

Intermarriage of Puerto Ricans in New York City¹

Joseph P. Fitzpatrick

ABSTRACT

A study of out-group marriages of Puerto Ricans, based on all marriages in which one partner was first- or second-generation Puerto Rican, indicates that assimilation is taking place rapidly. Increases in the rate of out-group marriage among second- as compared with first-generation Puerto Ricans in 1949 and 1959 were as great as those found by Drachler for all immigrants in New York, 1908-12. Out-group marriage was positively correlated with higher occupational status only in the case of brides. Age at marriage drops in second generation. Civil and Catholic ceremonies drop in New York in contrast to Puerto Rico; Protestant ceremonies increase. Catholic ceremonies increased in 1959 over 1949 and in second generation over first.

According to the 1960 Census of Population,² there were 612,574 Puerto Ricans living in the city of New York; 429,710 (70 per cent) of these had been born in Puerto Rico; 182,864 (30 per cent) had been born in New York of Puerto Rican parentage. The question is frequently raised about the assimilation of the Puerto Ricans into the New York community: how rapidly are they becoming assimilated; is their assimilation more rapid or less rapid than that of immigrant groups which came to the city at an earlier date? The present study is an effort to determine the rate of assimilation³ on the basis of marriage behavior. It indicates that assimilation is proceeding rapidly.

¹ The research on which this paper is based was made possible by a grant of the Luis Ferre Foundation, Ponce, Puerto Rico.

² U.S. Department of Commerce, *U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960* (PHC (1)-104), Part I, Table P5.

³ The term "assimilation" is used here with full awareness of its ambiguity in the literature about immigrants. It is intended in this article to indicate what S. Eisenstadt means by "social assimilation" in his book *Absorption of Immigrants* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), i.e., the acceptance of the newcomers by the host society into close social interaction. It is the same concept that Milton Gordon seeks to express in the term "structural assimilation" in contrast to "cultural assimilation," in *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), chap. ii.

In every study of cultural assimilation, the factor of marriage is of central importance. A high rate of intermarriage of members of one ethnic group with another is generally accepted as a reliable index of cultural assimilation. Ruby Jo Reeves used intermarriage as the crucial sign of assimilation and found that ethnic groups were intermarrying with other ethnic groups, but within the three major faiths of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish.⁴ Will Herberg accepts this same position.⁵ John Thomas questions the fact that marriages take place this way within religious groups. He finds interreligious marriage not only extensive, but increasing.⁶ These three studies are all concerned with the factor of intermarriage, especially interreligious marriage, in the process of assimilation.⁷

⁴ Ruby Jo Reeves, "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (1944). Also "What Has Social Science To Say about Intermarriage?" in Werner J. Cahnman, *Intermarriage and Jewish Life* (New York: Herzl Press, 1963), p. 32.

⁵ Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955), chap. iii.

⁶ John L. Thomas, "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (1951), 487-91.

⁷ The validity of intermarriage as an index of assimilation has been questioned by Simon Marc-

This study, therefore, seeks to determine the rate of assimilation among Puerto Ricans on the basis of the extent of in-group versus out-group marriage. The simple hypothesis is that a high level of out-group marriage reflects a high level of assimilation. The phenomenon of out-group marriage will be examined in relation to generation, occupational status, age, and type of marriage ceremony.⁸

The best known earlier study of this kind was one published by Julian Drachslers⁹ in 1921, analyzing the rates of intermarriage of immigrants in New York City from 1908–12. Drachslers found a rate of out-group marriage of 11 per cent

among first-generation immigrants, and a tripling in the rate of out-group mar-

riage among second-generation immigrants, an effort made to identify marriages of Puerto Ricans with American Negroes. The percentage would have been very small.

	1949 (N=4,514)	1959 (N=9,370)	1958 (N=115)
White/white	90 25	84. 83	50 4
White/brown . . . . .	.35	1. 99	16 5
White/colored	1 66	3. 17	2 6
Brown/brown	2 37	4 14	27 0
Brown/colored	11	2. 64	3 5
Colored/colored	3 06	2. 21	0 0
Other	2. 20	1. 12	.....

(“Colored,” *de color*, is the term used by Puerto Ricans to designate what we call Negroes.)

⁹ Julian Drachslers, *Intermarriage in New York City* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1921). Studies in intermarriage have been and continue to be of great interest to sociologists. The earlier studies lacked accuracy, many of them being subject to the criticism of Price and Zubrzycki. A number of studies, other than that of Drachslers, have included New York City data. J. V. DePorte, in “Marriages in the State of New York with Special Reference to Nativity” in *Human Biology* (May, 1931), pp. 387 ff., gives general statistics on marriages between people of different nativity for the years 1916–29 but discriminates between first and second generation only for 1927–29. Only place of birth is given, such as Poland or Russia, with no indication whether the person was of German or Jewish ethnic background. Only for Italian men (1927–29) is it possible to draw an accurate conclusion about in-group, out-group marriage: 12 per cent of the first-generation Italian men married out; 37.6 per cent of second-generation men with two Italian parents; 62.7 per cent of second-generation men with one Italian parent. The rate of out-group marriage for second-generation Italian men is very high, but there is no way of determining from DePorte’s data whether the out-group brides were third-generation Italians. J. H. S. Bossard, in “Nationality and Nativity as Factors in Marriage,” *American Journal of Sociology*, IV (1939), 792–98, analyzes nearly 70,000 marriages in New York State (excluding New York City) for 1936. He studied the rates of intermarriage between people of different nationalities and between people of differing generations of the same nationality. Bossard acknowledges the difficulty of not being able to identify the Jews as an ethnic group (p. 795); and he does not distinguish between French and English-speaking Canadians. The most serious difficulty with Bossard’s study is that many of the native-born of native parentage may

son, “A Theory of Intermarriage and Assimilation,” *Social Forces*, XXIX (1950–51), 75–78; and by C. A. Price and J. Zubrzycki, “The Use of Intermarriage Statistics as an Index of Assimilation,” *Population Studies*, XVI (1962), 58–69. Marcson argues that the significant variable in intermarriage is “class” rather than “culture,” and intermarriage is an index of class similarity rather than of cultural assimilation. There is no conflict between Marcson’s position and that of the present paper. Marcson uses a much more limited concept of assimilation. Price and Zubrzycki point out the difficulty of determining ethnic identity and generation accurately on the basis of marriage records. Neither problem was present in this study.

⁸ Data on color were taken from the marriage records, but it is so difficult to make any reliable judgment about color in the case of Puerto Ricans that any attempt to analyze its significance on this basis is useless. These difficulties are explored in detail in J. P. Fitzpatrick, “Attitudes of Puerto Ricans toward Color,” *American Catholic Sociological Review*, XX (1959), 219–33. The designation of color on the marriage record is as the person himself or herself declares it. The overwhelming majority of Puerto Ricans declared themselves white. For example, the color combinations according to the marriage records are given in the table below. The significance of color in Puerto Rican marriages must be sought by another method. In the article just cited, the present author reports on a 1958 study of marriages of Puerto Ricans of noticeably different color, in which the color of each partner was identified by the priest performing the ceremony. Of 115 marriages studied, the distribution according to color combination is given below. Unfortunately, in neither case was

riage among second-generation immigrants, namely 32 per cent.¹⁰ Drachsler analyzed three hypotheses offered to explain this intermarriage: (1) the sex ratio, the preponderance of the number of marriageable men over the number of marriageable women; (2) a rise in economic status which places people of different nationality groups (especially women) in closer contact with the out-group; and (3) the breakdown of the cohesive ethnic group. Drachsler discounts hypotheses (1) and (2) and accepts hypothesis (3) as the only reasonable explanation for the high rate of intermarriage in the second generation. In other words, intermarriage is an index of cultural assimilation or integration.

In the present study, every marriage in the city of New York of a first- or second-generation Puerto Rican in the years 1949 and 1959 was reviewed, and all relevant data were gathered from the marriage record. The data were as follows:

1. Place of birth of bride; of groom.
2. Age at marriage of bride; of groom.
3. Place of residence at time of marriage of bride; of groom.
4. Place of marriage; time of marriage according to month.
5. Type of ceremony: civil, Catholic, Protestant, other.
6. Color, as declared, of bride; of groom.
7. Occupation of bride; of groom.
8. Previous marriage of bride; of groom.
9. Place of birth of father and mother of bride; of groom.

On the basis of these data, first-generation Puerto Ricans (born in Puerto Rico of Puerto Rican parentage) and second-generation Puerto Ricans (born on the mainland, of Puerto Rican parentage) can be identified. Beyond the second gener-

ation, all persons are recorded as native-born of native parentage, and it is no longer possible to draw an accurate distinction between persons of different ethnic backgrounds.

In-group and out-group marriages were determined by the following criteria:

In-Group: marriage of a first- or second-generation Puerto Rican with a first- or second-generation Puerto Rican.¹¹

Out-Group: marriage of a first- or second-generation Puerto Rican with a partner, born on the mainland of mainland parentage; marriage with a partner foreign-born or born in the United States of foreign parents.¹²

The data on out-group marriages are presented in Table 1. The data give evidence of a significant increase in the rate of out-group marriages among second-generation Puerto Ricans, both men and women, in both 1949 and 1959. One difficulty in these comparisons is the small number of second-generation marriages in comparison to first-generation. Nevertheless, the trend over the 10-year period was consistent. And the trend indicates a significant increase in out-group marriage.

¹¹ There is one difficulty in this classification. It is possible that a person mainland-born of mainland parents could be third-generation Puerto Rican. Thus the marriage would not really be an out-group marriage. This possibility is very remote. Because the Puerto Rican migration is so recent, the number of third-generation Puerto Ricans in the city is negligible. One of the difficulties of the present study is the fact that there are so few second-generation Puerto Rican marriages relative to first-generation Puerto Rican marriages.

¹² Marriages of first- or second-generation Puerto Ricans with Latin Americans have been omitted entirely from these calculations on in-group and out-group marriage. In view of the cultural similarities, it did not seem correct to identify them as out-group marriages, nor did it seem correct to categorize them as in-group. Also omitted are marriages of first- or second-generation Puerto Ricans with persons whose ethnic identification could not be determined. The number of these was insignificant. However, they were retained in the calculation of "type of ceremony" in Tables 9 and 10,

be third generation of the same ethnic group as the first- or second-generation partners who marry them; Bossard's data do not permit him to identify them.

¹⁰ Drachsler, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

Is the increase as significant as the increase that occurred among former immigrants? In his study of immigrant marriages of 1908-12, Drachsler¹³ found a rate of out-group marriage of 10.39 per cent for first-generation men, and of 10.1 per cent for first-generation women. This rate of out-group marriage was higher than the rate for first-generation Puerto Ricans in either 1949 or 1959. The data are compared in Table 1. However, the percentage increase in out-group marriage from first to second generation is almost the same for all three groups. In fact, in terms of

Puerto Rican men approaches the rate of out-group marriage for second-generation men, 1908-12. On the basis of this evidence, it appears that the assimilation of Puerto Ricans is advancing as fast as the assimilation of the immigrants in the 1908-12 period.¹⁴

In seeking to explain the great difference in out-group marriage rates between first and second generation, Drachsler first hypothesized that it was a consequence of the sex ratio. However, he found that this was not relevant.¹⁵ Neither is it relevant to the Puerto Rican marriage. The sex

TABLE 1
RATE OF OUT-GROUP MARRIAGE OF PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY, 1949
AND 1959, BY GENERATION; AND OF ALL IMMIGRANTS
IN NEW YORK CITY, 1908-12

	FIRST GENERATION		SECOND GENERATION		INCREASE IN SECOND GENERATION
	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
Grooms:					
Puerto Rican, 1949...	5.2	3,079	28.3	378	23.1
Puerto Rican, 1959...	3.6	7,078	27.4	638	23.8
1908-12.....	10.39	64,577	32.4	12,184	22.01
Brides:					
Puerto Rican, 1949...	8.5	3,077	30.0	523	21.5
Puerto Rican, 1959...	6.0	7,257	33.1	717	27.1
1908-12.....	10.1	61,823	30.12	14,611	20.02

percentage, the rate of out-group marriage among second-generation Puerto Rican women is the same in 1949 and higher in 1959 than was the rate for second-generation immigrant women in the years 1908-12; the rate among second-generation

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 35. It is important to note that Drachsler found a wide range between nationalities in the extent of out-group marriage. Out-group marriage was lowest among Jews; highest among northern Europeans. Drachsler found a very high rate of out-group marriage among Puerto Ricans, but their number was so small (41 men; 24 women) that they are hardly comparable to the present study. The sex ratio was evidently an important factor since out-group marriage was twice as high for the Puerto Rican men as it was for the women (see p. 99).

ratio for all Puerto Ricans, aged 15-44, in New York City in 1949 was 82.7; in 1960 it was 91, identical with the ratio for the total

¹⁴ These rates of out-group marriage are still considerably lower than those for Puerto Ricans in Hawaii. Between 1945 and 1954, 64.4 per cent of Puerto Rican marriages were out-group marriages. The sex ratio among Puerto Ricans in Hawaii in 1950 was 110, but, interestingly enough, most of the Puerto Ricans marrying out were women. The high rate of out-group marriage is attributed partly to the small number of Puerto Ricans in the total population, but more so to the general tendency of all groups to intermarry in Hawaii (C. K. Cheng and D. S. Yamamura, "Interracial Marriage and Divorce in Hawaii," *Social Forces*, XXXVI [1957], 77-84).

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

population of New York State, aged 15-44. However, there was no appreciable difference in total out-group marriages among Puerto Ricans between 1949 and 1959. It is only when the first generation is distinguished from the second that the increase in out-group marriage appears as a second-generation phenomenon, nor does this have any relationship to the sex ratio. In 1949, the sex ratio showed a marked increase in the second generation (82 to 90), but there was a marked increase also in the percentage of out-group marriages. In 1959, there was little difference between the sex ratio of the first and second generation (90 to 92); yet there was a marked

Drachsler combined categories (*a*) and (*b*) into one which he called "higher economic classes," and he combined (*c*), (*d*), and (*e*) into what he called "lower economic classes." When the data are presented in these categories, as in Table 2, it is evident immediately that intermarriage was a phenomenon of the higher economic classes. However, economic level was as significant for the intermarriages of the first generation as it was for the second. Since Drachsler was trying to determine the factors that accounted for an increase in intergroup marriage in the second generation, he therefore discounted economic level as a variable.¹⁶

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF OUT-GROUP MARRIAGES OF FIRST- AND SECOND-GENERATION
IMMIGRANTS, 1908-12, FOR NEW YORK CITY, ACCORDING
TO OCCUPATION AND SEX

	MEN		WOMEN	
	First Generation (Per Cent)	Second Generation (Per Cent)	First Generation (Per Cent)	Second Generation (Per Cent)
High occupational level. . .	63.6	72.4	45.4	75.7
Low occupational level. . .	36.4	27.6	54.6	24.3
Total out-group marriages	100 (2,108)	100 (1,572)	100 (2,014)	100 (1,662)

Adopted from Drachsler, *op. cit.*, p. 65. Only a third of the marriage records reported occupation.

increase in the percentage of out-group marriages.

The second hypothesis of Drachsler was that out-group marriage increases as socio-economic status advances. The occupational categories used by Drachsler are much different from the standard categories now used by the U.S. Census. He used five categories of occupation:

- a) Highest Group: Professionals.
- b) Middle Group: Persons in commerce.
- c) Lower Group: Personal and domestic service; lower grades of public service.
- d) Low Group: Agricultural, transportation, and navigation workers.
- e) Lowest Group: The unskilled.

In the present study, the standard occupational categories of the U.S. Census were used, and collapsed to represent three different levels:

Higher occupational level:

Professional, technical, and kindred workers.
Managers, officials, proprietors.

Middle occupational level:

Clerical, sales, and kindred workers.

Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers.

Lower occupational level:

Operatives and kindred workers.

Non-household service workers.

Private household workers.

Laborers.

Farm workers.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 38-40.

Marriages in which occupation was unknown were omitted. They were too few to be significant. Data on occupation are presented in Table 3. It is important to note two things, in contrast to Drachsler, in evaluating the marriage according to occupational level: (1) The occupation of the *groom* alone was used. This was done to maintain consistency. It is also reasonable since, in

Two things are evident from these data: Among Puerto Rican brides, the higher the occupational level at which they marry, the higher the rate of out-group marriage. Although it can only be surmised from these data, it is likely that Puerto Rican women are marrying up as they marry out. On the other hand, there is no such consistent trend among the Puerto

TABLE 3
OUT-GROUP MARRIAGES OF PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK CITY,
1949 AND 1959, ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION OF GROOM

OCCUPATION LEVEL	1949		1959	
	Per Cent	<i>N</i>	Per Cent	<i>N</i>
	Grooms			
High:				
First generation	8.7	127	8.5	212
Second generation	53.0	34	20.0	62
Middle:				
First generation	7.7	650	5.0	1,584
Second generation	26.4	106	28.7	307
Lower:				
First generation	4.3	2,182	2.6	5,133
Second generation	25.0	207	24.9	241
	Brides (According to Occupation of Groom)			
High:				
First generation	21.0	127	26.8	269
Second generation	51.2	45	55.4	83
Middle:				
First generation	12.6	673	9.6	1,706
Second generation	39.6	149	35.9	268
Lower:				
First generation	5.8	2,231	3.5	5,120
Second generation	16.6	283	26.3	319

the United States, the status level of a marriage is generally determined according to the occupation of the husband. (2) The data are presented according to the percentage in each occupational level that married out, rather than the percentage of all out-group marriages which took place among persons of high or low occupational status. In view of the small numbers, this was considered a more accurate method of indicating the differences,

Rican grooms. There is little difference between the rate of out-group marriage among second-generation grooms of lower and middle occupational status, and, in 1959, the rate is lower for Puerto Ricans on the high occupational level than it is for those on the lower levels. Among the Puerto Rican grooms, generation, not occupational level, appears to be the significant variable in out-group marriage.

Two other types of data taken from

marriage records may also be helpful in a study of the assimilation of Puerto Ricans, namely, age at marriage and type of religious ceremony. A comparison between practices on the island and practices on the mainland may indicate the extent of adaptation to mainland American patterns. Table 4 presents median age at marriage for men and women, 1950 and 1960, in Puerto Rico. It also presents median age at marriage for Puerto Ricans in New York, first and second generation, 1949 and 1959. There is no consistent

pattern evident in the change in age at marriage among Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico and in New York. The consistency appears in the tendency of second-generation Puerto Ricans in New York, both grooms and brides, to marry at an earlier age than those of the first generation. This is more evident in Table 5 which gives the percentages of Puerto Ricans marrying below age 20.¹⁷

¹⁷ John Burma, "Research Note on the Measurement of Interracial Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (1951), 249-55, gives the me-

TABLE 4

MEDIAN AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR ALL MARRIAGES, PUERTO RICO, 1950 AND 1960; AND FOR PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK, BY GENERATION, 1949 AND 1959

	MEN		WOMEN	
	All Marriages	Out-Group Marriages	All Marriages	Out-Group Marriages
Puerto Rico (1950).....	26.02	.....	22.16	.....
Puerto Ricans in New York City:				
1949.....	24.68	24.62	23.01	23.70
First generation.....	25.47	26.91	23.59	25.05
Second generation.....	21.83	22.42	19.99	21.43
Puerto Rico (1960).....	23.01	.....	21.75	.....
Puerto Ricans in New York City:				
1959.....	24.23	24.49	22.85	23.7
First generation.....	24.33	25.62	23.00	24.4
Second generation.....	23.13	23.46	21.66	22.04

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF GROOMS AND BRIDES UNDER 20 YEARS OF AGE, ALL MARRIAGES, FOR PUERTO RICO, 1950 AND 1960; FOR PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK BY GENERATION, 1949 AND 1959

	MEN		WOMEN	
	All Marriages	Out-Group Marriages	All Marriages	Out-Group Marriages
Puerto Rico (1950).....	6.4	.....	32.1	.....
Puerto Ricans in New York City:				
1949.....	5.7	6.3	22.0	18.1
First generation.....	3.7	2.3	17.9	13.1
Second generation.....	20.9	14.4	45.8	31.4
Puerto Rico (1960).....	10.3	.....	36.1	.....
Puerto Ricans in New York City:				
1959.....	8.4	11.8	26.3	19.7
First generation.....	7.7	11.5	25.7	16.3
Second generation.....	14.8	12.7	32.1	29.2

A number of factors enter into the tendency toward lower age at marriage for the second generation. It may simply reflect the trend toward lower age at marriage in Puerto Rico itself. However, as Mills, Senior, and Goldsen pointed out in their study of the Puerto Rican migration,¹⁸ the migrating population is an older population than that of the island. Most migrating people are in their late teens or early twenties. There is a selective feature in economically motivated migrations, since single people are more mobile. The children of the migrants, however, being settled in the new land, are evidently tending toward the pattern of the United States of younger age at marriage.

Finally, it may be of some help to examine the factor of religion in the marriage of New York Puerto Ricans to determine whether evidence from this source may indicate the speed of assimilation.¹⁹ No one has reliable evidence of the exact number of Puerto Ricans who profess Catholicism or Protestantism. The overwhelming majority, probably 80–90 per cent, profess the Roman Catholic faith, although the level of instruction in the faith is often very limited and the practice of the faith, as in most Latin areas, is quite different from the practice that is common in the United States.²⁰ One notable contrast between Puerto Rico and the

dian age at marriage for men and women in out-group marriages in California. They tend to marry at a much later age than the population generally in the United States. No such significant difference in age at marriage is evident among Puerto Ricans in out-group marriages in New York City.

¹⁸ C. W. Mills, C. Senior, and R. Goldsen, *Puerto Rican Journey* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), p. 25.

¹⁹ Much of the interest of American sociologists in intermarriage is directed toward interreligious marriage. It is important to note that this present paper does not deal with that question. There was no way of determining from the marriage record whether the parties to the marriage professed to be Catholic or Protestant or Pentecostal. This paper deals only with type of ceremony.

United States mainland is in the extent of the use of the Catholic religious ceremony at marriage. Religious marriage is the overwhelming pattern for Catholic people in the United States. John Thomas estimates that 80 per cent of all marriages involving a Roman Catholic are marriages with a religious ceremony.²¹

In Puerto Rico, however, the situation is not easily determined. The pattern differs sharply from one area of the island to another. The pattern also differs from one year to another. Table 6 presents marriages according to type of ceremony for selected areas of Puerto Rico for 1960. It illustrates the wide differences from one municipality to the other. Table 7 presents marriages according to type of ceremony for 1949, 1956, and 1960, to indicate the wide fluctuations from year to year for all marriages on the island. The percentage of Protestant marriages tends to be reasonably consistent. Variations in the percentage of Catholic and civil ceremonies are not easy to explain. A sharp increase

²⁰ Cf. J. P. Fitzpatrick, "Mexicans and Puerto Ricans Build a Bridge," *America* (Dec. 31, 1955), and "Puerto Rican Story," *America* (Sept. 3, 1960). A Survey Report, *Midcentury Pioneers and Protestants*, published by the Protestant Council of the City of New York (1954), estimated that 26,000 Puerto Ricans were then affiliated with Protestant work in New York City; and the number in contact with Protestant work was probably 50,000. At that time, the Puerto Rican population of New York City was estimated at 425,000. If in 1954, the estimates of the Protestant Council were accurate, it would indicate that about 12 per cent of the Puerto Ricans were in contact with Protestant work, and about 5 per cent were affiliated. The Protestant Council published a much more detailed report in 1960, *A Report on the Protestant Spanish Community in New York City*. They estimated (p. 77), a Spanish-speaking membership of 31,126 in the Protestant churches, including the Pentecostal and Evangelical sects. This would have been about 6 per cent of the Puerto Rican community. Unfortunately, no reliable estimates are available about the number of Puerto Ricans in New York who are in contact with the Catholic Church and its works.

²¹ *The American Catholic Family* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), chap. vi.

in Catholic marriages may be the result of island-wide parish missions. Variation may also be due to the presence or absence of a pastor from a parish. No one seems to have a reliable explanation.

If one compares type of ceremony in all Puerto Rican marriages in New York (Table 8) with type of ceremony in Puerto Rico, a number of differences appear immediately. The percentage of civil marriages is consistently much lower in New York than in Puerto Rico. In 1949, the percentage of Protestant marriages in New York was much higher than that of the island (50 versus 14.3 per cent), whereas

Catholic marriages still remained considerably lower than that of the island, and the percentage of Protestant marriages much higher.

It is difficult to interpret the meaning of these differences in marriage practice between Puerto Rico and New York. In view of the reports referred to in footnote 20, the high percentage of Protestant marriage ceremonies does not indicate affiliation with Protestant churches; it would appear to indicate casual contact for the purpose of marriage alone. The increase in the percentage of Catholic marriages undoubtedly reflects the widespread efforts

TABLE 6
TYPE OF MARRIAGE CEREMONY FOR SELECTED
MUNICIPIOS OF PUERTO RICO

	<i>N</i>	Civil (Per Cent)	Catholic (Per Cent)	Protestant (Per Cent)
Aguada.....	206	22.6	71.4	6.0
Aguadilla.....	400	12.7	34.3	53.0
Barranquitas.....	115	31.0	69.0	0.0
Guayanilla.....	125	27.0	55.0	18.0
Santa Isabel.....	111	71.0	23.0	6.0
Total for Puerto Rico.	20,580*	36.2	45.8	17.6

* A small number of other types of ceremony are included in this total.

Source: Registro Demografico, Departamento de Salud, Gobierno de Puerto Rico.

TABLE 7
TYPE OF MARRIAGE CEREMONY FOR ALL
MARRIAGES IN PUERTO RICO,
1949, 1956, 1960

	Civil (Per Cent)	Catholic (Per Cent)	Protestant (Per Cent)
1949.....	24.3	61.4	14.3
1956.....	26.5	59.5	14.0
1960.....	36.2	45.8	17.6

Source: Registro Demografico, Departamento de Salud, Gobierno de Puerto Rico.

the percentage of Catholic marriage was much lower (27 versus 61.4 per cent). There was a considerable change in this situation in 1959. Catholic marriages had increased greatly and Protestant marriages had decreased, but the percentage for

TABLE 8
TYPE OF MARRIAGE CEREMONY IN ALL MAR-
RIAGES INVOLVING PUERTO RICANS IN
NEW YORK CITY, 1949 AND 1959

	<i>N</i> *	Civil (Per Cent)	Catholic (Per Cent)	Protestant (Per Cent)
1949.....	4,514	20	27	50
1959.....	9,370	18	41	38

* A small number of other types of ceremony are included in this total.

NOTE.—This table includes all marriages which were omitted in Table 1.

of the Catholic archdioceses of New York and Brooklyn during the 1950's to develop special programs and prepare personnel for the spiritual care of the Spanish-speaking people. Two other kinds of data were analyzed, which helped to clarify the re-

lationship of marriage behavior to assimilation, namely: the differences between first and second generation, and data which indicated that most of the Protestant marriages were performed by Spanish-speaking ministers of Pentecostal and Evangelical sects. The data on differences between first and second generation are given in Table 9.

The low percentage of civil marriages and the consistent drop in civil marriages from first to second generation may reflect a tendency toward the preference for religious marriage ceremonies which is characteristic of the United States. What is

more striking is the difference in religious ceremonies. The percentage of Catholic marriages is much higher in the second generation than the first, both for grooms and brides, and in both years; while the percentage of Protestant marriages is much lower.

More light was thrown on the significance of these differences when the Protestant ceremonies were analyzed in more detail. It was possible, on the basis of the marriage record, to distinguish between ministers of Protestant denominations (Lutheran, Methodist, etc.) and ministers

TABLE 9
TYPE OF CEREMONY IN MARRIAGES OF FIRST- AND SECOND-GENERATION PUERTO RICAN GROOMS AND BRIDES, NEW YORK CITY, 1949 AND 1959

	N*	Civil (Per Cent)	Catholic (Per Cent)	Protestant (Per Cent)
1949 (Grooms):				
First generation . . .	3,212	18.8	25.2	53.6
Second generation . .	418	11.5	40.4	45.5
1949 (Brides):				
First generation . . .	3,435	20.5	24.2	52.5
Second generation . .	591	10.0	41.8	45.2
1959 (Grooms):				
First generation . . .	7,316	15.8	41.6	42.0
Second generation . .	694	14.7	47.1	36.6
1959 (Brides):				
First generation . . .	7,777	17.6	41.4	40.5
Second generation . .	793	15.1	49.2	33.9

* A small number of others are included in this total.

TABLE 10
MARRIAGES OF FIRST- AND SECOND-GENERATION PUERTO RICANS PERFORMED BY MINISTERS OF PENTECOSTAL AND EVANGELICAL SECTS, NEW YORK CITY, 1949 AND 1959—PERCENTAGE OF ALL MARRIAGES

	Grooms	Brides
1949:		
First generation	47.2	46.2
Second generation	38.1	38.1
1959:		
First generation	38.4	37.0
Second generation	33.3	30.1

of Pentecostal and Evangelical sects, many of the latter being in storefront churches. Table 10 gives the data on Protestant marriage ceremonies performed by ministers of these sects. The decline in Protestant marriages was actually a decline in marriages performed by Pentecostal and Evangelical ministers. This tends to confirm the theory, widely discussed, that the storefront church and the sect are lower-class religious phenomena. People tend to abandon them as they advance socially and economically.

The excellent study by Sidney Mintz²² of the conversion of a poor sugar cane worker in Puerto Rico to a Pentecostal sect proposes the theory that poor people, caught in the midst of upsetting change, uprooted from a traditional way of life, tend to seek security in the strong sense of community which is characteristic of the sect. Mintz's theory could be projected to the experience of migrating Puerto Ricans, whose traditional way of life is upset by migration rather than economic development at home. The sect would provide a means of security. A study by Thomas F. O'Dea and Renato Poblete²³ of the storefront churches among Puerto Ricans in New York supports the theory of Mintz. O'Dea and Poblete indicate that the sect has a strong attraction for the poor and underprivileged, especially in the process of transition in which they are uprooted from their native land and find themselves strangers in a strange and complicated society. The informality of the sect, the fact that all members are on the same social and economic level, the active participation in religious services, the sense of brotherhood and community which is fostered, its availability in the neighborhood, all contribute to providing for the poor and uprooted a sense of satisfaction, of belonging in a community which supports and strengthens them. However, as the migrants become more firmly established, as they find themselves more a part of the larger society and able to interact more effectively with it, they either give up the practice of religion or convert to their more traditional Catholic or established denomination.

A further analysis of the data was made to determine whether there was any relation-

²² Sidney Mintz, *Worker in the Cane* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1960).

²³ "Anomie and the Quest for Community: The Development of Sects among the Puerto Ricans in New York City," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, XXI (1959), 18-36.

ship between type of religious ceremony and in-group versus out-group marriage. No consistencies appear. The significant variables related to type of religious ceremony are generation and year of marriage.

SUMMARY

1. There is a significant percentage increase in out-group marriage among second-generation Puerto Ricans in New York. The increase is as great for grooms and greater for brides than the increase in out-group marriage among second-generation immigrants of the period 1908-12. The number of second-generation marriages is still small relative to first-generation. But the difference is evident in both years studied and indicates a consistent trend.

2. Correlation between higher occupational status and out-group marriage is not consistent. Among grooms the significant variable is generation, not occupational level. Among brides, out-group marriage increases consistently as the occupational level of their husbands rises. This suggests that they may be marrying out in order to marry up.

3. The only significant feature of age at marriage is the change to lower age at marriage among second-generation Puerto Ricans in New York. They tend toward the young age at marriage, which is characteristic of the United States as a whole, and appears to be a trend in Puerto Rico also.

4. Civil marriage is much more common in Puerto Rico than among Puerto Ricans in New York. Protestant marriages in 1949 were much more common among Puerto Ricans in New York than in Puerto Rico. Catholic marriages increased between 1949 and 1959 in New York. There is a strong tendency for Catholic marriages to increase and Protestant marriages to decrease in the second generation in both 1949 and 1959. This appears to be related to a decline in marriages by Spanish-speak-

ing Pentecostal and Evangelical ministers.

5. Each of the above phenomena indicates that on the basis of evidence of marriage practice, the process of assimilation to the culture of the U.S. mainland is increasing rapidly. The positive correlation of out-group marriage with second gener-

ation and with advance in occupational status, the tendency toward younger age of marriage, and the decline of interest in the Evangelical and Pentecostal sects all give evidence of the acceptance of mainland American ways.

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY