

IV

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN IN CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS

On account of the large number of cities in this group (25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants)¹ it has been necessary to select certain of them for condensed tables in the text. Forty cities are used in the chief tables. The first 20 in these tables are those ranking highest in ratio of children to women, and the second 20 are those ranking lowest in this respect.

CITIES HAVING HIGHEST AND LOWEST RATIOS FOR NATIVE WOMEN

Table 28 gives data for the native white women. It will be noticed at once that all but a few of the cities having highest ratios of children have rather high percentages of their employed population engaged in manufacturing and mechanical occupations. Ogden, Utah,² Roanoke, Va., and Pensacola, Fla., are the only cities having less than 40 per cent so engaged, while 13 of them have 50 per cent or more so engaged. As regards their location, if Ogden, Roanoke, and Pensacola are omitted from consideration, these cities are located in the more highly industrialized regions of the North and the South: 10 are found in the heavy industry region in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana; and 7 are found in the industrial South, in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and North Carolina.

In comparing these two groups of cities we find certain rather pronounced differences. In general, the northern cities have a considerably larger proportion of native women who are of foreign and mixed parentage than the southern cities. There is some reason to think that this is one of the factors in keeping the ratio of children to women high in the northern cities; although when they are compared in this respect with the 20 cities having the lowest ratios it is difficult to detect any consistent relationship of this kind. In these smaller cities, as in the States and the larger cities, certain other factors seem to be of so much more importance than the proportion of native women of foreign or mixed parentage that the influence of this factor is pretty effectually obscured. How confused this relation is is shown if we compare Winston-Salem, N. C. (rank 5), with Lawrence, Mass. (rank 205), in which the ranks as regards the proportion of native women of

¹ For the complete list of cities having 25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants with their ratios of children to women by States, see Detailed Table I. p. 200.

² The reasons for the high rank of Ogden are discussed more fully in Chapter VII, section on Utah.

TABLE 28.—FORTY SELECTED CITIES OF 25,000¹ TO 100,000 INHABITANTS RANKED ACCORDING TO 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: 1920²

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE						WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED			Per cent of total gainfully employed persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries ³
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Foreign or mixed parentage		Married, widowed, or divorced		20 to 34 years of age		Per cent of total women 10 years of age and over	Rank	Per cent married, widowed, or divorced	
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank				
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	
HIGHEST RATIO OF CHILDREN														
Hamtramck, Mich.....	829	1	974	1	85.8	1	85.2	1	83.9	1	12.4	219	26.4	88.5
Ogden, Utah.....	571	2	719	8	46.6	68	79.4	24	70.3	63	17.9	211	17.3	35.2
Bay City, Mich.....	550	3	770	3	65.9	13	71.4	107	70.6	52	22.6	163	13.3	51.5
Johnstown, Pa.....	533	4	765	5	27.3	137	69.6	124	70.1	70	17.9	210	8.1	55.9
Winston-Salem, N. C.....	524	5	734	7	1.4	219	71.4	106	74.9	13	48.6	1	39.0	72.3
Roanoke, Va.....	520	6	686	18	3.5	212	75.9	62	70.6	54	22.7	159	19.6	38.9
Pensacola, Fla.....	520	7	639	42	16.2	169	81.5	10	71.2	43	27.6	75	35.3	46.6
Clarksburg, W. Va.....	519	8	669	27	8.3	198	77.6	43	70.5	57	18.8	208	17.9	44.4
Hagerstown, Md.....	517	9	679	22	4.5	208	76.1	58	66.3	165	22.3	172	15.4	48.2
Charlotte, N. C.....	514	10	706	12	2.8	218	72.7	98	71.2	42	35.6	24	32.4	44.0
Port Huron, Mich.....	512	11	676	23	57.4	35	75.7	63	70.1	71	18.4	209	12.7	51.1
Huntington, W. Va.....	512	12	649	37	4.0	210	78.9	27	68.1	118	20.4	197	21.2	49.8
Kokomo, Ind.....	508	13	600	74	8.6	193	84.6	2	66.9	148	18.9	207	27.9	66.0
Portsmouth, Ohio.....	507	14	666	28	11.2	186	76.2	56	68.7	100	22.9	157	16.7	57.8
Hazleton, Pa.....	504	15	818	2	52.8	49	61.6	189	73.5	23	24.1	130	4.7	37.3
Wilmington, N. C.....	504	16	671	26	4.8	207	75.2	70	69.8	77	32.5	39	30.6	48.5
Portsmouth, Va.....	503	17	631	47	6.9	204	79.7	23	68.4	109	25.6	107	30.2	43.0
Bethlehem, Pa.....	500	18	672	25	21.0	158	74.5	79	68.3	112	20.9	189	18.5	66.5
Gary, Ind.....	498	19	595	81	37.8	101	83.7	4	75.0	12	14.4	216	24.0	66.1
East Chicago, Ind.....	491	20	607	66	60.1	57	80.9	15	76.0	11	12.5	218	17.0	79.4

¹ Columns A, C, G, Detailed Table I; columns E and I Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 305-361; columns K and N, Vol. IV, Occupations, 1920, pp. 240-335; column M, pp. 369-372.

² Total gainfully employed persons does not include persons engaged in domestic and personal service.

IN CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS

TABLE 28.—FORTY SELECTED CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS RANKED ACCORDING TO 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—Continued

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE						WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED			Per cent of total gainfully employed persons engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Foreign or mixed parentage		Married, widowed, or divorced		20 to 34 years of age		Per cent of total women 10 years of age and over	Rank	Per cent married, widowed, or divorced	
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank				
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	
LOWEST RATIO OF CHILDREN														
Bangor, Me.....	309	200	501	170	26.7	139	61.8	185	63.8	203	25.7	104	14.9	29.3
Kingston, N. Y.....	309	201	530	141	30.3	125	58.3	201	65.3	181	28.8	69	10.7	51.8
Atlantic City, N. J.....	309	202	443	206	29.4	128	69.9	121	62.5	210	32.6	38	28.0	36.4
Fresno, Calif.....	307	203	399	216	27.5	135	76.9	48	67.9	127	23.0	155	27.9	33.9
Sacramento, Calif.....	304	204	395	217	38.2	99	76.9	49	65.8	174	24.8	118	25.0	35.0
Lawrence, Mass.....	301	205	589	90	75.7	4	51.1	217	72.0	39	43.4	2	33.4	78.0
Utica, N. Y.....	300	206	480	187	43.8	80	62.5	183	65.7	176	31.4	42	24.4	58.0
East Orange, N. J.....	298	207	446	205	35.9	108	66.8	148	63.1	208	24.5	125	13.6	32.1
Colorado Springs, Colo.....	297	208	442	208	23.5	147	67.2	142	61.9	213	24.3	129	20.0	27.8
San Jose, Calif.....	295	209	430	213	43.2	82	68.5	133	64.7	192	22.5	167	22.5	38.6
Berkeley, Calif.....	293	210	457	200	38.1	100	64.2	168	65.9	172	22.7	161	18.5	32.4
Auburn, N. Y.....	291	211	449	203	40.8	93	67.7	163	61.3	216	29.1	54	22.8	61.4
Waltham, Mass.....	288	212	600	72	53.2	43	47.9	219	70.3	62	37.3	17	15.6	61.9
Amsterdam, N. Y.....	286	213	464	193	44.2	78	61.8	187	68.1	117	38.8	11	34.3	74.5
San Diego, Calif.....	284	214	382	218	32.2	119	74.3	84	61.9	214	23.3	144	27.6	30.4
Long Beach, Calif.....	276	215	369	219	24.7	142	74.9	74	60.6	217	16.6	215	25.6	44.1
Troy, N. Y.....	272	216	518	153	44.7	64	52.4	214	64.2	197	35.8	23	12.4	58.6
Pasadena, Calif.....	267	217	418	214	27.8	134	63.9	171	57.6	219	25.9	102	17.9	28.9
Elgin, Ill.....	265	218	441	210	48.8	63	60.2	197	68.6	105	31.5	41	21.7	63.4
Brookline, Mass.....	257	219	500	171	43.0	84	51.3	216	61.8	215	37.5	16	7.3	21.2

foreign or mixed parentage are 219 and 4, respectively. Bay City, Mich., and Waltham, Mass., also furnish almost equally good examples of high and low ratios of children (Bay City 550 and Waltham 288) accompanied by high proportions (Bay City 65.9 per cent and Waltham 53.2 per cent) of native women of foreign and mixed parentage. Other northern cities among the 20 highest in ratios of children to native women either exceed by very little or are even lower in proportion of native women of foreign and mixed parentage than many of those among the 20 having lowest ranks, as examples: East Chicago and Elgin, Johnstown and Berkeley, and Portsmouth, Ohio, and Brookline.

Rather obviously the proportion of native women of foreign and mixed parentage will not go far as a general explanation of these differences in ratios of children. In the case of some particular cities, however, the differences in ratios are quite satisfactorily explained in this manner. The very high ratio of children to women in Hamtramck, Mich., can be explained by the proportion of the native women who are of foreign and mixed parentage. Hamtramck is a foreign district in Detroit which can be isolated because of its separate incorporation. It ranks first in ratio of children to native white women, having a ratio of children almost one-half greater than that of Ogden, Utah, which ranks second. It also ranks first in ratio of children to foreign-born white women (see Table 29) being slightly in excess of Rome, N. Y., which ranks second. It is a district almost wholly Polish. Of its foreign-born population 94.7 per cent is of the new immigration. Furthermore, 85.8 per cent of the native white women are of foreign or mixed parentage and 85.2 per cent of the native white women are married. Besides, almost one-half of its population is foreign born. It ranks first in all these respects. Here, then, we have a very good illustration of a community in which the attitudes of mind of the foreign born toward family life and the rearing of children might be expected to remain dominant in the second generation because of lack of contact with older native people. The very high ratios of children indicate that this is the case, but even here it is interesting to see that the native white women who are almost entirely of foreign or mixed parentage have a ratio of children of only 829 (Table 28) as compared with 1,277 for foreign-born white women (Table 29). The ratio of children to foreign-born white women is about one-half greater than that of their native daughters, even though a larger percentage of the native women (83.9) are 20 to 34 years old, than is the case among the foreign-born women (79.5). This is a very remarkable decline and it would probably be still greater if the everyday contacts of the native children with people at large were not so exclusively with others of their own nationality.

We have here, then, a case where an exceedingly prolific foreign-born group, together with its children, is as isolated as it can be in an American city, and though we find that among the foreign born the influence of American life appears negligible as regards family customs, we find that the native children show a falling-off of over one-third in the ratio of children. At the same time, these native children show the carry-over of the habits of family life acquired in a foreign community in having by far the highest ratio of children of any native group of women. In this particular case then, there can be no doubt that the fact that the native white women are largely of foreign parentage has a very great influence upon their bearing of children.

In order to show that this same decline in ratio of children between the foreign-born women and their daughters holds for other localities and nationalities, we may take five other cities in the United States of 25,000 to 100,000, in all of which over 69 per cent of the native whites are of foreign or mixed parentage. These cities, together with the per cent by which the ratio of children to foreign-born white women exceeds the ratio of children to native white women, are: Cicero, Ill., 63.2 per cent; Woonsocket, R. I., 80.8 per cent; Holyoke, Mass., 100.6 per cent; Lawrence, Mass., 137.9 per cent; and Chicopee, Mass., 104.3 per cent. It is not maintained that these differences are due entirely to the smaller families of the native women of foreign and mixed parentage, but when the second-generation women constitute 69 per cent or more (up to 85.8 per cent) of all native women, such declines can not be attributed exclusively or even primarily to the very small families of the people of old native stock. The daughters of immigrant women, no matter to what nationality they belong, French-Canadian, Polish, Portuguese, or Czech, through postponement of marriage, through conception control, or through both, raise fewer children than their mothers.

The differences between North and South in the proportion of native women of foreign and mixed parentage are also of great interest. The processes of population growth in the industrial cities of the South are entirely different from those in the North. The southern cities have grown almost entirely by migration from the surrounding rural districts. The few foreigners in them are largely engaged in trade rather than as laborers in manufacturing. The rural migrants have evidently brought with them the manners and customs of family life prevailing in their former homes, hence their birth rates remain at a fairly high level. In other words, they represent a *family* migration from the rural districts similar in many respects to the immigration to our northern cities from European countries. Like the immigrants from Europe, although not to the same degree, the southern migrants from rural communities retain for some time the habits of life and attitudes of mind which had become fixed in their

rural homes. Since a high ratio of children to women seems to be characteristic of these groups, it is not at all surprising that a number of the rapidly growing smaller cities in the South have much the same ratios of children to native white women as some of the smaller northern cities with large groups of second-generation immigrants. That the smaller southern cities as a whole do stand high in ratio of children to native white women is shown by the fact that the South Atlantic States with 25 cities of 25,000 to 100,000, or about one-ninth of the total number of such cities, have 13 or just over one-fourth of all those ranking 1 to 50 in ratio of children to native white women.

Again attention is called to the fact that the northern cities with high ratios of children are mostly cities where heavy industry predominates. The southern industrial cities, on the other hand, are mostly textile and tobacco manufacturing cities where work is light. As a consequence in the southern cities a considerably larger proportion of the women are gainfully employed (Table 28, column K) than in the northern cities. In spite of this fact, the ratio of children is as high in the South as in the North.

Comparing the 20 cities having the lowest ratios of children to native women with those having the highest ratios, we find certain marked differences. Seven of the 20 with lowest ratios are California cities, which may be called residential and resort cities rather than manufacturing cities. With these may be classed Atlantic City, East Orange, Colorado Springs, and Brookline. Thus 11 of the 20 belong to the residential type of city rather than to the manufacturing type. (See column N, Table 28.) The other nine are manufacturing cities (Bangor and Kingston only moderately so), all of them except Elgin being located in the northeast part of the country. As compared with the northern manufacturing cities having high ratios, where heavy manufacturing predominates, they are cities in which textiles and other types of light manufacturing predominate, such as watch-making in Elgin and Waltham. This difference in type of manufacturing carried on is significant in several respects, but before entering on its discussion we shall turn our attention to the residential cities.

RESIDENTIAL CITIES

It seems a safe assumption that the incomes of people in all of the 11 cities of this residential group are well above the average of those in the manufacturing cities with high ratios. If this is the case then we have here another example of the inverse relation of income and birth rate with which we have become so familiar in recent years. The reasons for this general condition must not detain us here, but we may point out that all those various forces which we subsume

under the expression "freedom of women" are much more operative in residential communities than in most other types of communities. It is but natural that the breaking of the bonds of the traditional "sphere of woman," characteristic of the well-to-do class, and the general disorganization of the life of women which this involves should have a pronounced effect upon the size of the family. In communities where women are less emancipated, childbearing will not be so consciously controlled and families will probably be larger. This is one of the important reasons for the higher ratios of children in the southern cities and in the northern manufacturing cities where factory work is done largely by men.

Another factor making for low ratios of children in the residential cities is probably the great mobility of population in such cities. The people not only move about from place to place a great deal, but they also travel a great deal. Present day migration and travel are exceedingly inimical to the raising of children. The pioneering migration of settlers on the land had a place for children in its organization of life, but present day migration has no place for them. Under such circumstances, they are almost an unmitigated nuisance, hampering movement, restricting economic opportunity, and requiring large personal sacrifices. Furthermore, migration and travel are always hard on custom and tradition. They tend to disorganize the habits and customs of people and throw them back on personal likes and dislikes as the basis for their judgments of values. This could not but react unfavorably upon the assumption of the obligations of family life.

As another factor in the situation, there is also the possibility of a selective attraction exerted by residential cities, which draw to them people who are ambitious. Ambitious people find small families a great advantage in their "climbing." Our study throws no light on the actuality of this selective process, but it seems not unreasonable to consider the possibility of such processes being active in the peopling of these cities.

There is also some reason to believe that areas like California, Colorado, and Florida, which make an appeal to people on the basis of climate, exert a strong pull upon those who are looking for an easeful life. Such people will, of course, tend to raise small families. Ever since the passing of the pioneering days people have gone West, and particularly to the west coast, largely because they believed they could live more comfortably there with less effort than elsewhere. It seems natural, therefore, to expect that their families would be small. It is indicative of the actuality of such a selective process in the peopling of the California cities that it makes no difference whether the people who go to the far West are of native or foreign birth, they have low ratios for their nativity groups. Even

in the rural districts of the coast States this is the case, as we shall see in the following chapter.

In this connection it may also be pointed out that in a climate where people are not shut in to any great extent, and where cities early became dominant, the opportunities for the spread of urban attitudes of mind through the entire population are excellent, as good as in the Northeast where cities are everywhere and agriculture is of minor importance. One who knows a little of life on the west coast has no difficulty in believing that a large part of even the rural population there is pretty thoroughly urbanized—particularly in the specialty-farming areas.

But though there may be certain elements peculiar to life on the Pacific coast which lead the people there to raise small families, we must not forget that residential cities everywhere show much the same ratios and that they are always low. The people who gather in these cities do not want many children, whatever the reasons may be.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

An examination of Table 28, columns A and K shows that for the native women the cities having the highest ratios of children have in general smaller proportions of employed women than the cities with low ratios of children, that is to say, there are fewer children where there are more employed women. The average percentage of employed women over 10 years of age is 22.8 for the 20 cities with highest ratios of children and 29.0 for the cities with lowest ratios. That there are considerable differences in percentages of employed women between the cities with high ratios we have already seen. Those in the South, in general, have a high percentage of employed women, while those in the North have lower percentages. Again we find the rather marked difference between the North and the South in basic demographic factors to which we have already called attention. In spite of the fact that many southern women work at manufacturing in the textile mills and tobacco factories, they have as high ratios of children as the women in the northern cities where fewer work outside the home. No doubt one of the reasons fewer women work in these northern cities is that heavy manufactures predominate there, and in the cities where this is the case there are not so many jobs open to women, hence, they work at home and raise larger families. Then, too, it is quite probable that where women work at home the knowledge of methods of family limitation spreads more slowly, so that, other things being equal, voluntary control of childbearing is less common in such cities than in communities where women more commonly work outside the home.

On the whole, there appears to be a fairly close relationship between the employment of women and the ratio of children to women. The employment of women has a depressing effect upon the birth rate in the population at large. In a moment we shall give what seems to us the chief reason for so many exceptions among the southern cities. It is readily understandable, however, that women who wish to continue their outside work after marriage will desire smaller families than those who devote all their time to their homes. Women who work outside the home probably lose more of their children than those who do not and thus would have lower ratios even though they bore as many children.

MARRIAGE

We find from a careful examination of the data in Tables 28, 29, and 30 that the relation between ratio of children and marriage is complicated by several factors and that what might appear to be the natural relation, namely, the higher the percentage of married women the higher the ratio of children, is by no means universal. This relation is very clear in the case of the foreign-born women, and it appears at first glance to have some significance among the native women. Upon closer inspection, however, it seems probable that for the native white women this correspondence is not very significant. It must be recognized that a certain amount of correspondence in ratio of children and proportion of married women is an inevitable consequence of the method of grouping used here. Of course, if all married women bore and raised the same number of children, the rank of different cities in ratio of children to all women would vary directly with the proportion of married women in the different communities. But since the above assumption is not true we find very considerable variations in the ranks of cities in ratio of children and proportion of women married. This variation is considerably less among foreign-born women (Table 29) than among native women (Table 28), hence, we must seek for an explanation which will account for the differences between these groups as well as within them. Such an explanation, we believe, is to be found in the different degree of knowledge of birth control to be found in the different nativity and locality groups.

Where little is known about birth control, as among the foreign born, the ratio of children varies almost directly with the proportion of married women. Since among the foreign born marriage is expected of all women at a fairly early age, we find very high percentages of married women and extremely high ratios of children in many of the cities. All but one of the 20 cities with highest ratios of children to foreign-born women have ratios in excess of 1,000; that is, there is in these cities an average of slightly more than 1 child under 5 for every foreign-born woman. Except in Hamtramck, the average for the native women in cities with highest ratios is scarcely

TABLE 29.—FORTY SELECTED CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS RANKED ACCORDING TO RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 TO FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RANKINGS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS: 1920¹

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED		
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total population	Rank	New immigration		Married, widowed, or divorced		20 to 34 years of age		Per cent of total women 10 years of age and over	Rank	Per cent married, widowed, or divorced
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank			Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank			
	HIGHEST RATIO OF CHILDREN														
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Hamtramck, Mich.....	1,277	1	1,322	2	47.4	1	94.7	2	96.6	1	79.5	1	12.4	219	26.4
Rome, N. Y.....	1,232	2	1,323	1	19.9	77	70.2	24	93.1	14	64.2	20	24.6	121	19.2
Johnstown, Pa.....	1,222	3	1,283	3	18.0	97	79.1	11	95.2	5	60.5	51	17.9	210	8.1
East Chicago, Ind.....	1,208	4	1,254	6	40.8	5	91.0	3	96.4	2	66.4	10	12.5	218	17.0
Hazleton, Pa.....	1,196	5	1,266	5	18.7	90	80.3	9	94.5	7	50.3	177	24.1	130	4.7
Stuebenville, Ohio.....	1,187	6	1,271	4	19.6	82	76.1	14	93.3	12	63.5	29	18.9	206	14.2
New Castle, Pa.....	1,113	7	1,202	7	19.3	84	72.2	19	92.6	22	62.8	34	17.0	213	12.5
Altoona, Pa.....	1,106	8	1,192	8	8.8	151	56.2	70	92.8	18	58.4	78	20.1	199	10.8
Erie, Pa.....	1,094	9	1,182	9	18.6	93	57.8	66	92.5	25	58.8	73	20.9	190	11.4
Bayonne, N. J.....	1,085	10	1,172	10	33.2	18	74.1	16	92.6	21	64.3	19	20.1	198	9.8
McKeesport, Pa.....	1,074	11	1,141	14	25.4	53	68.6	29	94.1	8	57.5	95	16.8	214	10.5
Chester, Pa.....	1,068	12	1,142	13	19.5	83	72.1	20	93.6	9	66.8	9	23.0	152	20.6
Perth Amboy, N. J.....	1,059	13	1,134	16	35.8	10	78.4	12	93.3	10	64.1	21	22.0	178	16.9
Gary, Ind.....	1,030	14	1,073	23	29.7	30	84.5	4	96.0	4	65.5	14	14.4	216	24.0
Lorain, Ohio.....	1,026	15	1,065	25	32.0	23	82.4	8	96.3	3	61.1	46	12.5	217	11.9
Clarksburg, W. Va.....	1,025	16	1,128	17	7.0	160	68.4	32	90.9	36	61.0	48	18.8	208	18.0
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.....	1,024	17	1,137	15	19.7	80	59.4	61	90.1	44	54.7	125	23.2	145	6.3
Hammond, Ind.....	1,011	18	1,063	27	22.5	63	66.3	39	95.1	6	59.9	59	17.8	212	15.9
Bethlehem, Pa.....	1,008	19	1,100	20	21.7	67	84.3	5	91.6	32	69.6	3	20.9	189	18.5
New Britain, Conn.....	996	20	1,101	18	35.8	9	73.1	17	90.5	38	66.8	8	28.0	66	20.6

¹ Columns A and C, Detailed Table I; column I, Detailed Table II; column E, Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, pp. 117-135; column G, pp. 760-767; column K, pp. 305-361; column M, Vol. IV, Occupations, 1920, pp. 240-335; column O, pp. 369-372.

IN CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS

TABLE 29.—FORTY SELECTED CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS RANKED ACCORDING TO RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 TO FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY MARITAL CONDITION, WITH PER CENTS AND RANKINGS FOR CERTAIN OTHER FACTORS: 1920—Continued

CITY	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION				FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				WOMEN 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED		
	All women		Married, widowed, or divorced women		Per cent of total population	Rank	New immigration		Married, widowed, or divorced		20 to 34 years of age		Per cent of total women 10 years of age and over	Rank	Per cent married, widowed, or divorced
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank			Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank	Per cent	Rank			
	LOWEST RATIO OF CHILDREN														
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O
Danville, Ill.....	488	191	576	196	5.7	166	18.0	199	84.8	133	43.9	206	23.4	138	22.8
Macon, Ga.....	484	192	582	195	1.3	214	56.3	69	83.2	150	55.2	116	38.5	13	42.0
Davenport, Iowa.....	475	193	551	201	13.5	127	15.4	206	86.1	118	44.9	204	24.6	124	18.6
Tulsa, Okla.....	475	194	584	194	2.8	196	45.9	104	81.4	170	60.0	57	27.9	70	28.0
Fort Smith, Ark.....	468	195	595	192	3.0	192	32.2	151	78.6	185	45.4	202	22.3	173	26.0
Huntington, W. Va.....	465	196	568	198	1.5	212	46.7	102	81.9	161	62.5	36	20.4	197	21.2
East Orange, N. J.....	457	197	651	172	13.4	128	24.4	180	70.2	205	45.8	132	24.5	125	13.5
Evansville, Ind.....	457	198	540	202	3.7	186	12.2	213	84.6	137	37.3	216	27.0	87	17.4
Springfield, Mo.....	457	199	590	193	2.5	197	17.0	202	77.5	192	46.5	198	22.1	175	21.1
Miami, Fla.....	436	200	556	199	8.7	152	40.5	123	78.4	188	59.1	68	34.4	28	45.0
Lexington, Ky.....	419	201	520	203	1.9	205	44.9	109	80.6	175	52.4	150	35.2	26	35.0
Berkeley, Calif.....	406	202	514	204	17.1	106	30.1	159	79.0	183	52.1	157	22.7	161	18.5
East Cleveland, Ohio.....	378	203	481	206	14.1	122	24.4	181	78.5	186	54.5	128	22.9	156	15.5
Elgin, Ill.....	367	204	470	208	18.4	95	19.5	195	78.0	190	41.8	208	31.5	41	21.7
Oak Park, Ill.....	365	205	551	200	14.1	123	14.8	208	66.2	209	47.7	194	24.8	116	11.8
Colorado Springs, Colo.....	363	206	477	207	8.6	153	18.5	197	76.1	196	39.6	211	24.3	129	20.0
Long Beach, Calif.....	357	207	440	209	12.2	133	14.8	208	81.2	171	49.6	184	16.6	215	26.6
Quincy, Ill.....	330	208	439	210	6.7	162	9.4	217	75.1	199	34.4	199	25.5	108	13.5
Pasadena, Calif.....	307	209	510	205	15.0	118	17.7	200	60.0	211	47.4	216	25.9	102	17.9
Brookline, Mass.....	218	210	634	179	24.8	54	8.7	218	34.5	213	63.6	26	37.5	16	7.3

one-half as high. Moreover, among the native women with high ratios of children we do not find the same consistently high percentages of married women. Greater or less knowledge of methods of family restriction seems to be a very important factor in determining the ratio of children to native women. Thus Winston-Salem, N. C., with only 71.4 per cent of its native women married and a rank of 106 in this respect, ranks fifth in ratio of children. The most plausible explanation seems to be that less is known about conception control by the natives in the South than in other parts of the country. On the other hand, to a certain extent they keep down the size of their families by refraining from marriage. The difference between a northern and a southern manufacturing city in the relation of ratio of children to married women may be observed by comparing Winston-Salem (ranks 5 and 106) with Kokomo, Ind. (ranks 13 and 2). The latter has a somewhat lower ratio of children, although it has about one-fifth more married women than the former. Since in both cities the women are almost wholly of old native stock, it seems a reasonable conclusion that the difference is largely due to the differences in the practice of family limitation.

The relation between the ratio of children and the percentage of married women in many other cities, particularly the California cities and northern manufacturing cities might also be explained in the same manner, but there is no need to dwell longer on this point. It needs no argument to convince anyone of the fairly close relation between the spread of the knowledge of conception control, the ratio of children, and the percentage of married women.

We have assumed here that there is no difference in the actual capacity of the women in these different communities to bear children (fecundity). This assumption is not entirely justified, since we have reason to believe that involuntary sterility is rather closely connected with urban living, especially among the classes in comfortable economic circumstances, but such an assumption probably is not far wrong as applied to the great majority of the laboring population.

PROPORTION OF YOUNG WOMEN

Another factor of some importance in determining the ratio of children to women is the proportion of the women who are in the more fertile age groups. A careful inspection of Table 28, column I, and Table 29, column K, will readily convince anyone that, as a rule, the more young women there are in a community the higher is its ratio of children. Among the 20 cities having the highest ratios of children to native white women (Table 28), the one ranking lowest in proportion of women 20 to 34 years of age is Hagerstown, Md. (165), being well below the middle point in this respect. But 5 others are also below 100 (100-219). The other 14 of them rank 1-77, thus belonging in

the highest third. In the 20 cities with lowest ratios, on the other hand, only 2 rank 1 to 100. These are both industrial cities in Massachusetts with high percentages of foreign stock. Nine of them are above 200, that is, in the 19 with the lowest proportions of young women, and 6 more rank 144 to 219, that is, in what is approximately the highest one-third.

CITIES HAVING HIGHEST AND LOWEST RATIOS FOR FOREIGN-BORN
WOMEN

At several points in the preceding discussion we have referred to the ratios of children to foreign-born women and compared them with those to native women. In general they are much higher. But when individual cities are compared as regards their ratios of children to foreign-born women, several interesting facts emerge.

NEW IMMIGRATION

In the first place there seems to be a fairly close connection between the ratio of children and the percentage of the foreign born who are of the new immigration. There are some exceptions, of course, but they can be rather readily explained. We have already referred to the situation in Hamtramck with its large Polish population. The Poles are among our most prolific immigrants, and if we could pick out other communities similar to Hamtramck in composition, there is every reason to believe that they, too, would have very high ratios of children among the foreign born. East Chicago, Ind., Gary, Ind., and Bethlehem, Pa., approach Hamtramck in this respect, but have larger proportions of other immigrant groups. But in all these high-ratio cities, the foreign born are largely engaged in manufacturing of a heavy type and their women do not work outside the home. (See column M, Table 29.)

It is interesting to compare the low-ratio cities having a high percentage of new immigrants among their foreign born with these high-ratio cities. Macon, Ga., Tulsa, Okla., Huntington, W. Va., Miami, Fla., and Lexington, Ky., all have over 40 per cent of their foreign born belonging to the new immigration but have very low ratios of children. They are all southern or near-southern cities with very small percentages of foreign born in their populations. The difference between them and the high-ratio cities appears to be in the type of immigrant. In these southern cities, the Jews constitute a large proportion of the few foreign born. They are not engaged in manufacturing but in trade. They belong to the more comfortable economic classes and apparently exercise considerable voluntary control over the size of their families. Thus we find that the type of immigrant and his social status has much influence in determining the ratio of children to women, even among the foreign born.

It is also very interesting to note again that several of the California cities are at the bottom of the list. The foreign born in California do not seem to be much more given to raising large families than the natives and the explanation given for the southern cities will not apply here since the proportion of new immigrants in California cities is rather small. One is almost forced to conclude that, however salubrious the climate of California is to the individual, it is not so healthy for the race. Perhaps it is the selective influence of the climate as we have already suggested.

TABLE 30.—PER CENT OF MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY NATIVITY, FOR 40 SELECTED CITIES OF 25,000 TO 100,000 INHABITANTS RANKED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE: 1920¹

[Per cents not given where base is less than 100]

CITY	PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED			
	Native white women 20 to 44 years of age			Foreign-born white women 20 to 44 years of age
	Total	Native percentage	Foreign or mixed percentage	
HIGHEST RATIO OF CHILDREN				
Hamtramck, Mich.....	85.2	86.8	84.9	96.6
Ogden, Utah.....	79.4	79.1	79.8	86.4
Bay City, Mich.....	71.4	76.1	68.9	85.2
Johnstown, Pa.....	69.6	70.9	66.3	95.2
Winston-Salem, N. C.....	71.4	71.3	74.1
Roanoke, Va.....	75.9	76.2	66.0	87.4
Pensacola, Fla.....	81.5	82.1	78.2	79.5
Clarksburg, W. Va.....	77.6	78.3	69.9	90.9
Hagerstown, Md.....	76.1	76.1	75.8
Charlotte, N. C.....	72.7	72.7	73.5	87.2
Port Huron, Mich.....	75.7	76.8	74.8	86.1
Huntington, W. Va.....	78.9	79.1	73.3	81.9
Kokomo, Ind.....	84.6	85.4	75.7	85.6
Portsmouth, Ohio.....	76.2	77.1	69.1
Hazleton, Pa.....	61.6	61.2	62.0	94.5
Wilmington, N. C.....	75.2	75.7	65.0	87.5
Portsmouth, Va.....	79.7	80.3	71.4	92.9
Bethlehem, Pa.....	74.5	77.6	62.8	91.6
Gary, Ind.....	83.7	84.3	82.6	96.0
East Chicago, Ind.....	80.9	83.6	78.2	96.4
LOWEST RATIO OF CHILDREN				
Bangor, Me.....	61.8	64.6	54.0	76.1
Kingston, N. Y.....	58.3	59.3	55.9	87.6
Atlantic City, N. J.....	69.9	70.6	68.1	81.6
Fresno, Calif.....	76.9	78.6	72.5	89.1
Sacramento, Calif.....	76.9	78.1	74.9	88.1
Lawrence, Mass.....	51.1	57.8	48.9	82.7
Utica, N. Y.....	62.5	64.4	60.0	86.8
East Orange, N. J.....	66.8	67.2	65.9	70.2
Colorado Springs, Colo.....	67.2	69.1	60.9	76.1
San Jose, Calif.....	68.5	69.9	66.8	87.2
Berkeley, Calif.....	64.2	64.2	64.1	79.0
Auburn, N. Y.....	64.7	67.4	60.9	89.7
Waltham, Mass.....	47.9	51.6	44.7	73.1
Amsterdam, N. Y.....	61.8	65.2	57.5	85.1
San Diego, Calif.....	74.3	75.2	72.3	82.9
Long Beach, Calif.....	74.9	75.2	73.8	81.2
Troy, N. Y.....	52.4	54.4	50.3	79.4
Pasadena, Calif.....	63.9	64.8	61.5	60.0
Elgin, Ill.....	60.2	58.9	61.5	78.0
Brookline, Mass.....	51.3	55.9	45.3	34.5

¹ Compiled from Detailed Table II.

We have already called attention to the fact that the percentage of the foreign-born women who are married is greatest where the ratios of children are greatest and that it diminishes as the ratio declines. It is also worth noting that there is some tendency for the percentage of women 20 to 34 to decline as the ratio of children declines; but this is not as clearly marked a tendency as in the case of married women. It does, however, call attention again to the fact that the fertility of women varies with their age.

In the relation between employment and ratio of children the foreign-born women show the same tendencies as the native women—the greater the number employed the lower the ratio of children. But this tendency is not very marked and we must conclude that although it is important it is not as important as one would be likely to think. Other factors seem to overshadow it in determining the ratio of children to foreign-born women.

In general one seems justified in observing that the differences in ratios of children between native and foreign-born women and between foreign-born women in different localities rests to quite an appreciable degree upon the extent to which the knowledge of the methods of conception control is spread in a community. All the other factors of which we have taken account fail at some point to offer a clear explanation of the facts, but if studied in the light of what is quite commonly known regarding the practice of conception control in different communities and in different nativity groups the whole situation becomes more comprehensible. We must recognize, of course, that even if knowledge of the methods of conception control were universal there would still be considerable differences in ratios of children between different groups in our population. We shall try in later chapters to point out some of the reasons why these differences exist even where equal knowledge may be fairly assumed.

HEREDITY AND THE BIRTH RATE

At several points in this and preceding chapters we have found data that suggested the possibility of selective influences at work in the determination of the birth rate of certain groups through their effects upon the heredity of the group. It seems inherently probable that heredity does determine to some extent the strength of the natural urge to reproduction. There are, however, such a variety of forces at work molding people's attitudes toward reproduction, as toward all other social relations, that we can not be certain that the selective process sorts people according to their hereditary inclinations regarding reproduction. We can scarcely suppose, however, that these hereditary inclinations are without any influence. It may well be, though, that hereditary inclinations of this kind, if they

do exist, are quite negligible in their influence on conduct, on account of the repressive effect of environment or on account of the lack of any positively encouraging aspects of environment. If we could be at all certain that the natural inclination to reproduction was adequately measured in different people by the size of their families, it might greatly modify our attitude toward the differential birth rate in different classes of our population. But we are forced to conclude, in studying the actual situation, that there is no *natural* working out of hereditary inclinations apparent in our present birth rate. Social conditions rather than hereditary inclinations determine the greater part of the differentials we have been studying thus far.

SUMMARY

To sum up our findings with regard to these smaller cities, we may say that they are much like the larger cities in the operation of the measurable factors influencing the ratio of children to women. At no point do any directly opposed tendencies appear in the two groups. The distinctive features of modern urbanism which first become manifest in the larger cities soon penetrate into these smaller places, at least as regards those attitudes of mind affecting the raising of children.

We have seen that some cities differ greatly from the others, but we have generally found a more or less satisfactory explanation of these differences in the particular circumstances existing in different localities which have impeded or abetted the spread of conditions favorable or unfavorable to the raising of children. In other words, the differences between cities appear to be based largely upon the degree of pressure felt by those raising children and the extent of their knowledge of methods of conception control. Some people feel the burden of children much more keenly than others; although this feeling of the burdensomeness of children, no doubt, is itself largely a measure of the extent to which the inclination to self-development in the individual has been encouraged at the expense of the inclination to reproduction. It seems evident that our present urban life tends to smother the inclination to reproduction under the avalanche of the individual's desires for pleasure and self-development. The modern city apparently furnishes abundant incitement to people to develop their personal qualities, particularly those that are immediately useful in attaining a desired status, and to work hard to satisfy all kinds of personal desires, but it furnishes little incentive to taking long time views or to the development of inclinations not of immediate use.