

## II

### RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN, BY STATES <sup>1</sup>

#### FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE POPULATION GROWTH

It has been known for several decades to students of our population growth that foreign-born women raise larger families than native women. This is so obvious in any city that most observers are prone to conclude out of hand that the older stock everywhere is dying out. This has been the subject of much exaggeration and has had the effect of focusing attention upon the nationality aspects of our population growth to the almost complete ignoring of aspects of equal, if not greater, importance. Particularly have the social and economic conditions which encourage or repress the growth of population been ignored. These factors are of greater importance than the nationality factors, chiefly for two reasons.

In the first place, unbiased study reveals little in the nature of fundamental genetic differences between our older native stock and the newer foreign-born groups. Differences in temperament and training are likely to issue in different mental attitudes toward many of the most fundamental aspects of life, but such differences in values assigned to the "goods" of life certainly can not be attributed to essential superiorities or inferiorities of genetic constitution. If, therefore, we ever wish to exercise an effective control over the processes of population growth we can not look upon the exclusion of certain groups of foreign born as more than a preliminary step taken to gain time for a more fundamental study of the processes of internal population growth as they are now being determined by the selective forces at work.

In the second place, although the genetic constitution of individuals and groups can not, so far as we know, be changed by anything except selective breeding, the processes of population growth can be controlled to a considerable extent by conscious modification of the social and economic conditions of every day life.

In this study the whole question of the genetic constitution of different groups and nationalities will be put aside and attention will be focused on those economic and social conditions which seem to have more or less influence in determining the growth (or decline) of population in different communities in this country at the present time.

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<sup>1</sup> In order not to complicate the discussion unduly only white women will be considered in the greater part of this monograph. The discussion of the ratios of children to women among Negroes and the "Other colored" in our population will be found in Chapter VII.

TABLE 11.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY AND MARITAL CONDITION; NATIVE-FOREIGN RATIO INDEX; AND PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920<sup>1</sup>

DIVISION AND STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				INDEX, FOREIGN-BORN TO NATIVE WHITE <sup>2</sup>		Per cent of foreign-born whites in total population
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		All women	Married, widowed, or divorced women	
	Native white	Foreign-born white	Native white	Foreign-born white			
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
UNITED STATES <sup>3</sup> .....	538	779	725	911	1.45	1.26	13.0
<b>NEW ENGLAND</b> .....	393	747	632	921	1.90	1.46	25.3
Maine.....	515	732	695	896	1.42	1.29	14.0
New Hampshire.....	435	713	634	889	1.64	1.40	20.6
Vermont.....	525	829	707	961	1.58	1.36	12.6
Massachusetts.....	359	700	621	886	1.95	1.43	28.0
Rhode Island.....	363	755	615	939	2.08	1.53	28.7
Connecticut.....	371	886	593	1,014	2.39	1.71	27.3
<b>MIDDLE ATLANTIC</b> .....	429	789	633	935	1.84	1.48	22.1
New York.....	362	664	558	820	1.83	1.47	26.8
New Jersey.....	402	833	590	945	2.07	1.60	23.4
Pennsylvania.....	512	1,043	723	1,158	2.04	1.60	15.9
<b>EAST NORTH CENTRAL</b> .....	493	811	662	910	1.65	1.37	15.0
Ohio.....	482	866	638	951	1.80	1.49	11.8
Indiana.....	519	888	659	968	1.71	1.47	5.1
Illinois.....	450	734	629	844	1.63	1.34	18.6
Michigan.....	524	859	680	956	1.64	1.41	19.8
Wisconsin.....	548	862	786	955	1.57	1.22	17.5
<b>WEST NORTH CENTRAL</b> .....	554	849	745	967	1.53	1.30	10.9
Minnesota.....	538	831	811	959	1.54	1.18	20.4
Iowa.....	546	806	732	914	1.48	1.25	9.4
Missouri.....	510	609	664	704	1.19	1.09	5.5
North Dakota.....	722	1,199	987	1,333	1.66	1.35	20.3
South Dakota.....	670	980	885	1,102	1.46	1.25	12.9
Nebraska.....	578	836	764	940	1.45	1.23	11.5
Kansas.....	574	849	730	943	1.48	1.29	6.2
<b>SOUTH ATLANTIC</b> .....	713	831	911	941	1.17	1.03	2.3
Delaware.....	491	997	645	1,112	2.03	1.72	8.9
Maryland.....	507	753	697	874	1.49	1.25	7.0
Virginia.....	688	723	899	811	1.05	0.90	1.3
West Virginia.....	788	1,231	975	1,298	1.56	1.33	4.2
North Carolina.....	827	606	1,062	753	0.73	0.71	0.3
South Carolina.....	777	687	992	790	0.88	0.80	0.4
Georgia.....	731	560	909	658	0.77	0.72	0.6
Florida.....	627	636	758	739	1.01	0.97	4.4
<b>EAST SOUTH CENTRAL</b> .....	734	710	910	817	0.97	0.90	0.8
Kentucky.....	722	678	899	806	0.94	0.90	1.3
Tennessee.....	706	614	880	703	0.87	0.80	0.7
Alabama.....	786	771	959	867	0.98	0.90	0.8
Mississippi.....	740	851	924	953	1.15	1.03	0.4
<b>WEST SOUTH CENTRAL</b> .....	682	758	822	892	1.11	1.09	4.5
Arkansas.....	798	723	928	861	0.91	0.93	0.8
Louisiana.....	659	785	846	924	1.19	1.09	2.5
Oklahoma.....	722	807	835	885	1.12	1.06	2.0
Texas.....	630	751	772	889	1.19	1.15	7.7
<b>MOUNTAIN</b> .....	631	848	775	938	1.34	1.21	13.6
Montana.....	620	855	762	938	1.38	1.23	17.1
Idaho.....	729	870	863	950	1.19	1.10	9.0
Wyoming.....	593	890	698	948	1.50	1.36	13.0
Colorado.....	516	831	653	922	1.61	1.41	12.4
New Mexico.....	757	875	915	968	1.16	1.06	8.1
Arizona.....	580	830	691	930	1.43	1.35	23.4
Utah.....	788	883	983	993	1.12	1.01	12.6
Nevada.....	447	719	537	770	1.61	1.43	19.1
<b>PACIFIC</b> .....	398	582	504	677	1.50	1.34	18.6
Washington.....	462	591	583	674	1.28	1.16	18.4
Oregon.....	463	583	581	673	1.26	1.16	13.0
California.....	341	579	451	679	1.70	1.51	19.9

<sup>1</sup> Columns A, B, C, and D from Detailed Table I; column E obtained by dividing column B by column A; column F by dividing column D by column C; column G from Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Obtained by dividing the number of children per 1,000 foreign-born white women by the number per 1,000 native white women.

<sup>3</sup> District of Columbia included. Not shown separately.

FIGURE 1.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE: 1920

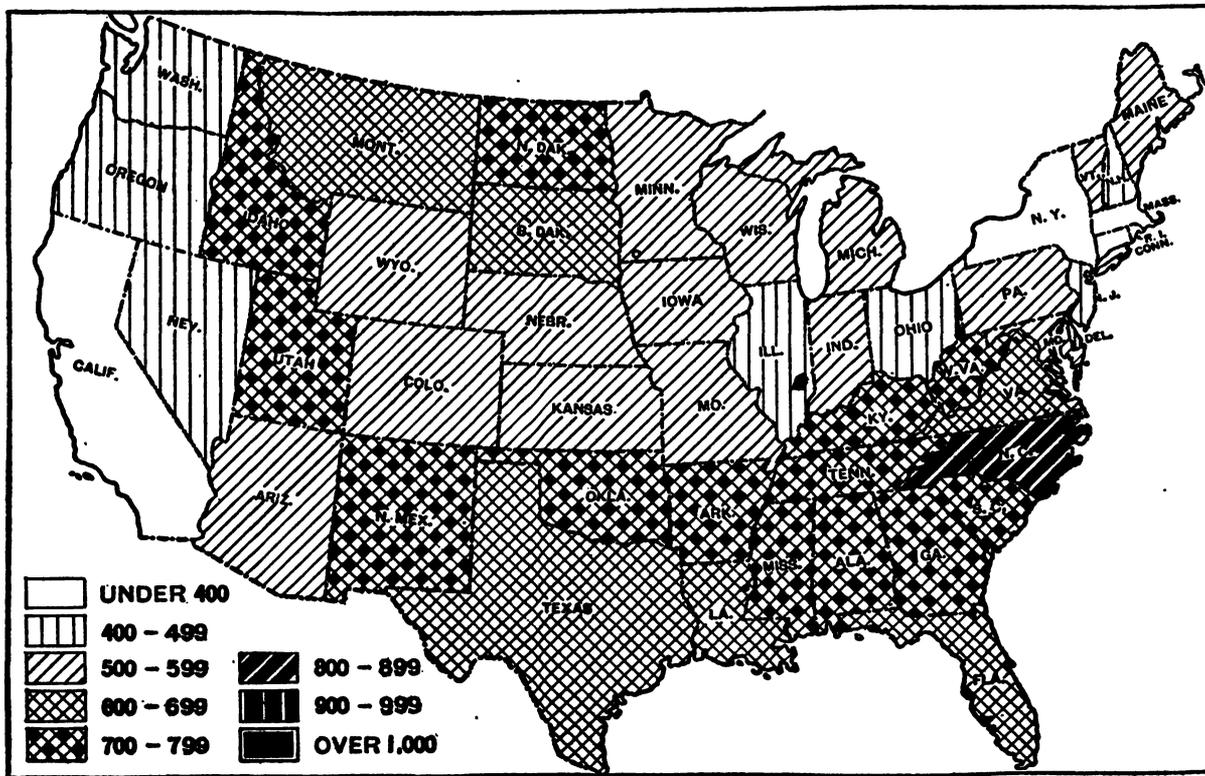
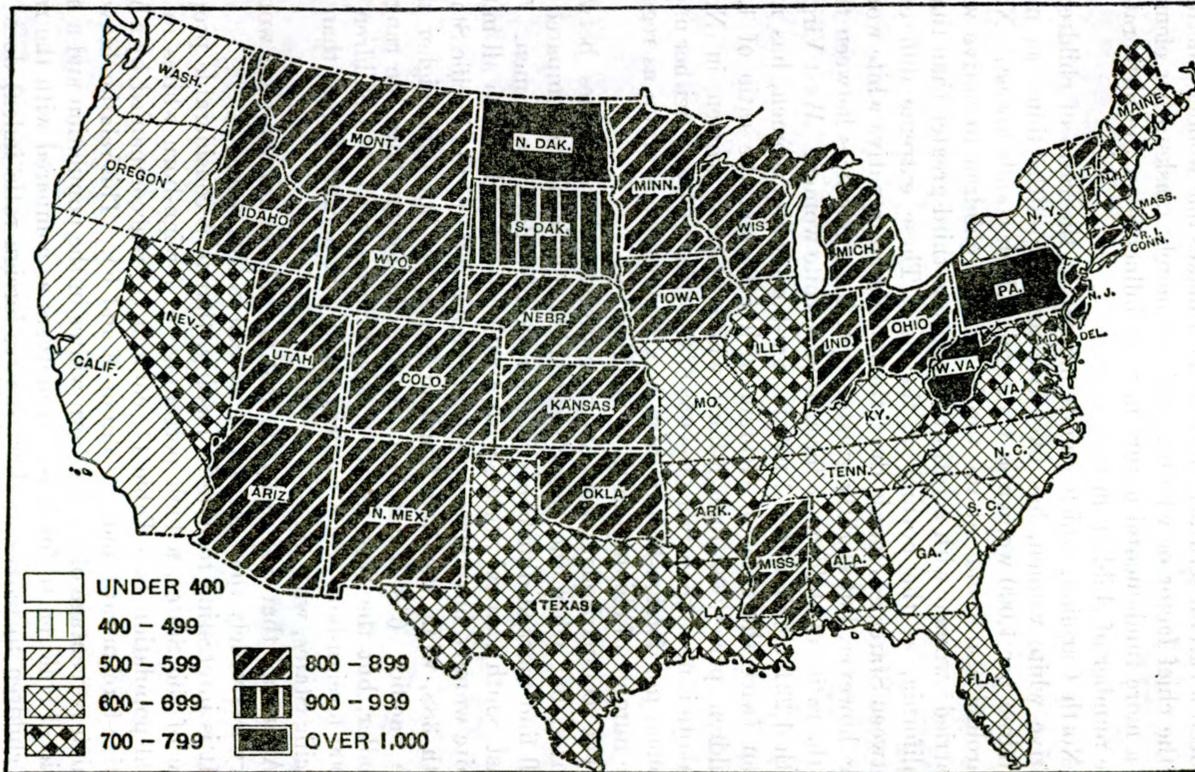


FIGURE 2.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE: 1920



BY STATES

## NATIVE AND FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN

Table 11 proves beyond question that being native or foreign born is only one factor in determining the number of children women bear. Indeed a careful scrutiny of these data makes one wonder whether it is the chief factor or whether nativity merely masks other elements of a more fundamental nature in their influence on the birth rate or the number of children in the family.

North Carolina, which stands highest in the ratio of children to native white women, has over two and two-fifths times as many children per 1,000 women as California which stands lowest. North Carolina also stands at the top in ratio of children to native white married<sup>2</sup> women with a ratio two and one-third greater than that of California, at the bottom of the list. These extreme differences between States as regards the ratio of children to native white women are, however, but slightly greater than the differences between them in the ratios of children to foreign-born white women. West Virginia with 1,231 children per 1,000 foreign-born white women, has more than twice the ratio of Georgia with 560; and the ratio of 1,333 children per 1,000 foreign-born white married women in North Dakota is more than twice the 658 of Georgia. Clearly neither native women nor foreign-born women is a homogeneous group as regards the number of children in their families.

The comparisons made above represent the extremes between States, but when the larger geographic divisions are compared we still find marked differences in the ratio of children to women. The East South Central States, with a ratio of 734 children to all native white women, have almost twice as high a ratio as the Pacific States, with 388, while the New England States are but little higher than the Pacific. (See Table 11.) Among the foreign born the range is smaller, but the West North Central States, with 849 children per 1,000 foreign-born white women, stand considerably higher than the Pacific States, with 582.

About all that can really be said is that the foreign-born women vary less widely than the native women in this respect.

It is interesting to note in passing, that in a considerable proportion of the States, a high percentage of foreign-born whites in the total population (see Table 11, column G) is accompanied by a high native-foreign ratio index (columns E and F). This relation between a high percentage of foreign-born whites in the population and a high ratio of children to foreign-born mothers as compared with the ratio of children to native mothers (native-foreign ratio index) does not hold for all States. The Pacific States are a conspicuous exception. But in the Southern States where there are practically no immigrants

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<sup>2</sup> Attention is called to the fact that in this discussion the term "married women" is used to include also widowed and divorced women.

and in the Northeastern States where there are large numbers of immigrants, this relationship between a large or a small proportion of foreign born in the population and a high or low native-foreign ratio index is very clearly marked. Of the New England States, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut have considerably higher native-foreign ratio indexes (see Table 11) than Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, and they also have a larger proportion of foreign born. In the central part of the country and through the Mountain States, there are some exceptions to this relation, for example, Ohio and Indiana, with smaller proportions of foreign-born whites in the population than Illinois and Michigan, yet with higher native-foreign ratio indexes. These differences are not very great. Nevertheless, the tendency of the native women to have fewer children where immigrants are numerous, or perhaps of foreign-born women to have many children where the foreign born are numerous, is sufficiently apparent to suggest that there is some truth in General Walker's theory<sup>3</sup> that the immigrants entering a community are not a direct addition to its numbers but rather serve as substitutes for births which would have taken place had they been excluded.

It appears, however, that there are other conditions more important in determining the native birth rate of communities than the presence or absence of immigrants in considerable numbers. It seems probable that the very nature of modern commerce and industry is such as to cause a decline in the birth rate among the people engaged in them. It is one of the chief contentions of this study that the industry and commerce of to-day, issuing as they do in city living, undermine the traditional family life of people engaged in them, with the consequence that the individual is driven more and more to consider his own interests, apart from his relations to life at large. When once this mode of valuing one's position in life becomes common, a decline in the size of families is inevitable.

The native-foreign ratio indexes in columns E and F of Table 11 will repay further consideration. In most cases these indexes show a very much larger ratio of children to foreign-born white women than to native white women.<sup>4</sup> In the entire United States, for all women 20 to 44, the index is 1.45. This means that the native white women would have to raise almost one-half more children than they do in order to equal the foreign-born white women. The largest index, indicating the greatest excess in the ratio of children

<sup>3</sup> Walker, Francis A., *Discussions on Economics and Statistics*, Vol. II, pp. 422 and 441.

<sup>4</sup> It is rather likely that the underenumeration of white children under 5, referred to in Chap. I, is greater in the case of the foreign born than in the case of the natives. If so, these indexes would be larger and in general the comparisons between the foreign born and the natives made in this study would understate the actual differences between them. Inasmuch as we have no indication how far this is the case no allowance can be made in the figures used; but the reader may be cautioned that the differences here given are a minimum.

to foreign-born women over the ratio of children to native women is in Connecticut. Here the native white women would have to raise two and one-third times the children they now do to equal the ratio of their foreign-born neighbors. In several of the Southern States, on the other hand, the index is less than 1.0, indicating that the native white women raise more children in proportion to their own numbers than the foreign-born white women, and in the remainder of the Southern States, as also in Utah, Idaho, and Missouri, the indexes approach 1.0, indicating practically identical ratios of children in the two groups. It is in the urban industrial States of the Northeast that the native-foreign ratio index is especially high.

#### MARITAL CONDITION AND PARENTAGE

The native-foreign ratio index is always greater for all women than for married women, due to the fact that a considerably larger proportion of foreign-born white women than of native white women are married. Table 12 shows these differences for the more important nativity groups. For the United States as a whole 74.2 per cent of the native white women are married while 85.5 per cent of the foreign-born women are married. This fact will account for the difference between the two indexes referred to above (Table 11, columns E and F, 1.45 and 1.26) for the United States. The larger the proportion of married women in a given age group in any population, the more closely the ratio of children to all women will approach the ratio of children to married women.

A native-foreign ratio index of 1.26 for married women in the United States means that the children (under 5 years of age) among the foreign-born white married women are one-fourth more numerous than those of native white married women. This is certainly an important difference, though not as large as is generally supposed. The comparisons usually made between the native and foreign-born in regard to size of families are based on data gathered in the cities of the Northeast industrial States, where, as we shall see, the ratio of children to foreign-born women is greatly in excess of that of native women (Chaps. III and IV). When all States are considered, as is done here, the relatively large families of the natives in the Southern States and many of the Western States bring the ratio of children to native white women much closer to the ratio for foreign-born white women than is the case in the more highly industrialized sections of the country. This is clear when the native-foreign ratio indexes for the New England and the Middle Atlantic States are compared with those for the Southern, Mountain, and West North Central States.

In the case of the foreign-born women it is easy to understand why a very large proportion of them should be married: to find any considerable number of them who were not married would be the surprising thing. They come to this country largely as the wives of immigrants. Comparatively few immigrant women over 20 years of age are single. As for the foreign-born girls under 20 most of them live in a community which is essentially foreign. It is but natural that they should be guided in their conduct by the customs of the "old country" as expressed in the wishes of their parents and marry at a rather early age.

It is not such an easy matter to account for the lower proportion of married women in the native population—especially for the very low proportion among the native white women of foreign or mixed parentage. Among the native white population of native parentage we would expect that the percentage married would be somewhat lower than among the foreign born. There are always a considerable number of women who do not marry because of poor health. Such women do not migrate; hence, they are largely absent from our foreign-born population. Furthermore, a certain family and community pressure favoring early marriage which, apparently, is still exerted on girls of foreign birth is largely removed in the case of native women of native parentage. A certain number of these do not marry until relatively late in life and thus cut down the proportion of married women at the ages when they are most likely to contribute children to the next generation. Besides, in the native white population of native parentage, the proportion of young women 20 to 24, that is, below the age at which marriage is general among natives, is a much larger part of all women 20 to 44 than among the foreign-born women. These factors will go far to explain the differences between the foreign-born white women and the native white women of native parentage in proportion of married women. They do not, however, throw any light on the differences between States in their proportions of married women.

## RATIO OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN

TABLE 12.—PER CENT MARRIED AND RANK OF WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920<sup>1</sup>

DIVISION AND STATE	PER CENT MARRIED AND RANK							
	Native white						Foreign-born white	
	Total		Native parentage		Foreign or mixed parentage		Married	Rank
	Married	Rank	Married	Rank	Married	Rank		
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	
UNITED STATES <sup>2</sup> .....	74.2	-----	77.0	-----	67.3	-----	85.5	-----
NEW ENGLAND.....	62.2	-----	67.7	-----	56.1	-----	81.1	-----
Maine.....	74.1	36	76.7	33	65.9	39	81.7	45
New Hampshire.....	68.6	42	73.2	40	60.6	45	80.2	47
Vermont.....	74.2	35	75.5	37	70.4	29	86.3	34
Massachusetts.....	57.9	48	63.0	48	53.5	48	79.0	48
Rhode Island.....	59.1	47	64.4	47	55.3	47	80.4	45
Connecticut.....	62.5	46	66.6	46	58.3	46	87.3	27
MIDDLE ATLANTIC.....	67.7	-----	70.8	-----	62.8	-----	84.5	-----
New York.....	64.8	45	68.0	44	61.1	44	81.0	44
New Jersey.....	68.2	43	71.1	42	64.4	43	88.2	25
Pennsylvania.....	70.9	40	73.0	41	65.3	41	90.0	18
EAST NORTH CENTRAL.....	74.7	-----	76.7	-----	70.2	-----	89.0	-----
Ohio.....	75.6	32	77.1	32	70.8	28	91.0	8
Indiana.....	78.7	22	79.7	21	72.9	20	91.7	4
Illinois.....	71.6	39	75.0	38	66.8	38	86.9	29
Michigan.....	77.2	26	79.7	22	74.0	15	89.8	15
Wisconsin.....	69.8	41	67.9	43	71.0	27	90.2	10
WEST NORTH CENTRAL.....	74.5	-----	77.1	-----	69.9	-----	88.0	-----
Minnesota.....	66.3	44	68.0	45	65.4	40	86.6	31
Iowa.....	74.6	34	75.9	36	72.1	23	88.3	24
Missouri.....	76.7	27	78.5	25	69.8	30	86.4	33
North Dakota.....	73.2	37	76.6	35	71.3	25	90.0	12
South Dakota.....	75.7	30	77.4	31	74.1	13	88.9	21
Nebraska.....	75.6	31	77.8	28	72.6	21	88.9	23
Kansas.....	78.7	21	80.1	20	73.7	17	90.0	14
SOUTH ATLANTIC.....	78.2	-----	78.7	-----	69.6	-----	86.3	-----
Delaware.....	76.0	29	77.8	29	67.4	36	89.6	16
Maryland.....	72.8	38	74.0	39	67.5	35	86.1	35
Virginia.....	76.5	28	76.7	34	69.6	31	89.2	19
West Virginia.....	80.8	12	81.3	15	71.8	24	94.9	1
North Carolina.....	77.9	24	78.0	27	68.6	34	80.4	46
South Carolina.....	78.3	23	78.5	26	67.4	37	86.9	30
Georgia.....	80.5	13	80.7	17	69.2	32	85.1	38
Florida.....	82.7	8	83.4	8	77.2	19	86.1	36
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	80.7	-----	81.2	-----	67.9	-----	86.9	-----
Kentucky.....	80.4	14	81.4	14	65.2	42	84.1	41
Tennessee.....	80.3	15	80.6	18	69.0	33	87.3	28
Alabama.....	82.0	9	82.2	11	73.7	18	89.0	20
Mississippi.....	80.1	17	80.3	19	73.1	19	89.3	17
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	82.9	-----	83.6	-----	76.5	-----	85.0	-----
Arkansas.....	86.0	2	86.3	2	77.3	8	83.9	42
Louisiana.....	77.8	25	78.7	24	71.2	26	85.0	39
Oklahoma.....	86.4	1	86.8	1	80.8	6	91.2	7
Texas.....	81.7	10	82.4	10	76.7	11	84.5	40
MOUNTAIN.....	81.5	-----	82.7	-----	78.9	-----	90.4	-----
Montana.....	81.3	11	83.5	7	78.1	7	91.2	6
Idaho.....	84.4	4	84.9	4	83.2	1	91.6	5
Wyoming.....	84.9	3	85.9	3	82.2	3	93.9	2
Colorado.....	79.1	20	81.0	16	74.0	16	90.1	11
New Mexico.....	82.8	7	83.4	9	77.2	10	90.4	9
Arizona.....	83.9	5	84.6	5	81.9	4	89.3	18
Utah.....	80.2	16	79.1	23	81.4	5	88.9	22
Nevada.....	83.3	6	83.8	6	82.7	2	93.3	3
PACIFIC.....	77.1	-----	79.2	-----	73.2	-----	85.9	-----
Washington.....	79.3	19	81.8	13	74.8	12	87.7	26
Oregon.....	79.7	18	82.0	12	74.1	14	86.6	32
California.....	75.6	33	77.5	30	72.4	22	85.2	37

<sup>1</sup> Columns A, C, E, and G from Detailed Table II.<sup>2</sup> District of Columbia included. Not shown separately.

TABLE 13.—PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION, BY NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE AND, FOR URBAN, BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY, BY DIVISIONS: 1920<sup>1</sup>

DIVISION	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION <sup>2</sup>								
	Total population	Rural population	Urban population						
			Total	Size of community					
				500,000 and over	100,000 to 500,000	25,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 25,000	2,500 to 10,000	
<b>UNITED STATES:</b>									
Native white.....	76.7	79.5	74.1	66.9	73.9	75.9	78.7	81.6	
Native parentage.....	55.3	65.9	45.2	29.3	45.7	49.3	54.1	60.9	
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	21.5	13.6	28.9	37.6	28.2	26.5	24.6	20.6	
Foreign-born white.....	13.0	6.5	19.1	28.4	17.2	16.9	14.2	11.3	
<b>NEW ENGLAND:</b>									
Native white.....	73.6	84.5	70.7	65.7	67.0	70.1	74.4	77.6	
Native parentage.....	37.9	60.9	31.8	24.3	26.0	30.6	36.7	44.0	
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	35.7	23.6	38.9	41.4	41.0	39.5	37.6	33.6	
Foreign-born white.....	25.3	14.9	28.0	31.9	30.8	29.0	25.1	21.8	
<b>MIDDLE ATLANTIC:</b>									
Native white.....	75.2	86.4	71.4	65.2	74.1	76.5	78.9	82.2	
Native parentage.....	43.3	65.4	35.8	26.3	36.8	44.6	49.0	54.4	
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	31.9	21.0	35.5	38.9	37.2	31.9	31.0	27.8	
Foreign-born white.....	22.1	12.0	25.4	30.8	23.6	20.8	18.6	15.9	
<b>EAST NORTH CENTRAL:</b>									
Native white.....	82.5	90.6	77.3	66.1	80.1	81.5	84.9	87.3	
Native parentage.....	54.9	69.1	45.8	26.0	51.2	53.5	58.2	63.4	
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	27.6	21.5	31.5	40.1	28.9	27.9	26.7	23.9	
Foreign-born white.....	15.0	8.4	19.2	29.7	14.8	15.7	12.8	10.9	
<b>WEST NORTH CENTRAL:</b>									
Native white.....	86.5	88.9	82.6	77.5	78.3	84.8	86.0	87.4	
Native parentage.....	59.6	62.0	55.6	46.5	47.6	59.7	62.5	64.2	
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	26.9	26.9	27.0	31.0	30.7	25.0	23.5	23.2	
Foreign-born white.....	10.9	9.8	12.8	13.4	16.6	12.4	9.8	10.2	
<b>SOUTH ATLANTIC:</b>									
Native white.....	66.7	65.9	68.4	73.8	66.9	64.5	69.2	70.2	
Native parentage.....	62.8	64.4	59.0	51.6	56.1	57.4	64.9	66.6	
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	4.0	1.5	9.5	22.2	10.7	7.1	4.4	3.6	
Foreign-born white.....	2.3	1.0	5.1	11.4	5.9	4.0	2.4	2.2	
<b>EAST SOUTH CENTRAL:</b>									
Native white.....	70.8	71.3	68.9	66.4	72.6	64.0	72.4	72.4	
Native parentage.....	68.5	70.5	61.7	55.9	62.5	60.3	69.0	69.0	
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	2.3	0.9	7.2	10.5	10.1	3.7	3.4	3.4	
Foreign-born white.....	0.8	0.3	2.4	3.7	2.9	1.4	1.2	1.2	
<b>WEST SOUTH CENTRAL:</b>									
Native white.....	74.8	74.9	74.3	70.5	73.0	74.6	79.1	79.1	
Native parentage.....	68.0	69.5	64.1	55.4	62.6	66.4	73.1	73.1	
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	6.8	5.4	10.2	15.1	10.4	8.2	6.0	6.0	
Foreign-born white.....	4.5	3.3	7.4	9.5	9.6	6.9	4.0	4.0	
<b>MOUNTAIN:</b>									
Native white.....	82.7	82.5	83.1	82.6	80.1	83.3	84.6	84.6	
Native parentage.....	60.0	61.6	57.2	53.6	52.7	58.0	61.7	61.7	
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	22.7	20.9	25.9	29.0	27.4	26.3	22.9	22.9	
Foreign-born white.....	13.6	12.8	14.9	15.2	17.0	14.7	13.9	13.9	
<b>PACIFIC:</b>									
Native white.....	77.6	78.8	76.9	72.4	76.0	78.9	81.3	82.0	
Native parentage.....	51.9	55.5	49.7	42.6	47.4	52.1	58.5	59.1	
Foreign or mixed parentage.....	25.7	23.3	27.2	29.8	28.7	26.7	22.8	22.9	
Foreign-born white.....	18.6	16.7	19.7	23.3	20.5	18.0	16.2	15.5	

<sup>1</sup> Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 90-93.

<sup>2</sup> The per cents do not add to 100 because figures for "Negroes" and "Other colored" are omitted.

The differences between States in the proportion of married women of the same nativity group are to be explained largely on the basis of the degree of rurality of the State. The most casual inspection of Table 12 will show that, in general, the highly industrialized States rank low in the proportion of married women in all nativity groups, while the rural States rank high. If columns E and F in Table 15 (the per cents of the white population that are rural) are studied in connection with Table 12, the correspondence in the native population between a high marriage rate, a high percentage of rural population and a high ratio of children to native white women, is quite marked, and is very significant as will be shown in due time. At present, however, particular attention is called to the fact that, as a rule, a State holds much the same rank in the proportion of married women in each of the four nativity groups considered here although, as would be expected, there are a good many exceptions in the case of the foreign-born women (Table 12). Massachusetts, for example, is the lowest (48) in all four groups; New York is 44 in three groups and 45 in the other. The Northeastern States are generally quite low in all groups, the foreign-born women in Pennsylvania being the outstanding exception. At the other extreme, the West South Central and Mountain States are, with a few exceptions, high in all groups.

In general, the conditions that seem to favor a high marriage rate are those existing where agriculture is the leading interest of the State and those discouraging marriage are urban living and non-agricultural work.

The fact that in all but two States (Wisconsin and Utah) the proportion of married women among the native born of foreign or mixed parentage is lower than among the native white women of native parentage is to be explained in part by the difference in the living conditions of these two groups. Table 13 shows that the native born of foreign or mixed parentage live much more largely in cities than the native born of native parentage. Briefly, whereas the native whites of foreign or mixed parentage constitute 21.5 per cent of the total population, they are 28.9 per cent of the urban but only 13.6 per cent of the rural population. In cities of over 500,000 they are 37.6 per cent of the population and it is precisely in the larger cities that marriage is least frequent as can be seen by referring to Table 21.

TABLE 14.—PER CENT AND RANK OF NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED, BY PARENTAGE, FOR DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920 <sup>1</sup>

DIVISION AND STATE	WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER				DIVISION AND STATE	WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER			
	Native white—native parentage		Native white—foreign or mixed parentage			Native white—native parentage		Native white—foreign or mixed parentage	
	Per cent gainfully employed	Rank	Per cent gainfully employed	Rank		Per cent gainfully employed	Rank	Per cent gainfully employed	Rank
UNITED STATES <sup>2</sup>	17.2		24.8		SOUTH ATLANTIC—Con.				
NEW ENGLAND.....	25.0		36.0		Virginia.....	12.9	39	19.1	27
Maine.....	19.1	10	25.8	8	West Virginia.....	10.5	48	15.5	41
New Hampshire.....	22.4	5	34.4	3	North Carolina.....	16.4	23	18.5	29
Vermont.....	18.8	13	22.8	14	South Carolina.....	20.4	8	20.5	24
Massachusetts.....	28.2	2	37.8	2	Georgia.....	16.2	24	21.0	20
Rhode Island.....	28.5	1	40.1	1	Florida.....	12.9	40	19.4	25
Connecticut.....	25.5	3	34.2	4	EAST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	12.5		20.9	
MIDDLE ATLANTIC.....	22.2		28.5		Kentucky.....	10.9	46	23.4	12
New York.....	25.2	4	30.5	5	Tennessee.....	11.7	45	19.2	26
New Jersey.....	22.0	6	28.9	6	Alabama.....	15.2	27	16.2	37
Pennsylvania.....	20.0	9	24.8	9	Mississippi.....	14.1	35	15.8	39
EAST NORTH CENTRAL.....	17.3		22.9		WEST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	12.8		16.4	
Ohio.....	17.2	20	21.5	17	Arkansas.....	12.0	43	15.7	40
Indiana.....	15.1	28	18.8	28	Louisiana.....	12.9	41	17.7	32
Illinois.....	18.0	17	27.0	7	Oklahoma.....	12.1	42	13.9	47
Michigan.....	18.2	16	20.7	22	Texas.....	13.4	36	16.6	33
Wisconsin.....	19.0	11	20.8	21	MOUNTAIN.....	14.4		17.1	
WEST NORTH CENTRAL.....	15.3		18.3		Montana.....	14.7	32	17.9	31
Minnesota.....	18.8	14	21.2	19	Idaho.....	11.8	44	13.1	48
Iowa.....	15.3	26	16.4	34	Wyoming.....	14.9	31	16.3	35
Missouri.....	15.6	25	22.6	15	Colorado.....	17.1	22	20.7	23
North Dakota.....	14.6	33	14.3	44	New Mexico.....	10.7	47	16.3	36
South Dakota.....	14.3	34	14.2	45	Arizona.....	15.1	29	15.0	42
Nebraska.....	15.0	30	15.8	38	Utah.....	13.3	38	14.8	43
Kansas.....	13.3	37	14.1	46	Nevada.....	17.8	18	18.5	30
SOUTH ATLANTIC.....	15.4		21.6		PACIFIC.....	19.9		22.7	
Delaware.....	17.2	21	23.7	11	Washington.....	18.4	15	21.3	18
Maryland.....	19.0	12	24.7	10	Oregon.....	17.7	19	21.9	16
					California.....	21.1	7	23.4	13

<sup>1</sup> Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, Population, 1920, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

Table 19 (Chap. III) shows that in cities over 100,000 the differences in the proportion of native white married women of native parentage and native white married women of foreign or mixed parentage, are considerably less than between the same groups in the States. (Table 12, Chap. II.) Thus in New York State the per cent of married native white women of native parentage exceeds the per cent of married native white women of foreign or mixed parentage by 6.9 points but in New York City by only 3.2 points, in Buffalo by 1.9 points, in Rochester by 3.5 points, in Syracuse by 6.1 points, and in Albany by 2.4 points. Thus, the excess in the big cities of the State averages just about half of that in the State as a whole. In Rhode Island the per cent excess of married native white women of native parentage is 9.1 points and in Providence 7.6 points. If one goes through these Tables

(12 and 19) and bears in mind the data in Table 13 on the proportions of the different nativity groups living in communities of different sizes, it becomes increasingly clear that a considerable part of the difference between the per cents of native white women of native parentage who are married and the per cents of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage who are married is due to the fact that the latter live chiefly in the cities.

The reasons for the differences in proportion of married women in the cities will be discussed in the following chapter. The fact that native white women of foreign or mixed parentage find it more generally necessary to work at gainful occupations than native white women of native parentage affects the comparative marriage rate. Since the economic difficulties encountered in setting up a home and maintaining it in an industrialized community probably fall more heavily upon the children of immigrants than upon those of the native born, it seems natural that these children of foreign or mixed parentage should show greater hesitancy in undertaking this enterprise and should be more frequently employed outside the home than native women of native parentage. (See Table 14.)

Still another factor that may contribute to the greater reluctance of women of foreign or mixed parentage to marry is the probably greater lack of knowledge of birth-control methods on their part than on the part of women of native parentage. There may be also selective factors in marriage which tend to lower the rate for the native women of foreign or mixed parentage, such as general disorganization of life attendant upon being reared in a foreign family in an environment where everything is a misfit to some extent.

The points just discussed probably account in large measure for the differences in the proportion of married women in the different nativity and locality groups. As the discussion proceeds it will be found that some of these factors are also important in explaining differences in the ratios of children to women in the different groups. The reasonable inference from this fact appears to be that many of the same conditions which lead women to postpone or forego marriage also lead them to limit the size of their families after marriage. This view will be discussed more fully later.

In Table 15, the States are arranged according to their rank in the ratio of children to native white women. Certain other factors which it was thought might have some casual connection with the ratio of children to women are also given and the States are given rankings in each factor.

It is obvious at a glance that there is a large degree of correspondence between the ratio of children in a State and the proportion of its population that is rural (columns A and E). Thus of the 10 States ranking highest (1-10) in the ratio of children to women, 6 rank 1-10 in the proportion of rural population and 3 others rank 11-15 in this

respect. Utah is the only State with a very high ratio (ranking 3) of children which has a low proportion (32) of rural population. If the 20 States ranking highest (1-20) in ratio of children are considered it will be found that only 4 rank lower than 20 in the proportion of rural population. At the other end, of the 20 States ranking lowest (29-48) in the ratio of children only 2 rank higher, that is, 1-29, in the proportion of the population that is rural. This very close correspondence between the degree of rurality and the ratio of children is quite striking and is one of the most important facts brought out in this study and one that will be recurred to a number of times.

The next factor to be taken account of here is the relation between the ratio of children to native white women and the extent to which these women are the children of foreign or mixed parentage (columns A and G). In general, the higher the ratio of children to native white women the lower the proportion of native white women 20 to 44 who are of foreign or mixed parentage. Of the 10 States having the highest ratios of children (ranking 1 to 10) 7 fall within the 10 (ranking 39 to 48) having the smallest proportion of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage. One other, New Mexico (37) just misses inclusion and only 2, Idaho (20) and Utah (8), rank rather high in the proportion of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage. Of the States ranking 11 to 20 in ratio of children, only 3 have a rank of 1 to 20 in proportion of native white women of foreign and mixed parentage. Two of these, South Dakota (6) and North Dakota (2), have high percentages of rural population. At the other extreme, of the 10 States having the lowest ratio of children to women (ranking 39-48) 4 rank 1 to 10 in proportion of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage, and the other 6 rank 10 to 20 in this respect. The Pacific Coast States are those most markedly out of line here as in many other comparisons.

This inverse relationship between the ratio of children to native white women and the proportion of native white women of foreign or mixed parentage can be explained in large part by the fact that native white women of foreign or mixed parentage live chiefly in the larger cities of the more highly urbanized States. Thus again urban and rural living must be taken into consideration as an important factor.

#### WOMEN GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

The relationship between the employment of women, (columns A and I, Table 15) and the ratio of children in the native white population is also clearly marked. A high ratio of children is not always present where few women are employed: out of the 20 States ranking highest in children, 16 rank 29-48, that is, among the 20 lowest in the proportion of women gainfully employed. At the other extreme, of the 20 States ranking lowest (29-48) in the ratio of children, 16

## RATIO OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN

TABLE 15.—STATES RANKED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RANKINGS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS: 1920<sup>1</sup>

STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				RURAL WHITE POPULATION		NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE		NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total white population	Rank	Per cent of total native white women 20 to 44 years of age	Rank	Per cent of total native white women 10 years of age and over	Rank
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank						
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
North Carolina.....	827	1	1,062	1	81.2	5	0.7	48	16.4	24
Arkansas.....	798	2	928	7	83.1	4	3.6	41	12.2	42
Utah.....	788	3	983	4	51.7	32	47.2	8	13.9	36
West Virginia.....	788	4	975	5	74.8	12	4.8	40	10.8	48
Alabama.....	786	5	959	6	78.4	8	2.7	43	15.2	31
South Carolina.....	777	6	992	2	78.3	9	1.6	47	20.4	11
New Mexico.....	757	7	915	9	81.1	6	10.0	37	11.2	47
Mississippi.....	740	8	924	8	83.4	3	2.5	44	14.2	35
Georgia.....	731	9	909	10	73.1	14	2.0	46	16.3	25
Idaho.....	729	10	863	15	72.4	15	29.0	20	12.1	44
North Dakota.....	722	11	987	3	86.3	1	64.8	2	14.4	33
Kentucky.....	722	12	899	12	75.8	11	6.6	39	11.7	46
Oklahoma.....	722	13	835	17	73.3	13	6.8	38	12.2	43
Tennessee.....	706	14	880	14	76.6	10	2.5	45	11.9	45
Virginia.....	688	15	899	11	71.3	16	3.1	42	13.1	41
South Dakota.....	670	16	885	13	83.6	2	51.3	6	14.3	34
Louisiana.....	659	17	846	16	60.1	27	10.9	35	13.5	40
Texas.....	630	18	772	20	67.1	21	12.6	34	13.8	37
Florida.....	627	19	758	23	63.2	24	10.1	36	13.6	38
Montana.....	620	20	762	22	68.2	20	40.5	14	16.0	26
Wyoming.....	593	21	698	28	70.6	17	27.8	22	15.3	30
Arizona.....	580	22	691	31	61.0	26	26.0	25	15.1	32
Nebraska.....	578	23	764	21	69.3	18	40.9	13	15.3	29
Kansas.....	574	24	730	25	66.4	22	22.2	29	13.5	39
Wisconsin.....	548	25	786	19	52.6	30	59.5	3	20.0	14
Iowa.....	546	26	732	24	63.9	23	35.8	19	15.7	28
Minnesota.....	538	27	811	18	56.0	28	65.4	1	20.3	12
Vermont.....	525	28	707	27	68.8	19	25.4	26	19.8	15
Michigan.....	524	29	680	32	39.3	37	44.8	10	19.2	17
Indiana.....	519	30	659	34	50.5	33	14.0	33	15.7	27
Colorado.....	516	31	653	35	52.1	31	26.9	24	18.0	22
Maine.....	515	32	695	30	61.0	25	23.8	28	20.6	10
Pennsylvania.....	512	33	723	26	36.4	41	27.7	23	21.4	9
Missouri.....	510	34	664	33	55.0	29	19.7	30	16.8	23
Maryland.....	507	35	697	29	38.2	38	18.6	31	20.1	13
Delaware.....	491	36	645	36	44.1	36	16.8	32	18.3	20
Ohio.....	482	37	638	37	36.8	40	24.3	27	18.3	19
Oregon.....	483	38	581	45	50.1	34	28.9	21	18.8	18
Washington.....	462	39	583	44	44.7	35	36.0	18	19.4	16
Illinois.....	450	40	629	39	32.7	42	42.1	12	21.7	8
Nevada.....	447	41	537	47	79.1	7	39.0	15	18.1	21
New Hampshire.....	435	42	634	38	36.9	39	36.6	17	26.3	5
New Jersey.....	402	43	590	43	21.6	45	43.2	11	25.0	6
Connecticut.....	371	44	593	42	32.4	43	49.8	7	29.8	3
Rhode Island.....	363	45	615	41	2.5	48	58.1	4	35.1	1
New York.....	362	46	558	46	17.5	46	46.8	9	27.7	4
Massachusetts.....	359	47	621	40	5.3	47	53.6	5	33.2	2
California.....	341	48	451	48	31.4	44	36.9	16	21.9	7

<sup>1</sup> Columns A and C from Detailed Table I; column E by subtraction, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 80-87; column G, special tabulation by Bureau of the Census; column I, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. IV, Occupations, 1920, p. 362.

rank 1 to 20 in proportion of employed women. North and South Carolina are the two most outstanding exceptions in this respect, but Florida and Georgia are also considerably out of line. The recent rapid movement of cotton manufacturing into the South has drawn many native women and girls into the mills, but apparently the customs regarding marriage and childbearing which were prevalent among them when they were living in rural districts still persist in their new surroundings. The practice of birth control seems to have made little headway among them as yet, with the result that the number of children born and surviving is large. We have an exactly parallel case in the recently arrived immigrants whose customs regarding marriage and childbearing have been developed in communities in the "old countries" and brought to the new country where they survive almost intact for years.

Here again attention must be called to the fact that in the very nature of the case, by reason of the census definition of gainful employment, most rural States have a small proportion of women gainfully employed. It has been shown above that gainful employment of women means fewer marriages and now it is found that it also means fewer children. Since gainful employment for women is characteristic of the city rather than of the country, it is city living which makes this relationship so close.

#### FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN

In Table 16 the States are ranked according to the ratio of children to foreign-born white women. There are several interesting differences in the order of the States when ranked on this basis as compared with their order in Table 15. New Mexico, West Virginia, and Utah are the only States ranking in the first 10 in both tables. New Mexico and West Virginia are distinctly rural States, the former ranking 6 and the latter 12 in this respect. Utah is again an exception as we have seen above. Mormonism is apparently a sufficiently important factor in family life in Utah to influence the size of families in that State. This will be discussed at more length in Chapter VII.

Most of the other States which stand high in the ratio of children to native white women are well down in rank of children to foreign-born women. This is particularly true of the Southern States. The very highly industrialized States, with the exception of Pennsylvania, tend to be low in both tables along with the Pacific States and Nevada, although there are several obvious exceptions. Thus we may say that although industrialization and urbanization undoubtedly tend to lower the birth rate among the foreign born as well as among the native women they have a more marked effect on the latter. This, of course, is what we should expect since the foreign-born women are slow to discard their old-world attitudes toward family life and children.

TABLE 16.—STATES RANKED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RANKINGS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS:1920<sup>1</sup>

STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				RURAL FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION		NEW IMMIGRATION <sup>2</sup>		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total foreign-born white population	Rank	Per cent of total population	Rank	Per cent of total foreign-born population	Rank	Per cent of total foreign-born white women 10 years of age and over	Rank
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
West Virginia.....	1,231	1	1,298	2	68.1	6	4.2	37	77.3	4	8.2	48
North Dakota.....	1,199	2	1,333	1	87.7	1	20.3	9	32.6	36	9.3	46
Pennsylvania.....	1,043	3	1,158	3	26.1	35	15.9	17	67.7	5	13.7	31
Delaware.....	997	4	1,112	4	15.1	42	8.9	29	60.9	9	14.9	25
South Dakota.....	980	5	1,102	5	85.3	2	12.9	21	24.0	42	9.8	44
Wyoming.....	890	6	948	17	66.6	7	13.0	19	46.5	27	12.0	37
Indiana.....	888	7	968	9	21.2	39	5.1	35	47.1	24	11.2	40
Connecticut.....	886	8	1,014	6	26.6	34	27.3	3	59.6	12	20.6	7
Utah.....	883	9	993	7	42.8	23	12.6	22	22.0	44	12.4	35
New Mexico.....	875	10	968	8	80.5	4	8.1	30	82.8	2	10.8	42
Idaho.....	870	11	950	16	71.4	5	9.0	28	25.3	40	10.9	41
Ohio.....	866	12	951	15	15.9	41	11.8	25	61.4	7	14.1	30
Wisconsin.....	862	13	955	13	44.8	21	17.5	15	34.8	34	11.4	38
Michigan.....	859	14	956	12	28.2	32	19.8	11	42.3	28	13.2	32
Montana.....	855	15	938	22	65.0	8	17.1	16	29.9	38	13.0	34
Mississippi.....	851	16	953	14	47.9	19	0.4	46	58.1	13	18.2	12
Kansas.....	849	17	943	19	64.3	10	6.2	33	40.6	30	9.0	47
Nebraska.....	836	18	940	20	60.3	12	11.5	26	34.4	35	10.3	43
New Jersey.....	833	19	945	18	14.9	43	23.4	5	60.7	10	18.3	11
Minnesota.....	831	20	959	11	50.3	17	20.4	8	24.4	41	12.2	36
Colorado.....	831	21	922	25	49.0	18	12.4	24	49.4	21	14.2	28
Arizona.....	830	22	930	23	63.0	11	23.4	6	86.1	1	16.7	16
Vermont.....	829	23	961	10	59.2	15	12.6	23	20.9	46	15.3	24
Oklahoma.....	807	24	885	31	64.4	9	2.0	39	52.7	18	11.3	39
Iowa.....	806	25	914	26	60.1	13	9.4	27	17.0	47	9.5	45
Louisiana.....	785	26	924	24	27.3	33	2.5	38	61.4	8	15.5	23
Alabama.....	771	27	867	33	36.7	27	0.8	42	47.2	22	13.2	33
Rhode Island.....	755	28	939	21	1.0	48	28.7	1	39.9	32	27.8	3
Maryland.....	753	29	874	32	14.1	44	7.0	32	59.7	11	18.0	13
Texas.....	751	30	889	28	53.4	16	7.7	31	82.6	3	15.9	20
Illinois.....	734	31	844	35	13.3	45	18.6	13	50.7	19	17.7	15
Maine.....	732	32	896	27	44.9	20	14.0	18	13.8	48	23.6	5
Arkansas.....	723	33	861	34	60.0	14	0.8	43	35.2	35	17.9	14
Virginia.....	723	34	811	37	37.5	26	1.3	40	52.8	17	14.3	27
Nevada.....	719	35	770	40	82.4	3	19.1	12	50.5	20	14.2	29
New Hampshire.....	713	36	889	29	21.7	38	20.6	7	21.4	45	30.4	1
Massachusetts.....	700	37	896	30	3.0	47	28.0	2	40.2	31	28.2	2
South Carolina.....	687	38	790	39	34.0	28	0.4	47	53.4	16	16.7	17
Kentucky.....	678	39	806	38	30.0	31	1.3	41	31.9	37	14.8	26
New York.....	664	40	820	36	7.2	46	26.8	4	62.8	6	23.3	6
Florida.....	636	41	739	42	31.4	29	4.4	36	56.1	14	27.0	4
Tennessee.....	614	42	703	44	25.8	36	0.7	44	46.6	26	16.6	18
Missouri.....	609	43	704	43	20.0	40	5.5	34	41.0	29	16.4	19
North Carolina.....	606	44	753	41	40.3	23	0.3	45	47.0	25	20.3	8
Washington.....	591	45	674	46	40.1	24	18.4	14	24.0	43	15.7	22
Oregon.....	583	46	673	47	39.8	25	13.0	20	29.1	39	15.9	21
California.....	579	47	679	45	30.7	30	19.9	10	47.2	23	18.6	10
Georgia.....	560	48	658	48	23.2	37	0.6	45	53.8	15	19.7	9

<sup>1</sup> Columns A and C from Detailed Table I; column E, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 80-87; column G, Vol. II, p. 33; column K, Vol. IV, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. III, Population, 1920, pp. 47-52. Old immigration comprises immigrants from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Germany, Canada (French and other), Newfoundland, and Australia. New immigration comprises all other countries, and those combined in census tabulations under "All other countries" are also added in with the new immigration.

It is interesting to note some of the differences in the ranking of particular States in ratio of children to native white women and to foreign-born white women, respectively. The most striking shifts in rank among the highly industrialized States are: Pennsylvania, from 33 to 3; Connecticut, from 44 to 8; New Jersey, from 43 to 19; Michigan, from 29 to 14; and Ohio, from 37 to 12. In every case among the industrial States the rank of the State in ratio of children to foreign-born women is higher than its rank to native women. Among the distinctly rural States, on the other hand, the shift is in the opposite direction with few exceptions. The following examples show the trend: North Carolina, from 1 to 44; Arkansas, from 2 to 33; South Carolina, from 6 to 38; North Dakota, from 11 to 2; West Virginia, from 4 to 1; Tennessee, from 14 to 42; Georgia, from 9 to 48; Alabama, from 5 to 27; and Mississippi, from 8 to 16.

In contrast with the South and the Northeast most of the Middle Western States occupy about the same position in both tables. It may be significant in this connection that in the Middle West the cities are not clearly dominant, nor are they negligible, the nativity composition of the population is practically the same in both country and city, and the foreign born are almost all of northwest European origin. The result is that Nebraska shifts from 23 to 18, Kansas from 24 to 17, Iowa from 26 to 25, Minnesota from 27 to 20, and Wisconsin from 25 to 13.

It should also be noted that in the States considered as units there does not appear to be any very close relation between the per cent of the foreign born who are of the new immigration (Table 16, columns A and I) and the ratio of children to foreign-born white women. West Virginia, ranking 1 in ratio of children ranks 4 in per cent of the foreign born of the new immigration, but North Dakota, ranking 2 in ratio of children ranks 36 in this respect and of the 10 States ranking highest in ratio of children, only 4 rank 10 or above in per cent of foreign born of the new immigration. One other, Connecticut, ranks 11; the other 5 rank 24, 27, 36, 42, and 45. Large numbers of children are not peculiar to the new immigrants as is often assumed. It appears that the immigrants, like the natives, raise larger families when they live under rural conditions than when they live in cities; hence the "old" immigrants in the rural States very frequently have ratios of children to women larger than the "new" immigrants in the cities. At this point a word of caution must be added. The comparison of "old" and "new" immigrants by States is undoubtedly calculated to conceal a considerable part of any real difference that exists between them. The "new" immigrants are largely city dwellers living in the more highly industrialized States, while a considerable portion of the "old" immigrants live in rural localities. It will be necessary to investigate the differences between these two immigrant

groups in ratios of children under conditions where varying degrees of rurality do not complicate the problem before there can be any assurance what the situation is. This will be attempted for cities.

Among the foreign born as among the natives there seems to be a fairly close connection between the percentage of employed women and the ratio of children. A high ratio of children is in general present in those States where a small proportion of women are gainfully employed and vice versa. Connecticut is the most conspicuous exception, ranking 8 in ratio of children and 7 in per cent of women employed. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, ranking 36, 37, and 28, respectively, in ratio of children rank 1, 2, and 3 in per cent of employed women. In spite of some exceptions, however, there can be no reasonable doubt that the gainful employment of women tends to reduce the number of children among the foreign born as well as among the natives. In this connection it should be noted that the per cent of foreign-born women gainfully employed tends to be large in the States which are highly industrialized and low in the agricultural States, as was the case with the native white women. Thus again rural and urban conditions are encountered as factors affecting the size of the family. Employment of women for wages outside the home tends to reduce the birth rate and the survival rate, while rural living with full employment at home—and very strenuous employment it is in farm homes—encourages the raising of large families.

It is also of interest that there appears to be no very close connection between the per cent of foreign-born whites in the population (Table 16, columns A and G) and the ratio of children to foreign-born women. In the 10 States having the highest ratios of children only 2 are in the first 10 as regards a high per cent of foreign-born population. At the other extreme, 4 of the lowest 10 in ratio of children are also among the lowest 10 in per cent of foreign born. Other rankings in ratios and per cents which show that this relationship is of little significance are West Virginia, 1 and 37, New York 40 and 4, Massachusetts 37 and 2, California 47 and 10, Mississippi 16 and 46, and Illinois 31 and 13. The Southern States alone tend to have similar rankings in both respects. This is probably due to the fact that in the South the foreign born are a selected group quite different from the larger foreign-born groups in the Northern States. They belong much more largely to the commercial class than the foreign born in most Northern States. That this class always has a low birth rate has been pointed out in Chapter I and will be shown in succeeding chapters.

#### URBANISM AND BIRTH RATE

In this comparison by States of the ratios of children to women, both native and foreign born, several facts stand out quite clearly:

(a) The ratio of children to foreign-born women is much larger than the ratio to native women (45 per cent greater in the case of all women and 26 per cent greater in the case of married women); (b) a much larger proportion of foreign born than of native women are married; (c) more native women of native parentage are married than native women of foreign or mixed parentage; (d) the differences between States in ratio of children to native white women and to foreign-born white women are greater in many cases than the differences between the ratios of these two nativity groups in the same States. All these facts call for explanation.

Certain explanations have been suggested already, for example the unequal distribution of the people of different nativity groups in different types of communities, and the way in which differing degrees of urbanization seem to be connected with several of these other differences. This chapter is not the place to go into this last matter in any detail but since it is the central idea in the study it will not be out of place to show very briefly how even the differences in ratios between the native and the foreign born tie up with the belief that urbanism is the chief factor in the decline of the birth rate in this country at the present time.

The foreign born have a relatively unrestricted birth rate not because they are foreign born nor because they are of certain nationalities, but because they are less urbanized, even though living in cities, than most of our native population. The foreign born, both men and women, are dominated to a great extent by the attitudes toward life brought with them from their rural communities in the "old country." Only a few of them slough off these habits of thought, these mental attitudes, soon enough to materially affect the size of their families. The few who do are generally those who get ahead financially fairly early in life and wish to be accepted as members of native groups where children are few; hence to be in fashion, they too, limit their families.

In effect, then, practically all the differences between native and foreign-born white women as regards proportion of married women and ratio of children seem to arise out of differences in attitudes of mind due to differences in the environments in which they have been reared, and these differences of environment are chiefly, though not wholly, the differences due to urban and rural modes of life. It is necessary to make certain qualifications of this general position and some additions of factors of significance, but these are believed to be of secondary importance as compared with the influence of urban and rural living conditions upon mental attitudes toward marriage and family life.

It is, of course, inaccurate to speak of urban and rural as though they represented the same kinds of environment at all times and

places. Rural Italy and Croatia are certainly different from rural Iowa and California. In their effect on the mental attitudes of people, however, rural Italy and rural Iowa are probably more akin and have more in common than rural Iowa and Des Moines, certainly than rural Iowa and Chicago. Likewise, Berlin and Boston are vastly different, but in their effects on the size of family desired are much alike, probably more alike than Boston and Jackson County, N. C. It is not possible to go into this matter in more detail here but in a later chapter an attempt will be made to justify these opinions.

It is a very common belief that increasing sterility and complexity of civilization go together, indeed are inevitably bound together. It is a well-established fact that sterility is more frequent in the native born in our cities than in other classes. Table 17 shows that sterility is about twice as great among white women of native parentage as among white women of foreign parentage except in rural Ohio where there is very little difference. It also shows that sterility is far more common in the cities than in the rural counties although these especial counties include considerable urban populations. In fact, the per cent of sterility of native white women of native parentage in the rural counties is less than that of the white women of foreign parentage in the cities of Cleveland and Minneapolis and in the State of Rhode Island. Sterility, whatever its cause, seems to be largely a result of urban living. This fact seems to many people to support the belief that the increase of civilization inevitably results in an increase of sterility.

TABLE 17.—PER CENT OF WOMEN UNDER 45 YEARS OF AGE AND MARRIED 10 TO 20 YEARS, BEARING NO CHILDREN, CLASSIFIED BY NATIVITY AS DETERMINED BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH OF BOTH PARENTS, FOR 3 SELECTED STATES: 1900<sup>1</sup>

NATIVITY	WOMEN UNDER 45 YEARS OF AGE, MARRIED 10 TO 20 YEARS— PER CENT BEARING NO CHILDREN						
	Rhode Island			Ohio		Minnesota	
	The State	Cities of 10,000 population and over	Re-mainder of State	Cleveland	48 rural counties	Minneapolis	21 rural counties
Total.....	11.3	11.7	10.0	8.1	5.2	8.5	3.0
Native white—native parentage.....	17.5	19.4	13.8	15.2	5.7	12.7	5.1
White of foreign parentage.....	8.0	8.4	6.5	6.3	5.1	6.9	2.7
Foreign-born white.....	7.2	.....	.....	5.5	4.6	6.5	2.6
Native white—foreign or mixed parentage.....	10.5	.....	.....	8.5	5.5	7.9	2.8

<sup>1</sup> Report to the Immigration Commission, 1911, fecundity of immigrant women. Based on data gathered by the Bureau of the Census, 1900. Women whose parents were born in different countries are not included in this tabulation.

But though urban living does increase sterility it is not because of any inherent decline in the fertility of urban women but rather

because it fosters attitudes of mind unfavorable to childbearing in general, and large families in particular. Furthermore the sterility with which physicians are best acquainted is that of the better-paid classes and this is just the group in which living is most abnormal in the sense that it represents the greatest departure from the customary modes of living among our ancestors. The large amount of so-called physiological sterility found by physicians whose clientele is among the upper classes is, then, not to be regarded as proof of any inherent decline in fecundity in this group, but rather as proof that many people have not yet learned how to live under conditions where they have an economic surplus. Any decline in the fecundity, that is, in the actual capacity to produce children, of the upper classes is, in other words, not a problem of racial physiology but of individual physiology which arises out of the habits of modern urban life of the well-to-do classes. It follows, then, that no explanation of differences in the birth rates of different groups which involves the assumption of a decline in the capacity of women to produce children, due to other than personal causes, can be accepted.

The various factors which appear to be important in determining the ratio of children to women from these comparisons between States will be investigated more fully in succeeding chapters.