

Recent Trends in the Rural Population of Ohio

P. G. Beck



OHIO
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
Wooster, Ohio



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SUMMARY

This bulletin presents a brief analysis of the historical and recent changes in the population of Ohio, together with a statement of some of the present problems arising out of the current situation. Ohio is now an industrial state with most of its population living in cities. Geographically, population increase in Ohio has been limited in recent years to those areas covered by, or rather immediately contiguous to, these cities.

As the State has gradually become urban and industrial, rather than rural and agricultural, marked changes in the composition and reproductive rate of the population have occurred. The birth rate has fallen and children have become a relatively less important element in the population; whereas middle aged and elderly people have steadily increased in number and proportion. The large cities probably have never reproduced themselves and they are not doing so today. The rural population is more than reproducing itself, but it cannot entirely offset the deficit of the cities. Hence, the population of the state of Ohio is not now producing sufficient children to reproduce itself under conditions of a normal age and sex composition. Some of the most fertile areas in Ohio, from the standpoint of the production of children, are certain areas populated by people who have migrated into the State from states lying to the south and east.

Since the Civil War, the general trend of population movement has been away from the rural districts and agriculture toward the urban industrial centers. The comparatively high birth rate of the rural population, improved agricultural technology, and the pull of cities which required immigration for growth were responsible factors. Between 1920 and 1930 rural Ohio sent upwards of 200,000 persons 15 years of age and over to the growing industrial centers. Such an exodus of adults born, reared, and at least partially educated in the rural districts profoundly influenced the nature of both urban and rural life. These migrants brought to the cities youth, strength, brains, ambition, training in habits of work and thrift, and property rights in rural wealth. The rural districts from which they migrated were left with abnormal proportions of young children and aged people. The number of young adults left in the community was often too small to maintain satisfactory social life. Rural wealth had been spent heavily to educate the children who would leave the community and to purchase the property rights that these migrants carried with them. Often the population became too sparse and the wealth too meagre to support the necessary community institutions. Many communities never recovered from the drain of population and wealth thus placed upon them.

During the period since 1929, the circumstances arising out of the economic depression have reversed the tide of rural-urban migration. Unemployment and heavy relief burdens in the cities have turned the faces of an increasing number of people toward the land as a source of subsistence. They have returned to the farms and to the villages, and the growth of part-time farming appears imminent. If prosperity returns to the cities, the tide of migration will again reverse itself. If prosperity does not return to the cities, they will cease to grow, since their populations do not reproduce themselves. Meanwhile, these return migrants present a heavy burden for the farm population to support. Thus, the rural districts appear not only as the chief source of population increase, but also as an important source of subsistence in times of economic stress.

RECENT TRENDS IN THE RURAL POPULATION OF OHIO

INTRODUCTION

P. G. BECK

This bulletin concerns itself with some of the important trends in the rural population of Ohio, particularly those that have taken place within the past decade or two. The problem is one of pointing out the trends and of indicating the effects of the changes upon the rural folk of Ohio. Our society has reached the stage in its development where it is no longer willing to develop in a haphazard manner. Attempts are being made on a state and national scale to plan for the future. We are now hearing a great deal about economic and social planning. Planning implies knowledge of present conditions and trends, and, in the final analysis, the test of the desirability of any social plan is its effect upon the population of the state as a whole. Through a study of the population trends of recent years something may be added to our knowledge of the effects of social change upon the people who live in Ohio.

Census enumerations are valuable chiefly because we can study changes by comparing one census with another. Population, like all things human, is constantly changing. An enumeration of the number and kind of people in a state or nation is true only for the moment at which it is made; another enumeration would show a different result. Because of this constant change, a study which simply indicates the structure of a population at a specific instant is not nearly as valuable as one which seeks to indicate the direction the changes are taking. Fortunately, for purposes of study, population changes are fairly consistent and their course can be charted with some degree of accuracy. The majority of the people in the United States are living in the state in which they were born; the number of children born or the number of deaths in a state does not vary much from one year to the next.

The rapid growth of cities in Ohio during the present century has been made possible by immigration into the cities from rural areas in Ohio, from other states of the United States, and from foreign countries. Up until about 1930 an increasing proportion of the population continued to concentrate in and about our large cities. This bulletin deals with the effects of this movement upon the life and well-being of the rural population of Ohio. It is common knowledge that most of those who have left Ohio farms for villages and cities have been young people, boys and girls just out of school and ready to become self-sustaining members of society. What has been the effect of such migration upon the farm population from which the migrants have come? What has this migration cost the Ohio farmer? To what extent has it affected rural institutions, organizations, and agencies? What has been the effect of the migration of wealth from rural areas to cities? How does a system of local government and taxation, devised when Ohio was a rural state, fit the situation when most of the people live in cities? Is the migration from farm to city likely to be resumed after the reversal it has suffered during these years of industrial depression and general unemployment? Is there likely to be a surplus of people in the rural areas in the near future? Are there enough

people born annually in cities to maintain the population at its present level? Can cities grow without immigration from rural areas? These are some of the questions that have been raised, questions that cannot be answered except by an examination of the population history of the state. Answering them involves a study of the present composition and characteristics of the population. It is necessary to know the number and proportion of people in each age and sex group, the proportion of the population that is native white, foreign-born white, and negro. By comparing the birth rates of these groups we can get a rather accurate estimate of what the future composition of the population will be. The composition of the population may change radically although the number of people in it remains the same. This is illustrated by the rural population of Ohio—the number has been almost constant for a period of 50 years, but the composition in 1930 was quite different from the composition in 1880. It is through a study of the changes in the composition of the rural population and an analysis of how these changes came about that some of the questions raised above can be answered.

SOURCE OF THE DATA

All data used in this bulletin, unless otherwise indicated, have been taken from reports of the Bureau of the Census. Some of the data come from special tabulation of the 1930 enumeration. The figures on births and deaths for 1930 were procured by special tabulation of the births and deaths as reported to The Division of Vital Statistics of the Ohio State Department of Health¹. The births were tabulated by the author and the deaths by Mr. H. F. Dorn, in cooperation with the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Before starting the discussion of the history of population growth in Ohio, some explanation of the concepts is necessary. Census usage has been followed throughout. The total population of the State is divided into two parts: *Urban* refers to all inhabitants of incorporated places with a population of 2500 or more; the remainder of the population is classified as *Rural* and includes all people living outside of incorporated places and residents of villages with fewer than 2500 inhabitants. The *Rural Population* is, in turn, divided into two classes, *Rural-Farm* and *Rural-Nonfarm*. The *Rural-Farm Population* includes all persons living on farms, regardless of their occupation; the *Rural-Nonfarm* is the remainder of the *Rural Population*. "A 'farm', for census purposes, is all the land which is directly farmed by one person, either by his own labor or with the assistance of members of his household or hired employees." The census enumerators "were instructed not to report as a farm any tract of land of less than 3 acres, unless its agricultural products in 1929 were valued at \$250 or more." The above definition was used for the 1930 enumeration. The *Rural-Farm Population* for 1920 included, in addition to all persons living on farms, "those farm laborers (and their families) who, while not living on farms, nevertheless lived in strictly rural territory outside the limits of any city or other incorporated place." Thus, there was a slight difference in definition of the farm population in 1920 and 1930. It is not

¹This study was facilitated by the cooperation of Mr. I. C. Plummer, Chief of the Division of Vital Statistics, who permitted the use of punch-cards already prepared by the Division.

likely that this change in definition made much difference in the number of people included in the farm population, as most farm laborers probably live in a house on the farm on which they work.

TRENDS IN THE RURAL POPULATION

To discuss in detail all of the population history of Ohio from the time of the first settlements until the present would require more space than can be given here. It must suffice merely to sketch the general trends prior to 1900 and then to analyze in more detail the recent developments, particularly those of the past 10 or 20 years.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION

At the time of the first separate census enumeration of the population of Ohio in 1800, there were only 45,000 people in the State. They were living along the Ohio River and its tributaries and along the shore of Lake Erie. By 1840 steady immigration, largely from the New England and Middle Atlantic States, had swelled the number to over one and one-half million people. By 1850 the majority of the counties in the eastern half of the State had attained their maximum rural population. (See Appendix I.) The counties in the southern third of the State reached their maximum rural population about 1880. With the decline in the population of the rural parts of the southern and eastern counties came the opening up of the fertile agricultural counties of northwestern Ohio. Considerable numbers of Irish and German immigrants settled in rural Ohio during the period 1840-1890. They came in after most of the arable lands of the State had been occupied and were forced to settle in the swampy region in the northwestern part of Ohio. This was a case where the late comers got the best land, as this section, since it has been drained, contains some of the most fertile land in Ohio. The rural population of the northwestern counties continued to increase until about 1900. After the building of canals and, later, railroads, cities began to grow rapidly and the rural population in counties with growing cities again increased. This resumption of rural population growth after a period of decline occurred in 23 counties. In practically every case the increase can be attributed to the growth of an industrial population around a city.

Although the total population of the State continued to increase at a rather rapid rate throughout the first century of its history, the developments during the latter half of the century were quite different from those of the earlier half. The majority of the first settlers were farmers, and, as a result, the distribution of the population over the land was rather uniform. The number of people living within a radius of 2 or 3 miles from any one farm was about the same as the number living within the same distance of another. It is important to remember that it was during this early period of even distribution of the population over the land that our institutions were established. Our rural schools, our system of government and taxation, our churches, and many rural organizations all took form during this early period when most of the population was scattered about over the land. After the building of the canals and railroads, cities became possible. Large inland cities were an impossibility before the coming of some means of rapid transportation over long distances. Since the advent of the railroads, the history of population growth in Ohio has

been the history of the growth of towns and cities and the decline in the population of strictly rural areas. The gain in population in Ohio between 1800 and 1850 was about the same as that in the period 1850-1900, about 2,000,000 people, but the gain in the latter period was concentrated in a much smaller land area; except for the northwestern counties, rural population declines were the rule. Between 1880 and 1890, 61.4 per cent of the land area of Ohio suffered declines in the population living outside of villages of 1000 or more inhabitants.

COMPOSITION OF POPULATION

Age composition.—The population of Ohio in 1840 was composed largely of people who had moved into the State from other states and from foreign countries. It was a young population—only two persons out of each 1000 had reached the age of 75 years, one-half of the population was under 17 years of age, and three-fourths was under 30 years. Contrast this with the population of Ohio in 1930 when approximately 20 persons of each 1000 were 75 years of

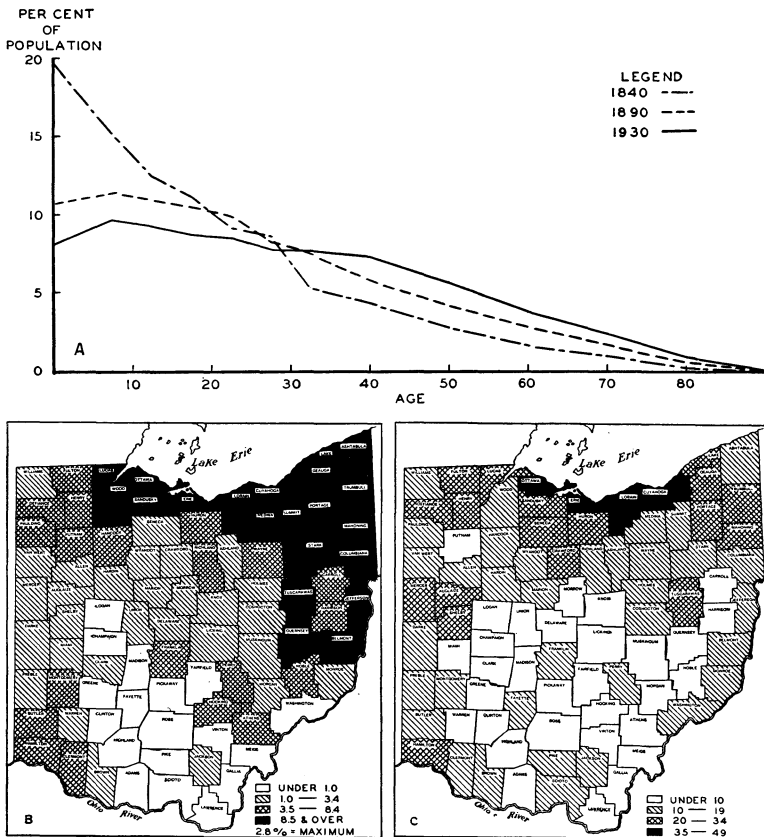


Chart 1.—A. Percentage age distribution of the population of Ohio—1840, 1890, and 1930. B. Percentage of rural heads of families foreign-born white. C. Percentage of rural, native white heads of families of foreign or mixed parentage—1930.

age and over, one-half the people was less than 28 years old, and three-fourths was under 45 years of age. To state it conversely, in 1840 only one-half the people was over 17 years and one-fourth over 30 years of age; in 1930 one-half was over 28 years and one-fourth over 45 years of age. The above figures refer to the total population of the State and are introduced here to show how the age composition of a population changes over a period of time.

A population made up of recent immigrants, such as that of Ohio in 1840, demonstrates the fact that people who move to a new environment are predominantly young people. As the frontier was pushed westward, the children of the early settlers of Ohio moved on leaving their elders behind. Ohio continued to gain new population from eastern United States, from Europe, and from the agricultural South. As time passed and the number of people in the State became larger, immigration played a relatively less important part in the annual increase. The gain through births became larger than the gain through immigration. Chart 1a shows graphically the age distribution of the total population in 1840, 1890, and 1930. In 1840 agriculture was the chief industry, by 1890 the growth of industrial cities was well under way, and by 1930 Ohio had become an industrial state with less than one-sixth of its population living on farms.

The trend in the age distribution illustrated in Chart 1a is of interest here because it indicates what happens under certain conditions of population growth. A population can grow in only two ways; namely, through accessions by immigration and by births. Likewise, it can decline only through losses by death or by emigration. As few people live to reach 100 years, the population of Ohio—or of any area—in 1930 was equal to the number of people living in 1830, plus the number of births minus the number of deaths that occurred during the 100 years between 1830 and 1930, minus the number of people that moved out of the State, plus the number that moved into the State. Upon the manner in which a population grows, declines, or maintains itself, depends its composition. Upon the composition of the population depends, in part, the nature and type of the social and economic institutions and agencies present in a society.

In this connection attention is called to the fact that the farm population is historically the "old" population; the cities appeared later and still have some of the characteristics of an "immigrant" population noted above. In Ohio cities the proportion of elderly people was relatively low in 1930; 15 per 1000 were 75 years or older, as compared with 22 in the rural-farm and 29 in the rural-nonfarm population, and 34.5 per cent of the population was between the ages of 15-35 years, as compared with 27.6 for the rural-farm and 29.6 for the rural-nonfarm population. Thus, although the proportion of older persons has been increasing in both city and country, the percentage in rural territory is still much higher than in urban because of the losses of young people by emigration to cities.

Sex composition.—Another tendency in rural-urban migration is for more women to congregate in the cities, leaving a surplus of males in rural territory. In 1930 there were 113 men per 100 women on Ohio farms; in the cities only 99 men per 100 women. This tendency is unique to farm-city migration, as the majority of migrants from distant states or foreign countries are men. Thus, in our cities the ratio of men to women remained about equal as long as we had considerable foreign immigration, the surplus of native women in cities being balanced by a surplus of males among the foreign-born.

RECENT TRENDS—BEFORE 1930

CHANGES IN PROPORTION RURAL AND IN AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

Although it is the purpose of this treatise to deal with the rural population, it is necessary to deal with the urban as well in order to understand some of the rural changes that have been taking place. Table 1 indicates the proportion of the population living in rural and urban territory since 1880.

TABLE 1.—Urban and Rural Population of Ohio, 1880-1930

	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880
Numbers (in thousands)						
Total.....	6,646	5,759	4,767	4,157	3,672	3,198
Urban.....	4,507	3,677	2,665	1,998	1,504	1,079
Rural.....	2,139	2,082	2,102	2,159	2,168	2,119
Rural-farm.....	1,004	1,134				
Rural-nonfarm.....	1,135	948				
Rural Groups						
Unincorporated territory.....	1,655	1,609	1,650	1,741	1,819	.....
Incorporated places—						
under 1000 population.....	237	237	229	212	174	.....
1000-2500 population.....	247	236	223	206	174	.....
Per cent						
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban.....	67.8	63.8	55.9	48.1	41.0	33.7
Rural.....	32.2	36.2	44.1	51.9	59.0	66.3
Rural-farm.....	15.1	19.7				
Rural-nonfarm.....	17.1	16.5				
Rural Groups						
Unincorporated territory.....	24.9	28.0	34.6	41.9	49.6	.....
Incorporated places—						
under 1000 population.....	3.6	4.1	4.8	5.1	4.7	.....
1000-2500 population.....	3.7	4.1	4.7	4.9	4.7	.....
Total rural.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....
Unincorporated territory.....	77.4	77.3	78.5	80.6	84.0	.....
Incorporated places—						
under 1000 population.....	11.1	11.4	10.9	9.8	8.0	.....
1000-2500 population.....	11.5	11.3	10.6	9.6	8.0	.....

The rural population of Ohio reached its maximum size in 1890 and has changed but little since that time, showing about a 4 per cent decrease between 1890 and 1920 and an increase of slightly less than 3 per cent between 1920 and 1930. During the period 1880-1930 the urban population more than doubled. As a result, although the rural population remained about constant over the same 50-year period, the proportion of the total population living in rural territory declined from 66.3 per cent in 1880 to 32.2 per cent in 1930. The rural group became a minority sometime between 1900 and 1910. About 50 per cent of the people in Ohio lived outside the limits of incorporated places in 1890; in 1930 the proportion was less than 25 per cent. No accurate record of the number of people living on farms was available prior to 1920. Both the number of farm people and the proportion of the population living on farms

declined during 1920 to 1930. No doubt this decline is a continuation of a long decline that probably began about 1880 for the State as a whole. This decline in the number of farm people undoubtedly began as early as 1830 in some of the eastern and northeastern counties, with most of them attaining their largest farm population between 1850 and 1860. In some of the northwestern counties the number of farm people continued to increase until about 1900. Since that date declines have been the rule in practically every county.

TABLE 2.—Number of Persons in Rural Territory in Ohio Living in Incorporated Places and Unincorporated Territory, 1920 and 1930

	Incorporated places						Unincorporated territory		
	1000-2500 population			Under 1000 population			1920	1930	Change 1920-30
	1920	1930	Change 1920-30	1920	1930	Change 1920-30			
Total rural	236,161	247,358	+11,197	236,593	236,786	+193	1,609,504	1,655,182	+ 45,678
Rural-farm....	8,499*	8,499	0	8,051*	8,051*	0	1,117,362	987,738	-129,624
Rural-nonfarm	227,662	238,859	+11,197	228,542	228,735	+193	492,142	667,444	+175,302

*Percentage of population in villages under 1000 population, 1930, assumed to be same as villages of 1000-2500 population, 1930. Number of farm people living in villages assumed to be same in 1920 as in 1930. As the proportion of farm people in villages is small, no great error is involved in determining the trend of farm and nonfarm population in unincorporated territory even if the number of farm people in villages in 1920 was considerably greater than we have assumed it to be.

Although comparisons are made here between the rural population in 1930 and previous censuses, the makeup of the rural population has undergone radical change. In 1890, 84 per cent of the rural population was outside of incorporated places; by 1930 this figure was 77.4 per cent. On the other hand, the percentage of rural people living in incorporated places increased from 16 to 22.6 per cent during the same period. There was practically no change in these proportions between 1920 and 1930. Although the percentage of the rural population in unincorporated territory changed but little between 1920 and 1930, the proportion living on farms declined from 54.5 to 46.9 per cent. Out of each 100 persons living outside of incorporated places in 1920, 70 lived on farms; in 1930 only 60 were on farms. Examination of Table 2 gives some notion of the changes that took place between the last two decennial censuses. The rural population showed an increase of about 57,000 persons; but when this change is broken up into its farm and nonfarm components we see that what actually happened was that the farm population declined by about 130,000 persons and that the nonfarm increased by 187,000 persons. Practically all of the rural-nonfarm increase was in unincorporated territory, amounting to about 36 per cent for the decade; in the same period the number of farm people in unincorporated territory declined about 12 per cent. Farm people have become a minority in the rural population and make up only little more than one-half of the population living outside incorporations. In terms of occupations, more than one-half of the gainfully occupied persons living in the open country was working at non-agricultural occupations in 1930. In addition to the trend toward a larger rural-nonfarm population, there has developed a tendency toward a greater variety of occupations among people living on farms. In 1930 of the total employed males 10 years of age and over living on farms,

only 80.3 per cent was working on farms; of the employed females only 24.3 per cent was working on farms. Table 3 gives in more detail the principal occupations of the rural male population.

TABLE 3.—Occupation of Gainfully Occupied Rural Males 10 Years of Age and Over, 1930

	Rural-farm		Rural-nonfarm	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
All industries	318,746	100.0	322,244	100.0
Agriculture	255,948	80.3	31,490	9.8
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	27,131	8.5	123,615	38.4
Transportation	11,720	3.7	46,007	14.3
Trade	7,624	2.4	45,562	14.1
Mining	6,461	2.0	27,826	8.6
Professional service	3,462	1.1	16,598	5.2
Domestic and personal service	1,178	0.4	9,228	2.9
All other industries	5,222	1.6	21,918	6.7

In 1930, 45 out of each 100 gainfully employed rural males 10 years of age and over were farming; 24 were employed in the manufacturing and mechanical industries, nine in transportation and communication, eight in trade, five in mining, and three in professional service. The most important occupations among the rural-nonfarm males were, in the order named, manufacturing and mechanical industries, transportation, trade, agriculture, and mining.

Comparison of the number of males in each farm tenure group in 1920 and 1930 reveals that the number of farm owners and tenants declined 17.4 per cent; as 95 per cent of this group was included in the rural-farm population, it is evident that the decline in the rural-farm population (11.4 per cent) was largely due to the decline in their numbers. The only other agricultural occupation group of importance—farm laborers—declined only 2 per cent. Furthermore, only two-thirds of the farm-laborer population was included in the rural-farm population in 1930. In terms of a ratio, there were 46 farm laborers per 100 farm operators in 1920; by 1930 there were 54.

WHERE THE CHANGES OCCURRED

The discussion thus far has dealt with state-wide changes. These changes were not uniform over the State, however. The geography of change for the period, 1920 to 1930, by townships, shows striking variations. Although the total population of Ohio increased 15.4 per cent, 53.6 per cent of the townships lost population; 25.5 per cent declined 10 per cent or more; and 28.1 per cent less than 10 per cent. Of those in which the population increased (46.4 per cent) 24.4 per cent gained 10 per cent or more; whereas 22 per cent gained less than 10 per cent. Chart 2 indicates the location of the townships according to whether they gained or lost. Although this does not give an accurate measure of land area, it follows that approximately one-half of the land area of Ohio had little change (plus 10 to minus 10 per cent change) in population; one-fourth lost and the remaining one-fourth gained. Practically all of the increase in population in Ohio during the decade was brought about by the heavy increases, by the piling up of population, in a few areas. All of the heavy increases occurred in the neighborhood of industrial cities. The largest area of increase was in the northeastern counties, with their four large cities of Cleveland, Akron, Youngstown, and Canton. This was followed in size by

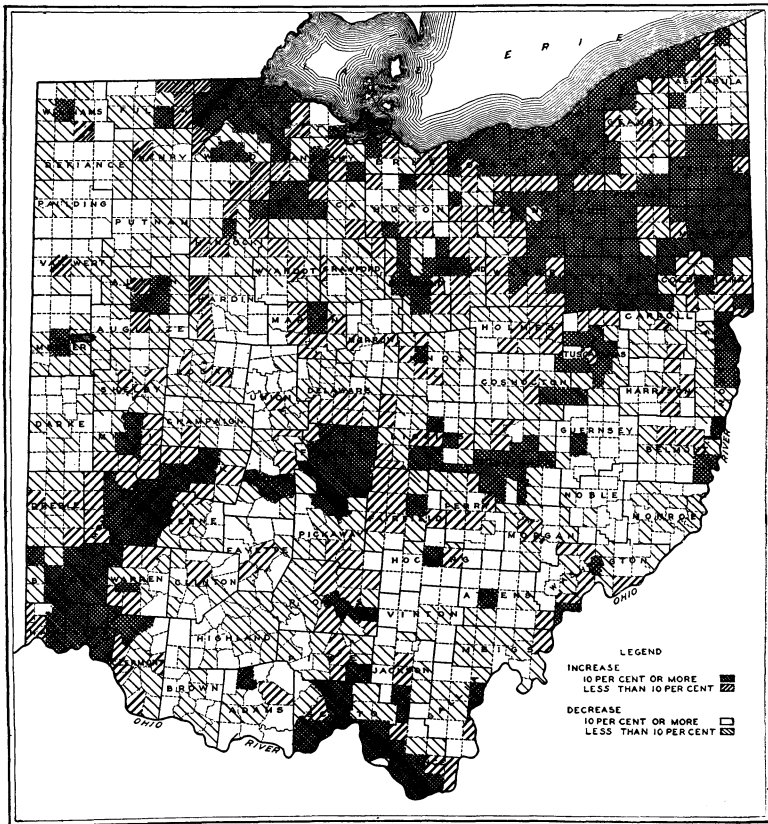


Chart 2.—Population change by townships—1920-1930

the area in the Miami River Valley from Cincinnati north to Springfield. In this valley are located, in addition to the two cities mentioned, Dayton, Hamilton, and Middletown. Heavy increases also occurred around Toledo and Columbus, both of which have a population of about 300,000 inhabitants. Two other areas showed considerable increase, one in Scioto and Lawrence Counties along the Ohio River and the other around Zanesville in Muskingum County. There were other smaller areas showing increase but almost without exception the increases can be attributed to some non-agricultural industry. Increases in rural population during the 1920-1930 decade were the result of increases in the number of people employed in such rural industries as quarrying, mining, and the extractive industries generally or to an increase in the number of city workers with residences in rural territory. Counties in which agriculture was the chief occupation showed population declines in almost every township. In Defiance, Paulding, Putnam, and Darke Counties in western Ohio, in Highland and Brown Counties in southwestern Ohio, and in Vinton, Noble, and Monroe Counties in southeastern Ohio, not one township showed an increase in population from 1920 to 1930. Of this group of counties, those in the west are counties with fertile agricultural land; the remaining counties in

the group are hilly and generally poorly adapted to commercial farming. Declines in population seem to have been the rule in agricultural areas regardless of the relative fertility of the land. Examination of Chart 2 reveals much more evidence in support of this assertion. In county after county in which agriculture is the chief occupation, the only increase in population was in the township, or townships, in which the county seat is located.

In the intensive farming areas near large cities there was probably some increase in the farm population. As no farm population figures are available for counties and townships for 1920 or earlier, it is impossible to be positive about this. Observation, though, would indicate increases in some suburban townships where commercial gardening and greenhouse agriculture has been replacing more extensive farming.

THE CHANGING COMPOSITION OF THE RURAL POPULATION

As was pointed out earlier, changes in the number and kind of people living in an area can come about only through births and deaths or migration. Changes in nativity come only through migration. The population group which is growing through migration will have a more heterogeneous population than one that is losing through migration.

TABLE 4.—Color and Nativity of the Rural and Urban Population: 1910, 1920, and 1930

	All classes		Per cent white			Per cent colored	
	Number	Per cent	Native parentage	Foreign or mixed parentage	Foreign-born	Negro	Other races
Rural							
1910.....	2,101,978	100.0	79.6	13.3	5.7	1.4	*
1920.....	2,082,258	100.0	80.3	13.0	5.2	1.5	*
1930.....	2,139,326	100.0	81.8	12.2	4.2	1.7	*
Rural-farm							
1920.....	1,133,912	100.0	84.1	11.7	3.3	0.8	*
1930.....	1,004,288	100.0	85.2	10.9	3.1	0.7	*
Rural-nonfarm							
1920.....	948,346	100.0	75.8	14.5	7.5	2.2	*
1930.....	1,135,038	100.0	78.8	13.3	5.2	2.6	0.1
Urban							
1910.....	2,665,143	100.0	51.0	28.0	17.9	3.1	*
1920.....	3,677,136	100.0	54.3	25.9	15.5	4.2	*
1930.....	4,507,371	100.0	57.1	24.4	12.3	6.0	0.1

*Less than one-tenth of one per cent.

Nativity and color.—Thus, we find that the farm population of Ohio is more homogeneous than any other population group. In the majority of the counties the percentage of foreign-born whites in the rural population has been declining since 1900. In the northeastern counties where the foreign immigration to farms increased rapidly during the early years of this century, the proportion of foreign-born in the rural population has decreased in all counties since 1920 and in most of them since 1910. In the rural-farm population of Ohio the percentage of the population with parents born in the United States was 85.2 in 1930; for the rural-nonfarm 78.8, and for the urban 57.1 per cent. In all three populations the proportion of native born of native parents has been increasing. In 1930, only 14 per cent of the rural-farm population was of foreign parentage or of foreign birth; for the urban population this figure was 36.7 per cent (See Table 4 and Chart 1b and c).

Although the number of negroes and the proportion of negroes in the total population were greater in 1930 than at any previous census, the number of negroes on farms declined from 9,451 to 7,441 (21.2 per cent) from 1920 to 1930. The number of negroes in the rural-nonfarm population increased by 44 per cent over the 1920 figure. This increase resulted largely from the residence of negroes around the suburbs of large cities, where they were employed in industrial plants. In point of numbers the negro never has been an important element in the farm population of Ohio. Probably in no county have negro farmers ever composed as much as 10 per cent of the total. In 1930 negroes did not compose as much as 5 per cent of the farm people in any Ohio county. The influx of negroes from the South during 1920 to 1930 has been a farm to city movement (See Chart 3a).

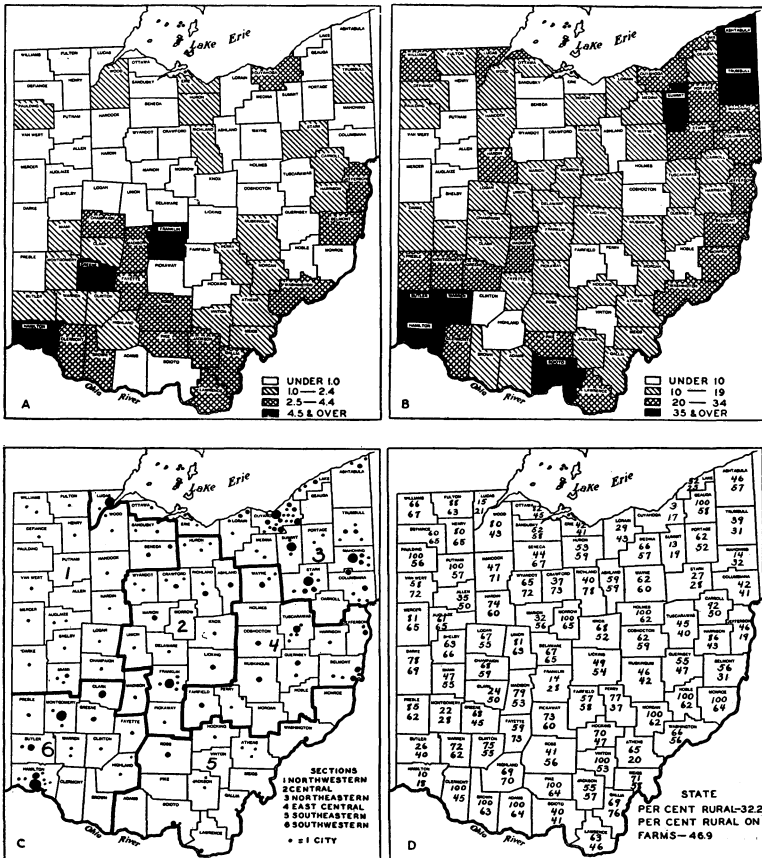


Chart 3.—A. Percentage of rural families, negro—1930. B. Percentage of rural, native white mothers born outside of Ohio—1930. C. Location of cities by fertility sections, Ohio—1930. D. Percentage of total population rural and percentage of the rural population living on farms—1930.

Interstate migration has also accounted for considerable change in the composition of Ohio's rural population. Although the proportion of the rural population of native birth or of native parentage has been increasing steadily, the proportion born in the State has been declining. In 1910, 84.6 per cent of the rural population was native to Ohio; by 1930 the percentage was 81.7. The number of people born in other states increased from 9.4 per cent of the total rural in 1910 to 13.9 per cent in 1930. The increase in the rural population from 1920-1930 was 2.7 per cent; the number of Ohio-born people increased only 0.4 per cent. The increase in people who were born in other states was 30.2 per cent.

TABLE 5.—Number and Per Cent of the Rural Population of Ohio Born in Ohio, in Other States, and in Foreign Countries, 1910, 1920, and 1930

	Rural population			
	Total*	Born in Ohio	Born in other states	Foreign-born
Number				
1910.....	2,101,978	1,778,553	197,298	120,820
1920.....	2,082,258	1,740,813	227,917	108,354
1930.....	2,139,326	1,747,943	296,808	94,575
Per cent				
1910.....	100.0	84.6	9.4	5.7
1920.....	100.0	83.6	10.9	5.2
1930.....	100.0	81.7	13.9	4.4
Percentage change				
1910 to 1920.....	-0.9	-2.1	+15.5	- 8.8
1920 to 1930.....	+2.7	+0.4	+30.2	-15.4

*Includes persons for whom State of birth was not reported.

In 1930 there were 102,300 farm people in Ohio who were born in other states and 157,800 people living on farms in other states who were born in Ohio, giving a net loss of 55,500 persons through interstate migration. Although there were considerable numbers of Ohio-born people in all sections of the United States and considerable numbers born in other sections living on Ohio farms in 1930, the bulk of the migration out of Ohio was to states to the west. This loss was partially balanced by immigration from states to the south and east of Ohio, chiefly from West Virginia, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania. From these three states alone, the net gain to the farm population was about 45,000 persons. Thus, in the process of interstate migration rural Ohio has lost farm people to the states to the west and has sent industrial workers to the cities; these emigrants from the farms have been partially replaced by rural people from the mountain states south and east of Ohio.

The net loss to the rural-nonfarm population by the interstate migration was not as great as that of the rural-farm. Despite this, data in Table 6 indicate greater shifting in this group. Although the net loss was 39,500, it was made up of a gain of 63,700 by migration from the East and South and losses of 103,200 by emigration to the West. Compare this with a gain of 41,700 and a loss of 97,200 for the farm population. Some of the changes in the rural-nonfarm population resulted from the negro migration from the South. The

direction of the population movement has been from agriculture to industry—from the agricultural South to the industrial North. The majority of the people who have been moving onto Ohio farms is of what has been known as “old American stock”. Their forefathers were living in the mountains of West Virginia, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania when Ohio was still an Indian hunting ground.

TABLE 6.—Trend in the Rural Population of Ohio Owing to Interstate Migration, 1930

	Native population (in thousands)										
	Ohio	All other states Total	New England	Middle Atlantic	South Atlantic	East South-Central	East North-Central (exclusive of Ohio)	West North-Central	West South-Central	Mountain	Pacific
Born in specified section of the United States—Living in Ohio in 1930											
Rural-farm population ...	870.2	102.3†	0.7	18.7	27.9	24.5	22.3	6.0	1.1	0.7	0.5
Rural-non-farm population ...	877.8	194.5	2.7	49.0	46.1	42.3	39.2	9.9	2.9	1.4	1.0
Born in Ohio—Living in specified section of the United States, 1930											
Rural-farm population ...	870.2	157.8‡	0.6	9.8	11.6	8.0	61.0	33.5	9.9	9.6	13.8
Rural-non-farm population ...	877.8	234.0	2.6	28.9	32.8	12.0	70.3	34.6	11.9	12.8	28.1
Net increase (+) or decrease (–) owing to migrations§											
Rural-farm population ...		–55.5	*	+ 8.9	+16.3	+16.5	–38.7	–27.5	–8.8	– 8.9	–13.3
Rural-non-farm population ...		–39.5	*	+20.1	+13.3	+30.3	–31.1	–24.7	–9.0	–11.4	–27.1

*Less than 100 change.

†This figure means that 102,300 persons living on farms in Ohio in 1930 were born in other states of the United States.

‡Of the total rural farm population of the United States, 157,800 people were born in Ohio and living in other states at the time of the 1930 Census enumeration.

§The figures below indicate, for instance, that there were 55,500 fewer people living on Ohio farms who were born in other States than the number who were born in Ohio and living on farms in other States.

This immigration of people from the mountainous area south and east of Ohio has created in many farming communities a problem similar to that created by foreign immigration. These newcomers, like foreign immigrants, have different standards and different ways of doing things from those of the residents of the area into which they move. Often, too, they are of a different economic status. This is particularly true in the fertile agricultural counties where the newcomers become the tenants and farm laborers on the farms owned by the older residents. Many rural communities are faced with this problem of how to bring the two groups together so as to maintain adequate organizations and institutions. The problem of maintaining the necessary schools often leads to friction. The newcomers are relatively young, as compared with the indigenous population that owns the land and pays most of the

taxes. The class that pays the tax bill has few children in school because of its older age and, perhaps, lower birth rate; as a result, they often resent the efforts of the newcomers to improve or expand the school system to take care of the training of their children. In other cases, the reverse sometimes happens—the newcomers move in and buy considerable land in the community and, as taxpayers, oppose the maintenance of what the older residents consider an adequate school system. Many other instances of conflict could be cited. Community organization problems are quite different; these problems are more difficult in counties where there has been recent immigration of people of different standards of living than they are in counties where the present population is composed largely of the descendants of the early settlers. Much of the variation in the support of institutions and organizations by tenants and farm owners can be ascribed to these cultural differences in the two groups and not to the mere fact that they are tenants or owners. The descendants of the early settlers own the land; the newcomers who are younger and have a simpler material standard of living are the tenants. Difficulties are likely to result from this cultural difference and lower economic status.

Age and sex composition.—Comparison of the rural and urban populations with respect to age and sex proportions in 1930 reveals considerable variation. The rural population, both farm and nonfarm, contained a greater proportion of children under 15 years of age than did the urban. In the case of males, the proportion was greater in the rural population at all ages under 20 years; the urban population had the largest proportion between the ages of 20 and 54 years and the rural at all ages above 55 years. For females, who migrate at an earlier age than males, the urban population had a greater proportion than the rural between the ages of 15 and 55 years; above 55 years, the rural proportions were highest.

TABLE 7.—Percentage Age Distribution of the Population by Sex, Rural and Urban, 1930

Age group	Males			Females		
	Rural-farm	Rural-nonfarm	Urban	Rural-farm	Rural-nonfarm	Urban
<i>Years</i>						
0—4.....	8.4	10.0	8.4	9.0	10.2	8.1
5—9.....	10.5	10.6	9.2	11.1	10.8	9.0
10—14.....	11.3	9.4	8.7	11.7	9.7	8.6
15—19.....	10.7	8.2	8.1	9.9	8.4	8.8
20—24.....	7.3	7.4	8.7	6.1	7.7	9.5
25—29.....	5.0	7.1	8.5	5.2	7.4	8.8
30—34.....	4.9	7.0	8.3	5.8	6.9	8.2
35—44.....	11.7	13.2	16.4	13.2	12.4	15.1
45—54.....	11.8	10.7	11.8	12.0	9.9	11.0
55—64.....	9.8	8.0	7.0	8.8	7.8	7.1
65 and over.....	8.6	8.4	4.9	7.2	8.8	5.8
Total						
Number.....	532,118	583,527	2,245,496	472,170	551,511	2,261,875
Per cent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 15 years....	30.2	30.0	26.3	31.8	30.7	25.7
15—34 years.....	27.9	29.7	33.6	27.0	30.4	35.3
35 years and over..	41.9	40.3	40.1	41.2	38.9	39.0

Such variation cannot be wholly explained by the difference in rural and urban birth and death rates. It is evident that most of it is a result of migration of young people from rural to urban territory. What is the extent of this migration, and of what age and sex were the people who moved? This question may be answered by considering only persons 15 years of age and over.

By doing this, the effects of births occurring between 1920 and 1930 can be eliminated. (All children born between 1920 and 1930 were under 10 years of age in 1930.) Thus, deaths and migration are left as the two remaining causes of change. From life tables based on the death rates for persons of each age and sex, the number of people that were living in 1920 and still alive in 1930 can be estimated. The difference between the number of people of the 1920 population still alive in 1930 and the enumerated population in 1930 equals the net gain or loss due to migration. To measure the amount of this migration it is necessary to compare the same group at the two censuses; for example, if the number of persons 15 to 19 years of age in 1920 is subtracted from the number that was 15 to 19 years of age in 1930, the remainder is not an indication of the number that migrated. Persons who, in 1920, were 15-19 years of age were 25-29 years of age in 1930. The comparison, if it is to show the extent of the migration, must be between the survivors of the 15 to 19-year age group in 1920 and the 25 to 29-year age group in 1930, and so on.

TABLE 8.—Number of Farm People by Age and Sex, 1920 and 1930; Also Percentage Change Owing to Migration, 1920-1930

Age group	Number of farm people (in thousands)							
	1920		Probable number of 1920 population living in 1930*		1930		Percentage gain (+) or loss (-) owing to migration	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Years</i>								
0—4.....	61.0	58.1			44.9	42.6		
5—9.....	62.0	59.4			55.7	52.4		
10—14.....	64.4	59.4			60.0	55.0		
15—19.....	56.7	50.0	61.0	59.0	56.7	46.6	-7	-21
20—24.....	42.8	38.8	63.0	58.0	39.0	29.0	-38	-50
25—29.....	36.8	36.7	55.0	48.0	26.7	24.5	-51	-49
30—34.....	35.0	35.6	41.0	37.0	26.3	27.6	-36	-25
35—44.....	71.8	69.3	69.0	69.0	62.1	62.2	-10	-10
45—54.....	68.2	59.3	67.0	65.0	62.8	56.7	-6	-13
55—64.....	52.8	41.7	61.0	53.0	52.3	41.8	-14	-21
65 and over.....	40.9	33.2	53.0	43.0	45.7	33.9	-14	-21
Total								
15 years and over	405.0	364.6	470.0	432.0	371.6	322.3	-21	-25
15-34 years.....	171.3	161.1	220.0	202.0	148.7	127.7	-32	-37
35 years and over	233.7	203.5	250.0	230.0	222.9	194.6	-11	-15

*Estimates to nearest thousand.

Examination of Table 8 explains the age distribution of the farm population shown in Table 7. Although the total farm population decreased by 11.4 per cent from 1920 to 1930, 21 per cent of the male and 25 per cent of the female population 15 years of age and over left the farm for villages and cities or migrated to other states. About one-half of the group 20 to 29 years old in 1930 had migrated, but only 11 to 15 per cent of those over 35 years had migrated. In addition to the heavy exodus of young people from the farm population, considerable numbers 55 years of age and over moved to other locations. Of the 200,000 people who left Ohio farms between 1920 and 1930, more than three-fourths was between the ages of 15 and 45 years. The ratio of the sexes among those who left was 91 men per 100 women.

The rural-nonfarm population showed a gain in total numbers in the decade 1920-1930, but here, too, is found some evidence of selective migration on the basis of age and sex. There was some loss of persons under 25 years of

age but more than average gains in number of persons 25 to 45 years and 65 years and over. Recall that the rural-farm population lost most heavily in these approximate age groups; i. e., in people in the productive ages and persons 55 years and over. It is common knowledge that rural villages contain many retired farmers, widows, and elderly women. The age distribution shown in Table 7, together with Tables 8 and 9, substantiates this and indicates that many of the village people were migrants from farms. Another source of aged people is the urban population. Considerable numbers of city people migrate to rural places after they reach the age at which they cannot, or do not need to, work longer. The farm population doubtless furnished many of the young people that made up the increase in the rural-nonfarm group. Some of the increase in the rural-nonfarm group was due to increase in the number of city workers residing in suburban districts.

TABLE 9.—Number of Rural-Nonfarm People by Age and Sex, 1920 and 1930; Also Net Change Owing to Migration, 1920-1930

Age group	Number of rural-nonfarm people (in thousands)							
	1920		Probable number of 1920 population living in 1930*		1930		Percentage gain (+) or loss (—) owing to migration	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Years</i>								
0-4.....	52.9	51.3	.....	.....	58.1	56.0	.....	.....
5-9.....	49.6	48.9	.....	.....	61.9	59.8	.....	.....
10-14.....	45.0	43.9	.....	.....	55.0	53.4	.....	.....
15-19.....	37.0	36.9	49.0	48.0	48.0	46.1	- 2	- 4
20-24.....	34.6	34.6	44.0	43.0	43.3	42.5	- 2	- 1
25-29.....	36.2	34.7	36.0	36.0	41.4	40.9	+15	+14
30-34.....	34.0	31.9	33.0	33.0	41.1	38.3	+25	+16
35-44.....	64.7	57.3	67.0	64.0	77.1	68.5	+15	+ 7
45-54.....	51.9	45.4	61.0	54.0	62.3	54.8	+ 2	+ 1
55-64.....	37.6	37.0	46.0	40.0	46.4	42.9	+ 1	+ 7
65 and over.....	42.0	41.0	40.0	41.0	48.9	48.3	+22	+18
Total								
15 years and over	338.0	318.8	376.0	359.0	408.5	382.3	+ 9	+ 6
15-34 years.....	141.8	138.1	162.0	160.0	173.8	167.8	+ 7	+ 5
35 years and over	196.2	180.7	214.0	199.0	234.7	214.5	+10	+ 8

*Estimates to nearest thousand.

The rural population as a whole, although it increased by 2.7 per cent between 1920 and 1930, lost more than 150,000 people during that period; 75 per cent of these was under 25 years of age. The trend of the migration of young people has been away from the farm and rural areas generally toward cities and non-agricultural occupations. This movement, the extent of which we have indicated above for 1920 to 1930, has been going on ever since industries other than agriculture established themselves in the State. This continual drain of youth from rural sections has made the rural, particularly the farm, population an aggregation of people largely over 45 and under 20 years of age, with a relatively small number between 20 and 45 years. In 1930 approximately 29 per cent of the farm people was 20-45 years old, as compared with 42 per cent of urban folk. An examination of the figures on age of the male heads of households in 1930 further illustrates this point. One-half of the family heads was less than 49.5 years of age in the rural-farm population, one-half under 44.6 years in the rural-nonfarm, and one-half under 42.8 years

in the urban population. The percentages under 45 years of age were, in the order above, 36.6, 46.5, and 53. These differences in the age composition of the rural and urban populations which have resulted from rural-urban migration affect the attitudes and behavior of the populations. Other things being equal, a population with large numbers of people from 20-45 years of age is likely to think, act, and vote differently from one composed largely of persons over 45 years of age and minor children. In the first case (i. e., the urban population), the control of the families and other institutions and organizations of the community will likely be in the hands of the large, relatively active young group; in the rural-farm population with few people from 20-45 years of age the control will be in the hands of the older group. This may partially explain the conservatism of rural groups and their resistance to change.

Marital condition.—Contrary to popular belief the proportion of the population married has been steadily increasing in Ohio. Although part of this increase is a result of the increasing proportion of the population of marriageable age, there has been an increase in the percentage of married persons in every age group from 15 to 45 years. Unfortunately, no data are available on the percentage of the farm population married, by age and sex, prior to 1930. The 1930 figures suggest that the increasing proportion of the total population married may be related to the decline in the number of farm people in the State. Persons who become farmers marry later in life than persons in many other occupations; the decline in the number and proportion of farmers and the increase in the number of farm boys and girls going into non-agricultural occupations have lowered the average age at marriage.

TABLE 10.—Percentage of the Population Married: Rural and Urban by Age and Sex

Age group	Males			Females		
	Rural-farm	Rural-nonfarm	Urban	Rural-farm	Rural-nonfarm	Urban
<i>Years</i>						
15-19.....	0.9	1.7	1.4	7.6	14.0	11.0
20-24.....	18.4	33.6	29.0	45.8	62.3	51.2
25-29.....	54.4	71.6	63.8	76.3	84.4	74.9
30-34.....	75.2	82.4	77.7	87.0	88.6	81.3
35-44.....	83.7	83.2	82.1	90.3	86.9	80.9
45-54.....	83.8	80.3	82.2	88.5	80.2	74.0
55-64.....	79.8	74.6	78.7	80.4	67.0	59.3
65-74.....	70.4	65.1	69.0	60.1	45.8	37.8
75 and over.....	49.2	48.3	48.9	24.5	20.2	15.4
Total 15 years and over...	58.6	62.7	62.8	67.1	65.8	61.2

In Ohio, rural-nonfarm people marry at a younger age than do rural-farm or urban people. The percentage married in the rural-nonfarm population is higher at every age under 35 years for both men and women. Above 35 years of age the percentage married is greatest in the rural-farm population. This does not mean that farm-reared children do not marry as early as nonfarm children. If they do marry early they leave the farm. Recall that the rural-nonfarm population in the decade 1920-1930 showed more than average increases, owing to migration, in the number of persons 25-45 years of age in 1930 (Table 9). This group was 15-35 years of age in 1920. No doubt many of them were living on farms in 1920. Another indication of the truth of the above statement is the fact that in 1930 only 35 per cent of all rural married women 15-29 years of age lived on farms, as compared with 46 per cent of all women 15 years of age and older.

The differences in the age at marriage among the three populations (Table 10) are probably partially due to economic factors. It takes longer for a man to accumulate the means necessary to become a farm operator than to become an industrial employee. Establishing a home in a small village or in the open country involves less expense than establishing a home in a city. Another factor affecting the age at marriage of persons who remain on farms is the large percentage of farmers that take over the "home" farm. Such persons most often delay marriage until the retirement or demise of their parents (3, p. 33).

RECENT TRENDS—1930 AND AFTER

From 1900 to 1920 the rural population of Ohio changed very little in total numbers, but the proportion of the people living outside of incorporations declined steadily. In the same period the farm population lost heavily through migration of its young people to the cities. Between 1920 and 1930 the numbers living in rural areas increased by 2.7 per cent. The number and proportion living on farms, however, continued to decline. In this decade the number of nonfarm people living outside incorporations increased markedly. The result of this trend was a greater diversification in occupations and interests of the rural people. In many rural communities farmers became a minority group. All this happened during a period when industry was bidding for more and more men to labor in mills and factories. In the period 1920-1930, farming was relatively unprofitable; the result was one of the greatest migrations from farms to cities that the State has experienced. From a population of 1,134,000 farm people in 1920, more than 200,000 persons migrated, principally to cities. By 1930 industry's post-war boom had subsided leaving thousands without means of earning a livelihood. Although the economic condition of agriculture grew steadily worse with the industrial collapse, the Census recorded in April, 1930, a net gain to the farm population of Ohio of 11,230 persons during the previous year, by the migration of village and city people back to the farm, a complete reversal of the trend of migration during most of the decade.

Since 1930, the farm population has continued to increase, partly through the return of industrial laborers to the land and partially because of the relatively high birth rate among rural people. Although accurate estimates of the increase of the rural-farm population of Ohio since 1930 are difficult to make, some notion of the amount of change can be obtained from estimates of the United States Department of Agriculture for the east North Central States (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin). Assuming the change in Ohio to be at the same rate as for this group of states, we arrive at the following figures for January 1st farm population:

	1933	1932	1931	1930
Numbers	1,085,000	1,038,000	1,017,000	1,003,000
Increase during previous year	47,000	21,000	14,000	.....

These figures include both increase by births and by migration. Approximately one-half of the 82,000 increase from January 1, 1930, to January 1, 1933, was due to migration to farms; the remaining half was a result of the excess

of births over deaths. Reports indicate that the increases in the farm population caused by the "back-to-the-land" movement are greatest around large cities. Many rural communities report only few additions to their population by migrants from cities.

Because of the relatively high birth rate of farm people and the usual heavy emigration of young people from farms, startling increases can be expected in some age groups if emigration from farms ceases for a period. In Table 11 the expected changes in the age and sex distribution of the farm population from 1930-1935 and 1935-1940 are indicated. The table is based on the assumption that there will be no migration. In 1930, because of heavy emigration, the number of farm people 15 to 35 years of age was very low. As a result of this the number under 5 years of age was low (82 per cent of all rural births in 1930 was to women 15-35 years of age). By 1935 the children who were under 5 years in 1930 will be 5-9 years. Unless their numbers are increased by migration of families with children of the same age to farms, there will be, in 1935, 23 per cent fewer boys and 22 per cent fewer girls in this age group than in 1930. This is the group that is now (1933) starting its schooling. If the "back-to-the-farm" migration does not include some children in this age group, rural school enrollment in the elementary grades will show declines in the number of farm children from 1933 until about 1936. Incidentally, declines in this age group are also indicated for the rural-nonfarm and urban populations. Without immigration of children 5-9 years old the total number in Ohio in 1935 will have declined by about 90,000 from 1930.

TABLE 11.—Estimated Trend in the Number of Rural Farm People, 1930-1940, Assuming no Migration Takes Place

Age group	Rural-farm population									
	Number (in thousands)						Per cent gain (+) or loss (-)			
	1930		Estimated population if there is no migration				1930-35		1935-40	
			1935		1940					
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Years</i>										
0-4	44.9	42.6	53.9	51.1	62.9	59.6	+20	+20	+16	+16
5-9	55.7	52.4	42.8	40.9	51.5	49.1	-23	-22	+20	+20
10-14	60.0	55.0	55.2	52.1	42.5	40.6	-8	-5	-25	-22
15-19	56.7	46.6	59.4	54.5	54.6	51.6	+5	+17	-8	-5
20-24	39.0	29.0	55.9	46.0	58.6	53.8	+43	+59	+5	+17
25-29	26.7	24.5	38.3	28.5	54.9	45.2	+43	+16	+43	+59
30-34	26.3	27.6	26.2	24.0	37.6	27.9	-1	-13	+44	+16
35-44	62.1	62.8	55.7	57.8	50.7	49.9	-10	-8	-9	-14
45-54	62.8	56.7	61.8	58.8	58.3	58.4	+7	+4	-6	-1
55-64	52.3	41.8	55.9	47.5	55.7	50.2	+7	+14	0	+6
65 and over	45.7	33.9	53.9	41.2	55.7	46.2	+18	+22	+3	+12
All ages	532.2	472.9	559.0	502.4	583.0	532.5	+5	+6	+4	+6
15 and over	371.6	322.9	407.1	358.3	426.1	383.2	+10	+11	+5	+7
Under 15	160.6	150.0	151.9	144.1	156.9	149.3	-5	-4	+3	+4
15-34	148.7	127.7	179.8	153.0	205.7	178.5	+21	+20	+14	+17
35-64	177.2	161.3	173.4	164.1	164.7	158.5	-2	+2	-5	-3

If there is no migration away from farms from 1930-1935 the number of boys 20 to 24 years old will be 43 per cent greater and the number of girls, 59 per cent greater in 1935 than in 1930. These boys and girls were 15 to 19 years old in 1930; among them are most of those who have graduated from high school since the economic collapse of 1929. The next age group, those

persons 20-24 years old in 1930, will be 25-29 years old in 1935. There will be 43 per cent more boys and 16 per cent more girls in this age group on farms in 1935 than in 1930 unless some of them migrate. No doubt some of them are finding other occupations, but a great many more people 20 to 29 years of age are living on farms today (1933) than have lived there at any time since 1910. These heavy increases which will result if emigration from farms is stopped will, in turn, cause an increase in the number of births occurring to farm women as most of the adult increase is made up of men and women between the ages of 15 and 30 years. An increase in the number of children under 5 years living on farms by 1935 is to be expected, Table 11.

If no migration takes place either to or from farms between 1930 and 1935, the rural farm population will probably increase about 5 or 6 per cent; the number of children under 15 years will decline 4 or 5 per cent, the number of persons 15 to 34 years old will increase 20 to 21 per cent, the number 35 to 64 years old will change but slightly, and the number 65 years and older will increase from 18 to 22 per cent. Under these conditions the greatest expected increases are of persons of child-producing age and old people. To the extent to which there is migration these estimates will vary. "Back-to-the-farm" migrants will increase the number 25-35 years of age chiefly. Any emigration from farms will reduce the number 15-35 years old in 1935 and result in fewer young children than predicted by Table 11. At the time this is being written (June 1933), farm to city migration seems to be almost at a standstill. Furthermore, most of those who can return to farms without special aid have done so. The vacant farmhouses of a few years ago are now occupied, and there are few opportunities for further emigration to farms. Under these conditions most of the increase in the farm population during the next few years will be from the natural growth of the farm population. As was pointed out above, this indicates more than average increase in the number of young adults and, as a result, considerable increase in the number of young children.

In the rural-nonfarm population considerable natural increase can be expected with migration to cities stopped. Most of the increase due to stoppage of migration will consist of persons 15 to 25 years of age. On the other hand, many of the people that are leaving cities for rural homes are not locating on farms. They are locating in houses in suburban areas and in rural villages and belong to the rural-nonfarm group. The urban population, if migration into cities stops, will suffer declines in the 20 to 30-year age group and a corresponding decline in the number of young children. The emigration of young folks from cities, as of the years since 1929, will accentuate this trend. If Ohio cities continue to grow they must receive through migration young people from other populations. With their present age distribution and birth rates many of them will otherwise decline.

FERTILITY OF THE RURAL POPULATION

It is evident from an examination of the age distributions of rural and urban Ohio in 1930 that the ratio of children to women of child-bearing age was much lower in urban than in rural Ohio. This rural-urban difference in reproductive rate was also evident in the above discussion of trends for 1930 and after. The fact that the stopping of immigration into cities would result in declines in population within a few years is a reflection of the relatively low fertility of the urban population. Just what is the difference between the reproductive rates of the rural and urban populations? A study of the births that occurred in Ohio in 1930 provides an answer to this question.

The rural and urban populations had about the same number of births per capita in 1930, but this does not mean that rural women bore children at the same rate as urban women. As was pointed out above, a greater proportion of the urban than of the rural population consisted of women. The number of births per 1000 women was 36.8 for the rural and 35.2 for the urban population, indicating 4.5 per cent higher birth rate among rural women. These rates, however, do not tell much about the number of children born to each mother. A population with a large proportion of its women between the ages of 15 and 45 years might have a high crude birth rate even though each mother bore only one child during her lifetime. Another population with few women in the child-bearing ages might have an equally high crude birth rate owing to the large number of children born to each mother. To measure the comparative rates at which women bear children in two populations, it is necessary to estimate what their birth rates would be if they had the same age distribution. Such rates are called adjusted birth rates. For Ohio in 1930 they were (in terms of number of births per 1000 women):

	Crude birth rates		Adjusted birth rates	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
All classes.....	36.8	35.2	43.6	32.9
Native white.....	36.8	33.8	43.7	31.6
Foreign-born white.....	37.2	42.2	47.5	41.7
Colored.....	35.5	41.5	37.0	33.6

Note that the adjusted rate for rural women was about one-third greater than that for urban women. This means that rural women were bearing, on the average, one-third more children than urban women; the urban population, because of the larger proportion of its women in the child-bearing ages than the rural, had just as many births per 1000 population, although the number of children per mother was smaller. In the native white population, rural women bore 38 per cent more children than urban women; among the foreign-born white women the adjusted rate for rural women was only 12 per cent above the urban, and among the colored only 9 per cent higher. In the rural population colored women had the least children and foreign-born whites the most. It is commonly believed that foreign-born whites have a much higher fertility than native whites; rural, native white women were bearing children at a higher rate in 1930 than were urban foreign-born women. Among rural women the foreign-born were bearing only 9 per cent more children than the native whites. The belief that foreign-born women have so many more children grew out of the circumstance that foreign-born women a few years ago were a much younger group than the native whites. They did have more children in proportion to their total numbers, chiefly because a high proportion of their women were in the child-bearing ages.

The difference in the rates of reproduction of rural and urban women might have been due to differences in the proportion of the population married and to differences in the rate at which married women bore children. The proportion of the women married was higher in rural than in urban territory for all women 20 years of age and older. As was stated above, rural women bore 34 per cent more children than urban women of the same age. Some of this difference was due to the fact that more rural women were married; however,

most of it was a result of more births per married woman in the rural population. Rural married women gave birth to 25 per cent more children than urban married women of the same age; the difference between this figure and the 34 per cent mentioned is a result of the larger number of rural women married.

Married women under 20 years of age gave birth to about the same number of children regardless of whether they lived in rural or urban territory. (See Table 12.) For women 20 years of age and older, the number of children born per 1000 married women was much higher for rural women. In round numbers, there were 267 babies born per 1000 rural married women 20 to 24 years of age and 230 per 1000 urban married women in 1930; 34 out of each 1000 rural married women 40 to 44 years of age became mothers in 1930 and 19 of each 1000 urban married women. In terms of percentage, rural married women under 20 years of age gave birth to only 5.6 per cent more children than urban women of the same class; for the ages 40-44 years, 75.9 per cent more rural than urban married women became mothers in 1930. The variation between rural and urban women in the number of children borne, increasing as it does with age, indicates a greater number of childless and one-child families in the urban population. If the differences resulted from a wider spacing of children born to urban mothers—for example, an average of 5 years between births instead of 2 years—the difference in number of children born would have been the same for mothers of all ages.

TABLE 12.—Specific Birth Rates by Age, Rural and Urban, 1930

Age group Years	All women			Married women		
	Rural	Urban	Per cent rural rate exceeds urban	Rural	Urban	Per cent rural rate exceeds urban
Births per 1000 women						
15—19.....	47.9	46.1	3.9	443.8	420.3	5.6
20—24.....	148.7	118.0	26.0	267.2	230.4	16.0
25—29.....	138.8	105.7	31.3	170.6	141.2	20.8
30—34.....	102.7	73.3	40.1	116.8	90.1	29.6
35—39.....	70.0	43.0	62.8	78.5	52.5	49.5
40—44.....	29.5	15.3	92.8	33.6	19.1	75.9
45—49.....	2.9	1.5	93.3	3.4	1.9	78.9
50—54.....	0.1	*	*	0.1	*	*

*Less than 0.1.

In general, it follows from the above that rural children are, on the average, born to older parents than urban children. In 1930, 36 per cent of all rural births was to mothers over 30 years of age, as compared with 30 per cent to urban mothers. In this connection it is interesting to note that 82 per cent of all rural, and 86.7 per cent of all urban, births in 1930 were to mothers under 35 years of age; thus, it follows that under present conditions the number of children born in any population is limited largely by the number of married women between the ages of 15 and 35 years. In 1930 this group made up 7.5 per cent of the rural and 9.6 per cent of the urban population. From this it is evident that the migration of a small number of people from rural areas to cities, if they are in this age group, will have the effect of increasing the number of births in cities out of all proportion to the number of persons who migrate. We have seen, Table 8, that most of the girls who migrated from farms during 1920-1930 were in this age group

To those who are in the habit of reading the official statistics of births in city and country, the above analysis may come as a surprise. It should be explained, therefore, that the usual method of publishing birth statistics is to state merely that a given number of births occurred in a given population during a given year. If rates are computed at all, the total number of births is divided by the total population, stated in thousands, to give the number of births per 1000 persons. This is called the crude birth rate—for example, the crude birth rate for rural Ohio in 1930 was 16.0 and for urban Ohio 18.5. Obviously, birth rates so computed take no account of the rural-urban differences in sex proportion and age distribution; hence, such rates are misleading. Furthermore, births are recorded where they occur. Since many rural mothers give birth to children in urban hospitals while few urban mothers give birth to children in rural territory, the cities are given credit for many births not actually theirs; for example, when the births occurring in Ohio in 1930 were counted at the place of residence of the mother, rather than where the birth occurred, the crude rate for rural Ohio was raised to 17.6 and the crude rate for urban Ohio was lowered to 17.7. Thus, when the rates were based upon the populations that actually produced the children, even the crude birth rate for the rural population was practically as high as the urban. As has been pointed out above, when the two populations were standardized for differences of age and sex, the rural rate became very much higher than the urban.

RURAL BIRTH RATES AND FUTURE POPULATION GROWTH

Thus, it is clear that, although the number of children born per capita in the rural population is about the same as in the urban, the number of children born per married woman of child-bearing age is quite different. It is now of interest to inquire whether present birth rates are high enough to maintain the present population; in other words, are the women of Ohio bearing enough children to replace all losses by death? If a population is to replace itself it is necessary that each woman, on the average, bear two or more children or, in terms of mothers, it is necessary that the women of this generation each bear one girl baby, who, in turn, lives to become a mother and bears one girl baby. Because of the deaths of children before attaining child-bearing age, the average number born must be more than one girl per mother. How many children would 100 mothers bear during their lifetime with birth and death rates as they were in Ohio in 1930? Table 13 answers this question.

TABLE 13.—Number of Children Each 100 Women Will Bear During Their Lifetime*: Rural and Urban, by Nativity and Color

	All classes		Native white		Foreign-born white		Colored	
	Total children	Girls	Total children	Girls	Total children	Girls	Total children	Girls
Rural	236	114	236	114	257	124	172	83
Urban.....	176	85	170	82	224	108	151	73
State total	193	93	188	91	228	110	157	76

*With birth and death rates as they were in 1930.

In rural Ohio all groups, except the colored, were bearing more than enough children to maintain their numbers in 1930. In urban Ohio the only class that was producing enough children to provide for any population growth was the foreign-born white group. For all classes of the population the rural rate of births was about 14 per cent above the number necessary to maintain the population; the urban, 15 per cent below maintenance requirements. For the State as a whole, both urban and rural, children were being born in 1930 at a rate of less than two per mother. In terms of number of girls, each 100 women of child-bearing age were producing only 93 future mothers.

The population of Ohio, therefore, is not reproducing itself. Although the rural population has more than enough births to insure rural population growth, it is not producing enough surplus to make up for the urban deficit. (There are more than twice as many urban people as rural.) Under these rates of reproduction, the present population of Ohio will eventually decline and die out. The only possible ways by which a population may vary its rate of growth are by means of changes in migration, in the birth rate, and in the death rate. This means that the rate of population growth in Ohio would increase if the amount of migration into the State were increased, if the birth rate were raised, or the death rate lowered. Except in the case of the colored population, there is little chance of much increase in population through lowering the death rate. The death rate is so low for the white population that no important decline can be expected. For the urban population, the number of children born per mother is already so low that only 98 children per 100 women could be expected if every girl born lived to the age of 50 years. Can an increase in the birth rate be expected? Apparently, not at once. The number of births in Ohio has declined rapidly since 1930, when more than 117,000 births were recorded; in 1932 the number of births was less than 102,000. Unless there is considerable immigration the urban population of Ohio will decline, resulting eventually in a decline in the total population. The effects of this low fertility may not be felt at once because of the large percentage of people 15 to 45 years old in the urban population, but declines in city populations within the next decade or two are a certainty unless they receive immigrants from the more fertile rural populations. This is true for large cities generally in the United States (6, Ch. 6).

GEOGRAPHIC VARIATION IN RATE OF REPRODUCTION

In addition to the rural-urban differences in the birth rate, there is variation within both rural and urban territory. With respect to inter-urban differences it must suffice here to say that generally the birth rate is inversely related to the size of the city. Exceptions to this rule are the satellite residence towns around large cities. The lowest birth rates in the State occur in cities such as Cleveland Heights and Lakewood, whose populations have a relatively high material scale of living. [Students have repeatedly demonstrated that the number of children born per mother in the same nativity and color group is definitely related to social and economic status (1, Chs. 19-20, pp. 256-272; 5, Chs. 6 and 7)].

Within rural territory in 1930, birth rates were lowest in the counties in which large cities were located. The counties near large cities had lower rates than those at some distance away. The sections of the State with the largest cities produced the fewest children per mother; those sections with the largest

proportion of rural people, the most. The number of future mothers each 100 rural, native white women will bear during their lifetime, with birth and death rates as they were in 1930, is as follows²:

State total	Section					
	Northeastern	Southwestern	Central	East Central	Northwestern	Southeastern
114	101	105	110	120	120	146

It is evident from this study of birth and reproduction rates for 1930 that urban life as we know it is not conducive to child-bearing. Children are a luxury and a heavy financial responsibility to the average urban family. The cost of rearing children according to accepted standards has been rising. Families often have to choose between having another child and buying a new car or living in a more desirable neighborhood. It is a question of having "things" or babies and many choose the former, judging from the downward trend in the number of births. To the extent that urban culture, with its gadgets and standards, has invaded the rural hinterlands of our large cities the rural birth rate, too, has declined.

Two things are necessary for urban influences to spread into the outlying rural areas—easy communication and time. The automobile and all-year roads have intensified rural-urban contacts. The automobile is a very recent development and our State system of good roads still more recent. The automobile and good roads have aided in urbanizing the country in two ways: (a) by giving the rural dweller more frequent contact with the city and (b) by making possible rural residence for city workers. However, no matter how perfect the access a rural community has to urban ways and things, it takes at least a generation of residence under urban influence to bring about much accommodation of rural folk to urban ways. This fact is demonstrated by the foreigners who have moved into our large cities. They rear much larger families of children than do the natives, but their children rear families little larger and their grandchildren families of the same size as the natives.

As pointed out above, the highest rural birth rates were in the hill counties of the Southeastern Section. Within this section the counties with highest rates were those that had received considerable immigration from Kentucky and West Virginia. Two things are probably largely responsible for the relatively large number of children per mother in counties such as Ross, Pike, Scioto, Lawrence, Jackson, Vinton, and Gallia; namely, relative isolation from large cities and heavy immigration of people from other rural regions where early marriage and large families of children were the rule. The data indicate early marriage among the rural people in the above named counties; in Scioto County there was one birth to each 10 women 15-19 years of age in 1930. For the whole rural population of the Southeastern Section the number of births to women 15-19 years old in 1930 was 75 per 1000, a rate 50 per cent higher than for any other section.

Although we have no direct evidence of the variation in the rate of reproduction among occupation groups, there was no indication that birth rates of miners and rural industrial workers were any higher than those of farmers.

²Only the reproduction rates of native white women are considered in this discussion of intra-rural variation. Foreign-born white and colored people make up only a small proportion of the population in all but a few counties.

The rural rates were higher in farming counties such as Gallia and Pike than in mining counties like Perry, Hocking, and Athens. On the other hand, industrial counties like Scioto and Lawrence, in which less than one-half the rural population lived on farms (Chart 3c), had high reproduction rates. The explanation of the high rates in these two counties lies not in the fact that most of the rural people were employed in non-agricultural occupations but rather in the type of people living there and working in these occupations. A large proportion of them were immigrants from the mountains of Kentucky and West Virginia. Occupation appeared to determine the rate at which children were born only because of drawing certain types of people. The determining factor was the material standard of living. People with low standards drifted into occupations which were not remunerative enough for those with higher standards. Those who were satisfied with a minimum of things and money had the most children; therefore, the apparent association of certain occupations with large families of children.

Within the East Central and Northwestern Sections were a few counties with reproduction rates above the average for these sections. The rural populations of Holmes and Madison Counties were producing considerably more children per mother than the counties bordering them. In still another group of counties, such as Mercer, Shelby, Henry, Seneca, and a few others, children were being produced at just as high a rate as for many of the southeastern counties. In all of these counties, except Madison, the population is fairly homogeneous and composed largely of people of German origin. Because of their community solidarity and insistence that marriages be between members of their own group, their family and general social organization has remained such as to resist outside influences. Many of the people are of German Lutheran or Roman Catholic religious confession. In a number of sections both the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics maintain their own schools. Through the influence of the church many of the customs of their homeland have been retained. In Holmes County and to some extent in Madison County people of Amish religious confession are an important group. These people, as well as the Germans mentioned above, appear to rear families of more than average size. Despite their exposure to the influences tending to lower birth rates, the elders, through maintaining a closed social organization, have perpetuated through their children the family organization of their homeland. Groups such as these, with a well-integrated and well-established set of customs, always are more reluctant to accept anything new or different than are disorganized aggregations of people with little common agreement; the former does not change unless it is the consensus of the group that the change is desirable for the common good. The latter type of group is susceptible to new influences if they seem desirable to individuals; there is little consensus of opinion. Before passing on it should be mentioned that Madison County has in its rural population, in addition to groups mentioned above, considerable numbers of immigrants from rural counties farther south and from Kentucky. The presence of these two types of people gave it a high birth rate in 1930 although the county is located near a large city.

In the discussion of rural-urban differences in the rate of child-bearing it was pointed out that the difference between the rural and urban rates was greater for mothers in the older age groups than for young mothers. This indicated that the higher rural rate was not due to early marriage but to

greater persistence in child-bearing by rural mothers throughout their lifetime. The higher rates among the people in the Southeastern Section than among the Germanic people in the Northwestern Section were largely due to earlier marriage in the former group. Among the Germans, birth rates for women under 20 years were low, but they increased more rapidly between the ages of 20 and 25, reaching a rate almost as high as that of the women of the Southeastern Section by the age of 25. The two sections had about the same birth rates for women of all ages over 25 years. Most of the difference in the reproduction rate between the two groups was due to earlier marriage in the Southeastern Section. On the other hand, the variation in the rate at which children were born among the other sections apparently was largely a result of variation in the number of childless and one-child families and not of variation in age at marriage. In this connection it is useful to know that the crude birth rates (annual number of births per 1000 population) of the rural populations of the various sections were closely correlated with the reproduction rates (number of future mothers per 100 mothers). This means that, because of the similarity of their age and sex distributions, crude birth rates (which are easy to compute) gave a close estimate of the relative rate of child-bearing. This was roughly the case for the rural populations of single counties, except for counties with cities of 50,000 or more inhabitants; the rural populations of these highly urbanized counties had relatively more women of child-bearing age than other rural populations.

It appears, then, that in Ohio high rural birth rates are associated with percentage of population rural, absence of large cities or of easy contact with them, recent immigration of rural people, and presence of certain religious or cultural groups which, because of their closed type of organization, resist influences that tend to lower the rate at which children are borne. This study confirms the findings of others who have studied the reproduction rates of human populations. Although there are exceptions, the rate at which a population bears children is inversely proportional to the material standard of living of that population. It is a matter of owning more automobiles, more radios, more modern homes, and other gadgets of modern civilization, of having more leisure, more educational advantages, and the like, or of bearing more children. Some families can have both "things" and children; most families have to choose between the two. The falling birth rates indicate the nature of the choice.

Although the above rural rates are for native white mothers only, the inclusion of the foreign-born white mothers in the Northeastern Section (where most of them are located) would not have raised the reproduction rate for that Section above 105. The inclusion of negroes in the rate for the Southwestern Section would have lowered the rate below the 105 recorded for the native whites of that section.

From what is known of the factors influencing the reproduction rates in Ohio, any increase in the rate of reproduction seems unlikely in the near future; in fact, further decline is probable. The people who will be bearing children during the next 10 years are the products of the post-war period, 1918-1929, when urban influences permeated rural Ohio as never before. If the trends of the past tell anything, it is that changes in human behavior take time. Just as declines in the rate at which rural people bear children when transplanted to an urban environment are not manifest until the second generation, so will it probably be with changes in the other direction. The "back-to-the-land" movement of recent years promises little in the way of an increase

in the rate of population growth. It may work the other way; at the present time (1933), there are probably more people with urban experience living in rural territory than ever before in the history of the State. These people carry back with them urban standards of life which, as has been shown above, are not likely to result in as much child-bearing as rural standards.

Another factor that will operate to reduce further the number of children borne is the sharp decline in the marriage rate since 1929. There is no way of knowing the relative decline in rural and urban territory but it seems likely that the observed decline in the number of marriages has been general in rural, as well as in urban, territory. This decline in the marriage rate is a result of economic conditions forcing postponement of marriage. It might be concluded that this is only a temporary thing and that the marriage rate will increase rapidly once economic conditions improve, thus having little effect on the number of children borne. No doubt the marriage rate will increase with better times, but, for every year marriage is delayed by the women now of marriageable age, the probable number of children they will bear during their lifetime decreases. If girls of 18 postpone marriage for 5 years, they thereby decrease the probable number of children they will bear by approximately one-sixth (4, p. 101). Present trends, therefore, suggest further declines in the rate at which children will be borne.

EFFECTS OF POPULATION TRENDS ON RURAL LIFE

Some of the questions raised earlier can now be answered from our knowledge of rural population trends. For purposes of analysis the discussion is divided into three parts: (a) a summary of the effects of the long-time trend toward a smaller farm population and the almost universal decline of the population of areas in which agriculture has been the dominant occupation; (b) a look at present trends; and (c) future possibilities.

EFFECTS OF RURAL EMIGRATION

It has already been shown that heavy emigration from farming communities has been going on from a date as early as 1840 in some counties. Emigration has been the rule since the Civil War in all but a few counties. Between 1920 and 1930 the farm population lost through emigration more than 200,000 people 15 years of age and over, out of a total population of 1,134,000 in 1920. This represents more than one emigrant out of each five persons 15 years of age and older. This emigration resulted in a decrease of about 75,000 in the number of persons 15 years of age and older living on farms between 1920 and 1930.

What was the effect of this migration on the farm population from which they emigrated? As indicated earlier this age- and sex-selective migration resulted in an age and sex distribution quite different from that of other populations. The ratio of men to women in the farm population was 113:100 in 1930; the urban ratio was 99:100. The ratio of persons over 65 years to persons 20-65 years old was, in 1930, for the farm population about 14:100 and for the urban population 9:100. Both the relatively high proportion of men and of elderly persons in the farm population was a result of emigration of young people to villages and cities.

UPON THE SOCIAL LIFE OF RURAL YOUTH

This emigration situation, which has made of the farm population an aggregation of minor children and people over 45 years of age, has created a social problem for young men and women who are beyond the high school age and not yet greatly interested in the problems of their elders. The few who remain in any one rural community are usually not sufficient in numbers to carry on local organizations of their own. The organizations there are largely for the two large age groups in the farm population—the school organizations which furnish social activities for adolescents and adult organizations whose programs are often of little interest to youths 18-25 years old. Because of the emigration which caused this situation, further emigration is encouraged by the unsatisfactory social life in farming communities for youth of migratory age. The unsatisfactory social life for youth past school age in many farming communities indicates a failure of adult-controlled institutions and organizations to recognize and provide for the social needs of young people.

UPON SCHOOL FINANCE

Another item of importance, from the standpoint of the cost of emigration to the farmer, is the matter of school support. In 1931, 93 per cent of the revenue for school expenses in Ohio came from property taxes. The average schooling of boys and girls who migrated from farms to villages and cities was about 10 years. If we assume that each year of schooling cost, in taxes for school support, \$50.00 (it was \$117.00 in 1931) the total cost for the schooling of one emigrant was \$500.00. Multiply this \$500.00 by 200,000 (the number of people who left farms from 1920 to 1930) and we have a total of \$100,000,000.00, the amount of money spent during a 10-year period by farm people for the schooling of future city dwellers. This amount was approximately one-half of the farmers' public school expense and roughly one-fourth of their total tax bill. In terms of the number of farms in Ohio (1920-1930), the money involved in the schooling of those who left the farm amounted to about \$450.00 per farm for the 10-year period. In times when schooling costs were low and educational requirements simple, the burden of educating farm children was not so great as at present. With the growth of population, together with increased wealth and education, school standards necessarily have been raised and, with them, costs. A system of schools and school finance organized to fit conditions of 100 years ago, under present conditions works a hardship on the rural portion of the population. The farm population has for many years been paying for the schooling of twice as many people as remain in the farming community. One-half of its children has migrated to villages and cities.

UPON THE MIGRATION OF WEALTH

The school finance situation depicted above has resulted, apparently, in the migration of rural and farm wealth to towns and cities. To the extent that farm-reared and farm-schooled people have emigrated from farms the wealth used in their rearing and schooling, too, has migrated. This migration of youth from farms to cities has been a farm subsidy to the cities in which they have located. Without such migration the present concentration of people and wealth in cities could hardly have occurred.

Under the usual system of inheritance the property of the deceased is equally divided among the heirs. Under this system the farm-reared children who have moved into towns and cities have taken with them equities in farm

property. Those who have remained on farms have had to pay off the claims of those who moved to town. As most farm estates consist largely of land, which cannot be moved, these payments have been cash payments. The cash used has been a part of the annual return from the sale of farm products. It is liquid capital that has been transferred to the absentee heirs. This process has reduced the purchasing power of the farm population and enhanced that of the urban population. Although it may have left the farmers with the wealth embodied in their farms, this process has been a continual drain on their liquid capital keeping them at a disadvantage in bidding for goods on the market. This process can be illustrated best by a typical case of a farm owner with two children, a son and a daughter. The son remained on the home farm after the death of his parents; the daughter moved to a nearby city. Each had as his inheritance a half interest in the farm. The farm was appraised at \$20,000; the son borrowed \$10,000, giving a mortgage as security and paid his sister her equity. Out of his annual earnings for the next 20 years he had to deduct enough each year to pay the interest and \$500 on the principal of his loan, before he could spend anything toward improving his farm or raising his standard of living. The daughter used her \$10,000 (in cash) to build a new home, thus helping the city real estate market and adding to the city another piece of taxable property. The money spent in building the home was distributed throughout industry in purchase of materials and labor. The income from the farm increased the number of homes in the city and gave to the farmer's son for his labor what was left after the mortgage payment was made. Of course not all estates are settled in this manner. But without question a considerable proportion of the farm mortgage debt of Ohio was incurred because of emigration of farm-reared people to cities (7, pp. 427-439).

The farmers' operating capital has been reduced and their scale of living kept down by the amount of money, goods, or services they have had to forego, because of their annual payments of cash to absentee claimants whose only "right" to receive them is based on nothing more than the accident of having been the sons or daughters of farm owners. This "right" of the children to share equally in the property accumulated by their parents is based on custom. It is a part of our social inheritance which has been crystallized into law. This manner of distributing rights to wealth became the rule under social and economic conditions essentially agricultural. (Historically our society has been an agricultural one. The industrial revolution and the attendant growth of large cities are historically recent phenomena.) With thousands of farm youth flocking to towns and cities every year, taking with them equities in farm property, our traditional rules of inheritance have worked a distinct hardship on the farm population. Any plan for improving the economic position of farm people might well include some change in our inheritance laws, calculated to slow up or stop the drain of farm wealth to cities. If inheritance laws remain as they are this emigration of wealth will continue as long as farmers bear more children than are needed to operate our farms.

UPON RURAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

The church, the school, the farmers' unit of local government, and rural community organizations and agencies generally have been affected by the steady decline in the farm population. The number of rural churches abandoned since 1900 is large. The one-room school, although it still is common in agricultural counties, is going the way of the churches. Population decline

has been a responsible factor in the abandonment of the rural neighborhood school and church. In the case of the church, the additional fact that migrants have been young people has probably slowed up the adjustment of the local organization to the smaller population. In most rural communities at the outset there were several churches, the number depending upon the variety and divergence of the creeds represented among the people who settled there. The number of families per church was small. As a rule children hold less tenaciously to credal dogmas than their parents in a society such as ours. The heavy emigration of young people from rural communities has left the elders in more complete control of church organizations than if there had been no migration. The fact that most of the rural "community churches" (union of two or more denominations) in Ohio are located in the more urbanized counties is probably not without significance; there are more young adults there.

The general population declines in farming communities have made readjustments necessary in most organizations and agencies. The reduced number of people there cannot support the same number of organization units except at an increased cost per person. An example in point is our system of township and village government. Declines in the population of townships from 1880-1930 of as much as 50 per cent were not uncommon; but the number of units of government and the number of officials per unit changed but little. Similar maladjustments can be found in most of our traditional rural organizations.

Because of the population decline our rural community institutions generally are in the process of change, readjustment to a new distribution of population quite different from that of 50 years ago. Until the farm population becomes more stable it will be difficult to predict what will take the place of the "little red schoolhouse" and country church of the days when travel was by horse and buggy over dirt roads.

The urbanization of farming communities near large cities has led to another type of problem from that presented by a general population decline. The urban workers who have moved into rural communities have not had the same interests as the farmers already there. Although they live in the same neighborhood with the farmers, they have not been assimilated into the existing community organization. In questions which have involved everyone living in the community, there has often been conflict because of the divergence of interests between the two groups.

Farming communities into which there has been considerable migration have experienced similar problems. In southern and western Ohio the immigration of Kentucky and West Virginia farmers into established farming communities has created community schisms. Although the immigrants speak the same language they have not been readily accepted as peers by the indigenous population, because of their different standards of living. Similar problems have arisen in northeastern Ohio, in connection with immigration of people of foreign birth. The foreign-born immigrants not only had standards of living and customs different from those of the natives, but they spoke a different language and, unlike their Protestant neighbors, belonged to the Roman Catholic church. In many such communities there has been little social intercourse between the native and foreign groups, except that their children attend the same schools. It is unlikely that these children will maintain the barriers between the groups set up by their parents. The number of foreign born in northeastern Ohio has been declining since 1920. In time they will be assimilated into the communities in which they live.

The above examples illustrate some of the ways in which population movements tend to create obstacles to a satisfactory, well-integrated rural community life. They serve to illustrate some of the reasons for the comparative disorganization of many rural communities in recent years. Foreign immigration is now practically shut off by law. If the bars to foreign immigration are kept up it is likely that most of the immigration onto Ohio farms will come from the agricultural South. These people are more easily assimilated than foreign-born immigrants because they differ from the natives less than the foreign-born group.

THE "BACK-TO-THE-LAND" MIGRATION

The largest rural population increases from migration of city workers back to farms and rural villages have apparently occurred in rural areas adjacent to cities. These migrants who have moved into rural areas since losing their jobs in urban industry are largely between the ages of 25 and 35 years (1933). Another source of rural population increase is probably more important in most counties in the State; that is, the increase in the number of young men and women between 20 and 29 years of age due to the stoppage of migration to the city. With no emigration the number of persons between these ages living on farms will have, by 1935, increased by more than 40 per cent over the 1930 population. This will happen because of the heavy migration of past years which has reduced the number in this age group on farms to a very low level. Most of these young people have reached adulthood since 1929. They have been unable to go into non-agricultural occupations because of the industrial depression. There are more of them on farms than are needed to operate the farms of the State. They are at the age at which most people marry and choose a vocation. What are they to do? This is a problem facing most rural communities today. If the level of employment in non-agricultural industry does not rise considerably within a short time, many more of them will become farmers than have at any time since 1920. Our studies indicate that a boy who establishes himself as a farmer is much more likely to make it his permanent occupation than a boy who starts out in a non-farm occupation. In the light of these things it seems probable that the Census of 1940 will show a greater proportion of young farmers than that of 1930. If industry revives and furnishes employment for rural youth within the next few years, it is altogether likely that those who will leave our farms will be the younger men and women, the adolescents of today, who are just reaching the age at which they must choose a vocation. Those persons who moved to farms from cities and many of those who have reached maturity during these depression years will in all likelihood remain in the country, because many of them will have reached the age where industry no longer wants them, if it continues its past policy of hiring only young persons.

From the standpoint of present urban economy it is fortunate that many of the unemployed could return to farms. The "breadlines" in our cities since 1929 would have been longer and the burden of caring for the unemployed a great deal heavier had not some returned. The farm community has taken care of its own members during these years and, in addition, has given a living to several thousand of our cities' unemployed. There is little unemployment in agriculture. The means of production are for the most part in the hands of the workers, who keep on working during good times and bad, dividing the

returns of their labor among them. Their scale of living is lower in lean years, but all can work. Contrast this with the industrial setup where most of the workers are hired men and the factories are owned and controlled by others who discharge the workers and let them shift for themselves when profits disappear.

Two things have made possible this shifting of people from agriculture to industry and back to agriculture again. The usual persistent migration from farms is a result of a birth rate that produces an excess of population for the rural districts; the reverse movement during depression is possible because of the nature of the agricultural enterprise and the fact that it produces food and shelter. Farming is a family enterprise and the farm family cares for its members; profits are a secondary consideration even though they are just as desirable to the farmer as to the factory owner. Because of this characteristic of the farming industry there is a serious question whether further reduction in the proportion of our population living on farms would be a wise national policy if industry is allowed to continue as in the past with its periodic booms and depressions due to lack of coordination. The smaller the proportion of the people on farms, the larger will be the number without access to the means of securing food and shelter when industrial employment lags as it has during the years since 1929.

From the point-of-view of the farm population the return to the farm of people who can no longer find work in other industry is an added burden—one which is gladly assumed because most of those who return are sons and daughters, but nevertheless a responsibility which is thrust upon farm people by an industrial regime which has not learned how to regulate its activity so as to avoid periods of unemployment. This service of feeding and clothing part of the unemployed of urban industry during times of economic stress is a contribution of agriculture and farm people to the State and National welfare which is often overlooked.

SOME FUTURE PROBLEMS

Ohio has become an urban state. More than two-thirds of its population was living in cities in 1930. The annual number of children born in the urban population is too small to replace the present generation. Without immigration, either from the rural districts or from abroad, the urban population will decline. Urban standards of life have spread into rural sections, and in many counties the rural population too is scarcely bearing enough children to replace itself. The counties whose populations are producing the most children are those with a large proportion of their population living on farms and those in which most of the present generation of parents were reared on farms. Although the populations of these rural counties are producing from 20 to 46 per cent more children than are needed to maintain their numbers, the proportion of the total population of Ohio in these counties is small. Their surplus of births is not enough to make up for the urban deficit. At the 1930 rate of child-bearing, the total population of Ohio will eventually decline; the birth rate for 1933 will be 15 to 20 per cent lower than in 1930. Ohio must depend on immigration for permanent population growth. With present Federal restrictions on foreign immigration in force, the only source of immigrants consists of the other states of the United States.

In the light of the above facts it seems likely that the migration from farms to cities will be resumed as soon as urban employment increases. With no migration, the number of young people 15-34 years of age in the urban population will probably be smaller in 1940 than in 1930; under the same conditions the number in the rural population will increase about 19 per cent.

Resumption of rural-urban migration, unavoidable if our cities are to continue to grow, will again bring to the fore the rural-urban inequalities mentioned earlier. State and national planning must proceed with these things in mind if there is to be social justice. Economic planning must consider not only the production of things but also of people. Population policy will depend upon whether an increasing, a declining, or a stationary population is desired. The present trend toward increasing urbanization will result in a stationary or declining population in the United States within the lifetime of many now living. If this trend continues, the only way in which our national population can grow will be through foreign immigration. Is this desirable or should our economic system be so planned as to produce our own population?

So far as Ohio is concerned the highest rates of population growth are in counties where a great deal of the land is classed as submarginal for agricultural purposes. Is this land truly submarginal for social purposes? This question of whether land is submarginal involves the matter of standard of living. Land that is submarginal for people with one type of standard is above the margin for others. Land utilization plans must consider population production, as well as crop production.

If our rural population, with its higher rate of reproduction, is to have economic equality with our urban population (which is not reproducing itself), some changes must be made in our traditional laws and forms of government. The contributions of people, wealth, and schooling that the rural population has been making to the State need to be recognized and the burden on rural and urban wealth equalized. Permanent cessation of rural-urban migration would result in decadent cities and force the larger rural population that would result into a more self-sufficient economy.

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APPENDIX I.—Rural Population, by Counties, 1850 to 1930

County	Rural population (in thousands)								
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Adams	18.9	20.3	20.8	24.0	26.1	26.3	24.8	22.4	20.4
Allen	12.1	19.2	19.1	19.9	20.1	24.0	23.5	23.7	24.1
Ashland	23.8	23.0	19.3	20.9	18.6	17.1	16.2	15.4	15.7
Ashtabula	28.8	31.8	32.5	32.7	29.9	31.3	33.0	31.0	31.6
Athens	18.2	21.4	23.8	25.3	28.0	30.2	33.7	34.4	28.7
Auglaize	11.3	17.2	20.0	22.6	21.5	21.9	20.1	18.5	17.2
Belmont	34.6	36.4	35.7	37.8	38.0	35.5	46.6	54.6	53.5
Brown	27.3	30.0	30.8	32.9	29.9	28.2	24.8	22.6	20.1
Butler	27.6	28.6	25.8	25.9	23.3	23.7	21.8	23.7	29.3
Carroll	17.7	15.7	14.5	16.4	17.6	16.8	15.8	15.9	16.1
Champaign	19.8	19.3	19.9	21.5	20.5	19.8	18.6	17.5	16.4
Clark	17.1	18.3	19.4	21.2	20.4	20.7	19.5	19.9	22.2
Clermont	30.5	33.0	34.3	36.7	33.6	31.6	29.6	28.3	29.8
Clinton	18.8	21.5	21.9	22.1	21.1	20.6	19.2	18.0	16.2
Columbiana	33.6	32.8	34.6	33.1	31.2	32.3	29.8	28.3	36.0
Coshocton	25.7	25.0	23.6	23.6	23.0	22.9	20.5	18.8	18.1
Crawford	18.2	23.9	19.0	18.3	16.7	16.8	14.9	13.9	13.2
Cuyahoga	31.1	34.6	35.2	36.8	46.1	33.6	37.8	39.3	35.6
Darke	20.3	26.0	32.3	40.5	43.0	35.7	35.1	34.3	29.7
Defiance	7.0	11.9	12.9	16.6	18.1	16.3	17.2	15.6	13.9
Delaware	21.8	20.0	19.6	20.5	19.0	18.5	18.1	17.2	17.3
Erie	13.5	16.1	15.2	16.8	17.0	18.0	18.3	16.9	17.5
Fairfield	26.8	26.2	26.4	27.5	26.3	25.3	26.1	25.8	25.3
Fayette	12.7	15.9	17.2	16.6	16.6	16.0	14.5	13.6	12.3
Franklin	25.0	31.8	31.7	35.2	35.9	38.9	40.1	46.9	50.8
Fulton	7.8	14.0	17.8	21.1	22.0	22.8	21.3	20.4	20.6
Gallia	17.1	22.0	21.8	23.7	22.5	22.5	20.1	17.2	16.0
Geauga	17.8	15.8	14.2	14.3	13.5	14.7	14.7	15.0	15.4
Greene	18.9	21.5	21.6	24.3	22.5	22.9	21.0	22.1	22.8
Guernsey	30.4	24.5	23.8	24.3	24.2	26.1	28.2	29.5	22.7
Hamilton	41.4	55.4	44.2	58.3	77.7	59.7	53.4	44.5	59.2
Hancock	16.8	22.9	20.5	22.8	22.9	23.0	21.5	19.7	18.9
Hardin	8.3	13.6	16.1	23.1	24.3	21.8	23.2	21.5	20.6
Harrison	20.2	19.1	18.7	20.5	20.8	20.5	19.1	19.6	16.2
Henry	3.4	8.9	14.0	17.6	22.4	23.6	21.1	19.2	18.0
Highland	25.8	27.8	26.3	27.1	25.4	22.5	20.2	18.9	17.5
Hocking	14.1	17.1	17.9	18.4	19.6	20.9	18.8	17.8	14.3
Holmes	20.5	20.6	18.2	20.8	21.1	19.5	17.9	17.0	16.7
Huron	26.2	26.8	24.0	25.9	22.7	22.4	20.1	17.6	17.8
Jackson	12.7	17.9	21.8	20.7	19.7	21.5	18.4	14.8	13.8
Jefferson	23.0	19.9	21.1	20.9	23.5	23.5	34.7	39.8	40.8
Knox	25.2	23.5	21.4	22.2	21.6	21.1	21.1	20.3	19.9
Lake	14.7	12.9	12.2	12.5	13.4	16.7	17.4	14.5	21.5
Lawrence	15.2	19.5	25.7	30.2	28.7	27.6	26.3	25.5	27.9
Licking	35.1	32.3	29.1	30.9	29.0	28.9	30.2	29.7	29.4

APPENDIX I.—Rural Population, by Counties, 1850 to 1930—Continued

County	Rural population (in thousands)								
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Logan.....	19.2	18.4	19.8	22.3	23.2	23.8	21.8	20.8	19.4
Lorain.....	26.1	29.7	24.4	27.5	25.4	26.0	28.0	28.6	31.9
Lucas.....	8.6	12.0	15.1	17.4	20.9	21.7	24.2	29.4	52.4
Madison.....	10.0	13.0	15.6	15.7	15.6	17.1	16.4	15.6	16.1
Mahoning.....	20.9	23.1	22.9	27.5	22.8	25.2	28.7	33.3	33.8
Marion.....	12.6	13.7	13.7	16.7	16.4	16.8	15.7	14.1	14.3
Medina.....	24.4	22.5	20.1	21.5	21.7	22.0	17.8	17.9	19.7
Meigs.....	18.0	20.0	25.7	23.7	21.9	21.2	18.4	18.1	16.9
Mercer.....	7.7	14.1	17.3	21.8	24.5	25.2	24.0	22.6	20.4
Miami.....	21.7	22.7	23.7	26.4	26.2	25.0	25.5	26.1	24.1
Monroe.....	28.4	25.7	25.8	26.5	25.2	27.0	24.2	20.7	18.4
Montgomery.....	27.2	32.1	33.5	39.9	36.7	40.8	42.9	52.6	60.5
Morgan.....	28.6	22.1	20.4	20.0	19.1	17.9	16.1	14.6	13.6
Morrow.....	20.3	20.4	18.6	19.1	18.1	17.9	16.8	15.6	14.5
Muskingum.....	37.1	35.2	34.9	31.9	30.2	29.7	29.5	28.4	31.0
Noble.....	.....	20.8	19.9	21.1	20.8	19.5	18.6	17.8	15.0
Ottawa.....	3.3	7.0	13.4	19.8	22.0	22.2	19.4	18.3	19.7
Paulding.....	1.8	4.9	8.5	13.5	25.9	27.5	22.7	18.7	15.3
Perry.....	20.8	19.7	18.5	25.4	28.4	28.8	29.8	29.6	24.3
Pickaway.....	17.6	19.1	19.5	21.4	20.4	20.0	19.4	18.7	19.9
Pike.....	11.0	13.6	15.4	17.9	17.5	18.2	15.7	14.1	13.9
Portage.....	24.4	24.2	24.6	20.9	21.0	20.7	20.5	22.0	26.3
Preble.....	21.7	21.8	21.8	24.5	20.5	20.6	20.6	20.0	19.1
Putnam.....	7.2	12.8	17.1	23.7	30.2	32.5	30.0	27.8	25.1
Richland.....	27.3	26.6	24.5	26.4	24.6	22.0	22.0	21.8	26.2
Ross.....	24.9	27.5	28.2	29.4	28.2	27.9	25.6	25.7	26.9
Sandusky.....	14.3	17.9	20.0	23.7	22.4	22.1	20.5	19.3	20.5
Scioto.....	14.4	18.0	18.7	22.2	23.0	23.1	25.0	25.0	32.7
Seneca.....	24.4	26.9	25.2	25.8	24.2	23.8	22.5	20.5	20.9
Shelby.....	14.0	17.5	20.7	20.3	20.8	18.9	18.1	17.3	15.6
Stark.....	37.4	35.1	34.6	40.3	40.3	43.1	43.8	51.1	60.3
Summit.....	24.2	23.8	24.7	25.0	23.9	21.4	25.8	35.9	45.4
Trumbull.....	30.5	30.7	35.2	36.6	32.1	28.0	29.6	33.9	48.2
Tuscarawas.....	31.8	32.5	30.7	24.3	31.9	31.1	30.1	29.4	30.9
Union.....	12.2	16.5	18.7	22.4	20.1	19.3	18.3	17.3	15.6
Van Wert.....	4.8	10.2	13.2	17.1	22.0	21.7	19.5	17.5	15.2
Vinton.....	9.4	13.6	15.0	17.2	16.0	15.3	13.1	12.1	10.3
Warren.....	25.6	24.4	24.0	25.7	19.7	20.0	19.1	19.2	19.6
Washington.....	26.4	32.0	35.4	37.8	34.1	34.9	32.5	27.9	28.1
Wayne.....	30.2	29.1	29.7	34.3	33.1	31.8	28.8	29.0	29.0
Williams.....	8.0	16.6	21.0	20.8	21.8	21.9	18.8	17.3	15.9
Wood.....	9.2	17.9	24.6	34.0	40.9	42.9	38.6	39.1	40.4
Wyandot.....	11.2	15.6	16.0	18.9	18.1	17.7	17.0	15.8	12.4

APPENDIX II.—Urban Population, by Counties, 1880 to 1930

County	Urban population (in thousands)								
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Adams									
Allen		0.0	4.5	11.4	20.5	24.0	33.1	44.5	45.3
Ashland		0.0	2.6	3.0	3.6	4.1	6.8	9.2	11.2
Ashtabula			0.0	4.4	13.8	20.1	26.6	34.5	36.8
Athens			0.0	3.1	7.2	8.5	14.1	16.0	15.5
Auglaize			0.0	2.8	6.6	9.3	11.1	11.0	10.8
Belmont		0.0	4.0	11.8	19.4	25.4	30.3	38.6	41.2
Brown									
Butler	3.2	7.2	14.1	16.7	25.3	33.1	48.4	63.3	84.8
Carroll									
Champaign	0.0	3.4	4.3	6.3	6.5	6.8	7.7	7.6	7.7
Clark	5.1	7.0	12.7	20.7	31.9	38.2	46.9	60.8	68.7
Clermont			0.0	2.7	3.1	3.6	4.5	5.0	5.3
Clinton		0.0	3.7	15.5	27.8	36.2	46.4	54.8	50.5
Columbiana		0.0							
Coshocton			0.0	3.0	3.7	6.5	9.6	10.8	10.9
Crawford		0.0	6.6	12.3	15.2	17.1	19.1	22.1	22.1
Cuyahoga	17.0	43.4	92.8	160.1	263.9	405.5	599.6	904.2	1165.9
Darke					0.0	6.8	7.8	8.6	8.3
Defiance		0.0	2.8	5.9	7.7	10.1	7.3	8.9	8.8
Delaware	0.0	3.9	5.6	6.9	8.2	7.9	9.1	8.8	8.7
Erie	5.1	8.4	13.0	15.8	18.5	19.7	20.0	22.9	24.6
Fairfield	3.5	4.3	4.7	6.8	7.6	9.0	13.0	14.7	18.7
Fayette			0.0	3.8	5.7	5.8	7.3	8.0	8.4
Franklin	17.9	18.6	31.3	51.6	88.2	125.6	181.5	237.0	310.2
Fulton						0.0	2.7	3.0	2.9
Gallia		0.0	3.7	4.4	4.5	5.4	5.6	6.1	7.1
Geauga									
Greene	3.0	4.7	6.4	7.0	7.3	8.7	8.7	9.1	10.5
Guernsey			0.0	2.9	4.4	8.2	14.4	15.9	18.8
Hamilton	115.4	161.0	216.2	255.1	296.9	349.8	407.3	449.2	530.2
Hancock		0.0	3.3	5.0	19.7	19.0	16.4	18.7	21.5
Hardin		0.0	2.6	3.9	5.6	9.4	7.2	7.7	7.1
Harrison						0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6
Henry			0.0	3.0	2.7	3.6	4.0	4.1	4.5
Highland		0.0	2.8	3.2	3.6	8.5	8.5	8.7	7.9
Hocking			0.0	2.7	3.1	3.5	4.9	5.5	6.1
Holmes									
Huron	0.0	2.8	4.5	5.7	9.2	9.9	14.1	14.8	15.9
Jackson			0.0	3.0	8.7	12.7	12.3	12.5	11.2
Jefferson	6.1	6.2	8.1	12.1	15.9	20.8	30.7	37.8	47.5
Knox	3.7	4.2	4.9	5.2	6.0	6.6	9.1	9.2	9.4
Lake	0.0	2.7	3.7	3.8	4.8	5.0	5.5	14.1	20.2
Lawrence	0.0	3.7	5.7	8.9	10.9	11.9	13.2	14.0	16.6
Licking	3.7	4.7	6.7	9.6	14.3	18.2	25.4	26.7	30.6

APPENDIX II.—Urban Population, by Counties, 1880 to 1930—Continued

County	Urban population (in thousands)								
	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Logan.....	0.0	2.6	3.2	4.0	4.2	6.6	8.2	9.3	9.5
Lorain.....		0.0	5.9	8.0	14.9	28.9	48.0	62.0	77.3
Lucas.....	3.8	13.8	31.6	50.1	81.4	131.8	168.5	246.4	295.3
Madison.....			0.0	4.4	4.5	3.5	3.5	4.1	4.1
Mahoning.....	2.8	2.8	8.1	15.4	33.2	44.9	87.4	153.0	202.8
Marion.....	0.0	1.8	2.5	3.9	8.3	11.9	18.3	27.9	31.1
Medina.....					0.0	0.0	5.8	8.2	10.0
Meigs.....	0.0	6.5	5.8	8.6	7.9	7.4	7.2	8.1	7.1
Mercer.....					0.0	2.7	2.8	3.5	4.2
Miami.....	3.3	7.3	9.0	9.8	13.6	18.1	19.5	22.3	27.2
Monroe.....									
Montgomery.....	11.0	20.1	30.5	38.7	64.2	89.3	120.8	156.9	213.0
Morgan.....									
Morrow.....									
Muskingum.....	7.9	9.2	10.0	18.1	21.0	23.5	28.0	29.6	36.4
Noble.....									
Ottawa.....					0.0	0.0	3.0	3.9	4.4
Paulding.....									
Perry.....			0.0	2.8	2.8	3.0	5.6	6.5	7.1
Pickaway.....	3.4	4.4	5.4	6.0	6.6	7.0	6.7	7.1	7.3
Pike.....									
Portage.....			0.0	6.6	6.9	8.5	9.8	14.3	16.4
Preble.....				0.0	2.9	3.1	3.2	3.2	3.3
Putnam.....									
Richland.....	3.6	4.6	8.0	9.9	13.5	22.3	25.7	33.4	39.7
Ross.....	7.1	7.6	8.9	10.9	11.3	13.0	14.5	15.8	18.3
Sandusky.....	0.0	3.5	5.5	8.4	8.2	12.2	14.7	17.8	19.2
Scioto.....	4.0	6.3	10.6	11.3	12.4	17.9	23.5	37.8	48.5
Seneca.....	2.7	4.0	5.6	11.1	16.7	17.4	19.9	22.7	27.1
Shelby.....		0.0	2.8	3.8	4.9	5.7	6.6	8.6	9.3
Stark.....	2.6	7.9	17.9	23.7	43.9	51.6	79.2	126.1	161.5
Summit.....	3.3	3.5	10.0	18.8	30.2	50.3	82.5	250.1	298.8
Trumbull.....		0.0	3.5	8.3	10.3	18.6	23.2	50.0	74.9
Tuscarawas.....		0.0	3.1	5.9	14.7	22.6	26.9	34.2	37.3
Union.....				0.0	2.8	3.0	3.6	3.6	3.6
Van Wert.....		0.0	2.6	5.9	7.7	8.7	9.6	10.7	11.1
Vinton.....									
Warren.....	0.0	2.5	2.7	2.7	5.8	5.6	5.4	6.5	7.7
Washington.....	3.1	4.3	5.2	5.4	8.3	13.3	12.9	15.1	14.3
Wayne.....	2.8	3.4	5.4	5.8	5.9	6.1	9.2	12.3	18.0
Williams.....			0.0	3.0	3.1	3.1	6.4	7.3	8.4
Wood.....				0.0	3.5	8.6	7.7	5.8	9.9
Wyandot.....		0.0	2.6	3.5	3.6	3.4	3.8	3.7	6.6

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