

Family Structure of Irish Immigrants in England and Wales and the United States in 1880/1

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Introduction

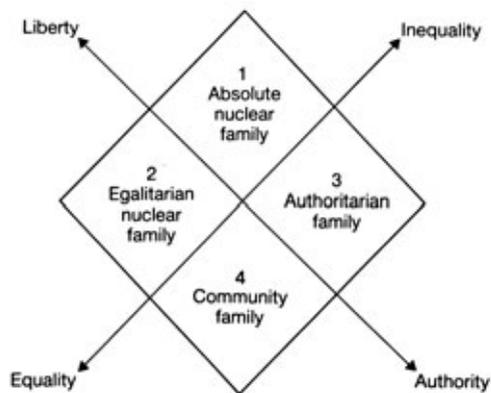
In *Le Destin Des Immigres*, Emmanuel Todd explains the assimilation and segregation of immigrants by presenting the hypothesis of the “principle of host society omnipotence,” which postulates that “each host country has its own specific unconscious archetype, which functions as a framework that determines the views on and fates of immigrants.” It assumes two specific archetypes that ensure host country omnipotence — universalism, observed in France, and differentialism, predominant in Germany, England & Wales and the United States. Universalism in this context means that the “integration of peoples can be achieved by sharing the universal idea that all human beings are fundamentally the same everywhere in the world,” whereas differentialism is regarded as an attitude opposite to universalist thinking [E., Todd, 1999, 33–35].

This suggests that in the anthropological dimension, France embodies a

“process that assimilates all groups of immigrants and ethnic minorities, regardless of their physical characteristics or religious backgrounds.” Meanwhile, differentialism prevails in the United States and England & Wales, identifying and differentiating ethnic groups based on differences in physical characteristics, languages, religions and other defining standards. These two types of thinking are then linked to different family structures [E., Todd, 1999, 46].

Todd classifies family structures according to two parameters, i.e., authoritarian/liberal parent-child relations and equality/inequality among brothers. Where studies on immigrants are concerned, he deduces universalism or differentialism from the parameter of quality/inequality among brothers alone [E. Todd, 1985, 6–11]. According to Todd's assumption, universalist countries, on the one hand, have a family system symmetrized by egalitarian inheritance rules, and equality of all human beings is deduced from the equality of all brothers. Differentialist countries,

Figure 1. E. Todd's Family Types



Source : E. Todd, 1985, 10

on the other hand, assume an unsymmetrized family system, which gives different treatment to different brothers (Figure 1).

Now, how does Todd view England & Wales and American societies, societies that have long hosted Irish immigrants, a group of people that I have been studying as my major research subject?

In the British family system, inequality of inheritance based on their non-homogeneity, is weak. And, as a manifestation of the differentialist thinking that does not allow any specific ethnic group to have its own geographical hub, absolute nuclear families predominate. Yet, it should also be noted that England & Wales places greater emphasis on class differentialism than on racial differentialism.

Meanwhile, the United States, a country built by Protestant immigrants from England & Wales, originally embraced differentialism based on religion and inequality among brothers in the family. Nonetheless, as provided for in the declaration of independence, the country changed its attitude from differentialism to egalitarianism, leading white families to form egalitarian nuclear families. And with later immigrants from Europe who chose to assimilate themselves to the United States society, assimilation of the white population in general proceeded. This process, however, is believed to have been accompanied by a differentialist attitude toward the Indians, who were indigenous inhabitants, and the black people who were slaves.

It should be noted that Todd, among his other achievements, measures the degree of assimilation and segregation based on the percentage of inter-marriage between an immigrant group and its host society. Particular attention should also be paid to the fact that Todd regards the percentage of female exogamy as an important measure for determining the degrees

of immigrant assimilation and segregation.

Based on the above observations, it is believed that Todd's theoretical framework concerning immigrants is applicable, as a general framework, to examining the assimilation and segregation statuses of immigrants to host countries.

1 . Hypothesis about Irish Immigrants in England & Wales and the United States

I propose the hypothesis that in Ireland, simple family households predominant in the early 19th century were replaced by extended family households and multiple family households that prevailed in the mid-19th century to around 1950, as a result of a shift toward impartible inheritance and the introduction of the matchmaking/dowry system [Y. Shimizu, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014a, 2014b].

Meanwhile, young people other than household successors, who were excluded from stem families in their home country, sought to emigrate to other countries rather than find jobs in Irish cities where manufacturing industry was on a limited scale. Irish immigrants in the 19th century also had a marked tendency to choose the United States as their destination, rather than England & Wales or Scotland. This inclination is believed to have resulted from the strong pull-push factors that existed in Ireland and the United States in those days.

As mentioned above, due to the shift from the nuclear family to the stem family system in the mid-19th century and thereafter, families in Ireland began to take on differentialist characters. Yet, when emigrating to England & Wales or the United States, Irish immigrants adopted a family strategy in which they assimilated themselves to the host societies by

forming absolute nuclear families or egalitarian nuclear families. It is believed, however, that Irish immigrants found assimilation easier in England & Wales, where differentialism prevailed, than in the egalitarian the United States society.

Although the first-generation Irish immigrants formed and lived in ghetto-type communities, the second and third generations were mobile both geographically and occupationally, thereby undergoing a process of assimilation into the host societies.

Specifically, rather than adapting themselves to the host societies on an individual basis, Irish immigrants in England & Wales and the United States built families and ensured that all family members should have jobs to pursue their well-being by securing the largest possible family income. To achieve these goals, they adopted the strategy of forming the simplest possible family structure. T.J. Meagher bases his observations on this particular family strategy [Timothy J. Meagher, 2001, 52–58]. This is why simple family households predominated among Irish immigrants, to adjust their family structure to that of the host societies. At the same time, their tendency to maintain – while modifying – their traditional family characteristics and Irish identity as distinct from those of the host societies is also manifest in their way of building families.

In terms of family structure, Irish immigrants found it easier to adapt themselves to the British absolute nuclear family, which was based on differentialism marked by inequality among brothers, than to the American egalitarian nuclear family system.

Thus far, I have outlined my hypothesis that Irish people excluded from the Irish family system emigrated to England & Wales and the United States and pursued a family strategy in which they sought assimilation to

the host societies. The following are the parameters on which I base my hypothesis.

- (1) Irish immigrants showed a high degree of geographical concentrations in England & Wales and the United States.
- (2) As in their birthplaces in Ireland, Irish immigrants married later in life, so the heads of the families were older.
- (3) Heads of Irish immigrant families tended to be employed as semiskilled or unskilled workers, rather than on farms.
- (4) The sex ratio among Irish immigrants was nearly equal, increasing the possibility of endogamy.
- (5) Irish immigrants tended to marry late or remain single, a marriage pattern to which Hajnal's theory applies [Hajnal John, 1982].
- (6) Irish immigrant households were smaller than those in their home country, but larger than those in their host countries.
- (7) The size of their households was attributable to their fecundity or fertility, resulting from the lack of any effort at limitation of family size.
- (8) Irish immigrant families had a stronger affinity to the standards of the simple family household than to those of the stem family household that predominated in their home country: this affinity was even stronger than in other households in the host countries.
- (9) Heads of Irish immigrant families had fewer relatives than their counterparts in their home country than other heads of families in the host countries. Their relatives were limited to their parents' generation, their own generation and their children's generation.
- (10) While assimilating themselves into the host societies, Irish immigrants tended to maintain their traditional identity, manifested by high birthrates, development of Irish settlements and a strong inclination

toward endogamy.

The aim of this paper is to conduct bottom-up verification of my hypothesis, developed from the above parameters, concerning the family structure of Irish immigrants in England & Wales and the United States, using the database containing the original census record created under the NAPP (North Atlantic Population Project)¹⁾ for England & Wales (1881) and for the United States (1880). Attention will also be paid to differences in Irish immigrant assimilation patterns in England & Wales and the United States. It should also be noted that young Irish who emigrated to England & Wales and the United States following the Great Famine in 1845 and built families in their host countries constituted the core of Irish immigrants as of 1880s, as heads of families about 60 years of age. They represent the characteristics of the typical families created by Irish immigrants who had left their country as a result of the Great Famine.

For many years, numerous studies have been conducted with respect to Irish immigrants in England & Wales and the United States. In this sense, the hypothesis presented here is not particularly novel, but is meaningful in that it is based on the census data of the entire population of England & Wales and the United States, and is therefore quantitative and numerical in nature, in contrast to earlier studies that are mostly qualitative and

1) The North Atlantic Population Project (NAPP) is a machine-readable database of the complete censuses of Canada (1881), Great Britain (1881), Norway (1801, 1865, 1900, 1910), Sweden (1890, 1900), the United States (1880) and Iceland (1801, 1901). These eleven censuses comprise our richest source of information on the population of the North Atlantic world in the late nineteenth century, and they have only recently become available for social science research. Samples of census data are also available for Canada (1852, 1871, 1891, 1901), Great Britain (1851), the German state of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1819), Norway (1875), and the United States (1850, 1860, 1870, 1900, 1910), which support cross-temporal analyses. [North Atlantic Population Project, Minnesota Population Center, University of Minnesota, homepage]

monographic in nature.

Before verifying my hypothesis, I would like to briefly discuss the demographic characteristics of Ireland at the end of the 19th century, Ireland's emigration status and the situation of Irish immigrants in England & Wales and the United States.

2. Ireland's Demographic Trends

Table 1. Population of Ireland 1821 to 1971

	Male	Female	Total	Percentage change
1821	3,341,926	3,459,901	6,801,827	
1831	3,794,880	3,972,521	7,767,401	+ 14.19
1841	4,019,576	4,155,548	8,175,124	+ 5.25
1851	3,190,630	3,361,755	6,552,385	- 19.85
1861	2,837,370	2,961,597	5,798,967	- 11.5
1871	2,639,753	2,772,624	5,412,377	- 6.67
1881	2,533,277	2,641,559	5,174,836	- 4.39
1891	2,318,953	2,385,797	4,458,775	- 9.08
1901	2,200,040	2,258,735	4,458,775	- 5.23
1911	2,192,048	2,198,171	4,390,219	- 1.54
1926	2,114,977	2,113,576	4,228,553	- 3.68

Source: W.E. Vaughan and A.J Fitzpatrick, 1978, 3.

Irish people are known to have started emigrating well before the Great Famine in 1845: some of them left permanently to settle in other countries, others as seasonal workers, mostly on farms in England & Wales. There is no doubt, however, that the Great Famine caused a dramatic increase in the number of Irish emigrants. The population of Ireland in 1841, before the Famine, was more than 8 million. After the Famine, by 1851 it had dropped by about 20%, to 6.5 million. This drop clearly indicates that,

during that 10-year period, 1.5 million Irish either died of hunger or illnesses, or emigrated abroad (Table 1). The Irish population continued declining even after that; by 1961, it had decreased to half the pre-famine population.

The sex ratio was 0.96–0.97 male to 1.0 female before the Famine. After the Famine the male ratio increased gradually, reaching 1.0 by 1911. These characteristics coincide with Collins' observations [Brenda, Collins, 1993, 367]. Put another way, there was no sex difference in the ratio of immigrants.

Table 2. Emigrants from each Province

		Leinster	Munster	Ulster	Connaught	Total	N(persons)
1880	Males	16.8	32.8	30.5	19.9	100.0	49,906
	Females	17.0	31.4	28.3	23.3	100.0	45,558
	Total	16.9	32.1	29.5	21.5	100.0	95,464
1890	Males	18.4	38.8	23.3	19.4	100.0	31,362
	Females	15.5	38.0	23.2	23.3	100.0	29,952
	Total	17.0	38.4	23.3	21.3	100.0	61,313
1900	Males	9.1	38.8	20.1	16.0	100.0	23,295
	Females	7.3	37.3	20.0	33.6	100.0	23,812
	Total	8.1	38.3	20.0	29.8	100.0	47,107

Source: BPP, Emigration Statistics of Ireland, 1881, 1890–1,1901& Irish Historical Statistics

Regarding the home provinces of Irish immigrants, while Ulster and Leinster produced many immigrants before the Famine, it is apparent that, after the Famine, the provinces producing greater numbers of immigrants shifted to the eastern and southern regions, where living standards ranked somewhere between the rich region in the north of Ireland and those of the poorest region, Connaught, in the west of the country. Compared to

eastern Ireland, the western part of the country containing Connaught province was marked by a greater population pressure on its arable land, less social division of labor and more severe poverty. Yet this region produced fewer immigrants than other parts of the country, because the tenant farmers had a strong sense of attachment to the land, great reluctance to emigrate and were too poor to be able to pay the fare to the United States (Table 2).

The number of emigrants for each decade from 1880, the beginning of the period discussed in this paper, indicates that emigrants in 1880 totaled 95,000 forming a third peak following a second peak in the 1860s. The number decreases after 1880, when the largest portion, or 32.0% of emigrants, was from Munster, followed by Ulster, Con-naught and Leinster.

The table 3 shows the percentages of the home provinces and the destinations of Irish immigrant.

In 1880, the number of emigrants to the United States stood at 75,000, followed by lower numbers for England & Wales, Scotland, Canada and Australia. By province, Connaught tops the list with 92.8% of its immigrants concentrated in the United States, followed by Leinster, Munster and Ulster. Besides the United States, many emigrants from Leinster landed in England & Wales. With respect to Munster, while the majority of emigrants were bound for the United States, some emigrated to England & Wales and Australia.

Ulster had a smaller percentage of emigrants to the United States than the other provinces, with a substantial portion of its emigrants bound for Scotland, followed by Canada and England & Wales, presenting distinctive characteristics that set Ulster apart from the other provinces. These characteristics presumably reflect the province's pre-dominantly Protestant

Table 3. Destination of the Emigrants from each Province (%)

	Province	America	Australia	Canada	England & Wales	Scotland	Total	N(persons)
1880	Leinster	83.9	2.7	2.2	7.9	1.5	100.0	16,169
	Munster	79.7	3.2	0.8	12.5	0.4	100.0	30,654
	Ulster	62.4	2.6	7.6	7.5	18.5	100.0	28,122
	Connaught	92.8	2.0	1.4	2.3	1.1	100.0	20,519
	N(persons)	74,636	2,576	3,052	7,741	5,808		95,517
1890	Leinster	86.7	6.3	1.7	4.2	0.2	100.0	10,415
	Munster	84.4	4.6	1.1	9.1	0.4	100.0	23,554
	Ulster	80.0	2.5	6.7	1.7	8.5	100.0	14,277
	Connaught	94.5	2.0	0.9	1.3	1.2	100.0	13,067
	N(persons)	52,685	2,338	1,517	2,998	1,474		61,313
1900	Leinster	73.4	7.9	3.1	13.8	1.0	100.0	3,857
	Munster	87.5	1.3	0.4	9.7	0.9	100.0	17,933
	Ulster	57.2	2.6	2.4	19.1	17.4	100.0	9,438
	Connaught	98.3	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.6	100.0	14,060
	N(persons)	37,765	834	472	4,123	1,927		45,288

Source: BPP, Emigration Statistics of Ireland, 1881, 1890–1,1901

religious background. Connaught stands out with its emigrants' highest concentration in the United States (Table 3).

Finally, with regard to the age composition of Irish emigrants, in 1880 the highest percentage (36.0%) of male emigrants were 20–25 years of age, followed by 25–30 year olds (17.3%) and 15–20 year olds (13.4%), indicating that the 15–30 year olds accounted for 66.7% of all male emigrants. These figures are believed to imply that emigrants mainly comprised single men, many of whom were either disappointed in hopes of succeeding to farm households or had no such hopes as a result of the institutionalization of the stem family in the 1850s and thereafter through the introduction of impartible inheritance rules and the matchmaking system. The underdeveloped labor market, resulting from, Belfast apart,

limited urbanization and industrialization was yet another push factor that promoted emigration. As for occupations before emigration, general workers represent the highest portion among male immigrants. The province with the highest percentage of general workers was Connaught, with 84% of its immigrants having been general workers before emigration, followed by Leinster, Munster and Ulster. Ulster stands out with a slightly larger portion of farmers than the other provinces.

As regards female emigrants, servants account for the largest portion for all the provinces, with Connaught having the highest percentage, as in the case of general workers for male emigrants.

These numbers show that, before emigration, most male emigrants from Ireland were unspecified general workers, i.e. semiskilled or unskilled workers, and most female emigrants were servants. As discussed below, these people were highly likely to have the same kinds of jobs in their destinations as the ones they'd had in their home country.

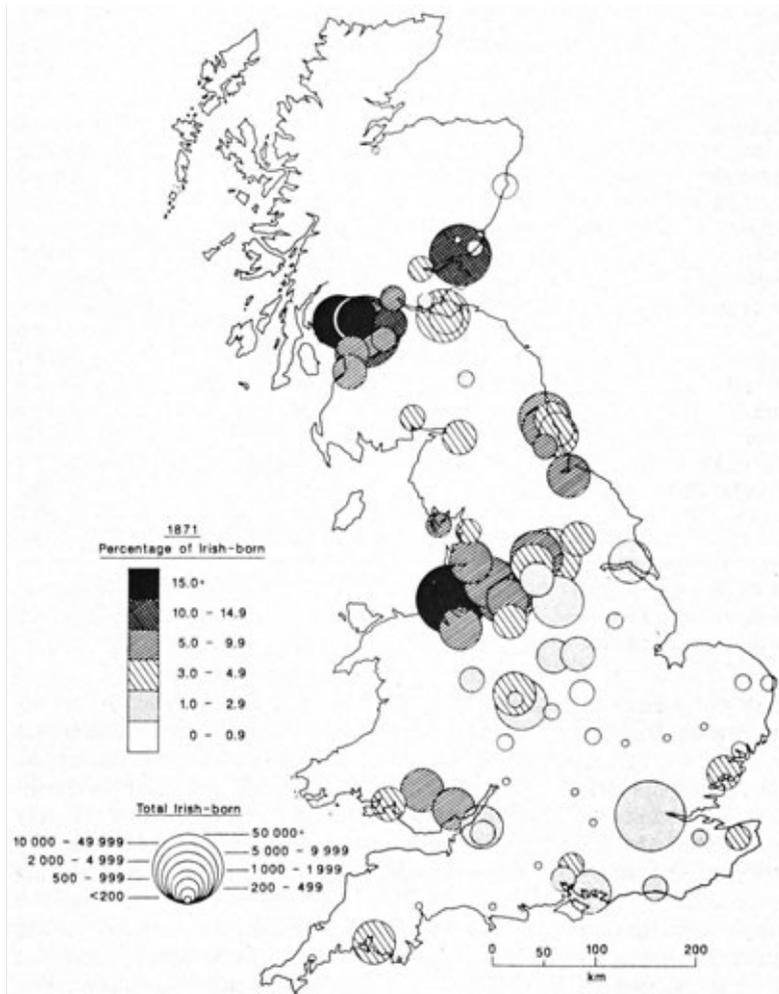
3. Regional Characteristics of Irish Immigrants in host societies

(1) Geographic concentration of Irish immigrants in England & Wales

As indicated above, while England & Wales received a smaller number of Irish immigrants than did the United States, England & Wales are believed to have been destinations that were relatively easy for Irish people to access, in terms of travel distances and expense.

The map 1 shows the geographical concentration of Irish immigrants in Great Britain.

Map 1. Distribution of Irish Immigrant in Great Britain (1871)



Source: C.G. Pooley, 1989, Figure 2.3

Table 4. Numbers of Population of England and Wales by Division, 1881

	Irish	English	Total
Eastern	1.3	5.3	5.2
Islands	0.6	0.5	0.5
London	14.5	14.4	14.7
Monmouth/Wales	3.9	6.2	6.1
Northern	11.7	6.2	6.3
North-Midland	2.0	6.5	6.3
North-Western	40.1	13.9	14.4
South-East	5.4	9.7	9.6
South -Midland	1.7	6.9	6.8
South-Western	2.3	7.3	7.2
West-Midland	6.0	11.9	11.7
Yorkshire	10.4	11.3	11.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
N(persons)	544,596	24,871,802	25,864,702

Source: NAPP GB 1881 Data

Table 4 contains results of cross tabulation of Irish immigrants and British citizens ("British citizens" as used hereinafter refers to those born in England & Wales) by census division. In 1881, there were nearly 550,000 Irish immigrants in England & Wales, accounting for 2.1% of the entire British population. In the period between 1841 and 1881, Irish immigrants as a percentage of the entire population of England & Wales peaked in 1861 at 3.0%, which is believed to reflect the impact of the 1845 Great Famine. The effect of the Famine seems to have persisted even until 1881. By census division, in 1881 the percentage of Irish immigrants was highest in northwestern England, where it represents 40.1% of the population, followed by 14.5% in London, 11.7% in northern England and 10.4% in Yorkshire as a whole.

When combined, these four divisions account for 76.7% of Irish immigrants, implying their markedly high concentration in these regions.

Of the 40.1% of Irish immigrants in northwestern England, the greatest

portion, or 38.5%, is concentrated in Lancashire, 10.9% in Middlesex and 4.2% in Surrey-two counties close to London, 7.9% in West Yorkshire, and 6.7% in Durham. These figures show that 68% of Irish immigrants resided in these five counties, implying relatively higher concentration in cities and industrial areas.

(2) Geographical concentration of Irish immigrants in the United States

Table 5. Country of Birth in the United State (1880, %)

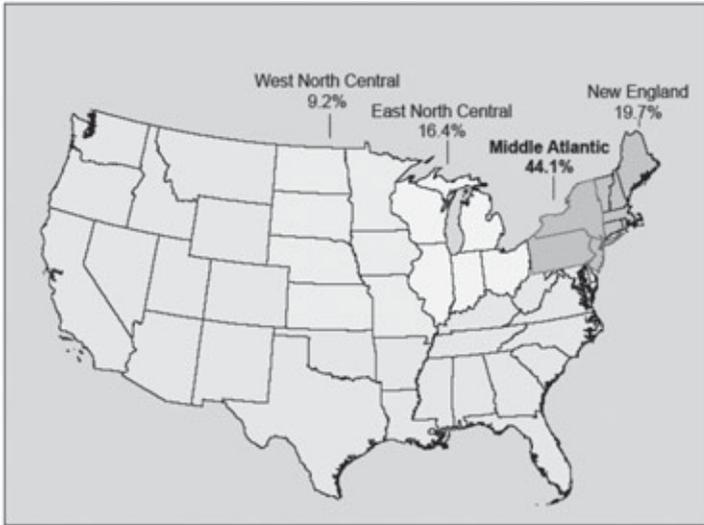
Country	New England	Middle	East North	West North	South	East South	West South	Mountain	Pacific	Total	N
		Atlantic	Central	Central	Atlantic	Central	Central				
United States	7.4	19.4	21.3	12.3	17.0	12.6	7.2	1.1	1.8	100.0	43,607,352
Ireland	19.7	44.1	16.4	9.2	2.9	1.6	1.3	1.1	3.7	100.0	1,877,878
Norway	0.6	1.5	38.5	55.8	0.1	0.1	0.5	1.2	1.6	100.0	182,522
Sweden	4.6	10.4	32.9	43.7	0.4	0.4	0.9	3.7	3.0	100.0	195,445
United Kingdom	12.1	34.5	26.6	11.8	2.7	1.2	1.5	5.3	4.3	100.0	912,711
Italy	7.8	43.0	8.5	5.4	3.1	2.7	7.3	5.1	17.1	100.0	45,261
Austria	1.7	26.4	29.8	24.4	1.9	1.3	6.0	2.1	6.3	100.0	36,656
France	3.3	30.8	27.4	12.7	1.9	2.8	10.8	1.8	8.5	100.0	126,584
Germany	1.8	29.2	38.7	18.8	3.5	2.0	2.8	0.7	2.4	100.0	1,984,683
Netherlands	1.5	23.7	54.2	15.9	1.2	0.6	0.7	0.6	1.5	100.0	54,724
Switzerland	1.6	22.1	37.1	22.2	2.0	2.7	2.3	3.2	6.8	100.0	90,595

Source: NAPP U.S. 1880 Data

Geographical distribution of Irish immigrants in the United States indicates that the highest portion of immigrants, 44.1%, migrated to the Mid-Atlantic region, followed by 19.7% to New England, 16.4% to the East North Central region and 9.2% to the West North Central. These figures show a marked concentration of Irish immigrants in the area ranging from the East to the North Central region (See Table 5 and Figure 2).

According to population distribution by state and place of birth, Irish

Figure 2. Geographic settlement of Irish immigrants in USA



Source: NAPP U.S. 1880 Data

Figure 3. Geographic settlement of Irish immigrants in USA



Source: NAPP U.S. 1880 Data

immigrants accounted for 5% or more in five states and 3% or more in nine states, illustrating a significant concentration of Irish immigrants' places of residence. By state, the highest portion (26.6%) of Irish immigrants were concentrated in New York, followed by 12.6% in Pennsylvania and 12.1% in Massachusetts, indicating a marked geographical concentration of Irish immigrants in these states (see Figure 3).

With respect to population distribution by sex, the general tendency for male immigrants to outnumber their female counterparts does not apply to Irish immigrants, 47.9% of whom are male and 52.1% are female. In the case of American citizens, 50.3% are male and 49.7% are female, a substantial difference from Irish immigrants.

All these data demonstrate that, females outnumbered males up until 1891, as far as Irish immigrants were concerned [Commission on Emigration and other Population Problems, 1954, 115]. Among other states, New York, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, which had high concentrations of Irish immigrants, presented a significant population by sex, with female immigrants representing 56% and male immigrants 44%. It should also be noted that as regards American citizens as well, females far outnumbered males in those states. This markedly higher female representation is believed to have been due to the employment structure in these states. However it must be noted the living conditions relevant may have been better in rural Ireland and the Irish moved from more healthful rural area to less healthful urban areas, but the mortality rate of women who have immigrated to cities of the United State was higher than that rate of Ireland [R.E.Kennedy, 1973, 49–50]. In other words, immigrants to cities of the United State were the increased the mortality rate and it could be said that it was due, the balance of sex ratio of men and women

had been established.

This gender balance in Irish immigrants is assumed to have functioned as a circumstantial factor that increased the likelihood of endogamy. Thus far, discussions have been focused on demographic characteristics of Irish immigrants in England & Wales and in the United States. In the following, comparison will be made between Irish immigrant households in England & Wales and those in the United States, to identify the characteristics of the family structure of Irish immigrants through a bottom-up approach. This refers to numbers of female emigrants exceeding male.

(3) Age structure of household heads

Table 6. Age Structure of Household Heads in England & Wales and USA

Age	England & Wales (1881, %)		USA (1880, %)	
	Irish	English	Irish	American
-19	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.5
20-29	10.8	12.7	5.2	20.8
30-39	24.5	28.1	23.7	26.6
40-49	30.3	27.0	29.8	21.1
50-59	19.8	17.7	23.2	15.9
60-69	11.3	9.8	13.2	10.0
70-79	3.2	3.7	4.0	4.0
80-89	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.8
90-	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N(households)	494,195	24,228,390	741,608	7,547,543

Source: NAPP, Data

The age structure of the heads of Irish immigrant households demonstrates that the 40–49 year-old bracket represented the highest percentage (30%) in England & Wales and the United States. While heads

of Irish immigrant households were concentrated in 30–70 year-olds, the core age group of England & Wales and American household heads falls in the 20–60 year-old category, indicating the relative seniority of heads of Irish immigrant households. This characteristic can be attributed to the Irish immigrants' inclination to marry late, reflecting the same tendency toward later marriages as observed in their home country (Table 6).

This trait can also be confirmed from marriages of household heads. For one thing, the marital status of household heads indicate lower marriage rates among Irish immigrants than among others in their host countries. In England & Wales, for instance, the marriage rate of the heads of Irish immigrant households stands at 74.3%, as compared to 78.8% among British citizens. In the United States, the marriage rate of household heads is 76.3% for Irish immigrants and 82.7% for American citizens.

Table 7. Marital status of household heads in England & Wales & USA

Marital status	England & Wales(1881)		USA(1880)	
	Irish	English	Irish	American
Married, spouse present	68.5	73.6	74.1	80.7
Married, spouse absent	5.8	4.2	2.2	2.0
Widowed/Divorced	21.1	16.3	19.5	12.2
Never marriage/single	4.4	5.7	4.1	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	180,113	5,089,880	736,599	7,480,886

Source: NAPP Data

At the same time, however, a smaller percentage of Irish immigrants remained unmarried. Those widowed/divorced also represented a larger portion among Irish immigrants than their counterparts in their host countries, due mainly to a greater percentage of wives who lose their

husbands. This characteristic can also be confirmed from the large number of households headed by widows (3d, namely the type of 3d means a widow with children) in the table below concerning types of household heads (see Table 7).

The Irish immigrants' tendency to marry late can also be identified from the distribution of married household heads by age. Among married Irish immigrant household heads the largest grouping were the 40–49 year-olds in England & Wales and among the 30–39 year-olds in the United States. For British and American citizens, while the highest marriage rate is observed among the 30–39 year-olds, a substantial portion of married household heads falls in the 20–29 year-old group as well (see Table 8).

Table 8. Married household heads by age in England & Wales & USA

Age	England & Wales(1881)		USA(1880)	
	Irish	English	Irish	American
20~29	10.3	15.9	5.6	21.9
40~49	33.1	25.0	20.7	21.3
50~59	19.4	18.6	21.8	15.1
70~79	2.1	3.0	3.0	3.2
80~89	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5
N	10,374	216,011	562,247	6,186,609

Source: NAPP Data

These data clearly demonstrate a significant difference in marriage age between Irish household heads and those in their host countries. This difference can be interpreted as reflecting the inclination of the natal people in the host countries to marry earlier on the one hand, and the tendency of Irish immigrants to marry later on the other hand.

Irish Americans also had a stronger tendency to stay single than did

other white Americans suggesting that an Irish immigrants' view on marriage was similar that view held by citizens in Ireland, but offered from the views held by Americans [T. Guinnane, *Did Irish Marriage Patterns Survive the Emigrants Voyage?* 1999, 16]. This tendency, therefore, was believed to embody certain aspects of Irish national traits.

Table 9. Percentage of endogamy in England & Wales (1881) & USA (1880)

England & Wales	Irish	66.4
	English	98.2
USA	Irish	77.7
	American	96.3

Source: Napp Data, awkward table reconstruct

Regarding percentages of endogamy and exogamy, measures considered important for determining the extent of immigrants' assimilation, the percentage of endogamy among Irish immigrants stands at 66.4% in England & Wales and 77.7% in the United States, suggesting that Irish immigrants in those countries maintained a strong inclination toward endogamy (see Table 9). Guinnane pointed out that among those Irish-women who married in America, 70 percent married Irish-born men or the sons of Irish-born immigrant also [T.W. Guinnane, 2004, 4]. It is also evident that, as observed particularly in England & Wales, the percentage of endogamy was lower in big cities like London (52.5%), than in provincial towns where immigrants were highly concentrated (67.2%). Comparison of endogamy percentages between England & Wales and the United States reveals a higher percentage of exogamy in England & Wales, which reflects such influences as regional proximity, low expenses associated with emigration, religious factors reflecting the gulf between Irish Catholic and

indigenous Protestants and the ease of use of social networks among blood relatives or individuals from the same province.

With respect to the percentages of unmarried individuals, in England & Wales 35.3% of Irish immigrants in their 20s were unmarried, as compared to 15.1% of British citizens in the same age group. For the 45–54 year-old group, it was 5.5% for Irish and 1.4% for British. In the United States, unmarried individuals comprised 36.1% of Irish immigrants in their 20s; for their American counterparts the figure is 13.6%. For those aged 45–54, the percentage is 11.8% for Irish immigrants and 0.7% for American citizens. These figures reveal yet another major difference between Irish immigrants and citizens in their host countries

All the above data indicate high percentages of unmarried individuals among Irish immigrants in both England & Wales and the United States, immigrants' tendency to marry late and their inclination toward endogamy. In other words the evidence suggests that they maintain the traditional Irish view on marriage.

(4) Occupations of household heads

From the table 10 and 11 containing percentages of occupations held by household heads, some of the characteristics of Irish immigrants can be identified. While there are some small-scale farmers in Ulster who migrated to England & Wales and United States, general workers and servants constituted core groups in other provinces. Meanwhile, in England & Wales and the United States, general workers such as miners, craftsmen and dealers comprise the greatest portion, while those engaged in farming were few.

Table 10. Occupations of Household Heads in England and Wales (1881,%)

Code	Code of Occupation	Ireland	England and Wales
1	General/Local Government	2.1	1.4
2	Defence of the country	2.4	0.6
3	Professionals	3.0	2.9
4	Domestic Service Offices	7.6	5.3
5	Commercial Occupation	2.0	2.7
6	Conveyance of men, goods and messages	7.5	6.4
7	Agriculture	3.7	15.4
8	Animals	0.4	1.2
9	Books, Print and Maps	0.6	0.9
10	Dealers in Machines and Implements	1.3	2.9
11	Workers and Dealers in Houses, Furniture and Decorations	8.1	9.0
12	Workers and Dealers in Carriages and Harnesses	0.4	1.0
13	Workers and Dealers in Ship and Boats	1.2	0.7
14	Workers and Dealers in Chemicals and Compounds	1.5	0.4
15	Workers and Dealers in Tabacco and Pipes	0.1	0.2
16	Workers and Dealers in Food and Lodging	4.6	8.2
17	Workers and Dealers in Textiles Fabrics	5.6	5.3
18	Workers and Dealers in Dress	7.3	6.2
19	Workers and Dealers in Various Animal Substances	0.7	0.7
20	Workers and Dealers in Various Vegetable Substance	1.5	1.7
21	Workers and Dealers in Various Mineral Substances	14.2	13.4
22	Workers and Dealers in General or Unspecified Commodities	19.6	8.3
23	Workers and Dealers in Refuse Matters	0.4	0.2
24	Persons without Specified Occupations	4.2	5.1
	Total	167,430	4,864,961

Source: NAPP Data

Closer scrutiny reveals that Irish immigrants in England & Wales were concentrated in such categories as general workers, domestic servants and workers in construction and textiles, while those in agriculture were very few. In the United States, however, while general workers still composed a core group, there were substantial portions of skilled workers and farmers as well, which presents a major difference from England & Wales.

This difference is believed to reflect 1) Irish immigrants' occupations in their home country, 2) classes of people with sufficient means of immigrating to the United States (classes able to procure enough money to

Table 11. Occupations of Household Heads in the United States (1880)

Code	Occupations	Ireland		America	
		%	N	%	N
1	Professional, Technical	1.0	6,287	3.5	233,616
2	Farmers	18.2	111,483	48.3	3,223,059
3	Managers, Officials & Proprietors	7.6	46,555	5.9	393,857
4	Clerical and Kindred	0.9	5,605	1.3	84,012
5	Sales workers	1.7	10,686	1.9	124,517
6	Craftsman	14.8	90,865	10.9	727,522
7	Operatives	19.5	119,537	7.6	507,555
8	Service worker(private household)	1.5	8,961	0.8	56,729
9	Service worker(not household)	3.0	18,495	1.5	98,388
10	Farm Laborers	1.4	8,308	6.8	456,189
11	Laborers	30.4	186,324	11.6	771,745
	Total	100.0	613,106	100.0	6,677,189

Source: NAPP Data

cover expenses associated with emigration) and 3) lower-class workers' tendency to immigrate to England & Wales. And yet, Irish immigrants in both countries show a common general tendency in that they comprise the foundation of key industrial sectors in big cities.

Thus far, occupational tendencies of Irish immigrants have been studied. In the next section, discussions will be shifted to the characteristics of the family structures of Irish immigrants in England & Wales and the United States.

(5) Family structure

[1] Size of households

The average household size in England & Wales was 4.93 for Irish immigrants and 4.65 for British citizens, while in the United States it was 5.22 for Irish immigrants and 4.88 for American citizens, clearly indicating

that Irish immigrant households were larger than households of their host countries' citizens. In England & Wales, British citizens exceeded Irish immigrants in the percentage of households with up to four members, but Irish immigrants exceeded British citizens when it comes to households with six or more members. Almost the same tendency can be observed in the United States as well: American citizens were dominant for households up to five members, while Irish immigrants evidently led Americans in terms of households with six or more members (Table 12, 13).

Although Irish immigrant households shrank in England & Wales and the United States from the average household size of 5.7 in Ireland in 1881,

Table 12. Size of households in England & Wales (1881) and USA (1880)

Household size	England & Wales		USA	
	Irish	English	Irish	American
1	4.3	4.6	4.0	3.6
2	14.0	15.3	12.5	12.9
3	14.8	16.9	13.6	17.0
4	14.8	16.1	14.4	17.1
5	14.0	14.1	14.3	14.9
6	12.0	11.5	12.8	11.8
7	9.5	8.5	10.2	8.6
8	6.9	5.7	7.4	5.9
9	4.4	3.5	4.8	3.7
10	5.4	3.9	6.0	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	178,446	5,073,936	741,606	7,547,508

Source: NAPP Data

Table 13. Average number of children in households in England & Wales and USA

1881	English	0.2	0.8
USA	Irish	0.5	2.8
1880	American	0.6	2.3

Source: NAPP Data

it is worth noting that their household sizes remained larger than the sizes of households created by citizens in their host countries.

This characteristic results from the number of children. Average numbers of children under 5 and those under 19 (Table 14, 15) show that, while there was little difference between Irish immigrants and British citizens where children under 5 are concerned, Irish immigrants far outnumbered British citizens for children under 19, suggesting a marked

Table 14. Number of children under 19 years old in England & Wales and USA

Number of children	England & Wales (1881)		USA(1880)	
	Irish	English	Irish	American
1	26.7	28.8	20.3	28.8
2	20.7	21.4	18.6	22.7
3	17.5	17.2	17.7	17.0
4	13.7	12.9	15.3	12.2
5	9.9	9.1	11.7	8.4
6	6.1	5.6	8.0	5.4
7	3.4	3.1	4.8	3.1
8	1.5	1.4	2.5	1.6
9	0.5	0.6	1.1	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	246,799	71,011,608	1,088,462	11,683,107

Source: NAPP Data

Table 15. Number of children under 5 years old in England & Wales and USA

Number of children	England & Wales (1881)		USA(1880)	
	Irish	English	Irish	American
1	51.6	49.4	49.3	55.6
2	38.7	39.3	40.3	36.5
3	9.1	10.3	9.8	7.5
4	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	110,536	3,773,120	458,039	6,424,191

Source: NAPP Data

widening of the difference between the two groups.

The same tendency can be observed in the United States: American citizens exceeded Irish in the number of children under 5, but the Irish became dominant when it came to children under 19, indicating a widening of the difference similar to that observed in England & Wales. Close scrutiny into the details of children under 19 revealed that both British and American exceeded Irish where households with up to two children were concerned, but this order was reversed when the number of children reached three. One possible explanation for this difference was that British and American children tended to leave home after they turn 15, whereas in Irish households children tended to stay with their families as part of their family strategies.

[2] Household structure

Table 16. Household Structure in England & Wales (1881) and USA (1880)

Category	England & Wales		USA	
	Irish	English	Irish	American
1. Solitaries	7.6	7.8	4.9	4.7
2. No family	2.8	3.8	3.2	3.3
3. Simple family households	73.8	72.4	78.0	62.6
4. Extended family households	12.3	13.6	11.7	15.4
5. Multiple family households	2.4	2.0	2.1	3.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (households)	180,113	5,089,877	741,595	7,547,424

Source: NAPP Data

According to the Hammel=Laslett classification scheme, simple family households represented the largest portion in England & Wales, both among Irish immigrants and British citizens, with Irish slightly numerical British. As for extended family households, British citizens constitute a

Table 17. The Type of Household Head of Hammel=Laslett Classification in England & Wales and USA

Category	Class	England & Wales(1881)		USA(1880)	
		Irish	English	Irish	American
1. Solitaries	1a.Widowed	5.2	4.9	3.2	2.6
	1b.Single	2.4	2.9	1.7	2.1
2. No family	2a.Coresidence sibilings	1.1	1.6	1.0	0.9
	2b.Coresident relatives of other kinds	1.7	2.2	1.3	1.5
	2c. Person not evidently related	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.9
3.Simple family households	3a.Married couples alone	11.4	12.9	9.5	12.4
	3b.Married couples with child(ren)	46.6	49.0	54.2	52.9
	3c.Widowers with child(ren)	3.3	2.7	3.0	1.7
	3d.Widow with child(ren)	12.2	7.5	11.0	5.8
	3e.Single women with child(ren)	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.8
4.Extended family households	4a.Extended upwards	2.9	3.2	3.1	4.5
	4b.Extended downwards	5.5	6.6	4.0	5.2
	4c.Extended laterally	3.0	3.9	3.9	4.8
	4d.Combinations of 4a-4c	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.9
5. Multiple family households	5a.Secondary unit(s) Up	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.3
	5b.Secondary unit(s) Down	1.8	1.8	1.8	2.4
	5c.Units on one level	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	5d.Multiple: frereches	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
	5e.Combinations of 5a-5d	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N(households)		180,113	5,089,877	741,595	7,547,424

Source: NAPP Data

Table 18. Resident relatives by relationships to household head (per 100 Households)

	England/Wales 1881(%)		USA 1880(%)	
	Irish	Non-Irish	Irish	American
Parents	3.1	2.1	4.0	3.7
Parents-in-law	3.1	1.7	2.4	2.3
Siblings	4.0	5.4	4.4	6.7
Siblings-in-law	1.7	2.0	1.7	3.0
Children-in-law	0.8	1.4	0.5	2.6
Nephews/Nieces	1.5	5.0	0.9	4.7
Grandchildren	0.6	8.4	0.1	9.1
Relatives	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.4
Total	16.2	27.3	15.0	33.5

Source: NAPP Data

higher percentage. For multiple family households, in contrast, Irish immigrants slightly led British. Where solitaries are concerned, the percentage was almost the same between the two groups, but British were relatively more numerous Irish in terms of no-family households (Table 16).

Meanwhile, in the United States, Irish immigrants substantially exceeded American citizens in terms of simple family households, accounting for nearly 80% of all Irish immigrant households. However, where extended family households and multiple family households are concerned, American citizens led Irish immigrants. Solitaries and no-family groups show similar results.

When characteristics of Irish immigrants in England & Wales and those in the United States are compared, it is evident that simple family households represented the largest portion of Irish immigrants in both countries. Among the simple family households, the subclass comprising widow with children (3d, namely 3d means the type of widowed with children) accounted for the largest portion in both countries, with 12.2% for England & Wales and 11.0% for the United States. This tendency should be regarded as resulting from the deaths of husbands. In fact, the average life span was 49 years for Irish men in 1870–90 (Table 17). As suggested above, Irish immigrants had a stronger tendency to form simple family households, despite the fact that their households were larger in size than their host society households.

The number of resident relatives per 100 households demonstrates this particular characteristic more distinctly [R. Wall, 1983,500]. The total number of relatives per 100 Irish immigrant households is 16.2 in England & Wales and 15.0 in the United States, significantly fewer than 27.3 (British) and 33.5 (USA) in the host societies (Table 18).

As the breakdown of relatives indicates, the small number of relatives characterizing Irish immigrant households is believed to result from the fact that Irish households had fewer siblings, nephews/nieces and grandchildren than their counterparts in the host societies. Still, it should be noted that Irish immigrants' children and grandchildren, born in their host countries, will be citizens of the United States.

The above data and observations suggest that, while Irish immigrants have larger household sizes than had other families in their host societies, they tended to build simple family households. Even when they form extended family households, such households consisted of parents living together with their grown-up children, unlike extended family households or multiple family households in their home country. In this way, Irish immigrants opted for a family strategy that would promote their assimilation into the host societies, thereby enhancing their well-being.

4 . Conclusion

In the preceding sections, characteristics of Irish immigrants in England & Wales and the United States have been discussed. The following is a summary of those discussions.

First of all, Irish immigrants were concentrated in specific areas in their host countries, and had a strong tendency to engage in the same kind of unskilled/semiskilled jobs as in the home country, as general workers/day laborers. Irish immigrant household heads were older than those in their host societies, a characteristic closely associated with their tendency to remain single or marry late. This tendency indicated that Irish immigrants retained views on marriage similar to those held by their countrymen back in Ireland. Viewed from the status of endogamy/exogamy, which indicated

the extent of assimilation, Irish immigrants had a stronger inclination toward endogamy in the United States than in England & Wales. This tendency is interpreted as a clear indication of the extent of their acceptance in the host societies of those days.

Next, although Irish immigrants tended to stay single and marry late, once married they had a relatively larger number of children and larger families than citizens in their host societies. With respect to household structures, unlike their countrymen in Ireland, Irish immigrants had a greater tendency to choose to build simple family households than did citizens of their host societies. Put another way, Irish immigrants chose a family strategy to assimilate themselves into the British absolute nuclear family system or American egalitarian nuclear family system. It is believed, however, that Irish immigrants found the assimilation process easier in England & Wales, where families were built on the assumption of inequality among brothers, than in the United States, where families were built on the basis of egalitarianism.

This difference is attributable to the fact that Irish immigrants maintained the differentialist character embedded in the stem family principle that prevailed in their home country. Meanwhile, they found it less easy to adapt themselves to the universalist thinking of American society, which embraced the egalitarianism that emerged after the War of Independence. Nonetheless, the second and third generations of Irish immigrants are believed to have gradually become assimilated into the host society as they underwent geographic and socially upward movement.

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Family Structure of Irish Immigrants
in England and Wales
and the United States in 1880/1

SHIMIZU Yoshifumi

This paper sets out to clarify the characteristics of Irish immigrants in England & Wales and the United States in the late 19th century by comparing the family system of the Ireland-born immigrants to that of Britain-born and American-born citizens, and by examining the pull and push factors for Irish immigrants, from the perspective of the Hajinal's theory and family strategies.

To verify this hypothesis, I used the 100% census data of 1881 (England & Wales) and the 1880 (the United States) in NAPP (North Atlantic Population Project) issued by the Minnesota Population Center to analyze the Irish immigrant families in England & Wales and the United States.

In conclusion, the Irish-Britain and the Irish-American migrants, who had lived in extended family households or multiple family households in their home country, formed simple family households in England & Wales and the United States, their host country, assimilating themselves to England & Wales and the United States communities. The head and members of each household adopted a family strategy in which all family members should have jobs, to pursue their well-being. However they had their identity, for example the large number of children and their ethnic endogamy.

Keywords: England and Wales, America, Irish immigrants,
Simple family household, NAPP