std err	z	P>|z|	x
age	0.001	0.001	0.96	0.339	45.31
spouse age	0.003	0.001	2.89	0.004	41.39
yrsinUS	-0.006	0.001	-11.47	0.000	26.75
yrsmarried	0.001	0.001	1.28	0.201	17.85
literacy*	-0.253	0.019	-13.61	0.000	0.94
spouse literacy*	-0.135	0.017	-8.11	0.000	0.92
home*	-0.073	0.009	-8.04	0.000	0.39
urban*	0.020	0.011	1.89	0.058	0.77
employed*	-0.202	0.010	-21.17	0.000	0.77
intermarried*	-0.172	0.009	-20.00	0.000	0.36
% Irish	-0.002	0.001	-1.58	0.114	5.53

(*) dy/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1

In further results not reported here, I also generated a multinomial logistic regression on the likelihood of an Irish immigrant being in a particular occupational category, in this case excluding farmers and those immigrants living in rural areas. The purpose of this additional regression was to examine the impact of geographic clustering solely on urban workers, where most Irish immigrants lived and where their networks were likely to have been strongest. The results of this regression support my prior conclusion that geographic clustering did not aid Irish immigrants in reaching the highest occupational categories (i.e. high and low white collar), but in fact had a negative relationship with these two categories. Geographic clustering did have a positive effect on Irish immigrants in the skilled and semi-skilled categories, but not for the unskilled. All of the results were statistically significant. Even when restricted to urban workers, the effect of geographic clustering remains negative for the highest occupational categories.

In Table 5.8, I present the results of a Duncan dissimilarity index (DDI) calculation for the occupations held by my sample of Irish immigrants in 1900 based on their level of geographic clustering. As first described in Chapter III, the DDI is an index which compares the similarities and differences between two distributions. The index takes a value between zero and one, with one reflecting no overlap between distributions and zero representing identical distributions. The index may be interpreted as the proportion of subjects in a group that would have to change category in order to obtain the same relative distribution as the group to which it is being compared.

Table 5.8 presents the calculation of DDI for the occupational outcomes of the Irish immigrants in my sample based on varying degrees of geographic clustering (the top

and bottom 50%, 25% and 10%, respectively, of the sample). As Table 5.8 illustrates, the DDI calculations for the occupations of Irish immigrants in my sample are significantly impacted by the level of geographic clustering. As the level of geographic clustering increases, so does the difference between the occupational distributions of the two groups. Using the 50% cut-off level, the DDI equals .237. This calculation rises to .358 when the sample is limited to the top and bottom 25%, and to .416 when the sample is further restricted to the top and bottom 10% level. Using the top and bottom 10% figures, the results indicate that more than four out of ten Irish immigrants in my sample would need to change their occupation in order for the two distributions to match each other. These results serve to further reinforce the conclusion that the geographic clustering of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century had a significant impact on the occupational outcomes of these immigrants.[233]

In a further analysis not reported here, I also calculated the DDI excluding farmers and those immigrants living in rural areas. The results of this analysis, which were also run at the 50%, 25% and 10% levels, again showed that the occupational distributions of the respective groups became increasingly dissimilar as the level of geographic clustering rose. The DDI calculations did reflect a narrowing in the differences between the two groups, in particular at the 50% level where the figure declined to .136. However, using the 10% cut-off level, more than three in ten urban immigrants would have to change jobs for the two distributions to match each other.

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[233] As mentioned previously, I also analysed the occupational outcomes for these comparisons at the half, quartile and decile levels and found that the less clustered Irish became even more likely to be in white collar work and in farming, whereas the more clustered Irish were even more likely to be in semi- and un-skilled work as the analysis progressed from halves to quartiles to deciles.

The results of the multinomial logistic regression analysis as well as the DDI calculations illustrate the importance of geographic clustering on the occupational outcomes of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. The multinomial logistic regression analysis clearly shows that Irish immigrants who lived in more clustered environments were less likely to work in the higher occupational categories, and were more likely to find employment in the skilled and semi-skilled categories. The DDI calculations also show that geographic clustering was a critical factor in influencing occupational outcomes. Even when these analyses were limited solely to urban workers, the results were unchanged. Returning to the literature, these results for turn of the century Irish immigrants would appear to refute the views of Chiswick (2002), Portes and Rumbaut (1996) and Gordon (1964) who argue that immigrant enclaves could be advantageous to immigrants seeking work in a new society. These results, which control for the influence of factors such as age, years living in the US, literacy and other factors, clearly show that for Irish immigrants in this timeframe, geographic clustering did not help them to advance up the occupational ladder.

Table 5.8
Calculation of Duncan Dissimilarity Index for Irish Immigrant Occupations
Based on Level of Geographic Clustering

Geographic Clustering Measured by Top/Bottom Percentages

	50%	25%	10%
DDI	.237	.358	.416
No. of Occupations	181	170	145
No. of Observations	26,722	13,528	5,538

One final question that merits attention is whether the more geographically clustered Irish were disproportionately represented in certain occupations. In the literature, McCaffrey (1996) and McKivigan and Robertson (1996) argue that Irish immigrants in the nineteenth century benefited from the networking opportunities and support systems which had developed in cities such as New York which had large concentrations of Irish immigrants. McCaffrey (1996) argues that the Irish were able to make occupational advances in local government, trade unions and the Catholic Church,[234] while McKivigan and Robertson (1996) argue that the Irish in New York City had particular success in obtaining work "in city government jobs for policemen, firefighters, rapid transit workers and school teachers." McKivigan and Robertson (1996) also argue that by 1900, significant numbers of the city's Irish had moved up into the ranks of professionals and entrepreneurs."[235] Chiswick (2002), Portes and Rumbaut (1996) and Gordon (1964) also argue that ethnic enclaves provided significant advantages for new immigrants and immigrant entrepreneurs. These potential benefits of living in an immigrant enclave with a high proportion of other

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[234] McCaffrey (1996), p.222.
[235] McKivigan and Robertson (1996), p. 312.

Irish immigrants can be tested against the evidence which I have assembled using my sample data. If this literature is correct, I should find evidence that Irish immigrants benefited from geographic clustering and were able to gain access to jobs in areas such as city government (government workers, policemen, firemen, public transit workers), in the Roman Catholic church, as well as in jobs where trade union ties were important in this timeframe (longshoremen, railroad, mining, lumbermen). This literature implies that Irish immigrants living in these "enclaves" would have had an advantage in the employment market versus Irish immigrants who did not live in such areas. Using my sample data, I will examine these arguments.

I have calculated the average level of geographic clustering for each occupation held by an Irish immigrant in 1900. I have then indexed this average to the highest level of clustering in any county in my sample in 1900 (Suffolk County, Massachusetts at 12.02%). This resultant index thus shows the average level of geographic clustering for each occupation as a ratio of the highest concentration of Irish immigrants in a county in this time period. Using this index, I can then examine which occupations were held by Irish immigrants living in more or less geographically clustered areas.

In Appendix 5.1, I present the complete list of occupations held by Irish immigrants in my sample, along with the number of immigrants who held this occupation and the clustering ratio described above. The list is sorted from those occupations with the lowest average level of geographic clustering to the highest. Table 5.9 shows the average clustering ratio for each occupational category (High White Collar, Low White Collar, Farmer, Skilled, Semi-skilled, Unskilled) and in Table 5.10 I provide these results for a selection of notable occupations. There are several conclusions that

can be drawn from a review of this data. First of all, as my prior analyses in this chapter have shown, geographic clustering appears to have an inverse relationship with occupational category. Other than farmers, for which the clustering index is extremely low, the ratio of geographic clustering is higher for the lower occupational categories than it is for the white collar ones. In terms of particular occupations as presented in Table 5.10, white collar jobs such as managers, teachers, physicians and surgeons, lawyers and judges, officials and administrators all have relatively low clustering ratios. Interestingly, clergymen also have a low ratio at just .292. This result would suggest that those Irish immigrants who entered the church did not live in more clustered areas in 1900.[236] What is also interesting is that there are many jobs that were more likely to be unionised, such as lumbermen, railroad repairmen, and mine workers, where the clustering ratio is also relatively low. This result likely reflects the fact these occupations frequently required workers to live in the more remote regions of the country where the mines, railroads and forests were located and/or being constructed. Though as we have seen there were some remote counties where Irish immigrants were highly concentrated (such as Storey, Nevada, and Silver Bow and Deer Lodge, Montana), these results would indicate that, for the most part, Irish immigrants working in these unionised occupations did not live in more clustered areas.[237] With respect to local government related jobs such as government workers, policemen, firemen, and public transit workers, the results here are also instructive. Firemen, policemen and motormen have clustering ratios that would place them near the middle of the distribution, reflecting that they did not live, on average, in

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[236] What this data does not show, unfortunately, is where the Irish immigrants who entered the clergy were living at the time that they joined the church. It may have been the case that some of these immigrants may have lived in more clustered areas when they joined the church, and were later assigned to parishes in less clustered areas.

[237] Among occupations more likely to have been unionised in 1900, only longshoremen had a relatively high clustering ratio.

particularly highly clustered counties. Public officials and administrators actually had a relatively low ratio of .329 while teachers had an even lower ratio at just .190. The primary occupational area where I did find consistently high clustering ratios was the textile industry (spinners, weavers, dyers, loom fixers) as well as in urban service occupations such as waiters and waitresses, and taxicab drivers. In the case of the latter, this pattern may reflect local demand for services from other Irish immigrants.

The results of this analysis of specific occupations only serve to reinforce my prior conclusions that the occupational levels of Irish immigrants in this time frame were inversely related to their level of geographic clustering. What these results also demonstrate is that the benefits of living in an area with a high concentration of Irish immigrants as described by McCaffrey (1996) and McKivigan and Robertson (1996) may not have been as significant as these authors have suggested. In my data, I find scarce evidence that geographic clustering led to greater employment opportunities in local government and unionised work. In fact, much of the evidence presented in this section would refute that claim. In addition, I found further evidence to support my prior conclusions that geographic clustering was associated with lower levels of occupational achievement. One could argue that these results do not undermine the position that Irish immigrants could have initially benefited from living in immigrant enclaves, and that as they spent more time living in the US, they migrated towards less ethnically concentrated areas of the country. However, these results might also support the view that living in a more ethnically concentrated community, though it may have improved the initial starting position of Irish immigrants in America, came at the expense of slower subsequent assimilation and reduced occupational mobility. In my analysis, I find very limited support for the view that living in an area with a high

concentration of Irish immigrants enhanced the occupational outcomes of Irish

immigrants versus those that lived in less geographically clustered areas.

Table 5.9
Irish Immigrant Occupational Levels Based on Clustering Index

Occupational Level	Clustering Ratio
High White Collar	.407
Low White Collar	.450
Farmer	.183
Skilled	.483
Semi-skilled	.498
Unskilled	.479

Table 5.10
Selected List of Irish Immigrant Occupations Based on Clustering Index

Occupation	Occupational Level	Clustering Ratio
Teachers	High White Collar	.190
Managers and superintendents	High White Collar	.281
Physicians and surgeons	High White Collar	.284
Clergymen	High White Collar	.292
Lawyers and judges	High White Collar	.314
Officials and administrators	High White Collar	.329
Lumbermen	Unskilled	.166
Mine operatives	Semi-skilled	.301
Locomotive engineers	Skilled	.302
Locomotive firemen	Semi-skilled	.310
Brakemen, railroad	Semi-skilled	.394
Firemen	Semi-skilled	.421
Policemen and detectives	Semi-skilled	.486
Motormen	Semi-skilled	.493
Spinners	Semi-skilled	.575
Weavers	Semi-skilled	.582
Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs	Semi-skilled	.592
Dyers	Semi-skilled	.613
Waiter and waitresses	Semi-skilled	.687

This chapter has assessed the impact of geographic clustering on the degree of assimilation achieved by Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America. In this chapter, I have used the county level US census data available from the University of Virginia Historical Census Browser to create a database which illustrates the percentage of Irish immigrants living in each county in the US in 1900. I have also created a new sample of Irish immigrants who came to the US prior to 1900 using the IPUMS 2.5% US census sample for 1900. This new sample provides me with the largest possible sample of Irish immigrants with which to assess the impact of geographic clustering at the county level in this timeframe.

The first question addressed in this chapter was to what extent geographic clustering existed for the Irish in late nineteenth century America. In my results I found clear evidence of geographic clustering. The Irish were not evenly distributed across the US, but were highly concentrated in the Northeast. By number they were most likely to live in the New York City and Boston metropolitan areas. In many sections of the US, particularly the South and West, the percentage of Irish immigrants was extremely low. It appears that Irish immigrants in the US were drawn to areas close to where they may have entered the US and close to the major population centres of the Northeast where jobs were most likely to be available. Certain of them were also willing to move long distances to work in mining, railroad and farming jobs in the West. In several Western counties, the percentage of Irish immigrants to the total population was quite high. However, the actual number of Irish immigrants living in these regions was very modest.

A related question addressed in this chapter is to what extent Irish immigrants were drawn to areas where earlier generations of Irish immigrants had settled after arriving in the US. Using the University of Virginia Historical Census Browser, I created maps of the US illustrating the percentage of Irish born residents relative to the total population of each county in the US in each of 1870, 1880, 1890 and 1900.[238] This analysis showed that there is a clear pattern of settlement of Irish immigrants in the major metropolitan areas of the Northeast as far back as 1870 which is very similar to the settlement patterns observed for Irish immigrants in 1900. In addition to the major metropolitan areas in the Northeast, Midwestern metropolitan areas such as Chicago, Illinois and certain Western counties also had high percentages of Irish immigrants in these earlier census periods. However, in terms of the absolute numbers of Irish immigrants, the New York and Boston metropolitan areas were much more significant than any other region in the analysis throughout the late nineteenth century, and the major metropolitan areas of the Northeast had the highest concentrations of Irish immigrants in 1900.

In an effort to assess the effect of geographic clustering on the assimilation of Irish immigrants, I analysed its impact on the socio-economic characteristics of my new sample of Irish immigrants available in the US census data. In this analysis, I separated the sample into those immigrants who lived in counties with above and below average levels of geographic clustering. The results show that the two groups have marked and statistically significant differences in virtually every characteristic under review. Those Irish immigrants who lived in counties with below average levels of Irish immigrants were substantially more rural, more likely to own a home and more likely to have

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[238] 1870 being the earliest year for which there is complete census data available.

married a non-Irish born spouse. In addition, their spouses had lower levels of infant mortality and were less likely to be in the workforce. In all these respects, these Irish immigrants more closely resembled the native born than did those who lived in more clustered environments. This analysis confirms that geographic clustering did have a significant effect on the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth century, with those Irish immigrants who lived in less geographically clustered areas much more closely resembling the native born.

With respect to the issue of occupational outcomes, the impact of geographic clustering also appears to have been highly relevant. Using my sample of Irish immigrants separated into above and below average levels of geographic clustering, I found that those Irish immigrants who lived in above average clustered areas were less likely to be in the white collar categories and in farming, and were more likely to be in semi- and un-skilled work. Thus geographic clustering appeared to have a negative effect on occupational outcomes. As mentioned previously, one limitation of this analysis is that it does not control for the influence of other socio-economic characteristics on these Irish immigrants. In order to confirm the statistical significance of these characteristics on occupational outcomes, it was necessary to undertake a regression analysis.

In this instance, I used a multinomial logistic regression on the likelihood of an Irish immigrant in my sample being in one of the six occupational categories (High White Collar, Low White Collar, Farmer, Skilled, Semi-skilled, Unskilled). This form of regression allows me to assess the impact of individual variables on the likelihood of being in one of these six occupational categories, while controlling for the impact of all

of the variables used in the regression. The results confirmed the importance of geographic clustering on the occupational outcomes of Irish immigrants. In every category except the unskilled, the influence of geographic clustering (as measured by the percentage of the population in a given county of residence whom were born in Ireland), was statistically significant. For the high white collar, low white collar and farming categories, this measure of geographic clustering was significant at the 1% confidence level and was negative, indicating that those Irish who lived in more heavily concentrated Irish counties were less likely to be in these higher occupational categories in 1900. As for the skilled and semi-skilled categories, Irish immigrants who lived in more geographically clustered counties were more likely to work in these sectors of the workforce. Only in the unskilled category was the effect of geographic clustering not statistically significant. In this category, factors such as years living in the US, literacy and intermarriage were critical, in each case with the relationship being negative. Irish immigrants that were newer to the US, married to an Irish born spouse, and less literate were more likely to find themselves in unskilled work. These results show that geographic clustering did not aid Irish immigrants in reaching the highest occupational categories in 1900, but in fact was a hindrance to advancing up the occupational ladder. DDI calculations for the occupations of Irish immigrants in my sample were also significantly impacted by the level of geographic clustering. As the level of geographic clustering increased, so did the difference between the occupational distributions of the respective groups.

One final question to be analysed was whether the more geographically clustered Irish were disproportionately represented in certain occupations. In the literature, McCaffrey (1996) and McKivigan and Robertson (1996) have suggested that late nineteenth

century Irish immigrants benefited from geographic clustering and were able to gain access to jobs in areas such as city government, in the Roman Catholic church, as well as in jobs where trade union ties were important. This literature implies that Irish immigrants living in immigrant enclaves had an advantage in the labour market versus Irish immigrants who did not live in such areas. Using my sample data, I calculated an index based on the average level of geographic clustering for each occupation held by an Irish immigrant in 1900. The results of this analysis again confirmed that geographic clustering did not appear to help Irish immigrants to obtain white collar work, as the geographic clustering index for most of these occupations was relatively low. On the other hand, at higher levels of geographic clustering, most of the largest concentrations were in skilled, semi- and un-skilled occupations. I also found scarce evidence that geographic clustering led to greater employment opportunities in local government, unionised work or the clergy. In fact, much of the evidence presented Appendix 5.1 would refute that claim. In summary, I found very limited evidence to support the view that living in an area with a high concentration of Irish immigrants enhanced the occupational outcomes of Irish immigrants versus those that lived in less geographically clustered areas.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that geographic clustering did exist for Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America. Irish immigrants were primarily drawn to the large metropolitan areas of the Northeast, reflecting the importance of these areas as points of entry to the US, as well as major centres for employment for new immigrants. In smaller numbers, Irish immigrants also concentrated in certain Western regions to work in the mining, railroad and farming industries. The settlement choices of earlier cohorts of Irish immigrants also seem to have been important for the late

nineteenth century Irish. Thus it would appear that proximity to ports of entry, job opportunities, and the settlement choices of earlier groups of Irish immigrants were critical to the geographic location of the Irish immigrants at the turn of the century.

What is also clear from the analysis presented in this chapter is that geographic clustering directly impacted the degree of assimilation and occupational mobility of Irish immigrants in this timeframe. Higher levels of geographic clustering were associated with both lower degrees of assimilation and lower occupational outcomes. The benefits of geographic clustering in the job market do not appear to have existed for Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century, and this research provides further support for the argument that such clustering delays the assimilation process.

Appendix 5.1
List of Irish Immigrant Occupations Based on Clustering Index

No. of Observations	Occupation	Occupational Level	Clustering Ratio
1	Officials, lodge, society, union, etc.	High WC	0.005
1	Apprentices, printing trades	Semi-skilled	0.009
3	Opticians and lens grinders and polishers	Low WC	0.045
1	Counter and fountain workers	Semi-skilled	0.048
4	Postmasters	Low WC	0.085
1	Blasters and powdermen	Semi-skilled	0.131
1	Apprentices, other specified trades	Semi-skilled	0.151
7	Inspectors, scalers, and graders log and lumber	Skilled	0.157
1	Dancers and dancing teachers	Low WC	0.158
1	Architects	High WC	0.166
48	Lumbermen, raftsmen, and woodchoppers	Unskilled	0.166
1	Technicians	Low WC	0.173
2094	Farmers (owners and tenants)	Farmer	0.183
39	Teachers	High WC	0.190
1	Plumbers and pipe fitters apprentice	Semi-skilled	0.200
24	Railroad and car shop-mechanics and repairmen	Skilled	0.210
10	Religious workers	High WC	0.237
1	Credit men	Low WC	0.244
6	Farm managers	Farmer	0.248
19	Buyers and shippers, farm products	High WC	0.248
3	Therapists and healers	Low WC	0.250
6	Subject not specified-Professors and instructors	High WC	0.253
1	Entertainers	Low WC	0.266
13	Millers, grain, flour, feed, etc	Skilled	0.268
93	Managers and superintendents, building	High WC	0.281
3	Marshals and constables	Semi-skilled	0.282
35	Physicians and surgeons	High WC	0.284
133	Clergymen	High WC	0.292
1	Apprentices, metalworking trades	Semi-skilled	0.300
876	Mine operatives and labourers	Semi-skilled	0.301
112	Locomotive engineers	Skilled	0.302
13	Musicians and music teachers	Low WC	0.307
61	Locomotive firemen	Skilled	0.310
47	Lawyers and judges	High WC	0.314
4	Photoengravers and lithographers	Skilled	0.315
11	Sawyers	Semi-skilled	0.320
12	Sports instructors and officials	Low WC	0.323
31	Officials and administrators, public administration	High WC	0.329
16	Baggagemen, transportation	Low WC	0.338
10	Civil-Engineers	High WC	0.342
1	Photographic process workers	Skilled	0.344
1	Chainmen, rodmen, and axmen, surveying	Semi-skilled	0.344
384	Foremen	Low WC	0.348
7	Stenographers, typists, and secretaries	Low WC	0.357
11	Telegraph operators	Low WC	0.360
96	Furnacemen, smeltermen and pourers	Semi-skilled	0.361
27	Members of the armed services	Semi-skilled	0.363
706	Farm labourers, wage workers	Unskilled	0.366

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6	Actors and actresses	Low WC	0.368
5	Millwrights	Skilled	0.371
19	Officers, pilots, pursers and engineers, ship	Low WC	0.374
7	Veterinarians	High WC	0.376
124	Boilermakers	Skilled	0.377
66	Inspectors	Skilled	0.378
9	Messengers and office boys	Low WC	0.380
31	Linemen, servicemen, telegraph, telephone and power	Skilled	0.380
18	Heaters, metal	Semi-skilled	0.384
15	Pharmacists	High WC	0.391
104	Brakemen, railroad	Semi-skilled	0.394
23	Mechanical-Engineers	High WC	0.407
75	Sailors and deck hands	Semi-skilled	0.407
4	Athletes	Low WC	0.408
17	Boarding and lodging house keepers	Semi-skilled	0.411
55	Switchmen, railroad	Semi-skilled	0.411
4	Draftsmen	Low WC	0.413
5	Oilers and greaser, except auto	Semi-skilled	0.417
47	Firemen, fire protection	Semi-skilled	0.421
14	Inspectors, public administration	Low WC	0.425
75	Insurance agents and brokers	Low WC	0.428
205	Clerical and kindred workers	Low WC	0.430
9	Paperhangers	Skilled	0.431
2	Nurses, professional	Low WC	0.433
28	Watchmen (crossing) and bridge tenders	Semi-skilled	0.434
2	Farm foremen	Unskilled	0.434
6	Cashiers	Low WC	0.435
1636	Managers, officials, and proprietors	High WC	0.437
15	Sheriffs and bailiffs	Semi-skilled	0.443
47	Real estate agents and brokers	Low WC	0.443
16	Ticket, station, and express agents	Low WC	0.446
26	Deliverymen and routemen	Semi-skilled	0.446
22	Laundry and dry cleaning Operatives	Semi-skilled	0.447
409	Blacksmiths	Skilled	0.447
3	Professional, technical and kindred workers	High WC	0.449
77	Bookkeepers	Low WC	0.450
3	Attendants, professional and personal service	Semi-skilled	0.455
35	Barbers, beauticians, and manicurists	Semi-skilled	0.460
328	Stationary engineers	Skilled	0.463
25	Rollers and roll hands, metal	Skilled	0.465
370	Guards, watchmen, and doorkeepers	Semi-skilled	0.467
4	Advertising agents and salesmen	Low WC	0.467
8	Photographers	Low WC	0.469
8	Chemists	High WC	0.470
5	Express messengers and railway mail clerks	Low WC	0.470
149	Craftsmen and kindred workers	Skilled	0.470
31	Collectors, bill and account	Low WC	0.476
20	Jewellers, watchmakers, goldsmiths, and silversmiths	Skilled	0.478
12	Funeral directors and embalmers	Low WC	0.480
84	Meat cutters, except slaughter and packing house	Semi-skilled	0.480
36	Boatmen, canalmen, and lock keepers	Semi-skilled	0.484
278	Policemen and detectives	Semi-skilled	0.486
7972	Labourers	Unskilled	0.487
181	Painters, construction and maintenance	Skilled	0.488

301	Stationary firemen	Semi-skilled	0.488
19	Fishermen and oystermen	Unskilled	0.492
156	Motormen, street, subway, and elevated railway	Semi-skilled	0.493
544	Carpenters	Skilled	0.493
51	Tinsmiths, coppersmiths, and sheet metal workers	Skilled	0.494
160	Stone cutters and stone carvers	Skilled	0.495
425	Brickmasons,stonemasons, and tile setters	Skilled	0.496
54	Conductors, bus and street railway	Semi-skilled	0.497
143	Tailors and tailoresses	Skilled	0.497
9	Artists and art teachers	Low WC	0.498
109	Conductors, railroad	Low WC	0.499
268	Molders, metal	Skilled	0.500
6	Dentists	High WC	0.502
2	Engravers, except engravers	Skilled	0.503
5	Laundresses, private household	Semi-skilled	0.505
72	Hucksters and peddlers	Low WC	0.506
46	Attendants, hospital and other institution	Semi-skilled	0.507
590	Salesmen and sales clerks	Low WC	0.511
4	Charwomen and cleaners	Semi-skilled	0.515
134	Janitors and sextons	Semi-skilled	0.518
14	Upholsterers	Skilled	0.518
12	Agents	Low WC	0.519
32	Mail carriers	Low WC	0.521
332	Machinists	Skilled	0.521
128	Plasterers	Skilled	0.523
61	Cooks, except private household	Semi-skilled	0.525
18	Editors and reporters	High WC	0.527
7	Pressmen and plate printers, printing	Skilled	0.527
15	Service workers, except private household	Semi-skilled	0.527
102	Private household workers	Semi-skilled	0.529
6	Cement and concrete finishers	Skilled	0.531
298	Gardeners, except farm, and groundskeepers	Unskilled	0.532
17	Practical nurses	Semi-skilled	0.533
1657	Operative and kindred workers	Semi-skilled	0.535
269	Bartenders	Semi-skilled	0.536
188	Plumbers and pipe fitters	Skilled	0.539
44	Filers, grinders, and polishers, metal	Semi-skilled	0.548
15	Housekeepers and stewards, except private household	Semi-skilled	0.550
58	Compositors and typesetters	Skilled	0.552
256	Longshoremen and stevedores	Unskilled	0.552
14	Bookbinders	Skilled	0.554
92	Bakers	Skilled	0.560
20	Structural metal workers	Skilled	0.565
48	Electricians	Skilled	0.567
51	Shipping and receiving clerks	Low WC	0.569
7	Pattern and model makers, except paper	Skilled	0.570
38	Mechanics and repairmen	Skilled	0.571
943	Truck and tractor drivers	Semi-skilled	0.572
51	Painters, except construction or maintenance	Semi-skilled	0.574
46	Spinners, textile	Semi-skilled	0.575
168	Porters	Semi-skilled	0.575
160	Weavers, textile	Semi-skilled	0.582
2	Auctioneers	Low WC	0.586
16	Bus drivers	Semi-skilled	0.587

20	Elevator operators	Semi-skilled	0.590
4	Buyers and dept heads, store	High WC	0.590
373	Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs	Semi-skilled	0.592
1	Telephone operators	Low WC	0.595
68	Dyers	Semi-skilled	0.598
8	Dressmakers and seamstresses except factory	Semi-skilled	0.613
9	Tool makers, and die makers and setters	Skilled	0.614
3	Farm service labourers, self-employed	Unskilled	0.615
1	Cranemen,derrickmen, and hoistmen	Skilled	0.633
1	Welders and flame cutters	Semi-skilled	0.633
1	Social and welfare workers, except group	High WC	0.641
29	Roofers and slaters	Skilled	0.649
17	Shoemakers and repairers, except factory	Skilled	0.654
17	Cabinetmakers	Skilled	0.668
2	Dispatchers and starters, vehicle	Low WC	0.673
28	Loom fixers	Skilled	0.675
3	Electrotypers and stereotypers	Skilled	0.678
8	Accountants and auditors	Low WC	0.684
83	Waiters and waitresses	Semi-skilled	0.687
2	Glaziers	Skilled	0.720
1	Teamsters	Skilled	0.725
1	Forgemen and hammermen	Skilled	0.725
1	Mining-Engineers	High WC	0.725
2	Machinists and toolmakers apprentice	Semi-skilled	0.725
3	Furriers	Skilled	0.857

Total   26,722

VI. The Naming of Irish Immigrant Children as a Measure of Assimilation

In this chapter, I will use information about the first names given to the children of Irish immigrants to draw further conclusions about the assimilation of these immigrants into American society in the late nineteenth century. The use of children's names as a measure of assimilation is very appealing as it represents another avenue for assessing the assimilation of immigrants outside of the workplace. The selection of a non-Irish name for a child by an Irish immigrant father can be viewed as a sign of how willing that parent is for his children to become more assimilated as an American, whereas the selection of a distinctly Irish name may reflect cultural persistence and a reduced desire to assimilate. The naming of children can also be seen as a reflection of how the parents see themselves within the context of their new host society, as well as what aspirations they hold for their children.

In the literature, the study of children's names has to date received only limited attention from economists and sociologists. According to Lieberson and Bell (1992), "sociologists in the United States rarely study first names despite their distinctive theoretical potential and despite the existence of excellent large-scale data sets."[239] They argue that first names can "demarcate subgroups of a society along such lines as gender, race and ethnicity" and, more important for this dissertation, they can also "signal shifts in assimilation and identification."[240] In addition, as noted by Rossi (1965), "American parents have considerable leeway in choosing their children's names," and as a result of this "permissive environment," the naming patterns of

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[239] Lieberson and Bell (1992), p. 513.
[240] Lieberson and Bell (1992), p. 514.

children in the US can be used as effective social indicators.[241] Zelinsky (1970) goes so far as to argue that the choice of a child's name "is closer to fulfilling the criteria for an ideal cultural measure than any other known item."[242] Lieberson (2000) has also provided us with an excellent summary of the influences which impact the pattern of name usage in the US: "the imagery associated with each name, the notions parents have about the children's future, estimates of others' responses to a name, the awareness and knowledge of names through the mass media and other sources, parent's beliefs about what names are appropriate for people of their status, and institutionalised norms and pressures."[243] Lieberson (2000) argues that as institutional pressures such as the role of extended family and religious rules are reduced, name choices are "increasingly free to be matters of taste." He concludes by arguing that shifts in naming patterns can be analysed in terms of "the combined impact of exogenous forces, internal mechanisms of fashion change, and idiosyncratic historical conditions."[244]

There are several elements of Lieberson's (2000) theory of child naming that can be tested with my sample data on Irish immigrants. With respect to the relationship between the naming of children and assimilation, Lieberson (2000) argues that it would be extremely difficult for an ethnic group to avoid the influence of the larger society on their naming patterns, mentioning in particular the influence of media, literacy and mobility aspirations.[245] In this chapter, I will seek to assess to what degree the Irish in America were able to resist the influence of these external forces on their naming patterns, or whether, in fact, they sought a greater level of assimilation for

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[241] Rossi (1965), p. 499.
[242] Zelinsky (1970), p. 746.
[243] Lieberson (2000), p. 24.
[244] Lieberson (2000), p. 24.
[245] Lieberson (2000), p. 221.

themselves and their children by increasingly choosing non-Irish names for their children. In addition, Lieberson (2000) also argues that the naming of children can be influenced by external factors such as urbanisation and education. He argues that both of these forces would help to reduce the role of tradition and lead to "greater independence of judgement" by parents in the naming of their children.[246] Lieberson's views on the impact of urbanisation and education on naming patterns are not solely limited to immigrant parents, but would apply to all parents in a society. Although we have found that education levels (as measured by literacy) were quite uniform among Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century, urbanisation does represent a measure that we can use to test whether Lieberson's theory is applicable in the case of late nineteenth century Irish immigrants. In this chapter, we will also examine the impact of urbanisation on the naming patterns of Irish immigrant parents to determine whether this external force in fact reduced the use of more traditional Irish names in this time period.

One potential shortcoming of using names to assess assimilation and cultural persistence is the issue of data quality. The names to be analysed in this chapter are drawn from US census data from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hence the influence of the census enumerator could have a significant impact on the reliability of the name data. In particular, if an enumerator was to change or anglicise names with which he or she was not familiar, this could influence the results of the analysis. While there is only limited research available to address this issue, Watkins and London (1994) have provided us with some comfort on the reliability of US census data. They addressed the issue of whether names of immigrants taken from the

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[246] Lieberson (2000), p. 43.

1910 US census could be compared with names taken from other sources in the US in order to assess the extent of name changing or anglicisation of foreign names by census enumerators. In a study of names taken from the death certificates of funeral homes that specialised in dealing with turn of the century immigrants in the state of Rhode Island, they found "a reassuringly high degree of overlap" when comparing the most popular names from this source versus US census data for 1910.[247] Watkins and London (1994) felt that since the funeral homes in question would have had experience with immigrant (in this case Jewish) names, that these clerks would have been unlikely to anglicise ethnic names. The comparison versus names drawn from the US census would then provide a clear indication of the degree of name changing or anglicisation by census enumerators.

Using data on children's names, this chapter will seek to answer the following questions. What does the naming of children tell us about the degree of assimilation of their parents? Did Irish immigrants who married non-Irish born spouses more often give their children non-Irish names? Are there certain socio-economic characteristics of these Irish immigrant households that are more strongly associated with non-Irish children's names? How have the naming patterns of Irish children's names changed over the course of the period from the late nineteenth century until the end of the age of mass migration in the 1920s, and what does this tell us about the relationship between child naming and assimilation over this time period?

My approach to this chapter relies on the ability to locate the children of Irish immigrants in US census data. Using information variables provided in the IPUMS

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[247] Watkins and London (1994), pp. 187-8.

data extraction system regarding the location of the father and his spouse, it is possible to locate the children of Irish immigrants in my existing sample where the spouse was present in the household at the time of the 1900 US census. For the 611 households in my sample where the Irish immigrant was married with the spouse present, I was able to locate their children. With the location information of the children, it is then possible to go back into the database and obtain their names. This process resulted in a total of 1,976 children's names of Irish immigrants in my sample, which is linked to the significant amount of socio-economic information regarding their parents available in that sample.

In this chapter, I will also seek to analyse the naming of Irish immigrant children using the complete US census sample data available from IPUMS. This approach, while not linked to my core matched sample of Irish immigrants, will allow me to access a much broader distribution of name outcomes. In addition, I will also seek to analyse the naming of Irish immigrant children in several prior and subsequent US censuses, enabling me to trace patterns across cohorts. Using the IPUMS datasets, I will construct samples of Irish immigrant children's names from the 1870s through to the 1920s,[248] thus permitting me to analyse the relationship between children naming patterns and assimilation over this critical time period for Irish immigration. For these cohort samples, the IPUMS system allows me to screen for children born to an Irish immigrant father, and to ensure that the father is the natural father of the child and not a step father. This distinction is critical as it would have been the natural father who would have been involved in the naming of a child.

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[248] Irish immigration to the US declined significantly in the 1920s due to increased restrictions on immigration put in place by the US government. The period from the 1870s until the 1920s thus represents an ideal timeframe to assess this relationship between naming patterns and assimilation.

In addition to assembling these samples of names of Irish immigrant children born in the US, I have also located a sample of the first names given to children born in Ireland in the year 1900. This sample, which comprises 3,000 boys and girls names, was taken from the official Registry of Births for Ireland, and was compiled by Coghlan (1979).[249] The sample was drawn from the register which provides the names of all the children born in Ireland in that year. With this sample information, it will be possible to identify the most commonly used names given to children born in Ireland in 1900. I will then be able to apply this list of the most common Irish children's names to the children in my samples of Irish immigrant children born in the US. The results of this comparison will allow me to draw conclusions about the degree of assimilation achieved by their parents as measured though the lens of children's names.[250]

One potential criticism of this approach is the use of a single sample of Irish names to compare to the names given to children in the US over several decades spanning the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is certainly possible that naming patterns may have been changing in Ireland as well as in the US in this time period. Using a sample of names from 1900 may not reflect what an "Irish" name is in the years prior or subsequent to 1900. However, there are two reasons why this approach of using a single sample is in fact valid. First of all, Lieberson (2000) found that there was little change in the most common names given to children in Western nations until the twentieth century. He noted that "Western nations show remarkably similar movements from virtually no fashion in names…to an increasingly rapid turnover in names" in the late twentieth century.[251] In fact for England and Wales, as well as for

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[249] Ronan Coghlan, *Irish Christian Names* (London: 1979).
[250] In my comparative analysis of children's names, I have grouped similar names together under one name. For example, "Anne" and "Annie" are considered to be one name for the purposes of my analysis.
[251] Lieberson (2000), p. 36.

Scotland - the countries likely to have naming patterns most similar to Ireland, Lieberson (2000) found little change in naming patterns for male and female children until the early twentieth century for England and Wales, and the mid-twentieth century for Scotland.[252] As such, the use of a sample of names given to children in Ireland in 1900 to compare to children's names given in the three decades immediately preceding 1900 should in fact be quite robust. Secondly, as it relates to the period immediately following 1900, the use of a sample of Irish names dating from 1900 is also appropriate. Immigrants coming to the US from Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century would have likely thought of Irish names as the ones that were popular when they left the country, and not necessarily the ones that may have become popular in the years following their departure from Ireland. As the Irish immigrants who would have had children in the decades of the 1910s and 1920s would have immigrated prior to these periods, the names they would have considered to be popular Irish names would have been those given to children in prior years. As such, using a 1900 sample of Irish children's names should also be effective for this group. In summary, though relying on a single sample of Irish children's names is not ideal, there are several reasons why it is nonetheless valid and appropriate for this study.

In this chapter, my contribution to the literature will be to assess the assimilation of Irish immigrants using the naming of children as the unit of measurement. The use of children's names as a measure of assimilation has rarely been utilised by other researchers, and has not been used to examine the experience of Irish immigrants in this time period.

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[252] Lieberson (2000), pp. 38-39. Lieberson did not have name data for Ireland in this timeframe, nor was I able to locate any other sources of such data in the literature.

As mentioned in Chapter I, the literature on naming has frequently relied on a convention of using the 20 most common names in a given category to conduct analyses on naming patterns. In the works of Levitt and Dubner (2005), Lieberson (2000) and Watkins and London (1994), the authors frequently use the 20 most common names in a given category and then look for overlaps among different categories as a means of making their comparisons. This method provides a robust yet manageable approach for working with this non-numeric data. In this chapter, I will also use this convention. Coghlan's (1979) sample of names from the official Registry of Births for Ireland for the year 1900 allows us to identify the most common names given to the children of Irish parents in that year. Because his sample also includes the number of times a name appeared in the sample, it is possible to rank names by their popularity. Table 6.1 lists the 20 most common names given to boys and girls born in Ireland taken from Coghlan's (1979) sample in order of their popularity.

Table 6.1
20 Most Common Names in Sample of 1900 Irish Birth Registry

Boys	Girls
John	Mary
William	Anne
James	Margaret
Thomas	Elizabeth
Patrick	Sarah
Robert	Ellen
Michael	Catherine
Samuel	Bridget
Joseph	Jane
George	Agnes
David	Isabella
Richard	Kate
Edward	Norah
Matthew	Florence
Frederick	Johanna
Hugh	Frances
Andrew	Julia
Charles	Kathleen
Denis	Alice
Francis	Emily

There are several aspects of this list of the 20 most popular names given to Irish-born children in the year 1900 that are striking to this author. First of all is the lack of virtually any names that have distinctly Irish roots. Of the 20 most popular boys and girls names listed above, only Bridget and Norah have their original roots in the Irish language.[253] The remaining 38 names have their origins in other nations and languages, and were subsequently adopted for use in Ireland. Even Patrick, perhaps the name most closely associated with Ireland, is drawn from the Latin language. The name Patrick is derived from the Latin adjective *patricius*, which signified membership in the Roman aristocracy. Its popularity in Ireland stems from St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland,

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[253] Coghlan (1979), p. 24. Bridget in Old Irish means the "high one," and is also the name of a celebrated Irish saint. Norah is a form of Honora, which is also a name of Irish origin.

who was an early Christian missionary in the country.[254] Of the names listed in Table 6.1 above, the largest number comes directly or indirectly from the Hebrew language (John, James, Michael, Samuel, Joseph, David, Matthew, Mary, Anne, Elizabeth, Sarah, Jane, and Johanna). Names of Greek descent make up the next biggest group (Agnes, George, Andrew, Denis, Margaret, Ellen, Kate and Kathleen). Germanic names are the final significant group, all of which happen to be boy's names (William, Robert, Richard, Frederick, Hugh and Charles). Other names in the list have their roots in Latin, French, Italian, Anglo-Saxon and Aramaic.[255] As one might expect, many of the most popular names on the list above such as Mary, Anne, Elizabeth, John, James and Thomas are well known from the Bible, and would have been fairly common in any English speaking Christian nation in this time period. Interestingly, none of the 20 most popular names in use in Ireland in 1900 were in their Gaelic form, notwithstanding the fact that the Gaelic language had been the principal language used in Ireland until the mid nineteenth century.[256] Despite the lack of historical Irish roots in virtually all of the names listed in Table 6.1, these names were those that were the most commonly used by parents of babies born in Ireland in 1900, and they will be considered to be "Irish" in the analysis of naming patterns to be undertaken in this chapter.

In contrast, Table 6.2 identifies the 20 most common names for children born in the US from my sample of Irish immigrants. As can be seen from the list in Table 6.2, a majority of the names would also appear on the 20 most common Irish names (i.e. children born in Ireland in 1900 as drawn from the sample of the Irish Birth Registry by Coghlan (1979)). With respect to the male children, 15 out of 20 names are in

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[254] Coghlan (1979), p. 97.
[255] Coghlan (1979), pp. 9-121.
[256] Coghlan (1979), p. 2.

common between the two lists, as well as 13 of the top 14 most common names. As for the female children, the overlap is not quite as high, with just 12 of the 20 most common names also appearing on the list of children born in Ireland. Similar to the most common names of children born in Ireland, there is again a lack of any Gaelic names on the list of the American born children. As these children were born in the United States where Gaelic would not have been a common language, perhaps this result is not surprising. One final observation is that the top 20 Irish names constituted 63% of the total sample of names drawn by Coghlan (1979) from the Irish Birth Registry in 1900. For my Irish sample, the corresponding figure was 65%. Hence the distribution of the 20 most common names is very similar between the two samples, and provides a robust basis for comparison as these names make up almost two-thirds of the overall samples.

One initial conclusion that could be drawn from this comparison of the 20 most popular names is that Irish immigrants in the US had quite similar naming patterns to parents living in Ireland in this time period. Particularly for boys, there is very significant overlap between the most popular names in both locations. This initial result would signal that cultural persistence in naming patterns may be quite strong for first generation Irish immigrants living in the US. In the remainder of this chapter, we will be analysing this question in further detail.

Table 6.2
20 Most Common Names in Irish Immigrant Sample

Boys	Girls
John*	Mary*
James*	Anne*
William*	Margaret*
Thomas*	Catherine*
Edward*	Ellen*
Joseph*	Elizabeth*
Frank*	Kate*
Charles*	Alice*
Robert*	Nellie
George *	Sarah*
Daniel	Agnes*
Patrick*	Maggie
Michael*	Florence*
Richard*	Julia*
Martin	Rose
Henry	Gertrude
Hugh*	Mamie
Harry	Jennie
David*	Helen
Arthur	Theresa

* These names also appear in the list of the 20 most common names from the sample from the 1900 Irish Birth Registry by Coghlan (1979) as listed in Table 6.1.

Delving further into the issue of child naming patterns among Irish immigrants in the US, the following analysis uses this list of the 20 most common Irish names to examine the socio-economic characteristics of the parents of children born to Irish immigrants in the US. As described earlier in this chapter, my matched sample data provides significant socio-economic information regarding the parents of the 1,976 children in my sample. A summary of this data, categorised based on whether a child has one of the 20 most common Irish names, is presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3
Summary Statistics of Parents from
Irish Immigrant Sample Based on Child Name (a)

Variable	Irish Name	Non Irish Name
Observations	1,292	684
Age		
1880	30.8 years	31.1 years
1900	50.8	51.1
Age at Marriage (1900)	27.1 years	27.4 years
Rural Status		
1880	41.2%	44.3%
1900	34.9%***	45.0%
Home Ownership (1900)	55.2%	58.8%
Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	93.2%	93.7%
Read or write only	0.6%	0.4%
Spouse Fertility (1900)		
Avg. Children Ever Born	8.2	8.2
Avg. Children Surviving	6.5	6.7
Implied Mortality Rate	20.7%	18.0%
Spouse Age (1900)	45.3 years	45.1 years
Spouse Age at Marriage (1900)	21.6 years	21.4 years
Spouse Birthplace (1900)		
Ireland	56.8%***	47.8%
Other Foreign Country	8.6%	7.5%
US	34.6%	44.7%
Spouse Literacy (1900)		
Read and write English	91.1%**	93.4%
Read or write only	2.7%	1.7%
Spouse in workforce (1900)	1.9%	1.6%

(a) Names are grouped based on the 20 most popular names in Ireland in 1900 and data is organised on the basis of child name. Hence parent data is not mutually exclusive.

***Differences between the individuals in the two samples are significant at the 1, 5 and 10% levels, respectively, using a t test for age and fertility variables, and the chi squared test of independence for the remaining variables.

Table 6.3 organises the children of the Irish immigrants in my sample into those with and without one of the 20 most common Irish names. The results in the table are thus organised on the basis of child name.[257] As Table 6.3 illustrates, the parents of children who gave their children a more common Irish name had noticeable and statistically significant differences from those parents who did not do so. Those Irish immigrant fathers who gave their children Irish names were more likely to live in urban areas and were much more likely to have married an Irish born spouse. Their spouses were also less literate than those who had not given their children Irish names. Given that these common Irish names, though popular in Ireland, were not strictly Irish in terms of their provenance, the differences that exist among the parents electing to choose them versus those who did not are all the more striking.

Another means to assess the relationship between Irish immigrant naming patterns and socioeconomic outcomes is through an analysis of occupational levels and mobility. Table 6.4 presents such an analysis, using the same occupational classifications first described in Chapter II. As Table 6.4 illustrates, those Irish immigrants who gave their children a more common Irish name experienced lower levels of occupational mobility in the period between 1880 and 1900. At the end of this period, they were less likely to be in white collar employment or in farming, and were more likely to be engaged in semi- or un-skilled work. Almost half of those Irish immigrants who gave their children Irish names were employed in semi- or unskilled work in 1900, versus a figure of approximately one-third for those Irish immigrants with non-Irish naming patterns.

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[257] Under this approach, the parent data is not mutually exclusive, as a parent could have multiple children, some with an Irish name and some without.

In both of these socioeconomic comparisons, the Irish immigrant fathers who gave their children Irish names more closely resembled the Irish immigrants who married an Irish-born spouse (as discussed in Chapter IV). Similar to Irish immigrants who married an Irish-born spouse, Irish immigrants who gave their children a more common Irish name would appear to have been less assimilated into American society. Like the married Irish subset of my sample, they appear to underperform in the workplace and have socioeconomic characteristics that are distinctly different from those Irish immigrants who gave their children less Irish names. In both these respects, they less closely resemble the native born than do the Irish immigrants who chose not to give their children an Irish name.

Table 6.4
Comparison of Occupational Groupings of Irish Immigrants Based on Child Name
1880-1900

1880 Irish Names	%	Cum.	
High WC	5.9	5.9	
Low WC	2.9	8.8	
Farmer	10.8	19.6	
Skilled	17.1	36.7	
Semi-skilled	31.3	68.0	
Unskilled	32.0	100.0	

1900 Irish Names	%	Cum.	% Change from 1880
High WC	9.7	9.7	64%
Low WC	6.6	16.3	128%
Farmer	18.4	34.6	70%
Skilled	19.1	53.8	12%
Semi-skilled	22.4	76.1	-28%
Unskilled	23.9	100.0	-25%

1880 Non-Irish Names	%	Cum.	
High WC	5.1	5.1	
Low WC	3.8	8.9	
Farmer	16.1	25.0	
Skilled	17.4	42.4	
Semi-skilled	28.1	70.5	
Unskilled	29.5	100.0	

1900 Non-Irish Names	%	Cum.	% Change from 1880
High WC	11.8	11.8	131%
Low WC	7.0	18.9	84%
Farmer	24.3	43.3	51%
Skilled	21.2	64.3	22%
Semi-skilled	18.4	82.8	-35%
Unskilled	16.3	100.0	-45%

To further study the relationship between child naming and individual characteristics available in the US census data; I have also estimated a logistic regression using my matched sample data. Table 6.5 presents the results of a logistic regression analysis which assesses the probability of an Irish immigrant giving a child an Irish name.[258] Using a dependent variable which identifies whether or not the child's name is one of the 20 most common Irish names, the model has as its independent variables: intermarriage (i.e. whether the immigrant is married to a non- Irish born spouse), age and spouse age, year of marriage, number of years living in the US (at the time of birth of the relevant child), the immigrant's age at time of immigration to the US, rural status, literacy and spouse literacy. This logistic regression analysis allows me to assess the relationship between these socio-economic variables and the likelihood of an Irish immigrant giving his child an Irish name. The results of this analysis will illustrate which socio-economic characteristics are positively and negatively associated with the giving of an Irish name to children of Irish immigrants in the US in the late 1800s.

The results in Table 6.5 indicate that intermarriage, geographic location in the form of rural status and the literacy of the spouse are all significant factors in the giving of an Irish name to a child by an Irish immigrant father in this time period.[259] An Irish immigrant who married a non-Irish spouse was less likely to give their child a common Irish name, as was one who married a literate spouse. On the other hand, an Irish immigrant living in an urban location was much more likely to give his child an Irish

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[258] For the avoidance of doubt, an Irish name is one of the 20 most common names as drawn by Coghlan (1979) from the Irish Birth Registry in 1900. This list is shown in Table 6.1.

[259] Variables related to immigrant age, years living in the US at the time of the birth of the child, and age at year of immigration are all statistically significant at the 1% confidence level. While the inclusion of these variables improves the robustness of the estimation results, none of these variables have a material effect on choosing an Irish name for a child.

name. These associations are statistically significant at the 1% confidence level for intermarriage, and at the 10% confidence level for rural status and spouse literacy. Using the marginal effects column (dy/dx), we can also estimate the impact of a discrete change in an independent categorical variable (in this case, intermarriage, rural status, and spouse literacy) on the change in our dependent variable (the naming of a child with an Irish name). In the case of intermarriage, the probability of an Irish immigrant married to a non-Irish spouse giving their child an Irish name was 7% lower than if that spouse was Irish born. With respect to rural status, the probability of an Irish immigrant living in an urban location having given their child an Irish name was 4% higher than if he lived in a rural area. Finally, the probability of an Irish immigrant who married a spouse who could read and write in the English language giving their child an Irish name was 8% lower than if that spouse was illiterate.

While the logistic regression model cannot explain the reasons for these outcomes, it is certainly possible to speculate as to their potential causes. In the case of intermarriage, it seems perfectly reasonable that an Irish immigrant, who was willing to marry a spouse who was not from Ireland, would also be more willing to choose a non-Irish name for a child born to that spouse. One possible explanation is that the spouse may not have been comfortable with a more traditional Irish name, given her non-Irish background. More interestingly, perhaps the parent's selection of a non-Irish name for his child is a sign of their willingness for that child to become more assimilated in American society and perhaps have better opportunities in the labour market.[260] In this

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[260] To assess whether there actually was a relationship between non-Irish names and subsequent assimilation and occupational mobility, I created a sample of 42,000 children of Irish immigrants who were of working age in 1900. An analysis of their occupations showed that there was no statistical difference in the occupational outcomes of those children who had an Irish name versus a non-Irish one. Hence the concern that Irish immigrant parents may have had about the influence of their naming

respect, it may be similar to his decision to marry a non-Irish spouse. With respect to spouse literacy, the lower probability of selecting an Irish name may also be related to intermarriage. As we saw in Chapter IV, non-Irish born spouses were more literate than Irish born ones. As non-Irish born spouses are also less likely to choose an Irish name for their child, it is also likely that literacy of the spouse would have a similar relationship.

As for the relationship between rural status and child naming, a possible cause of this outcome could be the influence of the surrounding community on the naming of children. As Irish immigrants in the US were overwhelming urban in the late nineteenth century, it may be that the proximity of other Irish immigrants may have led to a greater use of Irish names among the urban Irish. Irish immigrants living in more rural areas would likely have had less exposure to other Irish immigrants and a much greater exposure to native born Americans. The greater degree of exposure to other Irish immigrants in urban areas is potentially a cause of the increased propensity of Irish immigrants living in urban areas to have named their children with more common Irish names in this period.

Returning to Lieberson's (2000) theory that the force of urbanisation would help to reduce the role of tradition and lead to "greater independence of judgement" by parents in the naming of their children,[261] it would appear that this did not hold true for Irish immigrants in turn of the century America. As these logistic regression results (as well as the results of the Summary Statistics analysis in Table 6.2) illustrate, Irish immigrants living in urban areas were actually more likely to give their child an Irish

choices on the subsequent occupational mobility of their children does not appear to have been warranted.

[261] Lieberson (2000), p. 43.

name than those that lived in rural areas. Any benefit that Lieberson (2000) may have attributed to urbanisation reducing the role of tradition in the naming process appears to have been more than offset by the influence of other Irish immigrants (as well as second and third generation Irish-Americans) who were also living in urban areas.[262]

In a separate logistic regression analysis not reported here, I identified those names which appeared among the Top 20 Irish names in each of my samples from the 1870s through to the 1920s. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, these samples were drawn using the complete US census sample data available from IPUMS for each decade. Using a dependent variable which identifies whether or not the child's name is one of the 20 most common Irish names in each of these decades, I ran a logistic regression using the same independent variables as described above. The results of this regression were essentially the same as those described above and presented in Table 6.5.

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[262] Lieberson (2000), p. 10. Lieberson might argue that the preponderance of Irish immigrants living in urban areas in this timeframe was an "idiosyncratic historical development," to use his phrase for one of his three major influences on naming patterns. Nonetheless, it is clear from the evidence presented above that urbanisation did not the have the effect on reducing the role of tradition that he might have expected.

Table 6.5
Logistic Regression Estimates of Top 20 Irish Name

Logistic regression

					Number of obs	1965
					LR chi2	63.9
					Prob > chi2	0.000
Log likelihood 1235.4

	Coef.	z	P>|z|	dy/dx	X	Odds Ratio
intermarried*	-0.332	-3.16	0.002	-0.075	0.47	0.717
age	0.037	2.90	0.004	0.008	50.90	1.038
spouse age	-0.015	-1.18	0.237	-0.003	45.25	0.985
marriageyear	0.016	1.44	0.150	0.004	1,876.26	1.016
yrsinUSatbirth	-0.054	-6.19	0.000	-0.012	18.96	0.948
immigrationage	-0.056	-5.26	0.000	-0.012	16.82	0.946
urban*	0.171	1.71	0.088	0.038	0.42	1.186
literacy*	0.054	0.24	0.814	0.012	0.93	1.055
spouse literacy*	-0.373	-1.71	0.088	-0.079	0.92	0.688
constant	-27.640	-1.32	0.186	.	.	.

(*) dy/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1

Building upon the analysis of the impact of geographic clustering on the assimilation of Irish immigrants which was presented in Chapter V, I also examined the influence of such clustering on the naming patterns of Irish immigrants. In order to complete this analysis, I created a new and much larger sample of children born to Irish immigrants who were present in the IPUMS 2.5% 1900 US census sample. The purpose of this new sample was to maximise the universe of potential Irish immigrant children in the sample so as to better ascertain the influence of geographic clustering at the county level on the naming patterns of Irish immigrants. This new sample includes those children who were born to an Irish immigrant family just before the 1900 US census date. By limiting the sample to children who were just prior to the time of the 1900 US census,[263] I am able to explore the relationship between the naming of children and the county in which their parents were highly likely to have lived at that time. This new sample totalled 6,048 children born in the US to families with an Irish immigrant father. I again employed a logistic regression analysis to assess the probability of an Irish immigrant giving a child an Irish name, with a dependent variable which identifies whether or not the child's name is one of the 20 most common Irish names. Critically, in addition to the independent variables used in the regression analysis presented in Table 6.5, I have added a variable which provides the percentage of Irish immigrants relative to the overall population living in each county in the US in 1900. The results of this regression are presented in Table 6.6.

As Table 6.6 illustrates, geographic clustering does have a meaningful and statistically significant impact on the naming patterns of Irish immigrants in this time period. The regression analysis shows that giving the child of an Irish immigrant one of the 20

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[263] I have chosen to limit this sample to children two years and younger at the time of the 1900 US census.

most popular Irish names is positively related to the level of geographic clustering, even when controlling for other important variables such as ethnic intermarriage and living in an urban location. The marginal effect output again allows us to calculate the magnitude of this effect. If we were to assume that an Irish immigrant moved from a county with no other Irish immigrants to a county in the greater Boston area with the highest percentage of Irish immigrants in 1900 (12.02%), the effect of this change in geographic clustering, holding other variables constant, would be to increase his likelihood of giving his child an Irish name by 6%. Relative to the share of children with Irish names in my sample, this would represent a 9% increase. This result again confirms the meaningful influence that geographic clustering had on the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century.

Table 6.6
Logistic Regression Estimates of Top 20 Irish Name using Geographic Clustering

Logistic regression

Number of obs	6048
LR chi2	142.90
Prob > chi2	0.0000

Log likelihood   -3758.5   Pseudo R2   0.0187

	Coef.	z	P>z	dy/dx	x	Odds Ratio
intermarried*	-.388	-6.17	0.000	-.087	0.35	0.678
age	-.049	-1.47	0.142	-.011	36.41	0.952
spouse age	.017	2.20	0.028	.004	32.26	1.017
marriageyear	.034	4.49	0.000	.007	1890.59	1.034
yrsinUSatbirth	.044	1.33	0.185	.010	16.95	1.045
immigrationage	.050	1.50	0.133	.011	18.46	1.051
urban*	.135	1.84	0.066	.030	0.81	1.144
literacy*	-.120	-0.83	0.409	-.026	0.96	0.887
spouse literacy*	-.221	-1.55	0.121	-.047	0.95	0.802
percent_Irish	.022	2.39	0.017	.005	6.12	1.023
constant	-62.835	-4.40	0.000	.	.	.

(*) dy/dx is for discrete change of dummy variable from 0 to 1

Another relevant comparison is how the naming of Irish immigrant children in the US compared to the child naming patterns of native born parents. A significant overlap between the names chosen by Irish immigrants with those popular among native born Americans would indicate an increased degree of assimilation for these immigrants. In addition, this analysis would also permit me to assess Lieberson's (2000) view that it is extremely difficult for an ethnic group to avoid the influence of the larger society on their naming patterns, given the strong influences of media, literacy and mobility aspirations.[264] As I was unable to find a sample of native born children's names in the US in this time period, I created my own sample. Using the IPUMS data for the 1900 US census, I created a sample of approximately 210,000 children who were born in the US to native born parents in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. This time period fits nicely with that of my Irish sample, which is drawn from a similar timeframe. In order to be selected for this sample, the child and both of his or her parents had to have been born in the US, and only the children who could be accurately matched to their birth father were included in the sample.

The first comparison to be made with this sample data is to examine the overlap between the 20 most common names in the native sample with those from the Irish immigrant sample. As Table 6.7 illustrates, there are significant differences between the most common names in the Irish and native born lists, in particular for girls. For the boys, 12 of the top 20 native born names would also appear in a similar list for the Irish immigrant sample. Included in this group of 12 are the eight most common native born male names. For the girls, the comparison of the most common names yields surprisingly few children's names in common between the Irish and native born

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[264] Lieberson (2000), p. 221.

samples. Just five of the top 20 native born names would also appear on a similar list from the Irish immigrant sample. And only two of the five most common names for native born girls would appear in the list of most common names for Irish immigrant children.   Thus this initial comparison of Irish and native born naming patterns would indicate only modest assimilation by Irish immigrants in this timeframe. In addition, the distinct difference between the naming patterns of the Irish and native born with respect to gender is striking. It would appear that for girls born to Irish immigrant parents in the late nineteenth century, there was limited desire to choose a name that was common among native born girls.

Table 6.7
20 Most Common Names in Native Born Sample

Boys	Girls
William*	Mary*
John*	Annie
Charles*	Elizabeth*
James*	Lillie
George*	Minnie
Frank*	Florence*
Robert*	Bessie
Joseph*	Emma
Harry	Ethel
Henry	Nellie
Walter	Sarah*
Thomas*	Edna
Edward*	Grace
Frederick*	Ruth
Arthur	Maud
Clarence	Ida
Samuel *	Bertha
Albert	Alice*
Raymond	Clara
Jessie	Helen

* These names are also included in the list of the 20 most common names from my Irish immigrant sample.

To further assess the degree of similarity between the Irish and native born naming patterns, I also calculated the Duncan Dissimilarity Index for the names of children in the Irish and native born samples. As previously discussed, the DDI is an index which compares the similarities and differences between two distributions. The index takes a value between zero and one, with one reflecting no overlap between distributions and zero representing identical distributions. The index may be interpreted as the proportion of subjects in a group that would have to change category in order to obtain the same relative distribution as the group to which it is being compared. The results of the DDI analysis indicate that there were significant differences in the naming patterns of the Irish and native born in this time period. The DDI calculation was .569, which

indicates that more than half of the names given to Irish or native born children would have to change in order for the two distributions to match each other.

Finally, I also calculated the percentage of names in my native born sample which were among the top 20 most common names in the sample. In contrast to the Irish born sample, where 65% of the names were among the 20 most common ones, just 38% of the names in the native born sample were similarly among the 20 most common names. The significantly lower usage of the most popular names among native born children stands in stark contrast to the much higher percentage found among Irish immigrant parents in this timeframe.

Taken together, these comparative analyses of the naming patterns found in the Irish immigrant and native born samples reveal a distinct lack of assimilation by the Irish immigrants in my sample. As the comparison of the 20 most common names highlights, there was limited overlap between the favourite names of the Irish and native born, in particular among girls names. As for the DDI analysis, more than half the names of Irish or native born children would have to change in order for the two distributions to resemble each other. Finally, the Irish were much more likely to choose from a smaller number of more popular names than were the native born, where just 38% of the names in the native born sample were among the 20 most common. These results further support the argument that first generation Irish immigrants in America did not assimilate quickly as measured by the names that they chose for their children. My results indicate that the Irish were highly likely to use names that were also popular among parents in Ireland in this timeframe. And the comparison of the Irish and native born samples also supports the argument for continued cultural persistence

in naming patterns with limited assimilation, particularly as it relates to the naming of girls. These results also find that Irish immigrants who married an Irish born spouse or lived in urban areas were more likely to adopt an Irish name for their child. In this respect, these results also reinforce the analysis and conclusions in Chapter IV, where Irish immigrants who married an Irish-born spouse appeared to have been less assimilated into American society. Similar to the married Irish subset of the Irish sample, Irish immigrants who gave their children Irish names under perform in the workplace and have socioeconomic characteristics that are distinctly different from those Irish immigrants who gave their children less Irish names. In both these respects, they less closely resemble the native born than do the Irish immigrants who chose not to give their children Irish names.

In summary, the results presented in this section indicate continued cultural persistence by Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth century as it relates to their choice of names for their children. These results also clearly support the argument that assimilation was not a uniform process for Irish immigrants in America in this time period, but that it was in fact a multi-dimensional one. And with respect to the dimension of child naming, the Irish appear to have been slow to release this tie to their former homeland and adapt their choice of children's names to their new society. With respect to Lieberson's (2000) theory that it would be extremely difficult for an ethnic group to avoid the influence of the larger society on their naming patterns, the evidence presented in this section would appear to contradict this view for first generation Irish immigrants.

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, I will also analyse the naming of Irish immigrant children using the complete US census sample data available from IPUMS. One benefit of this approach is that it allows me to access a much broader distribution of name outcomes than are available in my matched sample of Irish immigrants. In addition, I am also able to analyse the naming of Irish immigrant children in US censuses both preceding and following my matched sample timeframe, enabling me to trace child naming patterns across time periods. Using the IPUMS datasets, I have constructed samples of Irish immigrant children's names from the 1870s through to the 1920s, thus permitting me to analyse the relationship between children naming patterns and assimilation over this critical time period for Irish immigration to the US.

In Appendices 6.1 and 6.2, I have assembled the 20 most common names given to children of Irish immigrant fathers born in the US in each of the decades from the 1870s through the 1920s, using the IPUMS US census datasets for each of these decades. With respect to the most common boys names presented in Appendix 6.1, there are several interesting findings. What is perhaps most striking is the lack of change in this list over such a lengthy time period. The 12 most popular names given to second generation Irish boys in the 1870s remain among the top 20 most popular names in each decade under study.[265] In total, there are 14 names which appear in the list of the 20 most popular names in every decade. These names, which we will analyse in greater detail, are listed in Table 6.8.

With respect to the 20 most popular names given to second generation Irish girls in this same time period, the results are quite different. There is very significant change in the

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[265] These names are John, James, William, Thomas, Michael, Joseph, Edward, Patrick, Frank/Francis, Charles, George and Robert.

composition of most popular girls names. In contrast to second generation Irish boys names, only seven of the girls names appear in each decade from the 1870s through the 1920s. In particular, for the decades after 1900, the pace of change in the most popular girls' names appears to increase markedly. In fact, only seven of the names which appeared in the first decade under study (the 1870s) also appear in the last (the 1920s). This result contrasts with a figure of 15 names for the boys using the same periods of analysis.[266]

I have also calculated the rate of turnover in these 20 most popular names in the period from the 1870s through the 1920s. Following Lieberson (2000), I have divided the number of names which have been replaced in the list of most popular names in each decade by the total number of years.[267] Using this approach, I find that the annual rate of turnover among names given to second generation Irish boys is .34, whereas the equivalent figure for second generation Irish girls is a significantly higher .86. These figures indicate that the rate of change among second generation Irish girls names was more than two and an half times as high as it was among second generation Irish boys names in this period.

Figures 6.1 and 6.2 provide a graphical representation of these lists of most popular boys and girls names given to the children of Irish immigrant fathers in the US. In these figures, I present both the number and percentage of second generation Irish children's names in each decade which are also found among the 20 most common names in the sample drawn from the 1900 Irish Birth Registry by Coghlan (1979) as

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[266] These results would confirm those of Lieberson (2000), pp. 36-37, who also found that girls names began to change more quickly than boys' names during the twentieth century in many Western countries including the US.
[267] Lieberson (2000), p. 36.

listed in Table 6.1. The figures show that there is a higher number and percentage of sons of Irish immigrant fathers whose names were also among the 20 most common Irish names, than there are of daughters. This relationship holds true for each decade under study. Taken on its own, these figures would lead one to the following two conclusions: 1) that there was significant cultural persistence on the part of Irish immigrant fathers in the selection of children's names over the period from the 1870s through the 1920s, and 2) that this cultural persistence was much more significant among boys names than it was among girls names. However, before confirming these conclusions, it is also important to examine how the names selected for children by Irish immigrant fathers compare to the most common native born names.

Table 6.8 lists the 20 most popular boys and girls names given to second generation Irish children appearing in each decade between the 1870s and the 1920s. I have also cross referenced this list against the 20 most common Irish and native born names as presented in Tables 6.1 and 6.7. The results of this cross referencing are quite revealing. With respect to the boys, there are 14 names which appeared among the 20 most popular names in each decade from the 1870s until the 1920s. Of these 14 names, 12 also appear in the list of the 20 most common names from the sample from the 1900 Irish Birth Registry by Coghlan (1979) as listed in Table 6.1. In other words, 12 of the 14 most popular names among boys born to Irish immigrant fathers in the US over this time period were also those names that were the most popular in Ireland. However, before concluding that these results unconditionally confirm the existence of cultural persistence and a lack of assimilation by Irish immigrants across this time period, it is also important to examine the results relative to the native born sample list. As Table 6.8 shows, there was also a noticeable overlap between this list and the most popular

native born names from my sample of native born children's names. Of the 14 names which appeared in each decade from the 1870s until the 1920s, 10 also appear in the list of the 20 most common names from the native born sample as listed in Table 6.7. Thus, although there was significant overlap with the 20 most common Irish boys names, there was also a lesser but still noticeable overlap with the most popular native born names for boys in this timeframe.[268] In examining these overlapping names more closely, what becomes immediately evident is that they are all traditional ones such as John, James, Thomas and William, which were likely to have been popular in any English speaking country in this time period. Hence where there is an overlap between the most popular Irish and native born boys names, it is in these strongly traditional names.

With respect to the girls names, the results are quite different. As previously mentioned, there were only seven girls names which appeared in each decade between the 1870s and the 1920s. As Table 6.8 indicates, there was a much smaller overlap with the 20 most common Irish girls names. Only six of the seven most popular names among daughters of Irish immigrant fathers in the US over this time period were also those names that were the most popular in Ireland. This contrasts with a figure of 12 for the boys names. In addition, only three of these names also appear in the list of the 20 most common names from the native born sample as listed in Table 6.7. These results reflect a willingness by Irish immigrant fathers to choose names for their

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[268] However, although this comparison indicates a noticeable degree of overlap between the most common Irish and native born names for boys, there is also an important distinction. As Figure 2 illustrates, the 20 most common Irish names represent in excess of 70% of the total number of names in each decade under study. While I do not have similar figures for native born males in each decade, I do have the results of my native born sample discussed earlier in this chapter. In that sample, the 20 most common native born names for boys represent just 46% of total names. Hence, the most common names make up a far larger percentage of the total name population for the Irish male children than they do for the native born.

daughters that were not necessarily popular in Ireland. In addition, they also reflect a

lack of desire to select names that were popular among the native born.[269]

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[269] For girls, Figure 2 shows that the 20 most common Irish names are generally in the range of 60% of the total name population in each decade under study. Whereas for the native born, the corresponding figure from my sample is just 30%. Hence the sample data show that native born name population is significantly less concentrated among the more common names for both girls and boys than is the Irish immigrant one.

Figure 6.1
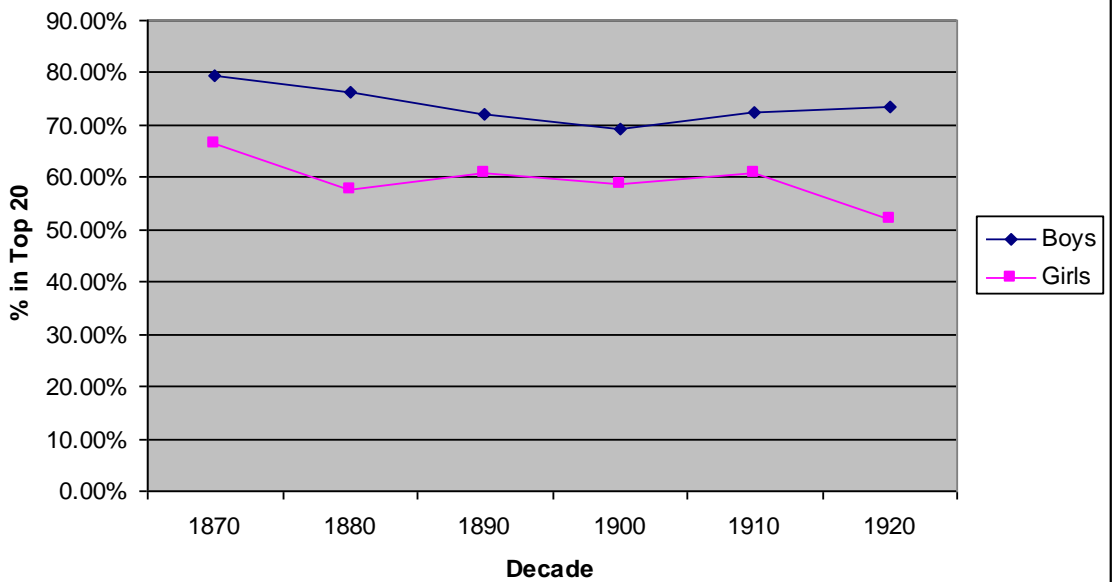**Top 20 Irish Names by Number**
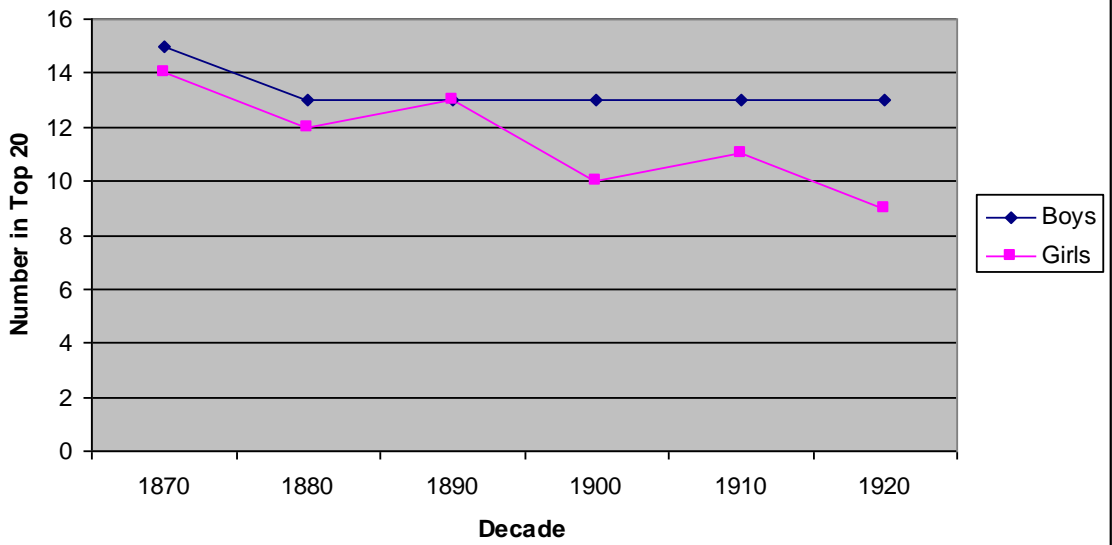
Figure 6.2
Top 20 Irish Names by %

Table 6.8

Names in Appearing in Top 20 in Every Decade 1870s-1920s

Boys	**Girls**
Charles**	Agnes*
Daniel	Ann/Annie**
Edward**	Catherine*
Frank/Francis**	Elizabeth**
George**	Margaret*
James**	Mary**
John**	Rose
Joseph**	
Michael*	
Patrick*	
Peter	
Robert**	
Thomas**	
William**	

* These names appear in the list of the 20 most common names from the sample from the 1900 Irish Birth Registry by Coghlan (1979) as listed in Table 6.1.

** These names appear in both the list of the 20 most common names from the sample from the 1900 Irish Birth Registry by Coghlan (1979) as listed in Table 6.1, as well as in the list of the 20 most common names from the Native Born sample as listed in Table 6.7.

In conclusion, this analysis of the most common names given to the children of Irish immigrants in the period from the 1870s through the 1920s does confirm sustained cultural persistence in child naming patterns, in particular for boys. However, there is also noticeable overlap for boys names between the most popular Irish names and the most popular native born ones in this time period, in particular among traditional names. It would appear that although Irish immigrant fathers were highly likely to choose an Irish name for their sons, many of the most traditional of these names were also popular with native born parents. Thus, though the child naming patterns do support the notion of cultural persistence, it is also true that many of the most popular names among Irish immigrant fathers were also native born favourites in this time period. It may have been that these names were popular with the Irish in part because they would be considered less foreign by native born Americans. Hence, while cultural persistence in naming patterns appears to continue into the twentieth century among boys names, it may be that this persistence was reinforced by the popularity of many common Irish names among the host country population. There was likely to have been less chance of facing discrimination if an Irish American male had a more traditional name that was also common among the native born. Based on these results, it may be the case that the desire to avoid discrimination may have influenced naming patterns in the period between the 1870s and the 1920s.

With respect to girls names, the results are quite different. In this case, there appeared to be a greater willingness by Irish immigrant fathers to choose names for their daughters that were not necessarily popular in Ireland. And these names tended to be even less popular among the native born. Particularly in the twentieth century, the patterns in the naming of Irish immigrant daughters appear to have become a domain

where both tradition as well as the desire to assimilate into American society breaks down. Names that were neither well known in Ireland or among the native born in the US were increasingly selected by Irish immigrant parents. It may have been the case that Irish immigrant fathers were less concerned about assimilating their daughters into the workforce than their sons. Given the much higher percentage of men than women in the workforce in this time period, such an outcome is not unreasonable. On the other hand, it is much harder to explain why Irish immigrant fathers did not maintain a stronger sense of tradition or cultural persistence when it came to choosing their daughters' names.

One final observation that can be made about the change in Irish immigrant naming patterns over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is the continued popularity of traditional Christian names. A close examination of Appendices 6.1 and 6.2 reveals that the names which are most likely to be found at the top of the lists for each decade are religious ones. This is true both for boys as well as for girls names. Among the boys, names such as John, James, Thomas, Michael, Joseph, Patrick and Francis dominate the top of the list in each decade. As for the girls, names including Mary, Ann, Margaret, Catherine and Elizabeth are consistently the most popular. Particularly for the girls, there is a surprising mix of the continued use of traditional religious names on the one hand, coupled with an overall shift to a wider variety of more secular names on the other hand. For the boys, traditional names, whether distinctly religious ones originating in the Hebrew language (such as John, James or Joseph), or the more secular names originating in the German or Anglo-Saxon languages (such as William, Edward, Robert or Richard) are consistently the most popular.

In summary, the use of children's names as a measure of assimilation has generated important results regarding the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As previously discussed, the selection of a non-Irish name for a child by an Irish immigrant father can be viewed as a sign of how willing a parent is for his children to become more assimilated as an American, whereas the selection of a distinctly Irish name may reflect cultural persistence. An analysis of the names given to children in my Irish immigrant sample relative to those drawn from the sample from the 1900 Irish Birth Registry by Coghlan (1979) indicates that cultural persistence in naming patterns was quite strong for first generation Irish immigrants living in the US. There was significant overlap among the 20 most common names in each sample, with particularly strong overlap for boys names. One other notable result was the lack of virtually any names that had distinctly Irish roots in either sample. In addition, none of the most common names were found to be in their Gaelic form.

An analysis of the relationship between Irish immigrant naming patterns and socioeconomic characteristics found that Irish immigrant fathers who gave their children Irish names in many ways resembled the Irish immigrants who married an Irish-born spouse (which was examined in Chapter IV). Similar to Irish immigrants who married an Irish-born spouse, they appear to have underperformed in the workplace and to have socioeconomic characteristics that are distinctly different from those Irish immigrants who gave their children less Irish names. They were more likely to live in urban areas, much more likely to have married an Irish born spouse, and their spouses were less literate than those who had not given their children Irish names. In

all these respects, they less closely resemble the native born than do the Irish immigrants who chose not to give their children Irish names. Logistic regression analyses of child naming patterns also confirmed that intermarriage, living in an urban location, the literacy of the spouse as well as the level of geographic clustering were all significant factors in the giving of an Irish name to a child by an Irish immigrant father in this time period.

The result that Irish immigrants living in urban areas were actually more likely to give their child an Irish name than those that lived in rural areas would appear to refute one of the child naming theories of Lieberson (2000), who wrote that the force of urbanisation would help to reduce the role of tradition and lead to "greater independence of judgement" by parents in the naming of their children.[270] My results indicate that the benefit that Lieberson (2000) may have attributed to urbanisation reducing the role of tradition in the naming process may have been offset by other factors including the influence of other Irish immigrants (and potentially that of second and third generation Irish-Americans) who were also living in urban areas in the US in this time period.

An analysis of the naming patterns of Irish immigrant and native born parents using my sample data also showed a distinct lack of assimilation by Irish immigrants. This comparison found limited overlap between the favourite names of the Irish and native born, in particular among girls names. In a DDI analysis, more than half the names of Irish or native born children would have to change in order for the two distributions to resemble each other. Importantly, the Irish were also much more likely to choose from

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[270] Lieberson (2000), p. 43.

a smaller number of more popular names than were the native born, where just 38% of the names in the native born sample were among the 20 most common names in that sample, versus a figure of 65% for the Irish born sample. For the native born, the selection of a most common name was markedly less important than it was for Irish immigrant families. My results reveal that Irish immigrants preferred children's names that were also popular among parents in Ireland in this timeframe and further confirm the argument for cultural persistence in naming patterns. In addition, these results also appear to refute another theory of Lieberson (2000), who argued that it would be extremely difficult for an ethnic group to avoid the influence of the larger society on their naming patterns. With respect to first generation Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America, the influence of the native born on their naming patterns does not appear to have been very strong.

In the latter section of this chapter, I used the complete US census sample data available from IPUMS to assemble samples of the names given to children of Irish immigrant fathers born in the US in each of the decades from the 1870s through the 1920s. For the boys, the most striking result of this analysis was the lack of change in the list of the 20 most common names over this lengthy time period. The 12 most popular names given to second generation Irish boys in the 1870s remain among the top 20 most popular names in each decade under study. And there are 14 names which appear in the list of the 20 most popular names in every decade. In addition, a consistently high percentage of these names were also among the most common Irish names. However, there was also a lesser but still noticeable overlap with the most popular native born names, in particular among traditional names. As for the girls, the results were altogether different. Only seven girls names appeared in each decade

between the 1870s and the 1920s, of which just six were also among the most popular ones in Ireland. In addition, there was much less overlap with the most common native born names, with only three of these names also appearing in the list of the 20 most common names from the native born sample.

The analysis of the patterns of child naming by Irish immigrant fathers in the period from the 1870s through the 1920s generated important conclusions but also raised some interesting questions. The results confirm cultural persistence by Irish immigrant fathers in the naming of their sons. However, they also indicate that several traditional names in this period were also popular with native born parents. Though as I have discussed, the evidence shows that the use of a common name was much less significant among native born parents than it was for Irish immigrant parents in this time period. For the Irish, the selection of certain traditionally popular Irish names did not preclude the possibility of that name also being popular in their new host country. This outcome, which could only be identified by analysing the child naming patterns of Irish immigrants over time, raises the possibility that there were certain Irish names that would not necessarily be perceived as foreign by native born Americans and hence were potentially safer choices for immigrant parents.[271] Irish immigrant parents could choose certain names that allowed them to maintain ties to their homeland, while also achieving a measure of assimilation for their children (and potentially avoiding future discrimination against their son in the process). This result could be interpreted as Irish immigrant families attempting to maintain tradition at a low perceived cost.

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[271] Lieberson (2000) might claim that this result provides some support for his argument that it would be extremely difficult for an ethnic group to avoid the influence of the larger society on their naming patterns.

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With respect to the daughters of Irish immigrant fathers in the period from the 1870s through the 1920s, the results do not confirm the same degree of cultural persistence in naming patterns. Nor were there very many common Irish names that were also popular with native born parents. The naming patterns of second generation Irish girls, particularly beginning in the twentieth century, reflect both a break down in tradition and a lack of assimilation. There is a much greater variety in the most popular girls names than there is for boys, as well as a significantly higher rate of turnover among the most popular names, both results that were also found by Lieberson (2000) in his study of naming patterns in a range of Western nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[272] Lieberson (2000) offers no explanation for this increase in variety in girls names, and this topic appears to be one that would benefit from future research. With respect to the Irish immigrants in the US, perhaps they were less concerned about the future employment prospects of their daughters than they were for their sons. (Women being much less likely then men to be in labour force in this time period). This may explain why there was such limited overlap of the most popular names of second generation Irish daughters and native born girls in this period. However, explaining the break down in the use of popular Irish names in the early twentieth century is more difficult. As previously discussed, traditionally popular religious names did maintain their position among the most commonly chosen names by Irish immigrant fathers, both for boys and for girls. However, apart from names such as Mary, Ann, Margaret, Elizabeth and Catherine, second generation Irish girls increasingly received a broader variety of names from their parents, most of which were neither particularly religious, nor Irish.

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[272] Lieberson (2000), p. 37.

The results of this review of child naming patterns by Irish immigrants makes an important contribution to my analysis of the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth century. Although the use of child naming patterns to assess assimilation was chosen in part because it represented a measure of assimilation outside the workplace, certain of the results appear to possibly have been influenced by future employment considerations. In addition, this analysis has further confirmed that the assimilation process for Irish immigrants in this time period was indeed a multidimensional one, with cultural and religious ties to the homeland persisting in many respects, yet certain differences in assimilation based on naming patterns emerging based on the gender of the child.

Appendix 6.1
Top 20 Irish Boys Names in Each Decade from 1870s until 1920s

1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910s	1920s
John	John	John	John	John	John
James	James	James	James	James	Thomas
William	William	William	Thomas	Thomas	James
Thomas	Thomas	Thomas	William	Joseph	William
Michael	Joseph	Joseph	Joseph	William	Joseph
Joseph	Edward	Francis	Edward	Francis	Patrick
Edward	Frank	Edward	Francis	Edward	Francis
Patrick	Patrick	Michael	George	Robert	Robert
Frank	Michael	George	Daniel	George	Edward
Charles	Charles	Charles	Michael	Charles	Michael
George	George	Patrick	Robert	Michael	Daniel
Daniel	Robert	Daniel	Patrick	Patrick	Richard
Robert	Daniel	Robert	Charles	Daniel	Charles
Peter	Richard	Martin	Martin	Martin	Eugene
Richard	Henry	Henry	Bernard	Timothy	Paul
Henry	Martin	Richard	Frederick	Bernard	Bernard
Martin	Peter	Leo	Peter	Peter	Donald
Dennis	Harry	Walter	Walter	Dennis	George
David	Arthur	Peter	Arthur	Morris	Peter
Timothy	Walter	Arthur	Timothy	Vincent	Raymond

Appendix 6.2
Top 20 Irish Girls Names in Each Decade from 1870s until 1920s

1870s	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910s	1920s
Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary	Mary
Annie	Annie	Margaret	Margaret	Margaret	Margaret
Kate	Margaret	Annie	Catherine	Catherine	Anna
Margaret	Catherine	Catherine	Anna	Anna	Catherine
Catherine	Kate	Katie	Helen	Helen	Eileen
Maggie	Elizabeth	Elizabeth	Elizabeth	Elizabeth	Helen
Ellen	Nellie	Ellen	Alice	Alice	Theresa
Elizabeth	Maggie	Helen	Agnes	Dorothy	Kathleen
Sarah	Agnes	Agnes	Rose	Eleanor	Rita
Lizzie	Ellen	Alice	Florence	Agnes	Dorothy
Nellie	Lizzie	Nellie	Lillian	Kathleen	Patricia
Julia	Alice	Sarah	Dorothy	Eileen	Elizabeth
Bridget	Julia	Maggie	Josephine	Irene	Agnes
Agnes	Rose	Julia	Julia	Rita	Josephine
Alice	Sarah	Florence	Sarah	Frances	Rose
Rose	Nora	Rose	Cecilia	Gertrude	Betty
Hannah	Jennie	Lizzie	Grace	Julia	Eleanor
Johanna	May	Gertrude	Nora	Nora	Florence
Ella	Helen	Francis	Gertrude	Rose	Marion
Jane	Josephine	May	Nellie	Winifred	Nora

VII. Conclusion

My research in this dissertation has provided a multi-faceted view of the assimilation process. I have endeavoured to explore issues of assimilation which extend beyond the frequently analysed areas of occupational mobility and earnings. My work has sought to analyse other aspects of assimilation including variables such as marriage and spousal characteristics, fertility, child mortality, literacy, geographic location (both in terms of rural vs. urban locations as well as ethnic clustering), home ownership and the choice of children's names. This dissertation examines all of these variables using empirical evidence from newly constructed datasets, enabling me to draw conclusions about these aspects of immigrant assimilation in a statistically robust manner. The focus on earnings and occupational mobility is an important one, but being able to assess the assimilation process away from the workplace is also crucial to understanding the lives of Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America. In my work, I have found that characteristics such as the nationality of a spouse or the name given to a child can have important implications for the assimilation and occupational mobility of Irish immigrants. The extent of geographic clustering, the number of years living in the US, age and other non-pecuniary factors also had important assimilation and labour market implications for the Irish in this time period. The links between socio-economic characteristics such as these and the relatively poor labour market outcomes of Irish immigrants in this time period can only be seen by taking the broad, multi-faceted approach to the study of assimilation that I have done in this dissertation.

My research has sought to assess the degree of assimilation achieved by Irish immigrants in the US in the last decades of the nineteenth century. It has employed a matching technique to link specific individuals from the 1880 and 1900 US censuses,

which has permitted me to capture significant information concerning these individuals in both 1880 and again in 1900. This matching technique was utilised to create samples of both Irish immigrants and native born Americans, enabling me to track the lives of specific individuals over this twenty year period. Utilising these samples, I assessed the degree of assimilation and occupational mobility achieved by Irish immigrants with native born Americans across a range of socio-economic characteristics available in US census data. I also created various other samples using US census data as well as other sources to further examine the assimilation of Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America, focusing on such characteristics as marriage, geography and children's names.

In this dissertation, I addressed the following principal questions: Were the Irish immigrants of the late nineteenth century melded in the crucible of the American melting pot, being reformed into "the American" so dramatically described by Zangwill? Or did they retain their distinctiveness in their new homeland? Was the melting pot in fact more of a salad bowl where different ethnic groups were mixed together, but with each retaining its own identity? Or were there certain areas where the Irish adapted quickly to their new surroundings and others where their socio-economic outcomes did not come to resemble those of native born. Was the assimilation process in fact multi-dimensional as opposed to being uniform in nature? Did the assimilation outcomes of Irish immigrants vary depending on which subset of the Irish sample was being reviewed, and which socio-economic characteristics were under consideration? What was the nature of the relationship between assimilation and occupational mobility for Irish immigrants in this time period?

This research makes contributions to the cliometric literature, as well as to the literatures on Irish immigration and immigrant assimilation. With respect to the cliometric literature, the main contribution is the use of matched Irish and native born samples to assess the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the US at the end of the nineteenth century. The matching technique (which was introduced in Chapter II and first utilised in Chapter III) links specific individuals across the two US census datasets, enabling me to track the experience of particular individuals over time, as well as to gather information regarding their spouses and children. This approach allowed me to assess behavioural changes over time as opposed to simply measuring the status of a group of individuals at one point in time. While other researchers have used this matching technique in their research to study themes involving immigrants and domestic migrants,[273] none have used this technique to address the assimilation of the Irish and their relative occupational mobility in the US in the late nineteenth century timeframe. Secondly, while several researchers have examined the marital behaviour of Irish immigrants in the US in this time period,[274] none have focused specifically on the issue of intermarriage and its use as a measure of assimilation. In Chapter IV, I make use of the longitudinal nature of my linked sample data to explore the relationship between intermarriage and a series of socio-economic variables, allowing me to assess potential causes and consequences of intermarriage. In Chapter V, my contribution to this literature is the study of the impact of geographic clustering on the assimilation and occupational outcomes of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. In Chapter VI, I assessed the assimilation of Irish immigrants using the naming of children as the unit of measurement. The use of children's names as a

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[273] See Ferrie (1996, 1997, 1999), Long and Ferrie (2004, 2005, 2007), Stewart (2006), Abramitsky et al (2010).
[274] See Foley and Guinnane (1999), Landale and Tolnay (1993).

measure of assimilation has rarely been utilised by other researchers, and has not been used to examine the experience of Irish immigrants in this time period.

With respect to the literature on Irish immigration, in Chapter III I found that Irish immigrants did not assimilate quickly relative to either the native born or the broader American population, and that they also lagged noticeably in measures of occupational mobility relative to these groups, as well as to the other principal immigrant groups in the US in this timeframe. In Chapter V, I found that geographic clustering was quite pronounced for Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America. Irish immigrants were primarily drawn to the large metropolitan areas of the Northeast, reflecting the importance of these areas as points of entry to the US, areas of prior settlement by previous generations of Irish immigrants, as well as major centres for employment for new immigrants. In my research, I also found that this geographic clustering directly impacted the degree of assimilation and occupational mobility of Irish immigrants in this timeframe. Higher levels of geographic clustering were associated with both lower degrees of assimilation and lower occupational outcomes. The benefits of geographic clustering in the job market often described in this literature do not appear to have existed for Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. These outcomes would also support the view that living in a more ethnically concentrated community, though perhaps improving the initial starting position of Irish immigrants in America, may have come at the expense of slower subsequent assimilation and reduced occupational mobility.

This dissertation also examined the concept of immigrant assimilation itself. In my research, I have approached assimilation as the process by which an immigrant group

attains a level of social and economic integration into their new host society such that their overall position in these sectors of society, as measured by observable outcomes, is similar to those of the native born members of the society. In the US in the late nineteenth century, the native born population was clearly evolving, impacted by prior inflows of immigrants from Britain, Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia and elsewhere. Immigrants such as the Irish were certainly influenced by this population, but they also would have been impacted by their exposure to other immigrants groups in the US in this time period. The process of assimilation was therefore not a simple one, with the Irish being absorbed in a uniform fashion into a culture of Anglo-conformity. There were multiple influences at work, in addition to the desire of Irish immigrants to maintain aspects of their ethnic heritage. Assimilation was thus a multi-dimensional process without pre-ordained outcomes. In this context, it was important to examine relevant segments of both the Irish and native born populations in addition to aggregate analyses.

For this author, it is also necessary that any definition of assimilation takes into account the measurement issues that exist with this concept. In order to assess assimilation, it is important to have evidence that can actually be measured in a systematic manner, so that conclusions can be reached about the experience of a particular immigrant group which are robust and not merely anecdotal in nature. I also recognise that there are elements of the assimilation process where measurement issues limit the ability of scholars to comprehensively examine this process. Religion is one such example. The US census does not record the religious affiliation of respondents, leaving scholars interested in pursuing this particular area to make do with other more limited and localised sources such as church records that are not easily matched to a

larger dataset. Another example would be unobservable aspects of human capital. For example, in his study of Jewish immigrant skills and occupational attainment, Chiswick (1991) notes that there may have been "important unmeasured variables" associated with "Jewishness" as part of his explanation for their rapid improvement in occupational status in the US in the late nineteenth century.[275] Such unobservable characteristics may have a significant impact on an ethnic group's labour market outcomes, but may not be able to be systematically measured and analysed. In summary, my use of US census microdata and the creation of the largest possible sample sizes, coupled with a definition of assimilation which recognises the need for the robust measurement of a broad range of socio-economic variables, are critical to my approach to the assessment of immigrant assimilation. But I also recognise that there are variables which may also be important to the concept of assimilation that are difficult or impossible to capture and measure.

In the immigration literature, assimilation has been an important concept since the early twentieth century, with the publication of the congressional report by the US Immigration Commission (1911) and the subsequent ground-breaking work by Douglas (1919). Notwithstanding the grand vision of the melting pot which Zangwill (1908) describes in his turn of the century play, the academic literature on assimilation has long since moved beyond his vision to incorporate a more nuanced view than the melting pot. Moynihan and Glazer (1963) questioned the idea that American society was a melting pot in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In their famous work *Beyond the Melting Pot*, they argued that the melting pot did not actually exist for immigrant groups in New York in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They

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[275] Barry R. Chiswick, "Jewish Immigrant Skill and Occupational Attainment at the Turn of the Century", *Explorations in Economic History*, 28, (1991), p. 80.

found that "the assimilating power of American society operated on immigrant groups in different ways," but nonetheless left them "distinct and identifiable."[276] Gordon (1964) was instrumental in expanding the spectrum of possible assimilation outcomes to encompass both the complete acceptance of the host culture ("Anglo-conformity") and significant retention of ancestral ways, alongside the concept of the melting pot. His recognition that assimilation can occur in varying degrees across characteristics was an important addition to the literature. Subsequent scholars such as Brubaker (2001) have taken issue with the concept of assimilation being measured relative to a "white Protestant core culture;"[277] "Anglo-conformity" being one of Gordon's (1964) three primary types of assimilation.[278] Brubaker (2001) is supportive of recent studies of assimilation which are "agnostic about its directions, degrees and modalities and ambivalent about its desirability." He argues for a "willingness to consider multiple reference populations" and "segmented forms of assimilation."[279] Kurthen and Heisler (2009) and Freeman (2004) also call for a multi-dimensional framework for understanding how immigrants are incorporated into their new host society and expect such incorporation to not be linear, but to have different results in different domains.[280] Portes and Zhou (1993) make the case that contemporary assimilation in the US has become segmented. They argue that immigrants no longer assimilate into a single society, but into one of several sectors of that society. They view immigrants as joining either the middle class, falling into poverty and joining the underclass, or attaining rapid economic advancement while preserving many values of their immigrant community.[281] Portes and Rumbaut (2005) build on this concept of segmented

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[276] Glazer and Moynihan (1963), pp. 13-14.
[277] Brubaker (2001), p. 540.
[278] Gordon (1964), p. 85.
[279] Brubaker (2001), p. 540.
[280] Kurthen and Heisler (2009), p. 139; Freeman (2004), p. 960.
[281] Portes and Zhou (1993), p. 82.

assimilation and also argue that immigrants are impacted by the history of prior generations, cultural and economic barriers, acculturation of parents, and family and community resources that exist to confront barriers.[282] They conclude that segmented assimilation results in economic outcomes which vary across immigrant nationalities.

This author agrees that a broad approach is required in assimilation research, and has frequently used multiple reference populations and segmented analyses to examine the experience of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century. In Chapter III, I found that those Irish immigrants in my sample who engaged in farming assimilated more quickly in certain areas (such as home ownership, marital status, child mortality and nationality of their spouse), than they did in other areas (such as marital fertility). I also found that while Irish farmers achieved a significant level of assimilation relative to native born farmers, those Irish who lived in urban areas realised a much lower degree of assimilation relative to the urban native born. In Chapter III, I also segmented my Irish sample into cohorts based on age, year of immigration, and age at time of immigration, and found significant differences in the levels of assimilation and occupational mobility of these subsets. The younger Irish and those Irish who immigrated to the US as children achieved the highest levels of occupational mobility, income and income growth. They were also the most literate and the most likely to marry an American born spouse. The older Irish and those Irish who were not recent immigrants were less successful in obtaining white collar work, but were more likely to own a home or to become a farmer. They also had lower income levels and income growth. Finally, those Irish who immigrated as adults had the weakest occupational performance. In Chapters IV and VI, respectively, I found that those Irish immigrants

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[282] Portes and Rumbaut (2005), p. 986.

who married a non-Irish spouse and those who gave their children less Irish names also experienced greater levels of assimilation. In these findings, it is clear that immigrant assimilation is not linear, but multi-dimensional. It is also clear that whereas the notion of the melting pot may have theatrical appeal, it does not capture the overall experience of the Irish immigrants in my sample. The work of many subsequent scholars, in fields ranging from economics to sociology to history, has helped to illuminate the more complex manner in which immigrants adjust to their new host society.

Another important concept in the literature on immigrant assimilation is the relationship between assimilation and occupational mobility. Gans (2007) argues that assimilation and mobility are independent processes, and that immigrants "can assimilate without being mobile and vice versa."[283] He argues that studies of European immigrant assimilation during the age of mass migration need to take account of the fact that this period was one of "nearly universal upward mobility" and that most Europeans were extremely poor when they arrived in the US "and could only move up."[284] He makes the case that assimilation and mobility need to be examined as independent processes and not treated as the same phenomenon. He also argues that whereas assimilation may not lead to enhanced economic mobility, that mobility does "encourage acculturation and assimilation."[285] Portes and Zhou (1993) also recognise that assimilation and occupational mobility are distinct phenomena. In their framework of contemporary immigrant assimilation in the US, they argue that immigrants can

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[283] Gans (2007), p. 152.
[284] Gans (2007), p. 152.
[285] Gans (2007), p. 158.

achieve economic advancement without being broadly accepted into their new host society.[286]

In my research, I have separated the analyses of assimilation and occupational mobility, recognising that they are different phenomena. In my results, the two concepts were consistently positively correlated, with those Irish immigrant subsets which experienced higher levels of assimilation also more quickly ascending the occupational ladder. In this respect, my results confirm the views of Gans (2007). However, I agree that it is important not to take this relationship for granted, but to constantly assess it with each subset under study. In addition, I have also looked at occupational mobility on a comparative basis. It is not sufficient to measure the results of a single group, such as Irish immigrants, without putting their experience into a comparative context. In Chapter III, I examined the occupational mobility of the Irish relative to similar samples of German and English immigrants; these two groups being the other principal immigrant groups in the US in the late nineteenth century. The Irish lagged behind the performance of both the German and English immigrants during this time period. Both these groups had higher levels of white collar occupations and lower levels of unskilled workers than did the Irish, and more closely resembled the native born in this regard than did the Irish. Only through an analysis of relative occupational mobility is it possible to draw meaningful conclusions regarding the experience of any single group, particularly in late nineteenth century America, where average incomes were rising and overall occupational mobility was expanding.[287]

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[286] Portes and Zhou (1993), p. 96.
[287] Long and Ferrie (2005), p. 22.

A final critical concept in the literature on immigrant assimilation that has been addressed in this dissertation is the relationship between assimilation and the ethnic environment in which immigrants live. In the literature, Hatton and Leigh (forthcoming) make the argument that immigrants do not assimilate as individuals, but as communities. They state that immigrant assimilation is a two-way street, which depends not only on how immigrants fit into the labour market and wider culture of their new host society, but also on the degree to which that society "accepts, accommodates and adapts to particular immigrant groups."[288] They argue that history does play a role in the subsequent assimilation experience of immigrant groups in that the more established is the tradition of an immigrant group, the more integrated that immigrant community will be in its new host society. As a result, they conclude that newly arrived immigrants from such a group will assimilate more easily into the labour market.[289]   Portes and Zhou (1993) also argue that immigrants who join a well established ethnic group in their new host society have access to a range of moral and material resources that can assist new immigrants in the assimilation process.[290] Borjas (1999) also finds a significant role for the ethnic environment in the economic performance of immigrant groups in the US. He focuses on the quality of that environment, and argues that an environment with more abundant human capital will have a positive influence on the economic outcomes of immigrants and their children. Similar to Hatton and Leigh (forthcoming), he finds that the influence of one's ethnic group is a critical factor in economic assimilation, stating that such ethnic capital "effectively lowers the flame under the melting pot from a full boil to a slow simmer" and "makes it hard to escape the economic fate implied by one's ethnic

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[288] Hatton and Leigh (forthcoming), p. 2.
[289] Hatton and Leigh (forthcoming), p. 2.
[290] Portes and Zhou (1993), p. 86.

background."[291] All of these scholars would argue that the outcomes of individual immigrants are significantly affected by the degree of integration of the immigrant group as a whole.

In my research, I have also examined aspects of the relationship between the ethnic environment and immigrant assimilation. In Chapter V, I assessed the impact of geographic clustering on the assimilation of Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America. My results confirmed that such clustering directly affected the degree of assimilation and occupational mobility of Irish immigrants, with the impact being a negative one for the Irish in this time period. Similar to Borjas' (1999) results for contemporary immigrants to the US, I found that the ethnic environment did "lower the flame under the melting pot"[292] for Irish immigrants in my period of analysis. Those Irish who lived in more ethnically concentrated regions of the US experienced slower assimilation and reduced occupational mobility relative to those who lived in less clustered environments. Borjas might argue that such a result signals that the human capital levels in the Irish ethnic community were relatively low in this period. As this author has speculated, perhaps Irish immigrants experienced difficulty adapting from the rural, agricultural and largely pre-industrial society from where most of them came,[293] to the more urban and industrialised areas of the American economy where most chose to live and work. As my research in Chapter III illustrated, the Irish lagged behind the two other principal immigrant groups in the US in this timeframe – the Germans and the English, notwithstanding their high rates of literacy and the use of English as a native language. Perhaps the Irish lacked other critical skills – what Borjas might consider human capital - necessary to advance up the occupational ladder in late

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[291] Borjas (1999), p. 14.
[292] Borjas (1999), p. 14.
[293] Hatton and Williamson (1993), pp. 588-9.

nineteenth century America? In the literature, there is surprisingly little comparative research on the human capital levels of immigrants to the US in the nineteenth century. Mitch (1992) found that the school attendance and literacy rates of the mid-nineteenth century English lagged behind those of Americans, Germans and Scandinavians.[294] In a separate study, Atkinson (1969) found that the Irish lagged behind inhabitants of England, Wales and Scotland in areas such as primary school attendance, teacher pay and teacher training in this same timeframe.[295] While it is clear that the topic of comparative human capital levels of immigrants to the US in the nineteenth century is one that would benefit from further research, it is nonetheless evident that the limited research which has been done would support the view that the Irish were less well educated and came from a much less advanced economy than the other principal immigrant groups in the US in the late nineteenth century.

With respect to the assimilation of German and English immigrants, various scholars have shown that they assimilated well into American society (in particular the English), and achieved higher levels of occupational mobility than did the Irish in the late nineteenth century. According to Conzen et al. (1992), the English were welcomed into society "on the basis of common standards of living, skills, levels of education, language, religion, and habits of daily life."[296] Erickson (1980) found that the English faced no discrimination or language barriers in the US,[297] regarded themselves as coming from the same ethnic stock as a majority of the native born, and met few

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[294] Mitch (1992), p. 1.
[295] Atkinson (1969), pp. 101-2.
[296] Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta and Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective From the U.S.A.", *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 12:1 (Fall 1992), p. 18. Their comments relate specifically to a study of immigrants in Buffalo, New York, an important economic centre in this time period.
[297] Charlotte Erickson, "The English" in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups,* Stephen Thernstrom, Ann Orlov and Oscar Handlin (eds) Cambridge: 1980), p. 330.

obstacles to participation in the social and institutional life of America.[298] Whereas they did not have English as a native language and were viewed as ethnically different from native born Americans,[299] most Germans preferred assimilation to cultural isolation, so as to benefit from the economic opportunities available in American society.[300] Numerous studies of the mid to late nineteenth century period also found them to cluster in skilled occupations in the US and to achieve superior labour market outcomes to the Irish.[301] In comparison to both these groups, the Irish fared relatively poorly in the workplace and assimilated more slowly into American life.

Separately, there was also an immigrant group in the late nineteenth century who managed to achieve relatively strong labour market outcomes while not assimilating meaningfully into American society. Chiswick (1991) found that Jewish immigrants to the US in the late nineteenth century rapidly achieved significant occupational mobility relative to other immigrant groups, including the Irish.[302] Thernstrom (1973) also found that nineteenth century Jewish immigrants to Boston "found their way into the higher occupational strata with exceptional speed."[303] Chiswick (1992) argues that this occupational success extended beyond white collar work and self-employment to

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[298] Erickson (1980), p. 320.
[299] Conzen et al. (1992), p. 7.
[300] Kathleen Neils Conzen, "German-Americans and the Invention of Ethnicity", in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History*, Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (eds) (Philadelphia: 1985), p. 138.
[301] Nora Faires, "Occupational Patterns of German-Americans in Nineteenth-Century Cities", in *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective,* Harmet Keil and John B. Jentz (eds) (Dekalb: 1983), p. 48; Timothy G. Conley and David W. Galenson, "Nativity and Wealth in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Cities", *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 58, No. 2 (June 1998), p. 471; Bruce Laurie, Theodore Hershberg and George Alter, "Immigrants and Industry: The Philadelphia Experience: 1850-1880", *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Winter 1975), p. 238.
[302] Chiswick (1991), p. 79. Since religion is not recorded in the US census, Chiswick made assumptions based on nationality to create a Jewish sample for his analysis. He assumed that any immigrant that reported Russia or Poland-Russia as their country of origin was Jewish for his purposes.
[303] Thernstrom (1973), p. 250.

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include relatively high wages in manufacturing.[304] He attributes this success to various aspects of human capital such as education, years spent in the US labour market, as well as to an immeasurable ability of Jews to identify and develop skills helpful to them in this labour market.[305] However, in spite of their relative economic success, the Jews achieved only limited acceptance into American society in the late nineteenth century and were not well assimilated.[306] Hence, whereas assimilation and occupational mobility were positively correlated for groups such as the Germans and the English, as well as for subsets of the Irish, it was clearly not the case for all immigrant groups to the US in this period. Jewish immigrants achieved rapid occupational mobility in the absence of broader assimilation. It is also striking that both the Irish (particularly those arriving in the late 1840s and 1850s) and the Jews often arrived in the US as refugees in the nineteenth century, fleeing famine or religious persecution, and that both groups similarly had very low levels of return migration. In this circumstance, both groups would have had significant incentive to develop skills useful to them in the US labour market. It is thus all the more striking that the Irish were not able to develop such skills to the same extent as the other principal immigrant groups in this time period.

The comparative results presented here indicate a positive relationship between assimilation and occupational mobility for many of the principal immigrant groups in the US in the late nineteenth century. As discussed previously, those subsets of Irish immigrants who assimilated more quickly also experienced higher levels of occupational mobility. It is therefore striking how an immigrant group such as the Jews

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[304] Barry R. Chiswick, "Jewish Immigrant Wages in America in 1909: An Analysis of the Dillingham Commission Data", *Explorations in Economic History,* 29 (1992), p. 286.
[305] Chiswick (1991), p. 81
[306] Arthur A. Goren, "The Jews" in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups,* Stephen Thernstrom, Ann Orlov and Oscar Handlin (eds) (Cambridge: 1980), p. 579.

was able to achieve strong occupational mobility in the absence of broader assimilation. It would appear likely that there was also a significant role for the human capital levels of ethnic communities to play in the occupational mobility of their members in this time period, irrespective of the degree of assimilation of those communities.

In conclusion, my analysis of the assimilation of Irish immigrants in the late nineteenth century has resulted in the following principal conclusions. First of all, Irish immigrants did not assimilate quickly in the US, nor did they achieve occupational parity with the native born or with the other primary immigrant groups in the US in this timeframe. Secondly, assimilation is clearly a multi-dimensional process where varying outcomes are likely to occur in different areas under measurement. Factors such as age, years living in the US, age at time of immigration, geography, gender and marriage choices all appear to influence the socio-economic outcomes of Irish immigrants in this timeframe. Thirdly, although the outcomes of my analyses of the assimilation and occupational mobility of the Irish immigrants were consistently positively correlated, it is nonetheless important to consider these as separate processes. It is certainly possible for occupational mobility to occur in the absence of assimilation. In addition, it would also appear that there is a significant role for human capital in this process, with higher levels of human capital enabling relatively strong labour market outcomes even in cases of limited assimilation. And finally, the melting pot analogy first developed by Zangwill (1908) does not accurately describe the assimilation experience of Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth century. In this dissertation, I have approached the concept of assimilation as the process by which an immigrant group attains a level of social and economic integration into their new

host society such that their overall position in these sectors of society, as measured by observable outcomes, is similar to those of the native born members of the society. Based on this approach, it is clear from my results that Irish immigrants did not fully assimilate into American society in this timeframe – they maintained many striking and statistically significant differences with the native born across a range of socio-economic characteristics and failed to achieve occupational parity in the workplace. The melting pot analogy does not describe the experience, in aggregate, of the Irish immigrants in my sample. As my results demonstrate, if there was a flame burning under the melting pot for Irish immigrants in late nineteenth century America, it was not very hot.

Returning to the title of this dissertation, one final question to address is whether the assimilation experience of Irish immigrants in the US in the late nineteenth century instead resembled a salad bowl. That is, did the Irish retain their own identity in their new host society and not quickly come to resemble the native born in terms of the various socio-economic characteristics under review. On an aggregate level, the answer appears to be that the Irish experience did in fact resemble a salad bowl. First generation Irish immigrants did not assimilate quickly into American society, but retained their distinctiveness across virtually all the socio-economic characteristics available for study using US census data. While this dissertation does not address in a detailed manner the experience of other immigrant groups in this period, with respect to the Irish it is clearly the case that they did not, in aggregate, melt into American society but instead retained their distinctiveness.

Nonetheless, there are segments of my Irish immigrant sample that did come to more closely resemble the native born. The aggregate results mask the fact that certain subsets of the Irish did experience greater levels of assimilation. As was discussed in Chapter III, Irish immigrants who became farmers or lived in more rural areas exhibited higher levels of assimilation. So too did those Irish immigrants who were younger or immigrated to the US as children. In Chapter IV, I described how those Irish immigrants who married a non-Irish spouse experienced greater levels of assimilation, and in Chapter V, I found a similar result for those Irish who lived in less geographically clustered areas. Finally, in Chapter VI, I found that those Irish immigrants who gave their children less Irish names also came to more closely resemble the native born. As these examples all indicate, when the Irish immigrant sample is segmented in certain ways, the flame burning under these segmented melting pots becomes much hotter. Certain subsets of the Irish did assimilate more quickly than others, and in this respect the salad bowl analogy is not an accurate representation of their experience. The factors which appear to aid the heightened degree of assimilation of these subsets include more time living in the US (and hence greater exposure to American society and the skills necessary to advance in its economy), and living in rural and/or less geographically clustered areas (where exposure to Irish and other immigrants was reduced and exposure to the native born was likely to have been higher). In addition, marrying a non-Irish spouse and giving children less Irish names was also associated with higher levels of assimilation for Irish immigrants. One final observation is that in this period, occupational mobility did appear to mirror assimilation outcomes for the Irish. In the aggregate, Irish immigrants exhibited limited assimilation and noticeably underperformed the native born in the workplace.

In the segmented analyses, those groups which had higher levels of assimilation also experienced greater occupational mobility.

In conclusion, it would appear that for first generation Irish immigrants taken as a whole, the flame burning under the melting pot was not very hot, and the analogy of a salad bowl more aptly describes their assimilation process into American society in the late nineteenth century. However, when the sample of Irish immigrants is segmented, there are subsets which do achieve higher levels of assimilation as well as greater occupational mobility. With respect to these subsets, the flame burning under their melting pots would appear to have been much hotter.

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