

## VII

### FECUNDITY AND VITALITY OF THE FOREIGN STOCK

There are two points of view from which the immigrant question may be studied. The first is a survey of the net result of past waves of immigration. The second is a consideration of the ultimate consequences of foreign migration. Heretofore, this study has been concerned chiefly with the first set of problems—that is, the effects of immigration on the *present* generation. This chapter and the one that follows are devoted principally to the second group of topics—namely, the influence of the foreign stock upon *future* generations.

The analysis of this second phase of the immigrant problem is, however, beset with difficulties. Any forecast of the probable long-run outcome of a population movement rests upon the prior estimate of the inherent nature of the racial elements involved; but the fund of statistical material, and of established biological, anthropological, and psychological principles upon which such an estimate must ultimately rest, is too scanty to permit of any but the broadest and most tentative of generalizations.

This is not to say that detailed accounts of the hereditary traits of various immigrant groups have not been undertaken—many of them accompanied by statistical material—nor that elaborate predictions of the consequences to be anticipated from their accession to the American population have not been made. Nevertheless, these analyses have not as yet been carried sufficiently far, either as to their scientific basis or their statistical verification, to be considered definitive enough to warrant the inclusion of their results in a compilation of noncontroversial material such as this monograph is intended to be.

Nevertheless, it is of vital importance to persevere in the effort to determine the racial and social consequences of immigration upon succeeding generations. For upon the answer to such inquiries the future of the United States, in a very large measure, is dependent.

In this chapter and the one that follows, therefore, as much data as are available in the census reports are tabulated and analyzed as far as the limits of this monograph admit. Very little in the nature of definitive conclusions is achieved. Not only is there little in the way of well-established scientific principle on which the analysis may be based, but the statistical material is so scanty and so scattered as

to render almost impossible the elucidation of any general principles. It is rather in the hope of bringing together materials that may contribute to further study of the question, than of arriving at any particularly significant conclusions that these chapters are undertaken.

Perhaps the most satisfactory material for estimating the results of immigration upon the future population is that which constitutes the subject of this chapter, to wit, the fecundity and vitality of the foreign stock as a whole, and of its component parts. A knowledge of the rate of increase and the death rate of any ethnic group provides the answer for two questions: First, how large a contribution will that ethnic group make to the ultimate racial amalgam that will populate the United States? Second, will that contribution strengthen or weaken the physical vitality of the racial stock? That is, will this ethnic element multiply more rapidly than others, will it remain stationary, or will it die out? And, will its descendants in the population of the future be sturdy and long-lived, or sickly and short-lived?

It should be stated again that the statistical data upon which generalizations such as these must be predicted are very inconclusive. The United States Census Bureau has been collecting annual mortality statistics only since 1900, and birth statistics only since 1915, while as much as 50 per cent of the total population was not included in the death registration area until 1908 nor in the birth registration area until 1917. Therefore, the census year 1920 is the first one for which reasonably comprehensive figures of births and deaths are available; so that a comparison of the present with past experience is impossible. More than this, the Census Bureau has not yet been able to make more than a beginning in the tabulations and calculations which are of consequence to this study, namely, the establishment of birth and death rates by nativity, nationality, and ethnic group. Nevertheless, a beginning has been made, and upon it the analysis that follows is based.

The material falls under two heads, as the title of the chapter suggests: First, fecundity, as judged by births; second, vitality, as judged by deaths.

#### 1. FECUNDITY

The birth rate of the foreign stock, like many other phases of the immigrant question, may be studied in two ways. First, the fecundity of the foreign stock as a whole may be taken up; second, the various national and racial groups composing the foreign stock may be examined.

##### FECUNDITY OF THE FOREIGN STOCK AS A WHOLE

Something has already been said about the rate of increase of the foreign stock as a whole. Reference has been made to another monograph of this series, which advances the thesis that the foreign stock is

increasing no more rapidly than the original American stock, although general opinion holds to the opposite point of view.<sup>1</sup> The question may be examined in greater detail here: First, as to relative birth rates of the native and foreign stocks; second, as to the size of families of each population class; and, third, as to the rate of increase of each.

Tables 80 and 81 deal with the *first* of these topics, namely, the birth rates of the principal nativity classes of the American population. As pointed out in the preceding chapter, the natural increase of any population is controlled by the number of women of child-bearing age within it, women being physiologically restricted in the number of children they can bear in any period of time, while no such biological limitations apply to men. Birth rates are, therefore, regularly related to the number of *women* in any population, rather than to the entire population. Table 80 is constructed in accordance with this principle, and shows a clear excess in the birth rate of white persons of foreign parentage over those of native parentage.<sup>2</sup> The former show 92.7 children born in 1920 for every 1,000 females aged 10 to 59 years, while the latter show only 62.3 per 1,000.

TABLE 80.—BIRTH RATES PER 1,000 FEMALES, BY NATIVITY AND AGE OF MOTHER, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

NATIVITY OF MOTHER	BIRTH RATE AND AGE OF MOTHER			
	10 to 59 years	10 to 19 years	20 to 49 years	50 to 59 years
White.....	67.0	21.0	90.5	0.1
Native white.....	62.3	20.5	93.6	(1)
Foreign-born white.....	92.7	40.8	120.8	0.1
Colored.....	76.7	43.3	101.5	0.3
Negro.....	72.9	43.2	95.0	0.3
Other colored.....	175.0	47.7	234.5	* 0.0

<sup>1</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per 1,000 of female population.

<sup>2</sup> Less than 5 births.

It has just been said that birth rates are regularly related to the number of females in a population, since, in the normal community, such a ratio gives the best index of the comparative rates of increase of the various elements within it. But the American population is not normal, in that there is a large excess of males over females among the foreign born, more especially at the ages of maximum fecundity.<sup>3</sup>

Now this fact has a direct and important bearing upon the birth rate of the foreign stock when reckoned according to the *female* population. Modern populations are generally endogamous, and it is to be expected that the foreign-born males will seek their consorts

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that only two nativity classes are included in this count—children of native mothers and children of foreign mothers. Children whose mothers are native born of foreign parents are counted with children whose mothers are of native parentage. The birth registration area comprised 23 States and the District of Columbia.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. V, pp. 159-166.

among the foreign-born females before turning elsewhere, and, the number of the latter being relatively small, will marry practically every one of them who is able and willing to marry. In other words, the very high birth rate attributed to foreign-born women is, in part, due not so much to their superior prolificacy, as to the exceptionally favorable opportunities for marriage offered them by the unbalanced sex ratio among their population group.

TABLE 81.—PER CENT OF NATIVITY CLASSES IN TOTAL POPULATION, PER CENT OF BIRTHS IN REGISTRATION AREA BY PARENT NATIVITY, AND RATIO OF PER CENT OF BIRTHS TO PER CENT OF POPULATION CLASSES: 1920

NATIVITY CLASS	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION			Ratio of per cent of births to per cent of population of registration area
	Population of United States	Population of birth registration area	Births, by parent nativity of children born in registration area	
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	-----
Native white.....	76.7	77.7	167.0	86.2
Foreign-born white.....	13.0	15.7	124.4	155.4
Colored.....	10.3	6.6	7.5	113.6
Unknown.....			1.1	

<sup>1</sup> Includes one-half of children of mixed native and foreign parentage.

In order to avoid the exaggeration in the birth rate of the foreign born attributable to the excess of males over females among them, the above table was prepared. This relates the percentage of births springing from each nativity class in the total population of *both sexes* in the registration area to the percentage of the corresponding nativity class in the total population of the same area. Thus, the native white population is 77.7 per cent of the total population of the registration area; and, if it were responsible for 77.7 per cent of all the births in that area, the ratio of the first per cent to the second would be 100. This would mean that the native-born whites were contributing a quota of children to the population exactly equivalent to their relative position within it; in short, were holding their own against other population elements.

That such is far from the case appears from Table 81. The native whites produce but 67 per cent of the children born in the registration area, though they constitute 77.7 per cent of this area's total population. On the other hand, the foreign-born white population made up 15.7 per cent of the total population, as of 1920, but contributed 24.4 per cent of the children born in the registration areas in that year. In other words, the native-born males and females were responsible for about 14 per cent *less* than their "quota" of the 1920 crop of babies; the foreign born, about 55 per cent *more*.

These figures, however, are open to serious question on two grounds. First, the age composition of the two groups is not at all comparable. Second, the population of the birth registration area is composed chiefly of those States in which the foreign stock is most highly concentrated. That is, these ratios are based upon a *native* population containing a large proportion of children and old people incapable of begetting children and a *foreign* population made up chiefly of young and mature men and women at the high tide of their natural prolificacy.

Notwithstanding, as is shown in the discussion that immediately follows, there is reason to believe that the foreign-born population is, on the whole, more prolific than the native-born.

The size of the families of the foreign-born and native-born stocks, as recorded in the birth statistics, contributes the *second* point in the comparison of the fecundity of the two. Tables 82, 83, 84, and 85 present the material available in this connection. Disregarding for the moment the specific countries of birth of the mothers enumerated in the tables, one sees clearly that the foreign mothers are, as a class, appreciably more prolific than the native.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, Table 82 shows that 32.4 per cent of the native women bearing children in 1920 had previously had no other offspring, and 21.8 per cent more had borne only one other child; that is, 54.2 per cent of the native mothers as of 1920 were parents of not more than two children, leaving 45.2 per cent who had borne three or more children.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, only 18.5 per cent of the foreign-born mothers had had no children previous to those borne by them in 1920, and 17 per cent had had only one, while 63.9 per cent had been mothers of two or more children prior to the offspring they had in 1920.<sup>6</sup>

A similar story is told by Table 83. The native-born mothers have had, on the average, 300 children per 100 mothers, of whom 270 are still living. On the other hand, the foreign-born mothers have borne offspring at the rate of 400 per 100, of whom 340 have survived.

<sup>4</sup> Similar conclusions, based on less extensive data, are reached by Doctor Hill and Professor Young. Hill, Joseph A.: "Comparative Fecundity of Women of Native and Foreign Parentage in the United States"; American Statistical Association publications, Vol. XIII, Boston, 1914, pp. 590-597. Young, Allyn A.: "The Birth Rate in New Hampshire"; American Statistical Association publications, Vol. IX, Boston, 1905, pp. 273-281.

<sup>5</sup> Allowance is made for those for whom the number of children was not reported.

<sup>6</sup> Professor Young found a similar situation among the native and foreign-born mothers in New Hampshire. Young; *op. cit.*, pp. 282-284, and Tables X and XI.

TABLE 82.—DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN IN ORDER OF BIRTH PER 1,000 BIRTHS, BY COLOR, AND FOR WHITE CHILDREN BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN IN ORDER OF BIRTH PER 1,000 BIRTHS

CHILD IN ORDER OF BIRTH	White														Colored		
	Total	Country of birth of mother															
		United States	Foreign country														
			Total	Austria (includes Austrian Poland)	Hungary	Canada	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden	England, Scotland, and Wales	Ireland	Germany (includes German Poland)	Italy	Poland (not specified)	Russia (includes Russian Poland)	Other foreign countries		Country not stated	
1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	
Total children.....	290.6	291.6	184.8	145.7	267.1	208.1	312.5	233.9	180.1	157.9	108.4	221.7	233.1	263.0	279.2	1,000.0	1,000.0
First child.....	204.4	204.6	170.4	157.1	194.9	202.5	218.1	233.9	180.1	157.9	142.2	221.7	233.1	263.0	279.2	1,000.0	1,000.0
Second child.....	147.9	149.1	133.7	133.8	141.5	136.8	146.7	161.7	140.2	135.2	178.9	179.4	184.0	191.1	179.5	1,000.0	1,000.0
Third child.....	105.8	105.9	100.7	110.0	103.8	120.8	104.2	129.6	114.4	133.8	151.0	123.2	118.8	101.1	104.5	1,000.0	1,000.0
Fourth child.....	73.0	74.8	66.9	78.0	78.0	88.4	84.3	91.8	83.9	118.9	114.0	82.4	83.3	88.1	77.4	1,000.0	1,000.0
Fifth child.....	53.9	53.8	46.3	58.8	55.9	65.2	46.5	61.7	74.9	95.0	83.2	57.6	65.4	68.0	60.0	1,000.0	1,000.0
Sixth child.....	38.8	38.3	32.6	46.3	43.1	47.8	35.7	42.5	52.0	72.6	67.8	38.5	47.4	41.3	41.5	1,000.0	1,000.0
Seventh child.....	27.8	27.2	22.8	34.5	31.7	36.3	22.7	25.9	33.5	55.1	48.3	26.5	34.4	32.9	34.8	1,000.0	1,000.0
Eighth child.....	18.9	18.3	15.1	24.5	22.6	24.8	16.8	13.3	23.5	37.9	33.8	16.1	21.4	22.0	23.2	1,000.0	1,000.0
Ninth child.....	12.9	12.4	10.1	20.8	20.7	15.6	12.2	11.2	30.2	26.9	21.7	11.1	17.0	14.9	19.2	1,000.0	1,000.0
Tenth child.....	7.7	7.3	5.9	9.4	11.7	10.1	6.5	5.6	20.7	16.1	14.2	6.6	11.0	6.5	12.2	1,000.0	1,000.0
Eleventh child.....	4.8	4.4	3.6	7.4	10.8	7.2	3.6	2.5	16.3	9.3	8.8	3.0	7.0	4.0	9.0	1,000.0	1,000.0
Twelfth child.....	2.6	2.4	1.9	3.2	5.5	3.2	1.6	1.5	8.6	5.1	4.8	2.0	4.1	2.4	5.6	1,000.0	1,000.0
Thirteenth child.....	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.4	3.1	1.4	1.6	0.8	4.6	2.9	1.9	1.6	2.5	1.6	3.3	1,000.0	1,000.0
Fourteenth child.....	0.7	0.6	0.5	1.0	1.7	0.7	0.8	0.1	2.2	1.5	1.6	0.5	1.0	0.7	1.7	1,000.0	1,000.0
Fifteenth child.....	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4	1.3	0.3	0.5	0.2	1.3	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.9	1,000.0	1,000.0
Sixteenth child.....	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.6	0.3	0.5	1.1	0.5	0.9	1,000.0	1,000.0
Seventeenth child.....	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.6	0.3	0.5	1.1	0.5	0.9	1,000.0	1,000.0
Eighteenth child.....	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.6	0.3	0.5	1.1	0.5	0.9	1,000.0	1,000.0
Number of child not stated.....	5.9	5.8	5.3	4.1	5.6	5.2	5.3	5.3	5.8	4.3	6.5	4.3	4.3	207.1	8.0	1,000.0	1,000.0

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of Massachusetts, which does not require on the birth certificate the number of child in order of birth.

TABLE 83.—AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN TO MOTHERS AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF THESE CHILDREN LIVING, BY COLOR, AND FOR WHITE CHILDREN, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

NATIVITY OF MOTHERS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF—	
	Children ever born	Children living
Total.....	3.3	2.9
White.....	3.3	2.9
Native white.....	3.0	2.7
Foreign-born white.....	4.0	3.4
Austria, including Austrian Poland.....	4.3	3.0
Hungary.....	4.2	3.5
Canada.....	3.4	2.9
Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.....	3.7	3.4
England, Scotland, and Wales.....	3.1	2.8
Ireland.....	3.4	3.0
Germany, including German Poland.....	4.4	3.9
Italy.....	4.5	3.8
Poland, not specified.....	4.5	3.7
Russia, including Russian Poland.....	3.4	3.0
Other foreign countries.....	3.7	3.1
Country not stated.....	3.2	2.8
Colored.....	3.6	3.1

There are, however, certain indications which suggest that there is not quite so wide a difference between the size of the families of native and foreign-born mothers as might be inferred from the data just considered. The most important is that which compares the average number of children ever born with the number still surviving, for the native and foreign-born mothers entering into the birth statistics for 1920, as embodied in Table 83. The table indicates an appreciably higher survival among the children of the native mothers than among those of the foreign-born mothers. As a result, although the native mothers show only 3.0 children ever born, as compared with 4.0 for the foreign-born mothers, they had 2.7 children still surviving, as against 3.4 for the foreign-born. That is, the native mothers, as compared with the foreign-born mothers, show children *born* in a ratio of 7.5 to 10. But, for children *surviving*, the ratio for the native mothers, as compared with that of the foreign-born mothers, is advanced to 7.94 to 10.

Although it is beyond the province of this monograph to enter into any detailed interpretation of this apparently superior survival ability of the children of native mothers over those of foreign-born mothers, it is of interest to note that Table 94, occurring later in this chapter, shows the children of native mothers, in the aggregate, to have a much smaller rate of infant mortality as compared with the children of foreign-born mothers. This is, of course, partly due to the fact that the former comprise a much larger percentage who are mothers of one child only, among whom the percentage of children surviving would normally be larger.

TABLE 84.—AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN TO MOTHERS OF 1920, BY COLOR AND AGE OF MOTHER, AND FOR WHITE CHILDREN BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA:<sup>1</sup> 1920

[Averages are shown in italics when the number of mothers is less than 5. The averages are exclusive of the number "not stated" for children ever born to mothers of 1920]

AGE OF MOTHER	AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN TO MOTHERS OF 1920														
	White													Colored	
	Total	United States	Country of birth of mother												Com-try not stated
			Aus- tria (in- cludes Aus- trian Po- land)	Hun- gary	Can- ada	Den- mark, Nor- way, and Swe- den	Eng- land, Scot- land, and Wales	Ire- land	Ger- many (in- cludes Ger- man Po- land)	Italy	Po- land (not spec- ified)	Russia (in- cludes Rus- sian Po- land)	Other for- eign coun- tries		
All ages	3.3	3.0	4.3	4.2	3.4	3.7	3.1	3.4	4.4	4.5	4.5	3.4	3.7	3.2	3.6
10 to 14 years	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0
15 to 19 years	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.3
20 to 24 years	1.9	1.8	2.2	2.2	1.8	1.7	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.3	2.3	1.7	2.0	2.0	2.3
25 to 29 years	2.9	2.8	3.5	3.5	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.8	2.7	3.5	2.7	3.2	2.9	3.8
30 to 34 years	4.3	4.0	5.1	5.1	3.8	3.5	3.2	3.3	4.1	3.3	5.3	4.2	4.4	4.6	5.4
35 to 39 years	5.9	5.5	6.8	6.6	5.2	4.9	4.7	4.7	5.8	7.0	7.2	5.9	6.1	5.7	7.1
40 to 44 years	7.5	7.2	8.5	8.1	7.0	6.7	6.3	6.3	7.6	8.7	9.0	7.9	7.8	7.4	8.8
45 to 49 years	8.8	8.4	9.8	9.5	8.8	8.5	8.4	8.2	8.9	9.4	10.0	9.1	9.1	8.0	9.7
50 to 54 years	7.3	6.9	6.7	7.7	7.7	8.0	5.5	6.7	2.0	6.1	10.8	6.0	8.9	7.0	8.5
55 years and over	6.9	2.8	4.1	4.5	3.9	2.0	2.6	3.8	2.0	2.0	8.0	4.0	4.1	2.9	7.0
Unknown	3.6	3.3	4.2	4.5	3.9	3.7	2.6	3.8	5.9	4.5	4.9	4.0	4.1	2.9	3.9

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of Maine, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.

TABLE 85.—PER CENT OF CHILDREN LIVING OF CHILDREN EVER BORN TO MOTHERS OF 1920, 1919, 1918, AND 1917, BY COLOR, AND FOR WHITE CHILDREN BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA<sup>1</sup>

[These per cents are exclusive of the number "not stated" for children ever born to mothers of 1920, 1919, 1918, and 1917, and for these children living in those years]

COLOR AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER	PER CENT OF CHILDREN LIVING OF CHILDREN EVER BORN TO MOTHERS OF—			
	1920	1919	1918	1917
Total.....	87.8	87.4	87.7	87.6
White.....	88.2	87.8	88.0	87.9
United States.....	89.4	89.2	89.4	89.4
Foreign countries.....	85.0	84.7	85.0	84.8
Austria (includes Austrian Poland).....	83.5	83.4	83.7	83.6
Hungary.....	82.5	82.1	81.7	82.1
Canada.....	87.4	87.2	87.0	86.8
Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.....	91.0	90.5	90.4	90.5
England, Scotland, and Wales.....	88.5	87.3	87.1	87.0
Ireland.....	87.8	87.5	87.8	87.5
Germany (includes German Poland).....	87.5	86.5	86.1	86.2
Italy.....	83.9	83.5	83.1	83.4
Poland (not specified).....	83.3	83.3	82.8	82.6
Russia (includes Russian Poland).....	87.3	87.0	86.6	86.3
Other foreign countries.....	84.1	84.1	85.9	85.9
Country not stated.....	85.9	87.7	86.4	88.5
Colored.....	84.4	83.4	83.7	83.5
Negro.....	84.1	83.1	83.6	83.5
Other colored.....	88.8	89.1	89.7	84.8

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts in 1920; Vermont also excluded prior to 1920. The birth certificates of Maine and New Hampshire do not require the number of children living, and that of Massachusetts does not require the number living or the number ever born. Prior to 1920, the birth certificate of Vermont did not require the number of children living.

The significance of this group of tables is fairly obvious. Foreign-born women are undoubtedly more prolific than native-born. But so far as their long-run contribution to the country's human stock is concerned, the native mothers are not quite so far behind the foreign born as reference to the statistics for births alone would indicate, for it is quite obvious that the number of children born to any element is of real significance in a population only to the extent that they survive long enough to mature and produce progeny of their own.<sup>7</sup>

In this connection, note should next be taken of Table 84, which exhibits the average number of children ever born to native and to foreign-born mothers classified according to age. The table shows that, although the foreign-born mothers *had* a larger number of children than the native for every age period from 15 to 54, inclusive, yet the difference for each age group is less than 1 child per mother, and in 4 of the 8 groupings considered it is less than 0.5 of a child per mother. It is, of course, likely that only the mothers of large families for each group appear in those portions of the table representing the higher age periods, since the mothers of small families might be expected to cease child-bearing at earlier ages than those

<sup>7</sup> A similar conclusion is reached by Professor Young on the basis of the New Hampshire statistics, Young, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

of large families. Moreover, as already shown by Tables 82 and 83, there is a larger proportion of mothers of small families among the native women than among the foreign born.

None of the data available for this monograph casts any direct light upon the question of the relative number of childless women in the two groups, but Tables 80 and 81 permit the inference that they are more numerous among the native born than among the foreign born. Therefore, although Table 84 does show that there are some native mothers who bear children in about as large numbers as the foreign-born mothers, it is impossible to say *how many* of the native women possess this relatively high fecundity.

The *third* feature of this portion of the discussion is an estimate of the net result upon the country's population of the differing birth rates of native and foreign stocks. This question may be taken up from the short-run and long-run viewpoints.

The short-run effect of the phenomena outlined above is obvious. Chart 7 shows that something over one-fourth of the persons born in the registration area of this country in 1920 were of mixed or foreign parentage. Moreover, a considerable number of those counted as of native parentage were grandchildren of immigrants. It is clear, therefore, that the foreign element not only is of great numerical importance in the present generation, but, through its children and grandchildren, is probably destined to be of equal, if not of greater, significance in the generation now being born.

Table 86 calls attention to the fact that, among our white immigrant population, it is the foreign-born *men* who are playing the leading rôle in providing parenthood for the Americans of to-morrow, and this is confirmed by Table 109 in the following chapter, which shows that there are more foreign-born fathers of native children than mothers, the figures for 1920 being 390,578 and 347,562, respectively. The effect of the unbalanced sex ratio among the foreign born is clearly evident here. Despite their high marriage rate and their heavy prolificacy, the foreign-born women are providing parenthood for a much smaller proportion of the next generation than the numerically superior foreign-born men. This same limitation on the number of foreign-born women has, moreover, drastically reduced the number of children both of whose parents are foreign, thus furnishing an illustration of the way in which the rate of increase of any population group is limited by the number of women within it. Finally, the excess in the number of children attributable to the foreign-born males calls attention to another phenomenon which has been mentioned in this connection, namely, the possibility of interbreeding between foreign-born men and native-born women. That a considerable intermarriage of this sort has, indeed, taken place is clearly established in the next chapter.

TABLE 86.—PER CENT OF BIRTHS OF WHITE CHILDREN HAVING FATHERS AND MOTHERS BORN IN SPECIFIED COUNTRIES: 1918 TO 1920

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF PARENT	PER CENT OF BIRTHS OF WHITE CHILDREN WITH FATHER, MOTHER, OR BOTH PARENTS BORN IN SPECIFIED COUNTRIES								
	1920			1919			1918		
	Father	Mother	Both parents	Father	Mother	Both parents	Father	Mother	Both parents
All countries.....	100.0	100.0	187.0	100.0	100.0	180.9	100.0	100.0	187.0
United States.....	70.8	75.0	07.3	67.7	71.0	04.3	66.6	70.5	03.2
Austria (includes Austrian Poland).....	3.6	3.3	2.7	4.5	4.4	3.7	5.2	5.2	4.3
Hungary.....	1.1	1.1	0.0	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.4	1.2
Canada.....	1.8	1.7	0.7	1.0	1.8	0.8	2.0	1.9	0.8
Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.....	1.3	1.0	0.6	1.4	1.1	0.7	1.4	1.1	0.8
England, Scotland, and Wales.....	1.2	1.1	0.4	1.2	1.1	0.4	1.3	1.1	0.5
Ireland.....	1.2	1.4	0.8	1.3	1.5	0.9	1.4	1.6	1.0
Germany (includes German Poland).....	1.3	0.0	0.4	1.6	1.1	0.5	1.7	1.3	0.6
Italy.....	6.6	5.7	5.5	7.0	6.1	6.0	7.4	6.5	6.4
Poland (not specified).....	2.7	2.4	2.2	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.2
Russia (includes Russian Poland).....	4.1	3.6	3.1	5.3	4.7	4.2	6.1	5.4	4.9
Other foreign countries.....	3.2	2.8	2.2	3.3	2.9	2.4	2.9	2.5	2.1
Country not stated.....	1.2	0.1	( <sup>1</sup> )	1.2	0.1	0.1	1.1	0.2	0.1

<sup>1</sup> This number excludes the per cent of "mixed parentage." (See Table 4, Birth Statistics, 1920.)

<sup>2</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

There is little to say concerning the long-run effects of the phenomena under consideration here. At first glance, it seems that the native stock is liable to gradual supersession by the descendants of the more prepotent foreign born. A different opinion has, however, been reached in another monograph in this series. Mr. Rossiter concludes that, after one generation, the foreign stock increases no more rapidly than the native stock. His position rests principally upon the fact that the native born of mixed and foreign parentage marry much less readily than the other population classes, thereby cutting themselves off from the opportunity of having children. As for the third and subsequent generations, it is idle to make any calculations so long as there exist no adequate statistical data for doing so.<sup>3</sup> More than this, Mr. Rossiter points out that the birth rate among the natives of Southern States—of which, beside the District of Columbia, only 5 are included in the birth registration area of 1920—is probably considerably higher than the available data indicate, all 5 having a higher birth rate than has the total birth registration area.

At this point reference may be made to another set of factors, only partially statistical in nature, but casting light upon the statistical data that have just been presented. They relate to the influence of social and economic conditions on the relative fecundity of native and foreign-born women. Chief among these are the

<sup>3</sup> Rossiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-191.

relatively early age of marriage of the foreign born as compared with native born women.<sup>9</sup> To the extent that this obtains, the foreign-born women would be expected to have a larger number of children than the native. Again, the data on occupations presented in Chapter X, particularly in Tables 123 and 124, suggest that the immigrant occupies a somewhat lower economic status than the native, and, since birth rates generally vary inversely to economic status, this condition would also be expected to lead to a higher birth rate among foreign-born than among native mothers. Yet again, it is at least probable that the foreign-born women are, partly through ignorance of contraceptive procedures, and partly through custom and religious belief, less likely to restrict the number of their children than are the native women. It should be observed that all of these differences have to do with cultural and economic conditions, and not to inherent biological capacity, and that, by the same token, to the extent that the difference in fecundity of the native and foreign-born mothers is due to them, it would disappear under changed conditions.

One more factor may be called to mind. It is the excess of males over females among the foreign stock. So long as this situation continues, the increase of the foreign stock must be somewhat restricted, *despite the high birth rates of individual foreign women*. In default of foreign-born mates, foreign men must continue to intermarry with native women, and thereby produce a progeny that combines native blood equally with the foreign. In short, so long as there continues to be a dearth of marriageable females among the foreign born, a considerable portion of the foreign-born stock faces the dilemma of going without issue or of uniting with the native stock.

Certain factors mentioned in the preceding pages may be recalled here. First, the slightly higher survival ratio among the children of native mothers as compared with those of foreign-born mothers makes the ultimate contribution of the former to the population stream of the country appreciably larger than consideration of births alone would indicate.

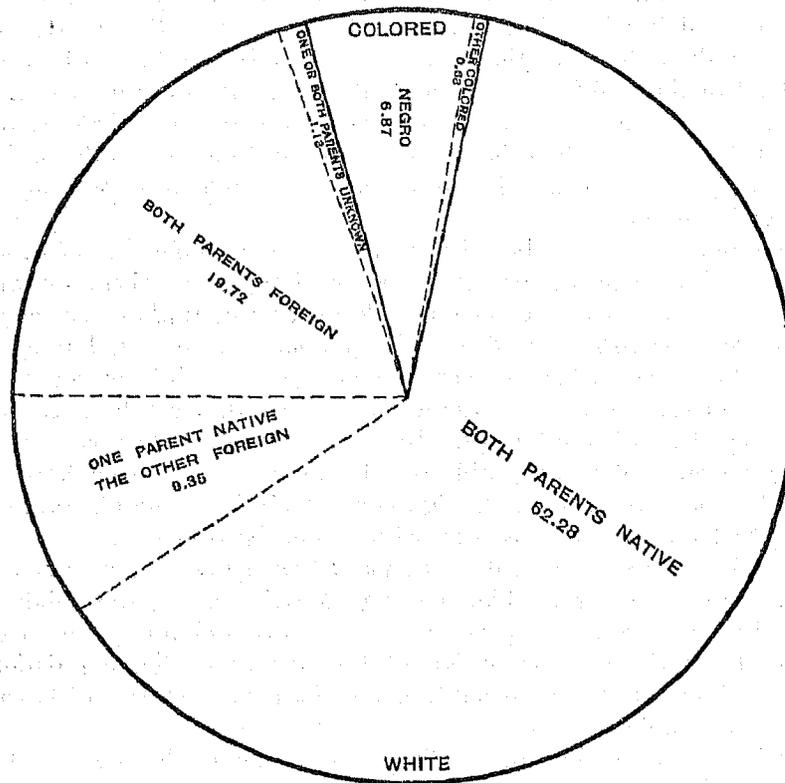
Again, to the extent that differences in the birth rates of the native and foreign-born mothers are assignable to such causes as earlier marriage, lower economic status, and inability or unwillingness to use contraceptive procedures, these differences would be expected to fade out after two or three generations, as the descendants of the present generation of foreign-born mothers gradually merge, economically and culturally, with the general population. And, until evidence is forthcoming which establishes the existence of inherent biological difference in child-bearing capacities between the

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. *infra*, Table 100; also, Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-291.

stocks represented by the native and foreign-born mothers, respectively, it must be assumed that such differences in this respect as exist to-day between these two groups are, at least in large measure, due to such nonbiological factors as have just been mentioned, and are, consequently, likely in time to be appreciably diminished. Mr. Rossiter's assertion that there is little long-run difference between native and foreign stocks in this respect seems, therefore, not unreasonable.

CHART 7.—BIRTHS, BY COLOR, AND FOR WHITE CHILDREN BY PARENT NATIVITY, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1920



FECUNDITY OF ETHNIC GROUPS WITHIN THE FOREIGN STOCK

In all that has been said heretofore concerning the relative rates of increase of the native and foreign born the latter has been treated as an undifferentiated whole. In earlier portions of this monograph, however, it has been found that the lumping together of the diverse ethnic groups composing the immigrant population is a highly unreliable procedure unless cognizance is also taken of the differences between the individual ethnic elements within it. The same observation applies to this part of the discussion. There are important variations

in the birth rates of the several immigrant peoples, and, if misapprehension is to be avoided, these variations must be noted in addition to the more generalized analysis that has just been made.

As in the discussion that has gone before, the subject matter here may be treated under three heads—the relative birth rates of the various immigrant stocks, the size of families among them, and their share in the future population make-up of the country.

Table 87 contains all that is available concerning the *first* point. It shows that there is a very wide difference between the various peoples making up the foreign-born population of the country. At the one extreme are the Italians, who exhibit a birth rate in 1920 of 160 per 1,000 females. At the other are the English, Scotch, and Welsh, whose birth rate is only 38.2 per 1,000 females, making a range of over 120 per 1,000.

TABLE 87.—BIRTH RATES OF WHITE POPULATION, PER 1,000 ENUMERATED FEMALES, FOR CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF BIRTH,<sup>1</sup> IN THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

Rank	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Birth rate, 1920
1	Italy.....	160.0
2	Canada.....	47.3
3	United States.....	42.8
4	Ireland.....	41.5
5	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.....	39.4
6	England, Scotland, and Wales.....	38.2

<sup>1</sup> Birth rates are not given for population of countries whose boundaries were considerably altered as a result of the World War.

This portion of the study provides no satisfactory basis for estimating the relative fertility of "old" and "new" immigrant stocks. Only four European national groups are listed in Table 87, of which but one is from southern or eastern Europe.

A slightly more inclusive body of data is available for the *second* item in this part of the discussion, namely, the size of the families of mothers belonging to certain racial elements within the foreign-born population. Tables 82, 83, 84, and 85, preceding, all point in the same direction. They exhibit a wide variation in the number of children born to the mothers of the different nationalities, and in the survival rates among those children. More than this, mothers from central, southern, and eastern Europe—that is, "new" immigrants—appear to have larger families than the north and west European mothers, but the latter lead in respect to the number of their children who are still alive.

Thus, Table 82 shows that the mothers of the several nationalities vary in the percentage having first-born children all the way from 10.8 per cent for the Polish, to 31.2 per cent for the English, Scotch,

and Welsh. Moreover, the "old" immigrant mothers show a considerably lower fecundity in this respect than the "new," the average for the former being 23.4 per cent, and for the latter 15.4 per cent.

Similarly, Table 83 exhibits a range of from 3.1 to 4.5 in the average number of children born to the mothers of the different national groups in 1920, and of from 2.8 to 3.9 in the average number still living. Once more, it is the central, south, and eastern European mothers who show the highest averages, the Italians and Poles taking first place, and the English, Scotch, and Welsh, last. A different situation is revealed, however, when attention is directed to the number of children still living. It is seen, from Table 85 also, that, excepting for the Russians, the "new" immigrant mothers fall far below the "old" in the survival ratio of their children. The average percentage of children living to children born is 88.7 per cent for the four north and west European national groups, as over against 84.1 per cent for the five central, southern, and eastern European stocks. The children of Russian mothers, however, maintain the comparatively high survival rate of 87.3 per cent. It is probable that the superior vitality of the Hebrew stock included in the Russian immigration is responsible for this phenomenon. Reference may here be made to Table 94, which suggests that a relatively high infant mortality among certain "new" immigrant groups accounts to a great extent for this situation.

As a result of the relatively high mortality among the children of the "new" immigrant mothers, they fail to maintain their lead over the "old" when the number of their children still living is counted. Thus, in Table 83, it is the German-born mothers who have, on the average, the most children still alive. Also, the average number of children surviving for the "old" immigrant mothers is, as a group, about the same as that attributable to the "new," the averages being 3.3 and 3.5, respectively.

Incidental reference may be made to the relationship between the age of the mothers of the different nationalities and the size of their families, as set forth in Table 84.

The "new" immigrant mothers display a higher average than the "old" throughout all age periods. As was seen in comparing the native and foreign stocks, however, the differences do not become marked until the age period 25 to 29 years, in which there is a range of 1.5 children per mother between the Italians and Irish. But, here, as in other tables showing the average number of children, it must be remembered that women are included in the statistics only if and when they have had a child; this exclusion of the childless women has the effect of understating the differences in relative fecundity.

One further point may be noted. This is the unique position of the mothers of American birth, in comparison with the other nationalities. They lag behind the others both in the number of children borne and in the number surviving, as is seen from Tables 82, 83, and 84.

It remains to take up the *thira* topic in this portion of the discussion, to wit, the probable effects upon the future population of the phenomena just noted.

Table 86 depicts the short-run influence of the divergent birth rates among the foreign born. The "new" immigrants are furnishing from four to eight times as many members of the next generation as are the "old." Thus 18 per cent of the children born in 1920 had "new" immigrant fathers, as against 5 per cent with fathers from northwestern Europe; while 16.1 per cent had "new" immigrant mothers, as contrasted with 4.4 per cent having mothers from the "old" immigrant stock. Finally, 14.4 per cent of all the children born in 1920 had both parents belonging to the "new" immigrant stock, as compared with 2.2 per cent whose fathers and mothers were both from the "old" immigration. For the time being, at least, the central, southern, and eastern European peoples are outstripping the older foreign stocks in replenishing the racial stream of the country. This situation is, of course, the result not alone of the higher birth rate of the former, but also of their greater numerical strength, particularly at the childbearing ages.

Nevertheless, even in this short-run view of the situation, countervailing tendencies appear. The first relates to the factor mentioned repeatedly above—that is, the unbalanced sex ratio among the foreign born. It was seen in the preceding chapter that the "new" immigration showed, on the whole, a larger excess of males over females around the ages of potential parenthood than did the "old." Consequently, the actual contribution made to the next generation by their women is somewhat smaller, relative to that made by their men, than is the case with the "old" immigration. Table 86 provides confirmation for this statement. There is a difference of only 0.6 per cent in the quota furnished by the males and females of the "old" immigration, but it amounts to 1.9 per cent in the case of the "new." Furthermore, the Irish women, who outnumber the men of their nationality in this country, actually lead the latter in the percentage of children contributed by the mothers of 1920 as compared with the fathers. In so far, therefore, as the prolificacy of a population is limited by the number of marriageable females within it, the "old" immigrants have decidedly the better of it in competition with the "new."

More than this, the superior vitality of the children of the "old" immigration can not be overlooked. The net contribution of the "old" immigrant mothers to the next generation does not appear to be any smaller than that of the "new," despite the greater initial fertility of the latter. The importance of this conclusion can not be overestimated. It means that, although there are to-day more sons and daughters being born to south and east European than to north and west European mothers, no more of the former appear to be living to grow up and reproduce their kind than the latter. In two generations, then, both stocks will be on a parity.

Little can be said concerning the long-run consequences of the data adduced here, for there is very little on which to base any conclusions. No figures are available on the marriage rates of the third generation of the nationality groups covered here, so that there is no way of telling whether the tendency for late marriages and, in consequence, a restricted birth rate, which has been found among the native children of the foreign born, as a whole, exists in equal degree among all of the ethnic stocks, or whether it is more pronounced among certain groups than others.

There is, however, evidence that the second generation immigrants, of *all* nationalities, have fewer children than their foreign-born fathers and mothers.<sup>10</sup> In fact, one writer has said that "almost, if not quite the first biological result of Americanization is to reduce the fertility of marriages."<sup>11</sup> It seems probable, therefore, that, after one or two generations, all of the various immigrant stocks will reduce their fecundity to about the same level as the native population as a whole.

It may, of course, be asserted that the central, southern, and eastern Europeans are inherently more fertile than the northwestern European "old" immigrants, and that, notwithstanding some slight slackening in their birth rate, they will continue to multiply more rapidly than either the "old" immigrant or the original American stocks, and so will eventually supersede or, at least, outnumber them. No final opinion can be given on this question so long as there is such a paucity of data relating to it. Examination of the material that is available, however, at least raises doubts concerning the validity of this assumption. Somewhat surer ground is reached when the birth rates of these nationalities in their original home lands are considered. Table 88 shows that, in Europe itself, the

<sup>10</sup> Hill, Joseph A.: "Fecundity of Immigrant Women"; Report of the Immigration Commission, Washington, 1911, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 805, 806.

<sup>11</sup> Pearl, Raymond: "Vitality of the Peoples of America"; American Journal of Hygiene, Vol. I, pp. 671, 672.

central, south, and eastern European countries have a generally higher birth rate than the north and western, and so appears to confirm the belief in the superior natural fecundity of the "new" immigrant stock. Table 89, however, casts a new light on the question. *In every one of the major countries of Europe the birth rate has suffered a sharp decline since 1880.* Presumably, this falling birth rate has been due, in part, to the change of public opinion and the dissemination of information concerning family limitation; and, in part, to urbanization and industrialization. It is seen from this table, further, that the birth rate has fallen more rapidly in the north and west European countries than in south and east Europe. Now, all of this suggests that the divergent fecundity of these populations is due mainly to differences in environment, opinion, and knowledge, rather than to variations in natural fertility, for all of them have suffered a decline in their birth rates; and, furthermore, this decrease has been accelerated in those regions where economic and social development has gone on rapidly, but has been retarded in those countries where the change has proceeded slowly. As a result, the more conservative and industrially undeveloped central, south, and east European countries still show a higher fecundity than those of the north and west. Moreover, while the natives of these countries emigrating to America display substantially similar divergencies in their birth rates, these differences may be expected to disappear, inasmuch as all immigrant stocks will eventually encounter in this country essentially similar environment and social conditions.

Brief reference may be made to one further and totally different set of facts. This is the enormous birth rate experienced by the American population up to about 1860. In fact, the American people of that time have been called "an extremely virile and fertile race."<sup>19</sup> Now, this population was essentially of northwest European origin—that is, it embodied descendants of the original English, German, and Scotch-Irish colonial stock, together with the first increments of the "old" immigration. Under favorable social, economic, and physical conditions it multiplied at an almost unprecedented rate. Can there be any reason for doubting that the present-day representatives of these same northwestern European peoples—that is, the "old" immigration—would, under similar circumstances, be equally fertile, and that, therefore, they are possessed of an inherent prepotency in no wise inferior to that of the "new" immigrants?

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<sup>19</sup> Rossiter, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22.

TABLE 88.—ANNUAL BIRTH RATES PER 1,000 OF POPULATION, FOR SEVERAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES: 1912 <sup>1</sup>

Rank	COUNTRY	Birth rate, 1912
1	Hungary.....	36.2
2	Italy.....	32.4
3	Spain.....	31.5
4	Austria.....	31.2
5	Germany.....	28.2
6	Holland.....	28.1
7	Scotland.....	25.9
8	Norway.....	25.8
9	England and Wales.....	23.8
10	Sweden.....	23.7
11	Belgium.....	23.2
12	Ireland.....	23.0
13	France.....	19.0

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Holmes: The Trend of the Race, New York, 1921, p. 119.

TABLE 89.—MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM BIRTH RATES OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES: 1880-1910 <sup>1</sup>

COUNTRY	MAXIMUM		MINIMUM	
	Year	Rate	Year	Rate
England and Wales.....	1881	33.9	1910	25.1
Scotland.....	1881	33.7	1910	25.2
Ireland.....	1881	24.5	1890	22.3
Hungary.....	1884	45.0	1905	35.7
Austria.....	1892	38.9	1908	33.5
Spain.....	1881	37.1	1900	32.0
Prussia.....	1885	37.8	1900	31.8
German Empire.....	1884	37.2	1908	32.1
Italy.....	1884	39.0	1907	31.5
Belgium.....	1881	31.8	1908	24.9
France.....	1881	24.9	1909	19.0

<sup>1</sup> From Newsholme: The Declining Birth Rate, London, 1911, p. 12.

## 2. VITALITY OF THE FOREIGN STOCK

As suggested in the preceding section, it is misleading to study merely the birth rate of a population. It is important, rather, to determine the number of persons who are born *and survive*, at least long enough to reproduce themselves. It is important, further, to estimate the average duration of life of a population, since a people with a high death rate not only experiences difficulty in maintaining its numbers, but also suffers from the decreased productivity, the disorganized family life, and the arrested cultural progress that attend upon premature deaths.

The material available for this section is even more fragmentary than that in the preceding one. It does, nevertheless, provide a basis for certain tentative conclusions concerning the relative vitality of native and foreign stocks. The native and foreign populations as a whole may first be considered, and after that certain individual ethnic groups within the latter.

VITALITY OF THE NATIVE AND FOREIGN STOCKS AS A WHOLE

Three sorts of data are obtainable for the study of the relative vitality of the native and foreign populations of the United States. The first is their general mortality; the second is their mortality from certain diseases; the third is their infant mortality.

Tables 90 and 91 provide information pertaining to the *first* topic, that is, the general mortality of native and foreign stocks.

TABLE 90.—PER CENT OF NATIVITY CLASSES IN TOTAL POPULATION, PER CENT OF DEATHS IN EACH NATIVITY CLASS OF TOTAL DEATHS, AND RATIO OF PER CENT OF DEATHS TO PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION, FOR THE UNITED STATES AND REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

NATIVITY CLASS	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION			Ratio of per cent of deaths to per cent of population of registration area
	Total population	Population of death registration area	Total deaths	
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	-----
White (total).....	89.7	91.4	88.1	90.4
Native white of native parentage.....	55.3	52.9	145.2	85.4
Native white of foreign or mixed parentage.....	21.5	23.8	122.2	93.3
Foreign-born white.....	13.0	14.6	10.6	134.2
Unknown.....			1.2	
Colored.....	10.3	8.6	11.9	138.4

<sup>1</sup> Data for deaths taken from Bureau of Census, Mortality Statistics, 1920, p. 10. Deaths of native born of unknown parentage prorated among native born of native parentage and native born of mixed and foreign parentage.

Unfortunately, general death rates for native and foreign stock have not as yet been computed. Nevertheless, the data that are presented in these tables point rather conclusively to a superior vitality—that is, to a lower mortality—on the part of the native born as compared with the foreign born. Thus, in Table 90, the native white of native parentage are seen to furnish but 85.4 per cent of the deaths of their “quota,” based on their numerical importance in the population of the same area. On the other hand, the children of foreign parents furnished 93.3 per cent of their “expected” deaths, and the foreign born, 134.2 per cent.

It is, of course, true that the foreign born and native born of mixed and foreign parentage are somewhat overstated, as regards deaths, since the death registration area contains a somewhat higher proportion of these population classes than does the country as a whole. However, the death registration area is much more inclusive than that for birth registration,<sup>13</sup> so that the exaggeration in the ratio of expected to actual deaths in these population classes is probably not

<sup>13</sup> Birth Registration Area: 23 States and the District of Columbia; 59.8 per cent of population. Death Registration Area: 34 States and the District of Columbia, and 16 cities in nonregistration States; 82.2 per cent of population.

so great as was the case in connection with the births among the children of foreign mothers.

TABLE 91.—DEATH RATES, BY CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF MOTHER OF DECEDENT, FOR CERTAIN PLACES AND AREAS OF DEATHS: 1920

[The States and cities are arranged in order of magnitude of the adjusted rates]

AREA AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER	DEATH RATE FROM ALL CAUSES <sup>1</sup> PER 1,000 ENUMERATED POPULATION		AREA AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER	DEATH RATE FROM ALL CAUSES <sup>1</sup> PER 1,000 ENUMERATED POPULATION	
	Adjusted rate	Crude rate		Adjusted rate	Crude rate
United States:			Germany (includes German Poland):		
Boston.....	15.3	10.0	St. Louis.....	15.3	20.3
St. Louis.....	14.7	10.5	Missouri.....	14.5	19.0
New York City.....	13.7	12.0	New York City.....	13.9	17.4
Philadelphia.....	13.1	12.0	Pennsylvania.....	12.8	17.3
Pennsylvania.....	12.2	11.8	New York.....	12.8	17.0
New York.....	12.1	12.3	Michigan.....	12.3	14.2
New Jersey.....	11.8	11.6	Philadelphia.....	12.0	16.7
Michigan.....	11.7	11.0	Chicago.....	11.9	13.1
Massachusetts.....	11.6	13.6	New Jersey.....	11.5	14.9
Chicago.....	11.4	9.7	Illinois.....	11.5	14.3
Indiana.....	11.3	10.7	Ohio.....	11.3	17.3
Missouri.....	10.7	9.0	Illinois.....	10.9	17.0
Ohio.....	10.7	10.0	Wisconsin.....	9.9	13.0
Illinois.....	10.5	9.3	Minnesota.....	9.3	11.5
Minnesota.....	9.6	8.2	Ireland:		
Wisconsin.....	9.2	8.0	New York City.....	18.1	20.2
Canada:			New York.....	17.5	21.5
Michigan.....	14.7	13.3	Boston.....	16.6	17.9
New York.....	14.3	14.7	Philadelphia.....	16.0	19.2
Massachusetts.....	13.3	12.0	Pennsylvania.....	16.0	21.1
Denmark, Norway, and Sweden:			New Jersey.....	16.5	18.9
Chicago.....	12.1	11.7	Chicago.....	16.5	17.9
Illinois.....	12.0	11.9	Illinois.....	16.0	16.7
Minnesota.....	10.3	11.4	Massachusetts.....	14.5	16.8
Wisconsin.....	9.7	11.2	Italy:		
England, Wales, and Scotland:			Pennsylvania.....	14.1	12.0
Pennsylvania.....	14.0	16.2	New York City.....	14.0	12.6
New York City.....	13.4	15.8	New York.....	13.9	12.2
New York.....	13.0	17.6			
Massachusetts.....	12.3	14.0			

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of stillbirths.

Moreover, the findings based on Table 90 are confirmed by Table 91. The adjusted death rates among the native born in various parts of the country are generally lower than those among the foreign. But the foreign-born groups are not equally unfavorably circumstanced in this respect. The Irish show death rates distinctly higher in each given area than are shown for the natives of native mothers in the same area. For the other foreign groups, in nearly all the places where comparison is possible, the excess is not nearly so great. However, it should be noted, both in this connection and others in which this table is used, that it covers only seven ethnic groups in a small number of States and cities.

It should be noted that death rates in this comparison are "adjusted," that is, they make allowance for the age distribution of the populations included. The same can not, of course, be said of Table 90, but, in that this is so, the advantage rests with the for-

cign born, who have been seen to consist predominantly of men and women in the prime of life.

A *second* basis of comparison is furnished by the deaths from specific causes in native and foreign populations. Tables 92 and 93 contain the data bearing on this question, but the material is so detailed, and at the same time so fragmentary, as to be of little significance at this point.<sup>14</sup> The American stock appear to have a generally lower death rate than the foreign stock in respect of most of the causes of death noted. That is, the natives are more healthy than the foreign stock all along the line and do not have an advantage over them merely in respect of certain causes of death.

One particular item may be noted, namely, deaths from violence, which includes various forms of occupational traumatism, such as mine explosions, machine accidents, falls, and the like. It is seen from Table 93 that the native born suffer far less from this cause of death than the foreign born, the rate for the natives running from 60.6 to 68.9 per 100,000 and for the foreign born, from 42.1 to 132.6 per 100,000, in different localities. Apparently the native born are far less exposed to hazardous occupations than the foreign born. In other words, most of the hazardous work in this country is probably being carried on by immigrants.

TABLE 92.—HIGHEST AND LOWEST ADJUSTED DEATH RATES, PER 100,000 OF ENUMERATED POPULATION, BY CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF MOTHER, IN CERTAIN AREAS: 1920

[Rates for deaths numbering less than 5 are shown in *italics*]

CAUSE OF DEATH	HIGHEST RATE		LOWEST RATE	
	Country	Per 100,000	Country	Per 100,000
Typhoid fever.....	Italy.....	8.6	United States.....	0.8
Meninges.....	do.....	30.6	Ireland.....	3.0
Scarlet fever.....	Canada.....	12.6	Germany <sup>1</sup> .....	2.1
Whooping cough.....	England, Wales, and Scotland.....	16.5	do. <sup>1</sup> .....	2.7
Diphtheria and croup.....	Germany <sup>1</sup> .....	38.7	do. <sup>1</sup> .....	9.1
Influenza.....	England, Wales, and Scotland.....	80.7	do. <sup>1</sup> .....	32.6
Tuberculosis of the lungs.....	Ireland.....	194.8	United States.....	47.0
All other forms of tuberculosis.....	do.....	22.7	Ireland.....	6.7
Cancer and other malignant tumors.....	do.....	125.1	Italy.....	67.8
Diabetes.....	Germany <sup>1</sup> .....	35.3	do.....	9.1
Cerebral hemorrhage and softening.....	Ireland.....	66.9	do.....	52.3
Organic diseases of the heart.....	do.....	283.2	United States.....	124.2
Pneumonia (all forms).....	Italy.....	283.9	Germany <sup>1</sup> .....	115.6
Diarrhea and enteritis (all ages).....	United States.....	89.6	do. <sup>1</sup> .....	24.0
Acute nephritis and Bright's disease.....	Ireland.....	190.5	United States.....	79.0
Puerperal septicemia:				
Based on total population.....	Italy.....	14.7	Germany <sup>1</sup> .....	1.5
Based on female population.....	do.....	28.3	do. <sup>1</sup> .....	2.8
All other puerperal causes:				
Based on total population.....	do.....	19.3	do. <sup>1</sup> .....	6.4
Based on female population.....	do.....	37.0	do. <sup>1</sup> .....	12.2
Violent deaths (suicide excepted).....	do.....	132.6	do. <sup>1</sup> .....	42.1

<sup>1</sup> Including German Poland.

<sup>14</sup> Table 92 gives the highest and lowest death rates according to the nativity of the mother, but not within the same area; in Table 93 the comparison is made in rates for native and foreign-born mothers in each registration area for which statistics as to country of birth of mothers were shown in the census report on mortality for 1920. U. S. Census, Mortality rates, 1910-1920, pp. 10-21.

TABLE 93.—ADJUSTED DEATH RATES FROM SPECIFIED CAUSES PER 100,000 ENUMERATED POPULATION, FOR CERTAIN COUNTRIES OF BIRTH OF MOTHER, AS COMPARED WITH NATIVE MOTHERS, IN 5 REGISTRATION AREAS: 1920

[Rates for deaths numbering less than 5 are shown in italics]

CAUSE OF DEATH	CHICAGO, ILL.					NEW YORK STATE					
	Country of birth of mother					Country of birth of mother					
	United States	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden	Germany (includes German Poland)	Ireland		United States	Canada	England, Wales, and Scotland	Germany (includes German Poland)	Ireland	Italy
Typhoid fever	0.8	2.9	1.5	0.9		3.9	6.5	2.9	2.4	1.6	8.6
Measles	3.6	5.9	4.5	3.0		10.0	9.1	9.8	9.5	14.6	27.9
Scarlet fever	10.7	12.4	6.1	11.4		5.0	12.5	5.6	3.4	7.9	5.5
Whooping cough	6.4	5.8	5.5	12.2		11.8	9.4	9.6	2.7	15.8	14.8
Diphtheria and croup	27.0	20.5	33.7	29.1		20.2	32.2	26.9	23.0	29.4	24.0
Influenza	47.2	59.0	50.9	77.9		46.8	45.9	36.5	32.6	46.7	52.4
Tuberculosis of the lungs	47.0	89.8	60.9	106.3		77.2	80.3	78.1	97.4	183.9	95.9
All other forms of tuberculosis	10.8	11.9	9.5	6.7		15.6	16.7	15.0	9.1	22.7	18.7
Cancer and other malignant tumors	73.3	100.1	114.3	125.1		73.9	93.6	83.3	108.2	117.1	61.0
Diabetes	19.4	21.4	22.4	24.8		15.7	21.4	19.5	23.5	23.8	19.3
Cerebral hemorrhage and softening	60.4	52.6	59.8	82.4		81.9	96.6	82.5	78.4	99.9	63.8
Organic diseases of the heart	140.5	174.0	171.4	283.2		146.1	195.3	186.8	188.9	253.1	162.3
Pneumonia (all forms)	134.7	141.9	123.0	173.6		130.1	133.0	130.4	126.0	188.1	241.9
Diarrhea and enteritis (all ages)	16.6	28.9	53.0	79.5		60.3	70.8	46.8	41.4	69.4	83.4
Acute nephritis and Bright's disease	83.2	97.8	115.3	133.9		79.0	91.9	100.2	116.6	158.8	93.7
Puerperal septicemia:											
Based on total population	3.1	3.2	5.2	4.0		4.5	5.6	3.3	3.8	5.3	8.3
Based on female population	3.9	6.2	10.0	7.7		8.5	10.7	6.3	7.3	10.1	15.9
All other puerperal causes:											
Based on total population	6.8	12.6	6.4	12.2		9.9	11.8	6.5	7.6	12.4	17.2
Based on female population	13.0	24.2	12.2	24.2		19.0	22.5	12.3	14.5	23.8	33.0
Violent deaths (suicide excepted)	61.6	71.7	63.5	102.0		61.8	84.8	81.4	67.7	98.7	85.5

FECUNDITY AND VITALITY

CAUSE OF DEATH	NEW YORK CITY					PENNSYLVANIA					PHILADELPHIA		
	Country of birth of mother					Country of birth of mother					Country of birth of mother		
	United States	England, Wales, and Scotland	Germany (includes German Poland)	Ireland	Italy	United States	England, Wales, and Scotland	Germany (includes German Poland)	Ireland	Italy	United States	Germany (includes German Poland)	Ireland
Typhoid fever.....	1.4	1.5	2.3	1.6	4.2	5.7	3.7	7.4	2.1	6.6	2.5	6.6	0.9
Measles.....	15.4	10.8	8.9	13.8	30.6	10.7	12.1	8.2	11.7	27.7	17.5	8.1	14.4
Scarlet fever.....	4.7	4.4	2.1	7.9	4.0	10.7	4.0	4.9	7.7	15.6	7.8	5.8	7.2
Whooping cough.....	13.7	16.5	2.9	14.3	13.8	12.5	10.2	8.9	8.5	15.4	6.5	5.8	9.2
Diphtheria and croup.....	23.9	27.4	22.4	32.2	24.4	20.3	18.4	28.4	21.2	23.2	28.4	8.1	29.2
Influenza.....	42.4	33.4	33.2	44.9	54.9	66.7	80.7	68.5	77.7	72.5	40.1	56.3	55.3
Tuberculosis of the lungs 1.....	94.3	78.2	83.7	104.8	98.6	71.0	82.5	88.7	150.5	71.2	80.2	93.8	173.4
All other forms of tuberculosis.....	19.2	18.2	2.4	22.0	13.9	12.6	10.4	8.9	10.7	12.3	15.4	14.8	16.0
Cancer and other malignant tumors.....	92.9	96.9	113.0	124.9	60.7	74.3	69.2	68.7	68.1	57.8	81.2	103.7	107.7
Diabetes.....	17.1	21.4	33.3	28.0	19.7	16.4	19.2	21.3	17.4	9.1	16.2	20.9	13.9
Cerebral hemorrhage and softening.....	67.2	71.4	63.1	85.6	52.2	86.1	94.5	84.9	95.7	94.5	62.3	68.6	75.8
Organic diseases of the heart.....	174.4	203.6	202.0	275.5	190.7	194.2	151.8	151.8	204.2	131.7	150.2	189.6	240.4
Pneumonia (all forms).....	183.9	152.6	142.0	214.0	201.9	136.5	173.1	155.1	247.5	289.9	163.5	113.6	209.3
Diarrhea and enteritis (all ages).....	67.0	48.6	53.6	74.0	80.3	62.7	57.6	45.5	74.4	74.4	88.6	24.0	77.0
Acute nephritis and Bright's disease.....	112.4	123.0	132.0	181.6	98.3	86.7	104.8	107.4	149.0	79.2	116.5	152.4	190.5
Puerperal septicemia: Based on total population.....	4.3	3.7	4.9	5.0	7.9	6.6	5.9	4.9	6.4	14.7	5.4	7.5	10.2
Based on female population.....	8.2	7.0	9.1	9.6	15.0	12.7	11.3	9.4	12.2	28.3	10.4	2.8	19.3
All other puerperal causes: Based on total population.....	7.6	7.0	7.9	11.4	15.2	12.3	15.1	12.7	16.6	19.3	10.3	11.8	14.7
Based on female population.....	14.5	13.4	15.3	21.6	29.1	23.5	28.9	24.2	31.8	37.0	19.6	22.6	28.1
Violent deaths (suicide excepted).....	63.2	76.7	63.3	93.1	33.5	68.9	91.2	65.0	91.3	132.6	61.7	42.1	82.1

1 Includes acute military tuberculosis.

Infant mortality constitutes a *third* means for studying the vitality of native and foreign-born stocks. Table 94 demonstrates clearly that the babies of native mothers have a far better chance to live through their first year than do those of foreign mothers, the death rates being 75.8 per 1,000 births for the former and 96.9 for the latter. This result is no more than would be expected from the superior survival rate shown for the children of native mothers in Table 85. It suggests, moreover, that a large number of the children of foreign mothers shown by that table to have died, succumbed early in infancy, and that it is, therefore, excessive infant mortality which cuts down the families of the foreign born to something near the same size as those of the native. In so far as this is true, it will probably operate only temporarily as a check upon the increase of this foreign stock, for improved economic status, and acquaintance with American methods of prenatal and postnatal care may be expected to lower the infant mortality among the third and subsequent generations of the immigrant stock.

For the present, however, in this and other respects, there can be no doubt but that the foreign stock possesses a vitality inferior to the native.

TABLE 94.—WHITE INFANT MORTALITY, BY NATIVITY OF MOTHER, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER	Infant mortality rates (deaths under 1 year per 1,000 births)	COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER	Infant mortality rates (deaths under 1 year per 1,000 births)
United States.....	75.8	Foreign—Continued.	
Foreign (total).....	96.9	Ireland.....	90.7
Austria (including Austrian Poland).....	112.9	Germany (including German Poland).....	81.8
Hungary.....	93.7	Italy.....	94.1
Canada.....	99.3	Poland (not specified).....	121.8
Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.....	66.4	Russia (including Russian Poland).....	71.8
England, Scotland, and Wales.....	75.6	Other foreign countries.....	120.5

VITALITY OF ETHNIC GROUPS WITHIN THE FOREIGN STOCK

It is of capital importance to determine the relative death rates of the various immigrant stocks entering into this country's racial complex. Not only does the mortality of any ethnical element, together with its fecundity, determine its numerical importance in the population of the future, but, as suggested at the beginning of this chapter, it affects its social and economic usefulness. An ethnic group with a high death rate is almost a liability to the commonwealth. It imposes upon the community all the physical and financial strain of the bearing, rearing, and, eventually, of nursing through

their terminal sicknesses and of burying a progeny that, to a considerable degree, does not emerge from the helpless dependency of infancy and childhood, or at best achieves only a brief and enfeebled term of maturity, and so makes little or no return to society for the cost that is entailed by it.

As above, the discussion may be taken up under the three headings of general mortality, mortality from specific causes, and infant mortality.

The data for the *first* of these three topics are embodied in Tables 91, 95, and 96. Table 91 relates to the death rates of different nationalities in the United States, Tables 95 and 96 compare the general death rate of the United States with that of various foreign countries, including those from which the major immigrant groups are drawn.

Table 91 reveals some striking differences between the several ethnic stocks. The Irish show the heaviest mortality; the Scandinavians the lightest. The English, Welsh, and Scotch, the Canadians, the Italians, and the Germans occupy a median position between them, none having any marked advantage over the others. The difference between the Scandinavians and Irish is, however, startling. The adjusted death rate of the former ranges from 9.7 to 12.1 per 1,000, that of the latter from 14.5 to 18.1. That is, the *maximum* death rate for the Scandinavians is considerably lower than the *minimum* for the Irish. More than this, eight out of the nine death rates given for the Irish outstrip the rates for every other nationality group in the table.

It may be remarked, in addition, that the Scandinavian mortality rate is generally below that shown by the native-born Americans.

Scarcely enough nationalities are included in this table to merit any conclusions concerning "old" and "new" immigrants. One "old" immigrant group—the Scandinavian—has an exceptionally low mortality, another—the Irish—has a shockingly high one. A third—the German—has about the same record as the only "new" immigrant nationality included in the list—that is, the Italian.

The table does, however, serve to furnish yet one more illustration of the very wide disparity to be found *within* the "old" immigrant group, and the importance of concentrating attention upon separate nationalities.

Brief reference may be made here to a study made by Dr. Louis I. Dublin upon this same question. Basing his computations upon the mortality statistics of New York State for the year 1910, Doctor Dublin concludes that the Irish born have the highest death rate of the 6 nationality groups studied, and the Russians—mostly Hebrews—the lowest. The Italians and the English, Scotch, and Welsh have only slightly poorer records than the Russians, and the Germans

rank after them, but are considerably better than the Irish.<sup>15</sup> In so far as Doctor Dublin's results are conclusive, they point in much the same direction as Table 91. They show the Irish born to have a very bad mortality record, while that of the Germans, English, and Italians is fairly good. In addition, they give the Russian Hebrews an exceptionally clean bill of health. It may be observed further that the two groups having the longest "expectations of life"—that is, the lowest mortality rates—are the Russians and Italians, both "new" immigrant peoples.<sup>16</sup>

TABLE 95.—ANNUAL CRUDE DEATH RATES PER 1,000 OF POPULATION, FOR THE UNITED STATES AND VARIOUS COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	Year	Crude death rate	COUNTRY	Year	Crude death rate
United States (registration area).....	1920	13.1	Ireland.....	1920	14.8
Austria.....	1919	20.3	Italy.....	1919	19.0
Belgium.....	1920	13.5	Jamaica.....	1920	25.3
Denmark.....	1920	12.0	Netherlands.....	1920	12.0
England and Wales.....	1920	12.4	Norway.....	1919	17.1
Finland.....	1920	15.0	Rumania.....	1918	41.2
France.....	1920	17.7	Scotland.....	1920	14.0
Germany.....	1920	15.1	Spain.....	1920	23.2
Hungary.....	1917	18.5	Sweden.....	1920	13.3
			Switzerland.....	1920	14.4

When one turns to the death rates of the different immigrant nationalities in their own home countries, as set forth in Table 95, one finds a confusing situation. In the first place, the Irish, who have a high death rate in the United States, have in Ireland, a low death rate, as compared with other European countries. Thus, the annual rate in Ireland in 1920 was 14.8 per 1,000, as against a maximum of 41.2 in Rumania. Again, the Scandinavian death rates, which are below those for Americans born in this country, are, in Europe, above the rate for the United States, and probably above that for the native born in the United States. Finally, there is a fairly clear distinction between north and west, and central, south, and east Europe, the death rates in the former being generally lower than in the latter.

<sup>15</sup> Dublin: "Factors in American Mortality," American Economic Review, Vol. VI, No. 3, 1916. Cf. also, "The Mortality of Foreign Race Stocks," reprinted from the Scientific Monthly, January, 1922. From these two studies, the "expectation of life at age of 10" for each group is estimated to be as follows:

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Male (years)	Female (years)
Ireland.....	38.09	45.00
Germany.....	49.44	54.35
England, Scotland, and Wales.....	50.27	52.08
Italy.....	51.04	52.92
Russia (mostly Hebrews).....	53.44	55.82
United States—native parentage.....	62.06	65.87

<sup>16</sup> It should be remembered that Doctor Dublin's material covers only a very limited area, and likewise a limited period of time. His results, therefore, must be regarded more as careful estimates than as finally conclusive calculations of life expectancy.

It is, however, to be noted that there is considerable difference in the years to which the death rates apply, and that the very high rates for such countries as Rumania probably reflect the *sequelae* of such postwar conditions as extreme poverty and famine. Table 96 covers a longer period of years, however, and shows the "old" immigration countries, on the whole, to have lower death rates than those in which the "new" immigration originates.

TABLE 96.—CRUDE DEATH RATES OF THE UNITED STATES AND VARIOUS COUNTRIES: 1900-1920

[Compiled by Census Bureau from official reports of the various countries listed]

COUNTRY	DEATH RATE <sup>1</sup> PER 1,000 POPULATION								
	1900	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
United States (registration area*)	17.0	16.0	16.5	16.0	15.7	16.0	14.8	14.4	15.0
Australia	11.8	12.2	11.1	10.9	10.9	11.0	11.1	10.3	10.4
Austria	25.4	23.8	23.8	25.1	22.6	22.7	22.5	22.9	21.2
Chile	35.6	26.2	27.8	34.9	32.7	29.6	31.0	31.2	31.0
England and Wales	13.2	15.5	16.3	15.3	15.5	15.1	14.8	14.6	13.5
France	21.0	19.2	19.4	19.6	19.9	20.2	18.9	19.1	17.8
Germany	22.1	20.0	19.6	19.8	18.2	18.0	18.1	17.2	16.2
Ireland	19.6	17.5	18.0	17.1	16.9	17.6	17.5	17.1	17.1
Italy	23.8	22.4	21.2	22.0	20.9	20.9	22.8	21.7	19.9
Japan	20.4	20.0	21.2	21.9	20.0	21.0	20.9	21.9	21.1
New Zealand	9.4	10.4	9.6	9.3	9.3	11.0	9.6	9.2	9.7
Scotland	18.5	16.8	17.1	16.2	16.4	16.6	16.6	15.8	15.3
Spain	28.0	24.8	25.5	25.6	25.8	24.2	23.5	23.6	22.9
Sweden	16.8	15.1	15.3	15.6	14.4	14.6	14.9	13.7	14.0
United Kingdom	18.4	18.8	16.6	15.6	15.7	15.5	15.3	15.0	14.0

COUNTRY	DEATH RATE <sup>1</sup> PER 1,000 POPULATION									
	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
United States (registration area*)	14.2	13.9	14.1	13.6	13.6	14.0	14.3	18.1	12.9	13.1
Australia	10.7	11.2	10.7	10.5	10.6	11.0	9.7	10.0	12.7	10.5
Austria	21.9	20.5	20.2	18.1	21.3	20.9	22.0	20.4	20.3	(?)
Chile	31.1	29.7	30.1	27.8	29.0	26.3	27.7	27.5	54.1	30.8
England and Wales	14.6	13.3	13.8	14.0	15.7	14.4	14.4	17.6	13.7	12.4
France	19.6	17.5	17.7	19.6	19.1	18.1	18.0	24.0	19.1	17.7
Germany	17.3	15.6	15.0	19.1	21.4	19.2	20.5	24.8	15.5	15.1
Ireland	16.5	16.5	17.1	16.3	17.0	16.3	16.6	17.9	17.6	14.8
Italy	21.4	18.2	18.7	17.9	20.4	19.7	19.2	32.3	19.0	(?)
Japan	20.3	19.9	19.4	20.5	20.1	21.5	21.4	26.8	22.8	(?)
New Zealand	9.4	8.9	9.6	9.3	9.1	9.6	9.6	14.8	9.5	10.2
Scotland	15.1	15.3	15.5	15.5	17.1	14.6	14.3	16.0	15.4	14.0
Spain	23.3	21.1	22.1	22.0	22.0	21.3	22.3	33.1	23.3	23.2
Sweden	13.8	14.2	13.7	13.8	14.7	13.6	13.4	17.0	14.5	13.3
United Kingdom	14.8	13.8	14.3	14.4	10.0	14.6	14.7	17.4	14.3	12.8

\* Exclusive of Hawaii.  
<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of stillbirths.  
<sup>2</sup> Figures not available.  
<sup>3</sup> Based upon civilian deaths and estimated civilian population.  
<sup>4</sup> Figures relate to 77 "departements," not invaded.  
<sup>5</sup> Exclusive of Alsace-Lorraine.  
<sup>6</sup> Exclusive of that part of the province of Posen surrendered to Poland.  
<sup>7</sup> Exclusive of that part of the province of Posen surrendered to Poland; also of the district of Memel, Republic of Danzig, surrendered to Poland, and of the territory surrendered to Czechoslovakia, Denmark, and Belgium.  
<sup>8</sup> The figures are provisional.  
<sup>9</sup> Including only civilian deaths and population as regards England and Wales.

Table 93 deals with the *second* topic here being considered—that is, the death rates from specific causes of death for the different immigrant peoples. Three features may be observed. First, the Italians suffer great losses from death by violence, their fatalities from these causes running up to 132.6 per 100,000, which is 28.6 per 100,000 above the maximum for any other group. Apparently, the Italians are doing a large amount of heavy, hazardous labor.<sup>17</sup> Again, the Italians show a high mortality from puerperal causes—that is, from disorders associated with pregnancy, childbirth, and lactation. Thus, the deaths from puerperal septicemia alone during the year 1920, were as high as 28.3 per 100,000 females among the Italian women, and those from other puerperal causes went even higher—to 37 per 100,000 females. These rates are far in excess of those shown by the other national groups. It will be remembered from the discussion of Tables 83 and 84 that the Italian women displayed the highest birth rate among the immigrant groups tabulated by the Census Bureau. It is apparent here that they pay a tragic price for their preeminent fertility in an excessive toll of deaths during and accompanying childbirth. Whether this circumstance is due to inherent weakness, to unfavorable conditions during and after confinement, or merely to the heavy exposure to risk consequent upon the large number of children borne by them, can not be said.

Finally, the Irish are seen to suffer especially from two types of sickness, namely, tuberculosis and diseases of the circulatory system. Table 92 shows that the Irish have the highest death rate of all the groups tabulated for pulmonary and other forms of tuberculosis, for organic diseases of the heart, and for cerebral hemorrhage and softening. It is impossible here to examine into the causes for the unusual mortality of the Irish from these diseases. It may, however, be observed that, according to Table 93, the tuberculosis rate among the Irish is particularly high in New York City, where congested living conditions are encountered; further, that tuberculosis is particularly prevalent in crowded, urban communities, and that the Irish are particularly prone to urban life. Indeed, a guess may be hazarded that the excessive death rate of the Irish, from these and other causes, as compared with their relatively low mortality in Ireland, is due in part to their sudden transition from a predominantly rural environment, in a climate conducive to outdoor living, to a country in which they are—for some reason—settled chiefly in large, densely populated cities, and in which they are subjected to extremes of heat and cold such as they and their forbears have seldom, if ever, experienced.

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<sup>17</sup> There may also be a high homicide rate among them.

The infant mortality of certain of the different immigrant stocks constitutes the *third* basis for comparing their vitality. Table 94<sup>18</sup> deals with the situation in the United States, and Table 96 deals with that in Europe.

Table 94 reveals no clear-cut tendencies. There is a wide variation in infant mortality among the immigrant groups, the range being from 66.4 deaths per 1,000 births, among the children of Scandinavian mothers,<sup>19</sup> to 121.8 among the offspring of Polish mothers. That is, the Polish infant mortality is almost twice that of the Scandinavian.

As between "old" and "new" immigrants, the former appear to have an advantage, having an average rate of 78.5 against 98.9 for the latter. Yet the babies of Russian mothers show a superior vitality, having a death rate of only 71.8 per 1,000 births, which is but slightly higher than that of the offspring of Scandinavian mothers, and is lower than that shown by the children of native mothers. On the other hand, the Irish infant mortality is distinctly higher than that of the "old" immigrant group as a whole.

TABLE 97.—INFANT MORTALITY RATES, BY SEX, FOR THE BIRTH REGISTRATION AREA OF THE UNITED STATES AND CERTAIN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	Year	INFANT MORTALITY RATES (deaths under 1 year per 1,000 births)		COUNTRY	Year	INFANT MORTALITY RATES (deaths under 1 year per 1,000 births)	
		Male	Female			Male	Female
United States <sup>1</sup> .....	1920	95.1	76.1	Hungary.....	1915	281.9	244.6
Australia.....	1920	76.7	61.1	Ireland.....	1920	60.4	75.2
Austria.....	1920	170.7	141.8	Italy.....	1916	174.5	187.7
Belgium.....	1912	132.1	107.2	Jamaica.....	1920	178.4	166.4
Bulgaria.....	1911	166.1	145.7	Netherlands.....	1920	82.2	62.0
Canada.....	1921	98.2	77.4	Norway.....	1920	64.9	50.5
Denmark.....	1920	100.1	80.0	Russia.....	1909	204.9	236.0
England and Wales.....	1920	90.0	69.3	Scotland.....	1920	103.3	80.3
Finland.....	1920	105.1	87.8	Serbia.....	1910	144.7	132.4
France.....	1913	122.7	101.7	Spain.....	1917	163.5	140.1
Germany.....	1920	143.8	117.5	Sweden.....	1916	76.6	62.5
				Switzerland.....	1920	62.0	74.0

<sup>1</sup> Registration area.

Brief reference may be made to the infant mortality in the various countries in which most of the American immigrants originate. Table 97 shows results similar to those obtained from Table 95, namely, that the mortality in central, southern, and eastern Europe

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Birth Statistics for the birth registration area of the United States, 1920, p. 37, and text following, which discusses the particular causes for the varying death rates among these peoples.

<sup>19</sup> Professor Willcox has suggested to the writer that the low infant mortality recorded for Scandinavian mothers may be due in part to the fact that the majority of them are situated in rural districts where the registration of deaths of very young infants would probably be incomplete.

is greater than in northern and western Europe, although once more attention must be paid to the difference in the dates of the tabulations for the various countries.

Some interpretation of the material that has gone before may now be undertaken. Perhaps the most positive assertion that can be made is that no definitive generalization can be reached. The data are too fragmentary and too contradictory to admit of any final conclusions concerning the relative vitality of the various immigrant peoples.

It is clear that there are important differences. It is also clear that the tendencies displayed by certain immigrant groups in this country are, in many cases, directly contrary to those shown by them in their native countries. Thus, the Irish, in the United States, have an excessive general mortality, and a high infant mortality, and yet make a creditable showing in both respects in Ireland. Again, the Italians in this country have a low general mortality, and do not have an excessive infant mortality, but have high rates in both in Italy. Likewise, Doctor Dublin believes that the Russians have a very low general mortality in the United States, while Table 94 gives them an unusually low infant mortality rate. Yet, Table 97 shows very high infant mortality rates in Russia.

On the other hand, both the general and the infant mortality of the Scandinavians and of the English, Scotch, and Welsh are low in Europe as well as in America.

It is perfectly obvious that, in the case of the Italians, Russians, and Irish, either conditions in this country must be very different from those abroad, or the physical type of immigrants received here must vary markedly from that of the general population of the countries from which they come. The latter is probably true of the Russians. Most of the Russian immigrants to the United States are Hebrews, and they probably are possessed of more vitality than the Russians as a whole, particularly under the urban conditions which they encounter in America, and to which they have been indurated for generations.

As has been said, it is likely that the Irish suffer through the changed conditions they encounter here. On the other hand, it is probable that the Italians gain, physically, from their migration.

Can anything be said concerning the relative vitality of "old" and "new" immigrants? Probably not. The "new" immigrants show higher general and infant mortality than do the "old" in Europe, but certain of them, such as the Italians, reverse their position when they reach the United States. On the other hand, it is the Irish, an old immigrant race, *par excellence*, who have the highest general mortality rate in this country, and a "new" immigrant

nationality, the Poles, which have the highest infant mortality rate. Again, one study finds the Russian Hebrews, who are "new" immigrants, to have the lowest death rate among a number of immigrant races; while the census mortality statistics show the Scandinavians, who are "old" immigrants, to be the longest lived of the nationalities tabulated by it. Finally, the Scandinavians and Russians—one an "old," the other a "new" immigrant group—are seen to have the two lowest infant mortality rates. The average rate for the "old" immigration is lower than for the "new," but they are averages based on averages, and are of little statistical significance. It seems, once more, that the broad classification of "old" and "new" immigration must be abandoned in favor of one which fixes attention upon *individual ethnic groups*.

#### SUMMARY

The foregoing discussion of available data may be summarized thus: The foreign-born element is encroaching upon the native stock, as regards births, but is much shorter lived than the latter. Between the different immigrant groups a wide diversity is seen. The "new" immigrants have a higher birth rate than the "old," but have such a heavy death rate, particularly among their infants, that the net contribution of their women to the country's vital stream is probably little different from that of the "old" immigrant mothers. Moreover, there are relatively few women among the "new" immigrants, so that their *total* offspring is not so great as their individual fecundity suggests. In regard to death rates, the evidence is so contradictory and the differences between the several ethnic groups are so wide that no generalizations concerning the "old" and "new" immigrants can be reached. Indeed, the data are such as to throw grave doubt upon the value of the classification implied in these terms, at least, in the study of race vitality.

As to the future, the evidence tends to controvert any conclusions concerning inherent and unchangeable racial or national differences, either as to fecundity or vitality, but to suggest, on the contrary, that existing differences result largely from differing circumstances of environment and culture, and that they will disappear as the children and grandchildren of the immigrants of to-day achieve social, economic, and intellectual parity with the other Americans of to-morrow.

Before this chapter is ended, it may be of interest briefly to refer to the interrelation of births to deaths. Obviously, the net effectiveness of any population element in the replenishment of the country's vital stream depends upon the relation of its birth rate to its death rate. If its death rate is higher than its birth rate, it will gradually disappear. Conversely, if its birth rate is relatively higher than its death rate, it will expand. Further, absolute birth or death rates are,

from this viewpoint, of less importance than relative ones. Thus, a high birth rate will not avail to prevent the diminution of a racial stock, if its death rate is only a little higher.

Dr. Raymond Pearl has devised a *vital index* to express the relation of births to deaths in the native and foreign-born population groups. The index is so constructed that it amounts to 100 for a population which is just maintaining itself, less than 100 for one which is decreasing, and over 100 for one that is increasing.<sup>20</sup> Doctor Pearl's computations do not extend beyond 1918, and the occurrence of the influenza epidemic makes that year somewhat abnormal. Nevertheless, the broad relations between the two population groups are probably accurately expressed by his indices. Table 98 embodies the result of Doctor Pearl's calculations.

TABLE 98.—VITAL INDEX OF NATIVE AND FOREIGN POPULATIONS: 1918<sup>1</sup>

NATIVITY CLASS	VITAL INDEX		
	Total	Urban	Rural
Native white. (Births—Native white of native parents; deaths—All native whites.)	118.8	93.2	144.8
Foreign white. (Births—Native whites, both parents foreign; deaths—Foreign-born whites.)	151.8	100.0	118.8

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Pearl, op. cit., p. 651.

According to this calculation, the native white population is little more than maintaining itself, and is not even doing this in urban communities. The foreign born are, however, increasing rapidly, particularly in the cities. That is, despite its high death rate, the high birth rate of the foreign born enables them, *during the present generation*, to gain rapidly on the native population.

Incidentally, the relatively low vital index of the foreign born in rural areas may be remarked. It is due, in part, to the large number of old persons among the rural foreign born, which would entail few births and many deaths. It is probably also partly ascribable, as Doctor Pearl points out, to the limited number of potential mothers among the rural foreign born, a fact to which reference has been made earlier in this monograph.

<sup>20</sup> Pearl: "The Vitality of the Peoples of America," American Journal of Hygiene, vol. I., pp. 647-666. The index is constructed from the formula  $\frac{100 \sum B}{\sum D}$  wherein "B"—Births and "D"—Deaths ("σ" is the symbol for summation)

## VIII

### MARITAL CONDITION, INTERMARRIAGE, AND ILLEGITIMACY

The previous chapter has served to show that the fecundity of any population class is dependent in part upon its marital condition. For example, the prolificacy of the native white of foreign or mixed parentage is markedly reduced by the low marriage rate of that population class.

Marriage statistics are useful, moreover, for other reasons besides the light thrown by them upon the birth rate. Figures on divorce, illegitimacy, and age of marriage contribute to the knowledge of family life. The ratio of illegitimate to legitimate births furnishes a partially valid means of estimating relative moral standards. Finally, statistics of intermarriage between the native and foreign born and between different ethnic stocks provide a clue to the rate at which native and foreign stocks are mingling, and the degree to which the biological integrity of the various groups is being broken up by exogamous marriages, especially by matings with members of the American stock.

The three points mentioned above, namely, marital condition, illegitimacy, and intermarriage, constitute the three principal divisions of this chapter.

#### 1. MARITAL CONDITION

Of the many topics which might be discussed concerning the marital condition of the foreign stock, two only are analyzed in this study. The first is the marital condition of the foreign stock, including certain ethnic groups within it. The second is the interrelation between the territorial distribution of the foreign stock and its marital condition.

#### MARITAL CONDITION OF THE FOREIGN STOCK AND OF CERTAIN ETHNIC GROUPS

For the purposes of this portion of the discussion, the foreign stock is divided into three categories: First, the foreign-born white population; second, the native white population of foreign or mixed parentage; and, third, certain ethnic groups within the foreign-born white population, as embodied in the special tabulation, to which recourse has been made earlier in this monograph.

Tables 99 and 100 furnish the material on the basis of which the *first* of these three topics may be considered.<sup>1</sup> They reveal two striking facts concerning the marital condition of the foreign-born white population. The first is the relatively high per cent married among the foreign-born women. Thus, Table 99 shows that, among the white women 15 years of age and over in the United States in 1920, 28.4 per cent of the native born of native parents, as compared with only 14.1 per cent of the foreign born, are single. Moreover, it is seen from Table 100 that the foreign-born women are married in greater numbers than the native of native parentage in nearly all of the age groups tabulated.

TABLE 99.—MARITAL CONDITION OF THE WHITE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, FOR NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE CLASSES, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1890-1920

CLASS OF POPULATION AND CENSUS YEAR	MALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER							
	Total <sup>1</sup>	Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Native white:								
1920.....	20,083,047	9,927,618	38.1	14,795,171	56.7	1,111,115	4.3	176,713
1910.....	22,018,232	9,091,360	41.3	11,821,805	53.7	889,662	4.0	112,144
1900.....	17,551,260	7,627,637	43.5	9,100,302	51.8	693,949	4.0	59,415
1890 <sup>2</sup> .....	13,953,598	6,262,921	44.9	7,142,105	51.2	483,646	3.5	34,722
Native white—Native parentage:								
1920.....	19,092,107	6,776,518	35.5	11,244,289	58.9	874,821	4.6	134,789
1910.....	16,233,095	6,185,324	38.1	9,144,069	56.3	728,883	4.5	87,456
1900.....	13,088,058	5,195,263	39.7	7,103,922	55.0	587,894	4.5	47,993
1890 <sup>2</sup> .....	10,880,185	4,359,200	40.1	6,030,265	56.4	432,260	4.0	36,182
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage:								
1920.....	5,990,940	3,151,100	45.1	3,550,882	59.8	236,294	3.4	40,924
1910.....	5,785,137	2,906,042	50.2	2,677,706	46.3	166,779	2.8	24,688
1900.....	4,463,211	2,432,374	54.5	1,900,386	42.7	106,055	2.4	11,422
1890 <sup>2</sup> .....	3,073,413	1,903,721	61.9	1,111,810	36.2	51,386	1.7	4,540
Native white—Foreign parentage: <sup>3</sup>								
1920.....	4,792,011	2,141,310	44.7	2,445,201	51.0	171,612	3.6	26,197
1910.....	4,059,778	1,989,127	49.0	1,926,075	47.4	117,046	2.9	16,471
Native white—Mixed parentage: <sup>3</sup>								
1920.....	2,198,929	1,009,790	45.9	1,105,591	50.3	64,682	2.9	14,727
1910.....	1,725,360	910,915	53.1	751,631	43.6	43,733	2.5	8,217
Foreign-born white:								
1920.....	7,252,530	1,855,047	25.6	4,902,042	67.6	438,049	6.0	31,950
1910.....	7,139,893	2,208,916	31.8	4,432,135	62.1	384,726	5.4	23,059
1900.....	5,267,350	1,545,793	29.4	3,355,556	63.8	326,438	6.2	13,346
1890 <sup>2</sup> .....	4,580,689	1,400,911	32.1	2,850,805	62.2	228,325	5.2	9,107

(See footnotes to table, on p. 213)

<sup>1</sup> For tables dealing with these same topics in greater detail, see Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. IV, Tables 1 and 5.

TABLE 99.—MARITAL CONDITION OF THE WHITE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, FOR NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE CLASSES, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1890-1920—Continued

CLASS OF POPULATION AND CENSUS YEAR	FEMALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER							Di- vorced
	Total †	Single		Married		Widowed		
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Native white:								
1920.....	25,740,850	7,030,933	30.8	15,080,735	58.0	2,480,407	9.6	200,009
1910.....	21,411,031	7,097,139	33.1	12,228,008	57.1	1,905,878	8.9	130,259
1900.....	17,037,720	5,878,703	34.5	9,404,321	55.5	1,539,287	9.0	79,219
1890 ‡	13,504,996	4,787,906	35.2	7,489,780	55.1	1,250,918	9.2	62,146
Native white—Native parentage:								
1920.....	18,529,748	5,268,490	28.4	11,195,805	60.4	1,885,000	10.2	152,743
1910.....	15,523,900	4,644,122	29.9	9,219,385	59.4	1,523,560	9.8	100,053
1900.....	12,561,813	3,893,417	31.0	7,251,375	57.7	1,332,334	10.6	62,535
1890 ‡	10,530,075	3,226,180	30.6	6,132,027	58.2	1,120,959	10.6	44,284
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage:								
1920.....	7,211,103	2,068,443	37.0	3,890,870	54.0	595,407	8.3	48,100
1910.....	5,887,131	2,453,017	41.7	3,008,023	51.1	382,318	6.5	30,206
1900.....	4,475,997	1,985,280	44.4	2,212,040	49.4	260,063	5.7	16,034
1890 ‡	3,064,321	1,561,726	51.0	1,357,712	44.3	135,059	4.4	7,802
Native white—Foreign parentage: §								
1920.....	4,900,547	1,791,271	36.5	2,648,054	54.0	431,821	8.8	29,535
1910.....	4,092,572	1,600,120	40.0	2,128,165	52.0	270,348	6.8	18,987
Native white—Mixed parentage: §								
1920.....	2,304,561	877,172	38.1	1,242,810	53.9	163,586	7.1	18,031
1910.....	1,794,559	792,897	44.2	880,458	49.1	106,070	5.9	11,210
Foreign-born white:								
1920.....	5,013,985	835,709	14.1	4,123,503	89.7	919,255	15.5	27,556
1910.....	5,440,306	994,110	18.3	3,624,003	66.5	800,112	14.7	20,542
1900.....	4,445,332	868,600	19.5	2,855,440	64.2	702,585	15.8	12,513
1890 ‡	3,809,910	787,237	20.7	2,435,040	63.9	574,854	15.1	8,970

† Total includes persons whose marital condition was not reported.  
 ‡ Figures for 1890 are exclusive of persons specially enumerated in Indian Territory and on Indian reservations, for whom statistics of marital condition are not available.  
 § Not reported separately in 1900 or 1890.

TABLE 100.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY MARITAL CONDITION OF THE WHITE POPULATION, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, FOR NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE CLASSES, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

CLASS OF POPULATION AND AGE PERIOD	MALES				FEMALES			
	Single	Married	Wid-owed	Di-vorced	Single	Married	Wid-owed	Di-vorced
Native white.....	60.5	36.2	2.7	0.4	55.7	37.5	6.2	0.5
Under 15 years of age.....	100.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	100.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )
15 years and over.....	38.1	59.7	4.3	0.7	30.8	58.6	9.6	0.8
15 to 19 years.....	97.0	1.9	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	88.3	11.3	0.2	0.1
20 to 24 years.....	72.2	26.9	0.4	0.2	48.9	49.4	1.0	0.5
25 to 29 years.....	39.3	58.9	1.1	0.5	25.5	71.4	2.1	0.9
30 to 34 years.....	23.8	74.0	1.7	0.8	16.8	78.8	3.3	1.1
35 to 39 years.....	15.9	80.1	2.9	1.0	12.0	79.0	6.2	1.2
40 to 44 years.....	12.4	80.8	5.5	1.1	11.1	74.1	13.7	1.1
45 to 49 years.....	10.0	77.9	10.8	1.1	9.7	61.6	27.8	0.8
50 to 54 years.....	7.3	65.8	25.8	0.8	8.3	34.9	56.2	0.4
55 to 59 years.....	28.5	29.4	3.8	0.8	31.2	30.7	11.0	1.0

<sup>1</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

TABLE 100.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY MARITAL CONDITION OF THE WHITE POPULATION, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, FOR NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE CLASSES, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920—Continued

CLASS OF POPULATION AND AGE PERIOD	MALES				FEMALES			
	Single	Married	Wid-owed	Di-voiced	Single	Married	Wid-owed	Di-voiced
Native white—Native parentage.....	58.4	37.9	3.0	0.5	53.9	38.0	6.5	0.5
Under 15 years of age.....	100.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	100.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )
15 years and over.....	35.5	58.9	4.6	0.7	28.4	60.4	10.2	0.8
15 to 19 years.....	97.5	2.3	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	86.3	13.3	0.2	0.1
20 to 24 years.....	68.6	30.4	0.4	0.2	44.7	53.4	1.1	0.6
25 to 29 years.....	35.7	62.4	1.1	0.6	22.7	74.0	2.2	1.0
30 to 34 years.....	20.8	76.4	1.8	0.8	14.7	80.7	3.4	1.1
35 to 44 years.....	13.9	82.0	2.9	1.0	10.9	81.6	6.2	1.2
45 to 64 years.....	10.6	82.4	5.7	1.2	9.2	76.1	13.5	1.1
65 to 64 years.....	8.8	79.1	10.9	1.1	8.4	63.1	27.4	0.9
65 years and over.....	6.7	66.1	26.1	0.8	7.9	35.0	56.4	0.4
Age unknown.....	26.5	25.7	3.6	0.8	29.0	40.1	11.1	1.0
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	65.9	31.5	2.1	0.4	60.2	34.1	5.2	0.4
Under 15 years of age.....	100.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	100.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )
15 years and over.....	45.1	50.8	3.4	0.6	37.0	54.0	8.3	0.7
15 to 19 years.....	99.1	0.8	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	93.6	6.2	0.1	( <sup>1</sup> )
20 to 24 years.....	81.3	18.1	0.2	0.1	59.2	39.6	0.7	0.4
25 to 29 years.....	48.4	50.2	0.8	0.4	32.4	65.0	1.8	0.7
30 to 34 years.....	30.1	67.6	1.0	0.7	22.0	74.0	3.0	0.9
35 to 44 years.....	21.6	74.8	2.0	0.9	18.0	74.7	6.2	1.0
45 to 64 years.....	17.1	76.5	5.3	1.0	15.3	69.0	14.1	0.9
65 to 64 years.....	13.5	74.8	10.7	1.0	12.9	57.5	28.7	0.7
65 years and over.....	10.6	64.2	24.2	0.9	10.1	34.2	55.1	0.4
Age unknown.....	49.2	34.0	5.7	1.5	44.4	37.4	10.9	1.3
Native white—Foreign parentage.....	66.0	31.3	2.2	0.3	60.5	33.0	5.5	0.4
Under 15 years of age.....	100.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	100.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )
15 years and over.....	44.7	51.0	3.6	0.5	36.5	54.0	8.8	0.6
15 to 19 years.....	99.1	0.7	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	93.5	6.3	0.1	( <sup>1</sup> )
20 to 24 years.....	81.6	17.7	0.2	0.1	58.9	40.0	0.7	0.3
25 to 29 years.....	48.9	49.8	0.8	0.4	32.1	65.4	1.7	0.7
30 to 34 years.....	30.7	67.0	1.0	0.6	22.0	74.1	3.0	0.8
35 to 44 years.....	22.6	73.7	2.7	0.8	18.8	73.9	6.8	1.0
45 to 64 years.....	16.2	75.3	5.4	1.0	16.2	68.5	14.3	0.8
65 to 64 years.....	14.2	74.0	10.8	0.9	13.5	60.8	25.9	0.6
65 years and over.....	11.5	63.5	24.1	0.8	10.6	34.2	54.6	0.4
Age unknown.....	49.3	33.8	5.7	1.3	44.5	37.2	10.9	1.3
Native white—Mixed parentage.....	65.6	32.0	1.9	0.4	59.6	35.1	4.6	0.5
Under 15 years of age.....	100.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	100.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )
15 years and over.....	45.9	50.3	2.9	0.7	38.1	53.9	7.1	0.8
15 to 19 years.....	99.0	0.9	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	93.8	6.0	0.1	0.1
20 to 24 years.....	80.6	18.7	0.2	0.2	59.8	38.8	0.7	0.5
25 to 29 years.....	47.4	51.0	0.9	0.5	33.0	64.2	1.8	0.9
30 to 34 years.....	28.9	68.6	1.6	0.8	22.1	73.8	3.0	1.1
35 to 44 years.....	19.5	76.9	2.5	1.1	16.5	70.3	5.9	1.2
45 to 64 years.....	14.2	79.6	4.0	1.2	13.0	72.3	13.5	1.2
65 to 64 years.....	11.1	77.3	10.2	1.3	10.8	60.1	28.0	1.0
65 years and over.....	8.4	65.8	24.5	1.1	9.0	34.2	56.2	0.5
Age unknown.....	49.0	34.5	5.7	1.9	44.0	37.7	10.9	1.2
Foreign-born white.....	28.3	65.1	5.8	0.4	17.9	66.7	14.9	0.4
Under 15 years of age.....	99.9	0.1	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	99.9	0.1	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )
15 years and over.....	25.6	67.6	6.0	0.4	14.1	69.7	15.5	0.5
15 to 19 years.....	98.5	1.3	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )	85.3	14.3	0.2	0.1
20 to 24 years.....	75.5	23.7	0.3	0.1	37.1	61.6	1.0	0.2
25 to 29 years.....	45.3	53.3	0.8	0.2	16.0	81.6	1.9	0.4
30 to 34 years.....	27.5	70.5	1.4	0.3	9.8	80.6	3.1	0.5
35 to 44 years.....	17.5	79.3	2.5	0.5	8.2	84.8	6.8	0.6
45 to 64 years.....	12.2	81.5	5.4	0.6	6.8	76.8	15.7	0.6
65 to 64 years.....	10.0	78.2	10.9	0.7	5.6	62.8	30.9	0.5
65 years and over.....	7.8	62.2	29.2	0.6	4.9	32.9	61.6	0.3
Age unknown.....	40.2	34.0	5.5	0.8	23.4	51.2	17.6	0.9

<sup>1</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

It is not difficult to assign a cause for these higher percentages for foreign-born women. It has already been suggested. The heavy excess of marriageable males among the foreign born provides the females an unusually favorable opportunity for matrimony.<sup>2</sup> The relation of this fact to the high birth rate among the foreign born has already been shown.<sup>3</sup>

A curious paradox is presented by the foreign-born males. According to Table 99, they, as well as the foreign-born females, are more frequently married than the natives of native parentage, the males among the natives of native parentage 15 years of age and over having 35.5 per cent of their number unmarried, as against 25.6 per cent for the foreign born. Table 100 tells another story, however. For each separate age period from 15 upwards, the natives of native parentage display a lower percentage of single males, and a higher percentage of married males than the foreign born. Probably the abnormal age composition of the foreign-born population is responsible for this contradiction. This class contains relatively few youths from 15 to 20 years of age, when marriages are infrequent, and relatively many of 21 years and over, when marriages are frequent. Therefore, consisting predominantly of men of marriageable age, the entire group shows a large per cent married, notwithstanding the fact that, *at the ages of greatest marriageability*, the native sons of native parents have a greater marriage frequency than the foreign-born males. The relative scarcity of available females, which has been so often referred to above, is probably the primary cause behind this infrequency of marriage among the foreign-born males.

In fact, there appears to be an inverse and causal relation between the percentages for foreign-born males and females in this respect, which may be stated as follows: *A high marriage rate among the females accompanies a low marriage rate among the males, largely because the relative scarcity of marriageable females makes marriage easy for the one sex and difficult for the other.*<sup>4</sup>

The foreign-born women also include a large number of widows. Table 99 indicates that the females in the foreign-born population are more frequently widowed than the native born of native parents. Among the former, the widows make up 15.5 per cent of the females, while among the latter, the corresponding figure is but 10.2 per cent. Table 100, furthermore, shows that the foreign-born women begin to show a higher percentage of widowhood than the native in the relatively low age group of 35-44 years. Apparently the high death

<sup>2</sup> Cf. supra, Ch. VI, Tables 70-73, pp. 154-158.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. supra, Ch. VII, Table 80, and pp. 180, 181.

<sup>4</sup> In the following section, reference is made to the bearing of this general principle upon the territorial distribution of the foreign born with relation to marital condition.

rate among the foreign born is partly accountable for this condition. In addition, it should be remembered that the large percentage married among the foreign-born women carries with it a heavy "exposure" to the risk of being widowed.

The foreign born had a lower per cent divorced than the native born of native parents for both sexes and all age groups. No great weight can be given to these figures, however. The absolute numbers involved are not large, and it must not be forgotten that a larger number of divorces in one group than in another may not indicate a greater relaxation of the marriage relation, so much as a better acquaintance with the procedure in securing divorces and better ability to meet the not inconsiderable expense involved in a divorce action. However, so far as the data are of significance, they suggest a more conservative attitude toward family life among the foreign than the native born. More than this, it probably has some slight relationship to the birth rate of the two population classes, a marriage terminating in divorce being likely to eventuate in a smaller family than one which remains unbroken.

It is interesting to observe that the marriage rate for both native and foreign elements has increased from 1890 to 1920, and at about the same rate.<sup>5</sup>

The natives of foreign or mixed parentage constitute the *second* class whose marriage status may be analyzed. Reference has already been made in an earlier chapter to the outstanding feature of their marital condition. They contain a very high proportion of unmarried persons, both men and women. Thus, it appears from Table 99 that the single men in the male population 15 years of age and over are 25.6 per cent of the foreign-born white group, 35.5 per cent of the native white of native parentage, 44.7 per cent of the native white of foreign parentage, and 45.9 per cent of the native white of mixed parentage. Similarly, the unmarried women in the female population of 15 years and over amount to 14.1 per cent for the foreign-born whites, 28.4 per cent for the natives of native parentage, 36.5 per cent for the natives of foreign parentage, and 38.1 per cent for the natives of mixed parentage. Furthermore, the sons and daughters of foreign parentage display a smaller percentage of married than either the foreign born or native born of native parentage for every one of the age groups tabulated in Table 100.

It is interesting to examine the age grouping of these population classes a little more closely in this respect. The deficit in the number of married persons among the children of immigrants is particu-

<sup>5</sup> The increase in the per cent married between 1890 and 1920, so far as it applies to the foreign born, might be due to the stoppage of immigration following the World War, since the single among them would be reduced by a stoppage in immigration, whereas the married among them would be increased by marriages among those already here.

larly marked in the lower age groups. Thus, Table 100 shows that the maximum difference in both males and females between this and the other population classes is at the age group 20-29 years and that it grows smaller with succeeding age periods. In other words, the immigrant's native-born children not only marry less frequently than either the foreign born, or the sons and daughters of the natives, but those who do marry tend to postpone their marriages for a relatively long time.

The explanation for this condition can only be conjectured. It may, however, be observed that the postponement or foregoing of marriage involves the deferment or avoidance of the financial obligations involved in marriage, more particularly in the support of children. It may be further pointed out that the second generation immigrants are particularly likely to seek relief from financial pressure in this way, for they are passing over from the social position and economic level of the foreign to the native group and could materially accelerate their progress by keeping themselves free, temporarily or permanently, from family burdens. In other words, to many of the children of the foreign born it seems to be of more importance to bridge the gap between the social and economic level in which they were born and that attained by the sons and daughters of the native Americans than it is to marry and have children.

Whether or not this deduction is correct, the phenomenon for which it seeks to account is sufficiently striking and significant to make it incumbent on students of population problems to determine its causation.

Three additional observations may be made. In the first place, it should be remembered that, in the present generation, the adult children of immigrants are, in the main, the offspring from the "old" northwest European immigrant stock. Whether the sons and daughters of the "new" central, south, and east Europeans will behave similarly remains to be seen.

In the second place, it is worth noting that the women as well as the men among the native born of mixed and foreign parentage display a disposition to delay or to avoid marriage. It may be indeed, that the daughters of the immigrants have a special motive for postponing marriage in that by waiting until they might have improved their economic status and broadened their social contacts they would widen the field from which they might choose their prospective husbands. It is very interesting to see the daughters of those women, who, among the white population, marry most frequently, go to the opposite extreme and marry most infrequently. Such a contrast betokens a veritable revolution among the women

of the foreign population in their attitude toward marriage and the home and denotes a very rapid "Americanization," in this respect at least.

In the third place, it may be observed that the deferment of marriage among the women of this group not only reduces the total span of years during which they are likely to have children, but that it imposes an especial limitation upon their prospect for bearing children during the very period when their natural fecundity might be expected to be the greatest, namely, during early maturity. In other words, their action imposes a cumulative restriction on them in this respect and thereby greatly reduces the natural increase of that portion of the foreign stock to which they belong.

Table 101 and Table 180 provide the material on which is based the *third* portion of this analysis, to wit, the study of the marital condition of certain ethnic groups within the foreign-born population. It must be repeated that these tables are not all-inclusive, but represent a "sampling" within certain cities and States.

TABLE 101.—RELATIVE RANKING OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, IN CERTAIN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, ACCORDING TO EXCESS OF MALES OVER FEMALES AT MATURITY, AND PERCENTAGE OF UNMARRIED MALES AND FEMALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER: 1920

EXCESS OF MALES OVER FEMALES (INVERTED ORDER)			PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES UNMARRIED		PERCENTAGE OF MALES UNMARRIED			
Rank	Ethnic group	Males per 100 females	Rank	Ethnic group	Per cent un- mar- ried	Rank	Ethnic group	Per cent un- mar- ried
15	Irish.....	74.0	1	Irish.....	26.0	1	Mexican.....	40.0
14	English-Canadian.....	86.2	2	English-Canadian.....	23.6	2	Russian.....	27.5
13	Bohemian and Mo- ravian.....	99.9	3	English, Scotch, and Welsh.....	20.7	3	Irish.....	27.1
12	French-Canadian.....	101.8	4	Yiddish.....	20.3	4	Swedish.....	26.4
11	English, Scotch, and Welsh.....	107.1	5	French-Canadian.....	19.5	5	Norwegian.....	25.6
10	Yiddish.....	107.8	6	Mexican.....	18.6	6	Italian.....	25.1
9	Swedish.....	107.9	7	Russian.....	18.5	7	English-Canadian.....	25.0
8	German.....	110.4	8	Swedish.....	18.2	8	Danish.....	23.6
7	Norwegian.....	123.0	9	Italian.....	14.2	9	English, Scotch, and Welsh.....	23.2
6	Slovak.....	123.8	10	Norwegian.....	13.2	10	French-Canadian.....	22.3
5	Polish.....	127.8	11	Danish.....	12.3	11	Polish.....	22.3
4	Italian.....	130.4	12	Slovak.....	11.7	12	Polish.....	22.3
3	Russian.....	130.8	13	Polish.....	11.3	13	Slovak.....	22.2
2	Mexican.....	131.2	14	Bohemian and Mo- ravian.....	10.4	14	Bohemian and Mo- ravian.....	18.0
1	Danish.....	151.1	15	German.....	9.9	15	German.....	17.2

No general conclusions can be safely drawn from these data. It is obvious that the "old" and "new" immigration show no distinctive differences. Table 101, which is derived from Tables 179 and 180, indicates that the "old" and "new" immigration are evenly divided

in this respect, for when the European ethnic groups are ranged according to their per cent married, the upper half of the column for both males and females consists of three "old" and three "new" race stocks, as does also the lower half.<sup>6</sup>

Likewise, no clear-cut relationship appears between the sex ratio of these groups and their per cent married, or between the percentage of the males and of the females. From preceding tables, it would be expected that the per cent of males *unmarried* and of females *married* would vary directly as the excess of males over females. But Table 101 shows no such correlation in the ranking of the peoples tabulated by it. It is likely that the wide divergence in age composition between these groups—for example, the Germans and the Poles<sup>7</sup>—and the failure of this set of tables to differentiate between age groups are largely responsible for such an anomalous result. That is, the principle above enumerated probably holds true, but the statistics presented here are not sufficiently discriminating to bring it out.

Nevertheless, some relationship between sex ratio and marriage does appear. Thus, the Irish have been seen to have an unusually high number of females relative to males, and the Irish women are found at the head of the list of females arranged according to the proportion remaining unmarried. Likewise, the Russians and Mexicans display a considerable excess of males over females, and a high proportion of unmarried males. In the case of the Mexicans, however, there must be kept in mind the additional factor of the abnormally large number of children within their group, making it likely that there are also among them an unusual number of youths who are over 15 years of age, but who are not yet old enough to marry.

Some interest attaches to the relative per cent divorced in these groups. Table 180 records a variation among the males of from 0.9 per cent for the English Canadians to 0.1 per cent for the Italians, and among the females, of from 1 per cent for the English Canadians to 0.1 per cent for the Italians. The former had a larger per cent divorced than even the native whites of native parents, as shown in Table 100.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The Mexican and the English and French Canadian groups are not counted.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. VI, Tables 78 and 170 to 179.

<sup>8</sup> The high divorce rate indicated for Canadians in the United States may be due in part to the fact that those Canadians desiring to obtain divorces tend to migrate to the United States. In this connection, the high percentage divorced among Canadian women in Rochester—a city easily accessible to the Canadian border—may be noted. Cf. Nienburg, Bertha M.: *The Woman Home-maker*, a study of statistics relating to married women in the city of Rochester, N. Y., at the census of 1920.

## TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION AND MARITAL CONDITION OF THE FOREIGN STOCK

A considerable body of data is available for the consideration of the interrelation between the marital condition of the foreign stock and its territorial distribution. The material is taken up in relation, first, to the situation in the various geographic divisions and States of this country, and, second, to that in urban and rural communities.

The *first* of these sets of data is contained in Tables 102, 103, and Maps 16, 17, 18, and 19. They reveal one significant tendency: The percentage of unmarried men is relatively small, and of unmarried women relatively high, along the North Atlantic seaboard, but unmarried males become progressively more numerous, and unmarried females progressively less numerous, as they spread west and south. Thus, in Table 102, the percentage of foreign-born females who are married, widowed, or divorced is perceptibly lower in the New England and Middle Atlantic States than in the rest of the country. The converse is generally true of the males, although the contrast between the East and West North Central and the North Atlantic regions is slight.

This table is not, however, entirely satisfactory, since, like Table 101, it does not differentiate between age groups. The foreign born in certain regions, especially the North Central States, are in general so advanced in years, that they display an unusually large per cent married, and therefore, the marital trend (among the present generation of foreigners) is obscured.

TABLE 102.—PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED IN THE WHITE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, FOR NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE CLASSES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920 AND 1910

DIVISION AND STATE	MALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED						FEMALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					
	Native white				Foreign-born white		Native white				Foreign-born white	
	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage				Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage			
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
UNITED STATES.....	64.2	61.4	54.8	49.5	74.1	67.8	71.4	69.8	62.9	58.1	85.7	81.6
GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS:												
New England.....	65.7	65.0	46.2	42.9	76.1	68.2	68.0	68.2	50.8	48.0	81.0	74.9
Middle Atlantic.....	63.1	60.9	51.0	48.7	75.7	67.8	67.8	66.1	58.1	55.5	84.1	78.3
East North Central.....	64.0	61.9	58.6	52.5	75.8	72.2	71.5	69.8	66.7	60.5	89.0	86.3
West North Central.....	62.7	59.6	56.1	47.8	76.3	70.1	70.8	69.9	65.5	58.6	90.1	87.0
South Atlantic.....	64.8	62.3	58.2	56.0	69.3	66.4	71.3	69.3	65.5	61.9	85.5	82.9
East South Central.....	67.1	64.2	65.9	59.5	76.6	74.9	73.8	72.2	69.0	64.3	87.2	86.7
West South Central.....	64.9	62.2	60.3	55.7	69.0	70.5	74.7	74.2	70.1	66.4	82.5	85.6
Mountain.....	61.4	55.1	58.4	49.0	64.8	55.7	74.3	73.0	72.2	66.5	88.7	87.3
Pacific.....	63.2	54.9	55.3	45.6	63.4	54.4	75.4	72.1	69.3	62.2	86.4	84.2

TABLE 102.—PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED IN THE WHITE POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, FOR NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE CLASSES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920 AND 1910—Continued

DIVISION AND STATE	MALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED						FEMALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					
	Native white				Foreign- born white	Native white				Foreign- born white		
	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage			Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage				
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
<b>NEW ENGLAND:</b>												
Maine.....	60.2	67.6	50.0	48.2	72.9	68.2	74.8	73.0	58.2	56.5	82.5	78.5
New Hampshire.....	60.5	69.2	47.5	44.2	73.7	65.2	73.7	73.7	53.0	51.0	81.4	74.7
Vermont.....	66.7	66.6	61.1	58.3	75.0	70.0	72.9	73.5	67.8	65.9	85.7	83.4
Massachusetts.....	64.3	63.6	44.9	41.6	76.1	68.1	64.8	64.5	48.7	45.7	80.4	73.1
Rhode Island.....	62.1	61.5	45.4	41.0	78.1	69.3	64.9	65.1	40.2	46.3	81.2	74.4
Connecticut.....	64.0	63.5	45.4	42.1	76.9	68.3	66.6	66.5	52.3	48.6	80.3	78.8
<b>MIDDLE ATLANTIC:</b>												
New York.....	61.2	59.4	50.6	48.2	74.0	67.7	66.2	65.3	57.3	54.9	81.5	75.4
New Jersey.....	63.5	61.0	50.5	47.9	78.3	70.3	68.0	66.5	58.2	55.0	87.0	80.3
Pennsylvania.....	64.5	62.0	52.0	50.1	75.8	67.1	68.9	66.7	56.6	56.7	88.3	83.7
<b>EAST NORTH CENTRAL:</b>												
Ohio.....	65.2	62.7	62.0	58.8	74.4	72.1	72.5	69.5	60.4	64.6	80.4	80.8
Indiana.....	68.1	65.3	60.0	63.7	70.2	71.8	75.0	73.3	73.5	68.3	90.3	89.5
Illinois.....	62.6	60.0	55.2	48.8	70.2	69.6	69.8	68.6	63.0	57.2	87.8	83.4
Michigan.....	64.8	61.7	57.1	50.6	74.4	74.3	74.0	73.0	67.8	60.1	86.6	87.6
Wisconsin.....	51.5	49.3	57.4	49.0	70.0	76.0	68.7	56.9	66.5	58.0	91.5	90.3
<b>WEST NORTH CENTRAL:</b>												
Minnesota.....	53.0	48.6	48.2	39.0	73.9	66.8	60.2	58.8	50.4	50.5	80.9	86.6
Iowa.....	62.8	60.5	61.3	62.3	78.7	74.7	70.1	68.7	69.3	61.0	91.1	90.0
Missouri.....	65.1	61.8	65.9	68.1	78.0	72.7	72.8	71.3	71.2	65.4	87.0	86.8
North Dakota.....	55.4	50.3	40.1	37.6	74.5	63.7	65.0	68.4	58.4	53.2	89.5	84.7
South Dakota.....	57.3	52.8	52.7	43.5	75.5	68.6	68.1	68.7	65.7	59.1	90.8	88.5
Nebraska.....	61.3	58.6	50.5	46.4	78.4	73.4	70.9	70.0	66.1	58.1	91.3	89.8
Kansas.....	65.7	62.0	62.4	53.4	70.3	73.6	74.1	73.0	70.4	63.9	91.3	91.0
<b>SOUTH ATLANTIC:</b>												
Delaware.....	60.9	63.0	55.0	50.1	71.9	66.8	73.7	70.6	64.2	59.2	87.8	82.8
Maryland.....	62.9	60.6	58.6	56.7	76.4	74.5	69.1	64.8	65.5	60.9	85.7	82.2
District of Columbia.....	59.5	58.0	56.7	55.2	66.4	65.9	58.0	63.4	67.4	62.0	70.9	75.9
Virginia.....	63.3	61.7	51.7	53.1	66.3	67.1	70.4	68.1	65.9	60.1	87.1	84.6
West Virginia.....	65.1	62.0	63.1	60.8	60.4	66.0	73.4	71.1	68.9	66.2	90.9	89.0
North Carolina.....	65.7	63.3	59.5	58.5	69.2	67.7	70.7	69.0	65.0	60.8	80.7	83.4
South Carolina.....	64.1	62.1	53.2	56.3	63.0	65.3	71.0	69.5	66.8	59.7	85.4	83.3
Georgia.....	66.6	64.3	58.5	54.6	68.1	65.0	73.4	71.8	67.4	63.0	83.5	84.2
Florida.....	67.2	62.4	61.3	53.2	73.0	64.7	76.7	74.5	71.0	66.3	85.3	83.4
<b>EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:</b>												
Kentucky.....	67.0	64.3	67.0	60.2	70.2	70.3	74.4	72.2	69.3	63.5	87.0	86.6
Tennessee.....	68.0	64.7	65.6	58.6	77.5	72.4	73.8	72.1	70.0	65.6	86.7	85.6
Alabama.....	67.0	64.2	62.3	57.0	76.5	70.5	73.9	72.0	69.1	64.9	87.9	88.1
Mississippi.....	65.4	62.6	65.4	60.6	70.3	71.9	72.3	71.7	71.7	67.0	87.2	86.5
<b>WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:</b>												
Arkansas.....	68.1	64.6	64.3	59.4	75.4	73.2	77.2	75.9	73.4	68.6	86.9	86.4
Louisiana.....	61.5	57.8	63.0	60.0	69.6	71.3	69.8	68.4	69.6	67.4	85.1	85.8
Oklahoma.....	66.8	63.5	65.2	59.7	71.8	70.1	77.3	77.7	75.0	72.7	91.2	91.5
Texas.....	63.7	61.0	57.5	52.4	68.3	70.2	74.0	73.5	68.6	63.0	81.1	84.7
<b>MOUNTAIN:</b>												
Montana.....	60.8	47.6	52.4	39.7	62.7	47.0	75.1	72.3	69.8	62.8	90.0	85.2
Idaho.....	61.3	54.2	61.1	51.1	62.9	63.8	74.8	73.1	76.1	70.0	91.6	90.9
Wyoming.....	58.0	44.4	55.0	42.0	56.3	44.3	77.8	75.1	74.9	68.6	91.4	88.9
Colorado.....	63.2	59.4	67.8	50.2	70.4	63.1	75.1	73.4	68.8	64.9	88.0	86.9
New Mexico.....	64.5	62.3	58.7	53.0	67.4	60.4	75.0	76.1	70.6	68.4	85.4	87.0
Arizona.....	60.1	51.7	54.9	45.0	60.9	52.5	77.0	75.4	73.3	67.1	83.4	84.5
Utah.....	56.5	51.3	66.9	57.2	72.9	67.7	65.0	63.1	75.1	67.3	90.8	89.5
Nevada.....	54.3	49.3	63.1	45.6	46.5	44.0	76.4	76.4	73.1	73.2	92.6	89.4
<b>PACIFIC:</b>												
Washington.....	63.3	53.2	63.4	43.4	62.7	51.6	76.2	73.2	68.5	61.7	88.4	84.5
Oregon.....	64.9	54.9	57.8	45.7	65.7	52.8	76.9	73.3	69.9	61.7	88.1	84.4
California.....	62.7	55.7	55.5	46.6	63.3	56.1	74.6	71.2	69.4	62.5	85.4	84.0

The tendency is more clearly brought out in Table 103.<sup>o</sup> For the specific age groups, 25 to 34 years among the foreign-born males, and 20 to 24 years among the females, there is a clear differentiation, westward and southward from the North Atlantic seaboard. Thus, about 31 per cent of the immigrant males 25 to 34 years of age are single in New England and the Middle Atlantic States; between 35 and 45 per cent in the Middle West and South; and more than 45 per cent in the far West. Among the young immigrant women, on the other hand, the largest proportions remaining unmarried are in New England and in the Middle Atlantic States—43 per cent in the former and 39.9 per cent in the latter—while the smallest proportion is in the Mountain States, where it falls to 25.6 per cent. As with the men, the women in the Middle West and South are in an intermediate position between these two.

TABLE 103.—PER CENT SINGLE OF MALES 25 TO 34 YEARS OF AGE AND FEMALES 20 TO 24 YEARS OF AGE, IN FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, AND SEX RATIO AT AGE OF MAXIMUM FERTILITY, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	Males, 25-34 years of age	Females, 20-24 years of age	Foreign-born white males to 100 females at age of maximum fertility <sup>1</sup>
New England.....	31.5	43.0	119.0
Middle Atlantic.....	30.9	39.9	130.8
East North Central.....	36.2	30.0	150.4
West North Central.....	41.7	36.2	108.7
South Atlantic.....	43.0	31.7	169.8
East South Central.....	40.8	31.2	180.4
West South Central.....	36.5	31.0	139.1
Mountain.....	47.5	25.6	177.6
Pacific.....	50.3	34.2	178.2

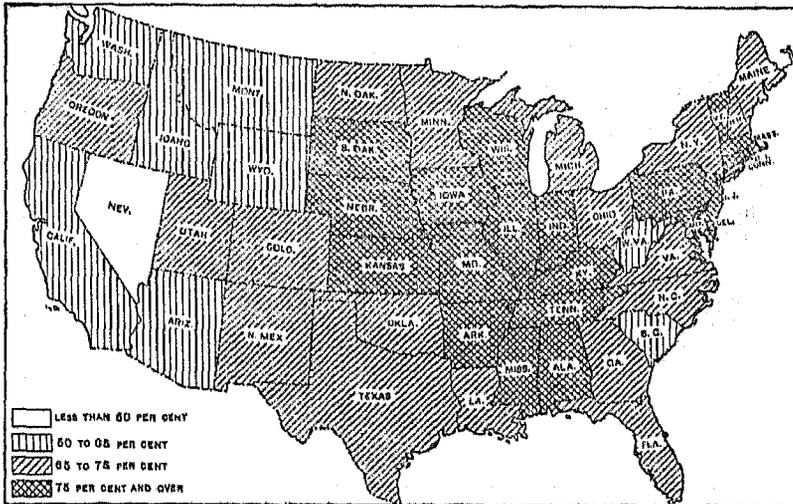
<sup>1</sup> Males, 20 to 50 years; females, 15 to 44 years; see Table 173.

Maps 16, 17, 18, and 19 present these same phenomena graphically. Map 17 shows how much less numerous are the unmarried women among the foreign born in the West and South than in the East and Northeast. Map 19, which is limited to one age group, brings out the contrast even more clearly. Maps 16 and 18 show almost exactly opposite tendencies among the males.

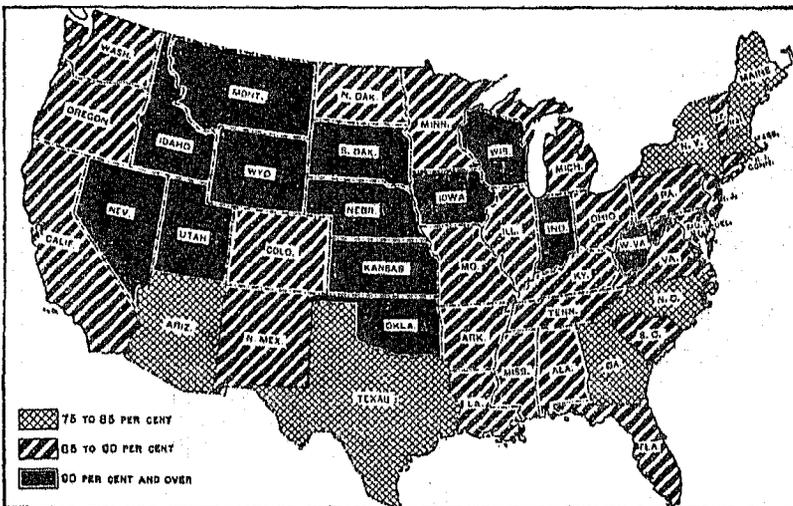
An explanation for these opposed tendencies seems fairly simple. As suggested above, it is related, in part at least, to the sex ratio of the foreign born.

<sup>o</sup> For detailed statistics showing the marital condition of each age group, see Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. IV, Table 11.

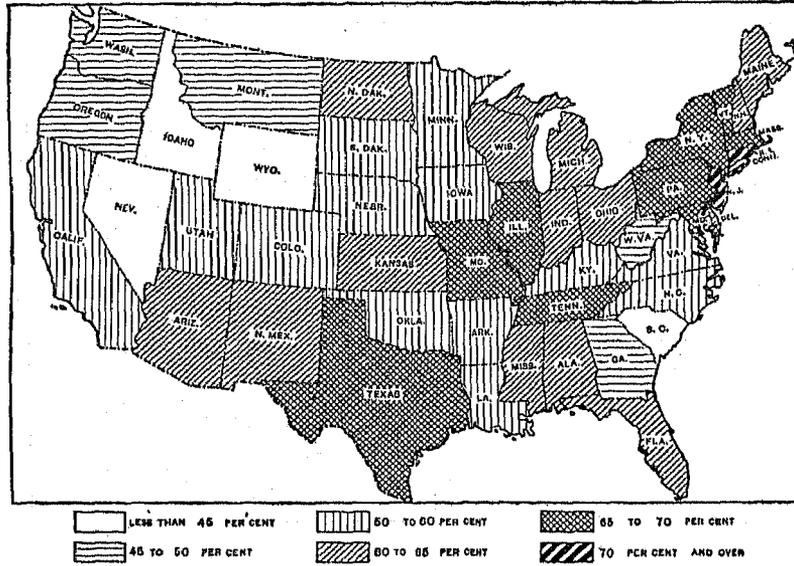
MAP 16.—PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY STATES: 1920



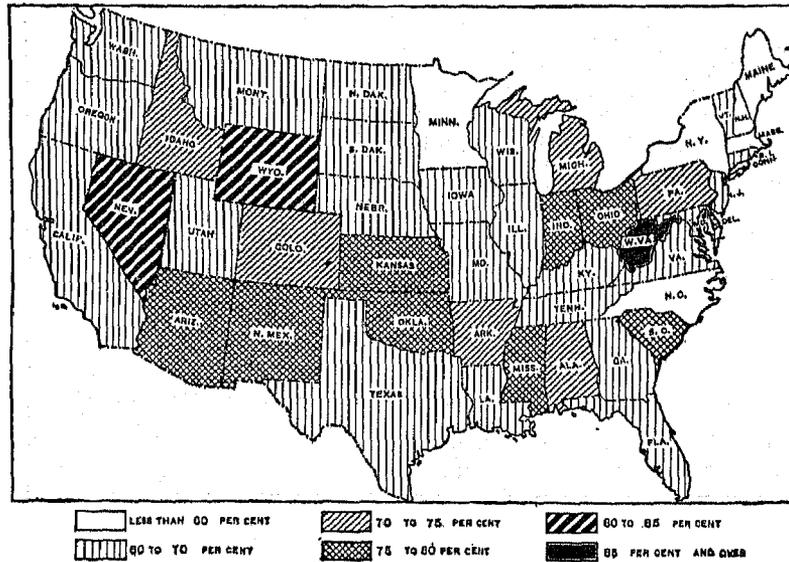
MAP 17.—PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FEMALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY STATES: 1920



MAP 18.—PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MALES, AGES 25 TO 34 YEARS, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY STATES: 1920



MAP 19.—PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FEMALES, AGES 20 TO 24 YEARS, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY STATES: 1920



As has been seen above, and as is shown in the third column of Table 103,<sup>10</sup> the excess of males over females among the foreign born is relatively small in the New England and Middle Atlantic belt, but it rises generally as the South and West are reached. Furthermore, this phenomenon has been explained as being due, at least in part, to a tendency among the married immigrants to stay in the foreign colonies near the Eastern seaboard cities, or at least to leave their families there, while with their unmarried compatriots, they seek work in the West and South.

The tables and maps under discussion here reflect another phase of this same phenomenon. On the one hand, the farther an immigrant girl travels from the foreign colonies in New England and the Middle Atlantic States, the more immigrant men is she likely to meet, and the better are her chances for marriage. On the other hand, the farther she gets from the relative security and familiarity of such foreign colonies, the more difficult and uncertain is life likely to be for her, the fewer economic opportunities will she find, and the more unwilling will she be to venture onward, unless she has the support and protection of a husband. Conversely, as the immigrant man proceeds westward and southward, the less likely is he to meet girls of his own kind available for marriage, and the more likely is he to find work to be had only under such conditions as a married man, accompanied by his wife, would not accept.

In other words, here, as elsewhere in this study, one finds cause-and-effect relationships flowing in two directions. There are few unmarried foreign-born women and many unmarried men in the West and South, because the men outnumber the women there. But the men outnumber the women among the foreign born in the West and South, partly because relatively few immigrant women leave the Atlantic seaboard unless they are married. In short, the sex ratio affects the marriage rate, and the marriage rate affects the sex ratio.

The fact must not be forgotten that this generalization is applicable only to the *present generation* of immigrants. As is seen from Table 102, and Maps 16 and 17, there is no particular difference between the per cent married in the North Central and in the Eastern States. The East and West North Central States contain a large number of middle-aged and elderly foreign born, who came to this country under circumstances very different from those characterizing contemporary immigration, when, in fact, it was not only possible, but preferable to migrate in family groups; and who, furthermore, are now at an age at which the single state is highly exceptional.

A further observation may be made at this point. Table 102 shows that the native men, as well as the foreigners, display a greater

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also Table 173.

tendency to remain single in the West and South than in the East. It is to be remembered that the former regions are only a generation or so removed from frontier conditions, and are still, in places, sufficiently undeveloped to make them somewhat less attractive to women than other sections, and, by the same token, to make it less likely for married men to settle there, and for single men to find wives.

The *second* topic, relating to the marital condition and territorial distribution of the foreign born, has to do with the situation in urban as compared with rural communities. Tables 104 and 105 indicate rather a confused situation. The foreign-born women are more generally married in the country than in the city, while the men are, in certain sections, more generally unmarried in the country than in the city.

TABLE 104.—MARITAL CONDITION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, FOR WHITE POPULATION, BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

CLASS OF POPULATION AND AGE PERIOD	MALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER							
	Total †	Single		Married		Widowed		Di- vorced
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
<b>NATIVE WHITE—NATIVE PARENTAGE</b>								
Urban communities:								
15 years and over.....	8,350,138	3,025,709	36.2	4,846,805	58.0	363,354	4.4	77,523
15 to 19 years.....	1,050,228	1,036,261	97.7	22,023	2.1	307	( <sup>2</sup> )	201
20 to 24 years.....	1,163,280	819,028	70.4	333,529	28.7	4,137	0.4	3,338
25 to 34 years.....	2,150,405	673,505	31.3	1,422,591	66.2	29,870	1.4	10,595
35 to 44 years.....	1,630,491	268,770	15.8	1,301,032	79.6	40,673	3.0	23,235
45 to 64 years.....	1,816,138	165,452	9.1	1,445,330	79.6	145,098	8.0	26,012
65 years and over.....	483,243	33,264	6.9	312,004	64.6	132,745	27.5	4,238
Age unknown.....	40,203	9,300	23.3	9,000	22.6	1,018	2.5	300
Rural communities:								
15 years and over.....	10,741,060	3,750,800	34.9	6,397,484	59.6	511,467	4.8	57,266
15 to 19 years.....	1,737,240	1,691,454	97.4	42,369	2.4	683	( <sup>2</sup> )	209
20 to 24 years.....	1,333,538	928,223	69.6	441,051	31.9	6,728	0.5	2,808
25 to 34 years.....	2,271,618	595,807	26.4	1,623,005	71.5	34,042	1.5	10,510
35 to 44 years.....	1,010,390	232,893	23.0	1,607,137	84.1	54,060	2.9	12,083
45 to 64 years.....	2,638,525	224,648	8.5	2,086,814	82.2	180,783	7.6	23,457
65 years and over.....	882,284	58,021	6.6	590,203	66.9	224,182	25.4	6,788
Age unknown.....	18,466	6,158	33.3	6,005	32.5	1,123	6.1	145
<b>NATIVE WHITE—FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE</b>								
Urban communities:								
15 years and over.....	4,578,547	2,121,360	46.3	2,269,772	49.6	151,674	3.3	28,683
15 to 19 years.....	728,050	721,226	99.1	5,687	0.8	124	( <sup>2</sup> )	38
20 to 24 years.....	700,427	600,405	85.8	120,498	17.2	1,550	0.2	945
25 to 34 years.....	1,156,984	409,055	35.3	665,270	57.5	14,013	1.2	6,023
35 to 44 years.....	834,470	186,120	22.3	615,513	73.8	23,238	2.8	8,766
45 to 64 years.....	1,015,348	101,640	10.0	704,051	69.3	77,775	7.7	10,851
65 years and over.....	130,281	14,854	11.4	88,507	68.5	34,066	24.0	1,092
Age unknown.....	3,987	2,063	51.7	1,246	31.3	212	5.3	68
Rural communities:								
15 years and over.....	2,412,393	1,029,731	42.7	1,281,110	53.1	84,720	3.5	12,241
15 to 19 years.....	367,034	353,870	96.4	2,517	0.7	55	( <sup>2</sup> )	17
20 to 24 years.....	314,343	258,454	82.2	53,767	17.1	650	0.2	323
25 to 34 years.....	552,694	216,303	39.1	327,250	59.2	6,034	1.1	1,082
35 to 44 years.....	459,531	93,340	20.3	351,874	76.6	10,847	2.4	2,883
45 to 64 years.....	612,661	94,930	15.5	470,787	76.8	40,328	6.6	5,857
65 years and over.....	114,283	11,956	10.5	74,207	64.9	20,084	23.3	1,160
Age unknown.....	1,847	806	43.6	738	40.0	122	6.6	10

† Total includes persons whose marital condition was not reported.

<sup>2</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

TABLE 104.—MARITAL CONDITION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, FOR WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920—Continued

CLASS OF POPULATION AND AGE PERIOD	MALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER							Di- vorced
	Total <sup>1</sup>	Single		Married		Widowed		
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
<b>NATIVE WHITE—FOREIGN PARENTAGE</b>								
Urban communities:								
15 years and over.....	3,233,948	1,493,560	46.2	1,601,951	49.5	114,275	3.5	18,720
15 to 19 years.....	502,152	497,758	99.1	3,575	0.7	84	(2)	25
20 to 24 years.....	485,955	394,421	81.2	88,420	18.2	1,036	0.2	522
25 to 34 years.....	797,721	325,818	40.8	459,818	57.3	9,610	1.2	4,274
35 to 44 years.....	508,535	132,504	26.3	413,730	72.8	10,200	2.0	5,464
45 to 64 years.....	773,174	120,741	15.6	573,594	74.2	61,500	7.9	7,901
65 years and over.....	103,488	11,802	11.4	94,990	92.7	25,623	25.0	741
Age unknown.....	2,923	1,516	51.9	902	30.9	157	5.4	42
Rural communities:								
15 years and over.....	1,558,993	647,750	41.6	843,340	54.1	57,897	3.7	7,468
15 to 19 years.....	203,870	203,379	99.2	1,321	0.6	32	(2)	10
20 to 24 years.....	190,180	157,403	82.8	31,425	16.5	387	0.2	163
25 to 34 years.....	352,602	141,760	40.2	205,337	58.2	8,680	1.0	1,193
35 to 44 years.....	208,440	63,841	30.6	225,428	75.5	7,092	2.4	1,672
45 to 64 years.....	434,962	71,477	16.4	330,310	75.9	28,824	6.6	3,807
65 years and over.....	75,887	8,770	11.6	48,995	64.6	17,232	22.7	690
Age unknown.....	1,292	500	43.3	524	40.6	84	6.5	14
<b>NATIVE WHITE—MIXED PARENTAGE</b>								
Urban communities:								
15 years and over.....	1,344,599	627,809	46.7	667,821	49.7	37,209	2.8	9,954
15 to 19 years.....	225,898	223,468	98.9	2,112	0.9	40	(2)	13
20 to 24 years.....	214,472	171,984	80.2	41,072	19.2	581	0.2	423
25 to 34 years.....	359,263	143,237	39.9	208,452	58.0	4,497	1.3	2,640
35 to 44 years.....	265,935	53,610	20.2	201,777	75.9	7,038	2.6	3,302
45 to 64 years.....	242,174	31,905	13.2	190,457	78.6	16,415	6.8	3,190
65 years and over.....	35,793	3,052	8.5	23,007	64.6	8,733	24.4	351
Age unknown.....	1,094	547	51.4	344	32.3	55	5.2	25
Rural communities:								
15 years and over.....	853,430	381,981	44.8	437,770	51.3	27,388	3.2	4,773
15 to 19 years.....	151,464	149,997	99.0	1,196	0.8	23	(2)	7
20 to 24 years.....	124,163	100,991	81.3	22,342	18.0	283	0.2	160
25 to 34 years.....	200,692	74,603	37.3	121,913	60.9	2,348	1.2	879
35 to 44 years.....	161,691	29,499	18.3	126,446	78.5	3,755	2.3	1,211
45 to 64 years.....	177,699	23,459	13.2	140,447	79.0	11,504	6.5	2,050
65 years and over.....	38,396	3,189	8.3	25,212	65.7	9,452	24.0	461
Age unknown.....	555	240	44.3	214	38.6	38	6.8	5
<b>FOREIGN-BORN WHITE</b>								
Urban communities:								
15 years and over.....	5,302,673	1,355,757	25.3	3,667,834	68.4	208,225	5.0	22,413
15 to 19 years.....	197,865	195,113	98.6	2,250	1.1	73	(2)	18
20 to 24 years.....	305,275	270,390	88.6	87,031	28.5	1,025	0.3	318
25 to 34 years.....	1,378,523	471,065	34.2	883,278	64.1	14,010	1.1	3,320
35 to 44 years.....	1,379,788	223,156	16.2	1,112,177	80.6	33,805	2.5	6,415
45 to 64 years.....	1,625,196	193,955	12.0	1,323,147	81.4	124,832	7.7	10,248
65 years and over.....	411,122	28,017	6.8	256,622	62.4	123,480	30.0	2,003
Age unknown.....	9,909	4,151	41.9	3,320	33.0	525	5.3	91
Rural communities:								
15 years and over.....	1,889,861	499,290	26.4	1,235,108	65.4	139,824	7.4	9,537
15 to 19 years.....	61,495	60,214	98.1	1,008	1.6	33	0.1	5
20 to 24 years.....	66,713	74,598	77.1	21,264	22.0	300	0.3	70
25 to 34 years.....	360,383	148,696	41.1	206,237	57.2	4,237	1.2	734
35 to 44 years.....	432,684	93,924	21.7	324,218	75.0	11,125	2.6	1,823
45 to 64 years.....	667,191	96,154	14.4	515,895	77.2	49,123	7.4	4,992
65 years and over.....	268,262	24,962	9.3	165,643	61.7	74,774	27.9	1,887
Age unknown.....	3,823	1,372	35.9	1,843	35.1	226	5.9	20

<sup>1</sup> Total includes persons whose marital condition was not reported.  
<sup>2</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

TABLE 104.—MARITAL CONDITION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, FOR WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920—Continued

CLASS OF POPULATION AND AGE PERIOD	FEMALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER							
	Total <sup>1</sup>	Single		Married		Widowed		Di- vorced
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
<b>NATIVE WHITE—NATIVE PARENTAGE</b>								
Urban communities:								
15 years and over.....	8,547,716	2,654,151	31.1	4,801,681	56.2	976,781	11.4	101,304
15 to 19 years.....	1,150,452	1,013,037	88.1	132,184	11.5	1,953	0.2	1,825
20 to 24 years.....	1,264,443	636,128	50.2	603,563	47.7	13,621	1.1	10,409
25 to 34 years.....	2,185,811	520,786	23.8	1,561,682	71.4	68,995	3.2	32,417
35 to 44 years.....	1,535,027	226,433	14.3	1,204,587	76.0	123,502	7.8	29,031
45 to 64 years.....	1,752,571	199,193	11.4	1,122,339	64.0	404,388	23.1	24,650
65 years and over.....	537,808	53,079	9.0	168,976	28.7	362,042	61.6	2,725
Age unknown.....	21,544	5,805	27.4	8,350	38.8	2,220	10.3	240
Rural communities:								
15 years and over.....	9,932,032	2,614,330	26.2	6,394,184	64.1	908,219	9.1	51,430
15 to 19 years.....	1,651,117	1,403,473	85.0	240,740	14.0	3,925	0.2	1,672
20 to 24 years.....	1,305,440	540,080	39.6	800,457	68.0	16,564	1.2	5,958
25 to 34 years.....	2,263,040	323,992	14.4	1,859,980	82.6	53,060	2.4	13,157
35 to 44 years.....	1,783,275	141,130	7.0	1,543,106	86.5	85,505	4.8	12,151
45 to 64 years.....	2,131,798	146,572	6.9	1,633,011	76.6	334,196	15.7	15,232
65 years and over.....	785,481	55,280	7.0	311,857	39.7	412,657	52.5	3,184
Age unknown.....	11,803	3,800	32.1	5,033	42.4	1,472	12.4	86
<b>NATIVE WHITE—FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE</b>								
Urban communities:								
15 years and over.....	5,060,800	2,008,742	39.6	2,561,345	50.6	452,393	8.0	38,585
15 to 19 years.....	775,304	728,031	93.9	45,534	5.9	537	0.1	374
20 to 24 years.....	784,844	482,198	61.4	292,024	37.3	5,218	0.7	3,050
25 to 34 years.....	1,284,520	397,083	30.9	841,435	65.5	32,272	2.5	12,425
35 to 44 years.....	928,075	194,811	21.0	654,663	70.5	60,326	7.1	11,581
45 to 64 years.....	1,119,244	185,269	16.6	674,664	60.3	247,939	22.2	10,418
65 years and over.....	170,809	19,502	11.4	50,765	29.7	90,647	58.3	672
Age unknown.....	4,004	1,848	46.2	1,380	34.5	454	11.3	65
Rural communities:								
15 years and over.....	2,144,308	659,701	30.8	1,329,525	62.0	143,014	6.7	6,581
15 to 19 years.....	326,779	303,439	92.9	22,617	6.0	200	0.1	129
20 to 24 years.....	282,176	149,329	52.9	129,434	46.0	2,111	0.7	713
25 to 34 years.....	519,601	102,717	19.8	404,359	77.8	9,595	1.8	2,417
35 to 44 years.....	418,190	47,447	11.3	351,149	84.0	19,796	4.0	2,403
45 to 64 years.....	504,020	49,143	9.7	352,281	75.8	60,293	13.7	3,433
65 years and over.....	91,550	7,080	7.7	39,048	42.7	44,819	49.0	302
Age unknown.....	1,392	546	39.2	637	45.8	134	9.6	4
<b>NATIVE WHITE—FOREIGN PARENTAGE</b>								
Urban communities:								
15 years and over.....	8,544,449	1,394,008	16.3	1,780,049	20.8	336,200	3.9	23,873
15 to 19 years.....	535,170	502,373	93.9	31,650	5.9	331	0.1	203
20 to 24 years.....	540,520	329,697	61.0	204,493	37.8	3,526	0.7	1,713
25 to 34 years.....	862,850	263,589	30.5	569,472	66.0	21,459	2.5	7,433
35 to 44 years.....	622,518	135,299	21.7	434,200	69.7	45,481	7.3	7,025
45 to 64 years.....	854,808	140,879	17.2	507,645	59.4	192,515	22.5	6,993
65 years and over.....	125,740	14,860	11.8	37,613	29.9	72,039	57.8	459
Age unknown.....	2,834	1,311	46.3	970	34.4	318	11.2	47
Rural communities:								
15 years and over.....	1,362,098	397,263	29.1	862,005	63.3	95,552	7.0	5,662
15 to 19 years.....	189,476	172,392	90.9	13,086	7.3	159	0.1	54
20 to 24 years.....	168,100	87,443	52.0	78,063	46.8	1,238	0.7	392
25 to 34 years.....	325,506	63,088	19.4	253,909	78.0	5,903	1.8	1,375
35 to 44 years.....	266,268	31,461	11.8	222,069	83.0	10,496	3.9	1,440
45 to 64 years.....	355,358	36,811	10.4	266,836	75.1	49,201	13.8	2,169
65 years and over.....	59,439	4,794	8.1	25,809	43.4	28,460	47.9	229
Age unknown.....	951	374	39.3	433	45.5	95	10.0	3

<sup>1</sup>Total includes persons whose marital condition was not reported.

TABLE 104.—MARITAL CONDITION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX AND AGE PERIODS, FOR WHITE POPULATION BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920—Continued

CLASS OF POPULATION AND AGE PERIOD	FEMALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER							
	Total <sup>1</sup>	Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced
		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
<b>NATIVE WHITE—MIXED PARENTAGE</b>								
<b>Urban communities:</b>								
15 years and over.....	1,522,351	614,734	40.4	775,206	50.0	116,124	7.6	14,712
15 to 19 years.....	240,134	225,658	94.0	13,884	5.8	206	0.1	171
20 to 24 years.....	244,324	152,501	62.4	88,431	36.2	1,692	0.7	1,337
25 to 34 years.....	421,661	133,494	31.7	271,969	64.5	10,813	2.6	4,992
35 to 44 years.....	305,557	59,512	19.5	220,453	72.1	20,845	6.8	4,556
45 to 64 years.....	264,436	38,360	14.5	167,000	63.2	55,424	21.0	3,425
65 years and over.....	45,049	4,642	10.3	13,152	29.2	27,008	59.9	213
Age unknown.....	1,170	537	45.9	404	34.5	136	11.6	18
<b>Rural communities:</b>								
15 years and over.....	782,210	262,438	33.6	407,520	50.8	47,462	6.1	3,919
15 to 19 years.....	140,303	131,047	93.4	8,931	6.4	107	0.1	75
20 to 24 years.....	114,076	61,886	54.2	50,771	44.5	873	0.8	321
25 to 34 years.....	194,065	39,720	20.0	150,460	77.5	3,692	1.9	1,042
35 to 44 years.....	151,922	15,986	10.5	128,480	84.0	6,300	4.1	1,053
45 to 64 years.....	140,262	12,332	8.3	115,445	77.3	20,092	13.5	1,264
65 years and over.....	32,111	2,280	7.1	13,230	41.2	10,350	50.0	163
Age unknown.....	441	172	39.0	204	46.3	39	8.8	1
<b>FOREIGN-BORN WHITE</b>								
<b>Urban communities:</b>								
15 years and over.....	4,599,750	715,080	15.6	3,140,910	68.3	714,477	15.5	22,027
15 to 19 years.....	215,863	187,587	86.0	27,557	12.8	841	0.2	130
20 to 24 years.....	309,232	150,097	48.5	237,509	76.8	3,040	0.9	975
25 to 34 years.....	1,121,251	160,558	14.0	926,009	82.0	28,706	2.6	4,969
35 to 44 years.....	1,061,819	65,494	6.0	885,660	83.4	72,057	6.8	6,053
45 to 64 years.....	1,353,515	94,470	7.0	926,690	68.5	322,347	23.8	8,427
65 years and over.....	442,914	24,433	5.5	130,570	29.5	285,852	64.5	1,125
Age unknown.....	5,100	1,344	26.3	2,625	51.5	805	15.9	48
<b>Rural communities:</b>								
15 years and over.....	1,314,235	119,810	9.1	982,593	74.8	204,778	15.6	5,020
15 to 19 years.....	52,809	41,653	78.9	10,920	20.7	158	0.3	34
20 to 24 years.....	70,674	18,040	25.0	51,450	72.0	816	1.2	153
25 to 34 years.....	248,681	18,782	7.0	220,561	89.8	5,515	2.2	631
35 to 44 years.....	292,213	14,801	5.1	262,798	90.0	13,185	4.5	1,117
45 to 64 years.....	445,603	18,960	4.3	352,914	79.2	70,005	15.0	2,370
65 years and over.....	205,920	7,233	3.5	83,143	40.4	114,123	55.4	712
Age unknown.....	1,426	182	12.8	817	57.3	286	20.1	12

<sup>1</sup>Total includes persons whose marital condition was not reported.

Table 104, above, shows 15.6 per cent of the foreign-born women over 15 years of age to be single, in urban communities, as against 9.1 per cent in rural communities. Moreover, for each age group, the proportion unmarried is smaller in the country than in the cities. Furthermore, Table 105 indicates that this relationship exists for each class of white women in every geographic division except the West South Central, where the Mexican immigration renders conditions exceptional.

Taking the country as a whole, an opposite condition is revealed for the males. According to Table 104, 25.3 per cent of the foreign-born white males aged 15 years and over are single in the cities, against 26.4 per cent in the country. In separate age groups, the contrast is even greater. For the ages 25 to 34 years, for example, 34.2 per cent of the urban foreign-born males are single, and 41.1 per cent of the rural foreign-born.

TABLE 105.—PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED IN THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, FOR WHITE POPULATION, BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	MALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED						FEMALES 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					
	Native white				Foreign- born white		Native white				Foreign- born white	
	Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage				Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage			
	Ur- ban	Ru- ral	Ur- ban	Ru- ral	Ur- ban	Ru- ral	Ur- ban	Ru- ral	Ur- ban	Ru- ral	Ur- ban	Ru- ral
United States.....	63.3	64.9	53.5	57.1	74.4	73.3	63.8	73.7	60.2	60.1	84.3	90.7
New England.....	64.3	68.2	45.3	51.6	70.1	76.0	65.0	74.3	49.3	60.8	81.2	87.3
Middle Atlantic.....	61.5	65.7	50.0	55.8	75.6	75.9	65.0	72.5	56.7	60.2	83.3	89.7
East North Central.....	63.6	64.5	56.6	62.2	74.0	79.0	70.1	73.2	64.0	72.8	87.9	92.7
West North Central.....	64.1	61.9	53.9	54.5	74.4	77.7	69.3	71.8	64.1	60.5	87.1	92.0
South Atlantic.....	63.8	65.3	58.5	57.3	72.5	62.8	63.6	72.6	63.0	71.0	84.5	88.8
East South Central.....	65.5	67.5	65.2	67.4	79.0	72.3	71.1	74.7	68.3	73.0	86.0	88.7
West South Central.....	63.0	65.5	62.9	53.2	67.3	70.6	72.8	75.0	70.8	69.4	79.3	85.8
Mountain.....	62.2	60.9	59.3	57.9	68.8	62.4	71.8	70.1	68.9	75.1	86.8	90.3
Pacific.....	64.2	61.7	57.2	51.8	65.3	60.1	73.8	78.2	68.4	71.3	84.5	90.0

This relationship does not, however, hold true for all divisions. From Table 105, it appears that the proportion of married, widowed, or divorced foreign-born males is greater in the country than in the city in the Middle Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central and West South Central States. The contradiction is explained in part by reference to the chapter on Marital Condition in Volume II of the Fourteenth United States Census. Table 22 of that chapter shows the foreign-born males to have smaller percentages married in the rural than in the urban communities, for each age group shown, in every geographic division, excepting for one age group in the West North Central States, and for three age groups in the West South Central area. Moreover, these exceptions are in themselves significant. In the West North Central group, it is the males aged 45 years and over who are more frequently married in the rural districts. Again, the West South Central region, as has just been said, is dominated by Mexicans, who are atypical in several respects.

It is therefore possible to account for this apparently paradoxical set of phenomena. As shown in a former chapter, the excess of

foreign-born males over females is very much greater in rural than in urban communities.<sup>11</sup> A principle analogous to that just described with reference to the marital condition of the foreign born in different geographic divisions therefore appears. Immigrant women are relatively more plentiful in the cities than in the country, and therefore have less opportunity for marriage, while the opposite is the case with the males.<sup>12</sup> Conversely, *in the present generation*, it is likely that relatively few foreign-born women care to leave their friends and relations in the city for the isolation and uncertainties of the country, unless they have a husband to accompany them. More than this, it must not be forgotten that many of the foreign-born men in rural districts are not engaged in agriculture, but are located in mining villages, lumber camps, and construction enterprises, where it is virtually impossible for a laborer to be accompanied by his wife. That is, the circumstances reflected here are really part of the total situation discussed above: As the immigrants leave their places of heavy settlement—in the first instance, along the Atlantic seaboard, in the second instance, in the cities—and go to other parts of the country and to rural communities, the women tend to stay behind, or to go only when accompanied by their husbands, and the married men, likewise, tend to remain with their wives, leaving the single men to encounter the uncertainties and vicissitudes to be anticipated in these regions. Those single immigrant women who do fare forth, moreover, find a plentiful supply of prospective husbands, in these, from the immigrant viewpoint, remote places, while most of the unmarried men must needs seek mates among the native women, or remain unwedded.

On the other hand, in certain regions, the rural foreign population is predominantly middle-aged, or older. Moreover, among those over 45 years of age, as in the West North Central States, such few males as are unmarried would tend to gather in the city, rather than in the country, where life is difficult for an elderly, unmarried man. Hence, for certain areas, notably the East and West North Central States, where the older generation of immigrants is still prominent, particularly in the rural districts, one finds the rural foreign-born males more frequently married than the urban, not because any new principle is at work, but because the older, and therefore, more generally, married men are in the majority.

The West South Central region presents a puzzling situation, however. It will be remembered that the Mexicans have been found to be heavily rural in distribution and may have a fairly high marriage rate. Yet Table 101 shows the Mexicans to have a very low *male*

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. VI, Tables 74 and 75, pp. 103, 104.

<sup>12</sup> For a similar observation concerning the population in general, cf. Twelfth Census of the United States: Supplementary Analyses and Derivative Tables (Washington, 1900), p. 402.

per cent married. The only explanation is that the Mexicans, moving more or less in a body, do not feel the isolation that other immigrants of the present generation do, when moving into rural communities. On the contrary, they probably duplicate very largely, in the rural areas of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, the domestic and social conditions of their mother country. Consequently, it is natural for them to take their families with them into the rural communities of the West South Central States. These families would include a considerable number of males over 15 years of age, yet not old enough to marry. Hence, one might expect to find among them, and *pari passu* among most of the foreign born in the Southwest, a relatively large number of single males. This explanation, is, however, little more than a conjecture. All that can be said with any assurance is that the Mexican immigrants show in this connection, as in others, a tendency divergent from that displayed by the foreign born in general.

## 2. INTERMARRIAGE

Intermarriage between various ethnic groups in America is a question of commanding importance to the student of population problems. Not only does it control the ethnic make-up of future generations, but it also provides the most direct and powerful force by which the present and the next generations may be welded together into a unified social and cultural amalgam—may, in short, be truly "Americanized." Tables 106, 107, and 108, and Chart 8 deal with this topic.

There are two aspects to the material which they embody. The first is intermarriage between native and foreign stocks. The second is intermarriage between different immigrant groups and the native stock, and between these groups themselves.

### INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIVE AND FOREIGN STOCKS

It is of interest to investigate the rate of intermarriage both in the registration area as a whole and in the urban and rural portions of it.

Tables 106, 107, and 108 deal with the *first* of these two topics, namely, the degree of amalgamation between native and foreign stocks. From Table 106<sup>13</sup> it is seen that slightly more than 88 out of every 1,000 American mothers in 1920 were married to foreign-born men, while about 139 in every 1,000 foreign-born mothers had native-born husbands. That is, if 1,000 of the children of native mothers and 1,000 of the

<sup>13</sup> Illegitimate births are disregarded for the purpose of this discussion. For the total white population they made up only 1.4 per cent of all the children born in 1920.

children of foreign mothers, born in 1920, were brought together, 227 of them would be the offspring of mixed marriages between native and foreign-born parents. The ratio of intermarriage, as shown by the birth statistics for 1920, is even higher for the fathers. Table 107 shows that for every 1,000 foreign-born men who were fathers of children born in 1920, 237 had native wives. Besides these, out of every 1,000 children born in 1920 of native fathers, there were 49 whose mothers were born abroad. Thus, in each 2,000 children, one-half of whose fathers were native, and one-half foreign, there would be 286 sprung from mixed native and foreign marriages.

Table 108<sup>14</sup> brings out another aspect of the same situation. The children born of unions between native and foreign-born parents represent 10.1 per cent of all the white births in 1920, 15 per cent of all the births in which both parents were native, and 47.4 per cent of all those in which both parents were foreign. In other words, for every 100 children of "pure" native stock, there are 15 children of mixed native and foreign stock, and for every 100 of "pure" foreign stock,<sup>15</sup> there are 47 of mixed stock.

In view of the foregoing, there can be no doubting that America's "melting pot" is fusing at a very rapid rate.

The number of foreign-born men who have married native women is particularly impressive. A comparison of Tables 106 and 107 establishes the fact that whereas 138.9 out of 1,000 foreign-born mothers in the birth statistics as of 1920 had married native fathers, 237.6 foreign-born fathers had married native mothers. Clearly the bulk of mixed marriages is between immigrant men and American women.

This circumstance is precisely what the sex composition of the foreign-born population would lead one to expect. It has been seen that the relative scarcity of females among the foreign born imposes upon many foreign-born males the necessity either of remaining single or of looking for mates among the native women, who, on their own part, are inclined to accept marriage with foreign-born men by reason of the scarcity of marriageable males in the native white population. That the immigrant men do, in fact, respond to this situation and, rather than remain unmarried, seek consorts among American women, and, moreover, that a goodly number of American women do not discourage foreign-born suitors, is demonstrated by the tables just analyzed.

<sup>14</sup> Table 108 understates the degree of mixture, since the children of "unknown" mixed parentage are not counted in the percentages.

<sup>15</sup> The method of analysis used here has been suggested by Dr. Raymond Pearl's article on "The Vitality of the Peoples of America." It is regretted that there has not been opportunity to make as thorough an analysis of the available data as Doctor Pearl did for the births in 1919.



TABLE 107.—DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHERS PER 1,000 FATHERS, BY THEIR COUNTRY OF BIRTH, FOR WHITE CHILDREN IN THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

[Derived from Table 4, Fourteenth Census Birth Statistics, 1920. Where both parents were born in same country, figures are in italics]

COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER	DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHERS PER 1,000 FATHERS												
	Country of birth of father												
	Foreign country												
Total	United States	Austria (in-cludes Aus-trian Poland)	Hun-gary	Canada	Den-mark, Nor-way, and Sweden	Eng-land, Scot-land, and Wales	Ireland	Ger-many (in-cludes Ger-man Poland)	Italy	Poland (not spec-ified)	Russia (in-cludes Russian Poland)	Other foreign coun-tries	Coun-try not stated
1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0
760.0	997.7	157.6	91.3	557.2	461.2	535.2	288.7	589.3	153.2	144.1	140.8	228.6	854.7
249.1	48.8	841.9	908.5	442.1	537.8	464.2	761.0	410.0	846.3	855.6	858.5	770.8	106.5
33.4	3.0	111.0	24.5	1.6	2.3	4.0	1.3	33.4	3.1	16.1	57.7	13.1	14.2
11.0	0.7	37.2	856.2	0.4	1.0	1.1	0.2	14.0	0.8	0.7	5.6	3.8	3.9
16.6	11.9	26.2	0.5	396.9	6.2	8.2	12.2	8.6	1.3	0.7	1.3	5.8	20.4
9.6	3.9	24.4	0.7	3.7	491.8	8.2	3.5	8.5	0.3	0.3	0.6	4.9	5.2
11.0	7.3	20.5	1.8	23.4	9.3	37.8	27.1	8.7	1.3	1.0	6.3	6.9	8.1
13.6	2.4	34.5	0.7	13.6	6.8	42.3	707.6	8.2	1.4	0.4	0.4	5.6	11.6
3.2	3.7	18.6	8.1	0.3	7.6	3.4	1.3	260.7	5.8	5.8	6.0	6.1	4.1
56.7	1.4	197.7	1.7	0.6	0.3	0.1	1.0	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.4	5.2	10.4
24.4	1.1	83.5	3.6	0.7	0.4	1.5	0.5	0.4	815.2	815.2	13.2	3.4	8.0
55.2	3.5	119.3	10.5	1.4	1.5	13.9	14.4	14.4	1.1	12.0	782.9	14.8	8.1
27.5	2.8	86.9	5.1	6.5	20.6	12.3	4.3	14.2	6.7	2.3	14.0	701.0	12.7
0.9	0.5	0.5	0.2	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.6	38.7

Country not stated.....

TABLE 108.—PROPORTION OF BIRTHS OF MIXED NATIVE AND FOREIGN PARENTAGE TO TOTAL WHITE BIRTHS, TO BIRTHS OF NATIVE WHITE PARENTAGE, AND TO BIRTHS OF FOREIGN WHITE PARENTAGE, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

AREA	WHITE BIRTHS—REGISTRATION AREA: 1920						
	Total	Both parents—			Mixed parentage		
		Native	Foreign	Un- known	Native and foreign	Native and un- known	Foreign and un- known
	Number						
Total registration area.....	1,395,523	939,827	297,555	635	141,190	14,476	1,950
Cities in registration area.....	725,136	503,263	228,556	318	93,367	8,080	1,532
Rural part of registration area.....	670,387	546,564	68,999	317	47,823	6,396	398

BIRTHS OF MIXED NATIVE AND FOREIGN PARENTAGE—	REGISTRATION AREA		
	Total	Cities	Rural
Per cent of total white births.....	10.1	12.9	7.1
Per cent of births of native parentage.....	15.0	24.7	8.7
Per cent of births of foreign parentage.....	47.4	40.9	69.2

It is, nevertheless, also clear that not all of the immigrant men who are unable to marry foreign-born women find wives among the natives. The small percentage married among the foreign-born males, particularly in those regions where the immigrant sex ratio is heavily unbalanced, shows conclusively that sentiments associated with nationality differences, on one side or the other, or some other factor effectively prevents many mixed marriages.<sup>16</sup>

Certain observations made above concerning the prospective increase of the foreign population may now be recalled.<sup>17</sup> It was stated that the potential birth rate of the foreign stock was probably reduced in actuality by its abnormal sex composition, in that many foreign-born men would have to go childless, or, at least, would have to mate with American wives and thus cause their race stock to be mingled with the native stock. The foregoing shows that such is in fact the case, and that the natural increase of the foreign stock is being materially limited by the curtailed marriage rate among the foreign-born men, and by the extensive commingling of native and foreign blood.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. supra, Tables 90, 100, and 102, pp. 213, 214, and 220.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. supra, Ch. VI, Tables 71 and 72, pp. 150, 157; Ch. VII, Summary, pp. 209, 210.

On the other hand, the high birth rate of the foreign-born women, together with their high marriage rate, and low rate of intermarriage, as brought out later in this chapter, make it clear that those immigrant women who are available for matrimony are for the most part bearing children of "pure" foreign stock, and are bearing them in large numbers.

TABLE 109.—PARENT NATIVITY OF WHITE CHILDREN IN TOTAL REGISTRATION AREA, AND IN CITIES AND RURAL PART OF REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

AREA	Total	WHITE CHILDREN HAVING SPECIFIED PARENTS BORN IN—					
		United States	Foreign country				
			Total	Austria <sup>1</sup>	Hungary	Canada	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden
Registration area:							
Father.....	1,395,523	988,555	300,578	48,404	15,206	24,580	18,201
Mother.....	1,395,523	1,045,655	347,562	46,598	15,318	23,114	13,447
Cities in registration area:							
Father.....	725,136	426,209	280,192	30,354	11,061	10,045	9,494
Mother.....	725,136	461,674	262,830	30,431	11,317	15,820	7,633
Rural part of registration area:							
Father.....	670,387	562,256	101,286	18,050	4,145	8,535	8,707
Mother.....	670,387	584,081	84,723	10,137	4,001	7,204	5,914

AREA	WHITE CHILDREN HAVING SPECIFIED PARENTS BORN IN—CON.							
	Foreign country—Continued							Country not stated
	England, Scotland, and Wales	Ireland	Germany <sup>2</sup>	Italy	Poland <sup>3</sup>	Russia <sup>4</sup>	Other foreign countries	
Registration area:								
Father.....	16,934	16,495	18,301	92,743	33,105	57,380	44,130	16,300
Mother.....	15,331	19,040	12,882	79,118	34,111	49,703	38,840	1,306
Cities in registration area:								
Father.....	11,895	14,079	10,907	75,719	30,242	49,853	28,043	9,645
Mother.....	11,183	17,108	8,086	64,936	27,277	43,545	25,603	923
Rural part of registration area:								
Father.....	5,039	1,516	7,484	17,024	7,863	7,527	15,496	6,745
Mother.....	4,148	1,932	4,796	14,182	6,834	6,248	13,237	983

<sup>1</sup> Includes Austrian Poland.

<sup>2</sup> Includes German Poland.

<sup>3</sup> Poland, not specified.

<sup>4</sup> Includes Russian Poland.

This topic leads naturally to the *second* feature of this discussion, namely, the relation between intermarriage and the territorial distribution of the immigrant.

Three correlative factors appear to be operative here. The first is the one to which reference has been repeatedly made, namely, the

very large excess of marriageable males over females in rural communities. The second is the fact that, in rural areas, native men outnumber native women, while the contrary is the case in cities.<sup>18</sup> The third factor is the relatively large number of foreign born in the cities, as contrasted with a comparatively small number in rural communities.<sup>19</sup>

The natives intermarry more often in the city than in the country, but the opposite is the case with the foreign born. Thus, Table 108 shows that the mixed marriages are equivalent to 23.7 per cent of the native marriages in the registration cities, as against only 8.7 per cent in the rural parts of the registration area. Yet they equal 40.9 per cent of the "pure" foreign marriages in the urban places, as compared with 69.2 per cent in the rural areas. Similarly, Table 110<sup>20</sup> shows that there are considerably more foreign-born fathers than mothers—and, *pari passu*, more mixed marriages of foreign fathers and native mothers—in rural than in urban centers.

TABLE 110.—RATIO OF MOTHERS TO FATHERS (IN SAME COUNTRY OF BIRTH) OF CHILDREN BORN IN THE TOTAL REGISTRATION AREA, AND IN THE CITIES AND RURAL PART OF THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

REGION OF BIRTH OF PARENTS	RATIO OF MOTHERS TO FATHERS OF CHILDREN BORN IN THE SAME REGION: 1920		
	Registra- tion area	Cities in registra- tion area	Rural part of registra- tion area
United States.....	105.9	108.3	104.0
Total foreign countries.....	89.0	90.9	83.6
Austria <sup>a</sup> .....	96.2	100.3	89.4
Hungary.....	100.7	102.3	96.5
Canada.....	94.0	98.6	85.5
Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.....	73.9	79.3	67.9
England, Scotland, and Wales.....	90.5	94.0	82.3
Ireland.....	115.4	114.2	127.4
Germany <sup>b</sup> .....	70.0	74.1	64.1
Italy.....	85.3	85.8	83.3
Poland <sup>c</sup> .....	89.5	90.2	86.9
Russia <sup>d</sup> .....	86.8	87.3	83.0

<sup>a</sup> Includes Austrian Poland.  
<sup>b</sup> Includes German Poland.

<sup>c</sup> Poland, not specified.  
<sup>d</sup> Includes Russian Poland.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. supra., Ch. VI, Sec. I, Table 74, p. 163.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Pearl, op. cit., pp. 613, 614. " \* \* \* the amount of racial amalgamation or fusion going on in the several parts of the American 'melting pot' is proportional in the most direct and close way to the amount of foreign-born white stock in the local population." Cf. also supra., Ch. III, Table 14.

<sup>20</sup> Table 110 is derived from Table 108.

How do these three conditions affect the degree of intermarriage of native and foreign elements? First of all, it must not be forgotten that most mixed marriages are between native women and foreign men. As regards the *foreign* stock, the large excess of males over females in the country induces more men to seek native mates there than in the city. Also, the large proportion of native-born persons in the country districts makes it mathematically more likely that a foreigner will meet a native than is the case in the cities, particularly when one keeps in mind the relative isolation of the typical urban immigrant colony. As regards the *native* stock, these factors operate contrariwise. There is a slight excess of native males over females in the country; so the American girl is under no particular pressure to marry a foreign-born husband. In the city, however, the native women outnumber the men, while the foreign men outnumber the women, howbeit less heavily than in the country. Consequently, American girls in many cases must needs accept immigrant husbands, or go unmarried. Moreover, in the city, the relatively large number of immigrants makes it more probable that any given native woman will meet a foreign-born man than she would in the country. Here, as in other cases, propinquity is a most effective aid to matrimony.<sup>21</sup>

It may be observed that the relatively small percentage of male immigrants married, in rural communities, is probably ascribable in part to the fact that in these areas there is a slight excess of native males over native females; so that in many cases, the immigrant man in search of a wife finds that the native American girls are already outnumbered by prospective American-born husbands. Whether, in addition, prejudice against the foreigner is stronger in the country than in the city, and so deters mixed marriages more frequently there, is a question to which no answer can be given.

INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN DIFFERENT IMMIGRANT GROUPS AND THE NATIVE STOCK, AND WITHIN THE FOREIGN STOCK

Three generalizations stand out after examination of the data concerning the degree in which the various race and nationality groups among the foreign born are mixing with the American stock, and with each other.

First, the majority of race groups are clearly endogamous. Second, when the immigrants do seek their mates from without their own number, they generally marry Americans. Third, there is a wide variation in the rate at which these different elements are fusing with the American stock.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Pearl, *op. cit.*, p. 614. "In other words, the dominant and outstanding factor in determining whether there shall be true effective assimilation of foreign elements into the established American population is simply the opportunity offered by propinquity, which is statistically one of the most potent factors in bringing about any and all marriages."

The *first* of these tendencies is made clear by Tables 106 and 107. In each table the greatest frequencies run diagonally from the upper left to the lower right portions of the table, and closer examination shows that these heavy frequencies indicate matings of men and women of the same race or nationality group. Thus Table 106 shows 803 out of every 1,000 Austrian mothers to have been mated with Austrian men; 849.9 out of every 1,000 Hungarian mothers to have Hungarian spouses, and so on. Moreover, in the total foreign-born group, 856.1 out of 1,000 foreign-born mothers have married foreign-born men.

It is only in three groups, namely the Canadian, the German, and the English, Scotch, and Welsh that the majority of matings are not within the particular group. And in the case of the Canadians and English it may well be asked whether the large number of American-English, American-Canadian, and English-Canadian marriages exhibited for these groups are not mostly confined to the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Celtic ethnic stock, and are not just as ethnically "pure" as those of English with English and Canadians with Canadians. Likewise, the large number of German-American marriages suggests the existence of alliances between men born in Germany and native-born women of German parentage. These assumptions can not, however, be statistically verified, and these three groups, particularly the German, must be recognized as exceptions to the otherwise general rule that in various immigrant groups the majority of marriages are ethnically endogamous.

Table 107 shows a similar situation among the men, though, as would be expected, it is not so clearly marked. In addition to the Germans, Canadians, and English, Scotch, and Welsh, the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes have found more than one-half of their wives outside their own groups.

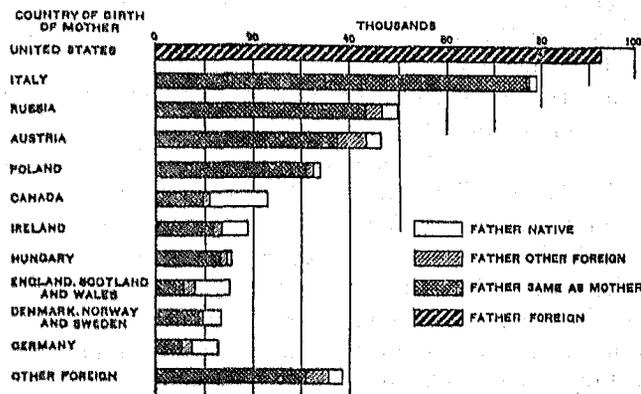
The *second* feature relating to the intermarriage of immigrant groups, namely, the disposition on the part of each to matings with Americans in preference to every other ethnic stock is indicated by Tables 106 and 107, as well as by Chart 8.

Chart 8 demonstrates graphically the frequency with which the foreign born seek American mates. Of all the children having at least one parent foreign, the largest group was composed of the offspring of marriages between native women and foreign men—this class containing more children than were produced by the ethnically "pure" marriages in any single immigrant stock. Tables 106 and 107, furthermore, show the highest frequencies, outside those representing matings within the various ethnic groups, to be expressive of marriages between native men and foreign mothers, or foreign men and native mothers.

This circumstance is probably due largely to the two factors set forth above: First, the coincident excess of females over males among the natives and of males over females among the foreign born; second, the probability that any given foreigner would be thrown into contact with native Americans more often than with members of any single immigrant group other than his own.

Another influence, however, must not be overlooked. The average American is more prosperous, and more advantageously situated socially, than the average foreign-born man or woman. In so far, therefore, as an immigrant would marry outside his group with an eye to material and social advantage, he would prefer a native American mate.

CHART 8.—BIRTHS, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA, OF WHITE CHILDREN OF KNOWN PARENTAGE HAVING AT LEAST ONE PARENT FOREIGN BORN: 1920



Whatever its cause, this phenomenon is evidence of a general tendency toward assimilation with the native American element on the part of the immigrants. They do not all marry outside their particular *milieu* in the same proportions, but when they do so they almost always mate with native Americans, and so, as has been suggested above, begin within the same generation in which they reach this country the process of mingling their blood with that of the American type.

It should, however, be pointed out that native Americans are not necessarily "pure" descendants of the original Colonial stock. Indeed, it has just been suggested that many of the German-American marriages represent unions with Americans who are only one generation from Germany. Undoubtedly, very many second, third, or fourth generation immigrants are numbered among the native Americans entering into these mixed native and foreign marriages.

From the *ethnic* viewpoint this distinction is important. From the *cultural and political* viewpoint it is not nearly so significant. The natives of foreign parents have been reared in the American environment, have learned the American language, and have come in contact with American culture, not, it is true, to any great extent in some places, nor as well as they might be in any but a few places. Yet they are, by and large, American in speech and in manners. Moreover, many of them are American in blood to a greater or lesser extent. Consequently, from the cultural viewpoint, certainly, and from the ethnic viewpoint in many cases, the marriage of these natives and foreigners are indicative of the beginnings of a real Americanizing process.

The *third* feature of these data, to wit, the varying rate of biological assimilation among these various peoples is shown most clearly in Tables 111 and 112.<sup>22</sup> The women intermarry with Americans at a rate ranging all the way from 21.8 per 1,000, for the Italians, to 508.3 for the Canadians.

More than this, a rather clear cleavage appears between "old" and "new" immigrant types. The highest rate for the "new" immigrants is 64.3 for the Austrian women, and this is far below the lowest for the "old," which is 282.8 for the Irish women.

Because of the excess of foreign males over females, the foreign men show a higher proportion of mixed marriages with Americans than do the women, but they display an even greater divergence, as between the several national groups, than do the women. The Germans head the list, with an American intermarriage rate of 589.3 per 1,000 men, while the Hungarians bring up the rear, with a rate of only 91.3. Here, also, the "old" and "new" immigrants are sharply differentiated, the lowest rate for the "old"—238.7 for the Irish—being well above the highest for the "new"—157.6 for the Austrians.

The significance of this situation is discussed at the end of the chapter. At this point it may be observed that there can be little doubt that a clear difference between "old" and "new" immigrants exists. The divergent intermarriage rates among the foreign-born women can not be explained on the grounds that, in general, the "old" immigrants have a smaller excess of males over females than the "new."<sup>23</sup> For, if this were the sole differentiating factor, then the "new" immigrant males would be more generally intermarried with native Americans than the "old," which is not the case. Other general influences, affecting males and females alike, are evidently at work.

<sup>22</sup> Derived from Tables 106 and 107.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. VI, Table 77.

Two other points may be noted. First, these data lend further confirmation to the statement made in an earlier chapter to the effect that many foreign-born males, in default of wives of their own nationality, would probably remain unmarried. The fact that the "new" immigrant men do not intermarry with native women so frequently as the "old" immigrants, despite the fact that there is a greater scarcity of eligible females among them, suggests that many of them must have remained unmarried. Some intermarriage there has been, but not enough to provide mates for all the men who have not found wives within their own ethnic group.

The second observation is that some effect of the varying sex ratios among the different nationalities may be discerned. It is most striking in the case of the Irish. This group has been seen to contain more females than males, contrary to the tendency displayed by most foreign-born groups. This being so, it would be expected that the Irish women would show a higher ratio of marriages with natives than the Irish men, for some of the former would have to seek husbands outside their own group, or go unmarried, while the latter would, local differences to one side, not have to leave their nationality in search of wives. Tables 111 and 112 show that such is indeed the case. Among the Irish-born mothers, 282.8 per 1,000 have married American-born husbands, but among the fathers, only 238.7 have American wives. Moreover, 612.9 out of every 1,000 Irish-born mothers have Irish husbands, but 707.5 out of every 1,000 Irish fathers have Irish wives. Every other nationality in Tables 111 and 112 shows an opposite tendency—namely, a lower rate of intermarriage among women than men—presumably because in each of them the men outnumber the women.

TABLE 111.—RATES OF "PURE" MATINGS, BY ETHNIC GROUPS, OF PARENTS OF CHILDREN BORN IN THE REGISTRATION AREA IN 1920

MATING WITHIN ONE ETHNIC GROUP—MOTHERS			MATING WITHIN ONE ETHNIC GROUP—FATHERS		
Rank	Ethnic group	Rate per 1,000	Rank	Ethnic group	Rate per 1,000
1	Italy.....	970.0	1	United States.....	960.7
2	Poland <sup>1</sup> .....	910.0	2	Hungary.....	850.2
3	United States.....	897.0	3	Italy.....	828.0
4	Russia <sup>2</sup> .....	807.7	4	Poland <sup>1</sup> .....	815.2
5	Hungary.....	849.0	5	Austria <sup>3</sup> .....	772.5
6	Austria <sup>3</sup> .....	803.0	6	Russia <sup>2</sup> .....	752.0
7	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.....	652.1	7	Ireland.....	707.5
8	Ireland.....	612.0	8	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.....	481.8
9	Germany <sup>4</sup> .....	421.6	9	Canada.....	380.0
10	Canada.....	411.4	10	England, Scotland, and Wales.....	337.8
11	England, Scotland, and Wales.....	373.1	11	Germany <sup>4</sup> .....	295.3

<sup>1</sup> Poland, not specified.  
<sup>2</sup> Includes Russian Poland.

<sup>3</sup> Includes Austrian Poland,  
<sup>4</sup> Includes German Poland.

TABLE 112.—RATES OF MATINGS WITH NATIVE AMERICANS, BY ETHNIC GROUPS, OF PARENTS OF CHILDREN BORN IN THE REGISTRATION AREA IN 1920

MATINGS WITH NATIVE AMERICANS—MOTHERS			MATINGS WITH NATIVE AMERICANS—FATHERS		
Rank	Ethnic group	Rate per 1,000	Rank	Ethnic group	Rate per 1,000
1	United States.....	897.9	1	United States.....	950.7
2	Canada.....	508.3	2	Germany <sup>1</sup> .....	580.3
3	England, Scotland, Wales.....	469.4	3	Canada.....	557.2
4	Germany <sup>1</sup> .....	431.3	4	England, Scotland, Wales.....	535.2
5	Denmark, Norway, Sweden.....	283.7	5	Denmark, Norway, Sweden.....	461.2
6	Ireland.....	282.8	6	Ireland.....	238.7
7	Austria <sup>2</sup> .....	64.3	7	Austria <sup>2</sup> .....	157.0
8	Russia <sup>3</sup> .....	61.3	8	Italy.....	153.2
9	Hungary.....	47.0	9	Poland <sup>4</sup> .....	144.1
10	Poland <sup>4</sup> .....	39.9	10	Russia <sup>3</sup> .....	140.8
11	Italy.....	21.8	11	Hungary.....	91.3

<sup>1</sup> Includes German Poland.  
<sup>2</sup> Includes Austrian Poland.

<sup>3</sup> Includes Russian Poland.  
<sup>4</sup> Poland, not specified.

### 3. ILLEGITIMACY

Illegitimacy is not a reliable index of morality. Illicit sex relations need not, and usually do not, issue in the birth of children. Very often conception is prevented; or abortions and stillbirths either take place accidentally or are induced.<sup>24</sup> Hence two groups of women may have an equal rate of illicit unions, but one of them, for one reason or another, may have a lower rate of illegitimacy and consequently an *apparently* higher standard of morality.

The statistics, though admittedly understated, are, nevertheless, of some value. Table 113 brings out two facts: *First*, the native born have a far higher illegitimacy rate than the foreign—that is, 16.7 per 1,000 births for native mothers as against 5.2 for foreign; *second*, the “old” immigrant women appear to have relatively more illegitimate children than the “new,” ranging from 6.6 per 1,000 for the Germans to 10.6 for the English, Scotch, and Welsh, whereas the “new” immigrants range from 2.5 for the Russians and Italians to 5.3 for the Austrians.<sup>25</sup>

As stated above, it is impossible to make any general comparisons concerning morality upon such figures as these. In so far, however, as they cast any light at all upon the moral standards of the population classes concerned, the foreign born are, to say the least, not inferior to the natives, nor the “new” immigrants to the “old,” certain widely held opinions to the contrary notwithstanding.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Newsholme, A.: Vital Statistics, New York, 1924, p. 89.

<sup>25</sup> Newsholme objects to this method of measuring illegitimacy. Newsholme, loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup> The Canadian mothers have the relatively high illegitimacy rate of 15 per 1,000 births. In this connection it is interesting to recall the unusually high percentage of divorced among the English Canadian population.

TABLE 113.—NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS (EXCLUSIVE OF STILLBIRTHS) PER 1,000 TOTAL BIRTHS, BY SEX AND COLOR, AND FOR WHITE CHILDREN BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF MOTHER, IN THE REGISTRATION AREA: 1920

[Numbers are shown in *italics* when the illegitimate births are less than 5]

AREA AND SEX	NUMBER OF ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS PER 1,000 TOTAL BIRTHS													
	White													Colored
	Total	Country of birth of mother												
		Foreign country												
United States	Austria (includes Austria-Poland)	Denmark, Norway, and Sweden	Canada	England, Scotland, and Wales	Ireland	Germany (includes German-Poland)	Italy	Poland (not specified)	Russia (includes Russian-Poland)	Other foreign countries	Total	Negro	Other colored	
The registration area: 1	22.7	5.3	8.4	15.0	10.6	10.1	6.6	2.5	4.0	2.5	5.9	125.6	44.7	
Total	14.2	2.2	8.4	13.0	10.6	11.5	7.2	2.6	4.9	2.4	5.5	125.7	42.9	
Males	14.2	2.2	8.3	13.0	10.6	11.5	7.2	2.6	4.9	2.4	5.5	125.7	42.9	
Females	14.1	2.0	8.4	13.0	10.6	8.6	5.3	2.4	3.0	2.7	6.3	125.4	46.6	
Cities in the registration area: 2	21.3	5.4	12.5	20.8	11.7	10.9	8.0	2.3	4.4	2.5	7.0	124.0	11.8	
Total	16.1	2.9	13.0	20.1	12.0	12.3	9.0	2.5	5.2	2.4	6.6	123.5	13.6	
Males	16.1	2.9	13.0	20.1	12.0	12.3	9.0	2.5	5.2	2.4	6.6	123.5	13.6	
Females	15.7	3.6	12.1	21.7	11.4	9.4	6.9	2.2	3.5	2.5	7.4	124.4	9.9	
Rural part of the registration area (total)	24.0	4.1	3.7	6.8	7.9	4.1	4.2	3.3	2.2	2.9	3.8	124.4	65.8	
Total	23.7	4.0	3.2	2.0	7.4	5.7	4.2	3.2	2.6	1.8	3.5	124.6	61.5	
Males	23.7	4.0	3.2	2.0	7.4	5.7	4.2	3.2	2.6	1.8	3.5	124.6	61.5	
Females	24.2	4.1	4.2	3.5	8.4	2.7	4.1	3.3	0.7	4.1	4.1	124.2	70.4	

1 Exclusive of California and Massachusetts. The birth certificates of these States do not require this information.  
 2 Includes the District of Columbia.

## SUMMARY

A variety of factors affect marriage and intermarriage among the immigrants. The first section of this chapter suggests that the most important of these are the varying proportions of the sexes in the native and foreign populations and the chances to meet persons of other groups than their own. In short, *opportunity* and *propinquity* exert a profound influence on the number and kind of marriages into which the foreign born enter, in much the same way as they influence the matrimonial fortunes of most modern populations.

In addition, the second section of this chapter has established certain marked differences in the degree of endogamy among the foreign born. Certain nationalities tend to marry almost entirely within their own group, while others are largely exogamous, being particularly prone to intermarriage with native Americans. Moreover, the "old" immigrants display a much more pronounced bent for exogamy than the "new."

Something may now be said by way of interpreting this set of phenomena. There are three possible explanations for this divergent rate of intermarriage, as between "old" and "new" immigrants. First, propinquity and opportunity; next, second generation intermarriages; and, finally, racial and national differences. These three may be discussed seriatim.

The *first* factor, namely propinquity and opportunity, would probably act in favor of intermarriages between native Americans and "old" immigrants. The latter are, first of all, largely rural in distribution, where the foreign-born population is relatively less numerous than in the city, and where accordingly, there would be a greater probability for any given foreign-born man or woman to meet Americans of his or her own age. Again, the "new" immigrants are largely, though not exclusively, resident in cities, *and in immigrant colonies within those cities*, where they are relatively unlikely to meet anybody outside their own racial or national group, let alone any native Americans, under conditions conducive to matrimony.<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, it is to be presumed that most of the "old" immigrants, having been in this country somewhat longer than the "new," are, therefore socially and economically farther advanced than they, and so are in these respects more eligible for marriage outside their group. Further, a considerable number of the "old" immigrants, namely, the English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish, have mother tongues practically identical with the language spoken in this country, while others, such as the Germans and Scandinavians, speak languages in many ways similar to it. On the other hand, the bulk of the "new" immigrants

<sup>27</sup> Some foreign colonies are further segregated by provinces and villages, as well as by nationalities. Cf. Park and Millor: *Old World Traits Transplanted*, New York, 1921, Ch. VII.

belong to Latin, Slavic, Ugro-Finn, or Semitic language groups, which have little, if anything, in common with the current speech in this country. Therefore, the "new" immigrants are, at least for a few years after their settlement in America, seriously handicapped in comparison with the "old" in the most elementary form of social intercourse—namely, language. Finally, in so far as native anti-foreign sentiment is a bar to intermarriages, such prejudice would probably be less marked toward "old" than toward "new" immigrants, since the former have, as a class, been in this country so long that no individual member of their group seems so distinctively "foreign" as does a "new" immigrant.

In this connection, it may be remarked, in passing, that the native Americans do not seem particularly prone to intermarriage with immigrants. Table 106 shows that only 88.7 out of 1,000 native-born mothers marry foreign-born men, whereas 138.9 out of 1,000 foreign-born mothers marry native American men, and this in face of the fact that the sex ratio of native and foreign populations is such as to encourage marriages of native women with foreign men. Among the men there is even a greater discrepancy. Table 107 exhibits an intermarriage rate of 48.8 per 1,000 for native men, as over against 237.6 for foreign men, although here it must be remembered that the sex ratios discourage matings of native men with foreign women.

A *second* possible explanation for the relatively infrequent intermarriages among the "new" immigrants is the possibility that in many of the mixed native and foreign marriages, the native-born husband or wife is a son or daughter of an immigrant of the same nationality as is his or her foreign-born mate. To be specific, it is entirely likely, as has been suggested above, that many marriages of Germans with Americans would prove on closer examination to be between German-born men or women and American-born daughters or sons of German parents. Moreover, more of such weddings would occur among the "old" than among the "new" immigrants, for the *second generation* "old" immigrants far outnumber the *second generation* "new" immigrants, particularly around the ages at which marriage usually takes place.<sup>28</sup> In other words, it is possible that the comparatively high intermarriage rate among the "old" immigrants is, to a certain degree, only apparent, in that many foreign-born persons from north and west European countries have probably married native-born children of the same national origin as themselves.

There remains to be considered the *third* possible influence; to wit, national and racial differences. In this connection reference may be made to a study made by Dr. J. Drachsler into the ratio of inter-

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. V, Tables 46 and 47, pp. 87, 88.

marriage among some 79,704 persons in New York City. He finds that "with regard to the ratio of intermarriage, the various nationalities range themselves in an ascending scale. Of the most important groups represented, the Jews and Negroes are lowest, the Italians are next, the Irish are higher than the Italians, and the northern, northwestern, and some central European peoples are highest."<sup>20</sup> Although Doctor Drachsler's study is based on a different methodology than that used here,<sup>20</sup> it would seem that his conclusions confirm in a general way those reached above.

The question now presents itself: Are these differences between the "old" and "new" immigrants due chiefly to the factors of opportunity and propinquity, and second generation intermarriages just noted, or do ethnic and national differences constitute the leading or even a leading cause? Probably no final answer can ever be given to this question, for marriage and intermarriage rest ultimately upon a series of individual choices and preferences, which are incapable of statistical analysis. Nevertheless, attention may be called to at least two differences between "new" and "old" immigrants which might lead to a higher intermarriage rate on the part of the latter than the former. In the first place, as Doctor Drachsler points out, the "old" immigrants belong, as a class, to religious groups similar to those dominant among the native American population,<sup>21</sup> while the "new" do not.<sup>22</sup> In so far, therefore, as religious difference is a bar to intermarriage, it would operate more strongly against marriages of "new" immigrants with natives than of "old." In the second place it is probable that, in eastern and southern Europe, marriage customs differ materially from those prevailing in northern and western Europe, and, in some degree, in central Europe. Just what these differences are it is beyond the province of this study to inquire. But, in going from northwestern Europe to the Near East, one passes from an occidental to an oriental civilization, and it is entirely likely that immigrants coming from the Near East, and from countries adjoining it, as do most of the "new" immigrants, would differ from the northwestern Europeans in their ideas concerning marriage as they do in religion, and in many other aspects of political and cultural life, and would, as a result, venture into matrimony outside their national groups much less frequently.

Whether or not these two factors are of sufficient importance to account for the divergence between "old" and "new" immigrants,

<sup>20</sup> Drachsler: *Democracy and Assimilation*, New York, 1920, pp. 147, 148.

<sup>21</sup> He counts all intermarriages, whereas this section is concerned mainly with native and foreign intermarriages.

<sup>22</sup> E. g., Protestant.

<sup>23</sup> E. g., Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Jew, Mohammedan.

the divergence remains. And therefore it must be concluded that, for some reason or another, there are fundamental differences between "old" and "new" immigration in the rate with which they intermarry with the American population.

This deduction leads to one further observation. Marriage customs, religion, language and the like are matters of *culture*, and not of inherent ethnic quality. It would seem, therefore, that, in so far as statistically measurable differences exist between "old" and "new" immigrants, they probably occur in respect of cultural and environmental conditions rather than inherited racial characteristics.

## IX

### CITIZENSHIP

Intermarriage constitutes the most decisive means by which the foreign population may become amalgamated with the native, for if it fructifies in children, it provides a means by which the immigrant race stock is, for better or worse, permanently grafted onto the native stem. "Americanization" is, however, a matter of social and political, as well as biological assimilation. And, although it is difficult to measure and tabulate such subtle and gradual processes as are involved in the absorption of the immigrant and his family into the civic life of the Nation, nevertheless one step in this process offers itself for statistical examination, namely, the conversion of the alien immigrant into a citizen of the United States by means of naturalization.

Not that naturalization is tantamount to "Americanization." There probably are many naturalized citizens whose loyalties and ideologies are still centered in the lands from which they emigrated. Conversely, many foreigners who, for one reason or another, have not become citizens may cherish a deep regard for the welfare and ideals of this country.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, it must be remembered that many foreigners are barred from citizenship in the first instance by the waiting period required before naturalization is acquired, and, in the second instance, by the educational, residential, and other requirements, which the conditions under which they live and work often render extremely difficult of fulfillment.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding all this, the seeking and granting of citizenship is, as stated above, a step taken by most foreigners on their way to the achievement of effective membership in the American Commonwealth. Therefore, statistics of citizenship do serve, in some measure, to throw light upon the way in which the immigrant population is becoming identified with the life of the American people.

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<sup>1</sup> For example, many thousands of unnaturalized immigrants served in the armed forces of this country during the World War, though they were eligible for exemption under the Selective Service Act.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gavit: *Americans by Choice*, New York, 1922, Chs. V and VI.

Two fields of inquiry are capable of analysis: First, the citizenship of the immigrant population as a whole; second, the citizenship of the ethnic groups within that population.

#### 1. CITIZENSHIP OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

The citizenship status of the immigrant population may be studied, first, for the country at large, and second, for the various types of territory in which the foreign born are settled.

##### CITIZENSHIP OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Tables 114 and 115, suggest three lines of inquiry: First, the relative proportions of immigrants who are naturalized, who have taken out their first papers, or who are still alien; second, the differences between the present and preceding census enumerations; and third, the differences between the male and female foreign born.

TABLE 114.—CITIZENSHIP OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, BY SEX, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

SEX AND AGE	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION: 1920				
	Total	Naturalized	Having first papers	Alien	Citizenship not reported
	NUMBER				
Both sexes—All ages.....	13, 712, 754	6, 470, 160	1, 219, 057	5, 223, 715	700, 823
Males.....	7, 528, 322	3, 443, 068	1, 132, 727	2, 502, 017	387, 710
Females.....	6, 184, 432	3, 026, 101	86, 330	2, 660, 708	403, 113
Both sexes—21 years and over.....	12, 498, 720	6, 208, 607	1, 104, 270	4, 364, 000	730, 838
Males.....	6, 028, 452	3, 314, 010	1, 116, 744	2, 138, 237	358, 501
Females.....	6, 470, 268	2, 893, 787	77, 526	2, 225, 763	372, 277
	PER CENT				
Both sexes—All ages.....	100.0	47.2	8.0	38.1	5.8
Males.....	100.0	45.7	15.1	34.0	5.2
Females.....	100.0	40.1	1.4	43.0	6.5
Both sexes—21 years and over.....	100.0	40.7	9.0	34.9	5.8
Males.....	100.0	47.8	16.1	30.9	5.2
Females.....	100.0	32.0	1.4	40.0	6.7

TABLE 115.—CITIZENSHIP OF FOREIGN BORN AND OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MALES 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1920, 1910, AND 1900, AND OF FEMALES, 1920 ONLY, FOR THE UNITED STATES

[No inquiry as to the citizenship of females prior to 1920]

CITIZENSHIP	MALES 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER								Females 21 years of age and over: 1920	Males to 100 females in popula- tion 21 years and over: 1920
	1920	1910	1900	Increase: 1910-1920 <sup>1</sup>		Increase: 1900-1910				
				Num- ber	Per cent	Num- ber	Per cent			
Foreign born..	7,063,594	6,780,214	5,010,280	283,380	4.2	1,760,928	35.3	5,022,799	125.6	
Naturalized.....	3,322,104	3,040,302	2,340,981	281,802	9.3	190,321	6.7	2,890,601	114.6	
Having first papers..	1,120,833	572,421	412,790	548,412	95.8	169,631	38.7	77,755	1,441.5	
Alien.....	2,253,691	2,370,305	1,001,595	116,707	-4.9	1,368,803	136.7	2,268,038	99.3	
Not reported.....	306,066	797,093	746,920	-480,127	-54.0	61,173	6.9	376,776	97.4	
Foreign-born white.....	6,028,452	6,646,817	4,004,270	281,635	4.2	1,742,547	35.5	5,570,208	124.4	
Naturalized.....	3,314,010	3,034,117	2,345,473	280,793	9.3	188,644	6.6	2,893,737	114.6	
Having first papers..	1,116,744	570,772	411,898	546,972	95.7	168,874	38.6	77,532	1,440.4	
Alien.....	2,138,237	2,266,535	914,917	128,208	-5.7	1,351,618	147.7	2,220,672	99.0	
Not reported.....	358,501	775,393	731,982	-410,332	-53.8	43,411	5.0	372,277	96.3	

<sup>1</sup> A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

The first portion of these tables concerns itself with the number of foreign-born persons naturalized, having first papers, or alien. Table 114 indicates that something less than one-half of the foreign-born white population, 47.2 per cent, is fully naturalized.<sup>3</sup> Another 8.9 per cent has taken out first papers, leaving 43.9 per cent alien or unreported. Of the immigrants of voting age, a slightly larger proportion, namely, 49.7 per cent is naturalized.

Little by way of interpretation of these figures is possible. Reference may, however, be made to the significance of the percentage of foreign born having first papers. As just suggested, naturalization does not imply complete "Americanization" so much as it does a step toward it. The declaration of intention, or securing of first papers, is also a step in the same direction, not so decisive as the other, but, nevertheless, an indication of the immigrant's desire at some later date to be incorporated into the body politic of the United States. Moreover, it is the only course of action open to a very large number of foreign-born men and women.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, in so far as the citizenship status of the foreign born is studied with reference to his tendency toward assimilation, both those fully

<sup>3</sup> "The first papers constitute the declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States, which declaration may be made by any eligible alien 18 years of age or more at any time after arrival in the United States."—Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VIII, p. 801.

<sup>4</sup> No immigrant can be fully naturalized until he has resided continuously in the United States for five years, and within one State or Territory for one year, and until two years after his declaration of intention has been filed. Exception has been made in favor of those who have served in the armed forces of the United States.

naturalized and those having first papers should be counted, since both have started—and *only started*—along the road toward effective “Americanization,” albeit one group has traveled somewhat farther along that road than the other.

The census data have not been tabulated so as to permit a study of the interval elapsing between the immigration of the foreign born and their naturalization. A knowledge of the promptitude or tardiness with which an immigrant seeks citizenship is of almost as great importance in estimating his assimilability as is the fact of his naturalization. For example, X and Y may both be naturalized citizens, but if X became a citizen at the earliest possible moment—that is, 5 years after his arrival in this country—while Y waited 25 years before doing so, it is obvious that, other things being equal, X has responded more readily to “Americanizing” influences, and is, therefore, more assimilable, than Y.

It is possible to get some light on this question, however, by reference to a recently published study of Mr. John P. Gavit. On the basis of some 13,849 naturalization cases, in the fiscal year 1913-14,<sup>5</sup> Mr. Gavit reckons the average interval between arrival in the United States, and the filing of the final petition for naturalization to be 10.6 years.<sup>6</sup> That is, the typical immigrant apparently waits about twice as long as the law requires, before he is able or willing to become a citizen.<sup>7</sup> It must not be forgotten that this estimate is derived from a relatively small number of instances,<sup>8</sup> and is therefore liable to an appreciable factor of error. But it is at least evident that the process of absorbing the foreign-born population is a slow one, and that the average immigrant makes up his mind to cast his lot with the American Government only after considerable hesitation.

This relatively long interval between the migration and naturalization of the foreign population aids in the interpretation of the *second* feature to be studied in these tables; that is, the comparison of the 1920 census with those of previous years. The percentage of persons naturalized has decreased heavily since 1900, but the percentage of those having first papers has increased.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, it is seen from Table 115 that the number of foreign-born males who have filed declarations of intention increased at the rate of 95.8 per cent during the decade 1910-1920, whereas the total number of foreign-born males grew only at the rate of 4.2 per cent.

<sup>5</sup> That is, the last year before the World War.

<sup>6</sup> Gavit, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>7</sup> In addition to the residence requirements, he is required to be able to speak the English language, and often he is questioned on the Constitution of the United States.

<sup>8</sup> About one-fifth of all the cases filed in one fiscal year. Gavit, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VIII, Table 1.

Is there any way of accounting for these apparently conflicting tendencies? The most obvious explanation is that the character of the recent immigration is materially different from that of an earlier generation, in that the foreign born of to-day are less anxious to seek citizenship than were those of yesterday. In the absence of any data relating citizenship to age or year of immigration, this assumption can not, however, be verified. Moreover, in the second section of this chapter, it is seen that such data as is available on this question do not by any means show a preponderance of evidence in favor of this hypothesis. If it points in any direction, it is to a contrary conclusion.

There are three other factors, however, any or all of which might properly account for these phenomena. In the first place, there is not to-day, or was not before the World War, anywhere near so clear an economic motive for the foreigner to seek citizenship as there was 30 years ago. At that time many foreigners were settling on public lands, and citizenship was required before complete title to them could be secured. It has been seen that the opportunity to acquire land in this way has virtually ceased to exist, so that *pari passu*, this sort of incentive to naturalization has also practically disappeared.

In the second place, the naturalization laws of the United States were revised in 1906, with the avowed intention of making more rigid the requirements for citizenship. The administration of the law has, moreover, become progressively more strict, since that time, particularly since the World War. There can be no doubt but that during the past 14 years many persons have failed to become naturalized largely because of the increasing difficulty of acquiring citizenship.<sup>10</sup>

In the third place, the volume of immigration was on the increase, with little interruption, up to the year 1914, so that *there was a steadily growing population of foreign born who had not yet been in this country sufficiently long to be naturalized*. It is true that, considering only the legal five-year waiting period, the proportion of eligibles for naturalization was increasing. On the other hand, if the *actual* waiting period of 10 years, or thereabouts, as estimated by Mr. Gavit, is taken into account, the percentage of those able and willing to be naturalized would have been decreasing.<sup>11</sup>

Cognizance may now be taken of the large expansion in the number of immigrants having first papers. During the period 1910-1920 this increase was probably due, in part, to pressure brought by

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VIII, p. 802.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. IV, Sec. 1, Table 30, p. 46.

employers and civic organizations, under the stimulus of the wartime and postwar "Americanization" campaigns. No such degree of pressure was at work, however, in the periods 1890-1900 and 1900-1910, yet the percentage of declarants increased during each of these intervals also. It would seem probable that this phenomenon is due principally to the fact that in 1900, 1910, and 1920 there was accumulating a growing number of immigrants who had been in America long enough only to file their declarations of intention to become citizens. In other words, taking into account both the legal and actual waiting periods between immigration and naturalization, the growing volume of immigration has acted to *reduce* the proportion of fully naturalized foreign born and concurrently to *increase* the percentage of those having first papers. Of the other two factors mentioned, namely, the virtual cessation of immigrant settlement on public lands and the stiffening of naturalization requirements, the first would operate to cut down the percentage both of foreign-born naturalized and of those having first papers, but the second would tend to limit the number of those naturalized and to raise the proportion of those having first papers, in that it is much less difficult to file first papers than it is to get "final papers" or full naturalization.

Another factor, working in an entirely different direction, must be noted. As a war-time measure most of the limitations on naturalization were abandoned in favor of those serving in the naval and military establishments of the United States. Some 128,335 persons were naturalized under the provisions of this legislation.<sup>13</sup> Many of them might have been given citizenship under normal circumstances, but it is likely that these "military naturalizations" greatly increased the number of persons gaining citizenship during the decade 1910-1920. In so far as this is so, these cases act as an offset against the tendencies just discussed. That they were not sufficient to make up for the decline in naturalizations for which these other factors are probably responsible is obvious.

A *third* feature of the citizenship of the foreign-born population is the difference between males and females. In one respect, there is a striking distinction between the sexes. From Table 114 it is readily seen that the proportion of women having first papers is very much smaller than that of men. Whereas only 1.4 per cent of the former have declared their intention to become citizens, 15.1 per cent of the latter have done so.

The cause for this difference is obvious. "Under the provisions of the naturalization laws at the time the Fourteenth Census was taken the citizenship status of a married woman was the same as

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Gavit, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

that of her husband (*but if the husband had taken out his first papers only his wife was classified in the census returns as an alien*); for an unmarried woman the process of naturalization was the same as for a man \* \* \*<sup>13</sup> Keeping in mind the fact that most immigrant women, who are old enough to be naturalized, are married, it is clear that the comparatively small number of foreign-born women who have their first papers does not indicate a relative lack of interest in naturalization on their part so much as it does their peculiar status under the naturalization laws of this country at the time of the census enumeration.<sup>14</sup>

#### TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION AND CITIZENSHIP OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

For the purposes of this portion of the monograph the territory of the United States may be considered, first, according to geographic divisions and States, and, second, according to urban and rural communities.

The *first* classification—that of geographic divisions—shows that, with one striking exception, the per cent of aliens seeking citizenship increases as one passes away from the North Atlantic seaboard. Thus, Table 116 indicates that the naturalized foreign born are 42 per cent of the total in New England and 43.3 per cent in the Middle Atlantic States, as against 43.8 per cent in the South Atlantic belt, 48.5 per cent on the Pacific coast, 48.8 per cent in the Mountain States, 50.9 per cent in the East North Central, 55.3 per cent in the East South Central, and 65.7 per cent in the West North Central States. On the other hand, only 26.3 per cent of the foreigners residing in the West South Central States, where there is a large Mexican population, are naturalized.

Table 116, which records the number of foreigners remaining completely alien, after those naturalized and having first papers<sup>15</sup> have been deducted, brings out this tendency even more clearly. The per cent of aliens in the foreign-born white population in New England and the Middle Atlantic belt is larger than it is in any other group of States except the West South Central. Again, Table 116 shows a low rate of naturalization in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and West South Central regions, and a higher rate in the

<sup>13</sup> Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VIII, p. 801. Italics not in original.

<sup>14</sup> An act of Congress, approved Sept. 22, 1922, provides that the citizenship status of a married woman need not follow her husband's, but that she may or may not become naturalized on her own account.

<sup>15</sup> And "not reported."

West and South, and an especially high rate in the West North Central States, namely, that part of the upper Mississippi Valley most densely populated by the older generation of immigrants.

TABLE 116.—PER CENT NATURALIZED AND ALIEN OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION, BY SEX, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE					
	Naturalized			Alien		
	Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
United States .....	47.2	45.7	49.1	38.1	34.0	43.0
New England .....	42.0	40.4	43.7	46.7	42.7	50.8
Middle Atlantic .....	43.3	42.6	44.2	43.3	38.8	48.4
East North Central .....	50.9	48.4	54.2	30.7	25.9	36.0
West North Central .....	65.7	63.7	68.2	18.2	15.0	21.6
South Atlantic .....	43.8	41.1	47.6	40.7	39.4	42.5
East South Central .....	55.3	54.0	57.1	23.6	22.4	25.3
West South Central .....	26.3	25.9	26.9	62.5	60.8	64.7
Mountain .....	48.8	46.1	53.0	38.4	36.9	40.5
Pacific .....	48.5	46.0	52.1	36.4	34.3	39.4

Here, as above, no correlation between age or year of immigration and citizenship can be attempted. The data suggest very strongly that there is a direct relationship between naturalization and these two phenomena, for it has been seen that the younger, more recently arrived immigrants tend to concentrate along the Atlantic seaboard, while those who have been here longer are spread out over the South and West, more particularly in the upper Mississippi Valley.<sup>16</sup> When, in addition to this, the tendency toward the long waiting period between immigration and naturalization, discovered by Mr. Gavit, is recalled, it would seem very probable that the rate of naturalization among the foreign born as a group varies according to their age and length of residence in the United States.

That there are important ethnic and national differences in the assimilability of the foreign born is demonstrated in the second section of this chapter. Nevertheless, the most important factor of difference appears to be the one just noted.

Urban and rural communities constitute the *second* type of territory to be studied in this connection. Table 117 contains the data of greatest moment to this phase of the discussion.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. supra, Ch. IV, Table 32, p. 50, and Table 173, p. 397.

TABLE 117.—CITIZENSHIP OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION OF URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITIES, FOR ALL AGES AND FOR PERSONS 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

CLASS OF COMMUNITY, SEX, AND AGE	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION: 1920				
	Total	Naturalized	Having first papers	Alien	Not reported
URBAN COMMUNITIES					
NUMBER					
Both sexes—All ages.....	10,350,983	4,765,313	974,473	4,090,296	520,901
Male.....	5,500,396	2,491,155	503,034	1,927,890	237,717
Female.....	4,796,587	2,274,158	70,839	2,162,406	289,184
Both sexes—21 years and over.....	9,436,856	4,555,054	954,041	3,443,807	483,954
Male.....	5,115,293	2,302,492	880,813	1,615,135	217,853
Female.....	4,321,563	2,102,562	64,228	1,828,672	266,101
RURAL COMMUNITIES					
Both sexes—All ages.....	3,355,771	1,713,846	244,584	1,133,419	263,922
Male.....	1,967,926	952,813	230,093	635,027	149,993
Female.....	1,387,845	761,033	14,491	498,392	113,929
Both sexes—21 years and over.....	3,061,804	1,653,643	240,235	921,102	246,884
Male.....	1,813,159	922,418	226,931	523,102	140,708
Female.....	1,248,705	731,225	13,304	398,000	106,176
URBAN COMMUNITIES					
PER CENT					
Both sexes—All ages.....	100.0	46.0	9.4	39.5	5.1
Male.....	100.0	44.8	16.3	34.7	4.3
Female.....	100.0	47.4	1.5	45.1	6.0
Both sexes—21 years and over.....	100.0	48.3	10.1	36.5	5.1
Male.....	100.0	46.8	17.4	31.0	4.3
Female.....	100.0	50.0	1.5	42.3	6.2
RURAL COMMUNITIES					
Both sexes—All ages.....	100.0	51.1	7.3	33.8	7.9
Male.....	100.0	48.4	11.7	32.3	7.6
Female.....	100.0	54.8	1.0	35.9	2.2
Both sexes—21 years and over.....	100.0	54.0	7.8	30.1	8.1
Male.....	100.0	50.9	12.5	28.0	7.8
Female.....	100.0	58.0	1.1	31.9	8.5

This table reflects a situation analogous to that found with regard to the foreign-born population as a whole. Exactly opposite tendencies are revealed by the foreign born naturalized, and by those having first papers. The former are relatively more numerous in rural than in urban communities; the latter, in urban than in rural. Thus, for all ages and both sexes, the naturalized are 46 per cent of the total foreign born in urban areas and 51.1 per cent in rural, while those having first papers are 7.3 per cent of the total in rural communities and 9.4 per cent in urban. Furthermore, corresponding differences apply to all the age and sex groups tabulated.

The only explanation that appears to be applicable to this phenomenon is the one outlined above—differences in age and length of residence lead to differences in the rate of naturalization. It has been seen that the foreign born in rural districts are, on the whole, older and longer resident in the United States than those in the cities. Indeed, the cities have been found to serve, in large measure, as "way stations" for relatively recent immigrants.<sup>17</sup> Now, Table 117 shows it to be in the country where the older immigrants predominate that the percentage of naturalized immigrants is high, and that in the cities, where the younger immigrants are concentrated, it is low. More than this, the fact that the percentage of those having first papers is low in the country and high in the city fits in with this hypothesis. In the rural areas most of the foreign born have had ample time to become naturalized, so that one finds there relatively few who have taken out first papers because they have not had time to be given full citizenship. In the city, on the other hand, there are many who have been in America only long enough to be given their first papers, so that the percentage for this class is relatively large there. Furthermore, this condition lends confirmation to the observation made above, to the effect that the presence of a large proportion of newly arrived immigrants is probably one of the principal factors in reducing the proportion of those completely naturalized, and in increasing the quota of those having first papers.

In sum, whether one considers urban and rural areas or the major territorial divisions of the country, one comes to the same conclusion. Where the foreign born have been settled in this country a relatively short time the percentage of those naturalized is low and of those having first papers is high; but where they have been in the country long enough to become sufficiently assimilated to desire and to be able to qualify for citizenship there is a relatively large proportion of fully naturalized persons and a comparatively small number of declarants.<sup>18</sup>

## 2. COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND CITIZENSHIP OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

As urged at the outset of this chapter, naturalization is not a definitive index of "Americanization," but it does serve, in a general way, to show the rate at which, and the extent to which, one or another immigrant element is undergoing one phase of the process of assimilation into the American nation.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. IV, Table 34, p. 56, and Ch. VI, Table 74, p. 163.

<sup>18</sup> The variation in the percentage having first papers is not so clear in the case of the geographic divisions of the country as between the urban and rural areas. In individual States that are largely rural it is, however, very marked. Thus in 1920 the naturalized foreign born were 73.3 per cent of the total in North Dakota and 69.3 per cent in Iowa, but those having first papers were only 5.4 per cent in each State. Cf. Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Ch. VIII, Table 5.

The data that are available point to four conclusions: First, there is an astonishing variation between the several nationalities; second, this variation is due in part to inequalities in the age composition, and average length of residence of these groups; third, it is also due in part to striking, but largely obscure, dissimilarities in the rate of naturalization of the different groups; fourth, there is no clear basis for determining the relative assimilability of the "old" and "new" immigration as a whole.

Tables 118, 119, and 120 contain the material on which this portion of the discussion rests. Table 120 is adapted from Mr. Gavit's study on naturalization to which reference has already been made.

The *first* of these generalizations can be reached by an inspection of any of the tables under consideration here. Thus Table 119 shows that the number of immigrants naturalized ranges from 4.8 per cent for the Mexicans to 72.9 per cent for the Welsh; and that of immigrants having their first papers, from 0.6 per cent for the Mexicans to 17.1 per cent for the Yugoslavs. In other words, there are among the Welsh about 15 times as many persons naturalized, and among the Yugoslavs about 28 times as many persons having their first papers, as among the Mexicans. Reference to Tables 118, 119, and 120 shows, moreover, that these differences are not exceptional. Significant contrasts in the percentage of persons naturalized, in the percentage of those having first papers, and in the average interval of waiting, are seen to occur throughout the three tables.

The *second* generalization derived from these tables aids in explaining the rather startling differences revealed by them. To a great extent, these differences reflect, not varying degrees of assimilability, but rather variations in age composition and length of residence. Tables 118 and 119 make this fact clear. They show that, generally speaking, the "old" north and west Europeans are more heavily naturalized than the "new" south, central, and east European immigrants. For example, in Table 119, 12 out of the first 15 nationalities, when ranged according to the per cent naturalized of their representatives in this country, are the northwestern European group, and none of them is central, south, or eastern European. Again, 20 out of the 28 last countries in the same list are from central, south, or eastern Europe, or from Asia Minor, and only one—Belgium—is from northwest Europe.

The question as to whether or not these facts are to be interpreted as implying a greater tendency toward assimilation on the part of the "old" than the "new" immigration is discussed below. At this place it need only be observed that they point clearly to a higher rate of naturalization among the elder than among the younger immigrants, for, as has been established in a previous portion of this study,

the north and west European foreign born, are, as a class, older, and have been in this country longer than those from central, south, and eastern Europe and from Asia Minor.<sup>19</sup>

More than this, the variations *within* the "old" and "new" immigrant groups manifested in Table 119 are highly significant. Among the former, the French, Dutch, and Belgians appear relatively low in rank, while among the latter, the Czechoslovakians and Yugoslavs rank relatively high. It has been seen above that the French, Dutch, and Belgians have continued sending immigrants until recently; that, indeed, their representation in this country is still increasing; whereas the Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs have been in this country as long as many northwestern Europeans.<sup>20</sup> That is to say, the Czechoslovaks are "old" immigrants, chronologically, and the French, Dutch, and Belgians, "new," and—in conformity with the principle just enunciated—the former show a relatively high naturalization rate, and the latter a relatively low one.

Attention may now be directed to the columns in Tables 118 and 119, showing the relative numbers among the immigrant nationalities having their first papers. Here there is almost a complete reversal of the relationship just discussed. The "new" immigrants show high percentages; the "old," low ones. Thus 14 out of the 15 of the highest ranking nationalities having first papers are "new" immigrant groups, and but one is an "old" immigrant country. Moreover, this one is Belgium, which, as has just been seen, is still sending many—chronologically—"new" immigrants to the United States. Among the last 15 countries in this list, 7 are "old" immigrant nationalities, and fifth from the bottom is, appropriately enough, Wales, which tops the list when the groups are arranged according to their per cent fully naturalized.

It is now fairly obvious that the principle to which reference was made in the first section of this chapter is at work here. *Those nationalities which, on the whole, have been in the United States for a considerable period show a large percentage of persons naturalized and a small percentage of persons having first papers. Those nationalities which, on the whole, have been in the United States for a short period show a small percentage of persons naturalized and a large percentage of those having first papers.*

In brief, the waiting period between the year of immigration and the year of naturalization appears to be of decisive importance. Those nationalities which have resided in this country long enough to overcome the legal and other barriers to naturalization have become citizens in relatively large numbers; those which have not, have not

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. IV, Table 36, and Ch. V, Table 44, and Chart 4.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. IV, Table 37. It should be remembered that, under the "races and peoples" classification, the Czechoslovaks are classed as "Bohemians and Moravians."

yet acquired citizenship to any great extent but have, in a much larger degree than the others, taken the first step toward citizenship—which is, moreover, the only step open to many of them—namely, to secure their first papers.

TABLE 118.—PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE NATURALIZED, OR HAVING FIRST PAPERS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

COUNTRY OF BIRTH	PER CENT NATURALIZED OR HAVING FIRST PAPERS			COUNTRY OF BIRTH	PER CENT NATURALIZED OR HAVING FIRST PAPERS		
	Total	Naturalized	Having first papers		Total	Naturalized	Having first papers
All countries.....	56.1	47.2	8.9	Southern Europe:			
Northwestern Europe:				Greece.....	20.0	16.8	12.2
England.....	70.0	63.1	6.9	Albania.....	16.0	7.4	9.2
Scotland.....	68.0	60.9	8.0	Italy.....	38.3	28.1	10.2
Wales.....	77.8	72.9	4.9	Spain.....	14.8	9.0	4.9
Ireland.....	70.8	65.7	5.1	Portugal.....	20.1	16.4	3.7
Norway.....	76.2	67.3	8.9	Other Europe.....	59.4	48.0	11.4
Sweden.....	77.5	69.0	8.5	Asia:			
Denmark.....	78.1	69.2	8.9	Armenia.....	41.5	28.9	12.0
Netherlands.....	66.2	56.0	10.2	Palestine.....	48.7	37.5	11.2
Belgium.....	62.2	49.0	13.2	Syria.....	40.5	28.9	11.6
Luxemburg.....	80.2	72.5	7.7	Turkey in Asia.....	35.5	25.1	10.4
Switzerland.....	72.3	64.9	7.4	Other Asia.....	47.4	30.5	10.9
France.....	64.0	56.7	7.3	America:			
Germany.....	79.7	72.8	6.9	Canada—French.....	52.5	44.8	7.7
Central Europe:				Canada—Other.....	63.9	57.0	6.9
Poland.....	41.0	28.0	13.0	Newfoundland.....	55.7	47.4	8.3
Czechoslovakia.....	59.4	45.8	13.6	Mexico.....	5.4	4.8	0.6
Austria.....	49.5	37.7	11.8	West Indies <sup>1</sup> .....	32.8	28.1	4.7
Hungary.....	42.7	29.1	13.6	Central and South America.....	80.0	24.1	5.9
Yugoslavia.....	42.3	25.2	17.1	Other countries:			
Eastern Europe:				Africa.....	51.4	43.6	7.8
Russia.....	50.1	40.2	9.9	Australia.....	58.0	49.5	8.5
Lithuania.....	38.1	25.6	12.5	Atlantic Islands.....	24.3	20.9	3.4
Finland.....	53.8	41.3	12.5	Pacific Islands.....	58.0	50.1	7.9
Rumania.....	53.4	41.1	12.3	All other.....	51.5	47.5	4.0
Bulgaria.....	28.5	12.1	16.4				
Turkey in Europe.....	32.8	20.2	12.6				

<sup>1</sup> Except possessions of the United States.

It can not be pretended that the foregoing explains all the differences revealed by Tables 118 and 119 between the various national groups. There yet remain many striking divergencies which must arise from some other cause or causes. This feature is indeed the *third* that is to be derived from these tables. It is perfectly clear that, notwithstanding the influences just discussed, certain nationalities show a greater tendency toward naturalization than others. Thus, Mexico appears at the bottom of *both* the columns for percentage naturalized and percentage having first papers in clear contradiction of the principle just enunciated. Portugal and the Atlantic Islands are also low in both columns, ranking thirty-ninth and thirty-sixth, respectively, in one, and forty-first and forty-second in the other.

TABLE 119.—RANK OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH ACCORDING TO THE PER CENT NATURALIZED, NATURALIZED AND HAVING FIRST PAPERS, OR HAVING FIRST PAPERS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

NATURALIZED			NATURALIZED AND HAVING FIRST PAPERS		
Rank	Country of birth	Per cent	Rank	Country of birth	Per cent
1	Wales.....	72.9	1	Luxemburg.....	80.2
2	Germany.....	72.8	2	Germany.....	79.7
3	Luxemburg.....	72.5	3	Denmark.....	78.1
4	Denmark.....	69.2	4	Wales.....	77.8
5	Sweden.....	69.0	5	Sweden.....	77.5
6	Norway.....	67.3	6	Norway.....	76.2
7	Ireland.....	65.7	7	Switzerland.....	72.3
8	Switzerland.....	64.9	8	Ireland.....	70.8
9	England.....	63.1	9	England.....	70.0
10	Scotland.....	60.0	10	Scotland.....	68.9
11	Canada—"Other".....	57.9	11	Netherlands.....	66.2
12	France.....	56.7	12	France.....	64.0
13	Netherlands.....	56.0	13	Canada—"Other".....	63.9
14	Pacific Islands.....	60.1	14	Belgium.....	62.2
15	Australia.....	49.5	15	Czechoslovakia.....	59.4
16	Belgium.....	49.0	16	Pacific Islands.....	58.0
17	Newfoundland.....	47.4	17	Australia.....	58.0
18	Czechoslovakia.....	45.8	18	Newfoundland.....	56.7
19	Canada—French.....	44.8	19	Finland.....	53.8
20	Africa.....	43.6	20	Rumania.....	53.4
21	Finland.....	41.3	21	Canada—French.....	52.5
22	Rumania.....	41.1	22	Africa.....	51.4
23	Russia.....	40.2	23	Russia.....	50.1
24	Austria.....	37.7	24	Austria.....	49.5
25	Palestine.....	37.5	25	Palestine.....	48.7
26	Hungary.....	29.1	26	Hungary.....	42.7
27	Syria.....	28.9	27	Yugoslavia.....	42.3
28	Armenia.....	28.9	28	Armenia.....	41.5
29	Italy.....	28.1	29	Poland.....	41.0
30	West Indies.....	28.1	30	Syria.....	40.5
31	Poland.....	28.0	31	Italy.....	38.3
32	Lithuania.....	25.6	32	Lithuania.....	38.1
33	Yugoslavia.....	25.2	33	Turkey in Asia.....	35.5
34	Turkey in Asia.....	25.1	34	West Indies.....	32.8
35	Central and South America.....	24.1	35	Turkey in Europe.....	32.8
36	Atlantic Islands.....	20.9	36	Central and South America.....	30.0
37	Turkey in Europe.....	20.2	37	Greece.....	29.0
38	Greece.....	16.8	38	Bulgaria.....	26.5
39	Portugal.....	16.4	39	Atlantic Islands.....	24.3
40	Bulgaria.....	12.9	40	Portugal.....	20.1
41	Spain.....	9.9	41	Albania.....	16.6
42	Albania.....	7.4	42	Spain.....	14.8
43	Mexico.....	4.8	43	Mexico.....	5.4

HAVING FIRST PAPERS			HAVING FIRST PAPERS—continued		
Rank	Country of birth	Per cent	Rank	Country of birth	Per cent
1	Yugoslavia.....	17.1	23	Norway.....	8.9
2	Bulgaria.....	16.4	24	Sweden.....	8.5
3	Czechoslovakia.....	13.6	25	Australia.....	8.5
4	Hungary.....	13.6	26	Scotland.....	8.0
5	Belgium.....	13.2	27	Pacific Islands.....	7.9
6	Poland.....	13.0	28	Africa.....	7.8
7	Armenia.....	12.6	29	Canada—French.....	7.7
8	Turkey in Europe.....	12.0	30	Luxemburg.....	7.7
9	Finland.....	12.5	31	Switzerland.....	7.4
10	Lithuania.....	12.5	32	France.....	7.3
11	Rumania.....	12.3	33	Germany.....	6.9
12	Greece.....	12.2	34	England.....	6.9
13	Austria.....	11.8	35	Canada—"Other".....	6.0
14	Syria.....	11.6	36	Central and South America.....	5.9
15	Palestine.....	11.2	37	Ireland.....	5.1
16	Turkey in Asia.....	10.4	38	Spain.....	4.9
17	Netherlands.....	10.2	39	Wales.....	4.9
18	Italy.....	10.2	40	West Indies.....	4.7
19	Russia.....	9.9	41	Portugal.....	3.7
20	Newfoundland.....	9.3	42	Atlantic Islands.....	3.4
21	Albania.....	9.2	43	Mexico.....	0.6
22	Denmark.....	8.9			

TABLE 120.—AVERAGE INTERVAL BETWEEN DATE OF IMMIGRATION AND FILING OF FINAL PETITION FOR NATURALIZATION OF FOREIGN-BORN APPLICANTS, 21 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN 28 COURTS, BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH: 1913-14<sup>1</sup>

Rank	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Applicants 21 years of age and over	Average interval (years) between immigration and filing of final petition <sup>2</sup>
	All countries.....	<sup>3</sup> 13,840	<sup>3</sup> 10.6
1	Canada.....	198	16.4
2	Sweden.....	316	13.1
3	Switzerland.....	140	12.2
4	France.....	67	11.9
5	Germany.....	1,427	11.9
6	England.....	538	11.7
7	Italy.....	1,742	11.4
8	Norway.....	228	10.8
9	Scotland.....	218	10.6
10	Finland.....	84	10.5
11	Austria.....	1,828	10.5
12	Denmark.....	122	10.2
13	Holland.....	90	10.1
14	Hungary.....	1,201	9.9
15	Rumania.....	278	9.8
16	Russia.....	3,930	9.6
17	Ireland.....	1,087	9.6
18	Greece.....	81	8.8
19	Turkey in Asia.....	63	8.5
20	Turkey in Europe.....	42	8.1

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from Gavit: *Americans by Choice*, New York, 1922, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Italics indicate averages based on less than 100 cases.

<sup>3</sup> Includes countries of birth from which applicants were too few to be tabulated separately.

Even more striking is the evidence furnished by Table 120, derived from Mr. Gavit's study. When one takes into account the waiting period between the year of immigration and the filing of the final petition immediately before naturalization, one sees strongly marked national differences. There is a difference of about eight years between the waiting period of the Canadians and that of the various peoples born in Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia. For some nationalities the numbers involved in this table are too few to warrant the drawing of any but tentative conclusions. Nevertheless, there is a sufficient number of instances in the cases—for example—of the Irish and Germans to justify the conclusion that the latter apparently hesitate much longer than the former before becoming citizens. It may be remarked that the north and west European stocks show a generally longer waiting period than the central, south, and east Europeans.

Concerning the explanation for these differences, Mr. Gavit makes the following observations:

Those from countries where, at the time of their migration, there was either autocratic government or political discontent or inferior economic opportunity head the list of those who seek, and upon examination prove their title to, fellow-membership with us.

Those from countries where government was relatively democratic, where individual liberty prevailed, where political, social, and economic conditions were conducive to contentment, were satisfied to keep the citizenship of their fatherlands.<sup>21</sup>

This hypothesis would account for most of the contrasts shown in Mr. Gavit's table, but not by any means all of them. One finds difficulty in believing the average Scotchman to have been worse off politically, socially, or economically in his home country than the average Italian or, to instance more numerous represented nationalities, the average Irishman to have been more oppressed than the average Austrian, particularly when it is remembered that many of the "Austrians" covered by these figures were Poles, Czechs, Croats, and similar minority groups in the old Austrian kingdom. Moreover, Mr. Gavit's theory fails to explain the utter indifference toward citizenship displayed by the Mexicans, and, in less degree, by the Portuguese, Spanish, and Atlantic Islanders.

These last three nationalities are among the most recent to arrive in this country in large numbers, and it may well be that they have, as a rule, been here so short a time as scarcely to understand, let alone appreciate, the opportunities and responsibilities involved in naturalization.

Little more can be said other than that a variety of factors are probably operating to make some nationalities seek naturalization more readily, and in greater numbers than others. Perhaps the most important is the one to which Mr. Gavit has called attention—the degree of economic, political, and social well-being which exists among the populations in the home lands from which the different immigrant groups have come, especially among those race groups predominant among the immigrants from these countries, and the consequent strength or weakness of their affection for "the old country" and of their ultimate intention to return. What additional influences there are besides those involved in length of residence can not be determined until more data are available.

The *fourth* observation made at the beginning of this section may now be discussed. No clear basis can be found for determining the relative assimilability of "old" and "new" immigrant stocks. There are three separate ways in which "old" and "new" immigrants are distinguished from one another with respect to their citizenship status: (1) The "old" show a higher percentage naturalized than the "new"; (2) the "new" display a higher percentage having first papers than the "old"; (3) the "new" seem, according to Mr. Gavit, to wait a shorter time before becoming naturalized than the "old."

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<sup>21</sup> Gavit, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

On the basis of the first distinction, it is possible to conclude that the "old" immigrants are more easily "Americanized." Contrariwise, on the basis of the third, it is equally possible to adjudge the "old" to be less assimilable. The second distinction might be interpreted in the same direction; for if it is assumed that those immigrants having first papers consist principally of persons who have not been in this country long enough to do more than get their first papers, then it would seem that the "new" immigrants, of whom a larger percentage are in this class than of the "old," are, during the first years of immigration at least, more eager to become citizens than the latter.<sup>22</sup> One chain of reasoning seems about as sound as the other, but, obviously if the conclusions based on the first distinction are correct, the others are not, and *vice versa*. It would seem, therefore, that the information now available permits no clear distinction between "old" and "new" immigration regarding their assimilability.

#### SUMMARY

This chapter leaves more questions unanswered than does any other in the monograph. The material relating to the citizenship status of the immigrant admits of little more than to record certain broad facts, leaving their interpretation to wait upon more ample data.

In large measure, the assimilation of the immigrant seems to be a matter of time. In those localities, and among those peoples where there has been an opportunity to satisfy legal requirements for naturalization, to acquire familiarity with the means of attaining it, and to become imbued with a desire for it, the proportion of citizens among the foreign born is fairly large. In those places, and among those nationalities where this is not yet the case, the number of naturalized citizens is still small.

In addition, there are marked differences between individual groups, the causes for which can be suggested for some, but not for others.

There is, however, no certain ground upon which either "old" or "new" immigrants can be said to be more readily assimilated than the other. Here, once more, the student is brought to the conclusion that, at least for the present, it were better to seek to establish the differences existing between individual nationalities and the causes therefor, than to attempt to relate such broad and diverse groupings as the "old" and "new" immigration to such complex and elusive characteristics as those influencing the process of assimilation.

One final observation may be offered. It has been seen that at least one factor in the gradual diminution of the proportion of natural-

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 1, pp. 484-489, for a contrary opinion.

ized citizens among the foreign born has been the increasing volume of immigration up to the year 1914, and the consequent accumulation of foreigners who have resided in this country for a shorter period than that usually elapsing between immigration and naturalization. In other words, the foreign born have, until recently, been coming to this country more rapidly than they could be absorbed. For the present, the combined influences of the World War and legislative restriction have drastically reduced the volume of immigration, so that, presumably, "Americanization" may, at least, keep pace with it. If, however, the foreign population should, for any reason, begin once more to increase at anywhere near the rate that it did during the period preceding 1914, there is every reason to believe that the immigrant tide would once more swamp the Nation's assimilative capacities.

## X

### OCCUPATIONS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION

The foregoing chapters leave little doubt but that economic factors have played an important rôle in various aspects of the immigrant problem. The original motivation of the immigrant's migration to this country, the age at which he comes, the place in which he has settled, his marital condition, and even his health, are all affected in one way or another by his wealth-gaining activities. It remains now briefly to consider these activities.

The study of the immigrant's gainful occupations may be undertaken from two viewpoints: First, the occupations of the immigrant population as a whole; second, those of certain selected ethnic groups.

#### 1. OCCUPATIONS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION AS A WHOLE

The data concerning the economic activities of the immigrant element relate to three topics: The occupation of the foreign-born population in the country at large; its territorial distribution and occupations; and child labor among the foreign born.

#### OCCUPATIONS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION IN THE COUNTRY AT LARGE

Tables 121 and 122 deal with the gainfully occupied foreign born in general, while Tables 123 and 124 take up their distribution among the principal classes of occupations.

Two conclusions may be derived from the *first* group of tables, namely, those dealing with gainful employments as a whole.

In the first place, the foreign born are more generally employed than either the native white of native parentage or the native white of foreign or mixed parentage. Thus, it appears from Table 121 that, whereas the foreign-born white constitute 16.3 per cent of the population 10 years of age and over,<sup>1</sup> they compose 18.6 per cent of the gainfully occupied population of the same age class. Again, Table 122 brings out the fact that 57.4 per cent of the foreign-born white are gainfully occupied, as contrasted with 46.6 per cent of the native white of native parentage, and 49.7 per cent of the native white of foreign or mixed parentage.

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<sup>1</sup> Census figures for occupations relate only to persons 10 years of age and over.

In view of the fact that the bulk of newly arrived immigrants are in the economically productive ages,<sup>2</sup> this high employment rate among them is to be expected. It is, nevertheless, significant, for it means that, relative to their numbers, the foreign born are participating more heavily in the country's work than are the native whites.

In the second place, the immigrant women do not take up remunerative work as generally as do the men. Thus, in Table 121, the foreign-born males make up a *larger* percentage of the gainfully occupied than they do of the population 10 years of age and over, but the females, a *smaller* percentage. Again, it appears from Table 122 that, whereas the immigrant males exhibit a larger per cent employed than do any other population class which is shown, the females are not so numerously engaged in gainful occupations as are the native-born females of foreign or mixed parentage, and only a little more employed than the native white women of native parentage.

The daughter of the immigrant plays a distinctly different role in the economic life of the country than does her mother. Instead of entering into gainful occupations with relative infrequency, she is unusually heavily employed. Thus from Table 122 it is seen that a larger percentage of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage than any other group of females, excepting the negroes, are found in gainful occupations, there being 24.8 per cent of this population class thus engaged, as against 17.2 per cent for the native women of native parentage, and 18.4 per cent for the foreign-born women.

TABLE 121.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS OF POPULATION, OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER AND OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX: 1920 AND 1910

CLASS OF POPULATION	BOTH SEXES				MALE				FEMALE			
	Population 10 years of age and over		Persons engaged in gainful occupations		Population 10 years of age and over		Persons engaged in gainful occupations		Population 10 years of age and over		Persons engaged in gainful occupations	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Native white—Native parentage.....	53.3	51.8	49.3	47.0	52.9	51.1	50.8	49.4	53.7	52.5	43.7	33.4
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	20.2	19.4	20.1	18.4	19.6	18.7	18.9	17.6	21.0	20.3	24.7	21.3
Foreign-born white.....	16.3	18.1	18.6	20.5	17.5	19.8	20.0	21.9	15.0	16.3	13.1	15.1
Negro.....	9.7	10.2	11.0	13.6	9.5	9.8	9.8	10.6	10.0	10.7	18.4	24.9
Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other.....	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2

<sup>2</sup> Cf. supra, [Ch. VI, Tables 69, 70, and 71, pp. 153, 154, and 155.]

TABLE 122.—NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF PERSONS IN EACH PRINCIPAL CLASS OF THE POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920 AND 1910

CLASS OF POPULATION	POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER								
	Both sexes			Male			Female		
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations		Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations		Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
<b>1920</b>									
All classes.....	82,739,316	41,614,248	50.3	42,289,969	33,064,737	78.2	40,449,346	8,540,517	21.1
Native white—Native parentage.....	44,077,564	20,521,997	46.6	22,361,495	10,788,668	75.1	21,716,069	3,733,329	17.2
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	16,784,299	8,347,466	49.7	8,289,550	6,237,012	75.2	8,494,740	2,110,454	24.8
Foreign-born white.....	13,497,886	7,746,460	57.4	7,419,691	6,027,007	80.8	6,078,106	1,118,403	18.4
Negro.....	8,053,225	4,824,151	59.9	4,009,462	3,252,862	81.1	4,043,763	1,571,289	38.9
Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other.....	326,341	174,174	53.4	209,771	158,198	75.4	110,570	15,970	13.7
<b>1910</b>									
All classes.....	71,580,270	38,167,336	53.3	37,027,558	30,091,564	81.3	34,552,712	8,075,772	23.4
Native white—Native parentage.....	37,081,278	17,954,464	48.4	18,939,751	14,855,825	78.5	18,147,527	3,068,639	17.1
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	13,908,063	7,008,090	50.4	6,909,282	5,285,811	76.5	6,998,781	1,722,270	24.6
Foreign-born white.....	12,944,529	7,811,502	60.3	7,321,196	6,688,711	90.0	5,623,333	1,222,701	21.7
Negro.....	7,317,022	5,192,635	71.0	3,637,386	3,178,554	87.4	3,080,536	2,013,981	54.7
Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other.....	338,478	200,745	61.1	225,943	182,663	80.8	102,535	18,082	17.6

It is possible that the immigrant woman, through unfamiliarity with American customs and the English language, is unwilling to venture as far from her home in search of work as her native-born daughter. It is more likely, however, that the larger percentage married among the foreign born is mainly accountable for this situation.<sup>3</sup> The immigrant woman is typically a wife and mother and is amply occupied at home. Her American-born daughter, however, remains unmarried for a considerable period and so is able to leave her home and earn her own living. Indeed, as suggested in the previous chapter, she may remain unmarried in order to better her economic position through remunerative activities.

The *second* line of inquiry concerning the occupations of the foreign born relates to their employment in the principal types of industry.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, Ch. VIII, pp. 212-215.

It appears that the foreign born achieve their greatest prominence in the three major occupational groups of extraction of minerals, manufacturing and mechanical industries, and domestic and personal service.

From Table 123 it is seen that, whereas 26.2 per cent of the native born of native parents and 34.6 per cent of the native born of foreign or mixed parentage are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 46.9 per cent of the foreign born are so occupied. The extraction of minerals employs 2.4 and 1.8 per cent, respectively, of the two native-born classes and 4.9 per cent of the foreign born, while domestic and personal service engages 5 per cent and 6.1 per cent, respectively, of the former and 9.9 per cent of the latter.

Likewise, Table 124 indicates that, whereas the foreign-born white constitute 18.6 per cent of the gainfully employed in all occupations, they are 34.6 per cent of all those engaged in the extraction of minerals, 28.4 per cent of those employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries, and 22.6 per cent of those performing domestic and personal service.

The females show an occupational distribution similar to that of the males, excepting that they are, as the nature of the work would lead one to expect, numerically insignificant in the extraction of minerals.

In the absence of more detailed data, any interpretation of this material must be largely conjectural. It would seem that, generally speaking, the foreign-born population is engaged in more laborious, disagreeable, and, probably, less skilled and less remunerative work than are the native-born white. Certainly these occupation groups are more arduous, more unskilled, more unattractive and, considering steadiness of employment, less remunerative than trade, transportation, public service, professional service, and clerical work.<sup>4</sup> Whether or not the same contrast obtains between these occupations and agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry is, perhaps, open to question.

It should be observed that this statement applies to the foreign born in general. The next section shows that certain individual ethnic groups—notably the Hebrews—engage very little in the types of work just mentioned.

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<sup>4</sup>It should be remembered that under the census classification "Domestic and Personal service" are included hotel, restaurant, and laundry work, as well as housework.

TABLE 123.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY GENERAL DIVISIONS OF OCCUPATIONS, OF GAINFUL WORKERS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN EACH PRINCIPAL CLASS OF THE POPULATION, BY SEX, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920 AND 1910

SEX AND GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATION	ALL CLASSES		NATIVE WHITE—NATIVE PARENTAGE		NATIVE WHITE—FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE		NEGRO		INDIAN, CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND ALL OTHER	
	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910	1920	1910
BOTH SEXES												
All occupations.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry.....	26.3	33.2	31.1	40.0	16.5	19.9	12.0	14.0	45.2	55.7	43.9	42.2
Extraction of minerals.....	2.0	2.3	2.4	1.7	1.8	1.9	4.9	5.9	1.5	1.2	1.1	1.3
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	30.8	27.3	26.2	23.3	34.3	34.3	46.0	43.4	18.4	12.2	13.0	14.4
Transportation.....	7.4	6.9	7.6	6.6	7.0	7.0	7.1	8.9	6.5	4.9	4.6	5.8
Trade.....	10.2	9.5	10.7	10.1	12.2	12.9	11.1	9.9	2.3	2.3	7.9	6.7
Public service (not elsewhere classified).....	1.9	1.2	2.0	1.2	2.2	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.0	0.4	1.7	0.5
Professional service.....	5.2	4.4	5.3	3.9	3.9	3.2	3.0	2.6	1.7	1.3	1.7	1.3
Domestic and personal service.....	8.2	9.9	3.0	6.0	6.1	8.5	9.9	17.8	21.1	21.6	25.4	27.2
Clerical occupations.....	7.5	4.6	8.5	3.2	12.9	8.7	3.4	2.2	0.3	0.4	1.3	0.7
MALE												
All occupations.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry.....	29.8	36.1	35.8	44.2	21.2	25.0	13.5	15.8	46.2	58.0	45.3	43.5
Extraction of minerals.....	3.3	3.2	2.9	2.1	2.4	2.5	5.7	7.0	2.2	1.9	1.2	1.4
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	32.9	29.3	27.5	23.3	36.2	33.9	48.6	45.0	24.0	17.7	11.7	12.2
Transportation.....	8.6	8.4	8.5	7.6	9.0	8.5	8.1	10.4	9.5	8.0	5.0	6.3
Trade.....	10.8	10.5	11.0	10.7	13.1	13.8	11.6	10.6	4.0	3.5	8.3	7.2
Public service (not elsewhere classified).....	2.3	1.5	2.3	1.4	2.9	2.1	1.9	1.5	1.5	0.7	1.4	0.5
Professional service.....	3.4	3.2	4.1	4.0	3.8	3.5	2.4	2.2	1.3	1.2	1.5	1.1
Domestic and personal service.....	3.7	4.1	2.2	2.4	2.7	3.8	5.6	5.5	8.4	8.5	24.6	27.0
Clerical occupations.....	5.1	3.8	5.7	4.2	8.6	6.9	2.7	2.0	0.9	0.5	1.2	0.7
FEMALE												
All occupations.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry.....	12.7	22.4	10.1	20.1	2.4	4.1	3.5	4.7	39.0	52.2	30.4	28.9
Extraction of minerals.....	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	22.0	22.5	20.7	20.9	30.1	35.6	37.1	34.8	6.7	3.4	26.2	33.5
Transportation.....	2.5	1.3	3.4	7.0	10.5	10.0	8.0	5.9	0.7	0.1	0.5	0.2
Trade.....	7.8	6.8	8.1	8.3	10.2	10.2	10.1	10.1	0.3	0.3	3.9	1.5
Public service (not elsewhere classified).....	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Professional service.....	11.9	9.1	17.9	14.3	11.1	10.8	6.3	4.8	2.5	1.5	3.4	2.6
Domestic and personal service.....	23.0	31.3	17.9	23.0	14.1	23.2	35.8	45.9	50.3	42.4	33.4	29.4
Clerical occupations.....	16.7	7.3	21.0	9.9	23.8	14.1	8.2	3.4	0.5	0.2	1.9	0.7

<sup>1</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

TABLE 124.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY PRINCIPAL CLASSES OF POPULATION, OF PERSONS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN EACH GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920 AND 1910  
 [Figures for 1910 for certain general divisions corrected to conform to 1920 classification]

SEX AND GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS	NATIVE WHITE— NATIVE PARENTAGE		NATIVE WHITE— FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE		NEGRO		INDIAN, CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND ALL OTHER	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
<b>BOTH SEXES</b>										
All occupations	20,521,997	49.3	8,347,466	20.1	7,746,460	18.6	4,324,151	11.6	174,174	0.4
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	6,391,480	31.1	1,374,177	12.6	931,591	8.5	2,178,888	19.9	76,452	0.7
Extraction of minerals	4,487,314	21.9	1,150,620	13.8	377,138	34.6	73,229	6.7	1,922	0.2
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	5,384,332	26.2	2,890,495	34.6	3,634,249	28.4	886,810	6.9	27,633	0.2
Transportation	1,502,499	7.3	633,170	7.6	547,613	4.1	312,421	10.2	7,960	0.3
Trade	2,104,827	10.3	1,033,446	12.4	860,530	6.5	140,467	3.3	13,709	0.3
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	4,481,627	21.8	1,833,630	22.1	1,277,280	16.5	50,452	6.6	2,162	0.3
Professional service	1,339,408	6.5	488,632	5.8	271,719	10.8	80,183	3.7	2,807	0.1
Domestic and personal service	1,016,283	4.9	510,637	6.1	704,182	29.8	1,064,590	31.2	44,170	1.3
Clerical occupations	1,741,307	8.5	1,078,800	12.8	267,177	8.5	37,011	1.2	2,246	0.1
<b>MALE</b>										
All occupations	16,788,668	50.8	6,237,012	18.9	6,637,987	20.0	3,252,862	9.8	138,198	0.5
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	6,014,294	35.9	1,224,701	13.4	891,900	9.0	1,566,627	15.9	71,596	0.7
Extraction of minerals	4,486,156	26.8	1,150,062	13.8	376,342	34.6	72,892	6.7	1,907	0.2
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	4,612,035	27.5	2,256,179	20.7	2,219,697	23.6	731,827	7.2	18,445	0.2
Transportation	1,432,331	8.5	551,740	10.7	538,675	18.8	308,896	10.8	7,886	0.3
Trade	1,842,439	11.0	819,470	22.9	770,881	21.8	129,399	3.6	13,088	0.4
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	3,889,717	23.2	1,800,877	24.2	1,286,240	16.9	49,586	6.6	2,146	0.2
Professional service	684,064	4.1	238,752	21.2	161,192	14.3	41,956	3.6	2,347	0.2
Domestic and personal service	365,638	2.1	170,295	14.0	360,232	30.3	273,959	22.5	38,843	3.2
Clerical occupations	989,084	5.9	534,625	31.5	175,868	10.3	28,710	1.7	1,833	0.1
<b>FEMALE</b>										
All occupations	3,733,329	43.7	2,110,454	24.7	1,108,463	13.1	1,571,289	18.4	15,976	0.2
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry	377,276	10.1	50,076	4.0	39,661	3.7	612,261	36.5	4,854	0.4
Extraction of minerals	1,188	0.03	1,538	19.5	796	27.8	337	11.8	15	0.5
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	772,297	20.7	634,316	32.9	414,532	21.5	104,983	5.4	4,188	0.2
Transportation	127,073	3.4	71,430	33.5	10,938	5.1	3,525	1.7	88	0.1
Trade	352,388	9.4	213,976	32.0	89,649	13.4	11,138	1.1	621	0.1
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	14,910	0.4	4,862	22.3	1,040	4.8	966	4.4	16	0.1
Professional service	655,344	17.5	250,920	24.7	70,567	6.9	39,127	3.8	550	0.1
Domestic and personal service	630,655	16.9	340,341	15.6	396,961	18.2	730,631	36.2	5,395	0.2
Clerical occupations	752,223	20.1	543,975	38.1	91,369	6.4	8,301	0.6	308	0.1

1 Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

TABLE 124.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY PRINCIPAL CLASSES OF POPULATION, OF PERSONS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN EACH GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920 AND 1910—Continued

[Figures for 1910 for certain general divisions corrected to conform to 1920 classification]

SEX AND GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS	NATIVE WHITE— NATIVE PARENTAGE		NATIVE WHITE— FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE		NEGRO		INDIAN, CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND ALL OTHER	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1910										
BOTH SEXES										
All occupations.....	17,954,464	47.0	7,008,090	18.4	7,811,502	20.5	5,192,585	13.6	200,745	0.5
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry.....	7,189,610	56.8	1,394,548	11.0	1,098,911	8.7	2,893,375	22.9	84,638	0.7
Extraction of minerals.....	397,169	31.8	1,131,270	13.6	1,465,035	48.0	61,129	6.3	2,556	0.3
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	4,174,527	39.3	2,404,222	22.6	3,899,430	31.9	681,280	5.9	28,972	0.4
Transportation.....	1,189,276	46.1	488,188	18.0	3,899,430	28.3	255,945	3.8	11,481	0.4
Trade.....	1,909,215	50.1	900,101	24.5	771,782	21.7	119,491	3.8	13,950	0.2
Public service (not elsewhere classified).....	223,617	48.7	112,579	24.7	99,792	21.7	22,382	4.9	2,544	0.2
Professional service.....	1,052,498	62.2	308,283	21.7	209,890	12.0	67,335	4.0	54,653	1.4
Domestic and personal service.....	1,075,283	28.5	398,583	13.9	671,808	24.4	1,122,282	29.7	1,362	0.1
Clerical occupations.....	1,932,999	53.7	609,704	31.1	179,652	10.0	19,336	1.1	1,362	0.1
MALE										
All occupations.....	14,855,825	49.4	5,285,811	17.6	6,588,711	21.9	3,178,584	10.6	182,668	0.6
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry.....	6,597,826	60.5	1,323,155	13.2	1,038,945	9.5	1,842,238	17.0	79,406	0.7
Extraction of minerals.....	306,771	31.8	1,011,048	13.6	1,467,462	48.0	61,048	6.3	2,546	0.3
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	3,496,266	39.4	1,791,829	20.3	2,847,257	33.7	563,343	6.4	22,869	0.3
Transportation.....	1,128,570	44.5	451,245	17.8	3,899,430	27.1	254,659	10.1	11,553	0.5
Trade.....	1,592,302	50.6	725,171	23.9	689,427	22.2	112,464	3.6	13,218	0.4
Public service (not elsewhere classified).....	214,040	48.0	109,708	24.0	98,461	22.2	22,033	4.9	2,072	0.2
Professional service.....	592,471	61.7	182,745	19.9	144,494	15.1	37,690	3.9	49,335	4.0
Domestic and personal service.....	362,539	29.2	186,857	16.1	359,775	28.1	288,875	21.7	1,233	0.1
Clerical occupations.....	624,940	54.3	369,887	32.1	132,465	11.6	15,204	1.4	1,233	0.1
FEMALE										
All occupations.....	3,098,639	38.4	1,722,279	21.3	1,222,791	15.1	2,013,981	24.9	18,082	0.2
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry.....	624,784	34.4	71,382	3.9	57,960	2.2	1,051,137	85.2	5,232	0.3
Extraction of minerals.....	398	36.4	1,231	21.1	425,373	32.4	81	7.4	10	0.9
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	708,461	38.9	612,396	33.9	425,373	23.4	67,937	3.7	6,603	0.4
Transportation.....	62,706	38.8	36,955	34.7	5,544	5.3	1,286	1.2	36	0.1
Trade.....	216,913	46.3	171,380	38.9	72,811	16.0	7,027	2.6	19	0.1
Public service (not elsewhere classified).....	9,577	70.6	2,822	21.7	88,241	7.9	7,849	4.0	472	0.1
Professional service.....	460,627	62.7	158,742	23.8	88,241	9.9	29,645	4.0	472	0.1
Domestic and personal service.....	712,714	28.2	398,579	18.8	511,072	22.2	853,857	33.7	5,318	0.2
Clerical occupations.....	306,059	51.6	247,717	40.9	41,357	6.9	3,123	0.5	5,129	0.2

<sup>1</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

Another noteworthy point is the relative insignificance of the foreign born in agriculture and allied occupations. Table 123 shows that 31.1 per cent of the native white of native parentage and 16.5 per cent of the native white of foreign or mixed parentage, but only 12 per cent of the foreign born, are engaged in this type of work, and Table 124 indicates that the immigrants constitute only 8.5 per cent of those occupied in these pursuits.

In view of what has been said before, relative to the failure of the present generation of immigrants to settle in rural areas as heavily as their predecessors of former generations, this circumstance is no more than would be expected.<sup>5</sup> It may be further noted here that these tables contain some slight evidence of the change that has occurred between the past and present generations of immigrants in this connection. From Table 123 it is seen that 14 per cent of the foreign born were engaged in agriculture and kindred occupations in 1910, as contrasted with 12 per cent in 1920.<sup>6</sup>

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE FOREIGN-BORN  
POPULATION

The material relating to the gainful employment of the immigrant in different parts of the United States is too scanty to admit of any thoroughgoing analysis. It does, however, reveal one significant tendency.

Table 125, in connection with Charts 9 and 10, shows that there is a close correspondence between the proportion of each population class in the total population, and in the total number of occupied persons. That is, in those regions where the foreign born and their children are an important element of the population, they are also prominent among those employed. Again, in those sections where the immigrant stock gives way to the negro and native white of native parentage, the latter lead among the gainfully employed.<sup>7</sup>

Charts 9 and 10 illustrate these tendencies graphically. The one shows the proportion of each population class gainfully employed; the other, the proportion in the total population. The curves for each population class are substantially the same for each chart. The curves for the negroes and native whites of native parentage are, generally, parallel and show an inverse relation to those for the foreign born and the native born of foreign or mixed parentage. The charts emphasize particularly the fact that the foreign born and their offspring do not enter into economic competition with the negro, the one element being insignificant economically, wherever the other is largely represented among the gainfully occupied.

<sup>5</sup> Cf., supra, Ch. III, Table 26, p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also, infra, Tables 120 and 130, pp. 284-286.

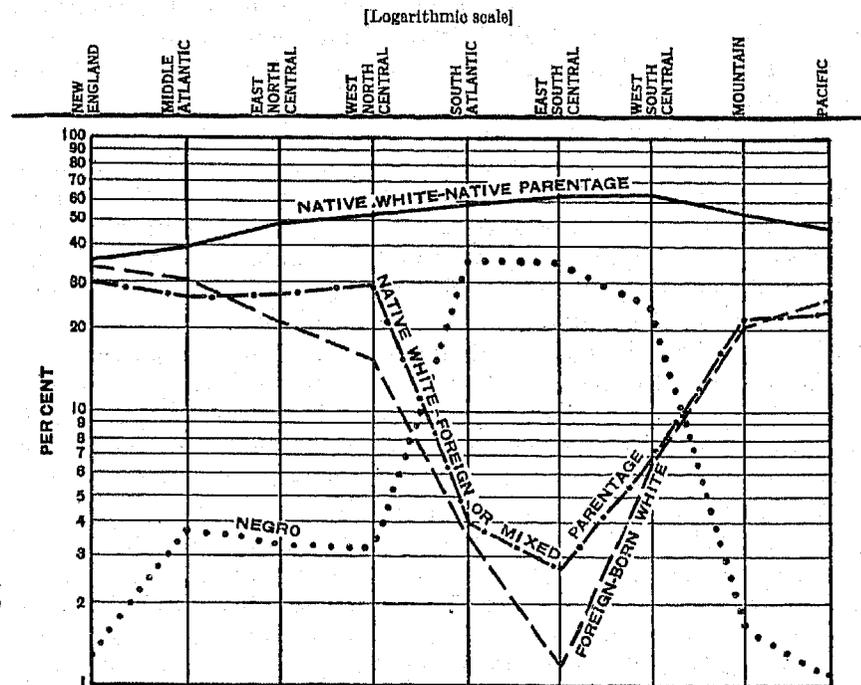
<sup>7</sup> Cf. Table 135, p. 306.

TABLE 125.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY CLASS OF POPULATION, OF PERSONS 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	PER CENT OF PERSONS OCCUPIED					
	Native white—Native parent-age	Native white—Foreign or mixed parent-age	Foreign-born white	Negro	Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other	Total foreign white stock
United States.....	49.3	20.1	18.6	11.6	0.4	38.7
New England.....	34.9	29.9	33.8	1.3	0.1	63.7
Middle Atlantic.....	39.8	26.0	30.4	3.7	0.1	58.4
East North Central.....	48.8	26.8	21.1	3.3	0.1	47.0
West North Central.....	52.5	23.6	15.5	3.2	0.2	44.1
South Atlantic.....	56.9	4.0	3.5	35.5	0.1	7.5
East South Central.....	60.8	2.7	1.2	35.2	( <sup>1</sup> )	3.9
West South Central.....	61.9	6.8	6.5	24.4	0.4	13.3
Mountain.....	53.4	21.9	20.5	1.6	2.5	42.4
Pacific.....	47.0	23.2	25.2	1.1	3.5	48.4

<sup>1</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

CHART 9.—PER CENT OF EACH PRINCIPAL POPULATION CLASS IN THE GAINFULLY OCCUPIED POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920



Whether these relationships result from the fact that the foreigner and his children avoid those sections where the native white stock and the negro are in possession of the economic field, or whether, on the other hand, the territorial distribution of these population classes controls their relative economic importance is, as stated in a previous chapter, impossible of determination. At all events, the material presented here indicates that, however the sequence of causation may run, a definite relationship does exist between the territorial and economic distribution of the foreign stock, on the one hand, and the native whites and negroes, on the other.

CHART 10.—PER CENT OF EACH PRINCIPAL POPULATION CLASS IN TOTAL POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

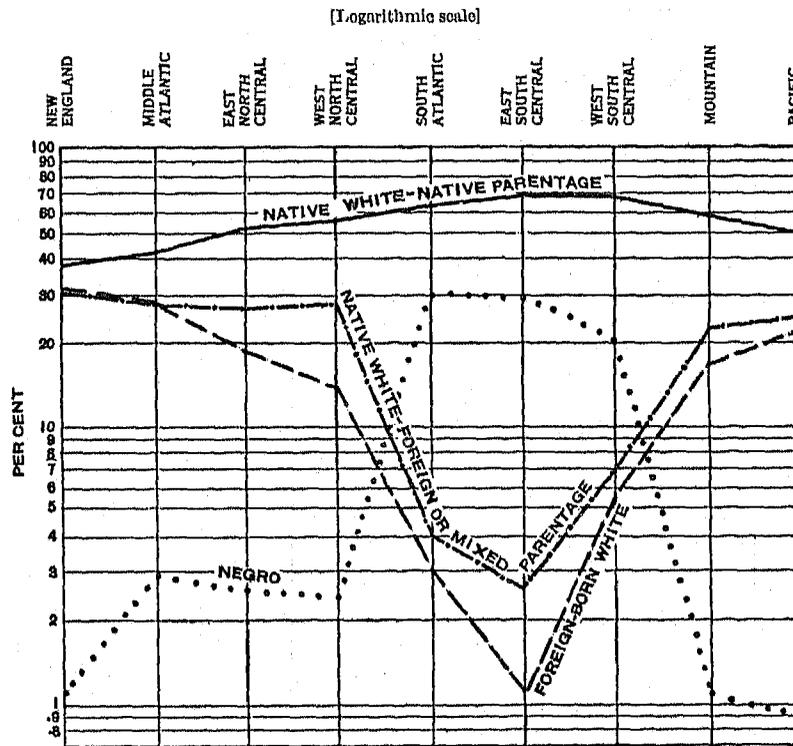


Chart 11 points to another factor of importance. There is no particular relationship, direct or inverse, between the occupational significance of the total native white stock, on the one hand, and of the

foreign-born white, on the other. On the contrary, Chart 9 shows a clearly parallel trend between the curves for the native born of foreign or mixed parentage and the foreign born.

Apparently, the children of the immigrant find employment in the same regions in which their parents reside and work, and do not group themselves, sectionally, with the native whites of native parentage.

Table 126 indicates the percentage of males and of females, respectively, of each population class gainfully employed, in the various geographic divisions, but it does not reveal anything significant to this study. Not only is there very little variation in each group, but such differences as exist are generally similar for each group.

CHART 11.—PER CENT OF NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE IN GAINFULLY OCCUPIED POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

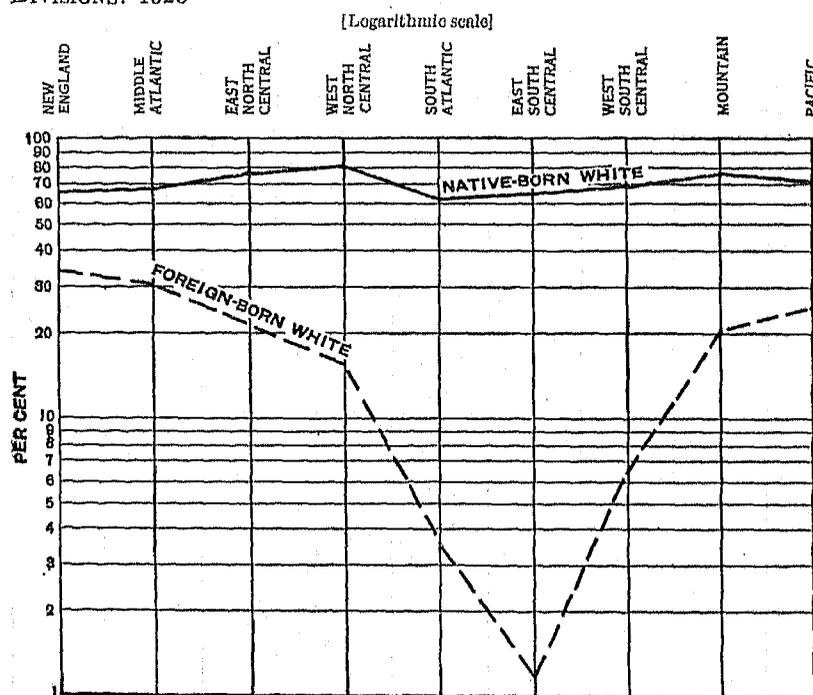


TABLE 126.—PROPORTION OF MALES AND OF FEMALES IN EACH PRINCIPAL CLASS OF THE POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS: 1920

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	PER CENT ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS							
	Native white— Native parent- age		Native white— Foreign or mixed parentage		Foreign-born white		Negro	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
United States.....	75.1	17.2	75.2	24.8	80.3	18.4	81.1	38.9
New England.....	77.1	25.0	72.3	36.0	91.6	20.3	80.2	44.2
Middle Atlantic.....	70.7	22.2	72.6	28.6	91.0	20.0	80.8	40.4
East North Central.....	74.7	17.3	77.7	23.9	88.8	14.8	87.2	36.7
West North Central.....	71.3	16.3	76.7	18.3	88.5	11.5	84.7	36.8
South Atlantic.....	75.0	19.3	77.1	24.3	90.6	18.6	79.4	39.0
East South Central.....	70.1	12.6	82.5	20.9	88.2	15.2	81.2	40.8
West South Central.....	74.4	12.8	77.1	19.4	86.6	16.6	79.6	34.8
Mountain.....	73.5	14.4	70.3	17.1	89.0	13.5	92.7	38.0
Pacific.....	70.4	19.9	76.6	22.7	88.6	17.7	88.7	40.2

## IMMIGRATION AND CHILD LABOR

One of the special reports of the Fourteenth Census is devoted to children in gainful occupations,<sup>8</sup> so that only a summary treatment of the immigrant's part in this problem is possible here.

Tables 127 and 128 indicate that proportionately more immigrant children are gainfully employed than is the case with either of the native white groups.

Thus, Table 127 shows that 9.4 per cent of the immigrants aged 10 to 15 years are engaged in gainful occupations as against 7 per cent of the children of native parentage and 5.8 per cent of the children of foreign or mixed parentage. Moreover, corresponding differences obtain for both males and females.

Table 128 indicates, however, that the immigrant children are by no means uniformly more generally employed than are the natives. Among the males, the natives of native parentage display a higher percentage gainfully occupied than the foreign born for the ages 10 to 13 years, and 14 years, but the natives both of native and of foreign or mixed parentage have a smaller percentage for the age 15 years. Among the females, the native born of native parentage are more heavily employed through the age group 10 to 13 years, though the same is not true of the native born of foreign or mixed parentage.

<sup>8</sup> Edwards, Alba M.: Children in Gainful Occupations, at the Fourteenth Census of the United States.

TABLE 127.—NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX AND POPULATION CLASS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920 AND 1910

SEX AND CLASS OF POPULATION	CHILDREN 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE					
	1920			1910		
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations		Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations	
	Num-ber	Per cent		Num-ber	Per cent	
Both sexes.....	12,502,582	1,060,858	8.5	10,823,365	1,990,225	18.4
Native white—Native parentage.....	7,570,827	527,170	7.0	6,322,920	1,022,561	16.2
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	3,020,339	175,060	5.8	2,669,259	265,245	9.9
Foreign-born white.....	413,261	38,692	9.4	433,515	62,997	14.5
Negro.....	1,450,996	317,231	21.9	1,362,821	634,938	46.6
Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other.....	41,159	2,690	6.0	39,844	4,484	11.3
Male.....	6,294,985	714,248	11.3	6,464,228	1,353,139	24.8
Native white—Native parentage.....	3,830,708	390,244	10.2	3,205,203	771,904	24.1
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	1,510,275	107,410	7.1	1,339,593	170,042	13.1
Foreign-born white.....	207,432	22,926	11.1	218,372	36,159	16.6
Negro.....	719,314	191,877	26.7	679,695	306,709	53.8
Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other.....	21,256	1,701	8.4	21,066	3,325	15.8
Female.....	6,207,597	346,610	5.6	5,364,137	637,086	11.9
Native white—Native parentage.....	3,746,119	136,932	3.7	3,117,723	250,657	8.0
Native white—Foreign or mixed parentage.....	1,504,064	67,650	4.5	1,329,666	89,203	6.7
Foreign-born white.....	205,829	15,766	7.7	215,143	26,838	12.5
Negro.....	731,682	126,354	17.1	682,820	269,229	39.4
Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and all other.....	19,903	908	4.6	18,779	1,169	6.2

It has been seen that there are relatively few children among the foreign born.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, it is likely that the bulk of these are relatively mature—that is, 15 years of age or thereabouts. If this is the case, the probabilities are that the high employment rate among these 14 and 15 year old foreign-born children overcomes the comparatively low rate among the younger children; and so makes the whole 10 to 15 year old group appear to be more generally occupied than the native-born white children.

Little further can be said by way of explanation of these tables. The necessitous condition of the average immigrant family is sufficient to account for a heavy employment rate among the boys and girls. Indeed, it is rather remarkable that child labor among the foreign born exceeds that among the native born by so little.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. supra, Ch. VI, Table 69, p. 152.

TABLE 128.—NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF MALES AND OF FEMALES IN EACH PRINCIPAL CLASS OF THE POPULATION ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS, BY AGE PERIODS, FOR THE UNITED STATES: 1920

SEX AND AGE PERIOD	NATIVE WHITE—NATIVE PARENTAGE			NATIVE WHITE—FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE		
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations		Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Males.....	22,361,495	10,788,008	75.1	8,280,550	0,237,012	75.2
10 to 13 years.....	2,037,068	144,005	5.5	1,061,824	13,150	1.2
14 years.....	631,720	95,910	15.2	230,780	27,117	11.5
15 years.....	501,320	140,720	28.7	217,005	67,443	30.8
16 years.....	588,313	272,619	46.3	220,340	120,044	56.3
17 years.....	554,815	335,380	60.5	210,114	150,804	69.8
18 and 19 years.....	1,093,020	823,481	75.3	421,050	341,770	81.0
20 to 24 years.....	2,540,818	2,280,440	89.9	1,014,770	925,130	91.2
25 to 44 years.....	7,908,863	7,720,512	97.0	3,003,079	2,910,176	96.9
45 to 64 years.....	4,354,603	4,088,008	93.9	1,628,000	1,608,153	92.6
65 years and over.....	1,305,527	831,450	63.9	283,504	160,123	56.1
Age unknown.....	58,750	30,850	52.5	5,834	4,312	73.0
Females.....	21,710,000	3,733,320	17.2	8,404,740	2,110,454	24.8
10 to 13 years.....	2,575,408	48,437	1.9	1,040,250	4,350	0.4
14 years.....	610,853	31,020	5.2	234,385	17,007	7.5
15 years.....	550,798	50,500	9.1	220,423	45,027	20.7
16 years.....	500,463	117,827	23.6	232,488	93,000	40.0
17 years.....	550,013	140,204	25.6	218,133	110,012	50.8
18 and 19 years.....	1,101,205	378,303	34.4	431,030	248,418	57.6
20 to 24 years.....	2,020,880	855,940	42.5	1,007,020	521,017	51.8
25 to 44 years.....	7,807,102	1,430,340	18.4	3,150,380	774,177	24.6
45 to 64 years.....	3,884,300	658,202	17.0	1,623,804	271,734	16.7
65 years and over.....	1,373,340	93,033	6.8	262,350	21,080	8.3
Age unknown.....	33,410	7,353	22.0	5,306	1,704	33.2

SEX AND AGE PERIOD	FOREIGN-BORN WHITE			NEGRO		
	Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations		Total number	Engaged in gainful occupations	
		Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent
Males.....	7,419,001	0,027,097	80.3	4,000,402	3,252,802	81.1
10 to 13 years.....	127,061	3,200	2.0	404,102	06,470	10.5
14 years.....	30,101	5,488	14.0	122,050	45,751	37.5
15 years.....	40,280	14,100	35.2	103,003	49,650	48.2
16 years.....	49,020	32,072	65.4	106,028	68,351	64.4
17 years.....	51,501	40,380	78.4	100,050	74,217	74.2
18 and 19 years.....	117,803	102,814	87.3	204,260	171,209	83.8
20 to 24 years.....	455,988	435,548	95.5	487,109	465,308	95.5
25 to 44 years.....	3,550,778	3,484,701	98.1	1,415,444	1,375,000	97.2
45 to 64 years.....	2,202,387	2,143,433	97.3	780,701	707,450	90.7
65 years and over.....	670,384	355,075	52.8	173,881	130,476	75.1
Age unknown.....	13,732	11,030	80.4	13,510	10,200	75.2
Females.....	0,078,105	1,118,403	18.4	4,043,703	1,571,230	38.0
10 to 13 years.....	125,301	1,601	1.2	405,020	04,082	13.1
14 years.....	38,840	3,740	9.6	125,037	20,302	16.2
15 years.....	41,010	10,510	25.6	111,010	30,080	27.0
16 years.....	51,145	25,203	49.3	118,084	41,371	34.6
17 years.....	52,530	31,000	59.2	105,728	42,178	39.9
18 and 19 years.....	123,300	72,237	58.6	234,008	102,238	43.7
20 to 24 years.....	460,855	177,030	38.4	507,078	252,417	49.6
25 to 44 years.....	2,720,904	500,207	18.4	1,525,702	680,933	44.7
45 to 64 years.....	1,700,118	250,084	14.7	501,000	200,055	39.9
65 years and over.....	648,843	38,453	5.9	158,832	43,000	27.1
Age unknown.....	6,532	1,007	15.4	9,993	4,747	47.5

Two further points may be briefly discussed. In the first place, child labor among *all* population groups has declined sharply since 1910. According to Table 127, the rate in 1910 for all population classes was 18.4 per cent, while it was 8.5 per cent in 1920. During the decade it decreased from 16.2 to 7 per cent for the native white of native parentage; from 9.9 to 5.8 per cent for the native white of foreign or mixed parentage; from 14.5 to 9.4 per cent for the foreign-born white; and from 46.6 to 21.9 per cent for the negroes. Obviously, some general factors have been operating among all population classes, the most important of which probably are child-labor and school-attendance legislation. This fact suggests a further possibility—namely, that, considering the unequal territorial distribution of the various population classes, it is entirely likely that differences in child-labor and school-attendance laws and in economic conditions account in at least some measure for the unevenness in the child-labor rate among those classes. Specifically, it is likely that the general absence of strict child-labor legislation in the South is one of the causes of the relatively heavy incidence of child labor among the native whites of native parentage.<sup>10</sup>

Again, attention may be directed to the fact that Table 128 shows the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage to be less generally employed than those of native parentage through the fourteenth year in the case of the males and through the thirteenth year in that of the females. It is likely that here, also, the territorial distribution of the two population classes explains their divergence in this respect. The children of the immigrant are concentrated in the North and West, where child-labor and school-attendance laws are fairly general and are rather strict, but the children of native parents are more prominent in the South, where, as has been suggested, legislation of this sort is not so widespread nor so rigorous.<sup>11</sup> It may be, also, that there is a relatively large number of children employed in agriculture, an occupation in which the present generation of native children of foreign parents are not so common as those of native parents.

Be that as it may, the statistics suggest that whatever tendency toward child labor there is among the immigrants begins to disappear within one generation.

<sup>10</sup> An additional influence, which would reduce the significance of the change noted in the text is the fact that the 1920 census enumeration was made in the winter, whereas the 1910 enumeration was made in the spring, so that, so far as agricultural labor enters into child labor, the 1920 census would show a much smaller number of children gainfully employed, without betokening any real decrease in child labor.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. United States Children's Bureau: *Child Labor* (Bureau Publications No. 93, revised edition), Washington, 1923, pp 31-44.

## 2. OCCUPATIONS OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS OF THE FOREIGN BORN

In the absence of complete tabulations of the occupational status of the various nationality and mother tongue groups in the present population, recourse has been had to a sampling process somewhat similar to that utilized elsewhere in this monograph. The same 15 nationality and language groups used in these other compilations have been selected, their distribution in certain typical occupations being tabulated for certain States.<sup>12</sup>

These tables are therefore based on data that are limited in three ways: (1) Only 15 ethnic groups are studied; (2) their employment in only a small number of occupations is noted; (3) the count covers only a restricted number of States. For instance, it must not be inferred from Table 129 that 33.2 per cent of all foreign-born farmers are Germans. What the table does show is that this percentage of the farmers of *these 15 ethnic groups in these States* are Germans, which is something entirely different. Likewise, Table 130 is not to be taken as indicating that 64.7 per cent of all the occupied Germans in the United States are farmers, but only that this proportion of the Germans in *certain States* are farmers.

On the other hand, a fairly large number of individuals are tabulated. Tables 129 and 130 cover 388,922 males and Tables 131 and 132 enumerate 102,019 females, about half a million in all.

Nevertheless, it seems wise to analyze only the broader features of these tables, and the conclusions based upon them must be considered only partially conclusive.

Proceeding on this restricted basis of analysis, one finds two interesting tendencies in the occupational distribution of the ethnic groups among the foreign born. The first is the trend away from farming on the part of the newer immigrants. The second is the evidence that certain ethnic and national groups have well-defined occupational preferences, particularly the Hebrews, the English, Scotch, and Welsh, the Irish, and the Scandinavians.

Tables 129 and 130 bring out the *first* tendency, namely, the drift away from agriculture among the "new" immigrants. Table 129 shows that the six "old" immigrant groups, namely, the English, Scotch, and Welsh, the Irish, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and German make up 76.3 per cent of those recorded as farmers, as against 12 per cent for the six "new" immigrant groups—that is, the Russian, Bohemian and Moravian, Italian, Polish, Slovak, and Yiddish. Moreover, it is seen from Table 130 that all but one of the "old" immigrant groups display a higher percentage engaged in farming than do any of the "new," excepting the Bohemian and Moravian.

<sup>12</sup> Those States were used which showed the largest numbers of foreign-born persons employed in the occupations selected (Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin).

TABLE 129.—NUMBER AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED GROUPS OCCUPATIONS, IN CER-

SELECTED OCCUPATION	Total	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE						
		England, Scotland, and Wales (English and Celtic)	Ireland (English and Celtic)	Canada (English and Celtic)	Canada (French)	Sweden (Swedish)	Norway (Norwegian)	Denmark (Danish)
Total.....	388,922	24,004	12,612	17,282	3,105	27,665	25,268	6,632
Agricultural:								
Farmers.....	131,205	4,356	1,705	12,842	2,459	22,528	22,069	5,848
Coal mine operatives.....	121,988	9,882	2,338	115	7	1,081	63	26
Managerial:								
Foremen and overseers (manufacturing).....	10,027	1,357	1,052	770	90	384	131	79
Skilled mechanics:								
Carpenters.....	36,871	3,335	2,332	1,701	440	2,871	2,866	505
Laborers:								
Blast furnaces.....	39,093	1,624	2,002	70	6	307	9	15
Steam railroad.....	14,408	481	1,084	41	4	149	12	10
Professional:								
Physicians and surgeons.....	3,206	201	107	535	16	26	13	22
Clerical:								
Salesmen (stores).....	32,104	2,528	1,992	1,208	77	229	105	127
		PER CENT						
Total.....	100.0	6.2	3.2	4.4	0.8	7.1	6.5	1.7
Agricultural:								
Farmers.....	100.0	3.3	1.3	9.8	1.0	17.2	16.8	4.5
Coal mine operatives.....	100.0	8.1	1.9	0.1	( <sup>1</sup> )	0.9	0.1	( <sup>1</sup> )
Managerial:								
Foremen and overseers (manufacturing).....	100.0	13.5	10.5	7.7	0.9	3.8	1.3	0.8
Skilled mechanics:								
Carpenters.....	100.0	9.3	6.5	4.7	1.2	8.0	8.0	1.4
Laborers:								
Blast furnaces.....	100.0	4.8	5.0	0.2	( <sup>1</sup> )	1.0	( <sup>1</sup> )	( <sup>1</sup> )
Steam railroad.....	100.0	3.3	7.5	0.3	( <sup>1</sup> )	1.0	0.1	0.1
Professional:								
Physicians and surgeons.....	100.0	6.2	3.3	16.4	0.5	0.8	0.4	0.7
Clerical:								
Salesmen (stores).....	100.0	7.0	6.2	3.8	0.2	0.7	0.3	0.4

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that a considerable proportion of the persons returned as Russian in mother tongue were in reality Hebrews.

The precise percentages do not, of course, carry any particular weight, because of the restricted nature of the data from which they have been computed. They are, however, sufficiently striking to be accepted as being at least indicative of a much greater concentration in agriculture on the part of the older generation of immigrants than among those of to-day. Moreover, this evidence is corroborated by the conclusions which have been reached elsewhere, particularly those relating to the heavy settlement in rural districts—for example, in the northern Mississippi Valley—of those foreigners who migrated to America 20 years or more ago.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. supra, Ch. IV, Table 40, p. 67.

OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN TYPICAL  
TAIN STATES: 1920

SELECTED OCCUPATION	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE—continued				MOTHER TONGUE—ALL COUNTRIES			
	Russia (Russian) <sup>1</sup>	Bohemia and Moravia (Czech)	Mexico (Spanish)	Italy (Italian)	German	Polish	Slovak	Yiddish
Total.....	12,559	5,389	614	53,708	87,457	65,059	44,583	22,025
Agricultural:								
Farmers.....	516	4,184	32	508	43,014	9,288	1,113	143
Coal mine operatives.....	4,266	451	54	20,968	5,420	40,327	30,912	69
Managerial:								
Foremen and overseers (manufacturing).....	362	54	-----	1,547	1,886	570	61	1,684
Skilled mechanics:								
Carpenters.....	1,443	282	0	5,511	5,400	3,001	241	5,862
Laborers:								
Blast furnaces.....	2,030	199	292	8,798	4,043	10,070	9,086	143
Steam railroad.....	351	51	184	7,201	1,083	1,470	2,204	74
Professional:								
Physicians and surgeons.....	432	23	15	373	514	78	3	908
Clerical:								
Salesmen (stores).....	3,159	145	28	2,802	5,422	1,137	63	13,142
	PER CENT							
Total.....	3.2	1.4	0.2	13.8	17.3	17.0	11.5	5.7
Agricultural:								
Farmers.....	0.4	3.2	( <sup>1</sup> )	0.4	33.2	7.1	0.8	0.1
Coal mine operatives.....	3.5	0.4	( <sup>1</sup> )	22.1	4.5	33.1	25.3	0.1
Managerial:								
Foremen and overseers (manufacturing).....	3.0	0.5	-----	15.4	18.8	5.7	0.6	10.8
Skilled mechanics:								
Carpenters.....	4.0	0.8	( <sup>1</sup> )	15.4	15.2	8.4	0.7	10.3
Laborers:								
Blast furnaces.....	5.1	0.5	0.7	22.0	10.1	25.2	25.0	0.4
Steam railroad.....	2.4	0.4	1.3	50.0	7.5	10.3	15.3	0.5
Professional:								
Physicians and surgeons.....	13.2	0.7	0.5	11.4	15.7	2.4	0.1	27.8
Clerical:								
Salesmen (stores).....	0.8	0.5	0.1	8.7	10.9	3.5	0.2	40.0

<sup>1</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

It may be observed, in passing, that the Irish stand out in sharp contrast from the other northwest Europeans in that among them the farmers come to only 13.5 per cent, and that they make up a bare 1.3 per cent of all those shown as engaged in this occupation. The connection between this fact and the urbanizing tendency found in Chapter IV to exist among the Irish is too plain to require further comment.

The Bohemians and Moravians, on the other hand, are out of line with the other central, south, and east Europeans. They compose 3.2 per cent of all those recorded as engaged in farming, and 77.6 per cent of them are shown as employed in this occupation, a higher proportion than is exhibited by the English, Scotch, and Welsh, or

by the Germans. This result is not surprising. The Bohemians and Moravians, or Czechs, have been repeatedly found to be "old" immigrants, as to year of migration, and as to other characteristics, although they fall within the territorial limits usually assigned as the homeland of the "new" immigration.

TABLE 130.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY TYPICAL OCCUPATIONS, OF SELECTED GROUPS OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN CERTAIN STATES: 1920

SELECTED OCCUPATION	Total	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE						
		England, Scotland, and Wales (English and Celtic)	Ireland (English and Celtic)	Canada (English and Celtic)	Canada (French)	Sweden (Swedish)	Norway (Norwegian)	Denmark (Danish)
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agricultural:								
Farmers.....	33.7	18.1	13.5	74.3	79.2	81.4	87.3	88.2
Coal-mine operatives.....	31.4	41.1	18.5	0.7	0.2	3.9	0.2	0.4
Managerial:								
Foremen and overseers (manufacturing).....	2.6	5.6	8.3	4.5	2.9	1.4	0.5	1.2
Skilled mechanics:								
Carpenters.....	0.2	13.9	18.5	9.8	14.4	10.4	11.3	7.6
Laborers:								
Blast furnaces.....	10.3	8.0	15.0	0.4	0.2	1.4	( <sup>1</sup> )	0.2
Steam railroad.....	3.7	2.0	8.6	0.2	0.1	0.5	( <sup>1</sup> )	0.2
Professional:								
Physicians and surgeons.....	0.8	0.8	0.8	3.1	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.3
Clerical:								
Salesmen (stores).....	8.3	10.5	15.8	7.0	2.5	0.8	0.4	1.0

SELECTED OCCUPATION	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE—continued				MOTHER TONGUE—ALL COUNTRIES			
	Russia (Russian)	Bohemia and Moravia (Czech)	Mexico (Spanish)	Italy (Italian)	German	Polish	Slovak	Yiddish
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agricultural:								
Farmers.....	4.1	77.6	5.2	0.0	64.7	14.1	2.5	0.6
Coal-mine operatives.....	34.0	8.4	8.8	50.2	8.0	61.1	69.3	0.3
Managerial:								
Foremen and overseers (manufacturing).....	2.9	1.0	-----	2.9	2.8	0.9	0.1	7.6
Skilled mechanics:								
Carpenters.....	11.5	5.2	1.5	10.3	8.1	4.5	0.5	26.6
Laborers:								
Blast furnaces.....	16.2	3.7	47.6	16.4	6.0	15.3	22.4	0.6
Steam railroad.....	2.8	0.9	30.0	18.4	1.6	2.2	4.9	0.3
Professional:								
Physicians and surgeons.....	3.4	0.4	2.4	0.7	0.8	0.1	( <sup>1</sup> )	4.1
Clerical:								
Salesmen (stores).....	25.2	2.7	4.6	5.2	8.0	1.7	0.1	50.7

<sup>1</sup> Less than one-tenth of 1 per cent.

The *second* interesting feature revealed by these tables is the evidence of clearly defined ethnic and national characteristics in the economic behavior of certain groups.

The most noteworthy are those shown by the Hebrews, represented in these tables by the Yiddish-speaking group, and by a considerable proportion of the Russians. Table 129 indicates that the Yiddish make up a bare 0.1 per cent of all those engaged in farming, and but 0.4 and 0.5 per cent, respectively, of those employed as blast-furnace and steam-railroad laborers. They are, on the other hand, 16.8 per cent of the manufacturing foremen, 16.3 per cent of the carpenters, 27.8 per cent of the physicians and surgeons, and 40.9 per cent of the salesmen in stores.<sup>14</sup> Table 133, moreover, shows that in three out of four of these last-named occupations the Yiddish-speaking group lead among the foreign born. Again, from Table 130, it is seen that only 0.6 per cent of the Hebrew males are employed as farmers, 0.3 per cent as coal-mine operatives, 0.6 per cent as blast-furnace laborers, and 0.3 per cent as steam-railroad laborers, but 7.6 per cent as manufacturing foremen and overseers, 4.1 per cent as physicians and surgeons, 26.6 per cent as carpenters, and 59.7 per cent as salesmen in stores.

The Hebrew women exhibit similar tendencies. The Yiddish-speaking females compose only 3.1 per cent of the foreign-born women employed in domestic service, but they are 7.2 per cent of the telephone operators, 9.7 per cent of the school-teachers, 43.9 per cent of the semiskilled clothing factory operatives, and 42.7 per cent of the stenographers and typists.<sup>14</sup> And Table 131 shows this element to be the most numerous group in the last two of these types of employment.

There seems to be a clear disposition among the men and women of this ethnic group to avoid heavy manual labor and farming and to engage in skilled or semiskilled work and in commercial, clerical, managerial, and professional pursuits. It is interesting to relate this type of behavior to the urban tendency that appears to characterize the Hebrews, not only in the United States, but also in Europe. Obviously, a race of city dwellers would be ill-suited for agricultural work. Moreover, they would be better trained than would a peasant population for skilled and semiskilled labor, and for clerical, managerial, and professional work, which are typically associated with town life. This is not to say that the Hebrew foreign born are merely taking up occupations learned in "the old country." Such could not be the case with the women employed as factory operatives, but it does seem that they bring with them to this country at least a disposition to take up certain occupations, and in many cases they probably already have a specific training for the vocations which they adopt in America.

<sup>14</sup> It must not be forgotten that only the foreign-born whites in each of these occupations are counted.



commonly believed to be. As a generalized description of the flow of immigration to this country, it has been found to be only partially accurate, since certain nationalities which are most numerous among the "new" immigration, chronologically considered, are classified in the "old" immigration, territorially considered, and vice versa. Furthermore, as a clue to the economic, civic, and physical characteristics of the immigrants, this classification has been found to be of only limited value. In no single instance of the rate of intermarriage with native Americans has any significant correlation with the "old" and "new" immigrant grouping been found. In other cases, as in urbanization and sex ratio, such correlation as the surface data indicate disappears under close analysis or seems to be, at least in part, the resultant of other factors.

This is not to say that the classification of this section of the foreign stock into "old" and "new" immigrants is not a valuable one. It calls attention to certain broad tendencies in American immigration, and for some purposes is a useful summary expression. More than this, there is probably a substantial correspondence between the *cultural* characteristics of the immigrants and the division of northwestern from central, south, and eastern European. The differences in intermarriage follow this line of cleavage, and, as pointed out in the discussion of that phenomenon, it is entirely likely that other cultural differences accompany this one, and, indeed, are responsible for it. A more thorough canvassing than has been possible here of the type of civilization found among the immigrants may very possibly, therefore, uncover a whole series of important contrasts associated with that distinction between "old" and "new" immigrants. But the data embodied in this monograph, at least, make it seem unlikely that the distinction will prove of any material value in the study of other features of the foreign stocks, particularly those involved in inherent characteristics of mind and body, and that, rather, the most fruitful basis of differentiation is the individual nationality or ethnic strain.<sup>5</sup>

In this connection one final observation may be offered. There are other immigrant elements than European and Levantine and other broad lines of demarcation than that of "old" and "new" immigration. In addition to the oriental Asiatic immigration, which is beyond the limits of this study, there is the North, Central, and South American, not to mention that from the Atlantic Islands. And certain groups within this foreign element are of substantial numerical importance, while others, such as the negro and part-negro migration from the West Indies and the Atlantic Islands, have,

<sup>5</sup> For a contrary opinion, see Laughlin, H. H.: "Analysis of America's Modern Melting Pot;" Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Sixty-seventh Congress, third session, Nov. 21, 1922.

As has been indicated above, the Irish males, like the British, avoid agriculture. Instead, they exhibit a wide diversity of occupations. Table 129 shows them to compose all the way from 1.3 to 10.5 per cent of the occupations listed therein, and Table 130 indicates that they are fairly heavily engaged in each occupation and concentrated in none. In fact, as is brought out in Table 134, the largest proportion of Irish males engaged in any single type of employment is only 18.5 per cent, which is considerably less than the corresponding percentage for any other group in the table. Moreover, this rate applies to two occupations, coal mining and carpentry.

TABLE 132.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION, BY TYPICAL OCCUPATIONS, OF SELECTED GROUPS OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE FEMALES 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, IN CERTAIN STATES: 1920

SELECTED OCCUPATION	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE							
	Total	England, Scotland, and Wales (English) and Celtic)	Ireland (English and Celtic)	Canada (English and Celtic)	Canada (French)	Sweden (Swedish)	Norway (Norwegian)	Denmark (Danish)
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Semiskilled operatives:								
Clothing factories.....	23.8	4.9	3.9	4.4	0.4	4.1	2.1	8.6
Cotton factories.....	17.5	40.9	0.6	15.1	03.8	1.4	0.1	2.0
Telephone operators.....	1.4	3.4	1.6	5.3	0.1	1.1	2.1	2.7
Professional:								
Teachers (school).....	4.3	6.2	4.2	17.7	2.0	2.0	1.0	6.4
Domestic:								
Servants.....	41.0	32.1	81.3	88.0	3.2	86.0	80.2	72.1
Clerical:								
Stenographers and typists.....	9.0	12.5	2.6	19.4	0.5	4.0	8.6	8.3

SELECTED OCCUPATION	COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND MOTHER TONGUE—continued				MOTHER TONGUE—ALL COUNTRIES			
	Russia (Russian)	Bohemia and Moravia (Czech)	Mexico (Spanish)	Italy (Italian)	German	Polish	Slovak	Yiddish
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Semiskilled operatives:								
Clothing factories.....	54.0	11.0	9.7	82.6	10.6	9.5	7.7	67.3
Cotton factories.....	2.0	2.0	—	4.1	2.7	60.4	2.5	0.3
Telephone operators.....	0.8	1.6	1.4	0.8	1.5	0.3	0.7	0.6
Professional:								
Teachers (school).....	4.0	2.1	3.5	1.8	8.0	2.7	0.6	2.4
Domestic:								
Servants.....	16.1	78.3	68.1	7.7	69.8	34.1	85.9	7.3
Clerical:								
Stenographers and typists.....	23.2	4.2	17.4	3.1	7.4	3.0	2.6	22.1

The Irish females do not display such a wide scateration, for Table 132 shows some 81.3 per cent of them to be engaged in domestic service, while of all the domestic servants enumerated in Table 131, 43 per cent are Irish.

This large proportion of Irish girls and women engaged in domestic service is probably related to the excess of females over males in the foreign-born population of Irish extraction, reference to which has been made above. Apparently the Irish women established a secure place for themselves in this line of employment during the height of their migration 70 or 80 years ago and have found it their most profitable field of endeavor ever since.

The varied activities of the Irish males are less easy to explain. It may be that, as a group given largely to city life, they have come to reflect, in their choice of occupation, the diversified industrial development of the average American city.

It is interesting to note that some 24.5 per cent of the Irish men and boys are shown in Table 130 to be employed as steam railroad and blast furnace laborers. This is a larger percentage for these typical forms of unskilled labor than that shown by any other "old" immigrant group, and for that matter is higher than the percentage in these occupations displayed by the Yiddish, Russians, Bohemians, Moravians, and Poles among the "new" immigrants. It suggests the tendency of an agricultural people—such as many of the Irish are—to drop into the ranks of unskilled labor, if, after arriving in this country, they fail to continue in farming. It also illustrates once more the fact that, in so far as occupational distribution is concerned, there is no uniformity of behavior within either the "old" or "new" immigration.

The three Scandinavian nationalities manifest one outstanding tendency. This is their heavy concentration in farming. Of the Swedish males, 81.4 per cent are shown in Table 130 to be farmers; of the Norwegian, 87.3 per cent; and of the Danish, 88.2 per cent. And, according to Table 129, these three groups together comprise 38.5 per cent of all the various ethnic groups engaged in farming.

This phenomenon is easily explained when it is remembered that these immigrants come from essentially agricultural countries. Moreover, at the time of their heaviest migration to the United States, abundant farm land in the northwest Mississippi Valley was still available for settlement.

On the other hand, the Germans, whose principal immigration to this country antedates that of the Scandinavians and was therefore at a time when agricultural land was even more easily obtainable than the Scandinavians found it to be, do not exhibit as heavy a concentration in farming. Table 130 shows only 64.7 per cent to be thus engaged, relatively less than is the case with any of the three Scandinavian countries, besides the Bohemians and Moravians, not to mention the English and French Canadians.

This circumstance may be the result of the limited nature of the data from which these percentages have been reckoned.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, it may indicate a stronger native disposition toward farming among the Scandinavians than among the Germans. That such a difference between the two ethnic groups exists has already been suggested by the fact that the Scandinavians are concentrated in the northwestern Mississippi Basin, while the Germans have a very considerable representation in the urbanized and industrialized Middle Atlantic region.<sup>16</sup>

TABLE 133.—ETHNIC GROUP MOST PROMINENT IN EACH TYPICAL OCCUPATION, BY SEX, IN CERTAIN STATES: 1920<sup>1</sup>

OCCUPATION	MALES		OCCUPATION	FEMALES	
	Ethnic group	Per cent		Ethnic group	Per cent
Farmers.....	German.....	33.2	Semiskilled operatives—clothing factories.....	Yiddish.....	43.0
Coal-mine operatives.....	Polish.....	33.1	Semiskilled operatives—cotton factories.....	French Canadian.....	33.7
Foremen and overseers (manufacturing).....	Germans.....	18.8	Telephone operators.....	Irish.....	24.7
Carpenters.....	Yiddish.....	14.8	Teachers (school).....	do.....	21.4
Laborers—blast furnaces.....	Polish.....	25.2	Domestic servants.....	do.....	43.0
Laborers—steam railroad.....	Italian.....	50.0	Stenographers and typists.....	Yiddish.....	42.7
Physicians and surgeons.....	Yiddish.....	27.8			
Salesmen (stores).....	do.....	40.9			

<sup>1</sup> Derived from Tables 129 and 131.

TABLE 134.—OCCUPATIONS MOST GENERALLY ENTERED BY FOREIGN BORN OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, IN CERTAIN STATES: 1920<sup>1</sup>

ETHNIC GROUP	MALES		FEMALES	
	Occupation	Per cent	Occupation	Per cent
All foreign born.....	Farmers.....	33.7	Domestic servants.....	41.0
English <sup>2</sup> .....	Coal-mine operatives.....	41.1	Semiskilled operatives—cotton factories.....	40.9
Irish.....	{Coal-mine operatives. Carpenters.....}	18.5	Domestic servants.....	81.3
Swedish.....	Farmers.....	81.4	do.....	86.9
Norwegian.....	do.....	87.3	do.....	86.2
Danish.....	do.....	88.2	do.....	72.1
German.....	do.....	64.7	do.....	69.8
Russian.....	Coal-mine operatives.....	34.0	Semiskilled operatives—clothing factories.....	54.0
Italian.....	do.....	50.2	do.....	82.6
Bohemian and Moravian.....	Farmers.....	77.6	Domestic servants.....	78.3
Slovak.....	Coal-mine operatives.....	69.3	do.....	85.9
Polish.....	do.....	61.1	Semiskilled operatives—cotton factories.....	50.4
Yiddish.....	Salesmen (stores).....	59.7	Semiskilled operatives—clothing factories.....	67.3
English Canadian.....	Farmers.....	74.3	Domestic servants.....	38.0
French Canadian.....	do.....	79.2	Semiskilled operatives—cotton factories.....	93.8
Mexican.....	Laborers—blast furnaces.....	47.6	Domestic servants.....	68.1

<sup>1</sup> Derived from Tables 130 and 132.

<sup>2</sup> English-speaking English, Scotch, and Welsh.

<sup>15</sup> Table 129 shows, however, that the calculation for the Germans rests on 67,457 cases, which ought to be a sufficiently large "sample" to be fairly typical of the whole German group.

<sup>16</sup> It is possible that the Scandinavians have sought a climate somewhat similar to their own, and in doing so have had to settle in regions predominantly rural, and, by the same token, have had to engage chiefly in agriculture.

## SUMMARY

This chapter may be closed with the rather obvious statement that very much remains to be done in analyzing the occupational status of the foreign-born population. The data collected here are either so inclusive as to prevent adequate analysis or too meager to justify far-reaching conclusions. They show clearly that a wealth of interesting and significant information concerning the economic aspects of immigration could be obtained from the census returns.

Immigration takes much of its importance from its relation to the economic development of the United States. Not only does it influence the country's productive capacity, but it is intimately bound up with the problems of labor. It is therefore to be hoped that at some future time the census returns may be analyzed in further detail, to permit a thoroughgoing examination of this most important question.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the material is the evidence furnished by the tables presented in Section 2, to the effect that there are very marked differences in the economic activities of various ethnic groups.

It may be remarked finally that, so far as the half million cases in this tabulation may be accepted as typical, the occupational differences between the various ethnic groups are significant only when applied to individual racial entities and not to the collectives known as the "old" and "new" immigration. The "old" immigrants, for example, decidedly do not all prefer to take up agriculture. The Irish, and the English, Scotch, and Welsh are engaged in farming to a very limited extent indeed, and even the Germans seem to be so employed to a smaller degree than the Bohemians and Moravians, who are a central European, that is, a "new" immigrant people. Neither do the "new" immigrants engage chiefly in rough, unskilled labor, as is often stated. The Hebrews emphatically do not, and the Bohemians and Moravians are mostly farmers. On the other hand, a considerable number of Irish, who are "old" immigrants, *par excellence*, are so employed, while an even greater proportion of English, Scotch, and Welsh are seen to be coal-mine operatives; that is, are engaged in work that is heavy and laborious and not so skilled but that the "unskilled" Polish, Italian, and Slovak peasants may also perform it.

Again, these tables lend no support to the generally held opinion that the "old" immigrants are more given to occupations requiring some degree of education than the "new." The Hebrew women are

heavily represented among the stenographers and typists and the Hebrew men among salesmen in stores. As for professional occupations, the Hebrews, Italians, and Russians together provide 52.4 per cent of the physicians and surgeons tabulated in Table 129, and the women from the same groups compose 17.9 per cent of the school-teachers listed in Table 131, which is a remarkably large proportion in view of the advantage possessed by the British, Irish, and English Canadians in their knowledge of the English language.

At least, therefore, until more conclusive data are adduced to support a contrary conclusion, the distinctions between "old" and "new" immigration can not be taken to imply any significant differences in the economic behavior of the congeries of races and nationalities subsumed under each term.

## XI

### CONCLUSION

In the foregoing chapters various phases of the immigrant problem have been examined. Many important aspects have been passed by, others have been taken up only in summary fashion; yet a body of data has been collated and analyzed which is sufficiently comprehensive to warrant the reaching of certain general conclusions.

They may be put under four headings: The significance of immigration to American national life, the differences between the foreign and native population, the differences between the various elements in that foreign population, and the possibility of formulating a permanent national immigration policy on the basis of the existing data.

#### 1. SIGNIFICANCE OF IMMIGRATION IN AMERICAN NATIONAL LIFE

It seems almost superfluous to call attention to the profound significance to this country of its large foreign population. Yet, without some such analysis as that with which this monograph is concerned, one is likely to overlook the many and sundry ways in which immigration affects the life of the Nation.

That the foreign population demands attention because of its mere size goes without saying. Considerably more than 13 in every 100 of the whole population are foreign born and about 20 more are the offspring of foreign parents, while the number of those whose grandparents and great-grandparents were born in other lands can only be conjectured.

More than this, the age composition of the immigrants causes them to be of even greater numerical importance among the adult population, so that they number more than one in five among the population of voting age.

This calls attention to the fact that immigration is closely related to the governmental problems of this country, for, as a result of it, a share in the responsibilities of citizenship in this self-governing commonwealth has been given to tens of thousands who were born and reared under other flags, other traditions, and other ideals of government, and to tens of thousands more whose Americanism has been inevitably and indelibly colored by nurture through childhood and youth at the hands of parents born abroad.

Again, the chapter just concluded indicates that this country's economic problems are closely bound up with those of immigration. Immigration means a labor supply, abundant and willing, for American industry. Immigration means competition with American labor, diverse standards of living leading to a disorganized wage market, and group antipathies giving rise to perplexing problems of trade-union organization and of workshop management. Immigration means a gradual infiltration of foreigners and their children into rough, heavy, low-paid work and the beginnings of a caste system based on ethnic lines. And immigration has, until a generation ago, meant heavy accessions to those pioneers of toil who dug the canals, laid the railroads, cleared the forests, and planted the farms on America's fast fading frontiers.

Of deeper significance is the bearing of immigration on the ethnic life of the country. As pointed out below, it has introduced an immense conglomerate of racial strains into the population. Moreover, the statistics of marriage and of births show that these newer breeds are multiplying apace, while the data concerning intermarriages indicate that they are crossing rapidly with each other and even more rapidly with the native stock.

On the other hand, a study of the death rates of the native and foreign elements suggests that the latter possess, for the present at least a lower vitality than the former, so that their long-run increase is not so great as their immediate prolificacy indicates. Moreover, it has been seen that the fecundity of the native stock is, on the whole, probably about the same as that of the second and succeeding generations of foreigners. Yet, again, the paucity of women among the present generation of foreigners is found materially to have limited the number of their offspring and to have stimulated matings of foreign fathers and native mothers and a consequent absorption by the native stock of a considerable proportion of foreign blood. Finally, it is well to remember that there are certain areas, notably in the "old South," where infusions of foreign blood have been almost negligible and where, excepting the possibility of unions between negroes and white persons, the old American stock continues to breed practically "pure."<sup>1</sup>

Consequently, the old colonial stock has by no means been overwhelmed by the foreign element. It is true that the population of 100 years hence will be ethnically very different from that which witnessed the founding of the Republic, yet the older stock appears to have withstood remarkably well the initial shock of the foreign invasion, to be still the dominant racial element, and to be on the way to accomplishing a gradual absorption of the various immigrant

<sup>1</sup> Cf. United States Bureau of the Census: *A Century of Population Growth*, Washington, 1909, pp. 87-89.

breeds. Whether the native American type could continue indefinitely to hold its own if a reversal of conditions should bring about for another two or three decades an immigrant wave comparable in volume to that which ended in 1914 is, however, quite another matter.

There is one further factor which tends to mitigate the disturbing influence of immigration upon the ethnic composition of the American population. This is the fact that a large proportion of the foreign-born population have come from the same countries as did the original American stock. The English, Scotch, Welsh, and some of the Irish spring from the same population out of which the bulk of the original settlers of this country were drawn. Moreover, the English, Scotch, and Welsh immigration has persisted with remarkable strength right down to the present, not bulking as large proportionately as in the early decades of the nineteenth century, yet remaining sufficiently heavy to constitute a significant and steady reinforcement to the country's original ethnic stock. Furthermore, there has been, particularly in recent years, an unceasing infiltration of large numbers of Canadians of the same English, Scotch, and Welsh extraction. Finally, the statistics of intermarriage show that the English, Scotch, and Welsh, as well as the Canadians, have amalgamated very rapidly with the native American elements.

## 2. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FOREIGN AND NATIVE POPULATIONS

If the foreigners arriving in this country for the past century had been, like the English, Scotch, and Welsh, essentially similar in race, language, and culture to the original American type, the immigrant problem would be neither so complex nor so deep-rooted as it is to-day. That there is, however, no such uniformity has been amply demonstrated in the foregoing chapters.

The most obvious contrast between native and foreign elements is that of ethnic origin. No account has been taken in this study of the various oriental groups, which are of a type unmistakably different from the white or "Caucasic" element in this country. Instead, attention has been focused on the European, Levantine, and American immigration. Nevertheless, even this limited study has revealed the existence of a not inconsiderable number of colored peoples among the current immigration to this country. Negro immigration has been seen to be on the increase. Moreover, there is a very heavy infusion of Indian blood in the Mexican element that has assumed such large proportions in recent years.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>"Of those who comprise the ninety or more million people living in Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and South America, only a minor fraction are of the race elements usually regarded as white." Foster: *The Racial Problems Involved in Immigration from Latin America and the West Indies to the United States*; U. S. Department of Labor, 1925, p. 41.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the part-Indian Mexicans are most heavily settled in the West South Central division, adjacent to the East South Central and South Atlantic divisions, where the negro population is heaviest.

Within the white race itself there are, moreover, important ethnic differences. The precise nature of these differences can not be determined without a thorough canvass of the anthropological structure of modern Europe—a task far beyond the limits of this monograph. It is, however, obvious that such immigrants as are drawn from central, southern, and eastern Europe and the Levant—and they are more than half of the present-day foreign-born population—have little ethnic affinity with the descendents of the English, Welsh, Scotch, and Scotch-Irish who predominated among the early settlers of this country. Whether or not these “new” immigrant stocks are inferior or superior to the original colonial element, they are most assuredly very different from it.

An almost equally significant point of distinction between the immigration of to-day and the native population is that of language. The vast majority of the population of this country is English-speaking. Its schools, its courts, its Constitution, its laws, its literature, its business life all make use of the English language. Yet nearly four-fifths of the foreign-born population of 1920 come from non-English-speaking countries. More than this, many of the immigrants of to-day speak languages which have only the remotest affinity to the English tongue, many of them, such as the Yiddish and the Arabic, not even using the same alphabet.

Less easily traced are the cultural differences between the native and immigrant populations. Indeed, relatively little reference to them has been made in the course of this monograph, for cultural characteristics are ordinarily such as to escape statistical enumeration and analysis. That the type of civilization to which the average immigrant is accustomed differs significantly from that predominant in this country is, however, indicated by the preceding paragraph. Difference in language implies difference in culture—is, in fact, an essential element in it. There is little doubt but that the immigrant, whose mother tongue is foreign to the native American's speech, also brings with him traditions, customs, and ideologies different from those of the native. What the nature of these differences may be, and whether they are superior to American social life or are symptomatic of a lower cultural level, are questions that can not be considered here. It is sufficient that attention should be called to their existence and to their very great significance to the Nation's future. For, whether or not there are, as many students believe, inherent

and ineradicable differences between the native American people and some, at least, of the immigrant stocks, the cultural divergence between the native population and many of these foreign elements are sufficiently well defined and widespread to make inevitable a profound modification of this Nation's customs and ideals, particularly in those portions of the country most densely populated by the foreign born. And it may further be observed that contrasts of this sort, more especially in the field of language and religion, are, together with ethnic differences, particularly productive of misunderstanding and prejudice between native and foreigner, and so are disruptive of that unity and solidarity within the population which is indispensable to the common welfare.

At this point reference should be made to one feature in which at least the present generation of immigrants differs from the native population, namely, their age and sex ratio. Whether the fact that the average immigrant to-day comes to this country unaccompanied by women and children implies a difference in custom from the native population, particularly in respect to family life, is a matter that is open to question. It has been seen that it is, at least, possible that economic pressure is mainly responsible for this characteristic of present-day immigration. Whatever its cause, however, it is certain that the results of this phenomenon must make an important—albeit a temporary—impression upon the social life of the country. It means that thousands of the men who come to this country are unable to enter into normal family relations. Some of them are probably "birds of passage," who intend to return in a few years to wives or sweethearts in "the old country";<sup>3</sup> others are eventually joined by their wives in this country; still others marry American girls. Yet, as has been seen, a considerable proportion remain unmarried throughout their stay here, while many of the rest are single, or temporarily absent from their wives for a considerable time.

The consequences of this situation are obvious. Many immigrants are forced to live in congregate boarding houses, to the detriment of their own and of the public health. Others enter families of other immigrants as lodgers, thereby increasing congestion and endangering family life.<sup>4</sup> More than this, the deleterious effect upon any community's morale of the presence within it of a large number of temporarily or permanently celibate men in the physical prime of life is so obvious as to require no discussion.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 1, pp. 447-460.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Reports of the Immigration Commission, vol. 1, pp. 748-751.

## 3. DIFFERENCES AMONG VARIOUS IMMIGRANT STOCKS

Almost as striking as the divergencies between the native and foreign elements are those to be found among the immigrants themselves. For that matter many of these contrasts are more striking than those to be observed between the native Americans and certain of the foreign strains. For example, there is a far greater dissimilarity between the Englishman and the Syrian than between that same Englishman and an American descendant of the original colonial stock.

First of all, there are differences of nationality within the foreign stock. The classification of the foreign born according to country of birth, in Chapter V, calls attention to the heterogeneity of the immigrant population in this respect. And this heterogeneity is of moment to the American Nation, for it means that the misunderstandings, antipathies, and hostilities derived from the nationalistic rivalries of the older countries are reproduced among the foreign population of the United States.

Ethnic differences between the several immigrant groups are of almost as great importance as national. On the one hand, they may tend to offset national divergencies in that certain types—the Hebrew, for example—are found throughout various nationalities. On the other hand, they may further complicate the differences arising out of nationality, in that several distinct and mutually antagonistic groups may come from the same political jurisdiction, such as the Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, and Hebrews, migrating from Turkey in Asia.

More than this, ethnic differences are of greater long-run significance to this country than national, for the effect of the latter may be largely overcome after one or two generations, but the effect of the former may be transmitted, in some degree, at least, for several generations.

The nature of the data upon which this monograph is based has not permitted any adequate discussion of the various ethnic types among the immigrants, much less the physical and psychological characteristics peculiar to each. Here, as in other features of this study, little more can be done than to point out the fact that they exist and require further analysis.

Related in part to ethnic stock is language. The wide variety of mother tongues among the immigrants has been pointed out in a previous chapter. It need only be observed here that differences in the native speech of the immigrants tend to aggravate and complicate the problems resulting from their divergence in nationality and race.

Some account has been taken in this study of dissimilarities in vigor and virility among the immigrants. Certain groups have been found to be much longer lived than others. Some diseases decimate one group but leave another relatively unscathed. There are wide variations in birth rates; likewise in infant mortality. The consequences of these differences have been indicated elsewhere. Certain ethnic strains are, relative to their numbers, probably making a larger long-run contribution to the population than others—for example, the Scandinavians as compared with the Italians. Moreover, certain elements seem better able to stand up under the stress of the life they encounter here and to be correspondingly more effective economically and otherwise than others, such as the urbanized Hebrews as compared with the urbanized Irish. Whether, however, differences of this sort represent divergent inheritances of survival power, or merely contrasting conditions of environment, training, and induration to particular conditions, this study provides no basis of determining.

As pointed out above, matters of culture ordinarily escape statistical analysis. Nevertheless, certain striking dissimilarities between the immigrant groups in this respect have been observed. They have been seen to differ in a marked degree as regards intermarriage with each other and with the native Americans. Again, certain groups—namely, the Irish and Hebrew—have been found to show a decided preference for urban life, whereas others appear to seek a rural environment, albeit it seems that the majority settle in urban or rural localities according to the weight of economic influences.

The citizenship status of the immigrants has been seen to present many contrasts. In this connection, as in many others in this monograph, the data available for analysis are not such as to admit of any final conclusion as to the relative assimilability of the several immigrant stocks. The material leaves no doubt as to the existence of noteworthy differences, not only in the proportion of persons naturalized among the various foreign groups but also in the promptness with which these groups seek citizenship.

Furthermore, the chapter immediately preceding this one has indicated that the several immigrant groups vary considerably as regards their economic life.

Finally, a striking series of contrasts has been found among the immigrants in regard to the year of their immigration and the region of origin. On the whole, those immigrants who migrated to America a generation or more ago came from northern and western Europe, while the later arrivals have come from central, southern, and eastern Europe and Asia Minor. So clear cut is this line of cleavage that the two groups are customarily termed the "old" and "new" immigration, as they have been in this treatise. The distinction has, however, been found not to be of such universal application as it is

commonly believed to be. As a generalized description of the flow of immigration to this country, it has been found to be only partially accurate, since certain nationalities which are most numerous among the "new" immigration, chronologically considered, are classified in the "old" immigration, territorially considered, and vice versa. Furthermore, as a clue to the economic, civic, and physical characteristics of the immigrants, this classification has been found to be of only limited value. In no single instance of the rate of intermarriage with native Americans has any significant correlation with the "old" and "new" immigrant grouping been found. In other cases, as in urbanization and sex ratio, such correlation as the surface data indicate disappears under close analysis or seems to be, at least in part, the resultant of other factors.

This is not to say that the classification of this section of the foreign stock into "old" and "new" immigrants is not a valuable one. It calls attention to certain broad tendencies in American immigration, and for some purposes is a useful summary expression. More than this, there is probably a substantial correspondence between the *cultural* characteristics of the immigrants and the division of northwestern from central, south, and eastern European. The differences in intermarriage follow this line of cleavage, and, as pointed out in the discussion of that phenomenon, it is entirely likely that other cultural differences accompany this one, and, indeed, are responsible for it. A more thorough canvassing than has been possible here of the type of civilization found among the immigrants may very possibly, therefore, uncover a whole series of important contrasts associated with that distinction between "old" and "new" immigrants. But the data embodied in this monograph, at least, make it seem unlikely that the distinction will prove of any material value in the study of other features of the foreign stocks, particularly those involved in inherent characteristics of mind and body, and that, rather, the most fruitful basis of differentiation is the individual nationality or ethnic strain.<sup>5</sup>

In this connection one final observation may be offered. There are other immigrant elements than European and Levantine and other broad lines of demarcation than that of "old" and "new" immigration. In addition to the oriental Asiatic immigration, which is beyond the limits of this study, there is the North, Central, and South American, not to mention that from the Atlantic Islands. And certain groups within this foreign element are of substantial numerical importance, while others, such as the negro and part-negro migration from the West Indies and the Atlantic Islands, have,

<sup>5</sup> For a contrary opinion, see Laughlin, H. H.: "Analysis of America's Modern Melting Pot;" Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Sixty-seventh Congress, third session, Nov. 21, 1922.

because of their race, a significance out of all proportion to their numbers. Neither must it be forgotten that at least one group—namely, the Mexican—is much more truly a “new” immigrant people than many of those from central, south, or eastern Europe, and, being largely Indian, is a distinct racial type.

#### 4. THE STATISTICAL BASIS FOR A PERMANENT IMMIGRATION POLICY

The immigrant question is of no more interest to the student of social and economic science than it is to the publicist, for, as the preceding portions of this chapter have demonstrated, many of this country's social and civic problems are intimately connected with that of immigration. Therefore, any information which may be forthcoming concerning the immigrant and his children is of value for the material it may provide to those concerned in the formulation of national policy.

What contribution do the statistical facts on immigration, as epitomized in this monograph, make to this work of policy formulation? Relatively little, it must be acknowledged.

This monograph has, it may be hoped, added somewhat to the common fund of knowledge relating to the immigrant in America. It has set forth a considerable body of data from which certain generalizations have been drawn and certain tendencies traced. The same observation could be applied to many other statistical studies in the same field. Furthermore, some of the results of this and similar discussions may be of direct use to the publicist. Such material, for example, as that relating to the numbers and territorial distribution of the foreign born might well be taken into account in determining the Nation's attitude toward them, particularly as regards programs for “Americanization.”

Nevertheless, neither this nor any other statistical study provides the material for a full-rounded immigration policy. For such a policy would, necessarily, have to rest on the answer to a series of questions which can not be answered on the basis of the existing data. Exactly how has immigration affected the Nation's economic life? What difference has immigration made to the Nation's social, cultural, or civic life? How is it modifying the Nation's ethnic composition, its general appearance, its physical fitness? Precisely what are the characteristics—physical, psychological, cultural—of the various immigrant groups? What of these characteristics are inherited; what are mainly environmental in origin? What groups, if any, are superior to others? Finally, just what *is* an immigrant group; is it essentially nationalistic in nature, or is it linguistic, or is it ethnic? These are the questions the answers to which can furnish the basis for a well-grounded immigration policy, and anything approaching ade-

quate answers to the queries can not be derived from this study. Neither can they be drawn from other statistical studies without sacrificing some of the safeguards of scientific method. Some of the topics covered by them are outside the province of statistical inquiry. Others must wait upon more extensive enumeration and more thorough tabulation than have yet been achieved. Still others, such as the measurement of racial mental ability, are only beginning to be made the subject of scientific inquiry.<sup>6</sup>

The present fund of statistical information relating to immigration—extensive as it is—can not, therefore, be accepted as in any way providing a proper statistical background for a permanent immigration policy. It furnishes certain materials that may be of use in the formulation of such a policy. But it derives perhaps its greatest value from the fact that it calls attention to the importance of the immigrant problem; that it indicates the questions that must be elucidated before securely established solutions can be devised for this problem; and that it suggests the paths that may most profitably be followed in seeking the answers to these questions.

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Brigham: *A Study of American Intelligence*, Princeton, 1923.