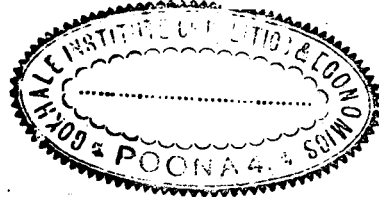
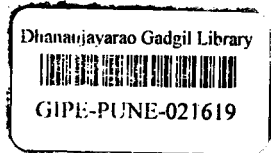


United States  
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The Farm Security Administration  
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION  
AND  
THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS  
COOPERATING



**Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings  
in Several European Countries**

BY ERICH KRAEMER

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SOCIAL RESEARCH REPORT, NO. II

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WASHINGTON, D. C., SEPTEMBER, 1937

In order that administrators might be supplied with needed information concerning the problems and conditions with which its program is concerned, the Resettlement Administration (absorbed September 1 by the Farm Security Administration) with the cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics conducted a number of research investigations. This is one of a series of reports on these researches. Others will be made available to administrators of programs for the welfare of rural people as rapidly as they are completed. Reports to be issued, as planned at this time include:

- I. An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects, by John B. Holt.
- II. Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries, by Erich Kraemer.
- III. Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, by L. S. Dodson.
- IV. Social Status and Farm Tenure - Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers, by E. A. Schuler.
- V. Analysis and Evaluation of Criteria and Methods Used in Selecting Families for a Reclamation Project - A Case Study of the Tule Lake Community in Northeastern California, by Marie Jasny.
- VI. Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama, by Karl Shafer.
- VII. Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community - A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas, by A. D. Edwards.
- VIII. Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, by Carl C. Taylor, E. L. Kirkpatrick, and Berta Asch.
- IX. Analysis of 60,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families, by E. L. Kirkpatrick and Berta Asch.
- X. Standards of Living in Four Appalachian Mountain Counties, by C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson.
- XI. Standards of Living of the Residents of Six Rural Resettlement Communities, by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XII. Standards of Living in a Typical Drought Area - South Dakota, by C. P. Loomis and Edmund DeS Brunner, Jr.
- XIII. Standards of Living in Good and Poor Land Areas in the Lake States Cut-Over Region, by C. P. Loomis and Joseph J. Lister.
- XIV. Standards of Living in an Indian Village and a Reclamation Village, by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.
- XV. Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties, by C. P. Loomis and B. L. Hummel.
- XVI. Social Relationships and Institutions in Three Established Rural Communities, by L. S. Dodson and C. P. Loomis.
- XVII. Migration and Mobility of Rural Population in the United States, by Conrad Taeuber and C. E. Lively.
- XVIII. Social Relationships and Institutions in Six New Rural Communities, by C. P. Loomis.

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## FOREWORD

This report is the fourth in a series written by the author, the first three having appeared in the following order: Land Settlement Technique Abroad, Report No. I, Organization of Activities in England, Germany and Italy, Land Policy Circular Supplement, Resettlement Administration, July, 1935; Land Settlement Technique Abroad, Report No. II, Financing of Full-time Farming Settlement in England, Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, Land Policy Circular Supplement, Resettlement Administration, October, 1935; Land Settlement Technique Abroad, Report No. III, Selection of Settlers in Agricultural Settlements of Several European Countries, Land Use Planning Publication No. 5 of the Land Utilization Division, Land Use Planning Section, Resettlement Administration, July 1936.

The author hopes to complete the series by later reports on the general subject of land settlement and tenure policies in foreign countries.

The significance of this series of reports results from the fact that for the last few years the Federal Government has been, and is now, engaged in activities of the type which a number of other nations under varying conditions and at various times have promoted. To mobilize and interpret the experiences of other countries would be of material benefit, it was felt, in planning resettlement and land tenure programs in the United States.

This report deals with England (and Wales), Scotland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. These countries were selected in accordance with the principle that governed the selection of countries for other reports in this series, namely, to utilize the data for those countries that appeared to be likely to yield the most complete information.

CARL C. TAYLOR

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and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural  
Economics; and Social Research Section,  
Farm Security Administration.

# TENURE OF NEW AGRICULTURAL HOLDINGS IN SEVERAL

## EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

By Erich Kraemer

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### Chapter I

#### ROLE AND TYPES OF TENURE

To determine the tenure of new holdings means to decide upon the kind of property rights under which the settlers are to hold their farms. Accordingly, the problem of land tenure may be expressed as the task of finding the proper pattern of property rights which will insure the legal safeguarding of the purposes for which land settlement is undertaken.

#### Significance of Tenure Arrangements

The policies adopted with respect to the tenure of new holdings are of the utmost importance both from the standpoint of the settler and from the standpoint of the land-settlement agency. This will be clear at once if some of the major consequences of these policies are mentioned. In the case of the settler, the choice of type of tenure determines the extent of his managerial control over his holding, specifies his rights as to whether and to what degree he can burden it in connection with his financial transactions, and delimits his authority to assign it to another person during his lifetime and to determine his successor in case of death. In the case of the land-settlement agency, the mode of tenure adopted determines the amount of interest that the land-settlement agency maintains in the new holding, fixes the extent and enforceability of its legal control, and has an important bearing on its capital requirements.

In view of all this there can be no doubt that tenure is one of the most important factors in land settlement. It requires careful examination and prudent handling.

#### Major Groups of Tenure

The various agricultural tenure forms which have existed at one time or another, or even only those which are in use at present, would, if put together, constitute a long list. Many of them played an important

role in the land-settlement activities carried on during the last 60 or 70 years in England (and Wales), Scotland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the six countries included in this study.

All these various schemes designed to establish the property rights under which the settler is to occupy and use his holding may be classified into three major groups. The first group consists of ownership arrangements, the second deals with tenancy arrangements, and the third comprises mixed-tenure arrangements.

Ownership arrangements in land settlement are tenures under which a person exercises exclusive control over his holding within the limits set by law. They are tenures concentrating comprehensive property rights in one hand. The right of dominion over the holding is transferable, inheritable, and unlimited in time.

There are many definitions of the terms "ownership" or "owner," some of them differing a great deal. One authority defines "ownership" as follows: "Ownership is the most extensive right allowed by law to a person of dealing with a thing to the exclusion of all other persons, or of all except one or more specified persons. It is therefore a right in rem. Ownership is essentially indefinite in its nature, but in its most absolute form it involves the right to possess and use or enjoy the thing, the right to its produce and accessions, and the right to destroy, encumber or alienate it; or as the civilians express it, ownership gives the *jus utendi, fruendi et abutendi*; but the exercise of these rights may be restricted in various manners, and the owner may part with them or limit them in favor of other persons; so long, however, as the grantees have only definite rights of uses over the thing and the original owner retains an indefinite right, he is still owner; but if he parts with the indefinite right and retains only a definite one (e. g. a right of way, in the case of land) he ceases to be owner." 1/

The German Civil Code of 1896 defines "owner" in the following way: "The owner of an object is entitled to use and dispose of it at his discretion and to exclude others from any control over it within the limits set by law or the rights of third parties." 2/

Another source gives the following definition: "The term owner when used alone, imports an absolute owner, or one who has complete dominion of the property owned as the owner in fee of real property. But its meaning is varied according to the connection in which it is used and is to be understood according to the subject matter to which

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1/ Sweet, Charles, Dictionary of English Law, London, 1882, p. 579.

2/ German Civil Code of 1896, par. 903.

it relates." 3/ .

Tenancy arrangements or leases are tenures under which the possession of land owned by one person is conveyed to another person for occupation and use usually in consideration of periodical payments in money or kind, called rent. Leases are subject to reversion. Their term is always shorter than the duration of the title held by the lessor.

The words "tenancy" and "lease" also have been used in different ways. Blackstone defined "lease" as follows: "A lease is properly a conveyance of any lands or tenements (usually in consideration of rent or other annual recompense) made for life, for years, or at will, but always for a less time than the lessor hath in the premises: for if it be for the whole interest it is more properly an assignment than lease."4/ One of the definitions of tenancy contained in Byrne's Law Dictionary reads as follows: "Tenancy is the relation of a tenant to the land which he holds. Hence it signifies (1) the estate of a tenant as in the expressions 'joint tenancy,' 'tenancy in common,' (2) the term or interest of a tenant for years or at will, as when we say that a lessee must remove his fixtures during his tenancy." 5/

By mixed-tenure arrangements are meant those tenure forms which combine features of ownership and tenancy. 6/ Compared with ownership, these tenure arrangements show the following common elements. First, both rights are transferable. Second, both rights are inheritable. In ad-

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3/ *McFeters v. Pierson*, 24 Pac. 1076-7, Words and Phrases Judicially Defined, Vol. 6, p. 5138.

4/ Blackstone Com., 1765, Vol. II, Chapter XX, par. 4.

5/ Byrne's Law Dictionary, p. 863.

6/ The term "mixed tenure" is introduced by the author to designate a number of tenure types which in his opinion may suitably be considered in a class of their own. Usually these tenures have been dealt with under leases. But as will be shown, these tenure types differ from leases in certain important respects.

There have been many controversies over the nature of these tenure rights. Three schools of thought may be distinguished. According to one school these tenure rights are encumbrances on ownership rights in land. According to another school they represent divided ownership rights. A third school thinks that these tenure types are full-ownership rights, whereas the remaining interests of the original owner are encumbrances on the ownership rights transferred. The first-mentioned construction occurred in Roman law and prevails in modern German law. The concept of divided ownership rights was applied in medieval German law and in certain German statutes of the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth centuries.



dition, if the theory of the transfer of full-ownership rights is applied, they show the same quality of title. But there are also certain important differences between these two types of tenures. Thus mixed-tenure and ownership differ in respect to time. Ownership is a perpetual right, whereas mixed tenure may be of limited duration. If the theory of divided ownership is accepted, they furthermore differ as to quality of title. Whereas full title is granted in case of ownership, only a divided-ownership right is transferred to the grantee in the case of mixed tenure.

If mixed tenure is compared with tenancy, the following common elements can be established. Both tenure rights include the obligation to pay rent and the factor of reversion. 7/ On the other hand, mixed tenures and tenancy arrangements differ from each other in respect to transferability, inheritability, and time. As far as transferability and inheritability of tenancy arrangements are concerned, they may be excluded by covenants against them. In the case of mixed tenures, however, transferability and inheritability are intrinsic parts of the nature of these rights. They cannot be excluded by any agreement between parties. Finally, there is an important distinction as to time. Tenancy agreements are sometimes concluded for short terms, sometimes for long terms. Mixed tenures are always effected for long terms.

In the ownership group several types of ownership holdings have come into existence. As all the different types cannot be dealt with in this report, attention will be called only to those that have a bearing upon the following discussion.

In England, it is customary to speak of freeholds of inheritance and freeholds not of inheritance. An important type of freeholds of inheritance is a fee-simple estate. An estate of this kind has been defined as a tenure right which "excludes all qualifications or restrictions as to the persons who may inherit it as heirs, thus distinguishing it from a fee tail, as well as from an estate, which, though inheritable, is subject to conditions of collateral determination." 8/

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7/ Reversion means "the residue of an estate left in the grantor, to commence in possession after the determination of some particular estate granted out by him. The return of land to the grantor and his heirs after the grant is over." (Co. Litt. 142b; 2 Bla. Com. 175. 4 Kent 354. Bouvier's Law Dictionary, 3rd Revision, p. 2954.) "To revert is to return. Thus when the owner of an estate in land has granted a smaller estate to another person on the determination of the latter estate, the land is said to 'revert' to the grantor." (Black's Law Dictionary, 2nd edition, p. 1035.)  
Bouvier's Law Dictionary, 3rd revision, p. 1199.

In Germany two special types of ownership have come into existence. These are the Prussian rental holding (Rentengut) and the German hereditary farm (Erbhof). The Prussian rental holding, as constituted under prevailing laws, has the following major characteristics: (1) the settler becomes the owner of his holding, (2) the holding is sold in return for payment of a fixed rent, and (3) the settler's right of disposal of his holding is curtailed by several important restrictions. The main characteristics of the German hereditary farm are: (1) the holding is held, as a rule, in individual ownership of a natural person, (2) the holding must meet certain minimum size limits, and (3) the owner's right of occupying and using his holding is restricted in certain important respects.

In England it is customary to distinguish between the following kinds of leaseholds: (1) tenancies at will, (2) periodic tenancies, (3) terms of years, and (4) tenancies at suffrance. A share lease is a tenancy agreement under which the operator pays his rent in the form of a part of the products produced on his holding.

The group of mixed-tenure arrangements includes some interesting forms. The main forms which have been applied or proposed in the countries included are the hereditary use right and the hereditary building right.

A hereditary use right is a tenure under which an alienable and assignable right of usufruct in a piece of land is granted in perpetuity or for a long time to another person usually against payment of rent. This kind of tenure is an old institution. It was used by the Romans who called it *emphyteusis*. In German history it has occurred in the forms of "Erbpacht" (hereditary lease) and "Erbzins" (hereditary rent). <sup>9/</sup> The nearest institution in Anglo-American law is the perpetual or long-term lease.

A hereditary building right is a tenure arrangement under which the grantee receives an alienable and transferable right of having a building, either existing or to be erected in the future, on a piece of land, usually against payment of rent. This tenure is likewise an old institution. In Roman law it occurred under the name of *superficies*.

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<sup>9/</sup> One of the main differences between these two forms of tenure has been in the determination of the rent. Thus under the Prussian Code of 1794, an agreement under which a rent was to be paid in proportion to the value of the right of usufruct granted was called "Erbpacht," whereas an agreement under which rent was not paid in compensation of usufruct granted but in recognition of the existing superior ownership was termed "Erbzins." Compare *Preussisches Allgemeines Landrecht*, Part I, Tit. 21, par. 187, and Part I, Tit. 18, par. 747.

In English law it is called a building lease. <sup>10/</sup> The German term for it is "Erbbaurecht" (hereditary building right).

#### Tenures Under Public and Private Property

It will be interesting to see to what extent the above-mentioned major tenure types have been developed in the field of public land and to what extent they have been developed in the field of private land in connection with land settlement. The discussion will be confined to tenancy and mixed-tenure arrangements under these two types of property.

Tenures under which public property has been rented to private persons have sometimes been designated as "public leases" or "state leases." These terms will also be used in the present report. In line with this the terms "public hereditary use rights" and "public building rights" will be applied in cases in which settlers have been placed on publicly-owned land under hereditary use rights or hereditary building rights.

The main arguments for private property in land have been as follows: (1) it will stimulate human industry and effort by creating individual opportunity; (2) it will provide every person with a secure and exclusive sphere of activity; (3) by fostering private wealth, it will simultaneously promote the development of public wealth. On the other hand, public property in land has been advocated primarily for the following reasons: (1) it will put public agencies into a better position to prevent maladjustments in land use and to direct the use of land in the interests of common welfare; (2) it will be a suitable means of obtaining for the public the ground rent or the unearned increment in land values.

#### Restrictions in Land Tenures

The terms "unrestricted tenure" and "restricted tenure" occur frequently in the discussions of property rights in land. They require careful examination, particularly that of "unrestricted tenure."

Unrestricted tenure exists if an individual has absolute freedom of disposal over landed property. It cannot occur under tenancy and mixed tenure, since both these rights are restricted by the very nature of their component elements. It can happen, however, in the field of ownership arrangements since there it is possible, at least theoretically,

<sup>10/</sup> The English building lease has been defined as "a lease generally for a term of 99 years, and a rent known as a ground rent under which the lessee covenants to erect certain specified buildings on the land demised by the lease and to insure and keep in repair such buildings during the term." Byrne's Law Dictionary, p. 140.

to drop all restrictions and to grant absolutely unencumbered private ownership. As a matter of fact, there have been advocates of that kind of ownership.

But has such an institution as absolutely unrestricted private ownership actually been developed? To answer this question it will be necessary to deal briefly with some of the events that have affected the development of land tenure since the days of feudalism.

In the feudal period, agriculture was organized under the manorial system and the open field system. Under these systems, which were the outgrowth of political and social factors as well as the status of agricultural techniques prevailing at that time, landed property became subjected to many restrictions. Two classes of restrictions developed, one class affecting the landlords and the other class restraining the peasants and land holders operating under the landlords. Frequently the limitations placed on the landlords were comparatively few and light. Furthermore, in many instances, the landlords succeeded in gaining important privileges. On the other hand, the limitations placed on the peasants were numerous and burdensome, and for a long time tended to increase.

In England, absolute ownership in land came to rest in only one power, namely, the King. All lands were held of the King and every person who possessed land under him was merely a tenant. The holding of all land was closely interrelated with the holding of public offices. The land was distributed by the King to his lords and from the lords to their subordinates in connection with the nature of the services to be rendered.

Whereas in the seventeenth century England still had a large number of yeomen, that is, independent peasants, most of them disappeared during the eighteenth century under the influence of renewed enclosures. The few who remained disappeared during the first half of the nineteenth century. By the middle of that century the larger portion of the agricultural land of England was in the hands of a small number of landlords.

So far as German territory is concerned, in the eighteenth century land tenure conditions reached the following stage of development in the Eastern provinces of Prussia: 11/

"The large majority of the peasants were 'Lassiten' (admitted), that is hereditary 'Lassiten,' whose units had to be taken over by an heir of the last occupier, and non-hereditary 'Lassiten,' holding for life or

11/ Haack, Richard, Grundriss des in Preussen geltenden Agrarrechts, Berlin, 1929, p. 2.

being subject to dismissal at any time or at least after a certain number of years. This landlord-peasant relationship was the rule. Besides, there were peasants operating under landlords as time-tenants, with whom lease agreements were concluded in writing for a definite period. Free peasants holding their farms in full ownership were relatively few. As the other peasants, they were frequently burdened with service duties and other charges. A better tenure right was enjoyed by the peasants holding under hereditary use lease and hereditary rent agreements (Erbpachter and Erbzinsleute). Between them and the grantor of the hereditary use or hereditary rent rights a relationship of divided ownership existed. The hereditary use holders and hereditary rent holders were required to render services and fulfill other duties for the benefit of the grantor.

"The 'Legen' of peasant holdings, that is, their absorption by the manorial lords, had been generally prohibited by a Decree of Frederick the Great of August 12, 1749, which followed a number of special laws previously passed to curb the absorption of peasant holdings. But, this protection of the peasant referred only to the holding as such, not to the status of the person operating it. The said decree, therefore, did not bring about any change in the existing conditions of personal bondage."

In Denmark, also, the number of independent peasant holders became very small, while the number of those who operated under the landlords reached a high proportion. The peasants who operated under the landlords became burdened with compulsory services and many other charges, including bondage to the soil.

Then came the forces of Rationalism, Liberalism, and technological progress. They strove for the liberation of the individual, for an unrestricted economic system, including a form of land tenure permitting freedom of disposal. The soil was to be released from the existing restrictions because individual freedom was to find its corollary in the freedom of the soil.

This new movement battered against the system of feudalism and brought about its decline. Its advocates urged a private property system which would give the owner absolute control over his possessions. In many parts of Europe, including those which are mentioned in this study, the movement led to important legislative measures designed to dissolve many of the restrictions existing in the field of landed property. The

steps taken differed somewhat from country to country in accordance with the peculiar conditions prevailing in each national sphere, but in all cases far-reaching changes of a revolutionary character took place.

In England many of the personal obligations and restrictions on the land which existed under feudal tenure were dropped or were changed into mere formalities. Land became freely alienable and indebttable. The title of fee simple became a land-tenure form under which a landholder could use his land practically at his discretion. Few restrictions remained. One of these restrictions, a mere formality, was that the land was still held "of the King."

In many parts of the German territory the institution of superior and subordinate ownership was abolished. Instead of divided ownership, only full ownership was to exist henceforth. Full ownership was first granted to the peasants living on Crown land. Later, it was also granted to the landholders of land held in superior ownership by the noblemen and the Church. Most of the servitudes and other charges were dissolved. At the same time, a decided stand was taken against any further charges on land of a perpetual character. Here, as in England, the result was a type of private ownership in land which involved a high degree of freedom of disposal. There were no restrictions on land ownership concerning the personal quality, activity, and residence of the owner. The land was to be freely salable and divisible. The owner was to have full freedom in burdening his land with indebtedness. In addition, many of the former restrictions on inheritance were no longer to exist. In Prussia this development reached its final stage with the passage of the Act of 1850.

These revolutionary changes in the field of land ownership were accompanied by important changes in the fields of tenancy and mixed tenure. As to tenancy, the vast powers that were yielded to the land owner in respect to the management of his holding also gave him vast authority in his relationships with his tenants should he decide to lease his holding to another person. In some instances the owner's rights in his relationship with his tenants were further strengthened by special legislation. In the field of mixed tenures it is noteworthy that in certain regions of the German territory some forms of this type of tenure were ruled out altogether for fear they might be used to revive the institution of superior ownership. This applied, above all, to the institutions of Erbpacht (hereditary lease) and Erbzins (hereditary rent).

Although the reforms carried through cut deep into the existing order of land tenure and brought about marked changes, they did not go so far as to lift all restrictions, to rule out all future burdens, and to establish private property rights in land equivalent to an absolute dominion over holdings. Not even in England, where the

movement went further than in any of the other countries, did this happen. In each case the drive toward freedom of disposal in the field of landed property stopped in front of the interests of the State. Sovereignty was regarded as a power entitled to impose restrictions in the interest of public welfare. But -- and this is important -- although the limitations of private-property rights arising out of the rights of sovereignty were recognized, emphasis remained on the privileges of the private owner. Laws and courts defined private property in highly individualistic terms, and many felt that a completely unrestricted form of private ownership existed.

In opposition to the individualistic-liberalistic movement, which reached its peak by the middle of the nineteenth century, there arose several counter-movements of a social or collectivist nature. These movements also reacted strongly on land tenure, causing in some instances changes not less profound than the ones produced by the individualistic-liberalistic movement. In Germany, where these counter-movements became very strong, the reaction in the field of land tenure has gone further than in any other country included in this study.

In the field of ownership, the idea that the private owner may deal with his property as he pleases has been pushed more and more into the background. Instead, increasing emphasis has been placed on the social function of property. Many extreme definitions of private ownership have been revised. New restrictions have been enacted, some of them in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, more of them since 1914.

With respect to tenancy, numerous countries have passed laws designed to improve the relationship between landlord and tenant. In the field of mixed tenure, some of the tenure forms that had fallen into disfavor have been revived.

As far as land settlement is concerned, the counter-movements mentioned were well under way in the Eighties and Nineties when some of the countries included - England, Scotland, Germany, and Denmark - discussed the passage of new land-settlement legislation. The new land-settlement schemes offered a good opportunity to introduce some of the new ideas about land tenure. In several instances, therefore, they were chosen to try out these ideas on a smaller scale in connection with the creation of new holdings before deciding on land-tenure reforms at large.

There are many farming aspects upon which restrictions have been imposed. The major ones are (1) personal qualities, activity, and residence of the settler, (2) use of the land, (3) buildings and other improvements, (4) sufficiency and maintenance of equipment, (5) transfer and other assignments of land during lifetime, (6) succession to holdings in case of death, (7) financial matters, (8) insurance, (9) management, (10) membership in organizations, and (11) accountability and inspection.

In classifying the restrictions on land tenure one may therefore speak of restrictions on the use of the land, restrictions on the transfer of land, restrictions on succession to holdings, etc. Again, restrictions on land tenure may be distinguished according to the public or private sphere in which they originate. This leads to public and private restrictions. Public restrictions may be either informal or formal. In the latter case they are specifically laid down in laws, decrees, etc. Private restrictions are established by agreements between private parties. They may be specifically authorized by law, or they may not. If they are not specifically authorized by law, they may be established in conformity with the principle of the freedom of contract. Finally, the various restrictions may also be classified as to whether they are personal or attached to the land. In the English law the latter type of restrictions are called "covenants running with the land."

The degree to which various land-tenure types may become restricted is likely to vary a great deal. It may vary with regard to the number of farm aspects affected. Moreover, it may vary in regard to the extent to which the settler's rights of disposal over his holding are restrained in the field of each farm aspect. The result is a very diversified picture of restricted tenures.

The regulation of private restrictions is an important matter. In the field of ownership there is a wide range of all kinds of restrictions which a land-settlement agency may impose upon settlers in addition to those laid down by the act of law. But all these restrictions have to come within the general confines of the law. In other words, they must be reasonable and not contrary to any provision contained in the statutes.



## Chapter II

### PROVISIONS FOR OWNERSHIP

#### The Case for Private Ownership

Some of the principal arguments that have been advanced in favor of applying private ownership to new holdings have been as follows: (1) it is likely to stimulate initiative and interest, (2) it will encourage habits of thrift and industry, (3) it will promote conservation and improvement, (4) it will bring about a direct interest in the land, and (5) it offers an opportunity for future generations to follow in the footsteps of their predecessors.

#### Provisions in General

A good many of the land-settlement acts passed during the last 60 or 70 years in the countries included in this study mention ownership as either the exclusive type or as one of the tenure types to be applied. The Scandinavian acts adopted in the period from 1899 to the end of the World War concentrated on ownership. The Congested Districts (Scotland) Act of 1897 is rather vague in its reference to tenure matters. The agency administering this Act, the Congested Districts Board, at first interpreted it to mean that its settlers had to be placed under ownership arrangements. But by 1908, after an opinion had been rendered by the Law Officers of the Crown, the Board learned that it was not bound exclusively to the granting of ownership titles. 12/

Of course, new holdings held in ownership will be governed not only by those provisions which are included in land-settlement legislation, but also by those contained in laws, decrees, and ordinances regulating land tenure in general, to the extent to which they are not over-ruled by the land-settlement acts. Each country has many additional general tenure provisions and some of the rules they contain may sometimes be more important than some of the rules embodied in the land-settlement acts. An enumeration of all these additional provisions is not intended. Some of them, however, will be referred to in the more detailed discussion contained in the following pages of this chapter.

#### Unrestricted or Restricted Ownership

Whether unrestricted or restricted ownership should be applied in the field of assisted land settlement has been a matter of many controversies. This question has come up in each of the countries in-

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12/ Compare Congested Districts Board, 11th Report, 1908-09, p. vii.

cluded, but the debates over it have been particularly sharp in England and Germany.

The promotion of unrestricted ownership has usually been based on the following major assumptions: (1) that any restraints placed on property disposal will reduce the settler's interest and initiative, (2) that freedom of property disposal, in the long run, will be the best way of getting and keeping the most desirable type of settler on the land, (3) that the unhampered usability of land as security will strengthen the financial status of the settler, and (4) that freedom in dividing or enlarging his land, in selling or otherwise disposing of his holding is an indispensable element for proper future readjustments.

The proponents of restricted ownership have pointed out that some very serious risks are taken if a system of absolute freedom of property disposal is adopted. They have called attention to the dangers of speculation, of over-burdening with indebtedness, of detrimental fusions, and of other undesirable developments. They have felt that neither private nor state land-settlement agencies should risk these possibilities. Could it not easily happen, they have asked, if a public agency concerned with the settlement of low-income families under considerable financial and other assistance should turn over the holdings to these families without any proper safeguards, that after a certain time they would slide back into the same deplorable conditions in which they were when land settlement was undertaken to help them? Is not the State entitled to retain control over the fate of its holdings, after a considerable amount of public money has been spent on them?

These and other considerations have been instrumental in bringing about provisions for restricted ownership. They have led to legislation authorizing it specifically, and they have caused the adoption of this type of ownership by administrators in cases in which they received broad powers for selling newly-created holdings.

#### Nature of Ownership Restrictions

##### Qualities, Activity, and Residence of Owner

That the owner must be able to manage his holding in a satisfactory way has been required in all of the countries included in this study wherein restricted ownership has been used. The early English laws speak of the requirement of "proper cultivation." The English Small Holdings and Allotments Act of 1926 says that the holding shall be cultivated by the owner "in accordance with the rules of good husbandry as defined in the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1923."

The rules of good husbandry have been defined in Section 57 of the

Act of 1923 as follows: 13/

"'Rules of good husbandry' means (due regard being had to the character of the holding) so far as is practicable having regard to its character and position —

- (a) the maintenance of the land (whether arable, meadow, or pasture), clean and in a good state of cultivation and fertility, and in good condition; and
- (b) the maintenance and clearing of drains, embankments, and ditches; and
- (c) the maintenance and proper repair of fences, stone walls, gates, and hedges; and
- (d) the execution of repairs to buildings, being repairs which are necessary for the proper cultivation and working of the land on which they are to be executed; and
- (e) such rules of good husbandry as are generally recognized as applying to holdings of the same character and in the same neighbourhood as the holding in respect of which the expression is to be applied:

"Provided that the foregoing definition shall not imply an obligation on the part of any person to maintain or clear drains, embankments, or ditches, if and so far as the execution of the works required is rendered impossible (except at prohibitive or unreasonable expense) by reason of subsidence of any land or the blocking of outfalls which are not under the control of that person, or in its application to land in the occupation of a tenant imply an obligation on the part of the tenant —

- (i) to maintain or clear drains, embankments, or ditches, or to maintain or properly repair fences, stone walls, gates, or hedges, where such work is not required to be done by him under his contract of tenancy; or
- (ii) to execute repairs to buildings which are

13/ Quoted in Spencer, Aubrey John, The Small Holdings and Allotments Acts, 1908-26, Third Edition, London, 1927, p. 199.

not required to be executed by him under his contract of tenancy."

The Danish Act of 1899 says that "the soil of the holding must be cultivated in the customary manner." (Par. 17)

In Germany, if the settler's holding is to become and remain an "Erbhof" under the regulations of the German Hereditary Holdings Act of 1933, the owner must be "bauernfaehig" — that is, he must qualify as a peasant. In order to qualify as a peasant under this Act, the settler is required to meet the following standards: (1) he must be of German blood, (2) he must be a German citizen, (3) he must be an honorable person, and (4) he must be capable of managing his holding in an orderly way (par. 12, 13, 15). This German rule evidently goes further than any of the others.

As far as the activity of the owner is concerned, it is noteworthy that in all cases of restricted ownership the settler has been required to operate the holding personally. The reason for this requirement is very obvious. Absentee ownership is not wanted among the operators of newly developed small holdings.

Likewise with a view to avoiding absentee ownership, it has been usual to require that the settler shall reside permanently on the holding. In ruling on the last two points some of the laws have spoken as follows:

"The holding shall be cultivated by the owner ..."  
(English Act of 1892, Section 9 - (1) (c)); "the grantor is entitled to order the homesteader to transfer the holding to him, if the homesteader does not permanently operate or live on the holding himself." (German Homestead Act of 1920, par. 12); "there must be a clause in the deed of mortgage stating that, if the owner moves from the holding, the loan may be recalled after six months' notice." (Danish Act of 1899, par. 16); "the owner.... shall reside permanently in the dwelling house comprised in the holding." (English Act of 1931, Section 12 - (1) (a))

#### Use of Land

One of the most important restrictions on the use of land is that the land of the holding must be used only for agricultural purposes. This rule has been commonly applied. Note, for instance, the English Small Holdings Act of 1892:

"the holding... shall not be used for any purpose other than agriculture." (Section 9 - (1) (c)) Similarly the Danish Act of 1899 and later acts state: "The

land is to be used for agricultural purposes." (Act of 1899, par. 17)

Apart from insisting upon the use of the land for agricultural purposes, in some instances reservations have been made as to the taking away of parts of the land through mineral exploitation and otherwise. Thus, the English Act of 1919 says:

"Land acquired by a County Council under the principal act shall . . . , where sold . . . for small holdings, be sold . . . , except where the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries for any special reason otherwise direct, subject to a reservation of all minerals vested in the Council." (Section 11 - (1))

A rental holding contract used by the German land settlement agency "Landbank" contains the following stipulation concerning stones, sand, etc.:

"Until the purchaser has been entered as owner in the Land Register, seller, or with the consent of the Kulturamt, also other participating parties, shall be entitled to take from the land, without compensation, stones, gravel, sand, loam and clay for the purposes of creating rental holdings. The places where these parts are taken must, however, be leveled and compensation must be paid for any crop damage or damage caused by delaying cultivation." (Par. 6)

#### Buildings and Other Improvements

Taken altogether, restrictions of this group have covered practically every phase of the question of buildings on small holdings. They have referred to the problems of whether any buildings should be erected, what kind of buildings should be erected, the location, the number, the quality, the use, and the maintenance of the buildings.

Apparently to prevent the erection of a building where a person to whom a new holding is assigned already has a satisfactory dwelling house in its neighborhood, the following rule was written into the English Act of 1892 and later acts of the same group:

"In the case of any holding on which, in the opinion of the County Council a dwelling house ought not to be erected, . . . no dwelling house shall be erected without the consent of the County Council." (Section 9 - (g))

The main intent and purpose of restrictions on the number of dwellings to be erected on the holdings seem to have been to prevent the creation of summer colonies, social resorts, etc., and to keep the interests of the settler confined to agriculture. Samples of such restrictions may be found in the Danish and English acts. Thus the Danish act of 1899 states: "The loan upon the landed property may be recalled . . . if the owner . . . builds a house for renting purposes on the premises of the holding." (Par. 16)

The English act of 1892 rules that "not more than one dwelling house shall be erected on the holding." (Section 9 - (d)) To this the Act of 1926 adds "unless in the opinion of the Council additional accommodation is required for the proper cultivation of the holding." (Section 6 - (1) (d))

Finally, to give some examples of obligations as to the place, quality, and maintenance of the buildings, the following passages of English, Norwegian, and Danish land-settlement acts may be quoted:

"that any dwelling house erected on the holding shall comply with such requirements as the County Council may impose for securing healthiness and freedom from overcrowding" (English Act of 1892, Section 9-(1) (e) and subsequent acts)

"the owner is required . . . to maintain houses and fences in good condition" (Norwegian Act of 1903, par. 23)

"Buildings are to be kept in proper condition" (Danish Act of 1899, par. 17)

#### Sufficiency and Maintenance of Equipment

In connection with the equipment of new holdings it has been customary to require that sufficient equipment be placed on the holding and that this equipment be kept in proper condition.

#### Transfer and Other Assignments of Land During Lifetime

Measures in this field have been concerned chiefly with the maintenance of the holdings in their original set-up and the prevention of speculation. Limitations have been imposed on subdivision, enlargement, amalgamation, consolidation, selling, leasing, and similar dealings.

To quote from the Danish Act of 1899:

"Property must not be subdivided or combined with other land or consolidated unless such action is approved by the Secretary of Agriculture. The Secretary will approve only if an application has been recommended by the Parish Council. Subdivision can only be approved if general economic conditions and the general settlement plan of the municipality or similar circumstances make it desirable to use the land in question otherwise than originally granted, wholly or in part. Consent may be given to join the plot to other land if circumstances make it seem advisable to grant the wish of the holder concerned to extend the scope of his work. However, the holding thus formed must not exceed the maximum size mentioned and the whole plot is then to be considered and registered as coming under the rules of the present law. Permission to exchange a plot or part of a plot for another plot may be granted if, by such consolidation, a more appropriate holding will be established. If a plot is to be exchanged for another plot and the obligations are to be transferred in conformity with this law, assurance must be given that the plot to which the liabilities are transferred is just as good and serves the same purposes as the plot upon which the obligations rested before. The conditions for the settlement of the debts to the Treasury in connection with subdivision, combination and consolidation are to be fixed by the Secretary of Agriculture upon recommendation from the County Committee." (Par. 19)

Later Danish land-settlement acts contain similar provisions. In addition, attention may be called to two more recent Danish enactments dealing with land tenure in general. These are the laws Nos. 106 and 108, adopted on April 3, 1925. Law No. 106 provides that all agricultural holdings comprising an area of at least one hectare and having an assessed land value of at least 1,000 crowns are to be maintained as individual holdings. The other act provides that parcels of land shall not be detached from agricultural holdings without the consent of the Secretary of Agriculture, and it regulates the enlargement and amalgamation of small holdings.

In the German Homestead Act of 1920 the following restrictions occur:

"The homestead shall not be subdivided or sold in part without the consent of the land settlement agency."  
... "State agencies administering the creation of

homesteads (under state homestead acts) may rule that the enlargement, partitioning, the selling and the placement of financial burdens on the homestead as well as the selling of parts of the homestead shall be subject to the approval of a public agency." (Reich Homestead Act of 1920, paragraphs 9 and 22)

Selling the entire holding is allowed under the Reich Homestead Act of 1920. However, if the settler sells, the land-settlement agency has the right of preemption. This right of preemption also applies to forced sales (par. 11).

The same German Act provides furthermore that:

"the forced sale of a homestead because of a personal financial obligation shall not be allowed. If the homesteader was in debt when he acquired the homestead, forced sale may be requested by entry of a mortgage within one year after the date of acquisition. Should the debt not have been terminated within five years after the entry of a mortgage, foreclosure may be requested." (Par. 20)

No foreclosure procedure is allowed under the German Hereditary Holdings Act of 1933. Forced sales of agricultural products produced on the holdings are allowed only under certain reservations. In the first place, the procedure can be started only after the title to foreclose has been given to the local peasant leader one month in advance. In the second place, agricultural products which are appurtenances of the holding or are needed for the subsistence of the holder or his family are excluded entirely.

Similarly, the Danish Act of 1899 provides that the property of the settler cannot be distrained, seized, or sequestered for personal debt contracted by the owner or anybody on his behalf, unless the consent of the Minister of Agriculture has first been granted (par. 15).

The English Act of 1892 contains the provision "that the holding shall not be divided, subdivided, assigned, let or sublet without the consent of the county council." (Section 9 - (1) (b)) Similar provisions are in the later English land-settlement acts.

Attention may be drawn also to the following provision of the Danish Act of 1899:

"If the owner desires, during his lifetime, to transfer the whole property to another person, the



purchaser can take the place of the owner as regards the liabilities to the Treasury, if he fulfills the conditions mentioned above. 14/ Certain of the conditions may be waived if it is desired to transfer the property to a son or a son-in-law, or a child of either. A transfer of the property to a person who does not fulfill these conditions can only be effected if the debt to the Treasury is fully paid at once. However, the property, having been transferred, shall still be considered a plot under the regulations of the present law."

#### Financial Matters

One type of restrictions of this group has been concerned with the possibility and the extent to which owner-settlers shall be entitled to place debt charges on their land in connection with their financial dealings with parties other than the land-settlement agency. The other type of financial restrictions has been related to the question whether the settler should be allowed to wipe out entirely the debt charge placed on his land by the land-settlement agency. In the first instance, the purpose of the restrictions has been to prevent excessive indebtedness on the part of the settler. In the other instance, the aim has been to maintain a close relationship between the land-settlement agency and the settler and thereby to facilitate the enforcement of other restrictions. The former type of restrictions has been widely applied. The latter one has occurred in connection with German land settlement.

To limit the possibility and extent to which owner-settlers shall be free to burden their holdings with debt charges in their dealings with parties other than the land-settlement agency, the Danish Act of 1899 says that "the property including livestock and equipment shall not be charged with other mortgages as long as the indebtedness of the settler to the Treasury exceeds one-half of the original mortgage loan value of the property." (Par. 15) This strict rule remained until 1909. In a new land-settlement act of that year and in later legislation, it was left out in favor of holdings subsequently established. It remained in force for holdings previously established, but for these holdings too it was finally dropped by act No. 105 of April 4, 1928.

The German Homestead Act of 1920 states that the burdening of homesteads through debt charges is subject to the approval of the agency establishing the homesteads (par. 17). In this Act it is further provided that a limit may be entered in the land register as to the financial

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14/ The conditions referred to are the standards to be applied in connection with the selection of settlers.

burden that may be placed on the land (par. 18). Holdings falling under the German Hereditary Holdings Act of 1933 are not subject to debt charges (par. 37).

As far as the question of the terminability of the annuity charge placed on the holding is concerned, the Prussian land-settlement act of 1886 provides that the terminability of the annuity charge on the holding is to be subject to the approval of both seller and purchaser. The same provision is contained in the Prussian land-settlement act of 1890. The Prussian Act of 1891, furthermore, stipulates that the complete redemption of the annuity by cash payment can be effected only with the approval of the public land-settlement authorities. It is interesting to observe that the Prussian general legislation existing at the time when the Act of 1886 and the Acts of 1890 and 1891 were adopted did not permit exclusion of the terminability of an annuity for a period of longer than 30 years. But, by making the terminability of the annuity subject to the approval of both seller and purchaser, these acts authorize the establishment of a perpetual rentcharge.

The English Act of 1892 also permits the creation of a perpetual rentcharge, as shown in the following provision:

"A portion representing not more than one-fourth of the purchase money may, if the county council think fit, be secured by a perpetual rentcharge which shall be redeemable in manner directed by section forty-five of the Conveyancing and Law of Property Act, 1881, with respect to rentcharges to which that section applies."  
(Section 6 - (4))

In this case, however, as the respective section in the Act of 1881 states, the settler is not dependent upon the consent of the land-settlement agency if he wants to redeem the charge. The land-settlement agency is required, on the request of the owner of the land, to certify the amount of money in consideration of which the rent may be redeemed, and to allow the redemption after the serving of one month's notice. This provision of the Act of 1892 was repeated in the Acts of 1907 and 1908, but was not reenacted in 1926.

In this connection, a certain section in the Danish Act of 1899 reads as follows:

"The loan from the State Treasury, in accordance with the present law, cannot be granted to anybody on more than one property. The person who transfers to another person the property with which he has been entrusted in accordance with the present law cannot repeatedly benefit by the law."

This provision seems to be primarily designed to serve as a weapon against speculation.

#### Insurance

Under the Danish land-settlement act of 1934 the owner is under obligation to keep the buildings on the holdings and all the necessary chattel insured at their full value against fire. As to the buildings, the Act says further that they must be insured with an insurance company recognized by the State.

Insurance requirements of this sort have been customary where restricted ownership has been applied.

#### Management

A contract used by one of the German public-service land-settlement agencies speaks of the obligation of the purchaser to use the services of the farm-management advisory agencies suggested by the seller, and to follow the instructions given by such institutions. With respect to fruit plantings, it requires the purchaser to apply for, and to take the advice of, a fruit expert of the Chamber of Agriculture; with respect to livestock it requires him to apply, upon request of the Agricultural Improvement Authorities, for inclusion in the tuberculosis-eradication program of the Chamber of Agriculture.

#### Membership in Organizations

In Germany purchasers of new holdings have often been required to join this or that organization either because their membership is needed as part of the community-organization plan or because of other reasons. Organizations in which their membership has been required include co-operative purchasing, selling, and credit associations, general farm organizations, livestock breeding clubs, seed improvement clubs, and agricultural experiment associations.

#### Succession to Holding in Case of Death

Two restrictions are of great interest. One is the English provision excluding divisibility in connection with disposal at death. The other is the German "Anerbenrecht," which may be called the rule of one heir and indivisibility.

The English provision, as worded in the Act of 1892, says:

"If on the decease of the owner while the holding is subject to the conditions imposed by this section, the holding would, by reason of any devise, bequest,

intestacy, or otherwise, become subdivided, the council may require the holding to be sold within twelve months after such decease to some one person, and if default is made in so selling the holding, the council may cause the holding to be sold." (Section 9 - (3))

This rule is also included, without any change in wording, in the Small Holdings and Allotments Act of 1926.

In the Prussian part of Germany, the rule of one heir and indivisibility was introduced for certain holdings by an act of 1896. This act was designed to apply to rental holdings (Rentengueter) established through the intermediary of the Prussian land-settlement authorities under the acts of 1890 and 1891 and for small holdings created under the Land Settlement Act for Posen and West Prussia of 1886. Under the German Hereditary Holdings Act of 1933, all small holdings, falling into the class of farms regulated by the act, are subject to "Anerbenrecht" no matter in which part of the country they are established.

The following interesting provisions regulating the succession to new holdings in case of death are contained in the Danish Act of 1899:

"If the owner dies, his widow can take his place as regards his obligations to the Treasury, provided she desires to keep the property, but if the widow marries again, the property can only be kept if the husband fulfills the conditions mentioned above.

"The rules contained in ordinance of May 13th, 1769, Section 5, and later publications concerning the testamentary right of freeholders shall also apply as regards testamentary dispositions concerning these houses. If the testamentary right is applied to the advantage of one of the children, the person who is to inherit the house with plot according to the decision of the cottager and his wife, may replace the testator as regards his obligations to the Treasury, but only if the sum which the heir has to pay to the estate and the co-heirs for taking over the property has not been fixed in the will higher than an amount corresponding to what has been paid by the testator as repayment of the mortgage debt at the time the heritage took place.

"If the transferee does not himself possess means to pay the amount he has to pay to the co-heirs, a mortgage on the property may be given to the latter after the Treasury, provided that they submit to reasonable terms as regards charging interest and repayment.

These terms shall first be approved by the County Committee.

"If there are legitimate heirs to the deceased, who fulfill the conditions laid down, the testamentary right can only be applied to the benefit of one of these.

"If the person to whom the property has been left by will does not wish to become owner of the property, or if no decision has been laid down to this effect by will, one of the heirs may replace the deceased as regards his obligations to the Treasury, provided that he fulfills the conditions and makes an agreement with his co-heirs for taking over the property.

"If the property is sold, the Minister of Agriculture may permit the buyer to replace the deceased as regards his obligations to the Treasury." (Paragraphs 21, 22, 23)

The Danish Land Settlement Act of 1934 provides:

"The owner of the holding has the right to will his property to any of his children whom he may think best fit to take it over and to fix the value of the property. If there are no next of kin he cannot dispose at will of the property on which there are state loans. The successor must show that he has the qualifications as mentioned in paragraph 4 of this law." (Chapter VI, Section 30)

#### Other Items

In addition to the restrictions mentioned under the preceding sub-headings a few others may be stated. They refer to the sale of alcoholic beverages, the tempo at which the holding has to be developed by the settler, access to the holding for inspection, and the attachment of servitudes.

The sale of alcoholic beverages has been prohibited in German and English contracts.

As to the tempo of development, a contract used by the Prussian Land Settlement Commission for Posen and West Prussia stipulates that the purchaser of the property is bound, within 1 year after the transfer, to develop his land into a productive holding on an economic basis, to build on the site indicated by the State, and to procure the necessary cattle and implements.

As to access to the holding for inspection, it has been customary to require the purchaser to allow at any time the officials of the land-settlement agency, or persons representing it, to enter the land and the buildings erected on it.

#### Extent and Form of Restrictions

In imposing restrictions, the establishers of new small holdings have not been limited to the terms specifically authorized in the land-settlement acts. They have been free to add other restrictions to an extent determined by how far their particular national legislation governing the traffic with landed property and other matters would allow them to go. In many cases, the establishers of new holdings have actually gone beyond the land-settlement acts and imposed additional terms.

The specifically authorized ownership conditions have been imposed either by the acts themselves, or under legislative provisions permitting the parties involved in land-settlement operations to agree to certain limitations and obligations, or by both procedures. In Germany, the Prussian acts of 1886, 1890, and 1891 contain only provisions authorizing the parties involved to agree to certain ownership limitations. Later acts, however, include various restrictions effective by act of law. On the other hand, both the earlier and later land-settlement acts of England, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have imposed numerous restrictions directly.

In some cases, the conditions have been imposed directly through their inclusion in the sales terms. In other cases, they have been placed indirectly through their appearance in financial agreements. In still other cases, they have been established through both sales terms and financial agreements. An example of the direct form of restrictions through sales conditions are the restrictions mentioned in the English land-settlement acts. Representative of the indirect establishment of restrictions or obligations through loan terms are the respective provisions of the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish land-settlement acts. Many illustrations of the third type of procedure are contained in the German land-settlement laws and contracts.

#### Duration of Restrictions

There have been two schools of thought with respect to the duration of the restrictions placed upon ownership. One school has advocated making these conditions temporary. The other has insisted upon the necessity of maintaining certain restrictions permanently. The idea of temporary restrictions has been applied in England and, with few exceptions, in the Scandinavian countries. In Germany, however, steps have been taken to make certain important restrictions permanent. Those who have

proposed the successive application of restricted and unrestricted ownership seem to reason as follows: the risks involved in the granting of freedom of property disposal, as allowed by the law in the general field of land tenure, are certainly too great when the settlers enter their holdings. But, after a certain time, these risks become much smaller so that they may be disregarded or will be offset by the advantages of unrestrained ownership.

Where the decision has been reached to make the restrictions temporary, the duration of the conditions either are identical with the period of indebtedness or they last for a certain number of years, regardless of whether or not the purchaser pays up all the installments of the purchase money within that period.

Under the English Small Holdings Act of 1892, the restrictions mentioned in the act were to be in effect for 20 years from the date of the sale and thereafter so long as any part of the purchase money remained unpaid. This provision was later changed to 40 years from the date of the sale and thereafter so long as the holding remains charged with a terminable annuity.

In Germany, under the Prussian Act of 1896, the land-settlement holdings falling under its provisions are to remain subject to the rule of one heir and indivisibility of the property (Anerbenrecht) even after the obligation of paying annuities has been terminated.

As far as Denmark is concerned it is noteworthy that in accordance with paragraph 34 of the Act of 1899, the Treasury, after having ordered foreclosure, should it prefer to sell the property, may do so without any regard to the restrictions mentioned in the law.

#### Relaxation or Dispensation of Restrictions

Many of the restrictions and obligations imposed upon owners have been made flexible in order to render them adjustable to particular conditions. This has usually been done by authorizing the administrative agencies to relax the restrictive conditions or to permit their omission if they deem such action to be appropriate. The English acts of 1892, 1908, and 1926, for instance, authorize the county council, under special circumstances, to be recorded in their minutes to sell a small holding free from any of the conditions imposed by the acts. Under the Act of 1926, such action is subject to the approval of the Minister of Agriculture in the case of holdings in respect to which a contribution is payable by the Minister. The Minister, in giving his consent to any such relaxation or dispensation, may impose such terms as he thinks fit, including a requirement as to the consideration to be charged, and the application thereof in whole or in part in satisfaction of any contribution payable by him (Section 6 - (1)).

In Germany, under the Prussian Act of 1890, the land-settlement authorities may allow a settler to subdivide or sell part of his holding, if such procedure is in the interest of the public. They may exempt a settler from the building and equipment requirements, provided that the continuation of the economic independence of the holding is not deemed advisable from the standpoint of public interest. In addition, under the Prussian Act of 1891, the land-settlement authorities are permitted to approve of the redemption of the annuity payments prior to the expiration of the first 10 years, if they feel this to be desirable.

Under the German Homestead Act of 1920 the supplier of a homestead must agree to its subdivision or allow its sale in part, if the part or parts separated become independent homesteads or the sale does not substantially affect its economic status and preservation (par. 9). The same Act stipulates that the settler is to be allowed to encumber his holding financially, should such encumbrance appear to be consistent with the rules of orderly management (par. 17). Also under the German Hereditary Holdings Act of 1933, the administering authority may, in exceptional cases, permit the selling of part of the holding or allow its encumbrance with indebtedness (par. 37 - (2)).

#### Enforcement of Restrictions

One important aspect of the enforcement procedure is the collection of information on the performance of the settler through periodical inspections. Certain German provisions require one inspection every three years. So does the Norwegian Act of 1903. However, the Norwegian Act of 1915 rules that the holdings are to be inspected once every year.

To facilitate this inspection, land-settlement laws and contracts usually stipulate that the settler is to grant access to the holding at any time to the officials of the land-settlement agencies or their representatives and is to allow them to look over his records. Likewise, to facilitate the enforcement, the Prussian land-settlement acts of 1886, 1890, and 1891 carry the provision that the termination of the settler's annuity debt shall be subject to the approval of both parties, on the assumption that the relationship between land-settlement agency and settler will remain closer as long as the annuity charge, no matter how small it finally may become, continues to exist.

The mildest action that may be taken in case a restriction is violated consists of issuing a warning and granting an opportunity of remedying the violation. The English land-settlement acts specifically point out that such an opportunity of remedying the violation must be given before any further action is taken. Of course, there is no reason to grant an opportunity for remedy if the violation is not correctible. Therefore, in speaking of this period for the correction of a violation,



the English Acts add "if it is capable of remedy". <sup>15/</sup> The time allowed for correction depends on the particular circumstance.

Should these methods fail to bring about the desired results, sterner actions may follow. Where the restrictions were set up directly through sales conditions, the enforcement actions to be taken in case of violations in the main have been: (1) withdrawal, (2) re-purchase, (3) recovery of possession, (4) exercise of the right of preemption, and (5) collection of a fine or penalty.

Where the restrictions were placed on ownership indirectly through financial stipulations, the enforcement actions have consisted of the right to re-call the settler's loan or loans. In this second case the theory is that nine times out of ten the settler will not be able to repay promptly and that foreclosure procedures will be possible.

Just which specific enforcement action is to follow a particular type of violation is a matter which is laid down in the land-settlement acts or contracts. As a rule, for certain violations only certain enforcement actions may be employed. The English land-settlement acts grant the rights of re-purchase or recovery of possession with respect to all the conditions mentioned therein. The Act of 1892 grants the right of preemption if land is diverted from agriculture to other purposes. In laying down the right of preemption, the latter act says:

"If at any time after the restrictive conditions imposed by this Act have ceased to attach to a small holding, the owner of the holding desires to use the holding for purposes other than agriculture, he shall before so doing, whether the holding is situated within a town or built upon or not, offer the holding for sale, first to the county council from whom the holding was purchased, next to the person or persons (if any) then entitled to the lands from which the holding was originally severed, and then to the person or persons whose lands immediately adjoin the holding, and sections 127-130 of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845, shall apply as if the owner of the small holding were the promoter of the undertaking and the holding were superfluous lands within the meaning of those sections."  
(Section 11)

The Act of 1907 mentions only the county council as entitled to this right and leaves out the adjoining owners. Later acts have dropped this section entirely.

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<sup>15/</sup> Compare Act of 1926, Section 6 - (2).

In Germany the right of re-purchase as established by act of law under the land-settlement act of 1919, is to be enforceable in case the settler sells or gives up his holding in whole or in part or does not live on it or fails to manage it permanently. On the other hand, the right of re-purchase by agreement of the parties, under the German Civil Code of 1896, is applicable with respect to rental holdings if (1) the owner sells the holding or obligates himself by some other agreement to transfer his property, (2) foreclosure proceedings are instituted against the rental holding, (3) the owner deceases, or (4) the owner fails to fulfill restrictions or obligations stipulated in the contract. This second German right of re-purchase, therefore, goes considerably beyond the right established under the land-settlement act of 1919.

The determination of the financial settlement is an important problem in case the restrictions and obligations are enforced through re-purchase, recovery of possession or preemption. The rules by which the prices to be paid to the settler are to be fixed have varied in the different countries included. \*

In accordance with the English Small Holdings and Allotments Act of 1926 the county council, in taking possession of a small holding, is to pay to the owner either such sum as may be agreed upon in the contract or a sum equal to the value of the settler's interest in the small holding after deducting therefrom the amount at which the annuity charged on the holding may be redeemed under the law of the property act of 1925, together with any arrears of any annuity then due. The act further states that in the second case, in the absence of a sale and in default of agreement, the value of the interest in the small holding shall be settled by an arbitrator appointed under the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1923 (Section 7 - (2)(b)). 16/

16/ Note also the following statement by Spencer:

"The smallholder against whom possession has been taken will be entitled to a sum representing the value of his interest in the property prior to the taking possession by the council less the redeemable value of the unpaid portion of the terminable annuity payable by him. Under the Law of Property Act, 1925, s. 191, the Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries may certify the amount of money in consideration whereof a rentcharge may be redeemed and on proof of payment certify that the rentcharge is redeemed, and the certificate so given is final and conclusive. The value of the holding, from which this is to be deducted before payment to the small holder, will be ascertainable by sale of the holding, or, in the absence of a sale and in default of agreement, by arbitration under the provisions of the Agricultural Holdings Act, 1923." (Spencer, John Aubrey, op. cit., p. 202.)

Under the German Homestead Act of 1920 the settler is to receive, in case the supplier exercises his right of preemption or recovery of possession, the purchase price stipulated in the homestead contract with respect to the land plus the value of the buildings and improvements, if there should be any.

Under both English and German laws it is possible to transfer the right of re-purchase to some other person in case the land-settlement agency is not interested in resuming the property itself.

#### Recording and Title Transfer

In Germany and the Scandinavian countries the recording of titles to land for a long time has been carried out in land registers. In England, the conveyancing and placement of restrictions on land has long been certified in a sealed document called a deed. The idea of using a register for the recording of land titles has been gaining ground since the middle of the last century. Important measures toward the development of a better land-registration system have been taken with the passing of the Land Transfer Acts of 1875 and 1897, the Land Registration Act of 1925, the Law of Property Act and the Land Charges Act of the same year. It is noteworthy that the land-settlement act of 1892 and subsequent acts of this 17/ group require registration.

The rule placed in the Act of 1908 reads as follows:

"Where a county council have purchased land for small holdings, they shall apply to be registered as proprietors thereof under the Land Transfer Acts, 1875 and 1897, and may be registered as proprietors of the land with any title authorized by those Acts.

"When a county council, after having been so registered, transfer any such land to a purchaser of a small holding, the purchaser shall be registered as proprietor of the land with an absolute title, subject only to such incumbrances as may be created under this Act; and in any case the remedy of any person claiming by title paramount to the county council in respect either of title or incumbrances shall be in damages only, and such damages shall be recoverable against the county council.

17/ See Act of 1892, Section 10.

Rules under the Land Transfer Acts, 1875 and 1897,  
may —

- (a) adapt those Acts to the registration of small holdings, with such modifications as appear to be required; and
- (b) on the application and at the expense of a county council, provide, by the appointment of local agents or otherwise, for the carrying into effect the objects of this section." (Section 13 - (1 - 3))

As far as the transfer of title is concerned, it is interesting to know at what time the title is to be transferred under the ownership arrangements established in the various countries. There have been two major views on this point. According to one, the title is to be transferred at the time of purchase. According to the other, it is to be transferred only after the indebtedness to the land-settlement agency has ceased to exist. The purpose of the postponement of the transfer of title evidently is to retain better control over the settler during the initial settlement period when his qualifications have not yet been definitely established.

The English land-settlement act of 1892 says that every purchaser shall, within such time as is fixed by rules under this act, but not less than one month after the purchase, complete the purchase. This seems to indicate that the act requires the title to be transferred at the time of purchase.

In a sale of holdings at Glendale in Sky, Scotland, the Congested Districts Board decided that, until all installment payments have been made under the Minute of Sale, no formal title, deed, or conveyance capable of registration in the Register of Sasines (Land Register) should be granted in favor of the purchaser or his heirs. As to the other countries included, their ownership arrangements seem to provide that the title is to be transferred immediately.

#### Adjustment of Disputes

In a number of instances, special agencies have been set up for the purpose of adjusting disputes that may arise between the land-settlement agency and the settler. These special agencies are expected, on account of the composition of their personnel and their rules of operation, to bring about a speedier, simpler, and more effective settlement of disputes.

In Scotland, the terms under which small holdings were to be sold by the Congested Districts Board in Barra County included the

following interesting provision as to arbitration: 18/

"Any question between the Board and the several purchasers as to the meaning of the conditions inserted in their respective conveyances shall be determined by two arbiters mutually chosen, or by an oversman whom they may appoint, and the decision of such arbiter or oversman shall be final and conclusive."

The English Act of 1892 did not provide for any such arbitration. The Act of 1907, however, contained a provision according to which any disputes arising out of the determination of the sale price, in case a small holding is to be sold to the Council on account of violations of contract terms, are to be determined by arbitration. A similar provision appears in the Act of 1926.

In connection with the determination of the annuity to be paid by the purchaser, the Act of 1926 provides that the answer to any question that may arise as to what is the full, fair rent of the small holding or the amount of the terminable annuity is to be determined by the County Council. Accordingly, there is no arbitration in this case. Instead, the County Council alone decides what the full, fair rent is and what the amount of the terminable annuity shall be.

In the Prussian part of Germany, the task of settling disputes arising in connection with the creation of rental holdings has been delegated to the Kulturaemter (land improvement agencies which are part of the administrative system of Prussian land settlement).

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18/ Fourth Report of the Congested Districts Board for Scotland, 1902, Appendix III, p. 8.

### Chapter III

#### PROVISIONS FOR TENANCY

##### The Case of Tenancy

In advocating the application of tenancy arrangements in connection with the creation of new holdings the following major arguments have been set forth. First, the tenant does not have to invest his capital in land and buildings. Instead, he can use his funds for the purchase of equipment or operating purposes. Second, tenancy permits a high degree of control over the holding. Restrictions can easily be imposed and enforced. Third, a fair amount of security is provided by modern tenancy regulation, under which the tenant usually enjoys protection against undue disturbance and compensation for unexhausted improvements. Fourth, existing landlordism, on the whole, has been performing its duties in a satisfactory manner. (This argument has been set forth by certain advocates in England.) Fifth, when confronted with the consequences of a bad year, the settler, in case he has a progressive landlord, may count on the benevolent aid of his lessor. Sixth, tenancy enables a high degree of mobility, because under it the settler may discontinue his connection with the holding on which he settled and move to another more suitable place. He has not invested a considerable amount of his savings in land and buildings and is not confronted with the possibility of having to make substantial sacrifices in the liquidation of property when moving elsewhere.

##### Provisions in General

In three countries, - England, Germany, and Sweden - leasehold agreements have been specifically authorized in various land-settlement acts. As to England this is true in the Act of 1892 and subsequent small holdings acts of the same class. In Germany, the Prussian Land Settlement Act for Posen and West Prussia of 1886 authorizes the letting of small holdings. Also, the Reich Settlement Act of 1919 in one instance refers to tenancy, expressing thereby that this tenure type may be applied (par. 13 - (3)). In Sweden, the land-settlement act of June 15, 1934, provides for lease arrangements.

As in the case of ownership, the nature of these lease arrangements has largely been determined, on one hand, by the provisions of the land-settlement acts themselves and, on the other hand, by existing legislation regulating tenancy in general. The degree to which tenancy has been regulated in the land-settlement acts themselves has depended on the degree to which novelty provisions and other factors were to be introduced.

In the last two or three decades there has been considerable legislation regulating tenancy in general in all the countries included in

this study. In the case of England, mention may be made here of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1908, the Agricultural Act of 1920, and the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1923. Scotland has its Small Landholders (Scotland) Act of 1911, the Small Landholders and Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1931, and the Agricultural Land (Utilization) Act of 1931. In regard to Germany, notice should be taken of a series of tenancy decrees issued by the Reich Government since 1920, starting with the Decree of June 9, 1920, and continued by the Decree of June 29, 1922, the Decree of February 13, 1924, the Decree of July 23, 1925, the Decree of July 1927, the Decree of July 12, 1929, and others. In Sweden, there were passed the tenancy laws of 1907, 1909, and 1918.

#### Private or Public Tenancy

Public tenancy has been authorized in England, Germany, and Sweden. In England, this has been the case under the Small Holdings Act of 1892 and subsequent acts of the same class; in Germany, under the Prussian Act of 1886; and in Sweden, under the Act of 1934.

#### Tenancy with Option to Buy

Provisions for tenancy with option to buy exist in England, Germany, and Sweden.

In England, the following was placed in the Act of 1892:

"Where the tenant of a small holding has agreed with his landlord for the purchase of the holding or the county council of the county in which the holding or any part of it is situated may, if they think fit, advance to the tenant on the security of the holding an amount not exceeding four-fifths of the purchase money thereof.

"The provisions of this Act with respect to the purchase money secured by the charge on a small holding sold by a county council, and with respect to any small holding so sold, shall apply to an advance made and a holding purchased under this section, as if the advance was the purchase money, save that the county council shall not guarantee the title of the purchaser of the holding.

"No advance shall be made by a county council under this section, unless they are satisfied that the title to the holding is good, that the sale is made in good faith, and that the price is reasonable."  
(Section 17 - (1 - 3))

The English Land Settlement (Facilities) Act of 1919 rules that a tenant of a holding on land purchased by a Council, who has been in occupation of his holding for a period of not less than 6 years, shall on notice of his desire to purchase the holding be entitled to require its sale to him. This sale is to be made at the expiration of one month from the date of the notice. The holding is to be sold at the value then prevailing, exclusive of any increase in the value due to any improvement executed thereon by, and at the expense of, the tenant (Section 11 - (3)). The Small Holdings Act of 1926 provides, however, that this provision of the Act of 1919 shall apply only in the case of a tenant occupying a small holding at the commencement of this Act. For the case of tenants whose occupation commences after the beginning of the Act of 1926, it shall be lawful for the county council to sell the small holding to the settler subject to the sales provisions mentioned in the Act of 1926 (Section 13).

A lease contract used by the Land Settlement Commission for Posen and West Prussia contains the following provisions concerning the possibility of selling the holding to the tenant at a later date:

"Should the tenant, with the consent of the State, during the period of the lease or at the end of this period, take over the ownership of the holding, subject to payment of a rent (Eigentum gegen Rente), according to the general conditions in force concerning the acquisition of holdings, the following procedure shall apply:

a) In so far as the security for rent deposited under No. 4 of the Contract, and the security for the maintenance of buildings collected, under No. 5, are not required or have not been required to satisfy claims of the State for purposes connected with the carrying out of the contract, these securities shall be counted as cash-payments on account of the purchase-price.

b) The former tenant is granted, retroactively, two free years, so that the amount of the land-rent for two years is also counted as a payment on account of the purchase-price for the buildings and is deducted from the purchase-price.

c) For the part of the purchase price which remains after the deduction of the sums referred to under II (a) and (b), the tenant, who is now a rental holding purchaser — is granted credit against security in the form of a mortgage on the settlement, on condition that



he shall pay an annual sum calculated to cover interest and amortization. This annual payment shall, as a rule, not exceed the yearly rent for buildings, according to the rate last paid or, should the tenant become owner of the settlement before the expiration of the sixth rent-year, according to the rate which would have applied after the expiration of the first six rent-years." (Section 10 - (II))

#### Nature of Restrictions

A great many restrictions have been imposed upon tenant-settlers. The chief ones will be described as they appear in the land-settlement acts and in some of the lease contracts used in the countries included in this study. The description will follow as closely as possible the arrangement of the discussion of the restrictions and obligations imposed upon owner-settlers.

#### Qualities, Activities, and Residence of the Tenant

Obligations with regard to managing the holding properly, cultivating the land personally, and living permanently on the holding have rather generally been imposed upon the tenants.

All the English tenants settled under the Act of 1892 and subsequent acts are bound to these conditions. A contract employed by the English Land Settlement Association Limited states, in addition, that the settler is not to allow any person except members of his own family to live in the dwelling house or on any other part of the holding without the written consent of the Association.

#### Use of Land

The two most important restrictions are the prevention of the diversion of land from agricultural use and reservations as to the right of mining and mineral exploitation.

A lease agreement of the Berkshire County Council in England excepts from the leasing (1) all mines, minerals, gravel, sand, clay, and quarries and (2) all trees, saplings, shrubs, pollards, and underwood, and gives the full right to the Council or any one authorized by it to take and remove these things, making reasonable compensation to the tenant for any damage done in such operations. This kind of reservation is typical of many of the English land-settlement contracts.

The above-mentioned lease agreement of the Prussian Land Settlement Commission refers to the question of mining and mineral exploitation in part as follows:

"Taking peat as fuel for the lessee's own use is permitted subject to the rules of economical exploitation. In the case of reclaimed marshy meadows, the taking of peat is prohibited. Any other utilizable substances of any kind, especially clay, brick, earth, limestone, coal, in or under the lots on the lease, may be used by the lessee so far as required....The State is not bound to give any assistance in removing accretions of sand or silt, if any."

#### Buildings and Other Improvements.

The main purposes of this kind of restrictions and obligations have been to regulate the construction, use, and maintenance of the buildings and to protect existing improvements and regulate the addition of new ones.

The agreement of the Prussian Land Settlement Commission for Posen and West Prussia states:

"It shall be the duty of the lessee to care for the upkeep of the main buildings and any other buildings on the premises. He is therefore bound to maintain all the buildings in an economically justifiable and usable condition . . . . The lessee shall have no claim against the State for the erection of any buildings, etc., that do not yet exist or any alteration or improvement of buildings, fences or wells that already exist. If the State, nevertheless, undertakes in view of special requirements and at the request of the lessee such construction work, the lessee shall be bound to pay an additional rent from the day of the completion of the work to be fixed at the discretion of the President of the Land Settlement Commission and to correspond to interest at the rate of 4 per cent.

"Constructing to replace and supplement any building work that became necessary in consequence of damage by fire or by Act of God, or building decrepitude or faults in the first instance shall be done by the State as lessor at its own expense.

"This construction work need only be carried out along the same dimensions and in the same style of building as the buildings that have been lost, but the lessee must put up with changes in the use of building material and the style of building which the State at the discretion of the President of the Colonization Commission should deem necessary.

"If at the request of the lessee such construction is carried out in a better way or in larger measurements than previously done, the lessee shall be bound to pay an additional rent to the extent of interest at the rate of 4 per cent on the extra cost thus caused.

"At the request of the State, the lessee shall be bound to undertake the supervision without any compensation of all cases of building and also to give free of charge full assistance with hand and cart that may be required by the President of the Colonization Commission for helping in the building activities.

"Any new buildings or alterations or extensions of existing buildings which the lessee does without the sanction of the State must be removed at the demand of the State. If the removal is not insisted upon the lessee shall have no claim for compensation of his outlay nor the right of removal." (Section VII - (1 - 5))

Under the rules concerning improvements as laid down in the lease agreement of the Berkshire County Council in England the tenant agrees with the Council to do the following:

"To repair, maintain and keep in good and tenantable repair the house and all the buildings for the time being on the said Holding (except the roofs, outer walls main timbers and outside painting), and also all roads, gates, hedges, fences (the character of which latter shall not be altered without the consent of the Council) and boundary mounds and to keep the hedges regularly brushed and trimmed and lay and plash such of them as require it at proper seasons of the year (planting, guarding and properly weeding young quicks where necessary) renew all broken glass and to clean out and keep open and in working order all ditches, rain water gutters and downpipes, drains, ponds, sewers, culverts and water courses and to provide free of charge suitable straw for thatching such of the buildings on the Holding as have thatched roofs, and to do all hauling of materials for the necessary repairs free of charge not exceeding a distance of 5 miles from the Holding.

"Not to do or suffer to be done upon the said premises anything which may render any increased or extra premium payable for the insurance of the said premises against fire or which may make void or voidable any policy for such insurance.

"To pay on demand to the Council the cost apportioned to his Holding of any repairs or works mentioned in Clause 3(c) of this Agreement executed at the expense of the Council to any buildings, fences, rods, drains or watercourses which are common to or serve two or more Holdings of which one or some are in the occupation of the Council or an adjoining owner or their or his tenant or tenants and the other in the occupation of the Tenant.

"Not, without the written consent of the Council, to erect a dwelling-house or other building on the said Holding, and to submit plans to be approved by the Council of any dwelling-house or building being erected by him and as regards any such new building or any existing building to comply with such requirements as the Council may impose for securing healthiness and freedom from overcrowding.

"Not without written consent to erect any barb wire fences.

"Not to execute or perform any improvement mentioned in Part I of the Second Schedule to the Small Holdings Act of 1908." (Section 3)

#### Livestock and Equipment

The usual requirements under this heading are that the lessee is bound to keep on the holding leased to him the livestock and equipment that are considered necessary for the proper management of the holding and to maintain his livestock and equipment in proper condition during the time of the lease.

#### Transfer and Other Assignments of Land During Lifetime

Subdivision of the holding has usually been excluded in the lease contract by a provision directing the settler not to give up the possession of any part of the holding.

As to the question of enlarging the holding, the lease agreement of the Prussian Land Settlement Commission for Posen and West Prussia states that the lessee agrees not to purchase or to take on the lease, or to operate without the approval of the State any land

or property whether for himself or for his wife or children or any other relatives within 20 kilometers from the property leased.

Partly in line with these provisions and partly with the thought of restraining further the settler's rights of transferring and assigning his land, it has been customary to forbid the tenant to underlet, assign, or part with the possessions of the holding without the approval of the land-settlement agency.

#### Financial Matters

A tenant is expected to pay his rent regularly and at the time stipulated within the contract. This provision has apparently been the main financial obligation of tenancy agreements.

#### Insurance

The contract of the Prussian Land Settlement Commission for Posen and West Prussia contains the following provision:

"The lessee is bound to insure at his own expense and for the whole time of the lease with insurance institutions indicated by the State continuously and for the full value all grain crops against damage by hail, and his goods and chattels, the stock of crops, and the stock of cattle, against the risk of fire and of lightning. The lessee is bound to step into existing insurances and to pay the insurance premiums that become due after the day of handing over.

"Moreover, the lessee shall bear the cost of insurance of the buildings that has been concluded by the State or that may be concluded or extended at the time of the lease, and which become due after the day of the handing over.

"For any contravention of these obligations a contractual penalty may be inflicted upon the lessee in favor of the State at the discretion of the President of the Colonisation Commission up to one-tenth part of the original annual rent. The State is also entitled to conclude the insurances in the name and for account of the lessee in a legally binding way or to make good at the cost of the lessee any arrears.

"The compensation sum shall in every case be paid to the party upon whom the damage fell; therefore in

the case of buildings burnt down always to the State."  
(Section XI)

#### Management

The method of farming to be adopted by the tenant has often been laid down in great detail. Besides there usually are specific provisions referring to the manner in which the holding is to be farmed during the last year of tenancy.

The following provisions are included in the lease agreement of the Berkshire County Council in England:

"The tenant agrees not to cultivate or permit the holding to be cultivated as a market garden or gardens. He agrees not to sell or remove or suffer to be removed from the holding during the last year of the tenancy any hay, straw, chaff, roots, or green crops or manures which are the produce of the last year of tenancy. The tenant agrees to keep the holding in good condition and not to allow any part of it to become impoverished. He agrees to have the land at all times clean and all hay, straw, fodder, roots, or green crops or manure sold or taken from the holding to be removed or suffer to be removed for feeding staffs of store."

The contract also includes several additional provisions concerning the use and upkeep of the gardens and orchards, preservation of timber and the method of cropping. It further provides that there is not to be a conversion of any meadow or pasture land for tillage without the written consent of the Council.

Notice should also be taken of the following provisions of the Prussian Land Settlement Commission as to the way in which the holding is to be operated during the last year of tenancy:

"The tenant will hand back the gardens and fields in accordance with the plan of husbandry properly cultivated and manured and sown with garden plants or field produce. In order to avoid disputes as to the plan of husbandry it is hereby agreed that the fields of the place leased shall be returned duly cultivated as follows: one-third with winter crops, one-third with summer crops, one-sixth with potatoes, and one-sixth with other produce."

### Membership in Organizations

In some cases membership in land reclamation and improvement organizations or processing plants has been required of the tenant. Thus the contract of the Prussian Land Settlement Commission for Posen and West Prussia reads:

"In so far as the rented property is situated or subsequently attached to the sphere of activity of a drainage or land improvement society the tenant shall personally assume responsibility for the charges of the society falling upon the settlement colony . . . The tenant undertakes to associate himself, as long as he remains a tenant, with a distillery . . . which is to be established in order to carry on the activities of the existing distillery enterprises."

An obligation of the tenant to join the cooperative organizations developed in this community is contained in the tenancy agreement of the Land Settlement Association, Ltd., operating in England. Explaining its insistence upon this condition, the Association points out in one of its pamphlets:

"It is considered that the greatest hope for a smallholder of this type is by the cooperative purchase of supplies and by cooperative work in general. A cooperative organization of this sort does not mean that all the produce will be pooled and the proceeds evenly divided amongst the holdings. Each man will receive the proceeds from the sale of his own produce, but it will be graded and pooled for the purpose of cooperative sale. Considerable economies should also be possible by the joint purchase of feeding stuffs and other necessaries required by the settlers. Further, on each settlement there will be a Central Farm which, in the first instance at any rate, will be largely responsible for the breeding of livestock. This Farm will be in a position to supply to settlers cooperatively certain services such as the use of the tractor, the services of the boar, etc., which a smallholder, working on his own, could only attain at a higher cost.

"All men who volunteer for these schemes must understand that cooperative working is a condition of tenancy and at the conclusion of the training period, they must be prepared to sign an Agreement to that effect, any breach of which will entail the termination of tenancy."

### Succession to Holding in Case of Death

In several land-settlement contracts, such as the tenancy contract of the English County Council of Berkshire and that of the Prussian Land Settlement Commission, the lease is to be terminable in case of the death of the tenant prior to the expiration of the lease. In the former case, the termination may be decided upon by the Council at the expiration of any year of the tenancy, by 12 calendar months' notice in writing. The Prussian contract requires 6 months' previous notice.

Under the German Civil Code of 1896 the heirs of the tenant are entitled to terminate the lease, whereas the landlord has no right to bring the lease to an end when the tenant dies (par. 596). Under the Swedish tenancy act of 1907, in case the tenant dies the lease is to continue, unless there is a contractual agreement against it. But this act also entitles the heirs to terminate the lease if they so desire. In case a lease has been concluded for life, the widow of the tenant has the right to stay in possession of the holding, provided she does not remarry. If she remarries, the landlord may terminate the lease.

### Accountability and Inspection

The usual procedure has been to state in the contract that the lessee must allow officials or the persons representing the land-settlement agency to inspect the property and his management at any time; that he must give these persons at their request all the information called for and that he must prove to them that he has fulfilled his obligations under the lease contract.

Under the lease agreement of the Berkshire County Council in England, the tenant agrees to keep true accounts and vouchers of all hay, straw, fodder, root or green crops, or manure sold or removed from the holding and of the amount of manure or feeding stuffs or store returned. These accounts are to be produced whenever required, for any authorized officer of the Council. The tenant agrees, moreover, that at all inspection times the officer shall be allowed to enter or inspect the holding.

### Miscellaneous

Some of the other obligations refer to reservations as to sporting rights, rights of way, easements and so on, the observation of conditions and covenants under which land is held by the landlord, the sale of liquor, and the posting of advertising.

A comparison of all the restrictions described under the preceding sub-headings with those mentioned as pertaining to ownership reveals much similarity between them. The close relationship between the two sets



of restrictions in England is easily understood when it is realized that the Act of 1892 and those following it specifically point out that "every small holding let by a county council... shall be held subject to the same conditions on which it would under the respective section of the Act be held if it were sold, except so far as those conditions relate to the purchasing money." 19/

#### Enforcement Restrictions

To ascertain whether or not the tenant is complying with the stipulations of the lease contract, periodical inspections are made. Before any action is taken against the tenant, he is given a reasonable opportunity to remedy the breach.

Some of the English contracts contain the provision that, in case the tenant does not carry out the work that he is expected to do, the landlord is entitled to execute the work himself and to charge the tenant with its cost.

Other means of enforcement are the collection of a fine and the termination of the lease.

It is interesting that the Prussian Land Settlement Commission for Posen and West Prussia provided for the establishment of a special security fund and other security, in order to assure the compliance of the tenant with the terms of the contract. The provision reads as follows:

"The lessee shall give security to the amount of one year's rent for the complete performance of all his obligations. Until the expiration of the contract and until all obligations of the lessee are considered to have been fully and duly performed, the security shall remain deposited in such a way that the State may immediately pay to itself any arrears of rent or any other claims arising out of the lease. Furthermore, the whole of the cattle and the inventory of the lessee and the stocks and produce shall be regularly pledged to the State for the obligations undertaken by this contract. The securities shall be pledged in such a way that the State shall have the option of deciding out of which security given it shall satisfy itself in the first instance. The lessee shall be bound to bring up to its original amount the security deposited by him if the whole or part thereof has been drawn upon during the period of the lease."

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19/ Compare Act of 1892, Section 9 - (7).

It should also be noted that under the Prussian contract just mentioned the wife of the tenant must guarantee separately the proper performance by the tenant of all obligations undertaken by him.

#### Duration of Lease

In England, smallholders settled under the Small Holdings Act of 1892 and subsequent acts have usually been given a yearly lease. The agreement used by the Prussian Land Settlement Commission for Posen and West Prussia provided for a lease of 12 years.

The English Land Settlement Association Limited adopted a lease that may be terminated at any time by either party after 3 months' notice. Such a short-term lease was chosen for the purpose of preventing these holdings from falling under the provisions of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1923, which allows a termination only after 12 months' notice. The Land Settlement Association held that speedier action was necessary in case the tenant should violate the provisions concerning cooperative working, and that the cooperative structure might be imperiled if a tenant could not be compelled to leave his holding immediately.

#### Compensation Payments

The English Agricultural Holdings Act of 1923 includes provisions for the payment of compensation for improvements on the holdings, for an increase in the value of the holdings arising out of the continuous adoption of special standards or systems of farming, for the deterioration of the holding, for damage by game, for disturbance, and for resumption of possession of the holding by a mortgagee. These rules also apply to the tenant-operated small holdings established under the land-settlement acts of England.

While, as mentioned before, the lease agreement of the Land Settlement Association Limited does not fall under the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1923, like the customary English tenancy contract, it contains several provisions assuring compensation for unexhausted improvements to the tenant whose lease is terminated.

The English Agricultural Holdings Act of 1923 distinguishes between three types of improvements. In the first place, there are improvements for which the consent of, or notice to, the landlord is not required. In the second place, there are improvements for which notice must be given to the landlord. In the third place, there are improvements for which the consent of the landlord is required. Claims for compensation must be submitted with particulars within two months of the termination of tenancy.

As to the compensation to tenants, when a mortgagee takes possession of a holding occupied by a person under a contract of tenancy with the mortgagor which is not binding on the said mortgagee, the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1923 provides as follows:

"The occupier shall, as against the mortgagee who takes possession, be entitled to any compensation which is, or would but for the mortgagee taking possession be, due to the occupier from the mortgagor as respects crops, improvements, tillages, or other matters connected with the holding, whether under this Act or custom or an agreement authorized by this Act;

"If the contract of tenancy is for a tenancy from year to year or for a term of years, not exceeding twenty-one, at a rack rent, the mortgagee shall, before he deprives the occupier of possession otherwise than in accordance with the contract of tenancy, give to the occupier six months' notice in writing of his intention so to do, and, if he so deprives him, compensation shall be due to the occupier for his crops, and for any expenditure upon the land which he has made in the expectation of remaining in the holding for the full term of his contract of tenancy, in so far as any improvement resulting therefrom is not exhausted at the time of his being so deprived;

"Any sum ascertained to be due to the occupier for compensation, or for any costs connected therewith, may be set off against any rent or other sum due from him in respect of the holding, but unless so set off shall, as against the mortgagee, be charged and recovered in accordance with the provisions of this Act relating to the recovery of compensation due from a landlord who is a trustee." (Section 15 - (1 - 3))

In case of other disturbances, notice in writing of intention to claim compensation for disturbance must be given not less than one month after the termination of the tenancy. Particulars of the claim must be submitted within two months of the termination of the tenancy.

#### Adjustment of Disputes

To foster the speedy adjustment of disputes and to reduce to a minimum the technicalities and costs of adjustment several land-settlement acts and contracts provide for arbitration.

A comprehensive machinery for arbitration has been set up in England. Almost any question or difference arising between the landlord

and the tenant of a small holding may be referred to arbitration, as will be seen from the following passage of the Agricultural Holdings Act of 1923:

"Any question or difference arising out of any claim by the tenant of a holding against the landlord for compensation payable under this Act, or for any sums claimed to be due to the tenant from the landlord for any breach of contract or otherwise in respect of the holding, or out of any claim by the landlord against the tenant for waste wrongly committed or permitted by the tenant, or for any breach of contract or otherwise in respect of the holding, and any other question or difference of any kind whatsoever between the landlord and the tenant of the holding arising out of the termination of the tenancy of the holding or arising, whether during the tenancy or on the termination thereof, as to the construction of the contract of tenancy, and any other question which under this Act is referred to arbitration shall be determined, notwithstanding any agreement under the contract of tenancy or otherwise providing for a different method of arbitration, by a single arbitrator in accordance with the provisions set out in the Second Schedule to this Act." (Section 16 - (1))

This act also provides that the arbitrator is final.

## Chapter IV.

### PROVISIONS FOR MIXED TENURE

#### The Case of Mixed Tenure Arrangements

In the main, the arguments advanced in favor of mixed-tenure arrangements have been: (1) the transfer of divided ownership rights or ownership-like rights in the land is likely to stimulate industry and thrift among the settlers; (2) the settlers will be enabled to gain access to holdings with a small amount of capital, since no purchase price is to be paid for land; (3) since the contract may extend over a considerable length of time, the holder need not hesitate to make investments which promise to be profitable only on a long-term basis of occupation; (4) the grantors are able to establish immediate and effective control over the holding, barring speculation and other undesirable developments; (5) by eliminating short-term fluctuations of rent payments, the settlers will be aided in making long-term calculations; (6) the settlers will be protected against all unforeseen changes in the person of the grantor during the entire length of the tenure period; (7) any undesirable conditions that may arise can be eradicated when the tenure term expires and the holding reverts to the grantor; (8) through the division of ownership rights an element of conciliation will be injected into the general conflict between those who operate the holdings and those who receive the ground rent.

#### Provisions in General

In certain parts of Germany hereditary use leases were not abolished or rejected even in the days of the most vehement attacks on restricted land-tenure conditions. This is true of the two Mecklenburgs, Braunschweig, Schaumburg-Lippe, and most of the Thuringian states. In Mecklenburg-Schwerin, mixed-tenure arrangements were continued or revived by an Act of 1822 and a Decree of 1867. The form proposed was the "Erbpacht." There was also much agitation for the application of hereditary use leases in Prussia when new land settlement measures were discussed in the '70s and '80s of the last century. In Prussia, however, instead of reviving these tenure arrangements, it was decided to lay emphasis on restricted ownership in the form of a tenure holding which came to be known as a rental holding (Rentengut). The main reason for abstaining from re-instituting the "Erbpacht" or "Erbzins" was the fear that, thereby, old feudal relationships might be revived.

The German Civil Code of 1896 does not include any regulatory provisions of "Erbpacht." Section 53 of the Introductory Law to this Code stipulates that, in those states in which mixed tenure arrangements

of the type of "Erbpacht", existed prior to January 1, 1900, the statutes of the respective states referring thereto should be applicable.

As stated before, the Congested Districts Board of Scotland, established by the Congested Districts(Scotland)Act of 1897, in its land-settlement activities, operated at first under the assumption that its powers as to tenure were limited to placing its settlers under ownership arrangements. But the Board added mixed-tenure arrangements when, in 1908, demand for such tenure arose among its clients and notice was received from the Law Officers of the Crown that it had wide enough powers to do this. 20/ The kind of mixed-tenure form which was chosen was the type of arrangement whereby crofters hold land under the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886. With the passage of the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act of 1911, mixed-tenure arrangements became the main type of tenure in Scottish land-settlement operations. The mixed-tenure form employed today for the Scottish new holdings is determined by the regulations laid down for landholders in the so-called landholders acts, of which the major ones are the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1886, the Small Landholders (Scotland) Act of 1911 and the Small Landholders and Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1931. 21/

In Denmark, some efforts were made to provide for a property pattern of the mixed-tenure type in the discussions of new land-settlement legislation during the '90s of the last century. The makers of the Act of 1899 decided, however, to settle the new landholders under ownership tenure. The Danish Agricultural Committee of 1911 likewise made some suggestions pointing toward the adoption of mixed tenure for new holdings created through state-assisted land settlement. These efforts finally succeeded in 1919. On October 4 of that year, an act was passed whereby new holdings can be created under hereditary use right. In

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20/ The Board learned about its wider powers in tenure matters under the following circumstances. In 1908 some of its clients, namely those who were to be settled on the estate of Kilmuir, refused to buy the holdings offered to them. The Board thereupon asked the Law Officers of the Crown whether it could act otherwise than to sell the holding to the settlers. It was advised by the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor General that the provision of land by the Board for subdivision among, or enlargement of, the holdings of crofters and cottars in congested districts need not proceed exclusively by sale to such crofters and cottars. (Compare Congested Districts Board, 11th Report, 1908-09, p. vii.)

21/ The term "landholders" was introduced into the Scottish land laws by the Act of 1911. From then on this term came to be applied to all crofters existing at the commencement of the Act of 1911, as well as to several other types of tenure holders.

Sweden, on June 4, 1926, an act was passed providing for the establishment of new holdings on Crown land under hereditary use-right arrangements.

#### Mixed Tenures on Private or Public Land

The land-settlement acts of Scotland permit mixed tenure arrangements on both private and public land. In Denmark and Sweden, the land settlement laws containing provisions with respect to the application of hereditary use rights refer to the creation of new holdings on state-owned land only.

#### Nature of Restrictions

##### Qualification, Activity, and Residence of the Settler

Ability to operate the holding efficiently has been required in several instances. According to Section 10 (1) of the Scottish Act of 1911, a landholder is required to cultivate his holding by himself or with his family, with or without hired labor. In Sweden, under the Act of June 4, 1926, a settler must reside on the land, unless the provincial administration in view of special circumstances grants him permission to live elsewhere (par. 16).

##### Land Use

In Scotland, under the Act of 1911, although the land is to be used for agricultural purposes, the landholder is authorized to use his holding for such subsidiary or auxiliary occupations as are not inconsistent with the cultivation of the holding. (Section 10 - (1)).

As far as the carrying out of mining, quarrying, and timber-cutting operations on the holding are concerned, the Scottish rules laid down in the Act of 1886, Section 1 - (7) in connection with the Act of 1911, Section 1, provide that:

"The landlord or any person or persons authorized by him in that behalf (he or they making reasonable compensation for any damage to be done or occasioned thereby) shall have the right to enter upon the holding for any of the purposes following:-

"Mining, cutting timber, opening roads, inspecting the holding, hunting, shooting, fishing, etc.

"And the landholder shall not obstruct the landlord or any person or persons authorized by him."

The Swedish Act of June 4, 1926, states on this point:

"Holders in emphyteusis may not exploit the trees growing on the farm, nor the turbaries, sand pits, clay pits, stone or limestone quarries except to the extent authorized by the Crown and solely for the needs of agricultural exploitation.

"These operations may however be carried out for other purposes than the needs of agricultural exploitation on receipt of a special permission and for a certain determined period, in payment of a special rent the amount of which shall be fixed at the time of the granting of the permission." (Par. 21)

#### Buildings and Other Improvements

Under the Swedish Act of June 4, 1926, the grantee is required to construct the necessary buildings at his own expense and is responsible for their upkeep (par. 18). Similarly, in Scotland the new holder is required to maintain the buildings and fences. Referring to these matters in its first report the Board of Agriculture for Scotland stated: 22/

"For the provision and maintenance of buildings and fences the tenant will become responsible, aided, if necessary, by loans from the Board.

"If there are any buildings already in existence on the land, and they are suitable for occupation by new holders, the latter, with or without the assistance of the Board, will be responsible for any necessary adaptations and for subsequent maintenance; and as a rule it will simplify matters if arrangements can be made for the new tenants acquiring such buildings and so converting them into landholders improvements."

As to the question of who is to own the buildings, there have been two different policies. Under one policy, the buildings are owned by the grantor as the superior owner of property; and under the other, the buildings are owned by the grantee. The latter policy seems to predominate. Thus, in Scotland the landholder has been considered the owner of the

22/ Board of Agriculture for Scotland, 1st Report, 1913, p. x.



buildings. 23/ The same applies to the settler placed on public land under the Danish Act of October 4, 1919. The question as to who owns the buildings is important in connection with the use of the buildings as collateral for the borrowing of capital. In all cases it is stipulated, however, that at the termination of the tenure period the buildings will become the property of the grantor. 24/

As to restrictions on the number of dwelling houses to be erected on the holding, in Scotland, under the Act of 1911, a new holder is not allowed to erect or allow to be erected on his holding more than one dwelling without the written consent of the landlord and the department of Agriculture for Scotland. (Section 10 - (2)) Furthermore, he is expected not to erect or permit to be erected on his holding any dwelling other than those substituted for buildings already on the land at the time when the Landholder's Acts first applied to the holding. (Section 10 - (2) in connection with Section 1 - (4) of the Act of 1886).

Contrary to the English rules on the use of the buildings by owners, in Scotland the landholder is not debarred from subletting his dwelling house to holiday visitors. (Scottish Act of 1911, Section 10 - (2))

#### Equipment

A contract used in Mecklenburg-Schwerin after the World War, stipulates that an adequate amount of equipment and livestock is to be kept on the holding.

#### Transfer and Assignment of Land During Lifetime

Quite generally it has been stipulated that any partitioning of holdings is to be subject to the approval of the grantor.

Under the Swedish Act of 1926 a holding may be subdivided into several parts on condition that each part is consistent with the object for which the tenure right was granted (par. 17). The same Act allows the use of a portion of the land for conversion into building sites, markets, roads, etc., provided that the remainder of the holdings is sufficient for the purposes for which the grant was made (par. 17).

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23/ Until 1926, the Department of Agriculture for Scotland paid the landlord for the buildings in which it intended to settle its clients. The new holders were assisted by loans from the Department enabling them to pay the price of the buildings to the Department. The settlers, therefore, became the owners.

24/ In regard to compensation to the grantee for improvements see pages 57, 58.

It is the nature of mixed tenures that they are assignable. The right to assign, therefore, can not be excluded by contract. Generally, however, assigning of the holding has been subject to the approval of the grantor.

Under the Scottish Act of 1886, a landholder is not permitted to execute any deed purporting to assign his tenancy except with the approval of his landlord. (Section 1 - (2)) In relaxing this rule somewhat, the Act of 1911 states that a landholder shall be entitled to assign his holding to a member of his family in case of inability to work caused by illness, old age, or infirmity. This section of the Act declares:

"In the event of a landholder being unable to work his holding through illness, old age or infirmity, he may apply to the Land Court for leave to assign his holding to a member of his family, being his wife or any person, who failing nearer heirs would succeed him in the case of intestacy and if, after intimation to the landlord and any other party interested and such hearing or enquiry as the Land Court may consider necessary, it appears to the Land Court that such assignment would be reasonable and proper it shall be competent to the Land Court to grant such leave on such terms and conditions, if any, as may to them seem fit." (Section 21)

#### Succession to Holdings in Case of Death

It likewise corresponds to the nature of mixed-tenure arrangements that they are inheritable. But as in the case of assignments, important restrictions have been imposed upon inheritance.

In Scotland, a landholder may pass on his holding by will to a statutory successor only. 25/ The legatee must report the bequest to the landlord within 2 months after the landholder's death. After 1 month, unless the landlord declines to accept him, the legatee definitely becomes a tenant. The legatee may then petition the Land Court and, if no objection is established, the decree will be granted. 26/

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25/ The expression "statutory successor" means any person who, in the terms of the Landholder's Act, has succeeded or may succeed to a holding whether as heir-at-law or legatee of his immediate predecessor, being a crofter or landholder in occupation of the holding (Section 31 of the Act of 1911).

26/ Scott, James, The Law of Smallholdings, p. 121.

### Financial Matters

Apart from the regular rent payments, sometimes other payments must be made at irregular intervals, for instance in case of a transfer of the holding during lifetime, or in case of a transfer to heirs or other parties at the time of death. Payments that are to be made in connection with the transfer of the holding to another person during the lifetime of the grantee are called laudemium.

The mortgaging of the property has been allowed, but generally the grantee cannot act without the approval of the grantor.

In some cases it has been stipulated that the grantee must conduct his business in such a way as to avoid bankruptcy. Thus the Scottish Act of 1886 states that the landholder shall not do any act whereby he becomes bankrupt within the meaning of the Bankruptcy (Scotland) Act of 1856 and the Debtors (Scotland) Act of 1880 (Section 1 - (6)).

### Insurance

Frequently the laws and contracts oblige the grantee to insure the buildings against fire.

### Membership in Organizations

No instances have been found where the grantee is required to join specific organizations as a condition of occupying the holding.

### Accountability and Inspection

The Scottish Act of 1886 stipulates that the landlord, or any person or persons authorized by him, shall have the right to enter upon the holding for the purposes of inspection (Section 1 - (7) in connection with the Act of 1911, Section 1).

### Miscellaneous

In Scotland, under the Act of 1886, the new holder is forbidden to open any house for the sale of intoxicating liquors without the consent of his landlord (Section 1 - (8)). The same Act provides that the landlord is to be allowed to enter upon the holding for the purpose of hunting, shooting, fishing, etc. (Section 1 - (7)).

Generally the grantee is required to pay taxes and any other public charges which may be imposed upon the land.

Enforcement of Restrictive Conditions

The enforcement of the various restrictive conditions has been regulated in much the same way as in the case of ownership and tenancy. If the settler violates the stipulations of his contract, he will be warned and asked to correct the violation. The severest step that may be taken against him is removal from the holding.

In Scotland, the settler is subject to removal from his holding in case he does not meet his payment obligations or breaks any other statutory condition. The right of removal as laid down in part I of the Small Landholders and Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1931 reads as follows:

"When one year's rent of a holding is unpaid or when a landholder has broken any statutory condition (other than a statutory condition as to payment of rent), it shall be lawful for the Land Court, on the application of the landlord and after consideration of any objections stated by the landholder, to make an order for the removal of the landholder, and where a landholder whose rights to compensation for permanent improvements have been transferred in whole or in part to the Department, under section eight of the Act of 1911, abandons his holding or breaks any statutory condition (other than as aforesaid) or breaks any of the conditions of repayment of a loan under the said section, it shall be lawful for the Land Court, on the application of the Department, and after considering any objections stated by the landholder or the landlord, to make an order for the removal of the landholder." (Section 3 - (1))

The Scottish Act of 1931 also stipulates that the settler is to lose his right to his holding if he fails to occupy it and to start cultivating and equipping it in due course. In this respect the Act of 1931 says:

"Where any person to whom a new holding has been allocated or let by the Department fails without reasonable cause within three months of his term of entry to such holding to occupy, cultivate and proceed to equip it, the Department after consideration of any objections stated by such person shall be entitled to terminate his right to such holding and to allocate or let it to some other person, and where a person has been registered by order of the Land Court as a landholder in respect of any holding and he fails without reasonable cause within three months of such registration to

occupy, cultivate and proceed to equip the holding, it shall be lawful for the Land Court on the application of the Department or of the landlord, and after giving the Department, the landlord, and the landholder an opportunity of being heard, to cancel the registration of such landholder and to terminate his right to the holding, and the Department shall thereupon be entitled to allocate or let the holding to some other person." (Section 4)

The Swedish Act of June 4, 1926, contains the following enforcement provision:

"In case of the holding being abandoned, or its exploitation neglected or of its degradation, the grant of emphyteusis reverts to the Crown without prejudice to the indemnities due to it.

"The Crown has the right to disclaim the emphyteusis contracts in the following cases:

"If the holder is emphyteusis, in contravention of the provisions of Par. 17, having incorporated his farm in another, or having subdivided it, has failed to comply with the rectifying summonses issued.

"If the holder in emphyteusis is guilty of breach of the provisions contained in Par. 21. 27/

"If the holder in emphyteusis does not provide the buildings necessary for the exploitation or if he omits to insure them; if he completely neglects the farm or the enterprises existing thereon; if he fails to carry out the corrections required of him; or

"If the holder in emphyteusis, without permission, takes up his residence elsewhere or if he fails to move to the farm within 90 days of receipt of notice.

"If it turns out that the holder is guilty of only a minor irregularity in the above cases, he shall be maintained in his rights of emphyteusis, but in a case of a renunciation of the responsibilities under the contract, the Crown shall retain all his rights to compensation." (Par. 25, 26)

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27/ Paragraph 21 refers to cutting trees, taking of sand, clay, limestone, etc.

### Duration of Mixed Tenures

Sometimes mixed tenures have been arranged on a perpetual basis; sometimes they have been established on the basis of a definite number of years. In the latter case, there have been terms of 50 years, 99 years, 999 years, and others.

Before 1926, England had the institution of a perpetually renewable lease. This lease entitled the tenant to ask for a renewal each time his term ended. Under the Law of Property Act of 1926, such perpetually renewable leases are no longer legal. All those which existed at that time were changed into leases of 2,000 years.

Under German laws regulating mixed tenures, it is possible to establish "Erbpacht" contracts on an indefinite basis. The same applies to the mixed tenure arrangements established under the Swedish Act of June 4, 1926.

### Compensation for Improvements

The settler's attitude toward improvements on his holding will depend a great deal on the existence or non-existence of provisions promising him adequate compensation for permanent improvements at the time of his departure from the holding. Realizing this, mixed tenure arrangements usually have carried such provisions.

In Scotland, the principle has been adopted that a landholder who leaves his holding or is removed shall be entitled to compensation for all unexhausted improvements made by himself or his predecessors of the same family. This right is embodied in the following passage of the Act of 1886;

"When a crofter renounces his tenancy or is removed from his holding, he shall be entitled to compensation for any permanent improvements, provided that —

- (a) The improvements are suitable to the holding;
- (b) The improvements have been executed or paid for by the crofter or his predecessors in the same family;
- (c) The improvements have not been executed in virtue of any specific agreement in writing under which the crofter was bound to execute such improvements." (Section 8)

As to the valuation of the improvements, the same Act says:

"Improvements shall be valued under this Act at such sum as fairly represents the value of the improvement to an incoming tenant, provided that in fixing the amount of compensation payable the value of any assistance or consideration which may be proved to have been given by the landlord, or his predecessors in title, in respect of such improvements shall be taken into account, and deducted from such compensation, and the value of any deterioration committed or permitted by the tenant within the four years preceding shall also be deducted from the said compensation."  
(Section 10)

#### Adjustment of Disputes

Under the Scottish Act of 1886, the Crofters Commission occupied a prominent place in the settlement of disputes between landlord and crofter. This Act also provided for the appointment of a sole arbiter in case landlord and crofter preferred to have the matter arbitrated outside of the Crofters Commission. With reference to the latter procedure the Act says:

"Where, in any proceeding under this Act, the Crofters Commission is empowered to pronounce an order, the landlord and the crofter may agree to accept the decision of a sole arbiter mutually chosen instead of the decision of the Crofters Commission, and in that case any order pronounced by such sole arbiter shall, when recorded in the 'Crofters' Holdings Book,' along with the agreement to accept his decision, be as effectual to all intents and purposes as an order of the Crofters Commission: and all regulations applicable to the Crofters Commission, and to the orders pronounced by them, shall apply to any sole arbiter and the orders pronounced by him." (Section 30)

Under the Scottish Act of 1911 the Scottish Land Court took the place of the Crofters Commission. Attention may also be drawn to the following arbitration provision of the Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) Act of 1923:

"All questions which under this Act or under the lease are referred to arbitration shall, whether the matter to which the arbitration relates arose before or after the passing of this Act, be determined notwithstanding any agreement under the lease or otherwise

providing for a different method of arbitration, by a single arbiter in accordance with the provisions set out in the Second Schedule to this Act." (Section 16 - (1))

Amending this provision, the Act of 1931 states:

"Any question of difference between the landlord and the tenant of a holding which, under the principal Act or this Act, or under the lease, is referred to arbitration may, if the landlord and the tenant so agree, in lieu of being determined in pursuance of subsection (1) of the section sixteen of the principal Act, be determined by the Land Court, and the Land Court shall, on the joint application of the landlord and the tenant, determine such question or difference accordingly." (Section 34)

#### Recording

A formal way of recording mixed-tenure contracts exists in the Mecklenburgian region of Germany, where an Erbpacht agreement is established by a covenant called "Grundbrief" and the registration of the tenure rights in the Land Registry. In case the holding is not established on public land but on private land, the "Grundbrief" is subject to approval on the part of the State.

The Scottish Act of 1931 says that the Land Court shall, on the application of the Department of Agriculture, the landlord, or the landholder, make a record specifying the condition of the cultivation of the holding and of the buildings and other permanent improvements on the holding and explaining by whom such permanent improvements have been executed or paid for (Section 10 - (1)). This provision is apparently designed to create a body of reliable information on the status of the holding to which the parties may refer should any dispute arise in the future.

#### Option to Shift to Other Tenure Forms

A special provision is contained in the Swedish Act of June 4, 1926, authorizing the settler to become a full owner if he so chooses, at the expiration of the first 20 years of occupation. This provision reads as follows:

"The holder in emphyteusis who has fulfilled all his obligations may, on the expiry of the first period, demand the redemption of the property, unless contrary provisions were stipulated at the time of the original grant.



"If the grant is burdened by a priority claim as described in Par. 6 of Chapter 17 of the Commercial Code, redemption shall not be allowed without the consent of the beneficiary of the claim.

"Holders in emphyteusis intending to redeem the land shall make application to the Provincial Administration.

"The sum payable in respect of redemption must be fixed by the 'Rents Commission,' account being taken of the actual value of the property and deduction made of the value of the improvements effected by the holder.

"Sums payable in respect of redemption shall be paid to the Provincial Administration within 90 days from the date when the decision takes legal force. In the event of omission the application is barred by limitation. The redemption shall be put into effect by a deed issued by the Provincial Administration."  
(Section 33)

## Chapter V

### VARIETY AND REFERENCE IN TENURE POLICIES

As intimated occasionally in the discussions of the provisions for each major tenure type in the preceding three chapters, some of the land-settlement programs include the use of more than one major pattern of landed property. Three factors seem to have been mainly responsible for this situation: (1) the desire to try out new land-tenure devices while continuing existing types, (2) the belief that the kind of land-settlement operations contemplated require the application of more than one major type, and (3) occasional uncertainties as to which pattern would be most suitable for a given set of conditions. To what extent these factors have been present in each case, and how much influence they have exerted in instances where they have been active jointly, is difficult to say.

The Scottish Act of 1897, because of the vagueness of its wording as to tenure matters, opened the door to the use of more than one major tenure type. The English land-settlement act of 1892 and subsequent acts provided specifically for both ownership and tenancy, as did the Prussian Act of 1886. Under the German Act of 1919, all three major types of tenures may be applied.

In taking notice of these various possibilities under the said acts, it should be noted, however, that here and there preference has been expressed for this or that major type of tenure. Just which type has been emphasized is of interest, not only from the standpoint of properly understanding the situation as it prevailed at the time when the land-tenure policy was formulated, but also from the standpoint of seeing how the settlers themselves reacted to these schemes.

As far as England is concerned, it was primarily ownership of which the legislators and administrators thought, when they considered the question of tenure with regard to the new holdings to be created under the Act of 1892. This is evident from various statements made by Government officials and legislators at the time of deliberation on the proposed legislation for land settlement. 28/ The encouragement of ownership

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28/ Note for instance the following statement by the First Lord of the Treasury, A. J. Balfour, in the debate at the second reading of S. A. H. B. (183) on March 24, 1892, before the British House of Commons:

" . . . it is our desire and our ambition to do something by this Bill towards re-creating that system of small yeoman owners that once flourished, and that, we hope, will again flourish in this country. That is

arrangements was also emphasized, though in a much milder form, in connection with the Act of 1926. Referring to tenure, the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries pointed out in its Circular to county councils of January 31, 1927: 29/

"The policy of the Government is to encourage occupying ownership. There is, however, no desire to impose that policy on Councils against their judgment, and the Act itself has no such effect. As a matter of fact, in one respect a change in the law has been made in the contrary direction. Under section 11 of the Act of 1919 a tenant was entitled after six years' occupation of his holding to require the Council to sell the holding to him, and thereupon the Council were obliged to sell, unless the Minister's consent to the application being refused was obtained. This right of purchase is now limited to tenants actually in occupation at the time of the passing of the Act.

"The Minister realizes that there is a wide divergence of view on the question of the tenure of small holdings amongst those who are practically acquainted with the subject, and are in a position to estimate from observation and experience the comparative merits of ownership and tenancy under a local authority. The Minister feels sure, however, that there will be a general agreement, firstly, that if there is a genuine desire on the part of applicants for small holdings to own their holdings instead of renting them, that desire ought to be gratified so far as is practicable, and, secondly, that the terms of purchase under the Acts of 1908 and 1919 were far more onerous, financially, than the terms on which holdings could be rented, and therefore operated to discourage the purchase of holdings.

"Accordingly one of the objects aimed at in the new Act has been to redress the balance, and to give the occupying owner and the smallholder who prefers to be a tenant approximately an equal measure of assistance from public funds. . ."

28 Cont./our main object and if we allow our funds to be diverted to another object — namely, to the creating of a large number of small tenants — we evidently waste our forces upon that we do not think is of the highest value."

29/ Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Circular Letter to Clerks of County Councils in England, January 31, 1927.

The English Land Settlement Association, which is experimenting with the return to the land of unemployed workers in industrial and urban areas, has decided that its settlers should occupy their holdings as tenants for the first few years. As the main reasons for this decision the Association cites: 30/

(1) It provides a testing period during which unsatisfactory men can be weeded out.

(2) It reduces the smallholder's burden of repayment during the early critical years.

(3) It enables the Association to insist upon the adoption of co-operative principles, which it is considered are essential for success..

Whether its settlers are ultimately to become owners is a question which the Association has left open for the time being. It hopes that a few years' experience will convince the smallholders of the necessity of adopting the principles which led it to decide on tenancy for the initial period of occupation, and that "after a reasonable period, the whole question of ownership can then be reviewed in the light of the experience which has been gained." 31/

As to German land settlement, although the Act of 1917 permits the application of all three major types, it emphasizes the use of the ownership pattern. This may be inferred from many statements in the explanatory report which accompanied the bill and from the meaning of many of the provisions of the Act itself.

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30/ The Land Settlement Association Ltd., Small Holdings, Organization and Finance, London, p. 4.

31/ Ibid. pp. 4, 5.

## Chapter VI

### TENURE APPLIED TO NEW HOLDINGS

Unfortunately, information on the extent to which the various tenure types have been used in land settlement is far from complete. But for most of the countries included in this study, enough information is available to give at least a rough idea of the kind of tenure distribution brought about by legislative rulings and the policies of the land-settlement agencies.

The statistics of the English Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries on land settlement in England show that about 30,000 new small holdings were created in the period from 1908 to 1935. Of these, more than 29,000 were still being retained by the county councils at the end of 1935; 25,939 holdings were occupied by tenants at that time. The Ministry reports further that during the period from 1908 to 1935, altogether 904 units were sold either as small holdings or cottage holdings. This means that of a total of 26,843 holdings reported as either rented or sold, 97 percent were operated by tenant-settlers, and that only 3 percent of these holdings were purchased.

These figures tell a different story than might have been expected in view of the repeated efforts of the English Government to encourage the application of ownership arrangements. They reveal that in spite of the leanings of the Government in the direction of ownership, its settlers have preferred to be placed as tenants of the county councils. This is a rather interesting development, which can be explained only partially by the nature of the concomitant financial measures of the Government.

The distribution of the holdings reported as rented at the end of 1935 and of the holdings reported as having been sold from 1908 to 1935 over the counties of England and Wales is shown in Table 1.

In Scotland a total of 4,083 holdings have been created during the period 1912-1935, according to the reports of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland. Of these, 2,481 holdings (61 percent) were established on State-owned land and 1,602 holdings (39 percent) on private land. <sup>32/</sup> Table 2 shows, by minor political subdivisions, the distribution of mixed tenure arrangements over State-owned land and private land:

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<sup>32/</sup> These figures are approximate. The statistics of the Department distinguish between holdings established on Department estates and holdings established on private estates and on estates taken over from the Congested Districts Board. The latter type of holdings probably are units established on State-owned land.

Table 1.-Number and percentage of holdings rented or sold  
under English land-settlement laws, 1908-35

Regions	: All : :holdings:	: Rented : : 1/ :	: Sold : : 2/ :	: Percentage of	
				: Rented :	: Sold :
: holdings					
: Rented : Sold					
Grand Total	: 26,843 :	: 25,939 :	: 904 :	: 97 :	: 3
<u>England</u>					
Bedfordshire	1794	1787	7	100	-
Berkshire	137	129	6	93	7
Bucks	341	341	-	100	-
Cams	1547	1537	10	99	1
Cheshire	394	379	15	96	4
Cornwall	451	427	24	95	5
Cumberland	63	61	2	97	3
Derby	127	120	7	94	6
Devon	835	785	50	94	6
Dorset	301	291	10	97	3
Durham	328	326	2	99	1
Essex	395	347	48	88	12
Gloucester	866	852	14	98	2
Hants	630	423	207	67	33
Hereford	175	175	-	100	-
Hertford	280	270	10	96	4
Hunts	648	648	-	100	-
Isle of Ely	1886	1886	-	100	-
Isle of Wight	90	76	14	84	16
Kent	344	332	12	97	3
Lancashire	512	507	5	99	1
Leicester	228	226	2	99	1
Lincs (Holland)	997	997	-	100	-
Lincs (Kesteven)	464	464	-	100	-
Lincs (Lindsey)	301	301	-	100	-
Middlesex	128	128	-	100	-
Norfolk	2117	2111	6	100	-
Northampton	243	243	-	100	-
Northumberland	168	165	3	98	2
Notts	346	305	41	88	12
Oxford	208	208	-	100	-
Rutland	5	5	-	100	-
Salop	338	331	7	98	2
Soke of Peterborough	240	237	3	99	1
Somerset	1010	1001	9	99	1

Table 1.—Continued.

Regions	All holdings:	Rented 1/	Sold 2/	Percentage of holdings	
				Rented	Sold
Staffs	313	313	—	100	—
Suffolk East	215	193	22	90	10
Suffolk West	424	422	2	100	—
Surrey	291	288	3	99	1
Sussex, East	127	127	—	100	—
Sussex, West	120	118	2	98	2
Warwick	272	262	10	96	4
Westmorland	24	24	—	100	—
Wilts	649	636	13	98	2
Worcester	1284	1106	178	86	14
Yorks, East Riding	339	334	5	99	1
Yorks, North Riding	96	96	—	100	—
Yorks, West Riding	598	558	40	93	—
County Boroughs	781	749	32	96	4
<b>Total England</b>	<b>24,468</b>	<b>23,647</b>	<b>821</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Wales</b>					
Anglesey	268	264	4	99	1
Brecon	63	63	—	100	—
Caernarvon	84	83	1	99	1
Cardigan	69	50	19	72	28
Carmarthen	198	197	1	99	1
Denbighshire	324	302	22	93	7
Flint	190	184	6	97	3
Glamorgan	228	227	1	100	—
Merioneth	137	134	3	98	2
Monmouth	198	191	7	96	4
Montgomery	297	290	7	98	2
Pembroke	188	185	3	98	2
Radnor	88	88	—	100	—
County Boroughs	43	34	9	79	21
<b>Total Wales</b>	<b>2,375</b>	<b>2,292</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>3</b>

Great Britain, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, Report of the Land Division for the year 1935, pp. 55-57.

1/ Status at the end of 1935.

2/ Sales made from 1908 to the end of 1935; including cottage holdings.

Table 2.—Number and percentage of new holdings constituted by the Department of Agriculture for Scotland, 1912-35, on Department estates and private estates

County	: Total :	: On :		: Percentage :	
		Department : estates :	private : estates :	Department : estates :	Private : estates :
Aberdeen	80	79	1	99	1
Angus	132	130	2	98	2
Argyll	301	80	221	27	73
Ayr	212	108	104	51	50
Banff	2	-	2	-	100
Berwick	120	120	-	100	-
Bute	29	-	29	-	100
Caithness	247	129	118	52	48
Clackmannan	-	-	-	-	-
Dumfries	177	129	48	73	27
Dunbarton	104	83	21	80	20
East Lothian	179	151	28	84	16
Fife	92	83	9	90	10
Inverness (Mainland)	135	107	28	79	21
" Skye, Raasay	354	259	95	73	27
" Harris	114	30	84	26	74
" N. Uist	88	83	5	94	6
" S. "	140	-	140	-	100
" Barra	66	65	1	98	2
Kincardine	39	33	6	85	15
Kinross	-	-	-	-	-
Kirkcudbright	81	73	8	90	10
Lanark	88	83	5	94	6
Midlothian	161	146	15	91	9
Moray (Elgin)	6	6	-	100	-
Orkney	23	6	17	26	74
Peebles	26	19	7	73	27
Perth	93	62	31	67	33
Renfrew	106	86	20	81	19
Ross (Mainland)	138	78	60	57	43
" (Lewis)	284	-	284	-	100
Roxburgh	21	4	17	19	81
Selkirk	12	-	12	-	100
Stirling	60	59	1	98	2
Sutherland	84	18	66	21	79
West Lothian	127	119	8	94	6
Wigtown	53	25	28	47	53
Zetland	109	28	81	26	74
Total	: 4083 :	2481	: 1602	: 61	: 39

Scotland, Department of Agriculture, 24th Report, p. 118

1/ Includes also holdings on estates taken over from Congested Districts Board.



It is evident from these figures that in many of the regions listed, holdings on state-owned land make up a substantial proportion of all units established. In 2 of the 36 regions in which new holdings were established, all the holdings are on state-owned land. In 24 other regions, holdings on state-owned land range from 50 to 99 percent of the regional total. Today, the Department of Agriculture is by far the largest landowner in Scotland.

In Germany, practically all settlers placed on new holdings in the pre-war period were settled under ownership arrangements. The Land Settlement Commission for Posen and West Prussia established some of its settlers under lease agreements; but the cases of this kind were very small in number. About 80 percent of the 21,257 holdings created by the Commission in the period from 1886 to 1913 were settled under ownership arrangements of the rental holding type. Also, during and after the World War, practically all German settlers were granted ownership rights. Mixed tenure in the form of Erbpacht has been applied in a noticeable measure only in Mecklenburg.

In Denmark, 20,717 holdings were created in the period 1899-1934. Of these, 15,607 were owner-operators and 5,110 were settlers who hold land under mixed tenure. The use of mixed tenure did not begin until 1919. If one compares the holdings created on private land with those created on public land from the time of the passage of the Act of October 4, 1919 to date, one finds that of a total of 11,604 holdings 6,494 (56 percent) have been established on private land and 5,110 (44 percent) on public land. Table 3 shows the number of holdings established from 1900 to 1919, during the time when only ownership was applied, and the number and percentage of holdings established on private and public land since 1919.

Table 3.-Number and percentage of new holdings established  
in Denmark by type of tenure, 1899-1934

Year <u>1/</u>	:Holdings : : on : : private : : land :	Year <u>1/</u>	: All : : holdings :	:Holdings : : on : : private : : land :	:Holdings : : on : : public : : land :	: Percent of : : holdings on : : Private : : land :	: Public : : land :
Total	9113	Total	11,604	6,494	5,110	56	44
1900-01	209	1919-20	345	150	195	43	57
1901-02	247	1920-21	470	137	333	29	71
1902-03	367	1921-22	1118	460	658	41	59
1903-04	551	1922-23	1616	964	652	60	40
1904-05	485	1923-24	1039	626	413	60	40
1905-06	669	1924-25	1153	547	606	47	53
1906-07	647	1925-26	1091	561	530	51	49
1907-08	645	1926-27	1008	570	438	56	44
1908-09	662	1927-28	896	626	270	70	30
1909-10	610	1928-29	652	520	132	80	20
1910-11	685	1929-30	631	379	252	60	40
1911-12	498	1930-31	645	401	244	62	38
1912-13	470	1931-32	526	435	91	83	17
1913-14	372	1932-33	151	64	87	42	58
1914-15	518	1933-34	263	54	209	21	79
1915-16	565						
1916-17	415						
1917-18	274						
1918-19	225						

Statistisk Aarvog for Danmark, 1905 to 1936.

1/ Reporting year runs from April 1 to March 31.

## Chapter VII

### APPRAISAL OF TENURE POLICIES

Before entering into an appraisal of the tenure policies followed in the countries discussed herein, it may be well to recall briefly certain outstanding facts of the preceding chapters.

In the background of the events that have shaped the tenure policies of the legislatures and of the officials of the land-settlement agencies two strong forces have been opposing each other, one striving for unrestricted tenure and the other for restricted tenure. Absolutely free tenure rights have not been created in any of the countries included. Even where the movement toward freedom of disposal over land has gone farthest, the right of sovereignty to impose restrictions in the interest of public welfare has been recognized. Some limitations have always remained, but in England they have become so few that a person holding his land in fee simple is virtually entitled to use his land at his own discretion.

Restricted tenures have played an important part in connection with land settlement in all of the various countries listed, including England. In some cases where limited private ownership has been established, the road to so-called unrestricted ownership has been opened by making the restrictions temporary. The restrictions on ownership, tenancy, and mixed tenure cover many farming aspects. They show a great degree of similarity at their present stage of development. In addition, it has turned out that ownership, tenancy, and mixed tenure have been applied on both private and public land and in some cases, notably in England and Scotland, the State has become an important landowner in the field of land settlement.

With these facts in mind, an attempt may now be made to show whether the various land-tenure policies have been satisfactory or have failed to fulfill the expectations of the lawmakers and land-settlement agencies. It should be noted, however, that no full appraisal is possible at present because of the lack of information regarding certain important items and the limited comparability of some of the existing data.

#### Appraisal of Unrestricted Tenure

Little or nothing is known about the fate of the new holdings of the unrestricted private ownership type, that is, those holdings which were sold without restrictions at the outset or which became free of restrictions after a certain period of encumbered ownership had come to an

end. In view of this lack of material, an appraisal of the application of unrestricted tenure must be substituted by an examination of the experience with such tenure arrangements in general. The question may therefore be asked: What has been the general experience with unrestricted private ownership?

Briefly stated, the experience with this type of tenure has been but partially satisfactory. True, there have been certain favorable results. In the first place, the forces of industry and thrift which it has set free in numerous instances have contributed to agricultural progress and to the growth of national wealth. Second, it has created in many landholders a strong feeling of responsibility that is of great value. Third, by increasing the divisibility and saleability of the land, it has enabled many useful shifts in landed property to be made. Fourth, by mobilizing the land financially, that is, by granting authority to use land freely as security in borrowing, this tenure type in many cases has facilitated the quick procurement of capital and the execution of improvements.

But against these benefits a long list of serious shortcomings must be set forth. (1) The degree of independence and responsibility granted under unrestricted tenure has proven to be beyond the capacity of many landholders; others have misused their independence. (2) The treatment of the land as a commodity has led to a great amount of speculation and has caused rapid shifts of landed property from one hand to another. At the same time, the free play of the forces of supply and demand has not created or maintained a suitable price structure for land. (3) Free divisibility and the loosening of the rules regarding succession in case of death have frequently caused excessive subdivision and dismemberment. (4) Elimination of restrictions as to mortgaging the land has been followed by an enormous debt on agricultural land. In numerous cases, the landholder has lost practically all of his equity in the holding under the burden of his debt. He "owns" his holding only nominally; in reality, his equity in the holding is practically gone and he works, so to speak, as a wage-earner for his creditor. (5) The existence of these weaknesses has in turn caused a weakening of the feeling that the holding should be a permanent home for the families of the operator and his descendants.

#### Evaluation of Restricted Tenures

By means of restricted tenures it has been attempted to avoid the various deficiencies that have manifested themselves under the freedom of disposal granted in connection with unrestricted tenures. The extent to which these restricted tenure forms have been successful in avoiding the various deficiencies mentioned has depended a great deal upon the number of restrictions, the degree of action in the field of each tenure matter, and the kind of enforcement that has been given to the rules established.

All of these factors have varied from country to country and frequently from period to period. From the available evidence, it appears that in many land-settlement schemes restricted tenures have been successful in averting such dangers as inefficient use or abuse of the land, the diversion of the land to non-agricultural purposes, undesirable subdivision or enlargement, overburdening with indebtedness, and speculation.

The question as to whether restricted tenure should be applied temporarily or permanently has not yet been settled everywhere. While in Germany the question has long been decided in favor of permanent application of restricted tenure, in England it continues to be controversial. It will be recalled that the English Act of 1892 provided that in case of private ownership the restrictions should last 20 years and thereafter so long as any part of the purchase money remains unpaid. The period proved to be not long enough. As a result, in 1926, it was extended to 40 years and thereafter so long as the purchase money remains unpaid.

#### Experience with Specific Restrictions

The right to take the holding away from the settler in case of inefficiency and inability has become an important weapon in the hands of the land-settlement agencies employing it to prevent the holdings from staying in the hands of unqualified persons. Even when the selection of settlers is carried out with the greatest care, it is not always possible to avoid mistakes. Besides, defects in the settler may appear suddenly after a period of satisfactory performance. In both cases, it is a decided advantage if the land-settlement agency is entitled to step in and to substitute for the unqualified settler a person who is able to meet the established standards of selection. Moreover, the mere existence of this weapon may serve to deter the settler from habits or actions that might be interpreted as contrary to the rules of good management.

Absentee ownership, where it threatened to develop, probably would not have been prevented without the requirements of personal cultivation and permanent residence on the holding.

Just how far the prescribing of rules concerning farming methods should go must depend on the class of settlers and on the special problems presented by each individual. It goes without saying that undue interference with the settler's initiative must be avoided by all means. The England Land Settlement Agency has deemed it necessary to go far in making rules on farming methods in dealing with persons who come with little or no agricultural experience from urban and industrial areas.

Health and space rules as to buildings undoubtedly have exerted a beneficial influence on land-settlement operations. The English require-

ment that only one dwelling should be erected was designed primarily to prevent the land from being used for building speculation and to preclude the development of rural slums. These purposes it has served well.

From all the available evidence it may be assumed that the provisions concerning subdivision, enlargement, consolidation, selling, subletting, other assignments, and succession in case of death have effectively barred the evils of excessive parcellation and speculation and have tended to preserve the holdings for the purpose for which they were created.

The main benefits that the German settler has gained under ownership arrangements from the institution of the rentcharge as regulated in the German laws have been two-fold. In the first place, he enjoys security against a sudden termination of the charge. In the second place, he is protected against fluctuating interest rates.

#### Experience with Provisions Other than Restrictions

Apparently in all of these countries effective means for the enforcement of land-tenure restrictions have been developed. They include the rights of resumption, repurchase, and preemption.

The obligations of the grantor in case of tenancy and mixed tenure in such matters as compensation for improvements, the termination of the agreement, and the determination of rent payments, as they have been established in the various land-settlement acts or acts dealing with land tenure in general, have helped the settler to reach a position where he is able to enjoy the fruits of his own labor and to live on his holding with a feeling of security.

Merit may be seen also in the special arbitration and adjustment machinery developed to enable the parties of tenure arrangements to adjust their disputes outside of the ordinary courts. Because of their personnel and their rules of operation, these institutions may be expected to be especially equipped and prepared to settle any disputes properly and quickly. The available information on their performance in the past indicates that they have been satisfactory.

The German rules as to the recording of the tenure arrangements are particularly likely to establish clear property conditions and relationships and to bring to the attention of all concerned any important later changes.

#### Restricted Tenures from the Angle of Their Essential Differences

The whole period under review has been filled with many controversies over the merits and demerits of this or that type of restricted

tenure, which have been followed in some cases by important changes in policy. In considering these controversies, it is important to remember that the various tenure forms have been in constant flux. They have been modified by the abolition or addition of restrictions, by fluctuations in the rigidity of the restrictions, and by changes in the obligations of the grantor. Thus the strength of the arguments for or against a given tenure institution and the decisions of the land-settlement agency or the settler to give preference to this or that tenure type can be properly evaluated only if they are examined in the light in which each given tenure institution appeared at the particular moment.

It is important to realize that the various major tenure types have proven to be equally subjective to restrictions. There is not one restriction among those mentioned in the preceding chapters which might not have been imposed upon any of the major tenure types. Second, one must not lose sight of the fact that there occurred a decided assimilation of the major tenure types caused, on the one hand, by the imposition of many similar restrictions on owners, tenants, and holders of mixed tenures and, on the other hand, by the various obligations placed upon the grantor in the fields of tenancy and mixed tenure.

The natural effect of this assimilation process has been that today, in many respects, the same results may be achieved under any one of the major types of tenure. This applies to such matters as security of occupation, ability to enjoy the fruits of one's own labor, land-conservation practices, efficient productive use of the land resources, and the possibilities of accumulating and investing capital in the holding.

Certain essential differences have remained, however. These have continued to exist partly on account of the discrepancies between the basic elements of the various tenure types, and partly on account of certain psychological factors.

What are these essential differences and how have they affected the land-settlement activities under review?

The differences that have remained following the gradual process of assimilation concern the following farming aspects: (1) requirement and use of capital, (2) stimulation and centering of interests, (3) exposure to the elements of risk, (4) adaptability to the enforcement of restrictions, and (5) social rating.

As far as the requirement and the use of capital are concerned, there is a great difference between ownership and the two other major tenure types. Since ownership tenure carries with it the obligation to

pay for the entire holding, a substantial amount of capital is likely to be required, particularly if the holding is a ready-made farm. In the case of tenancy or mixed tenure, however, since no money is needed for land or for land and buildings, capital requirements are much lower. Viewed from this angle, tenancy or mixed tenure should be the form of tenure, at least at the beginning, if the settler has little or no capital at his disposal. The extent to which this conclusion may be altered depends upon the financial assistance which owner-settlers may get under a given land-settlement scheme. In the countries where the application of ownership tenure has been considered, such financial assistance has been provided. But the extent to which these provisions have reduced the requirements of initial capital has varied a great deal.

With respect to the use of capital, it should be observed that the buying of a holding causes the tying-up of a considerable amount of land and buildings. In tenancy or mixed tenure there is no need for such investments. Here all the available capital can be used for operative and other purposes. This circumstance, as well as the one cited before, is of no small importance considering the fact that in numerous instances land-settlement operations have been undertaken primarily for the benefit of low-income groups.

As to the stimulation and centering of interests, the buying of land may create such a great interest in land values in the mind of the settler that he will be encouraged to speculate rather than to build up his holding for permanent occupation. There is not enough information to say to what extent this has actually occurred. The danger exists, however, whereas no danger of this kind occurs in the case of tenancy or mixed tenure arrangements. While recognizing this disadvantage in the case of ownership, the defenders of this tenure type have pointed out that it will not be so important if a restriction is placed on free selling, subletting, subdividing, exchanging, etc. That is true and, if the restriction is well enforced, the settler will find it rather difficult to engage in speculation. But the danger remains to the extent that rising land values may turn the settler's mind repeatedly to thoughts of speculation and lead him to search for ways and means by which he may circumvent the obstacles set up against it. In contrast, tenancy and mixed tenure hold out the promise that the settler's interests will be connected only with the value of his improvements and the yield of his own labor.

In regard to exposure to the elements of risk, it may be stated that the settler who buys his holding runs the risk of becoming adversely effected by fluctuations in land values, whereas the settler who leases his holding or enters upon his holding under a mixed-tenure arrangement is safe against such a risk.

Concerning the enforceability of restrictions the following essential differences should be noted. The closeness of relationship



between the land-settlement agency and the settler is likely to play an important part in this respect. The farther away the settler drifts from the land-settlement agency, the more difficult it may become to enforce the various restrictions. In the case of ownership, close contact may be maintained as long as the settler is indebted, but once he has paid up the purchase price the two parties are likely to move further apart. In Germany, efforts have been made to maintain a direct interest in the holding at all times by making a small portion of the rent charge irredeemable. This may be considered a suitable means of maintaining close contact with the settler. But in other countries no such remedy has been applied. On the other hand, where tenancy and mixed tenure are applied, there is no danger that the close relationship between land-settlement agency and settler will be destroyed. In the case of tenancy it continues to exist, because the landlord does not give up his ownership in the land. In the case of mixed tenure, it remains in effect since the grantor only divides his ownership rights with the settler. It may be concluded, therefore, that the granting of private ownership moves the settler farther away from the land-settlement agency than tenancy or mixed tenure, and renders the enforcement of restrictions more difficult to the extent to which remoteness from the land-settlement agency is likely to interfere.

Apart from the closeness of relationship between land-settlement agency and settler, the enforceability of the restrictions may also be influenced by the formalities required in matters of recording, available legal recourses, the factor of reversion, and the financial adjustments needed in case of the removal of the settler on account of contract violations. If a settler placed under an ownership arrangement or under mixed tenure is to be removed, many legal formalities must be met. In addition, the procedure against the settler may be delayed by a number of legal recourses not available to the settler with a lease agreement. In contrast, where tenancy is merely a personal contract, as in Germany, the procedure is comparatively simple.

The factor of reversion may be considered as granting an opportunity of remedying undesirable conditions at the time when the holding returns to the hands of the grantor. In the case of ownership, reversion does not exist since the right of ownership grants dominion and control over the holding forever. Under lease agreements this factor exists, however, and here it will be of greatest help since many tenancy contracts are made on a short-term basis. In the field of mixed tenure reversion likewise exists; but here, because of the long-term character of such arrangements, it may be of less help in measures against the settler if at the time of contract violation the date of expiration of the agreement is still very far in the future.

Financial adjustments may turn out to be a handicap if, in removing a settler placed under ownership agreement, it is necessary to pay him a

substantial amount of money in connection with the repurchase of the holding. In recovering holdings from settlers placed under tenancy or mixed tenure agreements, it may also be necessary to make certain payments. Here, however, the required payments are not likely to go beyond the granting of compensation for unexhausted improvements.

As to social rating, social discrimination has occurred in some regions on the basis of social status. Where this has happened owner-operators have looked upon tenants or holders of mixed tenures as operators holding a second-rate type of tenure status. This situation has developed only in certain regions and has by no means become general. In other regions different tenures have been applied without any discriminating effect. Thus, for instance, almost throughout England a tenant-settler is not subjected to social discrimination by his neighboring owner-operators. In Denmark settlers placed under mixed-tenure arrangements have the same social standing as full owners. Nevertheless, the fact that social discrimination has occurred in some places calls for caution and suggests the wisdom of avoiding the application of different tenure types wherever different tenures are considered to be socially unequal.

#### Simplification of Land Tenure

A glance over the development of land tenure described in the preceding chapters discloses a decided tendency toward simplification. In the first place, unrestricted tenure has been discarded in favor of restricted tenure. In the second place, the major tenure types have been greatly assimilated through the placement of similar restrictions on the rights of the grantee and the regulation of the rights of the grantor, with the result that many objectives can be achieved equally well under any of the existing major tenure types.

There are some possibilities of further assimilation through action in the field of restrictions placed on the rights of the grantee and the regulation of the rights of the grantor. But it is clear that any further simplification of an important nature, should it be desired, will have to come about through concentration on one of the major tenure types.

Which major tenure type should be singled out as the most desirable? This question is somewhat difficult to answer because preference has not been given to one and the same type of tenure in the various countries included in this study. In England, for instance, tenancy has been looked upon as a more advantageous form of land tenure by an overwhelming number of the English settlers. In Germany preference has been given to ownership. In Scotland, mixed tenure has been preferred, and ownership has been openly rejected by the settlers in a number of cases. In Denmark, for a long time, ownership ranked first but more recently it appears that settlers are beginning to favor mixed tenure.

Despite this apparent confusion there are some indications that mixed tenure will predominate eventually. It has "won" in Scotland, and seems to be gaining more and more adherents in Denmark and in Germany.

The main reasons for the probable victory of mixed tenure may be seen in the following advantages. First, it is able to combine all of the good things of ownership and tenancy. Second, it makes possible the avoidance of some of the disadvantages of the two other types. Third, it provides an opportunity for a formal sanction and an effective safeguarding of the participation of the State in the control of land use.

What might be the gains under a uniform kind of landed property? The chief gains appear to be: (1) clarity and certainty of decision and thereby greater stability, (2) elimination of the danger of social discrimination on the basis of difference in land tenure, and (3) facilitation of the administration of land tenure.

#### Stability of Land Tenure

The decades covered by this study have witnessed much instability and uncertainty in the field of land tenure. Many new ideas about tenure have been proposed, and on many occasions land-settlement schemes have been used as an experimental ground on which to test these new ideas.

The land-tenure policies followed in connection with the creation of new holdings have reflected to a large extent the uncertainties and controversies that have existed in the general field of land tenure. Since land-settlement schemes will probably continue to serve as an experimental ground on which new ideas are tried out, instability is likely to continue as long as the problem of finding an adequate pattern of landed property in agriculture remains unsolved.

## Chapter VIII

### SUMMARY

Briefly stated, the nature and results of the land-tenure policies adopted in the countries included in connection with the establishment of new agricultural holdings have been as follows:

- (1) Land-settlement schemes have often served as an experimental ground for the testing of new tenure policies.
- (2) Three major tenure types have been proposed or adopted: ownership, tenancy, and mixed tenure, the last of which represents a mixed form combining elements of ownership and tenancy.
- (3) Partly for experimental reasons and partly because of other considerations, land-settlement laws on a number of occasions have authorized the application of a variety of tenure types.
- (4) Two strong forces have been opposing each other in the field of land tenure, one working toward unrestricted tenure, the other toward restricted tenure.
- (5) Absolutely unrestricted private ownership has not been created in any of the countries included in this study. Restricted tenures have played an important part in land-settlement activities.
- (6) The restrictions imposed in the fields of ownership, tenancy, and mixed tenure restrain the settler's rights of disposal in many tenure matters and show a great similarity at the present stage of their development.
- (7) The three major tenure types have been applied on private as well as on public land.
- (8) In spite of repeated special efforts on the part of the English Government to promote the use of ownership arrangements, practically all the English settlers have preferred to be settled as tenants of the county councils, that is, as public tenants.
- (9) In Scotland, the majority of the new holdings have been established on publicly-owned land and are operated under public mixed tenure. In Germany, most of the settlers have been placed on the land under restricted ownership of the rental holding type. In Denmark, mixed tenure seems to gain more and more adherents.
- (10) From the available evidence, it appears that in many land settlement schemes restricted tenures have met with considerable success in warding off such dangers as inefficient use or abuse of the land, the

diversion of the land to non-agricultural purposes, undesirable subdivision or enlargement, overburdening with indebtedness, speculation, and other unwanted developments.

(11) Effective means for the enforcement of land-tenure restrictions have been developed.

(12) Obligations imposed on the grantor in such matters as compensation for unexhausted improvements, the termination of the agreement, and the determination of rent payments have done much to improve the conditions prevailing under tenancy and mixed tenure.

(13) Valuable results may be expected from the establishment of special arbitration and adjustment machinery to adjust outside of the ordinary courts disputes between the parties of tenure arrangements.

(14) In Germany, the system of recording tenure arrangements has reached a high degree of efficiency.

(15) Because of a process of assimilation that has been going on in the field of land tenure, it is possible today to achieve much the same results under any of the three major tenure types.

(16) The essential differences remaining after the gradual process of assimilation are in the following fields: (a) requirement and use of capital, (b) stimulation and centering of interests, (c) exposure to the elements of risk, (d) adaptability to the enforcement of restrictions, and (e) social rating.

(17) Although certain possibilities of further assimilation through action in the field of restrictions on the rights of the grantee and regulation of the rights of the grantor still exist, any further simplification of an important nature, should it be desired, would have to come through concentration on one of the major tenure types.

(18) No uniform policy of preference has grown up so far in the countries included in this study but there are some indications that further simplification will take place by concentration on mixed tenure.

(19) The main benefits that might be reaped through a uniform system of landed property are: (a) clarity and certainty of decision and thereby greater stability, (b) elimination of the danger of social discrimination on the basis of difference in land tenure, and (c) facilitation of the administration of land tenure.

(20) Instability of land-tenure policies in the field of land settlement is likely to continue as long as the problem of finding an adequate pattern of landed property in agriculture remains unsolved.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

In preparing this study the author has had to deal with four different legal systems: the Anglo-Saxon, the German, the Scandinavian, and the Roman. The Roman system has left its imprint on each of the other three. But its influence has varied considerably from case to case. There are many important divergencies between these legal systems, which have arisen out of the particular political, legal, social, and economic conditions through which the various countries have passed. For this reason, a number of technical expressions are rather difficult to explain. However, an attempt has been made to develop suitable English terms where such terms have not existed before.

The field of land tenure is full of controversies. Moreover, frequently the subject matter has been approached with prejudice and a good deal of misapprehension. It is hoped that this discussion will help to clarify some of the issues involved.

The term "tenure" dates from the English feudal land system. There it had a specific meaning. In the days of that system, a tenant of land was by no means a leaseholder, although today the designation "tenant" is applied to persons operating their land under lease agreements. In the course of time the meaning of "tenure" has been so broadened that it has come to designate any mode of property distribution or relationship in regard to land. It is in this sense that the term is used in the present report.

Acknowledgment is made to Dr. Joseph Gellermann for his assistance in the collection of material on the English, Scottish, and general aspects of the tenure problems discussed. Foreign representatives of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics obtained certain first-hand information from a number of foreign land-settlement agencies.

LIST OF ACTS, DECREES, ORDINANCES, ETC.

(1) England:

Land Transfer Act, 1875 (38 & 39 Vic., c. 87)  
Small Holdings Act, 1892 (55 & 56 Vic., c. 31)  
Land Transfer Act, 1897 (60 & 61 Vic., c. 65)  
Small Holdings & Allotments Act, 1907 (7 Ed. VII., c. 54)  
Small Holdings & Allotments Act, 1908 (8 Ed. VII., c. 36)  
Agricultural Holdings Act, 1908 (8 Ed. VII., c. 28)  
Agricultural Holdings Act, 1913 (2 & 3 Geo. V., c. 21)  
Holding Colonies Act, 1916 (6 & 7 Geo. V., c. 38)  
Sailors and Soldiers (Gifts for Land Settlement) Act, 1916  
(6 & 7 Geo. V., c. 60)  
Small Holding Colonies (Amendment) Act, 1918 (8 & 9 Geo. V.,  
c. 26)  
Land Settlement (Facilities) Act, 1919 (9 & 10 Geo. V., c. 59)  
Agricultural Act, 1920 (10 & 11 Geo. V., c. 76)  
Law of Property Act, 1922 (12 & 13 Geo. V., c. 16)  
The Agricultural Holdings Act, 1923 (13 Geo. V., c. 9)  
Land Settlement (Facilities) Amendment Act, 1925 (15 & 16  
Geo. V., c. 85)  
Law of Property Act, 1925 (15 Geo. V., c. 20)  
Settled Land Act, 1925 (15 Geo. V., c. 18)  
Land Charges Act, 1925 (15 Geo. V., c. 22)  
Land Registration Act, 1925, (15 Geo. V., c. 21)  
Small Holdings & Allotments Act, 1926 (16 & 17 Geo. V., c. 52)  
Landlord and Tenant Act, 1927 (17 & 18 Geo. V., c. 36)  
Agricultural Land (Utilization) Act, 1931 (21 & 22 Geo. V., 1931)  
Special Areas (Development & Improvement) Act, 1934 (25 Geo.  
V., c. 1)

(2) Scotland:

Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886 (49 & 50 Vic., c. 29)  
Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1887 (50 & 51 Vic., c. 24)  
Small Holdings Act, 1892 (55 & 56 Vic., c. 31)  
Congested Districts (Scotland) Act, 1897 (60 & 61 Vic., c. 53)  
Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1908 (8 Ed. VII., c. 64)  
Small Landholders (Scotland) Act, 1911 (1 & 2 Geo. V., c. 49)  
Small Holdings Colonies Act, 1916 (6 & 7 Geo. V., c. 38)  
Sailors & Soldiers (Gifts for Land  
Settlement) Act, 1916 (6 & 7 Geo. V., c. 60)

Small Holdings Colonies (Amendment) Act, 1918	(8 & 9 Geo. V., c. 26)
Land Settlement (Scotland) Act, 1919	(9 & 10 Geo. V., c. 97)
Land Settlement Amendment Act, 1921	(11 & 12 Geo. V., c. 85)
Small Landholders & Agricultural Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1931	(21 & 22 Geo. V., c. 44)
Agricultural Land (Utilization) Act, 1931	(21 & 22 Geo. V., 1931)
Special Areas (Development and Improvement) Act, 1934	(25 Geo. V., c. 1)

(3) Germany:

Preussisches Allgemeines Landrecht vom 5. Februar 1794  
Gesetz betr. die Abloesung der Reallasten vom 2. Maerz 1850  
Gesetz betr. die Befoerderung deutscher Ansiedlungen in den Povernzen Westpreussen und Posen vom 26. April 1886 (PrGS. S. 131)  
Gesetz ueber Rentengueter vom 27. Juni 1890 (PrGS. S. 209)  
Gesetz betr. die Foerderung der Errichtung von Rentenguetern vom 7. Juli 1891 (PrGS. S. 279)  
Buergerliches Gesetzbuch vom 18. August 1896  
Einfuehrungsgesetz zum Buergerlichen Gesetzbuch vom 18. August 1896  
Reichssiedlungsgesetz vom 11. August 1919 (RGBl. S. 1429)  
Reichsheimstaettengesetz vom 10. Mai 1920 (RGBl. S. 962)  
Gesetz, betreffend Ergaenzung des Reichssiedlungsgesetzes vom 7. Juni 1923  
Gesetz zur Aenderung des Reichssiedlungsgesetzes vom 8. Juli 1926  
Gesetz ueber die Neubildung deutschen Bauerntums vom 14. Juli 1933  
Reichserbhofgesetz vom 29. September 1933, (RGBl. I, S. 685)  
Ergaenzungsgesetz zum Reichssiedlungsgesetz vom 4. Januar 1935

(4) Denmark:

Lov om Tilvejebringelse of Jordlodder for Landarbejdere, Nr. 39, 3 - 24 - 1899  
Lov om Tilvejebringelse of Jordlodder for Landarbejdere, Nr. 101, 4 - 22 - 1904  
Lov om Oprettelse of Husmandsbrug, Nr. 94, 4 - 30 - 1909  
Lov om Oprettelse of Husmandsbrug, Nr. 127, 6 - 13 - 1914  
Lov om Oprettelse of Husmandsbrug, Nr. 323, 6 - 22 - 1917  
Lov om Tillaeg til Lov om Oprettelse of Husmandsbrug af 22 Juni 1917, Nr. 78. 2 - 19 - 1918



Lov om Afhaendelse of de til Praesteembeder henlagte Jorder til Oprettelse af Husmandsbrug, Nr. 537, 4 - 4 - 1919  
Lov om Vilkaar for Bortsalg af Jorder i oflentligt Eje Nr. 557, 4 - 4 - 1919  
Lov om Tillaeg til Lov om Oprettelse of Husmandsbrug af 22 Juni 1917, Nr. 157, 4 - 14 - 1920  
Lov om Tillaeg til Lov om Oprettelse of Husmandsbrug af 22 Juni 1917, Nr. 277, 5 - 6 - 1921  
Lov om Tillaeg til Lov om Oprettelse of Husmandsbrug af 22 Juni 1917, Nr. 362, 8 - 7 - 1922  
Lov om Oprettelse af Husmandsbrug, Nr. 81, 3 - 29 - 1924  
Lov om Landbrugsejendomme, Nr. 106, 4 - 3 - 1925  
Lov om Fjords Udstykning og Sammenlaegning, Nr. 108, 4 - 3 - 1925  
Lov om Tillaeg til og Aendring i Lov om Oprettelse af Husmandsbrug af 29 Marts 1924, 7 - 1 - 1927  
Lov om Tillaeg til Lov om Oprettelse af Husmandsbrug af 29 Marts 1924, Nr. 150, 4 - 15 - 1930  
Lov om Oprettelse af mindre Landbrug, Nr. 90, 3 - 25 - 1933  
Lov om Oprettelse og Udvidelse af mindre Landbrug, herunder Gartnerier og Havebrug, samt Tildeling af Byggepladser og Havelodder, 5 - 14 - 1934

(5) Norway:

Lov om Arbeiderbrug-og Boliglaan, 6 - 9 - 1903  
Lov om Forandring i Lov af 9de Juni 1903 om Arbeiderbrug-og Boliglaan, 2 - 13 - 1905  
Lov indeholdende forandring i Lov om Arbeiderbrug-og Boliglaan af 9de Juni 1903, 5 - 24 - 1907  
Lov om forandring i Lov om Arbeiderbruk-og Boliglaan, 8 - 8 1908  
Lov om Smaabruk-og Boliglaan, 7 - 23 - 1915  
Lov om forandringer i Lov om Arbeiderbruk-og Boliglaan af 9 Juni 1903 kap. 1 og i Lov om Smaabruk-og Boliglaan, 2 - 25 1921  
Res. om bemyndigelse for Justisdepartementet til a treffe avgjrelser efter s 81. i Lov om Smaabruk-og Boliglaan af 23 Juli 1915, 5 - 8 - 1925

(6) Sweden:

Kungörelse angaende allmännavillkor och bestämmelser för den af Kungl. Maj. t och Riksdagen beslutade egnahemsplanerörelse, 6 - 17 - 1904

Kungörelse angående förändrade allmänna villkor och bestämmelser för den af staten ut öfvade egnahemsloansörelse, 6 - 13 - 1908

Kungörelse angående allmänna villkor och bestämmelser för statens egnahemsloansörelse, 6 - 27 - 1919

Lag om upplåtelse under arborät av viss jord, 6 - 4 - 1926

Kungörelse angående allmänna grunder för den statsunderstödda egnahemsverksamheten, Nr. 217, 6 - 8 - 1928

Kungörelse med reglementariska förreskrifter rörande den statsunderstödda egnahemsloans- och premielansverksamheten, Nr. 218, 6 - 8 - 1928

Kungörelse om arrendeegnar, Nr. 279, 6 - 15 - 1934

EXTRACT FROM ENGLISH  
SMALL HOLDINGS AND ALLOTMENTS  
ACT OF 1926

5. (1) Where a county council sell a small holding, the consideration (except where otherwise specifically provided in this Act) shall be a terminable annuity of an amount equal to the full fair rent of the holding for a period of sixty years, or at the option of the purchaser, a terminable annuity for a period of less than sixty years of an equivalent capital value.

(2) The terminable annuity shall be payable by equal half-yearly instalments, the first instalment being payable on completion, be secured by a charge on the holding in favour of the council.

(3) The council may, if they think fit, postpone for a term not exceeding five years, the payment of all or any part of the terminable annuity, except so much as is payable on completion, in consideration of capital expenditure by the purchaser which in the opinion of the council increases the value of the holding, but shall do so on such terms as will in their opinion prevent them from incurring any loss or increased loss.

(4) A small holding may be sold subject to such rights of way or other rights as the council may consider necessary or expedient.

(5) Any question under this section as to what is the full fair rent of a small holding, or the amount of a terminable annuity, shall be determined by the county council.

6. (1) A small holding sold by a county council under this Act, shall for a term of forty years from the date of the sale, and thereafter so long as the holding remains charged with the terminable annuity, be held subject to the following conditions:-

(a) Any periodical payments due in respect of the terminable annuity shall be duly made:

(b) The holding shall not be divided, sold, assigned, let or sublet without the consent of the county council:

(c) The holding shall be cultivated by the owner or occupier as the case may be, in accordance with the rules of good husbandry as defined in the Agricultural Holdings Act, 1923, and shall not be used for any purpose other than agriculture:

(d) Not more than one dwelling-house shall be erected on the holding unless, in the opinion of the council, additional accommodation is required for the proper cultivation of the holding:

- (e) Any dwelling-house erected on the holding shall comply with such requirements as the county council may impose for securing healthiness and freedom from overcrowding:
- (f) Any dwelling-house or other building erected on the holding shall be kept in repair and insured against fire by the owner to the satisfaction of the county council, and the receipts for premiums produced when required by them:
- (g) No dwelling-house or building on the holding shall be used for the sale of intoxicating liquors:
- (h) In the case of any holding on which, in the opinion of the county council, a dwelling-house ought not to be erected, no dwelling-house shall be erected on the holding without the consent of the county council:

Provided that a county council may, if they think fit, subject, in the case of a holding in respect of which a contribution is payable by the Minister, to the consent of the Minister, as respects the whole or any part of the holding, either at the time of the sale or subsequently, and either without consideration or for such consideration as they think fit, relax or dispense with any of the above conditions.

The Minister may, in giving his consent to any such relaxation or dispensation, impose such terms as he thinks fit including a requirement as to the consideration to be charged, and the application thereof in whole or in part in satisfaction of any contributions payable by him under this Part of this Act.

(2) If any such condition is broken the council may, after giving the owner an opportunity of remedying the breach (if it is capable of remedy), either take possession of the holding or order the sale of the holding without taking possession.

(3) If, on the decease of the owner while the holding is subject to the conditions imposed by this section, the holding would, by reason of any devise, bequest, intestacy, or otherwise, become subdivided, the council may require the holding to be sold within twelve months after such decease to some one person, and if default is made in so selling the holding, the council may either take possession of the holding or order the sale of the holding without taking possession.

(4) A small holding let by a county council shall be held subject to the conditions on which it would under this section be held if it were sold, except so far as those conditions relate to the terminable annuity and to repairs and insurance against fire; and, if any such condition or any term of the letting is broken, the council may, after giving the tenant an opportunity of remedying the breach (if it is capable of remedy), determine the tenancy.

LEASE AGREEMENT OF THE COUNTY COUNCIL OF BERKSHIRE, ENGLAND

THIS AGREEMENT, is made the  
day of one thousand nine hundred and  
BETWEEN THE COUNTY COUNCIL OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTY OF BERKS acting by Harold  
John Cooke Neobard of Shire Hall, Reading, their Clerk and duly authorised agent  
(hereinafter called "The Council," which expression includes its successors and as-  
signs and any Committee to which it may delegate powers under the Small Holdings and  
Allotments Acts 1908-1926) of the one part, and

of

(hereinafter called "The Tenant" which expression includes his heirs, executors,  
administrators and assigns) of the other part.

NOW THIS AGREEMENT WITNESSETH as follows:-

1. The Council shall let and the Tenant shall take

on a yearly Tenancy  
from the day of , one thousand nine hundred  
and , the Small Holding whereof the description is set  
out in the First Schedule hereunder written, together with the appurtenances and  
all fixtures and fittings thereon (except those specified in the Second Schedule  
hereto which are to be regarded as fixtures belonging to the Tenant), and together  
also with any agreed addition to such Holding in the way of buildings or improvements  
whatsoever as may be hereafter erected or made thereon.

2. The Council excepts from the letting and reserves to itself First, all  
mines, minerals, gravel, sand, clay, and quarries; Secondly, all trees, saplings,  
shrubs, pollards and underwood, with the full right to the Council or anyone author-  
ised by them to take and remove the same, and any minerals, making reasonable com-  
pensation to the Tenant for any damage done thereby; and Thirdly, (subject to the  
provisions of the Ground Game Acts, 1880-1906), all game, rabbits, wild fowl and fish  
and (subject to the provisions of the same Acts) the exclusive right of shooting and  
sporting for the nominees of the Council.

3. The Tenant hereby agrees with the Council as follows:-

(a) To pay a rent for the said Holding of Firstly, the sum of

(£ : s. d.) such rent to be paid half-yearly on the 25th day of March and the 29th September in every year; and Secondly, such an additional yearly sum as may hereafter be apportioned by the Council in respect of any addition to such Holding in the way of buildings hereafter erected thereon, or improvements hereafter made thereto by the Council, or any rent substituted therefore by Agreement. The said rent and additional rent (if any) to be paid in every half-year clear of all deductions (except Land Tax, Tithe and Landlord's Property Tax). PROVIDED ALWAYS that, if the Council so require, the first half-year's rent in each year of the tenancy to be paid in two instalments, of which one instalment shall be paid in advance at the commencement of the half-year. The last half-year's rent and additional rent, otherwise due at the expiration of the tenancy to be due on demand and payable in advance.

- (b) Before taking possession of the Holding to pay to the Council half the stamp duty on this Agreement and the apportioned amount of compensation due to the outgoing Tenant or Tenants for tillages, seed and unexhausted improvements, and the like due under the Agricultural Holdings Act 1923, or under the custom of the country, and to take to the roots, hay, straw or other fodder at a fair market price, and pay to the Council the amount of any costs or expenses incurred by the Council in respect of any Valuation or Arbitration or otherwise in ascertaining such amounts.
- (c) To repair maintain and keep in good and tenantable repair the house and all the buildings for the time being on the said Holding (except the roofs, outer walls, main timbers and outside painting), and also all roads, gates, hedges, fences (the character of which latter shall not be altered without the consent of the Council) and boundary mounds and to keep the hedges regularly brushed and trimmed and lay and plash such of them as require it at proper seasons of the year (planting, guarding and properly weeding the young quicks where necessary) renew all broken glass and to clean out and keep open and in working order all ditches, rain water gutters and downpipes, drains, ponds, sewers, culverts and water courses and to provide free of charge suitable straw for thatching such of the buildings on the Holding as have thatched roofs, and to do all hauling of materials for the necessary repairs free of charge not exceeding a distance of 5 miles from the Holding.
- (d) Not to do or suffer to be done upon the said premises anything which may render any increased or extra premium payable for the insurance of the said premises against fire or which may make void or voidable any policy for such insurance.
- (e) To pay on demand to the Council the cost apportioned to his Holding of any repairs or works mentioned in Clause 3 (c) of this Agreement executed at the expense of the Council to any buildings, fences, roads,

drains or watercourses which are common to or serve two or more Holdings of which one or some are in the occupation of the Council or an adjoining owner or their or his tenant or tenants and the other in the occupation of the Tenant.

- (f) To himself cultivate the Holding and not to use the same for any purpose other than agriculture, horticulture, the keeping or breeding of live stock, poultry or bees, the growth of fruit, vegetables or the like or other purpose of husbandry and in respect of any such use of the Holding to farm, cultivate, manure and manage it in a good and husbandlike manner according to the most approved methods of such husbandry followed in the district and in accordance with the rules of good husbandry and to keep it in good heart and condition and not allow any part of it to become impoverished but to have the land at all times clean and for all hay, straw, fodder, root or green crops or manure sold or removed from the Holding to return within three months an amount to be approved by the Council in artificial or other manures or feeding stuffs or store. To keep true accounts and vouchers, which shall be produced to any authorised officer of the Council when required, of all such produce sold or removed from the Holding and of the amount of manure or feeding stuff or store so returned.
- (g) Not to cultivate or permit to be cultivated the Holding as a Market Garden or Market Gardens, and for the purpose of Section 47 of the Small Holdings Act 1908, but for no other purpose, the Council hereby in writing expressly prohibits the execution of any improvement mentioned in Part I. of the Second Schedule to that Act.
- (h) Not to sell or remove or suffer to be removed from the Holding during the last year of the tenancy any hay, straw, chaff, roots or green crops, or manures the produce of the last year of the tenancy provided that the Council or the incoming tenant shall take to and pay for all hay, straw, chaff and roots grown during the last year at market price, in accordance with Section 31 of the Agricultural Holdings Act 1923, provided also the Council or incoming tenant shall not be required to pay for any manure or compost which the Tenant shall leave on the Holding subject to payment for labour on the same.
- (i) Not to take, kill or destroy (except as provided by the Ground Game Acts, 1880-1906), but to preserve any game, wild fowl or fish upon the said Holding.
- (j) Not, without the previous written consent of the Council, to convert into tillage any meadow or pasture land, and to pay as liquidated and ascertained damage to the Council at the rate of £20 per acre for every acre so converted in the breach of this clause, nor pare nor burn the turf or soil, nor mow the same land twice in one year or two years in succession without a proper dressing of manure before the second crop,

and to kill and endeavour to exterminate moles, rats and mice and to spread mole hills and prevent thistles, docks and other noxious weeds from running to seed.

- (k) To keep the gardens, orchard and shrubberies (if any) properly cultivated, planted, stocked and manured and in neat order and preserve and keep well pruned and trained all fruit trees, bushes, vines and shrubs, and plant fresh ones of the best description in the place of those dying, becoming decayed or unprofitable.
- (l) To preserve all timber and timber-like growths, underwood and live hedges from injury or otherwise and not to cut, lop, top or injure by nails or otherwise timber or timber-like trees and pollards and not to commit nor permit spoil or waste on any part of the said Holding.
- (m) To observe and perform in so far as possible all conditions and covenants contained in the lease or conveyance under which the Council hold the land, and any other special conditions which are set out in the Third Schedule hereunder written.
- (n) Not, without the written consent of the Council, to erect a dwelling-house or other building on the said Holding, and to submit plans to be approved by the Council of any dwelling-house or building being erected by him and as regards any such new building or any existing building to comply with such requirements as the Council may impose for securing healthiness and freedom from overcrowding.
- (o) Not, without written consent to erect any barb wire fences.
- (p) Not, without the written consent of the Council to underlet, assign or part with the possession of the Holding or any part of it and to yield up at the expiration of the tenancy the said Holding in such a state of repair, management and cultivation as shall be in compliance with the foregoing clauses of this Agreement.
- (q) At all reasonable times to allow any member or members or officer or servant of the County Council to enter and inspect the Holding.
- (r) Not to execute or perform any improvement mentioned in Part I. of the Second Schedule to the Small Holdings Act 1908.

4. The Council hereby agrees with the Tenant:-

- (a) To find at the discretion of the County Land Agent sawn timber, paint, tar and other materials for repairs to the house, buildings or gates.
- (b) In the event of the Tenant executing any of the improvements mentioned in Part I. of the Second Schedule to the Small Holdings Act 1908, to use



at the end of the tenancy, its best endeavours to obtain compensation from the incoming tenant and to pay to the Tenant any sum that may be received by the Council as compensation.

- (c) To pay to the Tenant on the determination of the tenancy the amount of compensation due to him as outgoing tenant for tillages, seeds and unexhausted improvements and the like due under the Agricultural Holdings Act 1923, or under the custom of the country.

5. It is hereby further agreed that if the Tenant shall at any time make default in the performance of any of his duties as contained in Clause 3 (c) hereof relating to the repair of the premises hereby let it shall be lawful for the Council (but without prejudice to the right of re-entry under the clause hereinafter contained) to enter upon the said premises and repair the same at the expense of the Tenant in accordance with the provisions of these presents and the expenses of such repairs shall be repaid to the Council on demand.

6. This Tenancy may be determined as follows:-

(a) By the Council, at the expiration of any year of the tenancy, by 12 calendar months' notice in writing in the event of the death of the Tenant, or if the Council are of opinion that the Tenant is unable to cultivate the Holding properly, or if the Council desires to resume possession of the Holding for any other reason (in which last-mentioned case only the Tenant shall be entitled to compensation under and in accordance with the provisions of the Agricultural Holdings Act 1923).

(b) By the Council without any previous notice whatsoever by entry through a duly authorised officer if the rent is in arrear for not less than forty days, or if the Tenant becomes bankrupt or compounds with or executes a deed of assignment to his creditors, or if any condition or term of this Agreement is broken by the Tenant and he does not remedy the breach after a reasonable opportunity of doing so has been given him by the Council.

In the event of the tenancy being determined in accordance with this sub-clause the Tenant shall pay rent computed from day to day for the proportionate part of the half-year up to the date of such determination.

or (c) By the Tenant at the expiration of any year of the tenancy by twelve calendar months' previous notice in writing.

AS WITNESS the hands of the parties hereto the day and year first hereinbefore written.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION  
AND  
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS  
AND  
WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION  
AND  
VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE  
COOPERATING

**Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties**

BY DWIGHT M. DAVIDSON, JR.  
AND B. L. HUMMEL

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SOCIAL RESEARCH REPORT NO. XV

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WASHINGTON, D. C., MARCH 1940

In order that administrators might be supplied with needed information concerning the problems and conditions with which its program is concerned, the Resettlement Administration (absorbed September 1, 1937, by the Farm Security Administration) with the cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics conducted a number of research investigations. This is one of a series of reports on these researches. Others will be made available to administrators of programs for the welfare of rural people as rapidly as they are completed. This series is composed of the following reports:

- I. An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects, by John B. Holt.
- ✓ II. Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries, by Erich Kraemer.
- III. Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, by L. S. Dodson.
- IV. Social Status and Farm Tenure - Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers, by E. A. Schuler.
- V. Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project - Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California, by Marie Jasny.
- VI. A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama, by Karl Shafer.
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- XII. The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, by W. F. Kumlien, C. P. Loomis, et al. (Published by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, South Dakota.)
- XIII. Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, by C. P. Loomis, Joseph J. Lister, and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XIV. Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project, by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.
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- XVI. Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rural Community, South Holland, Illinois, by L. S. Dodson.
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## FOREWORD

This is the last of a series of six reports on levels-of-living studies, the field work of which was done in 1935. The data were gathered by WPA workers supervised by technically trained persons. The findings from the other five studies have been published in Social Research Reports X, XI, XII, XIII, and XIV of this series. Report XII appears as Bulletin No. 320, The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, of the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station. These six studies do not constitute a systematic sampling of the rural areas of the United States. The same techniques and technologies were used in the conduct of all six studies, but that is the only common denominator which they have.

This study is based upon something approaching a systematic sampling of the various rural areas of Virginia, in that six carefully selected areas were studied. As in the case of the other studies, the data pertain almost altogether to those physical elements in the standard of living which can be measured by monetary expenditures. The reader should be cautioned, therefore, against the implication that the standards of living of farm families in the six sample areas vary in direct relation to the levels of living as measured by these material criteria.

The reader will be interested in comparing the findings of this report with the five other standard-of-living studies in this series: "Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties," by C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson; "Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Rosettlement Communities," by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.; "The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935," by W. F. Kumlien, C. P. Loomis, and others; "Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area," by C. P. Loomis, Joseph J. Lister, and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.; and "Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project," by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.

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## STANDARDS OF LIVING IN SIX VIRGINIA COUNTIES

By Dwight M. Davidson, Jr. and B. L. Hummel

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### Summary

(1) This study was conducted in six counties of Virginia in an effort to supplement existing knowledge of the levels of living and consumption behavior of various segments of the population. The principal index used was the total value of goods and services consumed for family-living purposes.

(2) Forty-six percent of the 1,730 farm families and 44 percent of the 761 urban families included in the study reported a total value of living for 1935 that was less than \$1,000.

(3) The average value of all goods used by the farm families for family living was \$1,130, 44 percent of which was furnished. For the town families this value was \$1,332, 14 percent of which was furnished. As measured by the value-of-living index, differences between the tenure groups were large. The farm owners reported an average of \$1,249; the renters, \$946; and the croppers, \$719. Urban families who owned their dwellings reported an average value of family living of \$1,558, while those residing in rented dwellings reported \$1,153.

(4) Food was a more important item in the rural than in the urban family-living budget inasmuch as 41 percent of the former, as compared with 29 percent of the latter, was devoted to this item. But there was relatively little difference in the value of food consumed per capita by the two groups.

(5) In all residence and tenure groups the proportion of the total family budget allocated to food decreased as the total value of living increased and the proportions allocated to maintenance and operation of the family automobile, to health, births, and deaths, and to advancement increased as the value of living increased.

(6) For farm families of all tenure groups operating more than 10 acres a positive correlation tended to exist between the number of acres operated and the total value of family living.

(7) A greater proportion of the urban than of the farm families reported such household facilities and conveniences as radios, telephones, and running water. In the open-country groups more of the owners than of the tenants reported these, and in both residence groups more were reported by the families with a higher value of living.

(8) Families in the tobacco counties, Halifax and Prince Edward, and the southwestern county, Wythe, reported an average value of housing and maintenance that was low in comparison with that of other counties.

(9) There was a positive correlation between the amount spent for clothing and the total value of living, but there was no consistent trend in the proportion allocated by the various groups.

(10) An increase in the total value of living of the croppers appears to be contingent to a greater extent upon production for home use than was true for the other groups.

(11) As measured by the value of living, the difference between the farm renter and the farm cropper was greater than the difference between the owner and the renter in Halifax, Nansemond, and Wythe - counties of dissimilar characteristics. Owners in the western counties produced a greater proportion of the total value of living than those in the tobacco and the peanut areas.

(12) There was a definite relationship between the duration of marriage and the total value of goods and services consumed. As the length of the marriage union and the ability to command economic goods increased, it appeared that the families attempted to strengthen or increase status through greater emphasis in the family budget upon certain items that would give tangible evidence of this increase.

(13) The average amount of savings and investments for the farm families was \$102; in the towns it was \$168. The owners reported an average of \$118, the renters \$79, and the croppers \$36. Savings accounted for the largest proportion of total investments in both residence groups. Town families placed greater proportions in insurance, stocks, and other investments than did rural families.

(14) There appeared to be a definite relationship between the duration of marriage, the tenure status of the farm operator, and the number of acres operated. Farm croppers and renters who were related to their landlords were generally those who had been married for a relatively short time.

(15) As measured by the total value of goods and services consumed, the poorer renters appeared to be relatively better situated than the poorer land owners.

(16) Urban families devoted more time to leisure activities than did farm families. Time allotted to these activities ranged from an average of 2.6 hours per day for the farm operator to 4.6 hours for the urban homemaker.

(17) Male heads of urban families, with slightly higher formal educational attainments, spent an average of 6 hours per week reading, or approximately 2 hours more per week than the male head of the farm family.

(18) During 1935 the farm families reported that they read an average of 6.8 State bulletins and 5.3 Federal bulletins. Sixteen percent of the families either owned or borrowed a State bulletin during the year, and 10 percent either owned or borrowed a Federal bulletin.

## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

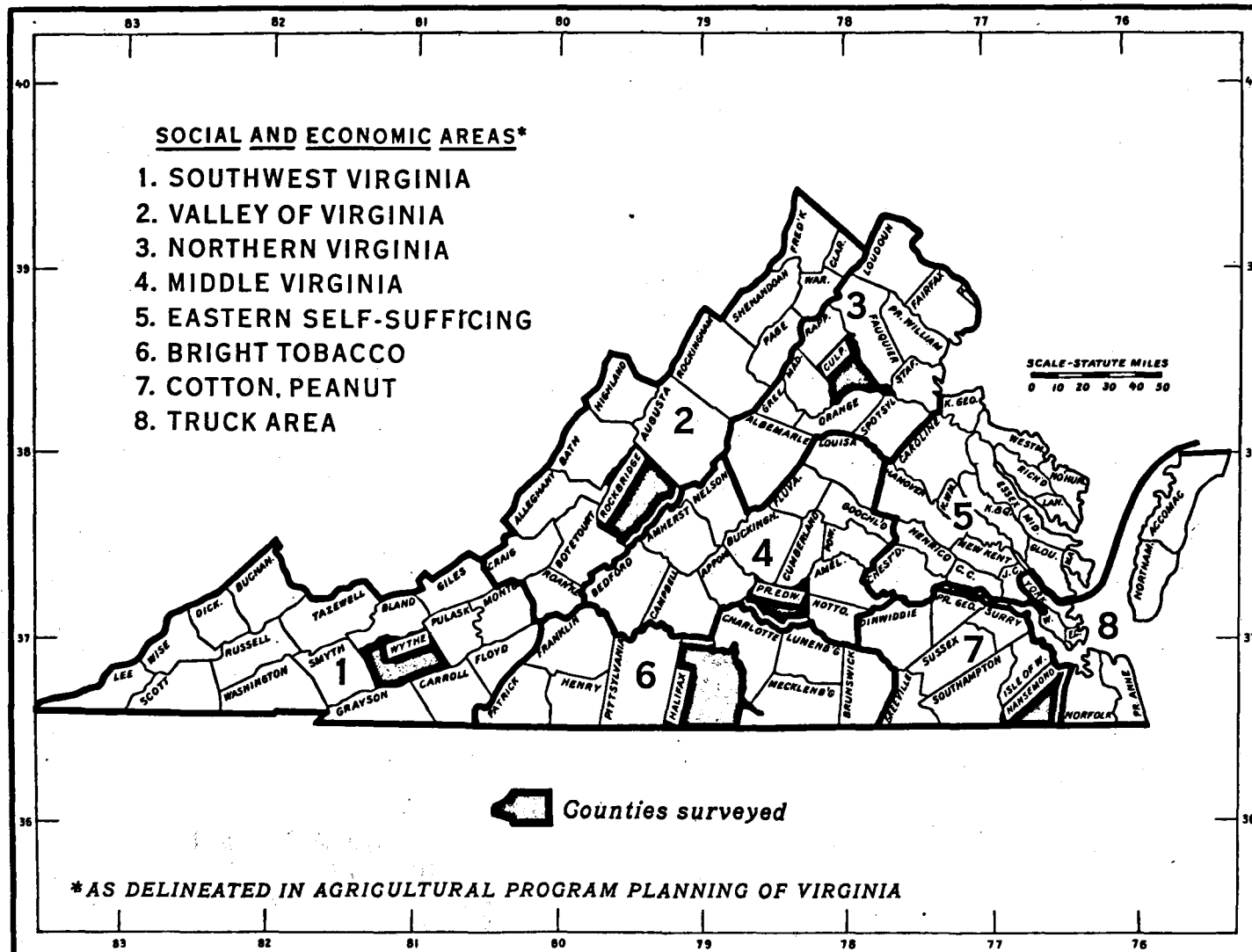
Events of recent years have encouraged the focusing of attention by public and private agencies upon agriculture. Ostensibly, this emphasis has resulted in concerted efforts to aid the farm group to combat the effects of an economic depression and to attempt compensatory measures for the existent maladjustment between the rural and urban economies. A complementary result of centering such attention upon the farm has been a greater emphasis upon and interest in the "farmer's level of living" since most of the measures adopted have, in the final analysis, had direct implications upon the farmer's way of life. Any program, regardless of its direct purpose, must take cognizance of the habits and behavior of the group to be affected. Yet, relatively few quantitative data pertaining to the rural level of living have been available and only recently have significant efforts been made to know more of the level of living of various segments of the farm population. Studies of groups in various geographical and cultural areas not only add to the comparatively limited fund of knowledge, but may furnish the basis for evaluating action programs before and after their inception and incidence. This study of a selected sample of farm families in six counties of Virginia - Culpeper, Halifax, Nansemond, Prince Edward, Rockbridge, and Wythe - represents an additional effort to supplement the existing data concerning living behavior of given segments of the farm population.

Inasmuch as interpretations and delineations of the term "standard of living" are diverse, there has been inevitable variation in the focal points of interest in studies of this type. Various techniques have been employed in an effort to devise a measure of the relative well-being of given groups of people, yet such studies usually revert to an analysis of the income and expenditures of the family.<sup>1/</sup> Income, as such, has not received prime consideration in the analysis, but the distribution of available income among principal expenditure items - specifically among goods and services consumed for family-living purposes - has been of great importance. This type of analysis, the type also employed in this study, implies neither a measure of adequacy nor an evaluation in relation to some "sanctioned social end." Rather, it represents an effort to show the family-living behavior of a given sample of people under specific influences as measured by the total value of goods and services consumed and the proportionate distribution of this total.

Although the extent of ultimate human satisfactions cannot be measured, some aspects of the non-material phases of family welfare can be

<sup>1/</sup> Black, John D., and Zimmerman, C. C., Research in Farm Family Living, Scope and Method, Social Science Research Council, New York, April 1938.





U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 35857 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

**FIGURE 1.- SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC AREAS OF VIRGINIA AND LOCATION OF 6 COUNTIES STUDIED, 1935.**

projected by an analysis of certain items of expenditure. The inclusion of data pertaining to certain social and cultural behavior of the family also compensates the possible over-emphasis upon the economic aspects of family living.

Scope

The present study of sample families in six widely separated counties in Virginia (Fig. 1) was made through the joint cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Work Projects Administration, <sup>2/</sup> the Farm Security Administration, and the Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Through a field investigation <sup>3/</sup> made in the early part of 1936 a total of 2,491 usable income and expenditure records of white families for the preceding year, 1935, were obtained. <sup>4/</sup> Although primary interest was focused upon farm-family living, the study was expanded to include comparable data from town and village families in those same counties and thereby to yield a comparison between rural and urban living behavior as measured by the total value of goods and services consumed. Of these schedules 1,730 (69 percent) were secured from white families on open-country farms and 761 (31 percent) from white families residing in urban areas (Table 1).

Table 1.- Number of white families studied in selected areas, by residence and tenure, Virginia, 1935

County surveyed	: Total	: Open country				: Town		
		: Total	: Owners	: Renters	: Croppers	: Total	: Owners	: Renters
Total	2,491	1,730	1,176	385	169	761	337	424
Culpeper	356	225	172	41	12	131	68	63
Halifax	470	320	174	127	19	150	36	114
Nansemond	377	225	141	64	20	152	65	87
Prince Edward	412	324	213	46	65	88	41	47
Rockbridge	368	277	202	54	21	91	44	47
Wythe	350	275	210	39	26	75	42	33
Additional areas	158	84	64	14	6	74	41	33

<sup>2/</sup> This report is based on work done under the Virginia Work Projects Administration (formerly Works Progress Administration), official project 465-31-3-133 and previous projects.

<sup>3/</sup> Field enumeration was done by specially qualified enumerators who had passed a special examination to test their fitness for this particular work.

<sup>4/</sup> In Nansemond, Prince Edward, and Halifax Counties 292 urban and rural Negro families were also interviewed. The results of this phase of the study will be published in a subsequent report.

Outside the six selected counties the enumerators secured 158 additional schedules from white families (84 on farms and 74 in towns and villages), primarily as a check upon techniques employed in the sample areas. Inasmuch as subsequent analysis showed these schedules to be comparable with those of the larger segment, they have been used in this report to increase the size and application of the sample.

### The State

Since its settlement Virginia has been largely dependent upon agriculture. In 1930 its rural farm population comprised 39 percent, or about two out of every five, of all persons in the State.<sup>5/</sup> For the most part, Virginia farms represent many types of agriculture but do not show a well balanced diversity of crops; in fact, it has been observed that "perhaps in no other State have the farming methods resulted in as many one-crop systems as in Virginia - Irish and Sweet Potatoes on the Eastern Shore, truck crops around Norfolk, peanuts of South side, tobacco of South Central beef in Southwest and apples in part of the valley." <sup>6/</sup> Concurrently, farm units vary greatly in size from the small subsistence and part-time farm to the very large commercial farm.

Further indication of the diversity of agriculture in Virginia may be found in the delineation of the rural farm population of the United States into cultural regions. Mangus, in his study of cultural areas, placed the Virginia farm population in four major regions; the western part of the State was partially in the Allegheny and partially in the Appalachian regions while the eastern part was classified in the Chesapeake-Albemarle and Eastern Old South regions. Each area displayed characteristics unlike the others and each was further delineated into subregions. <sup>7/</sup>

The County Agriculture Program Planning work in the State has been based largely upon a further delineation of the counties into eight clearly defined social and economic areas. <sup>8/</sup> Six of these are represented in this study.

I. Southwest Virginia includes the bluegrass mountain region with some coal-mining areas. This area is characterized as a mountainous grazing and general farming area. From this region Wythe County was selected for study.

<sup>5/</sup> Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, V. 2.

<sup>6/</sup> Jones, Jesso M., The Development of Agriculture in Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute Bulletin No. 52, Blacksburg, March 1919.

<sup>7/</sup> Mangus, A. R., Cultural Regions within the Rural-Farm Population, Rural Section, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., July 1938.

<sup>8/</sup> County Agricultural Program Planning, Group Discussion Leaflet No. 1, Agricultural Extension Division, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, January 1939.

II. The Valley of Virginia includes the rather narrow but fertile valley between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenics. "The Valley" is broken by many spurs and the foot hills from the mountains on either side. This is a heavy commercial fruit, poultry, and livestock section but general farming still predominates. Rockbridge County, in the southern part of "The Valley," was included in this study.

III. Northern Virginia constitutes a large part of what is known as the "Washington Milk Shed." Commercial dairying and the production of light horses provide sources of income on many of the larger and better farms. Grain and livestock production predominates on most other farms. This area is represented in the study by Culpeper County.

IV. Middle Virginia, a part of the larger Piedmont Area, is the "old tobacco belt" of Virginia. Dark tobacco still provides an important source of income in some counties. Prince Edward County was selected for the study of levels of living.

V. The Eastern Self-Sufficing Area with a large number of small and some part-time farms was not represented in the sample.

VI. The Bright Tobacco Area is also in the larger Piedmont but is characterized by the production of this special type of tobacco. Soils are depleted, acreages are small, and tenancy is unusually high. Halifax County represents this area.

VII. The Peanut-Cotton Area consists of counties in the southeastern section of the State. For the most part crop-specialty farms prevail and here, too, there is a high proportion of tenancy. Nansmond County was selected for the survey.

VIII. The Truck-Commercial Area, in the extreme southeastern corner of the State, is the smallest of the eight areas. This area is divided into three parts by the Chesapeake Bay, Hampton Roads, and the James River. No county was included in this study.

Recent years have brought noticeable changes in Virginia agriculture. Pressure from a complexity of causes has resulted in an increase in the proportion of small farms, a noticeable decrease in farms of over 100 acres, and a decrease even in those of medium size (Table 2.) In many cases loss or curtailment of industrial employment has forced an increased dependency upon agricultural pursuits. <sup>9/</sup> Some families have returned to small holdings while others who have lived on small sections of land while engaged in wage-earning occupations have increased agricultural operations to the extent that according to census definitions they are classified as farmers. Even so, in the State as a whole the increase in the number of

<sup>9/</sup> Hummel, B. L., and Hummel, R. B., Part-Time Farming in Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, Virginia, 1938.

Table 2.- Percentage distribution of farms in Virginia for 1925, 1930, and 1935 and for 6 selected counties for 1935, by size of farm

Size of farm : in acres	Census for State of Virginia : 6 selected counties, 1935				
	: 1925	: 1930	: 1935	: Census	: Sample 1/
Number of farms	193,723	170,610	197,632	15,994	1,730
Percentages reporting -					
Under 3 acres	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	4.9
3 - 9	11.0	7.7	13.2	11.3	8.0
10 - 19	13.5	11.6	13.0	11.6	9.5
20 - 49	24.2	24.2	22.8	21.7	18.1
50 - 99	21.8	23.6	21.8	23.2	22.6
100 - 174	16.8	18.3	16.0	18.4	20.2
175 - 259	6.7	7.3	6.7	7.4	9.1
260 - 499	4.4	5.1	4.5	4.5	6.2
500 - 999	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.2
1,000 and over	.3	.4	.4	.4	.2

Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, V. 2, part 2.

United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.

1/ Includes only white operators.

small farms during this period has not been so great as in some other prescribed areas. <sup>10/</sup> Despite the fact that almost one-half the farms in Virginia have less than 50 acres total (an increase of 5 percent over 1930) and less than 20 acres under cultivation the large farm still remains an important factor in the agriculture of the State.

#### The Sample

Selection of the six counties for study was made on the basis of available economic and social data. The size of the farms, the proportion of tenancy, the proportion of land in farms, the ratio of rural farm to rural non-farm population, value of dwellings, and the percentage of Negro population were considered in the determination. Within each county, insofar as possible, one or more magisterial districts were chosen for complete coverage. The ones so chosen represented most nearly the characteristic variation from the county average in respect to these items or were most representative in regard to largest number of the selected items. Few families within the selected districts failed to cooperate with the enumerators in the survey.

<sup>10/</sup> Loomis, C. P., and Dodson, L. S., Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Counties, Social Research Report No. X., U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., October 1938; Dodson, L. S., Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, Social Research Report No. III, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., October 1937.

In each county family-living schedules for the urban group were secured from the inhabitants of several comparatively large towns and small villages. The larger towns included in the sample were: Culpeper, in the county of the same name; Wytheville, in Wythe County; Lexington, in Rockbridge County; Farmville, in Prince Edward; Suffolk, in Nansemond; and South Boston, in Halifax. In the larger towns the block sample method, with emphasis upon the selection of representative sections, was employed. In the smaller villages, many of which were unincorporated, as many representative schedules as possible were secured. Cooperation of the urban families, particularly the more well-to-do families, was not so great as that received in rural areas.

As previously pointed out, the most recent Census of Agriculture showed an increase in the proportion of small farms in Virginia, particularly of those under 10 acres (Tables 2 and 3). In 1935, 14 percent of all farms in the State had less than 10 acres, whereas in the six counties of the survey about 12 percent were in this same acreage group. The proportion of sample families who resided on farms of this size was 13 percent. Almost 50 percent of the farms in the State had less than 50 acres, but in the selected counties as a whole this proportion was 45 percent and among the sample families it was 40 percent. <sup>11/</sup> The sample showed a much greater proportion of families on farms of from 100 to 500 acres (35 percent) than the census distribution showed for the six counties (30 percent) or for the State as a whole (27 percent). Thus, as compared with the census distribution, the sample showed a possible over-enumeration of the small units under 3 acres and of those with from 100 to 500 acres, and a slight under-representation of the smaller farms with from 3 to 50 acres.

Tenancy was more prevalent in the six survey counties than in the entire State (Table 4). Seventy-two percent of all State operators were classified as owners, as compared with 64 percent in the six counties. However, three of the counties - Culpeper, Rockbridge, and Wythe, all of which are in the western portion of the State - have a relatively low rate of tenancy. The remaining three, with high tenancy rates, are counties in which crop-specialty farms predominate: tobacco in Halifax and Prince Edward and cotton and peanuts in Nansemond. Of the sample families 68 percent were classified as owners, a proportion that was slightly higher than that for the six counties and somewhat lower than that for the State as a whole. In Halifax and Nansemond Counties, where tenancy was relatively high, the sample showed an over-representation of owners; in Rockbridge, Culpeper, and Wythe the proportion of families classified as owners in the sample was lower than the census distribution. Despite some relatively small discrepancies within the individual counties the tenure distribution of the sample families was comparable with that of the census for the six counties. In all tenure groups the proportionate distribution of the sample fell between that for the six counties and that for the State.

<sup>11/</sup> The sample included only white operators while census data pertain to both white and Negro.

Table 3.- Distribution of farms in Virginia and 6 selected counties, by size of farm, 1920, 1930, and 1935

Year:	Percentages of farms having specified number of acres							
	Under 10	10 - 99	100 - 259	260 or more				
	:State:6 counties:		:State:6 counties:		:State:6 counties:		:State:6 counties:	
1935	13.6	11.6	57.6	56.5	22.7	25.8	6.1	6.1
1930	8.0	8.1	59.4	58.5	25.6	26.8	7.0	6.6
1920	7.8	7.4	59.3	57.9	25.8	27.7	7.1	7.0

United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.  
Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, V. 2, part 2.

Table 4.- Distribution of white farm operators in Virginia and in 6 selected counties of Virginia, by tenure, 1935

Item	: Total : : number :	Percentage in each tenure group			
		Owners	Renters	Croppers	Managers
State	154,421	71.5	19.9	7.9	0.7
6 counties:					
Census	11,354	64.3	23.2	11.8	.7
Sample	1,730	68.0	22.2	9.8	-
Culpeper:					
Census	1,232	79.4	15.4	2.9	2.3
Sample	225	76.5	18.2	5.3	-
Halifax:					
Census	3,565	44.2	36.6	19.1	.1
Sample	320	54.4	39.7	5.9	-
Nansemond:					
Census	1,163	55.6	33.6	9.6	1.2
Sample	225	62.7	28.4	8.9	-
Prince Edward:					
Census	934	65.7	20.8	12.7	.8
Sample	324	65.7	14.2	20.1	-
Rockbridge:					
Census	2,237	78.5	15.5	5.6	.4
Sample	277	72.9	19.5	7.6	-
Wythe:					
Census	2,223	78.1	9.2	11.7	1.0
Sample	275	76.4	14.2	9.4	-

United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.

White operators in Virginia operated an average of 101 acres in 1935, while those in the six counties alone operated an average of 112 acres (Table 5). The families included in the sample reported an average of 106. However, 71 percent of all farms in the State, 68 percent in the six counties, and 63 percent in the sample had less than 100 acres (Table 2).

Comparison of other census data for further orientation of the sample showed that the value of products sold, traded, and used by the sample families was less than the average in 1929 for the State or the six counties. The sample therefore tends to minimize rather than to exaggerate the income of white farm families. The sample families, however, did report a slightly higher average value of products used by the family than did the census (Table 5).

Families included in the survey appeared to have better housing facilities than did the residents of the six selected counties or of the State generally, as indicated by the value of the dwelling and the presence of certain household facilities (Table 5). The average value of the dwelling of rural families included in the sample was \$1,650, or \$612 higher than the census value for the six counties and \$424 higher than the State average in 1930 for open-country families. <sup>12/</sup> A much greater proportion of the sample families than of those reporting for the 1930 census had homes equipped with electricity and running water. A difference of five years could obviously result in an increased proportion of the homes with such facilities. Of the houses in 10 counties of Virginia included in a recent study of farm housing in the United States, 11 percent had electric lights and 11 percent had water piped into the dwelling. <sup>13/</sup> These figures are somewhat higher than those reported in the census five years earlier for the State but are comparable with the proportions found in this study.

On the basis of the method of selection and comparability with available census data, there is no reason to believe that a representative sample of the white farm population has not been secured. With the exception of the extreme eastern part of the State, the major farming areas are represented. The selected counties may show a relatively high level of living since each is to some extent a "key" county with a major trading center. Inasmuch as agriculture in Virginia includes many diverse types, and since this report includes only data on white farm families, these qualifications must be borne in mind when projecting the analysis of these data.

<sup>12/</sup> Some differences may have been due to variations in enumeration methods. See Leonard, Olen E., The Enumerator and the Farm Operator Place a Value on the Farm Dwelling, Rural Sociology, Vol. 3, No. 4, December 1938, p. 446.

<sup>13/</sup> The Farm-Housing Survey, Extension Service and Office of the Secretary, Miscellaneous Publication No. 323, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., March 1939.



Table 5.- Comparison of the State of Virginia, 6 selected counties, and the sample, with regard to specific items, 1930 and 1935

Item	Census		
	Sample : families	6 counties : studied	State
Average value:			
All farm products sold, traded, or used by operator's family, 1930 <u>1/</u>	\$ 995	\$1,221	\$1,252
Farm products used by operator, 1930 <u>1/</u>	363	282	307
Farm dwelling, 1930 <u>1/</u>	1,650	1,038	1,226
Land and buildings, 1935 (white operators) <u>2/</u>	4,090	3,589	3,540
Averages:			
Size of farm in acres, 1935 (white) <u>2/</u>	105.5	111.6	101.1
Number of persons per farm, 1935 (white) <u>2/</u>	-	5.3	5.4
Percentages:			
Tenants, 1930 (white) <u>3/</u>	-	35.0	25.1
Tenants, 1935 (white) <u>2/</u>	32.0	35.0	27.8
All land in farms, 1935 <u>2/</u>	-	76.6	68.5
Increase in farm population, 1930-35 <u>2/</u>	-	2.0	11.0
Farms with -			
Electricity, 1930 <u>3/</u>	11.2	5.5	7.6
Telephones, 1930 <u>3/</u>	17.3	16.2	17.8
Water piped in, 1930 <u>3/</u>	11.2	7.2	9.0

1/ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, V. 3, part 2.

2/ United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.

3/ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, V. 2, part 2.

While orientation of the sample has been confined to the rural segment of the study, it is believed that the method of selection employed resulted in a representative sample in the urban group. Throughout the analysis, residence and tenure distinctions have been maintained to facilitate comparisons. In making the comparison, cognizance of the differences in the factors and the influences conditioning the behavior of the various groups must be made. Particularly should this be observed when rural and urban groups are compared.

## Chapter II

### VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING AND HOUSING FACILITIES

#### All Goods and Services Used

Determination of the relative well-being of a group of families by means of an analysis of the family budget places major emphasis upon the total value of family living, or, expressed in another way, upon the value of all goods and services consumed by the family to meet its living requirements. <sup>14/</sup> In this study the total value of living refers to the monetary value of all goods and services consumed for the maintenance of the family, regardless of whether those goods were or were not obtained by direct cash outlay. <sup>15/</sup> This total value, as the term is here used, does not include any investments or savings that may have been made by the family; it more nearly represents net cash income less investments and savings, plus the value of goods and services furnished by the farm.

#### Total Value of Living of Open-Country and Town Families

Open-country-farm families in the six sample counties in Virginia reported an average of \$1,130 for goods and services consumed during 1935, as compared with \$1,332 for the town families. The average value of living for the rural families ranged from \$719 for the croppers <sup>16/</sup> to \$1,249 for the owners, while owner families in the towns reported an average value of \$1,558, or \$405 more than the renters (Table 6). <sup>17/</sup> Where there is such diversity as exists in Virginia agriculture it is imperative to note that about one-half the rural families had a total value of living of less than \$1,000 and 12 percent reported a total value of more than \$2,000 (Table 7). Only 7 percent of the white open-country families reported values of less than \$500, but 24 percent reported less than \$750. Fifty percent reported from \$750 to \$1,499, leaving 26 percent ranging above this limit. The range of the distribution of the families according to total value of living was such that the weight of cases on the upper limit had significant influence upon the mean figure.

<sup>14/</sup> The family as here considered includes parents and children of present or previous union or foster children who are unattached to a secondary family. The calculation of the number of persons was based upon the proportion of the year spent in the family by each member. For example, a person living in the family during the entire year counted as one individual, a person living in the family six months counted as half an individual, etc.

<sup>15/</sup> See appendix, Methodological Note, for an explanation of terms and methods used in the study.

<sup>16/</sup> A "cropper" is a farmer who operates only rented land and to whom the landlord furnishes all the work animals; that is, a farm operator who contributes only his labor and receives in return a share of the crop. A "renter" is a farmer who operates hired land only, furnishing all or part of the working equipment and stock whether he pays cash or a share of the crop or both as rent. In many instances in this study the differences between the share renters and croppers were slight. Some of the farm operators who have been classified as croppers may also have the characteristics of the share renter.

<sup>17/</sup> The tenure distinction for the town and the village families was based solely upon home ownership.

Table 6.- Average value of family living and percentage of total that was furnished, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Total	6 selected counties					
		Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Prince Edward	Rock-bridge	Wythe
Average value of family living:							
Open country	\$1,129.9	\$1,274.3	\$1,096.1	\$1,194.2	\$1,002.4	\$1,126.0	\$1,011.0
Owners	1,249.2	1,338.1	1,261.9	1,343.5	1,125.9	1,223.3	1,074.9
Renters	946.0	1,032.7	940.4	1,049.8	853.0	903.2	883.5
Croppers 2/	719.2	1,176.6	617.9	604.4	704.1	764.3	686.1
Town	1,332.0	1,367.9	1,194.3	1,212.4	1,593.7	1,507.8	1,160.4
Owners	1,557.6	1,537.1	1,781.6	1,450.0	1,894.2	1,645.2	1,273.3
Renters	1,152.7	1,274.5	1,008.7	1,048.4	1,331.7	1,379.2	1,039.6
Percentage furnished:							
Open country	43.5	42.4	44.7	36.7	44.8	49.0	45.2
Owners	42.4	41.1	42.6	35.1	44.1	48.6	44.7
Renters	45	46.5	47.6	38.4	47.5	46.7	42.9
Croppers 2/	52.2	51.6	55.0	51.4	46.1	61.9	54.9
Town	14.0	15.3	7.9	10.7	14.2	21.4	12.9
Owners	18.3	18.2	11.8	15.0	15.8	28.9	17.4
Renters	9.3	10.5	5.7	6.0	12.0	12.9	5.8

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

Among the town families, 45 percent reported a value of living of less than \$1,000; however, there was much difference between the two residence groups in the proportion of the families in the upper and lower value groups (Table 7). Whereas 5 percent of the urban families reported a value of living of less than \$400, only 3 percent of the farm families were in that group. Furthermore, a value of living that exceeded \$2,500 was reported by 10 percent of the urban families, or about twice the proportion of the farm group reporting a value of living above this amount. Thus, there is indication that on a comparative basis there are more very poor and more very well-to-do families in an urban than in a rural environment. The distribution of the urban families according to the total value of living and the higher average value for the urban as compared with the rural group is in accord with the general theory of the influence of urbanization and industrialization upon the level of living. Theoretically, the influence of these factors will result in a much wider range in the value of living and the weight of those near the upper limits of the distribution will have significant influence upon the average.

On the basis of tenure classification 39 percent of the farm owners, 54 percent of the renters, and 75 percent of the croppers reported a total value of living of less than \$1,000. About the same proportion of the urban owners as of the farm owners reported less than \$1,000, but 50 percent of the urban renters were in these lower brackets. Renters in both residence groups exhibited less variation and tended to be concentrated in the middle value groups (Table 7).

Open-country families reported approximately 44 percent as that part of the total value which was furnished by the home farm, but the town families reported only 14 percent (Table 6). Obviously, the farm family, as a food-producing unit with a greater working force than the urban family, should show a greater proportion of the family-living goods as furnished. As the food furnished by the town families was limited primarily to that which might be obtained from a small kitchen garden, the amount reported was relatively small. Most of the fuel, too, was purchased by this group. Thus, that part of family living furnished by the town families consisted largely of "housing furnished." <sup>18/</sup> But even this item had only a limited influence, for over one-half the urban families were renters. In the open country, cropper families furnished 52 percent of all goods and services consumed, whereas the owners and the renters furnished 42 and 45 percent respectively. Although those designated as croppers furnished a greater proportion of the family living, they reported a lower total average value of living than the other tenure groups; similarly, the renters reported a lower average value than the owners.

The total value of living of urban families showed much more variation between counties than was true for the farm families. The range was

<sup>18/</sup> See appendix, Methodological Note, for explanation of the method employed in determining the value of "housing furnished."

Table 7.- Distribution of families studied, by total value of family living, residence, and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935.

Total value of family living:	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Number of cases	1,730	1,176	385	169	761	337	424
Under \$200	4	3		1	6	4	2
\$ 200 - \$299	14	8	1	5	15	7	8
\$ 300 - 399	32	15	6	11	15	10	5
\$ 400 - 499	72	38	17	17	35	19	16
\$ 500 - 749	297	155	87	55	133	44	89
\$ 750 - 999	375	242	96	37	137	45	92
\$1,000 - 1,499	493	342	119	32	205	73	132
\$1,500 - 1,999	234	181	42	11	89	47	42
\$2,000 - 2,499	116	103	13		51	34	17
\$2,500 - 2,999	43	41	2		30	21	9
\$3,000 - 4,999	43	41	2		27	15	12
\$5,000 and over	7	7			18	18	
Cumulative percentages:							
Under \$200	0.2	0.3		0.6	0.8	1.2	0.5
\$ 200 - \$299	1.0	.9	0.3	3.6	2.8	3.3	2.4
\$ 300 - 399	2.9	2.2	1.8	10.1	4.7	6.2	3.5
\$ 400 - 499	7.1	5.4	6.2	20.1	9.3	11.9	7.3
\$ 500 - 749	24.2	18.6	28.8	52.7	26.8	24.9	28.3
\$ 750 - 999	45.9	39.2	53.8	74.6	44.8	38.3	50.0
\$1,000 - 1,499	74.4	68.3	34.7	93.5	71.7	59.9	81.1
\$1,500 - 1,999	87.9	83.7	95.6	100.0	83.4	73.9	91.0
\$2,000 - 2,499	94.6	92.4	99.0		90.1	84.0	95.0
\$2,500 - 2,999	97.1	95.9	99.5		94.1	90.2	97.2
\$3,000 - 4,999	99.6	99.4	100.0		97.6	94.7	100.0
\$5,000 and over	100.0	100.0			100.0	100.0	

from an average of \$1,002 for rural farm families in Prince Edward County to an average of \$1,274 in Culpeper County, while the lowest for the town families was \$1,160 in Wythe County and the highest was \$1,594 for Prince Edward. With two exceptions, the contrasts were not so great within a specified county. Urban families exceeded farm families in this respect by \$362 in Rockbridge and \$591 in Prince Edward, but in the other four counties the difference was small, ranging from \$18 to \$149 (Table 6).

Within the separate counties comparisons of the levels of living of the various tenure groups showed some rather wide variations. In

Nansemond County, for example, the owners reported an average value of goods and services consumed of \$1,345, or almost two and a quarter times that of the croppers (Table 6). Despite the fact that the distinction was based solely upon home ownership, there was also considerable difference in the value of living between the urban owners and renters in the various counties. Such differences may indicate both direct and indirect influences of home ownership upon the consumption behavior of urban families.

In the analysis of the value of living by tenure groups in the various counties, one might hope to find consistent variations that would reflect differences in the various types of agricultural economies. But for the counties studied in Virginia there were no such consistent variations as might be used in generalizing differences between tenure groups by the predominant type of farming. The proportionate difference in the total value of living of owners and croppers tended to be greatest in counties in which tenancy was highest and a one-crop system of farming was most prevalent. Yet in Prince Edward, a county characterized by a high rate of tenancy and an emphasis upon one major cash crop, the proportionate difference between owners and croppers was about the same as that which prevailed in Rockbridge and Wythe Counties where tenancy was relatively low and where smaller units and a more general type of farming existed. In Halifax, Nansemond, and Wythe Counties the difference between the cropper and the renter, as judged by the total value of living, was more pronounced than the difference between the owner and the renter (Table 6). In Rockbridge, Culpeper, and Prince Edward - counties of few similarities - the reverse was true. The contrasts in the levels of living of the various tenure groups in Prince Edward were not so pronounced as in Halifax - two counties in which tobacco is the main cash crop. However, the production of dark tobacco in Prince Edward is conducive to crop rotation, soil improvement, and livestock production, whereas in Halifax the production of bright tobacco often results in soil depletion, single cropping, and lack of livestock.

It does not necessarily follow from data upon which this study is based that tenants who were dependent primarily upon one crop furnished only a small proportion of the family living. With the exception of croppers in Prince Edward and renters in Nansemond, tenants in the "one-crop" counties furnished a proportion of the family living that compared favorably with that furnished by those in the counties with a more diversified agriculture. For the owners the proportion furnished ranged from 35 percent in Nansemond to 49 percent in Rockbridge (Table 6). (In terms of actual values, however, the situation for these groups was not so favorable because, as previously pointed out, the total value was relatively low.)

Generally, in all counties, renters and croppers furnished a greater proportion of the family living than did owners. With the exception of Culpeper County, owner-operators in the western counties with more general farms and more livestock furnished a higher proportion of the family living than did the owners in counties where tobacco, cotton, and peanuts were the main crops.

At the time this study was made similar ones were conducted in three other areas. Although the four are not strictly comparable, some interesting comparisons may be noted. The average value of family living of 1,101 families in six drought counties of South Dakota was \$1,111, of which 37 percent was furnished by the farm. <sup>19/</sup> Selected farm families in the Great Lakes-Cut-Over Area of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin reported an average value of goods and services consumed of \$1,031, of which 41 percent was furnished. <sup>20/</sup> Families living on the small subsistence farms that were studied in the Appalachian mountain area reported an average of \$662. <sup>21/</sup> Although the farms in this study were larger than the subsistence farm of the southern mountain area and not so large as the extensive farm in South Dakota, the average value of living of families in the present study was greater than in these other areas. (See Table 65; Supplementary Tables 61-65 are in the appendix.)

#### Value-of-Living Groups

Since the first statistical analysis of the family-living budget there has been a constant effort to formulate some laws or generalizations that might be used to ascertain the relative well-being of various groups. Repeated efforts have been made to determine some single item or group of items that might best indicate the level of living. Engel, the pioneer in the statistical analysis of the budget, concluded that the proportion of the family living used for food constituted the best measure of the material standard of living, or that as income increased, the proportion spent for food would decrease. <sup>22/</sup> Others have suggested clothing, rent, or fuel as the best measures of the profile of family living. Yet, the problem remains unsolved because generalizations that would apply unequivocally to all economic and social groups have not been found. Zimmerman ~~has~~ indicated that the laws which have been formulated do not apply to all groups because there is no part of the consumption behavior that is not influenced by social customs and traditions in the specific area. <sup>23/</sup>

Observation of the consumption behavior of the various income groups is almost traditional procedure in an analysis of family living. Such an approach is concerned primarily with the proportion of the total budget allocated to the principal categories of family-living goods by the successive income groups and an analysis of the effect of higher income upon the consumption behavior. What adjustments do the families with greater incomes make? What items of family living bear the brunt of adjustments made necessary by lower income?

<sup>19/</sup> Kunlien, W. F., Loomis, C. P., et al., The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, Social Research Report No. XII, South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, March 1938.

<sup>20/</sup> Loomis, C. P., Lister, Joseph J., and Davidson, Dwight M., Jr., Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, Social Research Report No. XIII, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., September 1938.

<sup>21/</sup> Loomis, C. P., and Dodson, L. S., op. cit.

<sup>22/</sup> Engel, Ernst, Die Lebenskosten belgischer Arbeiter Familien früher und jetzt, Bulletin de l'institut internationale de statistique, tome IX, premiere livraison, Rome, 1895.

<sup>23/</sup> Zimmerman, Carle C., Consumption and Standards of Living, D. Van Nostrand



In order to observe the consumption behavior at the various levels the families included in this study have been divided into four groups according to the total value of all goods and services consumed, both purchased and furnished; (1) Under \$500; (2) \$500--\$999; (3) \$1,000 - \$1,999; and (4) \$2,000 and over. <sup>24/</sup> The second and third groups comprised 81 percent of the open-country farm families and 74 percent of the town families (Table 8). Among rural and urban owners a greater percentage

Table 8.- Classification of families according to value-of-living groups, residence, and tenure, 8 Virginia counties, 1935

Total value of family living	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Number of families	1,730	1,176	385	169	761	337	424
Percentages reporting -							
Under \$500	7	5	6	20	9	12	7
\$500 - \$999	39	34	48	54	35	26	43
\$1,000 - \$1,999	42	45	42	26	39	36	41
\$2,000 and over	12	16	4	-	17	26	9

were in the third group than in any other, while a larger proportion of the tenants in both residence groups were in the second value group.

The average value of all goods and services consumed by the open-country families ranged from an average of \$356 for those classified in the lowest value group to \$2,594 for those in the highest, while in the urban group the range was from \$360 to \$2,987 (Table 9). Although the average value for those families in the lowest value group showed relatively little variation between the different residence and tenure groups, the renters of both residence groups had a slightly higher level of living than the owners. Even the farm croppers had a value of living that was only \$5 less than that of the farm owners in this group. Thus, as measured by the value of goods and services consumed, land ownership did not necessarily reflect a comparatively higher status for those on the lower margin. For the most part, these owners were residing on small units, many of which barely met the qualifications for the census definition of a farm. <sup>25/</sup>

In the value groups above \$500, the urban families did show a higher

<sup>24/</sup> See Table 7, p. 17, for more detailed distribution. The class intervals were combined in order to facilitate the analysis.

<sup>25/</sup> See discussion on relation of size of farm, pp. 28-30 and 78-79.

level of living as compared with the rural families in corresponding value groups. In the recent study of South Dakota, where the towns are smaller and less industrialized, the situation was reversed. 26/

Within the urban group itself there was comparatively little difference between the average value of family living of owners and renters who reported less than \$2,000. For those at about the \$2,000 level the difference between the average for the owners and the non-owners was significant, a large part of which was due to the category housing and maintenance. At no other place is conspicuous consumption so much in evidence as in the towns. As the farmer strives for status through ownership of his farm, the urbanite seeks status through ownership of his home. In the city, home ownership and the type of dwelling emphasize status and may encourage conspicuous consumption or additional expenditures in other categories such as clothing, social participation, and automobiles.

Only for the renter families in the open country and the owners in towns was there a consistent - though opposite - trend in the proportion of the family living furnished by the various total-value groups (Table 9). However, with the exception of the croppers, there was a general tendency for the proportion furnished to decrease in the successive value groups. This may have been owing to the fact that families of the lower value groups with limited cash available were forced to rely more heavily upon home production, foregoing many items that did not represent direct necessities for maintenance of the family. As income increased, through more commercialized farming or more remunerative employment, additional goods were probably purchased. Nevertheless, this does not imply that home production was curtailed, for the actual value of furnished items increased in each higher value group; rather, it indicates that the importance of furnished items was somewhat lessened by the presence of increasing amounts of purchased goods as buying power increased. On the other hand, among the cropper families it appeared that a higher value of living was more directly a result of home production than was the case in the other tenure groups. Such may indicate that a greater emphasis upon production for home use is the best method whereby the farm cropper may secure a higher level of living. However, the influence of such variables as size of the farm unit and number of persons in the resident family, as well as the contractual relationship of tenant and landlord, must also be considered.

In each residence and tenure group there was a positive correlation between the size of the family (as indicated by the number of persons in the family), the number of males of working age, 27/ and the total value of family living. 28/

26/ Kumlien, W. F., et al., op. cit.

27/ Males from 16 to 64 years of age.

28/ See Table 43 and the discussion of size of family, ch. IV.

Table 9.- Average value of family living and percentage of total that was furnished, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Value-of-living groups			
		Under \$500	\$500- \$999	\$1,000- \$1,999	\$2,000 and over
Average value of family living:					
Open country	\$1,129.9	\$356.4	\$680.6	\$1,256.0	\$2,584.0
Owners	1,249.2	354.6	694.9	1,275.0	2,630.1
Renters	946.0	370.4	676.3	1,207.0	2,188.7
Croppers	719.2	349.5	627.4	1,207.6	-
Town	1,332.0	360.0	750.1	1,391.8	2,987.3
Owners	1,557.6	337.3	745.7	1,438.9	3,086.1
Renters	1,152.7	363.6	752.2	1,359.3	2,758.2
Percentage furnished:					
Open country	43.6	51.3	53.1	44.9	32.4
Owners	42.4	52.6	54.1	44.7	32.3
Renters	45.2	53.9	50.6	43.5	33.6
Croppers	52.2	46.7	53.4	52.1	-
Town	14.0	26.3	13.6	12.8	14.6
Owners	18.3	37.0	25.5	18.7	15.4
Renters	9.3	12.8	7.8	8.5	12.6

Total Value of Living, by Size of Family

The ability to command more family-living goods is a significant factor, yet the size and composition of the family unit are definitely related to the total value of living. It has been pointed out that increases in the size of the family may have an effect upon the consumption behavior of families somewhat similar to that of a decrease in the family income. <sup>29/</sup> As more members naturally increase the physiological needs of the family, those needs must be met by adjustments in consumption behavior unless there is a concurrent increase in income. It was found for the families studied that a definite relationship existed between the size of the family unit and the value of goods used. Which might be considered the cause and which the effect is a matter for conjecture, but the relationship demands further consideration. Some analyses have shown that this relationship between family size and family expenditures is even

<sup>29/</sup> Zimmerman, Carle C., *Mathematical Correlation in the Household Budget*, Sociologus, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 1932, pp. 145-146.

level of living as compared with the rural families in corresponding value groups. In the recent study of South Dakota, where the towns are smaller and less industrialized, the situation was reversed. 26/

Within the urban group itself there was comparatively little difference between the average value of family living of owners and renters who reported less than \$2,000. For those at about the \$2,000 level the difference between the average for the owners and the non-owners was significant, a large part of which was due to the category housing and maintenance. At no other place is conspicuous consumption so much in evidence as in the towns. As the farmer strives for status through ownership of his farm, the urbanite seeks status through ownership of his home. In the city, home ownership and the type of dwelling emphasize status and may encourage conspicuous consumption or additional expenditures in other categories such as clothing, social participation, and automobiles.

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Renters	9.3	12.8	7.8	8.5	12.6

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<sup>29/</sup> Zimmerman, Carle C., *Mathematical Correlation in the Household Budget*, Sociologist, Vol. 8, No. 2, June 1932, pp. 145-146.

more definite in the urban than in the rural areas. 30/

As an arbitrary technique, the families were divided into three groups according to the number of resident members: (1) those with less than 3, (2) those with from 3 to 5, and (3) those with 5 or more. Of the rural families 27 percent had less than 3 persons, 36 percent had from 3 to 5, and 37 percent had 5 or more (Table 10). Among the owner-operators there was only a slight difference in the proportions classified in the three groups, but almost 50 percent of the farm-tenant families had 5 or more persons. The town families were smaller than the rural units, since over three-fourths of the former had less than 5 members. This is further emphasized by the fact that 45 percent of the owner families in the towns had less than 3 members.

In the rural group the larger families reported a higher value of living but the value of goods and services used did not increase at the same rate as the size of the family. Consequently, lower per-capita expenditures were made by the larger families. The increase in the average value of family living of the very large families over that of the small was greater for the tenants of the rural areas than for the owners and greater for the croppers than for the renters. Farm owners with less than 3 resident members in the family had a total value of \$1,126, while those with 5 or more members in the family reported \$1,326. Among croppers the large family consumed goods and services valued at \$879 whereas, the small family reported a value of \$494. Such an example may indicate the great importance of a large family to the farm tenant. Generally, the entire working force of the tenant family will be engaged in the operation of the farm and not infrequently the selection of tenants is based largely upon the number of persons in the family who will be able to assist in the farm work. Therefore, the larger tenant family, presumably with more persons of working age, should show a greater influence upon the total value of living.

Among the urban families the relationship between size of family and total value of living did not follow the pattern displayed in the open-country groups; there owner and renter families with from 3 to 5 members reported the highest value of goods and services consumed.

It has frequently been observed that the large families are generally those with low incomes. In Virginia the average value of goods consumed per open-country family actually increased slightly with an increase in the number of resident members in the household (Table 11), but an analysis of the percapita expenditures indicated that the individual member commanded less of the total family budget than in the smaller families. Although the larger working force in the farm family was able to obtain more family-living goods, through either greater production for

30/ Zimmerman, C. C., Consumption and Standards of Living, op. cit., p. 553; conclusions based on Farm Family Living Among White Owner and Tenant Operators in Wake County, by W. A. Anderson, North Carolina Experiment Station Bulletin 269 Raleigh September 1929.

Table 10.- Classification of families according to size of family, tenure, and residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Size of family	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Number of families	1,730	1,176	385	169	761	337	424
Percentages reporting -							
Under 3 persons	27	31	16	18	36	45	30
3.0 - 4.9	36	35	38	33	41	40	41
5 and over	37	34	46	49	23	15	29

Table 11.- Average value of family living and percentage of total that was furnished, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
Average value of family living:				
Open country	\$1,129.9	\$1,033.3	\$1,164.0	\$1,191.8
Owners	1,249.2	1,126.3	1,326.4	1,326.0
Renters	946.0	756.6	915.9	1,037.9
Croppers	719.2	493.7	603.7	879.0
Town	1,332.0	1,185.1	1,493.1	1,281.3
Owners	1,557.6	1,285.4	1,834.1	1,634.3
Renters	1,152.7	1,087.0	1,226.6	1,138.3
Percentage furnished:				
Open country	43.5	43.6	43.1	45.1
Owners	42.4	43.7	42.3	43.3
Renters	45.2	40.6	44.3	47.0
Croppers	52.2	51.1	51.0	52.8
Town	14.0	17.9	12.8	10.5
Owners	18.3	22.6	16.4	14.1
Renters	9.3	11.2	8.6	8.4

home use or increased income from farming on a larger commercial scale,<sup>31/</sup> the increase was not in proportion to the increase in the size of the family. On the other hand, the large town families had a lower value of living, both per family and per capita, than did the small families.

Perhaps some explanation of the fact that in the sample counties town families of 3 to 5 members reported a relatively high value of living may be found in the age of the family; that is, the parents may have been married long enough to have accumulated some property. Furthermore, some of the children probably had left the parental home, and the parents and the remaining children were able to maintain a relatively high level of living. A recent study substantiates the fact that the units with one or two children tend to be the older families, even in certain rural areas. 32/

#### Total Value of Living, by Family Life Cycle

From its beginning, at the time of marriage, until it is broken by the death of either the husband or the wife or by separation, the family constantly undergoes such rhythmic changes in composition and characteristics that there is a definite cycle. From studies of this evolution has come the family-life-cycle concept, and the empirical procedure of dividing the cycle into specific periods, each of which has distinct characteristics and represents a successive stage in the family history. 33/

As the family grows and changes in size, variations in the consumption behavior of the family occur; consequently, the life-cycle concept furnishes a useful tool in the analysis of the level of living. 34/

Application of the concept in this study is based upon the duration of marriage and the cross-section method of analysis. 35/ Data pertaining to families with children were analyzed in more detail than data relevant to childless couples. On the basis of the duration of the marriage union the families were divided into four groups which were assumed to be closely representative of the life cycle. The first, made up of those married less than 10 years, contained the newly formed unions in which the children were very young. In the second group the husbands and wives had been married from 10 to 19 years and their children were growing and just approaching adolescence. Families formed from 20 to 29 years represented the peak of the family life cycle because during this period the working force of the family was greatest. The final stage was represented by families which had been in existence for 30 years or more.

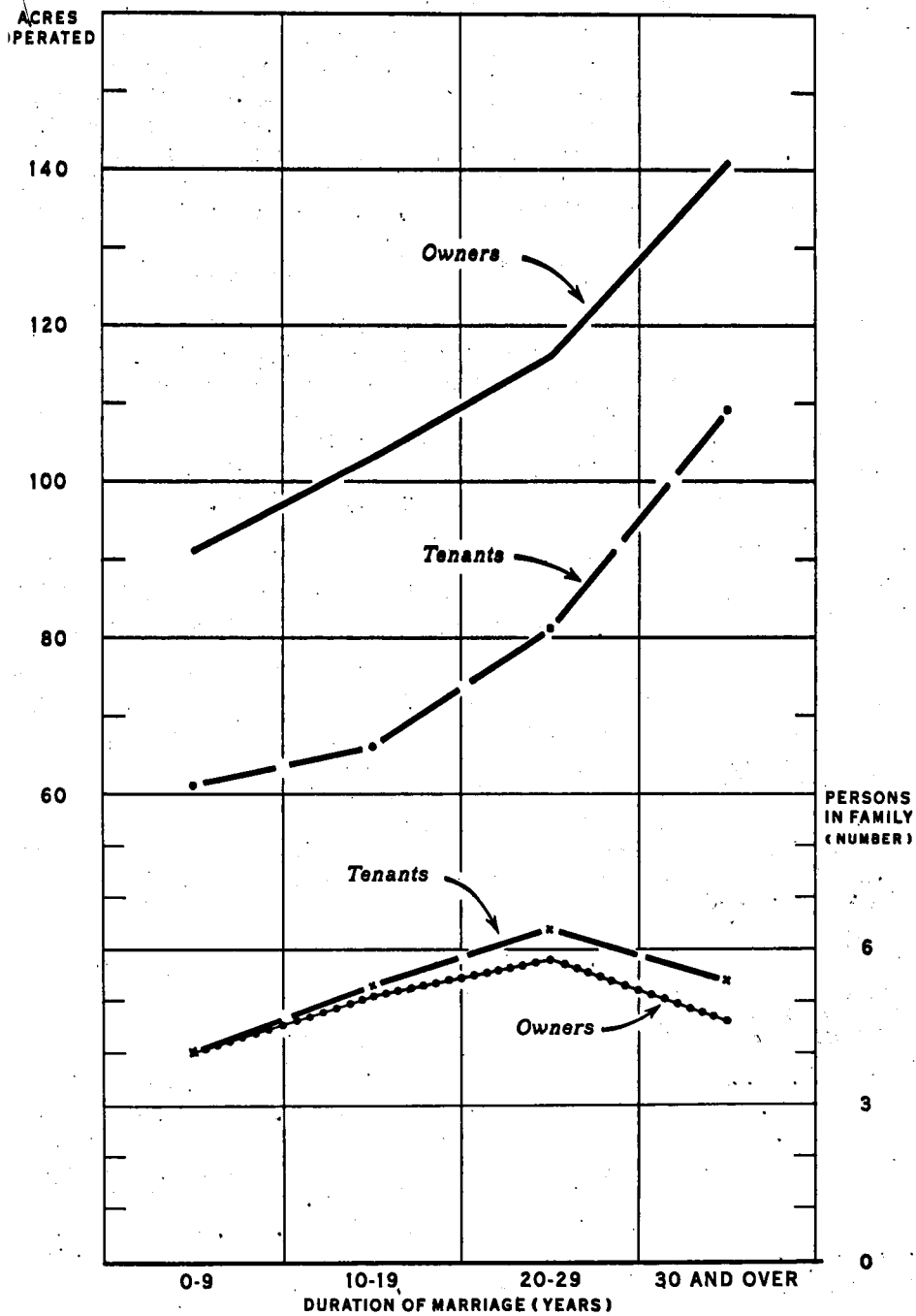
32/ Anderson, W. A., The Composition of Rural Households, Bulletin No. 713, Cornell University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York, 1939.

33/ Loomis, C. P., op. cit.; Loomis, C. P., Family Life Cycle Analysis, Social Forces, Vol. 15, No. 2, December 1936; Loomis, C. P., Growth of Farm Family in Relation of Its Activities, Bulletin No. 298, North Carolina Experiment Station, Raleigh, June 1934; Sorokin, P. A., Zimmerman, C. C., and Galpin, C. J., A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1931, Vol. II, p. 41 ff.

34/ The recent Consumer Purchase Studies conducted under the supervision of the Bureau of Home Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, were based upon family types. Nine types of families were used.

35/ The cross-section method of analysis is employed under the assumption that it will result in about the same pattern as that revealed by the historical method. Comparative studies have shown that some variations may exist between the two methods but they are not great. For a comparison of the two methods, see Loomis, C. P., Family Life Cycle Analysis, op. cit.





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**FIGURE 2.— AVERAGE NUMBER OF ACRES OPERATED AND NUMBER OF PERSONS IN RESIDENT FAMILY, BY TENURE AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE UNION OF COUPLES WITH CHILDREN, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.**

The average number of members per family in each residence and tenure group followed very definitely the life cycle, increasing through the early stages until the peak was reached and then decreasing in the last stage. Generally, in each stage the tenants had larger families than the owners and the rural families were larger than the urban.

As the age and size of the family increased, the average value of goods and services consumed followed the same tendency through the third period of the life cycle, after which there was a decline. Open-country families that had been formed less than 10 years reported an average total value of living amounting to \$953; those formed from 20 to 29 years reported an average of \$1,340; and those in the fourth stage of the cycle reported \$1,241. The value of living for the urban families increased from \$1,127 to \$1,820 and then dropped to \$1,523 (Table 62). With the exception of the urban renters, childless couples reported a lower value of living than did couples with children. As measured by the total value of family living, it appeared increasingly difficult for the older families without children to maintain the level of the younger families; in each residence and tenure group, except the croppers, the average value of goods and services consumed was greater for childless couples who had been married less than 10 years than for those who had been married for a longer period.

For rural tenants the level of living increased more sharply between the first and third stages of the life cycle than for owners. Similarly, the increase was greater for croppers than for renters, although at no stage was the comparative position of these three groups, as indicated by the value of family living, altered. When the four major groups were analyzed in greater detail, it was found that the peak value of living for the croppers came in the group of families that had been formed from 20 to 25 years; for the owners it occurred 5 years later; and for the renters, among those formed from 30 to 35 years.

In the successive stages of the life cycle the amounts devoted to three of the categories of family-living goods were of special importance. As the families could command more economic goods, housing, clothing, and automobiles assumed major importance in the budget (Table 62). Particularly in the third stage of the life cycle was this apparent, for at this period the family had the best opportunity to increase its apparent status by emphasizing items that bear some aspects of conspicuous consumption. Such a tendency was more prevalent in the urban than in the rural groups.

In all groups, especially in the rural areas, the highest values per family occurred in those with the greatest working force. As the work energy increased among the farm families, the average number of acres operated followed a similar tendency. <sup>36/</sup> It may be noted that the number of acres operated continued to increase through the fourth stage of the life cycle even though the work energy had decreased (Figure 2). This represented an additional adjustment on the part of the older families in an effort to

<sup>36/</sup> See Loomis, C. P., Growth of Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities, op. cit.

maintain and even to raise their status. Because of the decrease in work energy, the increased number of acres operated probably implied greater reliance upon hired labor. Owner families that had been formed for less than 10 years operated an average of 91 acres, those formed from 20 to 29 years operated 116 acres, and those formed for more than 30 years operated 141 acres. Among tenants the acreage ranged from 61 for the youngest families to 109 for those in the oldest group.

As the rate of change in the size of the family was not identical to that in the total value of family living, the per-capita values deviated from the pattern displayed by the average value per family when related to the various stages of the life cycle. Among the farm families the per-capita value decreased as the age and size of the family increased, the lowest value occurring in the third group and the highest in the final group. For town families the per-capita value tended to follow the same general pattern as the value per family although the lowest value per person was reported by members of families that had been formed from 10 to 19 years.

#### Total Value of Living, by Size of Farm

Often the relative well-being of the open-country inhabitant is judged by the size of the unit he owns or operates, but size of the farm in terms of acres cannot be the sole criterion employed. Since some crops are better adapted to intensive rather than extensive operations, the type of farming may determine the efficient size of the unit. However, the relationship between the size of the farm and the total value of living demands consideration.

Some farm families operating units of less than 10 acres were also engaged in non-farm employment for a part or all of the year, but at the same time produced agricultural products, principally for home use, of such value as to bring these units within the census classification of a farm. As some part-time farmers were included in the study, it is probable that a number of those who operated less than 10 acres might be so classified. This is substantiated by the fact that both owners and renters on these small units received a greater part of their incomes from non-farm sources. <sup>37/</sup> On the basis of the average size of the household, the average value of family living, and the proportion of the family budget that was furnished by the farm, it is further apparent that there were significant differences between the families on less than 10 acres and those on larger units. It must not be assumed, however, that all families on the small farms were part-time operators, for some depended primarily upon the unit and attempted to procure a meager existence from small-scale operations. <sup>38/</sup> Again, such an observation must be limited to the owners and the renters. It might be feasible for families to rent a home and a few acres in the open country while engaged principally in non-farm employment, but

<sup>37/</sup> See ch. III, beginning on p. 76.

<sup>38/</sup> Hummel, B. L., and Hummel, R. B., op. cit.

Table 12.- Total value of family living and food consumed, amount and percentage furnished per open-country family, by size of farm and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1936

Size of farm (acres)	: Number of : families	: Total value of living :		Food consumed	
		: Amount	: Percentage : furnished	: Amount	: Percentage : furnished
All tenure groups	1,730	\$1,129.9	43.5	\$468.1	70.0
Under 3	86	1,029.1	34.0	452.6	60.0
3 - 9	138	919.6	39.7	429.0	60.8
10 - 19	165	850.2	42.8	408.5	62.2
20 - 49	313	923.2	45.0	413.8	67.4
50 - 99	391	1,009.5	45.6	437.5	72.7
100 - 174	349	1,257.8	43.7	504.2	74.0
175 - 259	157	1,496.6	44.5	574.7	73.7
260 - 499	108	1,744.3	45.5	614.2	73.7
500 or more	23	2,307.7	32.8	611.9	70.1
Owners	1,176	1,249.9	42.4	482.1	70.5
Under 3	36	1,189.0	32.5	449.6	59.7
3 - 9	78	918.2	37.9	384.4	60.1
10 - 19	88	1,005.9	40.7	451.9	61.6
20 - 49	189	1,051.9	43.3	431.2	67.2
50 - 99	287	1,047.5	45.1	441.3	72.6
100 - 174	265	1,337.8	42.1	507.7	74.2
175 - 259	128	1,594.0	43.2	579.6	73.7
260 - 499	87	1,851.0	43.4	607.8	72.2
500 or more	18	2,391.1	33.0	615.6	70.7
Renters	385	946.0	45.2	453.6	68.9
Under 3	50	948.8	33.7	418.6	60.2
3 - 9	48	969.7	39.1	503.6	59.1
10 - 19	42	762.0	46.7	382.5	64.8
20 - 49	71	795.0	46.3	398.3	68.4
50 - 99	72	984.7	47.4	441.0	74.5
100 - 174	62	1,008.8	48.8	476.7	73.9
175 - 259	22	1,069.7	53.1	561.5	74.7
260 and over	18	1,370.9	53.0	640.6	78.2
Croppers	169	719.2	52.2	403.5	69.7
Under 20	47	547.9	50.5	340.8	63.8
20 - 49	53	634.2	52.6	367.9	66.3
50 - 99	32	724.7	47.0	390.1	70.0
100 or more	37	1,052.4	55.9	545.6	75.1

the contractual terms under which the cropper operates would seldom encourage operation of a very small unit. <sup>39/</sup> In the commercial farming areas where tenancy is most prevalent it is also probable that the very small unit would not be available for farming on a share-crop basis.

The average value of living of all families who operated less than 3 acres was \$1,029, of which 34 percent was furnished, while the average value for the smaller families on units with from 3 to 9 acres was \$920, of which 40 percent was furnished (Table 12). The lowest value was \$850 for those operating from 10 to 19 acres, but for those with larger farms there was a linear relationship between size of farm and level of living. Similarly, the proportion furnished tended to increase on the larger farms.

When tenure status was considered in this analysis, it was found that owners on less than 3 acres reported an average value of \$1,189 and those operating from 3 to 9 acres reported \$918. Renters on the smallest units averaged \$849 for goods and services consumed, and those on units of 3 to 9 acres averaged \$970. Thus, as indicated by this contrast, the renters in the latter group had a relatively higher level of living than did the owners on farms of similar size. Furthermore, the renters furnished about the same proportion of the family living as did the owners.

Although for families in each tenure group operating more than 10 acres there were consistent increases in value of living as farm acreage increased and a tendency for the proportion furnished to follow a somewhat similar pattern, there were variations in the point at which size of farm appeared to have the greatest reflection upon the total value of living. That is, as the various sizes were considered, the size-of-farm group with a value of living that represented the most significant increase over the preceding group varied among the tenure classes. Thus, among the owners who were operating at least 100 acres the value of living was significantly higher than for those operating smaller farms; the value of living of those with from 100 to 174 acres represented a distinct increase over that of families with holdings ranging from 50 to 99 acres. Also, the difference between those acreage groups was larger than between any others above 10 acres. Among the renters the most significant increase was for the group operating 50 to 99 acres over those with from 10 to 50. Of the croppers only those with 100 or more acres showed a sizeable change in the level of living.

#### Food

In the search for a measure of the relative well-being of the family, perhaps no other generic category of family-living goods has received so much emphasis as food. Engel believed that one of the most important ob-

<sup>39/</sup> Seven percent of the croppers (12 families) were reported as operating from 3 to 9 acres, but none reported less than 3 acres.

servations resulting from his studies was that the poorer the individual the greater the proportion of the total income that would be devoted to food. <sup>40/</sup> Zimmerman has gone even farther and suggested that generally the family will devote from 40 to 60 percent of its economic energy to this purpose and that different economic and social groups display varying food habits. <sup>41/</sup> In the food behavior of rural and urban families Zimmerman observed 8 major points of difference. Noteworthy were his observations that among the rural groups, as compared with the urban, food materials were more biased towards local production and that food was a more prominent item in the total value of family living - in other words, constituted a higher proportion of the total living. <sup>42/</sup>

In the six Virginia counties the average value of food consumed by the rural family was \$468, or 41 percent of the total budget, while the urban family spent \$383, or only 29 percent of the total, for this item (Table 13). However, this contrast between the two groups was somewhat minimized inasmuch as the open-country families had a per-capita food value of \$112 - an amount only \$2 higher than that of the urban group (Table 61). The open-country family in this study produced 70 percent of all food consumed while the urban family, limited in most cases to a small kitchen garden, produced only 8 percent (Table 13). Moreover, the farm families consumed rather large quantities of livestock products, most of which were produced on the home farm. The high value of these products definitely increased the value of food consumed and the proportion furnished.

Differences within the urban and rural groups were to some extent emphasized by an analysis of the value of food consumed by the various tenure classes. In the open country the value of food reported by the owners was \$482 as compared with \$454 and \$404 for the renters and the croppers respectively. Urban owners reported a value of \$395, or \$22 more per family than did urban renters (Table 13). As both urban and rural tenants had the larger families, the owners also reported higher per-capita consumption of food (Table 61).

Rural families devoted a larger proportion of the total family-living budget to this category than did the urban families. Similarly food commanded an increasing proportion of the total with lower tenure status. For open-country owners this item represented 39 percent of the total value of all goods, whereas for renters and croppers it amounted to 48 and 56 percent respectively. A parallel tendency was evident among the urban groups. In both residence groups owners furnished but a slightly larger proportion of the food consumed than did tenants (Table 13).

As in the case of total value of family living, the highest average value of food consumed was reported by families in Culpeper County, yet a relatively small proportion of this was produced on the farms they operated.

<sup>40/</sup> Engel, Ernst, op. cit.

<sup>41/</sup> Zimmerman, Carle C., Consumption and Standards of Living, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>42/</sup> Ibid., pp. 77-78.

Table 13.- Average value of food consumed per family, percentage furnished, and percentage food was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties							
	Total	1/	Culpeper	Halifax	Mansemond	Edward	Rock-bridge	Wythe
Average value:								
Open country	\$468.1	\$538.1	\$452.3	\$444.6	\$454.8	\$475.4	\$455.2	
Owners	482.1	534.3	478.8	463.5	472.0	484.5	460.3	
Renters	453.6	541.8	434.7	436.1	451.3	463.1	442.5	
Croppers <u>2/</u>	403.5	579.3	325.9	338.8	401.1	421.3	433.2	
Town	383.0	378.8	369.5	410.7	425.8	391.0	323.2	
Owners	395.3	382.0	377.2	428.8	509.5	356.0	339.3	
Renters	372.9	385.4	367.0	399.9	352.7	423.6	306.5	
Percentage of total:								
Open country	41.4	42.2	41.3	37.2	45.4	42.2	45.0	
Owners	38.6	39.9	37.9	34.6	41.9	39.6	42.8	
Renters	48.0	52.5	48.2	41.5	52.9	51.3	50.1	
Croppers <u>2/</u>	56.1	49.2	52.7	56.1	57.0	55.1	63.1	
Town	28.8	27.7	30.9	33.0	26.7	25.9	27.8	
Owners	25.4	24.9	21.2	29.6	26.9	21.6	26.7	
Renters	32.4	30.2	36.4	58.1	26.5	30.7	29.5	
Percentage furnished:								
Open country	70.0	64.5	79.0	63.0	71.0	72.5	67.6	
Owners	70.5	64.0	80.0	64.7	73.2	72.9	68.3	
Renters	68.9	62.7	77.4	62.8	67.1	69.2	62.7	
Croppers <u>2/</u>	69.7	76.1	79.3	58.9	65.6	77.5	69.0	
Town	8.2	13.6	3.2	3.0	2.8	8.2	11.4	
Owners	9.9	14.1	3.2	2.0	2.8	10.1	13.1	
Renters	6.7	11.0	2.3	3.0	2.7	6.6	9.2	

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

In the remaining counties owners reported food values only slightly higher than did renters, ranging from \$460 to \$464 for owners in Wythe and Rockbridge Counties respectively and from \$435 to \$463 for renters in Halifax and Rockbridge (Table 13); but the croppers reported values that ranged from \$326 in Halifax to \$433 in Wythe. In the counties with a high rate of tenancy and where a one-crop system of farming was predominant, the tenants reported relatively low values for food consumed.

Food consumed by the urban families ranged in value from \$323 for Wythe County to \$426 for Prince Edward. With the exception of the latter county, there was little difference in the value of food consumed by the urban owners and by the urban renters. Farm owners in Nansemond County ascribed 35 percent of the family living to food, and croppers in Wythe County allocated 63 percent to the same purpose. But in the town groups the range was from 21 percent for owners in Halifax to 38 percent for renters in Nansemond. Thus the data appear to substantiate Professor Zimmerman's observation concerning the relative importance of food in the rural and the urban budgets.

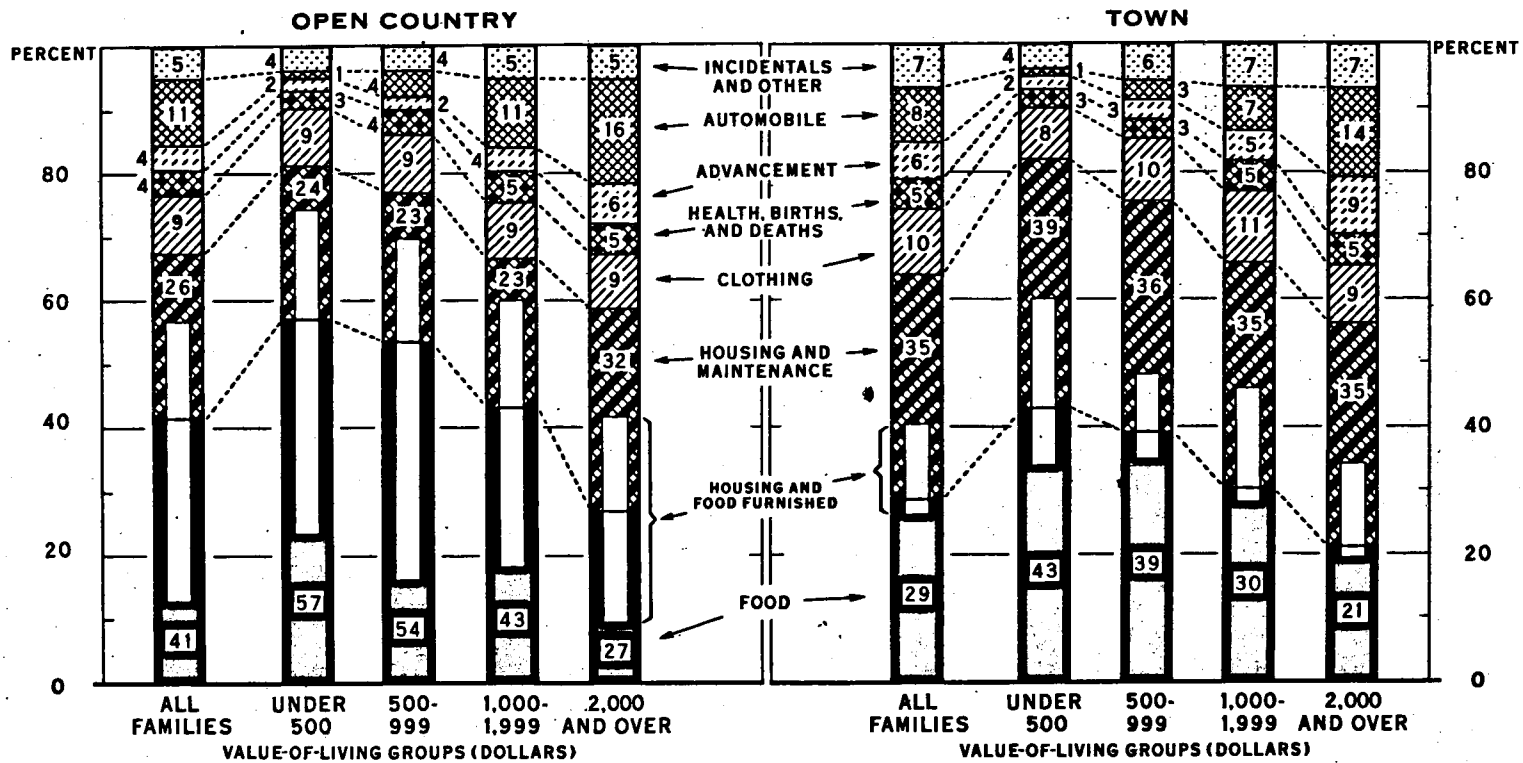
The proportion of the food furnished by the families showed great variation between the various counties. Significantly, the highest proportion of furnished food was recorded in Halifax County where bright tobacco is the main crop. Although the actual value of the food produced was relatively low, it should be noted that in each tenure group in that county the average family furnished almost 80 percent of all the food consumed. Such a fact tends to contradict the customary belief that among tenants a one-crop system of agriculture is seldom complemented to any extent by production for home use.

#### Food, by Value-of-Living Groups

In all residence and tenure groups encompassed in the sample there was a decrease in the proportion of the total budget allocated to food as the value of family living increased - a condition entirely in accord with the customary theory of food behavior. Open-country owners with a value of living of less than \$500 devoted 55 percent to the food needs of the family, while owners with a value of living of \$2,000 or more used only 26 percent for food (Table 14 and Fig. 3). For the renters the proportion decreased from 62 percent in the lowest value group to 36 percent for those in the highest. Among the croppers, none of whom reported a total value as high as \$2,000, the decrease in the proportion devoted to food was not so great as in the other tenure groups; those reporting a total value of less than \$500 devoted 60 percent to this item and those reporting from \$1,000 to \$1,999, 53 percent.

An inverse relationship prevailed between the average value of food consumed and the proportion this item made of the total in the various groups. This tendency for the value of food to increase in the higher groups was consistent in all residence and tenure classifications. As the families were larger in the higher value groups, this was a logical relationship. Furthermore, because of the limit to physiological needs, a greater value of food consumed in the higher value groups does not necessarily imply that as the family budget was increased the members consumed more food, although it may have been true in some marginal cases. Rather, it may imply that the families were more selective in the food consumed. The value of food ranged from \$204 for the open-country families with a total value of family living of less than \$500 to more than three times as much for those in the highest value group. Among the





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FIGURE 3.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING AMONG PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS AND SERVICES CONSUMED, BY RESIDENCE AND VALUE-OF-LIVING GROUPS, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.

Table 14.- Average value of food consumed per family, percentage furnished, and the percentage that food was of total value of living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Value-of-living groups			
		Under \$500	\$500- \$999	\$1,000- \$1,999	\$2,000 and over
Average value:					
Open country	\$468.1	\$204.4	\$365.6	\$541.2	\$697.7
Owners	482.1	193.4	363.6	531.2	690.4
Renters	453.6	228.1	370.8	546.9	780.3
Croppers	403.5	208.3	363.7	642.8	-
Town	383.0	154.7	290.5	420.5	621.7
Owners	395.3	148.5	267.1	406.3	622.5
Renters	372.9	162.6	302.0	430.4	619.9
Percentage of total:					
Open country	41.4	57.4	53.7	43.1	26.9
Owners	38.6	54.5	52.3	41.7	26.2
Renters	48.0	61.5	54.8	45.3	35.7
Croppers	56.1	59.6	58.0	53.2	-
Town	28.8	43.0	38.7	30.2	20.8
Owners	25.4	41.6	35.8	28.2	20.2
Renters	32.4	44.7	40.1	31.7	22.5
Percentage furnished:					
Open country	70.0	59.6	69.8	72.0	66.0
Owners	70.5	58.4	71.0	72.9	65.8
Renters	68.9	63.6	66.3	70.0	67.2
Croppers	69.7	58.5	67.8	74.8	-
Town	8.2	21.4	9.9	7.4	5.8
Owners	9.9	26.3	16.1	8.4	6.8
Renters	6.7	15.7	7.2	6.7	3.4

Urban families the range was from \$155 to \$622 in the lowest and highest value groups respectively. In all groups of both open-country and urban families, with the single exception of the town families with a value of \$2,000 or more, the value of food consumed was greater for tenants than for owners. Although urban families had fewer members than the rural, per-capita expenditures for food tended to be higher in the former group.

The proportion of the value of food furnished by the open-country

living of less than \$500. Families in the second and third value groups reported a successively higher proportion furnished while there was a decrease in the highest group, or those with a total value of more than \$2,000 (Table 14).

The most significant increase in the proportion of food furnished was that which occurred between two owner groups: from 58 percent for the one reporting an average total value of living under \$500, to 71 percent for the one reporting an average value of \$500 to \$999. The relationship of tenure to the proportion furnished varied in the value groups, and there was no consistent tendency for owners to furnish a larger proportion than tenants or the reverse.

Among the town families there was a definite decrease in the proportion of food furnished as the value of living increased. It is to be expected that as the town family reaches the so-called higher social and economic levels through increased income, there will be less necessity for reliance upon home-produced food, and that efforts to produce food at home will be minimized.

#### Food, by Size of Family

More members obviously increase the food requirements; consequently, as the size of the family increased there was an increase in the proportion of the family-living budget allocated to food and in the average value of food consumed. In this study, however, the rate of increase in the value of food was by no means in direct proportion to the increase in the size of family. Open-country families with less than 3 persons reported food consumed valued at \$372 while the families with 5 or more persons, at least twice as large and perhaps with more older persons, had a value of food consumed that was only \$184 greater than that of the small families. In the towns studied the families with less than 3 persons consumed an average of \$295 worth of food and those with 5 or more persons, \$457 (Table 15).

In the open-country group the increase in the average value of food was greater between the families of medium and large size than between those of small and medium size. The town families showed the opposite tendency.

Open-country owners with less than 3 persons in the family devoted 35 percent of the total budget to food and those with 5 or more members allocated 43 percent to this item. Similar increases were apparent in the other tenure groups. Yet, despite the implication of a greater working force in the larger families there was not a significant increase in the proportion of food produced at home (Table 15).

Table 15.- Average value of food consumed per family, percentage furnished, and the percentage that food was of the total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
<b>Average value:</b>				
Open country	\$468.1	\$372.0	\$445.4	\$556.0
Owners	482.1	391.9	472.6	576.1
Renters	453.6	317.0	411.8	536.4
Croppers	403.5	248.5	331.3	501.6
Town	383.0	295.4	421.8	456.6
Owners	395.3	292.8	474.4	494.3
Renters	372.9	298.4	380.3	441.4
<b>Percentage of total:</b>				
Open country	41.4	36.0	38.3	46.6
Owners	38.6	34.8	35.6	43.4
Renters	48.0	41.9	45.0	51.7
Croppers	56.1	50.3	54.9	57.1
Town	28.8	24.9	28.3	35.6
Owners	25.4	22.8	25.9	30.3
Renters	32.4	28.0	31.0	38.8
<b>Percentage furnished:</b>				
Open country	70.0	68.7	70.5	70.3
Owners	70.5	69.3	71.2	70.6
Renters	68.9	64.6	69.5	69.5
Croppers	69.7	67.8	66.1	71.1
Town	8.2	8.9	6.7	9.9
Owners	9.9	10.2	8.6	12.8
Renters	6.7	7.3	4.8	8.6

#### Food, by Family Life Cycle

It is obvious that a definite relationship should exist between the duration of the family union and the value of food consumed, for as the family passes through the various stages of the life cycle the composition

changes. In rural and urban groups the value of food followed very closely the four stages of the life cycle, increasing in the first three stages when all the children were presumably at home and growing from childhood into adulthood, and decreasing as children left home.

From the value of food consumed it appeared that variations during the successive stages of the life cycle were greater among tenants than among owners. As the duration of marriage increased among the latter the value of food increased very slightly to the peak period and in all stages ranged between \$302 and \$342. Both renters and croppers, however, were able to convert the efforts of a larger family into an increased value of food despite having fewer males of working age. Thus renters married less than 10 years had an average value of food consumed of \$395 and those married from 20 to 29 years reported an average of \$525. These same marriage groups of the cropper families reported \$331 and \$514 respectively (Table 62).

In all preceding analyses the value of food consumed by the rural families has exceeded that of the urban group. But the same observation was not applicable when the analysis was made on the basis of duration of marriage. In all marriage groups the value of food consumed by urban owners was greater than that reported by the rural groups; for urban renters this value was slightly lower than for tenants in the open country but was higher than for farm owners.

#### Food, by Size of Farm.

Obviously, the type of farming conditions the amount of food that a family produces on the home farm. Some correlation may exist between the size of the unit and the proportion furnished. The farmer with smaller holdings may be limited in his ability to produce a significant proportion of his food, whereas generally large-scale farming may encourage the diversion of energy to as well as from production of foodstuffs.

For the families included in this study there was a general tendency for the proportion produced to increase as the size of farm increased (Table 12, p. 29). For all families the proportion of food produced at home increased from 60 percent for those with less than 3 acres to 74 percent for those operating from 100 to 500 acres. The same range tended to be applicable for each tenure group. The increase was rather steady and pronounced through the farms with from 100 to 174 acres, but above this level the proportion furnished remained fairly constant regardless of increased acreage. These data indicate a point at which home production would level off and a maximum of about three-fourths as the percentage of food that would be furnished, even on the larger units.

Just as farm size influenced the proportion furnished, some correlation existed between the size of the family, the amount of cash income, and the proportion of food furnished. Thus, three variables appear to enter into the determination of the extent of production of foodstuffs for

home use. However, no mathematical computations were made to ascertain which of these factors was most closely related to the proportion of food furnished.

### Housing and Maintenance

Although the individual may seek shelter primarily for protection, the dwelling is at least partially indicative of his social and economic status. As his income or the ability to command economic goods increases, he strives for the better housing facilities that form visible evidence of status in the community or neighborhood. Because of this, many efforts to measure the relative well-being of groups of families have been based entirely upon the appearance and condition of the dwelling and its furnishings.<sup>43/</sup> Since housing is to a large degree contingent upon prevailing cultural and economic patterns, it may be greatly diversified according to different geographic areas. Family dwellings in Virginia vary from the colonial mansion surviving from plantation days to the crude mountain shack or the sharecropper's home.

The average farm family included in the sample was living in a dwelling that had been constructed approximately 43 years before the interview, whereas the average town dwelling was about 30 years old (Table 16). Tenure status apparently had little effect upon the age of the dwelling in either open-country or urban areas. Neither was there any significant relationship between the total value of living and the age of the dwelling except among the open-country tenants. In that tenure group the families with a higher value of living were residing in older dwellings. An extreme instance was that of the 18 open-country tenants with a value of living of more than \$2,000 who reported 71 years as the average age of dwelling; however, the number of cases was too small for pointed consideration. Because of the influence of housing upon the total value of living, the increase in the age of the dwelling occupied by tenants in the higher value group may suggest that these groups were occupying old mansions and owner-operator homesteads of long ago while more recently constructed tenant dwellings are less expensive.

Despite the larger families in the rural areas there was little difference in the number of rooms in the dwelling of the urban and that of the rural family. The farm dwelling had 3.5 rooms while the average in the towns was 3.2. Farm-tenant homes had fewer rooms than those of the owners but among the town families the reverse was true. About 75 percent of the farm families and 80 percent of the urban group had homes which, in relation to the size of family, might be considered as providing at least adequate space. Families in the low-value classes reported the smallest houses.

Approximately 87 percent of the farm families and 89 percent of the urban families were residing in dwellings of frame construction (Table 17).

<sup>43/</sup> Foremost in this field has been Chapin. See Chapin, Francis Stuart, *The Measurement of Social Status by the Use of the Social Status Scale*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1933.

Table 16.- Characteristics of dwellings occupied by families studied, by tenure and total value of living, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Tenure and total value of living	Averages					
	Open country			Town		
	Replacement value	Age (years)	Number of rooms	Replacement value	Age (years)	Number of rooms
Total	\$1,650	43	3.5	\$2,210	30	3.2
Under \$500	760	39	2.7	920	32	2.6
\$500 - \$999	1,060	41	3.3	1,230	29	5.3
\$1,000 - 1,999	1,690	44	3.8	2,350	30	3.4
\$2,000 and over	3,930	47	3.5	4,740	30	3.0
Owners	1,950	43	3.6	2,820	30	3.1
Under \$500	970	45	3.1	970	35	2.8
\$500 - \$999	1,240	41	3.4	1,600	30	2.7
\$1,000 - 1,999	1,820	44	4.0	2,720	29	3.4
\$2,000 and over	4,080	45	3.4	5,030	30	3.2
Tenants 1/	1,040	43	3.2	1,730	30	3.3
Under \$500	530	33	2.2	860	29	2.4
\$500 - \$999	810	42	3.2	1,050	29	3.7
\$1,000 - 1,999	1,380	44	3.4	2,090	31	3.3
\$2,000 and over	2,280	71	4.7	4,060	30	2.6

1/ Includes croppers in the open country.

Table 17.- Percentages of houses built of specified materials, by tenure and residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure	Number of cases	Percentages built of -			
		Wood	Brick or stucco	Log	Other
Open country	1,730	87.3	3.3	4.7	4.7
Owners	1,176	87.7	3.5	4.0	4.8
Tenants	554	86.3	2.9	6.1	4.7
Town	761	89.2	9.2	.3	1.3
Owners	337	85.7	11.6	-	2.7
Renters	424	92.0	7.3	.5	.2

In the towns, however, about 9 percent, as compared with 3 percent of the rural families, occupied brick or stucco homes. For the most part these were concentrated in the high value groups. In contrast, about 5 percent of the farm families - largely those with a low level of living - were living in log houses. For example, 17 percent of the owners and 14 percent of the tenants with a value of living of less than \$500 reported houses of such construction. In the second value group, \$500 to \$999, only 6 percent of the owners and 7 percent of the tenants occupied log dwellings.

Modern household conveniences and facilities have always been more available to families in urban centers than to those of the open country. The original costs of installing running water, electricity, or telephones in homes of sparsely settled areas has been almost prohibitive. Consequently, it is not unusual that a greater proportion of the urban than of the rural families in Virginia reported the presence of these facilities.

Only 11 percent of the farm homes were lighted by electricity, <sup>44/</sup> as compared with 84 percent of the town homes (Table 18). In the open country 13 percent of the owners but only 8 percent of the tenant families reported electricity, while in the towns there was no difference in the owner and the renter homes in this respect. The contrast between the two residence groups was amplified by the fact that about the same proportion of the farm families used oil lamps as used electricity in the towns. While about three-fourths of the urban families had running water in the home, only 11 percent of the farm families had this convenience. Over three-fourths of the owners in the open country and about 88 percent of the tenants were dependent upon an outside well or spring for the water supply. It is interesting to note that in the urban areas more renters than owners were occupying houses with running water - although it would appear that the latter should set the pattern. The inference may be that the owners hesitate to install such facilities at their own expense while the landlord may readily install them in the hope of a better market for his house.

In the open country over 98 percent of the farm families studied were dependent upon a stove and/or a fireplace to provide heat for the dwelling while the proportion in the town was about 84 percent. A greater proportion of the urban than of the farm homes, and more owners than renters, had central heating. Almost all the farm homes with central heating systems were occupied by the owners (Table 18).

The family might have its own water system or an individual lighting plant, but the installation of a telephone is primarily contingent upon local facilities. To some degree ownership of a radio has become contingent upon the presence of electricity. About two-thirds of the farm families and one-third of the town families had neither of those facilities. More than

<sup>44/</sup> A recent estimate of the proportion of homes on occupied farms equipped with high-line electricity in 1937 was 13.0 percent for the State and 8.2 percent for the 6 counties in this study. See Electricity on the Farms, Farm Journal. Philadelphia. Pennsylvania, 1938.



Table 18.- Accessories and facilities of dwellings, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Open country			Town		
	Total	Owners	Tenants	Total	Owners	Tenants
<b>Heating System:</b>						
Number of cases	1,729	1,175	554	760	336	424
Percentages having -						
Furnace	1.6	2.1	.5	16.4	20.8	13.0
Fireplace	4.3	3.5	6.0	2.4	1.5	3.1
Stove	84.4	85.2	82.9	73.2	74.4	72.1
Fireplace and stove	9.7	9.2	10.6	8.0	3.3	11.8
<b>Lighting system:</b>						
Number of cases	1,729	1,175	554	756	334	422
Percentages having -						
Electricity	11.2	12.8	7.8	84.4	84.7	84.1
Oil lamp	84.9	81.8	91.5	15.2	14.4	15.9
Gas	1.6	2.3	.2	.1	.3	-
Other	2.3	3.1	.5	.3	.6	-
<b>Water Supply:</b>						
Number of cases	1,726	1,173	553	759	337	422
Percentage having -						
Well	52.5	52.1	53.3	19.9	21.4	18.7
Spring	23.4	25.5	34.5	2.0	2.1	1.9
Piped into kitchen	4.0	4.8	2.4	7.4	7.7	7.1
Other piped in	7.2	8.7	4.0	38.0	64.7	70.6
Other	7.9	8.9	5.8	2.7	4.1	1.7
<b>Other facilities:</b>						
Number of cases	1,730	1,176	554	761	337	424
Percentages having -						
Radio alone	16.2	17.3	13.9	33.4	27.6	38.0
Telephone alone	8.6	11.1	3.2	7.1	10.4	4.5
Radio and telephone	8.7	11.1	3.6	23.4	29.4	18.3
No radio or telephone	65.2	59.5	77.3	33.1	29.7	35.8
Not reported	1.3	1.0	2.0	3.0	2.9	3.1

one-half of the town families and approximately one-fourth of the farm families had radios in their homes. In all groups more of the families had radios than had telephones and only about 9 percent of the farm families and 23 percent of the urban families had both conveniences (Table 18).

Recent years have witnessed an increase in the number of modern household conveniences in the farm home, particularly electrification, yet the town family remains superior to the farm in this respect. Among the town

groups renters compared favorably with owners, but tenure differences in the farm groups were magnified by the presence or absence of specified household facilities. It appeared that total income was a controlling factor in acquiring the facilities inasmuch as the reported facilities were concentrated in the higher value-of-living groups. On the basis of the proportion of homes with the particular conveniences, it appeared that, when other conditions permitted, the first convenience the families secured was a radio.

The homes of the town families were newer, more were equipped with modern facilities, and the average replacement value was greater. In both residence groups the owners were living in more expensive homes than the renters, and there was a very positive correlation between the value of living and the replacement value of the house (Table 16).<sup>45/</sup> Such evidence again substantiates the assumption that higher income groups will attempt to maintain or increase their status through better housing. The replacement value of the average open-country dwelling was \$1,650 as compared with \$2,210 in the towns. In both groups the dwelling of the owner was valued at a figure almost \$1,000 higher than that of the tenant. When related to total value of family living, replacement values revealed sharp contrasts. Open-country families with a value of living of less than \$500 reported \$760, while those with a value of living of \$2,000 or more reported \$3,930. For town families the range was even greater, or from \$920 to \$4,740. The lowest replacement value (\$530) was reported by the farm tenants with a value of living of less than \$500. It must be noted that over one-fourth of these families were residing in log houses; furthermore, the value of the dwellings occupied by the croppers had a very significant influence upon the average for all tenants.

#### Housing and Maintenance, by Tenure

The expenditures for rent, repairs, insurance, fuel, furniture, and other household furnishings and operations that are incurred to provide housing for the family have been categorically classified as housing and maintenance.<sup>46/</sup> Including furnished rent and fuel, the value of these combined items for the farm families was \$291, an amount representing slightly over one-fourth of the total family-living budget (Table 19). The urban families allocated 35 percent, or \$471 to this purpose. As measured by these values the effort to secure social status through better housing was more pronounced in the towns than in the open country. Much of this difference was accounted for in the higher replacement value, which in turn reflected a higher rental value, of the urban home. Concurrently, the town family must spend more for furnishings and operation of the relatively better dwelling with more household facilities and conveniences. Furthermore, the town family must purchase about all the fuel consumed, whereas

<sup>45/</sup> A definite relationship is to be expected because of the method of determining rental value of the house. See appendix, Methodological Note.

<sup>46/</sup> See appendix, Methodological Note, for explanation of the methods of grouping. Ten percent of the replacement value of the dwelling was assumed

the farm family can secure at a minimum expense most of the fuel needed. The greater self-sufficiency of the farm group was indicated, inasmuch as they reported 56 percent of the housing and maintenance as furnished while for the town families this proportion was only 33 percent.

In respect to the value of housing and maintenance, differences between the various tenure groups were very great. Whereas 28 percent of the budget of the farm owner (\$344) was devoted to procuring and maintaining a dwelling for his family, the renter allocated 21 percent of the total budget (\$198) to this purpose. The cropper reported \$126 (17 percent of the total), but three-fourths of that amount was made up of furnished fuel and rent. The cropper and his family lived in a house with a low evaluation and spent only about \$22 for furnishings, equipment, and household operation. For all housing and maintenance town owners reported an average of \$576 (43 percent of which was furnished), an amount which represented a little over one-third of the total budget. Urban renters, on the other hand, reported \$387, or over one-third of the total budget.

County variations in the average value of housing and maintenance were large and in all counties there was a wide gap between the housing and maintenance of the tenants and the owners (Table 19). For all open-country families this item ranged from \$213 in Prince Edward County to \$359 in Culpeper. The lowest values for all tenure groups were shown in Prince Edward County and the highest, with the exception of renters, were recorded in Culpeper. On the basis of the amount devoted to this purpose, the counties tended to be equally divided; the tobacco counties, Halifax and Prince Edward, and Wythe in the southwest reported very low amounts and the remaining showed higher expenditures. Since a greater part of this difference could be attributed to rent alone, it is to be observed that the dwellings in these three counties were generally inferior to those in Nansemond, Rockbridge, and Culpeper. In Halifax and Prince Edward the tobacco farmer's dwelling appeared comparable with the dwelling of the mountain farmer in Wythe.

The values reported by town families for housing and maintenance showed much greater variation between the counties (from \$380 in Halifax to \$636 in Rockbridge) than was the case for farm families. Counties which showed a low or high value of housing and maintenance for the rural families in relation to the other counties also tended to show a comparable relationship on the basis of the value of housing and maintenance for the urban families. The most significant exception was in Prince Edward in which the value of housing and maintenance for the farm families was lower than in any other counties, while the value for urban families was exceeded only by those in Rockbridge. It thus appears, on the basis of the value of housing and maintenance, that within a county there may be some relationship between the housing conditions of the urban and of the rural areas. In this study the value of housing and maintenance of the urban group had about the same relationship to urban groups of other counties as the rural group had to other rural groups.

Table 19.- Average value of housing and maintenance per family, percentage furnished, and percentage that housing and maintenance was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	: Total	6 selected counties					
		: 1/	: Culpeper	: Halifax	: Nansemond	: Edward	: Rock-bridge
Average value:							
Open country	\$290.6	\$358.9	\$242.3	\$311.7	\$213.3	\$323.6	\$255.9
Owners	344.5	402.3	298.6	365.0	262.5	374.3	284.5
Renters	198.2	222.4	184.7	247.0	150.0	191.7	203.5
Croppers <u>2/</u>	126.2	197.3	112.5	143.1	97.3	177.1	104.0
Town	470.9	476.2	380.1	413.4	569.4	635.7	381.4
Owners	576.3	550.5	692.1	516.4	721.3	751.6	423.9
Renters	387.3	426.5	313.1	341.0	436.9	527.2	334.5
Percentage of total:							
Open country	25.7	28.2	22.1	26.1	21.3	28.7	25.3
Owners	27.6	30.0	23.7	27.2	23.3	30.6	26.5
Renters	21.0	21.5	19.6	23.5	17.6	21.3	23.0
Croppers <u>2/</u>	17.5	16.7	18.2	23.7	13.8	23.1	15.2
Town	35.4	34.7	31.8	34.1	35.8	42.1	32.8
Owners	37.0	36.3	33.2	35.6	38.1	45.7	33.2
Renters	33.6	33.5	31.1	32.6	32.8	38.2	32.2
Percentage furnished:							
Open country	56.3	54.0	54.7	49.5	59.2	64.0	58.3
Owners	55.0	51.8	51.5	47.1	57.7	64.5	58.6
Renters	57.9	63.3	60.3	52.3	67.9	52.8	49.9
Croppers <u>2/</u>	74.6	84.1	72.4	77.6	63.6	82.8	75.1
Town	32.9	33.2	21.5	28.3	32.0	45.6	29.7
Owners	42.8	40.6	31.5	40.5	34.2	58.4	41.7
Renters	21.1	21.5	15.6	14.0	29.0	28.5	9.7

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

There was little consistency between the various groups in the proportion of the total budget that was set aside for housing and maintenance. For farm owners the proportion ranged from 23 percent in Prince Edward to 31 percent in Rockbridge. Among the tenants the proportion ranged from 18 to 24 percent for the renters and from 14 to 24 percent for the croppers. In all of the counties residence in the towns demanded that a larger proportion of the budget be allocated to housing; ordinarily this was about

one-third, but it was almost one-half of the total for owners in the towns studied in Rockbridge.

#### Housing and Maintenance, by Value-of-Living Groups

An increase in the total value of living reflected a very definite increase in the average value of housing and maintenance for all residence and tenure groups (Table 20). As it was shown that families in the higher value brackets had better homes with more facilities, it may also be observed that they spent more in equipping and maintaining these homes. For example, the farm families in the highest value-of-living group reported housing and maintenance that was almost ten times that of the families with a total value of less than \$500. In the towns the spread between the families in the highest and lowest value-of-living groups was not quite so great.

The influence of greater income and the attainment of, or the attempt to attain, a higher status in the community upon housing was particularly in evidence for the farm owners since the average value of housing and maintenance for those in the lowest value group was \$103 as compared with \$855 for those in the highest. The position of the renters and croppers did not encourage high expenditures for housing and maintenance and the increase in the various brackets was not so great as for the owners. Compare, for example, renters and owners with a total value of living of more than \$2,000. The former reported an average value of housing and maintenance of \$449 - slightly more than one-half as much as the owners in the same group. Croppers with the highest level of living reported an average of only \$190. In the towns the value of housing increased from \$142 for those with a value of living of less than \$500 to \$1,040 for those in the highest value group.

Only the open-country owner and cropper families failed to show a consistent, though not identical, relationship between the total value of living and the proportion allocated to housing and maintenance. Both groups of town families reported a decreasing proportion of the total budget devoted to this purpose as the value of living increased. Open-country renters in all value groups reported housing and maintenance as approximately 21 percent of the total. Farm owners in the value groups under \$2,000 showed a decreasing proportion of the total as necessary for housing and maintenance as the total value increased but those families in the highest value group reported 33 percent, a proportion higher than that reported even in the low value group. The significance of housing in the budget of the town family may be emphasized by the fact that in all value groups more than one-third of the total went to housing and maintenance, a proportion considerably larger than was allocated by the farm families. In all value groups the town owner families allocated a much greater percentage of the total budget to this category than to food. It is perhaps significant that urban owners with a value of living of less than \$500 allocated 43 percent for housing and maintenance and 42 percent for food.

Table 20.- Average value of housing and maintenance per family, percentage furnished, and percentage housing and maintenance was of total family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Value-of-living groups			
		Under \$500	\$500- \$999	\$1,000- \$1,999	\$2,000 and over
<b>Average value:</b>					
Open country	\$290.6	\$87.1	\$158.5	\$294.8	\$822.2
Owners	344.5	102.5	175.9	315.3	855.4
Renters	198.2	76.9	140.7	255.2	449.2
Croppers	126.2	65.4	118.5	190.3	-
Town	470.9	142.0	266.3	494.4	1,040.2
Owners	576.3	153.9	285.8	547.5	1,101.1
Renters	387.3	126.8	256.7	457.7	899.0
<b>Percentage of total:</b>					
Open country	25.7	24.4	23.3	23.5	31.7
Owners	27.6	28.9	25.3	24.7	32.5
Renters	21.0	20.8	20.8	21.1	20.5
Croppers	17.5	18.7	18.9	15.7	-
Town	35.4	39.4	35.5	35.5	34.8
Owners	37.0	43.1	38.3	38.1	35.7
Renters	33.6	34.9	34.1	33.7	32.6
<b>Percentage furnished:</b>					
Open country	56.3	70.0	66.9	58.4	46.3
Owners	55.0	71.9	67.0	58.0	46.3
Renters	57.9	71.1	63.4	55.9	46.9
Croppers	74.6	63.3	74.4	77.9	-
Town	32.9	43.4	27.5	29.7	38.5
Owners	42.8	60.6	51.5	42.8	39.3
Renters	21.1	16.6	14.4	18.8	36.3

Generally, as the total value of living increased, the families purchased a larger part of the goods included in this category. For example, in the open country those families in the lowest value group furnished 70 percent of the total as compared with 46 percent for the families in the highest value group. The open-country croppers, however, increased the proportion furnished as the level of living increased. This fact indicates that croppers in the higher value groups were living in slightly better houses but were not making any noticeable outlays for furnishings and

equipment. 47/

#### Housing and Maintenance, by Size of Family

As the number of individuals in a family increases, the necessity for more space is greater, but such a demand is not necessarily met by the acquisition of larger dwellings. In all residence and tenure groups the proportion of the budget allocated to housing and maintenance decreased as the size of the family increased (Table 21). The greatest reductions in the proportions occurred between the families with from 3 to 5 members and those with 5 or more persons in the family. Neither did the presence of a very large family greatly influence the value of housing and maintenance. In all groups except the farm tenants, the value reported for this category by the families with 5 or more persons was lower than that reported by the two remaining family-size groups, and the highest was reported by the families with from 3 to 5 persons. For the farm croppers the greater values of housing and maintenance were reported by the larger families; however, the value in each group was low as compared with the owners. For example, the disparity between croppers and owners with respect to housing conditions is magnified by the fact that the croppers with 5 or more persons in the family reported \$139 as the value of housing and maintenance, while the owner families with less than 3 persons reported an average of \$368. Again, the town families reported higher values than the families of similar size in the open country. The value for town families who did not own their homes was greater than for those of the open-country families who occupied their own dwellings.

#### Housing and Maintenance, by Family Life Cycle

It has been shown that there is a peak in family history and that during this peak period the level of living and the size of family are highest. The positive relationship that existed between the average value of housing and maintenance and the total value of living was not broken when the third factor, the duration of the marriage union, was introduced. The average amount allocated to housing and maintenance tended to follow the four stages of the life cycle. Obviously, older families with a higher total value of living would attempt to attain status by better housing conditions. Families in the fourth, or last, stage of the life cycle showed smaller values than those in the preceding stage, but in the main the decrease was not great because apparently the families attempted to maintain the status reached in the peak of the life cycle. For renters in this final stage the average was even higher than for renters in the third stage (Table 62).

47/ If these croppers were residing in better dwellings, this fact would be reflected in the value of rent furnished; that occurred in this case. (See appendix, Methodological Note.)

Table 21.- Average value of housing and maintenance per family, percentage furnished, and percentage housing and maintenance was of total family living, by residence, tenuro, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
<b>Average value:</b>				
Open country	\$290.6	\$326.0	\$329.4	\$256.3
Owners	344.5	367.7	399.9	308.5
Renters	198.2	187.0	207.7	194.4
Croppers	126.2	112.6	122.3	139.4
Town	470.9	466.0	536.8	359.0
Owners	576.3	530.0	669.3	461.2
Renters	387.3	390.4	433.2	317.5
<b>Percentage of total:</b>				
Open country	25.7	31.6	28.3	21.5
Owners	27.6	32.7	30.2	23.3
Renters	21.0	24.7	22.7	18.7
Croppers	17.5	22.8	20.3	15.9
Town	35.4	39.3	36.0	28.0
Owners	37.0	41.2	36.5	28.2
Renters	33.6	36.6	35.3	27.9
<b>Percentage furnished:</b>				
Open country	56.3	60.0	56.8	56.9
Owners	55.0	60.1	56.1	54.3
Renters	57.9	54.7	57.3	59.4
Croppers	74.6	74.2	72.7	73.8
Town	32.9	39.9	30.3	24.8
Owners	42.8	49.3	38.7	36.1
Renters	21.1	25.0	20.0	18.2

### Clothing

It has been suggested that in an individual's life the role of clothing is second in importance only to food. The elasticity of the demand for articles of wearing apparel tends to be very great, for clothing expenditures are seldom conditioned entirely by utility or physiological needs. The dictates of social custom, fashions, fads, and the effort to attain or maintain a certain social status in the community are more



likely to receive paramount consideration. As the family seeks status through more elaborate housing, the individual attempts to improve his status by the clothes he wears. Variations in wearing apparel sometimes evince conspicuous distinctions between social and economic classes.

#### Average Value, by Residence and Tenure

Town families spent more for clothing than the farm families and in both residence groups the owners spent more than the tenants. The 1,730 farm families reported an average of \$103 for clothing, or \$25 for each individual, while the town families reported an average of \$137 per family, or \$39 per capita (Tables 22 and 61). Clothing expenditures per farm family amounted to \$110 for the owners, \$96 for the renters, and \$68 for the croppers; reduced to per-capita expenditures, those ranged from \$14 for the croppers to \$28 for the owners. The town families who owned their homes expended \$156 for clothing, or about \$34 more than those who were residing in rented dwellings, while the per-capita expenditures were \$50 and \$32 respectively. Of the three open-country tenure classes owners devoted the smallest proportion of the total budget to clothing (9 percent) while the renters and croppers allocated about 10 percent each to this item. The town owners allocated 10 percent and the renters nearly 11 percent.

Clothing expenditures for the farm groups also displayed rather wide variations between the six counties, with the families in Prince Edward, Rockbridge, and Wythe Counties reporting expenditures much lower than those in the remaining counties (Table 22). The lowest expenditure for wearing apparel (\$51) was recorded by the croppers in Nansemond County and the highest (\$131) by the owners in the same county. Clothing expenditures of the families in the tobacco counties, Prince Edward and Halifax, showed some interesting points of difference. With the exception of those classified as croppers, the families in Halifax reported much higher clothing purchases than those in the dark-tobacco area. Furthermore, the families in Halifax devoted a relatively higher proportion of the total budget to clothing as compared with a majority of the other groups.

In all counties the urban families spent more for wearing apparel than did the farm families and the former tended to devote a greater proportion of the total budget to that purpose. The lowest expenditure by the urban groups (\$103) was reported by the renters in Nansemond while the owners in Halifax spent the largest amount (\$209). The importance of clothing in the budget of the urban family may be indicated by the fact that urban owners spent more than farm owners and, with but two exceptions, the urban renters expended more than the farm owners.

The proportion of the total value of family living that was allocated to this item varied between 7 and 12 percent for the various farm groups and between 8 and 14 percent for the urban families. To some degree the tenants tended to allocate a greater proportion of the total to that purpose than did the owners.

Table 22.- Average expenditure per family for clothing, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	: Total	6 selected counties						
		: 1/	: Culpeper	: Halifax	: Nansemond	: Edward	: Prince George	: Rockbridge
Average amount:								
Open country	\$102.9	\$103.5	\$114.0	\$120.5	\$88.1	\$86.4	\$92.0	
Owners	110.0	106.0	127.7	130.5	94.2	93.0	95.9	
Renters	96.4	93.9	102.6	120.3	78.9	73.4	89.0	
Croppers <u>2/</u>	68.4	99.8	84.6	50.9	74.5	56.6	64.7	
Town	136.8	128.7	141.1	115.7	137.2	135.8	162.0	
Owners	155.9	150.0	209.2	134.0	158.8	138.8	179.5	
Renters	121.6	115.1	119.6	103.2	118.4	133.2	144.0	
Percentage of total:								
Open country	9.1	8.1	10.4	10.1	8.8	7.7	9.1	
Owners	8.8	7.9	10.1	9.7	8.4	7.6	8.9	
Renters	10.2	9.1	10.9	11.5	9.2	8.1	10.1	
Croppers <u>2/</u>	9.5	8.5	10.5	8.4	10.6	7.4	9.4	
Town	10.3	9.4	11.8	9.5	8.6	9.0	14.0	
Owners	10.0	9.8	11.7	9.2	8.4	8.4	14.1	
Renters	10.6	9.0	11.8	9.8	8.9	9.7	13.9	

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

#### Clothing, by Value-of-Living Groups

Inasmuch as the demand for clothing is somewhat elastic and subject to the whims of fashion and social dictates, it is obvious that there should be a positive correlation between the clothing expenditures and the total value of family living. Among the open-country families the amount spent for wearing apparel increased from \$30 for those with a total value of living of less than \$500, to \$224 for those in the highest value group (Table 23). In the towns the effect of a higher total value of living was manifested to an even greater degree by the sharp increase from \$28 to \$285. Obviously, the larger families in the higher value groups cannot be ignored, but even on a per-capita basis the expenditures for clothing are greater in the higher value groups.

On the basis of clothing expenditures as related to total value of living some interesting points of difference between the various groups were apparent. The farm families with a value of living of less than \$500 spent slightly more for clothing than did the urban families in the same

Table 23.- Average expenditure per family for clothing, and percentage this item was of total value of living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Value-of-living groups			
		Under \$500	\$500 to \$999	\$1,000- \$1,999	\$2,000 and over
Average amount:					
Open country	\$102.9	\$30.1	\$61.7	\$118.4	\$224.1
Owners	110.0	24.6	57.8	117.7	226.0
Renters	96.4	32.5	71.0	123.3	203.2
Croppers	68.4	38.7	60.1	109.6	-
Town	136.8	27.5	78.5	153.2	284.8
Owners	155.9	24.0	74.6	159.8	292.8
Renters	121.6	32.0	80.4	148.7	266.4
Percentage of total:					
Open country	9.1	8.5	9.1	9.4	8.6
Owners	8.8	6.9	8.3	9.2	8.6
Renters	10.2	8.8	10.5	10.2	9.3
Croppers	9.5	11.1	9.6	9.1	-
Town	10.3	7.6	10.5	11.0	9.5
Owners	10.0	6.7	10.0	11.1	9.5
Renters	10.6	8.8	10.7	10.9	9.7

value group; also, the tenants in both residence groups showed higher expenditures than the poorer owners. Moreover, among the farm families the higher level of living had a somewhat greater influence upon the clothing expenditures of the tenants than upon those of the owners. In the first three value groups the farm renters had higher clothing expenditures than the owners. In two of these groups (under \$500 and \$500 to \$999) the farm croppers reported greater clothing purchases than did the farm owners; however, as shown before, when all families are combined, the tenure distinctions on the basis of clothing purchases are apparent. It appeared that the families in the low value groups who did not own their own homes or farms were attempting to compensate somewhat for this or to increase their status by spending relatively larger sums for wearing apparel. This may be partially substantiated by the cropper families in the lowest value group whose clothing purchases were greater than those of the urban families.

The proportion of the total budget that was devoted to clothing somewhat approached a parabolic curve. In all residence and tenure groups except the croppers the proportion devoted to clothing increased in the first three value groups and decreased for those families with a total

value of living of more than \$2,000. As the total value of living increased for the cropper families the proportion allocated to clothing decreased. <sup>48/</sup> Except for the families in the lowest value-of-living group, the urban families devoted a higher proportion of the family budget to clothing than did the farm families and in both residence groups the tenants allocated a greater part than the owners. Town and rural owners in the lowest value group reported the smallest proportion (7 percent) of the total as spent for clothing, while the highest (11.1) was expended by urban owners in the \$1,000 to \$1,999 value group and by croppers with a total value of less than \$500.

#### Clothing, by Size of Family

More members in the family would logically place a greater requirement upon the family budget for clothing purchases, but it does not necessarily follow that per-capita expenditures would remain at the same level. The farm family with 5 or more persons spent an average of \$126 for wearing apparel while the family with less than 3 persons spent \$70 (Table 24). Town families with 5 or more persons expended an average of \$161, or \$53 more than the small family. In all tenure groups except the town renters, expenditures of the large family were almost twice as large as those of the small family.

When clothing expenditures were analyzed by the size of the family, the distinctions between the tenure groups were accentuated. Farm owners reported higher expenditures than the renters and the renters showed greater expenditures than the croppers. Only the urban renters with 5 or more persons in the family failed to show clothing purchases that were greater than those of any tenure class in the open country.

As the size of the family increased, the proportion of the total budget allocated to clothing also increased. The trend was consistent in each group of families except the croppers and urban renters. Farm owners with less than 3 members spent 7 percent of the budget for wearing apparel; those with 5 or more members spent 11 percent. For the renters the range was from 8 to 11 percent. Among croppers the size of family had little effect upon the proportion spent for clothing. That clothing expenditures occupied a relatively more important place in the urban than in the rural budget may be further indicated by the fact that town families expended from 8 to 13 percent, as compared with 7 to 11 percent for the farm group, of the total value of living for this purpose.

#### Clothing, by Family Life Cycle

Clothing expenditures followed very closely the stages of the life cycle, increasing as the age of the family increased (Table 62). As the children became older it cost more to provide them with wearing apparel,

<sup>48/</sup> The significance of furnished goods to the cropper families with a higher level of living has been pointed out.

Table 24.- Average expenditure per family for clothing, and percentage this item was of total value of living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

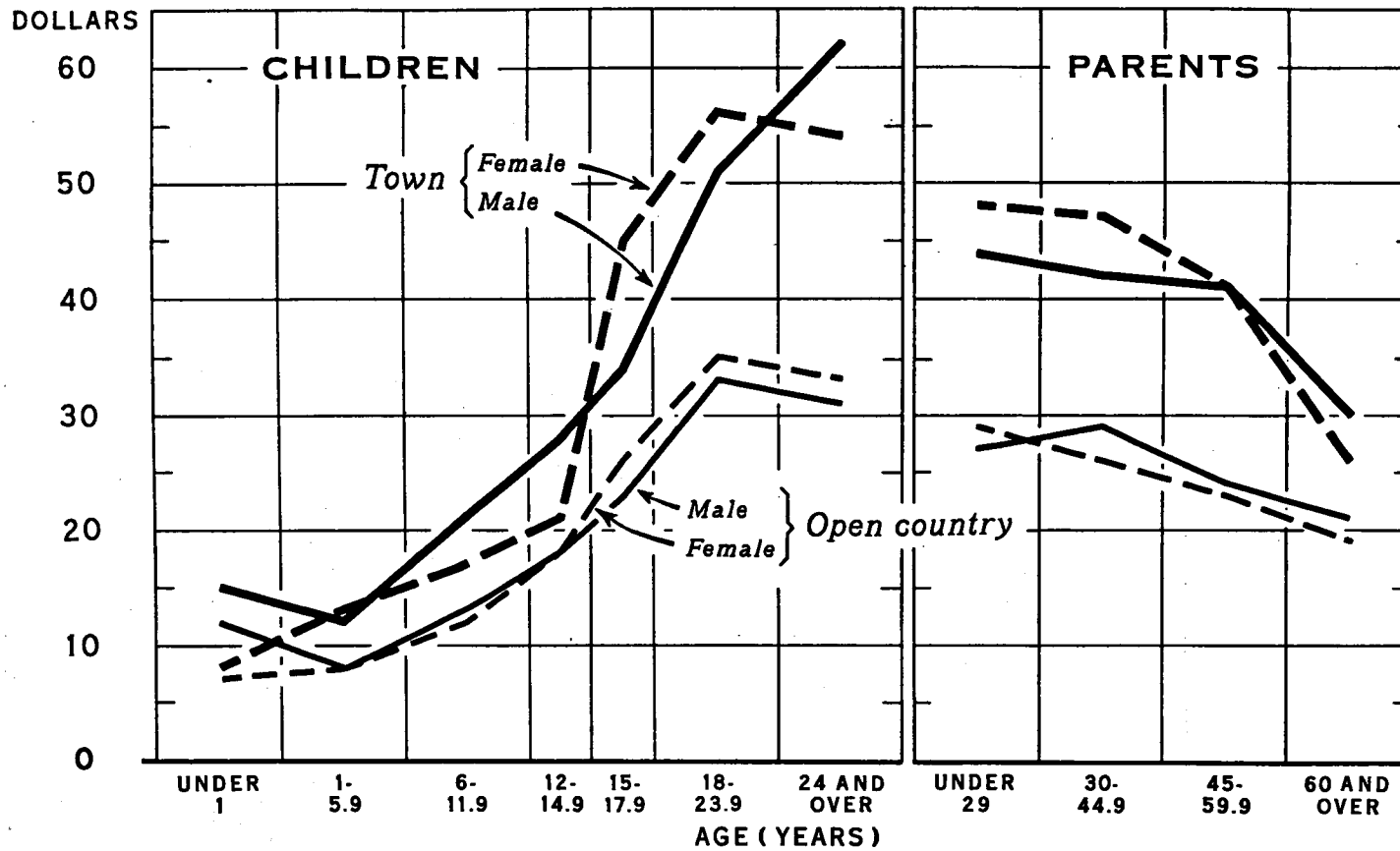
Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
Average amount:				
Open country	\$102.9	\$70.3	\$102.5	\$126.4
Owners	110.0	73.5	111.7	142.1
Renters	96.4	63.1	92.9	111.0
Croppers	68.4	46.8	57.0	84.4
Town	136.8	107.9	149.5	161.3
Owners	155.9	105.2	188.7	212.9
Renters	121.6	107.3	118.9	140.4
Percentage of total:				
Open country	9.1	6.8	8.6	10.6
Owners	8.8	6.5	8.4	10.7
Renters	10.2	8.2	10.1	10.7
Croppers	9.5	9.5	9.4	9.6
Town	10.3	9.1	10.0	12.6
Owners	10.0	8.4	10.3	13.0
Renters	10.6	10.1	9.7	12.3

and as they reached young adulthood clothing expenditures were highest. Thus, the highest expenditures were shown in the third stage of the life cycle, and expenditures of families in this stage represented a significant increase over those in the preceding life-cycle period. It is during this third period, just at the time of courtship and marriage or just prior to leaving home, that clothes are probably most important to the children.

#### Clothing, by Age and Sex

Numerous studies have shown that clothing expenditures increase as age increases and that highest expenditures for wearing apparel are made during the period of courtship and marriage. Often it is necessary for the parents to decrease their own clothing purchases in order that there be more made for the children. This was true for both open-country and urban families in Virginia. As the children and parents became older, the clothing expenditures of the former increased and those of the latter decreased (Fig. 4).

Although the clothing expenditures of the urban children were higher in all age groups than those of the open country, the pattern of such ex-



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FIGURE 4.- AVERAGE CLOTHING EXPENDITURES FOR OFFSPRING, MALE HEADS, AND HOMEMAKERS, BY AGE AND RESIDENCE, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.

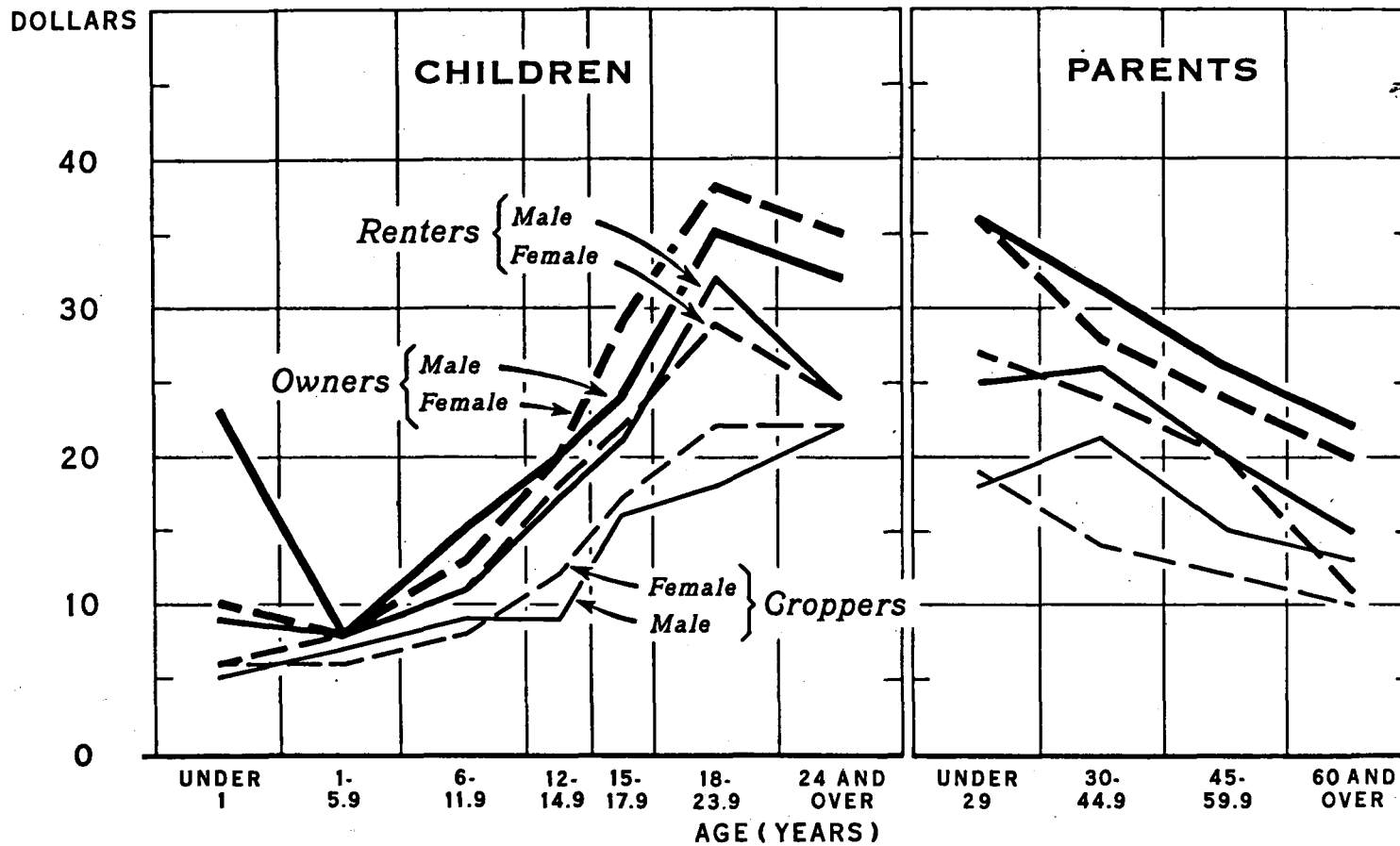


FIGURE 5.- AVERAGE CLOTHING EXPENDITURES FOR OFFSPRING, MALE HEADS, AND HOMEMAKERS OF OPEN-COUNTRY FAMILIES, BY AGE AND TENURE, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.

reverse was true for those 15 years of age and over. Also, after the children reached 15, the increase was more rapid for the daughters than for the sons. For example, the expenditure for the urban daughters from 12 to 15 years of age was \$21, while an average of \$45 was spent for those from 15 to 18 years of age. Highest expenditures for all children except the urban sons were recorded in the group 18 to 24 years of age, approximately the age of courtship and marriage. With the exception of urban males, children over 24 years of age still residing in the parental home reported slightly less than those of the previous age group.

The average clothing expenditure for the urban parents was \$40 for the male and \$42 for the female. In the rural group, clothing expenditures for the male head were \$25 and for the homemaker \$1 less. Regardless of residence, clothing expenditures of the parents declined with an increase in age. Farm wives reported less in all groups than did the husbands, but up to the age of 60 years or more the town wives reported larger purchases of clothing than did the husbands.

In each tenure group there was little differentiation between sons and daughters with respect to the amounts spent for their clothes, for the former demanded more during earlier years whereas the latter demanded more as they became older. Hence, the variations in clothing expenditures by age groups had little or no effect upon the averages for all sons and all daughters within a specified tenure classification. The pattern of expenditures for both parents and children of each tenure group in the open country followed trends almost identical to those for both residence groups irrespective of tenure. For all age groups the owners spent more than the renters and the renters spent more than the croppers (Fig. 5).

#### Health, Births, and Deaths

Although in recent years the availability of medical facilities and services has increased very greatly, the farm family yet remains at a comparative disadvantage in its ability to command such services. The disadvantage may not be due entirely to lower income, but perhaps more directly to the isolation of the farmer. For a long time this isolation made it almost imperative that the family rely upon its own devices to cope with health problems. Consequently, a culture developed among rural people which was somewhat independent of professional or trained advice.

Open-country farm families in 6 counties of Virginia reported an average of \$49 for all expenditures related to births, deaths, and the maintenance of health, but the town family spent \$12 more for the same purposes (Table 25). 49/ Although there was relatively little difference in the

49/ There was comparatively little difference in the distribution of health expenditures by the rural and urban families among the principal items included in the category. The former allocated 39 percent, or 1 percent more than the urban families, for services of a physician. The only significant difference was in the proportion allocated to raw drugs. Logically, the farm families devoted more to this purpose than the urban group.



Table 25.- Average expenditure per family for health, births, and deaths, and percentage that these items were of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Total	6 selected counties					
		1/ Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward	Rock- bridge	Wythe

Average amount:

Open country	\$49.0	\$54.5	\$43.8	\$58.7	\$50.2	\$48.3	\$42.6
Owners	54.9	58.5	51.6	67.9	57.2	57.1	44.0
Renters	41.1	37.4	37.1	51.0	43.5	27.5	47.1
Croppers <u>2/</u>	26.2	50.3	17.7	18.9	32.1	16.4	24.6
Town	61.1	72.4	40.1	63.3	65.7	70.6	59.2
Owners	73.6	80.7	54.7	103.1	71.6	79.7	61.0
Renters	51.1	69.9	35.3	34.7	60.7	62.1	57.8

Percentage of total:

Open country	4.3	4.3	4.0	4.9	5.0	4.3	4.3
Owners	4.4	4.4	4.1	5.0	5.1	4.7	4.1
Renters	4.3	3.6	4.0	4.9	5.1	3.0	5.3
Croppers <u>2/</u>	3.6	4.3	2.9	3.1	4.5	2.2	3.6
Town	4.6	5.3	3.4	5.2	4.1	4.7	5.1
Owners	4.7	5.3	3.1	7.1	3.8	4.9	4.8
Renters	4.4	5.5	3.5	3.3	4.6	4.5	5.5

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

proportion of the total budget that the various tenure groups allocated to this category of expenditures, there were pronounced variations in the amount spent per family. Farm owners spent an average of \$55, or \$14 more than the renters and more than twice the amount reported by the croppers. Per-capita expenditures for the maintenance of health emphasize differences between the tenure groups. For each member of the family the farm owner spent \$14, the renter \$9, and the cropper \$6 (Table 61). These expenditures were greater than those reported by the farm families in the more sparsely settled Appalachian Mountain region, 50/ but were much less than those of the urban owner and renter families in Virginia who reported a per-capita expenditure of \$24 and \$13 respectively.

As evidenced by the proportion of the total budget set aside for this purpose, there was relatively little difference in the emphasis or importance of health expenditures to the farm and urban families. That

50/ See Loomis, C. F., and Dodson, L. S., op. cit.

is, the farm family allotted 4.3 percent of the total budget to health, births, and deaths as compared with 4.6 percent for the urban families. Differences in the total value of living, however, resulted in a lower expenditure by the open-country group. In addition to the smaller expenditure, it is also generally true that the open-country family must pay more for medical services than the urban family. Thus the farm family expends less and, because of the higher cost, may not secure as much professional service for the amount spent as does the town family.

Expenditures for health, births, and deaths by the farm families in the individual counties ranged from \$43 in Wythe County to \$59 for those in Nansemond (Table 25). Although there was no great difference between the expenditures in the various counties, the families in the mountain and tobacco counties reported smaller expenditures than those in Culpeper and Nansemond. Generally, in all counties the owners and renters allocated about the same proportion of the total budget to this group of expenditures which, with the exception of those in Culpeper, was greater than the proportion the croppers allotted for health, births, and deaths. Again, in all counties but Halifax the urban group reported expenditures for health, births, and deaths that were larger than those of the rural group. Moreover, it should be noted that in one-half the counties the difference between the amounts expended by the urban owners and the urban renters for health purposes was much greater than the difference between the expenditures of farm owners and renters.

#### Health, Births, and Deaths, by Value-of-Living Groups

For all residence and tenure groups there was a positive relationship between the total value of family living and the amount expended for health, births, and deaths. Open-country families with a total value of living of less than \$500 spent \$10 for this purpose, while those with a total of \$2,000 reported \$125 (Table 26). The range in the amounts spent by the urban families was even wider - from \$10 by those with the lowest value of living to \$155 by those with a total value of living greater than \$2,000. Although it has been suggested that the farm family would spend less than the urban for health purposes, it was only for those families with a total value of living of more than \$1,000 that this difference appeared significant. Actually the less well-to-do farm owners and renters reported higher expenditures of this type than the urban owners with a similar value of living. Under the assumption that the amount spent may supply some indication of the extent to which families avail themselves of medical services, it appears that health problems were not confined to the rural areas but were also decidedly prevalent among the low-income urban groups. Within the farm group there was relatively little difference in the amounts expended for health, births, and deaths by the families in the various tenure groups with a total value of living of less than \$2,000. However, farm renters under this level spent slightly more than the owners.

As the level of living increased, a greater proportion of the family budget was devoted to this category, with the one exception that farm renter

Table 26.- Average expenditure per family for health, births, and deaths, and percentage that these expenditures were of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	: All : : families :	Value-of-living groups			
		: Under : : \$500 :	: \$500- : : \$999 :	: \$1,000- : : \$1,999 :	: \$2,000 : : and over
Average amount:					
Open country	\$49.0	\$10.3	\$24.2	\$56.9	\$124.6
Owners	54.9	10.8	23.9	57.0	128.7
Renters	41.1	11.7	26.4	58.2	78.1
Croppers	26.2	8.5	21.0	51.4	-
Town	61.1	9.7	25.1	66.5	154.6
Owners	73.6	7.8	26.1	71.6	154.3
Renters	51.1	12.1	24.6	62.9	155.3
Percentage of total:					
Open country	4.3	2.9	3.6	4.5	4.8
Owners	4.4	3.1	3.5	4.5	4.9
Renters	4.3	3.2	3.9	4.8	3.6
Croppers	3.6	2.4	3.3	4.3	-
Town	4.6	2.7	3.3	4.8	5.2
Owners	4.7	2.2	3.5	5.0	5.0
Renters	4.4	3.3	3.3	4.6	5.6

in the highest value-of-living group reported a proportion slightly lower than that reported by farm renters with total values ranging from \$500 to \$999. In most instances the proportions ranged from about 3 percent for the poorest families to approximately 5 percent for the relatively well-to-do families.

#### Health, Births, and Deaths, by Size of Family

The larger family with more children should necessitate greater health expenditures, yet for the families included in this study there was no consistent relationship between such expenditures and the size of the family. Actually, in most of the residence and tenure classes there was relatively little difference in the amounts spent by the three family-size groups. The farm families with from 3 to 5 persons reported larger expenditures for health purposes than either the smaller or larger families, but those with 5 or more individuals spent less for health maintenance than the families with less than 3 persons (Table 27). In the urban group the families with less than 3 resident members also reported a greater expenditure than families with more members. In the individual tenure group the pattern of health expenditures as related to the size of the family

Table 27.- Average expenditure per family for health, births, and deaths, and percentage that these expenditures were of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
<b>Average amount:</b>				
Open country	\$49.0	\$45.9	\$56.6	\$44.2
Owners	54.9	48.7	67.2	47.9
Renters	41.1	43.4	40.2	40.9
Croppers	26.2	18.1	20.8	32.9
Town	61.1	60.2	61.7	61.4
Owners	73.3	76.0	70.9	73.8
Renters	51.1	41.7	54.5	56.3
<b>Percentage of total:</b>				
Open country	4.3	4.6	4.9	3.7
Owners	4.4	4.5	5.1	3.6
Renters	4.3	5.7	4.4	3.9
Croppers	3.6	3.7	3.4	3.7
Town	4.6	5.1	4.1	4.8
Owners	4.7	5.9	3.9	4.5
Renters	4.4	5.5	4.5	4.9

varied and only in the cropper and urban renter groups did expenditures increase with an increase in the size of the family.

The proportion of the total budget allocated by the various residence and tenure groups to the category of health expenditures also varied and failed to show any consistent relationship with the size of family. Farm renters decreased the proportion allocated to this purpose as the size of the family increased; urban renters reported an opposite tendency; and farm croppers in each group devoted about the same proportion of the total to health expenditures. The proportions thus allotted by owners were very erratic; in the open country the owner families of medium size allocated a higher proportion (5 percent), and in the towns a lower proportion (4 percent), than those with less than 3 or more than 5 members.

#### Health, Births, and Deaths, by Family Life Cycle

The characteristics of the families in the various periods of the family history imply a definite relationship between the life cycle and the expenditures for health, births, and deaths. Perhaps the greatest expenditures for health should be made when the families are young and the number

of births is large, or perhaps when the families are older and the parents are approaching the infirmities of old age. However, for the groups included in this study there was no consistent relationship between the stage of the life cycle in which the families were classified and the period of greatest expenditures for health, births, and deaths (Table 62).

Farm owners in the first and fourth stages of the life cycle expended about the same for this purpose, an amount higher than that of the other two stages. These two stages in which the highest expenditures were made represent the two extremes, the first in which the families were young and a greater number of the births occurred; and the final stage in which the parents were approaching old age. Highest expenditures for the farm renters were recorded by those families formed from 10 to 19 years, while the greatest expenditures for urban families of the same tenure classification were reported by those in the last stage of the life cycle. For the remaining groups, urban owners and farm croppers, the relationship of health expenditures to the family life cycle was identical with that of the total value of living.

#### Advancement

In order to account for expenditures for formal education, social participation and recreation, and current reading material, the category of advancement has been included in the analysis of the family budget. The term advancement is an arbitrary designation because no effort is made to measure the extent to which such expenditures do contribute to the advancement of the family. Largely, the items included in this group do not represent the purchase of material goods, but are more often expenditures for purposes which imply psychic satisfactions for the individuals. For those primarily interested in the non-material aspects of family living, advancement expenditures are of major importance. To them, raising the cultural attainments and increasing the participation of the individual in group and community activities constitute the first step in the improvement of the level of living of a group of people.

#### Advancement, by Residence and Tenure

The scattered settlement of families in rural areas has not encouraged the rapid growth of organized social activities, recreational, and educational facilities that occurred in the urban areas. Absence of such facilities has long limited the participation of the rural family as compared with the urban. The farm family in Virginia spent an average of \$45, or about 4 percent of the total budget, for advancement purposes (Table 28). About one-half of this amount was spent for social participation and recreation, which included dues, contributions, admissions to movies, theaters, and entertainment. Approximately \$17 was relegated to the purchase of school books, supplies, and payment of tuition, and the remaining \$5 was used to buy current reading material.<sup>51/</sup> The urban families,

<sup>51/</sup> Approximately 48.2 percent of the families reported no magazine in the home and 33.6 percent did not subscribe to a current newspaper. See p.106.

Table 28.- Average expenditure per family for advancement, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	:	Total	6 selected counties					
			:	:	:	:	:	:

Average amount:

Open country	\$45.2	\$52.7	\$40.7	\$55.4	\$42.0	\$42.2	\$30.0
Owners	56.5	62.0	54.5	71.6	54.9	51.1	34.0
Renters	24.3	22.3	26.1	33.3	20.2	20.9	19.2
Croppers <u>2/</u>	13.9	25.2	11.9	11.7	15.2	11.3	12.9
Town	77.7	80.7	68.7	65.1	115.9	97.8	45.4
Owners	106.3	115.0	143.9	86.3	140.8	132.0	46.7
Renters	55.0	51.8	45.0	50.5	94.1	65.8	45.1

Percentage of total:

Open country	4.0	4.1	3.7	4.6	4.1	3.8	3.0
Owners	4.5	4.6	4.3	5.3	4.9	4.2	3.2
Renters	2.5	2.2	2.8	3.2	2.4	2.2	2.2
Croppers <u>2/</u>	2.0	2.2	1.9	1.9	2.2	1.5	1.9
Town	5.8	5.9	5.8	5.4	7.3	6.5	3.9
Owners	6.8	7.4	8.1	6.0	7.4	8.1	5.7
Renters	4.7	4.0	4.5	4.9	7.1	4.7	4.3

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

with easily accessible recreational facilities, well organized activities, and advanced schools expended an average of \$78 for advancement, or about 6 percent of the total family-living budget. More than one-half of this amount was spent for social participation and recreation, \$23 for education, and \$10 for reading materials.

Variations in the amount expended for advancement revealed some pronounced differences between the tenure classes of both residence groups. The farm-owner family spent an average of \$57 for such items, as compared with \$24 for the renters and \$14 for the croppers. Thus, while the owners spent relatively small amounts per family for advancement, farm tenants were limited to an even greater extent in this respect. This fact may be emphasized by a comparison of the per-capita expenditures. For each individual in the family of the farm owner such expenditures were \$14, which was two and one-half times the amount expended in the renter family and four and one-half times that reported by the croppers (Table 61). There was also a significant difference in the proportion of the total budget allocated to this purpose by the various tenure groups. Farm croppers and

renters allocated only about 2 percent, whereas the proportion was almost 5 percent for the owners, and even in the urban group the contrast was almost as sharp. The town owners spent \$106 for advancement whereas the urban renter expended only \$55.

County differences in respect to the amount spent for advancement purposes were pronounced, especially in the urban group. The highest amount expended for advancement purposes by the open-county families was reported by those in Nansemond County while those in Wythe County expended the smallest amount. Advancement expenditures of the croppers were small and there was less variation in the expenditures of this group between the individual counties than the other tenure groups.

Urban families in Wythe spent an average of \$45 while those in Prince Edward reported an expenditure of \$116. In the counties of Rockbridge, Culpeper, Halifax, and Prince Edward there was perhaps no other category of family-living goods in which there was so much evidence of difference between the urban owners and renters as in the amounts expended for advancement purposes.

#### Advancement, by Value-of-Living Groups

As evidenced by the relationship with the total value of living, the demand for advancement goods was very elastic. In the lower value groups such expenditures were of necessity limited and only a very small proportion of the total was allocated to this purpose, but as the income and total value of living increased, the proportions increased greatly for all families (Table 29).

Advancement expenditures of the farm family with a total value of living of less than \$500 were \$6, while those in the highest value group reported an average of \$165. Such expenditures for the urban families increased from \$8 in the lowest value group to \$257 for those families with a total value of \$2,000 or more. Again there was relatively little difference between the poorest farm and urban groups. But as the total value increased disparities became more manifest; for example, farm owners with a total value of living of \$2,000 or more spent \$174 for advancement while town owners in the same group spent \$278.

With the exception of the urban tenants, each of the residence and tenure groups reported that from 50 to 55 percent of the total advancement expenditures were made for social participation and recreation. The proportion allocated for educational purposes varied from 22 percent for the urban tenants to 40 percent for the farm owners. Although the amounts expended for the items of advancement increased with the total value of living, the proportion each was of the total advancement expenditures varied somewhat erratically. Expenditures for education represented a larger proportion of advancement goods for both open-country and town families as the value of living increased, and those for reading materials constituted a smaller proportion. But while the proportion allocated to social participation tended to show an inverse relationship with total value of living for the farm

Table 29.- Average expenditure per family for advancement, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Value-of-living groups			
		Under \$500	\$500- \$999	\$1,000- \$1,999	\$2,000 and over
<b>Average amount:</b>					
Open country	\$45.2	\$6.2	\$15.2	\$45.2	\$165.3
Owners	56.5	7.4	17.1	49.7	173.7
Renters	24.3	4.3	13.2	35.1	70.1
Croppers	13.9	5.0	10.6	28.2	-
Town	77.7	8.3	24.9	66.1	256.9
Owners	106.3	8.0	27.8	71.1	278.4
Renters	55.0	3.8	23.5	62.7	206.9
<b>Percentage of total:</b>					
Open country	4.0	1.7	2.2	3.6	6.4
Owners	4.5	2.1	2.4	3.9	6.6
Renters	2.5	1.2	1.9	2.9	3.2
Croppers	2.0	1.5	1.7	2.3	-
Town	5.8	2.3	3.3	4.8	8.6
Owners	6.8	2.2	3.7	4.9	9.0
Renters	4.7	2.4	3.1	4.6	7.5

families, a direct relationship tended to exist for the town families.

The distribution of advancement expenditures among the various items varied so within the tenure groups that generalizations would be without basis. It did appear, however, that as income or total value of living increased, expenditures for education received major emphasis, a larger proportion of the advancement expenditures being allocated to that purpose at the possible expense of current reading material. Among the open-country families a still smaller proportion was allocated to social participation and recreation in order that more could be spent for educational purposes.

#### Advancement, by Size of Family

As in expenditures for health, there was no consistent trend among the various tenure groups when advancement expenditures were related to size of family. Primarily, the larger family places a greater strain upon the family budget because of its greater demand for goods to meet its physiological requirements. When the total value of living is low in relation to the size of the family, advancement expenditures would possibly be among



the first curtailed. The absence of consistent trends among advancement expenditures may emphasize the elasticity of such expenditures. In both open country and towns the families with less than 3 members allocated a larger proportion to this category than the families with 5 or more persons. Among the owners in both residence groups the highest expenditures were made by the families of medium size. Renters and croppers in the farm group with very low expenditures for advancement in any case, expended increasing amounts as the size of the family increased, while the urban renters reported an opposite tendency (Table 30).

Table 30.- Average expenditure per family for advancement, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
<b>Average amount:</b>				
Open country	\$45.2	\$41.8	\$50.4	\$42.7
Owners	56.5	46.9	64.8	54.9
Renters	24.3	16.7	23.9	27.5
Croppers	13.9	8.4	11.9	17.4
Town	77.7	83.3	81.7	61.3
Owners	106.3	101.4	118.7	87.0
Renters	55.0	62.2	52.9	51.0
<b>Percentage of total:</b>				
Open country	4.0	4.0	4.3	3.6
Owners	4.5	4.4	4.9	4.2
Renters	2.5	2.2	2.6	2.7
Croppers	2.0	1.7	2.0	2.0
Town	5.8	7.0	5.4	4.8
Owners	6.8	7.9	6.5	5.3
Renters	4.7	5.8	4.3	4.5

#### Advancement, by Family Life Cycle

Expenditures by the families for social participation, recreation, education, and reading had the same relationship to the family life cycle as the total value of living. That is, as the family became older the expenditures for advancement increased up to the fourth stage of the family history, at which point they decreased as the children were leaving home (Table 62).

As, the duration of the family union lengthened, however, the relative importance of the various items encompassed in the category of ad-

vancement changed. Generally, the young families devoted a large amount of these total expenditures to social participation and recreation. As the children became older, however, more was spent for education and a lower proportion for social participation and recreation. Although the older families with more children reported larger expenditures for advancement than the younger families, it was still necessary to make some revisions in the distribution of the total among the various items of advancement. Thus, in order that more might be spent for education of the children, less was spent for recreational purposes. Current reading material also appeared of more importance to the older families.

#### Automobile

By some measures the automobile has become of such importance to the family that it might be considered an integral part of family well-being. It has reduced isolation of the farm family from the market, the facilities and organizations of the urban areas, and relationships with other families. Frequently, a second-hand automobile, the first convenience the family secures, is maintained at the expense of some of the "necessities" of living. In some areas this tends to be more prevalent than in others, particularly in sparsely settled sections where the family car or truck is a near-necessity. Moreover, in some cases automobiles have encouraged part-time farming because the family may live in the rural area while engaging in industrial employment. For the urban family, the family car may represent evidence of the status of the family and in some cases would be classified as conspicuous consumption.

#### Automobile Expenditures, by Residence and Tenure

The significance of the automobile to the farm families in Virginia may be indicated by the average expenditure of \$118 which represented 11 percent of the total value of living (Table 31). <sup>52/</sup> In both proportion and amount this exceeded values for clothing and for health and advancement expenditures combined. The urban families spent \$114, or 9 percent of the total budget, for the upkeep and maintenance of an automobile. The farm owners allocated 11 percent of the budget to the family automobile, or 2 percent more than the town families and farm renters and 4 percent more than the cropper families.

Approximately 57 percent of the farm families reported an automobile and the average expenditure for those families who owned one was approximately \$207. In Wythe County 45 percent of the farm families owned an automobile while the highest proportion, 63 percent, was recorded in Culpeper and Mansemond Counties. The family automobiles varied from a relatively few new cars to a greater number of older models. Actually, a slightly greater proportion of the cars owned by farm families were models of 1929 or earlier.

The lowest expenditures for automobiles by the farm operators were made by those in the three western counties, while the counties in which

<sup>52/</sup> Expenses for automobiles apply only to a car; no expenses incurred for operation of a truck have been included. See appendix, Methodological Note.

Table 31.- Average expenditure per family for automobile, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties						
	Total	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Prince Edward	Rockbridge	Wythe
Average amount:							
Open country	\$118.1	\$ 98.1	\$155.4	\$140.4	\$109.3	\$ 98.7	\$ 85.2
Owners	138.5	102.7	193.6	175.2	135.8	107.6	103.8
Renters	87.2	60.0	118.4	102.1	69.2	84.7	34.8
Croppers <sup>2/</sup>	46.6	162.8	52.4	16.9	50.4	48.4	10.9
Town	113.5	134.5	108.7	80.1	180.7	100.8	86.6
Owners	142.1	142.1	235.8	100.9	183.6	115.8	107.3
Renters	90.8	135.9	68.6	66.5	178.3	86.8	62.7
Percentage of total:							
Open country	10.5	7.7	14.2	11.8	10.9	8.8	8.4
Owners	11.1	7.7	15.4	13.0	12.1	8.8	9.6
Renters	9.2	5.8	12.6	9.7	8.1	9.4	3.9
Croppers <sup>2/</sup>	6.5	13.8	8.5	2.8	7.1	6.3	1.6
Town	8.5	9.8	9.1	6.6	11.3	6.7	7.5
Owners	9.1	9.2	13.2	7.0	9.7	7.0	8.4
Renters	7.9	10.7	6.8	6.3	13.3	6.3	6.0

<sup>1/</sup> Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied,  
<sup>2/</sup> See footnote 16, p. 14.

a one-crop type of farming was more prevalent reported the highest expenditures. Among the various tenure groups the same was true, with the exception that tenants in Rockbridge County expended more than did tenants in Nansemond, and croppers in Culpeper reported expenditures greater than those of the owners. Because of its value in transporting tobacco to market the automobile is particularly important to the family in the tobacco area; consequently, those families tended to allocate a relatively large proportion of the budget to such a conveyance.

Automobile expenditures made by the town families varied from \$87 per family in Wythe County to \$181 for the urban families in Prince Edward. In Culpeper and Prince Edward there was comparatively little difference in this respect between owners and renters but in the other counties the owners reported much higher expenditures than the renters.

#### Automobile Expenditures, by Value-of-Living Groups

The pronounced influence of a higher level of living upon automobile expenditures was somewhat similar to that displayed when the value of housing and maintenance was related to the total value of living. In all groups the families with a total value of living of less than \$500 reported

only a few dollars for automobile expenditures, but farm and town families with a value of living of more than \$2,000 expended \$420 and \$412 respectively (Table 32). The importance of the automobile to the farm family may be emphasized by the fact that in all value groups the open-country families spent more and allocated a higher proportion of the total to this purpose than did the town families in corresponding groups. It should be noted that farm families in all tenure groups classified by value of living, including even the renters and croppers, tended to show higher expenditures than the town families.

Table 32.- Average expenditure for automobile per family, and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Value-of-living groups			
		Under \$500	\$500- \$999	\$1,000- \$1,999	\$2,000 and over
Average amount:					
Open country	\$118.1	\$3.6	\$25.5	\$136.5	\$419.9
Owners	138.5	2.8	27.2	138.3	415.9
Renters	87.2	2.9	24.3	131.4	464.7
Croppers	46.6	5.7	20.9	133.7	-
Town	113.5	1.7	22.6	96.2	411.9
Owners	142.1	2.0	20.9	79.3	413.8
Renters	90.8	1.3	23.4	107.9	407.4
Percentage of total:					
Open country	10.5	1.0	3.7	10.9	16.2
Owners	11.1	.8	3.9	10.8	15.8
Renters	9.2	.8	3.6	10.9	21.2
Croppers	6.5	1.6	3.3	11.1	-
Town	8.5	.5	3.0	6.9	13.8
Owners	9.1	.6	2.8	5.5	13.4
Renters	7.9	.4	3.1	7.9	14.8

That the farmer does purchase an automobile as soon as income permits, or perhaps even at the expense of other items in the family budget, may be partially substantiated by the fact that the farm families with a value of living of less than \$500 allocated 1 percent of the total to automobiles, while those in the highest value groups allocated 16 percent to that purpose. Although the tenants had less cash available, there was relatively little difference in the proportion of the total budget allocated to the automobile by each of the three open-country tenure groups in all value groups except the highest. Among the owners and renters in the urban groups with a level of living of less than \$1,000 there was

little difference in the proportion allocated to the automobile, but for those above this point the renters devoted a higher proportion of the budget to this purpose than did the owners. This may be considered as an added effort on the part of renters to compensate for non-ownership of the home.

Automobile, by Size of Family

Both open-country and town families with from 3 to 5 persons reported automobile expenditures that were somewhat higher than those of the other family-size groups, but within the residence groups the relationship was very erratic. Expenditures by the farm owners and renters followed the same pattern as that for all families combined, while automobile expenditures by the croppers increased as the size of family increased. Owner families in the urban areas also reported increasing expenditures in the larger families, while the urban renters followed the same tendency as did farm owners and renters (Table 33).

Table 33.- Average expenditure for automobile per family and percentage this item was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
<b>Average amount:</b>				
Open country	\$118.1	\$125.1	\$125.8	\$105.6
Owners	138.5	138.7	148.6	127.2
Renters	87.2	93.7	96.4	77.3
Croppers	46.6	28.6	33.0	62.6
Town	113.5	101.5	133.8	96.5
Owners	142.1	103.5	171.3	180.6
Renters	90.8	99.1	104.5	62.4
<b>Percentage of total:</b>				
Open country	10.5	12.1	10.8	8.9
Owners	11.1	12.3	11.2	9.6
Renters	9.2	12.4	10.5	7.5
Croppers	6.5	5.8	5.5	7.1
Town	8.5	8.6	9.0	7.5
Owners	9.1	8.1	9.3	11.1
Renters	7.9	9.3	8.5	5.5

The proportion of the total budget allocated to the automobile by the various family-size groups assumed varying patterns. Larger families, except among the croppers and the urban owners, devoted a smaller proportion of the total to the automobile than did the smaller families. Both

the exceptional groups tended to increase the proportion allocated to automobile maintenance as the size of the family increased.

Relationship of automobile expenditures to the various stages of the family life cycle was not so positive as that which existed for some of the other family-living categories. Open-country owners who had been married less than 10 years spent more for the family automobile than did those in the other life-cycle stages (Table 62). In the two middle stages of the life cycle farm renters reported amounts (\$102 and \$103) that were more than either the younger or the older marriage groups spent for this purpose. The croppers, however, reported amounts that increased through the first three stages and decreased in the fourth. Among the urban families, too, the relationship was erratic, although there was a general tendency for the families to increase expenditures for automobiles during the first stages and to decrease them in the final stage.

Incidentals

The category "Incidentals" includes toilet articles, personal care, tobacco, gifts for persons outside the family, beverages, candy, and

Table 34.- Average expenditure per family for "incidentals," and percentage this was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	6 selected counties						
	Total	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward	Rockbridge	Wythe
Average amount:							
Open country	\$40.7	\$54.1	\$36.3	\$40.5	\$31.7	\$34.2	\$41.7
Owners	43.8	54.2	41.5	43.8	33.1	35.6	44.1
Renters	36.7	52.6	31.3	39.6	35.7	38.6	33.7
Croppers <sup>2/</sup>	28.1	58.8	22.3	20.7	24.4	28.7	34.2
Town	67.2	69.4	57.1	52.4	83.3	53.5	89.2
Owners	74.4	73.1	83.0	62.9	84.4	44.3	96.3
Renters	61.5	70.1	49.0	45.2	82.3	62.1	82.7
Percentage of total:							
Open country	3.6	4.3	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.0	4.1
Owners	3.5	4.1	3.3	3.3	2.9	2.7	4.1
Renters	3.9	5.1	3.3	3.8	4.2	4.3	3.8
Croppers <sup>2/</sup>	3.9	5.0	3.6	3.4	3.5	3.8	5.0
Town	5.0	5.2	4.8	4.3	5.2	3.6	7.7
Owners	4.8	4.8	4.7	4.3	4.4	2.7	7.6
Renters	5.3	5.5	4.8	4.3	6.2	4.5	8.0

<sup>1/</sup> Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

<sup>2/</sup> See footnote 16, p. 14.

spending money. Expenditures by the average open-country family totaled \$41 (4 percent of the total budget), which represented approximately \$10 per capita (Tables 34 and 61). The town family, on the other hand, allo-

Table 35.- Average expenditure per family for "incidentals," and percentage this was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Value-of-living groups				
	Total	Under \$500	\$500-\$999	\$1,000-\$1,999	\$2,000 and over
Average amount:					
Open country	\$40.7	\$12.4	\$23.9	\$46.1	\$92.7
Owners	43.8	10.6	22.5	45.8	93.6
Renters	36.7	11.4	23.1	47.7	82.9
Croppers	28.1	16.3	25.9	42.4	-
Town	67.2	13.0	34.2	74.0	152.8
Owners	74.4	9.4	30.9	69.2	155.2
Renters	61.5	17.6	35.8	77.3	147.4
Percentage of total:					
Open country	3.6	3.5	3.5	3.7	3.6
Owners	3.5	3.0	3.3	3.6	3.6
Renters	3.9	3.1	3.9	4.0	3.8
Croppers	3.9	4.7	4.1	3.5	-
Town	5.0	3.6	4.6	5.3	5.1
Owners	4.8	2.6	4.2	4.8	5.0
Renters	5.3	4.8	4.8	5.7	5.3

Table 36.- Average expenditure per family for "incidentals," and percentage this was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and size of family, 6 Virginia counties 1935

Item	All families	Size of family (persons)		
		Under 3	3.0 - 4.9	5 or more
Average amount:				
Open country	\$40.7	\$36.9	\$40.2	\$43.9
Owners	43.8	39.6	43.9	47.6
Renters	36.7	26.2	36.6	40.6
Croppers	28.1	26.0	22.4	32.9
Town	67.2	55.4	76.8	69.3
Owners	74.4	51.3	96.4	85.2
Renters	61.5	60.3	61.4	62.9
Percentage of total:				
Open country	3.6	3.6	3.4	3.7
Owners	3.5	3.5	3.3	3.6
Renters	3.9	3.5	4.0	3.9
Croppers	3.9	5.3	3.7	3.7
Town	5.0	4.7	5.1	5.4
Owners	4.8	4.0	5.2	5.2
Renters	5.3	5.6	5.0	5.5

cated 5 percent of the budget, which amounted to \$67 per family, or \$19 per capita - almost twice as much as the farm individual spent for such articles. The tenant families allocated a larger proportion of the total family living to incidental expenses, but the average amount expended by the owners was greater.

In all groups there was a positive correlation between the amount expended for incidental items and the total value of family living, but the increase for the town families was more pronounced than for the open-country group (Table 35). Open-country families with a total value of less than \$500 expended \$12 for incidentals while those with a value of living of \$2,000 or more expended \$93. Among the town families the range was from \$13 to \$153. In both open-country and town groups the tenants reported greater incidental expenses than the owners in the value groups of less than \$2,000. The relationship between the proportion allocated to incidentals and the total value of living was erratic and generally there was little variation in the proportions allocated by the various groups. Again, however, the non-owners tended to set aside a proportion that was greater than that of the owners.

The relationship between the size of family and the amount expended for incidental purposes varied between the various groups. The farm owners and renters showed larger expenditures as the size of the family increased, while the cropper families with 3 to 5 persons reported lower expenditures than the smaller families of less than 3 persons. Among the town renters there was comparatively little difference between the incidental expenditures of the families of various sizes, but the urban owners with from 3 to 5 persons reported expenditures which were greater than those of the other family-size groups (Table 36).

#### Other Expenditures

Usually the family incurs expenses for personal taxes, payments on mortgages and other indebtedness, and transportation other than the automobile, all of which are chargeable to family living. Such expenditures have been grouped as "other" expenditures for family living. The farm families reported an average expenditure of \$15 for items included in this category as compared with \$22 for the town families, but there was almost no difference in the proportion of the total that the two groups allocated to this purpose (Table 37).

Inasmuch as payments on mortgages and other indebtedness relevant to family living constitute the most important item in the "other" group, it is logical that owners should report larger expenditures than the tenants. Thus "other" expenditures of the farm owners were \$19, or more than twice as much as the renters expended and three times as great as those reported by the croppers. Similarly, the town owners spent \$34 for such purposes - almost three times the amount expended by the renters.



Table 37.- Average expenditure per family for items classified as "Other" and percentage this expenditure was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Total	6 selected counties					
		1/ Culpeper	Halifax	Nansomond	Edward	Rock- bridge	Wythe

Average amount:

Open country	\$15.3	\$14.4	\$11.3	\$22.4	\$13.0	\$17.2	\$ 8.4
Owners	18.9	18.1	15.6	26.0	16.2	22.2	8.3
Renters	8.5	2.3	5.5	20.4	4.2	3.2	13.7
Croppers <u>2/</u>	6.3	3.1	10.6	3.5	9.1	4.5	1.6
Town	21.8	27.2	29.0	11.7	15.7	22.6	13.4
Owners	33.7	36.1	85.7	17.7	24.2	27.0	19.3
Renters	12.5	19.8	11.1	7.4	8.3	18.4	6.3

Percentage of total:

Open country	1.4	1.1	1.0	1.9	1.3	1.5	.8
Owners	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.9	1.4	1.8	.8
Renters	.9	.2	.6	1.9	.5	.4	1.6
Croppers <u>2/</u>	.9	.3	1.7	.6	1.3	.6	.2
Town	1.6	2.0	2.4	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.2
Owners	2.2	2.3	4.8	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.5
Renters	1.1	1.6	1.1	.7	.6	1.4	.6

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

2/ See footnote 16, p. 14.

for items included in this category and the total value of living, the families under the \$1,000 level reported relatively small amounts (Table 39). For those with total values that exceeded \$1,000 such expenditures were comparatively large. For the tenants only those with a value of living of more than \$2,000 showed any sizeable amounts expended for other purposes. Surprisingly enough, the farm tenants with a value of living of more than \$2,000 spent more for this purpose than the farm owners. Generally, there was some relationship between the proportion of the total allocated to the category "Other" and the total value of living. The relationship, however, was not consistent in all value and residence groups

Town families with from 3 to 5 members reported larger expenditures for this category than the families of other sizes. In the farm group the owners and croppers reported larger expenditures for this category as the size of the family increased, but there was no such relationship for the renters (Table 39).

Table 38.- Average expenditure per family for items classified as "Other" and percentage this expenditure was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	: Total :	Value-of-living groups			
		: Under \$500 :	\$500- \$999 :	\$1,000- \$1,999 :	\$2,000 and over
Average amount:					
Open country	\$15.3	\$2.3	\$ 6.0	\$16.9	\$47.5
Owners	18.9	2.5	6.9	20.0	46.4
Renters	8.5	2.4	3.8	9.2	60.2
Croppers	6.3	1.6	6.7	9.2	-
Town	21.8	3.1	8.0	20.9	64.4
Owners	33.7	3.7	12.5	34.1	68.0
Renters	12.5	2.4	5.8	11.7	55.9
Percentage of total:					
Open country	1.4	0.6	0.9	1.3	1.8
Owners	1.5	.7	1.0	1.6	1.8
Renters	.9	.6	.6	.8	2.7
Croppers	.9	.4	1.1	.8	-
Town	1.6	.9	1.1	1.5	2.2
Owners	2.2	1.0	1.7	2.4	2.2
Renters	1.1	.7	.8	1.9	2.0

Table 39.- Average expenditure per family for items classified as "Other" and percentage this expenditure was of total value of family living, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	: All families :	Size of family (persons)		
		: Under 3 :	3.0 - 4.9 :	5 or more
Average amount:				
Open country	\$15.3	\$15.3	\$13.9	\$16.7
Owners	18.9	17.3	17.7	21.7
Renters	8.5	9.5	6.4	9.8
Croppers	6.3	4.7	5.0	7.8
Town	21.8	15.4	31.0	15.9
Owners	33.7	22.2	44.4	39.3
Renters	12.5	7.4	20.4	6.4
Percentage of total:				
Open country	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.4
Owners	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.6
Renters	.9	1.3	.7	.9
Croppers	.9	.9	.8	.9
Town	1.6	1.3	2.1	1.3
Owners	2.2	1.7	2.4	2.4
Renters	1.1	.7	1.7	.6

### Chapter III

#### CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

Up to this point the analysis of the level of living of white families in six counties of Virginia has been concerned primarily with the monetary value of goods and services consumed for family living, and no specific attention has been devoted to total cash receipts. Obviously, cash receipts are not the sole criterion of family living, but they do limit expenditures for family-living purposes. The farm family must draw heavily upon its total income for farm operation, and all families - whether farm or non-farm - tend to save some money as a cushion against future contingencies. It is, therefore, significant to consider the distribution of the total cash among the major expenditure items - in other words, to relate the individual segments to the complete financial status of the family.

#### Cash Receipts

The diversity of Virginia farming may be further indicated by the range in gross cash receipts. <sup>53/</sup> There are farm families who have limited funds available and who might correctly be considered as being at or below the poverty line. Similarly, there are farm families at the extreme top of the scale. One farm owner included in the study reported gross receipts of \$80 for the year while another reported \$11,583 for the same period. In the tenant group, however, the variation was not so widespread, ranging from \$120 to \$2,800.

The average amount of cash receipts for the farm families studied was \$1,052, of which 60 percent accrued from the sale of farm products and 23 percent from the wages of the operator or of some other member of the resident family (Table 40). Cash receipts for the town families amounted to \$1,312, of which 70 percent came from wages. Of additional interest is the fact that the town families received 25 percent of the cash receipts from "other sources," <sup>54/</sup> principally business operations, as compared with 14 percent for the farm families.

Although cash relief has been included, it actually constitutes a very small proportion of the total receipts. Only 8 farm families and 6

<sup>53/</sup> Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the usual concept of income inasmuch as borrowings and cash relief have been included. However, the composition of the tables enables a deduction of these items if desired.

<sup>54/</sup> Other receipts comprise income from people not living in the family, net profits from other than farm business, from farms rented to others or real property, income from monetary legacies, gifts, interest on dividends, insurance, boarders, borrowings, relief, net income from personal property, and all other cash receipts.

Table 40.- Principal sources of cash receipts <sup>1/</sup> and principal items of disbursements, average amounts and percentage distribution, by tenure and residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Average amounts:							
Total cash receipts <sup>2/</sup>	\$1,052	\$1,221	\$787	\$480	\$1,312	\$1,513	\$1,152
Sale of products	632	731	451	357	11	21	3
Wages	240	263	241	82	922	869	963
Other <sup>3/</sup>	150	189	78	35	330	524	176
Funds from reserve <sup>4/</sup>	30	38	17	6	49	99	10
Total disbursements <sup>2/</sup>	1,074	1,256	779	480	1,368	1,597	1,135
Family living	646	728	525	348	1,148	1,272	1,049
Farm operation	297	372	166	75	19	25	14
Investments	102	119	79	36	169	258	97
Funds into reserve <sup>5/</sup>	29	37	9	21	32	42	25
Percentages:							
Total cash receipts	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sale of products	60	60	57	75	1	1	-
Wages	23	22	31	17	70	57	84
Other <sup>3/</sup>	14	15	10	7	25	35	15
Funds from reserve <sup>4/</sup>	3	3	2	1	4	7	1
Total disbursements	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Family living	60	58	68	73	84	80	89
Farm operation	28	30	21	16	2	1	1
Investments	9	9	10	7	12	16	8
Funds into reserve <sup>5/</sup>	3	3	1	4	2	3	2

<sup>1/</sup> Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the usual concept of cash income inasmuch as borrowings and cash relief have been included.

<sup>2/</sup> Cash receipts and funds from reserve should equal cash expenditures and funds into reserve. The small discrepancies are due to the errors of the family in making estimates. Discrepancies of more than 10 percent were either rechecked and corrected or the schedules unused.

<sup>3/</sup> Income from boarders, relief, persons not members of the resident family, profit from non-farm operations, borrowings, and other cash receipts.

<sup>4/</sup> "Funds from reserve" represents decreases in checking accounts and cash on hand at the end, as compared with the beginning, of the schedule year.

<sup>5/</sup> "Funds into reserve" represents the amount by which checking accounts and

urban families in this study reported cash relief. <sup>55/</sup> Five percent of both rural and urban families reported work relief, but funds accruing from this source were classified as wages rather than as cash relief. Farm families who were recipients of cash relief showed an average of \$33 while the average for the town families was \$181.

There was relatively little difference between the owners and the renters in the proportion of cash receipts accruing from the sale of farm products; the former received 60 percent and the latter 57 percent from this source. The croppers, however, received three-fourths of all cash receipts from farm operation. In accordance with the terms of the tenure relationship the cropper must devote most of his time to farm operation, usually under direct supervision, in order to realize a return from his efforts; thus, only 17 percent (a much lower figure than that for the two remaining tenure groups) of the cash receipts of the croppers was classified as wages.

In the urban areas the families living in rented dwellings depended upon wages for a greater proportion of the cash receipts than did those who owned their homes. As indicated by the sources of cash receipts, the owners were more dependent upon the returns from personal business enterprises than the renters; also, the owners had greater returns from property or other investments.

As farm operation may be either intensive or extensive, depending upon the type of farming, the most efficient size of the unit obviously will vary. But for the families studied in Virginia there appeared to be a point in farm size at which farming, as such, seemed to be of major importance in the wealth-getting functions of the family (judging by the proportion of the cash receipts that resulted from the sale of farm products). Those who were classified as owners and lived on units of less than 20 acres were not so dependent upon farm operation (again judging by the criterion of the proportion of total cash receipts that accrued from the sale of farm products) as were those on larger acreages. Families with less than 20 acres might include a number of part-time operators since only those owners with 50 or more acres received 50 percent or more of the cash receipts from the sale of products. In the tenant group the division was somewhat lower since those with from 10 to 19 acres reported 50 percent of the total receipts as having accrued from the sale of farm products (Table 64).

When cash receipts were considered on the basis of the size of farm, the relationship was comparable to that existing between size of farm and total value of living. A graphic curve showing the total cash receipts by size of farm would slope downward from the families residing on less than

<sup>55/</sup> The proportion of families on relief in the entire State during 1935 was much higher than indicated by this sample. For complete reports on relief in Virginia, see reports of the rural relief series prepared by the Works Progress Administration of Virginia.

3 acres to those operating less than 20 acres, after which point there would be a sharp increase in cash receipts as the size of the farm increased. This may substantiate the assumption made previously that the open-country people, admitting some exceptions, residing on the very small units were largely part-time farmers. On the basis of the proportion of the total cash receipts accruing from wages and other sources, it appeared that owners with less than 3 acres were somewhat more dependent upon farm operations than those who rented a farm of similar size. Moreover, about 6 percent of the owners and 13 percent of the renters reported no income from the sale of farm products. Above the point at which it might be assumed that full-time farming had begun, there was less dependence upon non-farm income as the size of the unit increased. In addition, after this point the tenants were more dependent upon farm operations than the owners, for on all farms above 10 acres the tenants secured a much greater proportion of available cash from the sale of products than did the owners.

For both the owners and the tenants cash receipts from such other sources as borrowings, boarders, and relief were not significant. Of course, not all families had receipts from these sources, but the relative independence may be indicated by an average of \$1 borrowed, the same amount realized from boarders, and nothing from relief (Table 63). <sup>56/</sup>

#### Disbursements

Obviously, a relatively large proportion of the available cash receipts of the family would be devoted to maintaining or increasing the level of living. In respect to the distribution of the available cash among the items of expenditures, the contrast between the urban and the rural family was significant. While the wage-earning family in town can usually devote all receipts to family living, either for present or future consumption, the farm family must devote a sizeable proportion to the operation of the farm. Thus about 96 percent of the cash receipts of the urban families was allocated to family living or some form of investment (Table 40). For the open-country families this proportion was only 69, inasmuch as 28 percent of the cash receipts was spent for farm operation from which about two-thirds of the cash receipts was secured.

Because of the economic difference a comparison between the rural and the urban family (assuming equal incomes) on the basis of the proportion of the total income allocated to family living might readily lead to the assumption that the urban family had attained a higher level of living than the farm family. Such a comparison must be avoided, however. Although the farmer must allocate a large proportion to farm operation, he has the advantage of being able to furnish a large proportion of the family-living goods, whereas the urbanite must depend primarily upon cash purchases.

<sup>56/</sup> Some families received cash relief but the proportion and the amount were too small to be reflected in the average for all families.

The farm owners allocated 58 percent of the total receipts to family living, while the renters and the croppers devoted 68 and 73 percent respectively to the same purpose. When the proportions allocated to family living and to farm operation were combined, there was almost no difference between the totals for the three tenure groups because the owners logically allocated more to farm operation than did the non-owners. In the urban group the owners, with larger total receipts, allocated a slightly lower proportion to family living but more to investments than did the renters.

### Savings and Investments

Perhaps because of the difficulties involved in defining the category and securing relevant data, savings and investments of the families are often given relatively little consideration in the analysis of the level of living. To determine accurately the amount of savings of the individual family would necessitate a detailed study of inventory and change in net worth from year to year which is often considered beyond the scope of the level-of-living study. Although savings and investments are not entirely indicative of how well the family may have actually lived, the tendency to set aside a portion of current income represents an effort to attain security and the possibility of a higher level of living. In almost all family groups some form of deferred spending prevails; even those families at the lower margin of existence as well as those on the higher planes of living make some effort to provide a cushion against future contingencies or emergencies. The saving behavior of various groups in attempting to assure some degree of economic stability assumes different aspects. For some, insurance takes priority over other forms. Others invest in stocks and bonds while some prefer investments in intangible assets. For all, reserves impart a feeling of security that is not measured entirely in terms of dollars and cents.

The Virginia town families with greater cash receipts invested 12 percent of the total cash receipts, or 3 percent more than did the farm families (Table 41). The town families reported an average investment of \$169, exclusive of funds placed in reserve or payments on mortgages and other indebtedness, as compared with \$102 for the farm family. In both residence groups savings accounts were the most important form of investment and even more important to the rural than to the urban family since about 57 percent of the farm investments and 43 percent of the urban investments were of this type. Next in importance in the various types of investments was insurance, an item which represented 23 and 30 percent of the total investments of the rural and the urban families respectively. Insurance in both residence areas ranged from burial insurance with its small weekly payments to the large life-insurance policies.

Urban families reported an average of \$45 for other investments as compared with \$20 for those of the rural areas. For the town families this represented over one-fourth of the total investments. Stocks and bonds, which are included in the category "Other," were more frequently

Table 41.- Average amounts of specified investments and percentage each was of total, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Average amounts:							
Total investments	\$101.8	\$118.7	\$79.1	\$35.8	\$168.5	\$258.3	\$97.2
Other than farm	19.9	25.5	9.4	5.1	44.5	77.9	18.0
Savings	58.3	65.4	51.0	25.3	73.2	112.2	42.2
Insurance	23.6	27.8	18.7	5.4	50.8	68.2	37.0
Payments on mortgages <sup>1/</sup>	32.7	44.8	8.0	4.1	16.9	30.7	6.0
Funds into reserve <sup>2/</sup>	29.5	37.3	9.4	21.1	32.4	41.6	25.1
Percentages:							
Total investments	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Other than farm	19.6	21.5	11.9	14.2	26.4	30.2	18.5
Savings	57.2	55.1	64.5	70.7	43.4	43.4	43.4
Insurance	23.2	23.4	23.6	15.1	30.2	26.4	38.1

<sup>1/</sup> Payments on mortgages and other debts were apportioned to family living and farm operation. (See appendix, Methodological Note.) As this amount has already been added either to family living or to farm operation, it cannot be added to investments.

<sup>2/</sup> "Funds into reserve" is the amount by which checking accounts and cash on hand were increased at the end, as compared with the beginning, of the schedule year.

used as a means of investment by the town than by the rural family.

Although payments on mortgages and other indebtedness and funds in reserve have not been included in the category of savings as such, they do represent a tendency to provide a form of economic security. Mortgage payments indicated that many families were purchasing the farm or the home, seeking to attain the status and the stability that accrue from ownership. The farmers reported an average payment of \$33, or approximately twice as much as the town families. There was relatively little difference in the amounts placed in reserve by the two residence groups.

There were some rather significant differences in the saving habits of the various tenure groups. The tenants with relatively small investments relied primarily upon readily available cash in the form of savings accounts. The owners and the renters in the open country allo-



cated approximately one-fourth of the total investments to insurance, but the croppers allocated 15 percent to insurance and 71 percent to savings and showed a relatively large amount as funds placed in reserve. The farm owners invested a larger proportion in other forms of property than the tenants and were also making larger payments on other indebtedness as well as mortgages.

In the urban area each tenure group devoted about the same proportion to savings, but renters allocated a greater proportion to insurance and less to other investments than did owners.

Chapter IV

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND MOBILITY

A study of the level of living of the families in terms of the economic value of goods and services consumed and the proportionate distribution of the total among the principal categories of family-living goods, with emphasis upon such factors as tenure, residence, size of family, and duration of marriage, leaves the analysis incomplete. Beyond the influences of these factors are family characteristics and traits that exert influence, either directly or indirectly, upon the living behavior of the family. It would be difficult to determine cause-and-effect relationships but such characteristics should be presented to show their relationship to, and possible influence upon, the level of living and the demand for family-living goods and the relative position of the various income groups.

Size of Family

That the farm family has a greater number of members than the urban family and the farm tenant a larger family than the owner is almost a platitude. Of course, consideration must be given to the fact that the tenant operators may be younger than the owners; moreover, they may be in that phase of the family life cycle which implies the presence of more children at home. Also, the necessity for a large working force on the farm becomes greater as the operator's position on the tenure scale is lowered. In Virginia the average farm family studied had 4.2 members as compared with 3.5 in the town family. Renter and cropper families were comparable in size, having 4.7 and 4.8 members respectively, while owner families had about one member less (Table 42). Surprisingly enough, owners and renters in the towns reported as great a difference in size of family as did owners and tenants in the rural group.

Table 42.- Average size of family, by residence, tenure, and county of survey, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure	Number of persons per family						
	Total	6 selected counties					
		1/ <sup>1</sup>	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Edward	Rock- bridge
Opon country	4.2	3.7	4.3	3.9	4.3	4.4	4.3
Owners	4.0	3.1	4.1	3.9	4.0	4.2	4.2
Renters	4.7	5.1	4.6	4.1	5.0	5.2	4.4
Croppers	4.8	5.4	4.1	3.7	5.0	4.6	5.1
Town	3.5	3.2	3.8	3.5	3.1	3.3	4.0
Owners	3.1	2.8	3.1	2.9	3.0	2.7	4.2
Renters	3.8	3.4	4.0	4.0	3.2	3.7	3.8

1/ Includes 158 families in other counties adjacent to those studied.

For those families with a total value of living of less than \$2,000 there was definite relationship between the value of living and the number of persons in the family; that is, as the value of living increased, the size of the family showed a similar tendency. But with the exception of farm renters the families with a total value of living of more than \$2,000 had fewer persons than those who reported \$1,000 to \$1,999. In each residence group those families theoretically on the lower rungs of the economic and social ladder had the larger families. Moreover, the relationship between the number of males of working age and the total value of family living was similar to that exhibited by the size of the family (Table 43).

Table 43.- Size of family, size of household, and males of working age per family, by residence, tenure, and value-of-living groups,  
G Virginia counties, 1935

Item	:	:	Value-of-living groups			
			: Total	: Under \$500	: \$500-\$999	: \$1,000-\$1,999
Number of persons in family:						
Open country	4.2	2.8	3.9	4.7	4.4	
Owners	4.0	2.4	3.6	4.4	4.3	
Renters	4.7	3.0	4.3	5.3	5.4	
Croppers	4.8	3.2	4.5	6.7	-	
Town	3.5	2.7	3.4	3.8	3.4	
Owners	3.1	2.7	2.7	3.5	3.3	
Renters	3.8	2.8	3.6	4.0	3.7	
Number of persons in household:						
Open country	4.7	3.0	4.2	5.2	5.4	
Owners	4.5	2.7	4.0	4.8	5.3	
Renters	5.0	3.1	4.6	5.6	6.1	
Croppers	5.1	3.6	4.7	7.2	-	
Town	3.9	2.8	3.7	4.3	4.3	
Owners	3.7	2.7	3.1	4.0	4.3	
Renters	4.1	2.9	3.8	4.4	4.2	
Number of males of working age:						
Open country	1.3	0.8	1.1	1.4	1.6	
Owners	1.3	.7	1.1	1.4	1.6	
Renters	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.5	2.2	
Croppers	1.3	1.0	1.3	1.7	-	
Town	1.1	.5	1.0	1.2	1.3	
Owners	.9	.4	.7	1.0	1.2	
Renters	1.2	.8	1.0	1.3	1.3	

### Type of Family

The families living in any given area represent many diverse types. As research has emphasized, the composition of a family has significant bearing upon its behavior, particularly in reference to the mode of living and the efforts to adjust its social and economic activities as changes within that family occur. <sup>57/</sup> Analysis of the almost rhythmic characteristics of the family life cycle has indicated the differences that may be expected from such types as those in which the parents are separated, those made up of adult members only, or those in which all the children are very young.

More than three-fourths of both open-country and town families were intact; that is, the husband and the wife were residing together (Table 44). The town families were somewhat younger than the farm group, as indicated by the fact that approximately 52 percent of the town families, as compared with 42 percent of the farm families, were intact and not complete. <sup>58/</sup>

A slightly larger proportion of the farm than of the urban families were classified as complex, or those in which one or more of the children had brought his or her spouse or offspring to live in the parental home. Here, again, may be indication that the farm can often provide, with a minimum adjustment, a livelihood for more than just the members of the primary family.

Presumably some of those who had left the home farm for other employment had returned when industrial opportunities were curtailed. But in many instances one of the children had probably remained to assume control at the death of the parents. Particularly would this be true among farm-owner groups. In the open-country sample studied, a greater proportion of the owner than of the tenant families were classified as complex. The combined efforts of the complex family resulted in a higher value of living.

As compared with farm youth, the urban offspring may be less often dependent upon his parents. As a rule he must seek outside employment, not only because he wishes to form his own home, but also because it is seldom possible for his parents to provide work for him. Moreover, the adjustment the urban family would have to make in order to provide for an offspring and his or her family may be more difficult than that which the farm family must make. Only a small proportion of complex families was found in the urban group (Table 44). As in the open country, the owners were more able than the tenants to offer a certain amount of aid to their children until they could attain some degree of security and stability.

According to the theory of the functioning of the "agricultural ladder," the young farmer usually works as a tenant for some time before acquiring his own farm. Probably during this period of tenancy he is not only learning the aspects of successful farm management but also accumulating

<sup>57/</sup> Loomis, Chas. F., Growth of Family in Relation to Its Activities, op. cit.; Anderson, V.A., Composition of Rural Households, op. cit.

<sup>58/</sup> Families classified as intact and not complete are those in which the

Table 44.- Distribution of families studied, by type of family, tenure, and residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and type of family	Total		Owners		Tenants	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Open country	1,730	100.0	1,176	100.0	554	100.0
Intact - 1/						
Not complete	727	42.1	373	31.7	354	63.9
Complete	614	35.5	481	40.9	133	24.0
Complex - 2/						
Intact	111	6.4	79	6.7	32	5.8
Broken	33	1.9	29	2.5	4	.7
Broken - 3/	120	6.9	97	8.3	23	4.2
One-member	30	1.7	26	2.2	4	.7
No substitute						
male head	62	3.6	58	4.9	4	.7
Brothers and sisters living together	33	1.9	33	2.8	-	-
Town	761	100.0	337	100.0	424	100.0
Intact - 1/						
Not complete	395	51.9	101	29.9	294	69.3
Complete	184	24.2	111	32.9	73	17.2
Complex - 2/						
Intact	25	3.3	12	3.6	13	3.1
Broken	17	2.2	11	3.3	6	1.4
Broken 3/	51	6.7	33	9.8	18	4.3
One-member	35	4.6	31	9.2	4	.9
No substitute						
male head	47	6.2	33	9.8	14	3.3
Brothers and sisters living together	7	.9	5	1.5	2	.5

1/ Families classified as intact and not complete are those in which the husband and wife are residing together and the wife is under 45 years of age.

2/ Complex families are those consisting of parents and children among whom one or more of the latter is married and has residing with him/her a spouse and/or children. Families in which the marriage union in the primary family is broken are classified as complex-broken.

3/ Broken families are those in which the husband and wife are separated during the schedule year.

funds to buy a farm of his own. 59/ That most of the farm tenants in the sample groups were relatively young is indicated by the comparative absence

59/ Taylor, Carl C., Wheeler, Helen W., and Kirkpatrick, E. L., Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, Social Research Report No. VIII, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., April 1938, p. 37.

of complex or broken families and the fact that 64 percent of the farm-tenant families (a proportion twice as large as for the owners) were classified as intact and not complete. Even in the towns a similar tendency was apparent; only 30 percent of the owners were classified as intact and incomplete families, as compared with 69 percent of the tenants. Thus, there is evidence that the young married couple in the urban center will reside in a rented home for a period just as the young farmer resides on a rented farm.

Supplementary Occupations of Farm Families

According to data pertaining to cash receipts, it was necessary for many of the rural families to seek non-agricultural employment in order to supplement farm incomes. While this applied to families on the lower level of commercial or even subsistence farming, it was especially true of those living on the poorer and smaller, or "submarginal," units which were represented in each of the counties studied.

The male heads of about one-fourth of all open-country families had some sort of supplementary employment during 1935. 60/ Approximately 23

Table 45.- Supplementary occupations of male heads of farm families, by tenure, 6 selected counties, Virginia, 1935

	Total		Owners		Tenants	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total	1,711	100.0	1,159 <u>1/</u>	100.0	522 <u>2/</u>	100.0
Professionals	12	.7	10	.9	2	.4
Proprietors	67	3.9	52	4.5	15	2.7
Clerks	39	2.3	33	2.8	6	1.1
Laborers -						
Skilled	112	6.5	83	7.2	29	5.2
Semi-skilled	34	2.0	19	1.6	15	2.7
Unskilled	173	10.1	75	6.5	98	17.8
No supplementary	1,274	74.5	887	76.5	387	70.1

1/ No male heads for 17 families.

2/ No male heads for 2 families.

percent of the farm owners and 30 percent of the farm tenants were supplementing their incomes by non-farm employment (Table 45).

60/ Nineteen of the families had no male head.

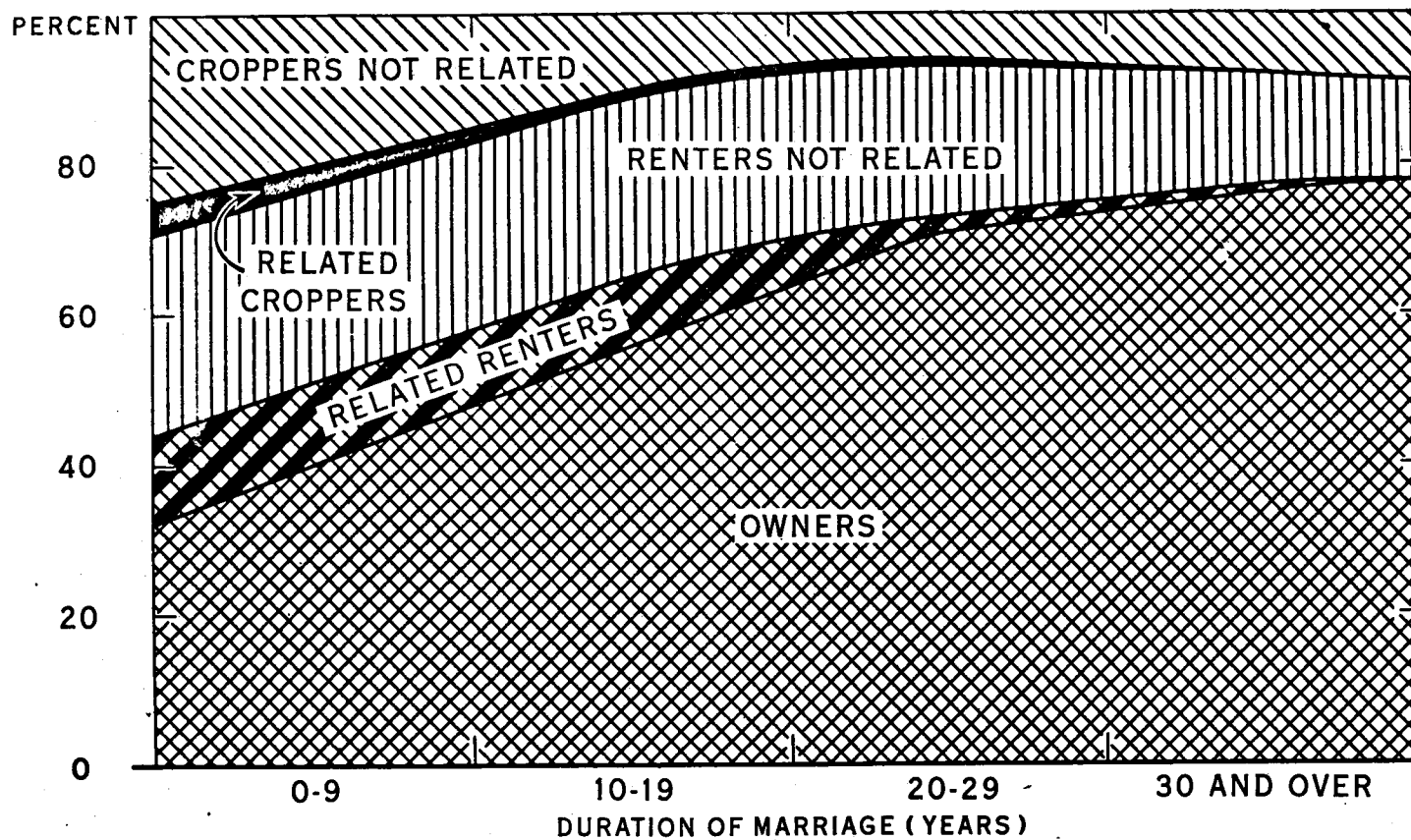
Such employment was largely in the form of day labor that usually required little skill. Seven percent of the owners and 5 percent of the tenants were engaged in skilled labor, the second most important form of off-the-farm employment for the male heads (Table 45). About 5 percent of the owners and 3 percent of the tenants were classified as proprietors, managers, or other officials of some enterprise other than farming - frequently a country store or a filling station. There were some families in both tenure groups that were included in the higher occupational or professional groups. Undoubtedly, in some of the latter cases the situation might be reversed and farming considered as the supplementary occupation. It is known that this is true of some families in Virginia.

#### Relation of Tenants To Landlords

Further evidence of the operation of the agricultural ladder is secured by analyzing the relationship between duration of the marriage union and tenure status of the intact families with children included in the survey. That the young farmer does serve a period as a tenant is indicated by the fact that 60 percent of the families married less than 10 years were classified as tenants, while only 24 percent of those married 30 years or longer did not own their own farms. The tendency for the proportion of tenancy to decline as the duration of the marriage union lengthened was very pronounced. Apparently, a relatively large proportion of the young farmers begin as croppers; then, as they accumulate experience and capital, they enter the renter class to replace renters who in turn have become owners.

Earlier in this report it has been pointed out that there is a more pronounced tendency for the children of the farm family to return to the parental home after marriage and that this may be due, to some extent, to the ability of the farm family to provide a livelihood for additional members with a minimum amount of adjustment. But often the farm owner has another way to offer assistance. He may allow the offspring and his or her family to farm as a renter or cropper on the home farm during the early years of marriage or until a more desirable location is found by either purchasing or renting another farm.

In the sample the number of tenants who were related to their landlords was largest - almost concentrated, in fact - in the young marriage groups and tended to decrease as the duration of the marriage union increased (Fig. 6). The tenant related to the owner of the farm is more likely to come within the renter classification than within the cropper category; however, there were cases which were classified as croppers. It is not improbable that many of the croppers were distantly related to the land owners while the blood ties of renters to the land owner were closer. No croppers married more than 20 years reported blood relationship with the owner, whereas related renters showed a marked decrease in number in the group married 20 to 29 years and were not represented at all in the group married 30 years or more.



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FIGURE 6.- PERCENTAGE OF OPEN-COUNTRY-FARM FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN REPORTING SPECIFIED TENURE, AND PERCENTAGES OF TENANTS REPORTING BLOOD RELATIONSHIP TO LANDLORD BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE UNION, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.



### Mobility

One type of mobility that has been of particular interest to the student of social processes has been the migration between rural and urban areas. Mobility results from a complexity of causes, but it is occasioned most frequently by the attempt of the family to secure better economic and social advantages or to escape supposedly depressing conditions in the area in which it resides. 61/

When all the intact families with children - rural farm, rural non-farm, 62/ and town - were combined on the basis of duration of marriage, about 47 percent of those married less than 10 years were engaged in farming, 27 percent were residing in rural areas but were engaged in non-farm occupations, and 26 percent were residing in towns (Fig. 7). The non-farm group decreased sharply through the older marriage groups, a decrease that was more than absorbed by the farm group. Thus, three-fourths of those families married more than 30 years were farmers, 8 percent were classified as rural non-farm, and 17 percent were listed as town residents. How much migration occurred on a replacement basis is unknown, but of specific interest is the relatively large proportion of non-farm families married less than 10 years and the drastic reduction in the older marriage groups. In addition, the decrease in the proportion of the town families in the older marriage groups must be noted. Thus, on the basis of the families studied in Virginia, there appeared a positive tendency for urban and non-farm families to shift to the farm as the age of the family increased.

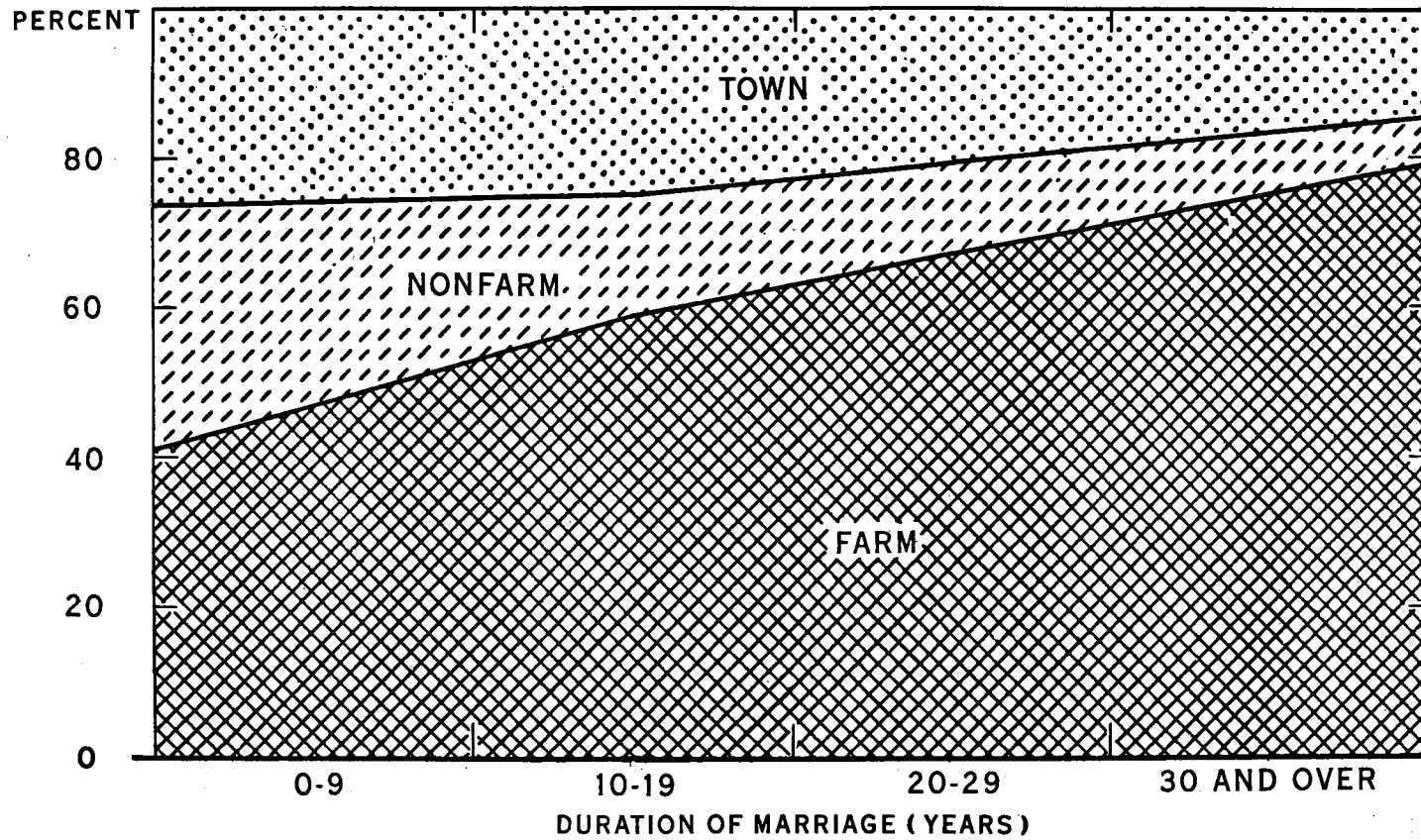
The movement of farm tenants from farm to farm is relatively large in certain sections of the Nation. Among the tenants and low-income classes such migration is great as the families search for more desirable locations and possible economic security. In some areas of the South a move every crop year in search of these better locations is not uncommon for many of the people. So great is the tendency to move that in the South high mobility and tenancy have become almost synonymous. Some aspects of the mobility of the tenants in the six counties studied in Virginia may be procured from an analysis of the length of tenure with the present landlord. 63/

Fifty-one percent of the croppers had been with their present landlords for only two years, and 29 percent for only one year (Table 46). The renters had moved less frequently than the croppers, inasmuch as 50 percent of the former would include those who had been with their present landlords from 3 to 5 years. Moreover, only 15 percent of the renters were spending their first year on the farm. Less than 15 percent of the croppers and 21 percent of the renters had been on the same farm for more than 10 years.

61/ Taylor, Carl C., Wheeler, Helen W., and Kirkpatrick, E. L., op. cit., p. 71.

62/ In addition to the rural farm families, 309 rural non-farm families were studied. It is proposed to present those data in future publications.

63/ At the time of the study.



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FIGURE 7.- PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN, BY TOWN, FARM, AND NON-FARM RESIDENCE AND DURATION OF MARRIAGE, 6 VIRGINIA COUNTIES, 1935.

Table 46.- Duration of tenure of 554 renters and croppers,  
6 Virginia counties, 1935

Years with present landlord	Total		Renters		Croppers	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	554	100.0	385	100.0	169	100.0
Under 2	108	19.5	59	15.3	49	29.0
2.0 - 2.9	106	19.1	69	17.9	37	21.9
3.0 - 4.9	100	18.1	71	18.4	29	17.2
5.0 - 9.9	134	24.2	105	27.3	29	17.2
10.0 - 14.9	52	9.4	38	9.9	14	8.3
15.0 - 19.9	35	6.3	27	7.0	8	4.7
20 and over	19	3.4	16	4.2	3	1.7

Such variation in the length of tenure on the present farm is more or less to be expected. The cropper furnishes only his labor, receives his pay in kind, and seldom develops any ties to the particular area. To move to a possibly more desirable location in the ceaseless search for opportunity is no great inconvenience or special event. The renter, who occupies a rung on the "agricultural ladder" nearer ownership, has acquired equipment and livestock and does not possess quite the extremely mobile characteristics of the cropper.

#### Mobility of Offspring

The lure of independence, the quest for economic security, or a different way of life encourages the children to move from the parental home. Analysis of the life cycle of the family revealed that the largest families were those formed from 20 to 29 years and that the families in the last phase of the cycle were diminishing in size. It was in this last stage that the older children were leaving the parental home. Some stay in the parental home to take over the farm or business at the death of the parents; some remain in the immediate area to replace vacancies in the local population caused by death or migration; and for others the lure of the proverbial pot of gold elsewhere is too great.

Farm and town families reported an identical proportion (34 percent) of the male children as not residing in the parental home at the time of the study. A greater proportion of the daughters than of the sons, and about 3 percent more of the farm than of the town girls, had left home. The male children in both groups left home when they were slightly over 21 years of age, or about 1 year later than the age at which the farm girls left home and 2 years later than that reported by the town girls (Table 47).

Inasmuch as the average age at which the daughters were married was

Table 47.- Average age of offspring at time of leaving home and at time of marriage, and highest grade completed, by sex and by residence of parents, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Averages			
	Open country		Town	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age at time of leaving home	21.3	20.3	21.2	19.4
Age at time of marriage	23.2	21.0	22.6	19.8
Highest grade completed	7.7	8.8	8.6	9.5

slightly higher than the age at which they left home, it may be assumed that marriage was the primary concomitant or reason for leaving. The male children of the farm group waited about 2 years after leaving the parental home before getting married, presumably seeking some form of economic assurance before accepting the responsibility for a family. The male children in towns, on the other hand, were married at a somewhat earlier age than the farm boys. A greater proportion of the rural than of the urban children were married, but the data in this study contradict rather than support the popular contention that farm youth get married at an earlier age.

Approximately two-thirds of all children included in the survey were living with their parents. Studies in the migration of youth show that a greater proportion of the children of tenants than of owners leave the parental home and that the former leave at an earlier age. This study found that among both the urban and the rural families a greater proportion of the tenant children of all ages were yet in the parental home. But when the age factor was introduced the data conformed more nearly with other studies. That is, of the children over 21 years of age, 59 percent of tenant parentage as compared with 36 percent of owner parentage were not in the parental home. This appears to be further indication that the tenant operators were younger than the owner operators and that consequently a large proportion of the offspring of the former had not reached the age at which they would leave home.

When the children leave the parental home, where do they go? Do the farm children as a result of their heritage remain on farms or do they migrate to cities in search of the possibility of more lucrative industrial employment? Are attractions for the urban children greater in distant regions?

Approximately 50 percent of the farm and 38 percent of the urban children lived in the counties surveyed - in other words, those in which their parents lived (Table 48). About the same proportion of both groups went into other counties of Virginia but over one-fourth of the town children

Table 48.- Percentages of offspring reporting specified places and types of residence, by residence and tenure of parents, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Open country			Town		
	Total	Owners	Tenants	Total	Owners	Tenants
Number of offspring	6,497	4,468	2,029	1,894	861	1,033
Percentage in parental home	64.7	59.6	75.9	66.0	52.8	77.0
Percentage away from home	35.3	40.4	24.1	34.0	47.2	23.0
Percentages reporting -						
Place of residence:						
County of survey	49.8	47.9	56.9	37.9	36.9	39.5
Adjoining county	12.6	12.2	13.9	15.1	12.8	18.9
Other county	17.7	18.3	15.5	17.1	18.5	14.7
Other State	17.2	18.9	11.3	26.3	27.4	24.8
Foreign	.1	.1	-	.6	1.0	-
Unknown	2.6	2.6	2.4	3.0	3.4	2.1
Type of residence:						
Open country	38.6	35.7	49.4	13.6	13.0	14.7
Village	13.5	14.4	10.4	20.5	22.2	17.7
Town	11.4	11.5	10.8	16.6	13.8	21.4
City <sup>1/</sup>	4.9	5.1	3.9	6.4	7.4	4.6
City <sup>2/</sup>	12.0	12.2	11.4	16.0	14.3	18.9
City <sup>3/</sup>	13.1	14.3	8.6	22.4	24.4	18.9
Other	3.3	3.2	3.5	2.8	2.2	3.8
Unknown	3.2	3.6	2.0	1.7	2.7	-

- <sup>1/</sup> Population 5,000 - 9,999.  
<sup>2/</sup> Population 10,000 - 99,999.  
<sup>3/</sup> Population 100,000 or more.

as compared with 17 percent of the farm children, had gone out of the State. Perhaps as a result of background and training, 39 percent of the farm children established residence in the open country and only about 14 percent of the urban children moved into the rural areas after leaving the parental home. Such migration resulted in a net gain for the urban areas and further showed that less than one-half of the farm children desired or had the opportunity to stay on the farm. Whether those offspring who did migrate to the city were from the low-income groups is unknown but obviously such may have been a predominant consideration as they sought to better their way of life. As the farm children moved from the open country into the urban areas, the town children tended to take up residence in towns or cities larger than those in which the parents were living. As measured

by the proportion of children away from home who were residing in urban areas, both rural and urban offspring preferred the small town or the large city to the city with a population of 5,000 to 10,000.

#### Occupations of Youth

That the male children of rural parentage who remained in rural areas after leaving the parental home did not immediately begin farming may be further indicated by the occupations of those 21 years of age and over. Approximately 39 percent of the male offspring away from the parental home were reported as residing in open-country areas, yet only 20 percent of those 21 years of age or more were operating a farm. (Table 49). Only 17 percent of the offspring of farm owners were reported as farming, as compared with 33 percent of the sons of tenant families. About 9 percent of the children of owners were farm owners or managers and 8 percent were tenants, but 27 percent of the children of tenants had likewise become tenants. The fact that a larger proportion of the rural sons over 21 were classified as unskilled laborers than were found in any other occupational classification indicates that possibly many of the children living in the open country were farm laborers for some time after leaving the parental home and, for various reasons or causes, did not begin farming independently.

The influence of somewhat higher formal educational status of the children of farm owners may be reflected in a comparison of the types of work those 21 years of age and over secured after leaving home as compared with those secured by the children of tenants. Approximately 40 percent of the sons of farm owners were skilled workers, clerks, proprietors, or professional persons, while 13 percent of the sons of tenants were in these higher occupational groupings. Only 20 percent of the female offspring of farm owners and 14 percent of those of farm tenants who were over 21 years of age and not residing in the parental home were reported as having an occupation. 64/

Generally the occupational status of the urban children over 21 years of age was higher than that reported for the farm children after leaving home. With the exception of those operating farms, 65 percent of the urban male children 21 years of age or more and not in the family home were above the unskilled and the semi-skilled classes. An additional point of contrast between the rural and the urban children may be noted in the proportion of the urban daughters, both at home and away, who were employed. This was a much larger proportion than was reported for the farm girls. Thus, the daughters of town families were either delaying marriage or were engaging in some form of employment to supplement the incomes of their husbands.

The data also showed a high proportion of the farm sons over 21 years of age in the parental home as not gainfully employed. Fifty-seven percent of these farm sons in the home, as compared with 24 percent of the urban males, were not gainfully employed. However, a majority of the farm sons

64/ Housewives were listed as not gainfully employed.

Table 49.- Offspring 21 years of age and over, residing/not residing in parental home, by occupational group and by tenure of parent, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	: Age 21 and over, residing in parental home						: Age 21 and over, not residing in parental home					
	: Daughters of -		: Sons of -		: Total		: Daughters of -		: Sons of -		: Total	
	: Owners	: Tenants	: Owners	: Tenants	: Owners	: Tenants	: Owners	: Tenants	: Owners	: Tenants	: Owners	: Tenants
Open country:												
Number of cases	343	291	52	477	387	90	282	182	100	305	201	104
Percentage of total	25.7	26.2	23.0	32.6	31.6	37.5	72.5	73.7	70.4	74.4	76.1	71.2
Percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional	8.5	8.9	5.8	1.0	1.3	-	5.0	5.9	1.1	3.1	3.7	2.0
Proprietors, managers, and officials	.6	.7	-	3.1	3.9	-	.5	.6	-	7.1	8.0	-
Farm owners and managers	.6	.7	-	2.1	2.6	-	.4	.5	-	8.3	8.9	5.3
Farm tenants	.3	-	1.9	1.3	1.0	2.2	.1	.1	-	11.4	8.5	27.4
Clerks and kindred workers	7.6	7.6	7.7	4.4	4.1	5.6	5.3	6.2	1.1	12.3	13.5	5.3
Skilled workers	-	-	-	4.2	4.7	2.2	.5	.5	.6	13.6	15.0	6.0
Semi-skilled workers	6.7	6.9	5.8	8.2	8.8	5.6	4.0	3.2	8.0	14.2	13.5	18.0
Unskilled workers	3.2	3.4	1.9	19.1	17.6	25.6	2.3	2.2	2.9	22.4	20.8	31.4
Not gainfully employed	72.5	71.8	76.9	56.6	56.0	58.8	81.4	80.3	85.7	4.4	4.5	3.3
Status unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	.5	.5	.6	3.2	3.6	1.3
Town:												
Number of cases	107	65	42	105	63	42	993	819	174	986	836	150
Percentage of total	27.5	26.3	29.6	25.6	23.9	28.8	74.3	73.8	77.0	67.4	68.4	62.5
Percentages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional	14.0	13.8	14.3	2.9	4.8	-	8.9	6.6	13.0	6.9	7.0	6.7
Proprietors, managers, and officials	.9	-	2.4	12.4	15.9	7.1	1.1	1.6	-	10.8	9.9	12.5
Farm owners and managers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	1.5	-
Farm tenants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.6	1.5	1.9
Clerks and kindred workers	30.0	30.8	28.5	17.1	22.2	9.5	10.3	12.1	7.0	21.4	21.4	21.2
Skilled workers	2.8	1.5	4.8	14.3	11.1	19.1	-	-	-	21.7	26.9	11.5
Semi-skilled workers	11.2	9.2	14.3	18.1	15.9	21.5	4.6	4.4	5.0	15.7	14.4	18.3
Unskilled workers	2.8	3.1	2.4	11.4	7.9	16.6	2.8	2.2	4.0	15.4	11.4	23.1
Not gainfully employed	38.3	41.6	33.3	23.8	22.2	26.2	72.3	73.1	71.0	3.9	4.5	2.9
Status unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.6	1.5	1.9

classified as not gainfully employed were actually at work on the home farm. The urban offspring would seek outside employment more frequently than the rural children because the latter are an integral part of the farm unit and their labor is essential to the success of the home enterprise.

Formal Education

As measured by total value of living and other related factors there were significant differences in the status of the various groups of families. Similarly, there were some significant differences in the educational attainments of the members of those groups. Urban areas have for a longer period possessed better developed and more accessible educational facilities. In this study the urban parents reported more formal schooling than those of the rural group and the urban children were more advanced than the rural. The male heads in the towns had completed 7.4 grades, or about 1.2 grades more than the rural male heads; the urban wife had completed 8.7 school grades as compared with 7.4 for the homemaker in the rural area (Table 50).

Table 50.- Highest grade completed by male head and homemaker, by tenure, residence, and total value of family living, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	: Total	: Value-of-living groups			
		: Under : \$500	: \$500 - : \$999	: \$1,000 - : \$1,999	: \$2,000 and over
Highest grade completed by -					
Head of household:					
Open country	6.2	4.1	5.4	6.6	8.6
Owner	6.4	3.9	5.4	6.7	8.6
Renter	6.2	5.0	5.7	6.6	8.2
Cropper	4.7	3.6	4.8	5.3	-
Town	7.4	3.5	6.3	7.8	10.8
Owner	6.9	2.9	5.0	7.1	10.5
Renter	7.7	4.4	6.7	8.2	11.5
Homemaker:					
Open country	7.4	4.8	6.7	7.8	9.8
Owner	7.7	4.4	6.8	8.0	9.9
Renter	7.1	5.3	6.9	7.4	8.7
Cropper	5.7	5.2	5.6	6.2	-
Town	8.7	6.1	7.3	9.4	11.4
Owner	9.0	5.8	7.3	9.6	11.3
Renter	8.5	6.6	7.0	9.3	11.6

Operators who owned their farms reported more school grades completed than the tenants, but there was comparatively little difference in the educational attainments of the farm owners and the farm renters. The most noticeable



difference was in the average number of grades completed by the renters (6.2) and the croppers (4.7). In contrast to the pattern in the rural group the male heads who were living in rented dwellings in towns reported a greater number of grades completed than did the owners. In all residence and tenure groups the homemakers had completed more school grades than the husbands.

It would be difficult to say unequivocally whether higher educational attainments lead to the desire for a higher level of living and the subsequent effort necessary to attain that level or whether the higher level of living facilitates the attainment of higher educational status. Regardless of which may be causative, there was a positive correlation between the number of school grades completed and the total value of family living. As measured by the total value of living there appeared to be no great superiority of the farm owners over tenants whose total value of family living was less than \$500 - an observation that may also apply on the basis of the formal educational attainments of the male heads and the homemakers. Actually the male heads classified as farm renters in all value groups under \$2,000 had had more formal schooling than the farm owners in corresponding value groups. (A partial explanation may be that the tenant operators are usually of the younger generation that has tended to remain in school longer.) In all value groups the male head of the town-renter group had completed at least one grade more than the owner. The urban families in the lowest total-value group reported educational attainments for the male heads which were lower than those of the farm group. In all value groups the wives reported more formal education than the husbands.

Generally, parents hope to give their children as much formal schooling as possible, yet the education of the child is often dependent not only upon the attitude of the parents but also upon the availability of facilities and the financial status of the family. Despite the compulsory school-attendance laws in Virginia for children of certain ages, there are numerous cases, particularly in low-income groups and in rural areas, of non-attendance within these age limits. These may be owing to one or more of the conditions suggested. The urban child may leave school, voluntarily or because of parental influence, to aid in the procurement of the family income. As the farm child is an essential part of the working force of the farm, his attendance is likely to be even more irregular than that of the urban child. In either residence group it is frequently difficult to keep the children in school when the prospects of immediate employment are good.

Retardation was more prevalent among the children of the farm families than among those in the urban centers, and particularly for those 12 years of age or over. Furthermore, relatively few of the farm children were in a grade that might be considered advanced for their ages (Table 51). The proportion of the male offspring who were considered retarded was much greater than the proportion of girls. This was no doubt a result of the somewhat irregular attendance on the part of boys who had reached the age at which they might provide material assistance to the family. The girls,

Table 51.- Children attending school, by age, sex, position in school, and residence of parents, 6 Virginia counties, 1935 <sup>1/</sup>

Age in years	Male				Female				
	Num- ber	Percentages	Retarded	Normal	Advanced	Num- ber	Percentages	Retarded	Normal

Open country:

Total	905				408					
6-9	201	-	100	-	91	-	100	-		
10	87	32	64	4	31	39	52	9		
11	99	45	52	3	38	26	61	13		
12	90	54	43	3	36	50	36	14		
13	79	53	41	6	41	44	41	15		
14	95	54	38	8	52	40	52	8		
15	83	73	24	3	39	36	62	2		
16-17	<sup>2/</sup> 100	-	-	-	49	-	-	-		
18-19	<sup>2/</sup> 45	-	-	-	22	-	-	-		
20 or over	<sup>2/</sup> 26	-	-	-	9	-	-	-		

Town:

Total	341				297					
6-9	87	-	100	-	76	-	100	-		
10	30	30	60	10	27	18	67	15		
11	27	48	41	11	29	31	62	7		
12	38	29	68	3	28	39	54	7		
13	27	48	33	19	28	39	57	4		
14	32	53	22	25	18	22	67	11		
15	29	69	31	-	30	43	50	7		
16-17	<sup>2/</sup> 33	-	-	-	36	-	-	-		
18-19	<sup>2/</sup> 24	-	-	-	21	-	-	-		
20 or over	<sup>2/</sup> 14				4					

<sup>1/</sup> Normal grade for child 10 years old would be either 3 or 4; 11 years old would be 4 or 5, etc. Allowance was thus made for variations in birthdays. All children 6 to 9 years of age were arbitrarily considered to be in normal grade, because tabulation did not include single-year breakdowns.  
<sup>2/</sup> Analysis of position in school not available.

on the other hand, attend school more regularly. That they also complete more grades before they finally stop is evidenced by the greater number of grades completed by the homomakers in this study. Among urban youth, with more accessible and perhaps superior school facilities as well as less demand for their aid in procuring family income, retardation was less common. In both residence groups the children of tenant families were more retarded than those of owners (Table 52).

Table 52.- Children attending school, by age, position in school, and tenure and residence of parents, 6 Virginia counties, 1935. 1/

Age in years	Children of owners			Children of tenants			
	Num-ber	Percentages		Num-ber	Percentages		
		Retarded	Normal	Advanced	Retarded	Normal	Advanced

Open country:

Total	917				396			
6-9	192	-	100	-	100	-	100	-
10	68	29	66	4	50	40	54	6
11	92	36	60	4	45	49	42	9
12	89	47	46	7	37	65	30	5
13	89	45	44	11	31	64	32	3
14	107	44	46	10	40	62	35	2
15	77	58	38	4	45	67	33	-
16-17 <u>2/</u>	117				32			
18-19 <u>2/</u>	53				14			
20 or over <u>2/</u>	33				2			

Town:

Total	225				413			
6-9	48	-	100	-	115	-	100	-
10	16	-	88	12	41	34	54	12
11	18	6	67	28	38	55	45	-
12	17	35	53	12	49	33	65	2
13	25	36	44	20	30	50	47	3
14	15	60	27	13	35	34	43	23
15	25	48	48	4	34	62	35	3
16-17 <u>2/</u>	28				41			
18-19 <u>2/</u>	22				23			
20 or over <u>2/</u>	11				7			

1/ Normal grade for child 10 years old would be either 3 or 4; 11 years old would be 4 or 5, etc. Allowance was thus made for variations in birth-days. All children 6 to 9 years of age were arbitrarily considered to be in normal grade, because tabulation did not include single year breakdowns.  
2/ Analysis of position in school not available.

As shown by the amount of formal education of offspring over 6 years of age but not in school in 1935, it was apparent that the younger children completed more grades before they finally stopped school than those who left school about the turn of the century. Again, the offspring of the owners tended to reach a higher grade in school than the children of tenant parent-age.

Table 53.- Percentages of offspring over 6 but not in school who completed specified amounts of formal schooling, by age groups and by tenure and residence of parents, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Children of owners			Children of tenants		
	Age in years			Age in years		
	Total	Under 35	35 or over	Total	Under 35	35 or over
<b>Open country:</b>						
Number of cases	2,649	1,910	739	679	617	62
Grade school:						
Percentages -						
Attended	99	99	99	95	95	98
Graduated	79	79	76	55	56	44
High school:						
Percentages -						
Attended	54	55	53	32	32	29
Graduated	32	32	30	13	13	11
College:						
Percentages						
Attended	16	15	21	2	2	8
Graduated	6	5	8	1	1/	2
<b>Town:</b>						
Number of cases	534	334	200	382	332	50
Grade school:						
Percentages -						
Attended	99	99	99	99	99	100
Graduated	85	87	82	73	73	70
High school:						
Percentages -						
Attended	70	76	62	56	57	50
Graduated	48	55	35	29	28	30
College:						
Percentages -						
Attended	29	31	26	13	13	10
Graduated	11	13	8	5	5	2

1/ Less than 0.5 of 1 percent.

Of all the farm offspring over 6 years of age but not in school in 1935, 79 percent of the owners' and 55 percent of the tenants' children who had attended grade school had completed the course, while 32 percent of the former and 13 percent of the latter had completed high school (Table 53). The influence of better educational facilities and the differences in the economic enterprises of the rural and the urban families are emphasized by the fact that among the children of town owners 85 percent had finished grade school and 48 percent had graduated from high school. Within the urban group there was another contrast, inasmuch as only 29 percent of the

Table 54.- Percentages of offspring over 6 but not in school who completed specified amounts of formal schooling, by age, sex, and residence, 3 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Age in years			
	Males		Females	
	Under 35	35 or over	Under 35	35 or over
<b>Open country:</b>				
Number of cases	1,316	412	1,211	389
Grade school:				
Percentages -				
Attended	98	98	98	100
Graduated	69	70	79	78
High school:				
Percentages -				
Attended	42	47	58	56
Graduated	20	25	35	32
College:				
Percentages -				
Attended	7	17	16	22
Graduated	3	7	4	8
<b>Town:</b>				
Number of cases	330	126	336	124
Grade school:				
Percentages -				
Attended	99	98	99	100
Graduated	75	73	86	85
High school:				
Percentages -				
Attended	58	56	74	62
Graduated	35	33	48	35
College:				
Percentages -				
Attended	19	20	25	26
Graduated	7	6	11	7

the tenants in both urban and rural areas were able to send their children to college for advanced training. Those who went to college comprised a larger proportion of urban than of rural youth.

When the children over six years of age and out of school were divided into groups of those between 6 and 35 those 35 or over in 1935, the progress in educational facilities was somewhat emphasized inasmuch as the tendency was evident for those of the younger group to remain in school longer than those of the older age group. Only one significant exception was noted and that in the proportion of the open-country children who had attended and graduated from college. A greater proportion of those over 35 years of age than of those in the younger age group had graduated from college.

Chapter V

READING AND LEISURE ACTIVITIES

Recreation and diversion are not confined to the participation of the family in organized activities. Informal associations and activities are an essential part of the life of all members of the family. It is sometimes suggested that if distribution problems could be solved, the average workday would be reduced to a fraction of its present length and many hours would be freed for leisure use. Moreover, there is an argument that if rural people could be induced to engage in constructive leisure-time pursuits, additional progress in the solution of farm problems might be made. Aside from this consideration is the fact that the level of living of people on farms as well as in cities is reflected as much in the manner in which they spend their time as in the goods and services for which their money is spent. But even now the adaptation of leisure time in such a way as to enhance general welfare is baffling. Generally, when farm people are asked how much leisure time they have, the characteristic reply is "None." However, farm people do engage in activities that represent use of leisure time.

Use of Leisure Time Outside of Organizations

In 26 different ways of using leisure time, <sup>65/</sup> ranging from "napping" to "playing instruments" or "going to town," homemakers of farm families used an average of 3.4 hours per day as compared with 4.6 hours used by the town homemakers.

The head of the household in both rural and urban areas reported less leisure time than the homemakers. The male head in the rural group reported an average of 2.6 hours per day and those in the urban group reported 3 hours. Even the children in the urban group had more time of their own than those on the farm who were more often required to help with the farm work.

With the exception of those in Halifax County there was little variation in the average amount of leisure time of the male heads in the various counties (Table 55). For the homemakers, however, there were greater differences between the counties in the amount of leisure time.

There was no obvious relationship between the value of family living and the average number of leisure hours of families in the various counties. However, Halifax County, with an average value of family living that was comparatively low, reported more leisure hours.

<sup>65/</sup> On the schedules data concerning the hours per week expended by each member of the family were obtained (Schedule IX).

Table 55.- Average leisure hours per week reported by family members, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure of members	Hours per week						
	Total	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Prince-Edward	Rock-bridge	Wythe
Open country:							
Male head	18.3	16.6	22.3	18.7	15.1	17.3	18.1
Homemaker	23.8	27.3	30.2	20.5	20.6	21.4	23.1
Offspring	22.2	25.0	25.9	21.5	15.9	21.3	34.5
Owners:							
Male head	19.1	18.1	23.4	17.6	17.7	17.3	19.7
Homemaker	25.0	28.0	30.5	20.5	24.5	21.0	25.2
Offspring	23.2	25.7	26.4	23.6	16.9	21.7	24.6
Tenants:							
Male head	16.8	12.7	20.9	20.5	10.7	17.1	12.5
Homemaker	21.6	25.0	29.8	20.4	14.6	22.3	15.0
Offspring	19.7	23.5	25.2	16.6	13.5	20.4	23.4
Town:							
Male head	21.0	23.9	23.4	16.0	17.8	15.0	16.9
Homemaker	32.4	44.3	42.2	24.2	26.9	17.3	33.7
Offspring	27.0	42.3	28.4	20.2	24.7	17.8	32.5

### Reading

Although reading is not leisure activity for all people, most of the reading that farm parents do may be classified as such. As in the case of all leisure time, members of town families spent more time reading than did members of farm families (Table 56). Furthermore, farm-owner families spent more time reading than did farm tenants. As recreational reading is usually considered as one of the important elements in the non-material aspects of the level of living, these differences are significant. They may be explained by several considerations. For example, the formal educational attainments of individuals are positively correlated with the time rural people spend reading. <sup>66/</sup> Since the number of school grades completed by the male heads and the homemakers in the town families was

<sup>66/</sup> Loomis, C. P., Educational Status and Its Relationship to Reading and Other Activities, Social Forces, Vol. 18, No. 1, October 1939. In this study, 311 white farm-owner-family husbands and wives and 256 farm-tenant-family husbands and wives were found to have read an average of 3.8, 3.1, 2.6, and 2.2 hours per week respectively. Correlation coefficients between school grades completed and total hours spent reading per week for these same groups were respectively: .35+.03, .35+.03, .31+.04, and .56+.03

Table 56.- Average hours per week family members spent in reading, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure of members	Hours per week						
	Total	Culpeper	Halifax	Nansemond	Prince-Edward	Rock-bridge	Wythe
Open country:							
Male head	3.9	4.3	4.7	3.2	4.0	3.4	3.5
Homemaker	4.2	5.2	5.1	3.8	3.8	3.2	3.8
Offspring	4.7	5.6	5.4	5.2	4.7	5.5	5.7
Owners:							
Male head	4.3	5.2	5.1	3.6	5.0	3.5	3.7
Homemaker	4.6	5.6	5.5	4.0	4.7	3.4	4.0
Offspring	5.2	5.9	5.7	5.7	5.6	6.1	5.8
Tenants:							
Male head	2.9	2.0	4.1	2.6	2.3	3.2	2.8
Homemaker	3.4	4.2	4.4	3.5	2.3	2.9	3.0
Offspring	3.8	4.9	4.9	4.5	3.3	4.1	5.5
Town:							
Male head	5.6	9.3	5.6	3.8	6.2	6.0	5.2
Homemaker	5.8	9.5	5.3	4.2	6.4	5.3	5.9
Offspring	5.3	9.3	5.2	3.7	7.5	6.6	8.2

greater than those completed by male heads and homemakers of farm families (Table 50, p. 97), the time which the former devoted to reading should be greatest. Also, the fact that the educational status of owners exceeded that of tenants may in part explain why owners read more extensively than tenants. Moreover, the superior educational attainments of homemakers as compared with male heads may explain why the former read more than the latter.

The educational status of farm heads of households (6.2 grades) is, however, scarcely enough lower than that of the town male heads (7.4 grades) to account for the fact that the latter spend almost 2 hours more per week reading (Table 56). As is well known, the farmer works hard, rises early, and retires relatively early. Often he is too tired to read in the evening. Furthermore, he is handicapped not only by lack of leisure time and easy access to literature but also by poor lighting and heating facilities in his home.

Differences were also prevalent between the rural and the urban families and between the owners and the tenants in the proportion of the families reporting subscriptions to current reading matter. Slightly over one-third of the farm families reported no subscription to any type of news-



paper whereas only 24 percent of the urban families did not subscribe to a newspaper (Table 57). The contrast between the farm owners and the tenants was sharp; only 26 percent of the former did not subscribe to a newspaper while almost one-half of the tenants were not subscribing to any type of newspaper. In the urban group the difference was not so great. For all groups the daily newspaper was more important than the weekly or other types, as evidenced by the proportion of families who reported subscriptions to various types of newspapers. A relatively large proportion of the Virginia farm families continued to subscribe to the weekly newspaper even though rapid delivery of the daily has to some degree supplanted the former in importance.

Table 57.- Percentages of families reporting subscriptions to periodical literature, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Type of subscription	Farm families 1/			Town families 2/		
	Total	Owners	Tenants	Total	Owners	Renters
<b>Newspapers:</b>						
None	33.6	26.5	48.7	24.0	20.8	26.7
1 - 2 weekly	21.1	22.9	17.2	5.8	5.9	5.7
1 - 2 daily	23.8	24.5	22.0	43.0	38.0	46.9
1 - 2 other	.1	.1	-	-	-	-
Combination of						
2 or 3 3/	19.9	24.5	10.3	23.5	29.7	18.6
Not reported	1.5	1.4	1.8	3.7	5.6	2.1
<b>Magazines:</b>						
None	48.2	41.8	61.9	57.3	50.4	62.7
1 - 2 farm	13.7	14.3	12.6	2.4	2.7	2.1
1 - 2 domestic 4/	4.9	4.4	5.9	6.5	6.2	6.4
Weekly	.8	.6	1.3	1.6	.9	2.1
Religious	1.8	2.3	.5	1.8	2.7	1.2
Combination of						
2, 3, 4, or 5 3/30.6	30.6	36.6	17.8	30.6	37.1	25.5

1/ Based on 1,750 families: 1,176 owners and 554 tenants.

2/ Based on 761 families: 337 owners and 424 renters.

3/ Not included in previous categories.

4/ Domestic - woman, home, child.

More of the urban homes than of the rural reported newspaper subscriptions but 48 percent of the farm homes as compared with 57 percent of the urban homes did not have a regular magazine subscription. Again, a smaller proportion of the tenants than of the owners had subscriptions to current magazines. Most of the families in both residence groups who were subscribing to magazines reported combination subscriptions - that is, several different types of magazines. Many of the families had bought such

Table 58.- Average number of books owned per family, by type of book, residence, and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure	Average number of books owned			
	Total	Fiction	Religious	Other non-fiction
Open country	32.7	12.5	4.5	15.6
Owners	41.7	16.0	5.2	20.7
Renters	18.1	7.5	3.9	6.8
Croppers	6.7	1.8	1.7	3.2
Town	42.0	19.5	6.5	18.3

Table 59.- Percentage distribution of families according to number of books owned, by residence, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Number of books owned	Percentages	
	Open country	Town
Total	100.0	100.0
None	16.4	14.7
1 - 2	13.8	11.1
3 - 7	12.9	13.2
8 - 12	11.3	15.3
13 - 24	13.2	8.6
25 - 49	14.0	14.2
50 - 99	10.3	11.1
100 or more	8.1	11.8

Table 60.- Percentages of families owning or borrowing State and Federal bulletins, and average number read, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Residence and tenure	Percentages of families owning or borrowing bulletins		Average number bulletins per family owning or borrowing	
	State	Federal	State	Federal
Open country	16.2	9.8	6.75	5.26
Owners	20.7	11.2	7.30	5.52
Renters	8.1	7.2	3.78	3.88
Croppers	5.2	6.2	3.20	5.83
Town	3.2	3.2	4.14	4.93

combinations at reduced rates. When the farm families limited their magazine subscriptions to one type, they were more apt to select the farm magazine; the urban family would select the domestic magazine.

#### Reading Material and Facilities

Town families also have more books of all kinds in their homes than do farm families; the average number for each group was 42 and 33 respectively (Table 58). However, farm owners have almost as many books as do town families. In few other characteristics were tenants found to be so much in contrast to the owners as in the number of books in the home. While the farm owners had an average of 41.7 books the renters and the croppers reported 18.1 and 6.7 respectively. Although the farm families had fewer books than the urban, there was slight difference between the two groups in the proportion of families with no books at all in the home: 16 percent of the former and 15 percent of the latter had no books of any type (Table 59). All of the families owned more non-fiction than fiction, many of which were text books used by the children in school.

The United States Department of Agriculture and other national and State agencies spend large sums annually on various types of educational bulletins for the farmers and other rural persons. Do the farm families read such publications? Sixteen percent of the families included in this study reported that they either owned or borrowed State bulletins during 1935, and 10 percent reported having Federal publications (Table 60). About one-fifth of the farm owners reported State bulletins and 11 percent reported Federal publications. But again the proportion of non-owners having such bulletins was very small (much less than 10 percent). The farm families who did read those bulletins which they either owned or borrowed had read an average of 6.8 State and 5.3 Federal bulletins during 1935.

Appendix

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 61.- Value per capita of all family-living goods and services consumed, by residence and tenure, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Open country				Town		
	Total	Owners	Renters	Croppers	Total	Owners	Renters
Size of family - persons	4.2	4.0	4.7	4.8	3.5	3.1	3.8
Value per capita:							
Total value of living	\$269.0	\$312.3	\$201.3	\$149.8	\$380.6	\$502.5	\$303.4
Furnished	117.1	132.3	90.9	78.2	53.1	92.2	28.1
Purchased	151.9	180.0	110.4	71.6	327.5	410.3	275.3
Housing and maintenance	69.2	86.2	42.2	26.3	134.5	185.9	102.0
Furnished	39.0	47.4	24.4	19.6	44.2	79.5	21.6
Purchased	30.2	38.8	17.8	6.7	90.3	106.4	80.4
Food	111.5	120.5	96.5	84.1	109.4	127.5	98.1
Furnished	78.1	84.9	66.5	58.6	8.9	12.7	6.5
Purchased	33.4	35.6	30.0	25.5	100.5	114.8	91.6
Clothing	24.5	27.5	20.5	14.2	39.1	50.3	32.0
Health, births, deaths	11.7	13.7	8.7	5.5	17.5	23.7	13.4
Education	4.1	5.6	1.5	1.1	6.7	12.1	3.2
Reading	1.2	1.5	0.8	0.4	2.8	3.7	2.3
Social partici- pation	5.4	7.0	2.9	1.4	12.8	18.6	9.0
Automobile	28.1	34.6	18.6	9.7	32.4	45.8	23.9
Incidentals	9.7	11.0	7.8	5.8	19.2	24.0	16.2
Other	3.6	4.7	1.8	1.3	6.2	10.9	3.3

Table 62.- Average value of family living and distribution of this value among principal groups of goods and services consumed, by duration of marriage of male head and homemaker, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Duration of marriage (years)	Number of families	Averages																
		Value of family living			Housing and maintenance				Food			Health	Edu-	Read-	Social	Auto-	Inci-	Other
		Total	Finished	Purchased	Total	Finished	Purchased	Total	Finished	Purchased	Deaths	Births	ation	ing	pation	mobiles	dentals	
<b>Open country -</b>																		
<b>Owners:</b>																		
0 - 9	82	\$1,344	\$548	\$796	\$604	\$396	\$208	\$302	\$152	\$150	\$ 98	\$ 63	\$ 5	\$ 6	\$ 30	\$159	\$ 44	\$ 33
10 - 19	199	1,391	600	791	634	442	192	322	158	164	118	49	26	6	27	137	50	22
20 - 29	245	1,451	657	794	607	467	140	342	190	152	148	53	51	6	26	155	45	18
30 and over	215	1,319	612	707	569	439	130	317	173	144	121	63	29	6	30	127	44	13
<b>Renters:</b>																		
0 - 9	74	763	379	384	158	100	58	395	279	116	72	30	1	3	7	61	32	4
10 - 19	117	1,012	436	576	213	119	94	471	317	154	102	50	10	4	14	102	39	7
20 - 29	76	1,073	473	600	202	112	90	525	361	164	121	44	14	5	13	103	41	5
30 and over	45	1,066	530	536	225	143	82	529	387	142	115	29	6	4	20	75	40	23
<b>Croppers:</b>																		
0 - 9	47	567	288	279	99	60	39	331	228	103	51	23	1	1	4	33	21	3
10 - 19	38	800	453	347	133	101	32	471	352	119	76	29	8	1	8	35	30	9
20 - 29	26	976	492	484	164	133	31	514	359	155	93	42	13	3	7	92	36	12
30 and over	22	837	413	424	130	101	29	418	312	106	90	28	5	2	12	72	75	5
<b>Town -</b>																		
<b>Owners:</b>																		
0 - 9	21	1,440	134	1,306	434	94	340	399	40	399	143	56	3	11	52	203	73	66
10 - 19	48	1,832	263	1,569	674	217	457	478	14	432	184	75	17	12	62	191	84	55
20 - 29	42	2,637	485	2,152	892	425	467	646	60	586	281	108	126	17	106	299	123	39
30 and over	38	1,700	308	1,392	588	248	340	516	60	456	186	68	69	11	50	123	73	16
<b>Renters:</b>																		
0 - 9	91	1,055	81	974	362	60	302	339	21	318	102	55	2	8	24	86	60	17
10 - 19	101	1,216	119	1,097	389	87	302	410	32	378	121	57	18	8	35	96	62	20
20 - 29	69	1,323	103	1,220	407	75	332	476	28	448	159	47	27	10	34	94	62	7
30 and over	25	1,253	145	1,108	417	96	321	431	49	382	141	80	6	10	44	42	68	14

Table 63.- Distribution of average cash receipts among principal sources of receipts, by tenure and size of farm, 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Tenure and size of farm	Number of families	Cash receipts <sup>1/</sup>							
		Total <sup>2/</sup>	Sale of products	Wages of Operator	Other members	Supplemental receipts from - Boarders	Borrowed	Relief	Other <sup>3/</sup>
Owners	1,176	\$1,183	\$731	\$164	\$ 99	\$13	\$ 8	-	\$168
Under 3 acres	36	790	50	414	144	1	-	-	181
3 - 9	78	727	126	355	87	12	2	1	144
10 - 19	88	717	118	291	117	11	11	-	169
20 - 49	189	834	341	211	126	10	-	-	146
50 - 99	287	927	592	118	75	2	6	-	134
100 - 174	265	1,165	796	112	73	4	12	-	168
175 - 259	128	1,838	1,392	77	140	9	21	-	199
260 and over	105	2,622	2,036	111	111	80	7	-	277
Tenants	554	680	423	143	49	9	5	-	51
Under 3 acres	50	767	16	557	70	-	-	-	124
3 - 9	60	598	89	320	85	47	5	-	52
10 - 19	77	442	222	121	45	2	7	-	45
20 - 49	124	541	365	87	43	5	8	-	33
50 - 99	104	720	557	67	41	5	7	-	43
100 - 174	84	776	658	29	44	8	5	-	32
175 - 259	29	814	707	38	33	4	4	1	27
260 and over	26	1,455	1,223	63	33	3	-	-	133

<sup>1/</sup> Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the usual concept of income inasmuch as borrowings and cash relief have been included. However, the composition of this table enables a deduction of these items if desired.

<sup>2/</sup> This total does not include funds from reserve.

<sup>3/</sup> Other receipts comprise income from people not living in the family, net profits from other than farm business, from farms rented to others or real property, income from monetary legacies, gifts, interest on dividends, insurance, net profit from personal property, and all other cash receipts.

Table 64.- Percentage distribution of average cash receipts among principal sources of receipts, by tenure and size of farm 6 Virginia counties, 1935 <sup>1/</sup>

Tenure and size of farm	Cash receipts <sup>2/</sup>					
	Total: <sup>3/</sup>	Sale of farm products:	Wages of Operator:	Other members:	Supplemental from Boarders, borrowed, and relief <sup>4/</sup>	Other <sup>5/</sup>
Owners	100	62	14	8	2	14
Under 3 acres	100	6	53	18	6/	23
3 - 9	100	17	49	12	2	20
10 - 19	100	16	41	16	3	24
20 - 49	100	41	25	15	1	18
50 - 99	100	64	13	8	1	14
100 - 174	100	68	10	6	1	15
175 - 259	100	76	4	7	2	11
260 and over	100	78	4	4	3	11
Tenants	100	62	21	7	2	8
Under 3 acres	100	2	73	9	-	16
3 - 9	100	15	53	14	9	9
10 - 19	100	50	28	10	2	10
20 - 49	100	68	16	8	2	6
50 - 99	100	77	9	6	2	6
100 - 174	100	85	4	5	2	4
175 - 259	100	87	5	4	1	3
260 and over	100	84	5	2	6/	9

<sup>1/</sup> Number of families same as in Table 63.

<sup>2/</sup> Cash receipts as here used do not conform to the usual concept of income inasmuch as borrowings and cash relief have been included. However, the composition of this table enables a deduction of these items if desired.

<sup>3/</sup> Does not include funds from reserve.

<sup>4/</sup> These three sources were combined because the percentages were so small.

<sup>5/</sup> Other receipts comprise income from people not living in the family, net profits from other than farm business, from farms rented to others or real property, income from monetary legacies, gifts, interest on dividends, insurance, net profit from personal property, and all other cash receipts.

<sup>6/</sup> Less than 0.5 of 1 percent.

Table 65.- Comparison of average value of family living and percentage distribution of this value among principal groups of goods and services consumed by open-country families studied in 4 Appalachian counties, Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, 6 counties of South Dakota, 1/ and 6 Virginia counties, 1935

Item	Average value of family living				Percentage distribution			
	Virginia	Appalachian	Cut-Over	South Dakota	Virginia	Appalachian	Cut-Over	South Dakota
Total value of family living	\$1,130	\$584	\$1,031	\$1,111	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Furnished	492	293	418	410	43.5	50.2	40.5	36.9
Purchased	638	291	613	701	56.5	49.8	59.5	63.1
Housing and maintenance	291	104	266	261	25.7	17.8	25.8	23.5
Furnished	164	56	149	123	56.3	53.9	56.1	46.9
Purchased	127	48	117	138	43.7	46.1	43.9	53.1
Food	468	322	446	484	41.4	55.0	43.3	43.6
Furnished	328	237	269	287	70.0	73.6	60.2	59.3
Purchased	140	85	177	197	30.0	26.4	39.8	40.7
Clothing	103	69	88	96	9.1	11.9	8.5	8.7
Health, births, and deaths	49	26	39	50	4.3	4.5	3.8	4.5
Advancement	45	15	28	42	4.0	2.6	2.7	3.7
Automobile	118	16	97	120	10.5	2.7	9.4	10.8
Incidentals and Other	56	32	67	58	5.0	5.5	6.5	5.2

1/ Loomis, C. P., and Dodson, L. S., Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties, Social Research Report No. X, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., October 1938; Loomis, C. P., Lister, Joseph J., and Davidson, Dwight M., Jr., Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, Social Research Report No. XIII, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., September 1938; and Kumlien, W. F., Loomis, C. P., et al., The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, Bulletin No. 320, Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, March 1938.



METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

Description of Categories Constituting the Total  
Value of Family Living

Studies of family living are based largely upon a monetary evaluation of the goods and services consumed for family-living purposes. In this report the various goods and services are grouped in seven principal categories, and a differentiation is made between those obtained by actual cash purchase and those furnished. The total value of family living is the sum of all the various items, both purchased and furnished, that are listed categorically.

Housing and Maintenance

The category "Housing and Maintenance" includes cash rent, fuel, furnishings, household operation, repairs, insurance, taxes, and interest payments on the dwelling. Most of these items have been grouped under five main subdivisions: (1) Furnishings and equipment, (2) Additions and alterations, (3) Fuel, (4) Other household expense, and (5) Rent.

Earlier studies of this sort have usually ascertained the replacement value of the house and then designated an arbitrary proportion of this value as rent furnished. Cash payments, such as those for interest on mortgages, taxes, and insurance, have not generally been considered as belonging to the category of rent. Consequently there could be no fine discrimination between the part of the value of housing that was furnished and the part that represented an actual cash expenditure.

In this report the value of rent is divided into two parts: (1) that which was furnished, and (2) that which represented a cash payment. In order to accomplish this breakdown, the item "rent equivalent" has been introduced. Rent equivalent is composed of cash payments covering interest on mortgages and property taxes as well as expenditures for repairs and insurance on the dwelling. Where a farm was concerned, interest and tax payments were often made in a lump sum for the entire farm property. Part of such a payment was obviously for the dwelling and should be considered a part of the family living, while the remaining portion should be charged to the operation of the farm. An apportionment was made, therefore, on the basis of the ratio that existed between the replacement value of the dwelling and the total value of the farm and buildings.

When actual cash payments were made by a family for use of the dwelling, these payments were designated as "cash rent." But when cash rent was paid for an entire farm with no specific amount indicated as rental for the house, this sum was also apportioned between family living and farm operation by applying the ratio just described. The amount allocated to family living was then entered as cash rent for the dwelling.

It has been assumed in making this study that 10 percent of the replacement value of the dwelling represents the total value of rent. Cash

rent and rent equivalent include only actual cash expenditures, and together they constitute rent purchased. Rent furnished, then, is the difference between the amount of rent purchased and the figure that represents 10 percent of the replacement value of the house. Or, in other words, rent is the sum of rent purchased (rent equivalent and cash rent) and rent furnished, and equals 10 percent of the replacement value of the dwelling.

Fuel consumed by the family for heating and lighting, which comprises another subdivision of the generic category "Housing and Maintenance," also may have been either purchased or furnished by the farm. Cash expenditures for the purchase of fuel were recorded as "housing and maintenance purchased." The value of fuel furnished by the farm, which was determined by what the interviewed families claimed fuel would have cost had it been actually purchased, was added to the value of housing and maintenance furnished. (Fuel received as a gift was excluded from the computation.) Any cash expenditures entailed in hauling or otherwise procuring the fuel furnished were treated as an expenditure for the purchase of fuel.

#### Food

Foodstuffs produced on the farm (or acquired by direct appropriation from the immediate area) and consumed at home were included in the total value of family living as food furnished. (Food received as a gift was not included.) The families interviewed were asked to estimate what these goods would have cost in local stores, and what they would have brought had they been sold. <sup>67/</sup> The amount for which these goods could have been sold was always estimated as less than that necessary to buy similar goods at the store. In this analysis the purchase price was used in evaluating food furnished, and the sale price was used merely as a check.

#### Clothing

Only actual cash expenditures for clothing were used to show the value of clothing consumed during the schedule year. Although much of the clothing for female members of the families may have been made at home, no account has been taken of the value that was added by this labor.

#### Health, Births, and Deaths

As in the case of clothing, only cash expenditures were enumerated. This category included expenditures for doctors' fees, hospitalization, medicines, and any services made necessary by death in the family.

#### Advancement

Any expenditures for reading material, social participation and recreation, and formal education were classified as advancement expendi-

<sup>67/</sup> Black, John D., and Zimmerman, C. C., op. cit., p. 13 ff.

tures. Again, only the actual amounts of cash expended by the family were enumerated.

#### Automobile and Truck Expenditures

In any farm family the motor vehicle, whether car or truck, serves a dual role - it adds in the farm business and provides a family conveyance. It is difficult to determine what percentage of the expenditures for the car or truck, as the case may be, should be assigned to family-living costs. Although the motor-vehicle owners interviewed in this study were asked to apportion such expenditures between the farm and family living, satisfactory data could not be obtained readily. As a result, the procedure adopted in tabulation was to consider all expenses for an automobile as chargeable to family living and all expenses for a motor truck as chargeable to farm operation. An exception to the latter statement must be noted, however. When a family owned a truck that was used for some non-farm business such as general hauling, the resultant expenses were not included in farm operation; instead, they were used in computing the net income from this non-farm business and only the final computation, entered as a part of cash receipts, appeared in the tabulation.

#### Expenditures for Incidentals and for Items Classified as "Other"

Cash expenditures for articles of personal care, gifts to persons outside the family, beverages, etc., have been classified as "incidental expenditures." Personal taxes and expenditures for transportation (exclusive of travel for business purposes) are designated as "other expenditures." Any payment on the principal of a mortgage or other indebtedness, as well as the refinancing charges often incidental to these payments, were apportioned between the farm and the family living in the same manner as interest payments; hence, the amounts chargeable to family living in such instances have also been included in this category.

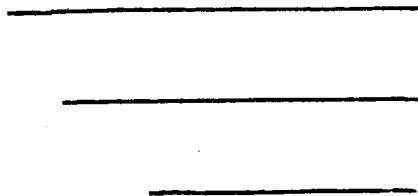
#### Enumeration of Debts and Expenditures

In the enumeration of the value of goods and services purchased, both the amount of the total debt incurred and the amount of cash actually paid on the obligation were recorded. In the event the family made any payments on debts incurred for items bought prior to the schedule year, this amount was also recorded. But in the analysis only the actual cash outlays were used and no cognizance was taken of that part of the debts incurred for purchases of goods during the schedule year but not paid during this period. It was assumed that the amount paid on old debts would approximately balance the amount of current debts not paid during the schedule year, or carried over.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION  
AND  
THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS  
COOPERATING

**Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community  
A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas**

BY A. D. EDWARDS



SOCIAL RESEARCH REPORT NO. VII

WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY, 1939

RECEIVED

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In order that administrators might be supplied with needed information concerning the problems and conditions with which its program is concerned, the Resettlement Administration (absorbed September 1, 1937, by the Farm Security Administration) with the cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics conducted a number of research investigations. This is one of a series of reports on these researches. Others will be made available to administrators of programs for the welfare of rural people as rapidly as they are completed. Reports to be issued, as planned at this time, include:

- I. An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects, by John B. Holt.
- II. Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries, by Erich Kraemer.
- III. Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, by L. S. Dodson.
- IV. Social Status and Farm Tenure - Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers, by E. A. Schuler.
- V. Family Selection on a Federal Reclamation Project - Tule Lake Division of the Klamath Irrigation Project, Oregon-California, by Marie Jasny.
- VI. A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama, by Karl Shafer.
- VII. Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community - A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas, by A. D. Edwards.
- VIII. Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, by Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick.
- IX. Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families, by E. L. Kirkpatrick.
- X. Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties, by C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson.
- XI. Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities, by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XII. The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties, 1935, by W. F. Kumlien, C. P. Loomis, et al. (Published by the South Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Brookings, South Dakota.)
- XIII. Standards of Living in the Great Lakes Cut-Over Area, by C. P. Loomis, Joseph J. Lister, and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
- XIV. Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project, by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.
- XV. Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties, by C. P. Loomis and B. L. Hummel.
- XVI. Social Relationships and Institutions in an Established Rural Community, South Holland, Illinois, by L. S. Dodson.
- XVII. Migration and Mobility of Rural Population in the United States, by Conrad Taeuber and C. E. Lively.
- XVIII. Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities, by C. P. Loomis.

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## FOREWORD

This study was projected upon the assumption that it would be possible to study and analyze the social effects of recurrent droughts. It was known that during the period of the early 1890's a combination of a series of droughts and a widespread economic depression caused a heavy migration from many Great Plains counties, and that a similar combination of circumstances had occasioned a like migration beginning in 1930. It was therefore decided to learn if possible what counties in the Great Plains had most nearly repeated, between 1930 and 1935, the experience of the nineties.

A detailed study of all secondary sources of information was made, and Haskell County, Kansas, together with nine other counties in the Great Plains was selected for further study before the field work began. Haskell County was selected as the sample county because it had been subject to the effects of recurrent droughts since its settlement and was a purely agricultural county and therefore not complicated by oil, mineral, or industrial developments.

The author of this report then went to Haskell County and, together with the county agent, selected that area of the county which, in their judgment, was most typical of the whole county for more detailed analysis.

The fundamental purpose of the study has been to answer, if possible, the question, what happens to the social institutions and human relationships in a community that is compelled to make drastic alterations in its farming and economic life because of drought and depression.

CARL C. TAYLOR

In Charge, Division of Farm Population  
and Rural Life, Bureau of Agricultural  
Economics; and Social Research Section,  
Farm Security Administration.

# INFLUENCE OF DROUGHT AND DEPRESSION ON A RURAL COMMUNITY

## A CASE STUDY IN HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS

By A. D. Edwards

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### Introduction

Droughts are different from other types of disaster. An explosion happens in a moment; a shipwreck is a matter of hours at most; a flood may spread havoc for days or weeks; but a drought, continuing through months or years, may last indefinitely. Then, too, other types of disaster are more or less limited in scope, whereas a drought may extend over a large part of a Nation or even across national lines.

In the Great Plains, agricultural communities have been affected very directly by the cyclic character of the climate. With the occurrence of wet years, development has proceeded at a rapid pace; but during the years of scanty rainfall, adjustments have had to be made. Today both the people themselves and their institutions bear the imprint of these successive changes.

Social changes associated with drought tend to follow a definite sequence pattern. First, there is a period of disorganization, for the prolonged uncertainty deeply affects the attitudes of the people. When the crops are in danger of drying up for lack of water, a tenseness prevails everywhere, replaced presently by an apathy that continues until the destruction is complete or until rain offers a new lease on life. Such a period of disorganization, which may last for a year or two, is marked by a series of partial adaptations by the individual families; but when the drought continues through additional years, the community as a whole makes an adjustment that influences not only the existent but the future social organization and agricultural economy. On the other hand, a short dry period, ending in a year or two, requires no complete compromise and only interrupts or delays the general development. The pessimism caused by crop failure quickly changes to optimism if the prospects for the following year are good. With the end of the drought, a readjustment to more favorable weather conditions takes place, and there is likely to be a resumption of earlier trends.

A study of drought from the viewpoint of social changes accompanying such a disaster has practical significance. It suggests the need for a flexible program of community living that will permit adjustments to climatic variations. If social changes are connected with the past and future in a "cycle of linked events," a knowledge of the sequence pattern is essential for long-range planning.

In most parts of the Southern Great Plains, rainfall was extremely deficient from 1932 to 1936, and dust storms of alarming proportions became frequent. The droughts of 1934 and 1936 were particularly widespread. Hence, the need for assistance, felt throughout the Nation during these 5 years of economic stringency, was acutely urgent here. Local agencies were unable to cope with the emergency created by the combined forces of drought and depression, and the Federal Government was compelled to intervene. Thus, the necessity for more detailed knowledge concerning the people of the area and the conditioning elements in their lives came to be generally recognized.

To study the effects of drought upon an agricultural community Haskell County, Kansas, (Fig. 1) was chosen for intensive research. Primary considerations influencing this choice were the distinctively rural character of the county, the absence of any important industries to cushion the effect of the drought upon the agricultural economy, and its location in the winter-wheat area of southwestern Kansas which has been subject to recurrent dry periods. A marked loss of population occurred in the drought of 1893-97 as well as in that of 1932-36. 1/ This section was in the officially designated drought areas of 1934 and 1936, the Soil Conservation Service classified it as a district of severe wind erosion, and the Works Progress Administration in a recent study of drought intensity 2/ included it as an "area of intense drought distress."

Secondary considerations relating to an availability of data carried some weight in the selection. The files of a newspaper published in the county since 1886 are in possession of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka, Kansas. Decennial State censuses of agriculture and population provide data for the period 1895-1925, and the summaries of the annual reports of the local assessors for 1887-1935 are available in the biennial reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

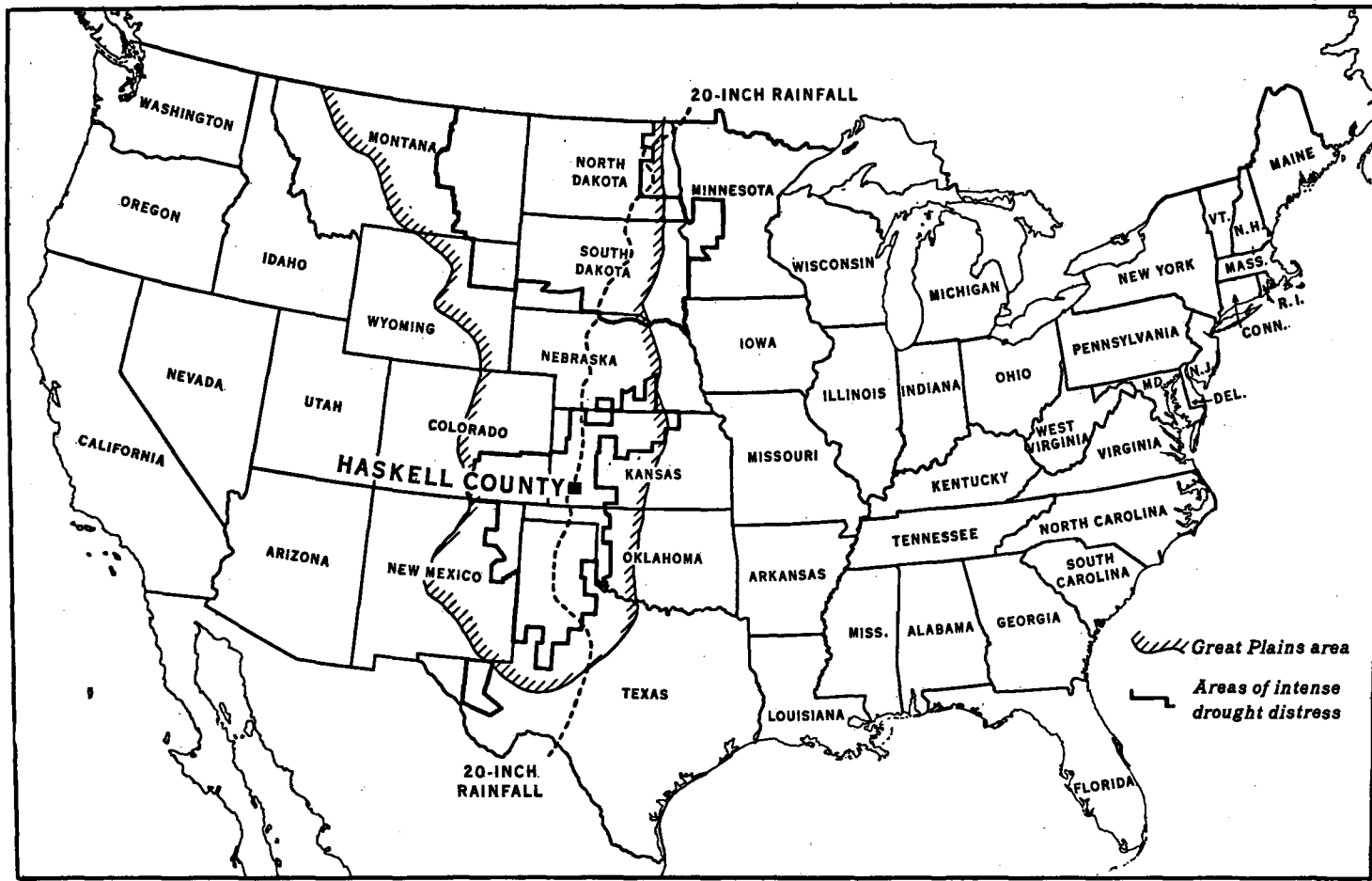
The county as a whole was taken as the unit for study, except as otherwise specified. A more intensive analysis of the residential and ownership history was confined to an area six miles square, located in the northwest part of the county (Fig. 2, p.4). 3/ Each farmer who operated any land in this area was interviewed as well as a number of farmers selected at random in other sections of the county. The information gained from the intensive study was checked against data from all available sources.

The fact that Haskell County constitutes a small unit for study made it possible to observe closely the interrelation of geographic factors with size and mobility of population, living conditions, community organization, and the attitudes and opinions of the residents.

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1/ Taylor, Carl C., and Taeuber, Conrad, The People of the Drought States, Research Bulletin No. 2, Series V, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, 1937, pp. 29-37.

2/ Cronin, F. D., and Beers, H. W., Areas of Intense Drought Distress, Research Publication No. 1, Series V, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, 1937.



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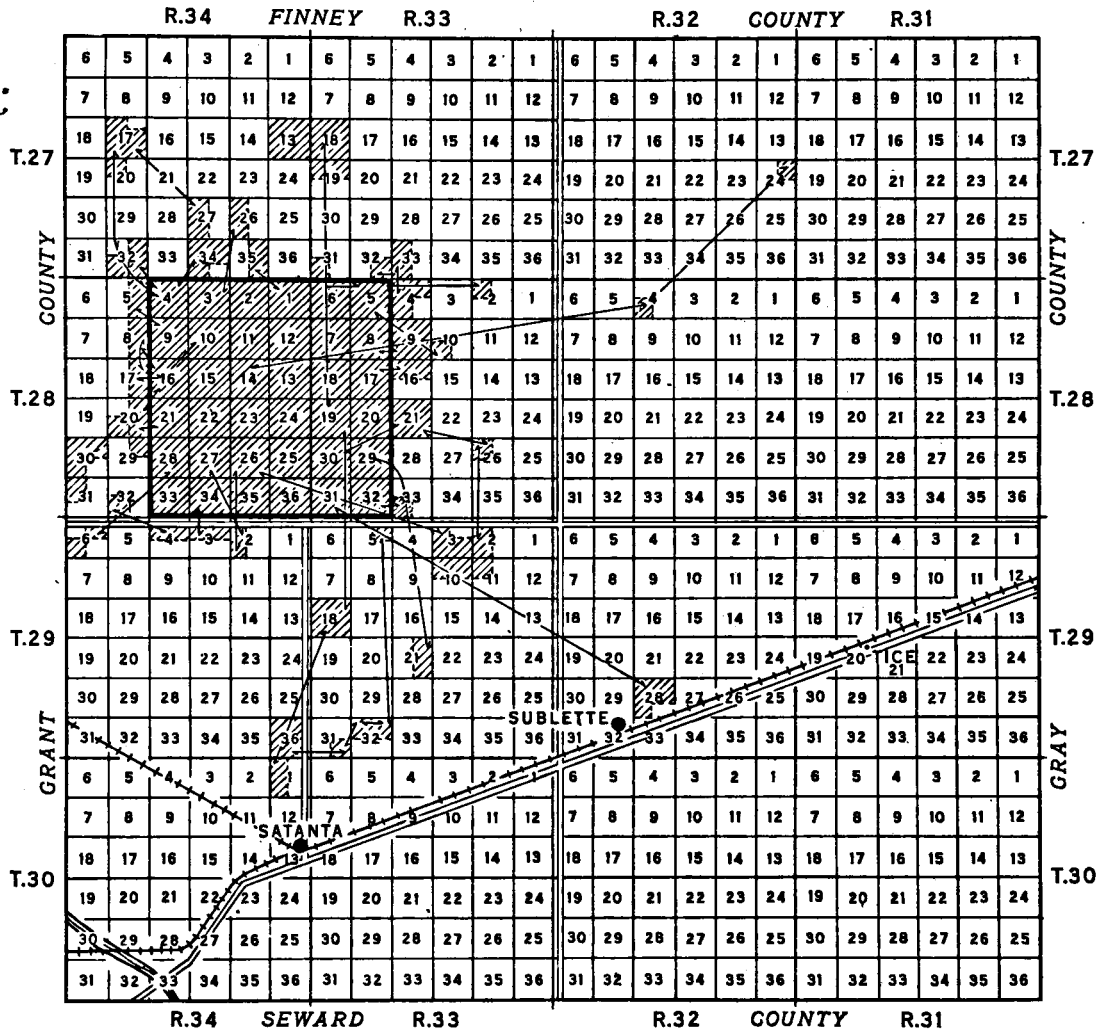
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FIGURE 1.- LOCATION OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, IN RELATION TO THE 20-INCH RAINFALL LINE, THE GREAT PLAINS, AND "AREAS OF INTENSE DROUGHT DISTRESS."

1  
2  
1

## HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1936






-  Land covered by field enumeration
-  Selected area
-  Highway

FIGURE 2.- MAP OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, SHOWING AREA SELECTED FOR INTENSIVE STUDY.

## Chapter I

### SUMMARY

The settlement of Haskell County was a part of the westward movement of population that reached the fringe of the Great Plains about 1870. Here, in contrast to other parts of the region, there were no cattle ranchers to be displaced, for the lack of sufficient surface water had hitherto prevented such enterprises.

The first settlers arrived in 1885 and the county was organized in July 1887. By the end of that 2-year period nearly all the public land had been occupied, dugouts and sod houses dotted the plains, and mushroom towns had sprung up in anticipation of a dense farm population.

#### Population

The first settlers were mainly from Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and Iowa, but a few of them came from Germany, England, and Ireland. None of the farm operators enumerated in 1895, and only four of those listed in 1905, were born in Kansas. Native Kansans comprised one-fourth of all newcomers to the county enumerated in 1915, and one-third in 1925. The present population is comparatively homogeneous except for two settlements of Mennonites, who, since the arrival of the first group in 1916, have maintained a fairly distinct cultural and social group life.

As in most pioneer communities in the Great Plains, the first settlers in Haskell County endured many hardships and privations. Water was scarce, markets were far away, and droughts, hail, hot winds, blizzards, and plagues of grasshoppers and chinch bugs were sources of constant trouble. None of the homesteaders had had experience with farming in a semiarid region and, as successive crop failures exhausted their scanty resources, many emigrated, leaving abandoned lands and ghost towns in their wake.

A highly mobile population has been characteristic of the county. It has been generally apparent that migration outward has proceeded rapidly during drought periods, but in prosperous years the emigration has been obscured by the inrush of new settlers. For instance, of the 139 farm families enumerated in the State Agricultural Census of 1895 only 40 percent were shown in 1905. Similarly, only 41 percent of those enumerated in 1920 were operating farms in 1930. Of the 461 Haskell County operators included in the United States Census of Agriculture for 1930, 200 had come to the area within the preceding 5 years. It is thus apparent that instability has been as characteristic of prosperous periods as of years of drought and depression.

The high degree of mobility and extreme fluctuations in the size of population in Haskell County cannot be considered abnormal when com-

development. These, too, were characterized by a high rate of turnover during their early history.

The relatively youthful character of the present population and the high birth rate have resulted from the constant influx of new settlers in each decade. If the anticipated decrease in rate of immigration occurs, it may be expected that in the future a larger proportion of the population will be found in the older age groups and that the birth rate will decline.

### Farming

Haskell County is primarily agricultural, having no important industries except those dependent more or less directly on farming. There has been a consistent attempt to farm the land more intensively, checked intermittently by the occurrence of droughts. The first attempt at small-scale agriculture ended in failure during the drought of 1893-97 and many settlers, having lost all hope, left the county. Those who remained adjusted their farming practices by depending to a greater extent on cattle raising. Soon after the return of more humid weather the large areas of vacant land were taken over by cattle ranchers, but this type of enterprise was interrupted about 1905-06 by another rush of homesteaders. Many of these new settlers left during the dry years between 1910 and 1914, but ranchers and farmers with longer experience in the county averted the most disastrous effects of the drought by adopting a type of agriculture that combined the cultivation of crops and the maintenance of at least a small herd of cattle.

Cattle raising and stock farming, though well adapted to the agricultural resources of the area, were superseded by wheat farming during the 1920's. The demand for wheat during and following the World War, the completion of the railroad through the county in 1912, the introduction of power machinery especially adapted to conditions on the Great Plains, and favorable weather - all joined to bring about a rapid development of wheat growing. By 1930 nearly all arable land had been broken out and planted in wheat.

Low prices for wheat in 1931 followed by crop failures for the years 1932-36 created a major crisis in the history of the county, and again readjustments in farming were necessary. These changes were in the direction of greater self-sufficiency and in the expansion of live-stock enterprises, but they have not been so great as might have been anticipated from a drought of this severity. Federal subsidies which have enabled farmers to continue planting wheat in spite of crop failures have had a stabilizing effect.

### Standards of Living

The first settlers of Haskell County lacked many comforts to which they had been accustomed in their previous homes. When they reached southwestern Kansas with their meager stores of savings, livestock,

implements, and household furniture, they had to adapt their ways of living to the exigencies of the frontier life. The self-sufficiency of their agricultural economy could provide them with only the barest necessities but they endured the dugouts or sod houses and the other hardships of pioneer life because of their eagerness to obtain the free land.

Improvements in standards of living occurred during periods of favorable rainfall but were interrupted from time to time when, owing to crop failure, the cash income that the farmers had expected did not materialize. As there was little opportunity to supplement the farm incomes - and stiff competition for the small amount of work that was available - much suffering occurred during such periods. With the return of more favorable weather, however, there was an increase in incomes and a gradual rise in living standards, resulting in more comfortable houses and the gradual introduction of modern conveniences.

On nearly every farm the trouble occasioned by scarcity of water during the early days was partially overcome by a windmill that supplied water for the household, stock, and perhaps a small garden. The isolation gradually disappeared with the introduction of telephones, the construction of a railroad through the county, and the popular use of automobiles and radios. The most rapid rise in family-living budgets occurred between 1920 and 1930, a period of great prosperity accompanying the development of wheat farming.

The urgent need for assistance, created by the low prices for wheat in 1931 and the succeeding drought, was met by large Federal expenditures in the form of benefit payments made by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, farm loans, and relief grants. As compared with normal family budgets, expenditures for living during 1936 were only moderately reduced, the greatest curtailment of expenditures being made for clothing, advancement, incidentals, and food. Federal subsidies have directly or indirectly comprised a major source of cash income for nearly all families in the county since 1933 and have been chiefly responsible for the fact that most of the residents have been able to remain there without suffering greatly from lack of food and clothing.

#### Community Organization

The pattern of early settlement in Haskell County was that of family farms surrounding small villages. Isolated farmsteads developed at first because of the provision of the settlement laws which required dwellings on each homestead of 160 acres. Speculation in land values was common, particularly in the villages, but land booms were shattered by recurring droughts and speculators left the county almost over night. The county seat was reduced from a thriving village to a single store and a few dwellings, while in the open country the depopulation of large areas in the county completely obliterated the small country stores that had served as post offices and trading centers during the early settlement.



The settlers tended to idealize the patterns of social life familiar to them in other communities and strove to duplicate them in the new environment. During periods of prosperity they made great progress in acquiring both the forms and the material elements of the social organization to which they had been previously accustomed, but droughts had a retarding effect. The recent Federal assistance has helped to stabilize existing forms of social organization and to stimulate new ones in rural areas.

### Public Relief Policies

Assistance from public funds is not new in Haskell County, for it has been given from time to time to relieve distress. During both the recent and previous droughts such aid has been available to citizens not only through direct relief but through other means as well. Benefit payments of recent years have their counterpart in payments made in 1889 when farmers were compensated for plowing their own land and all section lines were purchased as roads. In each case, the primary object was to assist farmers in a way that would tend to maintain their morale.

Practically no local relief was extended during the prolonged drought of 1893-97, for the county had exhausted its credit. Thus, there was nothing to halt the rapid emigration of settlers that resulted in the depopulation of large areas and in widespread social disorganization. Subsequently, very little local relief was dispensed until 1932.

Direct Federal assistance to farmers was first given during the drought of 1918-19, but it was not until 1933 that direct aid was extended on a large scale. In Haskell County, as throughout the rest of the Great Plains Area, the program of most importance to farmers has been that of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. In 1936 about 90 percent of all farm operators in the county received benefit payments. Loans to farmers by the Farm Credit and Resettlement Administrations,<sup>4/</sup> and projects of the Works Progress Administration and National Youth Administration have also made larger contributions to the welfare of the people throughout the drought region than to those in most other rural areas.

### Attitudes and Opinions

An element of the frontier spirit remains as a factor in the community life of Haskell County. As a rule, the persons attracted to the county have been of an adventurous type. This characteristic has been reflected not so much in their attitude toward society - although there has been some tendency to individual action in the settlement of disputes - but rather in their ability to adapt themselves to experimental changes. Throughout the history of the county they have made the adjustments that

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<sup>4/</sup> The Resettlement Administration was succeeded by the Farm Security Administration, September 1, 1937.

were necessary to survival. The recurrent droughts that have disrupted the economy of the area from time to time have prevented the stabilization of customs and conventions.

The Federal farm program, though running counter to the individualistic propensities of farmers, was readily accepted by nearly all of the operators in Haskell County. This was due partly to the desperate circumstances in which the farmers found themselves in 1933. With the return of more favorable weather conditions some reversal of sentiment is to be expected. Education, combined with a flexible program of land use, appears to be necessary in the future if the cooperation of these farmers is to be retained.

## Chapter II

### THE PEOPLE

The westward rush of settlement reached Haskell County in 1885, settlers coming mainly from localities where the price of land was relatively high and ownership difficult to attain. The earliest arrivals found the climate at first to be much the same as that to which they were accustomed. But they had had no experience with farming in a semiarid country, and when the dry years came, many were forced to leave. Succeeding periods of more favorable weather brought new settlers to the county.

The cyclic occurrence of humid and dry periods has been the most important factor in determining size of population. Immigration is accelerated during humid periods, and emigration, contrary to popular belief, also increases, particularly after land values have risen somewhat. During dry periods immigration tends to stop while emigration, at least in the earlier stages of such periods, continues at a rapid rate. Owing to Federal assistance, there was less emigration than might have been expected, judging from the severity of prevailing conditions, during the recent drought of 1932-36.

The large proportion of newcomers has been an important factor in maintaining a high rate of turnover during the entire history of the county. But the rate is not abnormal when comparisons are drawn with other areas that have been as recently settled or with older communities at a corresponding stage in their development.

As most of the immigrants are young or middle-aged, the high rate of turnover and the rapid rate of natural increase in population have tended to keep the population youthful, and this, in turn, helps to keep the birth rate high.

The size of population is also closely associated with the type of farming, large-scale wheat farming being intermediate between small-scale agriculture and cattle ranching in the number of people that it will support.

#### Source of Population

Haskell County received its first settlers mainly from middle western States, but a small sprinkling of foreign immigrants came from Germany, England, and Ireland (Table 1). The first enumeration made in the county by the Kansas Agricultural and Population State Census of 1895 shows that none of the farm operators of that time were native Kansans; most of them were born in Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and Iowa. During the succeeding decades, these six States continued to serve as the principal source of farm operators for the county. Only four of the farmers enumerated in 1905 were born in Kansas; since then, an

Table 1.- Number of farm operators first enumerated in census, 1895-1925, and all operators in 1930, by State or country of birth, Haskell County, Kansas

State or country of birth	All farm operators		Farm operators first enumerated, 1895-1925				
	1930	Total	1895	1905	1915	1925	
<b>Total operators</b>	<b>461</b>	<b>594</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>251</b>	
<b>State:</b>							
Illinois	31	79	23	13	11	32	
Ohio	15	41	19	6	8	8	
Indiana	13	44	16	8	8	14	
Kentucky	4	27	14	6	5	2	
Missouri	55	71	13	11	17	30	
Iowa	21	38	10	5	12	11	
Pennsylvania	1	14	6	4	3	1	
Tennessee	9	12	4	1	-	7	
West Virginia	5	7	3	2	2	-	
Michigan	1	10	3	3	3	1	
New York	2	4	3	1	-	-	
New Jersey	-	1	1	-	-	-	
Wisconsin	1	2	1	-	-	1	
Virginia	1	4	1	2	1	-	
North Carolina	-	2	1	-	-	1	
Georgia	-	2	1	1	-	-	
Connecticut	-	1	1	-	-	-	
Massachusetts	-	1	-	1	-	-	
Colorado	3	1	-	-	-	1	
Nebraska	3	5	-	1	-	4	
Kansas	171	136	-	4	44	88	
Arkansas	3	2	-	1	-	1	
Oklahoma	18	4	-	-	-	4	
Mississippi	2	2	-	-	1	1	
Maryland	-	1	-	-	1	-	
Texas	2	2	-	-	-	2	
California	1	-	-	-	-	-	
<b>Country:</b>							
Germany	4	19	12	1	4	2	
England	-	4	2	-	2	-	
Ireland	1	3	2	1	-	-	
Russia	9	11	-	-	3	8	
Canada	13	3	-	-	-	3	
Finland	-	1	-	-	-	1	
Austria	1	1	-	-	-	1	
Austria-Hungary	-	1	-	-	-	1	
Australia	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Asia	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Poland	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Syria	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Scotland	1	-	-	-	-	-	
Africa	1	-	-	-	-	-	
<b>Unknown</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>26</b>	

Data for 1895-1925 - tabulation from Kansas State Census Schedules.  
 Data for 1930 - tabulation from United States Census of Population.

State. Operators born in Kansas comprised about one-fourth of all newcomers in 1915, and one-third in 1925.

As one might expect from the proximity of Missouri and Iowa, the proportion coming from these States to Kansas without intermediate stops was high, but a large proportion born in Illinois and other States also moved directly to Kansas. Of all operators in Haskell County enumerated in the State Censuses of 1895, 1905, and 1915, 417 were born in other States or in foreign countries and over one-half, or 250, of these had come directly to Kansas.<sup>5/</sup>

The population of the county is comparatively homogeneous except for two settlements of Mennonites who tend to maintain distinct cultural groups. The first of these sectarians arrived in 1916. One group emigrated from Russia to Manitoba, Canada, and finally to Haskell County, and another group came from farther east in Kansas. The Mennonites are careful farmers who practice a balanced agriculture, and have always been a desirable element in the population.

#### Resources of Immigrants

Most of the homesteaders during the period of early settlement were people of limited means who came in the hope of bettering their positions.

The average total value of improvements, including all buildings on a place, the breaking out of land, and the construction of a well or cistern, was estimated at \$593 for homesteaders who proved up prior to 1900 as compared with \$334 for preemption cases and \$378 for homesteaders who commuted their entries to cash.<sup>6/</sup> The lower value of improvements in the two latter groups can probably be attributed to the fact that those settlers who paid cash for their claims had lived on their places a minimum of 6 months and had had less time to improve their holdings before ownership than homesteaders who had fulfilled the minimum requirement of 5 years of residence.

Many of the cattle ranchers who moved to the county about 1900 had enough capital to buy large acreages of the cheap land in addition to buying cattle but the ranches varied considerably in size.

About 1904-06 the ranching economy was interrupted by a second wave of homesteaders. Most of them had only scanty resources <sup>7/</sup> and some of them, or their sons, were employed on neighboring ranches. Laborers who came primarily to work on ranches were also among the newcomers of the early 1900's and though they usually brought even fewer possessions

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<sup>5/</sup> Tabulation of data from Kansas State Census Schedules.

<sup>6/</sup> Estimates of the value of improvements made on homesteads or preemption claims were made by settlers receiving final certificates of ownership. These data include all claims for the selected area (See Fig. 2) filed before 1900. Homestead records in the General Land Office, U. S. Department of the Interior.

<sup>7/</sup> Homestead records, General Land Office, U.S. Department of the Interior.

than the homesteaders, many were able to secure claims for themselves while working as ranch hands. Sometimes they sold their homesteads to the ranchers after proving up; in other instances they became farmers or ranchers, retaining their original holdings and buying more land.

Although the last homesteads in Haskell County were filed on in 1909, the county, with its cheap land and relatively greater opportunities for ownership, as compared with communities farther east, continued for some time to attract people of limited means. When the advent of power machinery made possible large profits from mechanized wheat farming, many substantial farmers sought holdings in the area. Credit was relatively easy to obtain and there were numerous instances of men with small resources who became substantial farmers within a few years.

It is no longer possible for a farmer to get started with few assets besides his bare hands and a willingness to work. The easy credit of earlier years has largely disappeared and the equipment necessary for even a small-scale enterprise costs several thousand dollars. As a result, the majority of farm operators coming to the county since 1930 have been men of means. Some have acquired from one to three sections of land, bought modern equipment, and still survived the years of drought and depression.

#### Composition of Population

Some single persons, both men and women, filed on homesteads but the early settlers of the county were chiefly families who took up claims for the purpose of establishing homes. The proportion of males has been consistently higher than that of females, the ratio for the county varying as follows: 1890, 111 males per 100 females; 1900, 124; 1910, 131; 1920, 114; 1930, 121. Among persons 15 years of age and over the ratio of males to 100 females was 125 in 1930, but the ratio of single males to single females was 229 whereas the ratio for the State of Kansas was 140 and for the United States, 132. This relative scarcity of marriageable women in the county is characteristic of pioneer or recently settled communities.

In 1930, age groups made up of persons under 45 years old included larger percentages of the total population in Haskell County than of that in the State as a whole, while the reverse held true for the age groups composed of persons 45 years old and over (Table 2). This situation was due chiefly to the steady increase in population that occurred from 1905 to 1930. If a greater stability is achieved in the future, as may be expected, the age distribution for the county will approach that for the entire State.

As no village in the county has as many as 2,500 residents, the total population is classified as rural in the United States Census of Population. In 1930 about 42 percent, or 1,181 of the 2,805 persons

Table 2.- Age distribution of population, Haskell County and State of Kansas, 1930

Item	Total number	Percentages in each age group							
		Total	Under 5	5-14	15-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65 and over
Total population:									
Kansas	1,880,999	100	9	20	18	15	13	18	7
Haskell County	2,805	100	13	24	19	16	14	11	3
Rural farm population:									
Kansas	704,601	100	10	23	18	13	13	18	5
Haskell County	1,752	100	14	25	19	15	14	11	2
Rural non-farm population:									
Kansas <sup>1/</sup>	446,564	100	9	18	17	15	13	19	9
Haskell County	1,053	100	12	20	19	18	14	12	5

Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, Vol. 3.

<sup>1/</sup> Includes 0.1 percent unknown.

This proportion of village residents appears relatively high for an agricultural community, but it is not unusual in this area. A partial explanation is found in that about one out of seven of the farmers lives in one or the other of the villages and in that a number of the business men and local officials operate farms. As the wheat crop is raised in only a small part of the year, a village residence and other occupations are possible along with wheat farming.

#### Factors Associated with Size of Population

##### Drought

Periods of extended drought have been associated with important changes in the size and mobility of population. The immediate effect of drought is a lessened immigration while the outward movement of population continues unabated or even speeds up temporarily. Subsequently, emigration as well as immigration falls to a low level and the population remains relatively stable until some time after the dry period has ended. Thus, a severe drought has an immediate effect upon population and its consequences may be felt for many years. More favorable climatic conditions return, immigration is gradually resumed, and during the period of expansion that follows movement into and out of the locality is stimulated. This mobility may continue until the recurrence of unfavorable weather conditions.

A comparison of the size of the population of Haskell County and the amount of annual rainfall for the Western Division of Kansas for the years 1887-1935 8/ reveals a relationship between these two factors (Fig. 3). Years of more than average humidity preceded the arrival of the first settlers,9/ promising much for the future of the county, but many of these were forced to abandon their claims during the dry years of 1887 and 1889. Favorable weather the next year turned the tide of migration and population increased for about 3 years.10/ Then the drought of 1893-97 started a new exodus amounting almost to depopulation of large acreages. The population of the county declined from over 1,000 in 1893 to less than 600 in 1895, but for the following 10 years exhibited a high degree of stability considering the recency of settlement (Fig. 3).

An average rainfall of 22 inches for the years 1902-06 preceded the next rush of settlement. But when dry years and crop failures came upon Western Kansas during 1910-11 and 1913, many of the homesteaders went to seek work elsewhere and there was another decrease of population (Fig. 3). Then, in 1915 a rainfall of nearly 30 inches brought a new wave of settlement which persisted with only slight interruptions until the recent drought set in.

Deficient rainfall in 1916-17 did not greatly affect the size of population, for at that time most of the farmers depended largely upon cattle raising and there was a strong demand for farm products during these war-time years. Again, partial failures of the wheat crop during 1925 and 1927, caused by lack of sufficient rainfall in 1924 and 1926, failed to stop the influx of families attracted by the wheat boom that characterized the entire decade.

Although climatological records indicate that the most serious drought in the history of the county occurred during 1932-36, the popu-

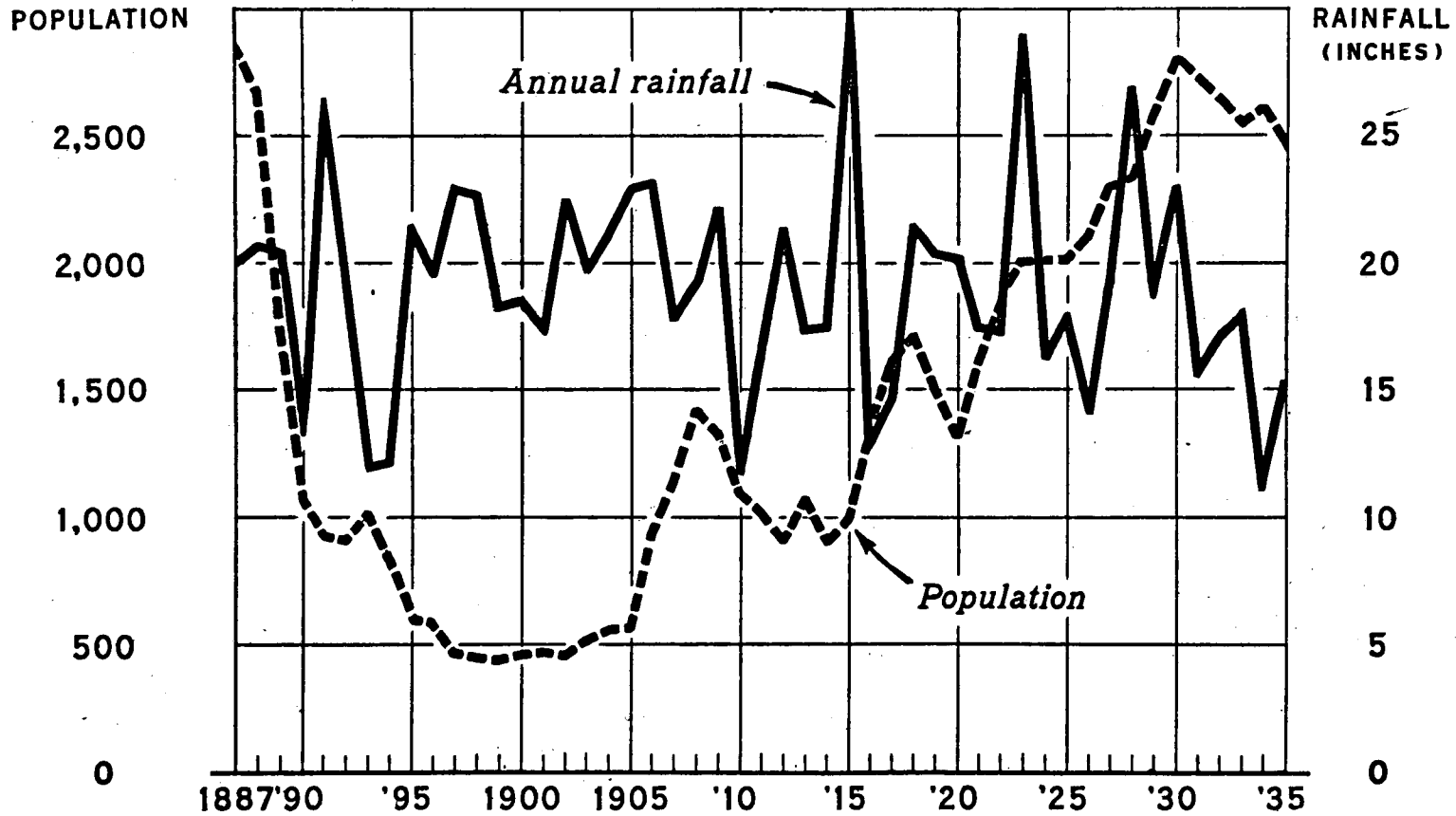
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8/ The rainfall for the Western Division of Kansas, as shown by the United States Weather Bureau, is used because records for a Haskell County Station (Sublette, Kansas) are available only since 1917. A comparison of the records since this date shows that the general trends of rainfall for the Western Division were the same as in Haskell County, although differences as great as 5 or 6 inches occurred during some years. As a few inches of rainfall may be the difference between failure and success of a crop, the plotted data are supplemented by other records.

9/ The rainfall of the Western Division of Kansas is not given before 1887 but an examination of the records for Dodge City, a station near Haskell County, shows that the average rainfall for the period 1881-85 was 26 inches, or about 25 percent above normal.

10/ Figure 3 shows that a good rainfall occurred in 1891 for the Western Division of Kansas, probably favoring the crops of both 1891 and 1892. Local residents report that 1890 was also a good crop year. This was possibly a local phenomenon, for the records of both the Western Kansas Division and of Dodge City indicate a rainfall much below average that year.





U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 3.- POPULATION OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, AND ANNUAL RAINFALL FOR WESTERN DIVISION OF KANSAS, 1887-1935.

SOURCES: POPULATION DATA FROM BIENNIAL REPORTS OF THE KANSAS STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE  
 RAINFALL DATA FROM U. S. WEATHER BUREAU REPORT: CLIMATIC SUMMARY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1887-1930

lation declined only from 2,804 in 1930 to 2,549 in 1933 and to 2,465 in 1935 (Fig. 3). Contrary to what one might expect, a smaller percentage of farmers left the county during this period than during the previous 5 years (Table 3). A combination of factors served to counterbalance the tendency to emigrate. Those who wanted to sell land or equipment could get only a fraction of its worth, settlement or employment opportunities in other places were largely lacking, and the farmers thought they would be prosperous again if they could only survive these hard times. The most important element in slowing up emigration, however, was the influence of Federal assistance. 11/

Table 3.- Persistence of newcomer and old resident farm operators, Haskell County, Kansas, 1895-1935 1/

Item	:Number: : of : :cases :	Percentages of farm operators persisting in the county						
		1895	1905	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935
Total - 1895	139	100	40	22	14	13	8	7
Total - 1905	132		100	39	26	31	15	11
Newcomers	73		100	29	21	25	15	10
Old residents	55		100	51	32	39	15	14
Total - 1915	192			100	49	44	28	23
Newcomers	131			100	44	34	23	19
Old residents	61			100	61	67	38	31
Total - 1920	286				100	66	41	40
Newcomers	181				100	52	31	35
Old residents	105				100	90	58	49
Total - 1925	360					100	57	42
Newcomers	152					100	47	30
Old residents	208					100	64	52
Total - 1930	461						100	64
Newcomers	200						100	54
Old residents	261						100	72
Total - 1935	429							100
Newcomers	72							100
Old residents	357							100

Data for 1895 - 1920 from Kansas State Census Schedules.

Data for 1925 - 1935 from U. S. Census of Agriculture Schedules.

1/ "Old residents" are farm operators or male descendants of operators, who have been included in previous censuses as farm operators. "Newcomers" are farm operators who have begun farming in the county since the preceding census. See Methodology.

### Type of Farming as Related to Size of Population

A close relationship has existed between the type of farming and the size of population. Although the policy of the Federal Government made free land available, it set a limitation upon the size of the individual holding and thereby necessitated the establishment of small-scale agriculture. This policy encouraged a dense settlement of Haskell County, but to a large degree defeated its own purpose by prescribing a type of agriculture utterly unsuited to conditions in the area.

The withdrawal of settlers following the onset of drought left much vacant land that was soon taken over by ranchers. A sparse population is essential for cattle ranching, for 4 to 20 sections are required for a family-size ranch. <sup>12/</sup> With the development of wheat farming the population increased. In Haskell County a family-size wheat farm varies from about 320 to 3,000 acres, averaging between 700 and 800 acres and allowing for a fairly dense population.

### Rate of Natural Increase

The fairly high rate of natural increase in the county probably has not been important in determining the size of population up to the present, but it is a factor to be reckoned with in the future.

Data, which are available only for the years since 1917, show the average natural increase of 33 persons per year, thus accounting for a substantial portion of the net increase in population from 1917 to 1935. The birth rate showed a strong tendency to decline after 1920, but has been increasing since 1929. Because of the unusual prosperity prevalent from 1921 to 1929, it seems likely that the proportion of births occurring in hospitals outside the county was exceptionally high during those years. In 1935 the excess of births over deaths in the county was 53, the highest since the initiation of records in 1917 (Table 4). But this too is an understatement, owing to the fact that during 1935 children born to Haskell County families outside the county exceeded the number of Haskell County residents who died elsewhere. When this is taken into account, the increase amounts to 62 for 1935. The high birth rate is also evidenced by the relatively large proportion of children under 5 years of age (Table 2, p. 13). <sup>13/</sup>

The natural increase during the next decade may be conservatively estimated at between 400 and 500 and the population will show either a substantial increase or net emigration.

<sup>12/</sup> Youngblood, B., and Cox, A. B., An Economic Study of a Typical Ranching Area, Bull. 297, Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, July 1922, p. 126.

<sup>13/</sup> Ratio of children under 5 per 100 females 15 to 44 years of age was 60 in Haskell County, Kansas, 40 for Kansas, and 39 for the United States in 1930, according to the U. S. Census of Population.

Table 4.- Births and deaths for Haskell County, Kansas, 1917-1935

Year	Births	Deaths	Excess of births over deaths	Population of county
Total	852	221	631	
1935 <sup>1/</sup>	75	22	53	2,465
1934	60	17	43	2,613
1933	47	16	31	2,549
1932	43	22	21	2,635
1931	56	14	42	2,723
1930	62	23	39	2,804
1929	40	8	32	2,581
1928	47	4	43	2,344
1927	27	7	20	2,297
1926	37	10	27	2,119
1925	36	5	31	2,026
1924	26	8	18	2,017
1923	22	5	17	2,009
1922	29	-	29	1,858
1921	25	12	13	1,621
1920	46	10	36	1,305 <sup>2/</sup>
1919	50	11	39	1,524
1918	57	11	46	1,720
1917	67	16	51	1,625
Average	44.8	11.6	33.2	2,149

Data on births and deaths from "Birth, Stillbirth, Infant Mortality Statistics," Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1917-35. Population data from Biennial Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.

<sup>1/</sup> Births to residents in 1935, 87; deaths of residents, 25.

<sup>2/</sup> The population for 1920 is low although this figure is possibly an underestimate. The U. S. Census of Population enumerated 1,455 persons.

#### Turnover of Farm Population

Considerable turnover of population has been characteristic of the Great Plains since its settlement. A relative stabilization with a reduced turnover might reasonably have been expected after a period of years, but nothing of the kind has occurred in Haskell County. It is possible that there has been some stabilization of population since 1930, but the time has been too short to determine whether or not this represents a permanent trend. With the farm operators enumerated in 1895 as a base, 40 percent are found to persist at the end of a decade. <sup>14/</sup>

<sup>14/</sup> Persistence means that the farm operator or a male descendant is still farming in the county.

When the farm operators reported in 1905 are used as a base, 39 percent persist after 10 years, and when those for 1915, 1920, and 1925 are considered, 44, 41, and 42 percent respectively are present in the county 10 years later (Fig. 4).

The lack of any tendency toward stabilization, at least up until 1930, can be understood only in the light of the development of the county. The first census for which we have records, that of 1895, was taken at a time when the first wave of resettlement had receded, leaving only a picked few of the early settlers. These settlers showed a relatively high rate of persistence as compared with farmers in other parts of Kansas.<sup>15/</sup> After 1905 the population continued to increase to such an extent that a large proportion of the total number of farm operators included in each census from 1905 to 1930 were newcomers (Table 3, p.17). These newcomers consistently had a lower rate of persistence than old resident farm operators and largely account for the high rate of turnover (Fig. 5).

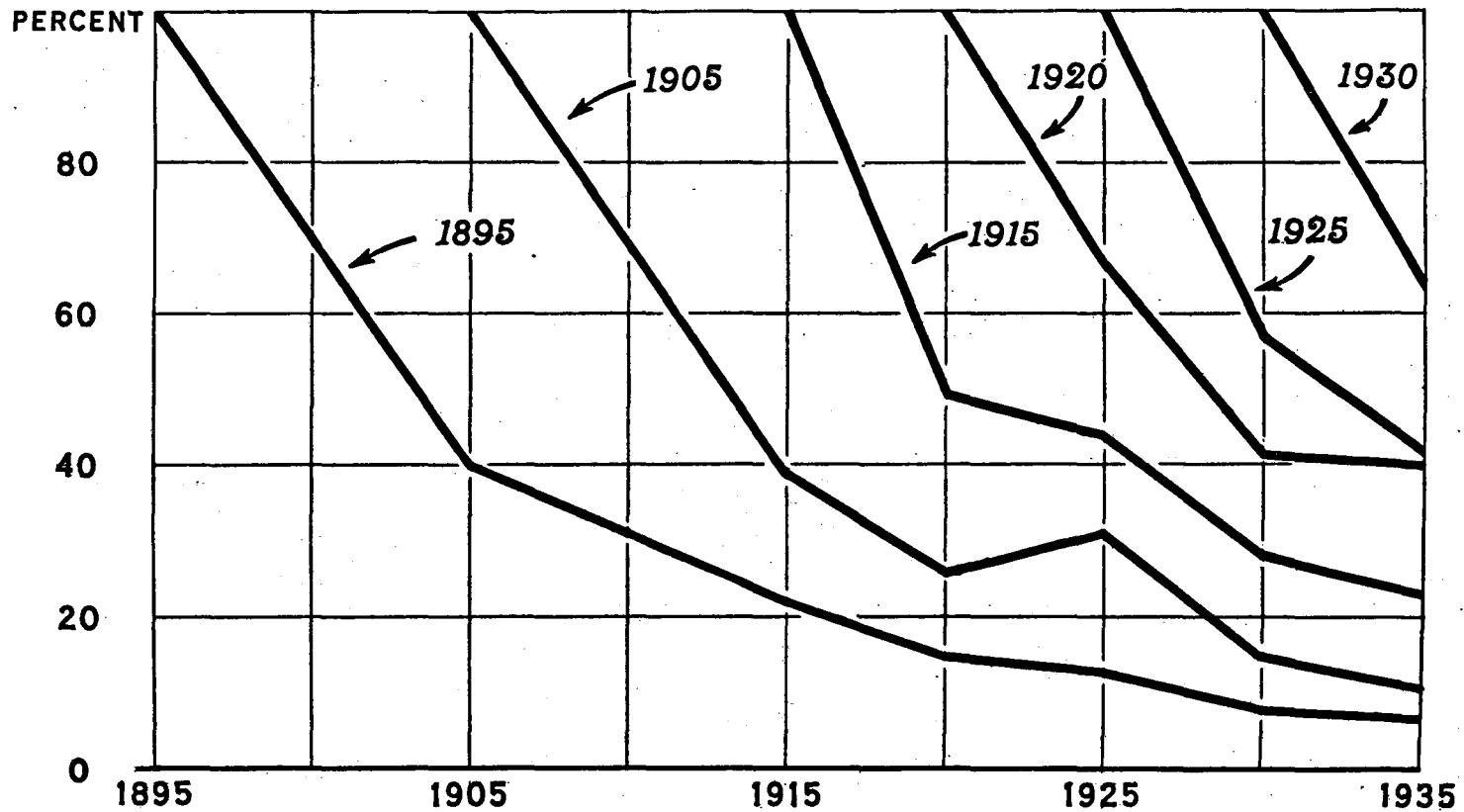
Although turnover was consistently high when measured by 10-year intervals, analysis of the data beginning in 1915 shows that there were some differences for 5-year periods. The persistence of operators was relatively high between 1920 and 1925 and between 1930 and 1935, while the period 1925-30 was characterized by considerably greater mobility. Data on this point, although not conclusive, point to the hypothesis that a highly prosperous boom period shows greater instability than periods of either drought or medium prosperity.

The relatively high rate of persistence from 1930 to 1935 was contrary to what one might expect during a severe drought. It was during this time that lack of opportunities elsewhere and large Federal subsidies within the county exerted such a powerful influence toward stabilization.

The high rate of turnover in Haskell County is sometimes cited as evidence that a drastic change should be made in the economy of the area. That some change should be effected may possibly be a valid conclusion; but if so, it rests wholly upon other considerations. The high rate of turnover prevalent in the county is not abnormal; but rather it is about what might be anticipated in any county so recently settled. The study by Malin <sup>16/</sup> shows that a high rate of turnover has been typical of the early history of each of the five "regions" in Kansas; in other words, it is not particularly unusual, nor is it indicative of a pathological condition.

<sup>15/</sup> Malin, James C., The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas, Kansas State Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 4, Topeka, Kansas, 1935, pp. 365-69.

<sup>16/</sup> Ibid., pp. 339-332.



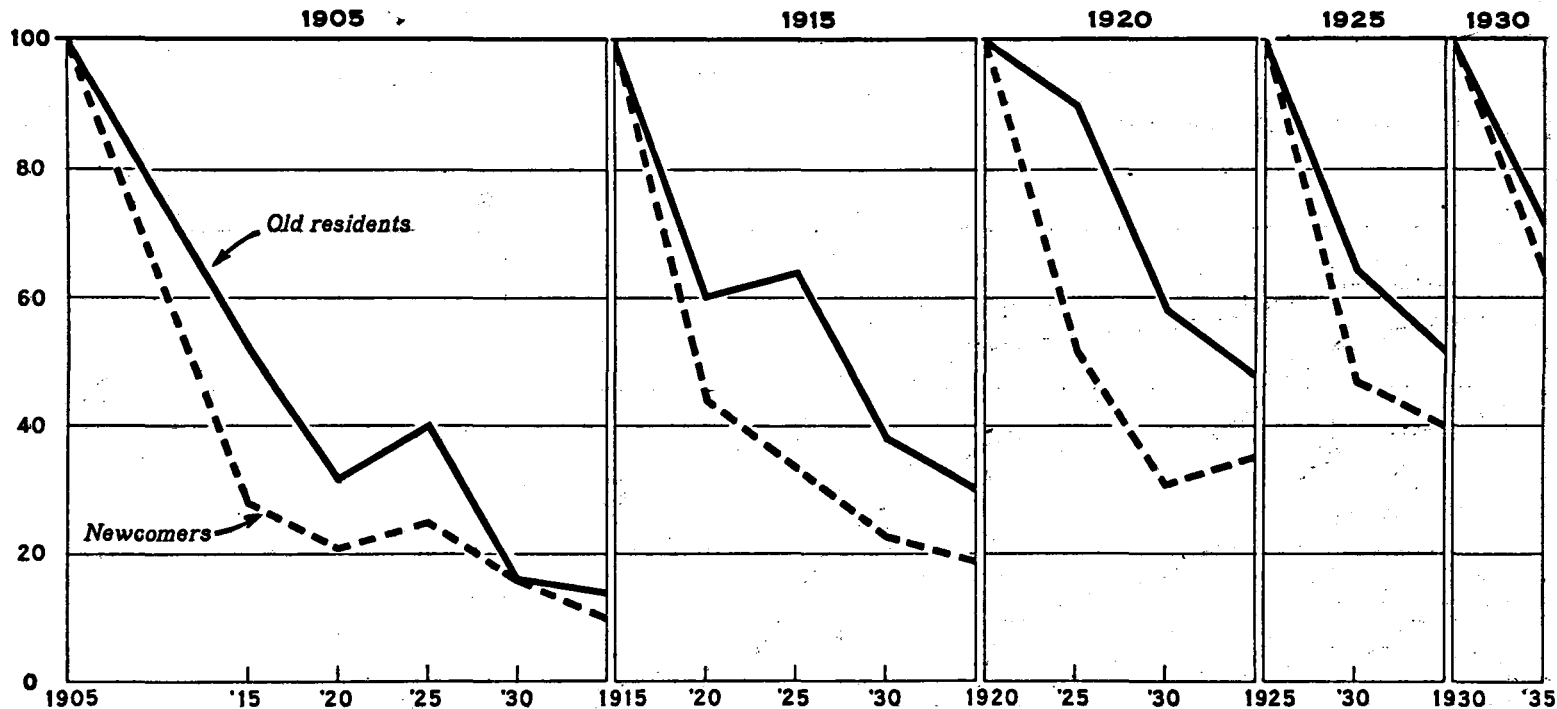
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FIGURE 4.- PERSISTENCE OF FARM FAMILIES IN HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1895-1935.

SOURCE: SPECIAL TABULATIONS: KANSAS STATE CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1895-1915; U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1925-35



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FIGURE 5.- PERSISTENCE OF NEWCOMER AND OLD RESIDENT FARM OPERATORS ENUMERATED IN EACH CENSUS, HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1905-35.

SOURCE: SPECIAL TABULATIONS: KANSAS STATE CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1895-1915; U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1925-35

Although the present farm population of Haskell County has been selected from incoming settlers over a long period, it is, on the whole, of relatively recent origin. Very few of the early settlers or their descendants remain in the county. Only 15, or less than 4 percent, of the present farm operators have records of occupancy going back to 1895. A total of 74, or 17 percent, have records going back to 1915, but 211, or nearly one-half, have come to the county since 1925 (Fig. 6). The farm population today, then, is composed chiefly of persons who have been attracted to the county by the recent development of mechanized wheat farming; and for the majority of the present residents the drought of 1932-36 was a unique experience.

#### Selective Mobility

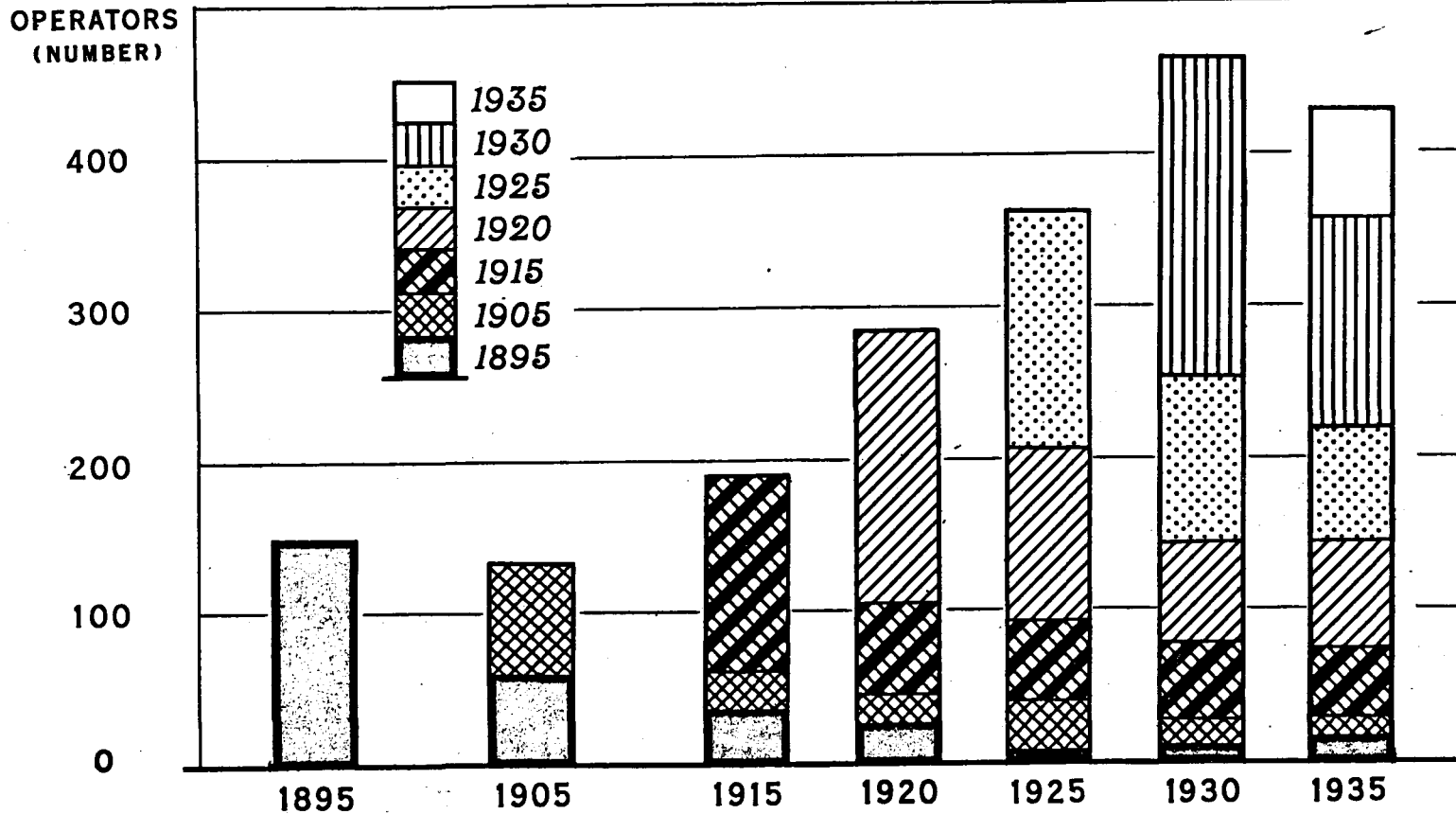
The constant turnover might be expected to have a favorable effect upon the character of the farm population if it operates to weed out the less resourceful emigrants and to select those with greater resources and more adaptability. There is some evidence that such is the case. The characteristics of persistent operators, as compared with those of operators who emigrated, differ in the several periods, but for the most part they may be summed up as follows: (1) greater resources and consistently larger farm acreages; (2) more adaptability in meeting changing conditions; and (3) tendencies toward more diversification in their enterprises (Table 5). The generally greater resources of the persistent group are found for all periods except 1925-30 when the resources of the persistent and non-persistent operators were about equal.

The ability of the persistent operators to adapt their undertakings to prevailing conditions is shown by their shift from small-scale farming to cattle raising and then to wheat farming. Their ability to change the character of their farming enterprises at a time when such a shift became profitable was probably an important factor in their success.

In 1895 those operators who remained in the county during the next decade had larger farms than those who left, and a larger proportion of them had livestock enterprises and acreages of specified crops. In 1905, the persistent group had larger herds of cattle. In 1915, a larger proportion of the persistent farm operators had cattle and raised wheat. As previously stated, there was little difference in 1925 between those who remained in the county and those who left during the next 5 years. In 1930, the persistent group exhibited a diversification of enterprises that greatly improved their chances for survival during the 1930-35 period of drought and depression.

The above data show that the more resourceful and adaptable farmers remained in the area and suggest that the turnover of farm population had a beneficial effect upon its character. There are other considerations, however, which tend to counterbalance these beneficial results. It cannot be overlooked, for instance, that some of the operators who left were apparently very successful and were also esteemed by their neighbors, as





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FIGURE 6.- FARM OPERATORS BY YEAR FIRST RECORDED IN HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1895-1935.

SOURCE: SPECIAL TABULATIONS: KANSAS STATE CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1895-1915; U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE, 1925-35

Table 5.- Percentages of persistent and non-persistent operators <sup>1/</sup> reporting specified items, and averages for those reporting, by years reported, Haskell County, Kansas, 1895-1930

Operators reporting, by years	Number of operators	Average size of farm in acres	Percentages reporting -					Averages for those reporting -				
			Winter wheat	Milk	Other	Hogs	Poultry	Winter wheat	Milk	Other	Hogs	Poultry
1895:												
Persistent	61	259	79	79	41	36	36	95	3	14	3	19
Non-persistent	78	213	68	63	29	29	26	84	3	11	2	16
1905:												
Persistent	59	1,656	51	66	85	57	31	58	5	84	4	43
Non-persistent	73	908	41	71	77	52	32	56	4	55	3	43
1915:												
Persistent	113	<u>2/</u>	54	56	66	38	<u>2/</u>	115	6	45	7	<u>2/</u>
Non-persistent	78	<u>2/</u>	26	40	45	24	<u>2/</u>	100	4	22	6	<u>2/</u>
1925:												
Persistent	207	717	88	77	81	64	80	239	5	23	13	122
Non-persistent	153	637	79	65	73	55	73	222	5	36	9	87
1930:												
Persistent	296	704	91	60	64	46	76	495	5	10	14	116
Non-persistent	158	607	85	37	35	28	42	413	3	16	7	74

Data for 1895-1915 - special tabulation, Kansas State Census of Agriculture.

Data for 1925-1930 - special tabulation, United States Census of Agriculture.

<sup>1/</sup> "Persistent" operators are those who, or whose male descendants, continue to operate a farm in the county during the next intercensal period. "Non-persistent" operators are those who, or whose male descendants, are not enumerated in the next farm census. See Appendix, Methodology.

<sup>2/</sup> Data not available.

indicated by items appearing in the local newspaper at the time of their departure. Indeed, during the highly mobile period of the wheat boom, 1920-30, no consistent differences were found with respect to resources or farming operations between those operators who remained and those who left. Apparently the county lost in those years many desirable farm operators as well as those who were less desirable; and the same is true, to some extent, for other periods. When capable farmers, who left the area after having gained valuable experience, were replaced by immigrants who came from more humid areas and were without experience in dry-land farming, the county suffered a net loss. A certain degree of mobility may be desirable, but it seems probable that the turnover in Haskell County has been somewhat too rapid to insure a selection of the most capable farmers.

These data tend to throw doubt upon any extreme generalizations that might be made as to favorable or unfavorable effects that the high rate of turnover may have upon Haskell County.

### Chapter III

#### SIZE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE FARM UNIT

The crop and weather records of Haskell County reveal that deficient rainfall has caused a complete or partial failure of the crop for at least 24 out of 53 years, and that hail, hot winds, and insect pests have also affected production. Farming must be adjusted, then, to raising a crop about every other year, and meantime the possibility must always be kept in mind that crop failures may occur during several successive years. If irrigation is not practiced (and there seems no immediate prospect of its use on a large scale), farming of a fairly extensive type will be required to offset the effects of recurring droughts. Moreover, the advisability of adjusting farming practices to conserve moisture, control soil-blowing, and to take advantage of humid years appears to be no longer open to question.

Patterns of changes in farming during a period of deficient moisture have depended upon the length and severity of the various droughts. As the farmers generally tried to maintain their customary farm practices with only slight changes during the first year or two of scanty rainfall, droughts of short duration only retarded the trend toward a more intensive use of land, whereas those of longer duration necessitated a radical readjustment. It has been characteristic of all extended dry periods that farmers who remained in the affected area attempted to obviate the more serious consequences of the drought by raising more of their own food and by farming more extensively.

#### Soil and Topography

The entire region is strikingly characterized by the level nature of the country and the absence of trees. The natural vegetation is "short grass," a mixture of grama and buffalo grass. Although the surface of the ground is very flat, most of it having a grade of less than 2 percent, natural depressions such as ponds, or buffalo wallows, are scattered over the county. Occasional "draws" lend themselves to damming, and in some instances farmers have provided themselves with a supply of water by this means. The elevation of the county is about 3,000 feet above sea level.

Nearly all the soil in the county is sufficiently fertile to produce abundant crops if the weather is favorable. The top soil is mainly a dark brown clay loam with a heavy subsoil; it varies, however, to a sandy loam in the extreme northern and southern parts of the county, and there are even a few sand dunes in the northwest. Soil blowing is an ever-present menace during the spring months when high winds are preva-

brought under cultivation and a bumper crop was harvested. But the price was very low. Concerning the harvest of 1892 an earlier settler wrote:

"This crop turned the farmers' heads and they went heavily in debt for machinery. Much of this crop, by the way, rotted in the stacks as it was not worth threshing and hauling so far to market and no more wheat was raised for so many years that they lost count. The big crop resulted in a lot of blasted hopes and busted farmers." 21/

The belief was current at that time that the climate of the area would change with increased cultivation. 22/ Agricultural successes during wet years lent credence to this fallacy and the settlers were encouraged to increase their crop acreages more rapidly than the conditions justified. The year 1893 was marked by further increases in crop acreage but as it was a year of desert-like dryness, there was a complete loss. Although the drought continued, the acreage in crops declined only slowly in 1894. After that it diminished more rapidly so when humid weather finally returned in 1898, most of the remaining settlers were planting only small acreages. 23/

During the first few years of settlement most farms had small crop acreages and some livestock. The principal crops were corn, millet, and cane. 24/ Corn, the most important of the three, produced a good yield the first year but failed thereafter. The first adaptation of the farming enterprise to the semiarid climate, therefore, was the substitution of hard winter wheat for corn as the principal crop. The Russian or "Turkey Red" hard winter wheat, a drought-resistant variety, was introduced into Kansas by Mennonite colonists in 1874 and was placed on the market about 1885 and 1886. Probably it was introduced into Haskell County about 1890 when wheat displaced corn as the main crop because farmers had learned it was more resistant to dry weather. Farmers in this year, although reducing substantially the total crop acreages as a result of the drought during the preceding 12 months, increased the acreages planted to wheat.

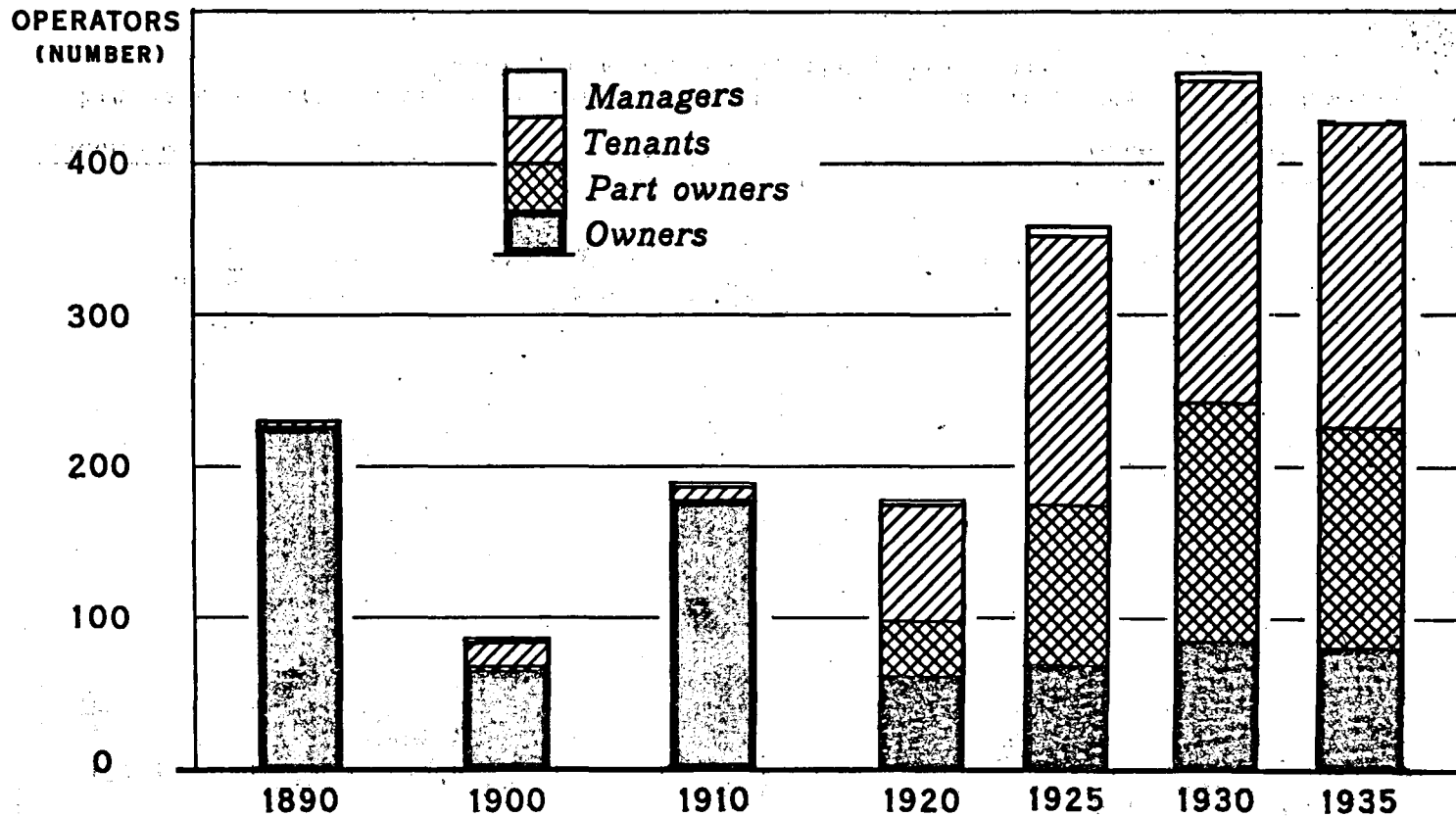
The first wheat crop of considerable size was grown in 1891 (Table 6,p.37), and at harvest time a horse-power thresher was used. The following year, 1892, is still spoken of by oldtimers as the best wheat year they have ever had in the county. On many fields the yield was as much as 40 bushels to the acre. The severe drought beginning the next year caused successive failures of the wheat crop, and production on a large scale was not resumed until after the World War.

21/ Supplement to the Suhlette Monitor, June 12, 1930.

22/ Johnson, Willard, D., The High Plains and their Utilization, 21st Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey, 1899-1900, Part IV, Hydrography, pp. 686-7. The author reports similar findings with regard to the early settlement of Sherman County, Kansas.

23/ Chilcott, E. C., Dry Land Farming in the Great Plains Area, Yearbook of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1907, pp. 451-56.

24/ Homestead Records, General Land Office, U. S. Department of the



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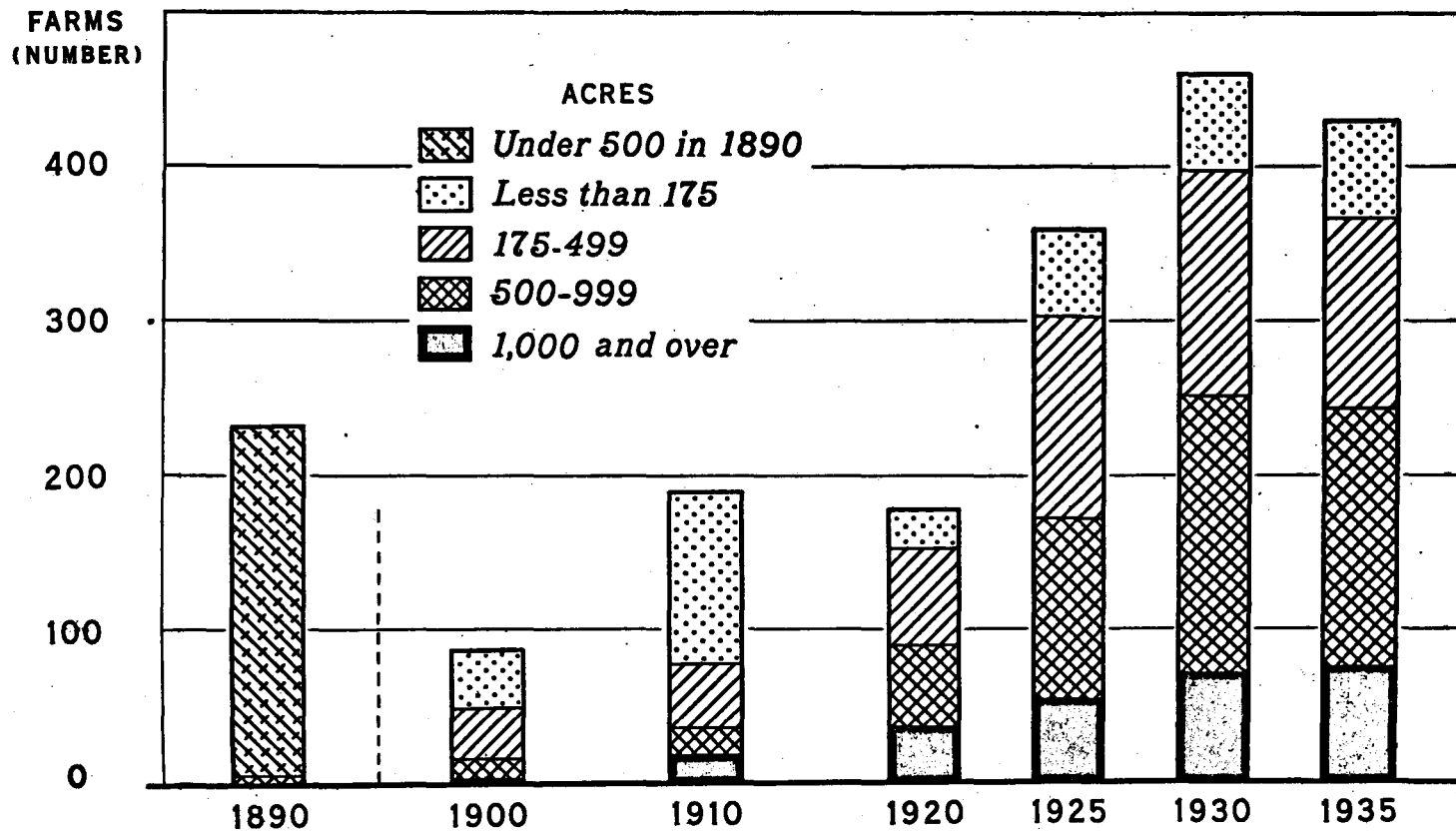
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FIGURE 7.- TENURE OF FARM OPERATORS IN HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1890-1935.

SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE





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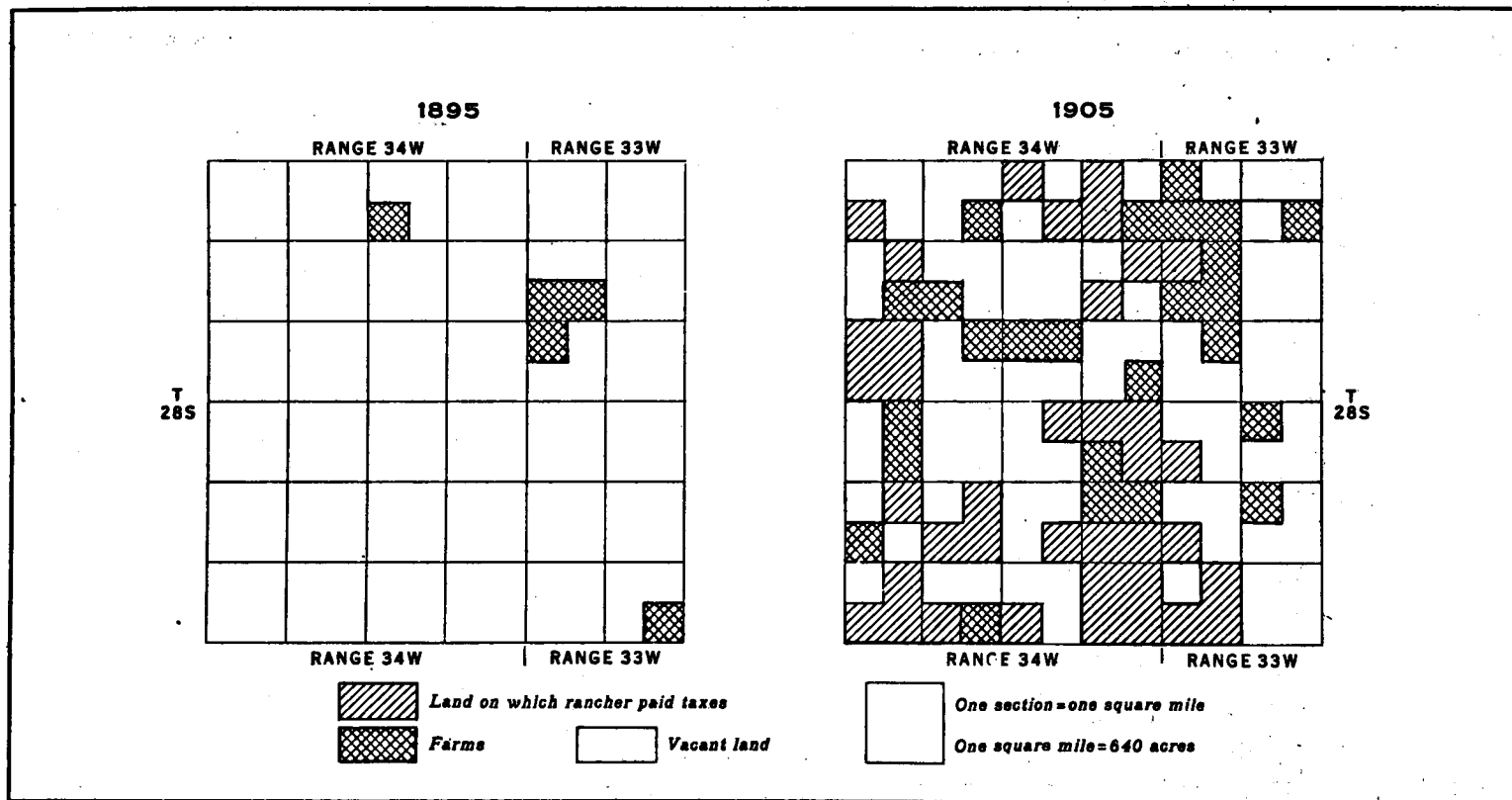
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FIGURE 9.- SIZE OF FARMS IN HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1890-1935.

SOURCE: U. S. CENSUS OF AGRICULTURE

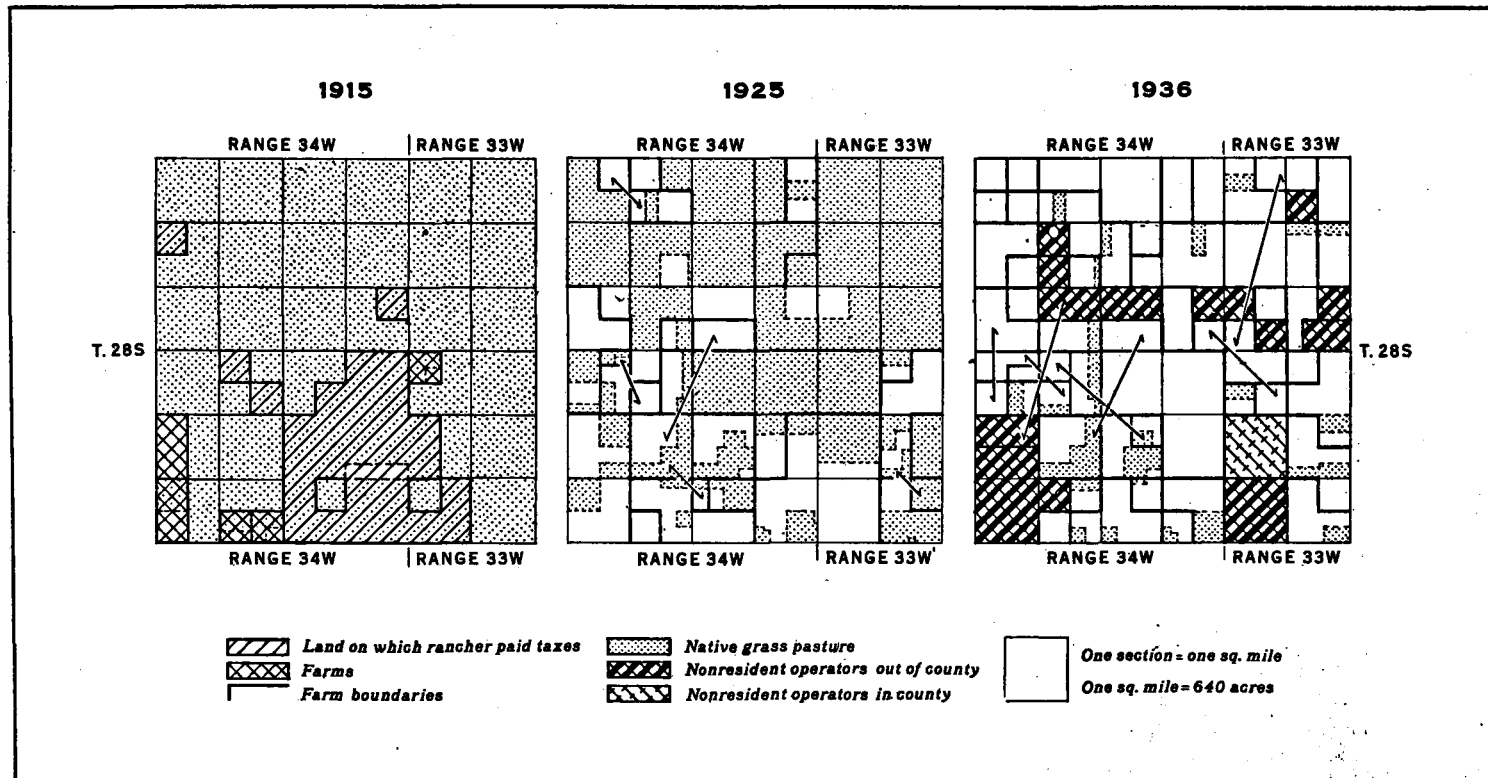




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**FIGURE 10-A.- RANCHES, FARMS, AND VACANT LAND IN SELECTED AREA OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1895 AND 1905.**



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**FIGURE 10-B.- FARMS IN SELECTED AREA OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1915, 1925, 1936.**

Sorghums, introduced into the area by the United States Department of Agriculture, <sup>25/</sup> constituted another adaptation of farm enterprise. These drought-resistant crops, producing feed and sometimes grain even during years of extreme dryness, are well suited to conditions in Haskell County. Sorghums commonly grown include maize, feterita, Kafir, and the saccharine varieties. Sorghums were well established as a part of local agriculture by 1895 (Table 9, p. 43).

With the cooperation of the State Experiment Stations throughout the Great Plains, a series of dry-land agricultural investigations were begun in 1905 by the Department of Agriculture. Little investigating of this subject had been done previously, and the investigations had not been coordinated. Charletans of every description employed by land-selling agencies traveled over the country, each claiming to have discovered some system that would revolutionize farming in semiarid areas.<sup>26/</sup> Even yet no exact agricultural technique has been evolved by the coordinated efforts of the Experiment Stations and the United States Department of Agriculture, but the introduction of drought-resistant crops and certain practices designed to conserve moisture has assisted farmers in adapting their methods to this area.

#### Speculation

Speculation in land, which has played an important part in all the settlement of the Great Plains, had its effect on the agricultural development of Haskell County. During the early period of settlement loans were easily obtained from the mortgage companies, and farmers holding title to land could borrow as much as \$500 to \$600 on a quarter section. This was enough to pay for the land at the rate of \$1.25 an acre and to make improvements. Most of the preemptions and homesteads commuted to cash in the selected area of Haskell County (Fig. 8, p. 32) were probably financed by such loans. Some mortgages were taken out by bona fide settlers for improving their homes, but others were taken out by speculators who intended to leave the area and wished to realize as much as possible on the land. Since the rate of interest was high and few of the borrowers could meet their obligations when payments were due, the mortgages were frequently foreclosed. Those who continued to pay interest for a while dropped their payments when the drought of 1893-97 caused land values to fall below the amount of the mortgage. Mortgage companies who obtained title to land in this way found themselves holding property that was virtually worthless. Because cash was so difficult to obtain during this period, many of the farms, whether owned by mortgage companies or individuals, were sold for taxes, and through this circumstance wealthy landowners were able to acquire large holdings at very low prices.

<sup>25/</sup> Ball, Carleton, R., The Grain Sorghums: Immigrant Crops that Have Made Good, Yearbook of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1913, pp. 227-28.

<sup>26/</sup> Chilcott, E. C., The Great Plains Agricultural Development, Yearbook of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1926, pp. 407-8.

Table 6.- Specified data for Haskell County, Kansas, 1887-1935

Year	Population	Inches of rainfall		Number of cattle other than milk cows	Winter wheat		Price
		Western Division	Sublette		Acres	Bushels	
1887	2,841	20.06	-	-	-	-	-
1888	2,666	20.70	-	648	184	2,024	\$0.88
1889	1,726	20.49	-	1,511	2,146	21,480	.55
1890	1,061	18.19	-	965	3,619	50,666	.77
1891	924	26.35	-	1,179	12,020	152,220	.73
1892	908	18.70	-	1,261	14,584	262,512	.52
1893	1,015	11.93	-	1,053	16,745	9,042	.42
1894	831	12.19	-	579	16,645	996	.44
1895	595	21.39	-	684	9,366	28,098	.45
1896	580	19.58	-	764	9,189	27,567	.65
1897	462	22.91	-	890	3,541	35,410	.74
1898	453	22.64	-	1,766	6,511	32,705	.50
1899	434	18.26	-	3,520	1,662	9,972	.52
1900	457	18.51	-	3,261	1,889	20,779	.55
1901	465	17.54	-	4,173	3,634	21,804	.59
1902	449	22.40	-	6,915	2,084	4,168	.55
1903	504	19.78	-	8,224	2,672	37,408	.59
1904	543	21.22	-	7,457	4,437	22,185	.89
1905	558	22.94	-	7,459	3,731	59,696	.71
1906	934	23.16	-	5,862	6,298	69,278	.58
1907	1,142	17.83	-	4,918	12,535	125,350	.82
1908	1,418	19.22	-	5,317	18,999	56,997	.87
1909	1,324	22.09	-	3,975	14,053	42,159	.98
1910	1,087	11.81	-	2,504	10,320 <sup>2/</sup>	51,600	.87
1911	1,075	16.82	-	2,808	2,754	5,508	.86
1912	961	21.33	-	2,816	5,503	55,030	.80
1913	1,070	17.37	-	2,886	2,319	6,957	.78
1914	896	17.47	11.79	3,156	9,124	136,860	.93
1915	995	29.83	22.43	5,882	9,055	135,825	.97
1916	1,336	12.85	12.58	6,163	15,750	141,750	1.44
1917	1,625	14.66	16.13	7,652	1,350	4,050	2.12
1918	1,720	21.43	24.72	5,671	9,982	29,946	2.00
1919	1,624	20.33	23.60	7,057	37,543	300,344	2.14
1920	1,305	20.20	23.97	8,649	22,000	264,000	1.76
1921	1,621	17.49	21.56	6,786	51,964	779,460	1.03
1922	1,858	17.24	17.41	9,516	53,548	589,028	.94
1923	2,009	28.85	27.24	6,911	-	-	.90
1924	2,017	16.31	15.45	6,252	61,241	1,041,097	1.15
1925	2,026	17.84	22.62	5,430	73,908	295,624	1.48
1926	2,119	14.19	15.72	2,281	119,526	2,390,520	1.20
1927	2,297	19.26	20.64	2,011	80,928	323,712	1.24
1928	2,344	26.84	26.68	3,280	123,154	2,463,080	.99
1929	2,581	18.80	19.24	2,489	168,019	3,024,342	.98
1930	2,804	22.91	24.29	2,662	171,280	1,712,800	.63
1931	2,723	15.66	12.47	4,429	181,525	3,448,975	.33
1932	2,635	17.00	16.54	2,848	47,552	332,864	.35
1933	2,649	17.90	11.24	3,172	17,900	89,500	.71
1934	2,613	11.14	11.05	3,894	78,997	394,985	.84
1935	2,465	15.29	12.01	2,682	197,460 <sup>3/</sup>	189,560	.89
1936	-	18.31	12.82	-	-	-	-

Data for population, number of cattle other than milk cows, and winter wheat acreage and production from Biennial Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture.  
 Rainfall data from Climatic Summary of the U. S., Section 40, Western Kansas, for the years, 1887-1930, and from Climatological Data, Annual Issues, 1931-36, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Weather Bureau.  
 Data for prices of winter wheat from Prices of Farm Products Received by Producers, Bull. 415, U. S. Department of Agriculture, May 1927, for the years 1888-1907. Prices for the years 1908-35 are the weighted monthly average prices furnished by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics Crop Reporting Board.  
<sup>1/</sup> Records for Sublette began in 1914.  
<sup>2/</sup> Small acreage harvested due to freezing and unfavorable conditions in preceding winter.  
<sup>3/</sup> This figure represents acres sown. The number of acres harvested was 47,390.

Ranching and Stock Farming, 1901-1915

Conditions Favoring the Development of Ranching

The relative depopulation of the county during the drought of 1893-97 left much vacant land and thus created a situation favorable for cattle ranching. The natural optimism of the frontier is reflected in the way in which the supposed ranching advantages of Haskell County were played up in contemporary news items. Thus the local editor states:

"They [cattle] thrive the year round on buffalo grass when it is not covered with snow and stockmen seldom feed more than from two to four weeks and frequently do not have to feed at all during winter....There is an abundance of range here for ten times our present population and it is practically free. A man with plenty of pluck and grit can come here and buy 160 acres of land and ten or a dozen cows, with \$600 or \$700, and he is on the highroad to fortune. There are still some desirable quarters in this country subject to entry under the homestead act." 27/

Collection of taxes was extremely difficult between 1895 and 1900, and 61 of the 104 privately-owned quarter sections in the selected area reverted to the county and were sold for back taxes. Much land was sold for even less than the amount due for taxes. The Journal of the County Commissioners for 1900 shows land offered for sale by the county for \$25 in county warrants 28/ per quarter section, plus the payment in cash of 1 year's taxes. School sections were leased about this time for grazing at \$25 a year per section for a 5-year period. 29/ Land belonging to absentee owners could be leased for the payment of taxes or used without the permission of the owner. Government land left vacant by the departure of the homesteaders could be operated without charge although it was open for homesteading at any time. In the area selected for intensive study, 32 out of the original 136 quarter sections of public land were open for entry in 1900 and 9 were still unoccupied in 1905 (Fig. 11-A) Large acreages in parts of the county were secured by ranchers or land speculators. The extent to which the ownership of land was concentrated between 1905 and 1915 is indicated in Figures 11-A and 11-B for the selected area. Settlers who had remained in the county began to raise cattle as an important source of cash income; in fact, cattle ranching and stock farming, once established, continued to be the principal agricultural enterprises until they were superseded by wheat farming.

27/ Santa Fe Monitor, June 9, 1898.

28/ County warrants represented promissory notes of the county. Their value varied but usually was somewhat less than the face value.

29/ Journal of the County Commissioners, Haskell County, Kansas, 1901.

Immigrants to the county between 1895 and 1905 included a considerable number who had money enough to take advantage of the abundant grazing land. By the latter year, farmers who had arrived during that decade possessed resources nearly as great as had those included in the previous census (Table 7).

Table 7.- Percentages of old resident and newcomer operators reporting specified livestock and crop acreages, and averages for those reporting, Haskell County, Kansas, 1905

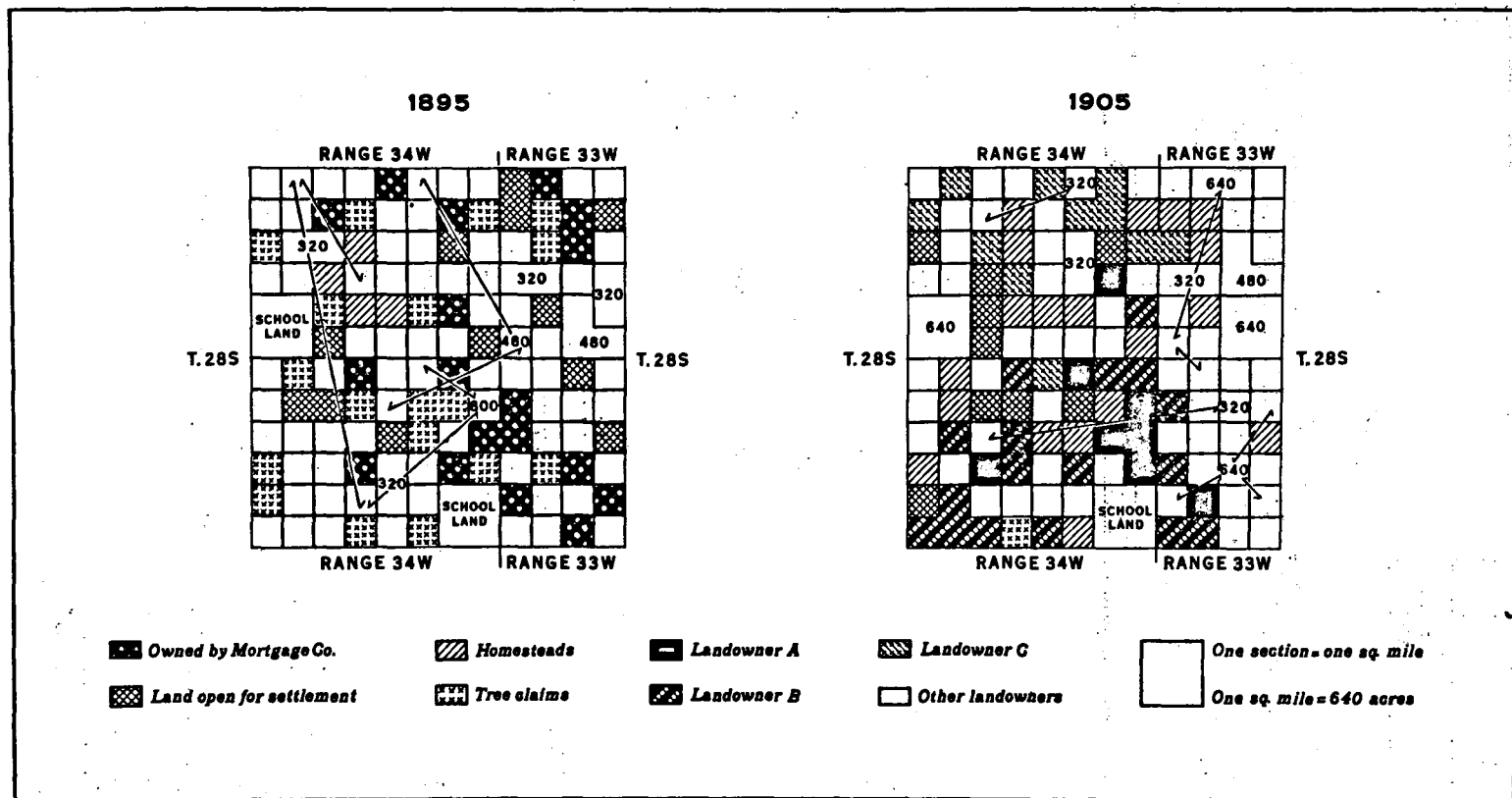
Item	: Percentages reporting 1/ :		Averages 2/	
	: Old residents :	: Newcomers :	: Old residents :	: Newcomers :
<b>Livestock owned:</b>				
Horses	86	90	10.7	8.4
Mules	20	15	2.9	2.5
Milk cows	78	62	5.6	3.3
Other cattle	86	75	69.3	67.3
Hogs	63	48	3.9	3.3
Poultry	46	19	\$47.1 <u>3/</u>	\$36.2 <u>3/</u>
<b>Specified crop acreages:</b>				
Winter wheat	61	33	63	46
Sorghum	83	85	33	36
Kafir	83	74	29	26
Corn	56	32	8	9
Barley	69	63	37	30
Oats	34	14	21	16

Special tabulation, Kansas State Census of Agriculture.

1/ Percentages based on 59 old resident, and 73 newcomer, operators.

2/ Average size of farm for old resident operators, 1,205 acres, and for newcomer operators, 1,263 acres.

3/ Only the value of poultry was reported.



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FIGURE 11-A.- OWNERSHIP OF LAND IN SELECTED AREA OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1895 AND 1905.

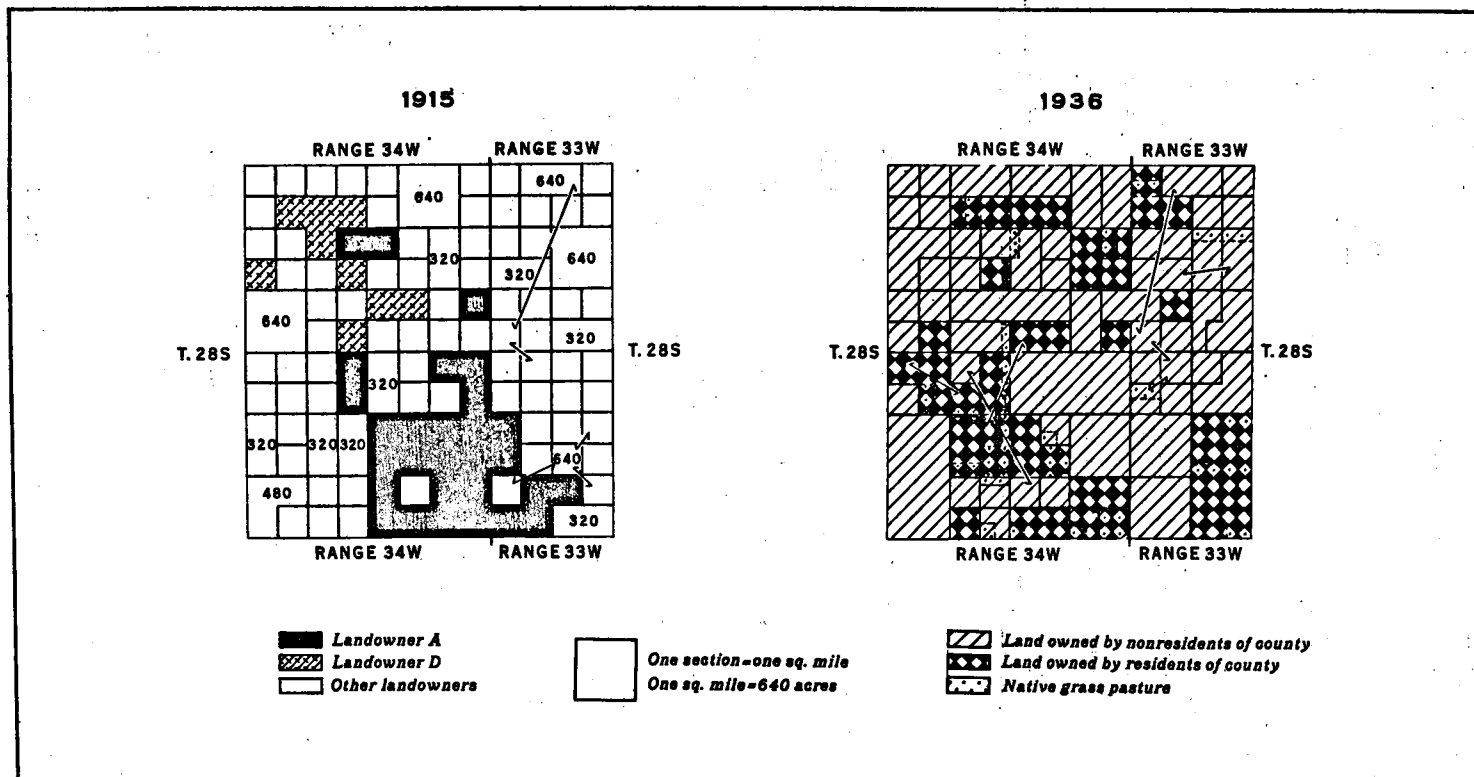


FIGURE 11-B.- OWNERSHIP OF LAND IN SELECTED AREA OF HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1915 AND 1936.



There were relatively more homesteaders than buyers during the following 10 years, and in 1915 newcomers were somewhat at a disadvantage with respect to possession of livestock and wheat acreage (Table 8).

From 1895 to 1915, the character of the immigrants tended to facilitate the changes in agriculture. The opportunities for profitable cattle raising attracted the type of immigrant suited to develop such possibilities within the area.

Table 8.- Percentages of old resident and newcomer operators reporting specified livestock and crop acreages, and averages for those reporting, Haskell County, Kansas, 1915

Item	Percentages reporting 1/:		Averages	
	Old residents	Newcomers	Old residents	Newcomers
<b>Livestock owned:</b>				
Horses	83	69	11.4	9.1
Mules	29	24	5.3	2.8
Milk cows	60	44	4.6	5.6
Other cattle	62	56	42.2	32.4
Hogs	37	31	8.8	5.8
<b>Specified crop acreages:</b>				
Winter wheat	45	41	138	100
Sorghum	55	43	27	25
Milo	58	61	27	34
Kafir	57	50	21	24
Corn	23	25	8	10
Barley	48	32	35	31
Oats	32	18	29	21

Special tabulation, Kansas State Census of Agriculture.

1/ Percentages based on 60 old resident operators (omitting one case for which the data of this table are not available) and 131 newcomer operators.

Size of Ranches and Stock Farms

The family-size unit in a permanent ranching economy ranges from 4 to 20 sections, or from 2,560 to 12,800 acres. 30/ Typical of the larger ranches in Haskell County was one of 18 sections or about 11,500 acres. The scale on which some of the ranchers operated is further indicated by the fact that at one time a train-load of cattle was shipped into the county for only two ranchers. 31/ The average size of farms and ranches recorded in the State Census of 1905 was 1,238 acres or nearly 2 sections (Table 9), the largest average acreage reported by any previous or later census. Ranching was at a peak, but many small farms and a few homesteads as well are included in this figure.

Table 9.- Percentages of farm operators reporting specified livestock and crop acreages, and averages for those reporting, Haskell County, Kansas, 1895-1915

Item	Percentages reporting 1/:			Averages 2/		
	1895	1905	1915	1895	1905	1915
<b>Livestock owned:</b>						
Horses	79	89	73	5	9	10
Mules	27	17	26	2	3	4
Milk cows	70	74	49	3	4	5
Other cattle	35	81	58	12	64	36
Hogs	32	57	33	2	3	7
Poultry	30	35	<u>3/</u>	18	37	<u>3/</u>
<b>Specified crop acreages:</b>						
Winter wheat	73	51	42	89	51	113
Sorghum	78	84	48	18	35	26
Kafir	60	78	52	11	27	23
Milo	4	-	60	8	-	32
Corn	52	42	25	13	8	9
Barley	55	66	37	20	33	33
Oats	41	23	23	17	19	24
Broom corn	26	<u>3/</u>	<u>3/</u>	21	<u>3/</u>	<u>3/</u>

Special tabulation, Kansas State Census Schedules.

1/ Percentages based on 139 operators in 1895, 132 in 1905, and 191 in 1915.

2/ Average size of farm was 234 acres in 1895, 1,238 in 1905, and 620 in 1915.

3/ No data.

30/ Youngblood, B., and Cox, A. B. op cit. p. 126.

31/ Santa Fe Monitor, April 21, 1904.

### Obstacles to Ranching

The second rush of settlement, centering around 1905-06, followed several humid years. The arrival of these homesteaders had much to do with the frequent consolidations of ranch holdings, for claims filed on all remaining Government land broke up the range that the ranchers had been occupying. For instance, a rancher in the selected area, while paying taxes on several disconnected tracts in 1905, ran his cattle over a considerable range but after this was broken up by incoming homesteaders, he consolidated his holdings by purchasing several additional sections (Fig. 11-A, p. 40).

Numerous disputes over damages to crops accompanied the breaking up of the range. A law was passed prohibiting cattle, horses, and other animals from running at large <sup>32/</sup> and ranchers frequently had to pay for damages caused by their livestock.

Prairie fires were a constant danger to settlers and ranchers from the time of the first settlement until the land was nearly all broken out in the 1920's. Fires frequently destroyed a part of the range, but because so much land was available they did not materially affect cattle ranching.

### Droughts of 1910-11 and 1913

Although rainfall was deficient during 1910-11 and 1913, farmers and ranchers who depended chiefly on cattle raising were not greatly affected because of the abundance of the range. But the new homesteaders, who depended almost entirely upon farming, had great difficulty in surviving. <sup>33/</sup> Many of those who left to get temporary work elsewhere never returned to complete their claims; others left soon after they had proved up. A settler in western Kansas reports the following experience of his family:

"Out from Hays at that time sod houses still squatted low on buffalo sod, among scattered patches of dwarfed and wilted corn. Hardest of all were the years, 1911, '12 and '13. For these three years with hardly a pause, the dust blew day and night. It would rain hard in the morning and the dust would blow again that afternoon. But rains were far between and light. Crops baked and were blown from the ground. The top-soil of whole counties moved north. Huts and homesteads were abandoned by the thousands as settlers treked back east." <sup>34/</sup>

Old settlers who had lived in Haskell County during those years corroborated these statements.

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<sup>32/</sup> Santa Fe Monitor, March 5, 1895.

<sup>33/</sup> Homestead records for selected area of Haskell County, Kansas, Government Land Office, U. S. Department of the Interior.

Development of Wheat Farming, 1916-30

Factors Favoring Shift to Wheat Farming

The trend toward the predominance of wheat farming during the period 1916-30 was brought about by a combination of factors: (1) the completion of a railroad through the county in 1912, (2) the extraordinary demand for wheat during and following the World War, (3) good prices for wheat during the entire period, (4) the introduction of power machinery, and (5) favorable weather.

A railroad had been anticipated since the first settlement of the county. Before its completion farmers had had to haul their wheat to the railroad station in Plains or Garden City, about 30 miles from the center of the county, so the cost of marketing absorbed a good part of their profits. The building of the railroad provided not only a convenient outlet for crops grown in the county, but a cheap and rapid means of transportation as well.

Wheat prices were especially high during the war when it was also considered a patriotic duty to raise as much wheat as possible. But in this part of the Great Plains unfavorable weather held back the major development until the 1920's when the introduction of power machinery coincided with favorable weather and good prices. Tractors were introduced about 1915 and combines (combined harvester-thresher), in the early 1920's. Their use increased slowly until 1924-26 when they were generally adopted by wheat farmers.

In the winter-wheat area of the Great Plains the adoption of power machinery has had far-reaching effects. <sup>35/</sup> Such machinery is particularly well adapted to the climate and topography of this region, for it makes possible the quick performance of all farming operations when weather conditions are favorable. This reduces somewhat the hazard in growing crops because a few days' difference in planting or harvesting may mean the difference between a good crop and none at all. Also larger areas can be cultivated with machines than with horses, and the cost of production is greatly diminished from seedbed preparation to harvesting. Moreover, the displacement of horses by machines partly eliminated the necessity of growing forage crops and the released acreage could be planted in wheat. Credit is less essential during the harvest as a combine makes it possible for the farmer to sell grain the day harvesting begins. On the other hand, large capital investment is required as the complete equipment for a wheat farm of 800 acres or less, permitting the planting and harvesting of 300 to 500 acres of wheat, costs about \$5,000. Also large cash outlay is necessary to operate the equipment.

<sup>35/</sup> Grimes, W. E., The Effect of Improved Machinery and Production Methods on the Organization of Farms in the Winter Wheat Belt, Journal of Farm Economics, 1928, Vol. 10, pp. 229-30.

The generally favorable weather conditions during this period constituted one of the most important factors in the development of wheat farming. (See Fig. 3, p. 16, for annual rainfall.) The production of winter wheat increased slowly between 1915 and 1921, but more rapidly thereafter. Although there was a rainfall deficit in 1916-17 followed by poor crops, the extraordinary demand for food during the war checked any significant decrease in the cultivated area. The production of wheat in Haskell County in 1919 was 300,000 bushels, exceeding the bumper crop of 262,000 bushels in 1892 for the first time. It increased to 779,000 bushels in 1921 and to more than 1,000,000 in 1924. The partial crop failures in 1925 and 1927 did not interfere with the boom that was then in progress. The production of wheat increased to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million bushels in 1926, to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million bushels in 1928, and passed the 3-million mark in 1929 (Table 6, p. 37). 36/

#### Changes in Farm Enterprise

Drastic changes in farm enterprise were especially rapid during the wheat boom when a one-crop system of farming, with its chief dependence on wheat as a cash crop, was developing. From 1915 to 1924, the proportion of farmers raising wheat was doubled and the average acreage planted in this grain rose from 113 acres to 230 acres. During this period there was a marked increase in the proportion of farmers raising livestock, particularly milk cows and hogs for home consumption. Although comparable figures for 1915 are not available, there was probably a similar increase in poultry raising. Cattle raising, a "cash-crop" enterprise, also shared in the increase but the average number of cattle per farm declined slightly. (Compare Table 9, p. 43, with Table 10.)

Still greater emphasis was put on wheat production between 1925 and 1929. The proportion of farmers planting wheat increased slightly, but on an average, operators doubled their acreage. Although the proportion, as well as the actual number, of farmers who kept livestock decreased, this phase of the farm enterprise was not abandoned. The number keeping cattle other than milk cows decreased from 77 percent in 1925 to 53 percent in 1930, and a similar decrease occurred in the percentage having milk cows, hogs, and poultry (Table 10).

Native grass pasture was broken out at a rapid rate between 1925 and 1927. As non-resident owners insisted upon having all available land planted to wheat, the demand for wheat land made it increasingly difficult for newcomers to obtain pasture or for the older resident operators to keep the land they rented from being plowed up. Owner-operators, particularly those who resided upon their farms, tended to reserve part of their land for pasture. (See 1936 map, Fig. 11-B, p. 41). The amount of land broken out increased from 25,178 acres in 1910, and 55,840 acres in 1920 to 120,280 acres in 1925 and 238,602 acres in 1930. 37/

36/ This probably represents an underestimate. See Methodology.

37/ U. S. Census of Agriculture. Figures quoted are classified as improved acreage in 1910, 1920 and as total crop land in 1925 and 1930.

Table 10.- Percentages of farm operators reporting specified livestock and acreages, and averages for those reporting, Haskell County, Kansas, 1925-35

Item	Percentages reporting 1/:			Averages 2/		
	1925	1930	1935	1925	1930	1935
<b>Livestock owned:</b>						
<b>Cattle other than</b>						
milk cows	77	53	64	28	11	11
Cows milked	73	51	70	5	3	5
Hogs	60	39	38	11	12	8
Chickens	77	63	74	108	104	99
<b>Specified acreages:</b>						
Crop land harvested	96	97	70	299	482	195
Pasture land	88	73	64	395	197	96
Idle or fallow land	14	23	87	152	182	166
Winter wheat	85	89	65	230	468	198

United States Census of Agriculture.

1/ Percentages based on 360 operators in 1925, 461 in 1930, and 429 in 1935.

2/ Average size of farm was 683 acres in 1925, 672 in 1930, and 692 in 1935.

This shift in agriculture necessitated a readjustment in the size of farm. As compared with the average farm unit in 1905 of nearly two sections (1,238 acres) when ranching predominated, the average holding in 1920 comprised about 700 acres. <sup>38/</sup> Although ranches were still important, the number of small-scale farmers had greatly increased, thus accounting for the smaller average size. The fact that the average size remained about the same between 1920 and 1930 obscures significant changes that were taking place. With one exception cattle ranches had disappeared by the end of this period, but there was a rapid increase in the number of wheat farms. These changes tended to counterbalance each other, for wheat farms require larger acreages than those that made up the early homesteads, if power machinery is to be used efficiently. The family-sized wheat farm in the county now ranges from about 320 to 2,000 acres. Some farms of less than 320 acres are found, but they are usually operated by young men just beginning to farm or by part-time farmers.

The Mennonites who entered the county during this period were conservative farmers who exerted a stabilizing influence upon farming. Although following the general trend toward wheat farming, they continued

<sup>38/</sup> U. S. Census of Agriculture.

to diversify their agriculture by supplementary livestock enterprises.

The shift in farming is closely related to the immigration of large numbers of farm operators (Table 3, p. 17). Besides having smaller resources than the farmers already in the county (Tables 11 and 12), these newcomers were largely without experience in dry-land farming. The change was most rapid during the wheat boom of the 1920's when the rate of turnover was very rapid. The significance of this replacement of successful farmers who had gained valuable experience in the locality by others who were unfamiliar with the vagaries of the climate can hardly be overestimated. The rush of population also increased the competition for wheat land and accelerated the speed at which it was broken out.

Table 11.- Percentages of farm operators reporting specified livestock and acreages, and averages for those reporting, by year first recorded in Haskell County, Kansas, 1925

Item	:Percentages reporting 1/:		Averages 2/	
	: Records begin in -		: Records begin in -	
	: 1920	: 1925	: 1920	: 1925
	: or before	: or before	: or before	: or before
<b>Livestock owned:</b>				
Beef cattle	83	84	24	34
Cows milked	79	80	6	4
Hogs	66	79	11	11
Chickens	84	80	118	91
<b>Specified acreages:</b>				
Crop land harvested	97	94	326	261
Pasture land	93	82	404	380
Idle or fallow land	10	19	103	186
Winter wheat acreage	85	84	256	197
Winter wheat bushels	85	84	3,873	3,056

Special tabulation, U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1925.

1/ Percentages based on 208 operators enumerated in 1920 or before, and 152 first enumerated in 1925. The year first included in an agricultural census is used as an indication of length of residence and of farming experience in the county. See Appendix, Methodology.

2/ Average size of farm for those first recorded in 1920 or before was 723 acres as compared with 629 acres for those first recorded in 1925.

Table 12.- Percentages of farm operators reporting specified livestock and acreages, and averages for those reporting, by year first recorded in Haskell County, Kansas, 1930

Item	:Percentages reporting 1/:			Averages 2/		
	: Records begin in - :			: Records begin in - :		
	: 1920 :	: 1925 :	: 1930 :	: 1920 :	: 1925 :	: 1930 :
	: or :	: before:	: before:	: or :	: before:	: before:
<b>Livestock owned:</b>						
Cattle other than						
milk cows	69	52	43	15	10	8
Cows milked	68	54	40	4	4	3
Hogs	58	33	30	15	15	6
Chickens	78	64	54	120	112	89
<b>Specified acreages:</b>						
Crop land harvested	99	100	94	515	575	398
Pasture land	87	73	62	240	150	173
Idle or fallow land	29	29	17	181	157	203
Winter wheat	93	95	84	488	566	384

Special tabulation, U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1930.

1/ Percentages based on 142 operators enumerated in 1920 or before, 112 first enumerated in 1925, and 200 first enumerated in 1930. The year first included in an agricultural census is used as an indication of length of residence and of farming experience in the county. See Appendix, Methodology.

2/ Average size of farm was 796 acres for those first recorded in 1920 or before, 755 for those first recorded in 1925, and 533 for those first recorded in 1930.

#### Growth of Tenancy

Free land, under the Homestead act, was no longer available in the county after 1909. Newcomers with small resources usually rented land at first and tried to acquire holdings later if they were successful with their crops. But they were inclined to rent rather than to buy additional acreage. This was particularly true during the years 1920-30 when land was relatively high priced. Figure 7 (p. 31) shows the rapid increase in tenancy in Haskell County.

The pressure to plant all rented land to wheat was so great that many farmers attempted to buy at least a quarter section on which they could reserve 2 tracts for pasturage and to plant row crops. Thus, the number of owners with additional acreage rented (part-owners) increased from 36 in 1920 to 106 in 1925 and to 158 in 1930 (Figure 7).



Eleven of the 51 farmers included in the area studied intensively lived outside the county. Some of them were former residents who continued to farm in the county even after they had changed their domicile. The majority had never lived in the county, but had begun suit-case farming recently because of the chance for quick profits. One farmer, who owned a large place in Sumner County, Kansas, had acquired this additional land when his sons grew up and became his partners. Another operator who had lost his position with an oil company was planning to continue working land in western Kansas. All but one of the 11 non-resident operators had other work. Five farmed elsewhere, two sold farm implements, and the others included a general contractor, an auto mechanic, and a farm laborer.

The usual practice of these suit-case farmers is to plant only wheat. Five of the 11 operators planted row crops during at least one of the last 4 years, on abandoned wheat land. This will probably not be continued when favorable weather returns. Few of these farmers have made a practice of summer fallowing any of their land except that which they kept out of cultivation to comply with the program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. One operator, however, summer fallowed one-third of his land each year. Like many other farmers in the county, they had no general disposition to follow moisture-conservation practices previous to this drought. Only the exceptional farmer habitually made a practice of summer fallowing.

Suit-case farming may have serious disadvantages during a drought. The operator usually is not present when steps should be taken to prevent soil blowing. Even if he knows of the danger, he may not be willing or financially able to adopt the necessary measures of control, especially if he has no hope of a crop. His soil may blow over onto an adjoining farm and ruin a field that would otherwise yield a crop.

#### Recent Trends in Farming, 1931-1936

##### Effects of Depression and Drought

The post-war prosperity so stimulated the production of wheat that surpluses began to accumulate and glut the market, and the price of wheat per bushel dropped from nearly \$1 in 1929 to 63 cents in 1930.

To raise enough revenue to meet fixed charges for interest and taxes, expensive machinery, gasoline, and repairs, the farmers attempted to counterbalance low prices by increasing wheat production. The largest acreage in the history of the county was planted in the fall of 1930 and a bumper crop was harvested in 1931. The Kansas State Board of Agriculture reports a production of about 3½ million bushels but this is probably an underestimate. At harvest, the price dropped to 25 cents a bushel, 41/ the lowest ever offered in Haskell County. The low returns

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41/ The average price for the State of Kansas was 33 cents for both 1931 and 1932 (Table 6, p. 37).

to the producers was almost equivalent to a crop failure. Many farmers stored part or all of their wheat, hoping to sell it the following year at better prices. But a year later 25 cents was again offered, and by that time the cost of storage (2 cents per bushel per month) had absorbed the value of the wheat. A complete loss resulted.

The drought of 1932-36 was the most serious in the history of the county, according to available weather records. Crop failures were nearly complete, wheat production varying from about 3 percent to 13 percent of the 1929 crop. <sup>42/</sup> The consequences of the drought, combined with the economic depression, brought a major crisis in the economic life of the county.

Most of the farm operators, with no available non-farm income, were utterly unprepared to meet this critical situation. Because of the high rate of mobility more than one-half of the Haskell County farmers included in the U. S. Census of Agriculture for 1930 had farmed there for less than 10 years (Fig. 6, p. 24). It seems probable that the newness of the operators and their inexperience were important factors in the rapid plowing up of the land. Had they experienced previous extended droughts, they would have hesitated to plow up such a large proportion of the native grass which gave a protective cover to the soil and furnished feed for livestock. Those with longer experience planted wheat, but wisely left a part of their land in native grass pasture.

Successive failures of the wheat encouraged farmers to increase their production of livestock (Table 10, p. 47). This increase in livestock production is somewhat surprising in view of the effect of drought on pastures and deserves some explanation. Since most of the land in Haskell County is broken out, only a small number of livestock are supported by the native grass pastures. The increase in feed for livestock during drought years, then, comes mainly from sorghum crops planted on abandoned wheat ground - a measure by which the farmers hope to obtain at least a small income from their land. Certain varieties of drought-resistant maize will produce at least a feed crop even during the driest years. That livestock enterprises and pasture were important to survival between 1930 and 1935 is indicated by the data on persistence of farm operators (Table 5, p. 25). As dry periods recur with some regularity, a more stable agriculture could be established by supplementing wheat farming with small livestock enterprises.

Farmers who came to the county during the period, 1930-35, had little effect upon agriculture because of their small numbers. Although many of those who came were substantial farmers, they had smaller farms on the average than those who began farming earlier; also, a smaller proportion of them had native grass pasture or livestock (Table 14).

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<sup>42/</sup> Biennial reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture. The figures are high during these years because they are estimated rather than actual yields. See Methodology.

Table 14.- Percentages of farm operators reporting specified livestock and acreages, and averages for those reporting, by year first recorded in Haskell County, Kansas, 1935

Item	:Percentages reporting 1/:				Averages 2/			
	: Records begin in - :				: Records begin in - :			
	:1920 :	:1925 :	:1930 :	:1935 :	:1920 :	:1925 :	:1930 :	:1935 :
	:or :	:before:	:	:	:or :	:before:	:	:
<b>Livestock owned:</b>								
<b>Cattle other than</b>								
milk cows	76	92	83	47	13	10	8	11
Cows milked	82	84	89	49	6	6	5	3
Hogs	47	98	72	45	10	10	5	10
Chickens	87	87	84	54	99	111	101	76
<b>Specified acreages:</b>								
Crop land harvested	74	73	73	56	190	206	212	152
Pasture land	78	68	66	41	146	71	62	55
Idle or fallow land	88	88	89	81	181	149	157	174
Winter wheat acreage	69	64	72	46	192	218	205	170
Winter wheat bushels	69	64	72	46	1,024	856	1,022	772

Special tabulation, U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1935.

1/ Percentages based on 144 operators enumerated in 1920 or before, 74 first enumerated in 1925, 139 first enumerated in 1930, and 72 first enumerated in 1935. The year first included in an agricultural census is used as an indication of length of residence and of farming experience in the county. See Appendix, Methodology.

2/ Average size of farm was 787 acres for those first recorded in 1920 or before, 710 acres for those first recorded in 1925, 705 acres for those first recorded in 1930, and 459 acres for those first recorded in 1935.

The benefit payments of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration 43/ to the wheat farmers of Haskell County have enabled most of the operators to remain in the county and cultivate their land but their influence in reducing the wheat acreage in Haskell County has been of less importance, for the deficiency of moisture during almost the entire drought period would in itself have persuaded some farmers to diminish their acreage.

43/ The Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed in May 1933, to control the production of basic agricultural commodities by a system of benefit payments. The purpose was to raise the purchasing power of the farmer, which had declined, because of the accumulation of surpluses of agricultural commodities after the World War.

The payments of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration were computed on the basis of wheat acreage planted by each operator for the 3 years, 1930-32, but the average yield was calculated on a county basis. This method was particularly advantageous to farmers who planted all of their land to wheat during this period. Farmers who had kept part of their land in grass were less fortunate because their wheat base acreages were low; those who practiced summer fallowing were at a similar disadvantage although such a soil-conserving practice had probably helped to raise the average yield per acre for the county.

The recent drought has encouraged farmers to adopt measures designed to conserve moisture and control wind erosion in an attempt to cope with problems that have become really serious not only in Haskell County but throughout a large portion of the Southern Great Plains as well. This tendency has received a great impetus from the Soil Conservation Service, 44/ the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the Resettlement Administration, all of which have promoted such erosion-control measures as contour farming, listing at right angles to the wind, terracing, the planting of cover crops to control soil blowing, and similar practices.

#### Resources Other than Agriculture

Haskell County is primarily agricultural but a considerable part is underlaid with natural gas and it is possible that oil may be discovered. 45/ The first producing well, located in the southwestern part of the county, 46/ was drilled in 1931 and has an estimated capacity of 18 to 20 million cubic feet but none of its output has ever been sold. In February 1937, a gas well was connected with a pipe line for the first time. 47/ A new plant producing carbon black from the natural gas, operated just across the line in Grant County, employed 25 men in 1937. During the spring of that year 4 wells in the vicinity of the plant

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44/ On April 27, 1935, President Roosevelt signed a Soil Conservation Act, directing the Secretary of Agriculture to "coordinate and direct all activities with relation to soil erosion" and to carry out certain activities for the prevention of soil erosion. To exercise the powers conferred upon him by this Act the Secretary was directed to establish the Soil Conservation Service. After certain portions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act were declared invalid by the Supreme Court on January 6, 1936, Congress passed a new act, in the form of an amendment to the Soil Conservation Act, entitled the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act which authorizes the Secretary through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration to make payments to farmers who follow recommended soil-conserving practices.

45/ According to the Sublette Monitor of March 25, 1937, during 1936 there were 53 oil fields and 12 gas fields added to the list of producing districts in western Kansas.

46/ Sublette Monitor, January 7, 1937

47/ Ibid.. February 11, 1937.

were already producing gas, 1 was being drilled, and plans were made for 32 tests nearby. 48/

Many farms are now leased to oil companies at an annual rate of 25 cents to \$1 an acre. Without interfering with the farming operations, this has an immediate and practical benefit to the landowners in the county, making a substantial contribution to their cash incomes. The possibility of using gas as a source of power to pump water for irrigation has not yet been explored, but it seems probable that experiments will be undertaken soon.

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48/ Ibid., March 25, 1937.

## Chapter IV

### STANDARDS OF LIVING

The first settlers in Haskell County were compelled to forego many comforts they had known and were forced to adapt their way of living to frontier conditions. They lived in dugouts or sod houses temporarily and endured hardships because they wanted to own land. As Isaiah Bowman states:

"Hard work, plain living, poorer schools, and a meager social life for his wife and his family were the price the pioneer paid for a new chance on the frontier. All expected to pay the price for a few years only, because the air was full of stories of wealth quickly acquired." 49/

The agricultural economy of the early settlers was relatively self-sufficient. During periods of favorable weather there was a trend toward the commercialization of agriculture and a rise in the standard of living; this was most marked during the decade 1920-30. Droughts tended to reverse both of these trends.

#### Living Conditions and Self-Sufficiency of Early Settlers, 1885-1900

##### Housing

As there was no timber or stone in the county or the surrounding area, it was expensive to erect frame houses. So most of the early settlers built dugouts or sod houses. The dugout was simply an excavation resembling a cellar with a roof over it; the sod house had a roof, a door, and windows. The dimensions of the usual pioneer dwelling were about 11 by 13 feet inside and 14 by 18 feet outside. Homes of a better type were built in Santa Fe because there was more rivalry among the village families and because tradespeople as a rule had more available cash than farmers.

The very limited resources of the early settlers ordinarily comprised a small reserve of cash, a few implements, and some household goods. The furnishings were extremely scanty - usually a table, chairs, dishes, a chest, and possibly a sewing machine. All of the families lived about the same way.

The settlers often came to the county in groups. Frequently a family was followed by relatives or friends who filed claims nearby and built houses in adjoining corners of their quarter sections. This arrangement allowed from two to four families to live close together but

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49/ Bowman, Isaiah, The Pioneer Fringe, American Geographical Society, New York, 1931, p. 25.

the next nearest neighbors would be located at least half a mile away. Proximity was important since it provided companionship for the family when the settler had to drive his team and wagon to the nearest railroad, located about 30 miles from the center of the county, for provisions and supplies.

#### Hazards of Physical Environment

The scarcity of water was one of the problems that loomed largest in the minds of the early settlers. However, an extensive supply of underground water was available at a depth of 100 to 200 feet. Two wells were soon dug in the county - one in each of the two villages of the county, Ivanhoe and Santa Fe. One old resident reported that he had seen at least half of the population of the county at a time around these two wells. To prevent any dispute over turns at the well, a book was kept for registering each man upon his arrival. 50/ Every family had a cistern and a water barrel at home, but water had to be hauled from one of these wells or from the Cimarron River to supply the household and stock. This took a great deal of time.

The introduction of windmills began shortly after settlement. By 1888 one well driller reported an average of one sale daily. 51/ Well drills made it possible to reach underground water at a considerable depth without great expense, and windmills furnished a relatively cheap and reliable means of utilizing the prevailing high winds to do the pumping. 52/ But the cost of a well and windmill (several hundred dollars) was more than many farmers could afford. Sometimes three or four neighbors shared the expense and the water.

Droughts, dust storms, high winds, blizzards, and hail storms visited the settlers. It is reported that the early dust storms were nearly as serious as the one in the spring of 1934, but the dirt did not pile up so much because most of the land was covered with native grass. If there was sufficient rain for crops to grow, a hail storm might come before harvest time and destroy the crop. Blizzards were feared in winter even more than dust storms and high winds in summer. A big blizzard occurred in January 1886, the first winter that settlers were in the county. An early settler reported that he was snow-bound for 3 days in his half-dugout and that the temperature reached 25 degrees below zero. The snow remained on the ground for 35 or 40 days and the prairie was littered with dead cattle that had broken away and perished in the storm. 53/

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50/ Newspaper clipping from Topeka Capitol dated July 7, 1907, in Haskell County file of the Kansas State Historical Society.

51/ Santa Fe Monitor, June 29, 1889.

52/ See Clark, Carroll D. and Roberts, Roy L., People of Kansas, Kansas State Planning Board, Topeka, 1936, p. 10.

53/ Clipping taken from Topeka Capitol, Mar. 10, 1929, in Haskell County file of Kansas State Historical Society.

Prairie fires were a source of danger from the time of first settlement until most of the land was broken out. The broad sweep of the prairies, covered with grass which became dry as tinder after only short periods of dry weather, was very susceptible to such fires. If accompanied by a high wind, a fire was extremely dangerous. But even in itself it would tend to create air currents which would facilitate its spread. Burning tumbleweeds borne along by the high wind or air currents sometimes carried the fire across a considerable space of plowed land. The flames were fought at each end by using wet feed sacks in an attempt to narrow it down to where it could be entirely extinguished. A water wagon and a large group of people were needed, so most of the residents joined forces in fighting the fire. Farmers lost buildings, grain, and livestock, and sometimes all the improvements on a place were destroyed. The local paper cautioned the people to protect themselves from prairie fires by plowing fire guards around their farmsteads.<sup>54/</sup>

#### Relatively Self-Sufficient Economy

After their first season on the land, the early settlers attempted to raise as much of their own food as possible, buying only indispensable clothing, fuel, and staples like coffee, sugar, and spices. Cow and buffalo chips were chiefly used as fuel, for coal was very expensive.

Owing to the recurrent droughts the homesteaders soon exhausted their small reserves and had to subsist on the barest necessities. Because of weather or the depredations of grasshoppers and chinch bugs, the cash income they expected to get from crops frequently did not materialize and there was much competition for the little work that was available. Those who had food often shared it with their friends and relatives.

Settlers gradually adapted themselves and acquired livestock on which to depend for a greater part of their living. Interspersed good years served to revive faltering hopes and around the turn of the century the favorable weather conditions enabled the farmers to begin raising crops again.

#### Changes in Living Conditions, 1900-36

##### Improvement in Housing

Housing underwent a gradual transition. Sod houses and dugouts were replaced by frame houses or by adobe houses made of a mixture of clay and water poured into a form and allowed to harden, a layer at a time. This house usually had one story, doors and windows, and walls about a foot thick. Although this type of construction proved to be well adapted to the country, it was not so durable as frame and few of these houses remain today. When a new house was built, the discarded

<sup>54/</sup> Santa Fe Monitor, March 16, 1893.



dwelling was frequently used as a chicken house or as an out-door cellar. The early frame houses were so rough they were scarcely more comfortable than a sod house, but they were more expensive and indicated a higher status.

As the settlers became more prosperous, they improved their houses and a number were modern in every respect. Basement houses, fairly common in the last decade, represent a modern adaptation of the dugout; they are less expensive to build and to heat than a home built entirely above ground. In some cases the basement house was designed merely as a temporary shelter that could be occupied until there was money for completing the upper part; in other cases, it was built for permanent use.

The present dwellings of farmers vary from shacks to modern dwellings. Of the 37 dwellings of resident farmers in the selected area, 27 were frame, 9 were basement, and 1 was adobe. Seven had electricity, 12 had running water, and 4 had bathrooms. In 1936 a Rural Sociology and Farm Management Survey of 202 resident farm families in Haskell and Seward Counties <sup>55/</sup> showed that 68 percent had washing machines, 55 percent refrigerators, 49 percent sinks, 20 percent bathtubs, 19 percent electric lights, 13 percent indoor toilets, and 9 percent furnaces.

#### Improvement in Communication Facilities

The first telephone line in Haskell County was built in 1892 between the courthouse and a residence about 2 miles distant. In 1896 it was extended to the town of Plains on the southeast, and to Garden City on the north, supplying services to several farmers along the way. From 1896 to 1908 further extensions were made, and in 1913 a 50-line switchboard was installed in Sublette; this connected six exchange subscribers with the several farmers. In 1914 the Sublette exchange was bought by a larger company and in turn became the property of a national company in 1918. The number of subscribers increased, especially after 1920, until there were 134 in 1929 and 197 in 1930.

The coming of the railroad in 1912 brought markets closer to the farmers and decreased the cost of supplies which previously had been freighted by wagon a long distance. Automobiles were introduced in the county as early as 1909 but did not come into common use until after the World War. During the 1920's the use of radios increased rapidly, providing an important source of information and recreation for the farmers. Of the 37 households of resident farmers in the selected area, each possessed an automobile, 12 had radios, and 9 reported a telephone in 1936. Of the 16 Mennonite families none had radios because it was contrary to their religious principles. For the same year, a survey of 202 resident

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<sup>55/</sup> Land Use Planning Division, Region 12, Resettlement Administration, Amarillo, Texas. The survey was made in 1936, but conditions were hardly more favorable than in 1930.

farm families in Haskell and Seward Counties 56/ reported that 95 percent had automobiles, 59 percent had radios, and 35 percent had telephones.

### Village Conveniences

There was a steady improvement in standards of living in the two villages of Sublette and Satanta. At first the residents had to haul water from Santa Fe or other nearby towns but soon they began to drill wells and put up windmills. About 1915 both villages constructed city wells and built water towers. The towers could be seen for miles around and, as the country had few roads, served as guide posts for the farmers who came to town to trade. About 1919 an electric-light firm was established by a resident of Satanta. Lines were put up and lights used in many of the homes, but the high school and some of the business houses retained their own light plants. At about the same time Sublette obtained electric lights. Natural gas was piped to both villages in 1929.

### Change from a Self-Sufficient to a Commercial Agriculture

Farmers in Haskell County no longer produce enough to supply their needs. More and more they have become producers of a cash crop and are dependent on sources outside the county for most of their supplies. Ranchers who operated on a large scale had good incomes but it was not until the development of wheat farming that the general level of income began to rise rapidly. The increase in cash expenditure for living was due in part to a rising standard of living and in part to the decrease in diversified farming. The general increase in specialization was similar to that which took place in the country as a whole. But the change in this county, associated with the mechanization of agriculture, came more rapidly and specialization has gone farther than in most other agricultural areas.

Extent of commercialization is indicated by the rise in farm receipts. For 1922-25, 57/ the estimated average income from farm sales was \$1,030,000, or an average of about \$3,000 per farm. 58/ In 1926 the estimated value of crops was \$1,612,000 as reported by the same source. The U. S. Census of Agriculture reported the value of crops to be \$3,567,-632 in 1929, or an average of \$7,756 per farm. The increase in the number of income tax returns - from 71 in 1926 to 168 in 1929 59/ - is a further indication of commercialization and prosperity.

56/ See p. 59.

57/ Market Data Handbook of United States, 1929 Domestic Commerce Series, No. 30.

58/ The U. S. Census of Agriculture reported 360 farms in Haskell County in 1925.

59/ Market Data Handbook, Op. cit., 1929.

### Effects of Recent Droughts on Standards of Living

The extended drought of 1932-36 materially affected the standard of living in Haskell County. Although farmers who had been in the county for some time were accustomed to the vicissitudes encountered during the occasional years of drought, their situation became precarious as the drought continued in 1933. As the commercial nature of their farming demanded a large cash expenditure for fuel, machinery repairs, interest on indebtedness, and other items, farmers were unable to pay their taxes, to meet the interest on their mortgages, or to buy even food and clothing. The severity of the crisis here and in western Kansas was not generally realized throughout the country, because of the localized character of the first 2 years of the drought and because of the general economic depression.

The situation in Haskell County was most critical in the early part of 1933. Stores in Sublette and Satanta failed because they extended credit and could not collect enough to remain in business. The wheat crop, the chief source of income, had been a net loss for 3 years through low prices and crop failures. The number of income tax returns decreased from 168 in 1929 to 26 in 1933.

In May 1933, the Agricultural Adjustment Program was rushed through Congress. When the payments from this program reached the county, the farmers were furnished a considerable amount of cash on which they could operate. Relief expenditures and farm loans were also available. The influence of these payments was felt not only by those who received the funds directly but also by creditors, public agencies, banks, and stores throughout the community. The combined effect of Federal programs of assistance was to restore morale and enable the residents to subsist on a lowered but fairly comfortable standard.

Benefit payments played an important part in the farm income (Table 15). In 1936, farm expenses averaged \$1,202 for all farmers but cash receipts, only \$913, leaving a deficit of nearly \$300. Government subsidies added an average of \$812 to the farmer's income, but as cash expenditures for living expenses actually amounted to \$785, there still remained a deficit of \$262. This was offset principally by funds obtained from loans and by leaving unpaid the farm and family obligations previously incurred.

Farm acreage is closely associated with average family income and expenditures for food, clothing, rent furnished, advancement, and other items (Table 16) because the amount of Government subsidy varies directly with the size of farm. Except for this larger subsidy and usually greater resources, operators of larger units would be at a disadvantage during a drought.

The average budget maintained by owners was greater than that for tenants (Table 17). The owners, with more extensive farms, had higher gross incomes, substantially increased by the larger benefit payments from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (Table 15).

Table 15.- Cash income and expenditures of 201 resident farm families, Haskell and Seward Counties, Kansas, 1936

Item	Average per farm family			
	Total	Owners and Tenants	Owners	Tenants
Cash receipts	\$346,861	\$1,725	\$1,965	\$1,392
Farm sales <u>1/</u>	183,576	913	990	806
Government subsidies	163,285	812	975	586
AAA and wind erosion	154,607	769	946	518
Relief	8,678	43	26	68
Expenditures	399,566	1,987	2,195	1,696
Cash farm expenses <u>2/</u>	241,612	1,202	1,365	974
Cash costs of living	157,954	785	830	722
Net cash available for family living and debt service	105,249	523	600	418
Deficit <u>3/</u>	-52,705	-262	-230	-304

Rural Sociology and Farm Management Survey, Land Use Planning Division, Region 12, Resettlement Administration, Amarillo, Texas.

1/ Includes receipts from crops, livestock, livestock products, machinery sales, labor, and machine hire. Borrowings are not included.

2/ Includes purchases of feed, seed, livestock, machinery, repairs, labor, and other operating expenses. Payments of principal and interest are excluded.

3/ Deficits have been offset principally by funds obtained from loans and unpaid farm and family obligations.

Contrary to what might be expected, there was no consistent relationship between size of household and average value of family living (Table 18). There was a slight tendency for the value of living to rise with increases in the size of households up to five persons, after which it declined. The proportion of total expenditures for food was greater for households of six or more members than for the smaller households, whereas the reverse was true for rent, household operation, and incidental expenses. Households comprising three to six members allocated a larger proportion of expenditure for furnishings and health than either smaller or larger households. No significant relation is apparent when the categories of advancement and fuel are considered. The average value of family living varied directly with the amount of Government subsidy for each size-of-family group.

Table 16.- Distribution of average value of family living among the principal items used, by size of farm, 202 resident farm families, Haskell and Seward Counties, Kansas, 1936

Size of farm in acres	Number of families	Averages										
		Value of living		Food		Clothing		Rent	Advance-	All other		
		Total	nished	chased	Total	nished	chased		furnished	ment		
Total	202	\$1,077	\$291	\$786	\$395	\$179	\$216	\$117	\$112	\$60	\$393	
80 -	239	14	689	185	504	274	128	146	73	57	31	254
240 -	399	28	832	257	575	382	176	206	87	82	29	252
400 -	559	27	909	236	673	333	151	182	96	85	52	343
560 -	719	37	1,028	254	774	375	188	207	107	86	39	421
720 -	879	37	1,128	309	819	439	198	241	129	110	65	385
880 -	1,039	21	1,162	325	837	411	180	231	146	145	60	400
1,040 -	1,199	11	1,458	400	1,058	442	227	215	154	173	87	602
1,200 and over	27	1,483	404	1,079	473	215	258	151	191	125	543	

Rural Sociology and Farm Management Survey, Land Use Planning Division, Region 12, Resettlement Administration, Amarillo, Texas.

Table 17.- Percentage distribution of average value of family living among the principal items used, by tenure of operator, 202 resident farm families, Haskell and Seward Counties, Kansas, 1936

Tenure	Number of families	Average value of living		Percentages								
		Total value	Total value	Food		Clothing		Rent	Advance-	All other		
				nished	chased	Total	nished	chased		furnished	ment	
Total	202	\$1,077	27.1	72.9	36.7	16.6	20.1	10.8	10.5	5.6	36.4	
Owners	118	1,151	27.8	72.2	34.9	15.8	19.1	10.9	12.0	6.0	36.2	
Tenants	84	975	26.0	74.0	39.6	18.1	21.5	11.0	7.9	4.8	36.7	

Rural Sociology and Farm Management Survey, Land Use Planning Division, Region 12, Resettlement Administration, Amarillo, Texas.

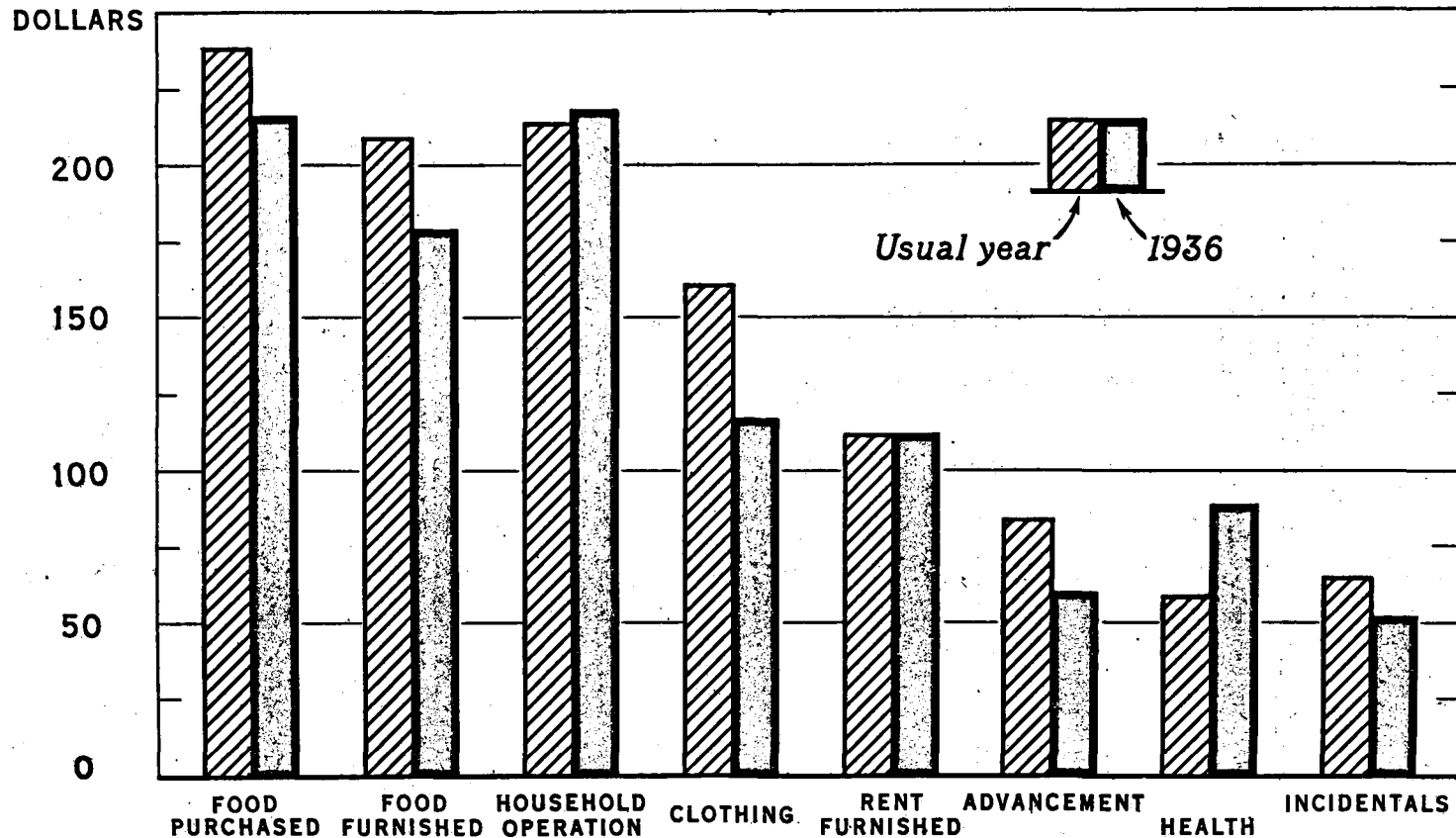
Table 18.- Distribution of average value of family living among the principal items used, by size of family, 202 resident farm families, Haskell and Seward Counties, Kansas, 1936

Item	Size of family in persons							
	All families:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 and over
Number of families	202	7	37	35	54	29	20	20
Total value of living	\$1,077	\$496	\$818	\$1,036	\$1,107	\$1,406	\$1,093	\$1,265
Furnished	291	94	218	269	300	392	302	363
Purchased	786	402	600	767	807	1,014	791	902
Food	395	194	288	369	377	477	442	596
Furnished	179	39	107	171	173	256	208	254
Purchased	216	155	181	198	204	221	234	342
Clothing	117	43	73	106	121	164	133	151
Rent furnished	112	55	111	98	127	136	94	109
Household operation	104	71	92	112	99	128	97	104
Fuel	66	28	53	69	72	79	63	71
Furnishings	48	4	25	60	49	78	57	29
Advancement	60	25	66	44	63	78	59	53
Health	89	4	48	107	113	109	85	74
Incidentals	52	56	43	52	56	58	55	43
Investment	34	16	19	19	30	99	8	35

Rural Sociology and Farm Management Survey, Land Use Planning Division, Region 12, Resettlement Administration, Amarillo, Texas.

The average value of all items of family living was only 9 percent less in 1936 <sup>60/</sup> than the usual value for the same family. If the survey had been taken in 1933, the expenditures might have been much lower. The chief items that decreased were expenditures for more durable items like clothing and for "luxuries" included under advancement and incidentals, and for food (Table 19 and Fig. 12). Residents of the county stated

<sup>60/</sup> This survey was taken as of October 1, 1936, and expenditures were reported for the previous 12 months. See p. 59.



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FIGURE 12.— DISTRIBUTION OF AVERAGE VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING FOR A USUAL YEAR AND FOR 1936, 202 RESIDENT FARM FAMILIES, HASKELL AND SEWARD COUNTIES, KANSAS.

SOURCE: RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND FARM MANAGEMENT SURVEY,  
LAND USE PLANNING DIVISION, REGION 12,  
AMARILLO, TEXAS

Table 19.- Distribution of average value of family living among the principal items used, for a usual year and for 1936, with relative changes from the usual year, by tenure 1/

Item	Value of items of family living for usual year and for 1936 with relative changes								
	All families			Owners			Tenants		
	:Percent:			:Percent:			:Percent:		
	:Usual:	1936:	change	:Usual:	1936:	change	:Usual:	1936:	change
Total value of family living	\$1,143	\$1,043	-8.8	\$1,208	\$1,112	-7.9	\$1,048	\$948	-9.5
Furnished	321	291	-9.3	353	320	-9.3	279	253	-9.3
Purchased	822	752	-8.5	855	792	-7.4	769	695	-9.6
Food	448	395	-11.8	458	402	-12.2	434	386	-11.1
Furnished	209	179	-14.3	215	182	-15.3	202	176	-12.9
Purchased	239	216	-9.6	243	220	-9.5	232	210	-9.5
Clothing	161	117	-27.3	168	125	-25.6	151	107	-29.1
Rent furnished <u>2/</u>	112	112	-	138	138	-	77	77	-
Household operation	214	218	1.9	222	229	3.1	199	202	1.5
Advancement	84	60	-28.5	100	69	-31.0	62	47	-24.2
Health	59	89	50.8	60	99	65.0	57	75	31.6
Incidentals	65	52	-20.0	62	50	-19.3	68	54	-20.6
Investment <u>3/</u>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Rural Sociology and Farm Management Survey, Land Use Planning Division, Region 12, Resettlement Administration, Amarillo, Texas.

1/ Usual year is what each family interviewed (118 owners and 84 tenants) considered "usual," a normal or average estimate of the value of items used.

2/ Rent was valued the same for both years.

3/ Investments were omitted because of difficulties in arriving at satisfactory figures for the usual year.

that there had been a decrease in the attendance at movies in cities outside the county. Contributions to the local churches so decreased that home-missionary money was sent into the county to help pay the salary of at least one local minister.



The increase of 51 percent over the usual expenditure for health (Table 19) warrants explanation. Probably an important factor is found in the dust storms which caused discomfort and possibly some of the deaths due to respiratory diseases. According to a recent study by the Kansas State Board of Health, dust is an important factor in causing respiratory infections:

"There is no evidence that any pathogenic organisms were carried by the dust and therefore the direct cause of the increase in respiratory infections could not be attributed to this factor. The dust, however, was exceedingly irritating to the mucous membranes of the respiratory tract, and, in our opinion, was a definite contributory factor in the development of untold numbers of acute infections and materially increased the number of deaths from pneumonia and other complications." 61/

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61/ Brown, Earle, G., Gottlieb, Selma, and Laybourn, Ross L., Dust Storms and their Possible Effect on Health, Kansas State Board of Health, Public Health Reports, Vol. 50, No. 40, Oct. 4, 1935, pp. 1381-82.

## Chapter V

### COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Family farms surrounding small villages made up the pattern of early settlement in Haskell County, for the provisions of the settlement laws required dwellings on each homestead of 160 acres. The early settlers, although generally aspiring to a relatively higher social status for themselves, had no idea of establishing a new form of social structure. On the contrary, they strove to duplicate in their new environment the forms of social organization known to them in their home communities. During periods of prosperity they progressed rapidly in acquiring both the forms of social organization and the material elements of the culture to which they had been accustomed, but the drought years brought severe set-backs. Nevertheless, the schools and churches established almost as soon as the first settlers arrived have continued to hold an important position in the community life.

The high mobility of the farm families was not favorable to the formation of permanent social organizations in the open country, but many clubs were established in the villages. Some of these groups were branches of national organizations while others were local in character.

Periods of extended drought have always resulted in a degree of social disorganization. Efforts were made at first to maintain the existing social structure of the community, but financial retrenchment prevented these efforts from being entirely successful. An adjustment was worked out, but the level on which it was made depended upon the severity of the drought and the amount of public assistance that was available to mitigate its effects.

#### Early Community Organization

##### Organization of County

Haskell County, formed out of the southern part of Finney County, was organized on July 1, 1887, by a proclamation of the Governor. The county was only 24 miles square and in the Census that was taken at that time, 2,841 inhabitants with \$850,119 worth of taxable property were enumerated. <sup>62/</sup> This small unit seemed desirable for a number of reasons. It was generally believed that the population would continue to grow rapidly and because of the slow means of transportation the proximity of a county seat would be convenient to the settlers. But most of all, the residents of the villages, Ivanhoe and Santa Fe, wanted to obtain the county seat. Then several individuals hoped to get some local office for themselves or their friends. Santa Fe was named the temporary county seat and was the principal contender with Ivanhoe for its permanent location. In the election that was called to decide the question, Santa Fe won.

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<sup>62/</sup> Journal of County Commissioners, pp. 8-9.

There were three townships when the county was organized, but others were added "with no other purpose than to supply jobs to that many more officers" 63/ so that by 1889 there were nine.

#### Trade Centers

Garden City supplied the needs of the first settlers but other small trade centers were soon established to serve the growing population. A map made in 1886 64/ shows four hamlets, each with a post office and one store or more, and two larger villages in the area that later became Haskell County. Both Ivanhoe and Santa Fe were laid out according to definite plans that allowed for their growth and development, and until the question of the county seat was decided, they were of nearly equal importance as trade centers.

Santa Fe, located in the center of the county, received its name from the historic trail that ran just a few miles north of the town site. 65/ It was created in the spring of 1886 when an investment company bought the town site and placed a series of advertisements in the local newspapers to attract settlers. By 1887, it had acquired a population of about 800, while Ivanhoe, 6 miles north, had an estimated population of about 500. Santa Fe boasted a hotel, a restaurant, two hardware and implement stores, a dry-goods store, two grocery stores, a blacksmith shop, a bank, and a newspaper. Ivanhoe was somewhat smaller in size, but had 12 business establishments. There were three smaller centers - Example, Stowe, and Taw. The first had one general store, the second had four, and the third had a mill.

The importance of securing the county seat in the development of a town is indicated by the fact that the number of business establishments in Santa Fe had increased to 18 by 1890, whereas those in Ivanhoe declined to 5. A few years later, the town site of Ivanhoe was sold for \$10, and Ivanhoe joined the ranks of the "ghost towns" of Kansas. No stores were reported in the smaller centers after 1889, but they remained as post offices for the surrounding population.

The newspapers and speculators spoke with unbounded optimism of the future of the town of Santa Fe. But its prosperity was brief. Few of the inhabitants, except those who kept retail stores, had any means of support. There were no industries. Those with money speculated in

63/ Tyler, G. A., Haskell County in the Making, Supplement to the Sublette Monitor, June 12, 1930.

64/ Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1885-86.

65/ The Santa Fe Trail, established in 1822, began at Independence, Mo., and followed a southwest direction. It crossed the Arkansas River at Cimarron, Kan., where it forked. The southern branch passed through the northern part of Haskell County, and cattle were frequently driven through the region before any settlement was made there.

town lots that soon proved valueless. The farmers had scanty resources and little money to spend for supplies, for even when crops were good the cost of marketing absorbed much of the price. Many people left Haskell County during the drought of 1889 when the Oklahoma Territory was opened. According to the Reference Books of R. G. Dun and Company, the population of Santa Fe declined from 800 to 166 during that year, but regained the former number the next year.<sup>66/</sup> It continued to be the principal trade center of the county for about 25 years, but it was greatly affected by the drought of 1893-97.

### Schools

After the settlers had provided shelter for themselves, their thoughts turned toward schools. In 1886 a public school was started in Ivanhoe and a number of others were established on a subscription basis in different parts of the county. Twenty-three school districts were organized the following year and the total school enrollment was 224. In 1888 the number of districts increased to 32, while the total enrollment grew to 614. The average length of school session for that year was only 14 weeks (Table 20).

An interesting development throughout the county during this early period was the organization of groups known as industrial schools, to promote propaganda relating to the abuses of trusts. They pictured the trust as giving the farmer a short price for his products and, through monopoly, selling them to consumers at a huge profit. These industrial schools were active in 1888 but were apparently abandoned within a short time. <sup>67/</sup>

### Social Life

Throughout the period of early settlement when the population was at its height, the social life of the county was lively. The settlers eagerly seized upon every occasion for social contacts. There was a great deal of informal visiting between the families. Weddings and birthday parties brought gatherings of neighbors and even funerals attracted large crowds. An early settler reported that the first meeting in her neighborhood was a "community sing." The neighbors gathered at one of the homes and sang songs mostly of a religious character. Sunday schools were organized about 1887, and by 1890 there were six churches - Baptist, Methodist, United Brethren, and three Presbyterian - with a combined membership of 209 persons. <sup>68/</sup>

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<sup>66/</sup> This fluctuation in population is probably greatly exaggerated, but old residents agree that a number left Haskell County, particularly from the villages, to seek fortunes in the new territory.

<sup>67/</sup> Santa Fe Monitor mentions frequent activities during 1889 but they appeared only occasionally the next year and no items were noted after 1890.

<sup>68/</sup> Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1889-90.

Table 20.- Number of school districts, enrollment, and average length of school term,  
Haskell County, Kansas, 1887-1934

Item	Year												
	1887	1888	1889	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1934
Number of school districts	23	32	34	34	33	13	12	19	20	22	24	25	25
Number of schools -													
Reported by district clerks	20	32	34	28	26	12	11 <sup>1/</sup>	18 <sup>2/</sup>	17	22	24	23	24
Having one teacher								19	14	21	20	21	20
Having two or more teachers								1	3	2	4	4	5
Enrollment:													
Total	224	614	613	352	224	141	178	307	274	425	543	725	561
Elementary									258	401	459	592	411
High schools								2	16	24	84	133	150
Average length of school term (weeks):													
All schools	13.1	14.1	19.5	25.0	12.0	18.5	21.0						
One teacher								24	28	28	32	32	32
Two or more teachers								28	32	32	36	36	34

Biennial reports of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Kansas.

1/ No term of school reported by district clerk.

2/ Number of districts maintaining schools.

Festivities were planned long in advance for the eagerly awaited holidays. The celebration of the Fourth of July at Santa Fe in 1888 was attended by practically every resident of the county. It included a procession in the morning, dinner at noon, sports in the afternoon, and fireworks in the evening. 69/ The parade included delegations from all over the county, the Grand Army of the Republic Post of Santa Fe, the Knights of Pythias, and "a company of ladies and gentlemen" on horseback. Such celebrations and social gatherings - a contrast to the hardships of pioneer life - furnished an emotional outlet for the people.

#### Effects of Drought of 1893-97

The depopulation of the county during the drought of 1893-97 jeopardized the functioning of local government, economic agencies, schools, churches, and organized social life. The local government in particular did not adjust itself readily to changes in size of population. As it was difficult to collect sufficient taxes to meet the most necessary public expenses, all expenditures had to be drastically reduced.

There was a close relationship between size of population and number of business establishments (Fig. 13). The latter declined from 23 in 1890 to 9 in 1895 and to 2 in 1900. In Santa Fe the population declined from 800 in 1888 to 250 in 1895 and to 60 in 1896, but increased to 128 in 1900. 70/

Although the population had declined to less than 500 by 1900, no change was made in county boundaries. The number of townships, however, was reduced from nine to three by an act of the legislature in 1897. 71/

The loss of population was a severe blow to the schools. The number of school districts declined only from 34 to 33 between 1890 and 1895 but had been reduced to 13 by 1900 (Fig. 14). The school term was shortened to an average of 13 weeks in 1895 whereas it had been as much as 25 weeks 5 years earlier. In 1897-98 the term was 5 months in Santa Fe, 72/ but was even shorter in the country districts.

An old settler reported that the school in his district was closed from about 1894 to 1896 and that school was held only at Santa Fe. 73/ When the school was reopened in his district and only \$15 had been allotted

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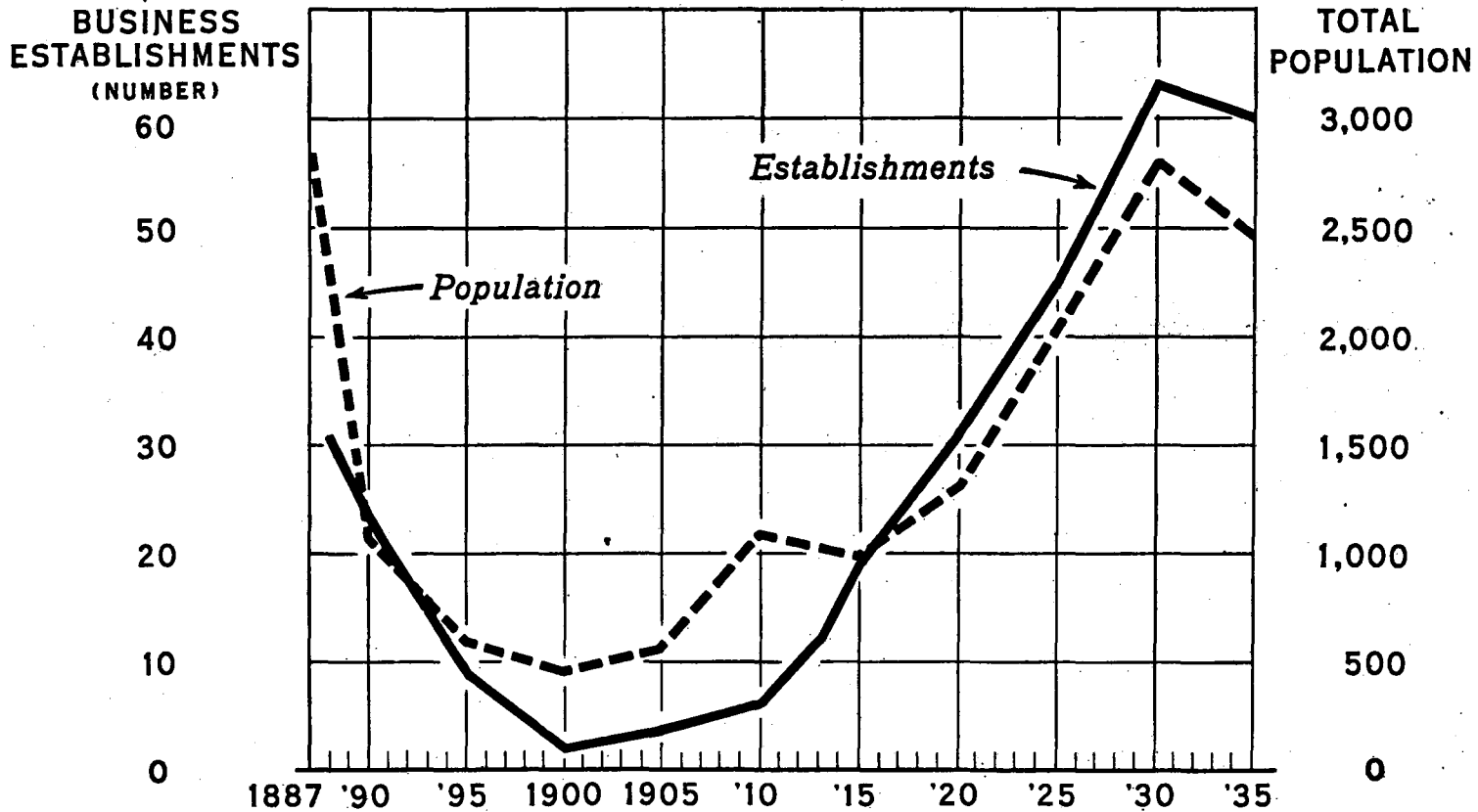
69/ Santa Fe Monitor, July 6, 1888.

70/ Reference Books of R. G. Dun and Co. Figure for 1900 is from the U. S. Census of Population.

71/ Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1897-98.

72/ Santa Fe Monitor, August 5, 1897.

73/ Other old residents were under the impression that school was held in most districts throughout this period but that the length of school term was reduced.



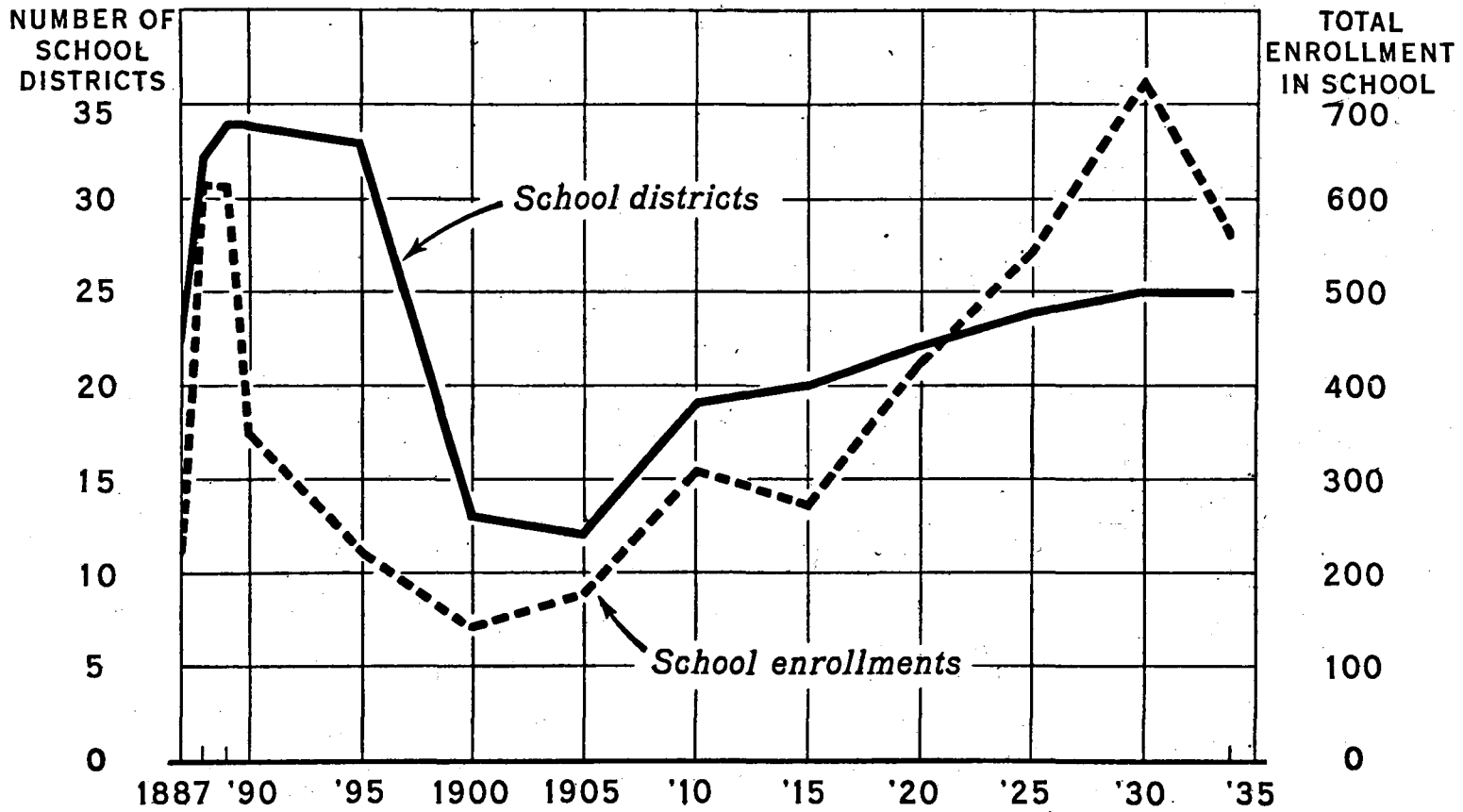
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FIGURE 13.- NUMBER OF BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS AND TOTAL POPULATION, HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1887-1935.

SOURCE: DUN AND BRADSTREET, DIRECTORY OF BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS  
 POPULATION DATA FROM BIENNIAL REPORTS OF KANSAS STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE



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FIGURE 14.- NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, HASKELL COUNTY, KANSAS, 1887-1934.

SOURCE: BIENNIAL REPORTS OF THE KANSAS STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION



for the annual salary of the teacher, an informal arrangement was made whereby the children of a neighboring district attended that school for 2 months. At the end of this time, the school was moved to the other district but with the same teacher and with the same children attending. This means a term of 4 months was made available to the children of both these districts.

The crudeness of facilities for schooling during this period is aptly illustrated by the following item regarding a school teacher, recently retired from active service, who began teaching in the county 40 years ago:

"Her first school was . . . constructed of sod with a dirt floor. That was in Haskell County in 1897 when she began her teaching career. There were no desks. Seats were home made. The blackboard consisted of boards a foot wide, nailed to cross pieces and leaned against the sod wall." 74/

The large celebrations, such as those that had previously been held on the Fourth of July, were discontinued because of the expense. Lodges were abandoned because of the difficulty of paying dues. The departure of many families also affected such organizations as singing schools, literary societies, and Sunday Schools. 75/ Informal gatherings and neighborhood visiting had to take their place. When parties were held, mush and milk frequently replaced the usual ice cream and cake. 76/

When favorable weather conditions returned, about 1898, a more active social life was resumed. The Old Settlers' Reunions started again, schools and churches took on new life, and dances and other forms of recreation became more frequent. As tax collection began to improve, more funds were available to finance schools and other activities of the local government.

#### Changes in Community Organization, 1900-36

##### Local Government

Interest in local government during the second decade of this period centered around a renewal of the contest for the county seat.

74/ Sublette Monitor, Sept. 9, 1937.

75/ Sunday Schools were maintained in Santa Fe and in some of the rural districts. It is not known positively that any resident pastors remained in Santa Fe and the fact that all of the funerals between 1894 and 1900, noted by the writer, were conducted by non-resident ministers or lay persons, indicates that probably no ministers lived in Santa Fe.

76/ This was reported to be a fairly common refreshment. A dance, at which mush and milk were served, was reported in the Santa Fe Monitor as late as March 1, 1900.

Fights for the county seat, so characteristic of Kansas counties during their early settlement, had been considered a relic of pioneer days until the struggle broke out anew in Haskell County. The railroad constructed through the county in 1912 missed Santa Fe by about 7 miles and Sublette, one of the two towns established along its right-of-way, began at once to agitate for the court house. Santa Fe, having declined in population from 128 persons in 1900 to 75 in 1910 and to 25 in 1920, 77/ would have lost the fight very shortly had it not been for the support of partisans of Satanta, the other railroad town. The latter village had no immediate prospects of securing the county seat, but its citizens thought they might have a better chance later if it remained for a time at Santa Fe. The struggle continued to figure in local politics for years and was twice before the legislature. One State representative was elected on the platform of securing a special Act of the Legislature to permit the moving of the county seat by a vote of three-fifths of the inhabitants.78/ Partisans of Sublette controlled the Board of County Commissioners and they refused to levy adequate taxes for the support of the county high school at Santa Fe. The fight was carried to the courts and legal proceedings came before the Kansas Supreme Court. Sublette finally won the right to the county seat in 1920, 79/ 8 years after the railroad was completed.

There was no change in township or county boundaries during this time. The relative prosperity and the steadily increasing population, combined with the contest for the county seat, forestalled any demand that might have arisen for consolidation of counties due to improvement in means of transportation and communication.

#### Trade and Service Agencies

The increase in population and the commercialization of agriculture during this period brought expansion in the number of business establishments (Fig. 13, p. 73). This increase was slow during the first decade after 1900 but was more rapid after the completion of the railroad.

In Santa Fe, which never quite recovered from the effects of the 1893-97 drought, there remained in 1900 only a general store and a newspaper. As the county population increased, the number of establishments increased to 5 in 1910 and 8 in 1912. But most of these were moved to the new towns located on the railroad, and when the county seat was finally changed to Sublette in 1920, only 2 remained. Santa Fe was officially vacated in 1926 and today only a filling station, a schoolhouse, and wheat fields mark the location of another "ghost town."

77/ Reference Books of R. G. Dun and Co. Figure for 1900 is from U. S. Census of Population.

78/ Topeka Capitol, May 16, 1919. This newspaper clipping is in Haskell County file of the Kansas State Historical Society.

79/ Topeka Journal, December 11, 1920. Newspaper clipping in Haskell County file of the Kansas State Historical Society.

Agencies having to do with the raising and marketing of wheat accounted for a considerable part of the increase in the number of business establishments in the county. The first elevator was built in 1916; 80/ there were 7 in the county in 1930. With the development of power farming, various concerns sprang into existence to supply tractors, combines, listers, and other implements. Garages, filling stations, and oil companies were established to furnish repairs and fuel for both automobiles and tractors. In 1920, there were 31 establishments but this number increased to 45 in 1925 and to 63 in 1930. At the latter date 31 agencies were located in Satanta, 31 in Sublette, and 1 in the open country.

Another significant development was the organization of cooperatives for the marketing of wheat. Cooperatives were organized in both Sublette and Satanta about 1929. As early as 1916, some farmers in the eastern part of the county had been members of the Cooperative Equity Exchange of Copeland (just outside of Haskell County) which became the largest farmer-owned and farmer-operated elevator in the world. The cooperatives at both Sublette and Copeland were mismanaged in the past but more stringent rules for the keeping of accounts have been adopted since then.

### Schools

Following the improvement of school systems throughout the country, Haskell County increased its school facilities during this period. The growth in number of school districts from 13 in 1900 to 22 in 1920 was made possible by the mounting school enrollment (Fig. 14, p. 74). The larger number of schools decreased the distance that the children had to travel. School terms were lengthened and high schools were established.

One year of high-school work was offered as early as 1910 in Santa Fe, but 10 years elapsed before 4-year high schools were placed on a satisfactory basis. A county high school was opened in Santa Fe about 1913 but the rivalry for the county seat interfered with its support. 81/ Beginning in 1913, a high-school course of 1 year was offered in Sublette also. This was increased to a 2-year course in 1918 and to a 4-year course in 1919. Satanta offered 1 year of high-school work in 1914 and later a full 4-year course, beginning with the school year 1920-21. When the court house was finally moved to Sublette in 1920, the high school at Santa Fe was discontinued and new high-school buildings were erected in Sublette and Satanta. During the following decade the enrollment in each of these increased rapidly (Table 17, p. 63), the quality of instruction showed marked improvement, and the curriculum continued to expand.

80/ Collins, John M., Haskell Rises to Renown, Supplement to the Sublette Monitor, June 12, 1930.

81/ Kansas City Journal, August 12, 1915. Newspaper clipping in the Haskell County file of the Kansas State Historical Society.

### Organized Social Life

The prosperity of this period was reflected in the formation of many new organizations with cultural, recreational, religious, or educational aims as well as in the improvement of existing ones. Organized social life developed slowly during the first decade of this period, especially in the rural districts. The annual Old Soldiers' and Old Settlers' Reunions which had been held first in 1898 were continued during the early part of this period and were attended by nearly everyone in the county. The Sunshine Club, organized for social purposes by rural women of the northwestern part of the county in 1909, still survives. An I.O.O.F. Lodge was organized in Santa Fe the same year and later transferred to Sublette. The churches, Sunday Schools, young people's societies, ladies' aids, and other church organizations have been active social gatherings connected with the various church groups making up an important part of the social activities in both villages and rural areas.

Church membership has kept pace with the growth of population, increasing from 149 in 1906 to 238 in 1916 and to 509 in 1926. It includes two Mennonite congregations, established by leaders of these groups upon their arrival in the county. The people of this sect have not joined social organizations existing in the county but live somewhat apart. As their participation in community activities is limited to what is consistent with their religious teachings, their social life is largely confined to their own church and Sunday School, and informal visiting among themselves. The effort to maintain the unity of their group life extended to the establishment of a parochial school that has since been discontinued because of decreased incomes.

The villages developed a rather active and highly organized social life, especially during the decade 1920-30, and many clubs with national affiliations were started. A number of women's clubs were organized with memberships largely confined to the villages although extended in some instances to farms. Organizations for men include the Masons, I.O.O.F., and the American Legion. The Sublette Community Club for business men, started in 1926, was discontinued in 1935. Organizations of the Girl Reserves were started in the high schools about 1929, and somewhat later the Y.W.C.A. was organized to act as a sponsor for the younger groups. The purpose of all these clubs was civic betterment, educational and cultural improvement, and recreation. Two of the women's clubs were instrumental in organizing and maintaining public libraries in the county during many years. Parent-Teachers' associations were organized in Sublette in 1929 and in Satanta in 1935.

A Grange, established in the northwestern part of the county in 1931, was the first farmers' organization in the county, with the exception of the grain cooperatives that had been started only shortly before. Parent-Teachers' associations were formed in five rural districts - four in 1934 and one in 1935. One of those started in 1934 held meetings for only 1 year but the others continued to function during 1936.

There are no moving-picture theaters in the county but movies were shown in the grade-school building in Sublette during the fall of 1936. Residents usually attend movies in Garden City or Liberal, each about 35 miles from Sublette. Every Saturday night except during the summer months a theater in Satanta offers a play given by a commercial company. Entertainments and plays given by the schools are well attended. Commercialized recreation is less important than in urban centers, and clubs enjoy a greater popularity.

#### Effect of Drought of 1932-36

The drought of 1932-36, in great contrast to that of 1893-97, affected formal community activities only slightly; in some respects these had become better organized. The explanation for this lies not only in the fact that the drought brought the people closer together by encouraging cooperative effort in meeting their common problems, but largely in the extent and effectiveness of the Government assistance that has been rendered.

As the problems arising from the depression, drought, and subsequent dust storms have been too great for the local government to handle, cooperation with larger units has been necessary. The functions of the county have altered and it has become, to a large extent, an instrument for the administration of State and National programs. Relief has been dispensed with the cooperation of the County Commissioners and has required only a relatively slight adaptation of the local government. The farm programs, however, have been established outside the existing county set-up and are not responsible to the local authorities. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Farm Credit Administration, and Farm Security Administration work directly with the farmer or with committees of farmers and not with the Commissioners. The only connection with the county government is through the County Agricultural Agent. The administration of the farm programs rendered more urgent the need for a county agent and this appointment was made by the County Commissioners upon the suggestion of the district representative of the Farm Bureau.

The County Agricultural Agent was hired in 1934 and a Farm Bureau was organized at that time. Since the County Agent is associated with the Farm Bureau which, in turn, is the agency through which the Extension Service of the Kansas State College contacts rural areas, this action was of considerable significance. Women's auxiliaries of the Farm Bureau have developed and the work of the 4-H Clubs for farm youth has been extended. This is particularly important in Haskell County because courses in agriculture are not included in the curriculum of the high schools. The women's organizations of the Farm Bureau are found in each local community of the county and serve as educational and social agencies. In the northwestern part, most farmers belong both to the Grange and to the Farm Bureau; in this case most of the social activities are carried on by the Grange. In other parts of the county the Farm Bureau has sponsored "community meetings" - primarily recreational gatherings

but with certain educational features. These meetings are open to all members of the community, most of whom are already members of the Farm Bureau.

The churches were hard hit through the decreased farm incomes. But interest in church activities has been maintained and attendance has recently shown an increase. Other organizations in the village were retained and several new ones formed. In the fall of 1936, a branch of the American Legion and an additional social club for women were established in Sublette.

Community activities benefited also because people spent less for commercialized forms of recreation and attended movies in the cities less frequently. Families turned their attention to the development of recreation in their own communities. This tended to make the programs of the Farm Bureau and Grange more attractive than they would otherwise have been. Then, too, the development of such organizations, retarded at first by the high mobility of the population, would undoubtedly have been effected by the relative stabilization that occurred in later years, regardless of other factors.

Schools in the county were affected only slightly. Teachers' salaries were considerably decreased as a result of the depression but probably no more than in other parts of the country not affected by drought. Some school districts were combined, and others sent their pupils to nearby schools, but most of the teachers were retained. The process of combining, especially in small districts, is likely to continue but its effects are beneficial. Items in the local paper indicated that school would not be held in three districts in 1937-38 because only 4, 3, and 1 pupils respectively had been registered, but these pupils were to be transported to other districts, leaving the county with only 18 rural schools. 82/

The number of business establishments (Fig. 13, p. 73) reflects somewhat the decrease in farm income which occurred after 1930. The number increased from 64 in 1930 to 74 in 1931, remained stationary for a year, and then began to decline. There were 68 in 1933, 61 in 1934, 60 in 1935, and 57 in 1936. 83/ This year-by-year inspection of the number of agencies shows that they were affected by the drought and depression but not nearly so severely as during the preceding drought of 1893-97.

82/ Sublette Monitor, May 6, 1937, and September 9, 1937.

83/ Dun and Bradstreet, Reference Book, for the first quarter of each year, 1930-36.

## Chapter VI

### RELIEF AND ASSISTANCE

The governmental assistance received during the recent drought has not been an entirely new experience to the residents of Haskell County. From time to time aid has been dispensed to relieve the distress of the inhabitants but during times of great stress has not been confined to direct relief. Benefit payments made in the last few years have their counterpart in payments made during the drought of 1889 when farmers were compensated for plowing their own land and all section lines were bought by the local government for roads. Thus the primary object of assisting farmers when other resources have failed has been attained without a sacrifice of morale.

#### Local Aid to Settlers

The county had hardly been organized before there was considerable demand for aid. When crops failed in 1887 "poor" relief was given to all families who requested it. But the need continued through 1888 and by the spring of that year the people were in such hard circumstances that they petitioned their commissioners to send out a call for aid "to the Christian people and charitably inclined of Kansas and Kansas City," mentioning the fact that they did not want to appeal to people outside the State. <sup>84/</sup> A carload of flour, bought by the county, was distributed among the needy and, during 3 of the first 6 months in 1888, \$1,000 was paid out to "paupers" by the trustees of the various townships who were overseers of the poor. <sup>85/</sup> This expenditure brought a protest from the taxpayers who requested that economies be made in dispensing relief, but the demand for economy was more than offset by the growing distress of the inhabitants.

In the summer of 1888 the small wheat acreage produced a good yield and nearly every settler wanted to plant a crop the following year. The local paper reported that farmers were willing to give one-fourth or even one-third of the crop to anyone who would furnish wheat for sowing, and commented: "Wheat is a sure crop in this country and there is a good opportunity for speculation here offered." <sup>86/</sup> As it was impossible for all families to get seed wheat, a petition was circulated by the settlers asking the county commissioners to buy wheat and corn for seeding purposes and in return to collect a share of the crop. <sup>87/</sup> This petition was not granted but the demand for assistance continued.

<sup>84/</sup> Tyler, A. G., Haskell County in the Making, Supplement to Sublette Monitor, June 12, 1930.

<sup>85/</sup> Santa Fe Monitor, July 20, 1888.

<sup>86/</sup> Santa Fe Monitor, September 7, 1888.

<sup>87/</sup> Santa Fe Monitor, August 3, 1888.

The most extensive relief and assistance was provided during 1889 because of the complete failure of the crop. On January 14 of that year, a petition was sent to the Board of County Commissioners, signed by 346 resident taxpayers, requesting assistance as follows:

"We, the undersigned, taxpayers and bona fide residents of said county, to retain our residence and to put in crops the coming season, find it necessary to have employment.

"THEREFORE, We petition your honorable body to make the following order, to wit:

"That for each acre of sod broken in said county by actual settlers between January 15, 1889 and June 30, 1889, you pay to the party or parties, as a compensation for said work, the sum of One Dollar (\$1.00) per acre." 88/

Assistance given that year included direct relief for groceries or the purchase of seed, payments to settlers for plowing their own land, and the purchase of section lines for public highways. Early settlers report that each family who would accept it was given a grocery order worth \$10. The county issued scrip for the purchase of seed (locally known as "seed aid") so that families who might otherwise be forced to leave the county could plant crops. 89/ Permitted by a special Act of the Legislature, the payment of \$1 per acre for all sod broken out, up to a maximum of 40 acres per family, was a direct subsidy. The local paper reported that some families were not strictly honest in claiming payments for broken sod; in one case, the acreage actually plowed was less than the amount of the claim filed, and in another, the farmer secured two sets of witnesses and filed his bill twice for the same land. One of the county commissioners requested the local paper to warn those "so disposed" to be careful in the future. 90/ Also by authority of the State legislature, roads were established on each section line and \$25 damages were allowed for each quarter section of deeded land and \$20 for homesteads and tree claims.

As the payments for section lines and for breaking sod were not considered in the same light as direct relief, nearly all residents of the county availed themselves of these subsidies. Nevertheless, many left the county.

As conditions began to improve with good crops in the years 1890-92, the necessity for relief diminished. According to records of the Board of County Commissioners very little aid was given after 1890 and on April 15, 1891, more stringent rules were adopted: "It is hereby resolved by

88/ Journal of County Commissioners, pp. 142-143.

89/ Santa Fe Monitor, April 12, 1888.

90/ Journal of County Commissioners, October 9, 1889.



the Board of County Commissioners in regular session that from and after this date no account shall be allowed for the maintenance of any person in this county who is or may be proven to be able to work and make his living or who is not a pauper, as understood by that term, and the township trustees are hereby notified not to issue orders for any person for provisions, fuel, or otherwise, unless the provisions of the Statutes have been complied with. Nor will this county pay for services of overseers of the poor except for services actually and necessarily rendered." 91/ Subsequently, the empty county poorhouse was closed, "it not being deemed advisable to longer maintain it awaiting occupants." 92/ The local paper expressed pride in the fact that the county had so far handled its relief problem without requesting outside help.

When crops failed in 1893, there was a suggestion that a special session of the legislature be called to provide seed for farmers in certain counties of the western half of Kansas. This proposal was opposed by the local paper:

"Such talk should not be countenanced. It would do the county receiving such aid vastly more harm than good. In Haskell County, most people either have or will raise their seed wheat and those who are not able to buy will be supplied in some way by their neighbors and friends. It [Haskell County] neither asks nor expects outside aid." 93/

Although the drought lasted for 5 years practically no local relief was given, because circumstances made it impossible for the county to help residents during this period. The failure of the bank in 1894 (in which county funds amounting to about \$15,000 had been deposited), the difficulty of collecting taxes, and the accumulated indebtedness of the county made it impossible for the local government to grant relief. Subsequently, little local relief was extended until the recent drought.

Since the beginning of the Federal relief program in 1933, the county has cooperated with this program and assisted in relieving the distress of its citizens. Aid has been provided for those who are not adequately cared for by the programs of the Federal Government, as well as for those who are ineligible for such assistance.

Provision of medical care is an important element of the local programs. A county physician is paid a salary of \$500 out of local tax funds to give medical attention to those who cannot afford to pay for it, and in addition, payments are made to him in cases of childbirth and minor operations. On the prescription of the doctor the county furnishes medicine to relief and rehabilitation clients and to other needy families. Payment of a salary to a county physician is not a new policy; it was

91/ Journal of County Commissioners, April 15, 1891, p. 303.

92/ Santa Fe Monitor, September 1, 1894.

93/ Santa Fe Monitor, July 6, 1893, p. 2.

started soon after the county was organized. 94/

#### Beginnings of Federal Relief and Assistance

Although the Federal Government has given assistance in the Great Plains on a much larger scale during the recent drought than at any previous time, it has long been concerned with the development of this area. The provisions of the Homestead and Timber Culture Acts have been amended from time to time so as to make it easier for settlers who suffered the effects of drought to prove up on their claims. Direct relief and assistance were left entirely to local units.

Direct Federal assistance to farmers in distressed conditions was introduced during the drought of 1918-19. In certain sections of the West, loans were made to wheat farmers whose resources were exhausted from successive crop failures to enable them to continue their farming activities. 95/ The importance of this loan program lies not in the actual amount of assistance rendered but in the fact that it set a precedent for Federal aid during such crises. In 1919, the Government cooperated with other public agencies and individuals in moving cattle and sheep from a drought area in the northwestern part of the country to feed and pasture elsewhere. An official of the United States Department of Agriculture pointed out that it was a proper function of the Department not only to disseminate information but also to organize the resources of the area to prevent the consequences that would otherwise follow from a serious drought. 96/ Until 1931, crop and feed loans were made intermittently by the Federal Government to relieve distressed conditions caused by floods or droughts in certain areas. Beginning that year, such loans were made on a national scale to alleviate conditions caused by the widespread economic depression.

#### The Farm Program

The commercialized nature of wheat farming with its relatively large fixed costs rendered farmers of Haskell County, as well as of other parts of the Great Plains, particularly vulnerable to effects of drought. It has been shown in previous chapters that these farmers made every effort to meet their obligations, but they found the task increasingly difficult as the drought and depression continued. As the counties and States, faced with curtailed tax receipts, were totally unprepared to meet the widespread demand for assistance, several measures were adopted by the Government for the purpose of relieving distress, stopping foreclosures, and enabling operators to continue farming.

94/ Journal of County Commissioners, Oct. 7, 1889. Dr. W. F. Mills was selected as county physician to give his "services as medical attendant and furnish medicine to the poor of Haskell County, Kansas" for the sum of \$125 per quarter for the year 1890.

95/ Yearbook of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1918.

96/ Ibid, 1919, pp. 403-5.

### The Agricultural Adjustment Administration

The Federal program that played the most important part in Haskell County was that of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration because it affected directly or indirectly nearly everyone living there. From its inception in May 1933 it received practically unanimous support. The relatively large payments sent to Haskell County, amounting to \$285,000 by the end of 1933 and averaging more than \$450,000 per year for the period 1933-36, 97/ can be attributed to the large average wheat acreages of operators and to the high average yield for the base years, 1930-32. This was generally true throughout the wheat area of the Great Plains as well. Incidentally, these benefit payments provided a limited measure of crop insurance, for they assured a certain fixed income whether a crop was harvested or not.

Payments were made directly to farm operators and land owners who cooperated with the program. In 1936, about 90 percent of all farm operators were included. 98/ The spending of this money benefited all local business establishments and was largely responsible for the fact that nearly all taxes were paid on time, thus providing funds for the salaries of local officials, school expenses, and other local needs.

As about two-thirds of all land in the county is owned by non-residents and as about one-third of the farm operators are non-residents, it should be pointed out that more than 40 percent of the benefit payments have gone to persons outside the county. As has already been stated, 201 resident farm operators in Haskell and Seward Counties received an average of \$812 in Government subsidies during 1936 (Table 15, p. 62). Benefit payments constituted the greater part of this amount.

The agricultural conservation program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration succeeded the AAA's production-control program when the latter was declared invalid. Payments were continued to farmers on the basis of soil-conservation practices but Haskell County received somewhat less, or about \$340,000, under the new program than under its predecessor. The continuance of these payments is contingent upon such appropriations as Congress may make in the future. A somewhat similar program has been provided for 1938.

The purchase of 1,072 cattle by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration during 1934-35 at a purchase price of \$10,647 also tended to relieve the distressed conditions due to drought. Only 21 of these cattle were condemned; the others were purchased for use. In addition, farmers received \$5,305 in benefit payments for reducing the number of cattle kept. 99/

97/ Records and Accounts Section, Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

98/ Sublette Monitor, February 11, 1937.

99/ Field Audit Section, Agricultural Adjustment Administration.

### Farm Credit Administration

The banks of Haskell County did not fail but they were compelled to curtail credit, chiefly because land and machinery were rapidly depreciating in value. Moreover, in this county, farmers had never secured a great deal of credit from the local banks. Previous to the development of power farming, loans had been made to ranchers with livestock or land as security. Farmers who had bought tractors, combines, other implements, and fuel either paid cash or gave their notes to the implement and oil companies; the local banks did not finance these transactions. When the depression and drought set in, the implement and oil companies had large credits outstanding in western Kansas. Subsequently, the foreclosure of implements took place on a large scale until the companies began to realize that there was no sale for used machinery.

A series of acts were passed to enable farmers to borrow money from the Government, culminating in the Executive Order, effective May 27, 1933, which consolidated all Federal agencies dealing with agricultural credit under the Farm Credit Administration. This organization made loans of several types to farmers who could not get credit locally at reasonable rates: (1) Federal Land Bank Loans, (2) production credit, and (3) feed and seed loans.

The Federal Land Banks made loans to finance farm mortgages. This involved refinancing previous mortgages as well as making new loans. The farmer thus saved his farm from foreclosure or at a low rate of interest obtained additional cash on which to operate. In Haskell County, 244 loans involving \$770,000 were made by the Federal Land Bank and the Land Bank Commissioner from May 1, 1933, through December 31, 1936. On the latter date there were 267 such loans outstanding in the amount of \$828,700, including loans made prior to 1933. 100/

Production Credit Associations furnish short-time credit to farmers and stockmen for general agricultural purposes including the production and harvesting of crops, the grazing of livestock, purchase of livestock and equipment, repair of farm buildings, or for the refinancing of indebtedness previously incurred for such purposes. As of December 31, 1934, the rate charged borrowers by Production Credit Associations was 5 percent. 101/ All loans made by Production Credit Associations were required to be adequately secured and to provide for liquidation at maturity.

Beginning in 1932 and continuing each year up to the present time, farmers in Haskell County have received additional financial assistance in the form of crop and feed loans, which are administered by the Emergency Crop and Feed Loan Section of the Farm Credit Administration.

These loans are customarily made available by annual appropriation of Congress for the purpose of financing the fallowing of land, the production and harvesting of crops, and the purchase and production of feed for livestock. This type of loan has always been made on a secured basis,

100/ Statistics Section, Farm Credit Administration.

101/ Second Annual Report, Farm Credit Administration, 1934, pp. 54-55.

(1) loans for the production of cash crops being secured by a first lien on all crops financed by the proceeds of the loan, and (2) loans for the purchase or production of feed for livestock being secured by a first lien on the livestock to be fed. A fixed policy has been followed of restricting the loans to farmers who cannot obtain loans from other sources and of limiting the loans to the actual amount needed by the applicant to finance his crop and livestock operations.

The number of crop and feed loans made in Haskell County for the period 1932-36 was 1,407, totaling \$318,188. These loans proved to be one of the most effective measures of assisting Haskell County farmers during this period. On November 12, 1938, 1,139 loans were outstanding and the unpaid amount was \$242,116.65. Thus, in spite of drought years, 24 percent of the amount loaned had been repaid.

In addition to secured crop and feed loans, the Emergency Crop and Feed Loan Section made a number of drought feed loans to Haskell County farmers during the drought period 1934-35, such loans being authorized by an Act of Congress approved June 19, 1934, appropriating \$525,000,000. Of this sum, \$96,785,000 was earmarked to the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration for drought feed loans.

These loans were made principally for the purpose of caring for cattle and other livestock in areas seriously affected by the drought, and enabling livestock producers to conserve their foundation herds. The loans were made on the basis of the borrower's unsecured note and a non-disturbance agreement given by all holders of liens on the chattels and other livestock to be fed.

The number of drought feed loans made in Haskell County during 1934-35 was 39, totaling approximately \$5,938. The appropriation authorizing these loans expired June 30, 1935. As of November 12, 1938, 30 loans were still outstanding, and \$4,335.90 had not been repaid. 102/

#### Relief and Rehabilitation

Farmers in Haskell County who operated more extensive acreages usually had more cash in reserve and soon received benefit payments from the Agricultural Adjustment Administration which were large enough to obviate need for further financial assistance; also, they were more frequently able to use the credit facilities offered by the Farm Credit Administration. But as farmers who operated small holdings had operated on a narrower reserve margin and received proportionately smaller benefit payments under the program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for curtailment of crop acreage, some of them were compelled to apply for relief. Because the low prices for farm products left inadequate funds with which to pay for even the necessary farm labor, there was little chance for the farm hands. This group completed the picture of farm distress. The need for relief was so widespread that neither local government nor private charities such as the Red Cross could cope effec-

tively with the problem. Moreover, with the whole country in the throes of the depression, there was scant opportunity for work elsewhere so the people of Haskell County were not likely to improve their situation by emigrating.

The first Federal relief reached Haskell County in 1932 when the county received an allotment of \$1,077. This was a part of a relief loan made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to the State of Kansas to care for the unemployed. In May 1933 the program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was inaugurated in the county and during the first month 75 families were on its rolls.103/

In the drought area direct relief to farmers was supplemented by assistance in buying feed for livestock. From December 1933 to March 1, 1934, the Civil Works Administration gave employment to relief clients as well as to other unemployed persons. Subsequently, the Civil Works Administration was discontinued and the number of families on relief increased. From March 1934 to May 1935 inclusive, the number of cases averaged 162 families which included 727 persons, or more than one-fourth of the total population. The average monthly expenditure during this period was \$4,976. 104/

In November 1934 another phase of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration program was inaugurated in Haskell County. The program of the Rural Rehabilitation Division, which had been organized to make loans to destitute farmers to enable them to become self-supporting on their own farms, was extended to the drought States. As the farmers were unable to repay the loans, they were given an opportunity to liquidate their indebtedness by employment on work projects. From the beginning of the program until June 1936, 66 families in the county were given grants or loans totaling \$3,513 - \$1,038 for loans and \$2,475 for subsistence grants.105/ In July 1935 the Rural Rehabilitation Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was transferred to the newly established Resettlement Administration. Up to December 1, 1936, 35 families were given grants and 26 received loans by Resettlement Administration.106/

In November 1935 the work relief program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was superseded by the Works Progress Administration which provided employment with a monthly security wage rather than a relief grant based on the needs of the applicant. At the inception of this new program the Government terminated the granting of direct relief and those who were not absorbed by its projects again became the responsibility of local authorities. Since the beginning of the Works Progress Administra-

103/ Division of Research, Statistics and Records, Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

104/ Ibid.

105/ Ibid.

106/ Data from the local supervisor of Rural Rehabilitation for the Resettlement Administration.

tion program in Haskell County it has employed an average of 60 persons, the average monthly pay roll amounting to \$1,734 up to June 1937 (Table 21). A number of these projects were for permanent improvements, including the construction of swimming pools, city parks and playgrounds, the improvement of roads and streets, and the operation of nursery schools and sewing rooms in the villages of Sublette and Satanta.

The National Youth Administration, an agency created to provide employment for persons 16 to 24 years of age, has given jobs to about 25 young men and women of the county. This agency furnishes only the salaries of the youth employed; the County Commissioners supply most of the necessary materials. In February 1936 the first project of this kind in the county was begun. School grounds have been improved and in Sublette the book collection of the public library has been catalogued and several hundred volumes have been repaired. In the two villages workshops

Table 21.- Number of persons employed and earnings on work projects of the Works Progress Administration, November 1935 - March 1937, Haskell County, Kansas

Month	Number of persons	Earnings
1935:		
November	52	\$ 816
December	65	2,059
1936:		
January	64	2,001
February	62	2,151
March	75	2,103
April	72	1,840
May	66	1,598
June	49	1,514
July	43	1,110
August	59	1,365
September	75	1,946
October	68	2,211
November	63	2,166
December	65	1,976
1937:		
January	52	1,635
February	49	1,644
March	46	1,349
Averages	60	1,734

Division of Research, Statistics and Records, Works Progress Administration.

were opened to make toys for distribution at Christmas, but were retained after the holiday season to make articles needed in the schools and in county offices. Some of the young people have assisted county officials in routine clerical capacities and others have been helped to obtain private employment. In addition, aid has come to the young men of the county through the Civilian Conservation Corps, although there is no camp in the county.

In contrast to the experience undergone during the drought of 1893-97, aid has been forthcoming from both Federal and local sources to relieve distress. The county has carried its burden well in cooperating with Federal agencies and in caring for residents not eligible for these programs. During 1936 the amount of local funds spent for direct relief ranged from about \$300 to \$1,000 a month.<sup>107/</sup> Furnishing the materials to carry on the Federal work-relief projects is another large expense to the county. As already pointed out, however, many of these projects are of permanent value to the community.

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<sup>107/</sup> Records compiled by Welfare Office of Haskell County, Kansas.



## Chapter VII

### ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS OF FARMERS IN THE DROUGHT AREA

Although somewhat intangible, an element of the frontier spirit remains as a factor in the community life within Haskell County. One of the more obvious manifestations is the relative informality of dress that has been generally characteristic of our Western frontier. The banker may exchange his white shirt for a leather jacket while he works in the bank or drives around the county to inspect his wheat fields. This informality is a superficial manifestation of the fact that customs are more easily subject to change than in more settled communities. The farmers are inclined to embark more readily on new ventures and with less discussion or debate than would be the case in communities farther east. One county official, who had been reared in the Middle West, stated that when he first came to the county, he was astonished at the rapidity with which proposals passed from the discussion to the action stage. This experimental attitude, necessary to survival, came the more easily to the rather adventurous persons who had been attracted to the community. This does not mean that license prevails. The citizens have always been law-abiding, for the most part, and a puritan influence is found in the emphasis on temperance, morality, and church going.

Vicissitudes of life in the Great Plains have created a social psychology peculiar to that area. Because attitudes and opinions influence action, it is important to know the attitudes of Haskell County farmers toward farming in this area and their opinions regarding the various Federal programs, in order to utilize such knowledge as a guide for future policy.

#### Attitudes Toward Farming

The great majority of farmers in Haskell County with whom the writer talked in the fall of 1936 agreed that, in the long run, it was as good a place to live and the chances for making a comfortable living there were as great as anywhere. One farmer remarked, "I like farming out here on a big scale, with tractors and combines. If you have a good crop you can make some money. I wouldn't farm any other place." These attitudes are characteristic of most farmers in the county, but may seem strange to those who have read about the droughts and dust storms of the Great Plains. The wide, level country, with its dry air and fertile soil, has a fascination for many of the residents. A few persons become discouraged and are alienated by the monotony of the landscape and the vagaries of the climate, but they usually leave at the first opportunity.

The necessity for taking chances has developed a speculative attitude while the promise of occasional bumper crops has attracted persons who are willing to gamble on the prospect of getting rich quickly. The fanciful hopes aroused - as reflected by the extravagant statements that have appeared in the local newspaper during all periods of pros-

perity - are based upon the frequent instances of large profits during a few years. Thus encouraged, farmers are led to expand their acreages and buy new implements to such an extent that they are ill-prepared for the next drought. A local official explained that this was and always had been a "long-shot gamblers' country." The uncertainty of farming in the Great Plains has inevitably been heightened by the dependence upon a single cash crop rather than upon a diversity of enterprises. Although raising wheat involves a great risk, it is highly profitable to farmers when crops are good and high prices prevail.

A difference of opinion exists among the farmers as to the extent to which crop failures can be prevented. Some say that anyone can raise a crop when there is a good year but that it is impossible to get a crop when weather is unfavorable, no matter what farming practices are used. Others think that if better methods were used, production could be greatly increased during both good and bad years. It is true that while some farmers have raised some wheat nearly every year during the recent drought, others have had complete crop failures for 5 years.

The attitude of these farmers is far from dogmatic. They are willing not only to accept methods that have been proven but also to experiment with new methods that offer a possibility of greater success. In spite of the tendency toward speculation, most of the farmers are interested in minimizing risks to a greater extent and insuring stability of income.

#### Attitudes Associated with Drought

Nothing discourages a farmer more than to watch his crops dry up when there is nothing he can do except to wait and hope for rain. One farmer said, "One hopes for rain out here so much that it hurts." Even when there is a single crop failure, the morale of the farmers is severely taxed. They become irritable and pessimistic and this is heightened when the drought continues for several years.

This attitude affects in turn the purchases of farmers. A local merchant said that when farmers came in to get coal during a dust storm they bought only a few hundred pounds, when they really needed at least a ton, and resented his suggestion of a larger quantity. An automobile salesman cited another instance. He had sold a new car to a farmer in the fall of 1936 but there was no written contract. A brief dust storm occurred before delivery, and the salesman had so much difficulty persuading the farmer to take the car, even though he had enough money to pay for it in cash, that it was a week before the transaction was completed.

The writer first visited Haskell County early in October 1936, just after a rainfall. The farmers were busy sowing wheat, and everyone was optimistic regarding the prospects for a crop the next year. Soon the fields were green and, except for piles of dirt along the fence-row and

noticeable erosion in certain scattered fields, there was no suggestion that the area had been in the grip of a 5-year drought. The local paper carried the statement, "Southwestern Kansas doesn't have a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage but it does have a gleam in every eye this year." 108/ The ability of these people to rise from despair to enthusiasm at what seems to be a slight excuse probably explains why they are able to stay in the county when the odds seem to be greatly against them. "If I can just hang on during these hard times," one farmer remarked, "I will get back on my feet as soon as we have one or two good years."

An editorial in the local paper expresses the feeling of many farmers:

"Here on the High Plains the spirit of confidence and hope and well-being (due to the general improvement in agriculture) is reflected, although we have been without a major crop for five years. The irrepressible determination of the people is by way of justifying itself. There is no longer any question of defeat. There is, instead, some planning of how to spread the income from a promising wheat crop over the gaps of the last five years. No widespread splurging is included in these plans. A wheat crop will launch a new era of self-financed, systematic management of the High Plains - because since the last crop the farmers have been doing a lot of reading and the Government has been doing a lot of organizing." 109/

The prospect of a good crop has about as much effect on the attitude of the people as a good harvest.

"'We're always long on wheat prospects', J. F. Moyer of Dodge City told a Kansas crop-weather seminar in Topeka. 'We're always talking prospects. When we have a bad crop, we forget about it and start discussing the next one. In fact, business is much better out there in the fall and winter when prospects are good than it is after a bumper harvest.'

"In other words, southwestern Kansas illustrates the old adage 'hope springs eternal in the human breast'. We ourselves are glad this is so. We'd rather be buoyed up by hope year after year even if the incentive must be next year's crop than to be smug and content over this year's profitable crop. This Pollyanna faith may seem childish to people who are sure of returns every year, but out here it's as logical and matter of fact as the quirks of the weather." 110/

108/ Sublette Monitor, March 18, 1937.

109/ Sublette Monitor, Dec. 31, 1936.

110/ Sublette Monitor, editorial, Nov. 19, 1936.

Opinions Regarding Federal Assistance

The Farm Program

Federal assistance to farmers in Haskell County runs so counter to the individualistic tendencies of farmers generally - and in particular to those of the Great Plains, recently emerged from the frontier stage - that any program which involves regulation and assistance might be expected to incur strong resistance. But, typical of the rapid change in fundamental attitudes that can occur during crises, there was little evidence at the time of this study of the idea that farmers could manage their own enterprises successfully without cooperation. It had become apparent that outside assistance would be imperative if the farmers were to remain in the area and that the existing farming set-up was not adapted to prolonged drought.

The unanimity with which the farm program was accepted in this county as well as throughout the Great Plains, was due partly to the desperate circumstances in which the farmers found themselves in 1933. Then the benefit payments would be large to those who were willing to cooperate. The importance which farmers generally ascribe to the benefit payments of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration is indicated in the following remarks: "It was a lifesaver, the only thing that kept farmers here." Another declared, "With the drought I don't know how we could have gotten through without the payments."

A small minority of the farmers of Haskell County, although accepting benefit payments, expressed themselves as being opposed to the program because they thought it was not always well adapted to their farms and was an interference with their management. They sometimes said that it would have been better to do without such payments if they could have obtained enough credit elsewhere. With the return of more humid years, a slight increase in the number of non-cooperating farmers may be expected.

Farmers who agreed with the general purposes of the program of benefit payments frequently criticized the way in which it actually functioned. These criticisms were usually concerned with: (1) the fact that benefit payments were unduly favorable to those farmers who had not previously used soil-conserving practices; (2) the delay in announcing details of the programs so that farmers did not know far enough in advance what steps to take to comply with them; and (3) the value of certain recommended practices - for example, strip farming, or the planting of strips of row crops, alternated with summer fallowing.

It was apparent to all farmers that soil-conserving practices were of no avail if their neighbors failed to take similar measures. The pioneer background of the community became apparent in the direct action taken by farmers to protect their fields. The following incidents illustrate such measures and the extent to which they were condoned by the community.

One case was cited in which a non-resident operator, informed of the deplorable condition of his fields, failed to take corrective measures to prevent wind erosion. His neighbors went out in a body with various types of implements and proceeded to work his land. This effectively stopped the soil-blowing, but because the tractors operated at different rates of speed and went around each other the ground was temporarily unfit for cultivation.

In the spring of 1937 a Haskell County farmer listed about 100 acres of his neighbor's land without authority from the operator. The case aroused widespread interest and was expected to set a precedent as to whether one farmer might work another's land without permission. The jury, after long deliberation, declared in favor of the farmer who worked the land to halt soil-blowing, and assessed no damages. 111/

Another case was reported in which a farmer, without advising the owner, worked neighboring land to prevent soil-blowing. The owner arrived just as he was leaving the field, hired him to work more land, and paid him for what he had already done. 112/

Two definite expressions of public opinion indicate a growing demand that owners of land make every effort to prevent their soil from blowing. The first is a ruling by a local Agricultural Conservation Committee decreeing that farmers who fail to control soil-blowing will not be eligible for benefit payments; the second is the new State law empowering the Board of County Commissioners to work the land of such owners, charging the costs to their tax bills. 113/ In such ways have the farmers adopted a common means of action in addition to their acceptance of Federal assistance in meeting their problems.

#### The Relief Program

There is much diversity of opinion regarding the relief program. Farmers who had received relief at any time were generally in sympathy with the program and thought they had been treated with consideration. The Mennonites generally expressed the belief that it was better to get along without relief, if possible, but that it was a "good thing" for those who needed it. One Mennonite farmer who had domestic help furnished by the relief agencies when his wife was ill was very much impressed with this form of aid. Another farmer was well pleased with the fact that a dam had been constructed on his place by relief labor, and believed that this was a very desirable way to use relief labor. As he had no well or windmill, the dam was of great value to him, for it made a small reservoir for the storing of water which could be used for watering stock and for irrigating a small garden.

111/ Sublette Monitor, March 4, and March 11, 1937.

112/ Sublette Monitor, March 18, 1937.

113/ Sublette Monitor, May 6, 1937.

The attitude of farmers who had never received relief was different. Although they had usually received considerably more assistance in the form of benefit payments or loans, they did not consider these in the same category as relief. They were inclined to believe that relief was dispensed in too liberal a fashion and that some who were not in great need were receiving help. (It is interesting that this same criticism was voiced in Haskell County in 1888 when relief was being administered by the county authorities.) Others believed that those on relief would strive to remain on the rolls after their need had passed. But those who were receiving relief expressed the wish to be self-supporting again at the first opportunity.

Some farmers stated that employment by the Works Progress Administration ruined the morale of farm laborers. The relatively high wages paid for work relief, along with security of employment, shorter hours, and fairly easy work, made the men reluctant to leave such jobs. There was an administrative ruling to the effect that workers were to resume their jobs with the Works Progress Administration immediately after completing such temporary private employment as might be available. In actual practice it sometimes took several months before the worker could be reabsorbed on available projects. This situation undoubtedly made him hesitate to accept temporary farm-labor jobs. To prevent these projects from interfering with the wheat harvest of 1937 all projects of the Works Progress Administration were temporarily suspended. 114/

Although the general acceptance of the farm program reveals a change from the characteristic pioneer attitudes of individualism and independence of action, to a greater dependence upon and cooperation with the Government, it is probable that these attitudes will revert to a considerable extent when a return of favorable weather conditions decreases the need for outside aid.

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114/ Sublette Monitor, July 8, 1937. Haskell was one of 14 Kansas counties in which Works Progress Administration projects were suspended during the harvest.

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## Chapter VIII

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### The Drought Cycle

In Haskell County the type of farming, the size of population, and the whole set-up of community organization have tended toward what could be supported under the most favorable conditions that existed during the first and subsequent periods of greatest immigration. Cyclic periods of wet weather brought new streams of immigrants and there was a strong tendency to overdevelop the area. Under such circumstances the occurrence of a severe drought constituted a disaster of major significance to the community. In spite of the fact that droughts have been characteristic features of the climate, they have not been anticipated or planned for by the residents of the county who were eager to conclude, after a few good years, that droughts were a thing of the past.

The hypothesis stated in the Introduction, that social changes associated with drought tend to follow a definite sequence pattern,<sup>115/</sup> has been substantiated by a variety of data regarding social factors involved in the development of this particular county:

(1) A period of disorganization follows the onset of each drought. This is marked by an effort to maintain the established type of farming, standard of living, and community organization, but there is uncertainty and hesitancy as to farm practices, crops, and the advisability of leaving the region. Income and expenditures are reduced, some residents leave either temporarily or permanently, and each remaining farmer makes partial adjustments. There is no general agreement, however, and no uniformity of adaptation to the common problem of survival. The normal functions of local government are hampered by the difficulty in collecting taxes.

(2) The continuance of the drought over a period of years forces communities to make more drastic adjustments finally worked out by the individual families and by the community as a whole. They lead to a decrease in size of population, fewer trade agencies, and a diminished emphasis on commercial forms of recreation. Assistance from local and Federal sources, in various ways, has

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<sup>115/</sup> This is a special case of the general proposition that all social change follows a definite pattern of development. See Carr, Lowell J., Sequence Pattern of Disaster, American Journal of Sociology, 1932; Vol. 38, pp. 207-218; and Phelps, Harold A., Principles and Laws of Sociology, 1936.

played an important part in the alleviation of the consequences of drought.

(3) The end of each extended dry period is followed by a readjustment to more favorable weather conditions. This phase has usually involved a period of relative prosperity and at times has amounted to a boom. There has been a consistent effort to bring the land under more extensive use, an expansion facilitated by mounting speculation in land and increased non-resident operation. After a time even the old settlers, who protested against the wholesale destruction of the prairie sod, were seized by the fever to plant more wheat on their own land but they did reserve a part of the native grass for pasture.

#### Probable Success of a Program of Adjustment

The question might be raised at this point as to whether an adjustment can be devised that will render the economy of the county less vulnerable to the effects of drought. Contriving such a program would involve the cooperation of farm owners and operators with local, State, and Federal agencies. Two or three good wheat crops with prices at approximately present levels would diminish the effectiveness of cash payments as an inducement to compliance with such a program and reduce the number of cooperating farmers. Those who contend that any attempt to make such an adjustment is futile can point to the monumental reports of Johnson 116/ and Powell 117/ whose recommendations were entirely disregarded. It should be remembered, however, that not only farmers but also the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture failed to follow these reports. Until a few years ago they neglected the fundamental question as to whether the land was suitable for growing this crop. The situation is entirely different, at present, when problems of land use are the primary concern of the Extension Service.

In the opinion of the writer there is a good chance for the success of a program of adjustment on a sound basis. The population is likely to remain more stable in the future than during the period 1925-30, when the rapid rate of turnover and the large proportion of newcomers were largely responsible for the rapidity with which land was broken out. The experience of the recent severe drought is another important element in the situation favoring the success of such a program.

One obstacle to the effectiveness of a long-range program of

116/ See footnote 22, p. 30.

117/ Powell, J. W., Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States, U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region. Government Printing Office. 1878.

adjustment lies in the fact that about two-thirds of the land is owned by non-residents of the county, for many of them do not understand farming and are entirely unfamiliar with conditions in western Kansas. But from the point of view of such owners, there is the additional consideration that the supervision of wheat growing is much easier than that of a more diversified farming. The competition for land, especially during good times, gives owners the power to make decisions regarding land use that might more appropriately be left to the operators. It has already been pointed out that non-resident owners had an important influence in the breaking up of sod. The long-time interests of these owners would lead them to cooperate with a program of soil conservation but the fact that they are scattered throughout the nation makes difficult the task of enlisting their cooperation.

#### Federal Subsidy and the Future of the Great Plains

The extent of Federal subsidy to Haskell County, Kansas, during the recent drought makes appropriate some discussion of Federal aid in relation to the county's future. Although the great bulk of Federal expenditures (consisting of benefit payments, relief, and farm loans) were not specifically for drought relief, such aid was effective in stabilizing the farming economy on a higher level than would otherwise have been possible, judging by the series of events during the drought of 1893-97. Moreover, the cattle-purchase program of 1934-35 and the drought feed loans of the same years were measures specifically designed to relieve drought distress among the farmers. These special appropriations were in addition to an extremely liberal policy in the granting of relief and making loans, and the fact that benefit payments per farmer were unusually high.

As compared to a completely laissez-faire policy, which would involve no public subsidy to alleviate the disrupting effects of drought, the present policy has prevented extreme social disorganization that might otherwise have been expected. The migration of greater numbers would have increased the burden upon the communities to which they moved and their chances for making a satisfactory adjustment in these areas would have been lessened still more with the increased competition for such places. It seems reasonable to suppose that the speculative boom which would ordinarily follow the return of more favorable weather has also been largely avoided. Such results tend to justify the present policy, at least as an emergency measure.

In a completely planned economy it seems likely that such areas as Haskell County, in which there are the widest fluctuations in production, would be retired from wheat growing. A good crop frequently coincides with a bumper crop for the Nation as a whole (although an exception to this rule was the year 1930 when good crop yields in Haskell and other counties of the Great Plains were associated with widespread

drought in other parts of the country). A reduction of acreage to secure benefit payments has little or no effect on wheat production during drought years when the crop is almost a complete failure; during favorable years wheat production in this area merely serves to increase the national surplus.

In a planned economy there would be, presumably, opportunities for farmers not needed in the area to engage in farming in other places or to secure employment in industry. As such conditions do not prevail at the present time, continued subsidy and the tendency to instability of production must be weighed against the cost of regrassing the land and of resettling the people elsewhere, as well as some estimate of the unwillingness of these people to move to other areas.

### Recommendations

Recommendations of this study to avert the most disastrous effects of future droughts are presented on the assumption that neither a completely laissez-faire nor a completely planned economy will prevail. Certain proposals regarding the areas which have already received consideration will be discussed, together with other suggestions based on the present study. Some of the suggestions are applicable regardless of the effects of recurrent dry periods but assume more importance when considered in the light of these.

### Land Use and Resettlement

The proposal that there should be certain changes in land use in the Great Plains is generally agreed upon, but there is considerable difference of opinion regarding the nature and extent of such readjustments. The Program Planning Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration issued in December 1936 a preliminary report, "Recommended Adjustments in Land Use for the North Central States," presenting recommendations of two groups of workers for the distribution of farm land between selected uses in the interest of soil conservation.

One of these groups consisted of the staffs of State agricultural experiment stations working in 1935 on the Regional Agricultural Adjustment Project, in cooperation with the Program Planning of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the Division of Farm Management and Costs of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The other consisted of the committees of farmers who cooperated in the spring of 1936 on the County Agricultural Adjustment Planning Project with the State and Federal Extension Services, the Program Planning Division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, and the Division of Farm Management and Costs of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

The recommendations of the County Planning Committees are the adjustments which such committees thought desirable to promote soil con-

servation in their counties. Although the recommendations of the first group contain some adjustments other than for soil conservation, in most areas this item accounts for practically all the adjustments suggested.

For the area in which Haskell County is located neither group advocated a decrease in the total crop land. The 1930 Census reported 67 percent of the total area in crop land, the Regional Adjustments recommendations made no change, while the County Planning Committees recommended an increase of 1 percent. With respect to harvested crop land the Regional Adjustment recommendation was 44 percent and that of the County Committees 48 percent as compared with the 1930 Census figure of 59 percent. The percentages recommended for harvested crop land to be planted in wheat were 68 by Regional Adjustment and 70 by the County Committees as compared to 78 in the 1930 Census. Thus the chief recommended change, according to this report, is a decrease in harvested crop land, probably to be accomplished by an increase in summer fallowing.

No official recommendation regarding the amount of land which should be put back into grass over a long period of time has been released by any official governmental agency. The County Committee of Haskell County, Kansas, suggested 10,000 acres. Unofficial estimates which may not be quoted in this report, although considerably larger than this figure, do not contemplate any radical change in the farming economy.

Thornthwaite's suggestion 118/ that a considerable proportion of the land should be returned to pasture and that cattle raising be made an important part of the farming enterprise involves a more drastic change in the farming economy. He estimated that, although 36,000 families had emigrated between 1930 and 1934, at least 59,000 of the remaining families would have to leave the drought States if the needed adjustments in land were to be effected. The practicability of this suggestion was questioned in another report 119/ on the grounds that settlement techniques had not been perfected to such a stage that the resettlement of 59,000 families could be readily effected and that public opinion would probably resist any policy of evacuation. It was also argued that such a program would receive little support within the area itself, and migrants from this area with small resources would probably not be welcomed elsewhere. However, it seems probable that a policy of restricting immigration into the drought States might conceivably reduce the population by 59,000 families over a period of years.

Thornthwaite's suggestion, however, is open to question from another point of view. Much of the Great Plains is not covered by grass sod. In Haskell County, about 90 percent of the land in farms is broken out,

118/ Goodrich, Carter, and others, Migration and Economic Opportunity, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1936, chapter V., pp. 202-250. This chapter was prepared by C. Warren Thornthwaite.

119/ Taeuber, Conrad, and Taylor, Carl C., op. cit., p. 5.

according to the United States Census of Agriculture. Moreover, the grass land that remains is chiefly concentrated in certain sections of the county. It would be no small task to re-sod large areas, at any time, and this would be impossible during years of deficient rainfall. Moreover, if the program were carried on during humid years when it would be technically possible, there would be sufficient rainfall to raise abundant wheat crops and the opposition to such a wholesale change in land use would then be enormous.

A greater part, if not all, of the needed adjustment in land use could be made on the basis of the present population. The net emigration in the near future is likely to be slight unless crop failures continue. But there is need for restricting immigration during good years to what can normally be supported by the resources of the area.

Resettlement opportunities are urgently needed for the large number of drought-area farmers who are stranded in the Pacific Coast Area 120/ and for other families who might later be forced to leave the district. Available data indicate that many of those who emigrated have been worse off than those who stayed.

The major crop in Haskell County, as well as in large sections of the Great Plains, will continue to be wheat. This conclusion is shared by residents of the region, members of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, and members of experiment station staffs who have studied the problem and are familiar with the advantages, as well as the drawbacks, in growing wheat there. But a considerable acreage, possibly as much as 10 to 20 percent of the present cropland, should be returned to grass, and an increased diversification of crops should be encouraged. The adjustment will be more radical in counties farther west which have an even smaller rainfall but also have most of their land under cultivation. In Haskell County the greatest change is likely to be a wider application of such practices as summer fallowing, contour farming, and other measures to conserve moisture and control soil blowing, as well as greater diversification.

#### Changes in the Farm Program

Farmers in Haskell County, as well as in other parts of the Great Plains, have the problem of raising a crop, emphasized by the recurrent droughts, and of getting a reasonable price for it. The harvests vary from bumper crops to complete failures. A satisfactory plan of crop insurance, as a method of distributing the bumper crops over lean years, appears to be the most important suggested change in farm legislation. If wheat farming will pay in the long run, such a plan would largely remove the future need for emergency drought relief.

120/ Newspaper articles indicate that many of these families in California were living in very distressed circumstances without adequate food, clothing, or shelter in the spring of 1937. See United Press dispatch in Washington Herald, August 15, 1937, p. A-5.

Securing a reasonable price for produce is a problem common to farmers in all parts of the Nation. The plan generally advanced is that of controlling production on farms, as already applied to many fields of industry. The important objective is the securing of a parity of agricultural and industrial prices. A lessening of monopolistic and quasi-monopolistic controls in industry might achieve the same goal. It is not the function of this report to suggest which method of bringing about a parity of prices should be used.

Benefit payments for soil-conserving practices seem to be justified as an emergency measure during a crisis or to subsidize certain practices that are not economical from the viewpoint of the farmer but that have a public benefit over and above that which accrues to the individual. These benefit payments have operated to reduce the acreage of certain basic crops by replacing them with soil-building crops.

Certain criticisms of the Federal farm program made by farmers of the county (see chapter VII) appear to merit some consideration. The lack of coordination of the efforts of various agencies designed to aid farmers is probably justified during an emergency but should be rectified as a more permanent program is evolved. In a district of the southern Great Plains severely affected by drought, the appointment of a coordinator of all Federal agencies dealing with agriculture is a step in the direction of a more integrated attack.

An effort is being made to render the farm program more flexible and adaptable to local conditions by giving farmers a greater part in its formulation. It seems to the writer that the program should be along the line of general principles with the farmer free to work them out on his own farm and permitting alterations from year to year to meet changing conditions. It should be recognized that there is no panacea for the problems of the area and that the judgment of the farm operator should be developed rather than restricted.

Farmers who practiced summer fallowing or kept part of their land in native grass had a smaller proportion of their land in wheat during the base years, 1930-32, and this resulted in their receiving relatively smaller benefit payments than if they had planted all their land to wheat. Some farmers contend that payments should be computed in such a way that farmers who have been using soil-conservation practices all along are not at a disadvantage.

#### Taxation and Local Government

Methods of taxation and the forms of local government were not greatly different in 1930 from those of 1887 when the county was first organized. But the years since 1930 have brought changes, and the discussion of further changes in this respect. The State has assumed responsibility for the upkeep of highways, but practically none of the burden for relief. Without a detailed account, it may be pointed out

that a heavy burden of taxation has fallen upon owners of land and other real estate. Furthermore, in the assessment of taxes an unduly large proportion has been assessed against such improvements as the farmers possessed. According to statements of local residents, the construction of only a poor set of buildings trebles the taxes on a quarter section of land. Tenants frequently live in very meager dwellings. One of the chief arguments advanced by the landlord for not improving them is the certainty of increased taxes. An exemption on improvements up to \$4,000, for example, would encourage the construction of better dwellings by both landlords and resident owners. The assumption by the State of a greater share of responsibility for education and relief would be in line with the trend in other States.

Although there has been some discussion in Kansas, as well as elsewhere, of consolidating the county units, no action has yet been taken. The difficulty of moving the county seat from Santa Fe to Sublette between 1912 and 1920 121/ suggests that there would be considerable opposition to transferring all functions of county government to larger units. But it seems probable that drastic changes in local government will occur during the next generation. There is no longer a necessity for having such a small unit for purposes of taxation, policing, or highway maintenance. It seems to the writer that while larger units will take over certain of these functions, the county can well take on new ones. In fact, the last few years have brought a series of changes in this direction. The county has become a unit for the administration of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Works Progress Administration, the agricultural extension service, and other programs. As local units are given more latitude in the Agricultural Conservation program, they will take on added significance. The local committee of this program has acted to control soil-blowing and in numerous other instances to aid farmers in the county. By a law passed at the 1937 session of the Kansas Legislature the local board of county commissioners could hire fields listed to stop soil-blowing, when the owner refused, and charge the cost to his taxes.

Land-use planning to promote the conservation of moisture and soil fertility or to control blowing is another function that the local unit may assume in the future. A State law enacted in 1937 empowered farm operators and land owners of any county to establish a soil-conservation district that would include the whole county if 75 percent voted in favor of it. If adopted, the district would be mandatory for 5 years 122/.

121/ See pp. 75-76.

122/ In November 1937 this plan failed by a vote of 151-70, but a new vote can be taken after 6 months. Sublette Monitor, November 4, 1937.

Greeley, Stanton, Morton, Finney, Grant, and Kearney Counties in western Kansas also voted the proposal down. Farmers are evidently more willing to adjust their activities to yearly programs than to a 5-year mandatory plan. Sublette Monitor, Nov. 11, 1937.



This function, whether on a voluntary or compulsory basis, is likely to receive increasing attention.

#### Community Organization

Five years of depression and drought have not impaired the functioning of community organization in Haskell County. The set-back during the early part of the drought has been more than overcome since 1933. The suggestions for improvement, therefore, will involve the continuation of tendencies already under way.

To the writer it appears that one of the greatest needs in community organization involves increasing the effectiveness of agricultural training. Although the county is entirely dependent upon agriculture, neither high school offers vocational work in that subject. Good work is being done by the 4-H clubs, but they hardly take the place of the intensive training possible in the schools. At least one of the high schools should offer such a course, or one person might conduct classes in both schools, spending half of the day in each.

Because of the small number of pupils in some of the districts, impetus has recently been given to combining some of the rural schools. This should be encouraged. The consolidation of schools might well be combined with the operation of school buses for the children that live at a distance.

Apparently there is a need for an effective farm organization for group discussion of common problems and for social contacts. The Grange in one neighborhood, and "community meetings" of the Farm Bureau in another, act in this way. Both organizations were started after 1930 and should be carried to other communities. The organization of the men's and women's units of the Farm Bureau has marked an important forward step.

Table 22.- Types of claims on public land, by year of entry, selected area of Haskell County, Kansas, 1885-1909

Year of entry	Total entries	Number filed	Final certificate	Homestead Canceled	Commuted to cash	Timber culture Number filed	Perfectured	Timber culture Canceled	Preemption Number of purchases 1/	Declaratory statement Number filed
Total	263	135	35	54	46	57	13	44	42	29
1885	44	10	5	2	3	33	7	26	-	1
1886	94	57	12	25	20	7	2	5	19	11
1887	36	8	1	3	4	8	3	5	20	-
1888	14	5	3	1	1	6	1	5	2	1
1889	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	2
1890	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-
1891	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1892	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1893	3	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
1894	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1895	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1896	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1897	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1898	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1899	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1900	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1901	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1902	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1903	4	4	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
1904	3	3	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
1905	29	16	4	8	4	-	-	-	-	13
1906	18	18	6	5	7	-	-	-	-	-
1907	7	7	2	1	4	-	-	-	-	-
1908	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1909	2	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-

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1/ In preemption cases only the date of sale is recorded.

Appendix

PUBLIC LAND LAWS

Nearly the entire area of Haskell County, at the time of settlement, was public land and could be secured by filing (1) a preemption, (2) a homestead, or (3) a timber-culture claim.

Under the Preemption Act of 1841, title to 160 acres of land could be obtained by submitting proof of having actually resided on the land for 6 months, constructed a dwelling house, and made certain improvements, and by paying for the land at the full legal price of \$1.25 per acre.<sup>123/</sup> This act was repealed in 1891. <sup>124/</sup>

By the Homestead Act of 1862, any citizen, or applicant for citizenship, who was the head of a family or 21 years of age could acquire a title to 160 acres of land by living upon it and cultivating it for 5 years.<sup>125/</sup> This land was free of all charges except a minor fee to be paid when filing the claim. The settler could not be absent from his homestead for more than 6 months without subjecting his claim to a contest on a charge of abandonment. If the settler did not wish to remain for 5 years on his land, he could, after 6 months of continuous residence, commute his entry to cash by paying for the land at the rate of \$1.25 per acre. This provision practically changed a homestead into a preemption. The length of residence required for commutation was extended to 14 months in 1891, but as 6 months were allowed to elapse before term of residence was actually begun, only 8 months had to be spent on the land.<sup>126/</sup> After 1911, 14 months of actual residence were required for commutation.<sup>127/</sup> An Amendment to the Homestead Act in 1912 reduced the length of residence on homesteads from 5 to 3 years,<sup>128/</sup> but as all the land in the county had been filed on, this ruling affected only the few homestead claims on which final proof had not been made.

The Timber Culture Act, as amended in 1878, enabled settlers to get 160 acres of land by planting 10 acres in timber and keeping it in good condition for 8 years,<sup>129/</sup> but only one quarter in any section could be obtained in this way. When this act was repealed in 1891, provisions were made for persons with pending entries to secure their titles if they had complied with the law for 5 years. However, residents of the State in which land had thus been obtained could, after complying with the law

<sup>123/</sup> Act of September 4, 1841, 5 U. S. Stat. 452.

<sup>124/</sup> Act of March 3, 1891, 26 U. S. Stat. 1095.

<sup>125/</sup> Act of May 20, 1862, 12 U. S. Stat. 392.

<sup>126/</sup> Sec. 6, Act of March 3, 1891, 26 U. S. Stat. 1098

<sup>127/</sup> Department Decision, Aug. 4, 1911. 40 L. D. 228. Decisions of Department of Interior relating to public lands.

<sup>128/</sup> Act of June 6, 1912, 37 U. S. Stat. 123.

<sup>129/</sup> Act of June 14, 1878, 20 U. S. Stat. 113

for only 4 years, secure title to their claims by paying \$1.25 per acre. 130/

After both the Preemption and Timber Culture Acts had been repealed in 1891, a person could secure public land only under the Homestead Act. Further modifications have been made to this act but as all the public land in Haskell County had been disposed of before their enactment, they were not operative there.

Table 22 (p. 106) shows that 81 homestead entries were perfected in the selected area of Haskell County, 46 by commutation to cash, and 35 by fulfilling the requirements of residence. In addition, 42 preemptions and 13 timber-culture claims were completed.

## METHODOLOGY

The method used in making this study may be designated as "socio-historical." It involves an analysis of pertinent data relating to social development in the selected county. 131/ This represents a departure from most previously published community studies in the emphasis placed upon historical data and in the sources drawn upon. As this community has been subject to recurrent droughts, the data are related to the hypothesis that droughts follow a definite sequence pattern. It is evident that the existence of such a pattern would be of major significance to administrators and farmers who must plan for the future. Data regarding changes in population, type of farming, standard of living, community organization, and attitudes and opinions of the residents are analyzed with reference to the "drought cycle." Droughts have not previously been studied from this point of view; hence, the greater necessity of stating somewhat in detail the methods employed and of critically appraising the reliability of the data on which the analysis is based.

One of the most fruitful sources of historical data regarding the social development of Kansas is the decennial State Census of Agriculture and Population, which was taken in that State up to and including 1925. The writer's methods of utilizing this material were essentially similar to those of Professor James C. Malin, Department of History, University of Kansas, who, in a study previously quoted, 132/ used data from the schedules of this State Census. The schedules, which apparently are a reasonably complete enumeration of families living in the county, contain information regarding size of family, name and age of each member, State of birth, "From where to Kansas," and facts regarding farming operations.

State and Federal Census schedules, 1895-1935, were examined to determine: (1) the persistence of farm operators or their male descendants as farm operators in the county, (2) the persistence of farm operators classified as "newcomers" during each intercensal period and during succeeding periods as compared with "old resident" farm operators (those who had been in the county at least since the preceding census), and (3) the percentage of the total number of farm operators who were reported for the first time at each census.

In addition to the decennial census, a less complete census of agriculture and population is taken each year, between March and June, by the assessor. Because the data pertain to the current year, the acreages planted for such crops as sorghums are incomplete, and the harvests are estimated only. For good years the estimates of wheat harvested are usually too low, and for poor years they are too high. For example, during the drought of 1932-36 estimates reported in the Biennial Reports of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture were consistently

131/ The method of selection is described on page 2.

132/ Malin, James C., op cit.

higher than actual yields of wheat. <sup>133/</sup> Of this census, only the 1920 schedules and those taken since 1927 were available for Haskell County.

The data of the United States Census of Agriculture are considerably more complete than those secured annually by the local assessors. A special tabulation of data from this source was made for 1925, 1930, and 1935 with the permission of the Bureau of the Census. The acreages of non-resident owners who farm both in Haskell County and elsewhere are reported for the respective counties in which they live. Similarly, Haskell County operators are given credit for land that they farm in districts farther west or east.

The effect of this system of reporting for counties in the Great Plains can be illustrated by the figures for Haskell County. A Land Use Survey of the Resettlement Administration, Region 12, Amarillo, Texas, taken in 1936 found 360,302 acres in farms, or about 98 percent of the total land area of the county. The United States Census of Agriculture for 1935 reported 296,937 acres in farms. Nevertheless, the United States Census of Agriculture is the most complete report of agriculture in the counties and is especially valuable in a study of this kind.

The residential and ownership history of a part of the county was obtained from the General Land Office, the local register of deeds, other available records, and the reports of present farm operators and old residents. For the sake of economy, an area 6 miles square (instead of the whole county) was selected for this intensive study (Fig. 2, p. 4). Located in the northwest part of Haskell County, it was entirely in the open country. It included a small settlement of Mennonites, and, in the opinion of local residents, was representative of the various types of situations found in the county, including problems arising from non-resident operation and ownership of land.

A complete record of the ownership history of a tract of land is comparatively easy to obtain. The homestead and preemption claims are recorded in the General Land Office, United States Department of the Interior, and the changes in ownership that took place after the land was patented are filed with the local Register of Deeds. The addresses of present owners also indicate whether they live inside the county or State. The record of mortgages (except those later foreclosed) was not transcribed but this is evidently a significant factor.

The occupancy history of farms, on the other hand, is more difficult to obtain with the same degree of accuracy as it is not a matter of official record. The method used by the writer was to obtain from each of the present farm operators an account of the operators who had been on his own and neighboring farms as far back as he could remember.

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<sup>133/</sup> Data given on these schedules were not so complete as for the decennial State censuses. The enumeration seemed to include most of the operators except in one township (Lockport) where it was supplemented by local tax records.

This information was placed on maps of the area by 5-year intervals, 1895-1935. Then with further information received on subsequent visits to old settlers, a number of whom were among the first settlers, the gaps in this information were filled in and any apparent inconsistencies were checked. In presenting the data, only years showing significant changes in the pattern of ownership history were included.

A complete file of the local newspaper, Sublette Monitor (formerly Santa Fe Monitor), available in the library of the Kansas State Historical Society at Topeka, proved to be a valuable source of material. This newspaper has played an important part in the development of the county. It has been more than a mere record of events. It has attempted during hard times to encourage the settlers; it reveals the social development of the area, and furnishes almost the only record of the social psychology of the inhabitants during various periods in the development of the county.

The importance of studying attitudes and opinions of the residents of the community has been increasingly apparent as the study proceeded. Somewhat less attention was given to this phase of the report as compared to sections in which it was easier to obtain definite facts - a circumstance which partly explains the inadequacy of the data. While the difficulty of making such a study without frequent contacts in the community over a period of years is not denied, it is felt that without considering the social psychology of the people, such a study would be incomplete.

To supplement the admittedly inadequate statistical data, the writer spent 3 months in Kansas to observe actual conditions and obtain first-hand information. Interviews were held with State and local officials, experts of the agricultural experiment station, farmers, old residents, and others who are familiar with the development and present condition of the area.

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