

VI

RATIOS OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN IN CITIES AND RURAL DISTRICTS

The data regarding the ratio of children to women for smaller cities (2,500 to 10,000 and 10,000 to 25,000) and for rural districts are available by States only. Hence, many local differences can not be ascertained. There is good reason to believe, however, that even though it is necessary to present the data for all the smaller places in the States in groups it will still be possible to get at the essential facts regarding their ratios of children to women.

NATIVE WHITE WOMEN IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES

In Table 34 the ratios of children to all native white women 20 to 44 years of age are given for the United States, its divisions, and the States, by size of community.

The most striking fact in this table is the steady increase in these ratios as the size of the community diminishes. Using the ratios for the largest cities group in the United States and each division as 100, the indexes for the different sizes of communities in the United States and its nine divisions are as given in Table 35.

Since the indexes of the United States and of each of the divisions are calculated from a different base the size of the index tells us nothing regarding their relations to one another, but it does enable us to compare readily the differences between communities of different sizes within the several areas, for native white women.

In every division, as well as in the United States as a whole, there is an increase in ratio of children as the community becomes smaller. The smallest increases between the big cities and the rural communities are found in the New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the East North Central States, where the indexes for rural communities are respectively 64 points, 71.9 points, and 77.5 points greater than in the large cities. Elsewhere, as well as in the entire United States, the indexes for rural communities are over 100 points higher than for the large cities. The East South Central States have the highest index for their rural communities but the other two Southern divisions are not far behind. Moreover, there is no division in which the increase in indexes is not steady, that is, in which it is not higher in a smaller community than in a larger one. By referring to Table 34 we also see that there are only four or five instances among the States in which a higher ratio of children occurs in the larger community than in the next smaller community.

TABLE 34.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, WITH RANKINGS, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920¹

DIVISION AND STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE													
	The State		Cities								Rural districts			
			100,000 in- habitants and over		25,000 to 100,000 in- habitants		10,000 to 25,000 in- habitants		2,500 to 10,000 in- habitants					
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank		
UNITED STATES ¹	538	-----	341	-----	390	-----	434	-----	477	-----	721	-----		
NEW ENGLAND.....	393	8	322	8	350	8	386	8	412	8	528	9		
Maine.....	515	32	-----	-----	335	37	399	39	453	35	603	38		
New Hampshire.....	435	42	-----	-----	350	31	374	42	434	40	517	41		
Vermont.....	525	28	-----	-----	-----	-----	417	33	401	45	587	39		
Massachusetts.....	359	47	325	22	351	30	384	41	405	44	461	46		
Rhode Island.....	363	45	301	28	380	23	422	27	438	39	436	48		
Connecticut.....	371	44	322	23	340	36	360	44	366	48	442	47		
MIDDLE ATLANTIC.....	429	7	342	6	381	6	431	5	466	6	588	7		
New York.....	362	46	322	24	323	38	369	43	392	46	494	44		
New Jersey.....	402	43	363	13	378	34	400	38	415	43	480	45		
Pennsylvania.....	512	33	378	10	429	9	484	7	515	13	671	27		
EAST NORTH CENTRAL.....	493	6	360	4	413	2	451	4	478	5	639	6		
Ohio.....	482	37	366	12	429	10	453	17	473	27	633	33		
Indiana.....	519	30	354	17	421	13	467	12	474	26	622	35		
Illinois.....	450	40	332	20	363	27	421	28	465	29	618	37		
Michigan.....	524	29	407	6	449	6	479	8	514	15	668	29		
Wisconsin.....	548	25	381	9	420	14	458	16	478	22	679	25		
WEST NORTH CENTRAL.....	554	5	328	7	385	5	424	6	453	7	680	5		
Minnesota.....	538	27	347	19	415	16	439	22	480	20	687	23		
Iowa.....	546	26	362	14	390	19	417	34	429	41	641	32		
Missouri.....	510	34	303	27	380	22	419	31	446	36	685	24		
North Dakota.....	722	11	-----	-----	-----	-----	426	25	486	18	788	16		
South Dakota.....	670	16	-----	-----	417	15	418	32	460	31	727	20		
Nebraska.....	578	23	332	21	345	34	447	10	455	34	677	26		
Kansas.....	574	24	458	2	372	26	423	26	460	32	663	30		
SOUTH ATLANTIC.....	713	2	406	1	459	1	494	1	551	1	848	1		
Delaware.....	491	36	424	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	461	30	571	40		
Maryland.....	507	35	416	5	486	3	461	13	489	16	649	31		
Virginia.....	688	15	393	8	478	4	460	14	560	6	809	15		
West Virginia.....	788	3	-----	-----	467	5	474	9	587	3	915	2		
North Carolina.....	827	1	-----	-----	499	2	516	5	623	2	910	3		
South Carolina.....	777	6	-----	-----	434	7	521	3	559	7	872	6		
Georgia.....	731	9	377	11	426	12	522	2	524	11	869	7		
Florida.....	627	19	-----	-----	429	11	415	35	446	37	754	18		
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	734	1	375	2	406	3	463	3	516	3	846	2		
Kentucky.....	722	12	358	16	377	25	445	20	479	21	854	8		
Tennessee.....	706	14	361	15	430	8	498	6	536	9	816	13		
Alabama.....	786	5	431	3	415	17	519	4	580	4	894	4		
Mississippi.....	740	8	-----	-----	-----	-----	420	29	486	19	813	14		
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	682	3	369	3	376	7	466	2	512	4	817	3		
Arkansas.....	798	2	-----	-----	391	18	474	10	522	12	888	5		
Louisiana.....	659	17	396	7	346	33	448	18	533	10	853	10		
Oklahoma.....	722	13	-----	-----	360	28	459	15	539	8	853	10		
Texas.....	630	18	353	18	389	20	472	11	487	17	760	17		
MOUNTAIN.....	631	4	356	5	390	4	423	7	535	2	775	4		
Montana.....	620	20	-----	-----	349	32	415	36	476	24	733	19		
Idaho.....	729	10	-----	-----	-----	-----	443	21	566	5	824	12		
Wyoming.....	593	21	-----	-----	-----	-----	391	40	476	25	670	28		
Colorado.....	516	31	294	29	345	35	420	30	478	23	715	21		
New Mexico.....	757	7	-----	-----	-----	-----	438	23	515	14	836	11		
Arizona.....	580	22	-----	-----	359	29	405	37	473	28	710	22		
Utah.....	788	4	498	1	571	1	716	1	807	1	1,012	1		
Nevada.....	447	41	-----	-----	-----	-----	270	47	444	38	498	43		
PACIFIC.....	388	9	268	9	315	9	365	9	407	9	563	8		
Washington.....	462	39	312	25	381	21	430	24	458	33	628	34		
Oregon.....	463	38	312	26	-----	-----	334	46	416	42	619	36		
California.....	341	48	244	30	295	39	348	45	389	47	501	42		

¹ From data in Detailed Table I. ² District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

FIGURE 3.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE URBAN POPULATION: 1920

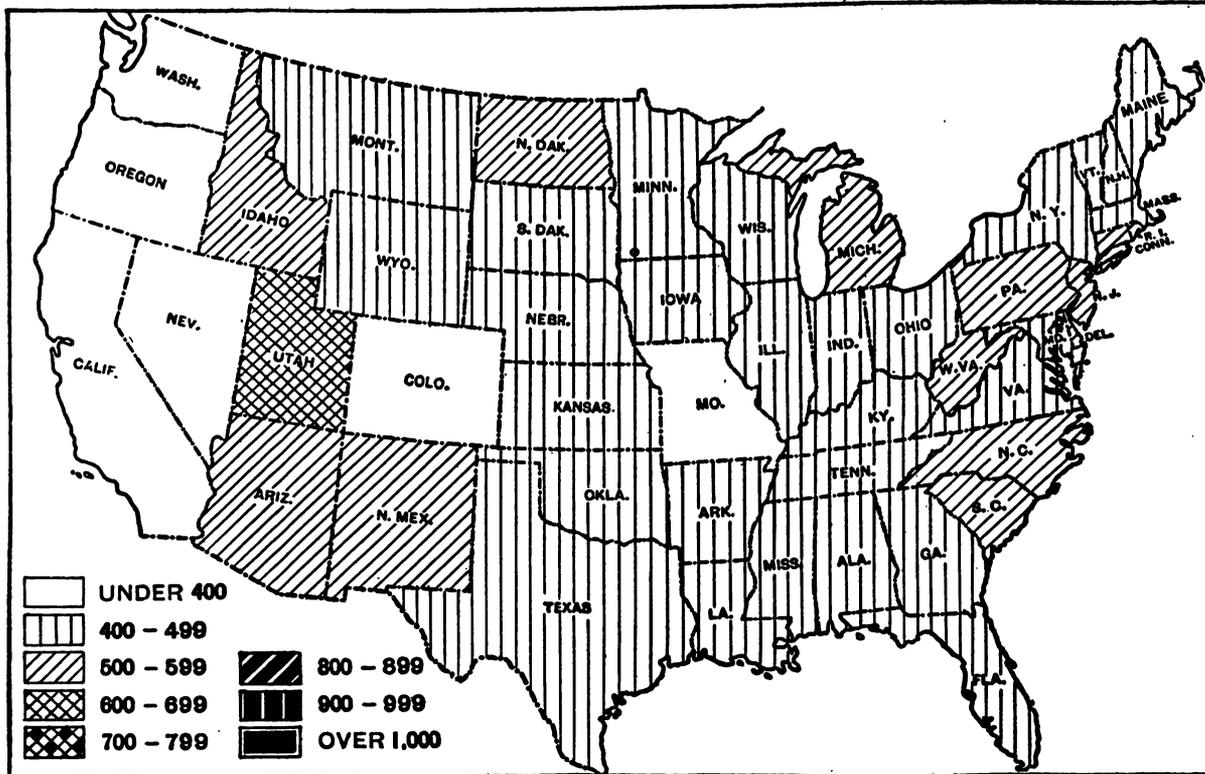


FIGURE 4.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE URBAN POPULATION: 1920

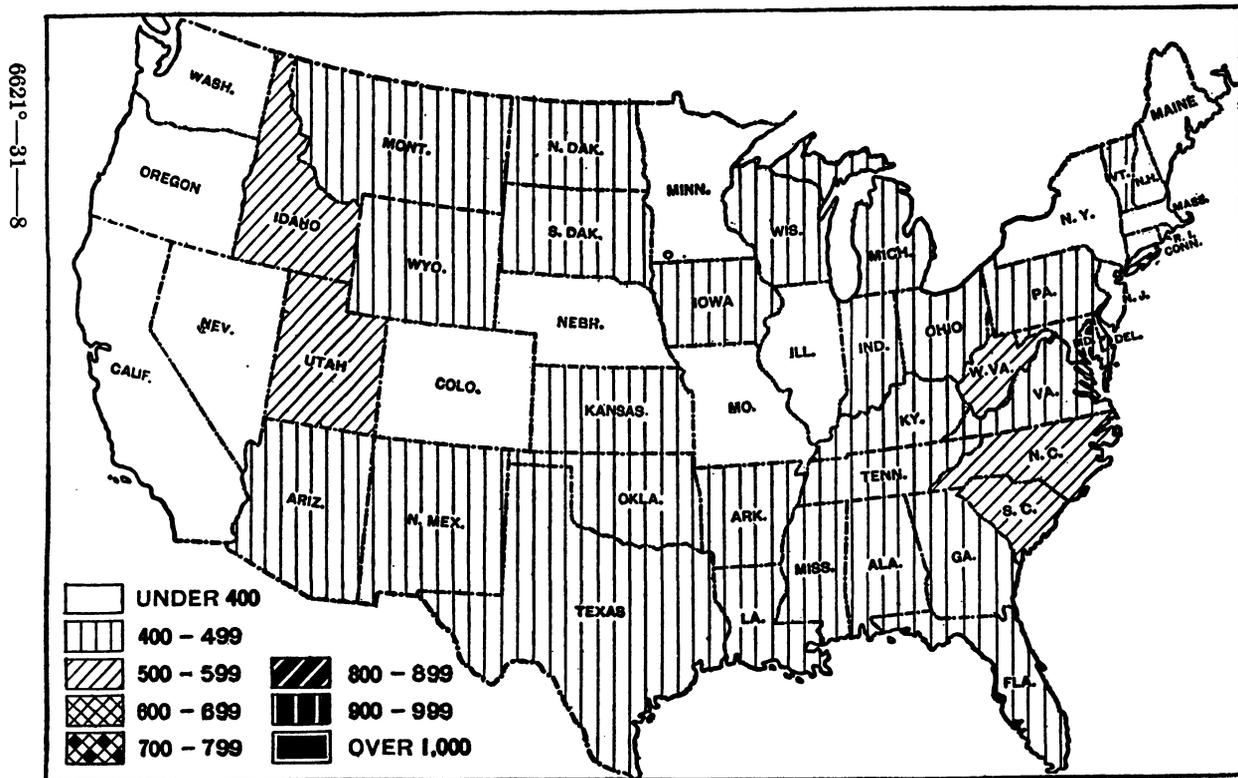


FIGURE 5.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE RURAL POPULATION: 1920

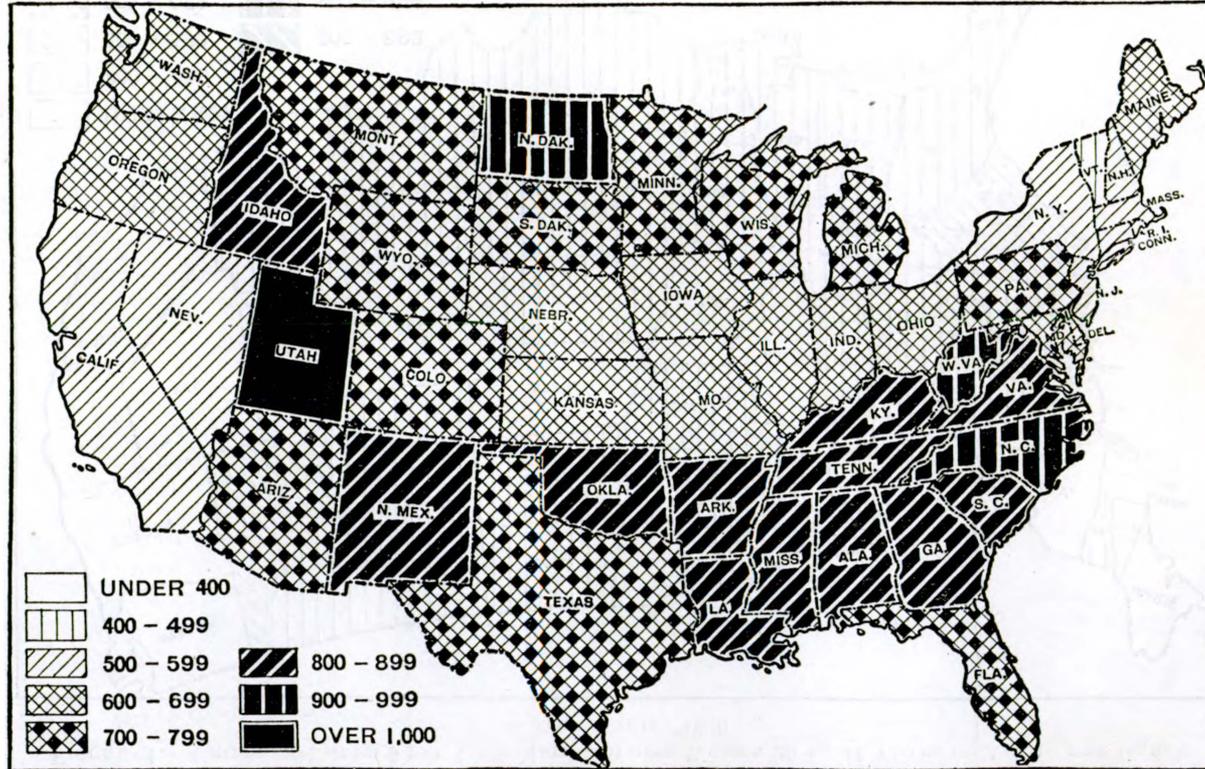


FIGURE 6.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE RURAL POPULATION: 1920

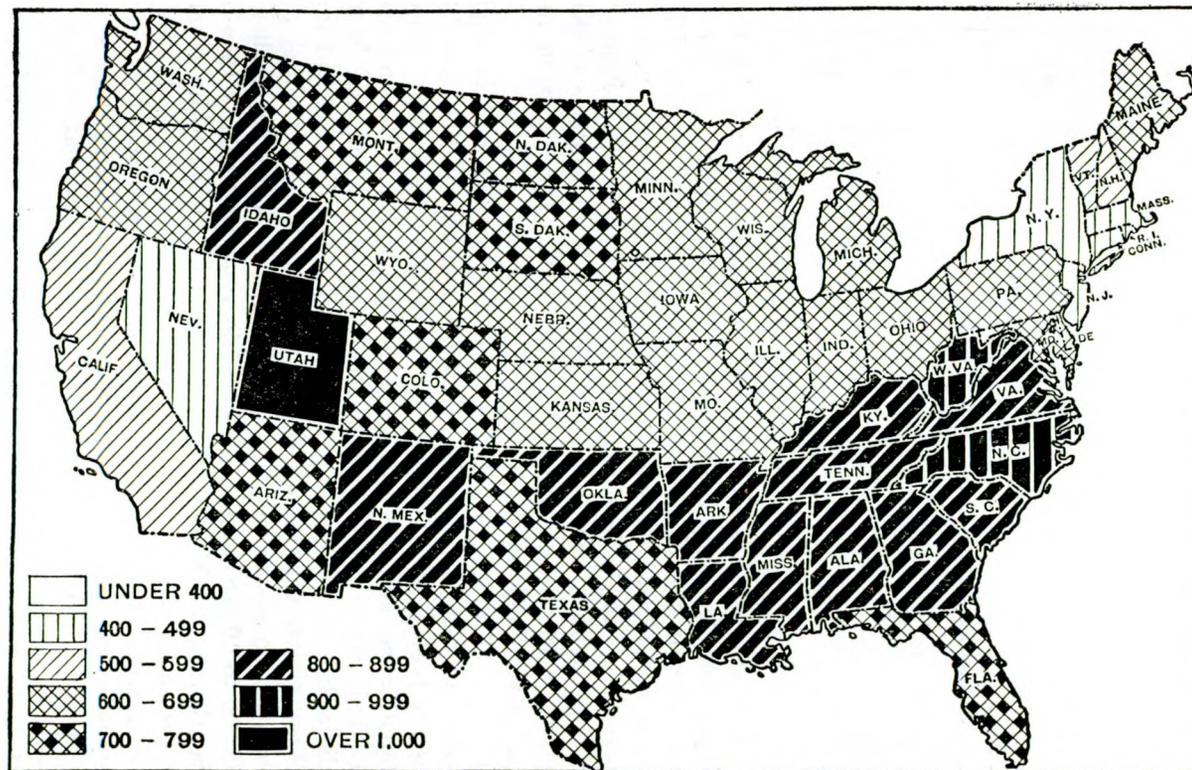


TABLE 35.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over in each division=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States.....	100	114.4	127.3	139.9	211.4
New England.....	100	108.7	119.9	128.0	164.0
Middle Atlantic.....	100	111.4	126.0	136.3	171.9
East North Central.....	100	114.7	125.3	132.8	177.5
West North Central.....	100	117.4	129.3	138.1	207.3
South Atlantic.....	100	113.0	121.7	135.7	208.9
East South Central.....	100	108.3	123.5	137.6	225.6
West South Central.....	100	101.9	126.3	138.8	221.4
Mountain.....	100	109.6	118.8	150.3	217.7
Pacific.....	100	117.5	136.2	151.9	210.1

It is also worth noting that the three divisions in which the rural indexes are less than 100 points greater than those of the large cities are those in the Northeast where industrial and commercial life is most developed and where, presumably, urban influence is most pervasive. In the Southern States, on the other hand, industry and commerce have been slower developing and the contacts of the rural people with modern urban life have been fewer. Here in turn we find a very high index for the rural districts.

Table 36 gives indexes for the United States and its divisions, using the ratio for all cities of 100,000 and over in the United States as the base (100). Here we have a basis for the comparison of different areas and different sizes of communities. We find that the United States, the three Southern divisions, and the Mountain division have indexes of over 200 in the rural districts and that the West North Central division approaches 200 very closely. This comparison shows us very clearly that it is in the smaller cities (2,500 to 10,000) and in the rural districts, particularly those of the South and the Mountain States, that the native white population is increasing most rapidly. It is also of interest to note that in those areas where the ratios are highest the proportion of Anglo-Saxon stock is greatest. Indeed in these areas the white stock is almost pure Anglo-Saxon. This table shows further that it is in those sections of the country where population is most highly urbanized that the ratios are lowest. Included are the States in the Northeastern part of the country and on the Pacific coast. In these parts of the country the influence of urban life seems to penetrate even the rural communities to a marked degree. This is quite in keeping with our findings in Chapters III and IV.

TABLE 36.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over for the whole United States=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States.....	100.0	114.4	127.3	139.9	211.4
New England.....	94.4	102.6	113.2	120.8	154.8
Middle Atlantic.....	100.3	111.7	126.4	136.7	172.4
East North Central.....	105.6	121.1	132.3	140.2	187.4
West North Central.....	96.2	112.9	124.3	132.8	190.4
South Atlantic.....	119.1	134.6	144.9	161.6	248.7
East South Central.....	110.0	119.1	135.8	151.3	248.1
West South Central.....	108.2	110.3	136.9	160.1	239.6
Mountain.....	104.4	114.4	124.0	156.9	227.3
Pacific.....	78.6	92.4	107.0	119.4	165.1

It is also important to note that in the entire United States the two groups of smaller cities (10,000 to 25,000 and 2,500 to 10,000) have indexes 27.3 points and 39.9 points greater than the large cities. There can be no reasonable doubt that under present conditions, size of city has considerable influence on the ratio of children to native women.

MARRIAGE

Even when married women only are considered as in Table 37 this same relation between the size of the community and the ratio of children is clearly marked. The smaller the community the higher the ratio of children.

It is true that the difference between the largest and the smallest communities is only about two-thirds as great in the case of married women as of all women but it is still over three-fourths greater in rural communities than in the big cities. (Table 38.) Here, too, the increase is continuous with very few exceptions. In the West South Central division the largest cities have a slightly higher index than the cities of 25,000 to 100,000 and the same is true in a few of the States, for example in Vermont the cities of 10,000 to 25,000 have a higher index than the cities of 2,500 to 10,000. (Table 37.) But the few exceptions are of little significance and do not invalidate the general statement that the ratio of children decreases as the size of the community increases.

RATIO OF CHILDREN TO WOMEN

FIGURE 7.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE BY NATIVITY AND MARITAL CONDITION: 1920

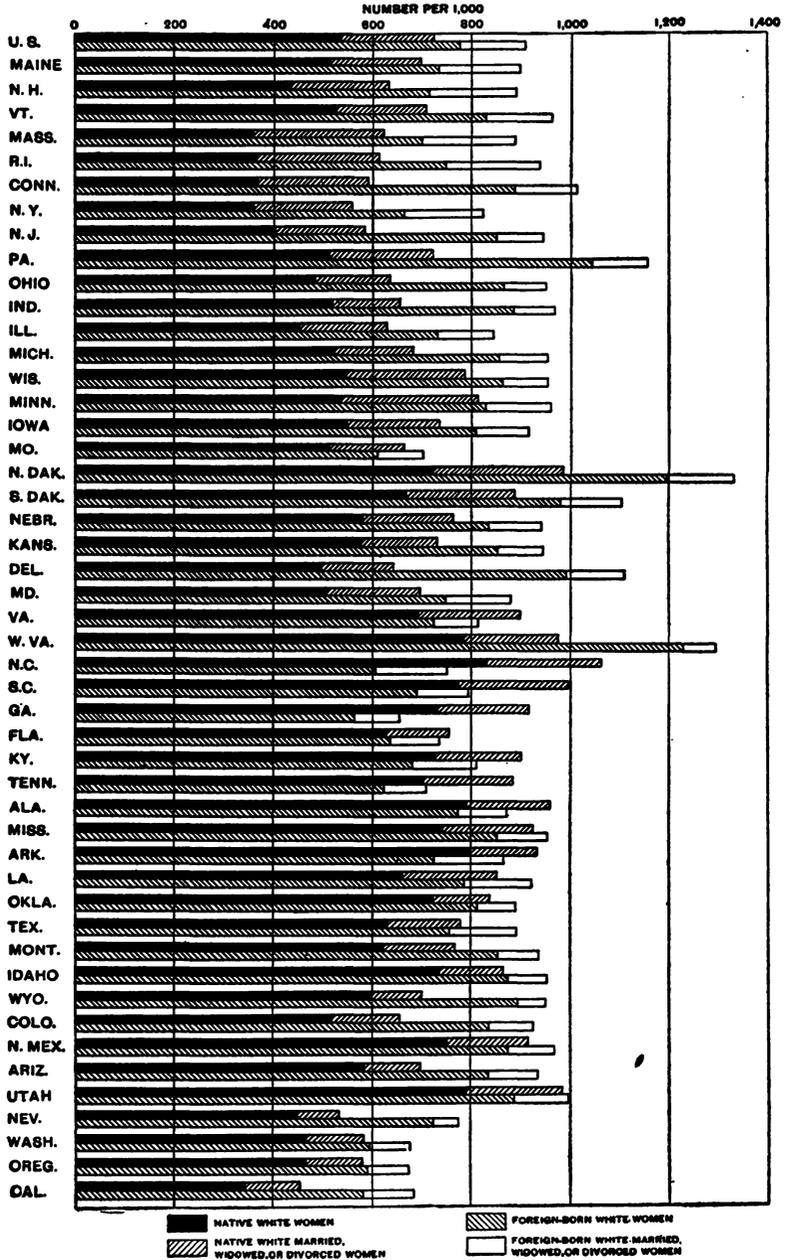


TABLE 37.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, WITH RANKINGS, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920¹

DIVISION AND STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE											
	The State		Cities								Rural districts	
			100,000 in- habitants and over		25,000 to 100,000 in- habitants		10,000 to 25,000 in- habitants		2,500 to 10,000 in- habitants			
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank
UNITED STATES ²	725	-----	512	-----	554	-----	608	-----	646	-----	899	-----
NEW ENGLAND	632	8	577	1	595	2	631	2	641	6	716	8
Maine.....	695	30	-----	-----	534	24	586	27	630	25	762	36
New Hampshire.....	634	38	-----	-----	614	9	572	32	625	28	677	42
Vermont.....	707	27	-----	-----	-----	-----	643	14	593	39	749	37
Massachusetts.....	621	40	599	2	604	12	639	16	657	20	683	41
Rhode Island.....	615	41	540	14	643	5	702	4	669	16	613	46
Connecticut.....	593	42	527	16	562	17	619	18	608	35	663	43
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	633	7	546	3	567	3	630	3	657	4	778	7
New York.....	558	46	529	15	502	30	554	39	566	45	656	44
New Jersey.....	590	43	558	9	575	15	593	24	586	40	647	45
Pennsylvania.....	723	26	578	6	612	10	692	6	719	9	882	22
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	662	6	519	4	561	4	616	4	644	5	810	6
Ohio.....	638	37	511	18	562	18	601	21	628	27	793	32
Indiana.....	659	34	462	24	556	19	600	22	611	33	768	35
Illinois.....	629	39	506	19	516	26	585	29	622	30	791	33
Michigan.....	680	32	552	11	581	14	684	8	685	14	819	30
Wisconsin.....	786	19	587	5	642	6	691	7	723	8	916	19
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	745	5	478	8	541	6	595	6	636	7	876	5
Minnesota.....	811	18	558	10	653	4	726	2	744	6	981	15
Iowa.....	732	24	507	20	556	20	586	28	617	31	829	28
Missouri.....	664	33	430	26	499	32	555	38	595	38	840	26
North Dakota.....	987	3	-----	-----	-----	-----	680	9	739	7	1,045	7
South Dakota.....	885	13	-----	-----	597	13	613	19	663	19	941	18
Nebraska.....	764	21	474	23	507	27	604	20	625	29	868	23
Kansas.....	730	25	573	7	504	28	552	40	602	37	828	29
SOUTH ATLANTIC	911	1	569	2	607	1	666	1	725	1	1,053	1
Delaware.....	645	36	589	4	-----	-----	-----	-----	643	21	704	40
Maryland.....	697	29	598	3	660	3	644	13	666	17	841	25
Virginia.....	899	11	545	12	633	7	646	12	747	4	1,036	8
West Virginia.....	975	5	-----	-----	619	8	641	15	745	5	1,103	3
North Carolina.....	1,062	1	-----	-----	686	2	712	3	825	2	1,149	2
South Carolina.....	992	2	-----	-----	608	11	698	5	768	3	1,067	4
Georgia.....	909	10	497	21	555	21	658	11	690	15	1,057	6
Florida.....	758	23	-----	-----	529	25	545	42	573	42	888	21
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	910	2	511	5	555	5	607	5	665	3	1,022	2
Kentucky.....	899	12	517	17	540	23	585	30	630	26	1,019	10
Tennessee.....	880	14	485	22	568	16	637	17	689	13	994	13
Alabama.....	959	6	543	13	555	22	659	10	718	10	1,075	5
Mississippi.....	924	8	-----	-----	-----	-----	571	33	633	24	998	12
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	822	3	496	6	480	8	578	7	633	8	957	3
Arkansas.....	928	7	-----	-----	504	29	571	34	637	23	1,016	11
Louisiana.....	846	16	570	8	438	38	587	26	705	12	1,031	9
Oklahoma.....	835	17	-----	-----	456	36	559	37	639	22	962	16
Texas.....	772	20	456	25	500	31	588	25	610	34	910	20
MOUNTAIN	775	4	486	7	518	7	560	8	674	2	907	4
Montana.....	769	22	-----	-----	478	35	568	36	613	32	861	24
Idaho.....	863	15	-----	-----	-----	-----	571	35	710	11	948	17
Wyoming.....	698	28	-----	-----	-----	-----	473	44	584	41	777	34
Colorado.....	653	35	407	29	475	34	-----	-----	581	31	693	36
New Mexico.....	915	9	-----	-----	-----	-----	595	23	665	18	988	14
Arizona.....	691	31	-----	-----	455	37	526	43	571	43	819	31
Utah.....	983	4	660	1	719	1	956	1	1,029	1	1,203	1
Nevada.....	537	47	-----	-----	-----	-----	350	47	516	47	586	48
PACIFIC	504	9	367	9	430	9	474	9	520	9	677	9
Washington.....	583	44	419	27	499	33	546	41	571	44	745	38
Oregon.....	581	45	415	28	-----	-----	470	45	525	46	730	39
California.....	451	48	338	30	407	39	450	46	503	48	612	47

¹ From data in Detailed Table I.

² District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

TABLE 38.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over in each division=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 NATIVE WHITE MARRIED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States.....	100	108.2	118.8	126.2	175.6
New England.....	100	103.1	109.4	111.1	124.1
Middle Atlantic.....	100	103.8	115.4	120.3	142.5
East North Central.....	100	108.1	118.7	124.1	156.1
West North Central.....	100	113.2	124.5	133.0	183.3
South Atlantic.....	100	106.7	117.0	127.4	185.1
East South Central.....	100	108.6	118.8	130.1	200.0
West South Central.....	100	98.8	116.5	127.6	192.9
Mountain.....	100	106.6	115.2	138.7	186.6
Pacific.....	100	117.2	129.2	141.7	184.4

This matter of the effect of marriage upon the ratio of children is not as simple as Table 38 might seem to imply. Women are not equally fertile at all ages within the childbearing period. Fecundity appears to decrease rather steadily from shortly after puberty.

The results of possibly the best study on the fertility of marriage¹ show that the postponement of marriage for several years has a more than proportional effect in reducing the size of the family. In England and Wales in 1911 the women who had been married 29-30 years, that is, those who were married about 1882, showed the highest fertility when they were married at age 17. Every year thereafter that marriage was postponed had a marked effect upon the number of children born. Those married at 21 had just about three-fourths as many children as those married at 17 and at 23 they had but two-thirds as many; while those married at 27-28 had but half as many. Expressed in another way, 9 marriages at 17 will result in as many children born as 10 at 19, 3 at 17 are as fertile as 4 at 21, 2 at 17 are equivalent to 3 at 23, and 1 at 17 is as fertile as 2 at 27-28. A comparatively short postponement of marriage, therefore, results in a considerable decline in the number of children a woman bears—averaging about 5 per cent a year for the 10 years from age 17 to age 27. It is not implied that all of this decline in number of children born to women married at different ages is due to the mere fact of increasing age at marriage. It is no doubt true that many other factors find expression, in part at least, in the postponement of marriage. Differences between groups in social status, in occupational class, in standards of living, etc., are all more or less manifest

¹ Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. XIII, Fertility of Marriage, Table XII, p. XXXXII.

in the age at marriage. But postponement of marriage, whatever the underlying cause, is one of the important factors making for lower ratios of children among urban dwellers.

Without going into much detail regarding the postponement of marriage in different communities in this country the following table (Table 39) shows that the differences between sections of the country are sufficient to influence the ratios of children to an appreciable extent.

TABLE 39.—PER CENT MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED IN THE FEMALE POPULATION 15 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY DIVISIONS: 1920¹

DIVISION	AGE GROUP			
	15-19 years	20-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years
United States.....	12.9	54.3	80.6	88.6
New England.....	6.3	41.0	72.4	82.3
Middle Atlantic.....	8.1	46.8	76.8	85.6
East North Central.....	10.3	52.6	80.9	88.8
West North Central.....	9.9	50.1	80.2	89.4
South Atlantic.....	17.5	60.7	82.5	89.7
East South Central.....	20.4	64.8	85.2	91.6
West South Central.....	19.8	65.9	87.4	93.8
Mountain.....	14.2	61.3	86.5	93.4
Pacific.....	12.4	55.6	81.8	89.2

¹ Fourteenth Census Reports, Vol. II, Population, 1920, p. 400.

More than three times as large a proportion of the girls 15 to 19 are married in the East South Central States as in New England and the percentage of those 20 to 24 in the West South Central States who are married is much greater than in New England. The postponement of marriage is much more common in the industrial areas than in the rural areas of the country. This fact should not be forgotten, but after all in this connection we are more interested in the ratio of children to all women than in the question of marital condition, because from the standpoint of population growth it is the actual production of children by all women which is important. From this standpoint the woman who does not raise children is a total loss and a population that has a large proportion of unmarried women may die out even though the married women in it have rather large families. In time, the knowledge of the fact that conception can be easily prevented may reverse the normal relation between early marriages and a high ratio of children, but this has not happened yet.

URBANISM, COMMERCIALISM, AND INDUSTRIALISM

As matters stand at the present, then, living in small communities seems to have deranged the customary reproductive life of people less than living in large communities and a disproportionately large part of our natural increase comes from the small communities.

FIGURE 8.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE URBAN POPULATION: 1920

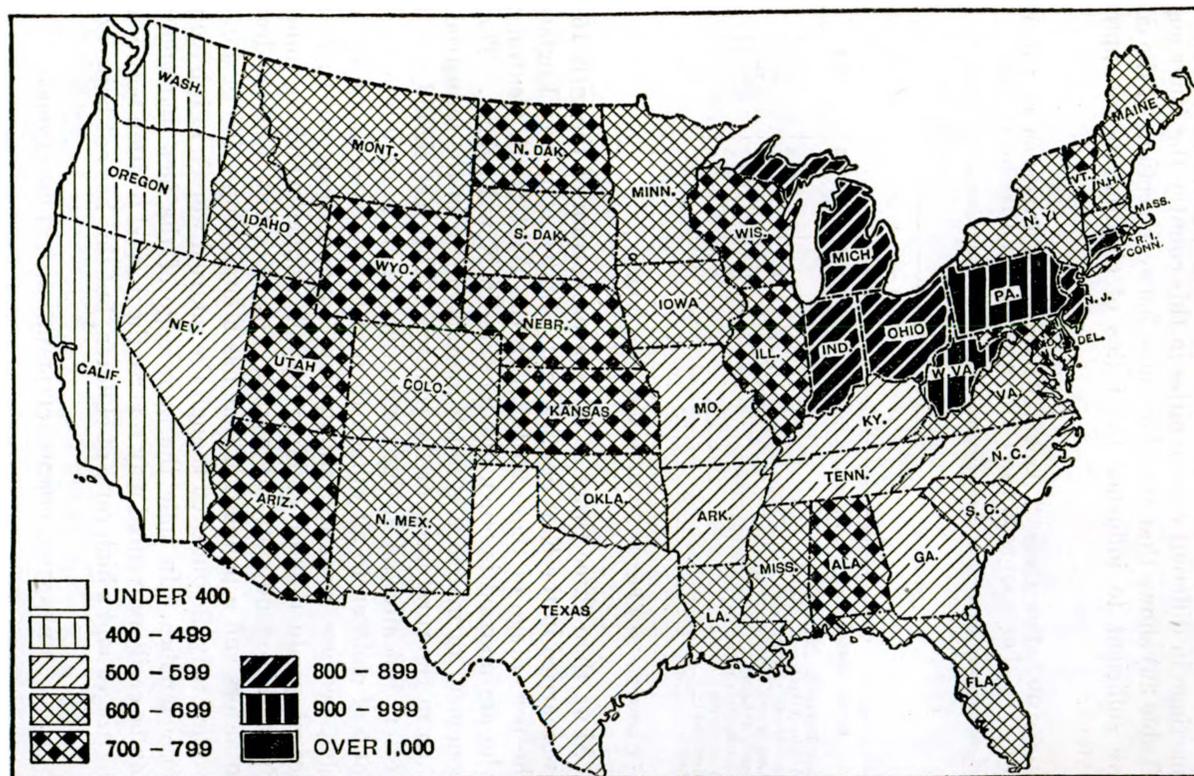
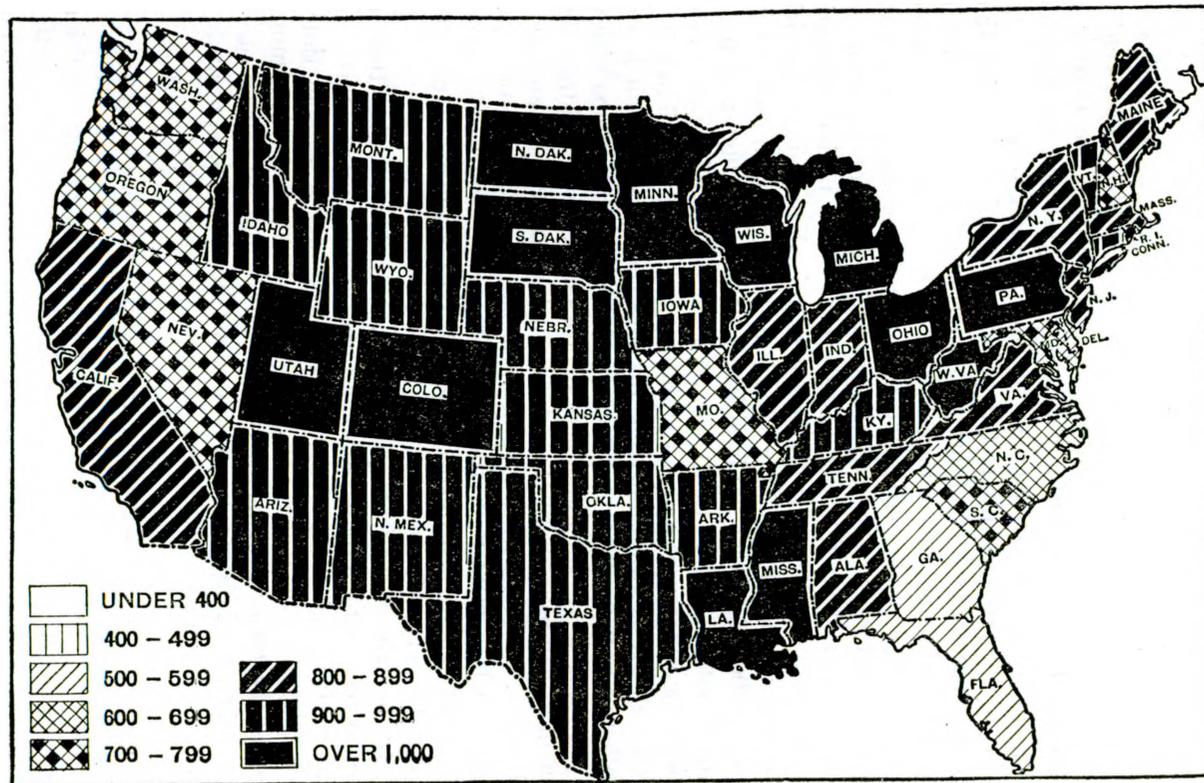


FIGURE 9.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN THE RURAL POPULATION: 1920



Just how far apart the larger and smaller communities are in this matter can be seen by some comparisons between them based on the supposition that they had the same ratios of children. Thus the 5,491,267 native white women 20 to 44 living in cities of over 25,000 would have had 2,520,491 children instead of the 1,950,086 they did have if their ratio of children had been the same as the native women in the cities of less than 25,000. This is almost a 30 per cent difference. We may say, then, that the larger cities are cutting about 120,000 to 125,000 from our increase each year and are thus hastening the time when our population will cease to grow.

It may be of some interest to point out in this connection that the larger cities have a much larger proportion of their native born who are of foreign and mixed parentage than the smaller cities, hence, the fact that the smaller cities add more, proportionally, to our increase affects materially the nationality composition of our population. In the entire United States 37.6 per cent of the native population in cities of over 500,000 is of foreign or mixed parentage; in cities of 100,000 to 500,000, 28.2 per cent is in this group; in cities of 25,000 to 100,000, 26.5 per cent; in cities of 10,000 to 25,000, 24.6 per cent; and in cities of 2,500 to 10,000, 20.6 per cent. These are very considerable differences and if the differential ratios of children in these cities should continue for some decades they would result in quite a different nationality composition in the larger and smaller cities.

Striking as are the differences in cities in ratios of children they are small as compared with those between the larger cities and the rural districts. Thus, with the same ratio as rural women, the 5,491,267 native white women in the cities of over 25,000 would have had 3,959,203 children instead of the 1,950,086 they did have. This is over 100 per cent more.

In the light of the facts cited above, it would seem that there could be no reasonable doubt that the forces depressing the birth rate in the native population of the United States at the present time, and for the past two generations, say since 1860, may be summed up under the terms urbanism, commercialism, and industrialism. Furthermore, the influence of urbanism, as thus defined, appears to vary more or less directly with the size of the community.

FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES

Further proof that urban life and its accompanying conditions lie at the basis of the decline of the ratio of children (and the birth rate) is found in the ratios of children to foreign-born white women in communities of varying size. In Tables 40 and 41 we have these ratios for all women and for married women and in Table 42 we have indexes similar to those given for native white women.

TABLE 40.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, WITH RANKINGS, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920¹

[Ratios not shown where base is less than 100]

DIVISION AND STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE											
	The State		Cities								Rural districts	
			100,000 inhabitants and over		25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants		10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants		2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants			
	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank	Ratio	Rank
UNITED STATES ²	779	-----	679	-----	766	-----	861	-----	873	-----	998	-----
NEW ENGLAND.....	747	7	700	3	710	3	811	3	806	4	870	8
Maine.....	732	32	-----	-----	623	27	689	23	763	26	811	36
New Hampshire.....	713	36	-----	-----	669	18	735	16	711	33	788	39
Vermont.....	820	23	-----	-----	-----	-----	735	17	738	28	906	24
Massachusetts.....	700	37	661	15	670	15	779	12	795	19	827	35
Rhode Island.....	755	28	737	11	665	20	837	9	898	8	856	31
Connecticut.....	886	8	825	4	898	4	991	2	919	7	910	23
MIDDLE ATLANTIC.....	789	5	672	4	863	1	1,033	1	1,034	1	1,121	1
New York.....	664	40	629	17	807	8	916	3	854	12	837	33
New Jersey.....	833	19	829	3	804	10	861	7	824	14	896	27
Pennsylvania.....	1,043	3	782	7	1,048	1	1,160	1	1,211	1	1,336	2
EAST NORTH CENTRAL.....	811	4	751	2	833	2	845	2	844	3	984	5
Ohio.....	866	12	808	5	896	5	896	5	1,001	4	1,067	7
Indiana.....	888	7	610	20	883	2	880	6	641	42	847	32
Illinois.....	734	31	712	13	666	19	807	11	817	16	879	30
Michigan.....	859	14	784	6	876	6	861	8	836	13	1,020	11
Wisconsin.....	862	13	755	9	807	9	759	14	801	17	1,002	12
WEST NORTH CENTRAL.....	849	1	632	5	670	5	705	5	778	5	1,037	2
Minnesota.....	831	20	622	18	638	23	774	13	894	10	1,048	8
Iowa.....	806	25	617	19	647	22	700	20	661	40	926	19
Missouri.....	609	43	592	21	634	24	487	44	513	47	738	45
North Dakota.....	1,199	2	-----	-----	-----	-----	656	27	820	15	1,269	3
South Dakota.....	980	5	-----	-----	631	26	813	10	853	44	1,048	9
Nebraska.....	836	18	713	12	905	3	720	18	781	22	916	20
Kansas.....	849	17	935	2	715	14	605	34	695	36	912	21
SOUTH ATLANTIC.....	831	3	768	1	682	4	708	4	846	2	1,032	3
Delaware.....	997	4	1,010	1	-----	-----	-----	-----	1,145	2	893	28
Maryland.....	753	29	749	10	802	11	616	32	863	11	771	42
Virginia.....	723	33	631	16	671	17	590	36	893	9	837	34
West Virginia.....	1,231	1	-----	-----	833	7	914	4	1,068	3	1,393	1
North Carolina.....	606	44	-----	-----	478	39	579	37	793	20	655	46
South Carolina.....	687	38	-----	-----	634	25	699	21	726	31	741	44
Georgia.....	560	48	536	26	545	32	500	43	767	23	555	47
Florida.....	636	41	-----	-----	664	21	649	28	673	39	553	48
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	710	8	625	6	527	9	626	7	718	7	927	7
Kentucky.....	678	39	541	25	511	37	524	41	730	30	971	15
Tennessee.....	614	42	582	23	525	35	-----	-----	503	48	802	38
Alabama.....	771	27	778	8	555	31	639	30	789	21	885	29
Mississippi.....	851	16	-----	-----	-----	-----	656	26	767	24	1,035	10
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	758	6	579	7	603	7	580	8	676	8	929	6
Arkansas.....	723	34	-----	-----	499	38	476	45	576	45	900	25
Louisiana.....	785	26	544	24	676	16	741	15	940	6	1,191	4
Oklahoma.....	807	24	-----	-----	533	34	623	31	701	34	939	17
Texas.....	751	30	589	22	613	28	570	38	643	41	911	22
MOUNTAIN.....	848	2	574	8	648	6	646	6	764	6	966	4
Montana.....	855	15	-----	-----	537	33	648	29	712	32	999	13
Idaho.....	870	11	-----	-----	-----	-----	686	24	674	38	961	16
Wyoming.....	890	6	-----	-----	-----	-----	719	19	735	29	960	14
Colorado.....	831	21	510	27	739	13	699	22	801	18	1,084	6
New Mexico.....	875	10	-----	-----	-----	-----	528	40	700	35	931	18
Arizona.....	830	22	-----	-----	599	29	658	26	766	25	900	26
Utah.....	883	9	690	14	791	12	610	33	962	5	1,104	5
Nevada.....	719	35	-----	-----	-----	-----	438	46	748	27	785	40
PACIFIC.....	582	9	449	9	334	8	567	9	666	9	792	9
Washington.....	591	45	442	30	577	30	593	35	598	43	774	41
Oregon.....	583	46	493	28	-----	-----	513	42	536	46	757	43
California.....	579	47	445	29	517	36	568	39	693	37	806	37

¹ From data in Detailed Table I.

² District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

TABLE 41.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, WITH RANKINGS, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920¹

[Ratios not shown where base is less than 100]

DIVISION AND STATE	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MARRIED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE											
	The State		Cities								Rural districts	
	Ratio	Rank	100,000 inhabitants and over		25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants		10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants		2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants		Ratio	Rank
UNITED STATES ²	911	---	819	---	901	---	968	---	995	---	1,092	---
NEW ENGLAND.....	921	5	886	1	885	3	974	2	982	2	991	8
Maine.....	896	27	---	---	837	17	897	13	915	18	924	35
New Hampshire.....	889	28	---	---	889	13	895	14	875	25	894	37
Vermont.....	961	10	---	---	---	---	868	17	909	19	1,014	23
Massachusetts.....	886	30	857	11	861	14	945	11	977	13	965	29
Rhode Island.....	939	21	924	5	847	16	1,015	4	1,081	4	964	30
Connecticut.....	1,014	6	960	3	1,015	4	1,111	2	1,072	6	1,036	15
MIDDLE ATLANTIC.....	935	4	825	4	983	1	1,135	1	1,143	1	1,228	1
New York.....	820	36	787	16	939	9	1,051	3	1,006	10	963	31
New Jersey.....	945	18	935	4	922	10	989	7	942	15	994	27
Pennsylvania.....	1,158	3	921	6	1,146	1	1,271	1	1,285	1	1,423	2
EAST NORTH CENTRAL.....	910	6	857	3	928	2	937	3	936	4	1,069	4
Ohio.....	951	15	897	7	978	5	989	8	1,074	5	1,129	9
Indiana.....	968	8	708	21	1,051	3	959	10	717	44	937	34
Illinois.....	844	35	827	13	781	20	891	15	917	16	956	33
Michigan.....	956	12	894	8	964	6	970	9	917	17	1,090	12
Wisconsin.....	955	13	849	12	905	12	859	18	909	20	1,084	13
WEST NORTH CENTRAL.....	967	1	749	5	793	4	836	4	902	5	1,137	2
Minnesota.....	959	11	764	17	773	21	903	12	967	12	1,146	7
Iowa.....	914	26	751	18	754	24	821	20	789	33	1,017	21
Missouri.....	704	43	686	22	731	28	877	43	653	46	831	43
North Dakota.....	1,333	1	---	---	---	---	820	21	1,004	11	1,390	3
South Dakota.....	1,102	5	---	---	753	25	995	6	750	43	1,155	6
Nebraska.....	940	20	822	14	1,064	2	842	19	899	21	1,004	24
Kansas.....	943	19	1,012	2	852	15	719	34	788	34	996	26
SOUTH ATLANTIC.....	941	2	885	2	792	5	805	5	939	3	1,128	3
Delaware.....	1,112	4	1,122	1	---	---	---	---	1,200	2	1,031	16
Maryland.....	874	32	870	9	956	7	733	32	1,019	9	886	39
Virginia.....	811	37	725	19	746	26	669	38	965	14	923	36
West Virginia.....	1,298	2	---	---	956	8	1,014	5	1,147	3	1,427	1
North Carolina.....	753	41	---	---	597	39	684	36	897	22	867	41
South Carolina.....	790	39	---	---	735	27	791	26	831	30	851	42
Georgia.....	658	48	613	26	681	31	553	44	835	29	660	48
Florida.....	739	42	---	---	765	23	761	30	764	41	664	47
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	817	8	730	6	648	8	723	8	809	7	1,023	7
Kentucky.....	806	38	661	25	631	34	---	---	836	28	1,103	11
Tennessee.....	703	44	677	23	616	36	---	---	540	48	887	38
Alabama.....	867	33	864	10	705	29	727	33	891	23	867	32
Mississippi.....	953	14	---	---	---	---	762	29	868	27	1,124	10
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	892	7	704	7	753	6	744	7	799	8	1,043	6
Arkansas.....	861	34	---	---	614	37	599	42	766	40	1,022	20
Louisiana.....	924	24	677	24	825	19	876	16	1,066	7	1,285	4
Oklahoma.....	885	31	---	---	633	33	707	35	768	39	1,001	25
Texas.....	889	29	711	20	770	22	743	31	769	38	1,031	17
MOUNTAIN.....	938	3	683	8	740	7	765	6	861	6	1,053	5
Montana.....	938	22	---	---	613	38	766	28	798	32	1,064	14
Idaho.....	950	16	---	---	---	---	795	25	762	42	1,027	19
Wyoming.....	948	17	---	---	---	---	813	23	787	35	1,028	18
Colorado.....	922	25	608	27	836	18	802	24	874	26	1,144	8
New Mexico.....	968	9	---	---	---	---	633	40	816	31	1,015	22
Arizona.....	930	23	---	---	693	30	818	22	889	24	978	28
Utah.....	993	7	822	15	916	11	789	27	1,039	8	1,169	5
Nevada.....	770	40	---	---	---	---	604	45	783	37	829	44
PACIFIC.....	677	9	548	9	636	9	600	9	753	9	858	9
Washington.....	674	46	536	30	661	32	666	39	663	45	828	45
Oregon.....	673	47	595	28	---	---	602	41	606	47	817	46
California.....	679	45	555	29	628	35	670	37	787	36	878	40

¹ From data in Detailed Table I.

² District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

TABLE 42.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over in each division=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States.....	100	112.8	126.8	128.6	147.0
New England.....	100	101.4	115.9	115.1	124.3
Middle Atlantic.....	100	128.3	153.7	153.9	166.8
East North Central.....	100	110.9	112.5	112.4	131.0
West North Central.....	100	106.0	111.6	123.1	164.1
South Atlantic.....	100	88.8	92.2	110.2	134.4
East South Central.....	100	83.7	100.2	114.9	148.3
West South Central.....	100	104.1	100.2	116.8	160.4
Mountain.....	100	112.9	112.5	133.1	171.8
Pacific.....	100	118.9	126.3	148.3	176.4

These tables show that not only the native white women but the foreign-born white women as well are affected by urban living. It has been pointed out elsewhere that the range of ratios is always less for foreign-born white women than for native white women. We observe that this is the case here and the explanation is not far to seek. Most foreign-born women come here with their attitudes toward family life fairly well established and they settle in a group of their own countrymen so that they are isolated (or insulated, if one prefers) from full contact with urban life even though living in the midst of a great city. Hence, the Old World habits of the foreign born largely dominate their actions with the result that voluntary restriction of the family and celibacy are not nearly so common among them as among the natives. Consequently we find rather high ratios of children to foreign-born white women in cities of every size, but there is a marked increase in these ratios as the size of the community decreases. The only exceptions are the South Atlantic and East South Central States and certain groups of the smaller cities (Table 42), and the proportion of foreign born in these States and groups is so small that their indexes can have little significance. In the whole United States the cities of less than 25,000 have a little over one-fourth higher ratio of children to all foreign-born white women than the cities of over 100,000 and the rural districts have a ratio almost one-half higher than the large cities. This shows beyond dispute that even the foreign-born white women are affected in their family life and rearing of children by the size of the community in which they live. There is the possibility, of course, that the death rate of the children of foreign-born mothers is so much greater in the large cities than in the smaller cities and rural districts that the number of

survivors is materially reduced. A careful examination of the infant mortality rates in different communities and of the number of children born and surviving to mothers of the different nationalities does not, however, furnish any convincing evidence that lower infant and child mortality in the rural districts is by any means the chief factor in their higher ratios of children. Infant and child mortality are somewhat higher in the large cities than in the rural districts but not enough higher to account for the 47 point difference in the indexes of children which is shown in Table 42.

Not only is it the *average* tendency of foreign-born women in the United States to have fewer children as the size of the community in which they live increases, but it is almost the *universal* tendency in the Northern and Western States, where the foreign born constitute a considerable proportion of the population. Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Kansas are the only Northern States in which there is not a steady increase in ratios of children to all women as the size of the community decreases (Table 40). The ratios in Rhode Island and New Jersey are rather puzzling at first glance but probably are due to the occupational or nationality differences in immigrant groups as between the largest cities and the smaller places.

The situation in Kansas is interesting as affording a clear case of difference between "old" and "new" immigrants. Kansas City is the only place of over 100,000. It is a meat-packing city with a large body of Slavs working in the packing houses. Its ratio of children is so high that Kansas City ranks second in ratio of children to foreign-born women in the large cities. In the rest of Kansas, German and Scandinavian immigrants are dominant, but there are only a few of them and they are so well assimilated to the native population that even the rural ratio is somewhat less than that of Kansas City.

With these exceptions which are not difficult to understand, we find that everywhere in the North and West immigrant women show the same tendency as native women to lower their birth rate as the size of the community in which they live increases.

In another respect also the foreign-born women show the same tendency as the native women, namely, to eschew marriage to a greater extent in large communities than in small communities. (Table 43.) In the entire United States there is a steady increase in proportion of foreign-born white married women as the size of the community diminishes. The difference between cities of 100,000 and over and the rural districts is 8.5 per cent. This difference is considerably less (only about one-half) than that which we found among the natives but it is significant as furnishing further proof that the city begins to disorganize family life even among the foreign born, particularly among those who were children when they entered the country.

TABLE 43.—PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920¹

[Per cent not shown where base is less than 100]

DIVISION AND STATE	PER CENT OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED					
	The State	Cities				Rural districts
		100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
UNITED STATES ²	85.5	82.9	85.0	87.2	87.8	91.4
NEW ENGLAND.....	81.1	79.1	79.9	83.3	82.1	87.8
Maine.....	81.7	.....	74.5	76.9	83.4	87.7
New Hampshire.....	80.2	.....	75.3	82.1	81.3	89.3
Vermont.....	76.0	.....	.....	84.7	81.1	89.4
Massachusetts.....	89.3	77.1	78.9	82.4	81.3	85.7
Rhode Island.....	80.4	79.8	78.5	82.4	83.0	88.8
Connecticut.....	87.3	85.9	88.5	89.2	85.8	87.8
MIDDLE ATLANTIC.....	84.5	81.5	87.8	91.0	90.5	91.3
New York.....	81.0	79.9	85.9	87.1	84.9	86.9
New Jersey.....	88.2	88.6	87.2	87.0	87.5	90.2
Pennsylvania.....	90.0	84.9	91.4	94.6	94.3	93.9
EAST NORTH CENTRAL.....	89.0	87.6	89.7	90.1	90.2	93.0
Ohio.....	91.0	90.1	91.6	90.4	93.2	94.5
Indiana.....	91.7	86.2	93.5	91.7	89.4	90.4
Illinois.....	89.9	86.1	85.3	90.5	89.1	92.0
Michigan.....	89.8	87.8	90.9	88.7	91.1	93.5
Wisconsin.....	90.2	88.9	89.1	88.4	88.2	92.4
WEST NORTH CENTRAL.....	88.0	84.3	84.4	84.3	86.2	91.2
Minnesota.....	86.6	81.3	82.6	85.8	89.6	91.5
Iowa.....	88.3	82.1	85.8	85.3	83.9	91.1
Missouri.....	86.4	86.3	86.8	84.5	78.5	88.8
North Dakota.....	90.0	.....	.....	79.9	81.7	91.3
South Dakota.....	88.9	.....	83.8	81.7	77.7	90.7
Nebraska.....	88.9	86.8	85.0	85.5	86.8	91.3
Kansas.....	90.0	92.4	83.8	84.1	88.1	91.5
SOUTH ATLANTIC.....	88.3	86.7	86.2	87.9	90.1	91.4
Delaware.....	89.6	90.0	.....	.....	95.5	86.6
Maryland.....	86.1	86.1	83.9	84.1	84.8	87.0
Virginia.....	89.2	87.0	90.0	88.3	92.6	90.7
West Virginia.....	94.9	.....	87.2	90.2	93.2	97.6
North Carolina.....	80.4	.....	80.2	84.6	88.4	75.6
South Carolina.....	86.9	.....	86.2	88.4	87.4	87.1
Georgia.....	85.1	87.4	80.1	90.4	91.9	84.1
Florida.....	86.1	.....	86.8	86.4	88.1	83.3
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	86.9	85.7	81.4	86.6	88.7	90.6
Kentucky.....	84.1	81.9	80.9	83.5	87.4	88.0
Tennessee.....	87.3	86.9	85.2	(¹)	93.1	90.4
Alabama.....	89.0	90.0	78.8	87.8	88.6	92.5
Mississippi.....	89.3	.....	.....	86.0	88.3	92.1
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL.....	85.0	82.2	80.2	77.9	84.7	89.1
Arkansas.....	83.9	.....	81.3	79.5	75.2	88.1
Louisiana.....	85.0	80.4	81.9	84.6	88.2	92.7
Oklahoma.....	91.2	.....	84.2	88.1	91.2	93.8
Texas.....	84.5	82.8	79.6	76.7	83.5	88.4
MOUNTAIN.....	90.4	83.9	87.5	84.5	88.8	93.6
Montana.....	91.2	.....	87.6	84.6	89.2	93.9
Idaho.....	91.6	.....	.....	86.3	88.5	86.5
Wyoming.....	93.9	.....	.....	88.4	93.4	95.3
Colorado.....	90.1	83.9	88.3	87.3	91.6	94.7
New Mexico.....	90.4	.....	.....	83.3	85.8	91.7
Arizona.....	89.3	.....	86.4	80.4	86.2	92.0
Utah.....	88.9	83.9	86.4	77.4	92.6	94.4
Nevada.....	93.3	.....	.....	86.8	95.5	94.7
PACIFIC.....	85.9	81.9	84.0	85.8	88.4	92.4
Washington.....	87.7	82.4	87.3	89.0	90.1	93.5
Oregon.....	86.6	82.9	.....	85.2	88.4	92.7
California.....	85.2	81.6	82.7	84.8	88.0	91.8

¹ From data in Detailed Table II. ² District of Columbia included; not shown separately.

It follows from the differences in proportion of foreign-born married women in different sizes of communities that part of the differences in ratios of children to *all* women in these communities is due to their failure to marry rather than to the restriction of the size of family among the married. But in Table 44 where we have indexes for the ratio of children to foreign-born white married women we see that for the country as a whole there is the same steady decline in ratio of children as the size of the community increases as we have found elsewhere, although it is not as large as for all foreign-born women. The cities under 25,000 have a ratio one-fifth higher than that of the largest cities, and the rural districts, a ratio one-third higher. These are certainly significant differences and there is no good reason to doubt that they are the result of urbanism the same as similar, though larger, differences are among the natives.

TABLE 44.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MARRIED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over in each division=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE MARRIED WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States.....	100	110.0	120.6	121.5	133.3
New England.....	100	99.9	109.9	110.8	111.9
Middle Atlantic.....	100	119.2	137.6	138.5	148.8
East North Central.....	100	108.3	109.3	109.1	123.6
West North Central.....	100	105.9	111.6	120.4	151.8
South Atlantic.....	100	89.5	91.0	108.1	127.5
East South Central.....	100	88.8	99.0	110.8	140.1
West South Central.....	100	107.0	105.7	113.5	148.2
Mountain.....	100	108.3	112.0	128.1	154.2
Pacific.....	100	116.1	120.4	137.4	158.6

It may be well to mention in this connection that the higher ratio of children among the foreign born in the smaller places is all the more significant in view of the fact that the new immigrants, except in certain mining communities, are found largely in the big cities (those of 100,000 and over) where the ratios of children are smallest.

In Table 45 we have indexes for ratios of children to all foreign-born white women 20 to 44 calculated by using a single base, namely, the ratio of children to all foreign-born white women in cities of 100,000 and over in the entire United States, for all areas and sizes of communities. These indexes enable us to compare the absolute size of ratios in these different groups. We see from these that the same general fact emerges as in the preceding tables. As the size of the community diminishes the ratio of children to foreign-born women

TABLE 45.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children in cities of 100,000 and over for the whole United States=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States.....	100.0	112.8	126.8	128.6	147.0
New England.....	103.1	104.6	119.4	118.7	128.1
Middle Atlantic.....	99.0	127.0	152.1	152.3	165.2
East North Central.....	110.6	122.7	124.4	124.3	144.9
West North Central.....	93.1	98.7	103.8	114.6	152.7
South Atlantic.....	113.1	100.4	104.3	124.6	152.0
East South Central.....	92.0	77.6	92.2	105.7	136.5
West South Central.....	85.3	88.8	85.4	99.6	136.8
Mountain.....	84.5	95.4	95.1	112.5	145.2
Pacific.....	66.1	78.6	83.5	98.1	116.6

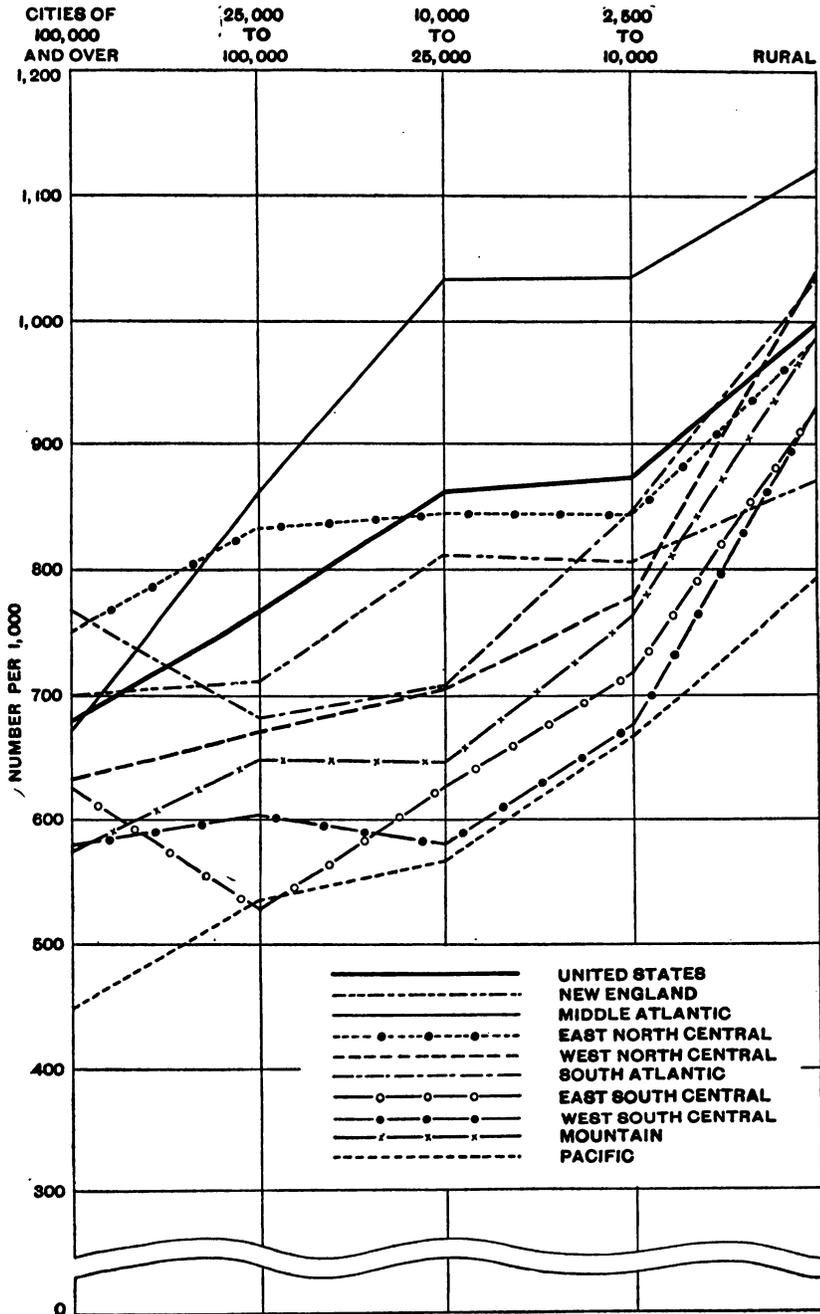
increases. Some of the southern divisions show irregularities but they are unimportant because of the very small numbers involved and the "white-collar" type of immigrants found there. One may say that among the foreign born as among the natives large cities invariably have low ratios of children.

This relation between size of community and ratio of children might turn out to be between density of population and ratio of children, if only we had an adequate measure for density. Since we do not have such a measure we will have to be content with the showing made here. It seems conclusive but it lacks precision. Whether greater precision would enable us to draw conclusions of greater value than those we can legitimately draw from the data here presented we can not tell.

COMPARISONS FOR NATIVE WHITE AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE

In the smaller cities as in the larger cities the ratio of children to foreign-born women is largely in excess of the ratio of children to native women. Table 46 sums up all these differences. Once again we have the fact impressed upon us that the foreign-born women are individually contributing far more children to the next generation than the native women. There is some danger, however, that we will fasten our attention too exclusively upon the comparison of natives and foreign born in the same communities; although this comparison, as made in Table 46, is of great interest and is valuable as showing how the underlying rural-mindedness of the foreign-born population is withstanding the onslaughts of the cities on its birth rate. It is, beyond denying, important to know that the ratio of

FIGURE 11.—CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES FOR THE UNITED STATES AND ITS DIVISIONS: 1920



children to foreign-born women in all cities of 100,000 and over is practically twice that of the native women and that in the north-eastern States it is generally more than twice that of the natives; also that in the West and the South these differences are considerably less. It is also well to know that even in the rural districts the foreign-born women have almost two-fifths more children than the native women. These comparisons do not tell us *all* however.

TABLE 46.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children to native white women for the same area and size of community=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE				
	Cities				Rural districts
	100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States.....	199.1	196.4	198.4	183.0	138.4
New England.....	217.4	202.9	210.1	195.6	164.8
Middle Atlantic.....	196.5	226.2	239.7	221.9	190.6
East North Central.....	208.6	201.7	187.4	176.6	154.0
West North Central.....	192.7	174.0	166.3	171.7	153.5
South Atlantic.....	189.2	148.6	143.3	153.5	121.7
East South Central.....	166.7	129.8	135.2	139.1	109.6
West South Central.....	156.9	160.4	124.5	132.0	113.7
Mountain.....	161.2	166.2	152.7	142.8	127.2
Pacific.....	167.5	166.5	155.3	163.6	140.7

NOTE.—This table is to be read thus: In the entire United States in cities of over 100,000 the ratio of children to all foreign-born white women 20 to 44 is 99.1 per cent greater than the ratio of children to all native white women in the same cities, and in the Pacific States the ratio of children to all foreign-born white women in the rural districts is 40.7 per cent greater than the ratio of children to all native white women in the same districts.

If we are not careful we shall forget that the foreign born are not uniformly distributed through our population and that this fact, in view of their differential birth rate, is of tremendous significance. In Table 47 we have a series of indexes for foreign-born women based on the ratio of children to all native white women 20 to 44 in the rural communities.

This shows us how the ratios of children to all foreign-born white women 20 to 44 in the different divisions and in different sizes of communities compare with the highest ratio of children among native women, namely, the rural ratio. The significance of this comparison will begin to appear if we turn back to Table 13 and notice the distribution of the foreign born between communities of different sizes. In cities of over 500,000 the foreign born constitute 28.4 per cent of the total population; in cities of 100,000 to 500,000 they are 17.2 per cent; and in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 they are 16.9 per cent. In rural communities, on the other hand, only 6.5 per cent of the population is foreign born.

TABLE 47.—INDEXES FOR THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE, IN COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, BY DIVISIONS: 1920

[Ratio of children to native white rural women=100]

DIVISION	CHILDREN UNDER 5 PER 1,000 FOREIGN-BORN WHITE WOMEN 20 TO 44 YEARS OF AGE					
	Area as a whole	Cities				Rural districts
		100,000 inhabitants and over	25,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants	2,500 to 10,000 inhabitants	
United States.....	108.0	94.2	106.2	119.4	121.1	138.4
New England.....	103.6	97.1	98.5	112.5	111.8	120.7
Middle Atlantic.....	109.4	93.2	119.6	143.3	143.4	155.5
East North Central.....	112.5	104.2	115.5	117.2	117.1	136.5
West North Central.....	117.8	87.6	92.9	97.8	107.9	143.8
South Atlantic.....	115.3	106.5	94.6	98.2	117.3	143.1
East South Central.....	98.5	86.7	73.1	86.8	99.6	128.6
West South Central.....	105.1	80.3	83.6	80.4	93.8	128.8
Mountain.....	117.6	79.6	89.9	89.6	106.0	136.8
Pacific.....	80.7	62.3	74.1	78.6	92.4	109.8

Now if we turn to Table 47 again we find that the native rural women of the United States as a whole exceed the foreign born in all cities of 100,000 and over in ratio of children by 5.8 points and are exceeded in turn by the foreign-born women in cities of 25,000 to 100,000 by about the same amount, 6.2 points. Thus the native rural women have a slightly higher ratio of children than the foreign-born women in the two groups of larger cities combined. The full significance of this will be realized when we turn to Detailed Table I and find that of the total 3,190,820 foreign-born white women in the United States, 2,120,403, or 66.5 per cent, were living in cities of 25,000 or over and thus were raising fewer children per 1,000 than the 6,621,737 native white women in the rural districts. This leaves only 1,070,417, or 33.5 per cent, who are on the average raising more children than the rural native white women, and they are living in the smaller communities. Therefore, as compared with the native rural women in this country, the foreign-born women are not contributing much more than their share of children to the next generation. As a group they have 52.1 per cent as many children as the native rural women, although there are slightly less than one-half (48.2 per cent) as many of them. This certainly does not represent any great excess and will scarcely justify the very common belief that the native population as a whole is rapidly being swamped by the children of the foreign born. Furthermore, if we could compare the native farm population with the foreign born we should undoubtedly find that these women had a higher ratio of children than the foreign-born women, for we saw in Table 33 that the farm women as a whole had a higher ratio of children than the village women with whom they are combined to form the rural population in all of our nativity tables.

If we consider the further fact that just as the foreign born are far more numerous in the larger cities where their birth rate is lowest so the natives of foreign or mixed parentage are most numerous in the same places (37.6 per cent of the population of cities of over 500,000 belonging to this group, 28.2 per cent in places of 100,000 to 500,000, and 26.5 per cent in places of 25,000 to 100,000, while only 13.6 per cent are in this group in the rural population) we shall see that the contributions of the foreign born and their children to our population are not as large as is sometimes supposed. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that with immigration greatly reduced the chief contribution to our future increase of population is going to come from our rural population, which is largely of the old Anglo-Saxon stock, plus, in our northern agricultural communities, a goodly proportion of Germans and Scandinavians.

Apparently no better way to sterilize our new immigrants could have been devised than to have them settle in the big cities as they have done. Those who believe in the essential inferiority of the "new" immigrants should find in this situation matter for rejoicing. It is best, however, not to take much stock in the so-called proofs of racial inferiority of the new immigrants found in intelligence tests, in proportion in almshouses, in asylums, and in the menial walks of life. The lesson to be drawn from these data is that man has not yet learned how to live in cities and survive. The foreign born in the cities are not as far along the road to extinction as the natives, but their children in many cases are even nearer the dead line. This whole matter is discussed more fully later in this chapter.

NUMERICAL EFFECT OF DECLINE IN CITY BIRTH RATE

In the preceding sections of this chapter we have shown that there are very considerable differences in the ratios of children to women, both native and foreign born, in communities of different sizes. Perhaps the extent of the decline of the birth rate in the cities as compared with the rural districts can be made most apparent by calculations of the size of the populations that would arise on the assumption that the ratios prevailing in certain rural groups also prevailed in certain urban groups.

If the ratio of children for the 5,491,267 native white women 20 to 44 years of age in the cities of over 25,000 had been the same as the ratio for the native white rural women, the city women would have had 3,959,203 children instead of the 1,950,086 they actually had; for the 2,541,453 native white women 20 to 44 in cities of under 25,000 the number of children would have been 1,832,387 instead of 1,166,859. This would add a total of 2,674,645 to the children under 5 years of age in the native urban population of the country. Truly an enormous number, the significance of which can be better appreciated,

perhaps, if the stationary population² this would maintain at given death rates is calculated. This 2,674,645 children under 5 would have maintained a stationary population of 32,964,000 at the death rates of 1920. This 32,964,000 is an enormous number, equal to the population of the New England and Middle Atlantic States in 1920, with a little more than one-half of Ohio added. But even this does not tell the full story, for to the stationary population thus arising from the excess of births due solely to the assumed higher birth rate of the present population, would be added all the births from within this group of nearly 33,000,000. This would mean, therefore, that within this cycle of approximately 80 years, the difference in births between the native women in the urban population and an equal number of native women in the rural districts, would, if maintained, not only add about 33,000,000 more to the latter group but that two full generations and a large part of the third in this new group would contribute their own children to swell its numbers. Suppose the descendants of the higher birth rate group retained their higher birth rate through the century, the total population at the end of this time resulting from this differential birth rate would be truly enormous.³

In this way we see the implications of a differential birth rate if it is long sustained. Such a birth rate will, in a comparatively short time—short as the life of a nation goes—result in a large proportion of the total population arising from that part of the population which has the greater fertility. Applied to this country this fact means that the descendants of our rural population are likely to predominate in the not distant future.

² The term "stationary population" as used here means the number of people that would be alive at any time in a population having a certain number of births and a death rate such as that prevailing at a given time, assuming that this population is unaffected by emigration and immigration, and that sufficient time has elapsed to allow a normal distribution of ages. It would take approximately a century for such a population to attain its largest or stationary size if it were built up entirely by replacing a given number of infants in it annually beginning at a particular moment. Thus the 2,674,645 children under 5 referred to represent about 600,000 births annually. Now, if the native women in our larger cities had this number of births more than they actually do have and if these children were kept in a separate group, their number being recruited only by this addition of 600,000 infants annually, they would in time (about a century) grow to 32,964,000. Of course, since comparatively few people live beyond 80 years of age we can say that for practical purposes this population would attain most of its growth in that period or even in a somewhat shorter period.

The stationary population given here and in other parts of this chapter is calculated from special data furnished by the division of vital statistics of the Bureau of the Census. It is based upon the ratio of children to women in the aggregate population of the United States found in these special tables the results of which are summarized in Table 59 in Chapter VIII. The ratio of children per 1,000 women in a stationary population for the "total" as given there is 469 and the women 20 to 44 constitute 17.3 per cent of the total population. If we divide the excess of children obtained by the calculations given in the text (2,674,645) by the factor 469 and then divide the result by 17.3 per cent we get the total stationary population as given above.

The error involved in using the aggregate instead of the different nativity groups for certain communities is not large and since life tables for the different nativity groups are not available this is the best that can be done.

³ The calculations necessary to state this difference in the numbers of two groups having different ratios in exact terms are too complicated to undertake here, but roughly they indicate that the descendants of the native rural women would outnumber those of an equal number of the city women by at least 75,000,000.

This is also shown if we compare the rural foreign born with urban foreign born. The 2,582,352 foreign-born urban women had 698,855 fewer children than an equal number of foreign-born rural women would have had and the stationary population these children would maintain at the death rates of 1920 is 8,613,000. This is but little less than the population of Canada in 1921. Truly the urban environment has a very depressing effect on the birth rate of the foreign born as well as on that of the natives, although the absolute level of the birth rate of the former is much higher than that of the latter by reason of the essential rural-mindedness of the foreign born even though they live in the cities.

This last point is one which can not be insisted upon too strongly in view of the current tendency to think that differences in race, nationality, or mental capacity are the chief factors influential in determining the differential birth rate. The current popular belief runs somewhat as follows: Inferior races, meaning generally Negroes (see following chapter) and new immigrants; backward national groups, meaning people without popular government, and those where there is little industry; and the mentally inferior are the only people who raise large families. Now it seems that the data presented here show that it is largely the environmental conditions which determine the size of families people are raising to-day and that general mentality has comparatively little to do with it. Consequently there is no basis for the assumption that the genetic quality of the stock of the United States is deteriorating appreciably with the existing rates of natural increase in different classes. It will be pointed out later that though there is good reason to regard the dying out of the prosperous classes with much concern, it is not because of the deterioration of the stock that may follow. This would be relatively unimportant. But the social consequences of having power pass to a class in the community which has a very slender biological stake, or none at all, in its future is a serious matter.

Before leaving the question of environment and its effect on the birth rate we wish to call attention again to Table 33 in the preceding chapter. This shows that for the whole United States, the village population had a ratio of children under 5 to women 20 to 44, 44.0 per cent greater than the city population and that the farm population ratio was in excess of that of the village population by 22.5 per cent and of the urban population by 76.4 per cent. To put this in terms of a stationary population again; with the same ratio that the farm women had, the urban women 20 to 44 would have had 4,021,026 more children than they did have, which would maintain a stationary population of 49,558,000 at the death rates of 1920. If we add to this the stationary population of 6,447,000 which could

be maintained by the village women, if their ratio had been the same as that of the farm women, we have a total of 56,005,000.⁴

In the face of all these facts the differential birth rate in this country must be regarded as the resultant, in large measure, of the differences in living conditions between the cities and the country. We would not deny for a moment that there are individual differences in fertility and that they are important; we would not deny that many of the "submerged tenth" have relatively large families; but we do maintain that these facts are of minor importance. The fact of major importance in understanding our natural growth of population at the present time, is that there is a difference between urban and rural living which results in widely different rates of reproduction in these two groups.

REASONS FOR DIFFERENCES IN URBAN AND RURAL RATIOS

It is very pertinent to ask at this point whether this differential rate of reproduction between urban and rural groups will continue for any length of time. There can not be the least doubt that rural dwellers will more and more feel the effects of urbanism. It is steadily growing more pervasive. Will it be a matter of two or three decades only before urban attitudes of mind will be influential, perhaps dominant, everywhere, and the differences in rates of reproduction now existing between urban and rural communities will pass away? This question can not, of course, be answered categorically. We have seen that in those sections of the country where urban influence is most pervasive the rural population has much lower ratios of children than where urban influences are new and have not penetrated far into the rural hinterland. There can be little doubt, therefore, that as urban influences more and more completely permeate rural life there will be a rather rapid decline in ratios of children to women in some of the rural communities. It does not appear likely, however, that this decline will go as far as in the cities. There seem to be certain fundamental differences between urban and rural living which will always make for larger families in the country.

The first difference to be discussed is the one cited first by city people when they feel that they should have larger families but are explaining why they do not. They almost invariably feel that the cost of raising children in the city is so much higher than in the country that they must rigidly restrict the size of their families. There can

⁴ It is not implied that this great deficiency in our population actually exists because of the falling off of the birth rate in the urban population. This falling off is rather recent and has not yet had time to result in such a deficiency. What is meant is that if the conditions of 1920 were to continue long enough to allow the differential ratio of children in the rural and non-rural populations to develop fully, this great difference in the size of the two populations would result if each had, at the beginning of the period of differential growth, as many women 20 to 44 as there were in the combined urban and village populations in 1920. A great deal of what might have been a deficiency in numbers in the urban population has been supplied by immigration.

be no doubt in anyone's mind that the money cost of a child, as a rule, is somewhat greater in the city than on the farm. This is necessarily so because the city dweller generally, must buy everything used by his family while the farmer and his wife can raise much of the food they use. Furthermore, the farm children themselves can contribute to the living of the family more easily and with less danger of harm to themselves than most city children can. If country parents are thrifty and train their children to be thrifty they can keep the money cost of their children considerably below the money cost of children of city parents up to a certain age, say through high school.

There is one thing in this connection that most city people apparently forget, however. This is that a large part of the difference in money cost of children in the city and in the country is due not merely to the differences in cost of the essentials of healthy living but fully as much to more expensive standards of living and increased requirements for dress and amusements general among city people. If the country people attempted to provide for their children on the same standard as city people there is reason to believe that there would be little or no advantage on the side of the ruralite. The country dweller, too, is likely to be content with a less elaborate educational equipment of his children for life than the city dweller. It is not that he cares less for his children but his environment is less complicated and he does not see the need for an expensive training to fit his children for it.

Another factor which is of much more significance than the economic factor is the different basis of organization of life in the city from that in the country. What is meant is that for most individuals city life is organized about one definite kind of work. This work makes certain definite requirements on the individual's time and energy but beyond this it does not rest on him as a continuous responsibility 24 hours a day and 365 days in the year. Of course, there are exceptions but this is true of most city dwellers. In the country, on the other hand, there is no set task to be completed in 7 or 8 hours, the rest of one's time being unencumbered. Stock and crops, like small children, are a 24-hour, 365-day responsibility. Country life finds a place in it for the weak and helpless and is organized to care for growing things which can not care for themselves.

There is no doubt that the person who is freed from continuous responsibility in getting his livelihood tends to keep from assuming more than is necessary in other directions. As a result families are likely to be kept small. When children are the only ties one has to a place or a job then there is probably a stronger urge to make those ties as few as possible than when children are only one of several ties, as in the case of the farmer whose stock and crops and fields as well as his children keep him fastened to a particular place and job.

The economy of the farm has a place for children. There are countless small tasks that they can do to help the whole to run smoothly. The family as we know it to-day is the outgrowth of rural life and it tends to drop many of its essential characteristics and bonds in the new environment of the city. One may say that city life to-day is organized about the working adult individual and for his benefit and pleasure. Country life is still organized about the family and so far as one can see is likely to be so for some generations. There is a definite place for children in country life; but in the city, in spite of all the playgrounds, schools, etc., of the city, there is no place really adapted to children's needs. Children were not and are not reckoned with in the development of modern cities. Our cities are built for and organized around commerce, industry, and adult recreation; and the provisions they make for children both in the home and outside of it are afterthoughts. In its fundamental organization the city does not yet recognize the child as a citizen in its community. This may seem an absurd statement in view of all that is being done in child welfare work in the cities in this "century of the child," but this work does not touch the heart of the problem of the child in the city. The best proof of the statement that the city of to-day has no place for the child is the fact that very few people recognize any such problem. Most people are so accustomed to think of the city in other terms that they never see it as a place for families; they never think of its possibilities for truly human living. This blindness to the true nature of city living seems likely to persist for some time and while it persists there is little reason to suppose that a differential birth rate will not continue to exist between city and country so that the country will furnish a disproportionately large share of our natural increase.

Closely connected with what has just been said is the question of what people in different communities consider the ultimate things worth striving for. In other words, are the realities of life any different for city people than for country people? It is our belief that they are. The atmosphere one lives in determines largely what he considers worth working for. Consciously or unconsciously most people in our cities hope to attain success, which being interpreted, means a high standard of living or consumption. Professor Carver defines a high standard of living as being measured by the number of things one prefers to marriage and children.⁵ If it is true that a high standard of living, in this sense, is the ultimate reality in life for many people and especially for the more prosperous city dwellers, then, to most people, children are nothing but a hindrance in the attainment of success. Unfortunate as it may be, it is greatly to be feared that Carver's definition of a high standard of living is

⁵ Carver, T. N., *The Economy of Human Energy*, pp. 34, 35.

true to the facts of modern city life. If so, it is just one more proof of the statement made above that the city has no place for children in its organization. Not *life*, not *living*, but *things* constitute the ultimate realities of city life; definite, tangible, countable, cumulative *things* constitute the criteria of success and the proof that one has grasped and holds the ultimate reality.

In the country there is also much striving for a high standard of living of this kind but it does not militate so strongly against raising a family of fair size as in the city. The preoccupation of country people is with living things and the realities of life are not unlikely to be the furthering of these growing processes. This is not to say that country people are more idealistic than city people, it is only pointing out that their daily tasks dispose them to accept children as essential realities and to make a place for them in their lives in a way not required by city living. The life processes in children are not essentially different from those in other organisms and the farmer's success, materially, depends upon his nurture of the life processes of the beings about him. It seems perfectly natural, therefore, that he should feel that the raising of a fair-sized family is not opposed to his being a good farmer and a successful citizen. He does not deal with inanimate things to the extent the city man does and he can and does include children in his list of realities in life worth working for, more often than the city man. Whether this will always be the case we shall not attempt to say but we believe it is a fact to-day and that it is likely to persist for some time. The influence of living close to nature, of working with natural processes in determining what one will consider worth working for, can not but be great, and can not be disregarded in considering the attitudes of rural dwellers toward the rearing of families.

No doubt another factor of some importance is the ease with which one can live comfortably in the city as a celibate. A man may live in comfort and even in luxury in the city as a bachelor, when on the same income with a wife and three or four children he would be close-pinchèd all the time. Add to this the fact that there is scarcely a job of any kind in the city at which one can not succeed more easily and quickly without a wife, to say nothing of children, and we can readily appreciate the reason for postponement of marriage, for small families after marriage, or for unions in which there is no intention of raising a family. The professions are very good examples of types of work at which one can undoubtedly make a greater success, other things being equal, if he does not marry and raise a family. The opposite is true in the country. There the bachelor does not find living easy. Without a wife and home maker he is lonely and uncomfortable and does not succeed any better for eschewing wife and family.

The desire for culture and travel which is an important force in the lives of many people in determining their attitude toward marriage and the family, is far more common in the city than in the country. No argument is needed to convince anyone that children stand in the way of the acquirement of certain aspects of culture and that they make travel quite impossible for the great majority of people. The leisure to read and to take an active interest in the arts, to meet people of like tastes and to cultivate familiarity with the cultural refinements of life, is greatly curtailed by the pressure of a fair-sized family in homes where the income is moderate. This applies especially to women.

Naturally, therefore, when the choice between what one may term biological success (the raising of enough children to insure survival, which under present conditions means the birth of three or four children) and the more conventional types of success, such as accumulation of property and the attainment of social and cultural prestige, is put up to people definitely, the latter is quite likely to be chosen. Almost nowhere in our present urban social organization is the social pressure of the community exerted in the interests of raising a family of sufficient size to insure the maintenance of even the present numbers. The attainment of biological success is not one of the common desiderata in present-day urban communities. It is still so to a certain extent in many rural districts, but the spread of urban influence is making it less so there. We can only record again the belief that in spite of the growing prestige of urbanism in the country, the very conditions of rural life will continue to instill into rural dwellers an unconscious appreciation of the essentialness of reproduction so that in spite of these outside influences they will continue to raise fair-sized families.

It will be seen from the above that we put comparatively little emphasis upon genetic differences between country dwellers and city dwellers. We do not believe that such differences exist to any very appreciable extent. There are probably selective forces at work determining, to a certain degree, who shall stay in the country and who shall go to the city, but these forces have not yet had time to issue in any very marked differences in these two groups of people even if they were not continually being interfered with by a host of fortuitous circumstances which have no relation to the genetic constitution of people. Consequently while one need not deny that a certain amount of selection enters into the choice of people moving toward the cities, one may take very little stock in the assumption of many city people that the selective process has brought the better types into cities. That some of the migrants to the cities are of superior capacity in certain respects will not be questioned by anyone,

but that more than average ability in attaining the conventional successes of city life is proof of general hereditary superiority is open to question. To be unable and unwilling to make a satisfactory adjustment between the demands of nature, the attainment of biological success, and the demands of conventional success, is surely a failure with grave consequences because it means the dying out of the stock. Yet many people generally regarded as eminently successful do not raise enough children to reproduce themselves. Clearly people who become preoccupied with conventional personal success often do not have a strong enough racial urge to lead them to participate in the life of their times in the most complete manner possible to them. Is it reasonable to suppose that as a rule, such people have been selected from the mass of men because of all-round superiority? Or have they been selected for the possession of certain specialized qualities making for conventional success only? Or has chance played as large a part in putting them where they are as any rational selective process?

Again one should say that the fundamental differences between city life and country life are sufficient to account for the different attitudes toward reproduction found in the people of these two types of communities. Furthermore these differences will persist for a considerable time because they arise out of basic differences in environment. The country man may approximate more and more to the type of the city man but they will always have widely divergent attitudes on family life unless our cities are remade to permit of the retention of certain rural habits and attitudes of mind by city people. This is by no means an impossibility but there is little probability of remade cities in the near future. The will to remake the city will not assert itself until city people themselves can dispassionately revalue the purposes of life and place human living ahead of economic advantages and personal prestige. There is little indication now of any serious attempt on the part of city dwellers to appraise anew the things for which they are willing to work.