

REPORT OF AN ENC Α ORGANISED BY VISCOUNT AS. AND MR. B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE

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THIS book is as near as is possible to an authoritative pronouncement on one of the major questions of political discussion at the present time. It is the result of an impartial enquiry organised by Lord Astor and Mr. Seebohm Rowntree into the possibilities of increasing the agricultural population of Great Britain.

The problem is discussed from a wide perspective against the background of world agricultural conditions on the one hand and of the industrial difficulties of Great Britain on the other. The book will be indispensable to political candidates, speakers and students of affairs.

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THE AGRICULTURAL DILEMMA

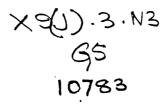
# THE AGRICULTURAL DILEMMA

A REPORT OF AN ENQUIRY ORGANISED BY VISCOUNT ASTOR AND MR. B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE

LONDON P. S. KING & SON LTD. ORCHARD HOUSE, WESTMINSTER, S.W.I

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1935



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### PREFACE

### By VISCOUNT ASTOR

IN 1930 the Labour Government introduced the Land Utilisation Bill, a measure intended, among other things, to stimulate land settlement. Public and political opinion were acutely divided as to the actual value of smallholdings and the possibility of expanding them. So I determined to try to arrive at the facts for myself. I visited smallholders, met members of the appropriate County Council Committees and County Land Agents in the Eastern Counties, in Hertfordshire and Lincolnshire, and also in Cornwall. I purposely inspected statutory holdings in different parts of the country, where soil, climate, markets, and the produce grown varied.

On some of the holdings I met tenants who had been born and bred on the land—on others the tenants had previously been townsmen with no experience of farming. I also took every opportunity of discussing the subject with men of varied agricultural experience and outlook. My conclusions were decidedly favourable to the policy of smallholdings and were subsequently set out as follows in a book on agricultural policy called "Land and Life."

"The frequent allegations that our smallholdings schemes have been unsound, that the men have failed, have thrown in their hands, or, if still on the land, are bankrupt, discontented, and over-worked; that the schemes are neces-

v

sarily extravagant; and that there is no demand or desire to go back to the land, do not stand critical examination.

"Under the 1919 Act, out of 22,000 men provided with holdings, less than 12 per cent. failed. This is an amazingly small proportion considering the speed with which the settlement of ex-Service men was undertaken after the war and the rapid fall of prices in the ensuing years.

"Statistics, however, can never give a complete account of the position of the smallholders. Conversations with those people who have been five, ten, or fifteen years on the land are required to fill in the skeleton outline afforded by the figures. On many of the County Council estates (including the Eastern counties) the men are holding their own even in these hard times and, in some cases, in spite of having no previous land experience. It is true that long hours are necessary, and that the life is often a hard one, but that is accepted in return for the independence and the ' home ' that is gained.

"The character of the smallholder is one of the most important factors in deciding the success of any holding, and success depends to an equal extent on the womenfolk. Smallholdings develop fine qualities in women as in men.

"Other factors affecting their success or failure are the suitability of market, the attitude of the County Councils, the placing and grouping of settlements, and the rate at which they are established."

I felt that success had been largely proved and that one should back the policy energetically. In fact, it seemed to me that the Labour Government were not adequately convinced of the value of their own proposals and that they were too conservative as to the possible rate at which a new population of smallholders could be established.

Dr. Keith Murray, of the Oxford Institute of Agricultural Economics, who collaborated with me, was more cautious and doubtful about the number of new men and the rate at which they could be placed on the land. He feared that the big-scale rapid settlement, which had been mentioned in certain speeches and policies, would lower the standard of living of existing farmers and farmlabourers, would glut the market and lead to disappointment and reaction. So we added a note of caution. By the time our book was published the 1931 election had taken place; the Land Utilisation Act was held up. So we wrote that :---

"It is to the national interests that the smallholdings sections [of the Act] should be considered as being temporarily postponed, not abandoned. The delay may be helpful to the future success of the movement if it is utilised in making a careful survey of the country and a further study of the problem to see where groups of colonists should be planted, what the size and nature of each colony should be, and where they might be linked up with suitable market facilities, canning or bacon factories, egg-packing stations, and the like.

" There is still an unsatisfied demand for smallholdings.

"The encouragement of smallholdings should play an important part in a national policy."

That was early in 1932.

Soon afterwards Mr. Seebohm Rowntree came to consult me about the whole question of the part which the establishment of smallholdings could play in the solution of the problem of unemployment. He realised the magnitude of the difficulties to be overcome before industry could re-absorb the men who had lost their jobs, and believed that land settlement on a large scale might do a great deal towards providing them with remunerative work. Subsequently he sent an investigator to visit smallholders, who found, as I had done, that while many were doing little more than making both ends meet, others were doing better. He concluded, as I had found, that though a smallholder's life was a hard one, given the right man with the right wife, many were succeeding.

Mr. Rowntree and I consulted diverse people. Some were optimistic. They were convinced, especially in view of our immense food imports, that what was being done successfully by a few hundred smallholders could be done, with equal success, by several hundred thousand.

Others were pessimistic and prophesied great disappointment, as well as serious economic, political, and international repercussions should a rapid largescale policy of land settlement and increased home food production be embarked upon by any Government. As these critics included agricultural economists of standing, we could not ignore their opinions. In view of the great divergence of opinion upon a question the right solution of which is of profound national importance, we decided to arrange for a much more thorough investigation than either of us had yet undertaken. Clearly if this was to be of value, it must be undertaken in a spirit of pure research. We agreed to search for the truth and nothing but the truth even if when discovered it caused us to modify our existing opinions.

Mr. Rowntree and I accordingly invited the following to join us in making the investigation :--

Sir Robert Greig, formerly Permanent Secretary of the Scottish Department of Agriculture, who had had a wide experience of farming in the United Kingdom, in the British Empire, and on the Continent,

Mr. H. D. Henderson, member of the Economic Advisory Council and Fellow of All Souls, to whom we are indebted for drafting the present report,

Sir Frederick Keeble, F.R.S., formerly Professor of Botany at Oxford, Agricultural Adviser to Imperial Chemical Industries,

viii

Mr. William Wallace, an economist who had collaborated with Mr. Rowntree in various social investigations,

Miss Doreen Warriner, University College, London, who co-operated in the Survey of World Agriculture produced by the Institute of International Affairs,

Mr. P. Lamartine Yates, who acted as Secretary. I acted as Chairman of this informal group.

After numerous exploratory discussions, we divided our enquiry under the following headings :---

- (1) The general economic background of the trade position of this country in relation to its food supply.
- (2) The consumption of agricultural produce; the extent to which the potential market for agricultural produce is likely to be affected by changes in real wage rates in industry generally, and by a reduction in the number of unemployed to normal figures; and the possibility of increasing the demand for the type of food which can be grown economically in Great Britain.
- (3) The changing structure of British agriculture.
- (4) The experience of existing smallholding schemes and the measure of success achieved by family farmers and smallholders under different conditions.
- (5) The part played by marketing organisation.

As a first step in our investigation we submitted a questionnaire to the Departments of Agricultural Economics at the Agricultural Advisory Centres, asking them to give us access to the results of their research work and to suggest lines of investigation which might be followed. We had the great advantage of obtaining in person the views of :—

Mr. C. S. Orwin and Dr. K. A. H. Murray (Institute of Agricultural Economics, Oxford).

Prof. A. W. Ashby (Dept. of Agricultural Economics, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth).

Dr. R. McG. Carslaw (School of Agriculture, Cambridge).

Dr. A. G. Ruston (Dept. of Agriculture, Leeds University).

Mr. Edgar Thomas (Dept. of Agricultural Economics, University of Reading).

Further, we received valuable written replies from Mr. M. A. Knox (Loughborough), Mr. C. V. Dawe (Bristol), Professor J. H. Hanley (Armstrong College), Mr. D. H. Dinsdale (Armstrong College), Mr. John Orr (Manchester), and Mr. W. H. Long (Seale-Hayne Agricultural College).

The Minister of Agriculture and the Secretary of State for Scotland permitted us to have access to the statistical information existing in their departments, and we feel greatly indebted for the invaluable assistance we have obtained from Mr. R. R. Enfield. Mr. E. L. Mitchell and Mr. W. H. Senior of these departments. We also had access to the result of a preliminary enquiry into variations in food consumption at different income levels carried out by the staffs of the Rowett Institute and the Market Supply Committee under the direction of Sir John Orr and Mr. E. M. H. Lloyd. We met representatives of the Carnegie Trust, who are conducting an experiment by placing a certain number of Durham ex-miners on to the land in Bedfordshire. The Trustees also allowed us to see a report prepared for them by Mr. A. W. Menzies Kitchin, of the Cambridge School of Agriculture. Lastly, we met informally many individuals who were interested in the problem of increasing the number of producers of food. No one but ourselves, of course, is responsible for the views expressed in this book.

As we examined the problem, we were reluctantly but relentlessly driven to the conclusion that the

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possibilities of large-scale land settlement were far smaller than some of us had believed. During the past two years I have been Chairman of another group (associated with the Institute of International Affairs) which has been making a survey of World Unemployment. At an early stage, its members had to ask themselves such questions as the following: In attempting to solve unemployment, how far must one take into consideration the maintenance of existing standards of living? What must happen before one can say that there is no longer an unemployment problem? If, for instance, the available work in Britain were divided among all the workers there would be no unemployed, but if at the same time and as a result the incomes of those now in work had to be reduced considerably, would the country accept this as a satisfactory solution of the unemployment problem? If one were prepared to reduce the standard of living of the population as a whole, or even of many men now in work, it would be by no means impossible to reduce temporarily to vanishing point, the numbers now on the register of the unemployed. But would we accept this as a statesmanlike solution of the unemployment problem ?

Our present group has found itself faced with similar difficulties. As we examined the probable results of settling large numbers of workers on the land, of producing food by methods which provide little opportunity for labour-saving devices, of very substantially increasing the volume of home-grown food, we were faced with probable repercussions likely to prejudice our whole national economy, our relations with the Dominions, and our international relations in Europe. For instance, we could conceivably produce in Britain most of

### PREFACE

the food imported from Denmark and the Baltic States, but if we drove those countries into the arms of Germany, should we have acted in a statesmanlike manner? We could grow in these islands much of the food now imported from our Dominions, but if as a result we seriously injured their agriculture and thereby prevented them buying our manufactured goods, should we be better off? We should certainly not have solved, we should merely have changed the nature of our national anxieties.

This present book represents an attempt to survey objectively and thoroughly the possibilities of increasing the agricultural population in this country. Our conclusions will undoubtedly appear disappointing to many who have placed high hopes in land settlement. We would ask them to believe that we share that disappointment. We entered this enquiry, as I have endeavoured to show, with open minds, with a willingness to consider new and unorthodox ideas and methods on their merits, and most of us with a bias, if anything, in the direction of large-scale land-settlement schemes. We trust that our conclusions may be considered not only on their merits but in the light of these facts.

We hope to publish subsequently another volume, dealing with other aspects of the agricultural problem, in which we shall embody the results of several enquiries which are at present being conducted on our behalf.

xii

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CRAPTER I.	THE WORLD AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK	page I
II.	THE POSSIBILITIES OF DISPLACING IMPORTS	
		17
III.	Security in War	34
IV.	THE POSSIBILITIES OF INCREASED	)
	Consumption	42
v.	Changes in British Farming .	61
VI.	Smallholdings	69
VII.	UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE LAND .	76
VIII.	Conclusion	86
	Summary	92
	Appendices	96

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### APPENDIX I

### IMPORT BALANCES OF WHEAT AND WHEAT-FLOUR (Thousands of quintals)

	1909-10 to 1913-14 average 4	1925-26	x926-27	192728	'1928 <b>-29</b>	1919-30	1930–31	1931-32	1932-33	<b>1933-34</b>	
Germany . France . Italy . Sweden . Netherlands . Switzerland c . Belgium . Austria . Czechoslovakia All European im-	18,599 11,877 14,483 1,917 5,980 4,606 13,732 2,871	15,506 7,485 18,507 1,662 7,292 4,251 10,681 3,898 5,623	24,931 16,946 23,578 1,632 7,582 4,441 10,763 4,463 5,322	24,099 12,819 23,895 2,280 8,261 5,010 11,398 4,331 5,646	21,166 14,506 23,917 2,177 8,018 4,522 11,430 3,845 4,572	13,039 2,982 11,524 1,979 8,210 4,349 11,522 5,171 3,594	8,475 16,553 22,136 1,322 9,461 5,032 13,212 4,238 4,673	6,311 20,977 9,052 1,858 8,453 5.745 12,670 3,670 6,694	1,366 8,667 3,019 879 7,402 5,197 10,686 3,605 3,250	b 4,674 2,356 327 6,128 4,786 11,382 2,807 47	APPENDICES
porting countries (excluding U.K.) United Kingdom Total European importing coun-	58,800	90,390 51,799	117,867 58,793	117,979 57,870	120,150 54,480	82,499 55,753	104,879 61,147	99,448 65,280	57,581 5 <sup>8</sup> ,575	55,982 59,216	
tries World total	138,396 d 161,803 d		176,465 207,680 e	175,849 223,192 4	174,630 209,508	138,252 156,332	166,026 184,961	164,728 182,260	116,156 139,398	107,033 115,587	

# Pre-war frontiers. b Export balance. # Wheat only. # Average of calendar years 1909 to 1913. # Average of totals of two calendar years. (From Publications of the International Institute of Agriculture.)

### APPENDIX II IMPORT BALANCES OF BEEF AND VEAL (Thousands of tons)

:	1909–1913 (average)	¥925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932 .	1933	
Germany	23.6	160.3	146-3	150.9	104-3	81.5	49.3	2.6	2.5	0.6	
Italy (includes other meats)	2.4	101-8	51.7	50.6	51.3	60.7	55.1	43.8	40.3	38.3	. 1
	(Export)	97.9	70.1	52.9	8.0	11.8	37.8	64·1	30.7	23.0	
Belgium	7.9	61.1	28.5	41.2	21.5	22.5	32.8	38.0	24.1	2Ğ.7	
Austria (includes other meats)	a	33-4	39.0	34.7	37.4	30.7	30.4	25·I	9.3	6.9	i
Netherlands	(Export)	10-0	7.3	547	(Export)	5-1	14.4	13.2	6.7	6.7	
Switzerland (includes other	(Dupor of		13	· ·	(			-5-		-1	
meats, excluding pork) .	7.4	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.1.2	0.8	
Czechoslovakia (includes other	7:4	• •						- / -			
	a	<b>9.</b> I	6.4	1.6	· 0·1	0.0	2.5	Q.2	(Export)	0-1	
meats, excluding pork)	4	9.1	0.4	1.0	0.1	0.9	2.2	0.7	(Export)	Q-1	. (
Principal European import-					1						
ing countries, other than				· · · · · · · · ·				- 0			
United Kingdom	a	475.2	351.0	333.7	224.5	210.5	224.2	189.5	114.9	103.1	
United Kingdom	407·8 b	695.7	726.9	722.3	665.7	634.6	640.9	661·1	613.0	607.7	
Principal European import-							1				
ing countries, including					1				1 1		
United Kingdom	a	1,170.9	1,077.9	1,056.0	890.2	845·I	865.1	850.6	727.9	710.8	
All principal importing coun-							1 -	1			
tries c	a	1,191.7	1,117.2	1,122.4	974.2	936.3	915.4	883.1	751.4	742.6	
				· ·	· · · ·	••••	1		1		

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("Cattle and Beef Survey," Imperial Economic Committee, p. 337.)

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## APPENDIX III

### IMPORT BALANCES OF BUTTER (Thousands of quintals)

	1925	1926	1927	1928	- 1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	717
Germany	. 965	977	1,082	1,264	1,354	1,329	1,001	693	591	FE
Belgium	. 38	14	a	a	30	91	176	205	121	1
France	. a	a .	.a	a	a	4	135	83	61	<
Switzerland	. 86	80	84	81	75	85	106	37	5	6
Italy	. a	a	a	9	Î Î	ί <u>δ</u> .	22	14	7	
Czechoslovakia .	. 4	4	6	a	l I	Ь	16	12	6	<u> </u>
Europe, excl. U.K.	1,127	1,128	1,219	1,380	1,478	I,538	1,476	1,057	C	Ū.
United Kingdom .	2,789	2,833	2,828	3,016	3,183	3,372	3,912	4,131	4,440	U
Europe, incl. U.K.	3,916	3,961	4,047	4,396	4,661	4,910	5,388	5,188	C	
World	4,139	4,219	4,374	4,749	5,087	5.353	5,654	5,445	C	

a Export balance. b Negligible. c Not available.

(From publications of the International Institute of Agriculture.)

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### APPENDIX IV

# Number of Agricultural Holdings in each of the Undermentioned Classes Returned in June for the Following Years in England and Wales

Year	Above 1 and not exceeding 5 acres	Above 5 and not exceeding 20 acres	Above 20 and not exceeding 50 acres	Above 50 and not exceeding 100 acres	Above too and not exceeding 150 acres	Above 750 and not exceeding 300 acres	Above 300 acres	Total	
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	-
1913	92,302	122,117	78,027	59,287	31,838	37,593	14,513	435,677	
1914	91,570	121,698	7 <sup>8</sup> ,454	59,514	31,860	37,615	14,413	435,124	
1915	90,643	120,616	78,430	59,657	32,045	37,635	14,327	433,353	
1916	87,502	118,064	78,587	60,121	32,409	37,610	14,132	428,425	
1917	84,264	116,004	78,288	60,665	32,621	37,778	14,098	423,718	
1918	83,392	114,064	77,878	60,572	32,453	37,641	14,126	420,126	
1919	81,193	113,414	77,961	60,509	32,358	37,358	13,875	416,668	
1920	80,737	114,517	79,542	60,697	32,298	36,708	13,492	417,991	
1921	81,217	116,159	80,967	61,001	32,020	35,822	12,947	420,133	
1922	79,364	114,001	80,165	60,676	31,874	35,712	12,923	414,715	
1923	77,674	113,049	79,865	60,796	31,844	35,565	12,880	411,673	
1924	76,859	111,934	79,537	60,781	31,930	35,481	12,861	409,383	
1925	75,283	110,385	79,119	60,931	31,875	35,411	12,704	405,708	
1926	.74,185	108,814	78,827	61,063	31,797	35,373	12,580	402,639	
1927	74,33I	107,843	78,654	61,317	31,946	35,121	12,522	401,734	
1928	74,456	107,126	78,546	61,398	31,865	35,121	12,383	400,895	
1929	74,183	105,950	78,195	61,699	31,897	35,052	12,271	399,247	
1930	72,984	103,975	77,970	61,703	31,998	34,957	12,236	395,823	
1931	71,204	102,339	77,374	61,951	32,002	34,925	12,146	391,941	
1932	70,674	101,446	77,222	62,248	32,055	34,772	12,052	390,469	
1933	69,864	100,591	76,901	62,380	32,183	34,644	11,870	388,433	
1934	68,480	98,773	76,003	62,355	32,129	34,472	11,886	384,098	

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\* The figures for 1934 are subject to revision.

66

### APPENDIX V

### DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR SCOTLAND

# Statement showing the Number of Agricultural Holdings in each of the under-mentioned Classes as returned on 4th June in years 1913-1934 and Holdings of Mountain and Heath Land only.

Year.	Above r and not exceeding 5 acres.	Above 5 and not exceeding 15 acres.	Above 15 and not exceeding 30 acres.	Above 30 and not exceeding 50 acres.	Above 50 and not exceeding 75 acres.	Above 75 and not exceeding 100 acres.	Above 100 and not exceeding 150 acres.	Above 150 and not exceeding 300 acres.	Above 300 acres.	Total of Agricultural Holdings.	Holdings of Mountain and Heath Land only.	
1913	18,418	18,739	8,676	5,781	5,512	4,535	5,960	7,146	2,621	77,388	488	
1914	18,402	18,484	8,626	5,835	5,579	4,533	5,967	7,126	2,598	77,150	465	
1915	18,235	18,488	8,746	5,871	5,546	4,550	5,992	7,084	2,596	77,108	406	- 2
1916	17,984	18,329	8,743	5,913	5,587	4,506	6,013	7,121	2,558	76,754	417	
1917	17,725	18,204	8,763	5,920	5,57I	4,553	6,027	7,114	2,563	76,440	469	- F
1918	17,400	18,110	8,762	5,896	5,559	4,564	6,062	7,067	2,562	75,982	450	PPENDIC
1919	17,344	18,164	8,663	5,886	5,55I	4,567	6,059	7,064	2,545	75,843	528	5
1920	17,471	18,125	8,633	5,924	5,528	4,603	6,054	7,039	2,525	75,902	524	2
1921	17,374	18,249	8,540	6,134	5,544	4,601	6,037	7,013	2,511	76,003	565	5
1922	17,202	18,317	8,590	6,169	5,593	4,569	6,037	7,005	2,519	76,001	517	3
1923	17,130	18,515	8,560	6,217	5,645	4,557	5,998	7,003	2,509	76,134	654	- È-
1924	17,100	18,513	8,632	6,300	5,647	4,536	5,9 <sup>8</sup> 9	7,015	2,478	76,210	656	ES
1925	17,026	18,492	8,726	6,292	5,666	4,519	5,989	6,984	2,467	76,161	566	
1926	16,969	18,536	8,550	6,394	5,684	4,503	5,978	6,953	2,450	76,017	590	
1927	16,787	18,464	8,688	6,401	5,661	4,512	5,976	6,944	2,433	75,866	603	
1928	16,837	18,468	8,614	6,426	5,660	4,542	5,946	6,895	2,424	75,812	. 705	
1929	16,856	18,386	8,671	6,433	5,673	4,493	5,957	6,864	2,413	75,746	838	
1930	16,824	18,394	8,662	6,428	5,697	4,510	5,947`	6,818	2,398	75,678	908	
1931	16,778	18,530	8,771	6,416	5,727	4,517	5,923	6,799	2,389	75,850	975	
1932	16,761	18,599	8,701	6,529	5,74I	4,532	5,921	6,761	2,366	75,911	1,026	
1933	16,596	18,491	8,718	6,597	5,714	4,518	5,926	6,734	2,348	75,642	1,208	
1934	15,858	18,541	8,521	6,518	5,721	4,476	5,899	6,725	2,375	74,634	1,192	

#### STATISTICAL DIVISION,

September, 19;

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# **APPENDICES**

### APPENDIX VI

# AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN GREAT BRITAIN

### (All workers excluding occupier and his wife)

Date.	Number of Workers.	Per cent. of total Population.
1913	*740,236	
1921	996,081	2.33
1923	892,411	
1924	923,805	2.12
1925	925,400	2.11
1926	920,994	2.10
1927	893,724	2.02
1928	890,197	2.01
1929	888,286	2.00
1930	857,204	1.02
1931	829,073	1.85
1932	808,738	1.79
1933	828,011	1.83
1934	800,974	1.76
1935	†783,600	
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• Excluding members of occupier's family. † Subject to revision.

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