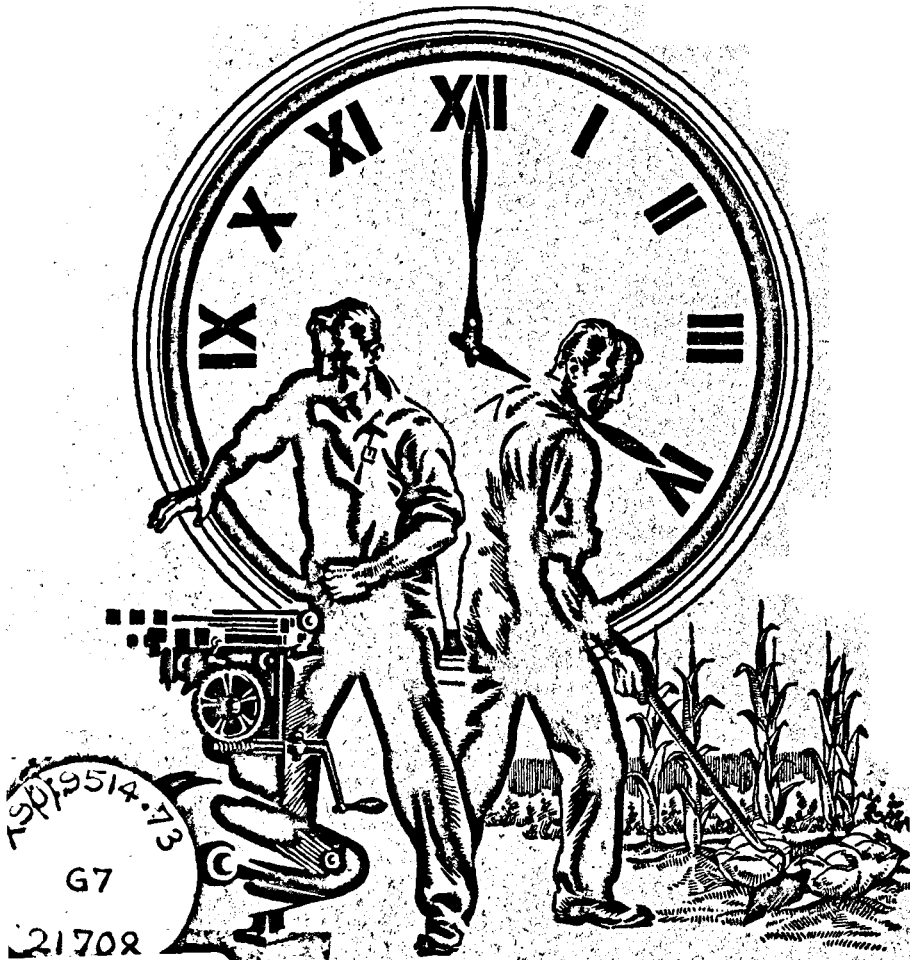


PART-TIME FARMING IN THE SOUTHEAST



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**PART-TIME FARMING
IN THE SOUTHEAST**

By

R. H. Allen · L. S. Cottrell, Jr. · W. W. Troxell
Harriet L. Herring · A. D. Edwards

RESEARCH MONOGRAPH IX

1937

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D. C., March 1, 1937.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit the results of a study of combined farming-industrial employment conducted in the Southeast by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Comparative social and economic data for part-time farmers and for nonfarming industrial workers form the basis for this report. The findings are fundamental to any proposal for the public encouragement of part-time farming, both in the Eastern Cotton Belt and in other areas.

The report emphasizes the fact that while part-time farming has proved beneficial to families engaged in it, such farming activity can be expanded only where industry has sufficiently recovered from the depression to offer satisfactory wages and hours to its workers, or where future prospects for an industry's development are promising. It is unlikely that industries will resume the long hours of predepression days. Workers today are in the process of adjusting their habits to the additional leisure that shorter hours have given them, and the encouragement of part-time farming activities at this time, under proper safeguards, will help to absorb this margin of leisure time and will increase income.

Instruction in improved farming methods and in every phase of farm operation from planting to preservation of the product was found to be needed throughout the Southeast. It is believed that assistance by educational agencies will make existing part-time farms more consistent producers of food and of a varied diet.

The study was made by the Division of Social Research, under the direction of Howard B. Myers, Director of the Division. The data were collected under the general supervision of T. C. McCormick. Analysis of the data was made under the supervision of T. J. Woofter, Jr., Coordinator of Rural Research. The report was edited by Ellen Winston and Frances Mason.

The work of setting up the study and of collecting and analyzing the material was the joint responsibility of R. H. Allen, whose services were made available by the Land Policy Section, Division of Program Planning of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., and W. W. Troxell. Mr. Allen was mainly responsible for the material on farming operations, Mr. Cottrell and A. D. Edwards for the social aspects of the problem, and Mr. Troxell for the industrial analyses. Harriet L. Herring prepared the present summary volume.

Respectfully submitted.

CORRINGTON GILL,
Assistant Administrator.

HON. HARRY L. HOPKINS,
Works Progress Administrator.

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Part I

Part-Time Farming in the Southeast

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND AND REASON FOR STUDY

Part-Time Farming an Old Practice

ONE OF the conspicuous changes wrought by the industrial revolution was the concentration of working people in cities. No longer, the critics of its ruthless march complained, could the journeyman, with his few apprentices, live in his cottage, and tend his small plot of land in odd moments taken from the craft he followed as his main occupation. Not only did the coming of the factory bring monotony into his work and increase the uncertainty of his employment, but at the same time it took away from him the healthful activity on his garden plot, his little bulwark against the ups and downs of the market. Division of labor, it appeared, had arrived, not only within the work place, but within society. Men tended machines and lived in towns and cities or tended farms and lived in the country.

The clear-cut distinction that came to be made between rural and urban activities has perhaps blinded many students of socio-economic life to the fact that there always have been some workers who managed to combine the two. Such combinations have existed in New England from the beginning of the nineteenth century, for the soil was stony and the opportunity for a supplementary cash wage was offered in many rural localities by small factories. As the industrial cities grew, overrunning the nearby fields, they were populated by waves of immigrants who came from rural areas. These people were accustomed to intensive cultivation of small plots of ground, and always a few of them escaped the teeming slums to tend abandoned farms.¹

In the South, industrial development came tardily, and for a generation longer than in most other areas, the weaver, the cabinet-maker, the wheelwright, and the cooper plied their trades in sparsely settled areas. With limited markets for their services, they made part of their living from the land. When industrial development did

¹ Davis, I. G. and Salter, L. A., Jr., *Part-Time Farming in Connecticut*, Bulletins 201 and 204, Department of Agricultural Economics, Connecticut State College, March and July, 1935; Rozman, David, *Part-Time Farming in Massachusetts*, Bulletin 266, Massachusetts Agricultural Experiment Station, 1930.

come, it brought the industrial village to isolated locations. These villages were laid out where land was cheap on the premise that a rural people out of reach of stores, both financially and physically, could tend gardens.

With the coming of the automobile and improved roads, the rural dweller was placed within reach of industrial employment in the city and the urban industrial worker was placed within reach of land on a scale that had not existed since the rise of the factory system. City-weary people with city jobs could and did move to the country for esthetic reasons, for the creative pleasure of growing things, for space for their children, and for the economy and freedom of country life. The farmer went to the nearby village, town, or city for a cash wage that would help to stabilize an income based on gambling with both the weather and the market.

Extent of Part-Time Farming

So common had the custom of combining farming with other employment become that the United States Census of Agriculture took cognizance of it in 1930 by counting and classifying the farm operators who worked part-time off their farms. Granting the inaccuracy and incompleteness of any census of farmers and farming, the numbers discovered were impressive—approximately 1,903,000 persons, or 30.3 percent of all farm operators of the United States, reported some time worked off their farms. More than a million of them worked 50 days or more off the farm, and half of these (540,000) worked 150 days or more, thus enabling them to be classified as part-time farmers, according to the 1930 Census definition.² A quarter of a million (267,000) worked 250 days, or had what amounted to practically full-time jobs off the farm.³

During the depression the general movement of people from country to city was retarded, and on January 1, 1935, the farm population was over a million and a third larger than in 1930.⁴ Almost

² Those farms were classified as part-time farms whose operators spent 150 days or more at work in 1929 for pay at jobs not connected with their farms or reported an occupation other than farming, provided the value of products of the farm did not exceed \$750. This presupposes the census definition of a farm as comprising at least 3 acres or more unless it produced \$250 worth of farm products or more in 1929. Under the 2 definitions there were 339,207 persons classified as part-time farmers in 1929 (*Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture Vol. III, pp. 1 and 12*). Census figures in this introduction include the total number of persons reporting time off the farm rather than the more limited group of part-time farmers as determined by these definitions.

³ *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture Vol. IV, p. 430.*

⁴ *United States Census of Agriculture: 1935.* It is generally agreed among agricultural economists and students of population, however, that census procedure was so changed in 1935 as to result in a much more complete enumeration of small farms than in any earlier census.

2 million of the total farm population in 1935, or 1 out of every 16 persons on farms, had been living in a nonfarm residence 5 years earlier. Many of them were unemployed, having returned to farms owned by themselves or relatives, or having become squatters on other people's land. They had moved from urban areas to secure the benefits of low living costs, or to carry on subsistence farming, or for both reasons. A large number of them, however, had retained or found employment in villages, towns, or cities.

The number of operators employed 50 days or more off the farm was higher in 1934 than in 1929, despite the unemployment and part-time work prevalent in 1934.⁵ Over one-half of the 1,121,000 farm operators with 50 days or more of off-the-farm employment in 1934 fulfilled one phase of the census definition of part-time farmers by working at least 150 days off the farm.

Surveys in different States and areas have shown that there are many individuals combining farming with other employment who have farms smaller than 3 acres and hence are not included in the census count. A study published in 1930 in Massachusetts estimated that there were at least 60,000 farming enterprises in that State on a part-time basis.⁶ The Census of Agriculture of 1930 reported only 25,600 farms in Massachusetts and only 9,900 farm operators reporting any time worked off the farm. A study of part-time farming in Connecticut, published in 1935, concluded that 60 percent of the farms in that State were operated on a part-time basis.⁷ The 1930 Census listed 37.3 percent of the operators as reporting time worked off the farm.

According to a study of rural nonfarm workers in Ohio in 1934, there were an estimated 100,000 rural nonfarm families (and, therefore, not counted as farm operators in the census) who obtained some of their living from the land.⁸ The supervisors of the Civil Works Administration survey of part-time farmers in 1933 made general community surveys in addition to securing full schedules from households that combined farming and other employment. An estimate of the number of farmers making such combinations in six Piedmont and foothill counties of North Carolina ranged from 50 to 90 percent of all farmers.⁹

⁵ 1,121,000 in 1934 as compared with 1,059,000 in 1929.

⁶ Rozman, David, *Part-Time Farming in Massachusetts*, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

⁷ Davis, I. G. and Salter, L. A., Jr., *Part-Time Farming in Connecticut*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁸ Morison, F. L. and Sitterley, J. H., *Rural Homes and Non-agricultural Workers, A Survey of Their Agricultural Activities*, Bulletin 547, Agricultural Experiment Station, Wooster, Ohio, February 1935.

⁹ Woofter, T. J., Jr., Herring, Harriet L., and Vance, Rupert B., *A Study of the Catawba Valley*, unpublished manuscript in the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina.

All of these data refer to families in which the head divided his time between farming and some other occupation. In addition, there are, of course, families in which the head is a full-time farmer while one or more other members work at another occupation and bring in a cash wage, or vice versa.

Partly because the Census of 1930 indicated the extensiveness of the practice, partly because of recent pronouncements and policies of large manufacturers concerning decentralization of industry with just such combinations in mind, and partly because the depression focused attention on the many individual efforts to bridge the gap between earnings and living costs, the various types of part-time farming have roused much interest.

Reasons for Present Study of Part-Time Farming

A great deal of the recent interest in part-time farming has centered around proposals that the various combinations of farming with industry be given public encouragement as a means of improving the living conditions and increasing the security of many more families, of keeping needy families off relief, or of removing them from the relief rolls. Proposals for the advancement of part-time farming fall into three major groups:

Provision of garden plots for industrial workers in order that produce from these plots may supplement their income from industrial employment and aid in tiding them over seasons of unemployment.

Establishment of new communities of families, each family to be provided with a small acreage on which to raise a considerable portion of its food, with the expectation that industries will locate in such communities and provide supplementary cash income.

Settlement of families on small farms near communities in which industrial establishments already exist, where they may produce a considerable portion of their food and may also obtain some employment in the industries.

In view of the scarcity of factual information available for use in formulating public policy with respect to such proposals, the Research Section, Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in cooperation with the Land Policy Section, Division of Program Planning of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, undertook a study of this question.¹⁰

Such public programs as have actually been undertaken have been chiefly of the second type, but they are too new to allow an adequate appraisal of incomes and living in the resulting communities. In this investigation attention was directed toward families that had already made farming combinations of the first and third types.

¹⁰ Since the study was undertaken, the former agency has become the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, and the latter has become the Land Use Planning Section, Land Utilization Division, Resettlement Administration. The study was continued by these agencies.

Objectives of Present Study

The principal objectives of this study were as follows:

To describe existing types of combined farming-industrial employment.

To appraise the benefits and disadvantages of these existing types.

To determine the possibilities for further development of desirable farming-industrial combinations; in particular, to appraise the extent to which these combinations might be utilized in a rehabilitation program.

In order to reach these main objectives, answers were sought to questions concerning the part-time farm enterprise,¹¹ off-the-farm occupation, and living and social conditions. The questions relating to the part-time farm were:

What land, buildings, and equipment do existing part-time farming units have; in other words, what amount and kind of investment is necessary for a practicable part-time farming unit?

What do these farms produce for home use and for sale?

What are the cash expenses and labor requirements of these farms?

Questions relating to the off-the-farm occupation were:

What industrial employment is, or may become, available for combination with farming?

What are the labor requirements and wage scales of these industries?

Do his farming activities place the part-time farmer at a disadvantage in opportunities for employment or in earnings?

Questions relating to living and social conditions were:

What living conditions are associated with these farming-industrial combinations, and how do the part-time farmers compare in this respect with other groups at the same occupational levels?

What are the social characteristics of persons and families who have combined farming with industrial employment?

In the light of survey findings, the possibility and the desirability of further development of part-time farming, either by extension to more families or by the improvement of existing part-time farms, were considered.

Secondary sources of information were first explored. The Bureau of the Census cooperated in making special tabulations of data from the 1930 Census of Agriculture and the 1930 Census of Manufactures. A field study was undertaken to provide the additional factual information needed in the analysis. This field study included a schedule study of a sample of part-time farm families and, for comparative purposes, a sample of nonfarming industrial employees. It also included an inspection of the areas in which enumeration was made, an inspection of industrial establishments, and interviews with employers, public officials, and other informed persons.

¹¹ For definition of part-time farming used in the survey, see p. XXX.

Reasons for Selection of Eastern Cotton Belt

It was evident that answers to the above questions should be sought in an area where the practice of combining farming with industrial work had been of sufficient duration to furnish examples of varied experience, and in a region where relatively homogeneous conditions prevailed. Since it was believed that part-time farming might be found to have a bearing on rural rehabilitation as well as upon the entire question of relief, it was considered desirable to select an area in which the need for a soil program was widespread and urgent, and where the relief load was at least average for the country.

The region selected as fulfilling all these conditions was the Eastern Cotton Belt, which is composed of the whole or parts of eight cotton-raising States as follows: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi. This study was limited to the three States, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, which comprise most of the eastern end of the Cotton Belt.

THE EASTERN COTTON BELT**Comparative Extent of Part-Time Farming**

The Eastern Cotton Belt is preeminently an agricultural region and in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina roughly one-half of the gainfully occupied males are engaged in agriculture. According to the 1930 Census, all other occupations employ less than one-fourth of a million males in South Carolina, less than one-half of a million in Georgia, and a little over one-third of a million in Alabama. This means that opportunity for off-the-farm employment in the Eastern Cotton Belt is relatively much more limited than in States like Massachusetts, which has 1,232,000 males in other occupations and only 54,000 in agriculture, or Pennsylvania, which has 2,674,000 males in other occupations and 244,000 in agriculture.

Yet, to revert to the Census of Agriculture classification of a part-time farmer, the number of farm operators in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina who reported work off the farm in 1929 comprised 28.9, 24.7, and 31.3 percent, respectively, of all farm operators (table 1), which was close to the national average of 30.3 percent.¹² The percentages of farm operators reporting work off the farm in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania were higher than those for the three southern States. When the number of farm operators working off the farm is taken as a percent of males in non-farm occupations, the three southern States show higher percentages than do the three northern States: 19.4 percent for Alabama, 14.4 percent for Georgia, and 22.0 percent for South Carolina¹³ as compared with 1.3 percent for Connecticut, 0.7 percent for Massachusetts, and 2.6 percent for Pennsylvania.

¹² *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture Vol. IV, p. 432.*

¹³ For location of part-time farms, see fig. 1.

Table 1.—Number of Farm Operators Working Part-Time off the Farm in 1929¹ Compared With Number in Occupations Other Than Agriculture

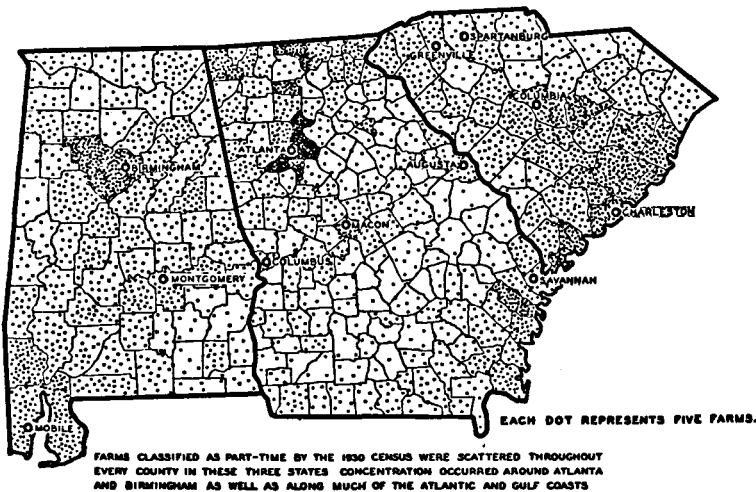
State	Males 10 years of age and over gainfully occupied	Males 10 years of age and over in agriculture		Males 10 years of age and over in all occupations other than agriculture		Farm operators reporting work off the farm		
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent of all farm operators	Percent of males in non-farm occupations
Massachusetts.....	1,285,316	53,720	4.2	1,231,596	95.8	9,852	28.5	6.8
Connecticut.....	499,201	35,311	7.1	463,890	92.9	6,420	37.3	1.4
Pennsylvania.....	2,913,211	243,850	8.4	2,674,361	91.6	69,717	40.4	2.6
South Carolina.....	490,976	256,039	52.2	224,937	46.8	49,484	31.3	22.0
Georgia.....	850,219	412,311	48.5	437,908	51.5	63,146	24.7	14.4
Alabama.....	772,261	388,316	50.2	383,965	49.8	74,493	28.9	19.4

¹ Figures for 1929 are used so as to have comparable figures for other employment. The Census of Agriculture of 1935 shows that the actual number reporting time worked off the farm has increased in South Carolina and decreased in Georgia and Alabama. All 3 of the above-mentioned northern States showed increases in part-time farmers. The changes, however, were not so great as to alter the general relationship.

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Agriculture Vol. IV, p. 432; and Population Vol. IV, p. 19.*

As a result of the straggling character of towns of the South, there are many out-of-the-way places where part-time farms would not be looked for. Moreover, since many heads of industries have always encouraged a large number of their employees to engage in some agricultural activity, there must be numerous plots of this type in the South that would be too small to be included by a census enumerator. Evidence of this was seen in the present survey, which showed that 61 percent of the part-time farmers included had less than 3 acres of

Fig. 1—CENSUS PART-TIME FARMS, 1929



cropland, and 55 percent had less than 3 acres in their entire farms, and so would not have been counted as farmers by the census. It will be apparent from a consideration of the amount of products produced on the average part-time farm that not many of those having less than 3 acres would have produced \$250 worth of farm products and so have been included in the census definition of a farm.

Basic Homogeneity

In spite of the variety of industries in the region, the subregions of the Eastern Cotton Belt have several common features that make for a basic homogeneity. The entire Cotton Belt has a long growing season and a good climate for raising food products. It has a fairly fertile soil although much of it has suffered from erosion and harmful farming practices. The industries of the region, while not so large and varied as in the northeastern part of the United States, are less concentrated in congested areas. Recent road improvements place much of the rural population within easier reach of existing industries than are their city cousins of their jobs.

One result of the lack of intense concentration of industry is that land values within a reasonable radius of employment are not so high as to make purchase or rental prices for farming enterprises exorbitant. Many houses for rent in small towns have lots large enough for family gardens. Suburban houses often include an acre or more of land, while plots unattached to houses frequently can be rented for as little as \$5 an acre.

The Eastern Cotton Belt is an area of low wages, largely because of the great surplus of labor. Studies of income, of consumption, of living conditions as associated with housing, and of the possession of modern conveniences show the entire region to be one of low standards.¹⁴

The people in this area are more homogeneous than are those in any other area of similar size in the United States. Even differences between whites and Negroes are, as they relate to the problems of part-time farming, those of degree rather than kind. Both races are of native stock long subject to the same cultural and economic patterns, and a majority of both have a recent if not immediate farm background, with an elemental, although limited, knowledge of farm practices and familiarity with farm living. All have been fundamentally affected by the commercial farming habits of the South, where the growing of a single cash crop has for generations minimized the custom

¹⁴ Heer, Clarence, *Income and Wages in the South*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930; Odum, Howard W., *Southern Regions of the United States*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936; Leven, Maurice, Moulton, Harold G., and Warburton, Clark, *America's Power to Consume*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C., 1934.

of producing foodstuffs. As a result, unfamiliarity with a variety of vegetables, dairy products, and meats limits their production almost as much as does the lack of experience in producing them or the lack of land and capital with which to do so.

The rural background and habits also result in a minimum of participation in social and group organizations which the paucity and feebleness of these agencies in the villages and small towns have done little to counteract. In the purely rural neighborhoods, the church, almost as exclusively as in the past, is the principal center of group activity.

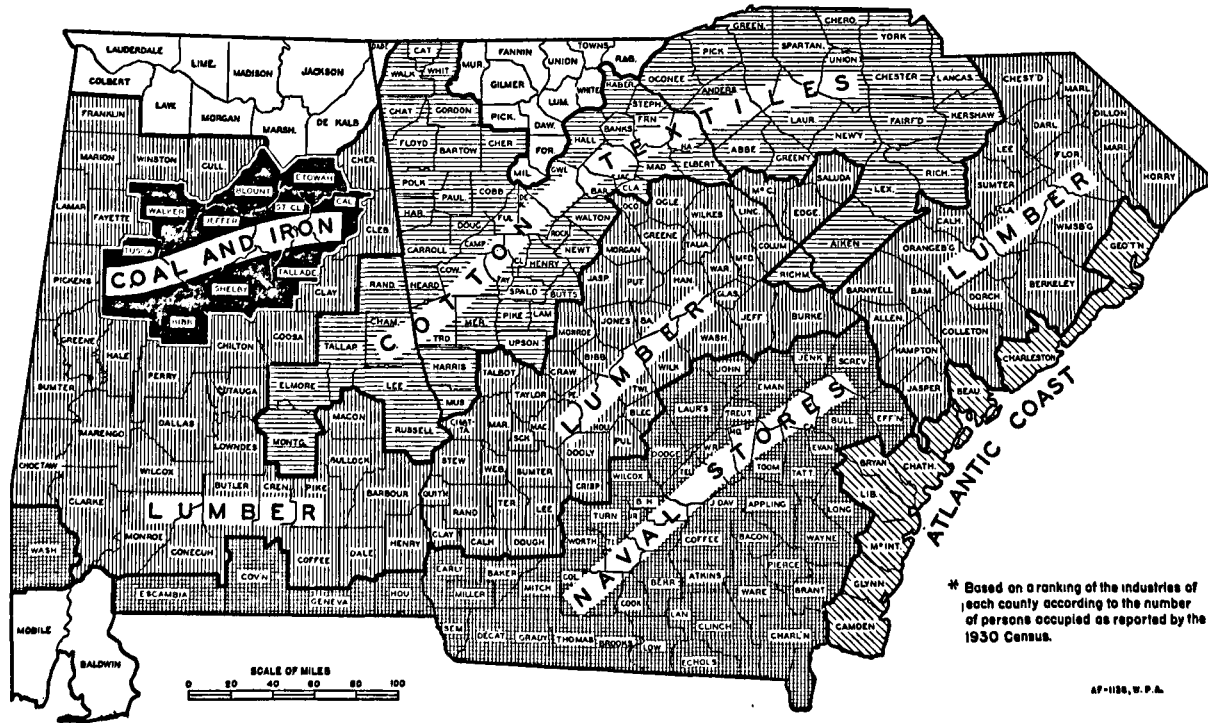
DIVISION OF AREA INTO SUBREGIONS

An examination of industrial employment within the three States, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, to which this study was limited, indicated the necessity for dividing the area into subregions, in each of which a different type of industry predominated. For the purposes of this study, industrial employment was taken to mean any gainful pursuit other than agriculture, though exceptions had to be made in some areas to include casual or contract work in agriculture for cash wages. Industry, thus defined, was divided into two groups, for convenience called "manufacturing and allied industries" and "service industries." Manufacturing and allied industries included those classified in the 1930 Census under forestry and fishing, extraction of minerals, and manufacturing and mechanical. Service industries included transportation, communication, trade, public service, professional service, and domestic and personal service.

The 1930 Census was used as a basis for delimitation of the subregions. The first step was to rank the manufacturing, extractive, and building industries of each county according to the number of persons occupied in each industry. The important industries in each county were then marked on a map, and the boundaries of the subregions were drawn by inspection. These boundaries, shown in figure 2, do not indicate any sharp break in condition, but they roughly mark out those areas in which types of industry are sufficiently different to warrant separate study.

Named according to the predominating industry, the subregions are Cotton Textile, Coal and Iron, Lumber, and Naval Stores. In addition, there is a fringe of Atlantic Coast counties which differs rather materially from the other groups of counties and is treated as a separate subregion. Within each subregion a county was chosen which showed a distribution of employment typical of the subregion, and which reported considerable part-time farming in the 1930 Census. An effort was made to avoid the selection of any county possessing some special condition which would prevent it from being generally representative of the subregion. Figure 3 shows the counties chosen.

Fig. 2 - INDUSTRIAL SUBREGIONS* OF ALABAMA, GEORGIA, AND SOUTH CAROLINA



* Based on a ranking of the industries of each county according to the number of persons occupied as reported by the 1930 Census.

AF-1186, U. S. A.

In the separate subregion studies of part-time farming, which make up Part II of this report,¹⁵ the areas are described in some detail. Suffice it here, therefore, to characterize each subregion very briefly.

The Cotton Textile Subregion

The most important industry in these three States of the Eastern Cotton Belt is textiles. In the 73 counties of western South Carolina, northern Georgia, and eastern Alabama, which make up what is herein designated as the Textile Subregion, textiles employs 52.5 percent of those engaged in manufacturing and allied industries (table 81, page 84). No other manufacturing or allied industry except building employs as many as 10 percent of the gainful workers.

The industry experienced rapid expansion during and immediately following the World War, but in many localities it has existed for 2 generations and in some for 100 years. Thus it has built up a definite pattern of working and living conditions, customs, and traditions, and many of these favor the carrying on of a part-time farming enterprise. The textile industry suffered from underproduction and shortened working hours before as well as during the depression. The shortened hours of the N. R. A. have, in part, been continued by the industry through voluntary agreement,¹⁶ thus providing the leisure for farming activities. Traditionally low wages were lowered further by the depression and, although the N. R. A. raised wages considerably, incomes are still small, making any addition to the family living important. Most mill villages offer space for gardening, and many mill managements have long given encouragement to this enterprise as well as to the keeping of cows and pigs.¹⁷ The scattered location of the mills in many towns and villages places a large number of rural people in reach of employment. After the monotonous, though relatively light, indoor work of the mill, farming is enjoyed as a healthful change and as recreation.

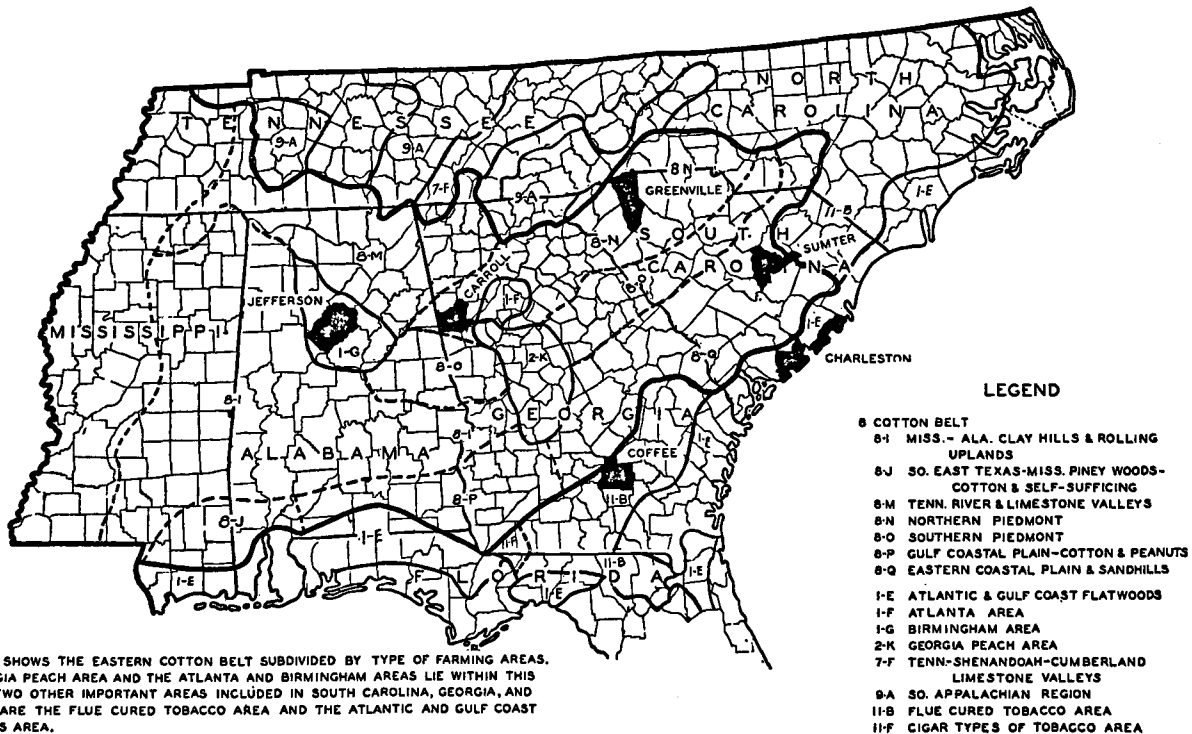
Some part-time farmers raise cotton, the chief crop of the subregion. The subregion is, however, an area of small family-sized farms growing

¹⁵ Preliminary reports on the subregions included: Troxell, W. W., Cottrell, L. S., Jr., Edwards, A. D., and Allen, R. H., *Combined Farming-Industrial Employment in the Cotton Textile Subregion of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina*; *Combined Farming-Industrial Employment in Charleston County, South Carolina*; *Combined Farming-Industrial Employment in the Coal and Iron Subregion of Alabama*; *Combined Farming-Industrial Employment in the Naval Stores Subregion of Georgia and Alabama*; *Combined Farming-Industrial Employment in the Lumber Subregion of Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina*; and Troxell, W. W., *Employment in the Cotton Textile Industry in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina*; Research Bulletins J-1—J-6.

¹⁶ Bowden, Witt, "Hours and Earnings Before and After the N. R. A.," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 44, No. 1, January 1937, pp. 13-36.

¹⁷ Herring, Harriet L., *Welfare Work in Mill Villages*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929, pp. 206-209.

Fig. 3 - REGIONALIZED TYPES OF FARMING IN THE SOUTHEAST



THIS MAP SHOWS THE EASTERN COTTON BELT SUBDIVIDED BY TYPE OF FARMING AREAS. THE GEORGIA PEACH AREA AND THE ATLANTA AND BIRMINGHAM AREAS LIE WITHIN THIS REGION. TWO OTHER IMPORTANT AREAS INCLUDED IN SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA, AND ALABAMA ARE THE FLUE CURED TOBACCO AREA AND THE ATLANTIC AND GULF COAST FLATWOODS AREA.

Source U S. Department of Agriculture.

AF-1124, W. P. A.

a variety of crops rather than an area of larger farms with the tenant system and the concentration on cotton that characterize the lower South.

The Coal and Iron Subregion

The coal, iron, and steel industries are centered in 10 counties of north central Alabama, with a concentration in Jefferson County. There the close proximity of coking coal, iron ore, limestone, and dolomite made possible the development of a group of interdependent heavy industries. These enjoyed a rapid growth during the period following 1900, when national expansion opened markets for steel and iron. In the last quarter of a century, intensive and highly specialized industry has created in Birmingham and its vicinity a metropolitan district of dense population, the majority of the population being rural people, predominantly young, and economically and biologically productive. In 1930, 55.9 percent of the persons gainfully occupied in manufacturing and allied industries were in coal and iron industries (table 89, page 115). No other industry in this group employed as many as 10 percent of the workers.

During the depression, unemployment and underemployment cut sharply into the relatively high incomes made possible by the former large and profitable markets and a fairly vigorous trade union movement. Families who had had good wages and high standards of living felt the sharp declines in incomes more than those who had had smaller incomes. Pressed by necessity and encouraged by their employers, many coal, iron, and steel workers began gardening. Such farming enterprises were limited in size by the lack of available land and in productivity by the nature of the soil on the rough stony ridges and mountain slopes.

The Atlantic Coast Subregion

The Atlantic Coast Subregion is in an intermediate position between the regions with a single large factory industry and those with essentially rural industries. Small and varied manufacturing industries are found in the three port cities of Charleston, Savannah, and Brunswick, which also offer possibilities of employment in the service industries. In Charleston County, particularly, truck farming is a major industry. Thus, in this region, as throughout the Eastern Cotton Belt, part-time farming is combined with agriculture itself as an outside, cash income industry. A long growing season and suitable soil make gardening easy, while association with truck farming familiarizes workers with the growing of vegetables.

In Charleston County, chosen as representative of part-time farming conditions in the Atlantic Coast Subregion, several factors favorable to this enterprise are counteracted by factors just as unfavorable. Low wages on the truck farms, irregular work on the docks, and sea-

sonal employment in the fertilizer factories result in low annual incomes and make production of food for home consumption desirable.

Charleston County is cut up by rivers that are spanned in some cases by toll bridges, while the city, with its opportunities for employment, is concentrated on the peninsula. The large-scale truck farms have taken up most of the land near transportation facilities, pushing farther away the sites that would be available in small parcels for part-time farming. Geographical features of the area thus place farming out of immediate reach of industry. The part-time farmer is placed at an unusually great disadvantage if he is dependent for employment upon industries where demand is for casual labor, and where hiring methods make it necessary for the applicant to be on hand when wanted.

A further disadvantage to part-time farmers of this region is the fact that seasonal peaks of employment are common and conflict about as often as they dovetail with activities on part-time farms. In many of the industries, the hours are long and the work is heavy; and workers who might undertake part-time farming are still further discouraged by the fact that truck products, at reasonable prices, are abundant.

The Lumber Subregion

The Lumber Subregion includes the southeastern half of South Carolina, the lower Piedmont Area of Georgia, and most of the Coastal Plain and Piedmont Region of Alabama. It is predominantly an agricultural area with 68 percent of the gainfully occupied persons engaged in agriculture as compared with 37 percent in the Textile Subregion and only 19 percent in the Coal and Iron Subregion. Manufacturing and allied industries employ only 11 percent of the gainfully occupied persons, who are distributed among a fairly varied group of industries (table 112, page 170). The only concentration worthy of note is in the group exploiting the forests or processing their products. Saw and planing mills, furniture, and other wood manufacturing employ 43 percent of the persons in manufacturing and allied industries.

The group of lumber and woodworking industries is affected by the demand for lumber, and is subject both to local market variations and to the long national trend. Lumber consumption has been gradually falling off in the United States since 1906, due to the substitution of material other than wood in building construction, and in vehicles, furniture, and other former wood-using manufactures. The depression especially decreased building activities on farms, which are large users of lumber.

The lumber industry in the South is limited by the amount of saw-timber drain the forests can stand. Destructive cutting and uncontrolled fires in the past have so depleted the growing stock that pro-

duction will not be able to reach former high levels for many years to come. The future of the industry will depend largely on the forest management policies adopted.

Within these limits, the lumber industry is suited to combination with farming because it is widely scattered, the sawmills, planing mills, and woodworking plants being located in small towns easily accessible to farm lands. The work in the sawmills is heavy and the hours are long, thus discouraging the additional exertion of part-time farming; but wages are very low and so encourage enterprises that supplement the family food supply. In this area, as in the Atlantic Coast Subregion, agriculture itself constitutes a form of employment to be combined with part-time farming, especially among Negroes. The basis is somewhat different, however, the laborer being under contract to work for the landlord, and furnished with a house and a little land on which to grow food products. Sometimes he even grows a little cotton as a cash crop.

The Naval Stores Subregion

The area designated as the Naval Stores Subregion consists of southeastern Georgia, northern Florida, and southern Alabama. The division between this subregion and the Lumber Subregion (figure 2) is somewhat arbitrary, since there is some overlapping both in territory and in the nature of the industries.

The Naval Stores Subregion is another distinctly rural area in which the chief opportunities for employment center around the forests and their products. Here, however, forest industries mainly include the collecting and distilling of turpentine from pine forests, and employ nearly two-fifths of the persons engaged in manufacturing and allied industries (table 123, page 199). Saw and planing mills and woodworking factories employ another fifth. In the turpentine industry, activity is greatest during the farming season, the hours are long and the work fairly strenuous, all of which factors tend to discourage part-time farming. On the other hand, gum collecting in the forests in which the majority of workers are engaged makes possible the arrangement of working days to permit the part-time farming enterprise.

Both the forest activities and the stilling are scattered over a sparsely settled area, and land for farming is easily available. Wages are so low that additions to the family food supply are necessary for maintenance of anything beyond a bare subsistence standard of living.

The agriculture of the subregion centers around the growing of cotton, although in some of the Georgia counties in the area tobacco forms a second cash crop. During the early years of the depression the low prices received for these products forced many families to seek a supplementary wage in off-the-farm employment. Many became gum producers, working in the turpentine woods part of the

time, either on their own or on someone else's land, and continuing their farming much as before. Thus, in this area most part-time farmers are really commercial farmers who work part-time in industry.

SELECTION OF CASES FOR SURVEY

The part-time farmers were selected without regard to the industry in which they worked, and included workers not only in the chief industry of each area, but in the minor manufacturing and extractive industries of each region and in the service industries. This made possible an examination of every possible industrial combination with part-time farming, and showed, in particular, how part-time farming is best carried on under conditions which offer the most opportunities for employment. It is believed that the 1,113 part-time farmers surveyed in the Eastern Cotton Belt represent a fair cross section of those who throughout the region are combining farming with some other occupation.

In order to include a wider range of farming-industrial combinations than would have resulted from selection of families according to the census definition of a part-time farmer, rather low limits were set upon the amount of each type of employment necessary to qualify a family for inclusion in the field survey. These limits were that in 1934 the family should have operated at least three-quarters of an acre of tillable land and/or have produced farm products valued at \$50 or more;¹⁸ and the head of the household should have worked at least 50 days off the home farm. Only families which had operated the same farm during both 1933 and 1934 were included. The purpose of this limitation was to exclude part-time farmers who were just getting established. All professional and proprietary workers, except small storekeepers, were excluded, since it was considered that a different set of considerations was involved in the case of white collar workers with small farms, and of "gentleman" farmers.

Following popular usage, the heads of the families surveyed will be referred to in this report as part-time farmers, meaning that they spend part of their time operating a farm and part at some employment away from this farm. Their farms will be referred to as part-time farms and their activities on them will be called part-time farming. Part-time farmers with small enterprises which would not normally be expected to produce beyond the needs of a single family will be designated as noncommercial farmers, while those with larger acreages and at least

¹⁸ Objection may be raised to calling a home which included only a 1-acre garden plot a farm, especially when its owner is a full-time industrial worker. The same criticism applies to the dweller in an industrial village whose only farming enterprise is the keeping of a cow. For the purpose of this study, however, it was desirable that the term farm be used to refer to any holding upon which farming activities were carried on. For further details regarding methodology, see appendix C.

one crop produced primarily for market will be referred to as commercial part-time farmers.

For comparative purposes, a sample of nonfarming industrial workers in each subregion was included in the study. Only those families were enumerated which had raised less than \$50 worth of farm or garden products in 1934; which had a male head physically capable of working at a full-time job during 1934; and whose head was employed at least 50 days each during 1933 and 1934 in certain clerical and kindred occupations or in skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled occupations.

The number of cases included in the field enumeration, by areas, is given in table 2.

Table 2.—Part-Time Farm and Nonfarming Industrial Households Enumerated, by Color and by Subregion, 1934

Subregion and color	Part-time farm households	Nonfarming industrial households
Total.....	1, 113	1, 334
Textile:		
White.....	293	314
Coal and iron:		
White.....	204	222
Negro.....	124	346
Atlantic Coast:		
White.....	71	103
Negro.....	142	105
Lumber:		
White.....	76	92
Negro.....	132	103
Naval Stores:		
White.....	71	49

SUMMARY

THE COMBINATION of farming with a job that brings a cash wage has long existed in the United States—particularly in rural areas where the presence of natural resources has led to the growth of industries and of industrial communities. The widespread ownership of automobiles and the extension of improved roads have contributed to the development of combined farming-industrial employment in the Southeast by placing residents of outlying rural districts in touch with industrial centers.

The long depression in agriculture and, more recently, the depression in industry have had an important influence on the growth of part-time farming in the Southeast. In recent years industrial workers have sought to supplement their reduced wages in industry with part-time farming, farmers have been induced to supplement their reduced farm incomes with off-the-farm employment, and many persons already engaged in combined farming-industrial employment have extended their farming activities. One-half of the families surveyed had been carrying on part-time farming for 6 continuous years prior to 1935, however, indicating that part-time farming enterprises were not undertaken purely as a result of the depression.

Part-time farming in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina is at present carried on by workers in all of the major industries of the region—cotton textile manufacturing, lumber, naval stores, and coal and iron mining—as well as by workers in other manufacturing and mechanical industries, in transportation and communication industries, in trade, and in public service. In none of the industries, with the possible exception of coal and iron mining, is the labor involved so heavy as to discourage the additional work required by a farm enterprise, although the nature of available employment and the lack of available transportation facilities in some urban areas, such as in Charleston, discourage daily commutation of farm operators from remote rural areas.

The survey of combined farming-industrial employment in five major subregions of the Southeast showed that economically the part-time farm is an advantage. It requires in investment in house and

land little more than ordinarily would be spent in housing; it requires only a small amount of capital for equipment or livestock; and the expenditure for seed, fertilizer, or hired labor is negligible.

A part-time farm enterprise undertaken on as small a scale as those found in the Eastern Cotton Belt, however, does not give the operator and his family economic self-sufficiency. At best, it only supplements a cash wage from employment in industry, and the possibility of carrying on part-time farming activities successfully is contingent upon possession of off-the-farm employment.

In all of the subregions, the part-time farms surveyed were small, and the enterprises were conducted mainly to produce food for home consumption. Most of the farms surveyed had less than 5 acres of cropland, and almost half of them had less than 2 acres. The small acreage was sufficient, however, for the farm to produce a definite contribution to the family living—not only fresher and more abundant products for the diet, but also a monetary saving in grocery bills during the summer months that ranged from a few dollars to as much as \$20 per month.

The value of products consumed by typical part-time farmers during the year ranged from about \$70 by part-time farmers who had only a garden to about \$400 by those with a garden, a cow, several hogs, and a small flock of poultry. Since the majority of the part-time farmers surveyed made less than \$500 a year at their principal off-the-farm employment, the farm's contribution to family living was an important one.

Although most of the part-time farmers kept a cow, a hog or two, and a flock of chickens, a vegetable garden was the activity that was most general. On half of the farms, gardens produced three or more summer vegetables for 3, 4, and 5 months. Many of the gardens were only $\frac{1}{4}$ acre in size. Few of the farmers reported three or more vegetables for as long as 8 months, in spite of the long growing season throughout the Eastern Cotton Belt and the small expense attached to garden production. Most part-time farm families were obviously unfamiliar with winter vegetables, but some garden products, such as sweet and Irish potatoes and corn, were stored by two-thirds of the families, while vegetables were canned by three-fifths of the households, thereby prolonging the period of the garden's usefulness through the winter months.

In view of the actual saving in dollars and cents that was made possible by the part-time farm's contribution of vegetables, pork, dairy products, and livestock products, the operators on the whole did not feel that their farm enterprises took a burdensome amount of time. From 3 to 5½ hours a day were required in farm work from April through August on the white noncommercial part-time farms. Although in some cases the head of the family did all of the work alone, the farm tasks were usually shared by members of the family.

Few of the part-time farmers spent as much as \$15 for hired labor in 1934.

The part-time farmers' investment in farm buildings and land was small, amounting to less than \$2,000 in over one-half of the cases surveyed. Only a few of the farmers had holdings valued at more than \$5,000, and these were commercial farmers, for the most part, who produced some cash crop for the market or carried on some distinctly commercial livestock enterprise.

Investment in implements and machinery was practically negligible, most of the farmers owning only a few simple hand tools, such as hoes and rakes. In most cases, only the part-time farmers operating 10 acres of land or more owned horses or mules. The limited cropland on most enterprises prevented the growing of sufficient feed for work animals, and besides, the small enterprises common to the majority of part-time farmers did not warrant ownership of a mule.

In order to carry on farming activities, part-time farmers on the average were forced to live slightly farther from their places of work than were the nonfarming industrial workers. But residence at a greater distance from an employment center placed the workers in only one subregion at a disadvantage in securing work, as was shown by a comparison of part-time farmers and nonfarming industrial workers with respect to rates of pay, total earnings, and number of days employed. Further evidence that part-time farmers on the whole were not at a disadvantage with respect to employment opportunities was given by the fact that part-time farmers and nonfarming industrial workers were closely parallel in distribution in the industries of each subregion, as well as in the proportions of their numbers who were skilled and unskilled workers.

The suburban or open country residence that was involved in a part-time farming enterprise in some subregions carried with it some definite advantages. Housing cost part-time farm families who lived in the suburbs or open country less than it would have in town. Since families of part-time farmers were larger than those of nonfarming industrial workers, the lower rents, especially for large families, were one of the advantages that accompanied part-time farming. Nearly one-fourth of the part-time farm families consisted of seven or more persons. Part-time farmers' homes were larger than those of nonfarming industrial workers, but because of the larger families, there was slightly more overcrowding in the farm group.

Lack of modern conveniences was one of the disadvantages that frequently accompanied part-time farming, because power lines and water mains were not generally extended into sparsely settled rural areas. Electric lights, running water, and bathrooms were often lacking.

Home ownership was more common among part-time farmers than among the nonfarming industrial workers, but a large proportion of

tenancy existed even among part-time farmers, and especially among Negro part-time farmers.

From the social viewpoint, too, the part-time farmer's life had its advantages and disadvantages. In general, more part-time farm than nonfarming industrial families participated in organized social and community life. Also, the extent of participation of part-time farmers was greater than that of nonfarmers in almost every type of activity available to them, which was surprising in view of the greater distances many of them had to go to attend meetings. More members of part-time farm than nonfarm families were in positions of leadership as represented by officeholding, and enumerators in more than one area remarked that the part-time farmers enjoyed a higher social status than that of the nonfarming industrial workers.

Fewer social organizations, however, were available to part-time farmers. Inasmuch as such groups stimulate social intercourse and interest in community affairs, the lack of social organizations was particularly disadvantageous to young people in part-time farm families.

The present survey shows that while part-time farming can be a decided financial aid, in the sense that it supplements wages from industrial employment, no blanket endorsement for developing or extending present part-time farming or for encouraging new part-time farming enterprises may be given. Because a fairly small part-time farm enterprise alone is not enough to give self-sufficiency to the operator, part-time farming cannot be considered as an economic "way out" for unemployed persons or for families on relief, although a part-time farm, coupled with even a small cash wage, would alleviate the acute distress of many families now on relief. Part-time farming cannot be a solution for unemployment in the Eastern Cotton Belt, because possibilities of increased industrial activities, which would provide the necessary cash wage, are slight. Consequently, part-time farming as an activity can be encouraged only where industry has sufficiently recovered from the depression to offer satisfactory wages and hours to its workers, or where future prospects for an industry's development are promising.

From the point of view of available land in the Eastern Cotton Belt, there is a possibility of increasing the number of part-time farms, and many nonfarmers expressed a wish to become part-time farmers. Whether or not they should be helped to attain this objective depends on many factors other than existence of a cash wage. The possession of such qualities as industry, energy, and initiative is an essential prerequisite to the undertaking of a farming enterprise, and the willingness to follow farm supervision is equally important. Possession of the above characteristics was found to be more essential to the success of a part-time farming venture than actual previous farm experience.

Although about one-fifth of the farmers surveyed had had no farm experience since they were 16 years of age, the garden production of those without such farm experience did not differ greatly from that of part-time farmers with previous experience.

While the extension of part-time farming to households not at present engaged in this activity is not recommended as generally desirable or possible, the improvement of existing part-time farming is strongly advocated. Assistance by existing educational agencies would be valuable in improving some of the present farming practices, and with this aid part-time farms could be made more consistent producers of food and of a more varied diet.

Because people are familiar with a variety of governmental activities, the present would be an auspicious time in which to launch an educational part-time farm program, especially since many Federal agencies now in existence—such as the Farm Credit Administration, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Resettlement Administration—have facilities for putting such a program into effect.

Another argument for the introduction of a part-time farm program at the present is the unlikelihood of industries resuming the long hours of predepression days. Workers today are in the process of adjusting their habits to the additional leisure that shorter hours have given them, and if part-time farming activities are encouraged now, they will absorb this margin of leisure time.

Some industries in the Southeast were found to be better adapted to a combination with part-time farming than others, although, as it has been stated, none of them gives any promise of a marked increase in employment.

The textile industry offers particular advantages to workers who wish to engage in part-time farming. Farming land in the Textile Subregion is conveniently situated in relation to the textile industry, which is widely distributed in the area. Even the mill villages, such as those surveyed in South Carolina and Georgia, afford space for small farm enterprises. Employment in the textile industry involves no heavy manual work and the hours in the industry allow the worker time for carrying on a farming enterprise. The variety of work within the industry normally offers employment to employable members of all ages in a single family, thus increasing the family cash income, essential to the success of part-time farming. A special advantage accrues to part-time farmers in the Textile Subregion through the provision by mill villages of group activities usually denied to part-time farmers who live in the open country or on the outskirts of a town.

Coal mining and the steel and iron industries are less well adapted to part-time farming under normal conditions. The mines and mills are located in thickly settled metropolitan areas, where farm land is poor and scarce. The labor involved, when operations approximate full

time, is too heavy to make anything more than a small enterprise physically desirable. Part-time farming, however, has been remarkably successful in the Coal and Iron Subregion in spite of the handicaps of poor and limited farm land, and as long as the mines continue to operate so few days per year, such farming would seem to be both feasible and desirable for those workers who have access to the necessary land. Normal full-time wages in these industries will suffice to insure a standard of living equal to, or better than, that of the average industrial worker in the South. Any future approximation of normal work schedules and wages, by reducing the need for incomes to be supplemented, may result in a decrease in part-time farming.

Charleston County, in the Atlantic Coast Subregion, offers opportunities for combined farming-industrial employment to workers in rural areas engaged in the truck farming industry. Truck farming pays such low wages that an additional income in the form of home-grown products is highly desirable, and those wishing to undertake part-time farming activities have plenty of good farming land at their disposal. The fact that the rush season on truck farms coincides with the necessity for work on the part-time farm is one disadvantage to such a combination. The manufacturing, service, and port industries of the city of Charleston do not offer reasonable chances for combined farming-industrial employment, due to the isolation of Charleston from the mainland and the scarcity of farming land within commuting distances. In the port industries, in particular, only workers whose residences are accessible to places of employment can avail themselves of the irregular work offered.

With respect to location, the lumber industry is well adapted to part-time farming. Saw and planing mills are located in rural areas and woodworking industries are scattered in many small towns and cities. Hours are not now, nor likely to be, so long as to make small farming enterprises burdensome. Wages are low enough to make food production desirable. The cash-crop tenant system provides some part-time farmers with a cash income, and at the same time, it insures land and equipment for farm production for home consumption.

The naval stores industry is almost entirely a rural industry, and land is easily available for part-time farming. In the Naval Stores Subregion, wages are so low that a bare subsistence level of living is common. The chief disadvantages to combining farm work with employment in turpentine are the rather strenuous work and the coincidence of its rush season with the growing season on the farm. The outlook for increased employment in the industry is particularly unsatisfactory, depending upon development of new uses and markets for naval stores products and upon the development of an enlightened forest policy which will preserve the natural resources of the subregion.

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