Interracial Couples in the United States 1850-2000: Evidence from Census Data

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Abstract

Interracial marriage offers a measure of social integration between people of different races. Much scholarship has studied the legal system that regulated interracial marriage as well as media reactions to interracial relationships, but less attention has been paid to describing this population from an economic and demographic point of view. I use historical Census data to study the demographic and economic characteristics of interracial couples in the United States. My results suggest: (1) laws prohibiting interracial marriage do not appear to have impacted the prevalence of interracial marriage; (2) the prevalence of interracial marriage reached a low around the turn of the 20th century; (3) interracial couples comprise an economically and demographically distinct group compared to Black and white same-race couples; (4) the composition and socioeconomic status of this group evolved over time; (5) there are important differences in economic success across couple type: interracial couples with white men tend to have higher socioeconomic status than those with Black men.

Keywords: Interracial Marriage, Anti-Miscegenation Statutes, Historical Demography

JEL Codes: J12, N31, N32

1   Introduction

Interracial relationships (and the opposition to them) have long been a topic of study for historians, legal scholars, economists, and sociologists of United States history. Some begin their study with the first recorded interracial relationships in America—those between white indentured servants and Black enslaved people in colonial Virginia and Maryland (Hodes, 1999b). Others trace backwards, examining the legal proceedings and political reception of *Loving v. Virginia*, the 1967 Supreme Court Case that declared interracial marriage bans unconstitutional, and analyzing what they can tell us about the accumulated history of the topic (Newbeck, 2008). Depending on their sources and frame, scholars reach vastly different conclusions regarding the intent and enforcement of the legal system that bound interracial relationships, as well as community and popular reactions to these relationships. They often only briefly touch on a fundamental question for understanding the history of interracial relationships: who were these couples?

I approach this question from a demographic perspective, leveraging recently available full-count historical Census data to identify and describe large numbers of interracial couples in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Prior work has provided in-depth examinations of case studies in specific locations, with much scholarly attention focused on antebellum Virginia and Alabama as well as Native American nations (Hodes, 1999a; Miletsky, 2008; Mills, 1981; Pascoe, 2009; Rothman, 2003; Yarbrough, 2005). Others have used samples of national Census data to look at nation-level trends in interracial marriages and evaluate the predictions of sociological models of marriage with evidence from interracial couples (Fryer, 2007; Fu, 2001; Gullickson, 2006a, 2006b, 2010; Monahan, 1970; Qian, 1997; Qian & Lichter, 2018). These analyses have used limited samples of the historical Censuses to describe broader trends in the prevalence interracial marriage, finding a trough in Black-white interracial marriage in the early 20th century, which they attribute to rigid racial boundary formation in this period (Fryer, 2007; Gullickson, 2006a). Recently available full-count census data allows the identification of large numbers of interracial couples at finer levels of geography and description of their demographic, social, and economic characteristics every 10 years, limited neither by sample size nor geographic scope.

Using this newly available data, I establish several results that contribute to the literature on interracial marriage: (1) laws prohibiting interracial marriage do not appear to have impacted the prevalence of interracial marriage; (2) the prevalence of interracial marriage reached a low around the turn of the 20th century; (3) interracial couples comprise an economically and demographically distinct group from both Black and white same-race couples; (4) the composition and socioeconomic status of this group evolved over time; (5) there are important differences in economic success across couple type: interracial couples with white men tend to have higher socioeconomic status than those with Black men.

Some scholars have emphasized the large number of court cases that referenced anti-miscegenation laws as evidence that these laws were salient and impacted the lives of interracial couples. The difference between their approach and mine is highlighted by our contrasting conclusions. While it is certainly true in these isolated cases, one testable implication of this model of the world is that the interracial marriage rate

should be lower in states that prohibit interracial marriage compared to those that do not. However, I find no evidence of significant differences in interracial marriage rates across these two groups of states. Beyond this, I use the staggered repeal of anti-miscegenation laws over time to study the impact of legal environment on the prevalence of interracial marriage and find null effects. I propose several alternative explanations for the large increase in the prevalence of interracial marriage throughout the latter half of the 20th century. While previous historians' micro approach picks up exceptional cases, my macro approach speaks more to the question of how these laws impacted the broad population of interracial couples.

Finally, one historical interpretation of the social and economic lives of interracial couples suggests that they lived just as anybody else, highlighting anecdotal accounts. One article recorded many newspaper mentions of open "miscegenation" in antebellum Alabama and suggests there was limited community intolerance because there were many interracial relationships that lasted for years or decades (Mills, 1981). While it may be true that they did not face significant community pressure, these couples were demographically and economically distinct compared to Black and white same-race couples. I record that interracial couples had significantly fewer children and fall in between same-race Black and white couples on measures of age, urbanicity, and several dimensions of socio-economic status, including occupational income, property value, farm ownership, and literacy.

The paper proceeds as follows: Section 2 discusses historical background and related literature. Section 3 introduces the data. Section 4 discusses the prevalence of interracial marriage across time and geography. Section 5 analyzes the impact of anti-miscegenation statute repeals on the prevalence of interracial marriage. Section 6 establishes differences in demographic and economic characteristics using the 1880 census as an illustrative year. Section 7 examines the dynamics of these differentials across time. Finally, Section 8 concludes.

2 Background

In 1681, a white servant called Irish Nell wed a Black enslaved person called Negro Charles in coastal Maryland. This, the first recorded interracial marriage in the Americas, offers a window into the lives of those interracial couples that would follow. Nell and Charles were both of low socioeconomic status and it is likely this trait that allowed their marriage without threatening racial boundaries in the colonial Chesapeake (Hodes, 1999b). Many of their elite white neighbors attended the wedding, perhaps passing judgment on Nell, but her transgression was not enough to warrant retribution. They lived more than 30 years together and had several children. There was no court case or violence—the only reason we have a record of this marriage is that their grandchildren's slave status needed to be resolved nearly 80 years later. While their class status appears to have allowed them a relatively peaceful marriage, it is also the reason we know about their marriage today.

Three centuries later, Edna Ferber's 1926 novel *Showboat* imagines an 1870s floating theater on the

Mississippi. The best actress, Julie, passed for white but was discovered as Black. The sheriff was notified; just as he was about to arrest her, her lover, Steve, a white man, pricked her finger and swallowed some of her blood. Under the logic (or lack thereof) of hypodescent or the "one-drop rule," they were now considered a Black couple and no longer violated Mississippi's antimiscegenation statute (Williamson, 1995). However, it was a fantastical solution—punishments for "miscegenation" or interracial marriage ranged from the annulment of marriage to decades in prison (Hodes, 1999a).

These two anecdotes offer distinct and divergent accounts of the lives of interracial couples in the United States—one interracial couple enjoyed a long and happy marriage, and another needed to resort to drastic measures to avoid arrest. While both are interesting vignettes (and one is fictional), the question of representativeness remains unanswered. Which of these examples more closely represents the experience of most interracial couples in a given time period? Were they similar to same-race couples demographically and economically? Did they face extensive discrimination? Can their experiences be reduced to these categories of smooth sailing and persecution?

Much of the scholarship on race and marriage has emphasized the legal history of anti-"miscegenation" laws, a term coined by two Democrats in 1864 when they created an allegedly Republican pamphlet that advocated for "...the Blending of the Races..." (Lemire, 2002a; Newbeck, 2008; Romano, 2003). Some claim that the primary intent of these laws was to consolidate racial identity and prevent the emergence of a multiracial class that might threaten the social status of whites (Johnston, 1970; Moran, 2003; Spickard, 1989). Others argue that these laws primarily served as an appendage to slavery in the South and as a way of drawing racial boundaries in the North, pointing to evidence that interracial relationships were only met with violence when racial boundaries began to erode (Hodes, 1999b; Moran, 2003; Pascoe, 2009; Romano, 2003; Washington, 2011). Another explanation of anti-"miscegenation" laws points to gender dynamics, where relationships between white men and nonwhite women were tacitly accepted, while relationships that violated notions of white womens' "purity" were punished harshly (Hodes, 1999b; Pascoe, 2009). Additionally, while some portray the history of these laws as a monotonic decrease over time, there were ebbs and flows in their frequency, with peaks in legal action in the direct aftermath of the Civil War, and during the early twentieth century (Newbeck, 2008; Pascoe, 2009).

Beyond the intent and prevalence of their laws, scholars also disagree about the effectiveness and enforcement of anti-miscegenation statutes. Some portray these laws as widely ignored, arguing that they did not affect the prevalence of interracial marriages and referring to the emergence of large multiracial populations as evidence of their inefficacy (Hollinger, 2003; Mills, 1981; Spickard, 1989; Williamson, 1995). Others point to large numbers of court cases that describe their application not only in the prosecution of interracial couples (which continued until the *Loving* decision), but also in divorce and inheritance cases (Berry, 1991; Hodes, 1999b; Moran, 2003; Newbeck, 2008). Of course, these cases include many of those that challenged antimiscegenation law—*Pace v. Alabama, Perez v. Sharp, Loving v. Virginia*. Additionally, these cases offer an opportunity to explore how the legal system dealt with the problem of racial classification—something

that became more difficult as interracial relationships and multiracial populations grew and rigid racial boundaries became harder to craft and maintain (Moran, 2003; Pascoe, 2009).

Further complicating legal reactions to interracial marriage, popular culture and community attitudes often engaged with the topic in ways distinct from the legal system. Some popular media, including Civil War-period romance novels, imagined a post-racial future where intermarriage was common (Hodes, 1999a; Sheffer, 2013). However, drawings and cartoons would often reinforce racial boundaries in marriage by caricaturing the partners depicted with racialized physical traits (Lemire, 2002b). Some expressed widespread derogatory beliefs about the couples that entered into interracial relationships, summarized by W.E.B. Du Bois when he wrote, "It is often said that only the worst Negroes and lowest whites intermarry." (Gullickson, 2006b). In contrast, there are also accounts of toleration and even anonymous support for interracial relationships, seen in letters to the editor and court attestations to the character of individuals in interracial relationships (Berry, 1991; Williamson, 1995). These mixed accounts of popular support may reflect heterogeneity in support across places or the conflict between personal desire (perhaps manifested in popular media fantasies) and social expectations of racial hierarchy, or both.

In some ways, careful study of the demographic characteristics of interracial couples can bring new evidence to bear on the conflicting interpretations of legal history and popular attitudes. If, for instance, there was no change in the prevalence or composition of interracial couples in response to changes in the legal status of their marriages, then this may suggest these laws were less salient than some accounts would claim. Even independent of the implications on these other areas, the characteristics of these interracial couples are still of substantive interest—in the face of some level of legal and social hostility, these couples chose to pursue a relationship that did not conform with societal expectations.

3 Data

I use the United States Census microdata, available through IPUMS at the University of Minnesota Population Center. This data offers harmonized versions of the full-count decennial Censuses for 1850-1940 and samples for 1950-2000, recording a wealth of geographic, demographic, social, and economic data about the US population.[1] The mode of enumeration changed twice–from 1790-1870 the Census was conducted by the US Marshals, an agency primarily tasked with law enforcement. However, from 1880-1950, the Census was conducted by a force of trained enumerators who went door-to-door methodically. Finally, starting in 1960, the Census began to be conducted by mail and then enumerators would "sweep" the area, checking on residences where no return was received. These changes to enumeration mode may have implications for the precision of my measures of interracial marriage and the frequency of error–for example, interracial couples starting in 1960 could hide aspects of their background if they feared repercussions from disclosing their status. The original data was recorded each decade, as required by the Constitution. For the historical

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[1]I use the 1950 1% sample, 1960 5% sample, 1970 1% state forms 1 and 2 (leading to a combined 2% sample), 1980 5% sample, 1990 5% sample, and 2000 5% sample.

censuses, the records were collected at the local level, and then a system of administrators passed them up to the Census Bureau near Washington, D.C. The Census has some data practices that are relevant for this project. Prior to 1960, the census enumerator was responsible for categorizing persons and was not specifically instructed to ask the individual his or her race. Throughout much of this period there was a focus on the concept of "hypodescent" or the "one-drop rule"—if an individual had even one drop of non-white blood, they were recorded as non-white, so the race classifications in this period should be viewed through this lens. In practice, this meant that enumerators would label anyone who had any "appearance" or potential suspicion of being Black as Black. Additionally, for the 1850-1880 and 1910-1920 Censuses, enumerators could classify respondents as "mulatto," indicating they were mixed race, but this was later recoded as Black during the digitization process by employees of IPUMS to improve the comparability of the race variable across Census years (and remains that way in my analysis). For example, in the 1880 Census, enumerators were given the following instructions about race:

> *It must not be assumed that, where nothing is written in this column, "white" is to be understood. The column is always to be filled. Be particularly careful in reporting the class mulatto. The word is here generic, and includes quadroons, octoroons, and all persons having any perceptible trace of African blood.*

In 1960 and later years, respondents self-reported their race. Similarly, between 1880 and 1950, Census enumerators evaluated the relationships of each resident of a household, usually in relation to a household "head." Pre-1880, these relationships are not explicitly enumerated, but can be imputed based on the order of enumeration on Census manuscripts (Bouk, 2022). Two additional notes are necessary to facilitate the interpretation of Census results. First, in 1850-1860, enslaved individuals were enumerated separately and no individual information was recorded about them. Thus, the results regarding Black people from 1850 and 1860 represent only the selected sample of free individuals. Additionally, all of the time series are missing the 1890 census—most records from the 1890 Census were lost in a fire and are hence not available for this project.

In this project, I focus on Black-white interracial couples, as the historical forces, legal environments, and popular reactions affecting this population were distinct from those of other interracial couples. In practice, I restrict to Black and white respondents that are identified as the head of the household or the spouse of the household head and drop any respondents for whom the race of spouse is unobserved or a race other than Black or white. More formally, for a geographic unit g and Census year t, the observed interracial marriage rate, or IMR, (μ_{gt}^o) is simply the fraction of marriages that are interracial:

$$\mu_{gt}^o = \frac{m_i}{m_i + m_w + m_b}$$

where m_i is the count of interracial marriages, m_w is the count of white marriages (both spouses are white), and m_b is the count of Black marriages (both spouses are Black), all within geographic unit g and Census year t.

One danger is that my measure of interracial couples—those who were recorded in the Census as having a different race from their spouse—is picking up random noise due to the potential of recording error. If, for example, the original Census enumeration form recorded both spouses' races as white but one was unclear, it may have been miscoded as Black, leading to a false "interracial" couple and upwards biasing my results. Alternatively, in some Census years, enumerators may have only filled in the household head's race and left the race of the rest of the respondents blank, and in these cases the race of the rest of the household would have been imputed as matching that of the household head, potentially downwards biasing my results. While these transcription errors are certainly possible, I find differences in socioeconomic status across gender-race pairs (nonwhite men married to white women vs. white men married to nonwhite women), and errors are likely to be random with respect to gender, suggesting my measures are picking up something other than random error. Additionally, I run a county-level regression that examines the predictiveness of my interracial marriage measure for mixed-race ethnicity in both 1880 and 1990, displayed in Appendix Table A1. If interracial couples are having children that will be enumerated as mixed-race in the Census, then these two measures should be highly correlated. In both Census years, my IMR measure is highly predictive of county-level mixed-race ethnicity, even when controlling for the fraction of the population that is Black, suggesting that mixed-race children are more common in the areas I record as having higher rates of interracial marriage. Finally, I link the 1940 Census with the Censoc Project's Social Security Death Master File, which allows me to measure rates of racial discordance between the Census enumeration and another report of race, this time a self-report recorded when the individual applied for social security benefits (Breen et al., 2023). If these interracial couples were all transcription errors, then we would expect to see very high rates of discordance between the Census and the Death Master File. I do find elevated rates of discordance—while 1.9% of non-interracial matched couples had racial discordance, approximately 25.9% of interracial matched couples did. Conversely, this implies that nearly 75% of the interracial sample are true interracial couples, increasing our confidence that this sample, while imperfect, may carry important information about this understudied population.

Another potential complication is the possibility of intentional changes in racial classification—recent work records a substantial number of African American men who changed their racial identity and "passed" for white using the 1880-1940 Censuses (Dahis et al., 2019; Sharfstein, 2011). These men would likely be recorded as members of interracial couples if there were no corresponding changes in race for their partners. However, this work also suggests that these individuals lived their lives as white to escape discrimination and increase employment opportunities, so these "interracial" couples might capture valuable information about social integration and marital norms of their environs.[2] Additionally, linked data across time has found that the boundaries between the Black and "mulatto" categories in historical Censuses were often porous and individuals would exhibit racial mobility between Censuses (Saperstein & Gullickson, 2013). In my analyses,

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[2] Another consideration is that the racial category of "white" expanded over time. Many immigrants, for example from Italy and Ireland, were not accepted as white and could be treated as non-white in the eyes of the legal system (Roediger & Cleaver, 2022; Wilkerson, 2020).

these individuals would be recorded as Black regardless.

4   Prevalence of Interracial Marriage

First, I focus on the prevalence of interracial marriage over time—there is substantial variation over time and across geography, and explaining this variation would be a fruitful avenue for future work. Figure 1 panels (a-c) display a time series of the interracial marriage rate (defined as the fraction of all marriages that have discordance between the race of each spouse) for three regions in the United States—the Northeast, West, and South (using the Census division definitions of these regions). I restrict to marriages among 16-30-year-olds in these series to approximate new marriages—because the Census is conducted every 10 years, marriages in this group are likely to be newly recorded, and proxy for the flow of marriages in the past decade as opposed to the stock of marriages. Across regions, these series all display an exponential pattern, with large increases starting in 1960 or 1970, indicating that in each successive decade, new couples were more likely to marry someone of a different race. Additionally, I record slightly higher rates of interracial marriage in the South and Northeast than in the West.

It is possible that these differences in interracial marriage rates reflect differences in the demographic composition of those regions—if, for instance, there are very few Black people in a region, then we might expect lower rates of interracial marriages. A useful measure for addressing this limitation is examining the outmarriage rate of racial minorities—for example, the fraction of all marriages of Black women that are to someone of a different race. Because this measure is conditional on the Black population, it adjusts for the underlying prevalence of racial minorities. Figure 1 panels (d-f) display time series of this outmarriage rate for Black women split by region (also restricted to new marriages), and we see similar exponential increases in the latter part of the 20th century. However, there is also some variation before that time, and we see that across regions, the outmarriage rate of Black women reached a low in the first few decades of the 20th century. Additionally, we see that in the South, the new interracial marriage rate was higher in 1850 and 1860 than in 2000. This is likely due in part to the fact that enslaved people were enumerated separately in 1850 and 1860, so the sample of Black women in the South includes only free Black women. However, it is a striking illustration and highlights how the outmarriage rate in the South is less than half that in the Northeast in 2000, perhaps indicative of lower social integration conditional on Black population.

Next, I examine how this prevalence and the legal status of interracial marriage has varied across US states from 1850-2000. Figure 2 plots a series of state-level interracial marriage rates (no longer restricted to new marriages) alongside the legal status of interracial marriage (whether an antimiscegenation statute was in effect in the year the Census was conducted in that state).[3] Several patterns of interest emerge. First, "frontier" states—or those that were on the edge of the United States' westward expansion—consistently have higher rates of interracial marriage. One possible explanation is that imbalanced sex ratios in these

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[3]I collect data on antimiscegenation statutes from Pascoe 2009, Fryer 2007, and Washington 2011.

states or territories led to white men marrying or having relationships with Black women. Perhaps as a result, the West has consistently higher rates of interracial marriage than the Northeast and South, and these differences persist to the 21st century. Additionally, there are some patterns that align with previously explored historical events. For example, the Great Migration was a large movement of millions of Black Southerners to the North from 1930-1970 in response to Jim Crow and limited economic opportunity in the South. During this period, we can see a decreasing prevalence of interracial marriage rate in Southern states (indicated by lighter colors) and an increase in Northern states (indicated by darker colors).[4]

Additionally, we can compare the maps of interracial marriage rates to the maps of legal status. Perhaps the most striking pattern is the lack of relationship between the two. If these laws were truly efficacious, then we would expect very low (even nonexistent) rates of interracial marriage in those states where an antimiscegenation statute is in effect. However, this was clearly not the case—see, for example, Texas in 1870 and California in 1880, where both have relatively high rates of interracial marriage despite antimiscegenation statutes being in effect. Even beyond the levels of interracial marriage being unrelated to legal status, we might expect changes in legal status to be important. The largest change to legal status occurred in 1967 when the Supreme Court's decision in *Loving v. Virginia* banned antimiscegenation statutes across the Country. However, the states that were affected by *Loving* (mostly in the South) see lower rates of interracial marriage, if anything, in 1970 and 1980 compared to 1960. Appendix Figure A1 confirms this hypothesis quantitatively. The absence of a response to Loving and the lack of a clear relationship between legal status and interracial marriage rates at the state level suggests that these laws were perhaps not as salient as previous scholarship has claimed. I explore this pattern of null results more formally by leveraging the staggered repeal of anti-miscegenation statutes over time in Section 5.

In sum, there was a large increase in interracial marriage rates in the latter part of the 20th century and the prevalence of interracial marriage reached a low in the first part of the 20th century. Additionally, there is substantial geographic variation in the prevalence of interracial marriage, and it appears unrelated to the legal status of interracial marriage across states. Further exploration will allow us to assess if laws prohibiting interracial marriage substantively impacted the prevalence of interracial marriage.

5   Antimiscegenation Laws and Interracial Marriage

One natural question is whether legal variation in access to interracial marriage affected the rates of interracial marriage (and might explain the large increase in the latter half of the 20th century). The descriptive analysis above indicated that this was not the case. However, I can evaluate this hypothesis more formally. I use a differences-in-differences (DD) approach to assess the effects of anti-miscegenation statute repeals. For anti-miscegenation statutes, I collect data on the timing of permanent repeals of anti-miscegenation statutes from Pascoe 2009, Fryer 2007, and Washington 2011, summarized in Appendix Table A7 (Fryer, 2007; Pascoe,

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[4]In related work, I explore this hypothesis in much greater depth (Deal, 2024).

2009; Washington, 2011).

5.1 Empirical Strategy

I first estimate a standard DD design using the variation in permanent anti-miscegenation statute repeals over time. While twelve states never had bans on interracial marriage,[5] seven had bans in effect that were repealed between 1850 and 1890. Then, another wave of repeals occurred between 1948 and 1967, with fourteen states repealing their anti-miscegenation statutes. Finally, in 1967, *Loving v. Virginia* was the US Supreme Court case that overturned all remaining anti-miscegenation statutes. Because the legal status of interracial marriage in some cases changed several times, I define treatment with the permanent/final repeals, and define the first census year t after the repeal to be the first time that state g is treated. This takes the following form:

$$\mu_{gt}^o = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{REPEAL}_{gt}) + \beta_2\gamma + \beta_3\delta + \epsilon_{gt} \tag{1}$$

$$m_{gt} = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{REPEAL}_{gt}) + \beta_2\gamma + \beta_3\delta + \epsilon_{gt} \tag{2}$$

μ_{gt}^o is the IMR in state g and time t, m_{gt} is the marital integration in state g and time t, REPEAL_{gt} is an indicator variable that returns a 1 when the observation is a state g that permanently repealed their anti-miscegenation statute at or before time t, γ is state fixed effects, δ is year fixed effects, and ϵ_{gt} is an idiosyncratic error term. Hence, my coefficient of interest, β_1, is intended to capture the causal effect of anti-miscegenation statute repeals on interracial marriage and marital integration.

$$\mu_{gt}^o = \beta_0 + \sum_{j=-4}^{4} \beta_1^j(\text{REPEAL}_{gt}^j) + \beta_2\gamma + \beta_3\delta + \epsilon_{gt} \tag{3}$$

$$m_{gt} = \beta_0 + \sum_{j=-4}^{4} \beta_1^j(\text{REPEAL}_{gt}^j) + \beta_2\gamma + \beta_3\delta + \epsilon_{gt} \tag{4}$$

Additionally, I generate event study estimates of the effects of the anti-miscegenation statue repeals on the IMR and marital integration. In these models (displayed in equations 3 and 4), I replace the single anti-miscegenation statute repeals indicator with a series of event-time indicators (REPEAL_{gt}^j) where j is the time period relative to the event, created by interacting each relative event time indicator with the DD dummy. As standard in the literature, I normalize the first lead operator (T-1) to zero.

The key assumption of the differences-in-differences design is parallel trends—that states that repealed anti-miscegenation statutes would have IMRs that evolved similarly to those states that did not repeal them yet absent treatment (or never had a law on the books). While inherently untestable, this assumption does generate some testable predictions—first, prior to treatment, event study coefficients should be close to zero and insignificant, suggesting parallel pre-trends. I present evidence in my results that this is the case. Additionally, the historical contexts for many anti-miscegenation statute repeals were often court

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[5]And Pennsylvania repealed its ban in 1780.

cases, which tended to have unpredictable timing and outcomes based in part on judge assignment and finding petitioners whose case could rise through the appeals system without being dismissed by a lower court, suggesting that the timing of this variation may have been exogenous to factors like racial attitudes that might bias the relationship between anti-miscegenation statute repeals and interracial marriage. For example, *Perez v. Sharp*, the 1948 California Supreme Court Case that began the legal momentum for repealing anti-miscegenation statutes in the 20th century, began when Andrea Perez (a Mexican American woman) and Sylvester Davis (an African American man) met while working in the defense industry and applied for a marriage license with the County Clerk of Los Angeles—they were denied. They petitioned the California Supreme Court to compel the issuance of the license, setting in motion the legal arguments that would lead to *Loving v. Virginia* 19 years later.

However, because recent literature has found that using the naive DD and event study specifications in settings with differential treatment timing can generate biased estimates, I also estimate these same designs using the specifications outlined in Callaway and Sant'anna (2021). Additionally, recent work outlines the implications of different parallel trends assumptions depending on the comparison group, which might consist of either "not-yet-treated" units or "never-treated" units in different contexts (Marcus & Sant'Anna, 2021). In my setting, I have both comparison groups—12 states never had any anti-miscegenation statutes on the books, so they had no repeal to change their treatment status. However, if states that never had anti-miscegenation statutes differ in fundamental ways from those that have them (and eventually repeal them), then perhaps this is not the desired comparison group, and a better comparison is to those states that have not yet repealed their anti-miscegenation statutes. Due to time variation in these repeals, I can additionally exploit this comparison group and my estimates are nearly identical across specifications.

5.2 Results

Anti-miscegenation statutes sought to restrict interracial relationships and marriages through prohibitions and penalties included the annulment of the marriage, fines, and in some cases imprisonment. I use the permanent repeal of these laws across states and time to assess their impact on the prevalence of interracial marriage—we might expect that once these laws are removed, the prevalence of interracial marriage and marital integration in those states would increase. Graphically, this intuition does not appear to be true in the case of one of the largest legal changes in the status of interracial marriage—the Supreme Court Case *Loving V. Virginia*. While *Loving* legalized interracial marriage across the United States, those states affected by it do not appear to experience a larger increase in interracial marriage rates following the decision (see Appendix Figure A1).

Table 1 reports the results of a standard difference-in-differences using the permanent repeal of these laws on my two primary outcome measures. Displayed in Column 1, I find that these permanent repeals do not cause a significant increase in the IMR—the 95% confidence interval for my estimate on interracial marriage rates is $(-3.56, 2.08)$. The upper bound of this confidence interval is equivalent to 2.08 interracial

marriages per 1000 marriages of the full sample IMR, so I rule out effects larger than this magnitude. This corresponds to a 40% increase in interracial marriage rates relative to the pre-period mean. In comparison, studies of access to same-sex marriage preceisely estimate consistently larger effects (Carpenter et al., 2021). In Column 2, I report the same results for marital integration and find similar null results, though the smallest effect size I can rule out is 0.21 units of marital integration

In Figure 3, I present the results of an event study analysis using the permanent repeals of anti-miscegenation statutes. These figures show that treatment states' interracial marriage outcomes evolve similarly to control states in the decades preceding the repeal of anti-miscegenation statutes, providing support for one testable implication of the parallel trends assumption. Additionally, the coefficients succeeding the event are all nonsignificant and close to zero, again supporting the claim that anti-miscegenation statutes did not significantly impact the IMR or marital integration.

Additionally, I assess the robustness of this null finding to using new methods that address problems with differential treatment timing—a large concern in my setting, given that permanent repeals are decades apart across many states. Appendix Tables A5 and A6 display these results when using robust estimation methods. Again, I find precise null effects on both interracial marriage outcomes.[6] I also demonstrate the robustness of my results to considering different comparison groups and parallel trend assumptions. Marcus and Sant'anna (2021) highlight the importance of being precise about the comparison group used in difference-in-difference and event study models, as they have implications for the parallel trend assumption invoked. I use the Callaway and Sant'anna (2021) estimator with two different comparison groups—never treated states (those that never implemented an anti-miscegenation statute and thus did not have a permanent repeal) and not yet treated states (those that will have an anti-miscegenation statute repeal but have not yet—implying they likely currently have one in effect). These comparison groups yield similar results. I also estimate the event study specifications in the Callaway and Sant'anna (2021) setup and find similar results—if anything, these suggest a reduction in the IMR and marital integration following the permanent repeal of anti-miscegenation statutes (See Appendix Figures A3a and A3b).

Another possibility is that my results would be downward biased because I examine changes in the stock of marriages rather than the flow. However, in Appendix Table A2 and Appendix Figure A2, I replicate these results using interracial marriage rates for 16-30-year-olds, who most likely married in the past 10 years (since the enumeration of the last Census), to proxy for new marriages and find similar results. I also run similar sample restrictions with nonmigrants in Censuses after 1940 (when migration status began to be recorded) to address concerns of Black migration in response to antimiscegenation laws (Gevrek, 2014). However, I find null effects in this subsample. Finally, another concern is that over the sample period, marriage rates in the US have declined, in some cases differentially across demographic groups, with Black adults in particular experiencing larger declines. Because my outcome is defined conditional on marriage, it is possible that the unconditional interracial marriage rate may differ when examined as an outcome. I define an alternative

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[6]These regressions restrict to a balanced panel, and results are similar in a naive difference-in-differences with the same set of state-year observations.

outcome of an unconditional interracial marriage rate, and these results, displayed in Appendix Table A2 and Appendix Figure A2, are also null. Finally, one could imagine that the two eras of legislative change around antimiscegenation laws (the late 19th century and the mid 20th century) might have substantively different impacts on interracial marriage rates. I address this possibility directly by estimating using only early (defined as 1851-1887) and late (1948-1967) anti-miscegenation statute repeals (Appendix Tables A3 A4. Again, results on both interracial marriage outcomes are insignificant, and in fact, the late repeals seem to have decreased interracial marriage, if anything.

In sum, I find evidence that the permanent repeals of state-level anti-miscegenation statutes did not have a significant effect on either the IMR or the marital integration of those states. This might seem implausible—if interracial marriages were previously prohibited, how can it be that their allowance does not increase the rate of interracial marriage? I find that there are many interracial marriages recorded in states where it is not legal at the time of the Census (See Appendix Figure 2). This suggests that these laws were not especially salient in discouraging interracial couples. Alternatively, another interpretation of the finding is that legal barriers were not the binding constraint keeping people from interracial marriages—who they met, whether they had similar socioeconomic status, and whether they were considered an eligible partner given racial preferences and racism may have kept the interracial marriage rate low even in the absence of legal barriers.

What could alternatively explain the large increase in the IMR if a changing legal environment is not responsible? In related work, I explore the effects of the Great Migration, in which several million Black Southerners moved to Northern cities in the middle of the 20th century, substantially increasing the Black population share in urban areas outside of the South (Deal, 2024). I find increases in interracial marriage as a result, suggesting that internal migration may have played a role. Additionally, I examine the effects of residential segregation, which decreased through the latter part of the 20th century, and find that residential segregation decreased the rate of interracial marriage. These results implicate larger historical forces that shifted social integration in the marriage market and may have contributed to the increase in interracial marriage rates over time. Another potential factor is the dramatic liberalization in racial attitudes through this period, which may have redefined the set of "marriageable" partners for Black and white Americans.

6   Demographic and Economic Characteristics

After examining variation in the prevalence of interracial marriage over time, I turn to the second main question of this article: who were these couples? I focus first on the 1880 Census because it is the first professionally enumerated census and yields large ($N > 10000$) sample sizes for interracial couples. Additionally, I focus exclusively on Black and white respondents (and by extension, interracial couples) for several reasons. First, Black and white respondents represent more than 95% of the population and 90% of interracial couples. Additionally, I have a sufficient sample size to split across gender-race pairs, so I can

differentiate between interracial couples between a Black man and a white woman vs. a white man and a Black woman. I compare these groups to both white and Black same-race couples. Many previous scholars have treated these pairs separately in terms of popular reactions and how the legal system approaches them, and my results reveal substantial heterogeneity across these two populations (Hodes, 1999a).

Figure 4 displays demographic differences for different types of couples using the 1880 Census as a reference year. First, interracial couples were on average several years younger than white couples. Additionally, interracial couples between a Black man and a white woman had on average, 0.5 fewer children than both Black and white same-race couples. One potential explanation is that community opposition to white women having interracial relationships was much harsher and focused on maintaining the "purity" of the white race (Hodes, 1999b). Interracial couples fell in between Black and white same-race couples in terms of literacy. It is possible that this is because the white and Black spouses have the same average literacy rates as their respective races (and thus their average is in the middle), but the average observed for interracial couples is a bit higher than we would expect, suggesting that there is some level of positive educational selection into an interracial marriage. I examine urbanicity and migrant status, finding that interracial couples between a Black man and a white woman had the highest probability of living in an urban area out of all four groups, while interracial couples between a white man and a Black woman are between white and Black same-race couples. Finally, interracial couples fall in between Black and white same-race couples in terms of their migrant status. In sum, interracial couples comprise a demographically distinct group from both Black and white same-race couples and there is significant heterogeneity among interracial couples in the 1880 Census.

Additionally, I examine differences in child mortality in Appendix Figure A4. This outcome is only available in the 1900 and 1910 Censuses, so I focus on the 1910 Census (though results are very similar for 1900). I use three outcomes: a count of children lost, an indicator for if any children were lost, and a share of all children born who were lost. In general, interracial couples are between white and Black same-race couples on all three measures. However, there is some gradient by the race of the mother within interracial couples—for example, Black mothers married to a white man have higher child loss counts than white mothers married to Black men. This difference may suggest that the race of the mother is an important determinant for child health outcomes even when the race of the father (or husband) does not accord.

Finally, I examine differences in economic outcomes in Figure 4 using four different measures: the Duncan Socioeconomic Index (SEI), an Occupation Earnings Score, an Occupational Income Score, and an indicator for whether the couple owned a farm. The SEI measure, Earnings score, and Income score all lead to the same conclusion: interracial couples fell in between white and Black same-race couples in terms of socio-economic status. However, they also reveal that white men in interracial couples had slightly higher economic success than Black men in interracial couples (in this period, all earnings are typically attributed to the husband). A general discrimination penalty for interracial marriages does not line up with this pattern—we would expect Black men in interracial couples to have lower or equal earnings than Black men in same-race couples rather than higher earnings. It is perhaps surprising that these measures are as close as they are and I propose two

potential explanations. One possibility is that selection into interracial marriage causes lower-education white men and higher-education Black men to compose the group of interracial couples, leading to the convergent pattern observed. This accords with the status exchange theory that many sociologists of marriage have proposed (Fryer, 2007). Another possibility is that the race of one's spouse is observed in the labor market, and this might determine success. If, for instance, a white man was to be hired, but the manager found out that his wife was Black, the manager might rescind the offer or dock his pay. Conversely, it is possible that for Black men, having a white wife would act as a premium, increasing leads or opportunities on the labor market. While I do not have the data to adjudicate between these possibilities, understanding the mechanisms that lead to the pattern observed could greatly add to our knowledge of both marriage and labor markets. I also examine differences in farm status, which tells us that white men in interracial couples were about as likely to own farms as Black same-race couples and Black men in interracial couples were less likely than all other groups, perhaps due to inheritance dynamics where white women and Black men in those couples would be the least likely to inherit a farm from parents.

In sum, interracial couples have historically comprised an economically and demographically distinct group from both Black and white same-race couples. Additionally, there are important differences in demographic characteristics and economic success across couple types within interracial couples.

7   Dynamics of Demographic and Economic Differences

These differences in demographic and economic status are not static over time. The composition and economic success of interracial couples changes dramatically over the 150 years in my data, potentially in response to both legal and popular reactions to interracial relationships. I use Census data to take the disparities in economic outcomes plotted above for 1880 and put them in context to differences in characteristics over time.

For these analyses, I split interracial couples between Black men and white women vs. those between Black women and white men. Both groups are compared to white same-race couples. Each data point comes from a bivariate regression comparing the chosen type of interracial couple with white same-race couples using data from that specific Census year (so they correspond to the average difference in that characteristic between those two groups). Additionally, this yields a measure of uncertainty that allows convenient visual inspection of the statistical significance of differences.[7]

In Figure 5, I examine differences between interracial couples composed of Black men and white women compared with white same-race couples on four demographic characteristics: age, number of children, literacy, and migrant status. On age, we see that these interracial couples are older than white same-race couples in the earlier 20th century, then much younger in the later 20th century (with a large, seemingly discontinuous drop after 1960). This age profile suggests that interracial couples have become much younger

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[7]The 1950 data is a 1% sample, so these confidence intervals are typically wider.

in the second half of the 20th century, perhaps due to increasingly liberal attitudes towards race among younger populations. Additionally, this group of interracial couples is steadily more likely to have children over time, surpassing white same-race couples after 1970 and overcoming the initially lower level of child-bearing. Furthermore, this group was historically much less likely to be literate, but this gap closed over time (literacy is only assessed until 1930). Finally, this group was originally less likely to be migrants than white couples, but become more likely in 1930 and after 1950—this could be the effect of the Great Migration.

Additionally, I examine the dynamics of differences in economic outcomes for interracial couples composed of Black men and white women compared to white same-race couples in Figure 5. For both SEI and occupation income, there is a widening disparity until 1960, then a discontinuous increase. One potential explanation is that the Civil Rights era economic progress made in the 1960s for the broader Black population also applies to these interracial couples. Additionally, I observe that farm ownership is initially lower among this group (reflected in the 1880 differences recorded above), but this rate then converges on the white farm ownership rate around the turn of the century.

In Figure 6, I examine differences between interracial couples composed of white men and Black women compared with white same-race couples on four demographic characteristics: age, number of children, literacy, and migrant status. On age, we see that these interracial couples were typically a bit younger than white same-race couples in the earlier 20th century and then much younger in the later 20th century (with a large, seemingly discontinuous drop after 1960). This age profile suggests that interracial couples became much younger in the second half of the 20th century, perhaps due to increasingly liberal attitudes towards race among younger populations. Additionally, this group of interracial couples was initially less likely to have children than white couples, but they surpassed white same-race couples around the turn of the century and overcame the initially lower level of childbearing. Additionally, this group is much less likely to be literate, but this gap closed over time (literacy is only assessed until 1930). Finally, this group was originally less likely to be migrants than white couples, but become more likely in 1930 and after 1950—this could be the effect of the Great Migration.

Additionally, I examine the dynamics of differences in economic outcomes for interracial couples composed of white men and Black women compared to white same-race couples in Figure 6. For both SEI and occupation income, there is a widening disparity until 1940, then a trend reversal as these interracial couples steadily converge back towards white same-race couples. The explanation of Civil Rights era economic progress made in the 1960s for the broader Black population seems less relevant here, given the turning point and the fact that the primary breadwinner in these couples would most often be a white man. Perhaps one possibility is greater discrimination against these types of couples that reached a peak in the early twentieth century. Additionally, I observe that farm ownership is initially lower among this group (reflected in the 1880 differences recorded above), then much higher for 1910-1940, and then converges back to the white farm ownership rate around 1950.

In sum, these demographic differences change significantly over time—gaps widen and close over time, and

the patterns are substantially different depending on the type of interracial couple. One potential conclusion in line with the prevalence finding above is that the discrimination and community opposition to interracial marriage was at its greatest in the early 20th century, where we see low rates of interracial marriage and large gaps in indicators of economic success.

8   Conclusion

While Irish Nell and Negro Charles were the first recorded interracial couple in the United States (described in Section 2), their relatively unchallenged marriage does not capture the diversity of experiences—great economic success, popular discrimination, and more—that have followed. I go beyond vignettes and limited data to offer a more comprehensive overview of interracial couples in the United States. I use Census data to study interracial couples over 150 years and establish several key findings. First, I build on other evidence to suggest that the prevalence of interracial marriage and the economic status of interracial couples reached a low around the turn of the 20th century when popular and legal opposition was at its peak (Gullickson, 2006a). In contrast with prior literature that emphasizes the salience of the legal system that regulated interracial relationships, I find that anti-miscegenation laws did not substantively impact the prevalence of interracial marriage. While these findings contradict existing literature, they also open new questions—if anti-miscegenation laws did not impact the prevalence of interracial marriage, then what did? What can explain the large increases in interracial marriage rates in the latter half of the 20th century? Future work should investigate the role of segregation, migration, and increasing economic equality in explaining these patterns.

One potential limitation of my strategy is that I take the racial classifications of the Census as given and therefore impose artificial structure on the ambiguous categories of race of the time. However, these classifications offer valuable information about the time that they are recorded in—these categorizations are how the state perceived these couples (with Census enumerators as conduits). Thus, the fact that the enumerator recorded distinct races for the couples offers valuable information about how they were perceived racially—often by a member of their own community, given the composition of Census enumerators (Anderson, 2015; Bouk, 2022). Additionally, in the 1960 Census and onward, these measures convey how the couple thought of their own races, especially in relation to each other. Thus, these racial classifications, though imperfect, connote valuable information about the presence and perception of interracial couples in a certain time and place.

I also find that interracial couples comprise an economically and demographically distinct group from both Black and white same-race couples—they do not live either the lives of the *Showboat* actress or Nell and Charles—instead, they are distinct on many measures of demographic and economic characteristics— more likely to be literate than Black couples, but less than white couples, for example. I examine these differences dynamically and find that the composition and standing of this group evolved over time, with

discontinuous changes in both demographic and economic characteristics after the 1960s, corresponding to a time of racial reckoning across the country. Finally, I establish that there are important differences in economic success (and demographic characteristics) across interracial couple types: interracial couples with white men tend to have higher socioeconomic status than those with Black men. These results highlight the merits of a demographic approach, which offers new information about the average, in contrast to historical research about interracial couples that often focuses on the exception. While previous research has relied on qualitative data or limited samples, I use full-count Census data to supplement these vivid pictures and broad trends with representative data that reveals new details about the history and demography of interracial couples in the United States.

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Tables and Figures

(a) Northeast   (b) West   (c) South
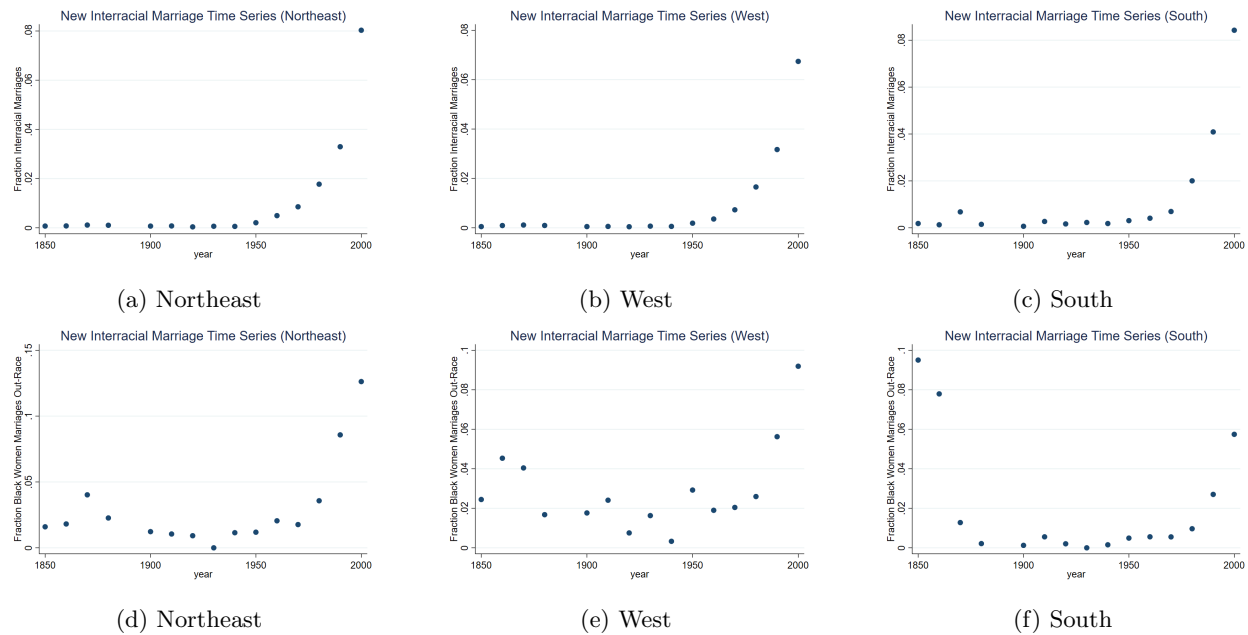
(d) Northeast   (e) West   (f) South

Figure 1: Time Series of New Interracial Marriage Rate and Black Women's Outmarriage Rate by Region

Note: Panels (a-c) have outcome of new interracial marriage rate, while panels (d-f) have Black women's outmarriage rate. Interracial marriages as a fraction of all marriages of 16-30-year-olds. Black women in an interracial marriage as a fraction of all married Black women among 16-30-year-olds. Because the census is recorded every 10 years, these marriages are likely to have occurred in the past 10 years (recorded for the first time in this census), proxying for new marriages.

Source: IPUMS-USA Full Counts and Samples, 1850-2000; Authors' calculations.

(a) 1850-1880

(b) 1900-1930

(c) 1940-1970

(d) 1980-2000

Figure 2: Interracial Marriage Rate and Legal Status by State

Note: Interracial marriages as a fraction of all marriages.

Source: IPUMS-USA Full Counts and Samples, 1850-2000; Authors' calculations.

Figure 3: Event Studies of Anti-miscegenation Statute Repeals
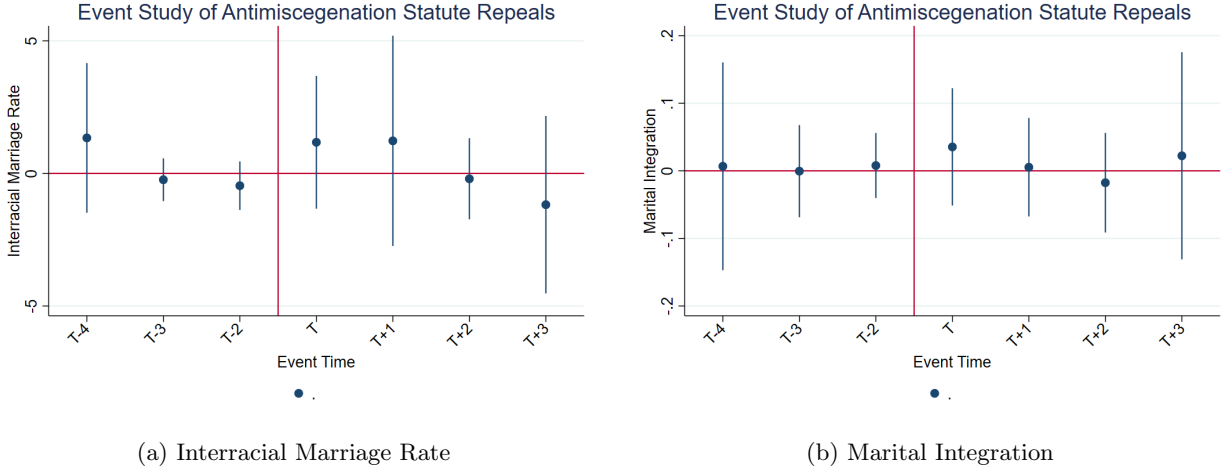
(a) Interracial Marriage Rate

(b) Marital Integration

Source: Decennial Census 1850-2000, Author's calculations. Each series is an event study coefficient from a regression on a different outcome. Dependent variable is IMR per 1000 marriages in Panel A and marital integration measure in Panel B. All specifications include state and time fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the state level were used to calculate 95% confidence intervals.

(a) Age   (b) Number of Children   (c) Literacy

(d) Urban Status   (e) Migrant Status   (f) Duncan Socioeconomic Index

(g) Occupational Earnings Score   (h) Occupational Income Score   (i) Farm Status

Figure 4: Demographic and Economic Differences in 1880

Note: Migrant status is defined by discordance between birthplace and place of enumeration. Number of children measures the number of own children in the household, which may not capture children who have moved out. Earnings Score assigns a measure of the median earned income for each occupation using the 1950 occupational classification scheme. Occupational Score assigns each occupation in all years a value representing the median total income (in hundreds of 1950 dollars) of all persons with that particular occupation in 1950. assigns a Duncan Socioeconomic Index (SEI) score to each occupation using the 1950 occupational classification scheme. The SEI is a measure of occupational status based on the income level and educational attainment associated with each occupation in 1950.

Source: IPUMS-USA Full Count 1880 Census; Authors' calculations.

(a) Age

(b) Number of Children

(c) Literacy

(d) Migrant Status

(e) Duncan Socioeconomic Index
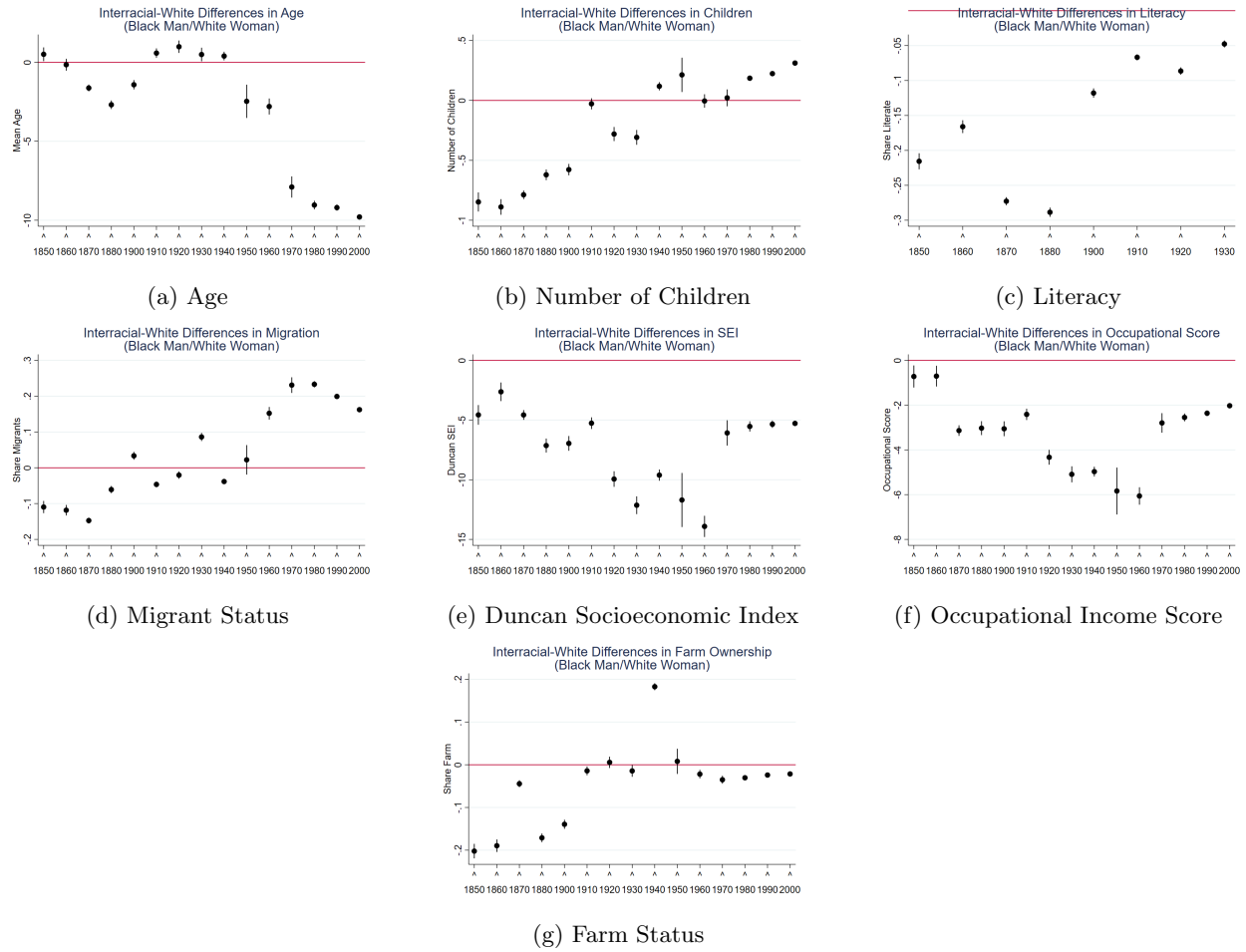

(f) Occupational Income Score

(g) Farm Status

Figure 5: Demographic and Economic Dynamics, 1850-2000 (Black Man/White Woman Couples vs. White Couples)

Note: Migrant status is defined by discordance between birthplace and place of enumeration. Number of children measures the number of own children in the household, which may not capture children who have moved out. Occupational Score assigns each occupation in all years a value representing the median total income (in hundreds of 1950 dollars) of all persons with that particular occupation in 1950. assigns a Duncan Socioeconomic Index (SEI) score to each occupation using the 1950 occupational classification scheme. The SEI is a measure of occupational status based on the income level and educational attainment associated with each occupation in 1950.

Source: IPUMS-USA Full Counts and Samples, 1850-2000; Authors' calculations.

(a) Age

(b) Number of Children

(c) Literacy

(d) Migrant Status

(e) Duncan Socioeconomic Index

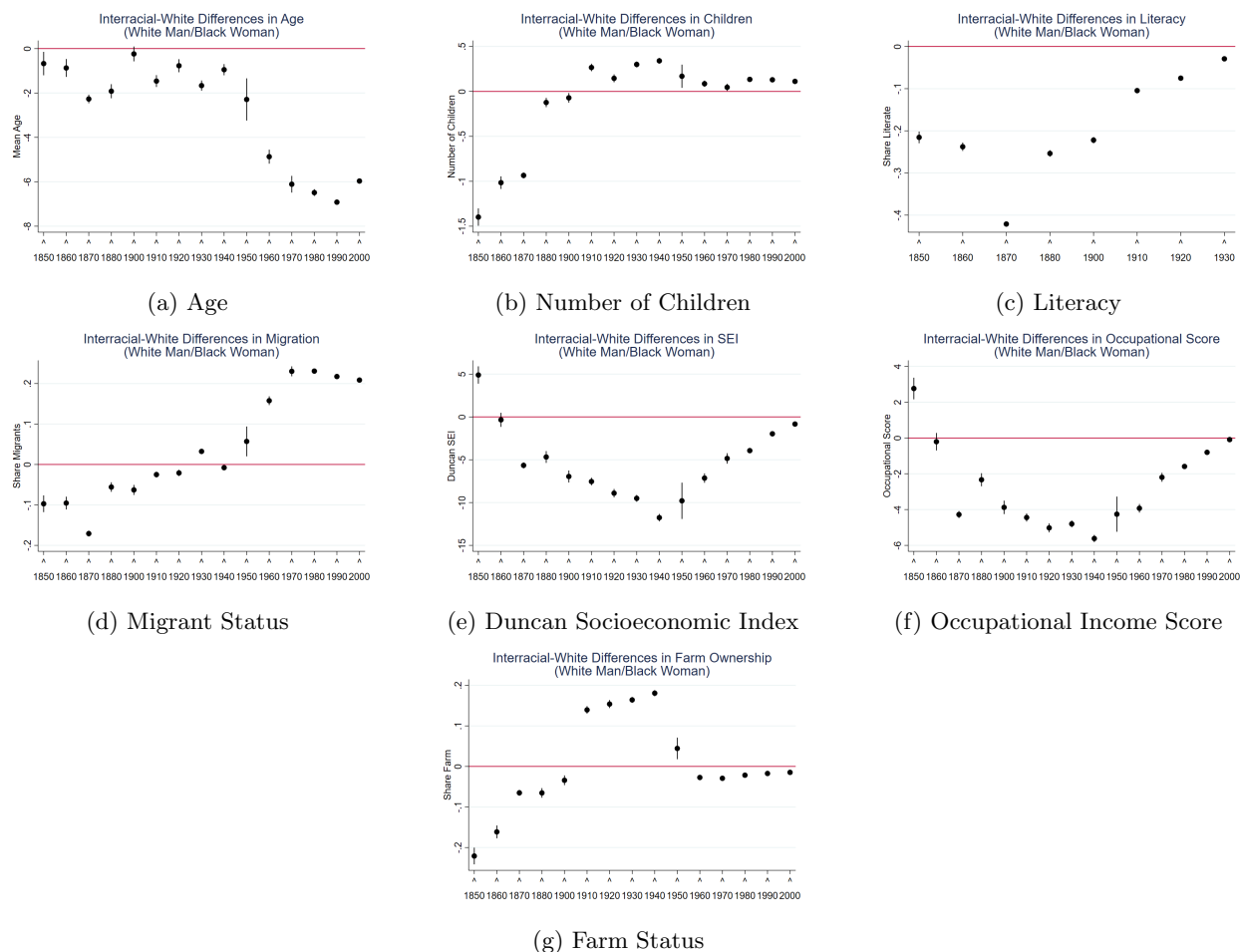(f) Occupational Income Score

(g) Farm Status

Figure 6: Demographic Dynamics, 1850-2000 (White Man/Black Woman Couples vs. White Couples)
Note: Migrant status is defined by discordance between birthplace and place of enumeration. Number of children measures the number of own children in the household, which may not capture children who have moved out. Occupational Score assigns each occupation in all years a value representing the median total income (in hundreds of 1950 dollars) of all persons with that particular occupation in 1950. assigns a Duncan Socioeconomic Index (SEI) score to each occupation using the 1950 occupational classification scheme. The SEI is a measure of occupational status based on the income level and educational attainment associated with each occupation in 1950.
Source: IPUMS-USA Full Counts and Samples, 1850-2000; Authors' calculations.

Table 1: Effect of Legal Interracial Marriage on IMR

|	Interracial Marriage	Marital Integration
Permanent Antimiscegenation Statute Repeal	-0.740	0.0390
	(1.441)	(0.0878)
ymean	5.23	.175
N	711	705

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Source: Decennial Census 1850-2000, Author's calculations. Each entry is a difference-in-differences coefficient on a different outcome. All specifications include state and time fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. Column 1 presents the effects on state-level interracial marriage rate per 1000 marriages, μ_{st}^o. Column 2 presents the effects on my state-level measure of marital integration, m_{st}. Six observations are dropped in Column 2 because the expected interracial marriage rate was 0 (as there were no Black people recorded in that state-census combination).

Appendix A: Supplementary Figures and Tables

Figure A1: Graphical Illustration of Effects of *Loving V. Virginia*
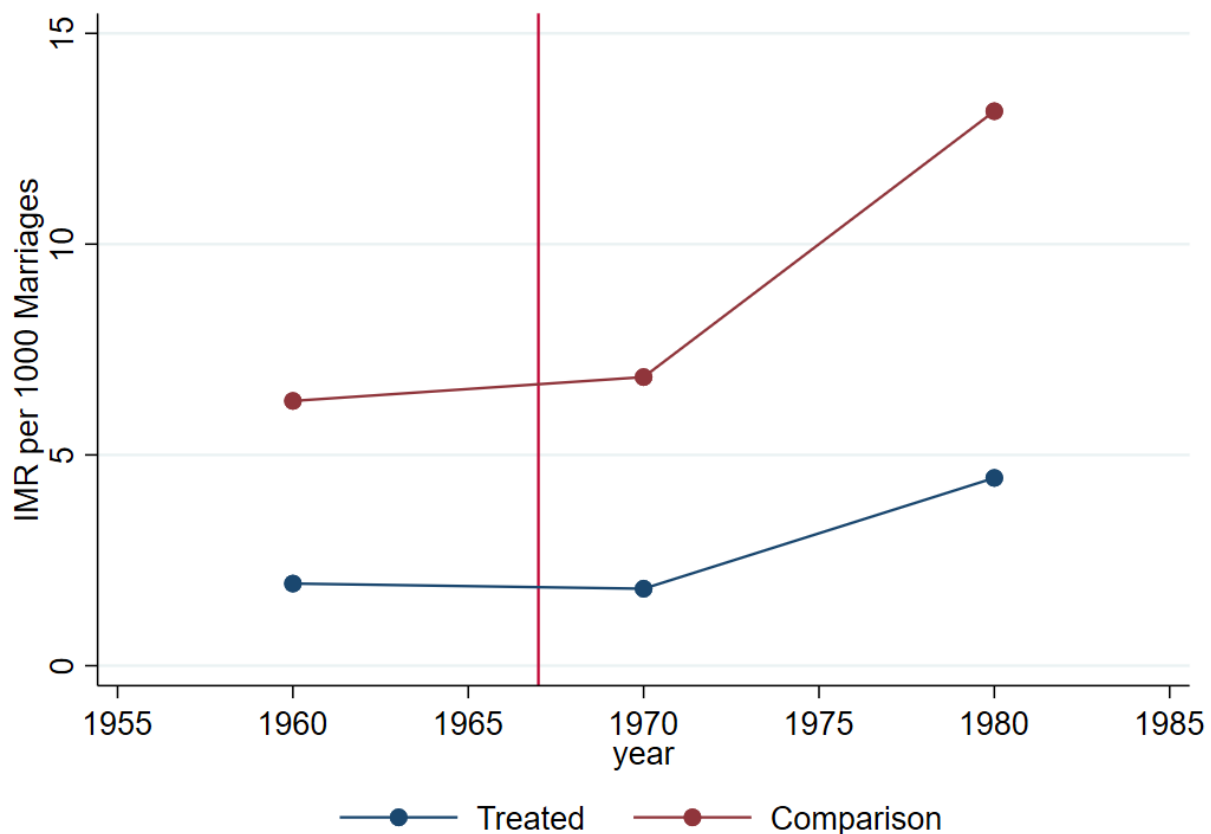
Source: 1960-1980 IPUMS-USA Samples, Author's calculations. Dependent variable is interracial marriages as a fraction of all Black and white marriages (scaled by 1000). Treated states are those that experienced antimiscegenation statute repeals from 1960-1970 (mostly through *Loving V. Virginia*), while interracial marriage was already legal in comparison states.
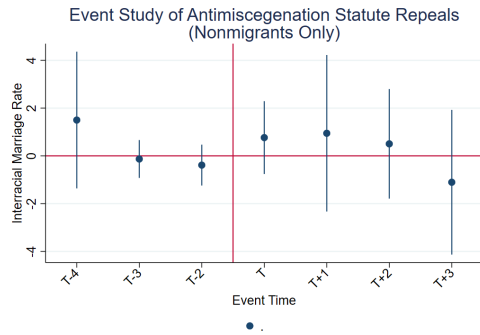
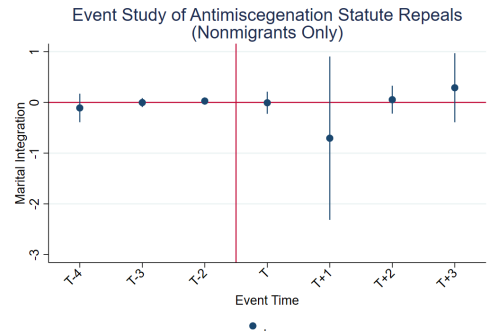Figure A2: Event Studies of Anti-miscegenation Statute Repeals (Samples)
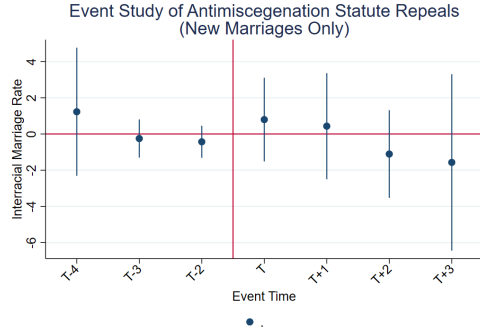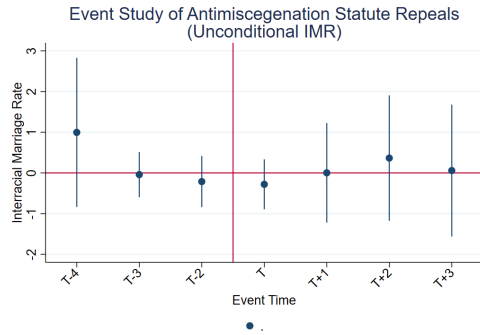

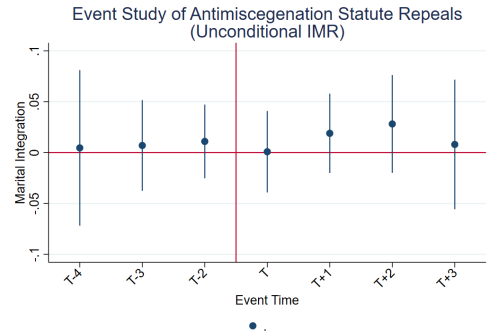(a) Interracial Marriage Rate
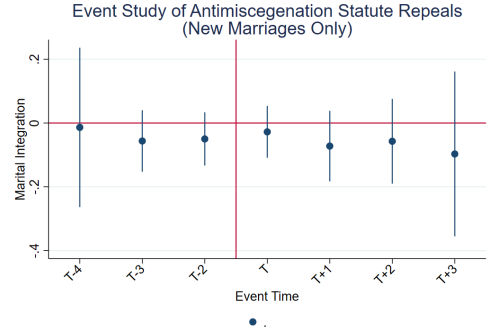
(b) Marital Integration

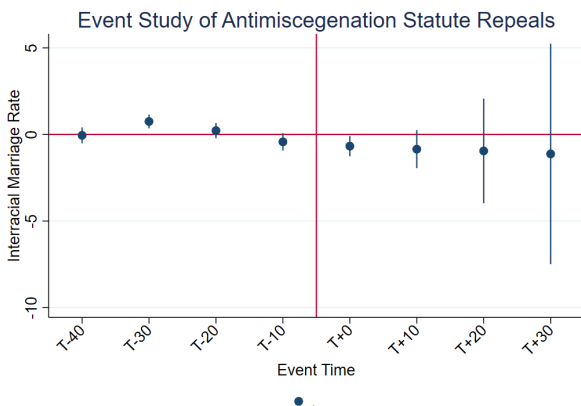(c) Interracial Marriage Rate

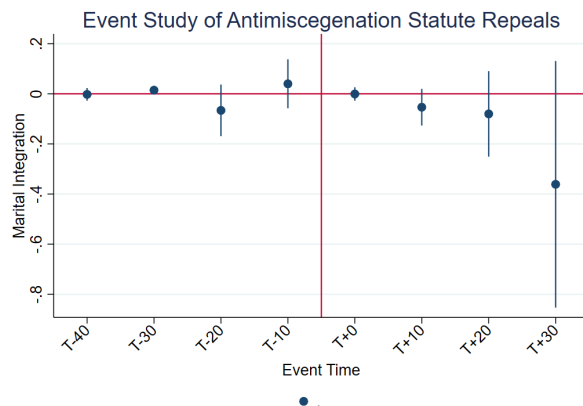(d) Marital Integration

(e) Interracial Marriage Rate

(f) Marital Integration

Source: Decennial Census 1850-2000, Author's calculations. In Panels (a) and (b), sample is restricted to 16-30-year-olds to approximate the sample of new marriages since the last Census. In Panels (c) and (d), sample is restricted to nonmigrants in all samples after 1940. In Panels (e) and (f), the interracial marriage outcomes are unconditional on marriage. Each series is an event study coefficient from a regression on a different outcome. Dependent variable is of IMR per 1000 marriages in Panels a, c, e and marital integration in Panels b, d, f. All specifications include state and time fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the state level were used to calculate 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A3: Callaway & Sant'anna (2021) Event Studies of Anti-miscegenation Statute Repeals

(a) Interracial Marriage Rate

(b) Marital Integration

Source: Decennial Census 1850-2000, Author's calculations. Each series is an event study coefficient from a regression on a different outcome, estimated using the methods outlined in Callaway and Sant'anna (2021). Dependent variable is IMR per 1000 marriages in Panel A and marital integration measure in Panel B. All specifications include state and time fixed effects. Standard errors clustered at the state level were used to calculate 95% confidence intervals.

(a) Child Loss Count   (b) Child Loss Indicator   (c) Share of Children Lost
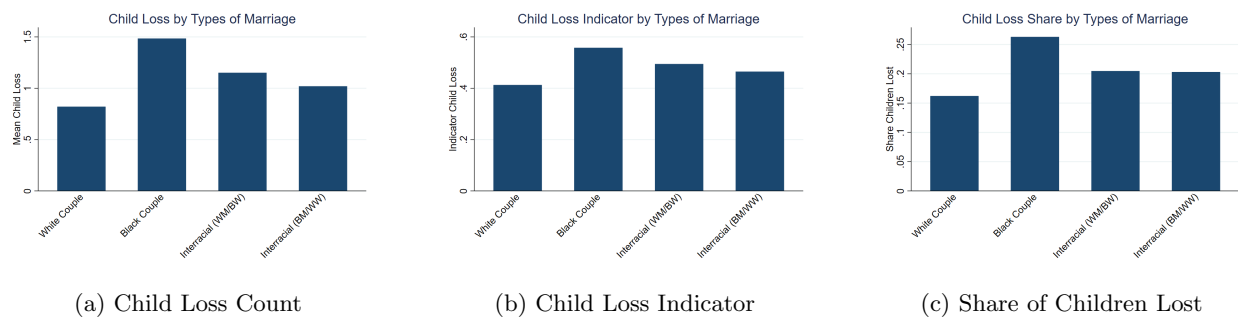
Figure A4: Child Loss Differences in 1910

Note: Child loss count is defined as the difference between children ever born and children surviving. The indicator measures whether any difference between these two values exists. The share divides the child loss count by the number of children ever born. These variables are only measured in the 1900 and 1910 census.

Source: IPUMS-USA Full Count 1910 Census; Authors' calculations.

Table A1: Predictiveness of County-Level IMR for County-Level Mixed-Race Ethnicity

	1880 Mixed Race	1880 Mixed Race	1990 Mixed Race	1990 Mixed Race
IMR	2.843***	1.643***	1.376***	1.361***
	(0.200)	(0.102)	(0.0670)	(0.0672)
Share Black		0.115***		0.0245**
		(0.00134)		(0.0108)
ymean	.0201	.0201	.036	.036
N	2538	2538	1726	1726

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Source: Decennial Census 1880 and 1990, Author's calculations. Unit of observation is a county. Outcome variable is fraction of county residents that identify as mixed-race. Columns 1 and 3 present bivariate regressions, while columns 2 and 4 control for share black at the county level.

Table A2: Effect of Legal Interracial Marriage on IMR (Sample Restrictions)

	New Marriages		Nonmigrants		Unconditional	
	IMR	Integration	IMR	Integration	IMR	Integration
Permanent Repeal	-1.095	-0.0144	-0.614	0.0763	-0.157	0.0286
	(2.225)	(0.142)	(1.290)	(0.106)	(0.748)	(0.0298)
ymean	7.53	.201	5.49	.301	2.53	.0622
N	711	702	711	704	711	711

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Source: Decennial Census 1850-2000, Author's calculations. In Columns 1 and 2, sample is restricted to 16-30-year-olds to approximate the sample of new marriages since the last Census. In Columns 3 and 4, sample is restricted to nonmigrants in all samples after 1940. In Columns 5 and 6, the interracial marriage outcomes are unconditional on marriage. Each entry is a difference-in-differences coefficient on a different outcome. All specifications include state and time fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. Columns 1, 3, and 5 present the effects on the state-level interracial marriage rate per 1000 marriages, μ_{st}^o. Columns 2, 4, and 6 present the effects on my state-level measure of marital integration, m_{st}.

Table A3: Effect of Legal Interracial Marriage on IMR (Early Repeals)

	Interracial Marriage	Marital Integration
Permanent Antimiscegenation Statute Repeal	0.226	0.0112
	(0.867)	(0.0783)
ymean	6.9	.208
N	278	278

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A4: Effect of Legal Interracial Marriage on IMR (Late Repeals)

	Interracial Marriage	Marital Integration
Permanent Antimiscegenation Statute Repeal	-3.128	-0.0208
	(2.334)	(0.118)
ymean	5.8	.191
N	591	585

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Source: Decennial Census 1850-2000, Author's calculations. In Columns 1 and 2, sample is restricted to 16-30-year-olds to approximate the sample of new marriages since the last Census. Each entry is a difference-in-differences coefficient on a different outcome. All specifications include state and time fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. Column 1 presents the effects on the state-level interracial marriage rate per 1000 marriages, μ_{st}^o. Column 2 presents the effects on my state-level measure of marital integration, m_{st}.

Table A5: Effect of Legal Interracial Marriage on IMR (Callaway and Sant'anna Never Treated)

	Interracial Marriage	Marital Integration
ATT	-0.173	-0.0862
	(1.365)	(0.0844)
Observations	540	540

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Source: Decennial Census 1850-2000, Author's calculations. Each entry is a difference-in-differences coefficient on a different outcome calculated using the specification from Callaway and Sant'anna (2021). All specifications include state and time fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. Column 1 presents the effects on the state-level interracial marriage rate per 1000 marriages, μ_{st}^o. Column 2 presents the effects on my state-level measure of marital integration, m_{st}. For these regressions, I restricted to a balanced panel of 36 states that are recorded in every Census from 1850-2000.

Table A6: Effect of Legal Interracial Marriage on IMR (Callaway and Sant'anna Not Yet Treated)

	Interracial Marriage	Marital Integration
ATT	-0.0918	-0.0841
	(1.370)	(0.0839)
Observations	540	540

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Source: Decennial Census 1850-2000, Author's calculations. Each entry is a difference-in-differences coefficient on a different outcome calculated using the specification from Callaway and Sant'anna (2021). All specifications include state and time fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the state level. Column 1 presents the effects on the state-level interracial marriage rate per 1000 marriages, μ_{st}^o. Column 2 presents the effects on my state-level measure of marital integration, m_{st}. For these regressions, I restricted to a balanced panel of 36 states that are recorded in every Census from 1850-2000.

Table A7: Year of Permanent Anti-miscegenation Statute Repeals (*indicates none in effect)

State Name	Abbreviation	Year
Alabama	AL	1967
Alaska	AK	*
Arizona	AZ	1962
Arkansas	AR	1967
California	CA	1948
Colorado	CO	1957
Connecticut	CT	*
Delaware	DE	1967
Florida	FL	1967
Georgia	GA	1967
Hawaii	HI	*
Idaho	ID	1959
Illinois	IL	1874
Indiana	IN	1965
Iowa	IA	1851
Kansas	KS	*
Kentucky	KY	1967
Louisiana	LA	1967
Maine	ME	1883
Maryland	MD	1967
Massachusetts	MA	1843
Michigan	MI	1883
Minnesota	MN	*
Mississippi	MS	1967
Missouri	MO	1967
Montana	MT	1953
Nebraska	NE	1963
Nevada	NV	1959
New Hampshire	NH	*
New Jersey	NJ	*
New Mexico	NM	*
New York	NY	*
North Carolina	NC	1967
North Dakota	ND	1955
Ohio	OH	1887
Oklahoma	OK	1967
Oregon	OR	1951
Pennsylvania	PA	1780
Rhode Island	RI	1881
South Carolina	SC	1967
South Dakota	SD	1957
Tennessee	TN	1967
Texas	TX	1967
Utah	UT	1963
Vermont	VT	*
Virginia	VA	1967
Washington	WA	*
West Virginia	WV	1967
Wisconsin	WI	*
Wyoming	WY	1965