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THE SOCIAL ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURE



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THE SOCIAL ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURE

BY

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TO MY WIFE

PREFACE

The past few years have forcefully demonstrated the paramount importance of agriculture as a phase of our national life. If we are to prosper as a people, both the farm and the urban industrialized interests must be equally considered, and directed into sound and effective functioning. It is impossible to neglect either of these basic elements in the public concern without the entire economic and social structure seriously suffering as a result.

This nation has during recent years become primarily urban and industrialized. Such a situation presents grave danger of either conscious or unconscious indifference on the part of the majority element to the interests of our farming people. The most effective way of combating such an unfortunate situation is through the process of education. The urban constituency must be informed in terms of the problems of agriculture and their vital relationship to the prosperity and welfare of the city. The rural minority must be educated as to the important bearing of the urban, industrialized interests upon those of the agricultural group. Through such a common understanding mutual sympathy is engendered toward a balanced program of development in the economic and social structure of our civilization.

In order that such a desirable goal may be attained, the economics and sociology of agriculture must receive increasing attention in the colleges and universities throughout the entire nation. Many schools will not be in position to offer more than one course in this field and will desire the cultural emphasis in the approach to the subject. The present text is well adapted to such a purpose.

In determining the content of this volume a thorough canvass has been made of the principal standard texts in agricultural economics and rural sociology. The frequency of the topics was noted, and upon the basis of such emphasis the chapter divisions were selected. Such a dissection and subsequent synthesis it is believed has included a large part of what is vital in the customary courses in the two disciplines.

There is today a growing tendency toward sharper specializa-

tion in the field of rural life studies. On the other hand, many of the outstanding leaders in the social sciences are arguing that we have already too finely drawn lines of demarcation between one social discipline and another, and that the most effective approach toward understanding a problem is through all possible avenues. The term *social economics of agriculture* makes possible such a venture, enabling us to view the agricultural problem not simply as an economic, sociological, historical, or governmental one, but in the combined perspective of all these approaches. Thus the present volume is to be viewed as an effort to synthesize the more pertinent thought in the social economic approach to the problems of agriculture That the book is a teachable one has been demonstrated by the author's twelve years of experience in handling a course based on the materials included.

The author is indebted to a variety of sources too numerous for individual mention, but appropriate recognition has been made by footnotes. In the second, fourth, fifth, twenty-fourth, and twenty-seventh chapters, he has made liberal use of materials from his earlier volume on *The Place of Agriculture in American Life*, but these have been re-worked into the new setting. Frequent and extensive quotations have been cited where they have contributed to a more adequate presentation of the particular topic under consideration. Permissions to use these have generously been granted by the publishers. It is a pleasure to express the appreciation due Miss Ruth Ritchie and Mrs. A. S. Hall on the office staff of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at the University of Virginia for the cheerfulness and efficiency with which they have typed the manuscript and helped in other ways to prepare it for the printer.

WILSON GEE

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
September, 1932

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THE SOCIAL ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURE

THE SOCIAL ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURE

CHAPTER I

AGRICULTURE IS FUNDAMENTAL

The fact that the farmer feeds the world makes agriculture basic to the existence of the human race. Striking advance has been made in the field of synthetic chemistry, and a few of the simpler organic substances have been compounded in the laboratory. While the composition of the food substances which go to make up our daily diet is fairly well understood by the chemist today, even the most hopeful in the progress of that science would scarcely contend it is likely any time soon that the growing of crops and livestock will be supplanted by huge, smoky manufacturing plants producing the necessities of life now furnished by the farms of this and other countries of the world. The achievements of science have been marvelous, and indications are that in the future they will be greater even than those characterizing the past, but in the face of all this, it seems fairly safe to assert with confidence that the chemist will never be able to create in the laboratory the richly nutritious beefsteak or the luscious ripe peach with their life and health giving qualities. The living organism, plant or animal, carefully bred by the farmer is the only agency known that can build up the elaborately complex substances in varying proportions of proteins, carbohydrates, and fats with their accompanying ferments, vitamins, and similar essentials characterizing the foods we eat from day to day

Carver in a discussion of the ways in which mankind gets a living classifies them as *uneconomic* and *economic*.

> The uneconomic methods of getting a living are sometimes destructive, and include all those occupations in which one's success depends upon one's power to destroy, to injure, or to deceive. War, plunder, robbery, and fraud of all kinds are included in this class. These methods

are called "uneconomic," because when one individual secures something by any of these methods no one else is benefited and some one is sure to be injured. Other methods are not positively destructive, but are nevertheless unproductive in the sense of returning to society no real advantage for the living received. Getting rich by marrying or inheriting wealth, or through a rise in land values, would come in this class The economic or productive methods of getting a living are those in which one's success depends upon one's power to produce or to serve All productive industries and all useful trades and professions belong in this class They are called economic because, when one individual gets something by any of these methods, no one else is injured and some one is always certain to be benefited. People who make their living by these methods do not impoverish other people, but tend to enrich them. The richer a man gets by any of the productive methods the richer he makes the rest of the world, and in proportion as the whole community or the whole world adopts these methods, in that proportion will the whole community or the whole world prosper, whereas the opposite is true of the uneconomic methods.[1]

In carrying this interesting classification further, the traditional course is to divide the economic methods of making a living into the *primary industries*, the *secondary industries*, and *personal* and *professional services*.

First among the primary industries comes farming, and the others of these are mining, lumbering, hunting, and fishing. Such industries are called primary because they are extractive in nature, consisting in originally deriving from the earth and the water various materials and objects useful to mankind, and in coaxing from the soil the crops which form the basis of animal life, human and domestic. Primary wealth, or the raw materials of industry, originates in such ways, and without such a basis there would be no economic striving as we know it. Agriculture as a primary industry not only feeds the world, but it provides a considerable part of the materials which necessitate the turning of the wheels of manufacturing plants. Agriculture existed long before our forefathers dreamed of great metropolitan industrial centers, and while conditions were primitive in those days, such evidences as are available indicate that they were as satisfied with their conditions of life as we are today with this involved system of ours. But never in all history has it been possible, nor will it be, to have a civilization all urban and industrial.

The secondary industries are those concerned with manufactur-

[1] Carver, T. N. *Principles of Rural Economics*. Ginn and Co., 1911, pp. 2-3.

sing, transporting, and merchandising. In these processes, the wealth created or liberated in the primary industries is elaborated into forms of goods better adapted to the needs of civilized mankind. The farmer in raising a wheat crop produces the primary wealth, which the secondary industry of milling changes into flour. In addition, such goods must be transported to warehouses and merchandising establishments where they become available at the place and time required.

The personal or professional service class consists of the useful offices performed by the teacher in banishing ignorance and diffusing knowledge, the healing and disease prevention functions of the medical profession, the inspirational and elevating services of the clergy, the governing activities of men and women in public life, the entertaining efforts of those in the theatrical arts, and similar beneficial contributions made to the sum total of human welfare and happiness by those in the various professions.

And so we see that in the broad scheme of our economic life, agriculture occupies a place that is indispensable. Although since the dawn of urban development it has sheltered classes which consciously and unconsciously have sought, more often than not with distinct success, to exploit the rural classes, nevertheless without the fundamental contribution of the agricultural industry all the rest of the fabric of our civilization would topple into ruins almost overnight.

1. The Problem Is Complex

Customarily the problem of the farmer is simplified in the mind of the average person. Whether it is the Russian peasant, the Chinese coolie, the English tenant, or the American farmer, our generalizing tendencies make us speak of the agricultural problem in an inclusive sense, as if the characteristics, resources, and difficulties were very much the same with a farmer no matter where he is located. While there are many similarities in the occupation, the diversities are much more striking.

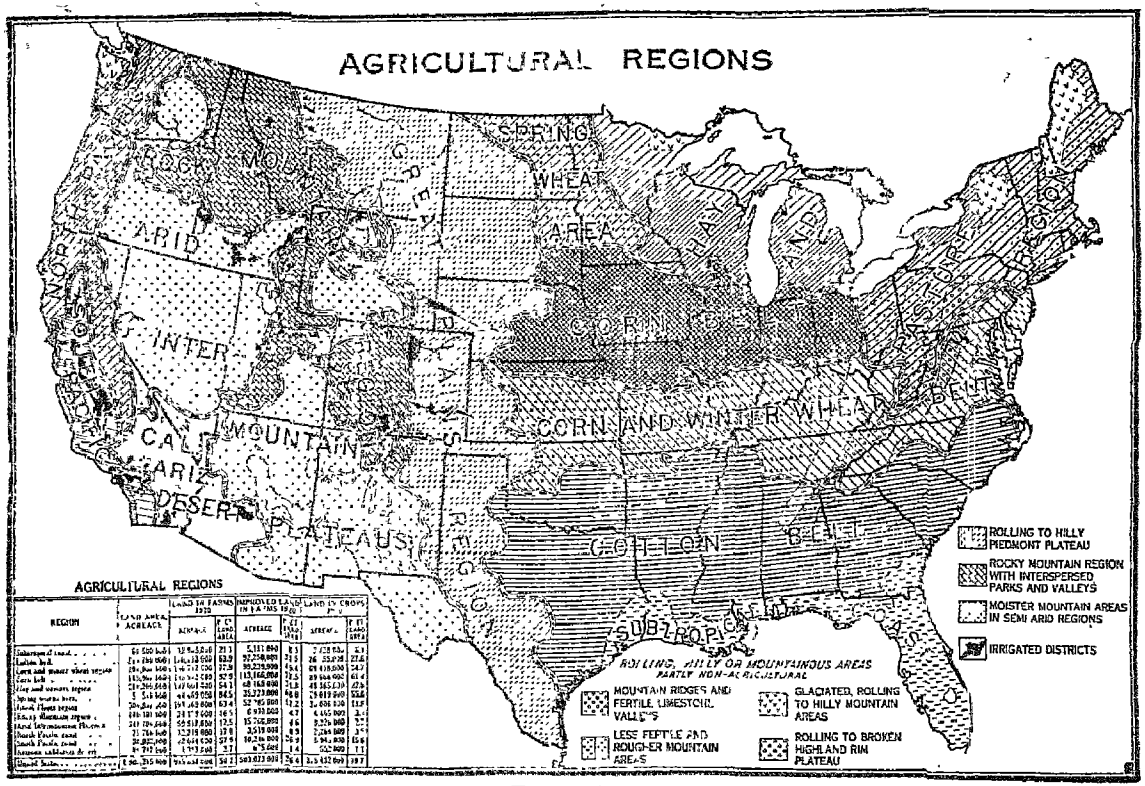
Since a later chapter contrasts the agriculture of the Old and the New Worlds, a consideration of the wide differences among the American farmers alone will serve to make clear the variety of interests which they represent. Broadly speaking, the United States may be separated into an eastern and a western half with the one hundredth meridian of longitude constituting the approxi-

mate dividing line. The East is a humid region, with a sufficient rainfall; much of the West is characterized by an annual amount of rain inadequate to the needs of ordinary farming. The result is that the farmer of the eastern region has an agriculture based upon tilled crops, small grains, and tame hay and pasture. In the West, wild hay and grazing, dry farming, winter crops in certain localities, and irrigation farming in many areas are the rule, with only limited extents of ordinary farming such as are to be found generally in the East.

Again, the East and West may be subdivided into six agricultural regions, those of the former based largely on temperature and comparative advantage of the several crops which can be grown; those of the West determined largely by the adequacy of rainfall and the nature of the topography. The subdivisions of the East are in general limited by parallels of latitude, extending east and west; while in the West, mountain ranges are the conditioning factor, causing the areas to assume primarily a north and south direction. The average elevation of the eastern half of the United States is somewhat less than 1,000 feet above sea level; in the West the altitude averages more than 4,000 feet. The accompanying map serves to visualize these factors in a fairly clear way, and a close study of it emphasizes the diversity of agricultural interests, and hence of problems of the farmers within the nation.

In the East corn is the leading crop, constituting over one-quarter of the acreage and nearly 30 per cent of the value of all crops. It is grown in all the six eastern regions, but is dominant in the Corn Belt, and is very important in the Corn and Winter Wheat Region, and in the Cotton Belt. Along the Gulf of Mexico and the southern Atlantic Coast the type of agriculture varies greatly from section to section — from rice farming to sugar cane growing and winter vegetable production, citrus fruit orcharding, and cattle ranching—so that the region is not named after any crop, but is called the "Subtropical Coast," because the warm water exerts a controlling influence upon climate and crops. In this eastern half of the United States there is scarcely any cotton grown outside the Cotton Belt, very little winter wheat outside the Corn and Winter Wheat Region and adjacent portions of the Corn Belt and Cotton Belt, and practically no spring wheat outside the Spring Wheat Region. Grass is of greatest importance in the Hay and Pasture Region, where in nearly every county hay and pasture occupy half or more of the improved land.

In the West hay is the leading crop, contributing nearly 37 per cent of the acreage and 26 per cent of the value of crops in 1919, and the forage obtained by grazing is probably of almost equal value. Alfalfa



AGRICULTURAL REGIONS

REGION	LAND AREA, ACREAGE	LAND IN FARMS 1920		IMPROVED LAND IN FARMS 1920		LAND IN CROPS	
		ACREAGE	PER CENT LAND AREA	ACREAGE	PER CENT LAND AREA	ACREAGE	PER CENT LAND AREA
Subregion of cotton belt	66 600 640	32 876 320	49.3	5 181 860	7.8	2 268 820	3.4
Cotton belt	214 760 960	146 238 080	68.0	97 238 080	45.3	56 350 720	26.2
Corn and winter wheat region	284 800 640	194 712 000	67.8	180 228 000	63.4	98 058 000	34.7
Corn belt	183 800 960	110 301 440	60.9	115 166 080	62.5	89 344 000	48.4
Hay and western region	234 560 640	147 661 440	63.1	48 168 000	20.6	28 365 000	12.1
Spring wheat area	1 5 1 5 6 4 0	44 465 080	84.5	35 223 000	66.9	29 819 040	56.6
Mixed farming region	204 800 640	101 465 600	49.4	52 785 000	25.7	34 606 320	16.8
Ranching mountain region	286 181 120	28 177 600	10.1	6 930 000	2.5	6 445 000	2.3
Mixed farming mountain region	241 704 960	55 511 000	23.5	15 345 000	6.6	9 225 000	3.9
North Pacific coast	21 784 960	13 216 000	17.9	3 519 000	4.8	1 265 000	1.7
South Pacific coast	35 840 000	17 644 160	37.9	10 134 000	28.3	5 364 000	15.0
Arizona subregion of rim	94 717 440	1 313 280	2.1	2 304 000	1.4	552 000	1.1
United States	1 903 295 000	959 668 000	50.2	563 033 000	29.6	315 432 000	16.7

is the leading hay crop in the Rocky Mountain and Arid Intermountain regions, wild grasses in the Great Plains Region, and grains cut green on the Pacific Coast. Wheat contributed 21 per cent of the value of all crops, oats 3 per cent, barley 3 per cent, fruit and nuts 18 per cent, potatoes 4 per cent. and other vegetables 3 per cent in these six western regions. The value of all crops in the western regions, however, constituted in 1919 only 15 per cent of the total for the United States.

The contrast between the East and West is not as pronounced in livestock as in crops, except that swine are largely confined to the East, while sheep are much more important in the West. There is a marked distinction, however, in the manner of management, the livestock in the East being fed in the barnyards or fields with shelter at night, while in the West the stock is mostly grazed on the open range. In the East, the Hay and Pasture Region is primarily a dairy area; while the Corn Belt is the centre of the beef-cattle and swine industry. In the West, the sheep are generally located in the more arid and the cattle in the less arid areas; while in the North Pacific Region, with its cool, moist climate, similar to that of the Hay and Pasture Region, dairying is again the dominant livestock industry.[1]

Not only is farming as an industry tremendously varied as to the climate, soil, topography, crops or livestock grown, but it is complex as to the psycho-social characteristics of the occupation. For example, any occupational work consists roughly of three principal categories: *proprietorial*, managerial or independent *master's* work which concerns the ownership, organizing and control, of some enterprise; *qualified employees' work*, dealing with the higher, skilled grades of managerial work more or less under the direction of the proprietorial class; and *laborer's work*, of a rather mechanical nature, largely manual in kind, without the exercise of initiative, planning, much serious thought, *i.e.*, distinctly subordinated in character.

To which of these classes does the farmer belong? He is a proprietor par excellence, throughout the world, in the United States almost two-thirds of them owning the farms they operate. But the fact that a farmer is an owner, planning, controlling, and organizing his enterprise does not mean that he is not often functioning in the sphere of the qualified employee, actively overseeing the work of his "wages hands," tenants, and family labor in the planting, cultivating, harvesting, and certain of the phases of marketing his crops. Also, at times he must "fill in" by performing monotonous, routine work such as characterizes that of

[1] Baker, O. E. "A Graphic Summary of American Agriculture." *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1921, pp. 413–114.

the laborer. Moreover, the tenants, most of them, also cut across the classes which are rather clearly defined in the urban pursuits.

It is customary for the economist to divide the nature and sources of income into *wages and salaries, interest, rents, and profits* In urban pursuits generally wages apply to the laborer, salaries to the qualified employees, interest and profits to the capitalist, and rents to the landlord. But as Sorokin and Zimmerman point out, the income of the farming class "represents a combination of almost all of these kinds of income: in part, it is a wage for their own labor; in part, it is a profit from their enterprises and interest on the money invested; and finally, in part, it is a rent for their own land and immovable property." [1]

A really successful farmer must know the principles of plant and animal breeding, the chemistry of fertilizers, the practical applications of soil physics, much about soils and climatic factors, what kinds of farm machinery to buy and how to operate them, how to handle labor, negotiate credit for his enterprise, and should have a thorough knowledge of the processes of marketing. Simple folk, many of them, are farmers, but they perform these functions in a simple, and relatively imperfect sort of way. Effective, modern farming is an intensely complicated undertaking, in its various ramifications calling for the highest degree of skill in its several parts, and interrelated in so many ways with the various phases of present-day civilization that it is almost bewildering to attempt to chart them.

2. The Economic Position of Agriculture

In quantity of agricultural production, the United States leads all countries.[2] This nation, Russia, China, and India are preeminent. Prior to the World War, the aggregate value of farm products in Russia was only about two-thirds that of the United States. In China, so far as any approach to accuracy can be made, the production of foods and fibers is certainly not more than three-fourths that of our own country, while in India, the agricultural production is less than half that which we total Even the entire British commonwealth of nations, including India, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the British Isles, has an aggregate farm production only nine-tenths that of the United States.

[1] Sorokin, Pitirim and Zimmerman, C. C. *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology.* Henry Holt, 1929, p. 80.

[2] Baker, O. E. *Op. cit.*, p. 407.

1. *Wealth and Income.*—A report (1926) of the Federal Trade Commission on National Wealth and Income estimates the total national wealth in 1922 at $353,000,000,000. The total farm wealth for the same year was given as $78 000,000,000, or about 18 per cent of the aggregate figure. The amount used in manufacturing and mining was about 14 per cent of the total, about 13 per cent is held by railroads and other public utilities, and about 12 per cent applies to federal, state, and local governmental holdings Quite a large share, reported as unascertained, is employed in wholesale and retail trade. "Probably the largest single share, however, is that composed of city dwellings, furniture, and personal effects—wealth possessed and used for personal necessities and enjoyment—which probably is not less than one-fourth of the grand total."

Another way of viewing the situation is that given by the *New York Times* of March 25, 1928, in which agriculture in number of employees, value of products or service and estimated investment is ranked as the first among America's twenty leading industries. Although the urban industrial development of the United States has been tremendous in recent years, and in its collective expression as shown in the following table far exceeds agriculture, classified as a single industry, the farm enterprise easily outstrips all of the rest of them.

The total national income for 1923 is estimated at $70,000,000,000. Of this amount, agriculture contributed 9.4 billions, or 13.5 per cent of the total Its position in this respect was second, the manufacturing industries ranking first with an income of 24.1 billions or 34 per cent. The rank and amounts of a few more of the chief sources of national income are as follows the mercantile business third, with 8.6 billions, or about one-eighth of the total; the personal service businesses—hotels, barber shops, shoe-repair shops, and a host of others—fourth with 6.3 billions, or 9 per cent; the professions—law, medicine, engineering, etc.—fifth with 5.2 billions of dollars, or 7.5 per cent; and the steam railroads, sixth with 4.6 billions, or 6.7 per cent of the total income in 1923.[1]

Thus we see that both in the proportion of total wealth which it constitutes, and the income derived therefrom, agriculture is one of the economic interests of leading significance, and even

[1] *National Wealth and Income.* A Report of the Federal Trade Commission (1926). Senate Document No. 126, 69th Congress, 1st Session.

TABLE 1

AMERICA'S TWENTY LEADING INDUSTRIES [1]

INDUSTRY	EMPLOYEES	RANK	VALUE OF PRODUCTS OR SERVICE	RANK	ESTIMATED INVESTMENT	RANK
1. Agriculture	10,241,000	1	$16,963,000,000	1	$57,000,000,000	1
2. Construction	3,051,000	2	7,000,000,000	3	(No data)	4 (?)
3. Railroads	2,184,000	3	7,396,000,000	2	27,800,000,000	2
4. Textiles	1,110,000	4	*5,342,000,000*	4	*4,100,000,000*	8
5. Machinery	858,000	5	5,020,000,000	5	(No data)	9 (?)
6. Lumber	474,000	7	2,254,000,000	12	8,000,000,000	6
7. Iron and steel	438,000	9	3,711,000,000	7	5,000,000,000	7
8. Automobiles	430,000	10	4,745,000,000	6	3,000,000,000	10
9. Oil	158,000	16	2,377,000,000	11	11,000,000,000	3
10. Coal	748,000	6	1,727,000,000	14	2,500,000,000	12
11. Electricity	230,000	13	1,783,000,000	13	9,500,000,000	5
12. Clothing	466,000	8	3,239,000,000	8	1,000,000,000	16
13. Publishing	296,000	12	2,482,000,000	10	1,200,000,000	13
14. Tel. and Tel.	381,000	11	935,000,000	20	2,600,000,000	11
15. Meat	120,000	20	3,050,000,000	9	1,200,000,000	14
16. Rubber	141,000	17	1,255,000,000	16	1,000,000,000	17
17. Shoes	207,000	14	1,061,000,000	18	700,000,000	18
18. Baking	160,000	15	1,268,000,000	15	600,000,000	19
19. Paper	124,000	19	972,000,000	19	1,200,000,000	15
20. Tobacco	132,000	18	1,091,000,000	17	(No data)	20 (?)

[1] Source: *New York Times*, March 25, 1928.

from this angle of approach compelling respectful consideration. Down to 1880, or at least until some time between 1880 and 1890, the farm industry of the United States was our principal source of wealth. However, in the Census of 1890, the value of farm products was exceeded by that of manufactured products. In 1900, the net value of agricultural production was $3,704,177,706, and the corresponding figure for manufactured products, $5,981,454,234, or on the most conservative evaluation an excess of more than a billion dollars in favor of the manufactures and mechanical arts.[1] The margin between the industrial pursuits and the agricultural has widened with each passing decade as the figures given in this section serve to indicate.

2. *Forms of Agricultural Wealth and Income.*—In 1925, due to the post-war agricultural depression in the farming business, the total value of all farm property was $57,017 740,040 This was distributed as follows: [2]

Land and buildings	$49,467,647,287
Land, excluding buildings	37,721,018,222
Buildings	11,746,629,065
Implements and machinery	2,691,703,629
Livestock on farms	4,858,389,124

The gross value of 78 crops and 14 livestock items, which represent probably more than 98 per cent of all income from farm products in 1928, was for the crops $9,726,822,000, and for the livestock items $6,154,884,000—a total of $15,881,706,000. It is interesting to note the twenty leading crops and animal products constituting a large part of this estimate. In this way we can form a more definite idea as to how the total farm production originates.

Corn is preëminently king among American agricultural products Our forefathers early discovered its large grain yields per acre, and while it seems to be declining in popularity as a human food, it is almost indispensable with livestock Cotton may rule in the South, but milk stands next to corn in national importance. Pork exceeds in value all of the meats we produce, but its lead over chickens and eggs is not a great one. Wheat, the basis of the staff of life, is eighth on the list. In spite of its attraction for so many, the tobacco crop was worth several millions less than were white potatoes, and, among the fruits, we produce an apple crop

[1] *United States Census of 1900.* Vol. VII, p. liv

[2] *United States Census of Agriculture, 1925.* Summary Statistics by States, p. 3.

more valuable than the likewise delicious orange which has become so generally popular in recent years.

TABLE 2

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE IN GROSS VALUE OF TWENTY LEADING AGRICULTURAL ITEMS: 1928 [1]

RANK	ITEM	GROSS VALUE	PER CENT OF TOTAL
1	Corn	$2,341,462,000	14.7
2	Milk	2,061,464,000	13.0
3	Cotton (lint and seed)	1,528,397,000	9.6
4	Hogs	1,387,122,000	8.7
5	Chickens and eggs	1,190,493,000	7.5
6	Hay	1,182,960,000	7.4
7	Cattle and calves	1,137,176,000	7.2
8	Wheat	900,754,000	5.7
9	Oats	597,480,000	3.8
10	Truck crops	326,926,000	2.1
11	Forest products	311,091,000	2.0
12	Farm gardens	303,651,000	1.9
13	White potatoes	293,679,000	1.8
14	Tobacco	276,448,000	1.7
15	Barley	204,751,000	1.3
16	Apples	200,582,000	1.3
17	Sheep and lambs	197,406,000	1.2
18	Oranges	142,285,000	.9
19	Wool	109,299,000	.7
20	Grain sorghums	93,433,000	.6

3. *The Export of Agricultural Products.*—The products of the American farm have at all times constituted a very important proportion of our export trade. The adventurous spirits who promoted the settlement of this country expected at the outset large finds of the rare metals and precious stones, but it early became evident that the pattern of civilization in the Americas should take the agricultural form For example, the wealth and accompanying culture of the old colonial planters of the South was largely derived from the export of tobacco, indigo, and later of cotton. The import trade brought back in exchange the products of the manufacturing plants of the Old World.

In characterizing the importance of the foreign market to the individual American farmer and to the world Nourse says in part:

> The American farmer has long been a significant and striking international figure. To be sure he has been clad in the rough garments of the toiler rather than in the fine raiment of the diplomat. He has

[1] Data derived from *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 6, No 9 Sept , 1929, pp 370, 373.

sat upon the iron seat of his sulky plow or self-binder rather than in the mahogany swivel chair of the international trader or banker. But notwithstanding his obscure position and his failure even to realize the far-reaching importance of his own performance, the American farmer has played as vital a part in the development of modern industrialism as have those other characters who stand more brilliantly in the spotlight of public attention. He has been no less important than they in the evolution of the international economic organization which modern industrialism implies and has become deeply involved in the intimate life and work of the people of many nations.

The world was not slow to discover how large a dependence it could place on our farmers for food supplies and clothing materials. Thereupon it went about piling up industrial cities and ordering the domestic habits of its people on the basis of that dependence. A wonderful new land was given to agriculture in America during the nineteenth century. Had it not been so swiftly opened up, had it not been so industriously and skillfully developed by our farmers, particularly in the latter half of the century, the rapid and dazzling rise of modern industrial civilization would not have been made possible. This has been the essence of European dependence on the American farm.[1]

Europe has always been the chief destination of our agricultural products shipped abroad, though the value of such exports from this country to Asia was in 1923 more than five times greater than before the War. In the years before 1914, Europe took five-sixths of the total of our exported farm products, though during recent years the proportion has varied between three-fourths and four-fifths. The great bulk of these go to the thickly settled, highly industrialized countries of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Netherlands, and Belgium, though considerable quantities are shipped to the Scandinavian countries and Italy.

As to the kinds of products which we chiefly export, in 1925, cotton made up but a little less than 50 per cent, the grains about 17 per cent, animal food products (meats and edible fats) 14 per cent, miscellaneous vegetable food products (principal items—fruits, vegetables, edible oil seeds and vegetable oils, and refined sugar) 8 per cent, tobacco (unmanufactured) 7 per cent, and miscellaneous non-food products about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. These proportions are not essentially different to those prevailing in 1913, the year before the World War. At that time tobacco constituted somewhat less than 5 per cent of the total.[2] When expressed in

[1] Nourse, E. G. *American Agriculture and the European Market.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1924, pp. 1-2.

[2] *Commerce Yearbooks* for 1924 and 1925.

terms of the total production of the leading crops in which we have an exportable surplus, generally there is shipped out of the United States 50 to 60 per cent of the entire cotton crop, 35 to 40 per cent of the tobacco produced, 20 to 25 per cent of the wheat, and 12 to 15 per cent of the pork and lard.[1]

TABLE 3

VALUE OF DOMESTIC EXPORTS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS[2]

(In Thousands of Dollars)

YEARLY AVERAGE, YEARS ENDING JUNE 30	VALUE	PER CENT OF ALL EXPORTS *
1852–56	164,895	80.9
1857–61	215,709	81.1
1862–66	148,866	75.7
1867–71	250,715	76.9
1872–76	396,660	78 5
1877–81	591,351	80.4
1882–86	557,473	76.3
1887–91	573,287	74.7
1892–96	628,743	73.0
1897–01	827,566	65.9
1902–06	879,541	59.5
1907 11	975,399	53 9
1912–16	1,256,457	45.1
1917–21	2,859,558	42.7
1922–25	1,965,574	47.4
1920	3,861,511	48.6
1921	2,607,641	40.8
1922	1,915,866	51.8
1923	1,700,163	46.3
1924	1,867,098	44.2
1925	2,230,165	47.7
1926	1,891,739	40.7
1927	1,907,864	39 2
1928	1,815,451	38 0
1929	1,847,216	35 0
1930	1,495,164	32 4

* Based on total value of domestic exports.

It is pertinent to inquire here as to the proportionate part the agricultural exports contribute to the sum total of our national export trade. A rather clear picture of the trend may be gained

[1] Yoder, F R. *Agricultural Economics.* Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1929, p 349

[2] From *Commerce Yearbook*, 1925, p. 180, and *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1931, p. 675.

from Table 3 on page 13. During the period from 1852–61, the agricultural products constituted approximately 81 per cent of the total value of all exports. While the volume and value of agricultural exports has experienced a great absolute increase since that time, the proportion which they make of the total has somewhat irregularly but nevertheless continually declined. The United States has become increasingly industrial, the tariff walls erected have proved effective, and the surplus of manufactured products has found markets abroad. In 1925, agricultural products exported were 47.7 per cent of all exports, and for the year 1930, they made up only 32.4 per cent of the total foreign trade. Only a part of this decline can be accounted for on the basis of lower prices of farm products.

It is significant to note here the mounting figures of agricultural imports. In 1928, the total imports of agricultural products were valued at $2,192,404,000 and made up approximately 53 per cent of our total import bill.[1] The leading agricultural items imported into this country are silk, sugar, coffee, wool, oil seed and oil-seed products, hides and skins, tobacco, and various fruits and vegetables.[2]

While the impaired credit of the European countries as a result of the World War, and their determination to reach a maximum of self-sufficiency in their farming production has greatly affected our agricultural export trade, the real beginnings of a definite decline are to be found in the period from 1900 to 1914. Many factors combined to cause this situation, but principally it was due to deliberate commercial and political agrarian policies in European countries. Particularly in France and Germany the competition of cheap exports from the United States was checked by successive advances in tariff rates, or in certain cases, was stopped by embargoes based on sanitary grounds, as in the case of hog products. Also, undoubtedly, military security about which these countries were quite apprehensive, demanded a greater degree of self-sufficiency in their agricultural production.[3]

The future of our agricultural export trade is difficult to predict. Upon the return of more stable conditions of international trade and amity, and the increase of population in many foreign coun-

[1] *Yearbook* of Agriculture, 1928 p. 1015.
[2] Yoder, F. R. *Op. cit.*, p. 349.
[3] Nourse, E. G. *Op. cit.*, Chapter I.

tries, a marked improvement is likely to result in the markets abroad for our farm products. Meanwhile, we may be assured that in a nation so great in the extent of agricultural resources as is ours, the export of such products will always be a substantial and important concern in the economic welfare of the country.

4. *Relation to Other Interests.*— Thus far we have considered agriculture from the standpoint of its indispensable function of food production, its conspicuous position in the total wealth and income of the nation, and how important it is in the matter of foreign trade. There are many other ways in which it is more or less intimately connected with the economic life of almost every individual, institution, and agency in the nation.

The annual purchasing power of the farmers of the United States is normally about ten billions of dollars a year for the goods and services of others.

The agricultural industry buys each year about six billions of dollars worth of manufactured products which is about one-tenth of the annual production of such goods. This is a sufficient amount to be a determining factor in industry and business prosperity.

The farms of the nation supply the raw materials of industry employing more than half of our industrial workers.

Based on the proportion which wages constitute of the value of the products purchased and the transportation paid by agriculture, it pays indirectly, as a minimum annually two and a half billion dollars of the wages of employees in the various urban pursuits.

The hauling of products to and from the farms makes up roughly about one-eighth of the total freight business of the railroads of the country.

About one-fifth of the total cost of government is borne by the agricultural industry.[1]

A recital of such figures as these serves to impress us with the fact that although agriculture does not occupy the position of ascendency it one time enjoyed in our history there can be no possible argument why the urban classes should not be well informed and keenly interested in terms of an industry so vitally related in many ways to their prosperity and happiness.

[1] These data are adapted from *The Agricultural Problem.* National Industrial Conference Board, New York, 1920, pp. 2-3.

3. An Important Social Concern

The person who has always lived in the city is likely to view the rural population simply as food producers. They are our "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Such a narrow view gives a much distorted picture of American country life. It corresponds with the severely pessimistic description of Edwin Markham in his "The Man with the Hoe" written after seeing Millet's world-famous painting In that often quoted poem, the European peasant farmer is characterized in part as follows:

> Bowed by the weight of centuries he leans,
> Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
> The emptiness of ages in his face,
> And on his back the burden of the world.

He is a clod-hopper, a country Rube, a hayseed, a bumpkin, a hick, a hill-Billy, ill-lettered, a crude son of the soil, perhaps sometimes a diamond in the rough, but nevertheless distinctly in the rough. He lives a life quite different from the city life, which to one who knows nothing else, is often the only worthy form of living. The farmer in such a consciousness exists to produce food for city people and to raise families to grow more food for more city people later on. Fortunately this impression of farm folks is no more correct than the estimate the farmer has of the urban resident as a dude, who has more on his back than he has in his head, a fast mover and spender, and usually so much of a clever rascal that a pocketbook must be held while talking to him.

That such distorted views do occur cannot be denied. In them is found the basis of the rural-urban conflict in various forms about which we hear so much these days The lack of sympathy between country and city is like many conflicts in human affairs, based on a deficiency in the knowledge each group has of the other's problems and ways of life.

Much study in recent years has been given both to the urban and to the rural phases of our civilization. A fairly definitive starting point of such an appraisal of our rural culture is to be found in the appointment of the Commission on Country Life by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1908. In the letter setting up this notable commission, that able and vigorous-minded American leader said among other things:

> There is but one person whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is that of the wage-worker who does manual labor; and that is the tiller of the soil—the farmer. If there is one lesson taught by history it is that the permanent greatness of any state must ultimately depend more upon the character of its country population than upon anything else.
>
> It is especially important that whatever will serve to prepare country children for life on the farm, and whatever will brighten home life in the country and make it richer and more attractive for the mothers, wives, and daughters of farmers should be done promptly, thoroughly and gladly. There is no more important person, measured in influence upon the life of the nation than the farmer's wife, no more important home than the country home, and it is of national importance to do the best we can for both.
>
> The farmers have hitherto had less than their full share of public attention along the lines of business and social life. There is too much belief among all our people that the prizes of life lie away from the farm. I am therefore anxious to bring before the people of the United States the question of securing better business and better living on the farm, whether by cooperation between farmers for buying, selling and borrowing; by promoting social advantages and opportunities in the country; or by any other legitimate means that will help to make country life more gainful, more attractive, and fuller of opportunities, pleasures and rewards for the men, women, and children of the farms.[1]

In the light of such statements as these it is not difficult to perceive that the country life problems of the United States and of other countries partake largely of a social nature. As in all such large segments of civilization, there are many fine social qualities and advantages in country life and also a great number of deficiencies and perplexing problems which confront us. To consider the most outstanding of these is one of the important concerns of this volume.

1. *Population Proportions.*—Until a little more than a decade ago, the rural [2] population of the United States outnumbered the urban. This means, of course, that so far as the total population of the nation that is rural born is concerned it still outnumbers the urban. Although the city today is the intense focal center of cultural ideals, it is exceedingly doubtful whether the urban influence is greater in the aggregate than the rural. It cannot be questioned that the modes of conveyance, the conveniences of the home, the

[1] *Report of the Commission on Country Life.* Macmillan, 1917, pp. 41-46.

[2] The federal census defines "urban population as that residing in cities and other incorporated places having 2,500 inhabitants or more and rural population as that residing outside such incorporated places."

standards of education and refinement now come out from the cities in a flood-tide, and are changing the entire structure of rural civilization. But it must be remembered that this is but reversing the earlier process when the dominant rural influence established firmly its institutions and customs as the foundation upon which the urban superstructure has been erected. It will take a long time for the newly acquired urban majority to outweigh, if it ever does, such basic rural social contributions.

In 1930, the total population of the United States was 122,775,046, of which number 68 954,823 were urban and 53,820,223 were rural. In that census year, the rural inhabitants composed 43.8 per cent of the total population, and the urban proportion was 56.2. Only fifty years earlier, in 1880, the rural population made up 71.4 per cent of the aggregate population of the United States.

The Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920) included for the first time an enumeration of the "farm population." This term is defined as "persons living on farms, including, of course, considerable numbers of persons engaged in occupations other than farming." At that time the farm population numbered 31,614,269, or 29.9 per cent of the total population. On April 1, 1930, the figures of the Fifteenth Census give the farm population as 30,447,550, or 24 8 per cent of the total. These figures indicate during the ten years a net loss of 1,166,719 from the farms of the nation.

In a consideration of the relative proportions of rural and urban in the population, it is well to note that careful studies of the matter show that 45.2 per cent of urban growth is derived through migration from the country sections.[1] The farm families are usually larger than the city families, and indicate much less of a tendency to become smaller than do the city families. It is likely that for a long time yet to come the cities will depend upon the country for a considerable part of their human contingent

2. *People Employed.*—The decennial Census of 1930 indicates that the agricultural pursuits have taken second place in the number of persons ten years of age and over who are in gainful occupations. The number of such persons in the manufacturing and mechanical industries is greater by more than three and a half millions. The table on the next page serves to give in condensed

[1] Gillette, J. M *Rural Sociology.* Macmillan, 1928, p. 64

form the comparative importance in this regard for the several occupations.

TABLE 4

NUMBER OF PERSONS TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN EACH GENERAL DIVISION OF OCCUPATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES [1]

CLASS OF OCCUPATION	BOTH SEXES		PER CENT OF TOTAL	
	1930	1920	1930	1920
All occupations	*48,829,920*	*41,614,248*	*100.0*	*100.0*
Agriculture	10,471,998	10,535,812	21.4	25.6
Forestry and fishing	250,469	270,214	0.5	0.6
Extraction of minerals	984,323	1,090,223	2.0	2.6
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	14,110,652	12,831,879	28.9	30.8
Transportation and communication	3,843,147	3,036,829	7.9	7.4
Trade	6,081,407	4,257,684	12.5	10.2
Public service (not elsewhere classified)	856,205	738,525	1.8	1.8
Professional service	3,253,884	2,171,251	6.7	5.2
Domestic and personal service	4,952,451	3,379,995	10.1	8.1
Clerical occupations	4,025,324	3,111,836	8.2	7.5

At the time of the 1930 Census, 21.4 per cent of the total gainfully employed population in the United States were in the agricultural occupation, with 28.9 per cent in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. This reverses the situation of twenty years earlier when the percentage of those in agriculture was 33.2 over against a figure of 27.8 per cent in manufactures.

The fact that a smaller actual number in the later year are employed in agriculture in spite of the increasing population in the nation, particularly in the urban centers, indicates the growing efficiency of the American farmer. This is evidenced by the fact that the crop output per farm worker in this country has about doubled since 1870. Farm machinery is rapidly coming more largely into use, a wiser selection of high yielding strains of seeds and animals is made, and a better knowledge of the application of fertilizers and methods of cultivation has come about through the various educational agencies contributing to that end. There is no reason for alarm in such a decline of those employed in agriculture. The processes of the manufacturing indus-

[1] Source: *Occupation Statistics, Fifteenth Census of the United States*, 1930.

tries call for a very intensive utilization of human labor. A smaller working force on the farms, if profitable prices are provided for the produce, makes possible higher standards of living, which is the ultimate goal sought in both country and city.

While the matter has already been generally alluded to and is more fully discussed in a later chapter, it is interesting to note here that considering the total number employed in agriculture and manufacturing, about 84 per cent of those in the latter are wage earners as compared with approximately 39 per cent of farm laborers in the agricultural total. Proprietors, firm members, officers, managers, and salaried employees constitute about 16 per cent of the gainfully employed in the manufacturing industries. In the agricultural occupation, owner farmers and farm managers make up 37.5 per cent of those gainfully employed, and tenant farmers, who, as has been pointed out, in large proportion are independent managers of their enterprises, constitute 23.1 per cent.

3. *Rural Social Interrelationships.*—In view of various of the foregoing considerations, it must have become clear by now that the farm population of the nation is vitally related to most of our matters of significant social policy. It is tremendously important to the welfare of our cities as to how efficiently the rural schools are operating. The illiterate person from the country migrating to the city is poorly fitted for the adjustments which must be made in the transition to a new and widely different environment. He may easily add to the dependent and delinquent classes and become an additional burden upon agencies already taxed in taking care of such cases. On the other hand, the well-equipped rural migrant will adapt himself readily to the new tasks and obligations confronting him. The social and economic institutions of the smaller urban trade centers must be geared to the needs of the outlying rural sections or they will not prosper as they should. The development of highway systems must be so planned as to reach the door of the farmer and in this way bring to him the many advantages of a modern civilization. Such socializing agencies as the newspaper, the magazine, and the library function best when they reach both the rural and urban populations. It is exceedingly important to our continuing national welfare that a vigorous social order shall always continue in our rural sections, for as a recent national study points out the American farm in the past has been the main source of our free and

self-reliant national type, and a radical change in the rural civilization of this country will likely change for the worse the social structure of the future. The same authority continues: "Our farms are more than mere workplaces: they are homes. Agriculture is not merely an industry; in a broad sense it is a social institution The farm population once disintegrated, is not easily replaceable out of the city, as some European nations have discovered." [1] Such a problem can be met only through an increased understanding between those in the agricultural occupation and the urban, industrial classes, based on a fuller information each of the characteristic features of the other's economic and social situation.

4. Agriculture Is Politically Significant

The farmer has always been an important factor in the political life of the nation. The expression of this influence has not often taken the form of organized farmer parties, but nevertheless it has been a potent one. In the earlier days of our history, the farm population was so thoroughly predominant that those in public position were keenly sensitive to the needs of agriculture. And it must be remembered that it was in those days of rural ascendency that the fostering influences of the protective tariff grew up about the emerging manufacturing interests. Such a policy received its impetus and sanction largely from the representatives elected by the farm group. In more recent years, the urban industrial groups have gained a marked preponderance, and there has been a growing political inequality between these interests and those of agriculture For the most of the time since the last war, manufacturing has been near the peak of a hitherto unprecedented prosperity, while agriculture has been in the trough of perhaps its worst depression.

Henry C. Wallace, one of the best equipped men ever to hold the cabinet position of Secretary of Agriculture calls attention to the resulting situation in these words:

> If for no other reason, therefore, than because of its size and latent power, the manner in which the interest and welfare of this group (the agricultural) may be affected by national policies, legislative or administrative, always should be considered It is not in the national interest to disregard so important a group or to give it merely such attention as will keep it at work. Such an attitude is insufferable and is certain

[1] *The Agricultural Problem*, pp. 3–4.

to stimulate a group consciousness which soon develops into group prejudice. As this feeling gathers power, the group attracts smaller discontented elements, and finally compels action much more extreme than would have satisfied it a short time before. Failure to give needed assistance to such a group, whether engaged in farming or any other industry, when it is struggling under economic difficulties, especially when such difficulties are due in part to national policies is a sure way to breed discontent and resentment not conducive to the national good [1]

Agricultural discontent has been much in the foreground of political consciousness during the post-war presidential campaigns. The development of the McNary-Haugen plan of farm relief, and its passage by Congress at two different times only to be blocked in each instance by presidential veto, shows how a firm persistence of a discontented minority can rally the support of similarly disaffected groups and in the allied strength carry forward its claims. Moreover, the so-called Hoover Farm Relief measure would not have taken form except for the preceding agitation and alignments for the McNary-Haugen plan. That the farming interests of the nation cannot be ignored is further evidenced by the development of fairly definite "bloc" attitudes towards the tariff, taxation, railroad regulation, and other matters. It is a fundamental axiom in national policy that every significant element must be duly considered and its fair interest taken care of in a complex and interacting framework of civilization.

Another phase of the political situation in the rural areas today requires mention even in a brief consideration of the broader phases of the problem The local government most closely affecting the rural population is that of the county. Close students of political science agree that the prevailing system of administering county affairs is the most inefficient of all our forms of governmental procedure. One authority designates it as the "jungle of American government." It is characterized by others as archaic, obsolete, and woefully inadequate to the needs of the modern era. The "fee system," the selection of public officers on hand-shaking ability instead of equipment for the financial, educational, engineering, and other duties of position, and the lack of centralization of authority are cardinal defects. Yet the intrenched strength of county courthouse political "rings" makes any reform exceedingly

[1] Wallace, Henry C. *Our Debt and Duty to the Farmer.* Century Co., 1925, pp. 11–12.

difficult. Some encouraging experiments are going forward along these lines in widely separated parts of the nation, and are being watched with unusual interest as likely to provide the key for hopeful advances towards the improvement of the local government under which the farming interests labor today.

5. A Growing Field for Study

The past few decades have witnessed a marked expansion in our knowledge of all phases of the farm industry. The effective starting point for this is to be found in the establishment of agricultural colleges, experiment stations, and extension services in the several states. Increasing funds for such work from both state and federal sources have built up staff and equipment for the intensive study of field crops, livestock, including dairying, fruit growing, plant and animal diseases, soils and fertilizers, farm engineering, farm management, agricultural economics, rural sociology, and a number of similarly well-established fields of interest. Consequently, what is known about any one of these topics now amounts to volumes, the most of it consisting of scientifically determined materials.

Among the later fields to develop as organized bodies of knowledge in the field of rural life have been those of *agricultural economics* [1] and *rural sociology*.[2] The more recent emergence of these has been due to the fact that the other disciplines mentioned are much more closely allied to the physical sciences. This is a machine age and the subjects providing technical information for industrial

[1] L. C. Gray, in the first chapter of his *Introduction to Agricultural Economics*, defines the term as follows: "Agricultural economics is a branch of the general subject of economics, or political economy. *It may be defined as the science in which the principles and methods of economics are applied to the special conditions of the agricultural industry.* In this sense agricultural economics is only one of the many branches of applied economics." In discussing *farm management*, he characterizes this as "the art of managing a farm successfully as measured by the test of profitableness," and states that the present tendency is to consider the study of farm management as an important branch of the general field of agricultural economics.

[2] J. M. Gillette gives to rural sociology a relationship to sociology similar to that which Gray advances for agricultural economics with economics. He says "we may consider rural sociology as that branch of sociology which seeks to account for the origin and development of rural society, discovers, organizes, and interprets the facts concerning it and formulates standards and methods of improving rural life." *Rural Sociology*, p. 6.

The views of these two authorities is given as representative but by no means as constituting the entire viewpoint of the several workers in the respective fields of knowledge. To consider the divergent opinions on the matter of definition and hence scope of agricultural economics and rural sociology is too extensive a task for the purposes of the present volume.

and agricultural development until the past few years have received the major emphasis. In manufacturing, the tendency has been marked towards the large mass output of highly standardized products. With agriculture, the slogan has been to make "two blades of grass grow where only one grew before." These objectives in both agriculture and manufacturing have been handsomely achieved.

In the course of an address before the American Economic Association at St Louis a few years ago ex-Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois said:

> Our civilization as contrasted with all previous civilizations has been marked by an increasing control of man over the forces of nature and a subjection of them to his own use. I believe we are entering upon a new era in the domain of the social sciences. Just as in the material world man has increased his dominion over the forces of nature, so in the world of men we shall learn more and more how to make the institutions of men respond to the needs of men.[1]

It is customary to classify human knowledge quite broadly into three categories;—the *humanities* and *fine arts*, the *natural sciences*, and the *social sciences*. The humanities and fine arts include the classics, particularly Latin and Greek, the modern languages, both English and foreign, painting, drawing, architecture and sculpture (the arts of design), poetry, music, dancing and dramatic art. The natural sciences may be subdivided into the *physical sciences* including physics, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, astronomy, meteorology etc., and the *biological sciences*, made up of such subjects as zoology, botany, physiology, anatomy, embryology, pathology, and similar fields relating to the living organism, both plant and animal. The social sciences in definition and acceptance vary with the authority, but the following are generally considered as embraced under the term, *history, economics, political science, sociology, anthropology, psychology, jurisprudence*, and some phases of *philosophy*.

The boundaries established between the different social sciences, and among the other subdivisions of the larger classifications of knowledge are merely brackets for convenient delimitation, largely artificial in nature. The interrelationships between the natural and social sciences are multitudinous; and the scientific method,

[1] Lowden, Frank O. "The Farm Problem." *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 9, 1927, p. 20

long characterizing the approach to the physical sciences, is now the dominant influence in shaping the social studies. In the present volume we are mainly concerned with the economic and sociological approaches to the problems of agriculture, but in the search for materials we shall with impunity invade the territory of many of these artificial divisions of the social sciences and go over into the natural sciences and humanities when things from those realms are needed to complete the perspective we wish to attain. It is for this reason that the term *social economics of agriculture* has been chosen, so that in terminology at least we may not be criticized for such a commonsense, though unconventional, way of handling social science as related to farm life.

QUESTIONS

1. What would be the effect upon the present order of human society if it were found possible to synthesize our food substances instead of growing them from the soil?
2. What is meant by "economic" and "uneconomic" methods of getting a living? Differentiate among "primary industries," "secondary industries," and "personal and professional services. Discuss agriculture as a primary industry
3. Is the problem of the farmer a simple or a complex one? Discuss the variety of agricultural interests in the United States.
4. How would you classify the farmer as to "proprietorial," "qualified employee," and "laborer's" status? His nature and sources of income as to "*wages and salaries*," "*interest*," "*rents and profits*"?
5. Give the position of the United States in quantity of agricultural production, and name her chief competitors in such a ranking.
6. What proportion of the total national wealth in 1922 did the total farm wealth constitute? How does agriculture rank among the twenty leading industries in America?
7. Give the total national income in 1923, and the amount and percentage of this contributed by agriculture. About what date did the value of our manufactured products begin to exceed those of our farm products? How did the amount and proportion of our national income from the manufacturing industries compare with the similar figures from agriculture in 1923?
8. Enumerate in order of importance the principal items making up the total value of all our farm property in 1925. Name the five leading items of agricultural production in the United States according to their gross value in 1928.
9. Discuss the importances of the products of the American farm in our export trade. To which foreign countries do the bulk of these go?
10. Compare the proportionate part which agricultural exports contributed to the sum total of our national export trade in 1852–56 and in 1930.

How is this declining trend in proportion to be explained? Which agricultural commodities do we export in considerable quantities?

11. Give in round numbers the value of the total imports of agricultural products into the United States in 1928. How does the figure compare with the total value of agricultural exports in the same year? What leading agricultural items do we import into this country?
12. Discuss the relation of agriculture to other interests, mentioning the following specific items: annual purchasing power of farmers in the United States; the value of manufactured products bought each year by the agricultural industry; the proportion of raw materials which agriculture supplies to manufacturing industries; the amount of the wages of employees in the various urban pursuits indirectly traceable to agriculture; the proportion of the total business of the railroads which the hauling of products to and from the farms constitutes; and the proportion of the total cost of government borne by the agricultural industry.
13. Who has the larger knowledge of the other's life, the farmer or the city man? How accurate do you consider Edwin Markham's picture of "The Man With the Hoe"? Give Theodore Roosevelt's appraisal of the importance of country life.
14. Describe the social significance of American country life including the following facts: the percentage rural inhabitants were of the total population in 1930; the percentage which the farm population constituted of the total population in the same year; the proportion of the total gainfully employed in the United States who were in the agricultural occupation in 1930; and a comparison of the percentage of wage earners in manufacturing with that which farm laborers constituted of those in agriculture for the same year.
15. Mention some of the ways in which a vigorous farm population is vitally significant to the social welfare of our cities.
16. Discuss the potential menace which a prolonged and intense agricultural inequality and discontent holds for our political life and institutions
17. Define "agricultural economics" and "rural sociology" Why have they been so recent comparatively in their emergence?
18. Do you think Lowden is too optimistic about our ability to make the institutions of men respond to the needs of men?
19. Classify the studies which you are taking according to whether they belong to the "humanities," the "natural sciences," and the "social sciences."
20. What advantages are there in approaching a study of country life from the viewpoint made possible by the term "social economics of agriculture"?

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

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CHAPTER II

A BRIEF ECONOMIC HISTORY

Two converging sets of influences operating under the whip of stern necessity in an unexcelled and widely varied physical environment were largely responsible for the direction assumed by American agriculture in the colonial period. One of these was the valuable lessons and crops contributed out of the experience of the Indians who inhabited the land at the time of European settlement. The other was the large inheritance from the agriculture then current in the several nations of the Old World which participated in the establishment of the new country.

The London Company which promoted the first successful settlement in this country at Jamestown, Virginia, did so with little idea of developing an agricultural civilization in the New World. The primary interest [1] of these promoters was to discover immediately in the virgin areas great supplies of pitch, tar, soap ashes, resin, flax, cordage, iron, copper, glass, and timber for shipbuilding and other purposes. For many years prior to the permanent settlement at Jamestown, the mother country had been forced through its own diminished supply, to import these commodities from such uncertain sources as Germany, Poland, Russia, and Sweden. But war and ice-bound seas made these reservoirs of naval and other stores precarious for the British whose main line of defense has ever been either the wooden or the steel wall established by their navy and merchant ships. Although the first efforts of the early settlers were to discover and deliver such expected supplies, it soon became manifest to leaders like Captain John Smith that the labor supply in the struggling colony was inadequate to such a task. In order that they might survive, it was necessary that the energies of the adventurers should be devoted to the tilling of the soil, and the building of houses and forts.

While the motives back of the settlement of Plymouth, Massa-

[1] Gee, Wilson. *The Place of Agriculture in American Life.* Macmillan, 1930, pp. 25-26

chusetts, were not so crassly mercenary, there was the idea of profitable returns from investments. "In the founding of these self-governing Puritan colonies, economic motives cannot, of course, be ignored. New England, like Virginia, could not have developed as it did if large numbers of people had not believed that they could make an easier, or a better, living for themselves in America. Yet, when all is said, it cannot be denied that religion, in the form of Puritanism, played a greater part there than in any other English colonies, with the possible exception of Pennsylvania" [1]

The history of these early days in the making of the nation constitutes reading that thrills one, but at the same time its pages are filled with tragedy as well as romance, and the real hardships of life are everywhere apparent. And necessity forced our forefathers, whether they came into the forming nation by way of Jamestown, Virginia, Plymouth, Massachusetts, or Charleston, South Carolina, to become first of all farmers before they became tradesmen. They were remote by long and stormy sea voyages from the home base they had left behind them, and the matter of bread, meat, and shelter early eclipsed all their other interests.

To a much larger degree than we are accustomed to think, the colonists were beneficiaries of the Indians. Not only was this true in the matter of actual supplies secured through the barter of hatchets, cloth, beads, and other trinkets, but it was the case in a still larger degree through the adoption of Indian agricultural plants and practices. The European plants were experimented with, and sooner or later many of them became acclimated, but at the outset, the dependence was upon such native crops as Indian corn, potatoes, and tobacco. Small clearings were made, after the custom of the natives, by girdling the trees, or burning around the bases. Sometimes fish were put into the hills for fertilizer. The yields on virgin soil were quick and certain. These primitive methods together with the abundant meats provided from the hunt made the settlers safe in the matter of sustenance.

Carver in discussing the contributions which European agriculture has made to that of America gives a good brief characterization of these in the following words:

[1] Greene, E. B. *The Foundations of American Nationality*. American Book Co., 1922, pp. 88-89.

Our own agricultural history is more closely related to that of Great Britain than to that of any other part of the world. Not only did the American colonists bring with them the rural customs and practices of the mother country, but they continued for a long time, even down almost to the present, to look mainly to England for improvements in almost everything agricultural except farm machinery, in which we have led the rest of the world. New and improved varieties of fruits, grains, and vegetables, and, more especially, superior breeds of live stock, have generally come from England and Scotland; in fact, it has not been uncommon in some parts of this country to designate improved and cultivated varieties of our garden and field crops and of our live stock by the general name of "English." Thus English hay meant anything but wild hay; English fruit, almost any kind of grafted fruit; English cattle, horses, etc., almost anything except common scrub stock. While this was not always a strictly accurate use of terms, it indicated in a general way our indebtedness to the more highly developed agriculture of the mother country, especially during our pioneer period, when our energies were devoted less to improving our crops and herds than to the gigantic task of subduing the continent and bringing it under cultivation.

Though France helped us to win our political independence and gave us some of our best political ideals, she contributed little to our agriculture except the Percheron horse; the French coach horse, which is really not yet an established breed, and owes its best qualities to the English Thoroughbred; and the Rambouillet variety of the Merino sheep, which had in turn been borrowed from Spain. Though the Dutch laid the foundations of our largest city and gave us some of the best features of our system of popular education, their most valuable contributions to our agriculture are buckwheat, white clover, and the Holstein cow. Spain gave us our monetary unit, the dollar, but contributed nothing special to the improvement of our agriculture except the Merino sheep and some of the progenitors of the American mule. Germany and the Scandinavian countries have given us a great many sturdy farmers, and every country is indebted to Germany for certain scientific discoveries which have indirectly benefited agriculture as well as other industries; but aside from the Oldenburg coach horse and a few special varieties of grain and fruit, she has made no significant contributions toward the direct improvement of our agriculture. We have borrowed from many nations in fact, but all of them together have scarcely contributed as much as Great Britain to our agricultural development. From that country we have imported every one of our leading breeds of cattle except the Holstein and the Brown Swiss,[1] all our leading breeds of sheep except the Merino in its different varieties, several of our leading breeds of swine, and a few breeds of poultry. To her we owe the Shire, the Clydesdale and the Suffolk among draft horses, and the Thoroughbred, which is the foundation of all our saddle

[1] Since the islands of Jersey and Guernsey are under the British flag, the Jersey and Guernsey cattle are included under British breeds.

and driving horses. In addition we have brought from Great Britain most of the common garden and field crops except those which were indigenous, such as corn, potatoes, and tobacco, and also cotton, which obviously could not have come from so cold a country as England, the common cultivated varieties being imported from the eastern hemisphere, though certain species are native to America.[1]

1. Colonial Agriculture

Two economic characteristics [2] stand out most prominently in colonial agriculture The first of these was its *extensive character*, that is, the thinness of application of labor and capital on a large extent of land, due to the cheapness and abundance of this factor of production. The second was its *self-sufficiency*, implying by that term not complete isolation from commercial relations, but production, as a rule, for home consumption rather than for sale.

The condition of self-sufficiency was a most important feature of the earlier American farm. The farm family produced for themselves shelter, food, clothing, furniture, farm implements, and most of the other things required in their farm and household economy. One of the writers on this phase of our agricultural history has said: "From his feet to his head the farmer stood in vestment produced on his own farm. The leather of his shoes came from the hides of his own cattle. The linen and woolen that he wore were products that he raised. The farmer's wife or daughter braided and sewed the straw hat on his head. His fur cap was made from the skin of a fox he shot. The feathers of wild fowl, in the bed whereon he rested his weary frame by night, were the results acquired in his shooting. The pillowcases, sheets and blankets, the comfortables, quilts and counterpanes, the towels and table cloth, were home made. His harness and lines he cut from hides grown on his farm. Everything about his ox yoke except staple and ring he made His whip, his ox gad, his flail, axe, hoe and fork-handle, were his own work How little he bought, and much he contrived to supply his wants by home manufacture would astonish this generation." [3]

If so much of the household necessities of this nature were provided from the farm, as a matter of course, the food supply was bountifully available. However, this partook of a simple

[1] Carver, T. N. *Principles of Rural Economics.* Ginn and Co., 1911, pp. 48-50.
[2] Bidwell and Falconer *History of Agriculture in the United States.*
[3] Hedges, in Suffolk County, New York, *Bicentennial*, p. 42.

nature, and while the tables "groaned," they groaned in the Northern States under the weight of "bean porridge hot and bean porridge cold," brown bread, hominy or hasty-pudding and milk, pork, salt beef boiled, salt and fresh fish, succotash, and the more usual of vegetables in season. Sugar was costly, and was rarely used except for company, molasses and honey constituting the sweetening ingredients.

Practically the only articles of diet not provided on the farm were salt, molasses, rum, tea, and coffee. Salt was an absolute necessity, and rum was a customary and popular beverage. These two articles were important in the internal trade of the times. Tea and coffee were little used by farmers in the pre-Revolutionary days, though shortly afterwards their use became widely extended.

Wertenbaker has quite successfully exploded the general impression that the typical Southern farmer of colonial days was one with a large mansion and numerous slaves. His study of rent rolls in a number of Tidewater counties in Virginia indicates clearly that there was a large majority in the yeomanry of the times, and that many of these rose from the estate of indentured servants. While such findings have a disturbing effect upon widely current tradition, they in no wise decrease our estimate of the long-continued stability of our farming classes in extraction and industrious background.[1]

However, nothing can detract from the luster of the grade of civilization achieved by the old Southern planter. The plantation is the most colorful of all institutions developed in the rural life of America. Thomas Nelson Page in his collection of essays on *The Old South* says: "It has been assumed by the outside world that our people lived a life of idleness and ease, a kind of hammock-swing, 'sherbert-sipping' existence, fanned by slaves, and in their pride, served on bended knees. No conception could be further from the truth. The ease of the master of a big plantation was about that of the head of any great establishment where numbers of operatives are employed; and to the management of which are added the responsibilities of the care and complete mastership of the liberty of his operatives and their families. Any master who had a successfully conducted plantation was sure to have given it his personal supervision with an unremitting attention which

[1] Wertenbaker, T. J. *The Planters of Colonial Virginia.* Princeton University Press 1922

would not have failed to secure success in any other calling. If this was true of the master, it was much more so of the mistress."

These beautiful memories of a day that is now gone are recalled to emphasize the self-sufficiency which characterized our early agriculture. The old plantation in the South was built upon the foundation of such a system of economy. Miss Burwell, a member of a distinguished Southern family, in writing of *A Girl's Life in Virginia*, pictures vividly the environment of her childhood days. The master's residence, known by the Negroes as "the great house" stood in a central position, handsome, attractive, and commodious, the overseer's home, a plainer structure, usually located some distance from it. "Rows of white cabins with gardens attached; Negro men in the fields; Negro women sewing, knitting, spinning, weaving, housekeeping in the cabins; with Negro children dancing, romping, singing, jumping, playing around the doors—these formed the only pictures familiar to my childhood." Bread, meat, milk, vegetables, fruit, and fuel were said to be as plentiful as water in the springs near the cabin door. "Among the Negroes—one hundred—on our plantation, many had been taught different trades; and these were blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, millers, shoemakers, weavers, spinners, all working for themselves. *No article of their handicraft ever being sold from the place, their industry resulted in nothing beyond feeding and clothing themselves.*" [1]

The gaunt wolf of possible famine and personal exposure successfully driven from the door, there came recurring recollections of the luxuries of life which the early settlers had experienced or known of in the older civilization upon which they had turned their backs years before. What was there in an agricultural economy which could be provided as an exchange commodity for the silks, satins, laces, broadcloths, the elegant furniture, the massive silver services, as well as the less expensive of the accompaniments of higher levels of living?

In the New England States, the less favorable soil and climate led early to the development of fishing, shipbuilding, and commerce. Even there, agriculture continued as the dominant industry, but these additional interests formed the basis of trade with the Old World. In the South, timber and furs had in some measure helped, but the lumber was bulky and shipping space scarce, and the furs soon none too plentiful.

[1] Italics mine

John Rolfe, celebrated as the husband of Pocahontas, is reputed to have been the first to experiment with the cultivation of tobacco. This plant, of course, was widely grown by Indians, but was not of a very superior quality and could not compete with the product of the West Indies. It is said, however, that by 1614, Rolfe had succeeded in growing a tobacco leaf that was as "strong, sweet and pleasant as any under the sun." The demand for the tobacco weed was large in England, and increasing. The London Company, disappointed in the lack of iron, naval stores, and the like secured from their colony, gladly encouraged the growth of tobacco. The first shipment was made in 1619, singularly enough the same year in which a Dutch privateer brought the first cargo of slaves to this country. By the year 1775, 85,000,000 pounds of tobacco were exported annually, with a value of about $4,000,000. From the outset, tobacco was the leading article of export from the New World, and during the colonial period between one-fourth and one-half of the total export of North America consisted of this commodity. The type of agriculture thus introduced proved very profitable in the earlier decades of the settlement, but involved wasteful methods which rapidly impoverished the soils.

Next to tobacco in importance in the South was rice, grown principally in South Carolina. In that colony in 1761, with a population of only 45,000, the rice crop was valued at over $1,500,000. Another commercial crop of great worth in the early days of the same colony was indigo. In the last decade before the Revolution, South Carolina exported on the average a half-million pounds of indigo a year, valued at from two to five shillings a pound. Later on, following the invention of the saw gin, cotton came into great prominence as an exchange crop, but this was in a period when the young nation had wrested its independence from a tyrannical parental control

Since the agriculture of the nation was fundamentally self-sufficient, the trade in these exchange crops brought much wealth and luxury to the colonies. In writing of the resulting situation in South Carolina, William Gilmore Simms tells us that although the smaller farmers in the "Back Country" of South Carolina were having a struggle to get a bare living, the rice and indigo planters who lived in the Low-Country had grown very rich and owned large tracts of land and many slaves In describing the resulting life in the City of Charles Town during this period, he

says that "its people were gay, hospitable and fond of display. Their sons, returning from Europe, brought back customs and fashions of the Old World, as well as wasteful habits. Clothes and jewels were brought from the cities of Europe and sold in Charles Town. Almost every family kept horses and carriages. There were concerts, dinners and balls attended by companies of people dressed in the latest European fashions. Horse racing was a great amusement. Theaters were open in which the best actors in America played. Three weekly newspapers were published in the city. There were good bookstores in which the latest books from England could be bought. In the business sections, the city was like a beehive, so busy were its citizens with matters of trade. Its wharves were lined with ships, and its harbor filled with vessels and boats."

2 The Acquisition of Land

When the North American continent was settled, the feudal system of land tenure generally persisted in Europe. This sort of land system was an intricate one, making difficult and cumbersome the transfer of land, and severely restricting the rights of inheritance and bequest. It was natural and necessary that in a new country, where land could be had almost for the asking, that it should come to be held in fee simple title and be transferred as was the case with any other kind of property. The theory prevailed rather widely that the title to land in the New World was vested in the crown, and from this source all subsequent rights were derived [1] The king granted the land in this country in vast tracts to chartered companies or to proprietors who in turn made it available to individuals

In Virginia, for example, a private individual might secure land in one of three ways: (1) by the purchase of a share of stock, known as a "bill of adventure," in the London Company, which entitled the holder to a proportionate share of any profits accruing and title to a tract of land; (2) by meritorious service such as that rendered by ministers, officers in the colony, physicians, and others who through useful services commended themselves for such recognition; and (3) by what was known as "head right," or the

[1] Bogart, E. L. *Economic History of American Agriculture.* Longmans, Green, 1923, pp. 30–33.

privilege of a shareholder by means of which he was able to secure title to fifty acres of land for every person, bond or free, whom he transported to the colony at his own expense, provided such a person stayed in the colony for at least three years. Beginning around 1618, this method became the widely prevailing one, and the privilege was soon extended to persons who were not shareholders. Subsequently, the administration of lands permitted the issuance of patents to any one who would pay a fee to the secretary of the colony. During the first few years of settlement, the tracts of land patented averaged around 100 to 150 acres each. In subsequent years this area was greatly increased until in 1695–1700, each grant made averaged as much as 683 acres.

There were public surveyors in different parts of the colony and when a certificate of head right was received, one of these officials "proceeded to make a survey of any unappropriated tract that the patentee had selected. The latter almost invariably selected land adjacent to a river or the sea so long as any such land remained unappropriated. It was the practice of the surveyor to adopt the shore as a base and to measure off on this base a line whose length depended upon the size of the tract to be patented. From either end of this base line, and at right angles to it, a line was run back to the distance of a mile. These two lines, together with the base and back lines, formed the boundaries of the tract to be patented. After all the land adjacent to the waterways was patented, the back line of these tracts was used as a new base for laying the back country off into tracts for new plantations." [1]

These steps completed, the title to the land was perfected by what was known as "seating" or settlement, that is, the patentee built a house and cultivated a crop upon the land. Also, he was expected to pay a quit-rent of a shilling for each fifty acres of land, a procedure which was not to go into operation until after the lapse of seven years. This latter provision, however, received little attention on the part of the landholders and insistence upon it by colonial authorities caused widespread dissatisfaction.

The New England system of land tenure was rather different to that prevailing in the more southerly colonies. In exceptional instances, grants were made to a few individuals for meritorious services. The prevailing method of distribution, however, was to

[1] Carver, T. N. "Historical Sketch of American Agriculture." *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture.* Macmillan, Vol. IV, pp. 40–41.

make large grants to groups who wished to establish a settlement centering about a town. The individuals received their lands from the towns. "It was the admirable economic land tenure which shaped the early towns; without this, even their religious and political systems might not have established their distinctive system of living. They elected, as it were, certain men and families to church membership, and upon these fell the responsibilities of citizenship." [1] Among the privileges of those admitted to citizenship, was that of receiving a grant of land. Certain tracts of land, or "commons" were held with rights in common by the original families as a town pasture, which in the subsequent growth of the communities led to the distinction between "commoners" and "non-commoners."

Volumes have been written on the land policies in the colonial era of our history, and still others on the public land policies since the establishment of the republic. In order to compress the subject into proper scope the treatment must be brief and sketchy. At the close of the Revolution, the unoccupied or unsold areas of the nation were considered as the property of the individual states. Shortly afterwards, by a series of acts, the greater part of such territory was ceded by these states to the federal government. Oppressed by the heavy debt burden of the struggle for independence, the young government was searching eagerly for means to liquidate it. Thus the first land policies sought to settle these areas by sale and convert them into federal revenues. This attempt was blundering and largely unsuccessful, but soon led to a progressive policy that was social instead of financial in its central motive. The culmination of these efforts was the Homestead Act of 1862 and its modification in 1864. Under the provisions of this measure, an individual who actually lived on and cultivated the land was given without money and without price the title to 160 acres of land. While there were many abuses of these measures by land grabbers, lumber and mining interests, there is considerable of truth in the statement made by one of the federal land commissions to the effect that the Homestead Act "protects the government, it fills the state with homes, it builds up communities and lessens the chances of social and civil disorder by giving ownership of the soil, in small tracts, to the occupants thereof."

[1] Weeden, E. B. *Economic and Social History of New England.* Vol. 1, pp. 65, 66.

3. A Commercial Agriculture

Year by year, culture patterns became more firmly established in the older settled portions of the New World social structure, but the more restless spirits were constantly extending the western frontier of the nation. Then, too, new streams of humanity were pouring into the "land of opportunity," and these naturally sought to establish their foothold in the wilderness or semi-wilderness where land could be had for the taking. Early in the opening years of the nineteenth century, the acquisition of vast spaces from the French through the Louisiana Purchase made available new lands for settlement. At that time, an embargo had damaged the trade of New England and the competition of the more fertile western soils had started the Yankee tide of emigration across Pennsylvania on into Ohio and farther westward. The impoverished soils of Tidewater Virginia made the citizens there keenly sensitive to the westward urge, and her citizens left her borders by the wholesale. North Carolina backwoodsmen in this same general movement flocked to Indiana, and other Southern States contributed large quotas of population as far north in the new area as Michigan and Wisconsin.

According to Turner,[1] up to 1830, except in Ohio and Michigan, the dominant overflow of settlement into the Middle West was Southern, particularly from Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina. During the following decade, the influence of the Erie Canal became apparent, and along this highway of transportation, thousands of New Englanders poured into the new country. "Combined with the streams from the East there was a substantial German migration. Between 1830 and 1860, these numbered about one and a half million of people." By the later fifties, therefore, the control of the Middle West had passed to its northern zone of population, and this zone included representatives of the Middle States, New England, and Germany as its principal elements. In the struggle between the conflicting types of civilization, slave and anti-slave, is to be found much of the basis of the Civil War.

The settling of these extensive new areas of the West was greatly stimulated by two other factors—the marked improvement of farm machinery and the development of steam railroad systems, spanning a continent. Carver[2] is authority for the statement

[1] Turner, F. J. *The Frontier in American History*, Henry Holt, 1920.
[2] Carver, T. N. *Op. cit.* p. 85

that "in 1833 practically all the work of the farm except plowing and harrowing was done by hand. Though there had been minor improvements in hand tools, and considerable improvement in livestock and crops, particularly in Europe, yet it is safe to say that so far as the general character of the work actually performed by the farmer was concerned, there had been comparatively few changes for four thousand years." The small grains, at that time, were broadcast by hand, and were harvested at best with the cradle, a scythe blade with a frame attached, and often with the primitive sickle. Threshing was done with a flail, or the grain was trodden out by the feet of horses or oxen, as was true in ancient Egypt or Babylonia. It was the practice to cut hay by hand with a scythe, and corn was planted and covered by hand and its cultivation, also, was done with a hoe. It is exceedingly significant that "by 1866 every one of these operations was done by machinery driven by horsepower except in the more backward portions of the country."

Until this marked development in farm machinery, a farmer's tools consisted of crude wooden plows, harrows, hoes, shovels, forks, and rakes, poorly made and often constructed on the farm where they were to be used. But labor has always been the most expensive factor in American farming, and it was natural that the inventive genius of our people should be turned to the devising of ways to conserve that element.

An earlier conspicuous example of the influence of machinery upon the economic history of American agriculture was the invention of the cotton gin. A severe limitation in the growth of cotton in the South had been the fact that the lint was separated from the seed by hand and the task was accomplished with the short-fibered variety at the rate of about a pound a day per slave laborer. Credit is accorded Eli Whitney for the solution of this problem, a young graduate of Yale University who had gone South to teach school. His own words in a letter to his father tell the story of this epoch-making invention in the cotton industry:

> I went from N. York with the family of the late Major General Greene to Georgia. I went immediately with the family to their Plantation about twelve miles from Savannah with an expectation of spending four or five days and then proceed into Carolina to take the school as I have mentioned in former letters. During this time I heard much

said of the extreme difficulty of ginning Cotton, that is, separating it from its seeds. There were a number of very respectable Gentlemen at Mrs. Greene's who all agreed that if a machine could be invented which would clean the cotton with expedition, it would be a great thing both to the Country and to the inventor. I involuntarily happened to be thinking on the subject and struck out a plan of a Machine in my mind, which I communicated to Miller (who is agent to the Executors of Genl. Greene and resides in the family, a man of respectability and property) he was pleased with the Plan and said if I would pursue it and try an experiment to see if it would answer, he would be at the whole expense, I should loose nothing but my time, and if I succeeded we would share the profits. Previous to this I found I was like to be disappointed in my school, that is, instead of a hundred, I found I could get only fifty Guineas a year. I, however, held the refusal of the school untill I tried some experiments. In about ten Days I made a little model, for which I was offered, if I would give up all right and title to it, a Hundred Guineas. I concluded to relinquish my school and turn my attention to perfecting the Machine. I made one before I came away which required the labor of one man to turn it and with which one man will clean ten times as much cotton as he can in any other way before known and also cleanse it much better than in the usual mode. This machine may be turned by water or with a horse, with the greatest ease, and one man and a horse will do more than fifty men with the old machines. It makes the labor fifty times less, without throwing any class of People out of business.[1]

This invention gave tremendous stimulus to the then lagging growth of cotton in the South and was one of the prime factors in fixing slavery as a widespread and profitable institution in the cotton régime. The method of operation of the gin was that of a cylinder equipped "with teeth projecting through strips of metal which drew in the cotton fiber, leaving the seeds behind, and a second roller, equipped with brushes to free the teeth from the lint, revolving in the opposite direction. Operated by hand the machine would clear fifty pounds a day, by water a thousand." [2] Cotton expanded into the greatest commercial crop of the South, and the largest single item of export from the nation. In 1790, 4,000 bales of cotton of 500 pounds lint each were raised in the United States, but under the stimulus of the new invention the production had reached 73,222 bales in 1800. By 1860, nearly four million bales were grown, and in the same year cotton represented about 57 per cent of the total experts from this country.

[1] "Correspondence of Eli Whitney" in *American Historical Review*, Vol. III. pp. 99–101.

[2] Faulkner, H. U. *American Economic History*. Harpers, 1925, pp. 222–223.

'The development of the plow forms an interesting and lengthy chapter in our agricultural history. Its improvement has been a cardinal factor in increasing the productivity of the labor employed in crop production by decreasing the labor requirements per acre and by promoting higher yields through superior tillage. Among those who contributed to the evolution of this basic agricultural implement were Thomas Jefferson and Daniel Webster. "As early as 1788, Thomas Jefferson conceived of a moldboard based on mathematical principles In 1798, he had several plows made which incorporated his conception of the moldboard, and 'became fully satisfied of their practical utility.' Jefferson's invention was first given official publicity and recognition abroad, both the French Academy of Sciences and the English Board of Agriculture acknowledging his priority in the application of mathematical principles to the construction of the moldboard. While we have it on good authority that Jefferson's plow had 'several very great defects,' his contribution to the design of the moldboard cannot very well be overestimated. He not only discovered 'one of the many rules that are applicable to the formation of the moldboard,' but also demonstrated the value of basing plow construction upon mathematical principles. The persistence of Jefferson's interest, moreover, no doubt stimulated subsequent invention." [1]

The first patent in the United States for a cast-iron plow was granted to Charles Newbold of New Jersey in 1797. It was not well accepted by the farmers of his day because of a widespread impression that iron plows poisoned the soil for crop growth. The first of the now famous John Deere steel plows was made in 1837 from an old saw blade. In 1868, James Oliver was granted a patent for hardening cast-iron so as to improve greatly its wearing and scouring qualities. From this start, the Oliver chilled iron plows came into extensive use in the eastern as well as other parts of the country. In this same wave of invention the corn-planter originated, as did also the sulky plow.

In 1831 a patent was granted to William Manning for a mowing machine and in 1834, Cyrus McCormick had developed his reaping machine. Obed Hussey in 1833 had taken out a patent for a reaper, but priority is claimed for the McCormick machine be-

[1] Rogin, Leo. *The Introduction of Farm Machinery in Its Relation to the Productivity of Labor.* U. of California Press, Publications in Economics, 1931, Vol. 9, pp 28-29.

cause it had been successfully demonstrated in the field as early as 1831, and because it was from the outset more nearly the prototype of the modern reaper and binder. By 1840, the further perfection and consequent success of these farm implements was clearly established, and they began to come quite generally into use The threshing machine was invented about the same time. The reaper was improved by the addition of the wire binder, and later by the twine.

Some idea of the profound influence of such improvements may be gained from the fact that a good workman can harvest with a sickle an acre of twenty-bushel wheat in twenty hours, cutting, binding, and shocking it.[1] A reliable authority states that a day's work in cradling grain was about two acres on the average for continued labor. This applied only to the cutting since followers were usually required to bind the grain thus harvested. The first McCormick reapers were warranted to cut fifteen acres a day with ease. Further improvements in self-binding greatly increased efficiency of operation and markedly reduced human labor requirements. The effect of such labor-saving machinery was to increase tremendously the production of wheat and corn later to an extent much out of proportion to our domestic needs.

In succeeding years, more and more of animal power has been replaced by steam, electricity, and gasoline as motive force It is not unusual on the western plains today to see huge combines, under their own power, cutting the wheat, threshing and bagging it. Tractors move over these same areas, with a tandem of plows, harrows, and seeders behind them, preparing and planting in their passage at one time a strip as wide as twenty feet.

What seemed at an earlier period unlimited virgin soils of great fertility and a scarcity of man power combined to make for the phenomenal development of farm machinery. Another economic necessity served to hasten the progress of transportation. This resided in the fact that the farms of the newly settled regions produced more abundantly than was represented by the needs of the producers. There was an increasing surplus of farm produce, and the markets for this were on the Atlantic seaboard, or in the urban centers of Europe. The turnpike, the canals, and the riverways had in an earlier age met inadequately enough the transportation needs of a growing nation. In 1803, so slow was the westward

[1] Rogin L. *Op. cit.*

movement that Thomas Jefferson said it would take a thousand years to settle that part of the country. The difficulty in transporting troops over a large area was strikingly revealed in the War of 1812. All of these factors and many more gave unusual significance to the development of the steam railroad. After much experimentation on the part of many in different sections, the first railroad in America was opened for traffic in 1830, and by the year 1840, the total trackage in the country amounted to 2,828 miles. The most of these, however, were short, disconnected lines, and only the beginning had been made. Twenty years later, New York was connected with Chicago, and through rail connections linked the eastern seaport with St. Louis.

With this momentum gained, the movement rapidly went forward. On May 10, 1869, at Promontory Point, Utah, the Union Pacific from the east and the Central Pacific from the west, completed their frantic efforts to construct the first transcontinental railroad. Several years later the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe, the Great Northern, and the Southern Pacific succeeded in connecting the other vast stretches of eastern and western territory. A web of interconnecting lines soon covered a great part of the nation. In 1914, the United States could boast of more railroad mileage than all of Europe, and somewhat more than one-third of that in the entire world.

Bogart tells us that "the period from 1860 to 1900 was characterized by the entrance of the United States into the world's markets as the chief source of supply of food products and of raw materials for Europe. During that time the United States assumed the leading place as a producer and exporter of breadstuffs and grains, as she had already of cotton and tobacco." [1]

It is the opinion of many that the Civil War would not have resulted as it did had it not been for the railroads and farm machinery. Millions of men were drawn from the farms to the battlefields, and thousands of horses and mules, substitutions for whose productive power had to be made, and food and feed supplies furnished the contesting armies.

The increased prices of farm products during and subsequent to the Civil War gave a great stimulus to agricultural production. Many farmers increased the extent of their enterprises, ex-soldiers, tradesmen, and mechanics hastened to take up lands under the

[1] Bogart E. L. *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

special provisions made by the Homestead Act, and farming as an occupation seemed in a "boom stage."

Faulkner thus describes the resulting situation: "All went well until the inflated war prices collapsed. The government's policy of calling in some of the greenbacks and ultimately raising the paper currency to a parity with gold put the farmers at a disadvantage. Unable to meet his interest payments, which continued at the old rate, while prices fell and the value of money increased, the farmer was often forced to see his mortgage foreclosed, and the results of years of labor wiped out, with the option of going into industry, entering the ranks of the tenant farmer or agricultural laborer, or moving to the frontier. He felt strongly that eastern capital was benefiting from his misfortune. The feeling was especially bitter in those sections where the pinch was greatest, notably upon the wheat farms of the northwest." [1]

A still more discouraging situation confronted the South. Devastated by the economic depletion of a long war taxing all of its resources, and harassed by the heel of the victorious, a long period of reconstruction was the only alternative. Cotton prices fell and land values declined throughout the entire nation.

This set of conditions led to what has come to be known as the Agrarian Revolution, some of the results of which are discussed later on in this volume. The cure for low prices is low prices—production was checked, and the remarkable urban and industrial expansion decreased relatively the rural population, and increased the demand for the products of the farm. This improved the economic situation to the point that the farmer could make a decent living on the farm, a situation which was greatly improved during the recent World War, but which can hardly be said to exist in a fair enough measure at the present time.

Thus it is seen that from the primitive self-sufficing type which characterized the early agriculture of the nation, the farming interests have become more and more commercial in nature. Wheat is the product largely of the Northwest; corn and hogs come from the Middle West; the South supplies a good part of the cotton and tobacco produced; California and Florida excel in the citrus fruits—in other words, there has come to be a regional specialization This has been a logical and necessary development. On the principle of comparative advantage, those sections best

[1] Faulkner, H. U. *Op. cit.*, p. 424.

adapted to the economic production of certain commodities should grow those, put them on the market at a fair price in relation to the factor of supply and demand, and buy their needs in other goods from the other sections best fitted to produce them. It is impossible today in so complex and intricate a civilization as that made by railroads, steamboats, automobiles, airplanes, and thousands of wants and desires created by modern manufactures and advertising campaigns for the farmer to practice a self-sufficing agriculture, even if he would. He must have produce to sell to pay his taxes, educate his children, buy his automobile and gasoline, and to do many other things which it requires money to do. Agriculture is still the nation's most important industry, and recent reports show that it provides nearly half of our exports. The farmer has been too slow to realize that the same forces that have been determining the trend in manufactures have also been operative in agriculture. The machine entered the farm industry as an effective force more than a half century ago, and the transformation resulting has been more basic than the farmer has been either willing or able to recognize. Efficient transportation, by the same sort of machine influence, has reinforced the effects of power-driven farm machinery. The result is that the modern farmer must, if he is to survive, master the technique of his calling in terms of the machine, and not seek to cling to a type of agriculture that can mean only peasant levels of existence

QUESTIONS

1. What set of factors determined that the earlier pattern of American civilization should be primarily agricultural?
2. State the more significant of the contributions of the Indians to the life of the early colonists.
3. By which European country was American agriculture most influenced and in what specific ways?
4. Name the two most prominent economic characteristics of colonial agriculture and tell why they were
5. Describe the self-sufficiency of the Southern and the Northern farm homes in the colonial period of our history.
6. Through what means did the luxuries of the Old World become available to the colonists?
7. Name the three ways in which the individual acquired land in the days of settlement in Virginia.
8. Explain clearly the "head right" method and its importance.
9. State the relation between economic land tenure and the town in the settlement of New England.

10. Compare the motives in our public land policies in the early days of the republic with those obtaining under the Homestead Act.
11. Discuss the causes of the westward migration, the comparative rôles of the South and the North in the process, and the fundamental relation of these to the basis of the Civil War.
12. Describe the kind of farm machinery which was used in American agriculture in 1830.
13. Briefly trace the development of farm machinery from 1830 to the present.
14. Using the cotton gin as an illustration, show the profound effect of improved machinery upon the economic history of our agriculture.
15. What was Jefferson's contribution to the evolution of the plow? Charles Newbold's? John Deere's?
16. What factors served to hasten the progress of transportation?
17. Briefly trace the progress of railroads from 1830 to 1914, giving their influence upon the agricultural expansion in the West.
18. What does Bogart say characterized the period from 1860 to 1900 in our agricultural economic history?
19. Describe the main features of the post-Civil War agricultural depression, enumerating the more significant factors contributing to it.
20. Explain what is meant by the statement that our agriculture is now in the "commercial stage"?

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4. Bogart, E. L. *Economic History of American Agriculture.* Longmans, Green and Company, 1923, Chapter VIII, pp. 132–151, "Agriculture as a Business"
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CHAPTER III

OLD AND NEW WORLD AGRICULTURES

American agriculture is different from European agriculture in a number of ways, but in a large measure it is to be considered as an extension of the methods of farming in the Old World to the pioneer conditions of the New World In the processes of adaptation, and subsequent development, some of which have been traced in the preceding chapter, the procedure has been very much that described by Turner in discussing the significance of the frontier in American life as follows: "In the settlement of America we have to observe how European life entered the continent, and how America modified and developed that life and reacted on Europe. Our early history is the study of European germs developing in an American environment. The frontier is the line of most rapid and effective Americanization. The wilderness masters the colonist It finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and runs an Indian palisade around him. Before long he has gone to planting Indian corn and plowing with a sharp stick, he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion. In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the conditions which it furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails. Little by little he transforms the wilderness, but the outcome is not the old Europe. The fact is that here is a new product that is American." [1]

It is not only a significant undertaking, but also an exceedingly interesting one, to attempt the comparison of the major points of difference between the parent agriculture and its derivative. Most of the crops which we grow were grown for centuries before in Europe and Asia and were rather quickly acclimated to American soils and climate. The breeds of animals,—dairy and beef cattle, horses, swine, sheep, poultry, etc.—which form the basis of our

[1] Turner, F. J. *The Frontier in American History*. Henry Holt, 1921, pp. 3, 4

livestock industry were developed in the Old World, and imported into this country. The principles of cultivation and fertilization are the same, even though methods relating thereto may not be. Thus the most fruitful approach to the topic under consideration is that of contrast. The striking general differences which exist seem to group themselves under (1) the residence in villages; (2) the comparative emphasis upon land and labor; (3) the status of farm women; (4) the standard of living; (5) the extent of cooperative endeavor; and (6) the distinctiveness of culture. It is under these headings that a picture of the differences between Old and New World agriculture will be sought.

1. Residence in Villages

The prevailing tendency in Old World agriculture, although not universal, is for the farming population to be grouped in small villages, and to journey back and forth to their daily work on the lands surrounding the farm village. This matter of village residence is in striking contrast to the American custom of the farm home being located in the open country, in the midst of the land which the farmer cultivates. Even in the ancient civilization of China, the basis of its agriculture is "a farm system of unfenced scattered plots of land for the most part inherited, difficult of management from the farmsteads which are usually located in villages or hamlets of varying size. These villages and hamlets dot the landscape about as thickly as do the solitary farmsteads in the United States, and this signifies a dense population as well as a rural social system entirely different from that of most western countries." [1]

It is rather well accepted that mankind in his evolutionary development passed first through a stage known as *collectional economy*.[2] In this stage he may be pictured as wandering over the face of the earth, without clothes, tools, or weapons, accepting the gifts of nature, and acquiescing in her arrangements as to bounty or scarcity of food, and of sunshine or of storm. These earliest men hunted, fished, gathered berries, nuts, wild vegetation of various sorts, seized such small animals as snakes and insects and dug into the ground for wild bulbs and roots. While the dawn of recorded history finds mankind, as a whole, much advanced beyond a purely collectional stage, early evidence written in stone, bronze,

[1] Buck, J. L. *Chinese Farm Economy*. U. of Chicago Press, 1930. p. 422.
[2] Gras, N. S. B. *An Introduction to Economic History*. Harpers, 1922, Chapters I, II, III.

iron, clay, papyrus, parchment, and paper gives numbers of instances of people largely in the collectional economy stage of existence.

Next in his progress upward, man began to cultivate plants of useful types, and to domesticate various kinds of wild animals, still retaining the wandering habits of the nomad. In this *cultural nomadic economy*, "man stored his food from season to season, to provide against a time when nature was most niggard. He fashioned weapons and tools to make himself master of the field. In this new stage he undertook to guide the lives of animals so that they would better serve his needs, to drive them hither and thither to feed, and to protect them at night from devouring enemies. He also undertook to direct the growth of plants, putting some here and some there, fighting their battles with other plants, and with the beasts of the field and the birds of the air." Milk, butter, and cheese became known, and domesticated animals furnished hides for leather and wool for clothing and tents. Wagons and carts were drawn from place to place by horses and oxen as beasts of burden People of such habits were the "pastoral nomads," driving their cattle hither and thither for pasturage, while there were other "cultural nomads" who cultivated plants only. Usually in this stage, both plants and animals are supposed to have been domesticated and cultivated. In this stage the concept of property arose, the family, clan, and tribe emerged, and a division of labor resulted, the man caring for the animals, and the women tilling the soil. Today among the Kirghiz of Fergana, the herders drive their animals as high as three miles up the mountain side to graze, while lower down the slope others of the group cultivate wheat, millet, and barley.

In order to increase security in life and property, and to accommodate the needs of an increasing population through more intensive methods of cultivation, the *settled village economy* stage was entered upon. The people of such a village were united by bonds of kinship. This condition of permanent settlement promoted a civilization with elements of stability. Economic production was stimulated, industries were established, trade was engaged in, social intercourse was enriched, religious observance took form, and government was a logical sequence. These villages were "heap-villages" when the houses lay near to each other without any special arrangement, each with its garden close by, and here and there a path. Or they may have been "round villages,"

compact and circular in form. There were also "short-street villages" compact and nucleated in arrangement. In the "long-street villages," as the name suggests, the houses were strung along on either side of a long street. The compact form of arrangement was adapted to defense, and usually in the center of such a village was an inclosure for the flocks and herds at night, or in time of attack. In its first phase, this settled village was free from the exclusive property ownership of any nobleman, bishop, or monastery. In the second phase, such an aristocracy had developed, and in its full development, there was no land, no village without a lord.[1]

To trace the various stages by which the "manorial system" came into its flower is beyond the purposes of the present discussion. It is well at this point to get a brief picture of the arrangement of a manorial village in mind because of its relation to the existing mode of residence and distribution of landownership in Old World agriculture. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England, the manor as built up by the Normans was about as follows:

> There was a village street, and along each side of it the houses of the cultivators of the soil, with little yards around them, as yet there were no scattered farmhouses, such as were to appear later. Stretching away from the village was the arable land, divided usually into three fields, sown one with wheat or rye, one with oats or barley, while one was left fallow. The fields were again subdivided into what were usually called "furlongs," and each furlong into acre or half-acre strips, separated not by hedges, but by "balks" of unploughed turf, and these strips were distributed among the cultivators in such a way that each man's holding was made up of strips scattered up and down the three fields, and no man held two adjoining pieces. Each individual holder was bound to cultivate his strips in accordance with the rotation of crops observed by his neighbors. Besides the arable fields there were also meadows, inclosed for hay harvest, and divided into portions by lot or rotation or custom, and after hay harvest thrown open again for the cattle to pasture upon. In most cases there was also some permanent pasture or wood, into which the cattle were turned, either "without stint" or in numbers proportioned to the extent of each man's holding.
>
> Supposing such fields and meadows were owned in common by a group of freemen, the condition of things would be what is called the *mark system*. But the manorial system was something very different; for in a manor the land was regarded as the property, not of the cultivators but of a lord.[2]

[1] Gras, N. S. B. *Op. cit.*, p. 62.
[2] Ashley, Sir William. *English Economic History*, Pt. I, p. 6.

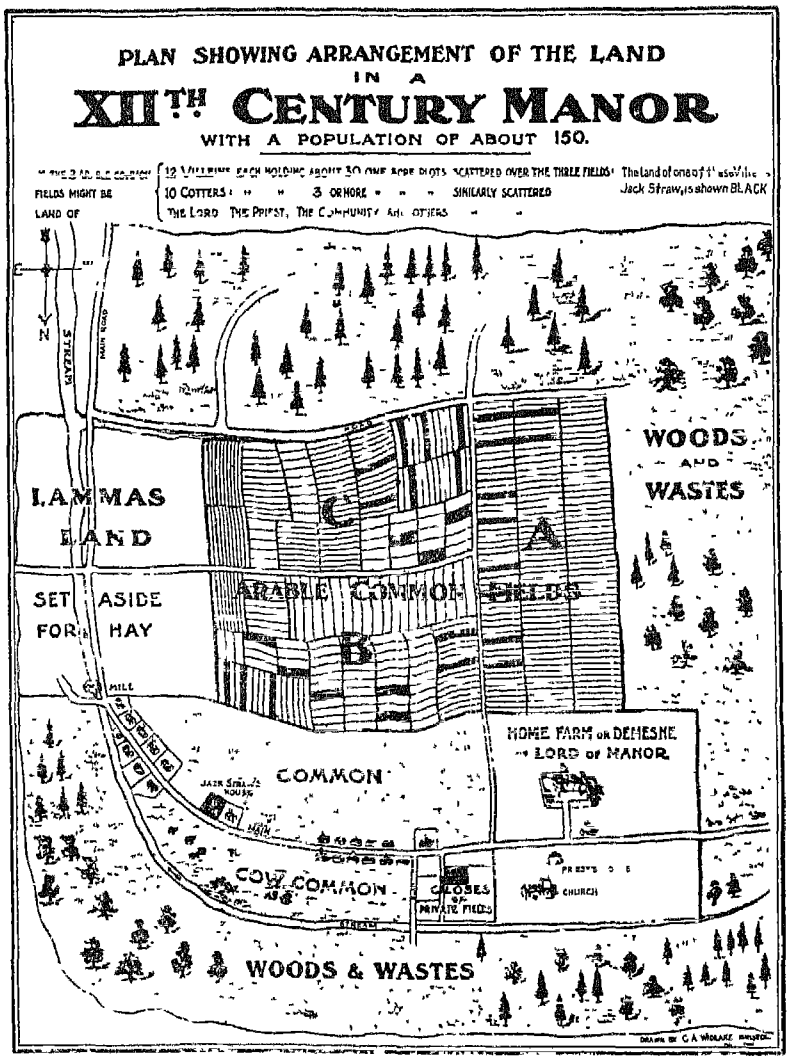


FIGURE 2

(Source. Fordham, Montague, *A Short History of English Rural Life*, frontispiece)

The buildings of a manor of any size would be: The Halls and Barns and other buildings of the Home Farm, the property of the lord of the manor; the Mill, also as a rule his property; the Church, the Priest's House, and the small farmhouses and cottages with their outbuildings that formed the Village.

At its head was the lord, whom Norman law inclined to look upon as the owner of the land as well as a governor of the estate. The lord might be the king, a monastery, or other ecclesiastical institution, a bishop or some other Church dignitary, or a layman, either some Norman noble holding many such estates, or perhaps merely a modest squire, holding a few manors, or one only. Such manors would rarely, if ever, be bought and sold. If they were vested in the Church, they would remain in the hands of the Church, whilst if a manor were in lay hands it would, in the ordinary course, pass from father to son, remaining in the same family for many generations, unless it happened that the manorial lord broke some feudal rule that caused his land to escheat to and become vested in his superior. In such cases it would be re-granted to some new owner to hold on similar feudal terms as his predecessor.[1]

With the disintegration of the feudal system, the villages remained and today the farmers generally reside in them, going back and forth daily to their outlying farms. For example, in Germany at the present time the *dörfer*, or villages as we call them, "are set thick in the landscape a mile or two apart in all directions. They are groups of substantial farm buildings with terra cotta tile roofs. The gleaming red of the housetops gives them the fresh appearance of new construction, although they may be four or five centuries old, as many of them are. They look at a distance like towns of from fifty to five hundred homes. Commonly they are off the railroads. They are self-sustaining and nearly self-sufficing little farm communities. Everybody in these little villages is a farmer, and the village farms of from ten to twenty acres lie in small patches in various directions in the immediate vicinity. In the early morning and evening hours the men, women, and children can be seen tramping out to their fields and back again—straggling processions of farm workers." [2] And with modifications of architectural detail characteristic of the particular nation, whether France, Russia, Switzerland, or Italy, the same picture holds true.

A good idea of the general arrangement of the houses composing

[1] Fordham, Montague. *A Short History of English Rural Life.* George Allen & Unwin, London, 1919. pp. 31, 32.

[2] Branson, E. C. *Farm Life Abroad.* U. of North Carolina Press. 1924, p. 10.

these villages may be secured from the following description of the German farm home:

Throughout almost entire Germany the ground plan of the farmer's home is the same. The buildings are always of brick or stone (the very old houses being made of a frame work of timbers with a rubble plaster filling), and the stables and storehouses are also built of the same lasting and non-combustible material. Roofs are of tile, it now being against the law to use thatch. The house always fronts on the street or road. Built against one wall of this is the storehouse, a continuation of this is used for stables, and from this again continue the sheds for tools, etc. This group of buildings is built up on four sides of a square, forming in the center a large court. On one side of the house is the gate opening into the road, and when this is closed the whole place is secure from trespass. . . . The out-buildings are also substantially built with the second floor supported either by heavy timbers or by iron beams. The storehouse is used for storing the crops from the fields, there being no buildings of any kind on the land. The stables are used for the milch cows and for the beef cattle being fattened, as well as, of course, for the necessary horses. It is one of the peculiar customs of Germany that wherever the soil is rich and is highly cultivated the cows and the hogs and beef cattle are never taken out of the stables after once being put in. They are literally in for life. Green food is brought to them daily, and they are well taken care of. Cattle are chained to their stalls, each with its drinking trough, and they are daily cleaned off and bedded down knee deep in straw. Hogs are kept in the same way. Once in their pens they remain there until sold to the butcher; they eat and sleep and grow, nothing else This system, while apparently very troublesome, is in vogue for two reasons; first, the land is too valuable for pasturage, as well as being in too small tracts, and secondly, by keeping livestock in this manner every bit of manure is saved, and manure, as one farmer aptly stated, is the life of German agriculture.

The method of saving this manure is an excellent one and is one that could be used to great advantage by our farmers. In the center of the court around which stands the buildings is a large square pit about five feet in depth. On one corner is a runway by means of which a wagon can be run into the pit to facilitate loading. This large pit is for the dry manure, and into it is thrown everything with any fertilizing value.

Between this and the stable is a deep concrete-lined well, much deeper than the dry manure pit, and this is used for collecting the liquid manure. This well is made water tight, and into it lead drains from all the stables and pens, as well as from the dry-manure pit. The liquid thus collected is pumped from this well into tanks and taken to the fields, where it is sprayed on the land. It can be stated here that this economical, thrifty, and intelligent use of natural fertilizers has made Germany a farming nation which with a country smaller than the State of Texas, and with one-third of its area covered with forests,

produces 95 per cent of its own food products, and its population is around 65,000,000.[1]

2. Emphasis upon Land

The manor declined gradually and early in England, Belgium, and most parts of France, but was abolished late, by edicts or laws, in northeastern Germany (Prussia 1807–21) and in Russia (1861). "Although it would be true to say that the manor declined because it had outlived its usefulness, we should still want to know what actually brought about its destruction We have two things to keep in mind. One is that the manor and feudalism in a general way go together; the other that the town and a strong national state are or may be closely connected. As the town rose slowly, it affected the manor in two ways It gave to the manor a brisk market, and offered to discontented tenants a place of security within its walls and of opportunity in the professions, in trade, and, as time went on, especially in manufacture. It seems that we may associate pretty closely manorialism, relatively little trade, and the feudal state on the one hand, with the industrial town, brisk trade at home and abroad, and the strong national state on the other hand. The lot of the peasant has been improved by the opportunities afforded by both the town and the national state" [2]

Some very interesting holdovers persist from the strip system of determining the land to be worked by the villeins of feudal times In France [3] today a property of 20 to 25 acres of land may be represented by 30, 40, or 50 small patches, scattered in various parts of the surrounding community. In Holland, most farms are under four acres in size, very few containing over ten acres, and these small holdings consist of not one piece of land, but a number of different strips or parcels. The case may be mentioned of a wealthy farmer who owned as much as 90 acres, but consisting of 78 separate strips of land in different parts of his commune. The following description of the similar situation in Germany vividly shows the persistence of this influence of an earlier age upon the present distribution of land holdings:

[1] Von Engelken, F. J. H. *The German Farmer and Cooperation.* 63d Congress, 1st Session, Sen. Doc. 201, Washington, D.C., 1913.

[2] Gras, N. S B. *A History of Agriculture.* F. S. Crofts & Co , 1925, pp 95–96.

[3] Pratt, E. A. *The Transition in Agriculture.* Quoted in Boyle, James E. *Agricultural Economics.* Lippincott, 1921, p 35.

It must be borne in mind from the first that Germany is a country, not of farms, or even small farms, but of patches of land. A German farmer may own as high as 100 acres of land, but instead of lying in a body, as with us, and being cultivated in large fields with modern tools, his entire holding will be broken up into innumerable small plots with, perhaps, no two adjoining, and these plots scattered over the country on all sides of the village in which he makes his home. The entire country is therefore divided into small tracts, generally oblong in shape, ranging from 15 to 20 feet wide and from 200 to 400 feet long. These tracts are never separated from each other by fences, for fences are an almost unknown quantity in agricultural Germany. The dividing line between two tracts is marked by a stone set in the ground, and so closely are they planted that if three adjoining tracts were planted in the same grain crop it would be impossible for a stranger to definitely locate any one of the three without hunting up the boundary stone. It is rarely the case, however, that adjoining tracts are planted in the same crops, for they belong to different owners who plant independently and what they wish. In walking through the country it is therefore quite a usual sight to see a plot of land 30 feet in width, and perhaps 300 feet in length, planted in rye, adjoining it one 12 feet in width and of the same length planted in stock beets, then one 20 feet wide of the same length in oats, then one 40 feet wide, same length, in potatoes, then one perhaps 25 feet wide in wheat and so on through the entire list of various crops grown in that particular section. These tracts may each belong to a different farmer in that community, and each farmer there will own from 20 to perhaps 100 such tracts scattered all over the "Bezirk" or locality in which he lives. In the hay country, for instance it is a common sight to see what appears to be a field of 40 acres or more of hay, which at first glance would appear to be a very respectable hay field, according to our ideas. A walk into it, however, will show that it is dotted all over with boundary stones showing that it is owned, not by one man, but perhaps by fifty, each of whom when the time comes will cut his little patch out of the field whenever he is ready, and moreover, will cut it with a scythe as his forefathers have done for generations. The value of such land ranges from $300 to $1000 per acre.[1]

That such a condition means a great deal of waste in human energy must be evident. The problem thus created may be sensed by the following statement recently made by a German agricultural economist who says that "in Germany the majority of farmers live in villages rather than on the farm. Some of the fields are located at very considerable distances from the buildings, and the fields are frequently small and irregular in shape. Under such conditions it is impossible to make efficient use of labor. In the

[1] Von Engelken, F. J. H. *Op. cit.*

United States on the other hand the farmer lives on his farm and can so locate his buildings as to reduce travel to and from the field to a minimum. He can in most cases arrange his fields as to size and shape so as to permit of the efficient use of machinery." [1] Another authority on European agriculture says that "the strip system is probably the greatest single handicap to agricultural progress in Europe (northern Europe and particularly Scandinavia excepted). The expense of fencing small plots makes such practice

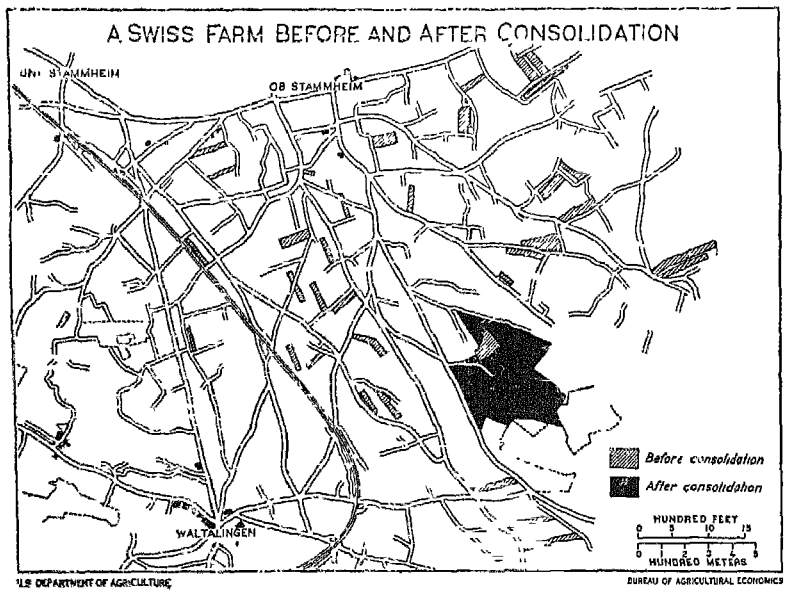


FIGURE 3.

This farm covering a total area of 40.2 acres was composed of 39 separate pieces before consolidation In 1923 exchanges were made and the farm was consolidated into one piece. (Source: *Technical Bulletin*, No. 101, U S. Department of Agriculture, 1929, p. 12.)

prohibitive. Hence pasturing must be done under the supervision of a herdsman. The cost of modern machinery is not likely to justify its use on acre lots. The burden of farming operations must fall upon hand labor. The loss of time in going from one parcel of land to another is considerable, inasmuch as many of the pieces

[1] Secqof, J. J. W. "Human Labor on German Farms." *Proceedings* Second International Conference of Agricultural Economists. George Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wis., 1930, pp. 959–960.

belonging to a single farm may be 1, 2 or 3 miles apart." [1] The accompanying diagram gives a good idea of the location of the separated strips, and also the results which may be obtained by consolidation. It is sometimes possible to improve this condition in these countries of the Old World by exchanging land with an adjoining farmer, and much sentiment prevails to accomplish this reform. Legal provision exists in Switzerland whereby such a movement is compulsory if two-thirds of the owners occupying at least one-half of the land in a district decide upon such a step. The undertaking has proven an expensive one [2] and custom is perhaps an even stronger factor in explaining the slowness of such a development. A considerable part of the land has been for generations in the same family; and an affection has become established about it. Besides, an owner tends to believe that his patches of land are just a little better than the plot he would receive as a result of the consolidation process. Such factors and related ones indicate that the reform, however desirable, will come about slowly and painfully.

But the most impressive difference between Old and New World agricultures is the intensity of cultivation. In the older civilization, labor is more plentiful and hence cheaper. Land is scarcer and hence labor is lavishly used to secure the maximum production per acre. In this country, labor is the dearer of the factors, and our emphasis is upon the man factor rather than the land factor. As a consequence, our agriculture is noted for its extensive character in contrast with the intensiveness of that in the Old World. In discussing the agricultural labor situation in Switzerland today, Hobson tells us "in a country like Switzerland, the labor cost of production at American wage rates would often amount to more than the total value of the products of the soil. Certainly, it would be an idle recommendation that farmers in the United States hoe their corn by hand when the additional yield resulting from such action would not in all probability defray the added expense of hoeing; nor would it be desirable that United States farmers terrace their hillsides with retaining walls of masonry in order that those hillsides might be converted from pasture lands into orchards and vineyards and tilled fields, when in all probability

[1] Hobson, Asher. *Agricultural Survey of Europe. Switzerland.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Technical Bull No. 101, 1929, pp 4–7.

[2] From 1912 to 1924 only 49,818 acres had been consolidated in Switzerland under the law. The cost of this per acre, due to surveying costs in establishing boundaries, etc., amounted to 340 francs—around $65 per acre.

the added income from the fields would not pay interest charges on the cost of the construction of the retaining walls. Yet it would be impracticable to recommend that the European peasant discard his hand tools and adopt machine methods, when the cost of operating machinery may be greater than the cost of performing the same labor by hand. This is partly due to the rough topography of the country, small-sized farms, and the available supply of family labor. It is impracticable to use mowing machines except in the valleys. It is not unusual to see men taking straw from a thresher and tying it into bundles by hand This operation gives an idea of the relative values of straw and labor in Europe, as compared with United States conditions. As many as 20 people may harvest grain in a small field. It is doubtful if the receipts from the entire crop would pay for the harvest labor in the United States. Hay is cured on racks in the region of Lake Zurich, which further illustrates the cheapness of labor" [1]

It is in the Orient that we find the most lavish use of the labor factor. A few years ago, an eminent American soil physicist visited the farms of Japan, Korea, and China and reported no characteristic of their agriculture that was more striking than the intensity of utilization of land. He states that in Shantung province in China he talked "with a farmer having 12 in his family and who kept one donkey, one cow, both exclusively laboring animals, and two pigs on 2.5 acres of cultivated land where he grew wheat, millet, sweet potatoes, and beans. The average of seven Chinese holdings which we visited and where we obtained similar data indicates a maintenance capacity for those lands of 1,783 people, 212 cattle or donkeys, and 399 swine,—1,995 consumers and 399 rough food transformers per square mile of farm land. These statements for China represent strictly rural population. The rural population of the United States in 1900 was placed at the rate of 61 per square mile of improved farm land and there were 30 horses and mules. In Japan the rural population had a density in 1907 of 1,922 per square mile, and of horses and cattle together 125." There need be little surprise where human population is so densely settled, that "extensive as is the acreage of irrigated rice in China, Korea, and Japan, nearly every spear is transplanted; the largest and best crop possible, rather than the least

[1] Hobson, Asher Op. cit., pp. 4–7.

labor and trouble, as is so often the case with us, determining their methods and practices." [1]

The rice plants are grown in nursery beds and in the month preceding transplanting, the wheat, rape, beans, and other crops are harvested, the compost fertilizer made and distributed over the fields, and these flooded and plowed. The turned soil is thoroughly pulverized, leveled, and worked to the consistency of mortar. This process of thorough puddling makes it much easier to set the plants, and insures a good and immediate adaptation of the young plant to its new soil environment.

King thus describes the operation as he observed it on a rice farm in China:

> When the fields are ready women repair to the nurseries with their low four-legged bamboo stools, to pull the rice plants, carefully rinsing the soil from the roots, and then tie them into bundles of a size easily handled in transplanting, which are then distributed in the fields.
>
> This work of transplanting may be done by groups of families changing work, a considerable number of them laboring together. Long cords were stretched in the rice field six feet apart and each of the seven men were setting six rows of rice one foot apart, six to eight plants in a hill, and the hills eight or nine inches apart in the row. The bundle was held in one hand and deftly, with the other, the desired number of plants were selected with the fingers at the roots, separated from the rest and, with a single thrust, set in place in the row. There was no packing of earth about the roots, each hill being set with a single motion, which followed one another in quick succession, completing one cross row of six hills after another. The men move backward across the field, completing one entire section, tossing the unused plants into the unset field. Then reset the lines to cover another section. We were told that the usual day's work of transplanting, for a man under these conditions, after the field is fitted and the plants are brought to him, is two mow or one-third of an acre. The seven men in this group would thus set two and a third acres per day and, at the wage Mrs. Wu was paying, the cash outlay, if the help was hired, would be nearly 21 cents per acre. This is more cheaply than we are able to set cabbage and tobacco plants with our best machine methods. In Japan the women participate in the work of setting the plants more than in China.
>
> After the rice has been transplanted its care, unlike that of our wheat crop, does not cease. It must be hoed, fertilized, and watered. To facilitate the watering all fields have been leveled, canals, ditches, and drains provided, and to aid in fertilizing and hoeing, the setting has been in rows and in hills in the row.
>
> The first working of the rice fields after the transplanting, as we saw

[1] King, F. H. *Farmers of Forty Centuries.* Mrs. F. H. King, Madison, Wis., 1911, pp. 1-13; 200-203.

it in Japan, consisted in spading between the hills with a four-tined hoe, apparently more for loosening the soil and aëration than for killing weeds. After this treatment the field was gone over again, the man using his bare hands to smooth and level the stirred soil, taking care to eradicate every weed, burying them beneath the mud, and to straighten each hill of rice as it is passed. Sometimes the fingers are armed with bamboo claws to facilitate the weeding.

Enormous expenditures of energy are required, a considerable part of which is human energy used to operate the foot pump customarily employed in lifting the water to the desired level. The task of harvesting is still met with the hand sickle, cutting the rice hill by hill. The threshing is done in the primitive way of drawing by hand the heads of the grain through the teeth of a mounted metal comb. Thus lavishly is human labor utilized in order that the land factor may be productive to the utmost.

3. Women and Farm Labor

In the historical development of agriculture, "originally the tilling of the soil and the harvesting fell mainly to the woman. Only when heavy labor, with the plow instead of the hoe, was required, the man had to participate. In the house work proper, in which textiles take the leading place, the woman alone was involved. Man's work included also hunting, tending domestic animals as far as cattle were concerned—while the small animals were again the woman's province—wood and metal working, and finally before all, war. The woman was a continuous worker, the man an occasional one; only very gradually, with the increasing difficulty and intensity of work, was he led on to continuous labor." [1]

From this original thralldom, the farm women of the Old World in general have never been emancipated. A recent visitor and student of farm life abroad characterizes the French farm woman as "a wife and mother, a housewife and cattlekeeper, a field-worker, draft animal and beast of burden." [2] This same authority says of the farm women in Germany that "Edwin Markham has sung 'The Man with the Hoe,' but nobody has yet sung 'The Peasant Woman on Her Knees in the Fields.' I see the men and older boys doing the heavier work of getting out the winter supply of fuel in the forests, but commonly it is the women and children who drive the ox-team home with the loads—or the cow-teams,

[1] Weber, Max. *General Economic History*. Greenberg, 1927, pp. 38–39.
[2] Branson, E. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 33; 266–267.

for cows in Württemberg are dual-purpose animals, that is, they are both milk animals and work animals. The men swing the scythes in the meadows and clover patches, but the women and children do a man's work pitch-forking the hay into the wagons. It is the men who tie up the vines in the vineyards, but it is the women folk who must lug up the steep slopes the heavy bundles of willow wythes the men use in the process. The men must do the plowing; but here again the women share this hard work with the men. They even do the heavy work of spading the stiff soils of this region—at least, I see them at it in large numbers every day. The weight of work rather than the burden of age warps their frames and makes them old twenty years ahead of time. It is pathetic beyond words."

The lot of farm women in Denmark is one amid conveniences, comforts, and luxuries in the farm home in greater degree than he has ever seen anywhere else is the opinion of Branson. He continues that in Denmark "there is perhaps no happier life for country women and children anywhere else on earth. But the lot of the women and children on the peasant farms of France, like the lot of the peasant women of Germany, offers a sad contrast to the life of the farm homes of Denmark. The women and children on French farms work just as hard as the peasant women and children of Germany. And in every farm region of France they work as I never saw women work even in central and south Germany. For instance, instead of picketing their dairy animals like the Danes and leaving them to graze alone, an old woman or a young girl in France will have charge of two or three cows and follow them about in the pastures and along the roads all day long in any and every kind of weather. I saw literally thousands of women and children stalking the cows, sheep, geese, and goats in a steady downpour of rain that lasted all day long all the way from Strasburg to Paris. No umbrellas, no rain coats, no gum shoes in sight anywhere. Only weather-soaked shawls protected their heads and shoulders. Only wooden shoes or sabots saved their feet from the mud and puddles of water. It made me shiver to look at these drenched figures in their lonely vigils."

In the little country of Switzerland we find the same sort of picture. Much of the toil of a laboriously, intensive agriculture falls to the lot of the frailer members of the family. "While the husband is away, perhaps acting as guide or porter to a group of

climbers, or with the cattle on the higher pastures, the wife may be seen toiling in sun or shower in the bit of garden, hoeing, weeding, or, with the help of a younger member of the family, distributing the carefully accumulated manure among the growing crops. Nothing is allowed to go to waste in the sordid economy of the Swiss peasant. The drainings of cow-sheds, pig-sties, and dung-hills, the scatterings of fowl-houses—all are parsimoniously saved, and when the proper time arrives, are carried out in the tubs in which they have been stored to the needy crops.

"So much of this kind of work is done by the women that strangers are apt to think that the men must be a lazy lot. But there are numberless duties to keep the men otherwise engaged. The timber needed about the farm, and the wood for firing, have to be got in from the forest. Much of this work belongs to the winter; but as there are then often weeks upon weeks when little or nothing can be done outdoors because of the snow, care has to be taken during the good weather to see that the stock of firing does not run short. Hence, under the broad eaves of every well-conditioned peasant's cottage will be seen a plentiful store of carefully sawn and dried wood ready for the stove. The chief occupation of the men during the open months, however, is with the cattle in the higher pastures." [1]

The lot of the American farm women, while far from ideal, is quite in contrast to that of the Old World peasant farm women generally. A report of our federal government has given special attention to this matter and summarizes the similar situation here as follows:

> The outdoor labor of women on farms has undergone an immense reduction within a generation or two. In 1873, the department of agriculture investigated the subject in all parts of the country and these results were published in the report for that year. At that time reports from the following sections are typical, indicating clearly the reports from all the states. In New England very little regular labor in the fields is performed by women. Canadian women, and occasionally Irish, hire out or work on shares in different parts of New England, though the number employed is not large, and they will undertake nearly all kinds of farm work. Similar customs prevail in New York, comparatively little outdoor service being rendered by American-born women. In many districts in Pennsylvania very little outdoor employment is undertaken by women, while in others, especially in those less improved, or with a large foreign element in the population, much and

[1] Story, A. T. *Swiss Life in Town and Country.* Putnams, 1911, pp. 120–121

various farm work is done by women. Among the poorer classes of whites in some counties in Maryland, the Germans especially, the women assist in such labor as planting, hoeing corn, weeding tobacco and raking grain. Sometimes they obtain men's wages, but usually about three-fourths as much. In such work they are often quite as efficient as men. Negro women have been accustomed to all kinds of farm labor, though generally employed in the lighter branches. Throughout the Southern States a large portion of the females among the negroes were accustomed to general farm labor, most of whom now decline it, appearing to regard it as a relic of slavery and not "suited to ladies." It is stated of some States that not more than a fourth part as many do outdoor work as formerly. Very little farm work is done by native Americans in all the States of the Ohio Valley and the Lakes, that little being casual assistance in emergencies, as a matter of convenience and sometimes of necessity, as is reported of all other sections of the country. Gardening and fruit picking are preferred, and hop picking, where hops are grown. Immigrants do more outdoor work, "especially for a few years after coming here. As they become Americanized they work less on the farm."

At the present time about one agricultural laborer in seven is a woman. Her work has been reduced largely to domestic affairs, and even in domestic affairs there seems to be a reduction of work in the manufacture of food, clothing, and supplies. Continuing the same report to which we have alluded, we have the following interesting situation:

With regard to very recent years census statistics of female agricultural labor afford no satisfactory conclusions. A general knowledge of farming conditions throughout the country, past and present, is more definite. The outdoor work of white women on the farms of medium and better sort has very greatly declined from early days, and the decline was more especially marked after the Civil War. Farmers' wives and daughters no longer milk the cows and work in the field and care for the livestock. They do not work in the garden as much as before, nor assist so much in fruit and berry harvest; they are making less butter, and cheese making on the farm has become a lost art. They may care for the poultry and the bees, do housework and gather vegetables for the table, and cook and keep the dwelling in order. Their domestic work is substantially the limit of their work on the farm.

Decline of Household Labor.—In farm household matters the situation is acute with regard to the supply of hired labor. Country girls as well as city girls, no matter how humble their lot in life, regard household labor for hire as unrespectable. Joined with this fact is the other one that the women of the farmer's family are neither able nor willing to repeat the manual labor performance of their grandmother on the farm. Besides this, the farmer's standard of living has risen, certainly

on the medium and better sort of farms in the North and West; and in a perceptible degree the women of the farmer's family have engaged in social functions which are beginning to be incompatible with the performance of household labor without the aid of a servant. The social obligations undertaken by them are for the Grange, the woman's clubs, the Maccabees, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the local church, the farmers' clubs, a list that might be much extended.

Domestic Industries.—The old-time domestic industries are all but forgotten. The women of the farm make no more soap, candles, or lye, and so on with a long list of the domestic products of former days; it is rare that one of the younger of the women knows how to knit. Throughout large areas the pride of the housewife in great stores of preserved, dried and pickled fruits, berries, vegetables exists chiefly in history, and dependence is placed mostly upon the local store for the products of the cannery and the evaporator.[1]

4. The Standard of Living

Of the 5,702,752 landowners in France, 4,853,000 possess on the average only 0.4 acres of land.[2] A similar situation holds in many of the nations of the Old World. The result is that a large fraction of the farming population operate exceedingly modest farms which are designed mainly just to meet the wants of the farm family, and to a very slight extent for a commercial surplus. These small farming units, even as intensively as they are operated, mean comparatively low standards of living for the European peasant farmer.

The fact that the American emphasis is upon the man instead of upon the land results in a much higher standard of living for the American farmer than in the Old World countries. One of the greatest struggles which we confront today is to maintain this superior standard both in industry and in agriculture; for the American industrial worker is the best paid in the world. The greatest dread of the American farmer, and those who champion his cause, next to the "poorhouse" is that he may be reduced to "peasant levels" of existence. What the future holds for him in this regard is by no means clear, but the factors of population congestion and increasing scarcity of land, with a more minute subdivision of holdings will have to be intensified before such a condition occurs.

It is in such countries as China that the extremes occur in the

[1] Quoted in Boyle, J. E. *Op. cit.*, pp. 101–103.

[2] Michael, L. G. *Agricultural Survey of Europe: France* Technical Bull. No. 37. U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1928, p. 39.

matter of low living standards. We are told in China, even at the present time, there are several instances on record in the Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information showing that "a peasant family of five persons can live on 25 Chinese dollars a year, that is, on $2.08 a month, or on 40 Chinese cents per month per capita. This annual expenditure of $25 covers not only cash expenses of family but value of food produced on the farm as well." [1] The same authority tells us "as far as clothing is concerned, the summary of various information on hand brings us to an approximate estimate that the rural population of China spends for clothing an average of two dollars per year."

Such conditions as these appear almost unbelievable, and of course they represent the extreme of peasant levels of existence. The typical European conditions are of course nothing like so extreme. And it must be remembered, too, that the richness of living is not always to be measured by the abundance of the things of life, but in the measure of enjoyment of those we have, and particularly in the proportion of the higher things of life to which attention may be given. Numerous instances are available which tell us that though the peasant families of Europe have relatively little in the way of income, they possess in many countries a thrift and cleanliness which may well be emulated by the altogether too wasteful typical American farmer. From Switzerland comes this interesting picture of the Swiss home, and its customary diet:

> All who have visited Switzerland must have been struck with the very beautiful and commodious peasant houses to be met with in many parts. In the poorer districts there are some very miserable wooden shanties, little, if at all, better than those existing in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland; but in the more fertile valleys of Berne, Lucerne, Unterwalden, and the other Forest Cantons there are dwellings which are not only a picture without, but all that is pleasing and convenient within. In the building of these houses no invariable rule is followed; but in the villages they are generally constructed very solidly of stone to a height of six or eight feet. Upon this foundation the upper structure of wood is raised In the lower part are commodious cellars for storage purposes; above them, in front, are the living- and bed-rooms; behind them are the kitchen, dairy, threshing-floor, stables, etc. On either side of the upper floor is an outer gallery, which in some districts runs quite round the house. The roof in front generally projects

[1] Torgasheff, B. F. "Cost of Living by Masses to Keep Alive." *The Peking Leader*, July 19, 20, 1929.

very considerably, but to a much less extent at the back and sides. The roof is of tiles in more modern houses, in the older ones of pine-shingles weighted with large stones.

The rooms on the first floor of these houses usually comprise the chief living-room, a small room, or "parlour," and the best bed-room. The parlour is used only on special occasions. In it, of course, are placed the best furniture and such objects as constitute the household treasures. In Catholic families—and in these mountain districts nearly all are such—a crucifix is never wanting. Equally prominent on the panelled walls will be the pictures of one or two saints, interspersed, perhaps, in the better families with a few family portraits. A clock, likely enough made in the Black Forest, is rarely absent; still more rarely the vase of holy water by the door, for here the family assembles for its devotional exercises, as well as for conference on matters of moment. In some villages much attention is given to the external adornment of the houses and to the cultivation of flowers, not only in the garden-space about the house, but on the ledges of the windows. It is rare to see one of these houses without its pear-tree trained up the front, or, in the warmer districts, its vine. The cultivation of fruit, especially apples and pears, is particularly cared for. When ripe, it is the duty of the women to quarter these fruits and dry them for winter use. Every house is provided with a store, which forms an important item in the family provender.

The people in the more pastoral districts generally live very simply. Even in well-to-do families meat is rarely put on the table, save at times of festivity, or on the occasion of friendly visits, when there will not infrequently be a lavish display. Potatoes form a considerable part of the daily fare; with buttermilk and bread they often constitute the midday meal. Milk and its products—butter, cheese, curds, etc.—bulk very largely in the daily dietary of the pastoral districts. Bread is often replaced by dried fruit or by curds. Many delicious dishes are made from cream. In Uri, sweet cheese-curds stewed in cream and afterwards baked with fresh butter are regarded as a great delicacy and much esteemed.[1]

Branson warns us that to consider peasantry as synonymous with poverty in many European countries is inaccurate and tells us:

> It is safe to say that to most people in America peasants and poverty are merely two words for the same thing. And so they are in Belgium, England, Scotland, Spain, Portugal, and portions of Italy. The farmers of these countries are mainly tenants and in every land farm tenancy means farm poverty soon or late for tenants and landlords alike. They are not equally poor in these different countries, but in all of them the tenant's outlook is hopeless, and hardly less the owner's. England

[1] Story, A. T. *Op. cit.*, pp. 163–165.

is at this minute illustrating the ultimate absurdity of farming on a tenancy basis. The farmer who farms by proxy is destined at last to lose his lands. The only successful farming is farming by the man who owns the land he cultivates. And Germany is today a conspicuous illustration of this fundamental fact.

If anybody thinks that peasants and poverty are one and the same thing in Denmark, Holland, France, Switzerland, and Germany—all of them lands of home-owning farmers, or so in the main—then he has a place in Josh Billings's catalogue of "folks who know a surprisin' lot of things most of which aint so."

The German peasant is not poor in purse, possessions, or appearance. The farmer who greeted me in the church yard of Winterbach the other Sunday and ushered me into his seat for worship wore a Prince Albert coat, and a high-top silk hat—of course along with other proper apparel. Most of the older men in the congregation were similarly dressed. It is the regulation farmer rig for church occasions, birthday celebrations, weddings, funerals, and ceremonial events in general. It has been the farmer fashion in Germany for a half century or more.

His farm is small, to be sure—around ten to twenty acres as a rule, and also as a rule it lies in separate tracts or parcels, in various directions out from the farm village. He is bred from childhood days to back-breaking labor. He works in his fields and with his farm animals from daylight to dark, and everybody in his family works, men, women, and children. Nobody in the household is too old or too young to work. The German peasant is a creature of steady-gaited toil. He is never in a hurry—nobody in Germany is in a hurry in any place or in any walk of life—but he is never idle, summer or winter. In this land of grain crops and forage fields, workstock, meat and milk animals, vegetables, fruits, and flowers, vineyards, wine and cider presses, there is something for everybody to do every day of the year, and everybody is busy doing it. He may be and he commonly is slow, dull and heavy—*dummkopf* as the Germans say—but he saves everything and wastes nothing, no inch of land, no minute of time, no bit of food on his table or in his kitchen, no twig or leaf of any tree he cuts for fuel, and nothing else of value on his land or under his roof.

Everything is of value to the German peasant and the thing of greatest value is manure, liquid manure in particular. It is the gold reserve of his little kingdom. His soil is his bank. In America, we speak of cultivating crops. Cultivating land is what the peasant farmer does, first, last, and all the time, and after a thousand years of cropping his soil is richer than ever. Our children at home say in a familiar game, What goes up must come down. The peasant says of his soil, What comes out must go back—and something more. His bank-account savings are the increased fertility of his fields. He may be slow-witted but he sees this fundamental fact in farming and sees it stark and whole.[1]

[1] Branson, E. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 30–32.

5. Coöperative Endeavor

The European farmer is more socially minded than the American farmer. This is a logical outcome of the village mode of residence. The American farmer located more or less apart on his larger farm is highly individualistic and conservative. On the other hand, the European farmer in his daily operations meets his fellow townsmen, and there is the pleasant interchange of greetings and the casual conversation. Then the proximity of residence makes for a more frequent visiting, and in the shops and restaurants there is the further opportunity for stimulating friendly interest in one another. At church and social gatherings bad roads and inclement weather are not barriers to attendance. All of these things are factors in breaking down suspicion, and in developing a mutual sympathy, confidence, and understanding which is the basis of coöperative endeavor.

Where there is a homogeneous citizenship of high average education and intelligence such as is found in Denmark, the European mode of residence and manner of living makes for an approach to the ideal in the growth and expression of the coöperative spirit. The result is that "the coöperative movement is the thing for which Denmark is most widely known. It is the most pervasive thing in the country. The Danish farmer performs for himself almost all of the functions that in other countries are performed by capitalistic agencies. He makes his own butter and cheese. He kills and sells his own cattle and hogs. He collects his own eggs. He buys food for his cattle in distant markets, as well as agricultural machinery and the supplies of his household. He does his own banking and establishes his own credit. He insures his house and his livestock. He maintains breeding societies of pedigreed cattle and horses. He buys at wholesale and sells to himself at retail. There are 2,000 coöperative retail stores in the country. And these coöperative stores in turn own factories, warehouses, big distributing agencies in Copenhagen and elsewhere. Through coöperation the Danish farmer has become his own capitalist. He performs the functions of the entrepreneur. He does this not through state socialism but through more than 4,000 coöperative societies, which he himself owns." [1]

In contrast to this situation, Howe tells us "the American

[1] Howe, F. C. *Denmark, A Coöperative Commonwealth.* Harcourt, Brace, 1921, pp. 29-30.

farmer produces for an unknown market. He has to sell through a hostile agency interested in buying at the lowest possible price. This is true of almost every product of the farm. It is true of wheat and cattle. It is true of corn and oats It is true of truck farmers, of egg and poultry raisers and of fruit growers as well. Food passes through the hands of a series of middlemen whose power is maintained through their identity with the railroads, terminals, banks, and especially the packers of Chicago and the West which control slaughtering, cold storage warehouses, and terminal facilities. Even the banks are involved in this system. They too are owned or controlled by the packing syndicate and middlemen. These middlemen and speculators fix the prices which the farmer receives; they then fix the prices which the consumer pays."

However, throughout the European continent coöperative marketing does not play the same extensive rôle as it does in Denmark. The greatest developments there are in the fields of coöperative rural credit and cooperative consumer societies for the economic purchasing of farm requisites. This situation is occasioned by the small amount of capital possessed by the European peasant. Such coöperative associations as livestock insurance and stock-breeding societies are widespread. As we know coöperative marketing in the United States, dairying is the industry of Europe in which it is most extensively applied.

In Europe, as is proving true in America, the coöperative movement was born of necessity. Its development there has brought about splendid moral gains among the long down-trodden and oppressed peasant farmers. Harvey and Reppion thus splendidly summarize these gains:

> Among the indirect, but equally tangible results of coöperation, I should be inclined to put the development of mind and character among those by whom it is practised. The peasant or little farmer, who is a member of one or more of these societies, who helps to build up their success and enjoys their benefits, acquires a new outlook. The jealousies and suspicions which are in most countries so common among those who live by the land fall from him Feeling that he has a voice in the direction of great affairs he acquires an added value and a healthy importance in his own eyes. He knows also that in his degree and according to his output he is on an equal footing with the largest producer and proportionately is doing as well. There is no longer any fear that because he is a little man he will be browbeaten or forced to

accept a worse price for what he has to sell than does his rich and powerful neighbor. The skilled minds which direct his business work as zealously for him as for that important neighbor.

Again, being relieved from all the worry and risk of marketing and sure that whatever he buys from his society, be it seeds or foodstuffs or implements, is the best obtainable at the lowest rate compatible with good quality, he is free to devote himself altogether to the actual business of life. When in any great doubt or difficulty he can rely on the expert advice of his "control society." All the science of the country is in fact at the disposal of the humblest worker The farmer, who, standing alone, can be broken across the knee of tyranny, extortion or competition, if bound up with a hundred others by the bond of common interest he is able to mock all of them.[1]

6. Cultural Distinctiveness

Age lends dignity to a civilization just as it does to the individual who has lived a respectable life. And the rural civilization of America is in its youth as compared with that of the Old World. The atmosphere of venerable tradition pervades and enriches the social life and customs of the European countryside. Then, too, the fact that it centers in the village enhances the development of social virtues and graces for which the European is noted the world over. "It may be questioned whether anywhere in Europe a healthier, more moral life prevails than that which is to be met within the little towns and villages of Germany. The life may be narrow and stinted, the intellectual outlook may be very limited, the ideals may be crude, and unchanging dullness may have claimed such places as its own, yet, if relative happiness, contentment and freedom from anxiety belong to a rational scheme of life, the countryman and not the townsman is the true philosopher. In some districts a state of things exists which might approach an ideal social order." [2]

When their meager incomes are forgotten, and the picturesqueness and quaintness of their village homes and churches, exterior and interior are recalled, there is something distinctive and beautiful about the way old customs have persisted. Many writers of fiction have found in them marvelous materials for their elaboration. The harvest time is a season of expression of these traditional customs, colorful indeed when compared with the American farmer's celebration of Thanksgiving with its table of bounty and

[1] Harvey, W. J., and Reppien, C. *Denmark and the Danes.* Pott, 1915, p. 146.
[2] Dawson, W. H. *German Life in Town and Country.* Putnams, 1901, Chapter IV

friends and relatives about the festive board. Much more is made of the marriage as a social occasion in the Old World, and the various holidays call forth in varied pattern their appropriate celebration of peculiar flavor and distinction.

Dawson narrates interestingly the way in which the German country folk interpret in social custom the harvest season and the marriage event, his account serving to illustrate the persistence of meaningful folkways in the Old World.

> The celebration of harvest takes a prominent place in the social amenities of the country. Formerly it was the great festive event of the year, both for peasant and labourer. One or more days were entirely given over to merriment and good cheer, and the farmer and his man met on equal terms at the dance, the game, and the well-spread board, as at no other time in the year. Of late years some of the customs of harvest have fallen into disuse, partly owing to the less friendly relationships which exist between the rural classes, and partly because the labourer is becoming superior to the simple pleasures which were enough for his fathers, yet in the more unsophisticated parts of the country they still continue. In Wurttemberg these celebrations include ancient customs in which the maid servants of the farms alone take part One is a race; dressed in short frocks and white bodices, but with naked feet, they scour the countryside, and the winner is held in high honour amongst admiring swains Another is a pitcher-carrying competition in which a large vessel, filled to the brim with water must be borne on the head for a certain distance without assistance by the hands. In Alsace farmer and labourer change places for the day The latter is absolved from service of every kind, and the farmer both waits on his men and does all the necessary farm work The day is given over to feasting and sports, and ends with a long night of dancing. Dancing is, in fact, the most popular of country amusements, and is carried on to such an extent—as a rule in the village inn—as to have become a source of grave anxiety to those who are concerned for village morality.
>
> The old marriage customs, too, are still popular. The bridal race, which once was common to rural England, is observed in many parts of Germany, doubtless perpetuating the ancient rule which required that a maid should be carried off on horseback. In Prussia the custom was varied, in that the race followed the day of marriage. Husband and wife raced to a given place, after which the bridal-wreath was taken from the wife's head and a *coiffure* of the kind common to her locality was placed thereon instead—in unchivalrous reminder that the time of poetry was over and the time of prose had begun Throughout Germany the eve before marriage is devoted to festivities in which the relatives and the near friends of the nuptial pair take part, but the name of the festival *Polterabend* denotes its descent from a custom of

a very different kind. Polter means noise (being really the equivalent of the colloquial English "row"), and the explanation of the term is curious but very human. On the day before a marriage it was usual for kind busybodies to canvass the virtues and failings of the bride and bridegroom. Did the virtues clearly preponderate, they signified their good-will by visiting the nuptial house and by means of hideous noises scaring away the evil spirits which were supposed to lurk there. The windows were carefully locked and the door alone left open, for by this lawful way only the uncanny guests were required to depart. From attic to cellar water was sprinkled in every corner of the house, all the walls were beaten with sticks, and ridiculous imprecations were used wherewith to terrorise the unhappy ghosts. If the past careers of the bridal pair gave room for legitimate cavil, this found expression in boisterous demonstrations before the houses of both, something after the manner of the "stang riding" which is still common to the Yorkshire dales. In rural Germany the original associations of *Polterabend* are still in part retained in all their noisiness, but in the towns the evening is devoted to social intercourse, in which music, theatricals, games and innocent gossip take the chief place

On the land, where time is no consideration and festivities of the kind happen too seldom to be taken lightly, the wedding parties are often spread over several days, and every body has a share in turn. The following food was actually consumed not long ago during the marriage festivities of a well-to-do farmer on the Weser:—one fat cow, seven pigs, seventeen calves, two hundred and twenty hens, two hundred loaves and cakes, three hundred and seventy gallons of beer, and a large quantity of spirit and wine. Amongst the Black Forest peasantry exists still a peculiar plan (called *Leibgeding* or *Libding*) of transferring a holding from father to son. When an old peasant is no longer capable of heavy work, or wishes to make way for a son or daughter desiring to marry, he gives up his farm to his heir and successor in consideration of an agreement that he and his wife shall have a place in the house and food enough for the rest of their days. This arrangement is put on paper, and legally attested, for the Black Forest peasant is long-headed, and never believes what he cannot see.[1]

With the advent of the automobile, in congested lines crowding the highways, and disturbing the atmosphere with their repeated "honk, honk," and the resulting "rurbanization" of the American countryside, a richer life or social contact may evolve in our farm life, but it will forever destroy the possibility of any such body of quaint cultural expression as occurs in European farm life today. The picturesque costumes of the peasant, tenaciously persisted in, the folk dances and the folk songs, and the love of music and art are the heritage of the Old World countryman, and

[1] Dawson, W. H. *Op. cit.*, pp. 75–79.

it is to be hoped that the rush and tempest of modern civilization may never destroy it. The reverence of the history of a people which it symbolizes, and its inherent love of beauty are things which American country life may more largely appropriate to its enrichment.

QUESTIONS

1. What does Turner mean by the statement that "our early history is the study of European germs developing in an American environment"?
2. Name six striking general differences between Old World and New World agricultures.
3. Characterize the *collectional economy*, the *cultural nomadic economy*, and the *settled village economy* stages of the history of mankind.
4. Describe the arrangement of a manorial village as built up by the Normans of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in England
5. Using the German village as an example, compare the mode and type of residence prevailing among Old World farmers with that characterizing agriculture in the United States
6. Determine the influence of the "strip system" of land distribution in the feudal manor upon the prevailing situation with land holdings in much of Europe at the present time.
7. Discuss the obstacles in the way of consolidating the widely scattered parcels included in the aggregate of land owned by the average European farmer
8. Compare the emphasis upon the land and labor factors in Old and New World agricultures, accounting for the differences.
9. Illustrate the importance of land in Oriental agriculture by means of the example of rice culture on a farm in China
10. Describe the rôle of women in the agriculture of France and Switzerland.
11. How does the lot of the American farm women compare with that of their sisters in the Old World?
12. Why is the American farm standard of living higher than that prevailing in the countries of the Old World?
13. Is peasantry synonymous with poverty in Europe, and what bearing does the percentage of farm tenancy have on this situation?
14. How adequate would you picture the life of a Chinese peasant family of five persons living on twenty-five Chinese dollars a year—about half that value in the currency of the United States?
15. Conceivably, what tendencies might develop in American agriculture to reduce our farmers to peasant levels of existence?
16. In what ways is there a more natural basis for coöperative effort among European farmers than is the case in the United States?
17. Justify the statement that "the coöperative movement is the thing for which Denmark is most widely known."
18. What effect does the small amount of capital possessed by the European farmer have upon the kinds of coöperative effort in which he principally engages?

19. Discuss the splendid moral gains which cooperation has brought about among the long down-trodden and oppressed peasant farmers of Europe.
20. Contrast the cultural distinctiveness of Old and New World rural life, and account for the situation in that regard.

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CHAPTER IV

THE CONDITION OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

During the period of the World War agriculture enjoyed a prosperity that was unprecedented in the previous history of the industry. Marked improvement occurred in the efficiency with which the machinery of production functioned, prices for farm products reached what now seem almost fabulously high levels, standards of living were raised to heights hitherto unexperienced, and the farmer came to the hasty opinion that at last he had come into the triumph of the day to which he had long looked forward. Unfortunately, he was doomed to early and heart-rending disillusionment and disappointment. The War came to a close, there was no adequate adjustment made in the processes of production to the changed demands for his products, prices tumbled, a deflation policy was inaugurated, the value of the dollar increased, foreign markets collapsed; and bewildered the farmer courageously faced the situation, hoping for an early return from the depression to the prosperity he had just learned to enjoy, and hanging tenaciously, but precariously, to the higher standards of living which he was reluctant indeed to relinquish.

Commerce and industry for a brief period experienced a somewhat similar condition of depression, but soon swung back into an era of hectic prosperity. The contrast of business on the peaks of prosperity, and agriculture in the trough of depression only served to accentuate in the mind of the farming classes the plight in which they found themselves and to intensify the gloom of the agricultural situation. But business, too, was riding for a fall, and to make confusion worse confounded, the stock market crash came, and on its heels commerce and industry entered upon a depressed phase in the business cycle which baffled the ingenuity of the best analysts in determining the causes and in making adequate prescription for remedial adjustments. While it is true that "misery loves company," there is little solace to the farmer in the fact that the whole nation, and for that matter, the whole world, has become for the time being almost hopelessly muddled in a slough of desperate depression and despondence.

The condition of agriculture today is correctly termed as one of prolonged and marked depression, accompanying and necessitating marked readjustments, the probably far-reaching extent of which it is difficult to visualize. The following discussion is a brief attempt at a comprehensive picture of the present condition of American agriculture, including concrete measurement of its leading manifestations and some statement of underlying causes

1. Low Price Levels of Farm Commodities

Warren [1] is of the opinion that "the outstanding cause of the agricultural depression is the low price of farm products compared with taxes on farm land, payments of interest, wages, and prices of things that farmers buy." If a series of index numbers of farm prices [2] received for all groups is constructed on the five-year period from August, 1909, through July, 1914, as a base of 100, the index figure for farm prices in 1919 was 209. Thus, in that year, farmers were receiving on an average for all groups of commodities about twice the price they received over the five-year base period In 1921, the index number had declined to 116, mounting to 147 in 1925. By 1930, this index had again decreased to 117, and in 1931 to 80, the lowest level recorded in the twenty or more years for which such index numbers have been prepared. The lowest level ever reached before, since such farm prices were determined, was 92 in December, 1911. The index number for grains in 1931 was 63; for meat and animals, 93; for dairy products, 94; for poultry products, 96; for cotton and cotton seed, 63; and for fruits and vegetables, 98.

Still more striking is the ratio of prices received by farmers for their products and the prices paid for the goods they must buy. In 1917, this figure was 118. By 1921, it had declined to 75, rising again to 92 in 1925. In 1931, this ratio had declined to 63, or the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar expressed in the ratio of prices received to prices paid was discounted 37 per cent.

Since in this disparity between prices received by the farmer for the commodities he sells and the price he must pay for the things he buys, in the opinion of many, is to be found the crux of the depressed condition of agriculture, and most of the interest and attention with reference to the situation in agriculture during the

[1] Warren, G. F. *The Agricultural Situation*, John Wiley & Sons, 1924 p 1

[2] *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 8, No. 7, July, 1931, pp. 286–287, and *The Agricultural Situation*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, June, 1932.

last ten years has centered on the comparatively low level of prices for agricultural commodities, it is interesting to inquire into the forces operating to create and prolong this unsatisfactory price equation. Nourse summarizes these as follows:

On the demand side:

1 Since the war, several strong competitors, particularly in the field of cereals and livestock products, have become increasingly strong contenders for what had been our traditional export outlet.

2. The possibility of developing in foreign countries a satisfactory, expanding market for the more intensive types of agriculture, coming with the maturer development of our agricultural industry, has been seriously checked by the slow recovery of the industrial nations of Europe and the fact that internal disorders in Russia, China, Mexico, and elsewhere have retarded the progress of these countries toward the higher type of European commercial and industrial civilization.

3. Dietary habits, fashions in clothes, and other factors in domestic consumption have caused this department of market demand to yield rather disappointing results to the farmer.

4. The rapid and widespread substitution of mechanical power for draft animals has further curtailed the demand for products of the soil.

On the supply side.

1. Additional land has come into use for the first time or land already in use has been advanced to a more intensive stage of utilization, while withdrawals have been too slight to afford an adequate offset.

2. The maturing of methods of disseminating knowledge of efficient farm practices is beginning to show clear results in the increase of farmers' efficiency as producers, while declining fertility, though pulling in the opposite direction, seems a factor of less significance at the moment, and is indeed checked by many of the improved methods just referred to.

3. The process of mechanization has "stepped up" the productivity of man labor applied in many parts of our agricultural industry, while the number of workers leaving agriculture has only partially offset this increase.

And, finally, the market mechanism by which supplies and demands are brought together in terms of price has shown:

1. Higher freight rates—only partially offset by the development of water transportation or the use of the motor truck.

2. An increase in many handling and selling charges as a result of higher costs of operation, particularly in the matter of wages paid.

3. Higher costs of containers and of labor and facilities used in packing and repacking, storing, and processing products on their way to the consumer.[1]

[1] Nourse, E. G. *Recent Economic Changes.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1929, Vol. II, pp 550–551.

2. The Farmer's Income

The National Bureau of Economic Research estimates that the national income for all individuals in the United States for the year 1928 amounted to $89,419,000,000, including income drawn by individuals from agriculture, manufacturing, mines, construction, banking, mercantile, government, and other enterprises. The proportion drawn by individuals from agriculture was 9.3 per cent, or $8,109,000,000, of this total amount. The accompanying table sets forth comparable data for other years as far back as 1910.

TABLE 5

Entire Realized Income Drawn by Individuals from All Industries and from Agriculture [1]

Year	Income from All Industries	Income from Agriculture	Income from Agriculture as Per Cent of Total Income
	million dollars	*million dollars*	*per cent*
1910	31,430	4,988	16 6
1915	37,205	5,488	14.8
1920	73,999	11,057	14.9
1925	81,931	9,089	11 1
1928	89,419	8,109 *	9.3

* The derivation of this item for 1928 is as follows (in million dollars): (a) receipts from crops and livestock, $10,519, plus rental value of owned homes, $162, less payments to other industries, $2,572; or (b) wages and salaries, $1,270, income of entrepreneurs and of property, $6,368, plus rental value of owned homes, $162.

In these estimates [2] of national income, the totals are the aggregates of the income of individuals received "in the form of wages, salaries, pensions, compensation for injuries, interest, dividends, rents, royalties, services of durable consumers' goods, and profits withdrawn from the business." In compiling them the emphasis was placed not on "how much does the industry earn, but how much income does the individual part owner of the industry draw from it." The figures serve to show, however, the markedly decreasing proportion which agriculture affords in the total realized income drawn by individuals from all industries.

One must be cautious in a comparison of reward for labor and management per farm family with wages, salaries, or family income of wage earners in other occupational groups, because it is difficult to compare accurately the significance of a given income

[1] *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 7, No. 9, p. 374.

[2] "Income from Farm Production in the United States, Calendar Years, 1924-1929" in *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 7, No. 9, Sept., 1930, pp. 370–375.

to a farm family and to one living in a city. The adequacy of living is likely to be greater on a given income in the country than in the city, due to the production of food and fuel on the farm, the less expensive housing arrangements, and many related factors. On the other hand, the farmer generally is the manager of his farm and should expect to receive returns for his managerial ability, which is not true usually of the industrial laborer. Other factors not enumerated also enter to indicate that the several advantages and disadvantages of location of residence are difficult of evaluation in making a comparison of the significance of income to different groups, particularly as related to the standard of living developed out of a given income. With such qualifications in mind, it is interesting to note the disparities of the labor and management returns of the farmer when compared with those of other workers as set forth by the National Industrial Conference Board in a recent study.[1] This study finds that if a return varying between 5 per cent in 1909 and $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in 1919 is assumed on total capital investment, the monetary value of the farmer's reward for his labor and management in the pre-war period 1909–14 averaged about $456 per year, this figure including the value of food, fuel, and shelter supplied by the farm. Even in those years this labor earning was about $200 less than that of workers in other occupations. From 1917–19, the period of peak prosperity for the farm industry, the labor return of those in the farm industry rose somewhat higher than the annual earnings in other industries. However, in the five-year period from 1920–25, the farmer received an average of only $613 as contrasted with an average of $1,400 for other workers. Of course, the purchasing power of the dollar has changed for both farmers and other workers, but taking this factor into consideration, the "real" annual labor earnings of farmers in 1924–25 were 3 per cent below the level of 1914, while those of other workers had risen 22 per cent.

The same authority states that in 1924–25, the labor earnings of the average farm operator, including tenants with owners, were $804. This figure includes the value of food, fuel, and shelter supplied by the farm, estimated by the Department of Agriculture at $634, leaving a cash labor return of approximately $170 to apply to other living expenses.

[1] *The Agricultural Problem in the United States.* National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., New York, 1926.

These data and many like them point to a severe disadvantage on the part of the farmer. While no average figures can reflect with entire accuracy the condition of an industry, yet they are valuable as reflecting the general situation At the time these studies were made, it seems that the industrial worker was receiving about twice as much return in dollars for his labor as was the farm worker. Such a situation is obviously unfair to agriculture and the best interests of the nation require that compensations derived should be comparatively more nearly on a just and equitable basis.

3. The Agricultural Tax Burden

In 1913, the average farm tax rate was 68 cents on each $100 of full valuation, that is, the probable market value of the land. The corresponding rate per $100 of full valuation averaged for 1924 was $1.22; for 1927, $1.37; in 1928 it was $1.43; and in 1929, $1.46. While average taxes per acre of farm real estate declined slightly in 1930 as compared with 1929, the first decline in the seventeen years of record, because of the accompanying 8 per cent decline in land values, farm taxes in 1930 were materially more than $1 50 on $100 of full valuation.[1] The accompanying table shows how much taxes have increased proportionately since 1913 in the several geographical divisions of the nation.

TABLE 6

Index of Taxes on Farm Land and Buildings per Acre by Geographic Divisions [2]

(1913 = 100)

Geographic Division	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
New England	242	244	255	263	269	273	280
Middle Atlantic	185	191	191	193	194	195	196
East North Central	216	215	217	222	221	224	222
West North Central	241	238	240	243	248	251	255
South Atlantic	220	228	244	246	251	256	249
East South Central	232	236	240	240	246	251	248
West South Central	189	189	186	195	202	208	213
Mountain	350	361	353	368	372	382	382
Pacific	361	364	371	382	397	395	400
United States	234	235	238	242	246	250	249

[1] *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 8, No. 6, June, 1931, p 231.

[2] Based on taxes reported by farmers for 1913–14 and for 1924 to 1930. State average rates of taxes per acre weighted by state acreages, to arrive at figure for each geographic division and for the United States.

Source: *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 8, No. 6, p. 231.

Taxes are levied by federal, state, and local governing bodies. A considerable part of the federal taxes are derived through levies on incomes. Due to the low incomes of most farmers, the exemption levels of the income tax exclude agriculture in large measure from contributing to this source of national support. For the year 1924–25, somewhat less than $10,000,000 of a total of $1,500,000,000 of taxes paid by farmers is to be credited to federal income tax payments.[1] Also, in the field of inheritance taxes the farmer pays little to the federal government. Due to the low income of the farmer, his excise taxes to the national treasury make the incidence of this form of taxation heavier proportionally than with the urban industrial group. However, it seems accurate to conclude that, in the totality of federal taxes, the farmer suffers from no discrimination made against him.

Can the same conclusion be drawn with regard to state and local taxation? There is a growing tendency upon the part of progressive state governments to depend more largely upon income taxes and excise taxes, as is the case with the federal revenue system. Where such is true, the farmer is in much the same situation as he is in his relation to the support of the federal government. He contributes little from income taxes, and proportionally heavily in excise taxes such as that on gasoline. However, since so large a contribution is made to road development from the latter he has little cause for complaint provided these roads are planned more largely to reach his door.

The farmer's tax burden then must be largely that of the general property tax. More than 90 per cent of the taxes from this source go to the support of local government. In 1922, according to figures of the United States Department of Commerce, approximately 78 per cent of the state and local taxes were derived from general property. Four-tenths of the aggregate state revenues; 92.3 per cent of those of counties; and 82.6 per cent of the support of incorporated places come from this source. In the same year, excluding direct federal taxes, the per capita tax of the farm population was $46.23 as compared with a per capita figure of $52.64 for the remainder of the community. Including such federal taxes, the per capita figures are $47.90 and $70.96 respectively.

[1] *The Condition of Agriculture in the United States and Measures for Its Improvement.* A Report of the Business Men's Commission on Agriculture. National Industrial Conference Board, New York, 1927.

It may be concluded then that so far as relative statistics are concerned, the farmer is not bearing an unduly heavy part of the tax load of the several political units of the nation. However, it must be remembered that the term general property includes intangible property. By far the larger proportion of this form is found in the city. In many states, practically all intangibles are concealed, except mortgages which are registered documents. On the other hand, the farmer's taxable wealth consists almost entirely of his land, livestock, farm buildings, and machinery. These are open to plain view, and hence cannot escape the eye of the tax assessor. Obviously, where such differences exist in tax assessment, it is difficult to determine the extent of the existing inequality. Another important factor to be considered is the shifting incidence of taxation. When a tax is placed upon a manufactured product, this is usually passed on to the consumer, and little prejudice attaches to this procedure. In a depressed condition of agriculture, the farmer is unable successfully to pass his taxes on in this manner. Moreover, he is himself a consumer, and must pay his proportionate share of the taxes passed on to him in the products which he must buy.

Where the strain of the tax burden of the farmer mainly resides is in the ratio of this tax load to his net income. Although, in 1922, the farmer paid only 67.5 per cent as much per individual as did the other classes of the population, his proportionate income per capita has been somewhere between a third and a half. His tax burden viewed from this standpoint has been proportionally a much heavier one than is the case with the remainder of the population.

Fortunately many states are now carefully studying their revenue systems and making sweeping revisions in them. There seems to be a growing tendency to leave the taxation of general property to local governmental units, and for the state to look more largely to other taxable sources. With an increasingly urban and industrial concentration of the wealth-producing and retaining institutions and processes, such huge aggregates of wealth must prepare to support more largely than ever before the education of many future urban citizens, sojourning in the country through the important training period of their lives, only to come to the cities when the productive age is reached. This will be accomplished through larger state equalization funds to smooth

out the inequalities in educational advantages, road development, health and public welfare facilities existing between the poorer and richer counties of a state. It is wise, far-sighted statesmanship to do this. In addition, there needs to be much improvement in the assessment machinery of states, not only with regard to equalizing the ratio of assessed value to sales value among the several counties, but as among individuals in the same county or township. Such reforms, and many similar ones are badly needed, but even more important is a restoration of agriculture to a profitable basis, so that the farmer may be able to pay his taxes without a severe inroad upon his resources for adequate living.

4. The Farm Real Estate Situation

The years since 1920 have been characterized by a marked decrease in the estimated value per acre of farm real estate. The figure on page 84 shows the abruptness of decline in the several geographic divisions of the nation. This slump in the prices of land per acre has been greatest in the wheat-growing states of the West North Central group, and next highest in the cotton-growing states of the East South Central and South Atlantic divisions. The least pronounced changes have occurred in the New England and the Pacific States.

When the situation is studied with allowance made for price changes during the years from 1920–28, it is noted that the estimated average per acre farm land values in the United States were in the latter year actually higher than in 1920. However, this is not the case in the wheat and corn belts, and is not true in some of the cotton states; for in these groups there has been an actual decline in farm values in recent years. In discussing this situation, Scholz [1] says that "the impression is widely prevalent that farm land values throughout the United States have declined considerably since 1920, and that much of the trouble is attributable to the shrinkage in the investment value of his farm in recent years. This shrinkage, however, where it actually exists, has occurred far more since 1913 than during the so-called period of deflation since 1920. This decline, in general, appears to be a healthy correction of farm values on a sound present farm income basis after the speculative

[1] Scholz, Karl. "Trends in Farm Land Values in the United States from 1912 to 1928." *Annals*, Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Science, Vol CXLII, No. 231, Mar., 1929, pp. 41–42.

influences, exerted in part by the farmers themselves, had resulted in abnormally 'boosting' farm land values in post-war years. Since 1920 farm land values have declined more rapidly than farm incomes, with a resultant higher ratio of income to values. Although there has been a more or less pronounced shrinkage in the

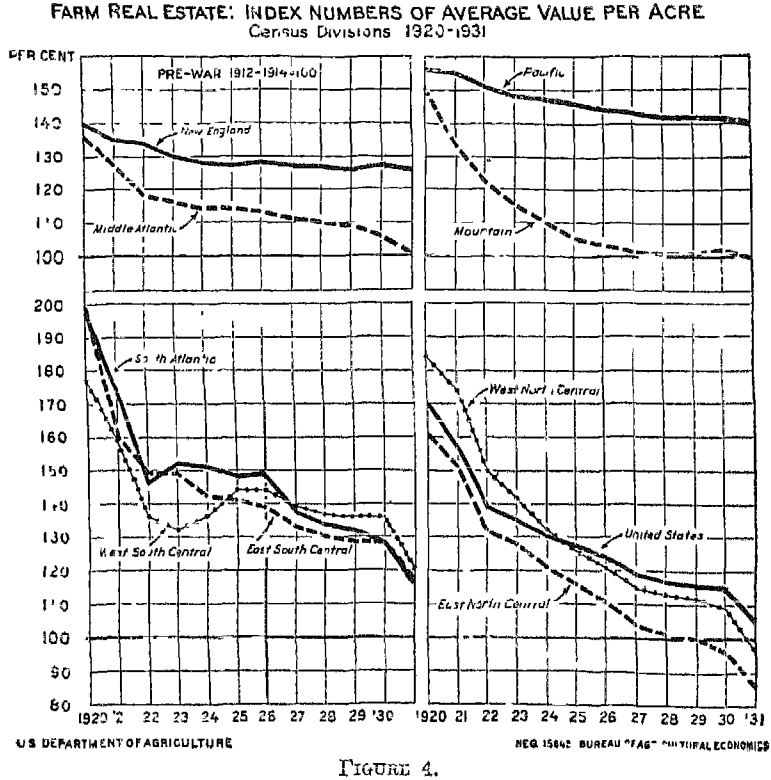


FIGURE 4.

(Source: Circular 150, U. S. Department of Agriculture, p. 10.)

real value of the farm owner's investment in his farm throughout the United States since 1913, it would seem that present farm values are on a much sounder investment basis than prior to 1920."

This shrinkage in the estimated price per acre of land since 1920 has been a difficult situation for the person who bought land on credit in the days of cheap money and high prices and now has to pay for it in terms of money which has a much higher purchasing power and is much harder for the farmer to secure in times of

TABLE 7

INDEX OF RELATIVE CHANGES IN REAL VALUES OF PER ACRE FARM REAL ESTATE (CORRECTED FOR PRICE CHANGES) BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS [1]

(1912–1914 base = 100 per cent)

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	1912–14	1920	1928	CHANGE IN INDEX BETWEEN 1912–14 AND 1928	CHANGE IN INDEX BETWEEN 1920 AND 1928
	per cent	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*	*per cent*
New England States	100	61 0	83 5	− 16.5	+ 22 5
Middle Atlantic States	100	60.0	72 0	− 28 0	+ 12 0
South Atlantic States	100	86.0	88.0	− 12.0	+ 2.0
East South Central States	100	86.5	85 5	− 14.5	− 1.0
West South Central States	100	77.0	90.0	− 10 0	+ 13 0
East North Central States	100	70.0	65.8	− 34.2	− 4.2
West North Central States	100	80.0	74.3	− 25 7	− 5.7
Mountain States	100	65.6	65.8	− 34 2	− 0.2
Pacific States	100	68.0	93.4	− 6.6	+ 25.1
United States	100	71 0	77 0	− 23.0	+ 3.0

unprofitable agriculture. Also, the decreased value over that assessed for loan purposes by commercial banks, federal and joint-stock land banks and similar agencies, together with the inability of many farmers in recent years to meet interest and principal payments on such indebtedness, has given rise to an unprecedented number of failures among farm enterprises. In the year 1926, 21.39 farms out of each 1,000 in the United States changed hands because of forced sales or defaults. The corresponding rate of failure among commercial enterprises in 1924 and 1925 was less than 10 per 1,000 such undertakings.

The number of forced sales of farm real estate made a definite increase during the year ended March 15, 1931, according to preliminary estimates received by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture. Voluntary sales, on the other hand, dropped decidedly. The number of farms changing hands as a result of tax delinquency averaged 7.4 farms per 1,000 compared with 5.1 last year, and the transfers as a result of mortgage foreclosures, bankruptcies, and other similar forced sales averaged 18.7 farms per 1,000 as against 15.7 last year. The total forced sale rate, 26.1 was an increase of 5.3 farms per 1,000 over that for the year ended March 15, 1930. The number of voluntary sales dropped from 23 7 to 19 farms per 1,000.

Much the same factors were responsible for the changes in number of transfers as for the declines in value, namely the combination of low

[1] Source: *Annals*, Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Science, Mar., 1929, p. 42.

prices, drought, world depression, and an already congested real estate market.

Although scattered States throughout the country reported fewer forced sales as a result of mortgage foreclosures, bankruptcies, default of contract, surrender of title or other transfers to avoid foreclosure, the average rate of such sales for each of the customary geographic divisions except the New England and Middle Atlantic, was higher than for last year. The average numbers of such sales per 1,000 farms for the various divisions for the year ended March 15, 1931, were: New England, 6.3; Middle Atlantic 9.2; East North Central, 19.3; West North Central, 25.8, South Atlantic, 19 4; East South Central, 25 9; West South Central, 16.3; Mountain, 22.6, Pacific, 19.6.

The tax sale rate depends to some extent upon the State laws together with the administrative policy pursued, and can not, therefore, be regarded as indicative solely of the general economic situation The Mountain States with a rate of 13.8, the South Atlantic with 12 8, and the East South Central with 10 farms per 1,000, reported the greatest number of transfers occasioned by delinquent taxes. These rates may be compared with 11.2, 8.4, and 4.9, for the previous year.

Outside of New England, practically every State reported fewer voluntary sales than last year, the rates for the various divisions being: New England, 30.7; Middle Atlantic, 21.5; East North Central, 18.6; West North Central, 18 9; South Atlantic, 14.5; East South Central, 19.4; West South Central, 16.7; Mountain, 24.8; Pacific, 22.1.[1]

During the past two or three decades, a determined fight has been made to provide the American farmer with adequate credit at reasonable rates of interest. As a result of this the federal farm loan system has been established for long-term loans, the federal reserve banking laws have been liberalized to benefit the short-term credit needs of the farmer, and a system of federal intermediate credit added to the rural credit structure. Farmers in all parts of the nation have availed themselves extensively of these facilities. Much of this credit extension has been unwise, and a large part of it has been lost in the unsuccessful efforts of the farmer in recent years to make his farm a going, paying proposition.

Specialists in farm finance in the Federal Bureau of Agricultural Economics report that farm mortgage indebtedness has materially increased in recent decades. This applies not only in the actual volume of indebtedness, but also in the total percentage of farms operated by owners. The number of full-owner farms mortgaged increased 18 5 per cent between 1910 and 1920, while the amount of mortgage debt on such farms increased 131.9 per cent. Estimates

[1] *Crops and Markets*, Vol. 8, No. 8, Aug., 1931, p. 341.

made in the same department of our national government show the total mortgage incumbrance for all classes of farms to have grown from $3,320,470,000 in 1910 to $7,857,700,000 in 1920. In 1926, Secretary Jardine estimated the farm mortgage debt as $9,500,000,000.

In the census reports data are collected only for the farms operated by owners. This is because tenant residents on farms are unable to report such matters to census enumerators, and to look up the owners in remote locations would constitute a well-nigh impossible task. In the distribution of the mortgage burden classified on a percentage basis, the heaviest proportions are found in the Middle West, and the lightest in the Southeastern and New England States The high degree of tenancy helps to account for this situation in the South, since the debt on such farms is not reported.

In some measure this increasing indebtedness reflects easier credit conditions, but before 1920 much of it was due to rising land values. In that year the ratio of debt to value of mortgaged farms was 29.1 per cent. By 1925 this figure was 41.9 per cent. This increase has been incurred in spite of a vigorous general effort to curtail agricultural loans. The American farmer today in large numbers in different sections of the nation, particularly in the Middle West and extensive areas of the Cotton Belt, finds himself deeply involved in the meshes of debt, many of them hopelessly so. Their struggle to achieve financial solvency in a period of prolonged depression is tragic and often hopeless. One of the big problems of thousands of American farmers today is to maintain the possession of their homes and lands.

Of course a part of this situation represents the tendency to eliminate the weaker farmer, but undoubtedly many quite able tillers of the soil have gone along with him. The increased ratio of farm failures, reflects in considerable measure the cumulative effects of the severe depression occurring soon after the World War. Insolvent farmers were carried by rural banks and other credit agencies as long as possible, with the final result of a forced settlement of their indebtedness.

These financial involvements are also reflected in the large number of rural bank failures. The number of such difficulties increased from 201 in 1921 to as many as 547 in 1926. Unsound banking practices were evident in these failures, but they consisted

largely of unwise extensions of credit, and constituted transactions which in normal times have not led to disaster. The collapse of these institutions, many of them smaller rural banks, points to an unhealthy condition in the rural areas of the nation.

5. Some Contributing Causes

With this gloomy picture before us, indicating in outline the plight of the American farmer, the inquiry arises as to what are the causes of this condition? A complete diagnosis of the ills of agriculture has not yet been made, but the studies of numerous individuals throw light on some phases of its difficulties.

E. G. Nourse, writing in 1923 on the subject *American Agriculture and the European Market*, felt forced to take a pessimistic view regarding the trend of our agricultural exports to those countries. He said: "Not merely is the foreign purchasing power of Europe today seriously impaired, but . . . along with the lessened purchasing power of our one-time customers abroad there has gone a revival of agriculture in Europe and an expansion of farm production by our chief competitors elsewhere. The Europe which can be 'reconstructed' out of the shattered materials left by the Great War will be one of greater self-sufficiency, more meager standards of living, and careful searching for the cheapest sources of food and raw materials while capital losses are being so far as possible made up and debt obligations being adjusted. . We are returning to the position of declining agricultural exports of 1914, further accentuated by the events of the war and its after effects. The United States in such a process of development falls to a position of small importance as an exporter of food to European markets." [1]

And in reviewing the same situation in 1928, he states that the outlook in the spring of that year "does not seem to be such as to give the farmer much more cheer than was vouchsafed to him in the spring of 1924."

The combined exports of crude materials of agriculture just before the Civil War made up 72 per cent of the total exports of our nation, and at the present time the proportion is only 33 per cent. During the same period, agricultural imports increased from around 24 per cent to 50 per cent of the import total. From 1860 to 1926, the percentage of finished manufactured exports from the United

[1] Nourse, E. G. *American Agriculture and the European Market.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1924.

States increased from 11.3 per cent to 41.5 per cent, and the imports of such articles declined from 48.7 to 19.8 per cent.

Such facts as these serve to emphasize the statement of Seligman in his recent volume on the *Economics of Farm Relief*[1] to the effect that the actual depression of agriculture in the United States is but a part of a world-wide phenomenon. The fundamental causes,—increased acreage, higher productivity, diminished demand, and general economic changes—are operative everywhere to a greater or less degree.

During the period of the World War, great emphasis was placed upon increased production. As was true in the Civil War, the reduced man-power on the farms led to a greater mechanization of agriculture. Minimum prices were established for many farm commodities, and at levels which made it profitable for the American farmer to increase his acreage as well as to intensify in the capital factor of production. Those left on the farms were spurred forward in the movement by such slogans as "Food will win the war." A hectic era was the result, and one in which agriculture shared in full measure with the manufacturing industries. Even luxuries came to the farm, in some sections in abundance. The farmer experienced a standard of living such as he had never before enjoyed. This has become with him an ideal of that which he feels even in usual times he should enjoy as a part of the fruits of his labor. Many of the more speculative turn of mind bought land some of it for cash, but much on credit.

Then came the post war adjustment. The greater distance from the wheat fields of Australia and South America no longer entered as the vital factor in competition that it was during the critical days of the War. These countries with their new and abundant lands called more of them into cultivation. They became in a keener sense the competitors of the American farmer. The war swept nations of Europe beat their swords into plowshares. With heavy debts and tariff-restricted trade, each of them set as an objective the nearest approach to self-sufficiency possible with its agricultural resources. The effect upon American agriculture was obvious and continues today.

However, not all of the present condition of our farming areas is attributable to the War and its aftermath. There has come about in this nation a declining birth rate. This has operated to

[1] Seligman, E. R. A. *Economics of Farm Relief*. Columbia University Press 1929.

slow down population increase. But even more significant a factor in this regard has been restrictive immigration laws. The mechanization of agriculture has tended to increase the supply of agricultural products; the slower population increase has operated appreciably to limit the demand factor. Thus, a certain amount of maladjustment in agriculture was inevitable, even without the intensifying and demoralizing effects of the World War.

QUESTIONS

1. How do you account for the period of prosperity enjoyed by the American farmer during the World War?
2. Name the principal factors contributing to the post-war depression of agriculture in the United States.
3. In Warren's opinion, what single factor is the principal cause of the agricultural depression?
4. What do the index numbers of farm prices show at intervals over the period from 1909–14 to 1931?
5. Compare the buying value of the farmer's dollar in 1931 with that prevailing in 1917.
6. Give in outline Nourse's analysis of the forces operating to create and prolong such an unsatisfactory price equation.
7. What was the total national income for all individuals in the United States for the year 1928 and what proportion of this was drawn by individuals from agriculture?
8. Trace the trend of the income of agriculture as a percentage of the total national income from 1910 through 1928
9. Why is it difficult to compare the reward for labor and management per farm family with wages, salaries, or family income of wage earners in other occupational groups?
10. According to the figures of the National Industrial Conference Board, how does the farmer's reward for labor and management compare with the labor earnings of workers in other occupations, and what is the injustice of this situation?
11. To what extent had farm taxes per $100 of full valuation increased in 1929 over those of 1913, and what can you say as to the causes of such a growth in tax rates?
12. In which geographic divisions of the United States have increases in farm taxes been most pronounced?
13. Can it be said accurately that the farmer suffers from discrimination in the matter of federal taxes? State taxes? Cite data to support your answer.
14. Contrast the ability of the farmer and the manufacturer to shift the incidence of his taxation.
15. Discuss the tax load of the farmer in relation to his income.
16. How much significance is to be attached to the decrease in the estimated value of farm real estate in the United States since 1920?

17. In what parts of the nation has the decline in farm values been highest, and to what reasons do you attribute the fact?
18. Why have forced sales of farm property increased in recent years, and how did the ratio of farm failures compare with those of commercial concerns about the year of 1926?
19. What is the present extent of farm mortgage indebtedness in the United States and may the situation be considered a healthful one?
20. Discuss Nourse's view of the influence of the present state of the European market for farm products upon the condition of American agriculture.

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5. *The Condition of Agriculture in the United States and Measures for Its Improvement.* A Report by the Business Men's Commission on Agriculture. Published jointly by National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., and Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1927, Part I, pp. 3–40, "The Approach to the Problem and Summary of Conclusions."
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CHAPTER V

FARM RELIEF MEASURES

The persistently depressed state in the agricultural industry has evoked a large number of plans for farm relief. The thesis maintained in a large segment of these is to the effect that the farmer is not the victim of national policies discriminatory against him; but that he is himself to blame for the condition in which he finds himself. On such a premise, it is argued that the salvation of the farm industry is in the hands of the farmer himself, and that no governmental assistance is needed. He is told, no matter how inadequate the machinery to effect it, that he must control his production in proper relation to the demand, that he must lower his costs of production so that even at low prices he will make a profit, that the submarginal farmer must get off the farm, and that agriculture must develop an efficient marketing machinery whereby the farmer will get his fair share of the consumer's dollar.

There are others who contend that all of the remedies just mentioned and others like them constitute sound advice, but the effectiveness generally of cooperative selling and buying is an ideal now far in advance of the farmer's social psychology and one which will likely require a few decades to achieve. The adjustment of production to demand and the resulting stabilization of farm prices is a similar problem, not likely to be solved by the farmer himself any time in the next several years. Thus, if the farmer is left to his own devices to solve the agricultural problem, the unfavorable situation will continue to the detriment not only of agriculture, but of the best national interests. They maintain that the manufacturing interests have long been favored with a protective tariff of which the farmer has had to pay his full share, and that while ostensibly a tariff has been placed on agricultural products, it is not effective in the main because of the fact that we produce large surpluses of our major agricultural commodities. Since we export these, and do not import them except in limited quantities of special grades, the tariff on such surplus agricultural commodities is non-effective. Consequently, some national plan must be pro-

jected by Congress in order that the baneful inequalities now existing between agriculture and industry may be done away with.

Since the tariff in relation to agriculture, the efficacy of more efficient farm management, the importance of adjusting production to demand and similar matters related to the larger problem of farm relief are discussed in other connections in some of the succeeding chapters, the present discussion will deal with those farm relief measures which have come more prominently into national view as ones which their advocates contend our national Congress should promote through appropriate legislation.

1. The McNary-Haugen Plan

The essential features of the McNary-Haugen plan of farm relief are credited to the authorship of George N. Peek, formerly president of the Moline Plow Company of Moline, Illinois. The plan received the virtual indorsement of Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture in the Harding Cabinet. Introduced into Congress on January 16, 1924, it was sponsored by Representative G. N. Haugen of Iowa in the House, and Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon in the Senate, constituting the first McNary-Haugen bill. With some modifications the measure was passed by Congress on February 17, 1927, with a small majority in the Senate and a substantial victory in the House. The measure was promptly vetoed by President Coolidge. With evidences of greatly increased strength in both branches of the national body, the bill, with considerable modification but containing the "equalization fee," was a second time passed by Congress in May, 1928, again to be vetoed by Mr. Coolidge.

In discussing conditions which necessitate and justify such a measure, Peek says:

> When a surplus agricultural production was necessary to repay foreign investors in the United States and to pay for our imports, our national policy of expanding agriculture upon an export basis worked admirably. When our greatest national test came it was our surplus food production that fed the Allies and decided the issue of the World War. But the international balance shifted as a result of the war. We have the gold. The rest of the world owes us. These facts inevitably limit the volume of exports, both industrial and agricultural, from the United States. Our wheat, pork, cotton, and sometimes beef can bring the farmers only the price which foreign buyers will pay for what is left after the domestic need is satisfied. This condition is crucifying

agriculture. It is directly due to our past policy of agricultural expansion, and to the development of the American protective system which keeps farm costs on a high domestic plane while farm prices remain relatively low due to the influence of world competition.

In my reference to the American protective system, I include not only the tariff but such measures and devices as the Adamson Law, restriction of immigration, the Esch-Cummins Law, the Railroad Labor Board and others of like purpose. These all have tended to protect, stabilize and hold immune from world influence industry and labor, and to make effective the work of their organizations in holding up the prices of their commodities and services.

Agriculture, on the other hand remaining unorganized is still subject to world influence on export crops because the American price of these crops is not determined here by American conditions, but is determined in foreign markets by world conditions. We sell our surplus abroad in world competition, at a price determined by world supply and demand and regulated by world conditions. It follows that the price of the surplus is the price of the crop. This is axiomatic.

The remedy lies in one of two directions. One, repealing all protective measures enacted for the benefit of other groups, thus enabling the farmer to buy as well as sell in a world market; the other, including the farmer in the protective system, by organizing and financing agriculture so that it, too, can adjust supply to demand, and if necessary divert surplus to export as industry does, and is encouraged to do by the Webb-Pomerene and Edge laws.

The first remedy, the repeal of all protective legislation, is legislatively impossible and certainly undesirable, since protection furnishes security for American standards of living against descent to the level of the world at large. Farmers have not advocated this policy. Even if by cheapening other goods and services their purchasing power could be restored, the low dollar price would leave them under a great disadvantage in relation to their debt. Their indebtedness has mounted from about four billion dollars in 1910 to over twelve billion dollars in 1925—a sum greater than the original foreign debt to the United States. If the farmers are ever going to pay that debt, it should be with commodities as high in dollar value as when the debt was incurred—or as near to that figure as possible. To reduce the dollar value of other goods and services might raise the exchange value of farm crops, but if the price level for all commodities, including agricultural products, were thereby lowered and held down, the debt-paying power of the farmer would be reduced.

The second remedy—to include the farmer in the protective system—is no difficult matter. It requires only a mechanism which the producers of the primary surplus crops can use to regulate the movement of their crops to market, with the cost of withholding unneeded supplies, or of diverting small surpluses to export markets, assessed against all the producers of the commodity affected. If you withhold or skim off the surplus which for natural reasons cannot be controlled or prevented in

the production stage, the demand can still be satisfied, but at a fair exchange value for the farmer.

This principle would work out in different ways with different crops. The growers of cotton could secure relative price stability through balancing supply and demand over a period of years instead of currently. They could secure for themselves whatever economic advantage there may be in their position as producers and exporters of two-thirds of the world's international trade in cotton. Growers of other crops like wheat, of which the exportable surplus is relatively small compared with domestic consumption, could secure the advantage of tariffs in the domestic market.

The essential element in such a mechanism is the universal assessment of "equalization fee" which distributes the cost of caring for surpluses over all the producers of a particular crop whose excess supplies have to be dealt with to prevent price demoralization.[1]

It is out of a recognition of such existent conditions as these that the McNary-Haugen bill in its successive forms, the export debenture plan of the National Grange, and a number of somewhat similar but less well-known measures have had their genesis. A tariff on those farm products of which there is not a sufficient supply to meet the domestic demand is effective in raising the price levels of such commodities in competition with the like imported goods. However, no matter how high the tariff may be placed upon the farm product of which there is an exportable surplus, it is ineffective in influencing the price. As has been pointed out, this is determined in the world market. Farm relief measures of the type under consideration have as their central objective making operative the at present impotent tariff on such commodities.

In its essential features the McNary-Haugen plan provides for a Federal Farm Board of twelve members appointed by the President of the United States. This Board would be required to keep advised concerning the supply and demand situation with regard to any agricultural commodity, and to advise the farmers of the nation intelligently concerning suitable programs of planting or breeding, and to aid in the control of burdensome surpluses. The Board would create advisory "commodity councils" of seven members from lists submitted by coöperative marketing associations and farm organizations. Such councils would have as their

[1] Peek, G. N. "Equality of Agriculture with Industry." *Proceedings* of the Academy of Political Science, Vol. XII, No. 2, "Problems of Prosperity," Jan., 1927, pp. 68–71.

duty, the advising of the Board with regard to its operations in the particular commodity represented. A revolving fund of a few hundred million dollars would be provided to loan cooperative associations for credit and in marketing the surpluses of the different commodities.

If the extension of credit from this fund to cooperative associations or their subsidiary corporations does not effectively control the surplus through such usual marketing channels, then the Board would be empowered to "arrange for marketing any part of the commodity by means of marketing agreements with cooperative associations engaged in handling the commodity, or corporations created and controlled by one or more such cooperative associations." Such a plan would result in these designated agencies buying up a sufficient portion of the crop, either for storage, or for sale abroad at a loss, in order that the farmer might secure a maximum price for his commodity. Since the policy of withholding from the market is regarded as a precarious one, it is likely that the latter method would usually be employed. Any loss incurred would be borne in the form of an "equalization fee" assessed the farmer in proportion to benefits derived

In order to make the application of this plan clearer, the following hypothetical example is cited:

Suppose the wheat crop of the United States is 800,000,000 bushels, and the domestic demand is 600,000,000. There would result a 200,000,000 bushel surplus to be handled by the Board through sale abroad at a loss. The tariff on wheat is about 42 cents a bushel, and it is assumed in this instance that the world price is $1 per bushel The price for the entire crop would be the world price plus the tariff, or $1.42 per bushel. Buying the surplus at this price and selling it abroad at $1 per bushel, would incur a loss of $84,000,000, but the price of wheat in the United States would be increased by 42 cents a bushel. Distributed over the entire crop, the loss would be $10\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bushel. Operating on the principle of the "equalization fee" this sum would be paid by each grower according to the number of bushels sold. Thus the net price which the farmer would receive for his wheat would be $1.31\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bushel. At an expense of $84,000,000, the farmers would receive a clear gain of $252,000,000 on the total wheat crop.

In the second veto message, President Coolidge summarized the "major weaknesses and perils" of the bill under six headings:

1. Its attempted price-fixing fallacy.
2. The tax characteristics of the equalization fee.
3. The widespread bureaucracy which it would set up.
4. Its encouragement to profiteering and wasteful distribution by middlemen.
5. Its stimulation of overproduction.
6. Its aid to our foreign agricultural competitors.

In the press statements regarding the veto messages, much emphasis was placed upon the opinion of Attorney-General Sargent to the effect that the measure was unconstitutional. Penetrating critics of this contention point out that the determination of such a matter is in the province of the Supreme Court of the land and not with the Attorney-General.

The main objection of President Coolidge seems, however, to have been the price-fixing implications of the bill. In his second veto message on the subject he says: "There is apparently no change in the import of the bill in the resolution to impose upon the farmer and upon the consumers of farm produce a régime of futile, delusive experiments with price fixing, with indirect government buying and selling, and with a nation-wide system of regulatory policing, intolerable espionage, and tax collection on a vast scale."

Able economists differ with this view of Mr. Coolidge. Professor John D. Black of Harvard University is of the opinion that "the equalization plan is price-fixing in exactly the same way that the tariff is price-fixing. It may be argued that whether prices are fixed absolutely or relative to a moving price is inconsequential —it is still price-fixing; but if so, then import duties are price-fixing." Sir Josiah Stamp, a leading British economist, in discussing the measure, says: "The scheme is not a price-fixing one, for it merely creates an addition to a moving world price." [1]

Perhaps the most damaging criticism brought against the McNary-Haugen bill is that it will tend to increase greatly the production of the crops benefited. One of the axioms of the law of supply and demand is that high prices tend to increase production, and it is perfectly reasonable to assume that no exception occurs in the case of farm produce. Such a result would mean an intensification of the surplus problem. It is even conceivable that

[1] Black, J. D. "The Progress of Farm Relief and the McNary-Haugen Movement." *American Economic Review*. Vol XVIII, June and Sept., 1928.

this surplus might become so great in certain commodities that the equalization fee would be greater than the benefits of the increased price.

In discussing such measures, the Business Men's Commission on Agriculture states that it "finds it impossible to support any of the legislative proposals of the type represented by the McNary-Haugen bill and others which by artificially restricting the supply of agricultural products in the home market, or by the payment of export bounties on farm products, aim to raise the domestic price of agricultural commodities above the world market price. It believes that such action is not conducive in the long run to sound economic development, and that it opens the way to operation of political or private forces difficult to control in the general public interest" [1]

In fairness to the proponents of the measure, it should be stated that they claimed for it no approach to perfection. A fairly definite diagnosis is made of present agricultural distress, and a prescription made for the malady. It is not expected that the patient would die under the treatment; but that the process would at least remove confusion among those who should prescribe and make clearer the next step in the treatment of the case. It is well to remember in this connection that, in early days, the tariff on manufactures was decried by many of our most thoughtful students and even today a national party embodies in its traditions opposition to it. Economists generally are still definitely opposed to its principles. The arguments of economic unsoundness, expensiveness, cumbersomeness, and impracticality brought against the McNary-Haugen plan may or may not be correct. These things remain to be proved. The large group in Congress who have sought to bring the measure into the realm of the *fait accompli* cannot be dubbed as merely political temporizers. They have been the most of them men of firm conviction, eagerly fighting for what to them was the way of achieving a justice which the best national interests demand should be accorded agriculture.

2. The Export Debenture Plan

The "export debenture plan" of farm relief was first outlined in preliminary form by Professor Charles L. Stewart of the University

[1] *The Condition of Agriculture in the United States.* Report of the Business Men's Commission on Agriculture. National Industrial Conference Board, 1927, pp. 162–163.

of Illinois in lectures in that institution as early as May, 1924, and since that time he has been active in all of the efforts to bring about its adoption as national policy.[1] He "obtained his suggestion for it from the import certificate plan in Germany, where it applies to products of which the country has a domestic deficit, and upon which import duties are effective. The purpose of it is to offset the effects on the distribution of internal production of import duties. Before the duties were levied on wheat in Germany, the producers in eastern Germany exported their wheat through the Baltic ports and received Liverpool prices less costs of transportation. The millers in eastern Germany paid Holland prices plus costs of transportation. When the tariff duty was imposed, prices rose in western Germany by the full amount of the duty, but not so in eastern Germany. This situation was remedied by issuing import certificates on exports of wheat of eastern Germany, which were sold to the importers in western Germany. This had the effect of reestablishing the former set of territorial price relationships within the country."[2]

The export debenture plan as framed by Stewart was first placed before Congress by the late Senator McKinley and Representative Adkins of Illinois in the Senate and House, respectively. The identical measures before these two bodies of the national Congress were referred to the appropriate committees on agriculture for hearings, but the measure did not emerge from the committee. In November, 1926, the National Grange, the oldest and one of the outstanding farmers' organizations of nation-wide scope, at its annual convention indorsed the measure, and since that time uniformly has given its support to it. Early in 1927, toward the close of the Sixty-ninth Congress, Representative Marvin Jones of Texas introduced an export debenture bill for the consideration of that body. During the sessions of the Seventieth Congress, in 1928, Mr. Jones and Representative J. C. Ketcham of Michigan incorporated the provisions of the export debenture plan in a number of bills introduced before the Congress, which were more fully discussed than previous measures of the same type before the House Committee on Agriculture. An attempt in this

[1] Davis, J. S. *The Farm Export Debenture Plan.* The Food Research Institute, Stanford University, 1929, p. 1.

[2] Black, J. D. "Plans for Raising Prices of Farm Products by Government Action." *Annals*, Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Science, Vol. CXLII, No. 231, Mar., 1929, p. 381.

committee to substitute for the Haugen bill a revised Ketcham bill, incorporating the debenture plan with many elements of the Haugen bill without the equalization fee, was defeated, and the McNary-Haugen bill was a second time passed by both Senate and House.

In the national campaign of 1928, between Secretary Herbert Hoover and Governor Alfred Smith of New York, the issue of farm relief came distinctly into the foreground of the national consciousness. Under the urge of the Western farm vote, Mr. Smith came out distinctly for the "equalization fee" principle, though not committing himself as to the machinery by which it would be worked out. Mr. Hoover was unequivocally opposed to this idea, and in this respect as in so many others, held himself committed to the policies of the administration upon the record of which he sought to win the presidency. During the campaign, possibly stimulated by the aggressive stand of Governor Smith in the matter, Mr. Hoover promised, if elected, a special session of Congress shortly after his inauguration to deal with farm legislation. A measure embodying the ideals of the administration, and which led to the establishment of the present Federal Farm Board, was introduced in this special session convening on April 15, 1929. The House from the outset was clearly in a majority favoring the measure bearing the stamp of administration approval. The Senate insisted in view of the possible ineffectiveness of the newly proposed measure, the export debenture plan should be written into the law enacted in order that its provisions would become operative to effect the desired purposes. So pronounced was the Senate attitude that on April 20, 1929, President Hoover, in a letter to Senator McNary of Oregon put himself on record as vigorously opposed to the incorporation of the export debenture plan in the new farm relief measure. Although the Senate stalled for a while, the protest of the President was effective, and on June 15, 1929, the Agricultural Marketing Act, without the export debenture plan, was approved by Mr. Hoover. Thus the export debenture plan, while it has received prominent attention as a farm relief measure, has never been passed by either branch of the national Congress.

In the opinion of its quite numerous advocates, the export debenture plan is a more feasible one than the McNary-Haugen and would prove more effective. As has been pointed out, it has

the indorsement of the National Grange, the oldest and one of the soundest of farmers' organizations. The export debenture or bounty plan is said to have been proposed by Alexander Hamilton as a part of the original tariff system in the United States. In his report to Congress in 1791, he said that "bounties are, sometimes, not only the best, but the only proper, expedient for uniting the encouragement of the new object of agriculture with that of the new object of manufacture." This financial genius, to whom the protection policy of this country owes so much, is said to have pointed out that if the tariff policy was adopted with regard to manufactures, Congress should also adopt the export premium policy in order that agriculture should not be discriminated against and thereby injured. Congress adopted the tariff on manufactures, but failed to incorporate the suggestion of Hamilton, and we have today the proof of the correctness of his opinion that the tariff would benefit the manufacturer more than the farmer.

At this point, it is interesting to inquire as to how the export debenture plan is expected to accomplish its purpose of making the tariff effective on agricultural commodities of which we produce in this country an exportable surplus. The *modus operandi* of the plan and the principal arguments in justification of its adoption are set forth in the following quotation from a pamphlet issued by the National Grange in advocacy of this measure for farm relief:

What the Export Debenture Plan Is—and How It Would Work

The Export Debenture plan is a straightforward attempt to bring tariff benefits to those agricultural products at present unable to take advantage of the protective tariff system because of small exportable surpluses which tend to depress domestic prices to the world level.

Equality between agriculture and the industrial and commercial groups could be restored either by pulling down the artificial high-price structure made possible for these latter groups through such legislative devices as protective tariffs, immigration restriction, railroad rate legislation, exclusive patents and tariff rebates, or the readjustment could be made by enabling agriculture to take advantage of similar devices to raise itself to this same price level and thus meet the difference in costs of production here and abroad. The Grange prefers the latter—the constructive method—rather than the destructive and disruptive method.

The Complement of the Protective Tariff System

Since the inequalities resulting from the tariff system are the chief source of difficulty, the logical and sensible thing to do is to apply the

remedy at that point. The export debenture or bounty plan is in fact a recognized supplement to the protective tariff system in many nations today and was proposed by Alexander Hamilton as a part of the original tariff system in the United States.

Stated in the simplest terms, the export debenture plan is an arrangement whereby exporters of those agricultural products of which we produce a surplus, receive from the Treasury Department certificates having a face value established by Congress and intended to represent the difference in costs of production between here and abroad, such certificates being negotiable and good for their face value in the payment of import tariffs on any articles later imported.

The farmer, cooperative organization, or commercial exporter may not desire to import directly, but the certificates would be readily negotiable to American importers at a slight discount. Naturally the effect of such an arrangement would be to raise immediately by approximately the amount of the export debenture the prices of those farm products now held down to the foreign level. This would follow because any holder of these products could readily sell his supply in the foreign market at the foreign price and get in addition thereto the value of the export debenture or certificate. He would therefore be able and willing to pay a higher price, and the general price level for these crops in this country would ascend rapidly by approximately the amount of the export debenture.

The Grange plan provides that at the beginning only one-half the existing tariff rates would be given in debenture payment. For example, the present tariff on wheat is 42 cents a bushel. A cooperative association or grain dealer in Kansas desiring to ship wheat to Liverpool would receive the Liverpool price plus a certificate or debenture having a face value amounting to 21 cents for each bushel exported. Unless the exporter himself desired to bring in goods and use his debentures to pay the import duties or tariffs on these imports he would sell his debentures to persons in the importing business. Since these debentures would be worth full face value in paying import duties, the importer would be eager to get them and would pay face value, less a nominal exchange discount.

Rates Adjustable to Meet Conditions

The Grange plan provides that the President may adjust the debenture rates applying to the several farm crops, either upward or downward, to the extent of 99 per cent. Whenever investigations show that the rates set in the act do not cover the difference in costs of production between here and abroad, the rates may be raised. Whenever the exportable surplus increases unduly, the debenture rates may be reduced as a means of discouraging overproduction.

With the export debenture plan of farm relief no money would be taken out of the United States Treasury, but of course the cash receipts of the treasury would be less since a portion of the import duties would

be paid with debentures instead of with cash as at present. Exactly the same thing happens, however, whenever Congress increases tariff rates so as to protect our manufacturers against foreign competitors. If the desired purpose is accomplished, imports are shut off and the money from import duties is kept out of the United States Treasury. Theoretically, at least, the money thenceforth goes into the pockets of the American manufacturer and his laborers.

Operation Is Simple and Direct

One great advantage of the export debenture plan, as compared with the equalization fee plan, is its extreme simplicity of operation. No complicated machinery is required, no elaborate new boards or commissions, in fact no large appropriation is required, although a modest fund for administration would be needed. The Treasury Department would issue these debentures just as it now issues "drawback" certificates, tobacco revenue stamps, and similar instruments having a recognized value that must be protected. Officials already stationed at export ports are capable of certifying to the amounts of the various crops exported and designating the persons entitled to receive the export debentures.

Is This Plan a Subsidy?

Opponents of the export debenture plan usually base their opposition on the plea that it is a subsidy. The plan is no more a subsidy than is the protective tariff. The very purpose of our protective tariff is to prevent foreign low cost goods from coming into the United States. By this means large quantities of dutiable goods are kept out and hundreds of millions of dollars in duties are prevented from entering our treasury. For instance, when the duty on aluminum was more than quadrupled in September, 1922, the value of imports dropped from an average of about $2,000,000 for the preceding three years to an average of $514,000 for the succeeding four years, and the net loss in tariffs collected for three years on aluminum hollow ware alone was $391,000 This protection results in great benefits to manufacturers and their employees and the cost of this protection is borne by consumers of these articles; that is, by the general public.

Exactly the same thing happens where the export debenture plan is in operation. Less tariff receipts enter the treasury but the producers of farm crops are benefited Consumers, including farmers, pay slightly more for some of their foods, as their contribution toward making the protective tariff system actually protective for agriculture. Consumers likewise pay for the benefits expected by farmers under the equalization fee plan as proposed in the McNary-Haugen bill

The export debenture plan is not as much a subsidy as the tariff drawback privilege now accorded many American manufacturers, or the tariff reductions given Cuban sugar, greatly to the benefit of American capitalists. Under the tariff drawback arrangement our manufacturers are actually paid what amounts to an export bounty on

goods sold abroad. They receive cash payments from the government in proportion to the amount of goods exported. This practice is based on the theory that our manufacturers should not be compelled to pay duties on raw materials imported for manufacture and later included in manufactured articles sold abroad. It is contended that the manufacturer cannot afford to pay the protected domestic price for these imported materials if he is to sell abroad at world price levels. This is exactly the contention of the American farmer, he cannot pay the protected price for labor, supplies and other production factors and at the same time sell at the foreign price level not only abroad but at home as well.

Our government allows Cuba a 20 per cent reduction on sugar duties This gives Cuba a great advantage over other foreign countries and is a tremendous benefit to American capitalists who now dominate the Cuban sugar situation, as well as to American manufacturers who sell goods to Cuba. Incidentally this 20 per cent tariff reduction removes by just that degree the tariff protection needed by sugar cane and beet farmers in the United States This special concession to Cuba, and indirectly to American capital and industry, has kept out of the United States Treasury sugar duties amounting to not less than $135,000,000 in the last five years.

The farmer is asking merely that there be applied to his problem some of the same spirit of tariff adjustment and modification as is already being used to accommodate industry and capital

How Much Will It Cost?

The Grange plan definitely limits the maximum amount of debentures in any year to 50 per cent of the tariff revenues. At the debenture rates proposed, it is estimated that the average value of debentures issued on agricultural exports during the past five years would have been about $146,000,000.

The United States Treasury would pay out nothing. But revenues from import duties would be reduced—just as they are reduced by the Cuban sugar tariff differential, drawback privileges and prohibitive tariffs—and this amount would have to be made up in other ways. Some of it could be secured through tariffs on other food products that compete with American agriculture—tropical fruits, for instance. If instead of reducing corporation taxes the present schedule of tax rates be retained for a time, the receipts would probably be ample to make up for any decline that might result in import revenues. Surely, industry and labor would profit from improved agricultural conditions far more than from the tax cut that is contemplated at the present time.

Would Food Costs Be Increased?

Food costs need not be increased to any appreciable extent and in many instances not at all The price paid by the consumer bears so little direct relation to the price received by the farmer that the increase

in the wholesale price might be entirely offset by more efficient distribution. For instance, the wheat in the average 8.55 cent loaf of bread costs only 1.15 cents, according to a recent report of the Federal Trade Commission. Allowing the proposed 21 cent increase in the price of a bushel of wheat under the export debenture plan, this would amount to only about .15 part of a cent increase in the cost of the wheat required in the loaf of bread. Since the margin between the baker and the consumer is about 6.5 cents, this added small fraction of a cent in cost could readily be covered through better efficiency in distribution and cause no increase in the retail price of bread.

All Would Benefit

The increased income which would come to farmers with the export debenture plan in operation, would act as a stimulus to the various lines of commercial activity. The farmer must of necessity spend nearly all he makes and the manufacturer, distributor and banker would each get their share of this increased business. But in the process new life would be put into agriculture and the farmer encouraged to go ahead with his program of self help and improved efficiency in production and marketing. The economic structure would again be in more equitable relationship as between the various groups and all would have benefited through the readjustment.

Meets Present Needs Exactly

A shortage in manufactured products of any sort would be an inconvenience; an actual shortage in food would be a tragedy. A reasonable surplus in agricultural products is our insurance against that most dreaded scourge—hunger and famine; and America must never play too close to the edge of its food supply.

Thus it is apparent that, while an agricultural surplus may be the chief cause of the farmer's troubles, nevertheless it is imperative that to some degree one be maintained. The nation requires a reasonable food surplus and what agriculture needs is to be able to dispose of the surplus without loss. Our higher costs of production in America are caused by our higher standards of living, which all enjoy, and these higher standards are due to a number of protective policies.

Our tariff is designed to protect industry to the extent of the difference in cost of production between home and abroad. Agriculture needs the same degree of protection—nothing more. What Alexander Hamilton predicted 135 years ago has come about, and our tariff policy must be rebuilt to include agriculture. Then our surplus in food products will work no injury to anyone, yet will remain the safeguard of a nation's existence.

Exactly this double purpose will be served by the adoption of the Export Debenture Plan which the Grange advocates. Inexpensive, simple and effective, it will adapt tariff benefits to the farmer's needs and will strengthen our entire economic and governmental structure.

It will build up prosperity for the farmer and disturb that of no other group. It is completely in line with all the constructive Grange policies of the past.[1]

With the plan thus well stated and the arguments advanced in support of it, the principal objections offered against it are in order. President Hoover in his letter to Senator McNary protesting against the measure offered ten objections, which briefly stated are as follows:

1. That the issue of such debentures to export merchants, and their redemption in payment of import duties would be in effect a direct subsidy from the United States Treasury amounting to at least $200,000,000 annually.
2. That the results of the plan would operate as a huge gift from the federal government to the dealers and manufacturers and speculators in the commodities affected, the real benefits not going to the farmer.
3. Granting that the farmer did secure the benefit, the effect would be to stimulate overproduction, thereby defeating the aims of the plan.
4. Particularly in the cotton and wheat belts, but to a greater or less degree throughout the entire nation, the trend towards a more diversified agriculture would be severely disturbed.
5. The tendency for the farm board to use all of the authority vested in them would operate, particularly under the pressure of the interested dealers in the commodity.
6. The plan would offer the opportunity for manipulation in the export market, none of which would be of advantage to the farmer
7. The effect of such a subsidy would be to necessitate a revision of import tariffs in order that the foreign manufacturer buying his commodity at a lower price than the American manufacturer, might not have the advantage in our market for his goods.
8. Since export bounties are viewed by some governments as a form of subsidy, retaliatory measures might be expected which would nullify the subsidy given by us.
9. In some instances, the foreign livestock producer would be able to buy his feed for less than the American producer of the same animals An example of such an effect would be to

[1] *The Export Debenture Plan.* The National Grange, pp 2 6.

transfer from the United States to Canada the production of pork products for export to Europe.

10. A large increase in taxes would be the inevitable result, because the plan would substantially deplete the amount of governmental revenue from tariff sources.

In view of these reasons, President Hoover concluded that "the theoretical benefits would not be reflected to the American farmer; that it would create profiteering; that it contains elements which would bring American agriculture into disaster."

Dr. Joseph S Davis of the Food Research Institute at Stanford University, and recently Economist of the Federal Farm Board, has made an intensive study of the plan, and his attitude toward it is revealed in the statement that "in short, our investigation of the probable operation of the debenture plan leads to the conclusion that its shortcomings have been largely overlooked, and that its practical virtues have been gravely, however unintentionally, misrepresented. In our considered judgment, the plan would fail in practice to yield the promised advantages. No one can foretell how well or how badly it would work, but it seems safe to assert that at best it could not be expected to yield more than a portion, and probably only a small fraction, of the gross benefits that are claimed for it, and this at a heavy cost to the Treasury and at the risk of numerous complications, both domestic and international, as well " [1]

3. The Domestic Allotment Plan

One of the most damaging criticisms brought against the "equalization fee" and "export bounty" principles of farm relief is that they contain no adequate machinery to regulate production, and, consequently, that the high prices induced as a result will tend to increase the volume of production to a point where the measure becomes ineffective or occasions revenue losses too staggering to be borne It is in order to get around this difficulty of artificial stimulus to overproduction that the domestic allotment plan has been devised. There are two versions of this plan, the "limited debenture" plan of Dr. W. J. Spillman of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and the "transferable-rights" plan. The latter plan principally is the one to be considered in its main

[1] Davis, J. S. *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

outlines as best illustrating the method of proposed procedure. This "transferable-rights" version of the domestic allotment plan was published for the first time in a volume by Professor John D. Black of Harvard. In presenting it, he states that "the several persons who have discussed this plan and who have worked it into its present form are not sponsors for it, or advocates of it in the sense that the authors of the other plans mostly are. They think, however, that it represents a contribution to the problem, and should be considered along with the other price-raising plans." [1]

A brief résumé of the domestic allotment principle is available in Black's own statement of it:

> The essential principle of the domestic allotment plans is paying producers a price plus the tariff duty for the part of the crop which is consumed in the United States, and a price less the tariff duty for the part of it that is exported, this to be arranged by a system of allotments to individual producers of rights to sell the domestic part of the crop in the domestic market. The object of this arrangement is to remove the stimulus to expansion of production involved in all of the foregoing plans. Any additional production which any grower undertook would have to be sold at the export price level.
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> Under Dr. Spillman's version of the plan, the device for raising prices is an export bounty and the funds for this are raised by requiring the local buyers of the product to buy "debentures," for the full amount of the bounty on all of the product purchased, from local agents of the "Commission" in charge of the plan. The rest of the funds collected are to be paid at the end of the year as a bonus to the individual farmers according to their allotments. It is Dr. Spillman's idea that the bounties paid will be something less than the import duty prevailing. The individual allotments are to the farms and not to the farmers, and are for an unchangeable amount of product. He considers this necessary in order to prevent any expansion of production.
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> Under another version of this plan, no export bounty is paid, but the processors are required to show allotment rights or internal revenue stamps costing the full amount of the tariff duty for all product used in finished product sold in the domestic market. The individual allotments are to be issued before the planting season and in quantity something less than the domestic consumption. The processors will therefore always have to buy revenue stamps for some of their consumption. This will make the allotment rights always worth the amount of the tariff duty.
>
> An essential feature of this second plan is the transferability of the allotment rights. The growers may discount them at a local bank as soon as they receive them and thus obtain an advance which may serve

[1] Black, J. D. *Agricultural Reform in the United States.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1929, p. 271

as production credit, or the growers may instead hold their rights until they deliver their product to the local buyer. The processors will procure the necessary supply of rights either when they purchase their grain or in the open market for them which will necessarily come into existence. There will thus be product moving through the channels of trade both with and without allotment rights attached, with price levels differing by the amount of the tariff duty. If the farmer has a crop failure, he will have his rights to sell and this will constitute some measure of insurance. If he does not care to grow any of the crop in any given year, he can sell his rights to others. This will make possible the shifting of crop production, which is impossible under Dr. Spillman's plan. The rights will be re-issued each year. Local buyers will make out receipts in triplicate when the product is delivered, one copy going to the grower and another to the allotment commission. These receipts will become the basis for not re-issuing rights if a grower does not produce any of the product for a few years, or for reducing the amount of them if his production is declining. The rights will be issued to the operator of the farm rather than to the farm, but jointly with the landlord in case of rented farms.

An earlier version of Dr. Spillman's plan required the local buyer to pay the grower the amount of the tariff duty on all the products he could show allotment rights for and to pay the commission the same amount on the rest, this latter to be used to pay an export bounty at the same rate. Under this arrangement the grower would have received his extra price upon delivery of his product, rather than as a bonus check at the end of the year.

Obviously, the most difficult feature of these plans is the determining of the individual allotments. One proposal calls for having county and township quotas determined by the Division of Crop and Livestock Estimates of the Department of Agriculture on the basis of township average acreages and yields obtained from Federal and State census records and also the records in its own files, and the making of individual allotments on the basis of assessors' annual reports where these are available, and otherwise on the basis of a special census which would cost about $100 per township, or on the basis of a registration which would be required of all farmers considering themselves entitled to an allotment. The allotment list would be published locally in tentative form in order to give anyone a chance to protest [1]

There is sufficient merit in such a plan for it to deserve a wider consideration and the resulting discussion. Some of the features of it are now applied by the Maryland State Milk Producers' Association in that it divides its milk supply into a "basic" portion which is sold to consumers as fluid milk at a higher price

[1] Black, J. D. "Plans for Raising Prices of Farm Products by Government Action." *Annals*, Amer Acad. Pol. and Soc. Science, Vol. CXLII, No. 251 Mar 1929, pp. 382-383.

than the "surplus" milk which comprises all receipts above the quantity required for basic purposes. The surplus milk brings a lower price which the commodity affords in the market for dairy-product uses. Allotments of basic-milk are made to individual producers on the basis of the production in a limited number of months of the year. While the situation is different to that of application on a national scale to agricultural products, the principle has proved beneficial in the limited test to which it has been subjected.

4. The Federal Farm Board

The only special session of Congress called for farm relief was that convened on April 15, 1929, only a few weeks after the inauguration of President Hoover. This was in fulfilment of campaign promises to that effect. The two important measures enacted in this Seventy-first Congress, 1st Session, were the Agricultural Marketing Act, setting up the Federal Farm Board; and the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act. The latter in its relation to the farming industry is discussed in a succeeding chapter on the tariff and agriculture. Here our concern is with the Federal Farm Board as an agency for farm relief.

In its major features, the bill provides for a Federal Farm Board, advisory commodity committees, a revolving fund, and stabilization corporations. The machinery constituted was thus not essentially different to that proposed in the McNary-Haugen bills, the broad objectives were much the same, but the methods by means of which it was hoped to arrive at them were quite different.

In a brief statement from the White House, issued shortly after Mr. Hoover signed the bill, the President characterized the legislation as "the most important measure ever passed by Congress in aid of a single industry." The farm relief bill announced as its purpose that of placing the industry of agriculture upon a basis of economic equality with other industries through promotion of effective merchandising of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce, and the protection, control, and stabilization of the currents of such commerce in the marketing of agricultural commodities and their food products. These ends were to be accomplished by means of minimizing speculation; by preventing inefficient and wasteful methods of distri-

bution; through encouraging the efforts of producers to organize effective associations or corporations, producer-owned and producer-controlled, for the promotion of greater unity in marketing; and by aiding in preventing and controlling surpluses in any agricultural commodity, through orderly production and distribution, so as to maintain advantageous domestic markets and prevent surpluses from causing undue and excessive fluctuations or depressions in prices for the commodity. A surplus is considered for purposes of the act as "any seasonal or year's total surplus, produced in the United States and either local or national in extent, that is in excess of the requirements for the orderly distribution of the agricultural commodity or is in excess of the domestic requirements for such commodity."

The agency charged with the responsibility of the measure is the Federal Farm Board. This body is composed of nine members, eight appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and the Secretary of Agriculture, ex officio. The salary of these officials is $12,000 annually, one of them designated by the President functioning as Chairman. The Board is authorized to set up advisory commodity committees of seven members, selected by the coöperative associations handling the particular commodity. These committees are, as their name implies, advisory groups furnishing the Board counsel upon its procedure in handling the particular commodity under the power vested in them by the act.

That the central emphasis of the measure is upon the strengthening of coöperative marketing and its possible processes is clearly evident throughout the act. The broad educational duties of the Board as designated are:

"1. to promote education in the principles and practices of coöperative marketing of agricultural commodities and food products thereof.

"2. to encourage the organization, improvement in methods, and development of effective coöperative associations.

"3. to keep advised from any available sources and make reports as to crop prices, experiences, prospects, supply and demand at home and abroad.

"4. to investigate conditions of overproduction of agricultural commodities and advise as to the prevention of such overproduction.

"5. to make investigations and reports and publish the same, including investigations and reports upon the following: Land utilization for agricultural purposes; reduction of the acreage of unprofitable marginal lands in cultivation; methods of expanding markets at home and abroad for agricultural commodities and food products thereof; methods of developing by-products of and new uses for agricultural commodities; and transportation conditions and their effect upon the marketing of agricultural commodities"

That some of these functions duplicate those already provided in the Federal Department of Agriculture is evident in the fifth item of section 4 of the bill as just quoted. However, it has been made clear that the Board has no intention of inadvisedly invading the domain of that splendid branch of the national government, and the membership of the Secretary of Agriculture on the Federal Farm Board is further insurance to that effect The division dealing with coöperative marketing, heretofore lodged in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in the United States Department of Agriculture, under the necessity of the purposes of the act has been constituted a part of the Farm Board.

Loans are authorized to coöperative associations and their stabilization corporations for a number of designated purposes aiding in the preparing, handling, storing, processing, or merchandising of agricultural commodities and their food products Business safeguards are set up about these loans, and the payment of principal or interest upon them is returned to the revolving fund.

Stabilization corporations are provided for in the act. These organizations must be sanctioned by the advisory commodity committee concerned, and the voting stock and membership in them must be owned only and entirely by coöperative associations handling the commodity. The stabilization corporation is established (1) to act as a marketing agency for its stockholders or members, and (2) for the purpose of controlling any surplus in the commodity of a seasonal or total year's nature as defined in the act. Not less than 75 per cent of the profits of a stabilization corporation each year is required to be paid into a merchandising reserve fund. The next moiety goes to pay outstanding loans and accrued interest. When a remainder exists from a full satisfaction of such obligations, a patronage dividend may be distributed to stockholders or members. All losses of these corporations must be

met from their reserves, "or if such reserves are inadequate, then such losses shall be paid by the Board as a loan from the revolving fund. Any amounts so loaned for payment of losses shall be repaid into the revolving fund by the corporation from future profits from its surplus control operations. Any stabilization corporation receiving loans under this subdivision for surplus control operations shall exert every reasonable effort to avoid losses and to secure profits, but shall not withhold any commodity from the domestic market if the prices have become unduly enhanced, resulting in distress to domestic consumers. Stockholders or members of the corporation shall not be subject to assessment for any losses incurred in surplus control operations of the corporation"

The efforts of the Federal Farm Board to further the scope and effectiveness of agricultural coöperation are succinctly set forth in the following statement from that organization:

> Producers of more than 40 farm crops have been definitely assisted in a practical way by the agricultural marketing act through their cooperatives. The new law, passed in June, 1929, has intensified the farmer's interest in coöperative marketing. Farmers are gradually controlling a greater volume of their products as they move through marketing channels to the processor or ultimate consumer. By collective action, growers are extending their marketing system, strengthening their position in bargaining on central markets, developing a credit system that will make them more independent, and improving their chances of adjusting production to prevent troublesome surpluses.
>
> Officially, the United States is definitely committed to the principles of coöperative marketing. The policy of the Federal Government to aid with men and money in the establishment of producer-owned and producer-controlled coöperative market organizations is enabling farmers to take another essential step—the development of national commodity-selling agencies.
>
> *Producers Are Competitors*
>
> Producers of farm products are keen competitors. Despite this competition, it is to the interest of every producer to work with, not against, his neighbor. This is the first step the individual farmer, ranchman, gardener, or orchardist must take to put himself in a position to receive the benefits of the agricultural marketing act.
>
> The law provides that the Farm Board shall deal with producers through their coöperative organizations rather than with individuals. It is a law designed to give farmers governmental aid in order that they may help themselves. The Farm Board is assisting farmers in setting up their own coöperative organizations and is not doing the job for

them. All coöperative marketing agencies are owned by the farmers and are not in any sense governmental agencies.

The agricultural marketing act directs the Federal Farm Board to designate as a commodity any farm product or group of products whose use and marketing methods are similar. With this definition as a guide, the board has thus far designated 12 commodities. They are: (1) cotton; (2) dairy products including fluid milk, cream, cheese, condensed milk butter ice cream, evaporated milk, whole and skim milk powder; (3) wheat; (4) rice; (5) livestock, including cattle, hogs, sheep, goats; (6) wool and mohair; (7) tobacco; (8) poultry and eggs; (9) seeds, including alfalfa, clover, timothy, red top and other field seeds; (10) potatoes; (11) coarse grains, including corn, oats, rye, barley, flax, grain sorghums, and buckwheat; (12) sugar beets and sugarcane.

In general, central marketing is being developed under a plan whereby each cooperatively handled commodity of the country will be under the control of a single farmer-owned and farmer-controlled organization, thus giving growers a chance to have something to say about the selling price of their products.

Board Supports One National

It is the policy of the Federal Farm Board to approve and to support only one national commodity-selling plan and organization. This is done in order to bring a large volume of a commodity under the control of one management, to avoid duplication of coöperative marketing facilities, and to eliminate the wasteful competition that naturally develops where there is more than one central agency. The board is recognizing, for example, only one national organization for grain, one for livestock, one for cotton, one for wool and mohair, and one for pecans

Already this national plan is being used in selling 16 different farm crops. Since the agricultural marketing act was passed, seven national agencies have been established by coöperatives with the aid of the Federal Farm Board They are: Farmers National Grain Corporation, American Cotton Cooperative Association, National Livestock Marketing Association, National Wool Marketing Corporation, National Pecan Association, National Bean Marketing Association, and National Beet Growers Association. All of these organizations are incorporated under the laws of Delaware The first six of the nationals are sales agencies. The seven nationals represent 18 crops, most of the main ones grown in this country—wheat, corn, oats, barley rye, buckwheat, flax, grain sorghums, wool, mohair cotton, cattle, hogs, sheep, goats, pecans, dry beans and sugar beets.

Five Nationals in Operation

Five of these nationals already are operating, marketing grain, cotton, livestock, wool and mohair, and pecans.

The board gives counsel and financial assistance to the national

agencies with the hope that producers, through them, will gain control of a sufficient volume of the various commodities to have bargaining power in marketing. Great care has been taken to see that these agencies are set up on a sound financial basis so that they may grow in strength and in time be in a position to take care of themselves without further assistance from the Government.

Growers' coöperatives handling the following farm crops, not marketed by the existing national agencies, have been given financial or other aid by the Federal Farm Board: Fluid milk, butter, cheese, eggs, chickens, turkeys, tobacco, honey, rice, peanuts, walnuts, grapefruit, oranges, fresh grapes, raisins, figs, berries, pears, plums, apricots, apples, prunes, peaches, sour cherries, potatoes, soybeans, grass seed, lettuce, cabbage, green peas, and beans, and other general truck crops. Producers of these products have not yet reached the national stage in the development of coöperative selling organizations. Some of them, however, have efficient regional marketing coöperatives. A great deal of work is now being done by farmers to develop local and regional coöperatives, leading, in some cases, to the ultimate establishment of single national marketing organizations.

Cooperative Trail Is Long

America's coöperative marketing trail is long; it winds back to the middle of the last century. Farmers began by developing coöperative marketing inside small circles, sometimes handling several crops in one local association. Later they made larger circles to include many locals, often taking in all of the coöperatives handling a particular commodity in a district or region. Then still larger circles were made and several regionals were federated into terminal marketing agencies. All of this was helpful but did not go far enough to reach the main objectives. Finally, the passage of the agricultural marketing act made it possible to draw a single or master circle big enough to take in all of a commodity handled by coöperatives, including locals, districts, regionals, and terminals. Eventually, this is expected to do away with competition among coöperatives handling the same commodity. With the majority of producers inside the master commodity circle, where the sales are controlled by a single national marketing organization, farmers may be able to put agriculture on a basis of economic equality with other industries.

Various Federal and State agricultural agencies are coöperating on a national educational program designed to familiarize farmers with the new developments in coöperative marketing and to encourage more of them to become members of coöperatives. The agencies coöperating in this correlated educational movement include the United States Department of Agriculture, Federal and State extension groups, land-grant colleges and universities, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, State department of agriculture, general farm organizations, and farmers' coöperatives.

The coöperative marketing agencies are financed by the intermediate credit banks, commercial banks, and the Federal Farm Board.

Congress authorized $500,000,000 to be used by the Federal Farm Board as a revolving fund. At the outset $150,000,000 of this amount was appropriated. During its first year of operation the board asked for an additional $100,000,000, making a total appropriation of $250,000,000.

Board Loans to Centrals

The board has adopted the policy of making loans to central coöperatives, such as regionals and nationals, wherever they exist, instead of lending directly to member associations. In the absence of national marketing organizations, the board advances money directly to qualified coöperatives, requiring that these associations become affiliated with a national when one is formed. Where there is no national agency to represent a commodity, the Federal Farm Board furnishes application blanks to the coöperatives seeking a loan. There are also furnished the necessary forms of exhibits which will develop the detailed information that should be before the board when it considers the application of an association for a loan.

The Farm Board loans money to coöperatives at a limited rate of interest—"In no case shall the rate exceed 4 per cent per annum on the unpaid principal." Where the national or central coöperative agencies borrow the money from the Federal Farm Board they in turn loan it to district or local coöperatives at a slightly higher rate of interest to cover handling charges and to build up the reserves of the national or central in which ownership is shared by farmer members in proportion to their patronage.

A national commodity marketing organization must not be confused with the stabilization corporations provided for in the agricultural marketing act. Their functions are distinctly different. The stabilization corporation is used in an emergency to buy and take off the market some considerable portion of the tonnage so as to relieve the low-price pressure and carry the product until some future date with the hope that there will be a more favorable opportunity for disposing of it.

Two stabilization corporations have been established under the act. They are The Grain Stabilization Corporation, Fisher Building, Chicago, Ill., and The Cotton Stabilization Corporation, 535 Gravier Street, New Orleans, La.

Seven Advisory Committees

Seven advisory commodity committees have been named and certified to the Federal Farm Board, as provided for in the agricultural marketing act. They represent wheat, coarse grains, cotton, wool and mohair, dairy products, livestock, and sugar beets and sugarcane. These committees are selected by farmers' coöperatives at the invitation of the Farm Board. The manner of selection is prescribed by the board. Each committee is composed of seven members; the act requires that two

members shall be experienced handlers or processors of the commodity. These advisory committees represent commodities before the Farm Board.[1]

Early in its development, the Federal Farm Board established two stabilization corporations, the Grain Stabilization Corporation and the Cotton Stabilization Corporation. Although the efforts of the Board to improve prices of wheat and cotton through loans on those commodities at definite levels, and to control surpluses through the purchasing and holding activities of the stabilization corporations undoubtedly exerted a temporary beneficial effect upon the market, as the following account shows, heavy losses were incurred and the Board has become financially unable and wary of embarking upon further stabilization corporation experimentation:

> Withdrawal from the market, for a few months at least, of the wheat and cotton held by the Federal Farm Board marks a new chapter in the story of that body, now three years old. The course of the board has been stormy, coinciding with the period of declining prices for farm products and commodities and a narrowing market. Now the board finds itself with a relatively small cash reserve and unable to give the same assistance to cooperative marketing organizations which it had formerly given.
>
> The Farm Board came into existence as a result of the Republican party's 1928 campaign promises to the farmer. The chief points in the program were revision upward of the tariff on agricultural imports and federal assistance in the marketing of farm products "on sounder and more stable and more economic lines."
>
> No time was lost in carrying out these pledges. In June, 1929, a bill created a Farm Board of nine members, with authority "to promote the effective merchandising of agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce" and to encourage "the organization of producers into effective associations or coöperatives for greater unity of effort in marketing." The bill authorized the appropriation of $500,000,000 as a revolving fund, to be available for these purposes. It also provided that the board might create "stabilization corporations" empowered to "purchase, handle, store, process and merchandise" any commodity in which a surplus threatened unduly to depress prices.

Aid to Coöperatives

In the summer of 1929 the Farm Board was chiefly concerned in aiding existing coöperative farm groups to organize agencies for the unified marketing of such commodities as grain, cotton, wool and live

[1] *Farmers Build Their Marketing Machinery.* Bull. No. 3, Federal Farm Board, Dec., 1930, pp. 1–5.

stock Prices of these commodities kept declining, and in October, at the time of the stock market crash, the board considered that an emergency existed and announced its readiness to lend to cotton cooperatives on their holdings at an average of 16 cents a pound, and to wheat cooperatives on their holdings at $1 18 a bushel in Chicago and $1.25 in Minneapolis.

Prices continued to decline, by February 1930, wheat had dropped below 99 cents and during this time the board was lending to cooperatives from 5 to 20 cents more per bushel than wheat was worth in the market The cooperatives could not sell their wheat for enough to repay their loans

In these circumstances the board found it necessary to set up a Grain Stabilization Corporation, with an initial loan of $10,000,000, to buy wheat from the cooperatives at the price at which it had lent its funds It also tried to support the market by purchasing cash wheat, as well as futures Its activities were shortly extended to the buying of cotton.

Purchases of Wheat

By June, 1931, the board through the Grain Stabilization Corporation had bought up 329,641,052 bushels of wheat at a cost of $270,204,503. From this amount 72,504,481 bushels were disposed of up to June 30, 1931, leaving the board in control of 257,136,571 bushels acquired at an average price of 82 cents a bushel exclusive of carrying charges. By Oct 31, 1931, wheat held by the board had been reduced to 189 656,187 bushels, representing an investment of $1.17 a bushel, including purchase cost storage charges and losses sustained on amounts already disposed of The "paper loss" to the board on its wheat transactions on that date was $102,000,000, based on current quotations

Between July and November, 1931 the board disposed of 47,000,000 bushels of wheat to foreign governments It now has about 3,000 000 bushels on hand

Of cotton, the Farm Board on Oct 31, 1931 held 1,310,789 bales, which represented an investment of 18 cents a pound, or about $120,000,000. The loss on the cotton transactions at the time was placed by the board at $75,000,000 Testifying recently before a subcommittee of the House, Chairman James C Stone of the board placed the "deficit" on cotton stabilization operations at market values of March 31, 1932 at $82,100 000, and on wheat stabilization operations at $144,518,000 The board's cotton holdings are estimated at about 2,000,000 bales, Congress having recently appropriated 500,000 bales for the relief of distress.

Advances to Borrowers

From its $500,000,000 revolving fund the board on July 31, 1932, had made total advances to eligible borrowers of $1,035,000,000, including sums repaid and subsequently re-lent Of the total advances

$353,000,000 was in loans to coöperatives, and $677,000,000 went to finance the operations of the wheat and cotton stabilization corporations. Of the advances made to coöperatives $188,000,000 had been repaid by July 31, last, as had $363,000,000 of the amount devoted to wheat and cotton purchasing.

This left $170,000,000 of the $358,000,000 in loans to coöperatives outstanding on that date, together with $314,000,000 of the $677,000,000 for stabilization corporation financing, or a total of $484,000,000 still to be collected.

Because of the Farm Board's lack of funds—its readily available cash has dwindled to between $20,000,000 and $25,000,000—coöperatives are finding it necessary to turn to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation for assistance.[1]

The efforts of the Board to promote coöperative marketing on a national scale, as well as to strengthen the local associations which are the constituent members of the larger organizations appear to have made substantial progress. Its continued functioning along these lines, promises further substantial achievement in this direction. However, with all of its broader powers, it does not seem to be constructed along lines which are calculated to remedy the crux of the farm problem which has been found to reside in the wide difference in the ratio between the prices received by the farmer for his products and the prices paid for the things he must buy. No steps have been taken which cannot be retraced without national disaster, no matter how vigorous the criticism of neglect of radical experimentation with perhaps larger advantage to the national welfare. Further developments may indicate the need of more radical measures. Certain it is that the right of agriculture to equality with other industries will remain a leading national issue until the matter is satisfactorily accommodated.

QUESTIONS

1. State the general line of reasoning of those who contend that the solution of the farmer's difficulties resides almost solely in his own efforts; of those who believe that national policies are discriminatory against the agricultural interests and reform is to be achieved only with the aid of far-reaching national legislation.
2. Outline briefly the history of the McNary-Haugen plan before the Congress of the United States.
3. In the opinion of George N. Peek, the originator of the "equalization fee" idea, what are the conditions which necessitate and justify such a measure?
4. Using wheat as the commodity concerned, explain through the use of a

[1] Sunday *New York Times*, September 11, 1932, p. xx 5.

hypothetical example how it is expected by the advocates of the measure that the "equalization fee" plan would operate to make the tariff on wheat effective.

5. Name the six "major weaknesses and perils" which President Coolidge advanced in his second veto message regarding the McNary-Haugen bill.
6. Discuss the validity of the unconstitutionality and price-fixing arguments against the McNary-Haugen plan.
7. Summarize the case for and against the "equalization fee" plan of farm relief.
8. Who first outlined the "export debenture plan" of farm relief in preliminary form, and from what source did he obtain the suggestion for it?
9. Trace the legislative history of the "export debenture plan" before the national Congress
10. Explain how in the opinion of its proponents the "export debenture plan" would operate to raise the price of an agricultural commodity of which this country produces an exportable surplus.
11. To what extent may the "export debenture plan" be considered a subsidy to agriculture?
12. State President Hoover's ten objections to the "export debenture plan."
13. Summarize the arguments for and against the "export debenture" idea.
14. What is the essential principle of the "domestic allotment plan," and what is the object of such an arrangement?
15. Explain how its proponents expect that the "domestic allotment plan" would operate, and mention its most difficult feature to carry out.
16. What are the major parts of the machinery set up by the Agricultural Marketing Act enacted in June, 1929?
17. What is the Federal Farm Board, and what are its objectives under the Agricultural Marketing Act?
18. State what is meant by a "stabilization corporation" under the terms of the act, and discuss the effectiveness of such an agency as revealed by the clipping quoted from the columns of the *New York Times*.
19. Why does the Federal Farm Board place so much emphasis upon coöperative marketing associations, and how does it plan to strengthen agricultural coöperation?
20. Summarize the principal achievements and failures of the Federal Farm Board in its attempt to improve the agricultural situation.

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

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2. Coolidge, Calvin. *Veto Message Relating to the Agriculture Surplus Control Act*. 70th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document No. 141, 1928, pp. 1–30.
3. Capper, Arthur. "Some Essentials of a Farm Relief Plan" *Annals*, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. CXLII, March, 1929, pp. 318–321.

4. STEWART, C. L. *Agricultural Relief Hearings (Export Debenture Plan).* Hearings before the Committee on Agriculture, House of Representatives, 70th Congress, 1st Session, Serial E, Part 5, pp. 359–391, "Statement of Dr. Charles L. Stewart, Urbana, Ill."
5. DAVIS, J. S. *The Farm Export Debenture Plan.* Food Research Institute Stanford University, 1929, Chapter X, pp. 242–265, "Concluding Considerations."
6. BLACK, J. D. *Agricultural Reform in the United States.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1929, Chapter X, pp. 271–301, "The Domestic Allotment Plan."
7. *Federal Farm Board. Questions and Answers* Federal Farm Board, Circular No. 1, March, 1930.
8. *Agricultural Marketing Act.* 71st Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document No. 17, 1929, pp. 1–10.

CHAPTER VI

THE FARM MANAGEMENT PROBLEM

It is well recognized that to a considerable extent in any program of effective farm relief the farmer must largely work out his own salvation. Of course there must be concerted action on the part of individual farmers, but in an ideal system, each farm must be properly organized and managed in accord with certain fairly clearly defined principles of scientific farm management. Farm management has been defined [1] as the utilization of sound principles in the selection, organization, and conduct of an individual farm business for the purpose of obtaining the greatest possible profit. Investigations into this evolving subject focus upon the determination of facts and principles which will aid individual farmers in working out the most profitable organization of their farms. Two points [2] of view are outstanding in this connection, the first being how to organize the most profitable business on a particular farm without changing the area, and the second how to organize the most profitable farm business for a particular farmer assuming that he can change the area of his farm or move to a more desirable farm if the possibilities of his present business are too limited.

A thorough treatment of farm management involves such matters [3] as the principles and factors involved in selecting farming as a business to enter, the specific type of farming to engage upon, selecting the farm, securing capital and credit, and organizing the business for operation, as well as equipping the enterprise. Also, it includes directing crop and stock enterprises so as to obtain the greatest possible continuous net profits, handling farm labor, keeping accurate accounts of the venture, and efficient sale of the resulting products. Some phases of this field of agricultural economics are considered in other chapters and it is not necessary

[1] Adams, R. L. *Farm Management.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1921, p. 1.
[2] Myers, W. I. "The Results of Farm Management Research in the Northeastern United States." *Proceedings,* Second International Conference of Agricultural Economists. George Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wis. 1930, pp. 841–864.
[3] Adams, R. L. *Op. cit.,* p. 2.

to discuss them here. It must be apparent that only high points with regard to the other phases of farm management may be briefly touched upon within the space available. However, the succeeding sections will point to the importance of an adequate understanding of the science of farm management for the one who would be a really successful farmer.

1. Farming as an Occupation

The vocational choice of an individual is one of the most important decisions in life. Vocational guidance today is in a very imperfect stage, but its objectives are soundly based. As complete knowledge as possible should accompany and determine the choice of one's occupation. In American life there is a wide opportunity for selection, and every young man in making his choice has fewer restrictions except such as are self-imposed than is true of any other country in the world. Some sage advice along these lines is offered by Warren,[1] who says in part "That each person should choose the occupation in which he will be of most use in the world. Even from the selfish standpoint this is usually best. The ultimate rewards in money and in pleasure are usually largest when one is doing the work that he can best do. If one is sure that he prefers some other occupation and that he has a fair chance of success in it, he should certainly not be a farmer. But, in many instances, the dislike of farming is merely a 'case of the blues.' Periods of discouragement come to every one regardless of his occupation; a change of occupation will not prevent them. There is no occupation that looks good when one is considering all its disadvantages. Unfortunately, human nature is such that we are likely to see the bright side of the other man's work and the dull side of ours. If one is to succeed in any occupation, he must learn to work when he had rather not, and to keep at it even if he is tired. Farming is not an easy task. It is worth while. It is worthy of a man. It combines physical labor with thought, so that it calls for an all-around development. It is not advised that any young man be a farmer. It may be very much better for him to leave the farm, but before leaving the farm he should consider both sides of the question." And if his coolly reasoned decision is to be a farmer, he should prepare in educational equipment for the business of farming.

In recent years, the tendency has been too much for everyone

[1] Warren, G. F. *Farm Management*. Macmillan. 1919, pp. 41–42.

who could get away from the farm to do so. If the advantages of farming and the certainty and stability of farming as a business and a mode of life are weighed against the uncertainty and tenuousness of much that the city seems to offer, it is believed that many who leave the farm so quickly would find in it a more satisfactory life than at first they would seem to think. Such a point of view is emphasized at a time when millions of those in the cities are unemployed, and dependent upon charity for their very existence. The advantages of farming are well stated as follows:

1. A man working for himself may acquire greater independence than when working for another.
2. There are many opportunities for small investments.
3. Money properly invested in the country will furnish the investor a maximum of employment.
4. The work is varied and out-of-doors.
5. A good wife is a distinct asset on the farm. There is work which women and children can do with both profit and pleasure.
6. There is more chance for a mediocre man to succeed, because there are opportunities for employment, small investments, and small businesses.
7. Agriculture will apparently suffer more abuse through unintelligent operation than any other business and still return a living.
8. Country life brings about closer relationships between men, and results in more true friends.
9. A man's house is his home, and because of that, the farmer usually both makes a better citizen and raises better citizens.
10. The longer a man resides in the country, the more valuable he becomes, since the more experience a man has, the greater is his producing value. A man who has grown potatoes for ten years can grow them better than the man who has grown them but one year.[1]

2. Selecting a Farm

Quite often the selection of the farm is decided upon when the determination is made to enter farming as a life undertaking. But such an important matter should not be left to chance nor should the selection be made in a haphazard manner. Usually when an individual selects the farm he will operate, particularly when he is to own the farm, he selects the spot and the community in which he is to spend his entire life. This fact makes the decision a much more important one than merely that of choosing a good investment, with the likelihood of enhancement in value as the years go by.

[1] Adams, R. L. *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

To achieve success in the farming enterprise, it is essential to take cognizance of the following three vitally important factors: [1] (1) opportunity for a paying size or volume of business; (2) a type of soil that will yield returns that more than cover the cost of production; and (3) suitable conditions, both as to natural resources and environment and as to markets, to permit the development of a dependable organization of diversified activities. Such factors of course must be determined in relation to the capital available, whether the individual wishes to own or to rent the farm, social conditions in the community, the future of the region, the healthfulness of the climate and water supply, the topography and soil adaptations, as well as personal preferences and other factors.

The federal government has prepared a suggestive score card by which the different farms under consideration may be rated as to their particular merits and adaptations to the purposes in mind. While it is not intended to be all inclusive, to reproduce it here will serve in condensed form to indicate the numerous factors which must be weighed in this important concern of the person who would farm successfully

Blank Form for Use in Selecting a Farm [2]

Location of farm .....
Owner.....
Address.....
Distance to shipping station.....; to trading center.....
Condition of roads.....; in winter.....in spring.....
Distance to schools and churches.....; to nearest neighbor.....
Is telephone available?.....R.F.D.?.....
Electric current for lighting . . . .; for power.....
Total area of farm. ....; acres in crops.....acres that can be used for crops.....; acres in pasture.... ... ,acres in woods..... . ; acres in waste land..... ...; in roads, buildings, lots, swamps, lakes, etc..... ....; acres in stump or brush land..... Kind of timber... .....; ease in getting out timber or wood.....
... .
Topography as regards economy of cultivation.....
irrigation..... .....; danger from erosion or sliding.....
....; flooding.....
Natural fertility as evidenced by kind of forest growth and native vegetation .....
Present condition of fertility as evidenced by growth of crops or weeds.....
.....
Physical condition of the soil.....; adaptability to legumes.....; adaptability to all kinds of crops.....

[1] Thomson, E. H. *Selecting a Farm.* Farmers' Bull. 1088, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1322, p. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 24–25.

Natural drainage.....Artificial drainage .....
Depth of soil..... Kind of surface soil.....
Kind of subsoil.....
Water supply: Source.....; quantity in dry summer months or during winter months.....; cost of upkeep.....; supply in pastures.....
Buildings as suited to kind of farming.....; adaptability to another type of farming .....; cost of upkeep .....; arrangement for economy of work.....; desirability of dwelling as a home.....; condition of fences.....; kind as regards cost of upkeep.....; farm highways.... ; shape of field .....; nearness to farmstead.....
Kind of orchards.....; condition.....
Adequacy of trees for home use .....
Climate; as to growing season .....; days available for farm work .....; healthfulness .....
Neighborhood; character of people .....available labor supply .....
Possibility of increase or decrease in value of land.....
Possibility of selling farm.....
Possibility of renting farm .....
Desirability of farm as a strictly business investment.....
Desirability of farm as a home or place to retire .....
Adaptability of farm to changing economic conditions necessitating change of type.....
Adaptability of farm for enlargement of business.....
Adaptability of farm for diversification or improved organization of the business.....
Adaptability of the farm for high yields of crops and desirability for livestock production.....
Sureness of market for major crops grown.....
History of farm as regards management of land with respect to keeping up fertility .....
History of region as to development and speculation in lands as affecting present price.....
Number of other well-developed farms in immediate vicinity which are successful .....; How long have they been farmed?.....
What are some of the operators' difficulties?.....
How soon can the farm be made a going concern?.....

3. Organization and Management

When the matter of selecting a farm has been determined, it is necessary to decide upon the *type of farming* which will be pursued. To a considerable extent this will relate to the prevailing type of farming pursued in the community in which the particular farm is located. The established types of farming and methods of operation are a good general guide as to those most profitable to a given area, but it by no means follows that traditional practices are best. The individual farmer must thoroughly view the matter

objectively and decide upon the kind of venture it will be most profitable for him to embark upon. A *type of farming* has been defined "as a form of organization and a method of operation representative of a group of farms in which there is a high degree of uniformity in such essential factors as selection of enterprises, farm practice, and method of disposal of products." [1] By *farm organization* is meant the form which the farm business takes with regard to size, productive factors used, lines of production engaged in, and the general policies which are followed. By *management* is meant, as already stated, the practical operation or running of the farm as a business concern.

In determining the type of farming, one of the most important principles to be considered is that of *specialization* according to the principle or *law of comparative advantage*. Not only does this principle apply to the particular farm or locality, but also to a nation in its international relationships.

In the South, cotton and many other crops may be grown In the Middle West corn, pork, and other agricultural interests flourish, but not so numerous a list as characterizes the milder climate farther south. Certainly cotton cannot be grown in Ohio, because of the shorter length of the growing season and the lack of sufficient heat units Then as between the South and Ohio, the comparative advantage in the growing of cotton is with the warmer southern area. Since Ohio cannot grow cotton, the logical inference is that the South should grow cotton, and that in considerable measure it should buy from Ohio pork and corn with the returns from the sale of cotton. Reciprocally, Ohio, growing corn and pork, sells these products and purchases cotton goods originating from Southern fields. Each region will specialize in the crops and livestock interests for which it has the comparative advantage.

Today, in the Cotton Belt, the more fertile lands of the western part of the cotton-growing area can produce the crop much more economically than in the eastern part Unless through improved quality of fiber and a greater efficiency in production the more easterly region overcomes the present comparative advantage of the West Texas and Oklahoma areas, marked readjustments of Southeastern agriculture are likely to occur in which large areas

[1] Holmes, C. L. *Economics of Farm Organization and Management*. D. C. Heath & Co. 1928, p 45.

now devoted to cotton growing are abandoned altogether or changed to the growing of other crops.

Thus within the nation as well as internationally the principle of comparative advantage operates to determine the type of agriculture prevailing. Reducing this situation to a generalized statement, it may be said that "*each area tends to produce those products for which its ratio of advantage is greatest as compared with other areas, or its ratio of disadvantage is least, up to the point where the land may be needed by some products less advantaged in the area in order to meet the demand for them at such prices as will come to prevail under such circumstances*" [1]

The term "tends" is used advisedly; for few if any economic principles are unfailing in their action In the example used as between the South with cotton, and the Middle West with corn and pork there are those who contend with a large measure of validity that since the South grows too much cotton and thereby depresses the price of the commodity, the region would do well to increase its emphasis on corn and other feed crops and thereby automatically decrease the acreage devoted to cotton. However, such an argument does not vitiate the principle of comparative advantage in its general application. The focus is made more sharply upon the comparative advantage among the various acres and crop interests in the South itself.

In determining upon the crop and livestock interests which are to engage the attention of the individual farmer, it is well to bear in mind that the several lines of production vary in their demands upon the resources of the farmer. Such crops as tobacco and cotton make labor demands throughout a good part of the year, while others like wheat and hay are much more limited in the time required for planting and harvesting. Those crops which call for attention at the same time of the year are known as *competing crops* On the contrary, those for which the labor, horses, and machinery of the farm do not seriously conflict, are known as *supplementary*. For example, corn, cotton, tobacco, sugar beets, and potatoes may be cited as competitive in nature because their proper cultivation and harvesting seriously conflict in their demands for attention. Corn and oats may be cited as examples of supplementary crops. Corn calls especially for cultivation in spring and early summer, and then again for harvesting in the fall.

[1] Black, J. D. *Production Economics*. Henry Holt, 1926, p. 137.

Oats may be planted in the fall at a time not conflicting with the harvesting of corn, or when seeded in the spring, this work may be done before time to plant corn. In harvesting, the labor on the grain may be made to fit in conveniently with the schedule of cultivation of the corn. Again, different farming interests evidence a *complementary* relationship when as in the case of crops and livestock, they make a definite contribution to each other. "Crops and livestock are frequently mutually complementary, as crops furnish feed for livestock, and livestock in turn furnish fertility for the crops. Complementary relations are evident between legumes and other crops included in a rotation The legumes help to build up the soil for the production of other crops in a rotation and the legumes receive protection from small grains when used as a nurse crop. Such a relationship is not subject to exact measurement, but it must be given proper consideration in determining what enterprises to include in a farming system to secure the greatest long-time returns." [1]

It is in these supplementary and complementary relationships of different enterprises possible for the given farmer that the arguments for diversified farming in considerable measure find their justification. Specialized farming pays when it finds employment for men, horses, and equipment throughout the year, or when extra labor is not difficult to secure. In special instances a product may be limited in the amount available for the market in which case the farmer may secure more net returns from a part of the year's work in growing that crop instead of others which might call for attention throughout the entire year. However, a number of considerations apply which make it better that the vast majority of farmers should grow several important products. Warren [2] points out that diversification of interests on a farm is of advantage because: (1) It makes possible the *rotation of crops*. Different crops make differing demands upon soil fertility, and also they vary in their contributions to soil fertility. By a well-planned rotation this important factor of the soil may best be conserved. (2) Diversified farming *reduces the risk of total failure.* If all of the farmer's land is in cotton, and the year is a bad one for the production of cotton or the market price is such as to occasion a loss, then "all of the farmer's eggs are in one basket," and they

[1] Taylor, H. C. *Outlines of Agricultural Economics.* Macmillan, 1951, p. 39.
[2] Warren, G. F. *Farm Management.* Macmillan, 1922, pp. 107–109.

are spilled as a result of unfavorable circumstances. The same would hold true of the farmer who relied too largely upon wheat, tobacco, apples, or any other one crop. (3) It *distributes the income throughout the year*. Not all of the farmer's bills can most advantageously be made to fall due at one season of the year, and if such is the case it is best that his income should be distributed throughout the year so that these may be met when due without carrying heavy and often unreasonable interest charges. (4) Diversified farming usually provides a *better distribution of labor demands throughout the year*. To have men, horses, and machinery idle through extended or even numerous short periods in the year means to lose returns which in the aggregate are considerable. An intelligent diversification of farming interests substantially overcomes any such disadvantage.

These few of the more significant considerations entering into the planning and operation of the individual farming enterprise serve to illustrate the basic nature of factors which the farmer who would be successful must carefully weigh in embarking upon his venture. It is obviously impossible to discuss within brief compass the number of others, or to elaborate as fully as one would like upon those already mentioned. It is possible, however, to state a general principle of choice, which while not universal in its application may well serve to test most of the cases which come up for decision. One of our best seasoned agricultural economists says in this connection that "everything considered, let a farmer choose as the principal lines of production those which will add most to his net returns and let him combine as many enterprises of a supplementary or complementary character as will add enough to the total returns of the farm to make it worth while to devote his time to them rather than use it for self-improvement or the enjoyment of life." [1]

4. Size of Farm

The size of farm which can be operated is contingent in considerable degree upon three principal factors: the amount of capital which the farmer may command, the amount of labor which is available, and the managerial ability of the individual farmer. In this country, land is not usually a severely limiting factor, for if the farmer has enough capital at his command, he can secure the

[1] Taylor, H. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 48–49

land he requires. The same situation in general is true with regard to labor. There are times and localities in which labor is limited, but customarily if the farmer is willing and able to pay high enough wages he may secure the labor which his extending farming interests require. In the matter of managerial ability we have a much more restrictive factor. It has often been true that farmers who did well on smaller farms, and were thoroughly capable of managing them, have met with disaster in the attempts to manage larger farm enterprises.

Viewed from the standpoint of the individual farm operator, the best size of farm is that which he can manage most efficiently.[1] As the matter has worked out in this country, with the vast majority of our farmers this is a one- or two-man farm. This is what is known as the family-farm, or one of such size that the farm family does most of the farm work, assisted by some hired labor when necessary. Thus the typical farm in American rural life today may be characterized as the "family-farm." Naturally, such farms expressed in acres vary in size in the different portions of the nation, and vary even in the same section due to the type of farming which is pursued. Spillman believes that "a principal reason for the small size of the average farm is the fact that the majority of young men who start out in the business are short of capital, and the average profits in farming are so small that the average farmer's accumulations during his active life as a farmer do not permit him to own a large farm." [2] Coupled with this, of course, are matters of the limited knowledge of our farmers, altogether too generally, regarding the principles of scientific farm management. For example, they accept the size of farm they have inherited or the prevailing customs in that regard in a given locality just as a matter of course without much scientific experimentation in the way of extending the area which they operate.

A few years ago, more than at the present time, we heard a great deal about the delights of farming on a few acres. It is easily possible to overemphasize such a European tendency, with its intensive utilization of land and its lavish use of labor, in an American environment where labor is the more expensive or dearer of these factors of production. In discussing this situation, Warren [3]

[1] Spillman, W. J. *Farm Management*. Orange Judd Publishing Company, 1923, p. 306.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 305.
[3] Warren, G. F. *Op. cit.*, p. 242.

points out that "such interesting titles as 'Three Acres and Liberty,' 'Ten Acres Enough' and 'Five Acres Too Much' have appeared, and now we have a 'Little Farm Magazine.' Five acres is enough for some types of farming. It might be even too much if it were all in greenhouses. But the cases where so small an area is enough for a good business are cases in which as much capital is usually invested as is common on a 200-acre farm." But, he continues, "such books are nearly always written by someone who has a comfortable income from some other source than the farm. Three acres is a very delightful place for a home, when one has a sure income, but three acres as a business proposition is different. The same idea has even broken out in poetry about a 'Little-farm-well-tilled.' There may be less poetry, but there is a better living in a large farm well managed."

Any such tendency coming to prevail widely in our system of agriculture would lead to peasant levels of existence characterizing the small-sized farmers of Europe and the Orient. The degree of congestion of population which we ultimately reach will be a considerable factor in determining the direction of agricultural evolution along these lines. There are many who profess to see in this tendency a peril to the future of American agriculture. Quite in contrast to this point of view is that held by those who contend that the farm of tomorrow will assume the proportions of large agricultural corporations, applying the methods of modern giant business concerns to the tasks of farming and that in the process, the fine influences of the rural community made up of owner-operator farms will be permanently lost. In spite of a recent report of the United States Chamber of Commerce to the effect that such fears are at least premature, that corporation farming still is a negligible factor in the social organization of rural communities, and that it is doubtful whether corporation-operated farms ever will seriously encroach upon the small units,[1] brief consideration[2] of the arguments for and against such a development has more than mere academic significance.

There is a school of thought on American farming trends who share the view of Robert S. Brookings to the effect that: "My own opinion is that the best means of hastening the present slow

[1] *Large-scale Farming.* Agric. Service Dept., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1929.

[2] See, Wilson, *The Place of Agriculture in American Life.* Macmillan, 1930, pp. 289-292.

and harrowing process of agricultural regeneration is by the formation of agricultural corporations which will accomplish in organization and management what big business has accomplished for industry. Following the method pursued in the organization of the United States Steel Corporation, the most inefficient farms, which as now operated are worth less than nothing, would be paid for in safe bonds of the 'Agricultural Corporation' with some regard for their *potential value:* and the most efficient farms would receive their full present value in the same bonds, and their efficient managers become the department managers of the corporation." [1] It is the opinion of Mr. Brookings that such an arrangement would combine the advantages of large unit farming with the additional advantages of efficient management, and that the net result would be to lower greatly the present low cost of production of the most efficient farmers. The securities of such corporations would as a consequence become extensive and safe forms of investment inviting the capital of investors throughout this and other countries, just as is now true of the large manufacturing concerns.

Henry Ford is another advocate of the same idea in a somewhat different form. He advocates decentralization of industries, locating units of the larger parent industry in small towns, and coördinating farm and factory labor, so that the small farmer may have continuous employment with good results in both factory and farm. At Northville, Mr Ford has turned an old mill into a valve shop, and he says of the experiment: "We have not drawn men from the farms,—we have added industry to farming—we give any man a leave of absence to work on his farm, but with the aid of machinery these farmers are out of the shops a surprisingly short while." [2]

In speaking of the application of such a method to his own farm at Dearborn, Mr. Ford says: "In plowing time we string fifty or sixty tractors in a line. They are run by men taken out of factories and paid the usual factory wage. All the essential operations of the farm are done in this fashion, and altogether we do about fifteen days' work a year—and keep the land in a high state of productivity." [3] The view taken by Mr. Ford, based on these

[1] Brookings, Robert S. *Agricultural Corporations.* Judd & Detweiler Press, Washington, D.C., 1928, pp. 7–8.
[2] Ford, Henry. *Today and Tomorrow.* Doubleday, 1926, pp. 141–142.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

experiments and his long experience in handling the affairs of gigantic business concerns, is that "the moment the farmer considers himself as an industrialist, with a horror of waste, either in material or in men, then we are going to have farm products so low-priced that all will have enough to eat, and the profits will be so satisfactory that farming will be considered as among the least hazardous and most profitable of occupations." [1]

The application of corporation procedure to farming as a solution of present difficulties and a forecast of the future is the logical thought process of the big business man, and both Messrs. Ford and Brookings are or have been such. Professor James E. Boyle [2] of Cornell University says that such large-scale agricultural corporations may be divided into two classes, those that have failed, and those that will fail. While admitting that there is much in the argument that increased efficiency in the processes of management and scientific methods of production can be applied quite generally in agriculture, close students of agricultural economics, with scarcely a single exception are convinced that the answer is "no" to the query as to whether agricultural production will be organized generally into large factory-like units.[3]

In discussing this situation, Black says: "The large-scale unit would differentiate the various grades of management and put that which has high capacity at the very top, and that which has moderate capacity in charge of departments of the enterprise, and use the lowest grade of management for ordinary farm labor. But such a system would change practically all of these men from entrepreneurs to hired employees. They would no longer be responsible for the success of the work which they were doing as they are when operating their own farms. Past experience has demonstrated that this is almost if not the only major consideration." [4]

The same critic of the idea points out that ideally, for the purposes of maintaining soil fertility, it is desirable to combine crop and livestock farming. But such a combination increases to the point of impracticality the large-scale corporation farming. Also,

[1] Ford, Henry. *My Life and Work*. Doubleday, 1923, pp. 15-16.
[2] In *The Country Life of the Nation*, edited by Wilson Gee, U. of North Carolina Press, 1929, p. 7.
[3] Black, John D. *Agricultural Reform in the United States*. McGraw-Hill Co., 1929, Chapter XVI.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 372–375.

in these large farming units, the standardization of agricultural operations becomes increasingly difficult from season to season with the diversity of weather which usually prevails.

Of course, the economic factors involved are ultimately the ones which likely will determine the general extent of the trend in this direction, but the social factors at issue are of such significance as to completely change the nature of American rural life; and decidedly for the worse. President Herbert Hoover, himself a big business man in his attitude towards governmental matters, has realized this in his address on August 11, 1928, accepting the Republican nomination for the presidency of the United States: "The whole tendency of our civilization during the last fifty years has been toward an increase in the size of the units of production in order to secure lower costs and a more orderly adjustment of the flow of commodities to the demand. But the organization of agriculture into larger units must not be by enlarged farms. The farmer has shown he can increase the skill of his industry without large operations. He is today producing 20 per cent more than eight years ago with the same acreage and personnel. Farming is and must continue to be an individualistic business of small units and independent ownership The farm is more than a business; it is a state of living. We do not wish it converted into a mass production machine Therefore, if the farmer's position is to be improved by larger operations it must be done not on the farm but in the field of distribution."

If American farming were to become in considerable measure large-scale farming this fine individualistic spirit would have to vanish except among the few, and the resulting type of society would be one approximating the ante-bellum plantation system of the South. As in that system, social stratification would be marked and the distribution of wealth decidedly uneven. The proponents of the idea argue that the price of food to the consuming public would be materially lowered, but even if it were, the achievement would be at the expense of a high-grade rural population from which the city continually recruits a large proportion of its citizenship. Thus we may conclude from the opinions of competent economists that the large-scale plan of corporation farming, except in restricted areas, is not a practicable proposition, and even though it were, such a transformation of American rural life is not desirable from the viewpoint of our national social well-being.

5. Analyzing the Farm Business

Every farmer carries in mind, more or less definitely, some conception of whether he is getting ahead financially or losing money in his farming enterprise. Such crude methods of accounting, however, logically should belong to an earlier stage of our struggle towards increased agricultural efficiency. As a matter of fact, though, the bulk of our farmers today are exceedingly backward in the matter of farm bookkeeping. Really such a careful accounting of the farm enterprise as a whole, and with regard to its constituent parts is a matter of necessity for the good farmer just as it is imperative with the business man generally who would stay out of the hands of the receiver. Our Federal Department of Agriculture and the several state agricultural colleges in recent years have devoted much attention to the matter of devising forms for keeping farm accounts which are sufficiently simple and yet sufficiently accurate to enable the farmer to tell about where he stands financially at the close of each year's operations.

Farm accounts customarily are grouped into two classes:[1] (1) those which pertain to the farm business as a whole, or what are known as "financial accounts," and (2) those which concern the separate enterprises, commonly known as "cost accounts." For an intelligent understanding of the farm business both of these classes of accounts should be kept, because it may be that the entire business collectively is making profit, but that some phase or phases of it are netting serious losses. By eliminating these and concentrating upon the profitable enterprises, financial soundness and progress may be more certainly attained.

A thorough inventory of the amount and value of all farm property should be made both at the beginning and at the end of the year. An accurate record must be kept of all farm expenses including the value of family labor utilized on the farm. An equally accurate account must be kept of all receipts from the farm business. To enter into the technical details of such procedures is beyond the scope of the present discussion. By closing the accounts concerning the entire farming enterprise, it is possible to determine:

1. *Farm Income.*—This item is secured by subtracting the total expenses from the total receipts (gross farm income), including

[1] Dixon, H. M., and Hawthorne, H. W. *A Method of Analyzing the Farm Business.* Farmers' Bull. No. 1139, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1925, pp. 2, 14, 15.

the produce supplied the family directly from the farm. It is customary in such a calculation to consider as a part of the expenses the value of the family labor other than that of the farm operator himself.

2. *Labor Income.*—By subtracting the interest at the current rate on the capital investment of the farm from the farm income, the labor income is arrived at, a figure representing the returns to the farm operator for his own labor and managerial effort.

3. *Net Worth.*—This represents the difference between the resources, which include all property owned by the farmer and owing to him, and the liabilities, which include all of the amounts owed by the farmer to someone else. The net worth figure shows the value of all the farmer's property and indicates how much financial progress he made during the year.

4. *Amount Available*[1] *for Family and Personal Expenses, Payment of Debts, and for Savings.*—This figure is made up of the labor income, the remuneration for the family's time spent on the farm, and the interest on the capital invested in the farm business.

Such accounts as these are distinctly revealing as to the financial condition of the farm business as a whole. There should be added to them a system of "cost accounts" similar to those which large manufacturing concerns keep concerning the returns upon the various products in which they deal. In a system of diversified farming, for example, the farmer needs to know whether it is his corn, his wheat, cotton, tobacco, hogs, dairy cattle, orchards, etc., which are netting him worth while returns so that he may intelligently rearrange the plan of his farming enterprise to derive the best returns from his managerial ability, labor, and capital investment. Such cost accounts have been made sufficiently clear in procedure so that any intelligent farmer may apply them to his business.

QUESTIONS

1. Define the science of farm management and name some of the specific matters with which it concerns itself.
2. Discuss Warren's philosophy regarding the choice of a vocation in life, giving particularly your conception of its value as to guiding principles in determining to enter farming.
3. Enumerate the advantages of farming as an occupation.

[1] McMurry, K. F., and McNall, P. E. *Farm Accounting*. A. W. Shaw Co., 1926, p. 285.

4. What factor makes the selection of the farm which one is to operate an especially important matter?
5. To achieve success in the farming enterprise, of what three vitally important factors is it essential to take cognizance?
6. Check over the blank form for use in selecting a farm and list a half dozen of the most significant economic and social considerations which should guide one's choice
7. Differentiate as to meaning in the use of the terms: "type of farming," "farm organization," and "management"
8. Explain what is meant by the "law of comparative advantage," and the application of the principle in determining the type of farming for a given region.
9. Give examples of "competing," "supplementary," and "complementary" relationships among the interests which may engage the attention of the individual farmer.
10. Under what conditions does a specialized type of farming pay?
11. What are the four principal advantages of a diversified system of farming?
12. State Taylor's general principle of choice by means of which the lines of production to be engaged in by the individual farmer should be tested
13. Upon what three factors does the size of the farm which may be operated depend?
14. What is the significance of the statement that the family-farm is the typical farm in the agriculture of the United States, and to what causes do you attribute this fact?
15. Point out the limitations of such slogans as "Three Acres and Liberty," "Ten Acres Enough," "Five Acres Too Much," and a "Little-farm-well-tilled."
16. Discuss the ideas of Robert S. Brookings and Henry Ford as to corporation farming.
17. What is the opinion of agricultural economists rather generally as to the feasibility of large-scale farming?
18. Was President Hoover correct in the statement that "farming is and must continue to be an individualistic business of small units and independent ownership. The farm is more than a business; it is a state of living We do not wish it converted into a mass production machine"? Give reasons for your answer
19. State the necessity for the farmer's keeping accounts of his business, and distinguish between "financial accounts" and "cost accounts."
20. Define the following terms: "Farm income"; "labor income"; "net worth"; and "amount available for family and personal expenses, payment of debts, and for savings."

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

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2. Warren, G. F. *Farm Management.* The Macmillan Company, 1922, Chapter I, pp. 1–42, "Shall I Be a Farmer?"

3. THOMSON, E. H. *Selecting a Farm.* Farmers' Bulletin No. 1088, United States Department of Agriculture, 1922, pp. 1–27.
4. TAYLOR, H. C. *Outlines of Agricultural Economics.* The Macmillan Company, 1931, Chapter IV, pp. 32–54, "Farm Organization."
5. HOLMES, C. L. *Economics of Farm Organization and Management.* D. C Heath and Company, 1928, Chapter IV, pp. 44–68, "Types of Farming."
6. SPILLMAN, W. J. *Farm Management.* Orange Judd Publishing Company, 1923, Chapter XVI, pp 295–315, "Business Organization of the Farm."
7. GEE, WILSON. *The Place of Agriculture in American Life.* The Macmillan Company, 1930, Chapter VIII, pp. 186–208, "The Future of American Agriculture."
8. DIXON, H. W. and HAWTHORNE, H. M. *A Method of Analyzing the Farm Business* United States Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bulletin No. 1139, pp. 1-40.

CHAPTER VII

LAND AND ITS UTILIZATION

The process of production is essentially social in nature. Fundamentally, man and the forces of nature which he brings to his aid is the *producer* in the economic sense of the term. Agriculture as a primary industry furnishes much of the raw materials of the manufacturing world. However, the farmer does not create these materials. For example, the cotton farmer plants the cotton seed, plows and hoes the resulting plant, and finally harvests and gins the locks constituting the fruitage of the plant thus developed. Had it not been for the efforts of the farmer, the cotton would not have been produced, at least so extensively and in so highly cultivated a form. The farmer working in varying degrees of efficiency with the forces of nature *produces* the supply of cotton. In a strikingly similar way, the manufacturer who spins the fiber into thread, or who makes the thread into cloth, or the cloth into garments is also a producer; yet he actually creates no material, his is simply a transforming process.

Ely says that the process of production can be reduced to the following three operations: "(1) changing the form of things, or combining or rearranging them, (2) changing their place, and (3) keeping them until such times as they are wanted; in other words, production adds to the materials of nature, *form* or *composition utility*, *time utility*, and *place utility*." [1] Production thus defined includes the rendering of direct personal services.

Customarily, the factors of production are designated as *land*, *labor*, and *capital*. That such a classification is only roughly accurate becomes apparent from the following quotation from Seligman: "Since the foundations of economic life are nature and man, the primary factors of production must be natural forces and human effort. Sometimes natural forces alone suffice,—as in the case of the spontaneous increase of a herd of cattle; sometimes human effort suffices, as in the case of the rendering of a personal

[1] Ely, Richard T. *Outlines of Economics* (Fifth Revised Edition), Macmillan, 1930, p. 110.

service; ordinarily production involves the coöperation of the two. This is sometimes expressed by the statement that the factors of production are labor and land,—a not entirely accurate statement, because land is only one of the natural elements that come into consideration. Water, light, heat, electricity, moisture and the like also play a rôle in production, and frequently constitute economic goods with a definite exchange value. Again, since the application of labor to natural elements results in material objects, which are then further utilized in production, these are often spoken of as capital, and the factors of production are declared to be land, labor, and capital. Capital would then be differentiated from land in that capital is itself an artificial product, while land in the wider sense is a gift of nature."

There is a question as to whether land should be sharply separated from capital, but such a "controversy is largely one of words, depending on the sense in which capital is used. If by capital we mean a concrete commodity, the joint product of labor and nature, land is to be differentiated from capital. If, on the other hand, by capital we mean wealth as a fund, land is a part of capital, since it has a capital value. Even, however, if we consider land as a part of capital, it is so important a part that it may for many purposes be put in a category by itself."

Again, since the labor of directing or managing enterprises has become so significant, we might distinguish between labor in general and the skill or ability to conduct a business. The factors of production would then be land, labor, capital and management or enterprise. This classification, however, is not entirely free from objection. If a shoemaker works for another, his activity would be called labor; if he works for himself, it would be called enterprise. If a factory owner manages his own plant, it would be enterprise; if he sells it to a trust and assumes the management as a paid official, the same activity is called labor. Manifestly this overlooks the fact that there are all kinds or gradations of labor, from ordinary unskilled work to the exercise of the highest business talent. It is clear, from the examples just given, that the distinction is important rather from the point of view of distribution than from that of production. If the income from labor is a stipulated one, it is wages, whether it applies to a day laborer or to a railway president; if the income is a contingent one it is profits. If a man uses his own unaided labor, he can earn wages; if he combines his labor with capital in a business enterprise or if he employs other people's labor, he undergoes risks and his income is uncertain. The hired or salaried man always gets a part of the product, the independent entrepreneur may lose money instead of making it. The law of profits

is different, as we shall see, from the law of wages. From the point of view of production, however, enterprise is a species of labor.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that in civilized society production is carried on amid an environment moulded by legal, political and social relations. All these may in a sense be declared necessary to production; but as they are in theory at least applicable to all alike, they are not to be included among the economic factors of production any more than is the air which is free to all. Even where these relations in the shape of special laws or privileges favor some producers or classes, they are properly to be put under the head of opportunity to utilize labor and capital rather than under that of the primary factors of production.

Summing up, we may say that the factors of production are in one sense labor and capital; in another sense land, labor and capital, and in still a third sense land, labor, capital and enterprise. In any sense the factors of production are human energy and natural forces, together with their joint product, capital, which may again be embodied in land or other elements of nature.[1]

1. Chief Economic Resource

Someone has very beautifully said in characterizing the fundamental greatness of the land: "From the soil all things come; and into it all things at last return; and yet it is always new and fresh and clean, and always ready for new generations. This soft, thin crust of the earth—so infinitesimally thin that it cannot be shown in proper scale on any globe or chart—supports all the countless myriads of men and animals and plants, and has supported them for countless cycles and will yet support for other countless cycles. In view of all this achievement, it is not strange that we do not yet know the soil and understand it; and we are in mood to be patient with our shortcomings." [2]

A chief economic resource of the United States is its land. In 1925, farm land, 924,319,352 acres, or 48.6 per cent of the 1,903,216,640 acres of total land area in the United States, was valued at approximately 38 billions of dollars. This figure represented land alone, excluding buildings. If the values of all the land were available, including urban and village real estate, coal mines, oil fields, timber holdings, and similar areas of our part of the earth's surface the figures would mount several times higher.

Land becomes all the more the *sine qua non* of an existence when

[1] Seligman, E. R. A. *Principles of Economics* (Tenth Revised Edition), Longmans, Green, Chapter XVIII.

[2] *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture.* Macmillan, Vol. 1, p. 325.

we consider it from the economic definition of the term. The economist says that "land may be defined as all natural resources and productive power over which possession of the earth's surface gives control." In line with this definition, the ways in which land is useful to man for productive purposes may be classified as follows: (1) it forms a solid basis for foothold, homes, factories, means of communication, and similar development; (2) the fertility of the soil makes possible all agricultural development; (3) according to location and topography it is a determining factor in the climatic environment; (4) it contains the varied mineral resources of continents, (5) without it we would have no natural vegetation, including our timber supply; (6) game is found upon the land, and fish in the streams flowing through the land; and (7) land feeds and otherwise supports natural streams and waterfalls which furnish water power.[1]

2. Present Uses of Land

Until comparatively recent times a dominant characteristic of American economic life has been the abundance of our land resources. The marked prodigality in the use of such resources, and the large increase and widespread distribution of our population have given us national pause in the past decade and more. It is pertinent at this juncture to inquire as to what are the present uses of our land resources in the United States.

In spite of the enormous importance of our land resources, no thoroughgoing economic classification has ever been made of them. One of the best approaches to the problem is that made by L. C. Gray,[2] O. E. Baker, and others The diagram on page 144 from the work of these authors expresses in a clear sort of way the uses to which the 1,903,000,000 acres of land area in the United States are put.

Of the total area, approximately 122,000,000 acres are estimated to be made up of land occupied by cities, deserts, marshes, roads, and railroads Another 115,000,000 acres consisted of farm land not in harvested crops, pasture, or forest. This total of 237,000,000 acres, or about 12 per cent of the total land area, is the only amount not already in use for crops, pasture, or forest.

[1] Bye R. T. *Principles of Economics.* Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, pp. 102–105.
[2] Gray, L. C., Baker, O. E., and others "The Utilization of Our Lands for Crops, Pasture and Forests." *Yearbook,* U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1923, pp. 415–506.

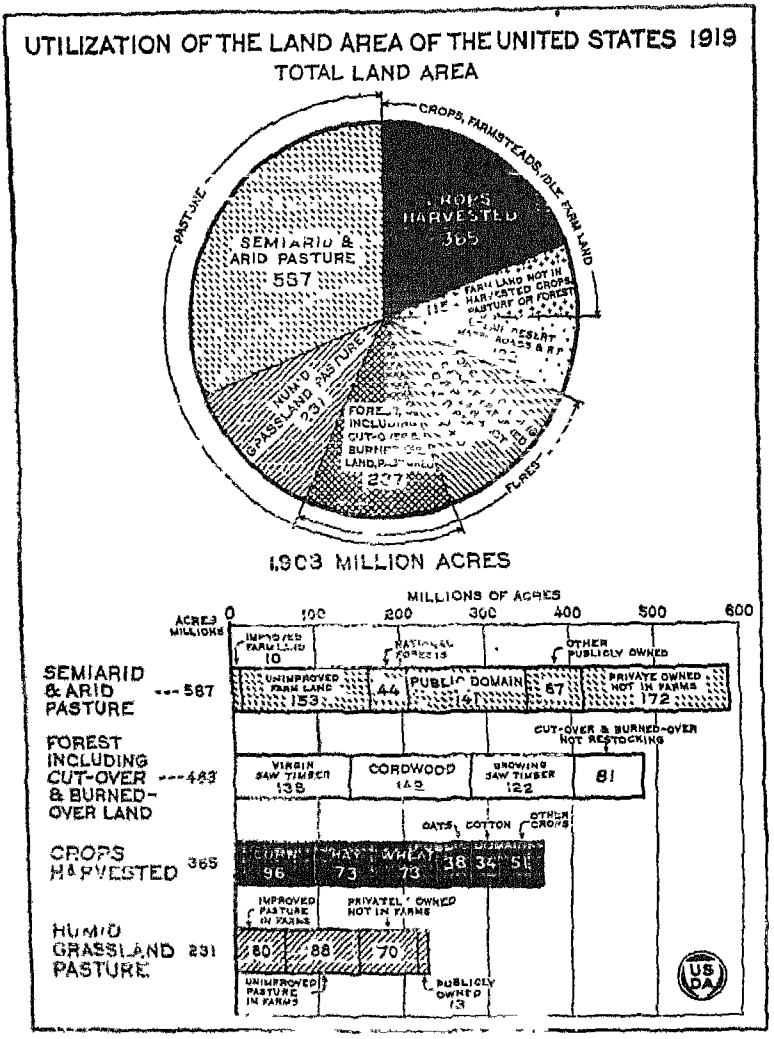


FIGURE 5.

Crops harvested in 1919 occupied 19 per cent of the land area of the United States. Pasture occupied 43 per cent, and forest and cut-over land about 25 per cent of the total area. However, the fifth of the land area in crops yielded a vastly greater annual product measured by value than the two-thirds in pasture and forest. The remaining 13 per cent of the land area was almost equally divided between land in farms not used for crops, pasture, or forest, and non-agricultural land outside farms (mostly urban land, absolute desert, rocky areas, and land used for roads and railroads). Many of the figures in the graph are estimates. (Source: *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1923, p. 416.)

The authorities cited state it as probable that, when the maximum population of the United States is reached, another 35,000,000 acres will be required for cities, villages, roads, and farmsteads. This reduces the area ultimately available for crops, pasture, and forest to approximately 1,734,000,000 acres of land.

Crops, pasture, and forests constitute the three principal agricultural uses of land. There were in 1919, about 365,000,000 acres in harvested crops. However, to this figure should be added about 608,000,000 acres of potential crop land, making a total of 973,000,000 acres. If it is pointed out that before the World War, the total crop area of the German Empire was about 70,000,000 acres, the figure becomes enormous. It must be remembered, however, that such comparisons are illusory in that the 973,000,000 acres represent the part of our land resources physically capable of being employed for crops when our need shall have become so extreme that the considerations of cost of utilization are secondary. It is clear from these data, however, that there is no early impending scarcity of land in this nation.

3. The Meaning of Land Utilization

In a classification of land, the economist is accustomed to use the terms, *submarginal, marginal,* and *supermarginal. Marginal land* is defined as that on which the farmer barely meets expenses, *i.e.*, "breaks even." *Submarginal* land is that which returns to the farmer less than costs of operation, *i.e.*, he "loses." *Supermarginal* land is that which returns a profit above expenses, *i.e.*, the farmer "gains" in its utilization. It is obvious that any definition of this type is arbitrary, because of the wide variation in efficiency of individual farmers. What is submarginal or marginal land to one farmer, may be supermarginal land to another, and vice versa.

Succinctly stated the problem of land utilization is either to decrease the use of marginal or submarginal lands or to transform their use into one that makes them profitable in their operation. No one would deny that there are millions of acres today that are planted to crops which had better be in forests or pasture, and similarly that there are some acres in pastures and forest which might more advantageously be in crops. Also, the types of farming followed in many areas of the nation should be changed to those better adapted to the particular region.

In discussing this problem, Nils A. Olsen, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, has among other things the following to say:

> Effective use of our land resources is thus a vital phase of the farm problem. What are the uses to which the various classes of agricultural land may be put most profitably? How can we divert to nonfarming uses the lands that, under present conditions, will not yield adequate returns to farmers? Sub-marginal lands that, under present conditions, can not compete with better lands are not confined to any one section of the country but are scattered throughout the North, the South, the East, and the West. Moreover, lands that now are sub-marginal for crop production may perhaps another day, under changed conditions as to prices, farming methods, and operating costs, be farmed with a profit. Under a sound national policy of land utilization the lands that have natural and economic advantages over other lands will be brought into production whether located in the East or the West, and the sub-marginal lands that will not yield a profit will be gradually diverted to other uses.
>
> Elimination of sub-marginal lands from our crop-producing area will not of itself provide a solution of the surplus problem. This fact should be emphasized. But the continuous withdrawal of such lands from crop production will contribute somewhat to the reduction of agricultural surpluses and will retard the expansion of the agricultural area while demand overtakes supply. Furthermore, the adoption of a constructive policy of facilitating the withdrawal of unprofitable lands from agricultural use, as contrasted with our present national policy of permitting and even encouraging planless agricultural expansion, would contribute to the mobility of population between country and city and would help to restore and maintain a better economic balance between agriculture and industry.
>
> The gains to agriculture through the elimination of sub-marginal lands and inefficient producers will be slow at best. Neither will completely disappear from our agriculture. There will always be some who prefer to live in the country even under low economic standards of living. But the vast majority of those who live on the land, even in areas of poverty agriculture, will respond to every opportunity to better themselves. It is a service to them to point the way to agricultural reorganization for greater profits and better living wherever conditions permit. It is an equally valuable service to lay bare the hopeless handicaps under which they may labor in some sections. Discontented farmers who understand the hopelessness of their outlook will not farm at a loss indefinitely but will seek other opportunities. In this manner we may speed materially the processes of adjustment in agriculture.[1]

[1] Olsen, Nils A., in foreword to *Land Utilization and the Farm Problem* by L. C. Gray and O. E. Baker. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication No. 97.

The national government is becoming keenly aware of the problem, and, also, some state governments are vigorously taking cognizance of it. New York State under the leadership of Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt is seeking legislative support for an intensive survey of the land utilization problem of the state. This is planned to proceed along the lines of the type survey in Tompkins County, New York. That study was made on a basis of ten-acre squares, and the following data were determined: the type of soil, the climate, the present use of the land, and an analysis of the people who live on the land. This latter item attempts to answer the following questions: (1) Is the resident a new settler or has his family been on the land a long time? (2) Are the young people staying on the land or leaving it? (3) Does the resident make his livelihood out of it, or does he occupy it only as a residence? (4) Does the farm support the farmer in accordance with the American standard of living?

In discussing the results of this Tompkins County study conducted by Cornell University, Governor Roosevelt said:

> This survey has proved again what is a matter of common knowledge among agricultural experts, to wit that a large percentage of the land now in cultivation as farms has no right to remain as farm land. Several generations of farm experience prove that a satisfactory living cannot be made from this land by farming. In some of the townships in Tompkins County, as high as 22 per cent of the farm land has been proved to be unadaptable to farm purposes.
>
> With time and money, such a survey could be extended to the entire State. It would include, in addition to the data mentioned above, a study of the location of roads, school facilities, resorts, industrial plants, potential water-power resources and power transmission and telephone lines. On the basis of such information approximate boundaries can be laid down of areas in which there appears to be possibility of coördination of economic endeavors. With such maps agricultural and economic experts can proceed to classify the lands of the State and advise accurately the use for each classification.
>
> While, of course, it is not suggested that this classification be in any sense compulsory, continued economic efforts will gradually result in using each acre of land for that purpose which will be the most profitable.[1]

4. The Law of Diminishing Returns

In connection with the utilization of land, one of the most fundamental of the principles to be considered is that of increasing

[1] Roosevelt, Franklin D. "Message to the Legislature of New York," Albany, N. Y., Jan. 26, 1931. *New York Times*, Jan. 27, 1931.

and diminishing returns. Stated simply the law means that "*as more and more work or the use of more and more equipment and materials is added to a limited area of land in an effort to secure from it larger and larger amounts of product, the returns in physical product per each additional unit of labor and the other factors added may for a time be more than proportional to the increase in these other factors; but beyond a point, known as the point of diminishing returns, these returns become less than proportional to the addition of the other factors.*" [1]

While this law is physical in the nature of its application, nevertheless, it does form an economic characteristic of land. Nor is it limited to land. Manufacturers have discovered that they may enlarge their plants with falling costs per unit returned, but beyond a certain point the increased production is secured only at an increased cost per unit. The point of diminishing returns is reached sooner in agriculture than in manufacturing.

Successful farming, in considerable measure, is conditioned upon a conscious or unconscious conformity with this principle. The following table derived from a study of cotton production illustrates concretely how the law may be expected to operate. It is to be noted that with each addition of fertilizer up to $6.99 worth per acre there is an increase in yield and a decrease in cost of production per pound. Beyond that point, however, the yield increases slowly, and the cost per pound rises to a marked degree.

TABLE 8

RELATION OF THE COST PER ACRE OF FERTILIZER APPLIED TO YIELD AND COST OF COTTON [2]

COST OF FERTILIZER PER ACRE	YIELD OF NET LINT COTTON PER ACRE	YIELD DUE TO ADDITIONAL APPLICATION	COST OF PRODUCTION PER POUND
$2.00 or less	200 lbs.	.... lbs.	$.1142
3.00 to 4.99	221 "	21 "	.1140
5.00 to 6.00	272 "	51 "	.1028
7.00 or more	276 "	4 "	.1217

It is clear that this principle applies not only to the intensity of use of the labor and equipment factors upon a given area of land,

[1] Holmes, C. L. *Economics of Farm Organization and Management.* D. C. Heath & Co., 1918. pp. 146–147.

[2] Adapted from Bull. 651, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Farm Management, entitled *A Farm Management Study in Anderson County, South Carolina*, May 8, 1918.

but also to the degree of extensiveness or intensiveness in the use of land itself with given amounts of the other factors. As has been pointed out in an earlier chapter, American agriculture in comparison with that of the Old World is characterized by its extensive use of the land factor. This is due to the general rule operating in the determination of the best proportion in which to utilize the several factors. This may be stated as follows: "*As the value of a given quantity of any one of the factors of production increases, it will generally be profitable to combine with it larger quantities of the other factors (assuming their values have not changed) than was profitable before the rise of value.*" [1] This simply means that if land is the dear factor in production farming will be of an *intensive* nature, and that if labor or capital is the more expensive factor, the enterprise will tend toward the *extensive* type.

If the successful farmer is the one who operates best in accord with the law of diminishing returns, how is it practical for him to learn the most favorable proportions of the factors of production? A large amount of information along these lines has been amassed by state and federal agricultural experiment stations, and is more and more being made available to farmers generally. Another good beginning point is to observe the operations of the best farmers in the community, and from that basis intelligently to experiment with the proper combination of the factors.

5. Utilization of Land for Forests

So extensive were the original forest resources of the United States that in the earlier days of our history, in fact until comparatively recent years, little attention has been given to the conservation of timber. In 1920, the annual drain from all causes on the timber supply was estimated to be four times as rapid as the annual growth. This proportionate drain is greater for softwoods than for hardwoods, but the remaining supply of the latter is much less than that of the former. Federal reports state that if the indicated rate of drain continues, it may be roughly estimated that the hardwood timber supply of the nation would last only a little more than two decades, and the supply of softwoods little more than three. Even though we allow a large margin of error in the estimates, the United States undoubtedly is rapidly ap-

[1] Gray, L. C. *Introduction to Agricultural Economics.* Macmillan, 1924, p. 148.

proaching the time when there will be a period of great scarcity of timber supply.

The problem of agricultural land utilization is related to that of conservation of forests in four principal ways: [1] (1) In determining the economic feasibility of agricultural expansion or reforestation, the relative advisability of the two alternative uses should be considered. Large districts of land in farms are being found unsuited for farming; whether they can be profitably devoted to forests by private owners is uncertain, and the problem is frequently affected by existing methods of taxation, unavailability of fire protection, the outlook for timber prices, and credit conditions. (2) In many districts the use of low-grade land for continuous timber growing would increase economic stability by providing markets for crops and supplementary employment for farmers and other rural people. (3) A program of forest management for farm woodlots, which contain about 30 per cent of the total forest area of the nation is intimately related to the general farm economy. (4) The progress of soil erosion and the control of floods, and in irrigated sections, the adequacy of water supply and the prevention of injury from silting in reservoirs and ditches, are affected in an important degree by the location of forest lands.

It is estimated that there are about 470,000,000 acres of forest land in the United States. The amount of this under private ownership is 360,000,000 acres, of which not more than 20,000,000 acres are maintained under systematic forest management. This three-fourths under private control is thus mostly subject to wasteful exploitation. The timber reserves of the national forests, even under the best of management, will be far from sufficient to maintain a supply of timber that will satisfy the probable demand.

In discussing this problem, Black points out that we may expect to have more than 470,000,000 acres of land in forests. Between 1920 and 1925, about 9,000,000 acres reverted to forests of their own accord.

> This process can be hastened by a taxation system which is suited to the nature of forestry as a form of production, which makes its collections to a much larger extent at a time when the crop is harvested. Given a suitable system of taxation, one can expect an increasing amount of capital to find its way into investments in forestry enterprises.

[1] Gray, L. C., and Baker, O. E. *Land Utilization and the Farm Problem.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication No. 97. 1930, p. 39.

Paper mills, mining companies, railroads, furniture factories, sawmills and other woodworking or wood-using enterprises can be expected to develop tracts of timber. Well-to-do people can be expected to build up estates of timber land, partly for the sake of a certain prestige which is always attached to land ownership, and partly because of the recreation obtainable on such an estate. More important than all else, one can expect farms in areas of mixed land, of which there is an abundance in the United States, to take on considerable tracts of woodlot as one of their enterprises, partly because of the increase in volume of business which will result, but also because of the winter work which is provided by it.

But public ownership will always play a large rôle in forestry. The national forests of the United States outside of Alaska contain a total of 140,000,000 acres. The states have 10,000,000 acres of forest land. The cities and towns of Massachusetts own or control 60,000 acres of forest land. A carefully guarded policy of purchasing worncut farm lands in areas where agriculture is dying out at present, and thus assisting the owners to move out, has much to recommend it. No way could be devised for spending $25,000,000 of money a year that would relieve agriculture more and save more individual suffering than to spend it upon the purchase of such land. The difficulty is one of managing such an undertaking with discretion and without paying more for such land than it is worth. The author believes that the United States Forest Service, assisted by the right kind of an advisory board and the services of specialists who devote themselves to the problem of the valuation of forest land, can be trusted to handle this kind of a problem safely. All such purchasing should of course be preceded by a land classification survey of the area involved.[1]

Few national problems are of more significance than the conservation and development of our timber resources. The extent of our accurate data regarding them is altogether too limited, though this situation is being remedied to some extent. The fire-protection machinery of many states is quite feebly developed, and the losses annually from this source are appalling. A large education of private owners must occur before they will support intelligent handling of this problem, and of the scientific care and utilization of their timber holdings.

6. National Land Policy

It is but natural that a comparatively new nation, incomparably blessed with resources in land should have been lavish in its exploitation of these in the early stages of its development. But the

[1] Black, J. D. *Agricultural Reform in the United States.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1929, pp. 401–402.

stage has been reached where the best long-time interests of our national welfare require that a well-planned policy reaching into every part of the country should be evolved and intelligently followed. It is vital that the United States, "in the interest of a profitable agriculture, and a balanced national life, adopt a national land policy that will help to divert lands to the uses for which they are best suited, be it agriculture, forestry, or still other uses. We need a land policy that will yield greater economic and social values from the use of our lands, and at the same time stay soil erosion and wasteful depletion of our natural resources. The Nation should replace without further delay the present policy of planless agricultural development with a program of research, education, and legislation that will facilitate essential adjustments in our agriculture and help to eliminate sub-marginal lands from the production of crops." [1]

The older countries of Europe long ago have had to reckon with this problem, and afford us many valuable lessons in this regard. A thoughtful student of American agricultural problems reports after a recent visit to some of these countries that "the most important lesson one learns from a first-hand study of European agriculture at this time is their methods of utilizing their land. In Europe, as in many other countries, agricultural lands are used for three purposes—for growing crops, for meadows and pastures, and for growing forests. We found the French, the German, the Belgian, and the English farmer giving very careful consideration to the uses to which his land could be put. No farmer over there attempts to grow crops on poor land. His experience and his experiments show very conclusively that he must make large yields of grain, of beets, and of potatoes in order to produce these crops at a profit. High yields per acre of course require fertile soils and where in some countries it is necessary to cultivate lands that are naturally poor they have definite systems of rotation, green manuring and fertilizing which build their lands up to the point where they can grow crops at a profit. Where it is not possible to bring the land up to a high state of fertility it is planted to forests. The best land is planted to crops like potatoes, beets, and grain. The next best land goes in meadows and pastures. Not a foot of land

[1] Olsen, Nils A., in foreword to *Land Utilization and the Farm Problem* by L. C. Gray and O. E. Baker, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Miscellaneous Publication No. 97, 1930.

in all Europe seems to be wasted; it is all utilized for either crops, meadows, or forests. If we would stop attempting to grow crops on our poor soils and plan definitely to plant all of our lands not in crops or pasture to forests, we should then have a system of agriculture that would be much like one finds in Europe and a system that would certainly be more scientific and more profitable" [1]

In concluding a discussion of the subject under consideration, it is significant to foresee, as far as possible, the future need for farm land in the United States, and its utilization in various parts of the country. Four facts serve as a guide in this connection two of which are physical in character, hence subject to somewhat accurate prevision, and two of which are social, lending themselves to less dependable prediction. Baker, who has given much study to these problems, thus recently summarizes the reasoning around these four facts:

> The first fact is this: The soil resources of the United States are being depleted rapidly, and many millions of acres of land formerly cultivated are being abandoned largely because of erosion; but fertilizers and crop rotations, including use of legumes, can restore the elements of fertility lost by crop removal and leaching, and there is much low-grade and medium grade land, now in pasture or forest, that can be cultivated to replace the land lost by erosion. On the other hand, there is much eroded or depleted land that will revert to pasture or forest. The depletion of resources, however, tends to increase the cost of production; and the loss of soil by erosion, particularly, will cause serious local and even regional declines in agricultural production and income accompanied, doubtless, by increases in production and income in other parts of the nation.
>
> Second: There has been very little increase in total crop acreage or acre-yield since the World War, and the amount of crop feed and pasturage has remained about stationary for 15 years, the "agricultural surplus" which has developed despite an increasing population, being due almost wholly from the production standpoint, to the large amount of feed released by the decline in horses and mules, to increasing production of meat and milk per unit of feed consumed, and to shifts from the less productive crops per acre and less productive classes of farm animals per unit of feed consumed toward the more productive. All four of these factors are likely to exert an influence for at least ten years, and possibly 25 years to come; but as the saturation point in use of automobiles has, apparently, almost been reached, and shifts from the less productive toward the more productive crops and farm animals are diminishing, it seems probable that the increasing population will

[1] Barre, H. W. "A Lesson from European Agriculture." *Carolina Club Boy*, Agric. Extension Service, Clemson College, S. C., Sept., 1928.

require some increase in crop area, unless a great increase should occur in the use of fertilizers.

Third: The number of children born in the United States each year is declining, and unless the birth rate rises, which is improbable, or unless the immigration laws are liberalized, which is unlikely, a stationary population of about 160 million will be reached about the year 1960, followed by a slow decline. Thirty years hence, therefore, assuming a stationary per-capita consumption, the domestic need of the nation for agricultural products appears likely to be 25 to 30 per cent greater than at present. This involves only a little greater increase in production than that which occurred between the abnormally low years 1921 and 1926. Such an increase would provide also for the maintenance of our present exports of farm products. The rate of increase in production will need to be more rapid in the earlier years than in the later years of this thirty-year period before a stationary population is reached, but at no time need it exceed $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year, unless exports increase greatly, as contrasted with over 2 per cent increase since the World War.

Fourth: The approach of a stationary and probably declining population doubtless will enhance the interest in exports of agricultural products. At present an important export surplus exists only for cotton, tobacco, wheat, lard and several fruits. Thirty years hence, if the present stationary trend in the production of wheat and in per-capita consumption continues, there will be no export surplus, but the price of cotton, tobacco and lard at least will, very likely, then, as now, be determined largely by the world's markets. Those markets may be larger, particularly if China develops into an industrial nation and is able to ship products to the United States in payment for the cotton, tobacco and food products.

This question as to the future foreign demand for American farm products introduces a great uncertainty into the outlook for land utilization. The agricultural land resources of the United States are greater than those of Europe, excluding Russia, and probably are equal to those of the Orient; yet there are only about 125 million people in the United States at present, and never likely to be over 165 million as compared with nearly 400 million in Europe, excluding Russia, and possibly 1 billion in the Orient. Can such a disparity in ratio of resources to population persist permanently? Will it be found advantageous to export a large proportion of the nation's agricultural products to these lands of dense population, receiving in return such products as they offer?

The answers to these questions will depend upon many factors among which the most important, probably, are the progress that may be made in agricultural technique, both in the United States and abroad, and rate of advancement in the standard of living, particularly in the Orient.[1]

[1] Baker, O. E. *The Outlook for Land Utilization in the United States.* Mimeograph, Agric. Expt. Station and Agric. Extension Service, U. of Illinois, 1931, pp. 35–36.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain what is meant by the statement that "fundamentally, man and the forces of nature which he brings to his aid is the *producer* in the economic sense of the term"
2. Would you classify land as one of the factors of production? Give reasons for your answer.
3. Why may land be designated as our chief economic resource?
4. How does the economist define land, and in what principal ways is land useful to men for productive purposes?
5. Give the total land area of the United States, and the broader classifications as to how it is utilized.
6. Name the three principal agricultural uses of land.
7. What is the acreage of the potential crop land in the United States; and in the light of the corresponding situation in Germany, would you say that these figures denote any likelihood of a scarcity of land in the near future? In the distant future?
8. Define "submarginal land"; "marginal land"; and "supermarginal land."
9. Why does Olsen consider the effective use of our land resources as a vital part of the farm problem?
10. What principal things did the type survey of land utilization in Tompkins County, New York, seek to discover, and what were the ideas advanced by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt in advocating similar surveys throughout that state?
11. Explain what is meant by the "law of diminishing returns," and give a concrete example of its operation.
12. Why is the "law of diminishing returns" such an important principle in farming?
13. Give Gray's general rule operating in the determination of the best proportion in which to utilize the land, labor, and capital factors of production.
14. If the successful farmer is the one who operates best in accord with the law of diminishing returns, how is it practical for him to determine the most favorable proportion of the several factors of production?
15. Discuss the seriousness of the current drain upon the forest resources of the United States.
16. In what four principal ways is the problem of land utilization related to the conservation of forests?
17. What is the acreage distribution of our forests as between private and public ownership, and what does Black think of the idea of extending the area of public-owned forest lands?
18. Discuss the soundness of the following statement: "The nation should replace without further delay the present policy of planless agricultural development with a program of research, education, and legislation that will facilitate essential adjustments in our agriculture and help to eliminate submarginal lands from the production of crops."
19. What are some of the lessons in the matter of land utilization which we may learn from the older European countries?
20. Name the four facts upon which Baker considers it worth while to foresee,

as far as possible, the future need for farm land in the United States; and tell why he considers each of these significant.

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CHAPTER VIII

FARM OWNERSHIP AND TENANCY

It is generally conceded that a system of land tenure approximating that in which every man owns the farm on which he lives and works is the ideal to be sought. A certain amount of tenancy is inevitable in all settled countries. In the pioneer stages of American agriculture, land was to be had for the asking or the taking, and the condition of almost complete owner-operatorship was the result. Quite early, however, those without land who preferred to stay within the area of established settlement rather than enter the unsettled frontier regions had to rent land from those who owned it more abundantly than they could work. Except in the South, especially among the colored farmers, though in too large extent among the white tenants of that region, we have not developed a permanent tenant class In that part of the nation, a serious situation exists, but in general in the United States, tenancy functions to a great degree as a convenient stepping stone towards ownership

In embarking upon the enterprise of farming, land is the factor of production required to a dominant extent. Many young farmers, and older ones as well, cannot afford the purchase of the land they would operate. The capital-goods they require for a sensible beginning scale of operation, very often they do possess, or can acquire on available credit, and the labor they provide themselves. Through the savings from efficient operation of rented farms, the purchase of the land they would operate may be consummated. High prices for land, particularly inflated ones, obviously tend to lengthen such a process.

Where tenancy serves such a fundamental purpose there is nothing vicious about the institution. However, when, as throughout the South and many foreign countries, there tends to be established a permanent tenant class, economic poverty and social backwardness accompany the condition. Since the advantages and disadvantages of farm tenancy are considered in succeeding sections of this chapter, it is pertinent to these introductory para-

graphs to emphasize mainly two additional points of view which relate to the problem of farm ownership and tenancy in a general sort of way.

Branson, who has given a large part of his life to a consideration of the problem in the South believes that there is a certain magic about the ownership of land He says that "the ownership of land tethers a man to law and order better than all the laws of the statute books. It breeds in him a sense of personal worth and family pride. It identifies him with the community he lives in and gives him a proprietary interest in the church, the school, and other organizations and enterprises of his home town or home community. It enables him to hold his family together, makes him a better father, a better neighbor, and a better citizen mainly because it makes him a stable, responsible member of society." [1]

The distinguished American diplomat and man of letters, Walter H Page, was keenly interested in improving the lot of the tenant farmer in the South, classing him among the "forgotten men" in our civilization. About this class of humankind he reminds us:

> In making an estimate of a civilization it is the neglected and forgotten man more than any other that must be taken into account. When you build a house, you make the foundation the strongest part of it, and the house, however ornate its architecture, can be no stronger than the foundation. In considering the level of the life of any community, you must not give undue value to any class of men. A community is not rich because it contains a few rich men, it is not healthful because it contains a few strong men, it is not intelligent because it contains a few men of learning, nor is it of good morals because it contains good women—if the rest of the population also be not well-to-do, or healthful, or intelligent, or of good morals. The common people is the class most to be considered in the structure of civilization. Moreover, in proportion as any community in the organization of its society or in the development of its institutions lays emphasis on its few rich men, or its few cultivated men, it is likely to forget and to neglect its very foundations. It is not these small classes that really make the community what it is, that determine the condition of its health, the soundness of its social structure, its economic value and its level of life. The security and the soundness of the whole body are measured at last by the condition of its weakest part
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> So much, if you please, to get the proper point of view. If you have

[1] Branson, E. C., quoted in *U. of Virginia News Letter*, Vol. III, No. 10, Feb. 15, 1927

been in the habit in your social studies of dividing men into classes and of considering some more important in possibilities to the common weal than others, your studies are not in keeping with the dominant democracy of our country and of our race. In any scheme of manculture one man must be regarded as of as great importance as another. The doctrine of equality of opportunity is at the bottom of social progress, for you can never judge a man's capacity except as he has opportunity to develop it. When we make a social study, we must come face to face with all the men who make up the social body, seeing them as they are, and not through the medium of our traditions, nor by their estimates of themselves.[1]

1. Advantages of Farm Tenancy

Many writers on farm tenancy convey the impression that it is an unmitigated evil. It is not difficult to refute such an attitude since there are a number of advantages to agriculture in the institution of farm tenancy. The most important of these will be briefly considered in succeeding paragraphs.

1. *Tenancy is a stepping stone to independent owner operatorship.* The term "agricultural ladder" is used to describe the steps by which the farm worker establishes his relation with the land. The theory of the agricultural ladder postulates that the typical farmer begins his career as a farm laborer, working for wages on his father's or someone else's farm; that after he has saved enough working capital to operate his own farm, he takes the next step on the agricultural ladder, and becomes a farm tenant; and that successfully operating as a tenant he acquires sufficient capital to buy his own farm, then stepping up to the estate of a farm owner. In the process he serves a sort of apprenticeship as it were, gaining desirable experience in handling a farm.

2. *In some instances to rent a farm is more desirable than to buy it.* In areas where the prices of land are prohibitory from a purchase point of view, rental rates are often comparatively much more reasonable. Then, too, a renter can more easily extend his farming enterprise to such an acreage as will represent the most profitable size of farm for operation in a particular locality. Illustrative of this is the fact that the average size of the tenant farm in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa is considerably larger than that of the owner farm in the same areas.

[1] Page, W. H. *Rebuilding Old Commonwealths.* Doubleday, Page and Co., 1926, pp. 2–5.

3. *Tenancy enables the prospective farmer safely to determine whether farming is an occupation in which he may happily spend his life, and also to test whether or not a particular farm is the one which he should buy.* A much smaller investment makes these preliminary explorations practicable. If the experiments are successful, the tenant may deepen his stake in the venture through acquiring the particular farm.

4. *Tenancy provides a greater mobility of population, which among a high-grade tenant class as in the West, really functions as a mitigant of provincialism and localism.* Of course, with too large a percentage of a community thus mobile, the result is bad, but for those in process of climbing the rungs of the agricultural ladder the diversity of contacts and variations in farming experience are valuable when the estate of farm ownership is reached.

2. Disadvantages of Farm Tenancy

The disadvantages of farm tenancy are numerous, and are most apparent in the community where tenancy is most prevalent. These evils of tenancy may be separated into the economic ones, and the resulting social consequences. Among the principal economic ones are to be found:

A. Economic Disadvantages

1. *The steady impoverishment of the soil, or what we are accustomed to call soil mining.* It was Arthur Young, one of the earliest of our agricultural economists who said in his *Travels in France* that "the magic of property turns sand to gold. Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock, and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine year's lease of a garden and he will convert it into a desert." The aim of the tenant under our existing system of leases in the United States is to rent the best farm available at the lowest rental rate possible, to mine its soil fertility effectually, and then to move to more preferable areas, treating them likewise. One has only to travel through extensive areas in the South where large percentages of tenancy prevail in order to see the results of such a process continued over a number of years.

2. *Low incomes and resulting low standards of living.* In high percentage tenancy areas, emphasis is placed upon land as a factor of production and tenant farms are substantially smaller than owner farms. In a study in North Carolina, of 329 farmers, 153 of

whom were tenants, Branson and Dickey [1] found a tragic condition existing. A few years ago (1921) the daily cash incomes of these farmers were found to be as follows:

Economic Classes	Family Cash per Year	Daily Cash per Person
135 white owners	$626	34 cents
41 black owners	597	32 "
38 white renters	251	14 "
13 white croppers	153	8 "
66 black renters	289	16 "
36 black croppers	197	10 "

These authorities say that "if these were not actual figures reported in person by the farmers themselves, they would be absolutely unbelievable. How can farm tenants live and keep their families alive on average actual incomes ranging from eight to sixteen cents a day per member? How can they afford to wait ten or twelve months for the balance of their money? The answer is, They couldn't but for (1) the meagre credit of the supply stores, and (2) advances of their landlords—small sums of money and pantry supplies from time to time. And when their crop money comes in later, their debts consume it almost to the last cent."

3. *Poor farming methods are likely to result.* It is on the tenant farms in the South that we find the excessive development of the one-crop system of cotton and tobacco, with all of its numerous accompanying ills Due to ignorance, low educational levels, the hampering demands of the landlord, and a general prejudice against progress, it is this tenant class of the farm population which the farm demonstration agent has greatest difficulty in influencing As a consequence backwardness in methods in a scientific age for agriculture exists, and accompanying the condition ill-balanced systems of farming prevail over wide areas.

4. *A concentration of landownership tends to result in such areas, often developing into "absentee ownership."* Such a situation develops a permanent tenant class, among which due to low incomes and low living standards, ideals of ownership status are stifled among the tenants.

As serious and blighting as are the economic results of large percentages of farm tenancy, the social consequences are still more significant in the lowering of community life in general.

[1] Branson, E. C., and Dickey, J. A. *How Farm Tenants Live.* U. of North Carolina Extension Bull., Vol. II, No. 6, Nov. 1922, p. 15.

B. Social Disadvantages

1. *A permanent tenant class tends to develop with its accompanying social stratification.* To an appalling extent, the children of tenant farmers tend themselves to become tenants. A study [1] made by the writer a few years ago in Piedmont, South Carolina, as a part of a nation-wide survey of farm tenancy sponsored by the Federal Department of Agriculture showed that of the male white tenant farmers in that region, 70 per cent finished their education below the seventh grade and 54 per cent had concluded their education at levels not higher than the fourth grade. Distressing to state, their children who had completed their education had made little or no advance beyond their parents, approximately 73 per cent having completed their education below the seventh grade, and 44 per cent of them having less than a fifth grade education. The resulting social distinctions between the tenant class and the owner class make a wide gap distinctly prejudicial to the progress of the virtually permanent tenant group.

2. *Too great a mobility of the farm population.* Most of the ills assigned to tenancy in one way or another grow out of this shifting or instability of the tenant farmer. During the year ended December 1, 1922, for the United States as a whole, 27 per cent of the tenants had changed farms, or somewhat more than one out of each four. For the South, the corresponding figure was 32 per cent on the average, or approximately one out of each three tenant farms. In the West, the tenant population was more stable, only 17 per cent of the tenants shifting, while in the North, the similar situation was 18 per cent.[2]

This greater instability of the tenant farmer as compared with the owner is attributable to the fact that a considerable proportion of the tenants each year step up to the class of owners. Then, too, in the tenant class is a large proportion of the incompetent, thriftless, restless, and migratory element, lacking in the stability of character to achieve ownership or to stay put anywhere for long at a time. The shifting of the tenant from farm to farm is made easier by the fact that he has small amounts of property to move and no stake in the land.

[1] Gee, Wilson, in *Greenville Piedmont*, Greenville, S. C., Dec. 9, 1922.

[2] Gray, L. C., and others. "Farm Ownership and Tenancy," *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1923, pp. 529-530.

3. *Institutional instability* is the result of the frequent shifts of a considerable proportion of the population. In areas of high tenancy percentages, school populations are uncertain and changeable, and compulsory education laws difficult of enforcement. The tenant classes, because of illiteracy and social distinctions, feel ill at ease in church and Sunday School, and hence attend irregularly or not at all, contributing but slightly to the finances of the organization. In fact, every institution in a community feels the blighting effects of this migratory instable element of the population.

4 Such a situation leads to *a lack of community consciousness and community spirit*, resulting in a backwardness or disintegration of community life for owners as well as tenants. Small amounts of tenancy, largely looking towards ownership as a goal, and consisting in considerable degree of sons and sons-in-law of owners in the community, produce no such social stratification as results in most communities of the South where a permanent tenant class exists Community organizations are stifled, institutions languish, wealth levels are lowered, living standards are inadequate, and human individuals lose the respect of themselves and others in these high tenancy communities.

3. The Extent of Farm Tenancy

The Federal Census of 1880 was the first to take cognizance of farm tenancy in the United States. In that year, 25.6 per cent of all the farms in the United States were operated by tenants. This figure had increased to 28.4 per cent in 1890, and in 1900, the corresponding figure was 35.3 per cent. By 1910, the tenancy proportion was 37 per cent of all farms in this country, and in 1920, the figure had grown to 38.1 per cent. A still further slight increase to 38 6 per cent was shown in the 1925 Census of Agriculture. In 1930, a more marked increase to 42 per cent was indicated.

In general, the situation is not to be viewed with alarm. "Outside of the South, where the cropping system of tenancy largely prevails, especially among colored farm operators, there is no indication of the existence of any large body of farmers whose permanent status is that of tenants. On the contrary, the evidence seems to prove conclusively that tenancy is generally a convenient way of approach to full ownership It is, in fact, a part of the agricultural ladder. Moreover, there has been no alarming increase

in tenancy during the past two decades, and such increase as the figures show is mainly accounted for by the great appreciation in land values, which tends to lengthen somewhat the time necessary for the young farm tenant to accumulate savings for the purchase of a farm." [1]

In a few countries of the world, particularly in England, Wales, and Scotland, a much higher tenant rate prevails and a permanent tenant class has long been established to the detriment of a healthful rural life for all of the people. The percentages of farm tenancy for several of the leading nations are given as they existed a few years ago so that they may be set over against the condition existing in the United States. Although boundary lines have been somewhat rearranged since the dates indicated, in general the figures portray the current situation in this regard.

Nation	Date	Percentage of Farm Tenancy
England	1914	88.4
Wales	1914	90.3
Scotland	1914	92.3
Ireland	1916	36.0
Sweden	1911	14.2
Denmark	1921	10.1
Netherlands	1910	42.1
France	1892	28.8
Germany	1907	25.4
Italy	1914	22.4
Austria	1902	13.4
Hungary	1895	2.7
Japan	1917	9.7

How a high tenancy rate may be transformed into a desirable state of affairs is well illustrated by Denmark. As late as 1850, 42 per cent of the farmers in that country were tenants. Today only about 10 per cent are to be so classified. This change came about largely from the awakening of the peasants themselves and the demand that they be given a stake in the land. It is a striking fact that in our neighboring country, Canada, similar to our own in many ways, tenancy is decreasing, while with us it is on the increase. In 1891, 15.4 per cent of the farms in Canada were operated by tenant farmers, but in 1921, this figure had declined to 7.9 per cent. Over approximately the same period of time our tenancy rate stepped up from 28.4 per cent to 38.1 per cent. These

[1] Goldenweiser, E. A., and Truesdell, L. E. *Farm Tenancy in the United States.* Census Monographs. IV, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, 1924, p. 10.

comparative figures indicate that our republic is to be included among the high tenancy countries of the world.

It is significant to view our farm tenancy situation according to its geographical distribution. The accompanying table indicates some striking facts in this connection. The New England States, the Middle Atlantic group and the Pacific States show the lowest percentages of tenancy and record a decline over the period from 1880 to 1925.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF FARM TENANCY BY CENSUS DIVISIONS. 1880–1925

DIVISION	PERCENTAGE OF TENANCY		RELATIVE PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE: 1880–1925
	1880	1925	
New England	8.5	5.6	−2.9 *
Middle Atlantic	19.2	15 8	−3.4
East North Central	20.5	25.9	5 4
West North Central	20.5	37 8	17.3
South Atlantic	36.1	44.5	8.4
East South Central	36 8	50 3	13 5
West South Central	35.2	59.2	24 0
Mountain	7 4	22.1	14.7
Pacific	16 8	15 6	- 1.2

* — Denotes decrease.

1. *The New England Region.*—New England is a region where the percentage of tenant farming is extremely small. The proportion of tenancy in the division decreased from 8.5 per cent in 1880 to 5.6 per cent in 1925. Every state in the division shows a decrease in tenancy during this period. New Hampshire records a steady decrease each decade, while the other states show an increase to 1900, from which point they have dropped back each decade since until in 1925 each state had less tenancy than at any other time on record.

These states are characterized by a great deal of rugged and rocky land, and the profits from these lands will not sustain both an owner and a tenant. Consequently land is cheap, and, aided by a low rate of interest, tenants can easily secure their own farms. Other factors here are the effect of the marked industrial expansion of this region, and the great migration of New Englanders to develop the Western States.

2 *The Southern States.*—In the South we find an altogether different condition existing. All of the eastern and western South-

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF FARMS OPERATED BY TENANTS IN THE SEVERAL STATES: 1880–1925

STATE	PERCENTAGE OF TENANCY BY CENSUS PERIOD						RELATIVE PERCENTAGE INCREASE OR DECREASE: 1880–1925
	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1925	
Alabama	46.8	48.6	57.7	60.2	57.9	60.7	13.9
Arizona	13.2	7.9	8.1	9.3	18.1	21.6	8.4
Arkansas	30 9	32 1	45 4	50 0	51 3	56.7	25.8
California	19.8	17.8	23.1	20.6	21.4	14 7	−5.1 *
Colorado	12.5	11.2	22 6	18 2	23 0	30.9	18.0
Connecticut	10.2	11.1	12.8	9.8	8.5	6.4	−3 8
Delaware	43.5	46.9	50.3	41.9	39.3	35.7	−7.8
Dist. of Col.	38.2	36.6	43.1	38.7	41.7	28 1	−10.1
Florida	30.9	23.6	26.5	26.7	25 3	21.3	−9.6
Georgia	45.6	53.5	59.9	65.6	66.6	63 8	18 2
Idaho	4.7	4.6	8.7	10.3	15.9	24.4	19 7
Illinois	31.3	34.0	39.2	41.4	42.7	42 0	10.7
Indiana	23.7	25.4	28 6	30.0	32 0	29 2	5 5
Iowa	28.8	28.1	34.9	37 8	41 7	44 7	20 9
Kansas	16.3	28.3	35.2	38.3	40.4	42.1	25.8
Kentucky	26.4	21.0	32.0	33.0	33.4	32.0	5.6
Louisiana	35.2	44.4	57.9	55.3	57.1	60.1	24.9
Maine	4.3	5.4	4.7	4.3	4.2	3 4	−0.9
Maryland	30.9	30.9	33.6	29.5	28.9	26.4	−4.5
Massachusetts	8.2	9.3	9.3	8.1	7.1	4.8	−3.4
Michigan	19.0	14.0	15.9	15.8	17.7	15.1	5.1
Minnesota	9.1	12.9	17.3	21.0	24.7	27.1	18.0
Mississippi	43.7	52.8	62.4	66.1	65.1	68.3	24.6
Missouri	27.3	26.7	30.5	29.9	28.8	32.7	5.4
Montana	5.3	4.8	9.2	8.9	11.3	21.4	16.1
Nebraska	18.0	24.6	36.9	38.1	42.9	46.4	28.4
Nevada	9.7	7.5	11.4	12.4	9.4	7.8	−1.9
New Hampshire	8 1	7 9	7 5	6 9	6.7	4.8	−3.3
New Jersey	24.6	27.2	2 [illegible]	24.8	23.0	15.9	−8.7
New Mexico	8.1	[illegible]	9.4	5.5	12.2	17.1	9.0
New York	16 6	20 2	23 9	20 8	19 2	14.1	−1.5
North Carolina	33.4	34.1	41.4	42.8	43.5	45 2	11.8
North Dakota †	2.1	6.9	8.5	14.3	25.6	34.4	32 3
Ohio	19.3	22.9	29.5	28.4	29.5	25.5	−6 2
Oklahoma	. . .	0.7	21.0	54.8	51.0	58.0	57.0
Oregon	14.1	12.6	17.8	15.1	18.9	16.8	2.7
Pennsylvania	21.2	23.3	26.0	23.3	21.9	17.4	−3.8
Rhode Island	19.8	18.9	20.1	18.0	15.5	12.1	−7.7
South Carolina	50.3	55.3	61.0	63.0	64.5	65.1	14.8
South Dakota †	4.4	13.2	21.8	24.8	34.9	41.5	38.1
Tennessee	34.5	30.8	40.5	41.1	41.1	41.0	6.5
Texas	37 6	41.9	49.7	52.6	53.3	60.4	22.8
Utah	4.6	5.2	8.8	7.9	10.6	11.1	6.5
Vermont	13.5	14 3	14.5	12.3	11.6	9.3	−4.2
Virginia	29 5	26.9	30.7	26.5	25.6	25.2	−4.3
Washington	7 2	8.4	14.4	13.7	18 7	16.3	9.1
West Virginia	13.1	17.7	21.8	20.5	16.2	18.3	−2.8
Wisconsin	9.9	11.4	13.5	13.3	14.4	16.5	6.5
Wyoming	2 8	4.2	7.9	8.2	12.5	17.0	15.1

* — Denotes decrease.

† North and South Dakota admitted as states 1889. 1889 figures obtained by consolidating data for counties which then occupied the areas now known as North and South Dakota respectively.

ern States show an increase of tenancy, and most of them a very heavy increase. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas have more than 60 per cent of their farms operated by tenants.

In the South Atlantic group we find that only Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina show an increase for the forty-five-year period. However, the heavy tenancy of these three states pulls the whole group up to a relative increase of 8.4 per cent. The East South Central States show an increase of 13.5 per cent, and the West South Central States an increase of 24 per cent in tenancy.

The breaking up of the plantations is mainly responsible for the large tenancy showing in the Southland. Soon after the slaves had been emancipated, it was found that labor was much less reliable and less easily controlled than under a system of slavery. In order to keep labor from leaving the South at this period, when it was so greatly needed, and to reduce somewhat the expense and trouble of watching the laborer's every movement, it proved best to give him some kind of a share in the crop in return for his labor. In many states this arrangement in certain widely prevalent forms of tenancy is held to be in effect a method of working for wages and not a form of tenancy. But it has been the policy of the United States Bureau of the Census to count such as tenants and their farms as tenant farms, and this, of course, has greatly boosted the tenancy percentage throughout the South

3. *The Corn Belt.*—In nearly all newly settled regions there is a period when practically all farmers are landowners. This is made possible by the national policy of disposing of public land which makes it easy to acquire a farm But after the country becomes settled tenancy makes its appearance and often grows with considerable rapidity for a short period.

However in the Corn Belt tenancy did not stop its increase at the close of the post-homestead period, but continued to increase with a surprising rapidity. In the West North Central group every state, and in the East North Central group all but Ohio, show an increase in tenancy for the period 1880–1925. Five of them have over 40 per cent tenancy.

A partial explanation of this increase is the rapid and continuous increase in the price of land. It is too high for the tenant to buy, and on the other hand it has been a great field for speculative

investors, who, of course, depend on tenants to farm it until they can sell with a comfortable profit.

Three states along the Great Lakes, Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, have a comparatively low tenancy: 15.1 per cent, 27.1 per cent, and 15.5 per cent respectively. This is partly due to the settlement of new lands in the northern parts of these states, as many owners in these parts were formerly tenants in the southern parts. It is also partly due to the vast dairying industry in this section, since dairying is not favorable to extensive tenancy.

We notice that Nevada is the only state among the eight in the Mountain group that shows a decrease in tenancy during the forty-five-year period. While they all but one show an increase, yet none has a high tenancy percentage. The fact that they have been the last states to be settled, and are of a rugged surface, similar to that of New England, accounts, in a measure, for this situation.

4. Types of Farm Tenancy

A close relationship is to be observed between the prevailing type of farming in a community, and the percentage of farm tenancy in that community. The following table illustrates the situation to a striking extent. It is to be noted from these data that the farms whose chief products are cash crops, involving a relatively small investment in working capital and providing a

TABLE 11

Percentage of Tenancy among Farmers Classified according to Principal Source of Income: 1900 [1]

Principal Source of Income	Per Cent of Tenancy	Principal Source of Income	Per Cent of Tenancy	Principal Source of Income	Per Cent of Tenancy
Cotton	67.7	Hay and grain	39.3	Dairy products	23.3
Tobacco	47.9	Sugar crops	35.1	Livestock	20.3
Rice	45.7	Vegetables	30.4	Fruits	16.5

relatively rapid turnover have the highest percentages of tenancy. "The annual crops are the tenant crops; cotton, tobacco, rice, grain, and vegetables show high percentages of tenancy. On the other hand, fruits, livestock, and dairy products show low percentages of tenancy. The line of demarcation is quite clear. It is the type of farming which requires a large investment and a long

[1] Source: Census Monographs, Number IV, *Farm Tenancy in the U. S.*, p. 33.

time to realize on the investment that is shunned by tenants, and undertaken mostly by owners. On the other hand, an annual crop, readily marketable, and requiring little investment that will not be returned within a year, is what attracts the tenants. These statements must be made of course with a certain degree of qualification."

Another striking relationship is exhibited between the prices of farm lands per acre and the percentage of tenancy. In discussing this situation, Goldenweiser and Truesdell,[1] comment in part that "even a casual examination of the statistics of tenancy and farm values brings out the fact that a high price of farm land per acre and a high percentage of tenancy are frequently associated, as in the State of Iowa, and that, conversely, areas of low-priced land are very often of infrequent tenancy, as in the case of New Hampshire or Montana. Further, it is a generally accepted theory that high-priced land and a high rate of tenancy usually or always go together. In explanation of the relationship it is stated that the high price of the land (with the consequent difficulty of purchase), on the one hand, makes tenancy necessary, while the high productive value of the land, on the other hand makes tenancy possible, for a farm in order to be rentable must produce sufficient income to enable the tenant to pay his rent and make his own living besides. In fact, the statement has frequently been made that in order to be a tenant farm a farm must be capable of supporting two families—that of the tenant and that of the landlord. This is an overstatement, to be sure, since few landlords depend for their whole income upon the rent of a single farm; but it gives effective expression to the idea that a tenant farm must produce decidedly more than what is required for the support of the operator's family."

The Federal Census of 1920 classified farm tenants as follows, this classification applying with little modification in the subsequent census periods.

Farm tenants, comprising:

Share tenants.—Those who pay a certain share of the products, as one-half, one-third, or one-quarter, for the use of the farm, but furnish their own work animals.

Croppers.—Share tenants whose work animals are furnished by their landlords.

Share-cash tenants.—Those who pay a share of the products for a part of the land and cash for a part.

[1] Goldenweiser and Truesdell. *Op cit.*, p. 54.

Cash tenants.—Those who pay a cash rental, as $7 per acre of crop land or $500 for the use of the whole farm.

Standing renters.—Those who pay a stated amount of farm products for the use of the farm, as 3 bales of cotton or 500 bushels of corn.

Unspecified.—Those tenants for whom the character of the tenancy was not indicated on the schedule.

Of a total of 2,454,804 tenant farms in the United States in 1920, 1,678,812 were share tenants, and 585,005 were cash tenants The South represented by far the greater proportion of these share tenants, 702,891 white tenants and 510,124 colored tenants, or a total of 1,213,015 coming under this classification. Of this number of share tenants in the South 561,091 or 35.3 per cent were croppers (227,378 white croppers and 333,713 colored croppers). The "standing renters" seem to be confined chiefly to the colored farmers in this region of greatest tenancy. The following chart [1] shows the relationships of the landlord and the tenant in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta region, and serves to indicate the situation in general in the South in these three forms of tenancy:

	Share Cropping	Share Renting	Cash Renting
Landlord furnishes	Land House or cabin Fuel Tools Work stock Feed for work stock Seed One half of fertilizer	Land House or cabin Fuel One fourth or one-third of fertilizer	Land House or cabin Fuel
Tenant furnishes	Labor One-half of fertilizer	Labor Work stock Feed for work stock Tools Seed Three-fourths or two-thirds of fertilizer	Labor Work stock Feed for work stock Tools Seed Fertilizer
Landlord receives	One-half of the crop	One-fourth or one-third of the crop	Fixed amount in cash or lint cotton
Tenant receives	One-half of the crop	Three-fourths or two-thirds of the crop	Entire crop less fixed amount

[1] Goldenweiser and Truesdell *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

In these cases of the "cropper" system of farming, the supervision of the landlord is very complete, and the result is that the status of the tenant represents a close approach to that of a farm laborer in that there is little independence of operation of the farm. A share cropper is practically assured of average wages for his work, but he rarely makes a large income. From the standpoint of care of the land such a system under intelligent supervision may avoid the excesses in soil depletion characterizing farming by "cash renters" and "standing renters."

The various forms which the land contracts assume in different sections of the nation are too extensive for discussion in brief compass. The following account of the six different methods of renting land in the wheat areas of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Minnesota, Idaho, and Missouri are illustrative:

> The first method is called the "one-third share" method, under which the landlord receives one-third of the grain and furnishes land, dwelling, barn and other farm structures, fences, material for repairs, skilled help for making repairs, and grass seed, and also pays the real estate and road taxes. The tenant furnishes labor, work stock, machinery and tools, and seed grain, and pays for the twine and the expense for threshing.
>
> The second method is called the "one-half share" method where the landlord receives one-half of the crop and, in addition to furnishing what he does under the one-third share system, supplies all the stock and the seed grain pays one-half of the threshing-machine bill, and sometimes pays for half the twine.
>
> The third method is called the "two-fifths share" method, where the landlord receives two-fifths of the crop and both the landlord and the tenant contribute the same as under the system in which the landlord receives one-third; that is, the only difference between this method and the one-third share method is that the landlord receives a larger share of the products The reason for this better bargain is probably that the land is more productive.
>
> Another method is designated "one-half share of both crops and stock," when the crops and stock are divided equally between the landlord and tenant. The landlord in addition to what he contributes under the system in which he receives one-third, owns one-half of the productive stock except poultry, and bears one-half of the general farm expenses, except those for labor and repairs to machinery, while the tenant supplies all labor, owns all the work stock and farm machinery, keeps the machinery in repair, and owns one-half of the productive stock. Under this system each of the contracting parties gets one-half of all farm sales, except those from poultry or work stock, all of which

go to the tenant. When farms are rented for a share of crops and stock, the lease provides whether the tenant's work stock may or may not be fed from the grain and hay owned in common and used to feed the other stock.

Another method is the "two-thirds share" method, where the landlord receives two-thirds of the crop and supplies everything but man labor, that being the tenant's only contribution. Under this system the tenant receives one third of the grain only, while the landlord receives two-thirds of the proceeds from the sale of grain and all the proceeds from the sale of stock.

A few of the farms in the wheat belt are rented for cash, the cash rent system thus forming a sixth class or method of renting. In addition to these six types of tenancy, there are many modifications and exceptions which increase the complexity of the system.[1]

5. Facilitating Farm Ownership

There are many limiting factors in the translation of a tenant farmer into an owner farmer. A principal one is the lack of ambition, or the possession of ideals of ownership on the part of the tenant himself. In many instances his parents were themselves tenants, and he accepts the status of tenancy as a matter of course. The road from tenancy to ownership is not an easy one, unless it is by the route of inheritance of farm property or assets convertible into land, buildings, and equipment. Particularly, in times of agricultural depression, a tenant farmer must be an unusually efficient operator to save sufficiently to enter the estate of an owner. In such times, he has the advantage of lower land values. Many farmers are tenants, it must be remembered, because they were unsuccessful owner-operators, and still more to the point, because they are individuals incapable of managing their own enterprise without some element of supervision. This is especially the case with a large proportion of the cropper farmers of the South. If the tenant farmer is to become an owner, he must have accumulated a sufficient amount of capital to meet a part of the initial payment on the farm he would buy. Federal land banks and other credit agencies are usually willing to lend on first mortgage security 50 per cent of the value of the land purchased, but a second mortgage is more difficult to place unless the owner of the land which is sold is willing himself to hold this. Substantial savings on the part of the tenant reduce the second mortgage difficulty,

[1] Boeger, E. A. *Land Contracts in Typical Counties of the Wheat Belt.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bull. No. 850.

and the larger the measure of this reduction the better. Thus thrift must be combined with farming efficiency on the part of the tenant who aspires to ownership.

In order that tenancy may be reduced, and ownership facilitated, it is necessary that several situations should be improved, principal among which are the ones treated in the following paragraphs. The first need is that of more *education*, and particularly *as to ideals of ownership* on the part of our citizenship generally, especially among tenant farmers and their children. The advantages of ownership should be stressed, and the steps by which this is to be accomplished should be understood. The necessity of thrift and efficiency in farming, as well as other business undertakings, should be emphasized. Such a task as this must devolve largely upon the shoulders of the teacher and minister, since the selfish interests of the landlord are not likely to lead him to persuade a good tenant to leave him for independent operatorship.

The *emphasis in our rural credit* institutions, such as the federal farm loan system, must be placed more upon the purchase of land than it exhibits in its present functioning From their organization in 1914 to December 31, 1928, only 9.9 per cent of the loans made by the federal land banks were for the purchase of land. The proportion of this which was loaned to tenants in their efforts to become owners is not analyzed. Both for the sake of the financial stability of these land banks, and in the interest of a more wholesome effect upon our rural life, increasing emphasis should be placed upon this phase of the activities of the farm loan system

A *concentration* of *land ownership* in the hands of the few and the development of extensive *absentee landlordism should be avoided* as far as possible. The application of *a graduated land* tax has been suggested in this connection in order to discourage large land holdings, and to break up large estates into small individual holdings. "However, in Australasia, where the graduated land tax has been in operation for a number of years, it does not appear that it has had a decided effect in accomplishing this purpose. It is found that the graduated tax principle is difficult to apply. It is hard to determine a rate of taxation that will discourage the holding of large estates without resulting in confiscation. However, in those sections of the country where agricultural lands in large areas are being withheld from productive use for speculative pur-

poses, the sentiment favorable to the graduated land tax is growing." [1]

National and state land policies discouraging tenancy and increasing ownership must be carefully planned and effectively carried out. These ends in the state may best be promoted by the establishment of *state land commissions* for the purpose of studying the situation in the individual states, arousing public sentiment, securing desirable legislation, and evolving generally constructive policies. The federal and state governments should coöperate in a wider extension of *land colonization*. Private agencies do not effectively serve the larger social good in this respect, but the principle of state aid has proven effective in establishing such colonies in states like California and Wisconsin. Due to climatic advantages and the resulting crop adaptations, and to the large extent of idle lands in the coastal plain regions of the Southeastern States, large possibilities inhere in such a plan of land settlement of small holdings, primarily self-sufficient, with relatively small commercial surpluses. It is only a matter of time until an extensive use of such a plan must be applied in such areas, not only for the elevation of tenants to the estate of owners, but also to provide a means of livelihood for those thrown out of work by the increased efficiency of machines in our urban civilization.

QUESTIONS

1. Is it too idealistic to hope for a system of land tenure in which every man owns the farm on which he lives and works?
2. Why is a certain amount of tenancy inevitable?
3. For what reasons does Branson say that there is a certain magic about the ownership of land?
4. Explain what Walter Hines Page meant by the "forgotten man," and discuss the validity of the argument which he presents in that connection.
5. Enumerate the principal advantages of farm tenancy and tell why they may be considered as such.
6. Give the meaning of the term, "agricultural ladder."
7. What are the principal economic disadvantages of farm tenancy?
8. Discuss the four main blighting social consequences of large percentages of farm tenancy in a community.
9. Trace the growth of farm tenancy in the United States from 1880 through 1930.
10. Compare the wholesomeness of farm tenancy as an institution in the West and in the South.

[1] Bizzell, W. B. *Farm Tenantry in the United States.* Bull. No. 278, Texas Agric. Expt. Station, April, 1921, p. 390.

11. Which European countries have the highest percentages of farm tenancy?
12. Why do you suppose farm tenancy has been decreasing in Denmark and Canada and increasing in the United States?
13. Discuss the comparative extent of farm tenancy in the geographic divisions of the United States, calling attention to the regions where it is greatest and where it is least.
14. Consult Table 10 in the text and determine the six states having the highest percentages of farm tenancy, and the six states with the lowest. Note the figure for your home state
15. What types of farming show high percentages of farm tenancy and how do you account for the fact?
16. Discuss the validity of the theory that high-priced land and a high rate of tenancy usually go together.
17. Name and define the principal classes of tenants recognized by the United States Census.
18. Give the landlord and tenant relationships in "share cropping," "share renting," and "cash renting" as they exist in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta region.
19. What social and economic handicaps make the way from farm tenancy to farm ownership a difficult one?
20. Name four or five ways in which farm ownership may be facilitated for the tenant, and explain the manner in which each way would contribute to the desired goal.

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2. GRAY, L. C., STEWART, C. L., and others. "Farm Ownership and Tenancy." *Yearbook,* United States Department of Agriculture, 1923, pp. 507–600.
3. HAWTHORN, H. B. *The Sociology of Rural Life.* The Century Company, 1926, Chapter XII, pp. 230–249, "Economic Factors in Socialization: Land Occupancy."
4. GOLDENWEISER, E. A., and TRUESDELL, L. E. *Farm Tenancy in the United States.* Government Printing Office, 1924, Census Monographs Number IV, Chapters X and XI, pp. 83–114, "The Agricultural Ladder."
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CHAPTER IX

FARM LABOR AND WAGES

Since the family-farm characterizes American agriculture, most of the labor on farms in this country is that supplied by the farm operator and his sons. The Census of 1920 reports 10,647,438 persons engaged in farm work in the United States, of which number 6,448,343 were farm operators, and 4,041,627 were farm laborers. Women composed 792,915 of these farm laborers, the most of the female laborers consisting of negro women working on the farms of the South. As has been pointed out in the chapter on farm tenancy, the more than a half million croppers in this same region are little more than farm laborers, though they are classified by the census as farm operators. Approximately 45 per cent of all farms reported some hired labor in 1920. The proportion of farms reporting hired labor was lowest, 23.6 per cent, in the East South Central States, and highest, 61.4 per cent, in the Middle Atlantic and West North Central States. More than half of the farms in the United States in that year reported no hired farm laborers, all of the work on these farms being done by the members of the farm family.

A number of distinct elements enter into the farm labor supply in America.[1] The farmer's son constitutes perhaps the most important of these Brought up on a farm, he knows little else besides the technique of farming, and in his unemployed time on the family-farm, he hires out to a neighbor, or frequently goes to other localities to seek such work for longer periods of time. A considerable percentage of such laborers in the process are merely taking the first step up the agricultural ladder, next becoming a tenant, and then climbing to the rank of farm owner. Another source of farm labor is found among the population of cities and towns adjacent to the surrounding farm districts. This supply of labor furnishes much of the crop season and day labor for summer season demands, and in many localities meets the entire seasonal labor needs of the farm. The negro tenants in

[1] Loescher, D. D. *The Labor Market.* Macmillan, 1923, p. 306.

the South, often work by the day during their "spare time" on farms in the vicinity. The "backwoods farms" of the more newly settled and hillier regions often send thousands of their owners and sons to work as seasonal farm laborers in districts where agriculture is more profitable. "Transient laborers who work at other times in the lumber woods, on railroad work, for contractors, and in other employments go to the Mississippi Valley grain fields by the thousands during the harvest, while Mexicans come across the line to meet similar demands in the South, and Japanese in the far West." [1]

During the past several decades, there has been a tendency for farm labor to decrease. The reasons attributed for this by Warren [2] are as follows:

1. More emphasis is placed upon education today, and children remain in school much longer. In former years, children began farm work as soon as they were old enough and continued to work on the family-farm until they were of age, going to school for only a few months in the winter. Now, in some of the typical agricultural states, as large a proportion as one-third of the population is in school.

2. Farm families of today are probably smaller than formerly, and hence furnish less of a supply of farm labor.

3. There has been a decided tendency for the decrease of women doing farm work.

4. Tenancy is on the increase in about the same proportion as the decrease in hired men. Many men who might otherwise have sought work in such a capacity now become tenants.

5. The extensive industrialization and urbanization of the nation, with the prosperity in that phase of our national life has made for a stampede of young men from the farms to the cities. How much a migration may be checked is illustrated by the recent business depression and the resulting acute unemployment situation in the urban centers.

6. The increasing mechanization of farming has made fewer laborers necessary on the farms of the nation. Disastrous overproduction is one of the chief problems with which the farm industry of today must contend.

7. There has been a curtailment of foreign immigration, and

[1] *Ibid*, p. 306.
[2] Warren, G. F. *Farm Management*. Macmillan. 1922 pp. 330-331.

those which we have do not go to farms as much as formerly, because machine methods of farming present conditions with which the European is unfamiliar. Probably 95 per cent of American farming today calls for the use of machinery.

A part of this scarcity of labor is due to the farmer's attitude in the matter for "the typical farmer is still notoriously stupid over the matter of wages—constantly complaining of the shortage of labor, and when asked why he does not offer higher wages, indignantly replying that laborers ought to be only too grateful to get work at the wage he is offering. But this spirit does not lower the price of labor; it simply results in the farmer's demand being somewhat less than it might otherwise be, for the shortage of which he complains remains." [1]

In discussing the general complaint of farmers that farm labor is scarce and dear, Yoder points out that there has been a decrease in the number of farm laborers per one thousand acres of farmed land in the United States during the last thirty years. "By scarcity and dearness of farm labor, farmers may mean one of several things They often mean that farm labor cannot be hired for the same wage that was paid a generation ago, or even sixteen years ago They do not take into consideration the changed price level. They do not understand and appreciate the influence that the development of many competing industries of some sections has had on general wages. Again, when farmers complain of scarce and high farm labor, they mean that they cannot employ farm laborers cheaply during rush seasons when all other farmers are bidding for labor. They overlook the price they have to pay for the months of idleness when the farm laborer can find little or no work to do. With some farmers the shortage of farm labor is in the quality of the labor. These farmers complain that farm laborers are not content to work long hours, at many different tasks, and that they are not the responsible type of farm laborer found on farms a generation ago. These farmers do not realize that the number of hours in the standard day of work has been reduced materially in most industries, and that labor in general today demands more favorable working conditions. Unequal sectional distribution of labor makes labor scarce in some communities." [2]

[1] Hutt, W. H. *The Theory of Collective Bargaining.* P. S. King Co., 1930.

[2] Yoder, T. R. *Introduction to Agricultural Economics.* Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1929, pp. 268-282.

1. The Farmer's Labor Needs

Farming is not an industry uniform in its labor demands in the various sections of the country. However, the farmer's needs in this regard tend to fall into three general classes [1] somewhat as follows: (1) *Experienced, unskilled help.* Farming requires a great many workers who are experienced, but who are classed as unskilled to do the tedious, back-breaking work required in such operations as cotton chopping, cotton picking, asparagus cutting, tobacco harvesting, digging potatoes, cantaloupe picking, and such work. (2) *Experienced skilled help,* to do with little direction such work as milking, driving teams, operating mowers, binders, harvesters, tractors, engines, and pruning and spraying trees. (3) *Unskilled, inexperienced help,* to perform the more simple operations such as picking fruits which require little judgment in the process, cultivating many growing crops, hoeing weeds, and similar tasks. When farm labor is scarce, the principal difficulty resides in securing the first class of these labor requirements and the least stress is experienced in providing for the work which the unskilled, inexperienced help can do.

The following statement interestingly illustrates the variety of the tasks which the farmer in different kinds of agriculture must arrange for, and shows how it is that the farm utilizes the services not only of the farm boys of native American farmers, but also immigrants from Germany, Sweden, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Portugal, Russia, and other nations of the world.

> The general farmer needs steady, year-round men willing and able to do the variety of work incident to the production of stock and crops, to be supplemented in times of harvest or other "peak load" needs by additional hands for temporary use The farmer tending toward specialization, like dairying, fruit raising, sugar beet production, or field crops such as grain or hay or beans, requires a type of labor able to do just the kind of work necessary to successful production in his particular industry.
>
> A dairyman wants men all the year who are able and willing to be on hand twice a day at 12-hour intervals, milk 20 to 30 cows, and possibly feed in the barns and clean out the milking sheds. An alfalfa hay producer wants husky men during the harvest season who can handle teams in mowing and raking, lend a hand at cocking, hauling and stacking, and irrigate between cuttings. A grain grower requires men for the definite periods of putting in a crop. He then has an inter-

[1] Adams, R. L. *Farm Management.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1921, pp. 525–526.

val with no work until the hay or grain harvest starts. If harvesting is done by contract, the grower's interest in labor ceases with the hauling off of the crop and its safe delivery to car or warehouse. The fruit grower needs additional help for any work he can not do himself. On small acreages, this means extra help only at harvest—to gather the fruit and prepare it for sale or for drying—and in some cases at pruning time. The man operating an extensive acreage of fruit does little more than supervise the work, and in addition to harvest hands needs men to prune, spray, cultivate, and irrigate. Even among the fruit men a difference exists in the kinds of usable labor. For picking up prunes or walnuts, any labor can be utilized and so school children, Indians, and whole families of unskilled and inexperienced people are found to be satisfactory. For picking pears, or apples, or peaches, to be prepared for shipment, only experienced, skilled help is profitable. Spraying can be done with any good worker, but pruning demands men who understand the principles involved. Irrigating requires men who know how to apply water properly; it can not be done to advantage by inexperienced hands. The poultry man wants help that understands poultry feeding, sanitation, breeding, and preparation of poultry products for marketing. This work consists of much detail and requires a man who not only can do the work but is quiet and gentle with the fowls. The sugar beet grower requires men able to do the hard, monotonous, back-breaking work of thinning the growing plants, and pulling and topping the mature crop to prepare it for shipment.[1]

The same authority vividly sets forth from personal experiences the characteristics of several of the classes of farm labor available in the several sections of this country. The dominant source of farm labor it must be remembered is the surplus originating from the native farm stock, the social or class traits of which reflect the nature of American farmers. Such young men, if they continue for long in the country, are definitely using the status of hired man to step to the rank of tenant and then to independent owner-operator.

White Laborers.—The best general laborers the farmer can get are the Irish, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Germans, Poles, and Austrians, when the natives or descendants of these nationalities come from good old farming stock. The men are as a rule steady, reliable, kind to stock, and familiar with farm operations.

Unfortunately for the employer, perhaps, these men go into business for themselves as soon as they secure a little stake.

Hobo or Tramp Laborers.—Hobo or tramp laborers, white, constitute a kind of labor upon which many farmers must rely when extra hands are needed. Usually such laborers are troublesome and unreliable.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 525.

The men as a rule are drifters, seldom stay in one place for any length of time, are often trouble-makers, and usually feel themselves above their work.

The majority falling into this category seem to be men who have descended to their homeless condition by reason of bad habits, improper living, or misfortune. Most of them are intelligent, a good many educated, and they do not as a rule take kindly to farm work, or to work of any kind, for that matter. At the best they are unstable, staying only a limited length of time, or until the spirit moves them and they are off.

When the wanderlust is coming on, they are fidgety, fault-finding, and surly.

Within this group not all men are equally capable. In fact, among the latter are many who may correctly be classed as "unemployables"—mentally defective or physically weak. Many of these men are incapable of doing a reasonable day's work on any farm. It is these that largely make up the crowds hanging around poolrooms, saloons and employment agencies, at least during times when help is scarce. This condition often leads to the belief that there is plenty of help. Experience in such instances has frequently proved, however, that only a small percentage of the men care to consider a farm job, many of them hanging around for something calling for but two or three hours' work at a small wage, while of those who will consider farm work only a few can be used to advantage.

Italian and Portuguese Laborers.—In general these men exhibit more or less of traits in common when employed in agricultural pursuits. They make some of the best ranch help now available. They are pretty fair in handling stock, and seem to have an inborn love of farming.

As a rule they are rather sensitive and inclined to be emphatic in their likes and dislikes. They won't tolerate abusive treatment. When a new foreman is placed over them, they are likely to line up, look him over, and if the decision is adverse, to walk off in a body.

Once the employer secures their respect and esteem, they will work well and steadily. They will answer emergency calls to lend a hand either day or night. They require careful handling, and not every foreman is so gifted that he can make a success with them.

It is interesting to view the expanding of immigrants of these races. First of all they are entirely happy just to be alive and out in the open. They will work with crowbar, shovel, or pitch fork. Then they want to drive a horse—as in the barn dump cart, then they want a pair, until finally with eight or more head strung out in front of them, they feel themselves duly accredited citizens.

Negro Laborers.—The colored man—the mainstay of southern farming—is characterized as home-loving, peaceable, easy going, gregarious, sometimes shiftless, always good natured and affable. Negro labor characteristics are pretty generally the same throughout the South, although they vary greatly as to individuals. Men, women, and children all work, many of the men being exceptionally well developed physi-

cally. Greatest success is attained in the use of this labor when they are in sufficient numbers to insure companionship and to justify cabins separate from the main farm buildings. These people are good hand workers, *e.g.*, in hoeing, planting, weeding, clearing land. They take readily to handling horses and mules. Their best work is done in the warmer sections, as they dislike the colder climates and higher altitudes. They are careless about store accounts, are inveterate "borrowers," and are neither frugal nor saving—a few dollars being a sufficient excuse for knocking off work until the accumulation is spent. Employers strive to prevent too long periods of inactivity by systematically encouraging spending for good food, fine clothes, phonographs, automobiles, and jewelry, utilizing the part payment plan for the more expensive items.

Mexican Laborers.—The common Mexican peon or laborer is usually a peaceful, somewhat childish, rather lazy, unambitious fairly faithful person. He occasionally needs to be stirred up to get him to work, but if treated fairly he will work faithfully.

Mexican labor is limited to the warmer sections. In the southwest Mexicans are extensively relied upon to supply cheap hand labor. The Mexicans are as a rule a clannish, self-effacing people. When held in not too large numbers or worked in competition with other races, they prove willing and fairly reliable help.

Of the two classes, resident and transient, the former is more desirable for farm work. Mexicans as a race can do practically anything, as thinning sugar beets, teaming, range riding, pick and shovel work, fruit picking and handling, cutting corn, etc. They are fairly good with machines but are not particularly adept at milking or handling complicated machinery

Japanese Laborers.—The Japanese are good hand workers, especially at squat labor such as cutting asparagus, truck gardening, berry growing, sugar beet thinning and topping, melon picking, gathering walnuts, and for picking, sorting, and packing of various deciduous and citrus fruits.

They are not mechanically inclined, and only occasionally satisfactory as teamsters. Japanese are seldom found in dairies, or on beef or sheep ranges, and only occasionally in the production of such field crops as barley, wheat, oats, cotton and alfalfa.

Their specialty runs largely to the production of fruits, melons, rice, sugar beets, beans, corn, potatoes and truck crops.

As a class they are ambitious, studious (often studying deep into the night after a hard day), cleanly, self-effacing, and law abiding.

The business standards of the Japanese differ considerably from those of Americans. Hence, the Japanese does not feel compelled to respect his agreements if able to force a change more advantageous to himself. From American standpoints they are therefore sometimes tricky in regard to contracts, as for example in failing to remove stumps under a wood-cutting contract, or in seeking to fulfill the terms of an agreement with scant weights or measures. Where Japanese of both

sexes are present in numbers, their personal habits are likely to be open to American criticism.

Chinese Laborers.—Chinese labor is now largely a thing of the past. A few old men still work in the potato and sugar beet fields and at vegetable gardening. But they are fast dying off. The young native born Chinese prefer the store or the kitchen. Chinese labor is no longer a factor with the American farmer, outside of a few cooks, gardeners, and houseboys.

Chinese labor as a rule is slow in motion, but very reliable and trustworthy. The Chinese takes a pride in his work and in fulfilling his contracts. He is set in his ways, however, and when taught a certain way to do a thing will continue to follow the method ever after [1]

2. Wages of Farm Labor

Wages have been defined as the payment for the services of labor.[2] In a theoretical consideration of the problem of wages, the social significance of the services of any laborer in any group tends to conform to the services of the marginal laborer in that group. The product of this marginal laborer constitutes the maximum claim that any laborer can make on the income from industry, and this amount is what is known as the *economic or imputed wage*. While the economic wage enters into a determination of the *contractual wage*, these two concepts are different. However, it is obvious that the latter could not and does not exceed the former over any considerable length of time, or else the industry would go on the rocks. Theoretically under conditions of perfect competition and mobility of labor, the contractual wage tends to equal the economic wage.

In considering the problem of the wages of farm labor another distinction must be taken into consideration. The *money wages* or *cash wages* are often not the same as the *real wages* because so often many perquisites in the way of meals, lodging, laundry, and other services are afforded the farm laborer in addition to the money wage. "The English custom in discussing farm wages takes total remuneration into account. It is common practice there to set the total wage first, and then to determine a farm laborer's cash wages by deducting the values of perquisites to be given. Americans use practically a reverse process, which is less comprehensive. They usually base their consideration on cash wages, modified by inclusion or exclusion of board, which is commonly

[1] Adams, R. L. *Op. cit.*, pp. 519–525.
[2] Deibler, F. S. *Principles of Economics*. McGraw-Hill Co., 1929.

understood to include lodging, especially in the case of unmarried laborers, and often understood to include washing. This method does not take account of other payments in kind or of privileges of value also given to farm laborers." [1]

TABLE 12

FARM WAGE RATES AND INDEX NUMBERS, 1866–1928 [2]
(1910–1914 = 100)

YEAR	AVERAGE YEARLY FARM WAGE *				INDEX NUMBERS OF FARM WAGES
	PER MONTH		PER DAY		
	WITH BOARD	WITHOUT BOARD	WITH BOARD	WITHOUT BOARD	
	dollars	*dollars*	*dollars*	*dollars*	*dollars*
1866 †	10.09	15.50	.64	.90	55
1869	9.97	15.50	.63	.87	54
1874 or 1875	11.16	17.10	.68	.94	59
1877 or 1879 ‡	10.86	16.79	.61	.84	56
1879 or 1880	11 70	17.53	64	.89	59
1880 or 1881	12.32	18.52	.67	.92	62
1881 or 1882	12.33	19 11	.70	.97	65
1884 or 1885	13.08	19.22	.71	.96	65
1887 or 1888	13.29	19.67	.72	.98	66
1889 or 1890	13.29	19.45	.72	.97	66
1891 or 1892	13.48	20.02	.73	.98	67
1893	13.85	11.97	.73	.92	67
1894	12.70	18.57	.65	.84	61
1895	12.75	18.74	.65	.85	62
1898	13.29	19.16	.71	.94	65
1899	13.90	19.97	.75	.99	69
1902	15.51	22 12	.83	1.09	76
1906	19.73	26.19	1.03	1.32	92
1909	20 48	28.00	1.04	1.31	96
1910	19 58	28.04	1 07	1.40	97
1911	19.85	28.33	1.07	1.40	97
1912	20.46	29 14	1.12	1.44	101
1913	21.27	30.21	1.16	1.48	104
1914	20.90	29.72	1.11	1.44	101
1915	21.08	29 97	1.12	1.45	102
1916	23.04	32 58	1.24	1.60	112
1917	28.64	40 10	1 56	2.00	140
1918	35.12	49 13	2 05	2.61	176
1919	40 14	56.77	2 44	3 10	203
1920	47.24	65 05	2.54	3.56	230
1921	30.25	43 58	1.66	2.17	150
1922	29.31	42 09	1 64	2.14	146
1923	32.09	46.74	1.91	2.45	166
1924 §	33.24	47.22	1 85	2.44	166
1925 §	33.88	47.80	1.89	2.46	168
1926 §	34.86	48.86	1.91	2.48	171
1927 §	34.58	48.63	1.90	2.46	170
1928 §	34.06	48.65	1.88	2.43	169

* Yearly averages are from reports by crop reporters, giving average wages for the year in their localities.

† Years 1866 to 1878 in gold.

‡ 1877 or 1878, 1878 or 1879 (combined).

§ Weighted average of quarterly reports, April (weight 1), July (weight 5), October (weight 5), and January of the following year (weight 1)

[1] Folsom, J. C. *Perquisites and Wages of Hired Farm Laborers.* U. S. Department of Agriculture. Technical Bull. No. 213, 1931. p. 1.

[2] Source: *Yearbook* U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1930, p. 999.

The table on page 184 gives the farm wage rates and the index numbers from 1866 through 1928, the index number figured on the 1910–14 wage rate as 100. In 1866 the farm laborer in the United States received on the average, without board, $15.50 per month, or about 90 cents per day. The peak was reached in 1920, when the wage per month without board was $65.05, giving an index number of 239, or almost two and a half times that of the average from 1910–14 By 1928, this had declined to $48.65, and an index number of 169.

There is considerable variation in wages for farm labor in the several sections of the nation. In July, 1929, the average wage rate per month without board in the North Atlantic States was $70.97; in the North Central States, $58.18; in the South Atlantic States, $35.77; in the South Central States, $37.44; and in the Far Western States, the corresponding figure was $79.11, with an average of $50 53 per month for the entire United States. Thus we see that the wage rate in the North Atlantic and Far Western States was about twice that prevailing in the South.

As to some of the basic causes for variations in wages paid farm laborers, Taylor calls attention to the facts that "the wage of a given man at a given time and place is the result of a bargain made by the employer and the employee. The amount the wage worker will take depends upon his desire for employment and the pay offered in the various positions open to him. The amount the employer is willing to pay depends upon the use he has for the man and the number of men offering their services The maximum wage is determined by the productivity of labor but the actual wage is the resultant of competition among workers for positions, and among employers for men. Variations in wages in different parts of the United States and on the same job are due to differences in the qualities of the men, in the degree of responsibility placed upon the men, the character of the work, and the conditions of life. Differences in different localities may be due to differences in the relative abundance of men. It is probable also that differences in the cost of living will have a considerable influence upon the wage rate required to draw or hold laborers in a given community. For example, wages are low in the South as compared with the North. This may be attributed to several things. The quality of the labor may be lower. The cost of living is less, hence the supply may multiply on a lower income scale in the South. In

the Western States wages have been relatively high, due largely to the relative scarcity as compared with the East. In general the price-fixing forces operate in much the same manner in determining the price paid for labor as in determining the price paid for the products of the land. One difference when compared with a staple of world commerce like wheat, arises out of the fact that the supply of laborers does not move so readily from place to place to adjust itself to the demand as the wheat supply does. Any arrangement which will provide for the easy shifting of labor will tend to bring the wages to the same level for men of the same ability in regions far from each other if the living conditions are the same." [1]

A recent study [2] of the Federal Bureau of Agricultural Economics demonstrates that the simple quoting of wage rates with or without board does not give an accurate story of total values of remuneration of farm laborers. Among the perquisites given non-casual hired farm laborers were board, lodging, dairy and poultry products, meats or meat products, flour or meal, vegetables and fruit, miscellaneous foods, privilege of keeping some kind of livestock, feed for livestock, pasturage or range for livestock, garden space, garage space, use of employers' horses or mules, use of tools and vehicles, and a number of miscellaneous items. The casual farm laborers also receive a number of perquisites of a similar nature. There is to be noted a distinct difference between the perquisites afforded married and unmarried laborers. The addition of these perquisite values to the wage rates of the several thousand instances comprehended in the study raised the figures for total remuneration of boarded non-casual laborers to 179 per cent, and of those not boarded, to 151 per cent of the money wage averages. The respective percentages for the casual laborers were found to be 141 and 108 The same study "also shows that real wages of American farm laborers are higher than are commonly quoted or believed, even when perquisites are reckoned at farm values. Real farm wages are shown to equal or to exceed the average full-time and actual earnings of common laborers in some representative industries" And if in reckoning their values, the farm perquisites were based on city values of similar goods and services, the comparative showing of real farm wages would be decidedly better.

[1] Taylor, H. C. *Outlines of Agricultural Economics*. Macmillan, 1931, pp. 186–187.
[2] Folsom, J. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 52–55.

3. Handling Farm Labor

The successful handling of farm labor is an exceedingly important phase of the farming industry. The matter is considerably simplified when the labor to be handled is that of the farm family, but even here a considerate and tactful approach to the matter is desirable. To drive young people to the work which they must perform is one of the most certain ways to establish a deep-seated antipathy to farming, and anything that savors of it. Rather to develop in them the sense of partnership is the way to arouse their best capacities and interest in the enterprise. Many parents deny their children the opportunity of making even the comparatively small amounts of spending money which give to them the self-respect to which they are entitled in their social relationships with the other young people of the community. It denotes wisdom on the part of parents to make the lives of their young sons and daughters as happy as possible on the farm; and it is a good business policy to do so, even though there were not more worthy arguments in favor of such an attitude

Where hired labor is employed, the problem becomes much more complex. If the hired man is a single young man of good habits, and race extractions do not conflict, the situation is often accommodated by taking him into the home, and virtually making him a member of the family. However, when he does not come of a compatible element for such treatment, no such simple formula is possible. The matter of proper housing is a most important one; for the operator who treats his labor best is usually the one who secures the best labor The peculiarities of negro labor, of Mexican labor, of Japanese, and other nationalities must be understood if one is to get along well with them, and to secure efficient results from them. The Northerner who moves South to farm can learn much worth while from the long experience of the Southerner in handling negro labor; as can the Southerner learn indispensable lessons from the Far Westerner in handling labor of Oriental extraction. Where any considerable amount of labor is hired in the farming enterprise, one of the most important elements in the profitableness of the venture is the successful handling of labor, which it must be remembered is the dear factor in American farming.

It is desirable from the standpoint of labor, as well as of the

farming enterprise, that as far as possible productive work should be provided throughout the year. In this connection Spillman says that "farm work, at least on the average for a series of years, pays only ordinary wages for work actually done. It is therefore necessary that farmers following the usual types of farming find something profitable to do the year round in order to make a decent living. But field crops, for the most part, give occupation only during the summer. The farmer must find other means of employment in winter. This is undoubtedly one of the reasons for the great prominence of the dairy industry along our northern border and in the northern half of the country generally. In the Corn Belt many farmers feed beef cattle, hogs, or sheep, primarily for winter employment, though the necessity of producing manure to keep the land productive is also a consideration. In the South, where the winters are mild, and where farmers can work most of the year in the field, livestock enterprises are much less common, and are not generally adopted where profitable crop enterprises are feasible. The more nearly it is possible to devise a system affording an even distribution of both man and horse labor throughout the year by the introduction of enterprises that are well adapted to local conditions, the greater will be the advantage from doing so." [1]

The harvest seasons in the various parts of the nation are the ones in which the seasonal demands for labor are the heaviest. Labor-saving machinery is applied to the cultivation of crops quite extensively and rather generally except in the more backward parts of the country. But many of the harvesting methods are still performed by hand and back-breaking labor, and usually must be done in a severely limited period of time for best results This is particularly the case with fruits and vegetables where often a day's delay is a serious matter. This need for large amounts of casual labor to carry out such operations has led to the development of three streams of migratory labor each year proceeding from the Southern to the Northern farming regions. These are well described as follows:

The Atlantic Coast Stream.—One of these streams starts early in the year in Florida. As the harvesting of the winter crop of vegetables is completed, the stream moves northward through the truck growing

[1] Spillman, W. J. *Farm Management.* Orange Judd Publishing Co., 1923, pp. 378, 380.

sections along the Atlantic Coast, stopping at such trucking centers as Beaufort, Meggets, and Charleston, S. C.; Wilmington and New Berne, N. C.; Norfolk, Va.; the Eastern Shore of Virginia and Maryland; Central New Jersey and Long Island. Here the stream divides, part of it going up the Connecticut River into the tobacco and truck fields of Connecticut and Massachusetts, the other going up the Hudson River and turning west into Western New York, where large areas are devoted to truck and fruit farming. At the end of the season the streams vanish, to reappear again in Florida the next spring.

The Plains Region Stream.—In the great wheat growing region along the eastern margin of the western Plains Region another stream of migratory labor begins to appear in Texas and Oklahoma at the beginning of wheat harvest, in late May and early June. The stream is small at first. With the advance of the harvest season the stream flows northward into Kansas and Nebraska, reaching a volume of probably 50,000 men by this time. Here it meets a hiatus between the season for harvesting winter wheat and that for harvesting spring wheat farther north, and gradually melts away. There is an interval of about two weeks in which little labor is available to the horde of migrants. But when wheat harvest begins in the spring wheat states the stream reappears, finally passing into the important wheat growing provinces of Western Canada. On account of the high wages paid for this harvest work, many of these migrants are experienced farm boys from the states to the eastward. Many young men who are going to college in winter spend their summers in the harvest fields. But a large part of the stream is made up of itinerant laborers who are little above the grade of tramp, and men of this class are very unsatisfactory laborers.

Pacific Coast Stream.—The large amount of small grain, fruit, and vegetables grown in the Pacific Coast states, and the consequent large demand for harvest labor in that section, combined with the great extent of the region from north to south, gives rise to a third stream of migratory labor. It begins in Southern California, very early in the season, finding employment in truck growing sections at first. Later comes the harvest of small grains, of which California produces a large area. Thence the stream works northward into the grain fields and fruit orchards of Northern California; thence into Oregon, and finally terminates in the grain fields of Central Washington.

Possibilities of Coöperation between Country and City.—During the recent European war, when nearly every able bodied young man was drafted into the army, we learned that there are important possibilities of coöperation between city and country in this matter of harvest labor. There are hundreds of thousands of young people who spend their winters in school but who are without profitable employment in summer, to say nothing of the vast army of teachers. There are also some seasonal industries in the cities that give employment in winter only. It would be a splendid thing for these people who need healthful and profitable employment in summer if they could be properly trained for the work and then be employed to relieve the shortage of labor on

the farm at the harvest season. Efforts in this direction were made during the war, with considerable success, but with the passing of the war emergency the efforts were abandoned. It would add materially to the per capita production of wealth if a system of this kind could be made a part of our national economy.[1]

4. Child Labor on Farms

Much attention has been given to the matter of child labor in the manufacturing industries, and great advances have been made towards improving the situation in that regard. It is only comparatively recently that scarcely any focus has been made upon the problem of child labor on farms. Undoubtedly, there is much to sustain the position that the numerous opportunities for light labor in the chores, and even the hoeing of crops, the gathering of fruits and vegetables, the picking of cotton and similar tasks about the farm afford employment for the leisure of farm children in a way that can be beneficial rather than injurious. Where the point of view of the welfare of the child is kept prominently in the foreground by the parents, there can be no valid criticism of the child's doing his reasonable share of the farm work. But it is so easy for the emphasis to be placed upon the exploitation of the child's best interests to the advantage of the profitableness of the farming enterprise. The parent would indignantly deny any such tendency, but unconsciously such an attitude is altogether too often an animating one.

The census figures pertaining to child labor on farms is far from as revealing as one would like in this regard, and there is room for much improvement in the collection and reporting of such significant data. In 1920, there were 1,065,858 children of the ages from 10 through 15 years employed in gainful occupations. Of these 647,309 were reported as in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry, or around 64 per cent of the total. A striking decrease in the number of children 10 to 15 years of age in the agricultural pursuits is indicated over the decade from 1910 to 1920. Unfortunately, the difference in the basis of reporting for the two census periods vitiates the comparability of the data. However, as between 1900 and 1920, there were only about three-fifths as many children in the later period in these pursuits as at the beginning of the century.[2] The enumeration of 1920 does not report as gain-

[1] Spillman, W. J. *Op. cit.*, pp. 381–382.
[2] *U. S. Census of 1920*, Vol. IV, "Occupations," pp. 14, 30, 376.

fully employed in agriculture and related pursuits those children who work for their parents at home merely on general household work, on chores, or at odd times on other work. It includes those who work *regularly* for their own parents on a farm, or those who work as farm laborers for others.

The National Child Labor Committee has sponsored studies of children working on farms in West Virginia [1] and in Colorado.[2] In both of these publications it is found that child work on farms prevails to an extent interfering with the education, recreation, health, and hence normal development of large numbers of children. Armentrout cites two instances as illustrative.

> A man and his 14-year-old boy were sawing firewood in the woodland. Besides this boy there were two smaller children in the family. The man owned a fair-sized, fertile farm and operated a threshing machine, from which he had made a considerable amount of money during the past season. The boy had gone along with the thresher as feeder, doing a man's work, for which he received no pay whatever, the father saying that sometimes he gave him a nickel, that he boarded him and clothed him, and that that was as much as *he* got when *he* was a boy. School was in session but the boy had not attended more than a third of the time. He was in the third grade. When asked what he would like to do when he got older, his father, before the boy could answer, said: "Bill will do just what I tell him to do till he is twenty-one, if he stays under my roof. After that he is his own boss and can shift for '*hisself!*'" It is not likely that "twenty-one" will find Bill under his father's roof. "Twenty-one," the very time when the burden should definitely shift from the shoulders of the parent onto those of the child, is the time fixed for just the opposite.
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> Another parent, a man who had four children between 10 and 15 years of age, talking about the kind and amount of work his girls and boys did, made this remark: "Our bunch is profitable to us all right." The majority of the rural children are born of and raised by parents having an attitude very similar to that of these two. They are not to be condemned for they have not caught the newer vision of childhood, in which the parent owes all to the child till he reaches maturity.[3]

In the sugar beet growing sections of Colorado studied by Coen,[4] it was found that more than 1,000 working children of all tenures and ages were utilized in the handwork of the crops an

[1] Armentrout, W. W. "Child Labor and Farms." Chapter II, *Rural Child Welfare* by E. N. Clopper. Macmillan, 1922, pp. 52–93.

[2] Coen, B. F. and others. *Children Working on Farms in Certain Sections of Colorado.* Colorado Agric. College Bull Series 27, No. 2, Nov., 1923.

[3] Armentrout, W. W. *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

[4] Coen, B. F., and others. *Op. cit.*, pp. 5–6.

average of 8.3 hours per day for an average of 44 days. Little difference existed between the children of owner and tenant farmers, the length of the work day approximating the average, but where the children were members of families operating on a contract basis, they labored an average of 9.4 hours per day. Though the average was only 8.3 hours per day, in the blocking and thinning processes, 26 children worked 14 hours a day, 23 worked 13 hours a day, 115 worked 12 hours a day, 147 worked 11 hours a day, and 377 worked 10 hours a day. The greatest excesses in this regard were found among the contract children. A distinct interference was found with school attendance. Seven and nine-tenths per cent of the owner children missed school to work in the beet harvest; 18.1 per cent of the tenant children, and 47.8 per cent of the contract children. Thus more than six times as many proportionately of the contract children as of the owner children stayed out of school to work on the farm. More than 90 per cent of the school time lost by the contract children was because of employment in the production of sugar beets. A marked retardation in school work was found in all of the schools of the district because of such interference. This retardation varied from 41.7 per cent in the school least affected to 94.7 per cent in the one most disorganized as a result of absences for farm work.

The findings in West Virginia and Colorado, which doubtless may be duplicated in almost every part of the nation, dispel the idea that all farm children work under conditions that are conducive to their best interests. They substantiate the view that as at present handled the situation challenges serious attention and necessitates marked improvement. The extent to which children are employed seems to depend on two main factors: "the attitude of the parents toward the work of children, and the economic status of the home. The former is by far the most important determining factor, and when it is adverse to the child's welfare and appears in combination with an unfavorable economic status, the child grows up under extremely unfortunate conditions." In this connection the following conclusions appear eminently valid and worthy of national consideration: "There is a child labor problem on the farms, because some of the work children are doing is interfering with their education, injuring the health of some of them, and because the unfavorable attitude toward recreation and the belief that work is the only thing worth while for the child, is

robbing the children of their rights to recreation and wholesome play. The work done by the majority of rural children, because of the poor instruction they receive, is not educational. They take very little interest in the work because they receive no personal profits from it. They are not acquiring habits of saving or learning intelligent methods of spending. It is a small minority that are enjoying the benefits that a home in the country can afford. With child labor converted into children's work, which means progress in education, promotion of health and physical development, direction of wholesome play and recreation, appreciation of the importance and place of work, acquisition of thrifty habits, and coöperation in community building, we can conceive of no better place for the rearing of children. Under such conditions rural children would become the backbone of a great nation The foundation of the rural structure is good; we need no radical changes, but a gradual conversion of child labor into children's work, with all this term implies.

"We are dealing here with a scattered population, really with individuals. It does not seem wise to endeavor to control this labor by laws similar to those applying to industry. The enforcement of such laws alone would make this out of the question for the present. There must be some economic adjustment before the state can compel the farmer to observe certain hours and conditions of work for his children; he must be able to support his family without sacrificing the welfare of the child. Again the individualism of rural people will not permit of too much state control. It is, nevertheless, a matter for the state to control, but by indirect legislation which has this object in view." [1]

In the light of present knowledge of the subject, the remedial measures seem to reside in the establishment of adequate compulsory school attendance laws, accompanied by a reorganization of rural schools as far as possible to prevent conflict at times of stress periods of work. Also, the extension of 4-H Club work to encompass children's farm work is recommended in order that children's work may be substituted for child labor. Every effort in an educational way must be exerted to inform parents intelligently with regard to rural child welfare, so that a definite consciousness may be aroused as to the disastrous consequences of a blind policy concerning the best long-time interests of their children who in most

[1] Armentrout, W. W. *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

instances are paramount in importance among the other phases of the parents' lives.

QUESTIONS

1. Give the number of persons engaged in farm work in the United States in 1920, the number of those who were farm operators, the number who were farm laborers, and the number of female farm laborers.
2. What proportion of the farms in this country reported some hired labor in 1920? In what geographical divisions was this proportion the highest? In which was it the lowest?
3. Discuss the distinct elements which enter into the farm labor supply in the United States.
4. Name several reasons why there has been a tendency for farm labor to decrease in the past several decades.
5. Into what three general classes do the farmer's labor needs tend to fall?
6. Describe the variety of tasks for which the farmer must arrange in the different kinds of agriculture.
7. Justify the statement that "the dominant and generally most satisfactory source of farm labor in the United States is the surplus originating from the native farm stock."
8. Name the nationalities of the best immigrant farm laborers in this country.
9. Discuss the characteristics of the following classes of farm laborers: (1) Hobo, or tramp laborers; (2) Italian and Portuguese laborers; (3) negro laborers; (4) Mexican laborers; (5) Japanese laborers; and (6) Chinese laborers.
10. Explain what is meant by the "economic or imputed wage" and the "contractual wage"; and why, theoretically, under conditions of perfect competition and mobility of labor, the contractual wage tends to equal the economic wage.
11. Distinguish between the "money or cash wages" and the "real wages" of farm labor.
12. Compare the wages of farm labor in the United States in 1866 with those prevailing in 1920, and in 1928.
13. Discuss the variation existing among the wage rates prevailing in the different geographical divisions of the United States.
14. Give Taylor's views as to some of the basic causes for variations in the wages paid farm laborers.
15. On what grounds does a recent study of the Federal Bureau of Agricultural Economics contend that the simple quoting of wage rates with or without board does not give an accurate picture of the real wages of farm laborers?
16. Why is the successful handling of farm labor an exceedingly important phase of the farming enterprise? What are some of the human factors entering into this problem?
17. Discuss the desirability, from the standpoint of labor, as well as from that of the farming enterprise, that, as far as possible, productive work should be provided throughout the year.
18. What is meant by the "seasonal demand" for farm labor? Describe the

three main streams of migratory labor in the United States, and the possibilities of coöperation between country and city in the matter of harvest labor.

19. To what extent is child labor a problem in American farming? Is it becoming less so? Narrate the findings of studies of child labor made by the National Child Labor Committee on farms in West Virginia and Colorado.
20. What two main factors operate to determine the extent to which children are employed on farms? Discuss the nature of the remedial measures which should be developed to improve the conditions with regard to child labor on farms in this country.

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CHAPTER X

RURAL CREDIT

The farmer like other business men uses credit extensively in carrying on his farming enterprise. Due to the many risks to which he is subject, both in the uncertainty of weather and plant and animal diseases, and in the matter of disastrous fluctuations from year to year in the prices he receives for his products, it would be much better if he operated his farm more nearly on a cash basis As a matter of fact, it is the exceptional farmer who has enough cash reserves to do this, and since this is an age of credit, the American farmer produces his crop each year largely upon resources made available to him through the instrumentalities of credit.

By credit is meant a relationship which involves both a creditor and a debtor. The concrete example may be cited of a Western farmer who needs a combine which his sound business judgment tells him he can use to profitable advantage. He borrows the necessary money to buy the machinery, let us say from a commercial bank, leaving with the bank in the form of a note his promise to pay at a certain time. In this instance the bank which lends the money is the creditor, and the farmer to whom the money is loaned is the debtor. The farmer finds his combine a great saving in labor and time, his costs of production are lowered and his profits thereby increased, and he takes up his note at the bank, paying the accumulated interest when he does so. This closes the particular transaction, and places the bank in position to lend again to the same or another individual.

The question logically arises as to whether credit increases the amount of wealth existent at the time the credit negotiation is made. The answer is that it does not since credit is merely an instrumentality by means of which the wealth accumulations, usually in the form of money, of individuals who do not desire to use it themselves is made available to other individuals who would like to use these resources as they believe in a profitable way. In the case of the farmer and the combine just cited, the farmer uses

the credit extended in a manner which creates additional values and the credit thus utilized is the instrumentality through which the aggregate of wealth in society is enhanced. If the farmer had found the purchase of the combine unwarranted and had sustained heavy losses as a result of the investment, the credit extended might have represented in large measure annihilated wealth. Thus credit may be either wise or unwise depending upon the particular instance. However, the institution of credit has had a number of safeguards built up around it so that through adequate security the position of the creditor may be protected in the loan.

1. Classes of Farm Credit

In practically all discussions of farm credit, it is divided into three main classes. When viewed from the standpoint of the length of time for which the credit is extended it is classified as (1) *short-term* or "short-time" credit, covering periods from one day to six months; (2) *intermediate credit*, or that extending over periods from six months to three years; and (3) *long-term* or "long-time" *credit*, ranging from three to forty years or more. A second classification of rural credit is that made according to the purpose for which it may be secured.[1] According to such a category, farm credit is to be designated as (1) *land-purchase credit*, (2) *development and equipment credit*, and (3) *production and marketing credit*, depending upon the purposes for which it is needed. A third classification is with regard to the form of security offered with the loan. Under such a classification, rural credit may be designated as (1) *farm mortgage credit* and (2) *personal and collateral credit*. These classifications, as is true of nearly all efforts to systematize a set of phenomena are by no means mutually exclusive. Thus long-term credit is usually land-purchase and farm mortgage credit, as well. Farm mortgage credit also applies to development and equipment credit which usually is intermediate credit. Similarly production and marketing credit may be short-term or intermediate credit secured as personal and collateral credit.

Short-term credit is estimated to amount to between 30 and 35 per cent of the outstanding credit extended to farmers. This is the form of credit which the farmer commonly uses in the production and marketing of his crop. It is obtained by the farmer from

[1] See Olsen, Nils A., and others. "Farm Credit, Farm Insurance and Farm Taxation." *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1924, pp. 185–238.

a number of sources. Principal among these are the commercial banks, largely country banks, but large amounts of short-term credit are extended by local merchants, implement dealers, livestock and produce commission firms, canning factories, fertilizer companies, cotton factories, livestock loan companies, and private lenders. "The bulk of the short-term credit is supplied by commercial banks. This source is supplemented by credit extended by merchants and by loans from private sources. In the better developed sections of the United States, the short-term needs of farmers appear to be adequately cared for. In other sections where banks are not so well developed, farmers are too dependent upon store credit for their short-term requirements. This form of credit is very expensive and if possible should be avoided. It is particularly important in the South. Except in the South, farmers are as well supplied with short-term credit as are other small business men." [1]

Intermediate credit, covering periods of from six months to three years, is principally designed for development and equipment credit, or for production and marketing credit not provided for in the range of short-term credit The production and marketing of livestock often calls for credit extensions from one to three years in extent. If a farmer is developing an orchard or draining a piece of land, building fences for pasture lands and like operations the returns are usually not sufficiently quick to come under the customary accommodations of short-term credit Special provision has been made for such credit by the establishment of federal intermediate credit banks which are rediscounting agencies for intermediate credit paper of individuals handled through cooperative marketing associations, agricultural credit corporations, livestock loan companies and similar organizations, and state and national banks. However, a large part of the intermediate loans to individual farmers is still handled as short-term loans, renewed from time to time in order to extend over the desired period.

Long-term credit is the most widely used of all the forms of rural credit It is applied mainly to the purchase of land or to make permanent improvements on farm property. The farm mortgage is the security usually offered for long term credit In

[1] Black, A. G. "Agricultural Credit in the United States," *Proceedings* of the Second International Conference of Agricultural Economists, George Banta Publishing Co., 1930, p. 986.

spite of the establishment of federal and joint-stock land banks, commercial banks, state and national, still lead in the extension of long-term rural credit. The mortgage debt of the farms of the United States in 1926 was estimated by the Federal Department of Agriculture to be around $9,500,000,000. At the close of the year 1926, the federal land and joint-stock land banks reported an aggregate of $2,018 329,200 loans to farmers on mortgage security, first mortgage loans only being extended by these federal institutions. In addition to the commercial banks, especially state banks, trust companies, and savings banks, and the federal and joint-stock land banks, the most important sources of long-term credit to farmers are: life insurance companies, farm mortgage companies, owners of land and private investors, and in a few instances, state funds and state credit agencies.

2. Permanent Credit Facilities

The credit needs of farmers vary widely from the purchase of land to the payment of doctors' bills and buying shoes for the children. The range of credit facilities is also wide, as has been pointed out in the preceding discussion. But "in seeking to obtain loans, farmers find a high degree of specialization in the operations of the financial institutions. Federal and joint-stock land banks, insurance companies and mortgage companies as a rule accept only first real estate mortgages at conservative valuations, and their advances have maturities of more than three years. Agricultural credit corporations and livestock loan companies specialize in short-term production loans secured by chattel mortgages and crop liens. The federal reserve banks, federal intermediate credit banks, and commercial banks in the large centers accept farm paper only when it is indorsed by some responsible local institution, and they have varying requirements as to the purposes for which the proceeds of loans may be used. Usually their advances bear short maturities and often they must be secured by collateral. Not one of these institutions makes a practice of handling unsecured loans without endorsement or loans secured by junior liens on real estate. Only a few of them accept loans secured by chattel mortgages and crop liens, endorsed or unendorsed." [1]

[1] Garlock, F. L. "Farm Credit Problems with Special Reference to Country Banks." *Proceedings*, Second International Conference of Agricultural Economists, George Banta Publishing Co., 1930, pp. 998–1005.

1. *Country Banks.*—If by country banks is included those in villages and towns up to ten or fifteen thousand people, then these financial institutions are the chief agency supplying the credit needs of the farming population of the United States. While well-adapted to the short-term credit needs of farmers, such banking institutions are closely enough related to their correspondents among the commercial banks of the larger cities not to be well designed for handling long-term farm mortgage paper, although a number of them, particularly among state banks do in fact engage in a considerable business of such a nature, by a frequent renewal of relatively short-term farm mortgage loans.

The volume of short-term loans made by banks to farmers in the aggregate is large, estimated on December 31, 1920, at around $3,870,000,000. Moreover, such short-term bank loans are extensive in amount throughout the several sections of the nation, particularly so in the states of the Middle West, a number of the Southern States, and in California.[1] The owner farms are the ones to whom such loans are made in largest percentage, though a substantial amount of such credit is advanced to tenant farmers. The interest rates on these short-time bank loans varies with the section of the country, depending in considerable measure upon the factors of the demand for capital in relation to the supply and the element of risk. In 1914, the average rate of such loans was 8.1 per cent, but by 1923 this had declined to 7.6 per cent. In the latter year, the New England States had the lowest rates, and the Mountain, West North Central, and Southern States the highest interest rates on personal and collateral bank loans to farmers. Around two-thirds of these short-time bank loans to farmers are made on the basis of a personal security, and about one-third are secured by collateral of one form or another. In the year 1923, it is estimated that three-fourths of the short-term bank loans to farmers were for periods of six months or less. The short term for which banks make loans to farmers has justly been considered a weakness in the service of these institutions. The business of the commercial bank is based upon its deposits, and a short-term type of business is necessary for proper security. The turnover in commercial enterprises, of the merchant and the manufacturer for example, is much more rapid than characterizes agriculture. Consequently, commercial banks are "not as well suited to the needs

[1] Olsen, Nils A., and others *Op. cit.*, pp. 219–228.

of agriculture as to industry. The periods for which farmers need credit with which to produce and market their crops are usually much longer than in industry. In the past farmers have depended largely upon obtaining renewals of their short-time bank loans. In periods of good yields and good prices the practice of renewing loans has not worked a hardship to either banker or farmer. It is a policy which has its advantages to the banker, since it enables him to evaluate from time to time the security for his loans. On the other hand, the dependence upon the renewal of bank loans has not always operated in the interest of the farmer." [1]

Prior to the establishment of the Federal Reserve System in 1913, the disadvantages of short-term loans for farmers through country banks were much more severe than since the liberalizing effect of the federal reserve banks upon the sources of short-term credit for agriculture. These institutions are permitted to discount notes, drafts, and bills of exchange issued or drawn for agricultural purposes and having a maturity of nine months. This privilege to agricultural paper is quite in contrast to the 90-day limit of commercial paper. Consequently, the country banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System have an important channel through which they may obtain additional funds by rediscounting agricultural paper. All national banks are required by law to be members of the system. Membership is optional with state banks, and these institutions have been too slow in availing themselves of valuable privileges. Country banks have in recent years revealed that they are perhaps the weakest part of our present agricultural credit system. The long-continued depression of the farm industry converted resources that were considered "frozen assets" into distinct liabilities, and policies found to work with a fair degree of satisfaction in normal times have come under severe criticism. From 1920 to 1927, a total of 3,390 banks failed, 557 of which were national banks. It is significant to note that this is more than twice as many bank failures as in the preceding 30 years. The great bulk of these failures were among the country banks of the agricultural areas. And the situation has not improved sufficiently for encouragement in recent months.

The country bank is an area of rural credit very inadequately illumined. In spite of the fact that it is our most important rural credit agency, we still know comparatively little about the exact

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

nature of its operations and problems. The most valid proposals for bettering the situation may be summarized as follows:

1. The requirement of a higher capitalization, of $25,000 or possibly even $50,000. C. B. Hazelwood, Vice-president of the American Bankers Association, is quoted as saying as follows: "If a ten-to-one ratio between the total demand liabilities and the capital and surplus may be accepted as conservative, it is obvious that a bank capitalized at $10,000 and with $100,000 in deposits cannot pay a profit nor show progress regardless of interest rates, even if it were operated by one man. Face to face and by correspondence, I have discussed this matter with many country bankers and I find that almost all of them favor a minimum of $25,000 capital, while many of the more conservative incline to $50,000."

It is significant that in six of the states having over half of the bank failures in 1924 and 1925 the number of banks varied from 1 to every 800 to 1 to every 960 persons as compared with 1 bank with 7,300 persons in New England. The banks failing in the United States during 1924 and 1925 have an average capitalization of $33,000 as compared with $100,000 for all banks. In any one state, the average capitalization of the suspended banks may be little smaller than of the other banks. At least this was true in the western states and almost true in Minnesota. This indicates that it is the average capitalization of banks in a territory rather than that of the individual bank which makes for weakness. A small bank will be reasonably safe in an area where most of the banks are large, but no bank is very safe in the region where most of the banks are small.

It is urged that requiring this larger capitalization will reduce the accessibility of farmers to banking service and tend to restore agriculture to conditions that prevailed in the days before banks were brought within reach. A number of things have happened to destroy the value of this argument. In the first place, the decline in the value of money has made $25,000 represent little more than $10,000 in 1900. In the second place, improved transportation and communication have made it possible for farmers to reach banks much farther away. Third, the present low capitalization has had for its principal effect not bringing banks nearer to the farmers, but increasing the number of banks in the same village or city. Raising the capitalization to $50,000 for cities of 2,000 to 10,000 will have the effect of concentrating the business in one or two banks in place of the three to five that are commonly to be found there.

Legislation to facilitate and encourage the consolidation of the banks in country towns should be very carefully considered as a possibility.

2. The business of country banks should be more largely restricted to short-time loans. This will leave less business for the commercial banks, but that which is left will be much safer business for them. Necessarily, there will be room for fewer banks in a town after such

changes take place. Remember that it was not recommended that country banks make no real estate or middle-term credit loans. What is here suggested is that the ratio of such loans to short-term loans be greatly reduced in many banks in rural districts—more than cut in two in many cases.

3. It is urged that state banking departments control the number of banks by exercising greater discretion in granting new charters, that state banking laws be made more rigorous and inspections more thorough, and that state banking departments be supported adequately so that they can secure competent assistance. A comparative study of the administration of state banking acts makes it abundantly clear that many of them are lax in the first place and not well administered in the second.

4. It is recommended that educational agencies in the states undertake careful research studies into factors making for success in the organization and management of country banks; that state banking departments and bankers' associations make similar studies; and that adequate extension service be developed to make the results of such studies available to country banks.

5. While the people of the United States have reason to fear, under the financial conditions which prevail in this country, the general development of a branch banking system, it is possible that a certain amount of "group" banking activity, or possibly restricted branch banking, may offer some opportunities for strengthening country banks and improving the quality of their services. It must also be borne in mind that a probable substitute for branch banking is chain banking, which has as many objectionable features as the former, and which will be very difficult to prevent by legislation.

6. The report of the Business Men's Commission urges the organization of "country bank associations" whose object would be to encourage and develop sound banking and increase the confidence of the public in banking institutions through coöperation of the banks for the greater safety of all. Such associations might employ the services of a special examiner who would also be a general financial adviser and who might be responsible to an executive committee representing the banks in the association.[1]

2 *Merchant or Store-Credit.*—In some parts of the nation, especially among tenant farmers in the South, an unhealthfully large amount of the production credit, including supplies for family living, are secured on time-prices from supply merchants. The security accepted for this is customarily a chattel mortgage on all crops, livestock, and equipment. A recent study [2] of farm credit

[1] Black, J. D. *Agricultural Reform in the United States.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1929, pp. 463–465.

[2] Gile, B. M., and Moore, A. N. *Farm Credit in Cotton Districts in Arkansas.* U. of Arkansas, Agric. Expt. Station, 1928, p. 30.

in cotton sections of Arkansas reports 83 per cent of the mercantile credit extended to farmers as being secured in this manner. Poe [1] regards this system as being the "greatest curse of the agricultural South," and states that it is a curse alike to landowners, tenants, merchants, bankers, professional men, and to county and state as units of government. Investigations made in 1915 and again in 1924 by the same authority reveal that the average supply merchant charges are from 15 to 22 per cent more for an article sold "on time" than when sold for cash The average is around 20 per cent extra as a rule for a credit item running six months in the territory from North Carolina to Texas, inclusive. Figured on an annual basis this is an interest charge of 40 per cent, and the rate is often even higher. "No business on earth can succeed if it must pay at the rate of 40 per cent to 60 per cent a year for its operating capital, and for the tenant farmer to have to pay such rates foredooms him to poverty and failure."

Such a situation tends to destroy thrift and ambition in individuals, and is blighting to progress and prosperity in rural communities where it prevails to any considerable extent The system of "charge it" is a temptation to buy all that the tenant farmer can pay for, and at these exorbitant rates, he often buys more than he can afford. "So the time-prices system becomes a perpetual conspiracy against thrift, a greased runway to debt and poverty In countless cases the tenant family has not only lost all ambition to save up and eventually own a home, but has even lost any ambition to finance itself for a year; so when any surplus money is left at the end of the crop season, it is spent for some unnecessary purpose instead of being saved for getting the next year's fertilizer or supplies (or part of them at least) at cash prices and thereby making a start toward independence." [2] Moreover, the merchant who would appear to be the one to profit by the system, makes little profit, because his victim makes little. The tenant farmer who operates under this system has no reserves, and in years of crop failure not only is he engulfed, but the supply merchant is left with the bag to hold.

Some valuable suggestions have been made as to how these conditions may be remedied:

[1] Poe, Clarence. "How Can We Escape Time Prices Usury?" *Progressive Farmer*, Jan. 19, 1929.
[2] *Ibid.*

There are three important ways to change Southern merchandising from a time-prices to a cash or nearly cash basis; three ways whereby almost any man of character and industry can change from a store-account farmer to a bank-account farmer as follows:—

1. *We should change our farming system so as to make each farm feed itself*—produce approximately enough food for its people and feed for its stock.

2. *We should change our farming system so as to have at least two important sources of cash income from crops or plant production and at least one important source of cash income from some form of animal production*—hogs, cows, or poultry. By this policy, we can (1) distribute the dangers of weather and insects and have some cash coming in all the year round instead of (2) concentrating weather risks and insect risks on one crop and having only one pay day a year.

3. We can find out on what terms and by what policies business men are able to borrow money from banks at 6 or 8 per cent per annum, and ourselves learn to borrow on such terms and buy at cash prices instead of paying at the rate of 40 to 60 per cent a year for time prices credit.

Four Ways Business Men Get Bank Loans—and How Farmers Can

One of the leading bankers of the South, a man reared on a cotton farm and still largely interested in farming, pointed out that banks are just as ready to lend money to farmers as to business men, but that in order to get loans, farmers must do four things which all business men are themselves required to do in order to get bank credit. These four things are.—

1. *Farmers must learn "the religion of the due date,"* as the French say. Every business man knows that if his note comes due January 22, he must pay it or see about it *on or before* January 22. Thousands of farmers have lost their own standing at the banks and hurt the standing of other farmers by acting as if "on or before" a certain date meant "on or after" that date. "The religion of the due date" is something all farmers need to observe.

2. *Farmers must learn to keep fair average balances in banks from which they borrow.* A farmer who wishes to become a bank borrower in the spring should become a bank depositor in the fall and winter. A man who carries a good balance in the fall and winter may borrow in spring and summer and leave little in the bank during that period. But if a man borrows during the spring and summer and does not carry a good balance at other periods of the year, he should borrow enough extra to keep 20 per cent of his loan in the bank, and so advise the banker when applying for the loan.

3. *The financial statements which banks require business men to fill out promptly and definitely, must also be filled out promptly and definitely by the farmer.* "Some farmers are offended when asked for a financial statement, and then answer everything in round numbers," our banker-friend told our group. "His land is $50 per acre; he owes $2,000; his

taxes were $200, etc.—everything guessed at in round numbers. A business man would soon lose standing if he answered a bank in that way, and so will a farmer."

4. Every business man keeps books so he can tell whether he is making money or losing money and where; and while no bank expects farmers to keep books in the elaborate way merchants and manufacturers do, it does expect the farmer *to keep records and inventories in the simple ways provided in standard farm account books.*[1]

3. *The Federal and Joint-Stock Land Banks.*—For many years in Europe mortgage credit organized into a special system of banking has existed. The most widely known of such institutions are the Landschaften of Germany and the Crédit Foncier of France. Students of rural credit in the United States had for many years prior to the establishment of our Federal Farm Loan System been observing the operation of these foreign mortgage institutions and at one time a special commission on the problem was created by our government. As a result of such influences, in 1916, the Federal Farm Loan Act became a law enacted by the Congress of the United States. It contained many features of the previously existing European systems, but also included many other provisions adapting it to conditions in this country.

The general purposes [2] of the Federal Farm Loan Act are (1) to lower and equalize interest rates on first mortgage farm loans; (2) to provide long-term loans with the privilege of repayment in installments, through a long or short period of years at the borrower's option, (3) to assemble the farm credits of the nation to be used as security for money to be employed in farm development; (4) to stimulate coöperative action among farmers; (5) to make it easier for the landless to get land; and (6) to provide safe and sound long-term investments for the thrifty.

The machinery for the application of the provisions of the farm loan act originally provided for three parts in the organization and administration as follows: (1) The Federal Farm Loan Board, composed of six members appointed by the President of the United States, and the Secretary of the Treasury as chairman. It is the function of this board to exercise supervision over the entire system, and to determine policies in accord with the law creating it. (2) The twelve Federal Land Banks, and a larger number of

[1] Poe, Clarence. *Op. cit.*

[2] *Farm Loan Primer.* Circular No 5 (Revised) Federal Farm Loan Board, July, 1923.

joint-stock land banks located in strategic centers of the nation. These banks make the loans, and upon the authorization of the Federal Farm Loan Board issue bonds or debentures for sale to investors. (3) The National Farm Loan Associations, one located in most of the counties of the nation, organized and controlled by the borrowers themselves, each composed of ten or more farmers. Through these local farm loan associations applications are made to the land banks, but not to the joint-stock land banks. Since the farm loan act was established the Federal Intermediate Banks have been organized and made a part of the farm loan system. These institutions, however, are discussed under a separate heading in this chapter, and mention only need be made of them in the present connection.

The operations of the farm loan system may be visualized by describing the negotiation of a loan to an individual, who must be a *bona fide* farmer, through a land bank. Where there is a farm loan association in his section, the farmer would make application to the secretary-treasurer, a bonded officer of this organization. Loans cannot exceed 50 per cent of the appraised value of his land plus 20 per cent of the value of his permanent insured improvements, in an aggregate not greater than $25,000. The local association has a loan committee of three members who pass upon the valuation of the property, and the approved application is sent to the federal land bank of the particular district. A federal appraiser appointed by the Federal Farm Loan Board is then sent to the farm and checks and modifies as necessary this valuation of the local loan committee.

The maximum rate of interest which may be charged under the provisions of the farm loan act is 6 per cent, and the rate of interest is the same in every land bank district. The loans are secured by first mortgage paper and are made over a period of from not less than 5 years nor more than 40 years. Most of them are for a term of 33 years. These loans are repaid on the "amortization" principle, which signifies the process of paying off an indebtedness by installment payments of a fixed amount, including interest and a part of the principal over a period of years. A 33-year loan, for example, would be repaid in 66 semi-annual installments. Provision is made for amortization on the basis of annual payments.

Each bank was organized originally with a capital stock of $750,000. This stock is automatically increased by 5 per cent

of each loan made. When each loan is made this proportion is deducted, each borrower automatically becoming a stockholder in the bank. If safe banking practice permits a loan of twenty times the capital stock, such a 5 per cent increase automatically extends the lending capacity of the bank to an additional amount equal to each loan made. On December 31, 1927, the capital stock of the federal land banks amounted to $62,122,221, of which $30,704,385 was owned by the national farm loan associations, $707,070 by borrowers through agents, $115 by individual subscribers, and $710,651 by the federal government. Thus the borrowers own practically all of the stock of these banks.

In the process of assembling the farm credits of the nation to be used as security for money to be employed in farm development, federal farm loan bonds occupy an important place Based on the first mortgage security, and only a first mortgage is accepted by these banks, bonds are issued under the supervision of the government. Such attractive investment possibilities cannot be issued until the government authorities have passed upon the securities and satisfied themselves that each dollar of bonds issued is secured by at least $2 worth of land. These bonds are printed by the United States Treasury Department, and are certified by the executive officer of the farm loan board, who is known as the Federal Farm Loan Commissioner. They are not strictly government bonds, but are issued under careful federal supervision. These bonds are free from all forms of taxation, except inheritance taxes, including the exemption of interest on them from income taxes. They are issued in denominations of $40. $100, $500, $1,000, $5,000, and $10,000. The sale of these bonds makes available further resources for lending by the land banks. These bonds customarily bear around a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest rate, and the rate charged borrowers of land bank funds is governed by the rate at which these banks can sell bonds. A margin of one per cent is allowed between the rate at which the bond sells, and the rate at which the loan is made to the farmer so that operating expenses of the system may be covered and a surety provided against possible loss, as well as to permit a steady return to the borrower-stockholders in the form of dividends.

The Federal Farm Loan Act also authorizes the establishment of joint-stock land banks. These are privately owned land banks with a minimum capital of $250,000 each. Instead of making their loans

through national farm loan associations, these banks lend direct to borrowers. Moreover, a borrower does not have to buy stock in the bank when negotiating a loan as in the case of the federal land banks. These joint-stock land banks may lend as much as $50,000 to one borrower, and the borrower does not necessarily have to be the operator of a farm. Otherwise the plan of operation is essentially the same as that of the federal land banks. There are now about fifty of these joint-stock land banks. On December 31, 1930, the land banks had slightly less than $1,190,000,000 worth of mortgage loans outstanding. The total loans of the joint-stock land banks on the same date were about $554,139,000.

An analysis of the purposes of the loans from federal land banks from organization up to December 31, 1928, indicates 9.9 per cent for purchase of land; 5 per cent for buildings and improvements, 2.9 per cent for equipment, fertilizer, livestock, and irrigation; 5 per cent for national farm loan stock; 65.9 per cent to pay mortgages; and 11.3 per cent to pay other debts. A similar distribution occurs with the purposes of loans from joint-stock land banks. In total, about 77 per cent of the proceeds of loans from the federal land banks has been used to pay debts, and the corresponding figure for joint-stock land banks is 84 per cent.

These land banks have met with some difficult sailing during the protracted stress which agriculture is still undergoing. Errors have been made in appraisals, in view of the unpredictable slump in land values. Many claim that the land banks have been too quick in foreclosing, and especially in forcing the land thus secured on the market, thus incurring losses that were heavier than necessary, and also reacting to depress unduly the land market. A regrettably small proportion of the loans have been used by the landless to secure land. There are those who contend that these land banks have made it too easy for the farmer to get credit, and made possible in recent years an unwise encroachment upon his capital as expressed in the value of his farm real estate holdings. In spite of these criticisms, a part of which undoubtedly are valid, the federal farm loan system is one of the finest rural credit structures yet devised. In profiting by its errors, it will greatly strengthen its important place in our national economy.

4 *The Federal Intermediate Credit Banks.*—The rediscount privileges for agricultural paper afforded member banks and their correspondents through the Federal Reserve System did much to

liberalize the rural credit situation. However, agitation with regard to the farm depression following upon the heels of the World War, among other measures led to the passage of the Agricultural Credits Act in 1923, creating the Federal Intermediate Credit System. This legislation was designed to extend the period of turnover of many agricultural credit transactions, as well as to relieve the federal reserve banks and country banks in general of the burden of paper from six months to three years. Under the provisions of this act, twelve intermediate credit banks were established, located in the same places as the federal land banks, and managed by the same officers and directors. The capital stock of each of these banks was put at $5,000,000 to be subscribed by the federal treasury. Up to December, 1930, about $30,000,000 of the authorized total capital stock of $60,000,000 had been called for and paid in. The remainder is available when the operations of the banks require it. By means of the sale of debentures, each of these intermediate credit banks is allowed to obtain additional funds to the extent of ten times its capital and surplus. Under present capitalization this means intermediate credit loans amounting to $300,000,000. These intermediate credit banks on December 31, 1930, in existence for a little less than eight years, had loaned, including renewals, in the aggregate over $1,125,800,000. The maturity of a note is usually from 6 to 12 months.

These banks do not make loans direct to individuals. They extend credit to such institutions as coöperative marketing associations, agricultural credit corporations, livestock loan companies and similar organizations, and state and national banks. The paper which is offered for discount with an intermediate credit bank must be what is known as agricultural paper, that is, the proceeds must be used for some agricultural purpose.[1]

Direct loans are made to coöperative associations, organized under the laws pertaining to such organizations in the several states, when these associations are engaged in marketing staple agricultural products. The commodities on which such loans are made include such a wide range as wheat, cotton, wool, tobacco, raisins, prunes, and other dried fruits, canned and frozen fruits,

[1] *New Credit for Farmers.* Issued by National Advisory Loan Committee, Agricultural Credits Division, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., 1931.

canned vegetables, peanuts, broom-corn, beans, rice, alfalfa seed, red top seed, nuts, maple sirup, extracted honey, coffee, olives, olive oil, and hay. Such loans are generally made not to exceed 75 per cent of the market value of the pledged commodities. The time is not less than six months nor more than three years. The collateral required is in the nature of warehouse receipts or shipping documents covering staple agricultural products

These intermediate credit banks discount agricultural paper for livestock loan companies, agricultural credit corporations, state or national banks and similar lending institutions of adequate capital The sort of paper discounted is in the nature of individual farmers' notes, usually secured, and indorsed by the discounting corporation, the proceeds of which in the first instance were advanced for agricultural purposes, or for the raising, breeding, fattening, or marketing of livestock. An additional requirement usually made is that these corporations also pledge with the intermediate credit bank a part of their capital as additional collateral. The term of the paper discounted is not less than six months nor more than three years.

Prior to April 9, 1931, a corporation could charge its borrowers only 2 per cent more than it paid the intermediate credit bank on general agricultural paper, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent more than it paid on livestock paper. This has been increased by the Federal Farm Loan Board to 3 per cent. It has always been necessary for such corporations to carry on a fairly large volume of business to meet expenses under the small interest spread. The liberalizing of the spread between the discount rate and the loan rate makes the handling of such paper more profitable, and is intended to encourage the wider use of the discount privileges of the intermediate credit system.

In appraising the contribution which the intermediate credit system has made to the problem of rural credit, A. G. Black says that "so far as the intermediate credit problem is concerned, it would seem that a foundation has been laid for a successful solution of it in the Intermediate Credit System. The banks of this system are in a position to be of greater assistance to agriculture than they have been thus far. The local agricultural-credit corporation could be made to serve a very useful purpose. The administrators of the Intermediate Credit System have not actively fostered the formation of such corporations, on the ground that

these would be activities in direct competition with country banks. It has assumed that the Intermediate Credit System should not become an aggressive institution, seeking to extend credit, as has the Federal Farm Loan System. Consequently, the Intermediate Credit System has drifted into a passive rôle, extending credit when asked, but making little or no effort to make its existence felt.

"Neither are the Intermediate Credit Banks loaning as much to coöperative associations as might have been expected. Coöperatives for the most part would like to secure their funds from the Intermediate Credit Banks, because they feel that such banks should be more sympathetic to their activities than are commercial banks, and that in a crisis the Intermediate Credit Banks would be a surer source of funds. In fact, however, coöperatives find that arrangements with commercial banks are more flexible and workable than those with Intermediate Credit Banks because of the inordinate amount of 'red tape' to which they are subjected when applying for Federal loans. If the Intermediate Credit Banks are to take their proper place in financing coöperatives they must alter their methods. There is the feeling, too, that the Intermediate Credit Banks are too arbitrary with respect to the form of coöperative organization required before advances may be made. It may be necessary to amend the law in minor respects, but a more active administration alone would accomplish much." [1]

5. *Other Rural Credit Agencies.*—Among the other significant rural credit agencies are the life insurance companies, farm mortgage companies, and private lenders.

The nature of the insurance business necessitates the accumulation of reserves which must seek sound investment. Consequently, insurance companies are extensive investors in first mortgage farm loans. In 1906, approximately 9 3 per cent of the total investments of such concerns was in farm mortgages. By 1924, this proportion had increased to 18.7 per cent, since declining to 15.2 per cent. Agricultural distress and the resulting marked depression of land values have made farm mortgages less certain as investments than they were in the first two decades of the present century In 1925, the farm mortgage indebtedness in the United States was estimated at around $9,200,000,000. Of this total, the aggregate holdings of all insurance companies were reported in the same year as $1,879,-

[1] Black, A. G. "The Provision for Agricultural Credit in the United States." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XLIII, 1929, pp. 94-131.

000,000, or 20.4 per cent of the total. Insurance companies extend mainly long-term credit. Their loans are made usually through agents who receive a commission for their services.

Farm mortgage companies, scattered over the entire United States, though functioning most largely in the Middle West, are useful long-term credit agencies.[1] Figures for twenty-five states indicate that such companies which belong to the Farm Mortgage Bankers' Association have a membership the outstanding loans of which approximate a total of five hundred million dollars. In addition, there is a considerable volume of loans from hundreds of such companies which are not members of this association.

The largest single source of farm credit is that of private individuals. "This is accounted for largely in the partial-payment method of selling farms, whereby the seller accepts part payment and a mortgage to cover the remainder of the sale price. Farm mortgage loans are often made by individual farmers and local merchants who are seeking a long-term investment for their surplus funds. They choose the farm mortgage because of a lack of knowledge of other investments, or because of a special preference for the farm mortgage Farm mortgages were formerly very attractive investments because of the high interest yield, but with the establishment of the federal farm loan system and the increased competition of insurance companies and the old private mortgage companies, this particular attraction is not so great. The safety element, however, will continue to attract individual lenders." [2] Another form of credit from private individuals is that extended by the landlord to the tenant, a system which prevails particularly in the South under the "cropper" system of farming. The tenant is financially unable to arrange credit from the banker or merchant, and the landlord must "carry" him by advances of supplies and cash. This procedure has in it all of the evils of the "time-prices" system considered earlier in this discussion. The results are often dire disaster to the landlord, as well as greatly to increase the interest rate which the tenant must pay for his credit.

3. The General Situation

The rural credit situation has been much improved in the past couple of decades. First mortgage credit facilities are now fairly

[1] Wright, Ivan. *Farm Mortgage Financing.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1923, pp. 45–46.
[2] Lee, V. P. *Principles of Agricultural Credit.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1930, p. 181.

adequate in practically all parts of the country. In recent years, with the mounting farm indebtedness in this country, some say that the farm loan system has been more injurious than helpful to the farmer, though such a statement cannot be accepted without many qualifications. This system does not encourage farm ownership as it should, and one of the limiting factors in this regard is that loans cannot be made for more than 50 per cent of the value of the farm offered as security. Before anything substantial can be done to improve this situation it is necessary that more dependable methods of land appraisal be devised.[1]

The most unsatisfactory condition pertains to the matter of short-term credit. As has been pointed out, the country bank has with its present type of organization and management proven the weakest part of the rural credit structure. It is necessary to give greater stability to these institutions. Undoubtedly, larger capital requirements, stricter banking laws, and more careful regulation will help, but the problem perhaps lies even deeper than this. At the present time we do not know enough about the credit problems of country banks to meet the situation as intelligently as we must.

Intermediate credit for farmers has been greatly strengthened by the establishment of the intermediate credit banks Their greatest aid has been in making loans directly to coöperative associations. The affiliation of credit institutions entitled to the rediscount privileges, and the development of credit corporations under the provisions of the Agricultural Credits Act of 1923 have been altogether too slow and inadequate. Critics say that the fault is not essentially in the structure of the federal intermediate credit system, but in the fact that "its administration has allowed it to drift into a position of relative impotence" Such remedies as are necessary to make it more effective appear to be largely those of better and more far-sighted leadership.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain by the use of a concrete illustration what is meant by "credit." Contrast the position of the farmer and the business man as to the need for credit.
2. Discuss the extent to which credit increases the total amount of wealth in existence.
3. Classify and define farm credit according to time, purpose, and form of security.

[1] Black, A. G. *Op. cit.*, pp. 139-151.

4. Give the extent, purposes, and principal sources of "short-term credit," "intermediate credit," and "long-term credit" as they apply in the business of farming.
5. What is the importance and general effectiveness of country banks as rural credit institutions?
6. Discuss the liberalizing effect of the federal reserve banks upon the sources of short-term agricultural credit
7. Name and discuss the six proposals of Black for bettering the situation with regard to country banks in the United States.
8. Why does Poe regard time-prices usury as the "greatest curse of the agricultural South"?
9. Name three important ways in which Southern farm merchandising may be changed from a time prices to a cash or nearly cash basis, and four ways in which the farmer must emulate the business man in getting bank loans.
10. Enumerate the six general purposes of the Federal Farm Loan Act.
11. Describe the machinery of organization and administration for applying the provisions of the Federal Farm Loan Act.
12. Explain how a farmer would negotiate a loan through a federal land bank, and the "amortization" principle of repayment.
13. Compare the original capital stock of the twelve federal land banks with that on December 31, 1927. How are such increases automatically effected? Who owns the stock of these federal land banks?
14. What are "federal farm loan bonds," their investment characteristics, and their significance in the federal farm loan system?
15. What is a "joint-stock land bank," and how does it differ from a federal land bank in its operation?
16. Briefly analyze the purposes of the loans made by federal land banks from organization up to December 31, 1928.
17. Describe some of the difficulties with which both classes of land banks have had to contend in recent years, and some criticisms which have been made against them.
18. Explain the structure and operation of the intermediate credit banks, including an appraisal of their present and potential usefulness
19. Give the rôles of insurance companies, farm mortgage companies, and private individuals as sources of farm credit
20. Discuss the general situation with regard to rural credit in the United States

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CHAPTER XI

FARM INSURANCE

Insurance is now an established and customary procedure throughout the civilized world The farmer has been slower than the urban resident to avail himself of the advantages of insurance. The reason for this is not that farming is free of numerous and often great risks, but it is rather due to the highly individualistic nature of our rural life, and to the fact that the farming venture so readily absorbs any surplus of means which the farmer may accumulate. However, with increasing information as to the principles and practices of insurance, the American farmer is more and more availing himself of this method of reducing the element of risk in his business.

Insurance does not abolish losses; through group association it distributes these from the individual to the group. A service which is common to all forms of insurance—life insurance, property insurance, crop insurance, livestock insurance, etc.,—is to substitute for large and uncertain losses, a small but certain payment.[1] By this statement is meant that the farmer or business man enters into a contract in conformity with which he pays at definite intervals comparatively small sums to an insurance company, that organization agreeing in turn to assume the risk of large losses which may or may not occur.

It was Benjamin Franklin who said that "nothing is certain except death and taxes," but it must be pointed out that, except in the ultimate and aggregate, death is quite uncertain. Similarly, no one knows when through accident,—a defective flue in the chimney, a careless toss of a cigarette butt, a combination of rats and matches, or of children and fire-producing materials—his home or his barn may go up in smoke. The marked uncertainty that applies to the individual case in such matters, becomes in the larger aggregate a rather fixed certainty. We know that for every 1,000 of the population, we may expect annually a certain number to die.

[1] Riegel, R., and Loman, H. *Insurance Principles and Practices.* Prentice-Hall, 1923, p. 3.

Also, students of the problem tell us that among certain classes of property, we may expect annually a fairly definite number of fires. This proportion is much greater in the case of frame buildings than with stone or brick structures. These factors make it possible for insurance companies operating for a sufficiently large group to place their business upon a sound basis, and to give resulting security to their policy holders.

The question is often raised as to whether insurance is productive in its nature. The element of security through the elimination of risks and uncertainty creates a psychological attitude towards one's business which tends to increase efficiency. The farmer who knows that fire damage to his barn or home is provided through insurance, can sleep more soundly and face the morrow's work in greater strength and confidence. The knowledge that a life insurance policy, in the event of his death, would remove the mortgage on the farm, provide the educational opportunities he desires for his children, and otherwise take care of the needs of a widow and children adds much to the cheerfulness and effectiveness with which a farmer meets his daily duties.

Some argue that the farmer is situated remote to other human individuals, his risks are less, and that he does not need insurance as much as the urban resident. But "the insurance needs of the farmer are almost as numerous as those of the city dweller. His fire hazards are almost as great. His buildings are more exposed to the hazards of lightning and windstorm than buildings in the city. The lightning hazard, it is true, may be reduced materially by the rodding of buildings and the grounding of fences. But even with these precautions the losses of farmers from this cause are relatively heavy. In order to be adequately protected, the farmer must also carry livestock and crop insurance. While facilities for obtaining protection against fire and windstorm are adequate, suitable livestock and crop insurance are still in process of development." [1]

1. Fire Insurance

All forms of industry involving the ownership of property are subject in some measure to possible loss by fire and the elements, and it is the desire of the capitalist to eliminate this risk as far as

[1] Olsen, Nils A., and others. "Farm Credit, Farm Insurance and Farm Taxation." *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1924, pp. 239–256.

possible. Huebner [1] points out that three methods of elimination may be used: the property owner may perfect measures for fire prevention and fire protection; he may decide to carry the risks himself, and as a consequence pay higher rates of interest on the capital borrowed and invested in his business; or he may buy insurance, paying for this a definite sum known as the premium, thereby shifting the risk to some other person, or groups of persons, constituting the *insurer* of the property. All three of these methods are used by the farmer today, but increasingly there is a tendency for him to carry insurance with some concern established for that purpose.

In 1926, it is estimated that there was approximately $26,000,000,000 of farm property insurable against fire. It is not known what proportion of this was insured. Farmers are accustomed to secure fire insurance through two principal types of insurance agencies—the old-line or joint-stock fire insurance companies, and farmers' mutual insurance companies. A third type is that placed with a class of larger mutual fire insurance companies which resemble the old-line or joint-stock fire insurance companies, but these are the least important in farm fire insurance. About one-half of the fire insurance carried on farm property is with the farmers' mutual fire insurance companies. Somewhat less than this amount is believed to be with the old-line insurance companies

Few forms of cooperative effort among farmers have been more successful than have been these *farmers' mutual fire insurance companies*. The first of these concerns organized among farmers came into existence shortly after 1820, in New England and the Middle Atlantic States.[2] The earlier companies operated under special charters, practically without guidance and supervision, and with frequent occurrences of failures. After 1850, one state after another, established departments of their government which undertook the supervision of such efforts in varying degrees of effectiveness. A few years ago, there were 2,000 of these farmers' mutual fire insurance companies in the United States, carrying a volume of risks amounting to about $8,000,000,000. The greatest development of these is in the East and the Middle West Progress along these lines has been much less in the South. "This may be

[1] Huebner, S. S. *Property Insurance* Appleton, 1926, pp. 1-2.
[2] Valgren, V. N. *Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance in the United States.* U. of Chicago Press, 1924. Chapters II, III.

explained in part by the tenure and race conditions obtaining in that region, by the lack of adequate state laws governing the organization and regulation of such companies, and by unwise attempts in the South to organize state-wide farmers' mutual companies operating through county branches. Many of these state-wide associations fell into the hands of promoters whose interests were not primarily those of the farmer. The failure of many of these state-wide associations did much to retard the development of farmers' mutual associations in that section of the country." [1]

It is difficult to find a better condensed account than the following of the *organization* and *operation* of these farmers' mutual fire insurance companies:

> Farmers' mutual fire insurance companies usually operate in a relatively small territory. A number confine their activities to single townships. It is more common, however, for a company to operate in a group of townships or even in an entire county, and over one-half of the companies now in existence operate in areas of several townships or a county. In a few instances two or more contiguous counties are included in the territory of the company, and only rarely do farmers' mutual fire insurance companies operate in an area as large as a State.
>
> The farmers' mutual insurance company is a business enterprise organized on the mutual plan without capital stock. Its management is vested in a board of directors, the number of which may vary from 5 to 15, although the most usual number is 9. These directors may serve from one to three years. A large number of the mutuals operate under the unlimited liability plan, whereby the insured obligates himself to pay his pro rata share of the losses and expenses of the company. A much smaller number of the companies limit the liability of the members to a fixed sum per annum.
>
> The methods of operation are relatively simple. Applications for new members are taken by officers and directors Some mutual companies put on active membership campaigns, while others favor a policy whereby farmers themselves seek admission to the company The application fee is limited to a nominal sum ranging from $1 to $2, which has the advantage of reducing the temptation for solicitors to place more insurance than the value of the property warrants. Funds with which to pay expenses and losses of the company are obtained partly through premiums and partly through assessments Only a few companies collect cash premiums in advance. The large majority of the mutuals work under the assessment plan, whereby losses and expenses are prorated as incurred Initial premium charges with annual advance assessments, however, have been growing in favor. This policy is better than the more prevalent plan of borrowing to pay losses and then levying assessments to repay borrowed funds. It not only

[1] Olsen, Nils A., and others. *Op. cit.*, pp. 239–256.

permits prompt payment of losses, but also eliminates any need of coercing members when losses are heavier than usual.

An increasing number of farmers' mutual fire insurance companies are adopting the policy of building up surpluses or reserves against which to draw when losses are unusually large. Such reserves afford protection and reduce the need of special assessments.

The adjustment of losses sustained by farmers' mutual fire insurance companies is made either by a single member, who acts as a general adjuster for the company, or by the directors of the company, each in his own district. While the adjustment of losses by directors of the company is perhaps the cheapest method of adjustment, it is probable that the adjustments by a single individual, who acts as a general adjuster, are somewhat more equitable.

In the field of reinsurance, farmers' mutuals have been lacking in adequate facilities. In some States local mutuals are now prepared to go beyond their legal territory and write joint or concurrent insurance with companies in whose territories such risks are located. In other States one company may grant reinsurance to another company. In order to meet this situation more effectively, farmers' mutual companies in Iowa, Indiana, and Minnesota, have organized special reinsurance organizations to serve farmers' mutuals. This policy, whereby farmers' mutuals reinsure a part of their risks, will no doubt strengthen and expand the work of the farmers' mutual fire insurance companies.

The mutual companies have been very successful in supplying farmers' insurance at a very reasonable cost. During the five-year period 1917 to 1921 the average annual cost per $100 of insurance ranged between States from $0 06 to $0 51 and averaged $0 26 for the country as a whole.

The cost of such insurance is somewhat higher in the South than in the East and Middle West Individual companies can show records of unusually low insurance cost. One mutual which has a large amount of insurance in force has had an average annual insurance cost of $0.075 per $100 covering a period of over a half century. In comparison the rates of commercial insurance companies are materially higher. These rates vary from $0.35 per $100 for some of the Northern States to about $1.50 per $100 for some of the Southern States. Several factors account for the lower insurance costs of farmers' mutual insurance companies The physical hazards are materially reduced through more careful inspection of risks and the insistence upon reasonable standards of safety. The moral hazard is lowered by avoiding overinsurance and by the development of a spirit of loyalty to the company. Equally important is the fact that the operating cost of these companies is relatively low. Much free service is performed by the officers, salaries are small, and such items of outlay as rents, traveling expenses, and attorney fees are either absent or relatively small. Farmers' mutuals have thus been able to effect economies that have contributed to their own success and made fire insurance available to farmers at very reasonable cost.

The history of farmers' mutual fire insurance companies to date would indicate a continued development of such companies in years to come. The States of the East and Middle West are now fairly well supplied with such companies. There is no doubt room, however, for further development in the South and in parts of the far West. The organization and operation of new companies in these regions should be built on the experience of successful companies in other sections of the country.

In conclusion it should be added that farmers themselves can do much to reduce the fire hazard. A recent survey of causes of farm fires showed that practically one-third of the fires were preventable In a recent survey of farm fires caused by lightning it was found that out of every 100 fires resulting from such cause about 95 occurred in connection with unrodded buildings. Insurance does not eliminate the loss; it merely distributes a part of it. It is therefore very important that farmers themselves use every care to reduce their losses from the fire hazard.[1]

2. Windstorm Insurance

The damage sustained by farmers from windstorms is more general and severe than is usually considered to be the case. The United States Weather Bureau reports that between 1916 and 1923 there were 752 tornadoes in this country, an average of 94 for each year. These occurred in largest numbers in the Middle West. Only eight states in the nation were without tornadoes during that period The loss in life sustained from these tornadoes amounted to 1,929 and property losses exceeded $62,000,000. Not all of this, however, was in terms of rural lives and property.

Windstorm insurance is written by both joint-stock and mutual companies. Most of the windstorm insurance carried by joint-stock companies applies to the risks insured by these companies against fire The form of policy of about one-sixth of the farmers' mutual fire insurance companies cover both fire and wind. Mutuals specializing in windstorm insurance have been organized in several Middle Western States

A number of state-wide windstorm companies have been organized, or in some instances simply given indorsement and support by the state associations of fire insurance mutuals. Both of these types are in close coöperation with the local fire insurance mutuals. Protection is thus provided at a reasonable cost, in most instances the representatives of the mutual fire insurance companies writing the applications, and the risks extending widely over a state. It

[1] Clean, Nils A., and others. Op. cit., pp. 240-242.

is important that insurance of this nature extend over an area as large as a state because a windstorm may demolish the buildings of an extensive area locally, and the resulting damage seriously embarrass the finances of the local mutual.

3. Livestock Insurance

The field of livestock insurance has been developed in the United States to nothing like the extent which characterizes the similar situation in Europe. Epidemics of disease among livestock, with the possible exception of hog diseases, do not occur with the same frequency and severity in this country as in the Old World. Also, the American farmer in general possesses large herds, and the loss of an occasional animal does not strike him so severely. However, interest in livestock insurance is growing rapidly in the United States.

Farmers usually have large investments in livestock, and it has been discovered that losses from disease in the aggregate bulk rather large. Over a period of 35 years, the estimated yearly losses of horses from disease have ranged from 14 to 22 head per thousand, of cattle from 12 to 24 head per thousand, and of hogs from 41 to 144 head per thousand

There are a dozen or more joint-stock insurance companies which write livestock insurance, mainly on horses and cattle. Usually, the policies are for comparatively small amounts, and the risks are often reinsured in other companies.

For a number of years, mutual livestock insurance companies, some 30 or more, mainly in Pennsylvania, have been writing livestock insurance. These companies operate on much the same plan as characterizes the mutual fire insurance companies. Their risks are largely confined to horses. It must be remembered in considering the extent of this form of farm insurance that the matter is still in the experimental stage.

4. Crop Insurance

The much vaunted independence of the farmer applies only partially to his existence. He may plant his crops in his wisdom, and govern his enterprise in general according to his own ideas about things. But, few occupations are subject to uncertainty greater than that of the farmer. He gambles with the limited or

excessive amount of moisture, early or late frosts may blight his entire chances for certain crops, hailstorms may in a few minutes destroy the work of months, and insect pests and plant diseases may under favorable conditions in an amazingly short time do untold damage to his crop and livestock interests. Nor are the physical uncertainties the only ones with which the farmer must contend. The action of economic laws is often equally or more disastrous in their impingements. The farmer never knows with much degree of certitude, particularly in the major crops, what he is going to get for his produce when he harvests it.

Students of the problem believe that general crop insurance is feasible, though it is yet distinctly in its experimental stages. In view of the marked development in various other lines of insurance, it would be difficult to believe that human ingenuity will long delay the devising of a practical system to care for the hazards with which the farmer must contend in his enterprise.

Thus far *hail insurance* is the only form of crop insurance that has been generally available to the farmer, and even this coverage is of relatively recent origin.[1] During the past decade this form of insurance has grown into a considerable business. The premiums in 1919, amounted to more than 30 millions of dollars, on risks totaling about 560 millions. More than half of this insurance was written by joint-stock fire insurance companies, about 60 in number, which write hail insurance, more or less as a side line. The remainder was about equally divided between mutual insurance companies organized especially for hail insurance, and departments of state government for hail insurance in North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Nebraska. While there has been some recession in the amounts of this form of insurance in recent years, this is believed to be due in considerable measure to the lowered farm income during the protracted depression which exists with regard to agriculture.

Those regions in which the crops subject to damage from hail occur in large acreages, and in which the hail hazards are unusually severe are naturally the ones in which this sort of insurance is written most largely This applies more largely to the West and North Central States than to any others. Most of the mutual

[1] Valgren, V. N. *Crop Insurance, Risks, Losses, and Principles of Protection.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Farm Management, 1922, Bull. No. 1043, p. 16.

companies operate on an assessment basis, and the rates are not available. Among the other types of insuring agencies the rate has varied from 3 per cent to as high as 16 per cent in some regions. The hail hazard is very erratic in its behavior, which makes losses vary widely from year to year and profits in the business to show the same sort of marked fluctuation. The losses from hail damage are greatest in the one-crop regions, where a severe hailstorm at the critical period in the main crop may cause ruinous losses. These considerations make it important that the risks in hail insurance be distributed over a wide territory. Also, it is necessary that organizations writing this kind of insurance should carry adequate surplus or reserve funds to tide them over the years of severest losses.

General crop insurance is, as has been stated, still very largely in its experimental stages. An attempt was made in 1917 to insure grain. This was mainly in the Dakotas. It resulted in loss because of the incompetency of agents in accepting risks.[1] In 1920, a large fire insurance company offered a contract practically guaranteeing the farmer an income from each acre seeded. The concern lost money on practically every policy written, owing to the low prices which occurred that year. In reality this was price insurance rather than crop insurance.[2] In 1928, three companies were attempting in selected areas and for selected crops to write a type of insurance covering a major part or all of the long list of risks to growing crops, including drought, excess moisture, plant disease, and insect pests.[3] Such broad coverage as this is what is meant by the term general crop insurance. The areas in which this insurance has been written include several Southern States and some of those on the Pacific coast. Among the crops, there is citrus fruit in Florida; in the Carolinas and Georgia, truck and garden crops such as tomatoes, celery, and peas; and in Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas, rice and sugar cane. But as an authority in this field of insurance says: "The length and variety of this list presents a more formidable appearance than it should. It is like the college whose catalog offers many courses but whose students are few. Compared with other lines of insurance, or with the possibilities

[1] Hoffman, G. W. "The Outlook for Crop Insurance." *Annals*, Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Science, March, 1929, Vol. CXLII, pp. 302–311.

[2] Russell, F. M., in *The Book on Rural Life*. Bellows-Durham Co., Chicago, p. 2906.

[3] Hoffman, G. W. *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

of the field, this line of insurance has little more than made a start." [1]

The situation with regard to crop insurance is well summarized by the same authority as follows: "Crop insurance has never been given a broad, thoroughgoing trial. As a solution to the problem of stability of farm income, it deserves such a trial It may not be applicable to all farm products nor to all of the many hazards, nor to all localities. Nor is it advanced as a method of providing a general increase to farm income. But it should serve in the regions and for those crops in which the need is greatest and it should give to the insured a more balanced and dependable income. To successfully put into practice such a program will require not only the creation of the appropriate machinery but also the development of a proper attitude on the part of the insured. Insurance in all its forms must be sold. And the selling consists of proving to the insured that a dependable income with a measure of safety is far better in the long run, than a large income for some years with a deficit for others. To put across this idea with the farmer, whose business life is of necessity a highly speculative one, is not an easy task. But it is by no means an impossible one, and there is ample evidence to show that properly presented it would be met with favor." [2]

5 Life Insurance

While no definite figures are available, it is perhaps correct to say that farmers as a class do not carry life insurance nearly to the same extent as do the corresponding urban residents. The fact that the farmer in the majority of cases owns property in real estate upon which he can fall back in times of adversity is undoubtedly one of the causes for this. Life insurance is often the principal way in which many salaried city men build up an estate for their families. Also, there are few occupations in which there is a more insistent demand for the immediate investment of any surplus accumulation of capital than is true with farming. A new roof for house or barn, additional acreage of orchard to be set, a deep well to be sunk and electricity to be installed, improved farm machinery, not to mention increased acreage that may be purchased, are among the many things clamoring for any profits

[1] Hoffman, G. W. *Op. cit.*, pp. 302–303
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 310–311.

which may accrue from the farm business at the end of almost any year.

Yet the problem of the farmer with regard to life insurance is not essentially different to that of any other class of our citizenship. The life expectancy in the country is greater than in the city, but farmers die prematurely, just as do other people among large groups Death under such conditions may leave encumbered property which a life insurance policy, securing the farm to his widow and children, would readily discharge. The farmer today educates his children, often sending them to college. These advantages can be better assured in case of premature death if he carries insurance. Also, it is generally conceded that a farmer is a better credit risk if he carries insurance. In emergency, the loan provisions of the policy may be resorted to, by means of which the insured may borrow at reasonable rates of interest the part set aside by the insurance company from his annual premiums to provide for the ultimate payment of the amount of the principal. The farmer is not free from the bogey of physical disability, and many forms of modern insurance make attractive provisions for such dire extremity. Unemployment insurance is not so much a problem, at least with the owner farmer, as it is with the industrial operative Most people in the country have little difficulty in finding work if they have the disposition to do so. Nor is the matter of old-age dependency so much a specter with the farmer who has shown thrift in his productive years. Nevertheless, there are sufficient arguments for the farmer's carrying at least a reasonable amount of life insurance.

The customary types of life insurance policies are the *term*, the *ordinary life*, the *limited payment*, and the *endowment* It is the opinion of Henry C Taylor that the ordinary life is in general best adapted to the needs of the farmer, except in the case of the heavily obligated young farmer where term insurance is the most economical, and often carries the privilege of convertibility into other more permanent forms at the end of a number of years. The comparative advantages of each of these types are well set forth in the following statement:

> The young farmer who has assumed heavy obligations and whose income is temporarily limited will find the form of policy known as term insurance well adapted to his needs Life insurance on this plan resembles more or less the plan involved in property insurance in that

the policy covers a given period, usually five to ten years, and is paid for in annual or more frequent premium installments which are sufficient merely to provide for the risk involved in the probability of the death of the insured during the period covered.

For those who find themselves in a position to carry a somewhat larger premium outlay, the ordinary-life plan has many advantages over the term policy. Under this plan the fixed level annual premium is sufficient to enable the company to continue the insurance until the death of the insured, whenever that event shall occur, and to pay the beneficiaries the principal sum of the policy. The farmer availing himself of this form of insurance, therefore, remains insured at the original annual premium cost until his death and does not have to seek new insurance at a rate applicable to his increased age, with the possibility that his application will be rejected because of impaired health which may make him unacceptable as an insurance risk.

The endowment policy which, under certain circumstances, has many advantages is perhaps less adapted to the needs of the young farmer than to the needs of the urban wage earner. This form of policy, which may be said to involve a combination of savings account and life insurance, guarantees to the holder the payment of the principal sum at a given date—ten, twenty or more years in the future—or at prior death. It, therefore, involves a method of systematic saving, as well as of protection against premature death of the insured. The young farmer, unlike the urban wage earner, finds himself confronted almost continually with new investment needs in the form of additional improvements on his farm, better or more live stock, and additional farm equipment. He is, therefore, under less temptation to spend his money than is the wage earner with fewer investment demands. Furthermore, the farmer's income comes to him as a rule in larger and fewer sums rather than in the form of a cash weekly wage and, finally, the temptations to spend money for dress and amusement are less numerous on the farm than in the city.

Essentially the same reasons that argue for the ordinary-life policy as against the endowment policy will apply in a measure also against the limited payment policy by which is meant a plan of life insurance under which the principal sum matures at death, while the annual premium payments are limited to ten, fifteen, or twenty years. Naturally this plan involves a relatively large premium outlay during early life when the average farmer has need of all the funds at his command for payments on his farm or for improvements thereon.[1]

QUESTIONS

1. Why would you say that the farmer has been slower to avail himself of the advantages of insurance than have the people in urban groups?
2. What is meant by the statement that insurance does not abolish losses, but through group association it distributes these from the individual to the group?

[1] Taylor, H. C. *Outlines of Agricultural Economics.* Macmillan, 1931, pp. 233–235.

3. Compare the risks of the farmer in life and property and the consequent need for insurance with those of the urban resident.
4. Name the three ways in which the owner of property may eliminate or reduce the risk of loss by fire.
5. Through which types of insurance agencies are farmers accustomed to secure fire protection, and which is the most important?
6. Give a brief history of the development of mutual fire insurance companies in the United States, including their prevalence a few years ago, the volume of risks carried, and the regions of the country where they are most extensively developed.
7. Explain the organization and operation of farmers' mutual fire insurance companies.
8. How do farmers' mutual fire insurance rates compare with those of other companies, and how do you account for the differences? In view of these facts do you think such mutual companies should be more extensively developed throughout the country?
9. Discuss the extent of damage from tornadoes in the United States between 1916 and 1923, and the incident need of windstorm insurance by farmers.
10. What facilities are available to the farmer who wishes windstorm insurance, and why is it advisable that insurance of this nature should extend over an area as large as a state?
11. What is meant by "livestock insurance"? Why is it less developed in this country than in Europe?
12. What facilities are available for livestock insurance in the United States?
13. Give the extent of "hail insurance" in this country, and the types of companies which write it.
14. Discuss the feasibility of "general crop insurance" as an aid to the stabilization of farm income.
15. Give a number of arguments as to why the farmer should carry life insurance
16. Explain what is meant by "term," "ordinary life," "limited payment," and "endowment" life insurance policies.
17. Under what conditions is term insurance advisable for the farmer?
18. Why does Taylor say that in general the ordinary life policy is best adapted to the farmer's needs?
19. Discuss the endowment policy in its adaptation to the life insurance requirements of the farmer.
20. What can be said with regard to limited payment insurance as it applies to the farmer?

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CHAPTER XII

EFFICIENT AGRICULTURAL MARKETING

The term *utility* is understood by the economist to mean the ability or power of any article or service to satisfy a human want. When viewed in the light of such a definition, production consists of all those essential human efforts which contribute to the creation of utilities.[1] Utilities may be classified as (1) elementary utility, (2) place utility, (3) form utility, (4) time utility, and (5) possession utility. The meaning of these terms may be made clear by the use of concrete example. The farmer who produces cotton may be considered in conformity with the forces of nature to create *elementary utility* when he raises a crop of cotton. This product is valuable to human beings in that it is a fiber which may be used to manufacture cloth to meet a fundamental human want. The same concept of elementary utility applies to the production of wheat, pork, beef, fruit, and the various other things raised by the farmer. But if the elementary utility of cotton is to serve as the basis of manufacture it must be transported from the cotton field to the gins and then to the textile mills. The services of wagons, trucks, railroads, and those responsible for such agencies create *place utility*, *i.e.*, they transport the economic goods concerned to the place where they are available to those who would consume them The manufacturer in spinning yarn and thread from the cotton, and from this weaving and finishing cloth creates *form utility* by converting the raw material into a usable product. If the cloth is to be used, it is necessary that it be kept in stock in store or warehouse until such a time as the consumer may desire to purchase it. In performing such services as these, the concerns which store the cotton and cloth create *time utility*. Ownership or possession of commodities is necessary in order that the consumer may derive the satisfactions which come from their use. Marketing concerns which render services enabling consumers to own or possess the cotton or cloth create *possession utility*

[1] Macklin, Theodore. *Efficient Marketing for Agriculture.* Macmillan, 1922, pp. 24–25

Thus production is to be considered as meaning the creation of all these utilities. "*Production consists of the rendering of all those essential services on the part of farmers and of middlemen which actually bring into use the goods and services required to satisfy the wants of consumers.*" [1] Obviously, when production is thus defined marketing becomes in reality a part of production just as farming is a part of production. Farm production concerns itself with the creation of elementary utilities through the raising of crops and livestock. "*Thus marketing as related to farmers may be defined as the rendering of those essential services which enable the consumer to utilize the products of farms.* Abstractly marketing refers *to the creating of place, form, time and possession utilities.*" [2] However, from a different angle of approach, the economics of marketing is a problem in distribution, "because it has to do with the forces and conditions which determine how a dollar paid by the consumer is divided among those who participate in supplying the article, from the farmer at one end to the retail dealer on the other end of a longer or shorter line of middlemen." [3] In studying the marketing of agricultural products, it is necessary to consider the problem from both standpoints: as a productive activity in order to effect economies in the system which will reduce the cost of service to the advantage of all concerned; as a distributive activity from the viewpoint of establishing a just division of the consumer's dollar among all who participate in the marketing processes.

1. The Middleman and His Service

Sales of farm products in some instances are made today direct from the producer to the consumer. The sale of milk in a small city is an example. Also, potatoes and garden truck are often handled in this way. Curb markets and similar methods serve to extend direct sales. And, of course, through the intermediary agencies of parcel post, express, freight, and truck service many sales of farm produce are made direct from producer to consumer. Such direct sales are advantageous in many instances, but in general the possibilities are limited, particularly when there is any considerable volume of produce to be handled.

As agriculture has become increasingly commercialized, the mar-

[1] Macklin, Theodore. *Op. cit.*, pp. 26–27.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 28–29.
[3] Taylor, H. C. *Outlines of Agricultural Economics.* Macmillan, 1931, p. 409.

keting functions of assembling, grading, packing, processing, selling, transporting, storing and warehousing, financing and risk-taking, and dispersing have developed as necessary procedures, and a set of middlemen has come into existence to perform them. Whether the marketing is done through public, private, or co-operative channels the middleman functions and those performing them are substantially the same. Hibbard [1] lists these middlemen and middleman functions in the main as follows:

Middlemen	Middleman Functions
1. Merchants	1. Transportation
2. Commission merchants	2. Grading, inspecting, and processing
3. Wholesalers	3. Warehousing
4. Jobbers	4. Financing
5. Brokers	5. Selling at auction
6. Shippers	6. Conducting exchanges
7. Retailers	

The middleman services will be discussed in considerable measure under the subsequent heading of marketing functions, but it is well at this point to understand more clearly what is meant by each of the principal types of middlemen listed.

The inconvenience of sale direct from producer to consumer has necessitated the development of the *merchant*, a class of men who in general deal in goods which other people produce, buying from the producer and eventually selling to the consumer. By a *commission merchant* is meant a person who receives goods on consignment and sells on a commission basis. Livestock and fruits and vegetables are among the most important examples of farm produce handled in any considerable measure through commission merchants. The *wholesaler* buys his goods from producers, usually in large quantities, or from other middlemen who have done so, and sells to dealers, either wholesale or retail. His distinguishing characteristic is that he sells to those who want the goods for sale again and not for their own use. The *jobber* is not so easy of exact definition. He is strictly speaking, one type of wholesaler, buying from the wholesale trade and selling to the retailer. The term as used by the trade, however, often designates many wholesalers who sell in comparatively small quantities to retailers and small tradesmen, frequently by "jobbing their goods about town." A *broker* is an intermediary between a shipper and a buyer, serving

[1] Hibbard, B. H. *Marketing Agricultural Products*. Appleton, 1923, pp. 34–38.

the buyer and the seller in a bargaining relationship. The typical broker effects sales in the name of his principal, but he does not usually receive the goods or the money for which they sell. His work is much like that of a commission merchant, but he seldom receives goods on consignment. The remuneration of the broker is small per dollar of business, so his success is predicated upon a large volume of transactions. A *shipper* is a middleman who buys in one market and sells in another While transportation is incidental in his business, it is necessary and important. A shipper usually pays cash for goods, often at country points, and unless he hedges his purchases, he is more or less of a speculator in that he takes a chance on the amount he is likely to receive for the goods after shipment. The business of the *retailer* is to assemble goods and sell them at the convenience of the consumer. Since he is the middleman the consumer most often deals with, he is found everywhere from the country store to the crowded city thoroughfare.

Much of the discussion relating to the improvement of the marketing of agricultural products has been directed towards the middleman and often the argument has been to eliminate him. Undoubtedly, much should be done in the matter of replanning the route from producer to consumer so as to shorten the line and reduce the number of stops and the amount of rehandling. From the standpoint of the farmer, the need of such marketing reform is found in the fact that he is the residual claimant, that is, he gets what is left after all charges are paid. Taylor [1] considers that "the real issue between the farmer and the middleman relates to the fairness of the charge for the middleman service," and again that "every expansion of middleman charges, without added service for which the consumer pays, cuts the farmer's income; every reduction in cost increases the farmer's profits." The unfair charges at the local market are being remedied through the farmer's establishment of his own warehouses on a coöperative basis, and employing his own middlemen Federal and state regulation are being extended to curb such practices in the central markets, and much is to be expected from the larger development and growth of farmers' coöperative marketing associations.

The question of who shall perform the marketing functions resolves itself into a question of efficiency of service rendered and fairness of

[1] Taylor, H. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 428–433.

charge for such service. This is the only real issue between farmers and middlemen. In our present complex civilization we need middlemen, who, by rendering expert service at a reasonable charge, set free farmers and consumers (who also may be producers of another sort) for further work of the kind for which they are peculiarly fitted and trained. Division of labor between the producers and the distributors of agricultural products is vital to the efficiency of both undertakings. The middlemen may be employees of the farmers, as managers and salesmen of large cooperative associations, or they may be men who are in the business on their own account. In the first case the association usually takes the risk of loss and benefits by gain. The middlemen working independently carry alone these chances of loss or gain. If, in either case, there is danger of monopoly gain, social justice requires that competitive outlets be developed.

It should be recognized that middlemen rendering efficient services at a fair charge are really producers and are worthy of their salaries or their legitimate and reasonable profits, but we do not need, and must sooner or later free ourselves from, those intermediaries who are not so articulated with the marketing process as to render distinct and necessary service efficiently, or those who charge, in one way or another, undue toll for their services. Such inefficiency or apparent unfairness may be eliminated in more ways than one. Inefficiency may result from ignorance or inexperience and may be susceptible for much improvement under education and guidance. Unfairness may be possible because of limited knowledge on the part of those who produce and those who consume, in which case education may eliminate this opportunity for illegitimate gain. In other cases unfair charges may be based upon monopolistic privileges. Here education is the basis of legitimate control through legislation.[1]

2. Marketing Functions

1. *Assembling.*—Farm products, while vast in their total volume, are grown on more than six million farms in this country. The amount produced from a single farm is comparatively small, and it is necessary that middleman services be established to assemble these individual holdings in sufficient bulk to meet the demands of the larger trade. For example, a farmer with a herd of twenty cows of average annual production would market around eleven pounds of butterfat a day. The cream containing this much butterfat would ordinarily fill a five-gallon cream can. However, a creamery to operate under economical and favorable conditions would require such an amount daily from a minimum of twenty-five farmers. The middlemen operating creameries serve the function of assembling cream from considerable areas.

[1] *Ibid.* pp. 432–433

The example cited in the case of butter manufacture would hold with equal application in any sort of farm product. The local buyers of cotton are the first step in assembling the several millions of bales of this staple produced annually. Their purchases are made for the larger cotton buyers or factors, who warehouse the product and sell on the cotton exchanges in quantities sufficient to meet the demands of the mills and the export trade. A similar thing happens with regard to wheat when it is assembled first at the local grain elevator, or with livestock when handled in car lots by a livestock shipping association.

Thus assembling serves to provide concentration so that a sufficient bulk of any farm product is available for the trade. It often also is a necessary prerequisite to effective grading of a commodity. It operates to secure adequate variety as in the case of the retail grocer. In addition it provides a large enough volume of business for many concerns so that expenses may be reduced to the minimum, and profits may be made.

2 *Grading and Standardizing Farm Products.*—The consumer of today has come to expect that the food which he buys will have been thoroughly sorted, culled, and graded. Boyle [1] says: "Somebody does this grading for the consumer and charges for the service. The farmer pays for it. The question, Shall grading be done? is already answered in the affirmative. The question for the growers to consider is, When, where, and by whom shall grading be done?" According to the same authority the advantages of grading and standardization of farm products are as follows:

> Grading decreases marketing costs. Standardized products are sold by grade, not by personal inspection, and this alone represents a great saving. Standardization lessens risks, cheapens financing, cheapens transportation by reducing loss and damage, cheapens storage by reducing decay or deterioration, cheapens retailing, and widens the market.
>
> Grading encourages future trading. By making contracts for future delivery at a specified price (only possible for graded articles), the trade risks incidental to price fluctuations are shifted, and marketing at lower middleman's tolls is realized.
>
> Grading decreases consignment business. The need of commission men grows less as standardization increases. Brokers can handle the business at less expense. A cheaper middleman is thus made possible

[1] Boyle, J. E. *Marketing of Agricultural Products.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1925, pp. 189–191.

through standardization. There is also made possible a more direct dealing between producers and distributors.

Grading promotes sales f.o.b. shipping point.

Grading promotes f.o.b. sales in transit.

Grading promotes f.o.b. auction.

Grading reduces rejection disputes. There is now a definite correlation between price decline and increase in number of rejection disputes. Definite grades check this. Shipping point inspection or terminal inspection by the government (possible only for standardized products) puts an additional check on rejection disputes.

Grading makes market information available. There can be no comparison of terminal and local prices, or various local community prices, unless both price and specified grade are stated. Market information is not available or understandable unless the commodity be standardized and graded.

Grading reduces freight costs by keeping culls (dockage, etc.) at home.

Grading reduces speculative risks due to price changes or to loss and damage or to trade nomenclature.

Grading makes advertising campaigns possible and their success probable.

Grading builds up confidence. Confidence begets trade and creates dependable market outlet.

Grading makes fundamental market reforms possible. "Without grades and standards," declares Herbert Hoover, "it is hopeless to eliminate waste, to establish repute, to improve commercial practice."

Grading checks inferior production. This, in turn, checks overproduction and market glutting. It is usually the "surplus" of inferior stuff that breaks the market.[1]

Grading in many instances, such as cotton, tobacco, and wheat is a technical matter requiring skill and experience. One of the most significant advantages adhering in coöperative marketing is that the farmer employs skilled graders and secures the benefits of superior prices for his superior grades of products. A case in point is the widely prevalent practice of "hog-round buying" with regard to cotton. Every farmer under this practice gets the same price for his cotton, no matter what the grade. The cotton cooperative marketing associations carefully class the cotton handled, and the farmer is paid accordingly. Such methods are greatly aiding in informing the farming public along such lines, outside as well as inside the association; and also are encouraging the planting of superior strains to insure a higher grade product. It should be stressed that standardization is first a farm production problem and then a marketing problem.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 189–191.

3. *Packaging.*—The packaging of farm products in the raw or in the processed form is a necessary accompaniment of grading and standardization. The consumer usually buys in comparatively small quantities. Middlemen vie with each other in developing attractive containers. Coffee is roasted and ground and put in carefully sealed cans. Raisins are put in paper cartons or carefully packed in convenient sized wooden boxes. As for tobacco, cigarettes, smoking tobacco, and cigars each develops particular trademarks and millions of dollars are spent in advertising to popularize them with the consuming public. When the order of groceries is delivered to the housewife, the rice, grits, eggs, bacon, flour, meal, grapes, figs, peaches all are customarily in appropriate packages or containers of convenient size. And, the processes of canning, preserving, and evaporation make fruits and vegetables, as well as many other otherwise perishable food products available all year round.

In enumerating the advantages of packaging, the outstanding ones are that: "(1) packaging serves to bring into one unit a readily portable quantity of material which without a package would be very difficult to handle. Apples, canned peas, poultry, eggs and numerous other commodities difficult to handle without a container illustrate the point that packaging facilitates handling. (2) Packaging condenses bulky products like cotton, wool and hay into smaller space, so that the costs of handling, transporting and storing are thereby greatly reduced (3) Packaging serves to protect commodities from damage and deterioration. Thus, for example, burlap baling material protects cotton and wool from discoloration and dirt. (4) Packaging preserves commodities and prevents shrinkage. Paraffine prevents loss of moisture in cheese, while cans preserve fruits and vegetables from spoiling." [1]

Naturally packaging as a middleman service adds to the cost of the product, the extent to which it does so depending upon the product and also upon the kind of package, paper or wood containers costing less than glass. However, serviceable and attractive packages of appropriate size make for higher prices for the product, since the consumer usually buys in smaller quantities and wishes to be assured of the uniform quality of that which he purchases.

4. *Processing.*—Only about one-fourth of our agricultural production represents raw materials which may be used as such by

[1] Macklin, T. *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

consumers. Thus it is necessary that the remaining three-fourths must be processed into finished goods suitable to the use of the consuming public. By processing is meant the work which changes raw materials into finished products. When viewed from the consumer's angle: "Of each dollar spent by the consumer, food represents 38 cents and clothing 17 cents, a total of 55 cents. All the 17 cents spent for clothes is for products that were made from agricultural raw materials; seven-tenths of the 38 cents spent for food is for products that first have to be processed and only three-tenths is for products that were in the finished form when they left the farm." [1]

Machinery has been devised for these manufacturing processes, and, whether always wisely or not, middlemen have taken over such work from the farmer and his wife Butter is made in creameries, great packing houses do much of the slaughtering, canning establishments exist now in almost every part of the nation, and giant plants manufacture the cereals we eat for our breakfasts. While no butter can be better than that made on many farms, yet much country butter is ruined by its bad flavor and odor. Creameries establish a high quality rather uniformly, and the same is true of the various products of other processing concerns if they are to develop a successful business.

Processing of farm products serves greatly in many instances to reduce bulk, and thereby to cut down transportation and storage costs. In addition in the case of many perishable products, condensing, canning, preserving, dehydrating, drying, smoking, pickling, and similar processes serve to make things that originally were seasonal, available throughout the year. This proves of benefit to the farmer in preventing waste, as well as to the wholesome diet on the consumer's year round table.

5 *Transporting.*—All farm produce which is not consumed on the farm requires transportation. A part of this is usually done by the farmer himself when he delivers his crops or livestock to the local agency buying it. "As a rule, farm raw materials are hauled to shipping points but once at an approximate cost of 5.2 per cent of their value. From the local point they are sent by freight to terminal or primary markets at a further cost of about 6 per cent of their value Hence the great bulk of products which

[1] Macklin, Grimes, and Kolb. *Making the Most of Agriculture.* Ginn and Co., 1927, pp. 57–65

enter commercial channels and flow beyond the local market bears a total transporting cost of not less than 10 per cent of their value. Very rarely does this cost fall below 5 per cent, and it is usually 10 per cent or more. Certainly in numerous cases reshipment from primary markets is necessary and the expense of transportation accordingly is increased above the average." [1]

As an average, the distance between the producer and consumer of foods is probably more than 1,000 miles, and this fact coupled with others serves to make transportation next to retailing the most expensive link in marketing. In times of sparse supply and heavy demand, the farmer is in a bargaining position and transportation rates can be passed on to the consumer. However, when the supply of farm produce is excessive and resulting prices are low, unfavorable transportation rates are likely to cut severely into what the farmer receives for his product. Taylor states that "it is generally believed that much improvement can be brought about in this step of the marketing process. Extension of hard roads suitable for hauling in all kinds of weather, better loading methods, more thorough understanding of the principles involved in successful transportation of perishables to reduce waste from breakage and spoiling, and many other lines of possible improvement which may be aided by both farmer and carrier are promising lines of study." [2]

6. *Storing.*—The demands of the consumer are comparatively uniform throughout the year, while production is seasonal in nature. A case in point is that an individual eats bread usually three times a day, and potatoes almost every day, while the production periods for these commodities is limited to harvests about once a year. In order that the supply may be stable, storage is necessary. This function is assumed by middlemen who in general operate to broaden the markets for the farmer and increase the supply available to the consumer. There is room for much improvement in the matter of storage because the middlemen engaged in this function, in order to insure their private profit, tend to delay their purchases for storage until surplus accumulations on the markets have occasioned excessive declines in price to the detriment of the farmer. The principal solution of such a difficulty resides in a better organization of the farmers so that they may re-

[1] Macklin, T. *Op. cit.*, p. 130.
[2] Taylor, H. C. *Op. cit.*, p. 424.

tain the ownership of their products until the consumers need them. This is one of the principal goals which is being sought by the farmers' coöperative marketing associations.

7. *Financing and Risk-Taking.*—When a farmer sells his produce directly to the consumer who pays him and consumes the product, the matter is comparatively simple. But as has been pointed out only a small part of the agricultural production is disposed of in this manner. The middleman, whether a farmers' coöperative association, a farmers' stock company, a private corporation, or an individual, who acquires the farmers' products and must await the lapse of time until the consumer purchases these products must have some way of financing such operations, and inevitably invites a varying amount of risk due to possible changes in price. In other words the middleman must wait for the money which he has invested in the commodities which he is handling. "When the farmer waits for returns until he sells his produce, or receives an advance from his marketing association from funds of its own secured by the produce turned over to it for sale or waits until his marketing association sells it for him, it may be called direct financing. It is also direct financing when a private middleman purchases farm produce with his own funds. In these instances the *financing is direct*, because a second party does not furnish all or a part of the capital tied up in the goods. When the farmer, the farmer's marketing organization, or the private middleman borrows money from a private individual, or from a bank or other credit institution, or secures money through the sale of bonds or securities of a similar nature secured by the produce owned and by the moral integrity of the borrower—the *financing is indirect.*" [1] Whether the financing is direct or indirect there must be a reimbursement for the use of the capital. This factor adds to the cost of marketing.

Many forms of risk may be covered by insurance and by hedging but by no means all of them. Prices of commodities may fall appreciably and much to the detriment of the middleman storing his purchased product awaiting the consumer's demand. Also there is a possibility of deterioration in the quality of the goods handled. These and like elements of risk entering into such an inconvenient and hazardous burden must be taken into consideration, and also often have a decided effect upon marketing costs.

[1] Benton, A. H. *Marketing Farm Products.* Shaw. 1926 p. 28.

8. *Selling and Distributing.*—These operations have to do with the matter of actually getting the products of the farm into the hands of the consumers. A large number of types of middlemen such as wholesalers, jobbers, retailers, etc., which have been discussed in an earlier section of this chapter are concerned with this task. Such distribution service is necessary to relieve both the farmer and consumer of work which it is impracticable for them to do The expensiveness of retailing, which is usually small-scale business, is two to three times as great as that of wholesaling. It usually amounts to about 20 or 25 per cent of the consumer's dollar, whereas wholesaling absorbs only about 10 per cent. Collectively, these two forms of marketing service, wholesale and retail, take up around one-third of the consumer's dollar and represent the most expensive part of the entire marketing system. "Changing conditions in location of population, in growth of cities, in methods of housing, in working habits of individual members of families have brought about an increasingly intricate system of distribution to fill individual demands. Partial reaction against this complexity is seen in the development and popularity of the cash-and-carry stores, but there are always large numbers of persons who cannot or who will not undertake the work that these stores shift to the purchaser and who, therefore, virtually insist on the wider margin between farmers' and consumers' prices. Improvements undoubtedly can and must be made in this stage of the marketing process which is the most expensive and the most perplexing of all the stages. It presents a peculiarly baffling problem for study because it is so intimately interwoven with changing conditions especially in relation to consumer demand, and because here, more than at any other stage of the marketing game, the human element, with its varieties and contradictions, enters in." [1]

3. Future Trading

The term future trading signifies making a contract to buy or sell at a stipulated price, the delivery of the product to take place at a specified time in the future. Marketing institutions known as produce exchanges have been evolved in our economic system to facilitate buying and selling of farm products on a large scale. Usually these exchanges are limited to a single commodity, or to a group of closely related commodities. Exchanges now exist in

[1] Taylor, H. C. *Op. cit.*, p. 427.

our larger cities for practically all of our major farm products such as grain, cotton, livestock, meat, butter, eggs, hay, and various fruits. The range of these exchanges in nature and location may be better understood by an enumeration of some of the outstanding ones in the United States such as the New York Produce Exchange, the Chicago Board of Trade, the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the Duluth Board of Trade, the Kansas City Board of Trade, the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, the Elgin Butter Board, the Chicago Butter and Egg Board, the New York Mercantile Exchange, and the Boston Fruit and Produce Exchange. In discussing the principal functions of exchanges, Yoder lists them as follows: "(1) to provide a convenient and continuous market, where wholesale buyers and sellers can meet to trade; (2) to establish rules and regulations for the transactions between buyers and sellers; (3) to fix uniform grades and standards; (4) to provide for the inspection of commodities handled; (5) to gather and place at the disposal of members information concerning the supply and demand of products handled; (6) to provide means for settling trade disputes among dealers. One who understands the present complex marketing system recognizes the need of the various services performed by the exchanges. The produce exchanges of the country dealing in the different staple commodities may be likened to great central reservoirs drawing in supplies from many surplus areas and redistributing these supplies to deficit areas. The exchanges are necessary for facilitating the marketing of the great staple agricultural commodities produced over wide areas and almost universally consumed." [1]

Future trading may assume a simple form which is well illustrated by the sale of canning crops by the grower to the canner.

> The New York farmer, for instance, contracts to deliver his peas and tomatoes to the near-by cannery, at a time when they are sufficiently ripened, and at a specified price. The farmer knowing the contract price before he signs the contract can govern his acreage accordingly. If he considers the contract price attractive, he can plan for and contract for a larger acreage; conversely, if he thinks the price unfavorable, he can sign for a curtailed acreage, or he can shift to some other crop. In any event, if he signs the contract, he has no further risk or uncertainty about the price he will get upon delivery some months hence. This is the simplest type of future trading, and is in use with many agricultural commodities.[2]

[1] Yoder, F. R. *Introduction to Agricultural Economics* Crowell, 1920, p. 311.
[2] Boyle, J. E. *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

Or it may assume the complicated form which characterizes future trading on the produce exchanges. Dealing in wheat futures constitutes a good example of this much more complex type of transaction.

Wheat is bought by local elevators from thousands of farmers and shipped to the big terminal markets. It has been found most convenient in the wheat trade to make contracts for delivery in September, December, May, or July. When one buys "December" wheat, he buys wheat that will be delivered in December. The seller may deliver the wheat at any time during December. The purchaser who has contracted for December wheat can be assured that he will receive the kind and amount of wheat he contracted for.

A country elevator buying wheat in July, to be shipped to the terminal market, where the wheat will perhaps not arrive till late in August, sells wheat for delivery in December, which wheat the elevator does not intend to deliver. What the elevator really sells is a wheat future contract, and the reason for selling this future contract is to protect the elevator against a decline in price on the wheat actually bought, during the interval between purchase of the wheat at the elevator and the time it arrives at the terminal market. When the wheat bought arrives at the terminal market it is sold for the current price and a future contract is bought to cancel the future contract sold. If the wheat actually purchased by the elevator goes down between the time of purchase and the time it arrived at the terminal market the elevator loses in that transaction. But the elevator has protected itself by its future transaction. At the same time the elevator purchased the wheat, it sold futures in wheat, at a price corresponding to the price it paid for the wheat actually bought. As the price declines the elevator purchases wheat to fulfill its promise of future December delivery and receives the benefit of the difference between the price actually paid for wheat to fulfill its contract and the price at which the futures contract was sold in July. Thus while the elevator loses in one transaction it gains in another.

This futures transaction for the purpose of protection against price decline is called "hedging," which has been defined "as a purchase or sale for future delivery intended to offset and thereby to protect a transaction in actual merchandise." Hedging is based on the fact that cash prices and future prices move up and down together. At the risk of some repetition we shall give a concrete illustration of hedging in wheat. A country elevator buying wheat from farmers and selling in terminal wheat market on a small margin would run a risk of losing in the fall of prices between the time of purchase and the time the wheat reaches the terminal market. In order to avoid this loss the elevator hedges. The handling margin of the elevator is five cents a bushel. The freight rate between the elevator and terminal market is 15 cents a bushel. The price paid at the elevator on September 1 is

$1.00 a bushel, and at the terminal market $1.20. The December price of wheat (the December future) at the terminal market is $1.25. On September 1 the elevator buys cash wheat from farmers at $1.00. On the same day the elevator sells a December future on the terminal market at $1.25. The elevator ships the wheat purchased to the terminal market, the wheat arrives on September 15, the price is down five cents, and the wheat is sold for cash in the terminal market for $1.15. At the time of the sale the elevator purchases a December future, at $1.20 a bushel, with which to meet the future sold on September 1. The elevator has made two transactions. In the cash transaction the elevator bought at $1.00 a bushel, had handling and transportation costs of twenty cents a bushel, and sold in the terminal market for $1.15 a bushel, thereby losing five cents a bushel. But by hedging the elevator protected itself against this loss. In its future transaction the elevator sold in September 1 at $1.25 a bushel. On the day of arrival of the wheat in the terminal market the elevator bought at $1.20 a bushel to fulfill its December futures contract. Thus in the futures transaction the elevator made a gain of five cents a bushel, which gain offset the loss on the cash transaction.[1]

Some terms [2] which are used in future trading should be considered in order to make this brief account somewhat clearer. By "selling short" it is meant that the seller does not own the commodity which he sells at the time the transaction is made. But under such conditions, he must buy before the time of delivery arrives an amount equal to the contract sale. The short seller, therefore, expects that the price of the commodity in which he deals will decline before he has to buy, and that he will profit in the transaction.

"Buying long" represents the opposite of short selling. The person who buys long expects the market to rise, and buys futures holding them in the expectation that he will profit by such an increase in value of his holdings. When he sells he "unloads" or "liquidates."

The person who has wheat to sell uses his influence to raise prices and is known as a "bull," as it were, lifting the market on his horns. The "bear" on the market is interested in buying, and wishes to purchase at as low a price as possible, hence he undertakes to tear down or depress the market.

In transactions handled on a "margin" the purchase or sale on the board of a quantity of a commodity is made, against which a

[1] Yoder, F. R. *Op. cit.*, pp. 312–314.
[2] Hibbard, B. H. *Op. cit.*, pp. 126–129.

deposit of cash or collateral is made. For example, let us assume that the regulations of the exchange require a margin of 10 cents a bushel for wheat. This margin varies according to the price of wheat and the steadiness of the market. Such a margin is to be considered as a guaranty. "If, for example, a country speculator wishes to buy 10,000 bushels of wheat for May delivery, and pays in the prescribed 10 cents a bushel, his commissioner will carry the account for him until such a time as the price drops 10 cents. If it happens in a day, by which circumstances the margin will be wiped out, the commissioner will sell the client's contract, and retain the 10 cents to cover the loss. Should the fall in price be gradual, a call will be made for money to keep the margin intact. The pay for doing the business is a straight fee of $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ cent a bushel." [1] However, dealing on the margin is not encouraged by the conservative men of the trade, since it has the tendency to promote speculation of an irresponsible kind.

There has been much discussion [2] both for and against future trading. Its advocates point out that it furnishes *a wide, liquid market,* meaning thereby one which contains many buyers and sellers, a situation which is the enemy of monopoly and control by combinations, and one in which it is easy to sell any amount, large or small, at any time, without depressing price unduly. Future trading also facilitates the securing of *ample credit,* promptly, for buying farm crops. It channels and harnesses the speculative and investment sentiment of the entire country and thus operates to *stabilize price.* Future trading establishes a *price barometer* by means of which speculators and investors are willing to buy and pay many months ahead. And through the practice of *hedging,* the hazards of price fluctuations are minimized, profits are protected and losses are limited.

Among the objections to future trading, many of them center about the short selling operations. Also, there is a great deal of speculation among classes which are unfit to speculate. An additional objection often advanced is to the effect that the machinery established by the organized exchanges, future trading and hedging are often abused to bring about *manipulation of prices,* squeezes, and artificial corners. In recent years, the ethics of such trade have greatly improved, and the Supreme Court of the United States has

[1] *Ibid.,* pp. 127–128.
[2] Boyle, J. E. *Op. cit.,* pp. 206–208.

decreed corners illegal. National legislation is being extended to give the federal government supervisory and regulatory authority over the future trading on these exchanges.

4. Deficiencies and Improvement

The emphasis in agricultural research and extension until comparatively recently has been upon the factor of a larger and more efficiently developed volume of production The importance of the marketing phase of the farm problem has been increasingly recognized in the past two or three decades. Still much research needs to be done along these lines, and many improvements are required in the marketing methods and procedures as applied to farm products.

A brief enumeration of the principal defects of our agricultural marketing system will serve as a basis for a summary discussion of the general lines along which improvement must be made. In the main, these defects [1] are as follows: (1) *Lack of knowledge of the demand.* It is important that the farmer should learn the lesson that production must be guided by the desires of the consumer rather than by the traditional habits of the farmer. The lessons of recent years emphasize the necessity of an intelligent regulation on the part of the farmer of production in relation to demand. (2) *Lack of standardization in production.* This deficiency is a sort of corollary of the preceding. A case in point is that farmers almost under the shadow of a cotton mill, do not grow the sort of staple these mills demand, though it is obviously to the advantage of both parties that they should do so. Too great a variation exists in the kind of produce and the varieties of these grown in almost any region, and this operates to increase marketing difficulties and to decrease returns to the farmer. (3) *Poor preparation for market.* In most sections of the country the farmer is too insensible of the increasing fastidiousness of the consumer's tastes and the resulting demand. Products of uniform size and quality, in attractive containers, catering to the consumer's demands must be offered the trade instead of ill-assorted or not assorted at all quantities of produce. As has been stated this grading and packaging will be done by someone, and it is to the farmer's advantage that he should develop under his control the facilities for performing such marketing functions. (4) *Improper and inadequate storage facil*

[1] Horner, J. T. *Agricultural Marketing*. Wiley. 1925, pp. 215-224.

ities. Defective storage leads to impairment of quality. The loss from this cause annually is enormous. Moreover, sufficient storage space must be provided so that orderly marketing may be possible. (5) *Inadequate transportation.* Much progress has been made along these lines, but there are still a number of glaring defects in this regard, the principal ones of which seem to be (a) carelessness in handling; (b) delays; (c) failure to keep produce at proper temperature; (d) lack of proper terminal facilities; (e) lack of facilities and equipment to permit rapid handling at times of heavy crop movement; (f) lack of transportation routes from certain local markets; (g) lack of adequate freight service from certain local markets having railways; (h) lack of coördination of the transportation facilities of the country so as to permit the handling of transportation problems for the country as a whole; (i) lack of a proper schedule of rates, causing some products to pay an excessive rate in proportion to their value. (6) *Improper handling.* Throughout the production and marketing stages of farm produce there is entirely too much waste. Apples, peaches, potatoes, and similar products are bruised; fruits, vegetables, milk, and butter are allowed to become too hot or too cold. Such wastes involve serious economic losses both in time and labor expended, and in the loss of physical goods. (7) *Defects of market finance.* In spite of all the improvement which has been made along the lines of farm credit in recent years, often there still is difficulty in securing credit on advantageous terms to finance agricultural marketing as it should be financed. (8) *Presence of too much risk.* There is still too much of the element of risk in the physical loss and price changes in our marketing system. Uncertainty is the basis of this risk, and improvement along these lines will be brought about through reducing this factor Better handling and care of the goods will greatly minimize the physical loss, and the dissemination and use of more complete market information among producers and dealers will tend to reduce price fluctuations. (9) *Lack of information.* The federal government in coöperation with the various states has made significant strides along the lines of information about crop conditions, available supply, best markets, industrial conditions, price movements, customs of people, consumer's tastes, etc., but only a good beginning has been made. The agricultural outlook published early in each farm year has developed into a very useful guide as to the extent and kind of crops to be grown by the in-

dividual farmer in the different sections of the nation. A more thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the forces which make price is needed. And it is imperative that both producer and dealer should utilize such information when it is made available (10) *Lack of orderly marketing.* The individualism of the American farmer is strikingly expressed in the independence with which he determines what he will plant and when he will sell regardless of the similar activities of his six million and more fellow farmers. The result is that, as a rule, produce is "dumped" on the market without any regard to the needs of the community, and prices are depressed below the level justified by general market conditions. Production and marketing must be more scientifically adjusted to the demand of the market. Coöperative marketing offers promise of much aid along these lines. (11) *Lack of knowledge of market processes.* The farmer understands reasonably well the processes involved in producing his crops and livestock. However, what he knows about marketing is extremely limited, and he blindly turns this important phase of his business over to others who naturally are more concerned in serving their own interests than they are those of the farmer. Yet, criticism is often unjustly lodged by both producer and consumer because they have no knowledge of services rendered by those engaged in the various marketing services. The farmer must come to know marketing as well as he now knows producing, and a greater information regarding these matters will lead to the reforms in marketing necessary to protect his interest and to see that he receives his proper share of the consumer's dollar.

QUESTIONS

1. Define the term "utility," and explain what is meant by (1) "elementary utility"; (2) "place utility"; (3) "form utility"; (4) "time utility"; and (5) "possession utility."
2. In what sense is marketing to be viewed as production? As distribution?
3. Discuss the general extent and effectiveness of sales of farm products direct from the producer to the consumer.
4. Name the principal classes of middlemen, and middlemen functions.
5. Explain what is meant by a (1) "merchant"; (2) "commission merchant"; (3) "wholesaler"; (4) "jobber"; (5) "broker"; (6) "shipper"; and (7) "retailer."
6. What is the real issue between the farmer and the middlemen who handle his products?
7. Illustrate the assembling function in marketing, and give its importance.

8. What does Boyle have to say regarding the necessity of "grading and standardizing" the products which the farmer offers the consumer? List the principal advantages of grading farm produce.
9. Why is "packaging" a necessary accompaniment of grading and standardization?
10. Give the proportion of our agricultural production which must be processed. What is "processing"? State the significance of this marketing function.
11. What is the average distance between the producer and consumer of foods, and the average cost of transportation of farm products in proportion to their value?
12. Explain how storage adjusts the seasonal nature of farm production to the comparatively uniform demands of the consumer. Discuss the room for improvement in this phase of marketing.
13. Why are financing and risk-taking inevitable in a commercial agriculture? Distinguish between direct financing and indirect financing.
14. Give the comparative expensiveness of retailing and wholesaling in terms of the consumer's dollar. Is it possible to simplify the intricate middleman machinery of the selling and distribution market function with beneficial results to both producer and consumer? If so, in what ways should such improvement be made?
15. Define "future trading." What is a "produce exchange"? Name some of the leading exchanges in the United States.
16. Enumerate the principal functions of such exchanges.
17. Using wheat as an example, explain how future trading is carried on through the produce exchange. What is meant by "hedging" and what purpose does it serve?
18. Explain the meaning of the following terms: "selling short"; "buying long"; a "bull" on the market; a "bear" on the market; the purchase or sale on a "margin."
19. Give the case for and against future trading.
20. Discuss the principal deficiencies in agricultural marketing and how they may be improved.

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

1. Macklin, T., Grimes, W. E., and Kolb, J. H. *Making the Most of Agriculture.* Ginn and Company, 1927, Chapter II, pp. 7–20, "The Farmer's Market"; and Chapter III, pp. 21–35, "The Marketing System."
2. Hibbard, B. H. *Marketing Agricultural Products.* D. Appleton and Company, 1923, Chapter V, pp. 39–53, "The Middleman and His Service."
3. Clark, F. E. *Principles of Marketing.* The Macmillan Company, 1927, Chapter XIV, pp. 271–292, "The Elimination of Middlemen."
4. Benton, A. H. *An Introduction to the Marketing of Farm Products.* A. W. Shaw Company, 1926, Chapter II, pp. 22–33, "Marketing Services."
5. Erdman, H. E. *American Produce Markets.* D. C. Heath and Company, 1928, Chapters IX and X, pp. 155–202, "Produce Exchanges."
6. Hoffner, J. T. *Agricultural Marketing.* John Wiley and Sons, 1925, Chapter XIII, pp. 212–224, "Market Weaknesses and Their Remedies."

CHAPTER XIII

PRICES AND PRICE-DETERMINATION

Price may be defined as the amount of money for which a unit of a given commodity exchanges.[1] Another way of stating the matter is that price is the market value of a commodity expressed in terms of money. The latter definition gives rise to a question as to what is meant by market value. "Without entering into a theoretical discussion of value, it may be stated that there are, in general, two widely divergent views on the subject of value, the first holding that market value is opinion, or more strictly speaking, the consensus of opinion of buyers and sellers. The second view is that value is a cold, impersonal expression of the economic law of supply and demand. The truth of the matter lies about halfway between these two extremes." [2]

In this connection, "the only goods which are valued in the market are economic goods; that is, such goods as combine the characteristics of utility and scarcity. This statement is a truism, for no one will pay for things that he does not want or for things that can be obtained freely. Utility and scarcity affect the market prices of goods through the operations of demand and supply. In fact, the general 'common-sense' statement is that values are determined by supply and demand. Rightly interpreted, this is an accurate general statement. Too often, however, it is used in a misleading way. Producers do not usually throw a 'supply' of goods unreservedly on the market, accepting any price that can be got for them, nor do consumers generally demand definite amounts of goods, without reference to the price of them. An equally accurate statement, and one less likely to be misinterpreted, is that *prices are among the factors determining supply and demand.*" [3]

The term "supply" signifies the combined amounts which sellers stand ready to offer on the market at a price. "If the sellers

[1] Ely, R. T. *Outlines of Economics* (Fourth Edition), 1929, p. 144.
[2] Boyle, J. E. *Marketing Agricultural Products.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1925, pp. 230–232.
[3] Ely, R. T. *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

hold some goods which they will not part with at any price, these goods should not be included in the concept of supply for they can have no bearing in the determination of value. This definition of supply should not be confused with the total amount in the hands of the producers or dealers, which should be thought of as composed of two parts, namely, 'actual supply' or the amount that the sellers are willing to dispose of at the prevailing price, and 'potential supply' or the amount they would dispose of if the price offers were more favorable." [1]

That the concept of supply is not a simple one is made clear from the following elaboration of the term as applied to wheat:

> At first blush the word supply may seem simple enough—the quantity on the market—yet when examined in the light of concrete market conditions it is seen to be indefinite both as to quantity and quality of commodity. Take a simple case as an example—wheat. The largest wheat market in the United States is Minneapolis. What constitutes the supply of wheat on the Minneapolis market? Since the Minneapolis market is linked by wire with all other great wheat markets of the world, the question of supply is thereby greatly affected. Since the commodity is standardized, graded, and nonperishable, is liquid and the basis for cheap credit, is easily transported and stored, its supply is also affected by these considerations. An inventory of the "supply" of wheat on the Minneapolis market (which would affect the market price) must include all the following factors; daily receipts; amount held in public and private storage in city, visible supply (*i.e.*, amount held in terminal elevators in the United States, as reported by wire weekly); amount in store in the 30,000 country elevators (estimated only, but not definitely known); amount of merchantable wheat held on farms (wheat is grown on 2,000,000 farms in the United States); wheat acreage and wheat crop prospects; the weather; in addition there would be the factors of grain afloat or on passage, stocks held in foreign markets; world crops and crop prospects; war; strikes and labor troubles; in addition, such important factors would enter the supply question as per cent of wheat crop which is durum wheat; per cent which is other hard spring varieties or hard-winter varieties, or soft wheat; amount and conditions of protein content of the wheat. Finally, since wheat enters into dairy and poultry rations, the supply of wheat substitutes for these feeds would affect the "supply" and hence the price of wheat. Also the supply of competing food cereals—corn, rye, and barley—would be important. The market term "supply" does not mean, therefore, merely the actual physical commodity present on the market. The spot wheat, or so-called cash wheat, is one of many elements of supply. In market terminology, there are also two other kinds of wheat being bought and sold on the Minneapolis market; to

[1] Deibler, F. S. *Principles of Economics*. McGraw-Hill Co., 1929, p. 197.

arrive wheat, and futures. The supply of these on the market is registered only by the selling offers, largely over the wire, from those who either hold the actual wheat or wheat contracts, or those who desire to speculate by selling short and have no wheat at all.

The "supply of wheat" does not mean the quantity of wheat on the market. The term includes various factors, as shown by the "inventory," some of which factors are definitely known, some of which are mere estimates, and others pure market opinion or market sentiment. In other words, the supply is partly psychological.[1]

The concept of demand in considerable measure is psychological in nature. It is customarily defined as the desire to buy coupled with the ability to pay. Obviously, many factors enter into the determination of this desire to buy and the financial ability to do so. Some of these are illustrated in the following enumeration of elements entering into the demand for milk, meat, and cranberries:

Demand for Milk.—Consumer demand for milk was studied in Philadelphia by several joint agencies in the year 1924, and the following factors were all found to enter into the demand, the milk's cleanliness, purity, food value, quality, and freshness; the milk's value as a health food; price; financial ability of family; race and nationality (white, colored, Italian, Jewish, etc.); effect of seasons; effect of advertising; number and ages of children in family. The consumption of cream and buttermilk, and of condensed, evaporated, and powder milk, were also found to be factors. Canned milk was considered by many consumers to be most convenient. The consumption of butter, butter substitutes, and cheese was also studied, and found to vary considerably from race to race.

Demand for Meat.—Consumer demand for meat has been studied in a similar manner in different cities. Demand was found to fluctuate with the following factors: race, color, and religion; quality, convenience, price; use of substitutes (and foods for variety of diet); availability and price of eggs, fish, dairy products, etc; financial ability of family; appetite and preferences for beef or pork or lamb or veal or mutton; buying habits of consumers; knowledge or ignorance of market cuts; custom.

Demand for Cranberries.—Similar consumer-demand studies for cranberries revealed the following factors on the demand side; race, color, class, age, and sex (more men like cranberries than do women), flavor, color, and appearance of cranberry; season; price; price of sugar; advertising.[2]

The fundamental place of supply and demand in the determination of market value must be recognized in any discussion of the

[1] Boyle, J. E. *Op. cit.*, pp. 231–232.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 233–234.

matter of prices. That the law of supply and demand is an "iron" law, inflexible in nature cannot be sustained, as must now be clear from the number of factors entering into its operation. In general the law rests on four economic axioms which are powerful elements affecting production and consumption of farm products, and which must be taken more vividly into practical consideration by the farmer of today in a highly commercial stage of agricultural development. These axioms are as follows:

1. High prices tend to increase production and to decrease consumption.
2. Low prices tend to increase consumption and to decrease production.
3. The most effective remedy for high prices is high prices.
4. The most effective remedy for low prices is low prices.

No matter what more or less artificial measures may be employed to restrict the normal operation of these economic tendencies and thereby to stimulate higher prices of the commodity in question, the results must be temporary if the farmer persists in a large volume of production. For, in this connection another economic principle that of the law of diminishing utility applies. Simply stated this law signifies that the intensity of the desire for additional units of a commodity decreases as successive units of it are acquired. A case in point is that two suits of clothes are better than one, but the second suit is by no means so important as the first. It is well to have three, four, or five suits and more, but the importance of each additional suit rapidly decreases as the wardrobe is extended. "For any one person different units of the same commodity may possess very different degrees of utility. *The utility of the final or marginal unit of a person's stock of a given commodity is called the marginal utility of that commodity to that person.*" [1] This same law applies in the case of a large or small crop of wheat, cotton, tobacco, or any other farm commodity. In the case of a large crop of wheat, the marginal utility of the surplus beyond normal consumption demands would act to reduce the price of the entire crop in relation to the utility and hence the price of the marginal unit Thus it is highly important in a consideration of the price which a farmer or manufacturer will receive for his product to adjust the production or supply of the commodity in a well-considered relation to the possible demand.

[1] Ely, R. T. *Op. cit.*, pp. 127–128.

1. The Adjustment of Agricultural Production to Demand

One of the immediately important and most perplexing problems confronting the agricultural industry today is that of a practical approach in the adequate adjustment of agricultural production to demand. In the long run agricultural production is brought into approximate adjustment by the supply-cost and the supply-price relationships,[1] but such long-time adjustment is accomplished, oftentimes with distressing results to the individual farmer and to the farmer in the group "The hog price cycle taken in conjunction with the hog production cycle is a familiar example of almost continuous, short-time maladjustment. The cycle is induced by the conscious attempts of producers to make adjustments to price. But these adjustments so overshoot the mark that the industries might be better off without them. The adjustments follow a fairly well-defined cycle. Under the stimulus of high prices, producers initiate increased production, but the increase is so great that when the hogs come to market some eighteen or more months later, the increased supply depresses the prices. The depressed prices then cause producers to over-restrict production. The effect of this restriction is in turn to increase prices when the reduced production is marketed and the cycle then repeats itself. In a sense the producer is his own nemesis." [2]

Much the same sort of thing happens in the case of cotton, tobacco, wheat, and other crops, though in these instances the overshooting of the mark is frequently partially thwarted by yields over which the weather has more control than the producer If cotton is used as an example, a correlation of 0.94 is found to exist between the changes in prices and the changes in acreage over the period 1904–24. This is graphically illustrated by the chart on page 256.

In discussing this situation, Smith says:

> The graph, however, illustrates not only the tendency of acreage to follow price but also that sufficient acreage adjustment was usually made each year to change profitable growing to unprofitable or, vice versa, unprofitable to profitable. Nearly all years of acreage increases are followed by years of decreases and nearly all years of decreases are in turn followed by increases, showing that over-adjustments were

[1] This discussion is largely based on the article of B. B. Smith, "The Adjustment of Agricultural Production to Demand." *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. VIII, No 2, April, 1926, pp. 145–173.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 146.

made and that attempted readjustments in the following years were in turn overdone.

The close relation of cotton acreage changes to price changes would not be unfortunate were the price changes an indication of subsequent demand conditions rather than a reflection of current supply conditions. An increased demand would increase price and the increasing of acreage in anticipation thereof is, in such a case, a legitimate adjustment. But an increased price may also be due to reduced production following poor yields. The subsequent expansion of acreage in response to this

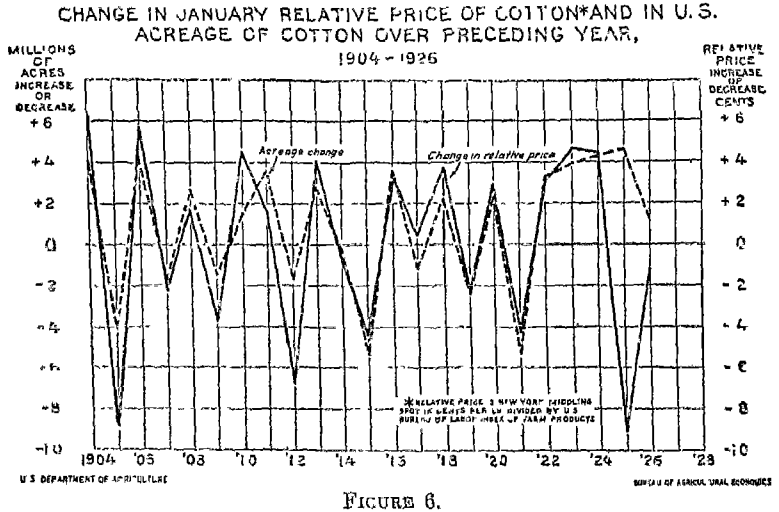


FIGURE 6.

(Source: *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, April 1926, p. 147.)

current situation is often an illegitimate adjustment and is quite apt to result in an unprofitable year. For if acreage be increased, the total expenses of production, which (with the exception of harvesting costs) tend to parallel acreage, would be increased. On the other hand, no matter what the production resulting might be, total value and hence total receipts for the crop would change but little unless there were changes in demand. If the production were greater, the price would be less in somewhat the same proportion, and conversely poor yields, though increasing price per unit through reduced supplies, would be offset by the fact that there would be less to sell in somewhat the same proportion. Adjustment to prospective demand changes is generally sound policy almost irrespective of prices at the time the adjustment is initiated. Adjustment to those current price conditions which are consequent upon supply changes tends to be a self-perpetuating pendulum process of continuous maladjustment.

In this pendulum process there is first a high price, then acreage expands and the crop is increased, producing competition of producers

in selling which forces the price down when the crop is marketed. Heavy carryovers keep the price down though not stimulating consumption sufficiently to insure the stocks being used up. The consequent low prices cause restriction in acreage which later reduces crops and thus again increases prices, whereupon the process is again repeated.

In another study,[1] the same author finds that when the production of cotton is 10 per cent below normal, cotton prices are on the average 16 per cent above normal, and when production is 10 per cent above normal, prices on the average drop to 13 per cent below normal. Bean [2] in an investigation of the supply-price relationship for potatoes over the period from 1921 to 1927 found that a 10 per cent increase in production above normal was accompanied on the average by a price 21 per cent below normal, whereas a 10 per cent decrease in production is accompanied by an average increase in price of 24 per cent above normal.

These factors make for violent price fluctuations, quite disastrous to the farmer. Black [3] has figured that a crop of cotton 15 per cent below normal would sell for $169,000,000 more than one 20 per cent above normal. A potato crop 15 per cent below normal would sell for $596,000,000, as compared with $364,000,000 for a crop 20 per cent above normal. In the case of corn and oats, the growers should strive for neither large nor small crops, since, for example, a corn crop 20 per cent below normal would be worth about the same as one 20 per cent above normal, but a normal crop would be worth about $83,000,000 more than either.

The foregoing considerations reveal the desirability of smoothing out the peaks and hollows in production in such a way as to make them intelligently conform to demand. While it is unwise to generalize from meager data, the following instance illustrates the possibilities along these lines to the farmer. Haas and Ezekiel in studying the factors affecting the price of hogs found that one of three hog producers among those considered "started to expand his production when prices were high and to reduce his production when prices were low—in short did just as most producers did. His average annual labor income was about $60. Another of these producers did not change the extent of his operations, but year in

[1] Smith, B. B. *Factors Affecting the Price of Cotton.* Technical Bulletin No. 50, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

[2] Referred to in Black, J. D. *Agricultural Reform in the United States.* McGraw-Hill Co., 1929, p. 90.

[3] Black, J. D. *Op. cit.*, pp. 103-106.

and year out marketed the same number of hogs. His average annual labor income was approximately $1,380. The third of these producers did the opposite from the first, expanding his production when low prices made others reduce theirs and reducing his production when high prices stimulated others to expand theirs. His average annual labor income was approximately $1,620." [1]

The food needs of a nation and of the family of nations is fairly constant. It is true that when the price of one commodity becomes too high, cheaper substitutes are likely to be used in the place of it. However, the amount of wheat, pork, and even of non-food crops like cotton and tobacco which will be required normally can be rather accurately estimated. The problem is more difficult in the adjustment of agricultural production to such normal demands. There is a certain anarchy about the matter of farm production. In a favorable year with regard to climatic factors, the same or even less acreage may produce a bumper crop. The ravages of insect and plant diseases, and the devastating effects of drought are factors to be considered in such a desired goal. But even more significant is the fact that farming is an individualistic sort of enterprise, fostering more than its share of submarginal operators.

There are more than six million farmers in the United States, each planning his operations and conducting them to a large extent independently of every other. No effective mechanism has as yet been developed to coördinate such activities in an intelligent manner. Much hope in the future along the lines of controlling production resides in the coöperative associations, but as yet so small a fraction of the farmers of the nation belong to them that such possibilities cannot be realized. As the situation stands, the approach is one of education, and exceedingly imperfect at that. The federal government through its Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the agricultural extension services of the several states is striving to inform the farmer as to the agricultural outlook at the beginning of each planting season, and to forecast for him the desirable supply and price relationships in connection with his sensible plantings. Some progress is being made, but the problem of adjusting agricultural supply to demand is at present in a chaotic condition. Nevertheless, it stands forth as a major national issue, and one which requires a more satisfactory solution than at the present writing seems in sight.

[1] Smith, B. B. *Journal of Farm Economics, loc. cit.*

2. Industrial Prosperity and the Farmer

Investigation of the influence of business cycles upon agricultural depression do not seem to indicate any very demonstrable causative relationships. During the last half century, the United States has passed through fourteen business cycles, of varying degrees of severity, and in the late summer of 1929, this nation began to enter upon a fifteenth depression the analysis of which has been baffling to the students of such phenomena. Such business cycles usually consist of four phases; prosperity, crisis, depression, and recovery. A brief characterization of these stages in the cycle may be cited as follows:

> During the period of prosperity business is running at full force, consumers are buying large amounts, and profits are high. Savings are made. The amount of money is increased. The currency is inflated. Much business is done on credit. Interest rates are low. Prices rise. Business seems to be in a prosperous condition. On the basis of expected continuance of prosperity and high prices, all lines of business are expanded. Extravagance and over-confidence are engendered.
>
> Next a crisis occurs. The increased demands for credit exhaust bank reserves Credit must be curtailed. Loans which have bounded ahead of cash assets are called in. Interest rates go up. Debtors are asked to pay up Consumers have stocked themselves heavily with goods. Merchants and manufacturers find themselves with a surplus of products on hand. Manufacture and sales are curtailed. Producers of machinery cannot sell their goods. Business men and bankers lose confidence. Business slows down. A crisis has arrived. Bankers demand liquidation A crash comes. Prices fall.
>
> Then follows a period of depression. Pessimism has set in. The physical production of goods falls off. Business is at a low ebb. Manufacturing plants run only part time. There is much unemployment. Extravagance and waste are eliminated Economies of all kinds are effected. Consumers buy as little as possible Hard times prevail throughout the whole field of business Prices are low. There is no expansion of business
>
> But this period of economy and depression sets forces to work which bring in the fourth period, the period of recovery. A few of the keener and shrewder business men sense that the period of depression has come to an end. They begin to expand their businesses. The low interest rates, abundance of capital, cheap materials, and cheap labor are incentives for them to expand production. Their activities create demands for various products turned out by other industries. Employment picks up. Consumers begin to buy more. Old stocks of goods are exhausted. New stocks are needed. Prices rise. Banks are ready

to lend their surplus funds for further expansion of industry. Business is going through the recovery stage, soon to be followed by the prosperity stage again.[1]

Agriculture, too, has its periods of prosperity and of depression, but these seem to be more or less independent of the similar stages of business. Engberg [2] who has given thorough study to the problem under discussion found that the correlation between changes in the volume of agricultural production and changes in the prices of agricultural products were sufficiently high in most cases to establish the volume as a main causal factor in the annual fluctuations of farm prices. Most of the factors affecting the volume of agricultural production were found to be independent of general business conditions. Though in most cases there is a marked lag in the response, high prices ordinarily stimulate agricultural production and low prices decrease production. On the demand side, business cycles seem more effective. In the prosperous periods of business, consumer demand seems to increase, and in the depressed phase to decrease. But the demand for staple food products is rather inelastic and this tends to reduce such fluctuations to a fairly small range. However the various commodities exhibit differing degrees of sensitiveness in their response to such influences; the fiber crops, such as cotton, are moderately sensitive, while a more stable demand characterizes bread crops, pork products, and potatoes. Farm wages seem to have been governed largely by agricultural conditions, though in times of business prosperity the supply of farm labor was distinctly less. Almost no effect was found on taxes and rent and very little on interest rates. Machinery, equipment, and building materials were increased in cost, but the prices of feeds and fertilizers did not seem to be at all affected.

In answer to the question as to what extent business cycles are responsible for the farmer's financial difficulties, Engberg states it cannot be said that fluctuations in domestic business conditions have been great enough in their influence to reduce agriculture to a state of depression, because the demands for food and even clothing materials do not vary sufficiently from industrial prosperity to depression to result in similar changes for agriculture. He also

[1] Yoder, F. R. *Introduction to Agricultural Economics*. Crowell, 1929 pp 427–428.

[2] Engberg, R. C. *Industrial Prosperity and the Farmer*. Macmillan, 1927, pp. 259–270

argues that business forecasts are not sufficiently definite either as to time or extent to warrant farmers' attempting to adjust their production policies to accord with them. The opinion is advanced that only one of the remedies suggested for business cycles is likely to prove effective in stabilizing agricultural production and prices. This is "the suggestion that the necessary data be made available, chiefly by public agencies, so that producers can study the statistical position of the commodities involved and then proceed to neutralize the tendency toward distinctive cycles by expanding and contracting agricultural production in anticipation of the situations which now lead to cyclical oscillations. Such data are, of course, already available to a very considerable extent. Federal and state governments, colleges, newspapers, farmer's organizations, and other agencies are preparing and disseminating a wide variety of reports on production, consumption, stocks, European supply and demand conditions, intentions of farmers to plant and to breed, business conditions and prices. The broadcasting of such information can be shown to have had a beneficial effect in certain instances, and the extension and improvement of such services should be encouraged." [1]

3. Index Numbers of Farm Prices

While farm price statistics, particularly for the years prior to 1910, are far from as adequate as is desirable, they furnish valuable data for the study of price trends in the agricultural industry. Monthly farm price data extend back only to about 1910. The prices of crops as of December 1, and livestock values on January 1, are available as far back as 1886–87.[2] These are of indispensable value when a longer farm price series is required. Unfortunately, these longer price data do not include livestock products such as butter, milk, eggs, and wool.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the Federal Department of Agriculture publishes each month a pamphlet known as "The Agricultural Situation." The trend of prices of farm products since 1910 is given in this in index numbers as well as a similar kind of measure of the prices paid by farmers for commodities bought, and the ratio of prices received to prices paid. These index numbers

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 269–270.

[2] Settle, C. F. *Reliability and Adequacy of Farm-Price Data.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Dept. Bull. No. 1480, 1927, p. 65.

are calculated from a five-year base, August, 1909–July, 1914, representing 100.

TABLE 13

GENERAL TREND OF PRICES AND PURCHASING POWER[1]

(On five-year base; August, 1909–July, 1914 = 100)

YEAR	GRAINS	FRUITS AND VEGETABLES	MEAT ANIMALS	DAIRY PRODUCTS	POULTRY PRODUCTS	COTTON AND COTTON SEED	ALL GROUPS	PRICES PAID BY FARMERS FOR COMMODITIES BOUGHT [b]	RATIO OF PRICES RECEIVED TO PRICES PAID
1910	104	91	103	100	104	113	103	98	106
1911	96	106	87	97	91	101	95	101	93
1912	106	110	95	103	101	87	99	100	99
1913	92	92	108	100	101	97	100	100	99
1914	103	100	112	100	105	85	102	101	101
1915	120	83	104	98	103	78	100	106	95
1916	126	123	120	102	116	119	117	123	95
1917	217	202	173	125	157	187	176	150	118
1918	226	102	202	152	185	245	200	178	112
1919	231	189	206	173	208	247	209	205	102
1920	231	249	173	188	222	248	205	206	99
1921	112	148	108	148	161	101	116	156	75
1922	105	152	113	134	130	156	124	152	81
1923	114	136	106	148	145	216	135	153	88
1924	129	124	109	134	147	211	134	154	87
1925	156	160	139	137	161	177	147	159	92
1926	129	189	146	136	156	122	136	156	87
1927	128	155	139	138	141	128	131	154	85
1928	150	146	150	140	150	152	139	156	90
1929	121	136	156	140	150	145	138	155	89
1930	100	158	134	123	126	102	117	146	80
1931	63	93	93	94	96	63	80	123	63

[a] These index numbers are based on retail prices paid by farmers for commodities used in living and production, reported quarterly for March, June, September and December. The indexes for other months are straight interpolations between the successive quarterly indexes.

The accompanying table is worthy of a careful study. Among other things, it shows that in the year 1931, the index number of all groups of farm products was 80 as compared with 103 in 1910. However, the figure for the prices paid by farmers for commodities bought was 126 in the latter year as contrasted with 98 in 1910. More striking still is the ratio of prices received by the farmer for his products in proportion to prices paid In 1917 the purchasing power of the farmer's dollar was 118, while in 1921, it had decreased to 75. Since that time the highest ratio reached was 92 in 1925. The average for the year 1931 was 63, and the lowest figure reached

[1] Source: *The Agricultural Situation*, June, 1932, p. 15.

since the index was started up to the time this is written is 50 in May, 1932. At the same time, the index of farm prices for all groups of commodities had reached the lowest level of 56. Such measures of price trends concretely express the extremely depressed condition of agriculture at the present time, but the service rendered is one of long-time value in that they are useful as indicators of the directions in which farm prices move.

4. Price-Fixing and the Cost of Farm Products

A contention which is often made by farm leaders is to the effect that the farmer is entitled to a price for his product which insures cost of production plus a reasonable profit. One of the difficulties in such a position resides in the wide range of producing a given crop by different farmers. It has been shown by farm management surveys in the wheat sections of the United States that the cost of producing a bushel of wheat varies from 75 cents to as much as $4.00. The range in cost of production for corn is from 30 cents to $2.00 a bushel, and in the case of cotton from 10 cents to 50 cents a pound.

Taylor asks the question "With wide ranges in the costs of production, which cost shall be accepted as the basis of price-fixing?" and proceeds to answer it in part as follows: "The average has been seriously suggested but abandoned in disgust when it has been realized that a price fixed on the basis of average costs would probably result in a loss on half the farms. The marginal or greatest costs have also been suggested. Economists have a theory that prices tend to equal marginal costs; this is thought to be true because it is assumed that the man who is producing at a loss will drop out, or, if the supply is short the price will rise to the point attracting others less favorably situated to enter the same line of production, thus tending to maintain the price at a point equal to the greatest cost, though at any given time they might be far apart. There seems to be some relation, therefore, between the highest cost necessary to produce the desired supply and the price which in the long run will have to be paid in order to get the desired supply." [1]

The difficulties in this connection are not insuperable, and the same authority thinks that a permanent price commission would represent a long step in the desired direction. "The forces and

[1] Taylor, H. C. *Outlines of Agricultural Economics.* Macmillan, 1931 pp. 489, 500.

conditions which determine supply and demand are too little understood. The law of supply and demand as a price regulator does not always give satisfactory results. It might be made to work much more equitably under the guidance of a commission than when influenced by the unequal bargaining power of great distributing corporations on the one hand and of the isolated unorganized producers on the other. A properly organized permanent price commission might inaugurate an educational program which would improve the mutual attitude of mind of the producer and consumer toward each other, which would make each more considerate of the rights of the other that are in the long run fundamental to the interests of all concerned."

There are many who advocate in various forms a policy of price-fixing of farm products by the federal government. Such establishment of minimum prices was applied during the emergency period of the World War in the case of some agricultural products, but so large a part of the world was involved in catastrophic struggle that an oversupply of these was hardly likely to be a difficulty during the period of the War. As a peace-time measure, price-fixing is viewed rather generally as precarious. There is always the strong likelihood that production will be greatly overstimulated by the higher prices. The risks involved, it is usually assumed, should be borne by the government. If price guaranties are extended in one farm product, they must soon extend to all, and the financial jeopardy becomes enough to bankrupt any government.

What may happen in such attempts is illustrated by the Stevenson Restriction Act as applied by the British government to rubber in its colonies. The following account interestingly outlines what resulted:

> Every motor car would be headed for the scrap-heap; every loud-speaker would be silent; every telephone would "go dead"; every electric light would go out. The gloveless surgeon would be unable to perform his life-saving operations. . . . Contemporary man could not get along. . . . Life would be devoid of half its conveniences and comforts. . . .
>
> Such was the alarming prophecy, last week, of able Dr. Julius Klein of the U. S. Dept. of Commerce. He was recalling the ancient and modern history of the commodity of rubber. Columbus, exploring the island of Hispaniola, was the first to see natives playing with balls which seemed to bound miraculously to Heaven. Three centuries

later, Chemist Joseph Priestley advised his fellow Englishmen that the miraculous substance would erase pencil-markings, might well be called "rubber." It was only 100 years ago that a Scotchman named Mackintosh dissolved rubber in naphtha and perpetuated his name in an overcoat. And in 1839, U. S.-born Charles Goodyear dropped rubber (mixed with sulphur) on a hot stove and witnessed the first, accidental process of vulcanization.

Scholarly Dr. Klein knew that in 1926, rubber led the list of U. S. imports, that 1927 imports were valued at $340,000,000. In vivid, effective phrases, he pictured civilization "suddenly and permanently" deprived of rubber.

Point was undeniably given Dr. Klein's prophecies by the occasion which prompted them. He spoke on the eve of the most important day the rubber industry has seen in six years. Fortunately, the day gave happy instead of dismal point to Dr. Klein's vision of a rubberless world. For on Nov. 1, the six-year British experiment in restricting export of rubber from Malaya came to an abrupt and official end.

British historians, writing of the great post-War recovery acclaiming the return to the gold standard and the rebuilding of the merchant marine, will deal briefly and reluctantly with the effort to control the rubber markets of the world. The experiment which began Nov. 1, 1922, which ended last week, will be held an economic catastrophe. Hundreds of fortunes were drawn into the maelstrom of its collapse.

In conception, the plan appeared both simple and practical. Of the world's rubber supply, Great Britain in 1922 controlled about 67 per cent. British plantations in the East, principally in Malaya, produced in that year 300,000 tons. Dutch plantations, in Java and the East Indies, produced only 95,000 tons. Prices were low. In an attempt to boost prices, establish a monopoly, Great Britain undertook by the Stevenson Restriction Act, to regulate exports from Malaya. The idea was to fix the price of crude rubber at between 30 and 40¢ a pound.

For a time, the restriction was brilliantly successful. Prices soared far above 40¢, reached a high in 1925 of $1.21 a pound and in that year averaged 73¢. U. S. rubber users, tiremakers, were in a public panic. They pressed a campaign of conservation. They began to "reclaim" used rubber. They started a world-wide search for plantations where the U. S. might produce its own supply. They commissioned Thomas Alva Edison to study how to extract rubber from such plants as milkweed. And, in 1926, tiremakers formed the Rubber Pool to buy a great supply at between 35 and 41¢ a pound.

Before desperate U. S. remedies could be effective, the British plan had failed. England had not counted on the Dutch East Indies. Lured by phenomenal prices, both the Dutch themselves and the Javanese natives pushed production. Last year, they furnished 225,000 tons. By 1928, Britain controlled only a little more than half (55%) of the world supply, could not possibly control world prices.

The break came with dramatic suddenness last February. Crude rubber fell to 26.9¢ in March, 17.2¢ in April. Members of the Rubber

Pool took a staggering loss on their inventories, emerged in August with slashed profits or deficits for the half year. Many a British speculator accepted ruin. The experiment had failed, finally and disastrously.

U. S. tiremakers, last week, cut prices from 2½ to 7½ per cent, the second major slash of the year. Linked by the new Rubber Institute, manufacturers saw three hopeful signs for the future:

(1) Tire prices are now scaled down to the price of crude rubber.

(2) Cutthroat competition from mail order houses is being met by better merchandizing, better advertising.

(3) With the Stevenson restrictions officially abolished crude rubber will reach a normal price level. Manufacturers can replenish stocks, experiment with new uses.[1]

The Brazilian government seems to have become involved in much difficulty dealing with the increasing surpluses arising from their attempts at the valorization of coffee. The problem is largely one of increased production due to better prices, and no adequate machinery for controlling farm production on an extensive scale has yet been evolved.

In order to secure satisfactory prices the farmers must through their own efforts and those of their own coöperative marketing associations, aided intelligently and sympathetically by both federal and state governments and their agencies, accomplish the following four objectives: (1) constantly improve the quality of their products; (2) achieve the orderly marketing of their products, both as to season and consuming area; (3) lower costs of production; and (4) intelligently and effectively adjust agricultural production to demand.

QUESTIONS

1. Define "price," and in this connection explain what is meant by "market value."
2. What is the meaning of the term "supply"? Distinguish between "actual supply" and "potential supply." Using the supply of wheat as an illustration, show why the concept of supply is not a simple one.
3. Explain what is meant by "demand," and analyzing the factors entering into the demand for milk, meat, and cranberries, discuss the psychological nature of the concept of demand.
4. Give the four economic axioms upon which the "law of supply and demand" rests.
5. Discuss the rôle of supply and demand in the determination of price, including in the discussion the concept of "marginal utility."
6. Why is it profoundly important that the agricultural industry must learn to adjust its production to demand? Using the hog price cycle in con-

[1] "Catastrophic Experiment." *Time*, Nov. 12 1928.

junction with the hog production cycle as an example, illustrate the existence of continuous, short-time maladjustment, often with disastrous results to the individual farmer, and to the farmer in the group.

7. Analyze the close correlation found between the changes in price and the changes in acreage of cotton over the period 1904-24 as revealed in the study of B. B. Smith.
8. To what extent does much the same situation prevail with potatoes?
9. What does Black have to say about the prices of above-normal and below-normal crops of cotton, potatoes, and corn?
10. Cite the example given by Haas and Ezekiel in the case of three hog producers to show the possibilities and advantages of an intelligent effort to conform supply to demand.
11. State some of the difficulties encountered by an individualistic enterprise like American farming in its efforts to adjust agricultural production to demand.
12. What is a "business cycle"? How many of these phenomena have we had in the United States during the last half century?
13. Name and briefly describe the four phases of a business cycle.
14. Does agriculture have its periods of prosperity and depression? To what extent are these influenced by the business cycle?
15. In general, how adequate are farm price statistics in the United States? What is the value of "index numbers" of farm prices?
16. Using Table 13, trace the trend of prices of all groups of farm commodities from 1910 through 1930, calling attention to the highest and lowest levels reached during that period. What was the corresponding index number in July, 1931, and how does this compare with that in preceding years?
17. What do the index numbers indicating the ratio of prices received for the products of the farm and the prices paid for the goods purchased by the farmer show as to the buying value of the farmer's dollar in 1910, in 1917, in 1931, and in May, 1932?
18. Give the range in the cost of production of wheat, cotton, and corn in different sections of the United States. What sort of a problem does such a situation present in any attempts at "price-fixing"? In Taylor's opinion, what would be the advantage of having a permanent price commission?
19. Describe the experiment of the British government in its attempts to fix the price of rubber by means of the Stevenson Restriction Act.
20. Name four objectives which the farmers must achieve through their own efforts and those of their own cooperative marketing associations, aided intelligently by both federal and state governments, in order to secure satisfactory prices for farm commodities.

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5. ENGBERG, R. C. *Industrial Prosperity and the Farmer.* The Macmillan Company, 1927, Chapter X, pp. 259–279, "Summary and Conclusions."
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CHAPTER XIV

COÖPERATIVE MARKETING

The American farmer is traditionally an intense individualist. He lives amid the acres which he cultivates, often somewhat remote to his nearest neighbor. What he will plant and how much of it is determined largely by his own inclinations, and by the influence of what his father and his grandfather planted before him. As a rule, the products of his farm are marketed by him as an individual, with little regard to the effect upon his near and remote neighbors growing the same crops. This persistence in maintaining such an isolated independence in production and in marketing has for many decades of a commercial stage of agriculture operated to his distinct detriment. He tends to produce too much wheat, cotton, tobacco, and such things. He unloads them on the market all at about the same time and depresses the price unduly. Too little significance is attached to quality and grading of product, and he is the victim of a marketing system, the emphasis in which is upon the profit of the extensive system of middlemen and secondarily upon the best advantage of the farmer. A succinct statement of the situation in which the American farmer finds himself today has been made by Bernard M. Baruch, a distinguished financier and a close student of coöperative marketing, as follows: "The farmer selling in unlimited competition with himself, has been buying at more or less controlled prices from industries which have organized their production and marketing."

Coöperative marketing is the agency born of this need of the farmer. The central purpose of such organizations is to develop the machinery by means of which the farmer employs his own middlemen to perform efficiently and economically for him the essential marketing services of assembling, grading, processing, packaging, storing, financing, and dispersing. Coöperative marketing does not dispense with these services; it performs them for the farmer at cost. Since it does not eliminate middlemen functions, it does not eliminate middlemen. It employs the necessary middlemen on a salary basis, and what formerly constituted the profits of

these are returned to the farmer in increased prices on the commodity he sells in this way. In addition, if the coöperative handles a sufficiently large proportion of the total production of the commodity, it can exert a decided stabilizing influence upon price levels through orderly marketing. And, it is believed by many that once the coöperative ties have taken sufficient hold, through educational and possibly other procedures, the method will prove effective in the sensible adjustment of agricultural production to demand.

But in such a statement it must be realized that coöperative marketing is not a panacea for all of the ills of the farmer While there may be much of inherent magic in the movement, it does not promise the change of a fool into a wise man, or a scoundrel into an honest citizen. It cannot eliminate the hundreds of thousands of inefficient farmers. Neither can it change the laws of nature, nor offer profits to the farmer who raises poor produce, nor afford a price higher than supply and demand justifies. Moreover, it will not give to every grower the highest price paid for some particular product. Some speculator or gambler is likely to secure this. But if it is properly managed, the farmer will secure a higher price than he would have received without the benefit of the coöperative

1. Growth of the Coöperative Movement

Coöperative marketing in the United States has shown marked progress in the past several years. Before outlining the present extent of this movement, it is well to get a picture of the early coöperative associations. While the following account is far from complete, it does furnish in compact form a brief résumé of the development of coöperative marketing in this country.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, American farmers had begun to demonstrate the wisdom of acting collectively in the making of butter and cheese. At least as early as 1851 a coöperative association was organized in Oneida County, N. Y., for operating a cheese factory. In 1856 a coöperative creamery was established in Orange County, N. Y., and an association which was formed in Montgomery County in 1863 for operating a coöperative cheese factory is still functioning.

Coöperative grain marketing developed in the Mississippi Valley States in the late sixties. A farmers' elevator was established at Blairstown, Iowa, in 1867 or 1868. By 1874 there were 28 farmers' coöperative

elevators in Iowa All of these had ceased to function by 1884, but two years later a new start was made in the coöperative marketing of grain in that state. By 1900 there were 14 active farmer-controlled grain elevators in Iowa.

A coöperative association for serving fruit and vegetable growers was organized at Hammonton, N. J., in 1867 and is reported to have been active for 21 years.

In the early years of the last century, farmers acted collectively in driving livestock to market, but formal associations did not appear until about 1876 or 1877 when a group of Tennessee farmers formed a club for marketing lambs. Nebraska and Kansas farmers in the vicinity of Superior, Nebr., formed a livestock shipping association in 1883, an enterprise that is still functioning.

Wool producers near Greencastle, Ind., formed the Putnam County Wool Growers' Association in 1885. Although this organization has been but little more than a general understanding, it has continued year after year.

During the reconstruction period following the Civil War the Patrons of Husbandry or Grange, was formed. Although its original object was to serve farmers as a fraternal, social, and educational institution, its early leaders soon discovered that the growth of the order was most rapid when attention was given to economic problems. A large number of coöperative grange stores were established, especially in the States now comprising the north-central group. Some of these stores have continued until recently.

Granges established in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana undertook to assist in the marketing of cotton by the appointment of established firms as sales agents to handle cotton on commission. The Mississippi Grange had a representative in London. This cotton movement was short-lived The oldest of the existing cotton associations was formed in 1889 to operate a warehouse for storing cotton. The oldest of the present large-scale cotton marketing associations dates its existence from 1921.

The egg circle represents probably the first efforts at the coöperative marketing of poultry products This form of business enterprise is so informal that there are few records regarding the time or place of its origin. The first of the present group of egg marketing associations was organized in California about 1913

Federated action by associations in marketing the poultry products delivered by members of the various associations is of recent origin. Five Pacific coast egg marketing associations in 1922 set up an organization, the Pacific Egg Producers' Coöperative (Inc.), to handle on the New York City market the surplus stock of the associations

The present coöperative egg and poultry marketing activity in Missouri dates from 1915, the first of the now active poultry associations in Minnesota was formed in 1923, and the present egg marketing movement in Ohio is not yet three years old.

Associations for the coöperative marketing of nuts have been oper-

ating in California since 1889. The California Walnut Growers' Association, the coördinating body and sales agency for 42 local units, was formed in 1912.

The dates of organization for some of the kinds of associations now functioning are. Honey marketing, 1899; hay, 1908; seeds, 1913; maple products, 1921; rice, 1921; broomcorn, 1923.[1]

A survey of the extent of agricultural coöperation made by the Federal Department of Agriculture records that in 1915 there were 5,424 such organizations, with a business totaling around $635,839,000.[2] Fifteen years later, in 1930, there were 12,000 such organizations.[3] The total volume of business transacted by the 11,400 coöperative associations in the 1927–28 marketing season was $2,300,000,000. These associations in 1928 had an estimated membership of 3,000,000, representing approximately 2,000,000 farmers due to the fact that some farmers are members of more than one coöperative.

The table on page 273 serves to show the distribution of these regionally and by the leading states and commodity groups. Nearly three-fourths of all the associations are in the twelve North Central States; 7 per cent in the eight South Central States; 5.8 per cent in the Pacific Coast States; 4.5 per cent in the Middle Atlantic States; 3.2 per cent in the South Atlantic States; and 3.2 per cent in the eight Mountain States. The volume of business done by the coöperative associations dealing in grain amounted to $680,000,000 in the 1927–28 marketing season. The similar figures for other leading commodity groups were as follows: Dairy products, $620,000,000; livestock, $320,000,000; fruits and vegetables, $300,000,000; cotton, $97,000,000.

2. European Influences

The influence of the much older coöperative movement in Europe upon New World developments has been profound, and today Denmark is a laboratory illustrating how the principles and practices of coöperation can pervade an entire commonwealth and become a potent factor in almost every phase of its economic and social life. However, agricultural coöperation in America has

[1] Elsworth, R. H. *Agricultural Coöperative Associations.* Technical Bull. No 40, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1928, pp. 4–6.

[2] *Coöperative Marketing.* The Federal Trade Commission, Senate Document No. 95, 70th Congress, 1st Session, 1928, p. xxi.

[3] Elsworth, R. H. *Coöperative Marketing and Purchasing, 1920–1930.* Circular No. 121, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1930.

TABLE 14

ASSOCIATIONS, ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP, AND ESTIMATED BUSINESS, WITH PERCENTAGES FOR GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS. LEADING STATES, AND COMMODITY GROUPS, 1927–1928 [1]

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION, STATE, AND COMMODITY GROUP	ASSOCIATIONS LISTED		MEMBERSHIP *		ESTIMATED BUSINESS, 1927–28 MARKETING SEASON	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	1,000 Dollars	Per Cent
Geographic division:						
West North Central	5,228	45.9	1,231,000	41.0	822,780	35.8
East North Central	3,358	29.4	856,600	28.5	521,910	22.7
Pacific	665	5.8	161,800	5.4	305,360	13.3
Middle Atlantic	508	4.5	217,700	7.3	217,490	9.4
West South Central	428	3.7	144,000	4.8	90,120	3.9
South Atlantic	363	3.2	107,600	3.6	95,750	4.2
Mountain	362	3.2	93,800	3.1	92,280	4.0
East South Central	275	2.4	104,600	3.5	66,970	2.9
New England	213	1.9	82,900	2.8	86,740	3.8
Total	11,400	100.0	3,000,000	100.0	2,300,000	100.0
State:						
Minnesota	1,547	13.6	339,000	11.3	209,940	9.1
Wisconsin	1,310	11.5	185,800	6.2	133,820	5.8
Iowa	1,161	10.2	264,900	8.8	193,700	8.4
Illinois	900	7.9	243,900	8.1	154,150	6.7
Missouri	624	5.5	203,500	6.8	87,780	3.8
North Dakota	534	4.7	82,100	2.7	79,570	3.5
Nebraska	501	4.4	145,900	4.9	100,080	4.4
Kansas	464	4.1	109,300	3.6	92,740	4.0
Michigan	464	4.1	141,200	4.7	86,020	3.8
California	379	3.3	98,100	3.3	226,320	9.8
Ohio	375	3.3	170,300	5.7	91,420	4.0
New York	291	2.6	127,500	4.3	153,260	6.7
All others	2,850	24.8	888,500	29.6	690,200	30.0
Total	11,400	100.0	3,000,000	100.0	2,300,000	100.0
Commodity group:						
Grain	3,455	30.3	900,000	30.0	580,000	25.2
Dairy products	2,479	21.7	600,000	20.0	620,000	27.0
Livestock	2,012	17.7	450,000	15.0	320,000	13.9
Fruits and vegetables	1,269	11.1	215,000	7.1	300,000	13.0
Miscellaneous selling	595	5.2	190,000	6.3	70,000	3.0
Cotton	125	1.1	140,000	4.7	97,000	4.2
Wool	99	.9	25,000	.8	7,000	.3
Poultry	90	.8	50,000	1.7	40,000	1.7
Nuts	40	.4	15,000	.5	14,600	.6
Tobacco	16	.1	15,000	.5	22,000	1.0
Forage	15	.1	2,000	.1	1,400	.1
Miscellaneous buying	1,205	10.6	398,000	13.3	128,000	5.6
Total	11,400	100.0	3,000,000	100.0	2,300,000	100.0

* Includes members, contract members, shareholders, shippers, consignors, and patrons.

[1] Source: Circular No. 121, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1930.

proceeded along rather widely different lines to those which have characterized the European development. Our primary emphasis here is upon sales of farm produce rather than upon coöperative credit and joint purchasing. In the United States, coöperative credit societies, though attempted in various places, are insignificant in their extent, and coöperative purchases are not as yet one-tenth of coöperative sales It is not at all unlikely that as the individualistic attitude of the American farmer breaks down, more of these forms of coöperation will have vogue; for the need of them in production is already critically evident in some sections.—for example among the small cotton farmers of the South where the pernicious "time-price system" is one of the most thoroughly intrenched of all the many ills of agriculture in that region

Nowhere can a clearer picture be secured of the meaning of coöperation and its debt in this country to Old World influences than is found in the vivid experiences of the Rochdale Pioneers in their immortal experiment in Toad Lane, Rochdale, England. The following human account of the beginnings of the Rochdale movement makes interesting and significant reading in the history of coöperation:

> These Rochdale Pioneers may be looked upon as the beginning of the standardized Coöperative Movement. No long and expanding series of successes had ever followed any efforts at Coöperation before them. They formulated not only the philosophy but the technic for applying and working out their philosophy. After painstaking development of their ideas they put them into operation. They opened their store. They carried out their plans. They succeeded. And from that day on there has never been a recession in the onward progress of the methods which they inaugurated.
>
> Before these men organized their society, the state of the weavers in the mills at Rochdale was pathetic, but typical of working conditions in capitalistic industry In 1830, by the utmost exertion, a weaver could not hope to make his earnings total more than the equivalent of $1.00 to $1.50 per week. After a life of toil, the poorhouse was the destiny to which he looked forward.
>
> We are indebted to George Jacob Holyoake for the best information on this significant organization According to Holyoake, it was on a dismal, cold, damp day of an English November, in 1843, that these poor men—out of work, out of money, with scarcely food to feed them, and heart-sick from the distressful conditions with which they were oppressed—met to consider means to secure relief. There were but two known ways out; the poorhouse and emigration. The first meant confession of defeat, and was inevitable if they survived The second

was difficult because it required some money, and was equivalent to deportation which was visited upon violators of the law.

They decided upon a new plan. All their lives they had been exploited by traders. Forsooth, they would become themselves traders, and indeed, capitalists! They would add to their already burdensome work the duties of merchant, banker, and mill-owner. They would take over the functions of the captains of industry!

These ragged, hungry weavers! How they would have been laughed to scorn by the owners of the mills had their ambitious talk been heard beyond the four walls of their little meeting room!

Accordingly, twelve of the most opulent, with the utmost financial abandon, subscribed four cents a week. When the twenty-eight of them, by the greatest privations, after more than a year of saving, had accumulated the sum of $140, they began their experiment.

The ground floor of an old warehouse on Toad Lane was rented for three years. They had about $70 to invest in a small stock of flour, oatmeal, butter, and sugar. Samuel Ashworth was elected "salesman," and the store was voted to be kept open two evenings a week. With trepidation, and to the hoots of urchins, the "owd weyvers" opened their doors for business on a cold night—the longest in the year, the 21st of December 1844.

They felt like a band of conspirators. This is precisely what they were. They were conspiring against poverty and the forces which created and subsisted upon poverty; and these forces were the mightiest powers in the British Empire.

Well might these poor weavers tremble as they took down the shutters from the window of their shop. So poor, so uninviting, so marked with the outward signs of failure; and yet so rich in hopes, so alluring with possibilities, and under its plain exterior so indelibly marked with the pigments of success!

William Cooper, the first treasurer, took care of the money. He carried it from the store to the bank when it was so light that he must put his hand into his pocket to assure himself that it was not lost; and faithfully and proudly he continued to carry it when it was so heavy that the burden caused a strain which injured him for life. Never was a treasurer more jealous of his money. No minister of the exchequer ever found more pride in his treasure.

These weavers did a thing which no group of British workmen had done before; they not only acted together from the beginning, but they held together even when adversity came upon them. They received no aid outside of their own poor efforts; and precisely here was one of the reasons for their success. To accept financial aid has ever been a cause of failure in coöperative undertakings; to sacrifice, suffer, endure, and develop self-reliance have ever been potent factors in securing success.

These men were staunch and the women were true. The allurements of the private tradesmen failed to divert the women from their shop or to dissuade them from their ideals. They realized that loyalty was

the keystone. They walked long distances to carry home their meagre purchases from "t' old weavers' shop." Often they were told that they were "just out of sugar" or that they "expected a sack of flour in a day or two." Reports were constantly circulated about the town that the store was about to fail The timid often rushed in and withdrew their savings which had been left with the store. Sometimes, having found that they could get their money, they handed it back again. It is told of one man that he withdrew an accumulation of $80, due in surplus-savings, kept it in a stocking for two years, sacrificed his 4 per cent interest, and then put it back with the society again.

By the end of the year 1845, the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers had eighty members and a paid-up capital of $900. They formulated the "Rochdale principles."

Fifty years later, in 1894, at the jubilee celebration of this single Society, the membership was 12,000, the funds $2,000,000, the amount of yearly business was more than $1,500,000, and the yearly "profits" $300,000. In 1922, the Pioneers' Society had 26,000 members and was doing a business of $4,000,000 a year; while the town of Rochdale has another cooperative society, an offshoot from the Pioneers, nearly as large as the parent society.

Such were the impulses behind the modern coöperative movement. The Rochdale Pioneers may be regarded as the beginning because from them the movement has progressed with ever-increasing vigour There has been no abatement nor period of reaction since 1844 down to the present day. Their methods and ideals remain largely and essentially the methods and ideals of the modern movement. Experience has only added a larger consideration for the human being as a consumer.

These poor men might have acknowledged defeat, as the poor have usually done. They might have yielded to fate and resigned themselves to the hardness of life. But instead, they did the great thing—they grappled with life, and they won.

This experiment will be looked back upon as an epoch in human history When the Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, and constitutions of governments which now claim the plaudits of the world are forgotten, the simple principles of the Weavers of Rochdale may be inscribed in history for all to read. For while political emancipation was important in the days of kings and autocracies, a day came when the machine and its owners were more potent than kings; and then Coöperation wrote the declaration of independence which made it possible for men to be free. The day, perhaps, approaches when it will not be the legislators politicians, diplomats, and ministers of State whose names children shall be taught to speak; but the men who served society best, it will be realized, were such as lived in humble places, spoke a simple language, and loved their fellowmen. The day will come, perhaps, when the men of Toad Lane shall be exalted above those who, in the early years of the last century, trod in stately grandeur the halls of Westminster.

> At Rochdale began a new economic era. A different method of industry was devised. A way was found to guarantee that measures should be fair and the scales of human justice should balance true.[1]

But, it may be asked, what have the coöperative purchasing experiences of the humble weavers of Rochdale to do with the coöperative selling of agricultural products in the United States? And the answer is quite a lot they have to do with it. Briefly stated as they must be for the purposes of this account, the Rochdale principles are mainly three in number, as follows:

"1. Each member shall have one vote, and no more.

"2. Capital invested in the society, if it receive interest, shall receive not more than a fixed percentage which shall not be more than the minimum prevalent rate.

"3. If a surplus-saving ('profit') accrues, by virtue of the difference between the net cost and the net selling price of commodities and service, after meeting expenses, paying interest ('wages to capital'), and setting aside reserve and other funds, the net surplus-saving shall be used for the good of the members, for beneficent social purposes, or shall be returned to the patrons as savings-returns ('dividends') in proportion to their patronage." [2]

The National Grange in 1875 at its annual meeting formally indorsed the "Rochdale principles" urging that commercial enterprises under its auspices adopt these in their practices. The rules promulgated by the Grange evidently had in mind principally their application to coöperative stores.[3] They were, however, employed by elevators and shipping associations operating under the auspices of that organization. Under the impulse of this influence laws were enacted in several states, Michigan, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Minnesota, and others legalizing this form of coöperative because the general laws affecting corporation procedure in those states specifically stipulated the voting on the share basis, and the distribution of profits according to the amount of capital invested. Many of these earlier laws are still retained on the statute books even though supplemented by later legislation for coöperatives.

[1] Warbasse, J. P. *Coöperative Democracy*. Macmillan, 1923, pp. 376-387.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[3] Nourse, E. G. *The Legal Status of Agricultural Coöperation*. Macmillan, 1927.

3. Legislation Affecting Coöperatives

The Rochdale form of organization was predicated upon the capital stock and patronage dividend basis, and in the evolution of the coöperative, agitation soon led to the provision for the non-stock and non-profit association in which the invested capital was placed on the loan basis. Both the stock and non-stock forms of organization persist in the coöperatives of today, and strong advocates are to be found for each of these types. Along with such developments, under the crystallizing influence of Colonel Harris Weinstock, Director of the California State Market Commission, and Aaron Sapiro, there was developed concretely from tendencies already existent in California organizations the "commodity co-operatives." The plan in its tentative form was laid before the prune growers of California in January, 1916, by Director Weinstock. By it is meant that the growers of a given product, let us say citrus fruits, will organize by commodity, the business of the resulting coöperative being limited to that particular form of produce. In developing this form of organization, Mr. Sapiro, legal counsel for the Commission saw the necessity for statutory provision legalizing the contract of the commodity coöperative, and making definite provision for its enforcement

No move was made to have the law passed in California; but Oregon in 1921 saw the need for certain of its provisions and adopted them in the form of amendments to its existing coöperative marketing legislation. It was about this time that Mr. Sapiro was retained by the agricultural forces of several Southern States to aid in the establishment of commodity coöperatives in cotton, tobacco, and other products. In order that these might function effectively it was necessary that adequate statutory provision be made. Consequently, between the years 1921 and 1928, all except eight states either enacted what is known as the "Standard Marketing Act" or amendments embodying its essential features.

One of the authorities on coöperative marketing says with regard to the commodity coöperative: "The logical center of interest must be a particular commercial product. Experience in America, Canada, and Denmark has shown that the best results are secured when the entire output consists of a single product (perhaps only a single form, such as a certain grade, or the prepared instead of the fresh commodity) or possibly a limited group of products very

closely associated. The concentration on a commodity or commodities works best irrespective of whether the output is a perishable, semi-perishable, or staple; whether it is of continuous, seasonal, or yearly production." [1]

Since the commodity coöperative commends itself in its operation to such indorsement, and its operation is largely directed by the "Standard Marketing Act" it is well to examine briefly the principal provisions of that measure.

The purposes of the Act are stated as follows: "In order to promote, foster and encourage the intelligent and orderly marketing of agricultural products through coöperation, and to eliminate speculation and waste; and to make the distribution of agricultural products between producer and consumer as direct as can be efficiently done; and to stabilize the marketing of agricultural products, this act is passed."

Provision is made for both the non-capital stock and the capital stock coöperative organization. However, evident preference is given to personal, participating membership and the non-profit type of concern. Membership includes actual members of associations without capital stock, and holders of common stock in associations organized with such stock. The one-man-one-vote rule is laid down but provision is included requiring the members to sell, for any period of time not over ten years, all or any specified part of their agricultural products or specified commodities through the association or facilities created by it. In the exact words of the act: "The contract may provide that the association may sell or resell the products delivered by its members, with or without taking title thereto; and pay over to its members, the resale price, after deducting all necessary selling overhead and other costs and expenses, including interest on preferred stock, not exceeding eight (8) per cent per annum, and reserve for retiring the stock, if any; and other proper reserves; and interest not exceeding eight (8) per cent per annum upon common stock."

Rigid provisions are made to enforce the contract, violation entailing liquidated damages, the right of injunction to prevent further breach, and a decree to specific performance of the contract. Also, in many of the contracts the cost of litigation is to be borne by the offender. A clearer picture as to the operation of these

[1] Means, E. G., and Tobriner, M. O. *Principles and Practices of Coöperative Marketing.* Ginn and Co., 1926, p. 34.

features, as well as a comprehensive view of the functioning of a marketing association will be gained from a careful reading of the following rather typical earlier form of coöperative marketing contract in general accord with the provisions of the Standard Marketing Act as it was adapted in the statutes of South Carolina.

South Carolina Cotton Growers' Coöperative Association Marketing Agreement

The South Carolina Cotton Growers' Coöperative Association, a non profit association, with its principal office at Columbia, hereinafter called the Association, first party, and the undersigned, Grower, second party, agree:

This Is for Cooperative Marketing

1. The Grower is a member of the Association and is helping to carry out the express aims for minimizing speculation and waste and for stabilizing cotton markets in the interest of the grower and the public, through this and similar organizations undertaken by other growers.

Grower Sells Cotton Association for Five Years

2. The Association agrees to buy and the Grower agrees to sell and deliver to the Association all the cotton produced or acquired by or for him in South Carolina during the years 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925 and 1926.

If You Already Have a Crop Mortgage, That Cotton Does Not Have to Go to the Association

3. The Grower expressly warrants that he has not heretofore contracted to sell, market or deliver any of his said cotton to any person, firm, or corporation, except as noted at the end of this agreement. Any cotton covered by such existing contracts or crop mortgage shall be excluded from the terms hereof for the period and to the extent noted, if the lien-holder so enforces his right to possession.

The Association Tells You Where to Deliver

4 (a). All cotton shall be delivered at the earliest reasonable time after picking and ginning, to the order of the Association, at the warehouse controlled by the Association, or at the nearest public warehouse, if the Association controls no warehouse in that immediate district; or by shipment as directed, to the Association and by delivery of the endorsed warehouse receipts or bills of lading properly directed.

(b). Any deduction or allowance or loss that the Association may make or suffer on account of inferior grade, quality, or condition at delivery, shall be charged against the Grower individually.

Association Will Try to Standardize Methods

(c). The Association shall make rules and regulations and shall provide inspectors or graders or classifiers to standardize, grade and class the quality of and the method and manner of handling, pressing and shipping such cotton; and the Grower agrees to observe and perform any such rules and regulations and to accept the grading established by the state and federal authorities and the Association.

All Cotton Will Be Pooled for Each Year by Grade and Staple

5. The Association shall pool or mingle the cotton of the Grower with the cotton of a like variety, grade, and staple delivered by other growers. The Association shall classify the cotton and its classification shall be conclusive. Each pool shall be for a full season. The Executive Committee shall have the right to exclude any cotton not grown on land owned or controlled by a member.

Association Will Resell All Cotton and Pay Net Proceeds to Grower—Costs of Operation and Overhead Will Be Deducted, but the Association Forbidden to Make Any Profit for Itself

6. The Association agrees to resell such cotton, together with cotton of like variety, grade, and staple, delivered by other growers under similar contracts, at the best prices obtainable by it under market conditions, and to pay over the net amount received therefor (less freight, insurance, and interest,) as payment in full to the Grower and Growers named in contracts similar hereto, according to the cotton delivered by each of them, after deducting therefrom, within the discretion of the Association, the costs of maintaining the Association, and costs of handling, grading and marketing such cotton; and of reserves for credits and other general purposes (said reserves not to exceed 2 per cent of the gross resale price). The annual surplus from such deduction must be prorated among the Growers delivering cotton in that year on the basis of deliveries.

Every Grower Gets Same Amount for Same Quality and Quantity of Cotton

7. The Grower agrees that the Association may handle, in its discretion, some of the cotton in one way and some in another; but the net proceeds of all cotton of like quality, grade, and staple, less charges, costs, and advances, shall be divided, ratably among the Growers in proportion to their deliveries to each pool, payments to be made from time to time until all the accounts of each pool are settled.

The Cotton Will Be Sold Anywhere—for Export or Otherwise Where It Will Bring Most

8. The Association may sell the said cotton, within or without this state, directly to spinners or exporters, or otherwise, at such times and upon such conditions and terms as it may deem profitable, fair and

advantageous to the Growers; and it may sell all or any part of the cotton to or through any agency, now established or to be hereafter established, for the coöperative marketing of the cotton of Growers in other states throughout the United States under such conditions as will serve the joint interests of the Growers and the public; and any proportionate expense connected therewith shall be deemed marketing costs under paragraph 6.

The Association Can Raise Money to Make First Payment to Growers

9. The Grower agrees that the Association may borrow money in its name on the cotton, through drafts, acceptances, notes, or otherwise, or on any warehouse receipt or bills of lading or upon any accounts for the sale of cotton or on any commercial paper delivered therefor. The Association shall prorate the money so received among the Growers equitably, as it may determine, for each district and period of delivery.

Will Help Finance Growers

The Association agrees to accept drafts drawn against it by the Grower for any amount specified and determined by it, upon delivery of cotton hereunder, and to assist the Grower to discount such drafts, secured by the warehouse receipts, through the most advantageous banking system.

Offices or Plants Wherever They Are Needed

10. The Association may establish selling offices, warehouses, plants, marketing, statistical, or other agencies in any place.

You Can Stop Growing Cotton if You Wish

11. The Grower shall have the right to stop growing cotton and to grow anything else at any time at his free discretion; but if he produces any cotton during the term hereof, it shall all be included under the terms of this agreement and must be sold only to the Association.

You Do Not Have to Deliver Any Particular Quantity

12. Nothing in this agreement shall be interpreted as compelling the Grower to deliver any specified quantity of cotton per year; but he shall deliver all the cotton produced or acquired by or for him as landlord or lessor.

It Is a Binding Agreement

13 (a). This agreement shall be binding upon the Grower as long as he produces cotton directly or indirectly, or has the legal right to exercise control of any commercial cotton or any interest therein during the term of this contract.

(b). If this agreement is signed by the members of a copartnership it shall apply to them and each of them individually in the event of the dissolution or determination of the said copartnership.

Grower May Make a Crop Mortgage and Association Will Help Him

(c). If the Grower places a crop mortgage upon any part of his crop during the term hereof, the Association shall have the right to take delivery of his cotton and to pay off all or part of the crop mortgage for the account of the Grower and to charge the same against him individually.

The Grower shall notify the Association prior to making any crop mortgage, and the Association will advise the Grower in any such transaction.

Statistics Are Needed

14. From time to time the Grower agrees to mail to the Association any statistical data requested, on the forms provided for that purpose by the Association.

All Contracts Are Alike

15. This agreement is one of a series generally similar in terms, comprising with all such agreements, signed by individual Growers, or otherwise, one single contract between the Association and the said Growers, mutually and individually obligated under all of the terms thereof. The Association shall be deemed to be acting in its own name, for all such Growers, in any action or legal proceedings on or arising out of this contract.

Association Authorized to Act

16. The Grower hereby expressly authorizes the Association to deliver to any warehousing corporation organized for coöperation with this Association, any or all of his cotton for handling, processing or storing, and to charge against his cotton the prorated costs of such services and to pay the interest on advances.

Association May Sell Cotton of 1921 or 1920 Crops

17. If the Grower has on hand upon organization of the Association any cotton of the 1921 or previous crops, free of liens and capable of delivery, he may deliver such cotton to the Association as it may direct, to be graded by the Association and marketed by it in pools wholly separate from all other deliveries here made but generally in the manner hereinabove set forth.

Do Not Break the Contract—This Is Expensive

18 (a). Inasmuch as the remedy at law would be inadequate, and inasmuch as it is now and ever will be impracticable and extremely difficult to determine the actual damage resulting to the Association, should the Grower fail so to sell and deliver all of his cotton, the Grower hereby agrees to pay to the Association for all cotton delivered, sold, consigned, withheld or marketed by or for him, other than in accord-

ance with the terms hereof, the sum of 5 cents a pound, as liquidated damages for breach of his contract, all parties agreeing that this contract is one of a series dependent for its true value upon the adherence of each and all of the growers to each and all of the said contracts.

How Traitor Members Will Be Dealt With

(b). The Grower agrees that in the event of a breach or threatened breach by him of any provision regarding delivery of cotton, the Association shall be entitled to an injunction to prevent breach or further breach hereof, and to a decree for specific performance hereof; and the parties agree that this is a contract for the purchase and sale of personal property under special circumstances and conditions and that the buyer cannot go to the open market and buy cotton to replace any which the Grower may fail to deliver.

Violators Pay the Costs of Fighting Them

(c). If the Association brings any action whatsoever, by reason of a breach or threatened breach thereof, the Grower agrees to pay to the Association all costs of court, costs of bonds and otherwise, expenses of travel and all expenses arising out of or caused by the litigation and any reasonable attorneys' fees expended or incurred by it in such proceedings; and all such costs and expenses shall be included in the judgment and shall be entitled to the benefit of any lien securing any payment thereunder.

South Carolina Association May Cooperate with Cotton Growers in Other States

19. The Association is expressly authorized to exercise any or all of the grading, inspecting, marketing, or other, powers or rights granted hereunder through any central agency to be organized for coördinating the activities of this and similar cooperative marketing associations in other states.

Any costs of maintaining such central agency shall be prorated among the said associations on the basis of the gross sale proceeds from the products delivered by them respectively and shall be considered part of the costs and deductions provided for in paragraph 6.

The Association agrees to assist in forming such central agency as soon as three similar associations are organized in the United States.

Read, considered, and signed by the Grower, as of the date determined by the Association contract, in the State of South Carolina.

(End of Marketing Agreement)

Minor Changes May Be Made

20. These provisions are subject to minor modification or amendment by the organization Committee, on the suggestion of state officials or otherwise, so as to carry out the general purpose hereof.

All Contracts Are the Same—There Are No Favorites

21. It is expressly agreed that this instrument is one of a series substantially identical in terms. All such instruments shall be deemed one contract for the purpose of binding the subscribers, to the same extent as if all of the subscribers had signed only one such contract.

Read, considered and signed at.....South Carolina, this.....day of....., 192..

Do Not Sign Without Reading

Grower. ....
P. O. Address.... . . ..
Production in 1920 was.. .. . . bales.[1]

It is pertinent at this point to inquire briefly into a few of the outstanding federal laws which have a bearing upon these same problems. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, was aimed at the "trusts" which were looming large on the horizon in those days, and because unregulated, did possess characteristics of an obviously harmful nature. We do not fear them so much today in their refined form, but rather lend them encouragement. Farm organizations came in for their drubbing under the application of the act; but since their nature was quite different to the commercial interests aimed at the Clayton Act of 1914 made the provision that "nothing shall be construed to forbid the existence and operation of labor, agricultural or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations or members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the anti-trust laws."

However, this measure not covering the cases of all forms of coöperatives, the Capper-Volstead Act was enacted on February 18, 1922. This bill further clarified the situation as to coöperatives of other types, engaged in interstate commerce, stipulating, however, that the Secretary of Agriculture is empowered and required to curb any such association which "monopolizes or restrains trade in interstate or foreign commerce to such an extent that the price of any agricultural product is unduly enhanced by reason thereof."

A significant step was taken in the short session of the Sixty-

[1] Original Marketing Agreement of South Carolina Cotton Growers' Cooperative Association. (In recent years, this has been substantially simplified.)

ninth Congress, when after President Coolidge had vetoed the McNary-Haugen Bill, a measure was passed to promote coöperative marketing, and to effect this end, established a division of coöperative marketing in the United States Department of Agriculture, the purposes of which as stated in the bill were "to promote the orderly marketing of basic agricultural commodities in interstate and foreign commerce, and to that end to provide for the control and disposition of surpluses of such commodities; to enable producers of such commodities to stabilize their markets against undue and excessive fluctuations; to preserve advantageous domestic markets for such commodities; to minimize speculation and waste in marketing such commodities; and to encourage the organization of producers of such commodities into coöperative marketing associations." With the establishment of the Federal Farm Board this division was transferred from the Department of Agriculture to the new Board. The important place given to coöperative marketing in the Agricultural Marketing Act has been considered at some length in an earlier chapter on farm relief measures

4. Forms of Coöperative Marketing Organizations

Clarence Poe has made a statement to the effect that the difference between a "corporation" and a "coöperative" is that a corporation is an aggregate of dollars for the purpose of hiring men to make profits for the dollars, while a coöperative marketing association is a collection of men for the purpose of hiring dollars to make profits for the men. It is worth while at this point to inquire briefly into the structure of coöperatives affecting farm products and to describe two major types in as interesting and informative a way as possible

Macklin, Grimes, and Kolb [1] point out that there are four forms of coöperative organization: the local association, the federated, the centralized, and the combination.

The local associations, as the name implies, are such organizations as coöperative creameries, elevators, livestock shipping associations, cheese factories, milk-retailing companies, and fruit-packing houses. They serve a very important function, and carefully planned and efficiently managed as they must be to operate

[1] Macklin, Grimes, and Kolb. *Making the Most of Agriculture*. Ginn and Co., 1927, Chapter XII.

successfully, such associations are of great help in improving local marketing conditions, but obviously they do not apply in larger terminal-market and nation-wide services, such as those of storing, distributing, and selling.

The local associations have individual farmers as members. The federated system is made up of local associations as members The sphere of operation with the federated is nation-wide and even foreign in the extent of its services. Perhaps the best example of the federated coöperative is the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, an organization established in 1893, and becoming increasingly efficient with each year of its history.

In its actual functioning the centralized type of coöperative is not essentially different to the federated. However, in it there is no local association. The relationship is direct between the member and the central agency, and not through the local. Of course in its operation, the centralized organization must and does devise a distributing and sales system to perform the services characterizing the federated coöperative.

The combination plan includes features of both the federated and the centralized types. For example, the Eastern Shore of Virginia Produce Exchange, one of the oldest and best coöperatives in America, has a central sales agency. It also is made up of local associations, composed of farmers in a particular shipping locality who are members of the sales agency, and yet there is a local manager responsible to the local association.

1. *The California Fruit Growers' Exchange.*—Orange growing in California dates back as far as 1769, with the development in the industry proceeding in the southern part of the state, where it still is mainly concentrated. The first carload shipment to the East was to St. Louis in 1877. Improving transportation facilities, and the certainty of shipping accommodations and regularity of schedule gave a great impetus to the growing of this fruit, so that by 1892–93, the year in which coöperative associations began to function, 5,936 carloads were shipped.

Marketing methods in those days were crude. The oranges were usually bought on the trees, and the bargainer usually did the picking, packing, and shipping. Naturally, under such conditions prices were low. Some markets were glutted and others suffered a famine of oranges. Also, dishonesty among commission dealers brought about dissatisfaction, and disaster faced the orange grower.

These conditions led on October 24, 1885, to a meeting of the growers at Los Angeles and the organization of the Orange Growers' Protective Union of Southern California. This concern proved rather satisfactory for a few years, but in 1893 failed because of the persistent opposition of commission men and individual buyers who could make larger profits under the previously existing situation.

But while the experiment of the Union was being tried, a more significant plan was beginning to take form. Eleven neighbors at Riverside in 1888 organized the Pachappa Orange Growers' Association, agreeing to pool their fruit, and in 1895 securing their own packing house.

In the meantime other growers in the Claremont district organized in 1893 the Claremont California Fruit Growers' Association, and adopted three methods of marketing: (1) to sell at auction through specified brokers in the East, (2) to deal direct with the trade, allowing them a brokerage fee; and (3) to export. So successful were these two pioneer organizations that the movement quickly extended to other citrus fruit areas, resulting in the formation of numbers of such local associations.

It became apparent that if really effective marketing machinery was to be established, a general organization must be effected on a coöperative pooling basis, including so far as possible all the orange-growing district The first successful effort in this direction was the establishment of the Riverside Fruit Exchange on May 3, 1893. By the autumn of the same year, six such exchanges had been organized in other fruit districts.

In August, 1903, a plan was advanced effecting the merger of all of the existing district exchanges into an organization known as the Southern California Fruit Exchange. It was but natural that a new organization, charting new fields of coöperative endeavor and method, should encounter difficulties, but the exchange grew in spite of the outside opposition so that in the 1903–04 season, it handled 44 per cent of the citrus fruit crop.

Not content with letting well enough alone, and permitting the organization to grow steadily; at this time, the California Fruit Agency was formed, consisting of the growers and the outside packing and selling interests Such a combination of interests was impossible of human practicability, so the organization was dissolved, and on September 1, 1904, the Southern California Fruit Growers' Exchange came into existence along the lines of the

earlier federated agency. In the following year, the present name California Fruit Growers' Exchange was adopted, dropping the Southern from the title so that citrus fruit interests farther north might be included.

The recent (1928) comprehensive report of the Federal Trade Commission on "Coöperative Marketing" thus summarizes the present extent of this federated association: "The California Fruit Growers' Exchange has steadily increased in membership and importance since its organization. It not only includes orange growers but lemon growers as well. Shipments have increased from nearly 13,000 carloads to more than 46,000 carloads and the percentage of crops handled from 45 per cent to more than 75 per cent. The f.o.b. returns during the 1905–06 season amounted to $9,936,500. For the season of 1925–26 such returns had increased to $70,744,709. The exchange has also added to its usefulness to growers through the organization of the Fruit Growers' Supply Company, and two by-product companies—The Exchange Orange Products Company, and the Exchange Lemon Products Company. The former manufactures the cull oranges into by-products, such as orange juice, orange oil, etc., while the latter does the same with lemons."

It is interesting to note that the Florida Citrus Exchange, incorporated in July, 1909, includes the salient features and important activities of the California exchange, after which the Florida organization was patterned.

In the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, although the rule is not rigid, the grower picks, the local association packs, the district exchange bills, and the central exchange sells the fruit. It is logically and correctly inferred that the essential strength of the California exchange is in the local association, and it was this feature which enabled it with little disturbance to weather the collapse of the California Fruit Agency. Such a type of organization has in it great elements of strength, but as is clear from the above narrative, much time is required to perfect a federated coöperative.

2. *The California Prune and Apricot Growers' Association.*—This organization is a centralized coöperative with no local unit. Its membership is more than 11,000, and the relationship of these is direct to the central association; based upon contracts requiring the delivery of their product direct to the association's

packing houses. A brief résumé of its history and organization, while not so intriguing as that of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange, will serve to contrast the centralized type with the federated.

Up to 1900, the prune growers made a number of spasmodic efforts to organize local coöperative associations, but without any general success, because the growers seemed to prefer selling their product directly to independent packers. In that year, a state-wide organization known as the Cured Fruit Association was projected, with a claim to 65 per cent of the prune acreage signed up. Unfortunately, the organization was one of those impossible packer-grower combinations, and was shortlived due to internal dissent. Also, large packers outside secured control of prunes signed for delivery to the association.

It will be recalled that when the packer-grower organization known as the California Fruit Agency collapsed, due to the strength of the local organizations, the Southern California Fruit Growers' Exchange immediately took form. In the case of the Cured Fruit Association, there was no such underlying basis; and the prune growers remained unorganized for a period of 17 years.

In 1916, in the commodity coöperative movement already alluded to, another start was made towards a centralized, commodity coöperative. On May 1, 1917, the California Prune and Apricot Growers' Association became a going concern. Apricots were included because of the great similarity in processing and handling the two products, and also due to the fact that the two fruits are grown in much the same localities. The contracts signed extended over a period of three years, and the organization operated so successfully that in 1921, 65 to 80 per cent of the prune acreage was signed up for four years more, with an option on the part of the association for three years more.

Due to increases in the prune acreage and other factors, at the present time only about 50 per cent of the prune production in California is marketed through the association. In 1926, plans were perfected to extend the influence and sphere of operation of this organization which is one of the most successful of the centralized type of coöperative. Most of the coöperatives recently established are along the same general lines. The extensive development of cotton coöperative associations during the past decade have all been of the centralized plan of organization.

5. Factors of Success

Coöperative organizations have now been a part of our national social-economic structure for a long enough time for the experience gained in them to indicate what are some of the more basic considerations in their successful operation. Some of these associations have been eminently successful, others only moderately so, and yet others have been dismal failures. Lessons have been learned from the former as to what to do, and from the latter as to situations which should be avoided. One of our outstanding volumes [1] on agricultural coöperation designates seven principal considerations involved in a successful coöperative

1. *The association must meet an economic need.*—The prevailing handling and marketing practices may be inefficient; local charges for such services may be excessive; farmers may not receive full value for superior grades of products; markets may be uncertain; production of a commodity may be increasing with a limited demand; or prices may be too low, and may fluctuate widely. Every organization of a coöperative should be well-considered, and should be effected to meet a real economic need.

2. *The association should be soundly organized.*—If it is to function successfully, the business structure of the association must be adapted to the product which it handles, and it must be adjusted to the conditions amid which it operates. This must be especially true with regard to those services for which there is the greatest need. State and federal laws govern the operation of coöperatives, and the provisions of these laws necessarily have to be given due cognizance. Moreover, the articles of incorporation should state completely and correctly the purposes and powers of the association, and the by-laws of the organization should provide a workable plan for carrying on its business.

3. *The association must be guided and supported by its members.*—Loyalty on the part of its membership is absolutely essential to its integrity of functioning. In order that the support of its membership may be assured, they must be informed regarding the business of the association; they must have the opportunity to discuss important changes in policy before these are made effective; the organization must not gain the reputation of being under one-man control; and the membership must be enlisted in an active partici-

[1] McKay, A. W., and Lane, C. H. *Practical Coöperative Marketing.* Wiley, 1923, Chapter XXV.

pation in the association's affairs. Our farmers need to be educated to the attitude that the cause of coöperative marketing is their cause, and without their active, loyal interest and support it is destined to fail.

4. *The association must improve grading and handling practices.*—One of the most definite and effective services the coöperative marketing association can render is that of an accurate grading and packaging of farm products, thus assuring superior prices to those who produce a superior product. In this way, too, the production of higher quality commodities may be greatly stimulated, and in the long run an effective approach may be made towards regulating supply in relation to demand.

5. *The association must handle an adequate volume of business.*—Records show that around one-fourth of the failures of coöperatives has been due to insufficient business. Such organizations meet with severe competition, and if they are to cope with this, the volume of business must be great enough to enable them to operate economically and efficiently, giving the members an improved service It is highly important if the association is to function successfully that it should command enough of the commodity or commodities concerned to be a factor in the market This is necessary not that the association may hope arbitrarily to fix the prices at which its customers must buy, but that it may exert a greater bargaining power, and that it may be enabled to stimulate the demand for the product.

6 *The association must be efficiently managed and financially stable.*—A study of the causes of failure in coöperative associations shows that 72 per cent of them did so because, either wholly or in part, they were inefficiently managed. Around 24 per cent of such failures gave insufficient working capital as one of the causes. In order that such situations may be safeguarded the first essential is that the manager must be a good man for the position by virtue of experience, business judgment and personality traits. The directors should be both capable and active. And it is highly important that the reports and financial statements of the association should be clear and complete, and regularly and reliably audited. Adequate reserves must be built up, and the financing of the organization must be along sound business lines.

7. *The association must make the community a better place in which to live.*—While the primary object of a coöperative marketing

association is to improve the farm incomes of its members, it should function, also, to enrich the social phases of the life of the community in which it operates. Coöperation is essentially a spiritual movement, and organizations operating in accord with such principles will promote a better understanding among all of the members of a community, uniting them in support of educational, religious, and civic agencies generally. The membership meetings should foster an improved community life, and the whole movement has in it the potentialities for the development of unselfish leadership on a large scale.

Thoughtful students of the coöperative movement warn us that in coöperation is not to be expected a panacea for all of the ills of agriculture. While there is much of inherent magic in the movement, it must operate on business principles and it must be subject to human attitudes,—prejudices and passions as well as loyalty and intelligent support.

In a new and rapidly growing approach to the important farm problems of marketing, and of production, also, in some of its significant phases, many mistakes will be made. It is to be hoped that they will be as few as possible, for each one of them means an undermining of confidence, and a set-back to a great cause. The ultimate success of coöperation resides with the farmers themselves. They must become sufficiently educated to see this, and to realize that the fight is theirs. A most encouraging lot of governmental and other help is being provided them to facilitate the general extent of the movement. It is the farmers' privilege and duty to avail themselves of it in a manner that will prove well considered, permanent, and effective.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain what is meant by the statement that "the farmer selling in unlimited competition with himself, has been buying at more or less controlled prices from industries which have organized their production and marketing." How is cooperative marketing designed to ameliorate such a situation?
2. Is coöperative marketing to be considered a panacea for all the ills of the farmer? Give reasons for your answer.
3. Give a brief history of the development of the coöperative movement in the United States.
4. What was the number of coöperative associations in this country in 1930? The total volume of business transacted by such associations during the 1927–28 marketing season? The estimated membership of all such associations in 1927–28?

5. In what geographical divisions of the United States is cooperative marketing most highly developed? Name the five leading states in the estimated business of coöperative associations in the 1927–28 marketing season. What commodities are the leading ones handled by coöperative marketing associations?
6. Describe the experiences of the Rochdale Pioneers, and Warbasse's estimate of their significance
7. Give the three main Rochdale principles, and discuss their influence upon the coöperative movement in the United States
8. What is meant by a "commodity cooperative," and the soundness of the concept?
9. Briefly trace the development of the "Standard Marketing Act," calling attention to its chief purposes and provisions.
10. Carefully study the original South Carolina Cotton Cooperative Association Marketing Agreement and explain the meaning of its "non-profit association," and "pooling" provisions. What advantages does the contract offer the member in grading and classifying his cotton, and in selling it for him?
11. Describe the penalties for violation of the contract.
12. Briefly state the relation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, the Clayton Act of 1914, the Capper-Volstead Act of 1922, and the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 to the federal sanction and support of cooperative agricultural associations
13. Give Poe's distinction between a "corporation" and a "coöperative."
14. Name and explain the four forms of coöperative marketing organizations.
15. Sketch the history of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange.
16. Give a similar picture of the California Prune and Apricot Growers' Association.
17. In the light of the experiences of the two organizations just considered, contrast the advantages of the "federated" and the "centralized" types of coöperative marketing associations.
18. Name seven principal considerations involved in a successful coöperative. Why are efficient management and financial stability indispensable?
19. Discuss membership loyalty and support in relation to the statement that "the ultimate success of coöperation resides with the farmers themselves. They must become sufficiently educated to see this, and to realize that the fight is theirs"
20. In what ways should a successful coöperative marketing association operate to make the community a better place in which to live?

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CHAPTER XV

THE RURAL PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The biologist accords a large place to the effect of physical environmental factors in the determination of the direction of evolution among plants and animals. In most instances, particularly among the lower forms of life, the struggle for existence is pictured as such an intense one that even minute differences in structural features, and variations in instinctive and intelligent patterns of adaptive behavior have played a deciding rôle as to which of the competing types should survive at the expense of the others Such a set of conditions has undoubtedly operated to make a rather close relationship between the efficient functioning of the organism and the environment in which it has developed. For example, a deep-sea fish could not long exist in the upper levels of the ocean, nor could the banana tree or the breadfruit survive the rigors of a winter in the North Temperate Zone.

In some forms of both plant and animal life, the range of environment in which they may live is severely limited. With others there is possible a much wider range. This situation is due in considerable measure to the degree of structural and functional specialization which has taken place in the evolutionary development of the particular species.

Due to certain of these factors and the wide range of intelligent modification which he can make of his environment, whatever and wherever it is, mankind has been able in considerable measure to overcome the adversities of physical conditions and as a result, to live amid the intense heat of the tropical regions and even successfully to brave the frigid conditions of the polar areas of the earth's surface. However, such sharp adjustments have not been accomplished without marked changes in the social economy of his existence, as well as in developed bodily resistances to the new conditions he has chosen or has been forced to meet.

But it would be futile to argue that man is entirely superior to his physical environment. In such fundamental features as temperature, rainfall, altitude, he cannot even modify them. However,

to attempt to evaluate the relative rôles of race, environment, and epoch in human history is too lengthy and uncertain a task to accomplish here. Each of the three factors has its indispensable part to play in human civilization, and it is not necessary for the purposes of this discussion even to enter a decidedly controversial field by endeavoring to say which is the most important.

A distinguished human geographer points out that "to understand what man has wrought we must study the place, the environment in which he has wrought. We are only beginning to see how profoundly human creations have been shaped by the stage on which the drama has taken place—the earth (the environment)." [1] In the light of this quotation, it is valuable to inquire briefly into the more significant phases of the rural physical environment.

1. Marked Changes Occurring

A few decades ago, it would have been possible to describe in much simpler terms than can be done at the present time the general nature of the rural geographic environment. It is perhaps accurate to say that its most pronounced characteristic was that of isolation. Naturally, depending upon the section of the nation, its length of settlement and similar factors, this condition of isolation varied much in its intensity. Relatively early in our national development, the rural areas adjacent to the developing cities were more densely populated, but the typical American farmer was the frontiersman, who sought the freedom of his own acres and loved the distances from neighbors in order that he might have quiet possession and absolute independence.

Today much of this is changing. Settlement has become so thick in certain portions of the country that the rural areas are little more than suburban to the numerous industrial towns and cities that dot the map. Such a condition is serving quite materially to improve the accessibility of the farm, and to make available to the rural area much of the social environment of the adjacent city. With all of these changes, however, the characteristic rural environment today is still one of magnificent distances, difficult of access during the winter and spring seasons because of unimproved dirt roads, and in spite of all that the automobile has done and is able to do, hampered in social contacts by the condition of its physical isolation.

[1] Smith, J. R. *North America*. Harcourt, Brace, 1925, p. 8.

In a consideration of the rural environment it is well to distinguish between "the physical environment which is determined independently of man's will, and that social environment which he unconsciously makes for himself, and which in turn reacts upon him and his successors in unsuspected ways." [1] This chapter is intended to deal primarily with the rural physical environment. The major factors in this environment affecting the farmer and his welfare are those of *soil, climate, crop adoptations, and accessibility*. Each of these will be considered in brief analysis under a separate heading.

2. Soil

In comparatively recent years, the federal government through its bureau of soils, frequently in coöperation with the state agricultural experiment stations, has made extensive soil surveys of counties and in some instances selected regions in the various states of the nation. No result of these studies has been more conspicuous than the wide variety attaching to these soils. A soil map of a single county may show as many as a dozen and a half kinds of soil, each different in its physical composition, and varying widely in its agricultural possibilities. So numerous are these soil types that to attempt to name and describe them requires a considerable bulletin on an area as large as a county. It would prove an interesting exercise to trace out some of the influences of soil of different fertilities upon the kinds of communities found even within a county. It is worth while to suggest some of the influences which this factor has in its natural application.

Huntington [2] calls attention to the contrast in social development found in Georgia and Alabama in the "black belt" and the "timber belt." The coastal plain belt in these two states constitutes a substantial portion of their area, and this geological formation was laid down underneath the sea, and by upheaval later emerged therefrom. In the course of time, this area has been worn down, so that now it forms belts of varying soil and topography. The outermost belt, bordering the coastal swamps, has a poor sandy type of soil. Since these soils are not very productive agriculturally they have been allowed to grow up in timber, and hence the term "timber belt" is applied to them. Unless large quantities of fertilizer are used, and this is infrequent, the farms

[1] Ripley, W. Z. *The Races of Europe*. Appleton, 1915, p. 1.
[2] Huntington, E., and Cushing, S. W. *Human Geography*. Wiley, pp. 156–157.

of this belt are of low productivity and the section a backward one. "The soil yields such scanty returns that the population is sparse; schools and churches are rare, and the teachers and ministers are very poorly paid; trails often take the place of roads, and few of the roads are improved; physicians are so few and far between that sick people often die before one can be secured; and most of the people know little and care less about what is going on elsewhere."

On the other hand, the soil of the "black belt," a region somewhat inland from the "timber belt" is a rich, deep, black loam. "Everywhere the soil is fertile and very well adapted to cotton raising, so that this region is also known as the 'cotton belt.' So abundant are the crops that the land owners are very prosperous and the population dense In the old days of slavery, the rich soil made slave labor especially profitable, and the number of colored people is even now so large that people sometimes mistakenly suppose that their presence is the reason for the name 'black belt' Some of the most prosperous cities, such as Selma and Montgomery, are located in this region, and the general conditions of education and culture are unusually high. From some of the counties blessed with this fertile soil, the proportion of young people who go to college is remarkable, and naturally many of them become the leading men of the State. Thus while the sandy soil leads to poverty and ignorance, a rich soil opens the way to comfort and opportunity."

Though this vivid picture is somewhat overdrawn, particularly in the light of the advent of the boll weevil and the farm depression in those sections during recent years, it serves to emphasize the profound effects of soil fertility upon the richness or poorness of community life. This is true because fertile soils are essential to good farming. A knowledge of sound farm practice shows that if the farm endeavor is to be really profitable the yields must be well above the average. The farmer makes his living by reducing the fertility of his soil, but he is a poor farmer and citizen if he does not realize that one of his first duties is to a permanent system of farming that will not only maintain, but improve that fertility of the soil.

There was a time in the history of this country when nothing was quite so cheap as land. For example, the old Southern planter would clear up "new grounds," cheat them of their natural fertility, and move on to other fresh areas. That day is largely past, and the

present generation is paying for the sins of its fathers, unto the third and fourth generations. The farmer literally digs his living out of the ground. If the soil is poor and relatively barren, he works harder and gets less in return than he does where the land is fertile. The thrifty farmer can take poor land and make it into good, but it requires almost a life time to do it, and in spite of the fact that as Arthur Young pointed out a long time ago with the French peasant, "the magic of property turns sand into gold," many more farmers have been conquered by poor soil areas than have as yet reclaimed such waste areas. The fertility of soil has been a powerful determining factor in the level of economic and social life maintaining in the various communities of the nation.

3. Climate

One of our chief students [1] of the relation of climate to civilization states that it is the most important of all the geographic factors in its influence. It reacts upon humankind in three principal ways: (1) by setting up barriers which limit his movements; (2) by determining the supply of most of the materials needed, not only for food, but for clothing and shelter; and (3) by its important bearing upon health and energy. So thoroughly does the same authority believe in the potency of this factor of the physical environment that he says: "Man's health and energy depend on climate and weather more than on any other single factor. The well-known contrast between the energetic people of the temperate zone and the lazy inhabitants of the tropics is due to climate. It is impossible for a people to advance rapidly in civilization when handicapped by an enervating tropical climate." [2]

While it is exceedingly doubtful as to whether any such sweeping generalizations can apply, there is no denying the very marked effect which the complex of factors constituting climate and weather has upon the same individual at varying seasons of the year, and in different places on the earth's surface. The vigor with which a person would undertake an intellectual task is entirely different in mid-summer to that which would apply in the dead of winter. Moreover, a similar variation would be true for him in August as between Lake Placid, New York, and Atlanta, Georgia. If such differences are occasioned within our individual experiences, it is but natural to suppose that climatic variations have their

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 236. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 248.

decided reactions upon the same race in widely separated parts of the world. However, these effects are difficult ones to measure; and on this account, those who would evaluate with exactitude the influence of climate have met with only such an indifferent degree of success as to leave the question one upon which there is need for more concrete information.

In times past climate has had a much more decided relation to health than it has today. Where poor sanitation exists in the warmer climates, diseases like malarial and typhoid fever still take heavy death toll, but thanks to the work of such men as Dr. Walter Reed, Surgeon-General Rupert Blue, and Major-General W. C. Gorgas, yellow fever, malaria, and the bubonic plague have proven themselves susceptible of control. Through the methods of these sanitarians, even the tropics have become areas in which the highest levels of civilization can be maintained.

Fortunately, the United States is located entirely in the great North Temperate Zone. This makes it a nation free of the greatest extremes in climate. However, as one goes from the southernmost part of it to the northern boundaries, one discovers a great range of temperature, light, and moisture. The location of a particular area as to latitude or longitude determines in great measure the kinds of crops that can be grown. In the southern parts of the country, a great diversity of plant life is possible, much of it flourishing through the winter months. As one proceeds farther north, the length of the growing season is shortened, and severe limitations are placed upon the number of kinds of crops which can meet the conditions imposed by the more rigorous climate.

Davenport points out that in the Northern States the corn-planting season covers only about a fortnight. It is about four months in Brazil, while in the Philippines it lasts practically the entire year. "All this exerts a controlling influence upon the matter of rush and hurry as it does upon the cost of production and the habits of life. There is no tomorrow for the farmer of the North, during the season of oat-sowing, corn-planting, corn cultivation or wheat harvest. On the contrary, his southern neighbor is seldom in a hurry and never rushed; nor need he be, for one day is so nearly like another, week after week, that he is almost unconscious of the passage of time" [1]

[1] Davenport, E. "The Influence of Climatic Conditions on Agricultural Practice." *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture* Macmillan, 1317, Vol. IV, p. 31.

4. Crop Adaptations

The amount of sunshine and other related factors divide the world into well-defined belts, and only certain plants can grow in each of these belts. However, the plants which have been found most suited to the needs of man, have been carried in his migrations to lands which are far removed from their native habitats. And through processes of selection and acclimatization, in many instances they thrive better in the new environment than in the old.[1]

The same processes have applied to the distribution of domestic animals. The taming of animals suited to man's purposes comes next only in importance to the improvement of wild plants. It seems likely that the domestication of animals was independent of that of plants. By some authorities it is considered that the process preceded that of plants. At any rate, when man became master of lower animals, he took a long step towards civilization.[2] Although the horse, cattle, sheep, swine, the dog, and a few other animals have followed man almost everywhere except in the extremes of climate, there is even here a wide variation in the success of these in different parts of the world, because of the fact that they thrive best in the localities where the foods suited to their needs can be grown.

These limitations as to kinds of crops that can be grown, and the animals that flourish well in a given region have had much effect upon the kind of farm life possible. Perhaps the best type of analysis of the incidence of such a factor is that made by Gillette.[3] He makes an interesting attempt at classifying the definite nature of the influence of several particular crops upon the region in which it forms the important part of farm economy.

Applying his method, and using cotton for an example, we know that its development in the South was conditioned not only upon the favorable climate, but also upon the institution of slavery and the resulting prevalence of cheap labor. The typical cotton-growing areas consist of numerous small farms. These may be the smaller tenant units of the large cotton farm, or they may be the property of small white or negro owners. The amount of land in cotton

[1] Frye, A. D. *Higher Geography*. Ginn and Co., 1920, pp. 45–51.
[2] Carrier, L. *The Beginnings of Agriculture in America*. McGraw-Hill Co., 1923, p. 9.
[3] Gillette, J. M. *Constructive Rural Sociology*. Macmillan, 1915, Chapter IV.

cultivated by a single family must from the very nature of the task be a limited one. It is a plant which requires a great deal of work, and much of this can be done only by hand. In most parts of the Cotton Belt, the seeds are sown thickly in the drill, and when they come up, must be thinned with the hoe. To chop an acre of cotton a day is a real task for one hoe hand The imperfect thinning which results the first time makes necessary a second careful hoeing which, while not so difficult as the first, requires much time and effort. Also, no satisfactory machine has been devised for the picking of cotton, and this "back-breaking" sort of work must be done by hand. The consequence of these facts is that cotton is distinctly a type of crop competing with other possible interests when grown in any considerable quantity on a farm, and easily lends itself to the "one-crop system," so widely and correctly advertised as the great evil of Southern agriculture.

These conditions have a marked effect upon the life of a predominantly cotton-growing community. There is a marked social stratification. The large and medium cotton farmers who operate their own lands in good seasons receive larger returns. Their social heredity, also, through generations of such status has given them more of the cultural background, and their desires and standards of living are much higher than those of the large number of tenant farmers. In many instances, the tenants and small owner-operators do not make much more than enough to keep body and soul together, much less to educate their children, and to provide the things in their homes which raise them to higher levels and appreciations in life. As a result, the general educational standards in such communities are painfully low, and the consequences of ignorance are found in many forms among the average population Housing conditions are largely of the small cabin type, no longer of logs, but partaking of much the same nature as the old log cabin. Taxable values are low, and improvement in schools, roads, and church life comes about with a distressing slowness.

In other words, cotton raising seems to carry in its train a great many rather distinctive effects in the community life which is built up about it. Not all of this is to be attributed to the nature of the plant. Its influence cannot be said to be so potent as all that. Much that is in these conditions harks back to a semi-feudal type of civilization upon which cotton growing was grafted. Nevertheless, the cotton plant has markedly affected the type of Southern

civilization, and many of the most baffling problems of this region are today intimately connected with this type of farming.

The example of what holds true with cotton, can easily be shown the case in wheat, corn, dairying, and other kinds of farming. Each of these develops a rather distinctive type of community life, and illustrates the fact that crop and animal adaptations represent very significant factors in the rural physical environment.

5. Accessibility

The influence of the frontier conditions upon the personality traits of American people has been profound. These frontiersmen were by the very nature of things first of all hunters and farmers, with sometimes an exceedingly thin outpost line of traders. In describing the contribution of the frontier to our national heritage, Turner declares that "to the frontier the American intellect owes its striking characteristics, that coarseness and strength, combined with acquisitiveness; that practical inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic, but powerful to effect great ends: that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyance and exuberance which comes with freedom—these are traits of the frontier, or traits called out elsewhere because of the existence of the frontier."[1]

This fine thing which we call the frontier influence is a splendid example of the reaction of the physical environment upon mankind. The epoch of the frontier has passed, but its lessons continue; and nowhere perhaps more characteristically than in the relatively inaccessible rural areas of our present national life It is certainly true that the self-reliance, the resourcefulness, the energy, the strong spirit of assertiveness and independence so typical of the frontiersman were in large measure the result of his physical remoteness. The conquest of the new and untried led him on, but it was the sense of aloneness that developed almost as many of his fine qualities.

Taylor states that "civilization never has and cannot now develop in isolation. It always follows in the paths of communication and transportation." [2] While such a statement raises the question as to what is meant by civilization, it is of course true in

[1] Turner, F. J. *The Frontier in American History.* Henry Holt, 1921, p. 37.
[2] Taylor, C. C. *Rural Sociology.* Harpers, 1926, pp. 131–132

its general application. The degree of physical remoteness of a rural region has a decided effect upon the sort of community developed therein. A rural settlement closely adjacent to a well-developed urban center is greatly affected in its economic life and social attitudes by the overflow and impact of city institutions and economic needs. The quality which we are accustomed to call "rural mindedness" breaks down in considerable measure, and the rural inhabitants become essentially suburban in outlook. Numerous examples of this sort of thing are to be found in the more densely populated sections of the Middle West and other parts of the nation.

On the other hand, extreme conditions of physical remoteness produce such a situation as we find in the case of the Southern mountain communities. Kephart in describing these highlanders says that "the mountaineers of the South are marked apart from all other folks by dialect, by customs, by character, by self-conscious isolation. It matters not whether your descent be from Puritan or Cavalier, whether you come from Boston or Chicago, Savannah or New Orleans, in the mountains you are a 'furriner.' "[1] The backwoodsmen of the Blue Ridge and the Unakas, of their connecting mountain chains, and the outlying Cumberlands, seem today to be thinking the same thoughts, and living in much the same fashion as did their ancestors in the days of Daniel Boone. In seeking the explanation of this almost amazing backwardness, the same authority says that these people are so foreign to present-day Americanism that they innocently call all the rest of us foreigners, because "they are creatures of environment, enmeshed in a labyrinth that has deflected and repelled the march of our nation for three hundred years."

QUESTIONS

1. What place does the biologist accord to the effect of physical environmental factors in the determination of the direction of evolution among plants and animals and why?
2. Discuss the general extent to which man is superior to his physical environment.
3. Give J. Russell Smith's opinion of the importance of studying the physical environment of mankind.
4. How accurate is the statement that "the characteristic rural physical environment in America today is still one of magnificent distances"?

[1] Kephart, H. *Our Southern Highlanders.* Macmillan, 1922, pp. 16–19.

5. What changing effect is the increasing urbanization of the nation having upon the characteristically isolated rural physical environment? Do you think the change is entirely beneficial?
6. Distinguish between man's "physical environment" and his "social environment"
7. Name the major factors in the physical environment affecting the farmer and his welfare.
8. What do the soil surveys of the federal government show as to the variety of soils which exist even in a limited area?
9. What is meant by the "timber belt" in Georgia and Alabama? Give the nature of soils prevailing there, and describe the kind of civilization which is found in that region.
10. Why is the "black belt" so called? How does its cultural life differ from that of the "timber belt"?
11. Discuss how fertility of the soil, or the lack of it, affects the cultural development of the people living upon it. What do you think of the soundness of the general statement that "many more farmers have been conquered by poor soil areas than have as yet reclaimed such waste areas"?
12. How does Huntington rank climate among the geographic factors affecting human civilization and why?
13. In what three principal ways does climate react upon humankind?
14. Using the advances in sanitation in the tropics, discuss the extent to which man can overcome climatic handicaps
15. Give the climatic advantages of the United States What is the length of the corn-planting season in the Northern States, in Brazil, and in the Philippines, and what effect does this variation have upon the habits of life of the population?
16. Compare plants and animals as to their distribution into fairly well-defined belts over the earth's surface, and what general effect does this have upon the life of the people living in these belts?
17. Using cotton as an example, show the influence of crop adaptations upon the cultural life of an area as large as the Cotton Belt.
18. Work out a similar analysis for communities specializing in wheat growing.
19. What does Turner have to say regarding the contribution of the frontier to our national heritage? To what extent does our rural physical environment perpetuate these characteristics?
20. Describe the effects of extreme physical remoteness or isolation upon the "Southern highlanders," as the inhabitants of certain mountain communities in the South are called.

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2. Turner, F. J. *The Frontier in American History.* Henry Holt and Com-

pany, 1921, Chapter I, pp. 1–38, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."

3. McKenzie, R. D. in Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W. *The City.* University of Chicago Press, 1925, Chapter III, pp. 63–79, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community."
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7. Kephart, Horace. *Our Southern Highlanders.* The Macmillan Company, 1922, Chapter XII, pp. 265–285, "The Outlander and the Native"; and Chapter XIII, pp. 286–307, "The People of the Hills."
8. Lumley, F. E. *Principles of Sociology.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1928, Chapter VI, pp. 107–129, "Isolation."

CHAPTER XVI

RURAL POPULATION TRENDS

A consideration of the problem of population falls into two principal divisions. The more emphasized in the literature, and the more concrete in measurement is the question of numbers. The other which is the more significant is that of the quality or social worth of the individual members comprising the population.

New countries, with vast unexploited resources, quite naturally are interested more in the matter of numbers. In the earlier days of settlement in America no problem was more acute than that of enough people to subdue the wilderness, and to protect the beginning civilization from the depredations of the Indians and the aggressions of invaders from hostile countries. A few years ago in an era of hectic development, unrestrained foreign immigration crowded the capacity of trans-Atlantic liners, and emptied into our population well over sixteen million foreigners since 1900, during a five-year period ending in June, 1914, averaging over a million immigrants a year.

By 1880, the open free land of this country had been occupied, and by the period of the World War our industrial development had reached an impressive stride. Serious thought came to be given to the qualitative phases of our population growth. We were told that such selected groups as the Harvard graduate, for example, were not even replacing themselves in the population composition, and that our people of the future would come largely from the inferior levels of society. Restrictive immigration laws were enacted, and much propaganda emerged for larger families in the upper levels. How effective such representations may be the future must reveal.

Population pressure in a country of closed resources is one of the most potent influences towards lowering the standard of living. Here in America, we are enjoying the highest standards of living of any large group in the world. What are the population tendencies today, and what do they seem to signify as to the future?

O. E. Baker, in a recent article, takes an optimistic view regard-

ing our national population trends. He points out that "unless the present restrictive immigration laws change, our cities will probably never be much larger than they are now." The reasons ascribed for this statement are mainly that "there is a rapidly declining birth rate." This is especially true with the city populations. So rapid is this decline that this authority believes with five years more of the present rate, the increase will scarcely maintain present population levels when the children of today reach middle age.

> This fall in the birth rate in recent years has been much more rapid than before, from 24.3 births per thousand population in 1921 to 19.7 per thousand in 1928. The enrollment in the first grade of the public schools has been declining since 1918, in the second grade since 1922, and in the third grade since 1924. As the number of children decreases it is clear that soon the death rate will rise—not because people do not live as long, but because the proportion of old people in the population becomes larger. At present a new born babe in the United States may expect to live to be fifty-nine years old. It is very doubtful if this expectation of life will increase greatly—almost certainly it will not exceed sixty-five years. An average of sixty-five divided into 1,000 people gives a death rate of 15.4 per 1,000 for a stationary population. In 1928 the death rate was 12.1, having risen from 11.4 in 1927.
>
> We may expect the death rate to continue to rise irregularly, and the birth rate to fall, and the two to meet a quarter to a half century hence, when the population will become stationary, except as it is increased by immigration. But our net immigration now averages only 250,000 a year Unless the immigration laws are changed, or the downward trend in the birth rate stops within a few years, which appears unlikely, the population of the United States may never exceed 150 millions, which is twenty-five to thirty millions more than at present.[1]

Other students of the problem arrive at a higher figure for the saturation population level for the United States. East [2] believes that the maximum population the United States can support under any conditions conceivable to those of us who live at the present day is 331,000,000. By the method of projecting a population curve. Pearl and Reed [3] reach the conclusion that our maximum population will be approximately 200,000,000. Lescohier approves the statement of Fetter to the effect that those who claim for the

[1] Baker, O. E. "Looking Forward Ninety Years in American Agriculture." *The Southern Planter*, Jan. 1, 1930.

[2] East, E. M. "The Agricultural Limits of Our Population." *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XII, No. 6, p. 555.

[3] Pearl, Raymond, and Reed, L. J. "On the Rate of Growth of the Population of the United States since 1790 and Its Mathematical Representation." *Proceedings* of the National Academy of Science, Vol. VI, pp. 275–286.

United States or the world an enormous capacity for future population increase "evidence a forgetfulness of economic principles and a recklessness of economic consequences which has in it elements of danger." This statement may well apply to enthusiasts who predict a population of 500 million people in the Mississippi Valley and 300 millions west of the Rockies. It is the opinion of Lescohier that if the present rate of population increase continues, "the twentieth century will see the rest of the world populated to the saturation point, unless remarkable improvements in agricultural and industrial technique set back the process of diminishing returns. If immigration legislation prevents the surplus populations of the older countries from migrating to the food supplies of new countries, the old countries will be forced to check population growth, and the time when the saturation point will be reached in the new countries will be postponed." [1]

1. Rural Proportions

1. *What Is Meant by Rural.*—The comparative homogeneity of the population of the United States in the earlier decades of the republic is clearly evidenced in the fact that no distinction was made between "rural" and "urban" in the first several censuses. Such a classification dates back to a *Statistical Atlas of the United States* published in 1874. In that volume the urban population was considered as those living in places of 8,000 inhabitants or over, and hence the rural as those living outside of such places. In 1880, the census reports continued the classification on the earlier basis, but in addition included a new basis, considering as urban all those places having a population of 4,000 or more.

The Census of 1890 gave the urban population on the earlier basis of 8,000, but the rural population was determined by subtracting from the total population all places of 1,000 or more inhabitants. Thus the rural population were those who lived outside of all compact bodies of population numbering 1,000 or more.

It was in 1910 that the at present prevailing definition was first applied. In that census, and in those since, *the urban population consists of all those living in towns or cities of 2,500 or more, and the rural population as that residing outside such places.* Such

[1] Dublin, L. I. *Population Problems.* Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1926, pp. 88–91.

a classification was made not only for the year 1910, but also for the three previous censuses, 1900, 1890, and 1880. The proportions of rural in the population of the United States since 1880 are given in Table 15.

TABLE 15

RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 1880–1930 [1]

CENSUS YEAR	TOTAL POPULATION	RURAL POPULATION	URBAN POPULATION	PER CENT RURAL	PER CENT URBAN
1930	122,775,046	53,820,223	68,954,823	43.8	56.2
1920	105,710,620	51,406,017	54,304,603	48.6	51.4
1910	91,972,266	49,806,146	42,166,120	54.2	45.8
1900	75,994,575	45,614,142	30,380,433	60.0	40.0
1890	62,947,714	40,649,355	22,298,359	64.6	35.4
1880	50,155,783	35,797,616	14,358,167	71.4	28.6

It will be observed from the table given above that the Census of 1920 revealed for the first time in the history of the United States a preponderance in the urban population. In that year, the rural population constituted 48.6 per cent of the total and the

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION CLASSIFIED AS RURAL BY DIVISIONS: 1880–1930 [1]

DIVISION	PER CENT OF POPULATION RURAL					
	1930	*1920*	*1910*	*1900*	*1890*	*1880*
United States	43.8	48.6	54.2	60.0	64.6	71.4
Geographic divisions:						
New England	22.7	20.8	23.7	27.5	33.2	41.9
Middle Atlantic	22.3	25.1	29.0	34.8	42.3	50.1
East North Central	33.6	39.2	47.3	54.8	62.2	72.5
West North Central	58.2	62.3	66.7	71.5	74.2	81.9
South Atlantic	63.9	69.0	74.6	78.6	80.5	84.9
East South Central	71.9	77.6	81.3	85.0	87.3	91.6
West South Central	63.6	71.0	77.7	83.8	84.9	87.5
Mountain	60.6	63.6	64.0	67.7	70.7	76.4
Pacific	32.5	37.6	43.2	53.6	57.5	63.8

urban 51.4 per cent. In 1930, the rural population proportion had declined to 43.8 per cent of the total. This is a marked change from the status of 1880, when 71.4 per cent of the total population was rural, and only 28.6 per cent resided in towns and cities of 2,500 and

[1] Source: *U. S. Census Reports*, 1880 through 1930.

above. The rural population has in no census decade shown an actual decrease, though the proportional part of the national total has steadily become less.

During the fifty-year period from 1880 through 1930, every geographic division, and almost every state shows a continuous decline in the percentage rural, though many states still reveal a percentage many times as high as that of other states. Only four states in 1930 show less than one-fourth of their population rural. These are Rhode Island (7.6 per cent rural), Massachusetts (9.8 per cent rural), New York (16.4 per cent rural), and New Jersey (17.4 per cent rural).

The state showing the highest percentage rural in 1930 was North Dakota with 83 4 per cent of her people thus classified In both 1880 and 1920, Mississippi led as the predominantly rural state, but in 1930 with 83.1 per cent of the population rural, this state ranked second in this regard, surrendering first place to North Dakota, which was 83.4 per cent rural. Other states showing more than 92 per cent rural in 1880 and more than 75 per cent still rural in 1930 are South Dakota, South Carolina, and Arkansas. The states more than 50 per cent rural in 1930 were twenty-seven in number, and are as follows: Maine, Vermont, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, New Mexico, Arizona, and Nevada.

A careful study of the accompanying tables, showing the proportions of rural in the several geographic divisions and individual states from 1880 to 1930, indicates that the South is the most rural part of the nation. The division with the highest percentage rural is the East South Central (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi), 71.9 per cent rural, with the South Atlantic States (Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida), 63.9 per cent rural, ranking second; and third, the West South Central States (Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas), 63.6 per cent rural. The Mountain States with 60.6 per cent of the population rural rank fourth in this particular; the West North Central standing fifth with 58.2 per cent of its people classified as rural.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION CLASSIFIED AS RURAL BY STATES: 1880–1930 [1]

STATES	PER CENT OF POPULATION RURAL					
	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890	1880
New England:						
Maine	59.7	61.0	64.7	66.5	73.7	77.4
New Hampshire	41.3	36.9	40 8	45.0	48.9	61 1
Vermont	67.0	68 8	72 2	77 9	84 8	91 1
Massachusetts	9.8	5 2	7.2	8.5	10.5	15.1
Rhode Island	7.6	2.5	3.3	4.9	5 5	6.5
Connecticut	29.6	32.2	34.4	40.1	47.4	60.6
Middle Atlantic:						
New York	16.4	17.3	21.2	27.1	35.0	43.9
New Jersey	17.4	21.6	24.8	29.4	39.3	46.3
Pennsylvania	32.2	35.7	39.6	45.3	51.4	58.4
East North Central:						
Ohio	32.2	36.2	44.1	51.9	59.0	67.8
Indiana	44.5	49.4	57.6	65.7	73.1	80.5
Illinois	26.1	32.1	38.3	45.7	55.3	69.4
Michigan	31.8	38.9	52.8	60.7	65.1	75.2
Wisconsin	47.1	52.7	57.0	61.8	66.8	76.1
West North Central:						
Minnesota	51.0	55.9	59.0	65.9	66.2	81.1
Iowa	60.4	63.3	69.4	74.4	78.8	84.8
Missouri	48.8	53.4	57.5	63.7	68.0	74.8
North Dakota	83.4	86.4	89.0	92.7	94.4	92.7
South Dakota	81.1	84.0	86.9	89.3	91.8	92.7
Nebraska	64.7	68.7	73.9	76.8	72.6	86.6
Kansas	61.2	65.1	70.8	77.5	80.9	89.5
South Atlantic:						
Delaware	48.3	45.8	52.0	53.6	57.8	66.6
Maryland	46.2	46.6	49.2	50.2	52.4	59.3
Virginia	67.6	70.8	76.9	81.7	82.9	87.6
West Virginia	71.6	74.8	81.3	86.9	89.3	91.3
North Carolina	74.5	80.0	85.6	90.1	92.8	96.1
South Carolina	78.7	82.5	85.2	87.2	89.9	92.5
Georgia	69.2	74.9	79.4	84.4	86.0	90.6
Florida	48.3	63.3	70.9	73.7	80.2	90.0
East South Central:						
Kentucky	69.4	73.3	75.7	78.2	80.8	84.8
Tennessee	65.7	73.9	79.8	83.8	86.5	92.4
Alabama	71.9	78.3	82.7	88.1	89.9	94.6
Mississippi	83.1	86.6	88.5	92.3	94.6	96.9
West South Central:						
Arkansas	79.4	83.4	87.1	91.5	93.5	96.0
Louisiana	60.3	65.1	70.0	73.5	74.6	74.5
Oklahoma	65.7	73.4	80.7	92.6	96.3	
Texas	59.0	67.6	75.9	82.9	84.4	90.8

[1] Source: *U. S. Census Reports*, 1880 through 1930.

TABLE 17 (*Continued*)

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION CLASSIFIED AS RURAL BY STATES: 1880–1930

STATES	PER CENT OF POPULATION RURAL					
	1930	*1920*	*1910*	*1900*	*1890*	*1880*
Mountain:						
Montana	66.3	68.7	64.5	65.3	72.9	82.2
Idaho	70.9	72.4	78.5	93.8	100.0	100.0
Wyoming	68.9	70.5	70.4	71.2	65.7	70.4
New Mexico	74.8	82.0	86.8	86.0	93.8	94.5
Arizona	65.6	64.8	69.0	84.1	90.6	82.7
Utah	47.6	52.0	53.7	61.9	64.3	76.6
Nevada	62.2	80.3	83.7	83.0	66.2	68.9
Pacific:						
Washington	43.4	44.8	47.0	59.2	64.4	90.5
Oregon	48.7	50.1	54.4	67.8	73.2	84.2
California	26.7	32.0	38.2	47.6	51.4	57.1

2. *Farm Population.*—Much dissatisfaction has prevailed regarding the arbitrary nature of the present census definition of "rural" and "urban." It is obvious that the residents of many towns of less than 2,500 population are rather remote from the farm because of their industrial and like interests. Also, included among the population of such sized towns are many who are engaged in farming, either directly or indirectly. In addition, areas suburban to cities are classed as rural instead of urban. In order to meet such inadequacies of classification, in the 1920 Census for the first time, a record was made of the "farm population." By this term is meant all persons actually living on farms. Such a grouping was not quite satisfactory because in the figure are included many who reside on farms, but whose occupations are not agricultural and not directly connected with agriculture. So, in 1930, a further refinement of the classification was made as to the "rural-farm" and "urban-farm" composition of the farm population. The schedules for 1920 were retabulated with this new distinction in view, and comparable figures are available over the past decade.

In 1930, the farm population in the United States numbered 30,447,550, or 24.8 per cent of the total population. The corresponding figure in 1920 was 31,614,269, or 29.9 per cent of the total. Thus during the past decade there has been a net loss of 1,166,719 people from the farms of this country, a relative decrease of 5.1 per cent in the proportion which the farm population makes up of the total population. During the same period, the urban population in

the United States increased by 14,650,220 inhabitants. The normal increase in the number of people living on farms through the excess of births over deaths is at least 400,000 a year.[1] Consequently in the decline of the farm population is indicated not only the net loss to the cities above mentioned, but also a number equal to the normal increase in the farm population over the decade. The other urban growth has occurred in large part through contributions from the rural village populations and the natural increase in the urban centers.

The urban-farm population in 1930 consisted of 290,037 persons, or 0.2 per cent of the total population. This is an increase over the 255,629 thus classified for the 1920 Census. However, the proportion of the total in 1920 was 0.2 per cent, the same ratio as in the later year.

3. *Village Population.*—When a comparison is made between the farm population and the urban population, logically the inquiry arises as to the extent of the total population which lives in villages of less than 2,500 but not actually on farms. The rural non-farm population, or that in villages and towns of less than 2,500 inhabitants, numbered, in 1930, 23,662,710 persons, or 19.3 per cent of the total population. The corresponding figures for 1920 were 20,047,377, or 19 per cent of the total number of people in the United States. "The village population is much less uniform in its make-up in the different parts of the United States than either the farm population or the urban population. In some sections of the country it consists mainly of the inhabitants of small manufacturing villages or of suburban areas which are not incorporated In other sections it is made up largely of the inhabitants of mining settlements. In still other parts of the country, where farming is the dominant industry, it is made up largely of the inhabitants of little commercial centers, including merchants, bankers, doctors, carpenters, automobile repair men, etc., who cater to the wants of the farm population." [2]

Regionally the village population of the South is larger (22.9 per cent) proportionally than in the North (16.8 per cent) and in the West (22.5 per cent). The predominantly agricultural nature of the South with its incident demand for small trading centers,

[1] Truesdell, L. E. in Gee, Wilson. *The Country Life of the Nation.* U. of North Carolina Press, 1930, pp. 39-53

[2] Truesdell, L. E. *Farm Population of the United States.* Government Printing Office, Census Monograph VI, 1926, p. 52.

TABLE 18

FARM, VILLAGE, AND URBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: 1930 [1]

CLASS	NUMBER	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION
Total population	*122,775,046*	*100.0*
Farm population	30,447,550	24.8
Village population (rural non-farm)	23,662,710	19.2
Urban population (excluding urban-farm)	68,664,786	56.0

together with the fact that the lumber and turpentine industries are still widely present call for a larger village population. In the West, mining and lumbering are relatively important industries and are usually accompanied by the village form of residence. Such conditions as prevail in the South and West are less true in the North, which is more highly industrialized and urbanized.

2. COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS

1. *Distribution by Sex.*—Normally there tends to be an approximation to an equal number of males to females in a population. This condition is disturbed by such matters as immigration, wars, and regionally by differential internal migration of the sexes. In the United States for 1920, the sex ratio was 102.5 males to 100 females. However, among the rural-farm population there is a more striking preponderance of males, the ratio existing among that population group being 111 males to 100 females. In the urban population, the sexes are more evenly approximated, the females predominating, however, as indicated by the ratio of 98.1 males to 100 females. This marked preponderance of males over females on the farm results from the fact that most of the farm work is done by men, and that few other occupations than home-making are available for country women. In contrast, the city in its clerical, industrial, and similar classes of less arduous occupations for women attract the female population of the farm to a larger degree than the male.

2. *Distribution by Age.*—The phenomenon of cityward migration has produced striking differences in the age composition of the farm population and the urban population. It is the younger women and men who leave in largest proportions the country for the real or supposed urban opportunities. For this reason children

[1] Source: *United States Census Releases* on August 20 and 24, 1931.

under 15 years of age form a considerably larger percentage of the rural-farm population than they do of the urban population; and persons from 20 to 44 years of age form a considerably larger percentage of the urban than of the rural-farm population. In 1930, 47.3 per cent of the rural-farm population was in the age group from infancy to 20 years, while the corresponding urban percentage was only 34.5 per cent. The urban population to the extent of 42.2 per cent is in the age group from 20 to 44 years, while only 31 per cent of the rural-farm population is so constituted. The educational implications of such a situation are discussed in a succeeding chapter of this volume. It is sufficient to say in this connection that the country is a veritable nursery for the rearing of city populations. And this expense of producing, rearing, and educating a substantial part of the urban people must be done on a wealth which comes from the activities of a considerably less proportion of those in the able-bodied, productive years of life. Persons 65 years old and over make up 5.1 per cent of the rural-farm and urban population, and 6.6 per cent of the rural non-farm or village population; the latter figure resulting in part from the fact that retired farmers frequently go to a country village to spend the last years of life.

3. *Distribution by Race, Nativity, and Parentage.*—Foreign-born whites tend to stay in the cities in much larger proportions than they do to go to the farms of the nation. In 1930, foreign-born whites formed only 4.9 per cent of the farm population as compared with 15.6 per cent of the urban population. However, negroes formed 12.4 per cent of the rural population and only 7.5 per cent of the urban.

Native-white persons of native parentage formed 68 per cent of the rural-farm population in 1930. Native whites of foreign or mixed parentage made up 11 per cent, and foreign-born whites, 3.6 per cent. Negroes constituted 15.5 per cent of the total rural-farm population.

If the nation is divided into three arbitrary divisions, the North, South, and West, we discover in 1920 that the farm and urban distribution of the foreign born in these regions is as follows: North, 8.2 per cent of farm population and 22.3 per cent of the urban population; West, 12.3 per cent of the farm population as against 18 5 per cent of the urban population; South, 1 per cent of the farm population, and 5.3 per cent of the urban population.

There are three more or less distinct groups of States in which the foreign-born whites represent a relatively high percentage of the farm population. The first group comprises Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey, with percentages of foreign-born whites in the farm population ranging from 13.5 to 20.8 per cent. In these States the foreign-born farm families are made up largely of relatively recent immigrants engaged either in raising truck crops in the vicinity of the cities or in other intensive kinds of farming such as the raising of onions in the Connecticut Valley.

The second group comprises a number of States mainly in the Middle West, including Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana. These States were rather largely settled by immigrants from Germany and from the Scandinavian Peninsula and some of the same States have in recent years received many farm settlers from Poland, Austria, Russia, and Finland, in addition to considerable numbers who have come across the border from Canada.

The third group of States comprises California, Washington, Nevada, and Arizona. In the two Pacific Coast States the foreign-born white population represents a great variety of countries of origin, including a considerable percentage from Germany and Scandinavia. In California there are large colonies of Italians and Portuguese more than 80 per cent of all the Portuguese farm operators in the United States in 1920 being reported from California and nearly 25 per cent of the Italian farm operators. A large percentage of the foreign-born farm population in Arizona and Nevada is made up of farm laborers of Mexican origin.[1]

3. Sources of Urban Growth

Gillette [2] has attempted to evaluate the population contribution of the country to the city for the decades ending in 1910 and 1920. In this connection he has derived the accompanying table. By incorporation is meant the inclusion of outlying areas to cities, the

TABLE 19

Sources of Urban Increase for Decades Ending 1910 and 1920

Source	Number Contributed		Per Cent Contributed	
	1920	*1910*	*1920*	*1910*
	thousands	*thousands*		
Rural migration	5,476	3,637	45.2	30.7
Natural increase	2,842	2,426	23.4	20.5
Immigration	2,830	4,849	23.3	21.0
Incorporation	990	924	8.1	7.8
Total	12,138	11,836	100.0	100.0

[1] Truesdell, L. E. *Op. cit.*, pp. 103–104.

[2] Gillette, J. M. *Rural Sociology* (Revised Edition) Macmillan, 1928, p. 94.

population of which in preceding censuses was classified as rural. If we add this figure to the 45.2 per cent of urban increase from rural migration, we find that over half, 53.4 per cent of urban growth is derived from areas classified as rural. Due to the decreased proportion of the immigration factor in urban increase between 1910 and 1920 over that in the preceding census decade, it is found that the cityward migration contributed 45.2 per cent of the urban increase in the later period. This factor is about twice as significant as that of the natural increase within the city population itself.

4. Qualitative Selection in Cityward Migration

The gross expression of this migratory movement has been rather accurately determined. Its selective nature as to sex proportions, and age groups is fairly well understood. But it is not known clearly what kind of people are leaving the country most largely and what is to be the resulting effect upon the present and future structure of rural society.

The fundamental causes of rural migration are readily apparent. The increased efficiency of farming and the introduction of improved machinery makes it possible for a more limited farm population to supply the nation's needs in food and the raw materials of industry. The foreign markets are too unprofitable in most instances to make it advantageous to produce for the export market in any greatly increasing degree. Then, too, for the past decade the farm industry has been in a protracted depression; while manufacturing, until recently has been on a peak of prosperity. This lack of material prosperity in the country, with its resulting deficiencies in the psychological satisfactions of life have in combination with the other factors just mentioned produced a veritable flood tide of people from the country to the city, perhaps often when it was not to their best long-time advantage to go.

More than a decade ago, Ross [1] discussed "folk depletion" as a cause of rural decline in certain parts of New England and the Middle West. His general conclusion is in line with the opinion he met at every turn to the effect that the communities were not up to their former standard. The seriousness of the loss of leadership involved in the depletion is indicated by the statement: "My own

[1] Ross, E. A. "Folk Depletion as a Cause of Rural Decline." *Publications* American Sociological Society. Vol. XI. March, 1917.

observation is that frequently the loss of even the best tenth will cut down by 50 per cent the effective support the community gives to higher interests. The continual departure of young people who would in time have become leaders results eventually in a visible moral decline in the community."

The view of Ross is the prevailing one, and has been considered by almost every interpreter of rural life as one of our most serious problems. Much of the discussion has been in the nature of opinion based upon more or less casual observation. However, with the further development of the rural sociological field in recent years, an increasing amount of objective evidence is being accumulated as a basis of determining scientifically the validity of the existing views, pro and con.

In his excellent study of the movement of farm population in New York State, Young says: "Seventy-seven per cent of the men who had attended college, 35 per cent of the men who had attended high school, and 27 per cent of the men who had attended elementary school, had gone into occupations other than farming." [1]

Lively and Beck in an extensive investigation of the same problem in Ohio say that "a half more of those children who had started for themselves with a year or more of high school training than those with no high school training left the farm for other occupations. Children who went into farming had on the average less formal education than those who worked as unskilled laborers. It was found, however, that 75 per cent of those who had gone into occupations other than farming were laborers, 60 per cent being engaged in unskilled labor." [2]

Gee and Corson, analyzing rural depopulation in Tidewater Virginia conclude: "So far as educational training is a measure of superior ability, ambition and character, rather uniformly the results indicate a selective migration distinctly in favor of the city. This is true in the higher percentage among the migrants who have reached the college and business training school levels of education. It is also the case among those attaining the seventh grade, but not with those of the high school level. Also, in the lower grades,

[1] Young, E. C. *The Movement of Farm Population.* Cornell University, Agric. Expt. Sta., Bull No. 426, 1925, p. 35.

[2] Lively, C. E., and Beck, P. G. *Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio.* (Progress Report.) Ohio State University, Rural Sociology Mimeographs, No. 3, January, 1928, pp. 35-36.

the percentage is greater among the non-migrants than with the migrants." [1]

Among the general conclusions concerning selectivity of migration as reached by Sorokin and Zimmerman [2] the following is of much importance and interest: "There is no valid evidence that migration to the cities is selective in the sense that the cities attract in a much greater proportion of those from the country who are better physically, vitally, mentally, morally or socially, and leave in the country those who are poorer in all these respects." For them, on the whole, the city selection is chance selection. They view the process in the light that, "the probability of picking up the innately talented persons of the rural parts by the city are almost as great as the respective probability of picking up the dull or mediocre persons from the rural population (relative to their prevalence in the population)." [3] This contention is qualified by the statement that "in some particular localities such may happen." [4]

There is a conflict with the fundamental position of chance selection in the generalization of Zimmerman to the effect that "*the cities attract the extremes and the farms attract the mean strata in society.* The meaning of these conclusions is that the average types of persons tend to stay in agriculture, whereas, on the whole, the extremely competent and the extremely incompetent tend to go more to the cities." [5] Such a process can scarcely be called chance selection.

A more recent article by Zimmerman and Smith [6] seeks to test the hypothesis of chance selection in migration from agricultural regions to cities for Minnesota. These writers find that farm families hold to their children longer than urban families, and that those children who remain in the country receive less formal education than those who do migrate. The contention is made that the extent of formal education may not be used as a valid measure of the quality of population in testing this type of selectivity. The

[1] Goe. Wilson, and Corson, J. J. *Rural Depopulation in Certain Tidewater and Piedmont Areas of Virginia.* Century Co., 1929, p. 102.

[2] Sorokin, P., and Zimmerman, C. C. *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology.* Henry Holt, 1929, p. 582.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 582.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 583.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 574.

[6] Zimmerman, C. C., and Smith, Lynn. "Migration to Towns and Cities." *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1, July, 1930, pp. 41-51.

article reports that there is no evidence of a net selectivity unfavorable to agriculture.

Gee and Runk studied the problem of qualitatively selective migration in Albemarle County, Virginia, separating the population sample into an upper, a middle, and a lower group. Their findings support for that area the conclusion that such a process does take place. They conclude that "the results of this study do not indicate a chance selection in the cityward migration in Albemarle County, Virginia. Nor do they support the position that the cities attract the extremes in the population and the country the mean. The sample was chosen upon the basis of three classes, and the upper group sustained decidedly the largest proportionate loss to the cities. The next heaviest loss was from the middle group, and the least from the lower class. These findings support the long prevailing attitude on the part of many students of the matter to the effect that the cities tend to attract from the rural areas in largest proportions the best of their population.

"The educational training of the possible migrants among the upper group is strikingly higher than that of the middle and lower groups. A marked difference occurs between the middle and lower groups in this respect. The differences in educational levels are sufficiently great to indicate a considerable measure of correlation between the grade of educational equipment and the class level in the social order. Also, these same variations are strongly reflected in the occupational levels of the migrants, those from the upper group, and to a less extent in the middle group, entering mainly the business, professional and clerical occupations; while the migrants from the lower groups concentrate in the occupations calling for unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled labor. Whether cause, effect, or partly both, the attitudes of parents in the upper, middle and lower groups with regard to their sons' following farming, in considerable measure, parallel the direction of preponderant migration in the particular group" [1]

The issues concerned are among the most vital in American life today, and any additional light thrown on them is eminently worth while. No doubt the situation varies from area to area due to the complexity of causes which may be operative in such a matter. The preponderant evidence seems to point to the fact that the country

[1] Gee, Wilson, and Runk, Dewees. "Qualitative Selection in Cityward Migration." *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXVII, 1931, pp. 264-265.

is being robbed in larger proportions of the best in its population. If the city increasingly in the future must look to this source for its replenishment in people, it is exceedingly important that the reservoirs should be maintained at good levels. Since the underlying factors are largely ones of an economic nature, it is important that the farming industry must be made more profitable so that an increased socially satisfying life may be provided to retain the best in safe proportions.

QUESTIONS

1. Into what two principal divisions does a consideration of the problem of population fall? Which is the more significant and why?
2. Discuss the effects of population pressure upon standards of living in a country. What is the relation of such an influence upon living standards in the United States as compared with other nations?
3. At what level, according to existing tendencies, does O. E. Baker think the population of the United States will be stabilized, and what principal reasons does he offer for such an estimate?
4. Give the views of East Pearl, and others as to the maximum population which it is possible to support in this country
5. Distinguish between "rural" and "urban" population.
6. In what census year did the urban population first exceed the rural in the United States? What were the rural and urban proportions in our total population in 1930? How does this compare with the similar status in 1880?
7. How general has been the decline in the rural proportion of the population in the United States? Name the four most highly urbanized states of the nation.
8. Which was the most rural state in 1930? the most rural geographic division? What other geographic divisions record high rural proportions?
9. Explain what is meant by "farm population"; "rural-farm population"; and "urban-farm population." Give the proportion which the farm population was of the total population in the United States in 1930
10. Describe the extent of the loss in farm population over the decade 1920 to 1930.
11. What proportion of the people in the United States lived in villages in 1930? Give the nature of the occupations of these villagers.
12. How do the North, South, and West compare in the proportions of their populations living in villages? Account for the differences
13. Contrast the sex ratios in urban and rural-farm America. Give the causes for the existing situation.
14. What notable differences occur as to age distribution among the urban and rural-farm population? What are some of the educational implications in this connection?
15. Compare the proportions of foreign born, negroes, and native whites in the country and in the city.

16. Describe three more or less distinct groups of states in which the foreign-born whites represent a relatively high percentage of the farm population.
17. From what four sources does the urban increase occur? What proportion of urban growth was derived from rural migration during the decade from 1910 to 1920?
18. Discuss the fundamental causes of the migration of people from the country to the cities.
19. What does Ross mean by "folk depletion"? How general is the view held that folk depletion is occurring in the American countryside? Why is this matter one of profound importance to our national life?
20. Contrast the findings of Zimmerman and his associates with those of Gee and Runk as to whether rural migration is "chance selection" or whether it is "qualitatively selective." Is it wise to generalize nationally as to such tendencies revealed in studies which are only local in extent?

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CHAPTER XVII

THE FARMER'S STANDARD OF LIVING

The study of standards of living [1] among various classes of humankind, scattered over widely different geographical areas, has been an area of intense mental focus for several years past. The exploration continues with acceleration; so the presumption is that the discoveries thus far have been significant, and that the resources of the problem are still far from exhausted both in the determination of actual fact and in the analysis of accumulated data.

There is an old saying that "the proof of the pudding is in the eating." A companion quotation for purposes of introducing the problem under consideration is that of Goethe to the effect that "one must be something in order to accomplish something." The real meaning in life is in the various ways in which it finds expression—just where its emphases are placed. Does the individual and the class live on a low plane? If so, is it because he is incapable of living on a higher level? Moreover, in what measure is such incapacity one of inherent ability, of cultural heritage, or of actual material limitations? The determination of even an incomplete and largely unsatisfactory scale of measuring such factors makes for a more intelligent approach to the problem of providing a civilization that insures the largest amount of self-expression to all humankind. Such a provision becomes indispensable when it is considered that the standard of living on the part of individual and of group is the best measure possible of achievement within that individual or group. Such basic considerations as these in measuring human welfare lend unusual significance to the numerous efforts which are being made towards the assessment of just what human individuals are getting out of the lives which they are leading.

Several reviews of the literature bearing on standards of living have been made in recent years. The most recent of these is that of

[1] A considerable portion of this chapter is adapted from Gee, Wilson, and Stauffer, W. H. *Rural and Urban Living Standards in Virginia*. Century Co., 1929.

Kirkpatrick [1] in his volume on *The Farmer's Standard of Living.* This authority, who is the most extensive worker in this field of rural knowledge, limits his definition of "standard of living" to that of the family. He states that the term is "*the measured or the evaluated amounts of the different kinds and qualities of economic goods involved in meeting the physical and psychic needs and wants of the different individuals composing the family.*" He distinguishes the "standard of family life" as the measure of "*the satisfactions or values evolving from the acquisition and the use of goods and the use of time in the fulfilment of human wants.*"

Most definitions are arbitrary, and while such human exercises are necessary in defining a given area of knowledge, from their very nature the resulting definitions are unsatisfactory. The former definition involves the quantitative measurement of the various economic goods utilized in the pursuit of life on the part of a family and its component individuals. But no such body of data can have meaning except as they include the satisfactions of life derived from the use of these goods. Obviously the "standard of life" is much the more intangible, but it is the important phase of the picture which it is desired to visualize. Streighthoff,[2] another outstanding student of these problems, quite tactfully evades the restrictions of too clear cut definition, pointing out that the standard of living is the result of the two forces, environment, comprising time, income, and class, and individuality. He creates in a broad sort of way a normal standard of living, and characterizes it as "one which conduces to healthy symmetrical development, physical, mental and moral. The standard is properly counted ideally high in proportion as it achieves this end, and especially as its emphasis falls upon the intellectual and moral elements."

In addition to these terms there are several others which have been used in discussing the underlying problems. As Sims [3] points out, there is the term "a subsistence standard of living," which has been used to denote a scale of living embracing only the physical or animal needs of existence. "A comfort standard of living," and the term of the English economist, Alfred Marshall, "efficiency

[1] Kirkpatrick, E. L. *The Farmer's Standard of Living.* Century Co., 1928, pp. 15, 16.

[2] Streighthoff F. H. *The Standard of Living Among the Industrial People of America.* Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1911, p. 5.

[3] Sims, Newell L. *Elements of Rural Sociology.* Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1928, p. 488.

standard of life or living," are applied to a scale of expenditure that allows in some measure for needs of men as social creatures as well as for their mere animal requirements. Another term, "a standard of luxury," is used to describe a level of living in which all sorts of wants are indulged. These and a number of similar terms have been employed to designate degrees of deviation from the consciously or unconsciously assumed normal standard of which Streighthoff speaks.

In addition, as Lundquist and Carver[1] point out, among economists "standard of living" means something still more technical, and they say "definite." It includes all those things which the individual under discussion will insist on having before he will marry and undertake the support of a family. In other words, the individual's standard of living is of such importance to him that he will sacrifice his desire for a family before he will lower his standard of living, or will postpone marriage until his income will enable him to support a family according to his standard of living. Only those articles of consumption are technically a part of his standard of living which he prefers to marriage and for which he will actually postpone marriage indefinitely.

This is a sufficient statement of the case to indicate how pervasive are the ramifications of the influence of the standard of living among classes and individuals. Streighthoff[2] doubts whether there can be found a better criterion of character—or of culture—than how income is disbursed.

Of course writers from the earliest times have always been interested in how their fellow humankind have lived—what sort of houses they had, the kinds of clothes they wore, the diet which they consumed, the sort of work they did, and the forms of recreation which engaged their leisure and often other time, also. But statistical studies of family budgets date back to the work of Ernst Engel,[3] who, in 1857, on the basis of such data in LePlay's monumental *Les Ouvriers Européens*, and some material of his own collection, made a comparative study of the expenditure distributions in families of the lower, middle, and working classes in

[1] Lundquist, G. A., and Carver, T. N. *Principles of Rural Sociology*. Ginn and Co., 1927, p. 234.

[2] Streighthoff, F. H. *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

[3] Engel, Ernst. *Prussian Statistical Bureau Report*, No. 1857, p. 145. Table I. Engel republished his major studies in the *Proceedings* of the *International Journal de Statistique* for 1895 in a series of articles under the general title *Die Lebenskosten Belgischer Arbeiter-Familien früher und jetzt.*

Saxony. So full of meaning were the results that they have constituted a sort of guide and standard for subsequent studies.

It is worth while to give here one of the tables worked out by this statistician as a basis for the more complete visualization of the laws which he derived from his studies of the problem.

Based on such results, Engel deduced four laws which have been the starting points of succeeding discussions of the matter of standards of living. These were to the effect that:

1. As the income of a family increases, a smaller proportion is expended for food.

2. With an increase in family income, the percentage expended for clothing remains approximately the same.

3. For all of the incomes investigated, the percentage applied to rent, fuel, and light remains invariably the same.

4. With an increase in the family income, there is a constantly increasing expenditure for the cultural wants of life—education, health, recreation, etc.

TABLE 20

PROPORTIONATE EXPENDITURES ACCORDING TO ENGEL

ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE	PROPORTIONS OF THE EXPENDITURE OF THE FAMILY OF:		
	1 Workman with an Income of $225 to $300 a Year	2 Workman with an Income of $450 to $600	3 Middle-Class Person with an Income of $750 to $1,000
1. Food only	62.0 per cent	55.0 per cent	50.0 per cent
2. Clothing	16.0 per cent	18.0 per cent	18.0 per cent
3. Lodging	12.0 per cent	12.0 per cent	12.0 per cent
4. Light and fuel	5.0 per cent	5.0 per cent	5.0 per cent
5. Education	2.0 per cent	3.5 per cent	5.5 per cent
6. Legal protection	1.0 per cent	2.0 per cent	3.0 per cent
7. Care of health	1.0 per cent	2.0 per cent	3.0 per cent
8. Comfort and recreation	1.0 per cent	2.5 per cent	3.5 per cent
Total	100.0 per cent	100.0 per cent	100.0 per cent

Subsequent studies by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in 1874, 1885, and 1902, as well as those made by the United States Labor Commissioner, were focussed upon the objective of determining the wage level necessary to support the family of the average industrial worker. Cost of living studies were made by More in 1904, and by R. C. Chapin in 1907 for a few hundred families in New York City.

An outstanding analysis of the then existing data on standards of living among industrial people in America was made by F. H. Streighthoff, and published in 1911 as one of the Hart, Schaffner, and Marx prize essays. The analysis of this investigator, based largely on the objective data of other workers in the field, led him to the opinion that Engel's laws required considerable modification before they could be applied to American workingmen of the present time. Streighthoff's restatement of these is as follows:

"As the income increases:

1. The proportionate expenditure for food
   a. decreases for the country at large from 50 per cent to 37 per cent, but
   b. in New York City, it amounts to almost 45 per cent of the total outlay until an income of $1,000 is attained.
2. There is a strong tendency for the percentage of expenditure for clothing to increase.
3. Relative expenditures for housing
   a. remain about constant for the country at large, falling very slightly after $400 incomes have been reached, but
   b. decrease rapidly from 30 per cent, or more, to 16 per cent in New York City.
4. Proportionate expenditures for fuel and light decrease.
5. Expenditure for cultural wants increases absolutely and relatively."

Later more extensive studies in a number of widely differently located sections of the nation have served to make more complete the picture of industrial living standards, and have tended to confirm the modifications thus stated by Streighthoff, except in the particular that the percentage expenditure for rent has been found to decrease rapidly for the country at large, instead of the slight fall which he indicated as the characteristic trend.

Until recently the farm standards of living were in a comparatively neglected state of exploration. A substantial beginning in this direction was made by the pioneer study of E. L. Kirkpatrick *The Standard of Life in a Typical Section of Diversified Agriculture*, issued as a bulletin of the Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station in 1923. Since that time, the same authority, until recently a member of the staff of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Federal Bureau of Agricultural Economics, has either himself, or coöperatively through this branch of the

government and various state experiment stations, studied living conditions and costs among more than four thousand farm families. This great mass of information is appreciably augmented by studies of Taylor and Zimmerman [1] in North Carolina (1922), and Thaden[2] in Iowa (1926), Zimmerman and Black [3] in Minnesota (1927), Gee and Stauffer [4] in Virginia (1929) as well as a number of others completed and reported in progress It is significant to note the statement of Kirkpatrick [5] to the effect that the results of his extensive studies coincide with Streightheff's revisions, excepting the percentage for rent in New York City, when total expenditures are substituted for income.

The value of the large number of cost of living studies made among industrial groups by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, the National Industrial Conference Board, and other agencies has been a very practical one. They have served as a basis for the intelligent adjustment of minimum wage levels so as to provide at least an approach to satisfactory living standards. While the effect of the similar investigations among farm families, from the very nature of the situation involved, is not as yet discernible, the indirect effects are decidedly beneficial in illuminating an area of knowledge hitherto characterized by the extent of ignorance surrounding it.

A great deal of discussion, for example, has been provoked regarding the relation of the standard of living to the farm income. In discussing this problem, Sandersen [6] points out that "the ordinary view is that if we could but increase the farmer's income, his standard of living would automatically rise. From a purely monetary aspect this is doubtless true, that in a majority of cases increased income does result in a better standard of living. The real question, however, is whether increased income produces the higher standard of living or whether it is not merely a condition which makes possible the attainment of a higher standard, a standard previously recognized as desirable and which itself forms

[1] Zimmerman, C. C., and Taylor, C. C. *Economic and Social Conditions of North Carolina Farmers.* College of Agriculture, Raleigh, N. C., 1922.

[2] Thaden, J. F. *Standard of Living on Iowa Farms.* Iowa State College of Agriculture, Expt Sta. Bull. 238, August, 1926.

[3] Zimmerman, C. C., and Black, J. D *How Minnesota Farm Family Incomes Are Spent.* U. of Minnesota, Agric. Expt. Sta. Bull. 234, June, 1927.

[4] Gee, Wilson, and Stauffer, W H *Op cit.*

[5] Kirkpatrick, E. L. *The Farmer's Standard of Living,* p. 42.

[6] Sandersen, Dwight. "Farmers' Incomes and Living Standards." *Journal of Farm Economics,* Vol. VII, No. 1, 1925, pp. 47–48.

the stimulus for increasing the income. 'That standards were not, in the long run, determined by wages or other incomes, but that on the contrary standards were themselves the dynamic factor in influencing incomes—is the startling paradox to which all serious study of the subject leads,' is the conclusion of Dr. Devine, who is one of our best students of the subject in the field of wage industry." Such points of view, as abstract as they may seem at first glance, are extremely significant in their bearing. The traditional conservatism of the farmer is not likely to lead him into a reckless orgy of spending, out of keeping with his income. For him to do so, of course, would be disastrous. However, progress in civilization comes as a result of the creation of new and rational wants, and the establishment of such ideals in the farmer's mental horizon may well prove an often badly-needed incentive to increased intelligent effort in the operation of his business.

1. Rural Standards of Living

The most extensive study of farm standards of living is that of Kirkpatrick [1] which includes data regarding the expenditures of 2,886 white farm families from selected localities in eleven states during the years 1922–24. It was found that the average cost of the various goods and services used during a year by these families amounted to $1,598, distributed as follows among the major items. food, $659; clothing $235; use of house, $200; household operation, $213; household furnishings, $40; health, $61; life and health insurance $41; advancement, $105; personal goods and services $41; and for goods not readily classified, $3. "More than two-fifths, $684 worth, of the total value of all goods and services used by the 2,886 families were furnished by the farm. These goods and services included food $441, use of the house $200, and fuel $43 The rest of the food, $218 worth, and fuel, $42 worth, and all of the other goods and services were purchased. The purchased goods represented an annual expenditure of $914 per family." [2]

When the data are arranged regionally some interesting similarities and contrasts come to light. The accompanying table and chart show the lowest average annual expenditure, $1,551, to apply

[1] Kirkpatrick, E. L. *The Farmer's Standard of Living.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, Dept. Bull 1466, 1926

[2] Kirkpatrick, E. L. *Standards of Living* U of Wisconsin, Extension Service, Cir. 241, September, 1930, pp. 9–29.

in the Southern States, the highest, $1,692 characterizing the New England States.

TABLE 21

LIVING EXPENDITURES ACCORDING TO REGIONS [1]

GOODS AND SERVICES USED	NORTH CENTRAL STATES. 1,439 FAMILIES		SOUTHERN STATES. 1,130 FAMILIES		NEW ENGLAND STATES. 317 FAMILIES	
Total value	*$1,618*		*$1,551*		*$1,692*	
	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total
Food, including groceries	623	38.6	691	44.6	707	41.8
Clothing	232	14.4	242	15.6	221	13.1
Rent	233	11.4	156	10.1	204	12.0
Furnishings	44	2.7	194	2.3	36	2.1
Operation goods	219	13.6	36	12.5	255	15.1
(Fuel)	(88)	(5.5)	(66)	(4.3)	(139)	(8.2)
Maintenance of health	72	4.5	49	3.1	61	3.6
Advancement goods	102	6 4	104	6.7	113	7.0
Personal goods	42	2 6	37	2.4	51	3.0
Insurance, life and health	44	2.7	39	2.5	36	2.1
Unclassified	2	.1	3	.2	3	.2

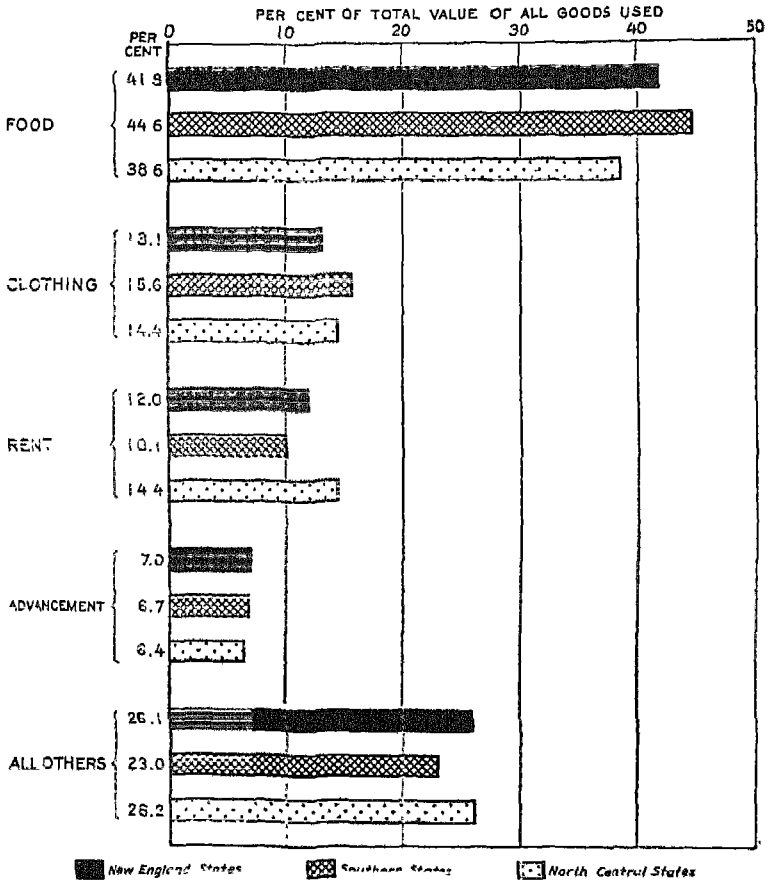
When arranged according to proportionate emphasis on the several items, it is found that the Southern farm families spend most largely for food, the New Englanders next, and the Middle Westerners least. In spite of the favorable climate, Southerners exceed in the percentage spent for clothes, the Middle Western farm families ranking next. A larger proportion of total expenditures goes to the use of house in the Middle Western States, and least in the milder climated South. New Englanders lead in the emphasis upon cultural advancement, followed closely by the South, though the differences in this respect are measured by fractional parts of one per cent. In the items of household operating expenses, health maintenance, personal goods and services, insurance and unclassified, the New England and Middle Western farm families are closely similar, with the South lagging somewhat in these items.

Some very interesting comparisons are brought out by Gee and Stauffer [2] in the study of Virginia farm families. (See Fig. 8.) The sample considered was divided into three groups: a prosperous,

[1] Kirkpatrick, U. of Wisconsin Extension Service, Circular 241, p. 18.
[2] Gee and Stauffer, *Op. cit.*, pp. 20–21.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AMONG THE PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS OF THE AVERAGE VALUE OF ALL GOODS USED PER FAMILY DURING ONE YEAR

FARM HOMES OF SELECTED LOCALITIES IN NEW ENGLAND, SOUTHERN, AND NORTH CENTRAL STATES, 1922-1924



NEW ENGLAND, 317 FAMILIES, TOTAL VALUE GOODS USED, $1,692
SOUTHERN, 1,130 FAMILIES, TOTAL VALUE GOODS USED, $1,551
NORTH CENTRAL, 1,432 FAMILIES, TOTAL VALUE GOODS USED, $1,613

FIGURE 7.

(Adapted from *The Farmer's Standard of Living*, Dept. Bull. 1466, U. S. Dept of Agriculture, 1926)

with living costs averaging annually $4,084; an intermediate, averaging $1,723; and a poor with total living costs at $892. The results are in accord with the laws as stated by Engel in that the upper group spends proportionately much less for food, and much more greatly for advancement purposes. However, in the matter of clothing and rent, there is seen to be a progressive proportionate increase as one goes up the scale of the expenditure groups.

TABLE 22

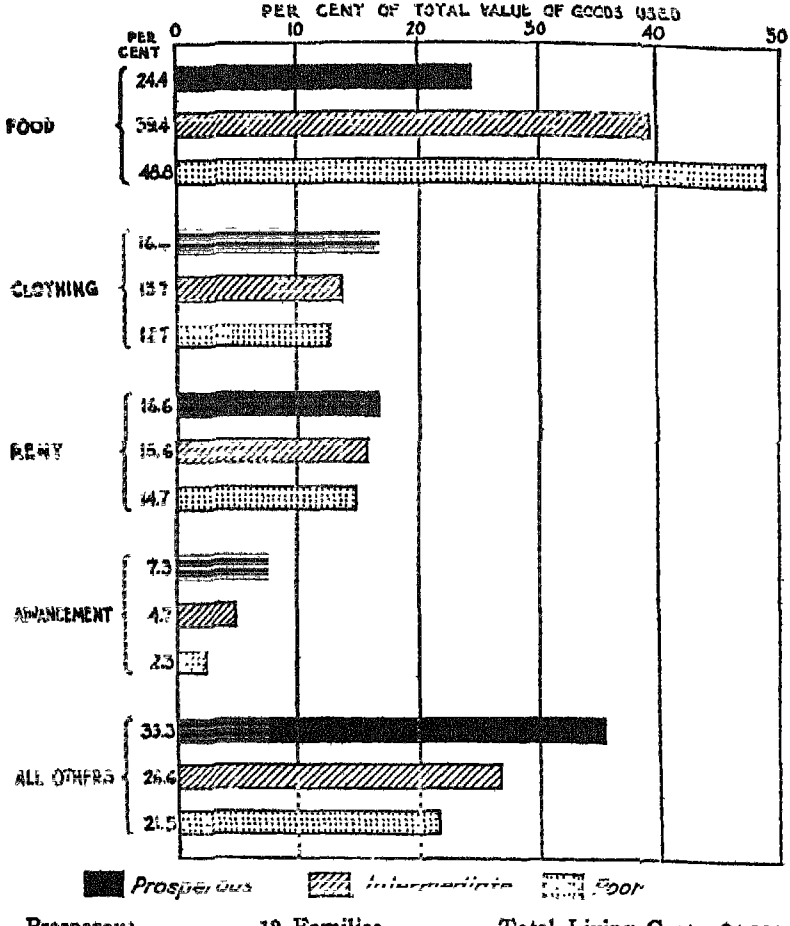
DISTRIBUTION OF LIVING COSTS PER FARM FAMILY ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE AND SOCIAL GROUPS [1]

ITEM	AMOUNT IN DOLLARS			PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION		
	Poor	Intermediate	Prosperous	Poor	Intermediate	Prosperous
Food	$435 31	$ 677 90	$ 994.63	48.80	39.35	24.35
Clothing	113.19	235.09	668 75	12.68	13.65	16.37
Rent	131.13	269.30	679.17	14.70	15.63	16.63
Household operating expenses	140.40	296.07	755.58	15.74	17.19	18.50
Household furnishings and equipment	5.95	26.34	78.33	0.44	1.47	1.92
Health	23.09	59.08	110.42	2.59	3.43	2.70
Personal	21.66	53.21	317.56	2.42	3.09	7.78
Advancement and recreation	20.30	31.41	297.79	2.28	4.73	7.29
Life and health insurance	3.11	25.16	182.08	0.35	1.46	4.46
Total	$892 03	$1,722.56	$4,084 30	100.00	100 00	100 00

"The minimum existence requirements of individuals living in a civilized world are an adequacy of food to sustain life, a sufficiency of clothing to meet the barest requirements of decency and a form of shelter appropriate to the climatic conditions of the area. In some parts of the world the items of shelter and clothing are matters of simple solution, if indeed they are met at all, and the requirement for food presents no problem greater than the need of expending what to us seems to be energy of a negligible sort. However, for people living in the temperate regions, the problems of satisfying these basic needs become more important, and the individual must exert himself for a considerable portion of his life in supplying himself therewith. Indeed, individuals who earn little

[1] Gee and Stauffer, *Op cit.*, p. 20.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LIVING COSTS PER FARM FAMILY ACCORDING TO PRINCIPAL ITEMS OF EXPENDITURE AND SOCIAL GROUPS



Prosperous,	12 Families,	Total Living Costs, $4,084
Intermediate,	85 Families,	Total Living Costs, $1,723
Poor,	40 Families,	Total Living Costs, $ 892

FIGURE 8.

(Source: Gee, Wilson, and Stauffer, W. H. *Rural and Urban Living Standards in Virginia.* Century Co., 1929.)

in the way of money frequently devote all of their physical energies to eking out a bare existence. As we progress upward in the economic scale and enter the ranks of those who are better off, we find that the energies of man are productive of more satisfactions than those embraced in the mere needs for existence. It is this emergence from the bare subsistence level that marks progress into those conditions of living that are more than simply tolerable." [1]

In the same study, Dr. Edith Hawley of the Bureau of Home Economics states that in the matters of nutritive value and the adequacy of the food consumed, "poor farm families consume more than enough for energy needs and protein requirements by from 31 to 59 per cent respectively, more calcium by 72 per cent, more phosphorus by 38 per cent, and more iron by 18 per cent than the normal requirement for good nutrition. The intermediate farm group shows an excess consumption of food even greater than poor farm families as tested by the standard of good nutrition, while prosperous farm families demonstrate equally marked excess over normal needs." [2] However, it is the opinion of Hawley that farm families report a 30 per cent higher food consumption than actually occurs, which considerably vitiates interesting deductions which might be made from these data. Farm families were found to need an increase of fruits and vegetables in their diet, and perhaps advantageously an increase in the use of whole-grain cereals. Undoubtedly, much waste of food occurs in rural families, the conservation of which might well operate to allow greater expenditures in other portions of the family budget At any rate, the conclusion is hazarded that the American farm family places more emphasis than is necessary upon the matter of food, economies and better balance in which can be effected with greater knowledge in such matters.

2. Farm, Village, and City Comparisons

The farm today as a place to live is in keen competition with the city and village. Hence, it is significant and interesting to compare the data on standards of living as they exist for these different places of residence. The studies in this field may be called little more than explorations, but they indicate contrasts which promise fruitfulness for further studies along these lines. The most complete picture of such a comparison is available for Virginia where

[1] Gee, Wilson, and Stauffer, W. H. *Op. cit.*, pp. 21–22. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

TABLE 23

THE AVERAGE VALUE OF FAMILY LIVING AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE VALUE AMONG THE PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF GOODS AND SERVICES, 104 WHITE FAMILIES OF CROZET, VIRGINIA, IN COMPARISON WITH FARM AND CITY FAMILIES OF VIRGINIA.

VILLAGE FAMILIES

	All 104		Poor, 22		Intermediate, 40		Prosperous, 42	
Total value	*$1 979*		*$1,121*		*$1 696*		*$2,655*	
	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total
Food, including groceries	511	25.9	427	36.7	521	30.7	545	20.6
Clothing	266	13.5	143	12.5	198	11 7	395	14.9
Rent (10% value of house)	393	20.1	169	14.5	337	19.8	571	21.5
Furnishings	78	4.0	108	9.3	69	4.0	73	2.7
Operation goods	337	17.1	179	15.4	296	17.5	460	17.3
Maintenance of health	82	4.2	39	3.4	118	7.0	69	2.6
Advancement goods	171	8.7	31	2.7	71	4.2	340	12.8
Personal goods	74	3.7	33	2.8	56	3.3	112	4.2
Insurance: life and health	52	2 7	19	1 6	30	1.8	90	3.4
Unclassified	3	.1	13	1.1	—	—	—	—
Size of family	3.7 persons		4.2 persons		4.1 persons		3.1 persons	
Size of household	4.2 persons		4.6 persons		4.5 persons		3.6 persons	

FARM FAMILIES

	All 137		Poor, 40		Intermediate, 85		Prosperous, 12	
Total cost or value	*$1 687*		*$892*		*$1,722*		*$4,034*	
	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total
Food, including groceries	635	37.6	435	48.8	678	39.4	995	24.3
Clothing	237	14.1	113	12.7	235	13.6	669	16.4
Rent (10% value of house)	265	15.7	131	14.7	269	15.6	679	16.6
Furnishings	24	1.4	4	.4	25	1.5	78	1.9
Operation goods	291	17.3	141	15.7	296	17.2	756	18.5
Maintenance of health	53	3.1	23	2.6	59	3.4	110	2.7
Advancement	83	4.9	20	2.3	81	4.7	298	7.3
Personal	67	4.0	22	2.4	53	3.1	317	7.8
Insurance: life and health	32	1.9	3	.4	26	1.5	182	4.5
Unclassified	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Size of family	4.5 persons		4.1 persons		4.7 persons		4.7 persons	
Size of household	5.1 persons		4.4 persons		5.2 persons		5.6 persons	

TABLE 23 (*Continued*)

	City Families							
	All, 140		Poor, 35		Intermediate, 78		Prosperous, 27	
Total cost or value	*$2,625*		*$977*		*$1 959*		*$3,771*	
	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total	Dollars	Per Cent of Total
Food, including groceries	566	21.5	366	37.5	565	28.8	860	12.7
Clothing	360	13.6	119	12 2	276	14 1	914	13.5
Rent (10% value of house)	488	18.5	161	16.5	332	16.9	1,365	20.2
Furnishings	78	3.0	19	1.9	56	2 9	220	3.2
Operation goods	503	19.1	158	16.1	361	18.6	1,355	20.0
Maintenance of health	103	3.9	38	3.9	90	4.6	223	3.2
Advancement	274	10.4	38	3.9	128	6.5	1,002	14.8
Personal	103	3.9	29	3.0	70	3.6	295	4.3
Insurance: life and health	160	6.1	49	5.0	78	4.0	539	8.0
Unclassified	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Size of family	4.8 persons		4.3 persons		4.9 persons		5.0 persons	
Size of household	5.2 persons		4.3 persons		5.1 persons		6.2 persons	

comparable data[1] are available for farm, city, and village families. Also, an excursion into this field has been made in Minnesota.[2]

The village element is the most recent part of the picture to be added in the Virginia study, and the accompanying table summarizes the data for the farm, village, and city families. In discussing the comparisons thus made possible, Kirkpatrick says in summary partly as follows: "From the standpoint of total costs or expenditures for all purposes, the *poor village families* appear to have had better living than did corresponding *farm or city families*. This applies to three of the principal groups of goods and services; namely, clothing, rent, furnishings and equipment, and household operation. In the matter of food they were on a par with farm families and in health maintenance and personal goods and services they were on a par with city families. Two items only in the household operation costs, fuel and the automobile, are comparable from the figures which are available. Poor village families spent $59 for

[1] Gee, Wilson, and Stauffer, W. H. *Rural and Urban Living Standards in Virginia.* Century Co., 1929; also Kirkpatrick, E. L., and Tough, Evelyn. *Standards of Living in the Village of Crozet, Virginia.* U. of Virginia Extension Series, Vol. XVI, No. 2, August, 1931.

[2] Zimmerman, C. C. *Incomes and Expenditures of Farm and City Families.* Bull. 255, U. of Minnesota, Agric. Expt. Sta., 1929.

fuel, compared to $61 and $67 for the poor farm and city families. They spent $82 for use of the automobile, compared to $43 and $30 spent by corresponding groups of farm and city families.

"*Intermediate village families* lived about as well as did *intermediate farm families*, but less well than did *intermediate city families*, if total cost or value of all goods and services is accepted as the measuring stick. Their expenditures for food, clothing, and advancement goods were considerably below expenditures for the same purposes by the other two intermediate groups. Their expenditures for household operation and personal goods and services and for life and health insurance were about the same as for the intermediate farm families, but considerably lower than for the intermediate city families. On the other hand their expenditure for rent was about the same as for the corresponding city families but higher than for the corresponding farm families. Expenditures for furnishings and equipment and for maintenance of health by these families were markedly lower than for either of the other two intermediate groups. For the two household operation items for which comparable figures are available, the intermediate village, farm, and city groups spent $66, $89, and $110 per family for fuel and $142, $137, and $80 per family for the automobile.

"*Prosperous village families* lived less well than did corresponding *farm* or *city families*, with expenditures for all purposes as an index of the standard of living. They spent less for all the principal groups of goods and services in both instances, except for advancement in comparison with the prosperous farm families. The difference is slight, however, with the expenditure for furnishings by the prosperous farm families. The prosperous village families spent the least for fuel, $102 per family, compared to $159 for the corresponding farm families and $263 for the corresponding city families. Also they spent less for use of the automobile, $168 per family, in comparison to $353 and $350 per family." [1]

In Minnesota, a comparison [2] was made of the living costs of the various occupational classes in the city with those incurred by the farm families. Eliminating the physiological expenditures, it was found that the farm family averaged $1,616 for investment and non-physiological purposes, whereas the urban families averaged $2,295. The farmers fared better than laborers, artisans, and widows and spinsters, groups comprising more than half of the city families, but

[1] Kirkpatrick, and Tough. *Op. cit.* [2] Zimmerman, C. C. *Op. cit.*

the higher expenditures of the clerical, professional, and business families brought the urban average much above that of the farm.

Such comparisons are justified and suggestive in many ways, but it is well to recall that the farm, the village, and the city are widely different to each other in many ways in matters that are not measurable or comparable Kirkpatrick and Tough point out in this connection that "farm family findings can not be applied in wholesale fashion to urban conditions. The surroundings and the plan or scheme of farm life differ from those of the city The surroundings and plan of village life fall somewhere between the farm and the city. The major satisfactions of farm life, and probably to a less extent village life, come from very different sources and are much less dependent on money income than are those of city life. The farmer has close at hand some of the things for which the villager or the urbanite is willing to pay well in time or money. On the other hand, the urban dweller is sometimes envied by the farmer or villager for his more ready access to some of the sources of the so-called advancement goods and services. In all comparisons one must keep in mind that farm, village and city modes of living 'in many ways, are fundamentally different and that psychological processes and effects are not possible of measurement in such manner as to permit of absolute (or even satisfactory) comparisons.'" [1]

3. Improving Farm Living Standards

In interpreting the conclusions of the 1930 session of the American Country Life Conference held at Madison, Wisconsin, and dealing with the problem of farm standards of living Carl Taylor tells us in part that "upon one thing there has seemed to be unity of convictions in all discussions, namely: That it is no longer particularly fruitful to argue about which is the most important, the qualitative or the quantitative measures of the rural standard of living. We have gone forward with unconscious, common consent that we are driving a two-horse team in our task of developing better rural standards of living. One-horse is better and more adequate farm income. The other horse is the better ways of rural life. The artists, poets and recreation specialists have made their contributions with a full recognition of the fact that physical labor and net farm income are mundane essentials if rural life is

[1] Kirkpatrick, and Tough. *Op. cit.*

to avail itself of those things which are not indigenous to the soil, and thus cannot be furnished by the farm itself. The farm economists, technical agriculturists and farm organization people have frankly assumed and asserted that a satisfying and adequate rural life is the ultimate goal of their endeavors, even though their day by day task bid them work upon scientific production and better income. Our task is to attack, directly, the elements, processes, technologies and techniques by which we, day by day, work and play and live in the open country and engage in the occupation and business of farming." [1]

With this point of view, the author is in thorough agreement. The farm standard of living is a term summing up the measure of adequacy or of the fullness of life on the American farm. To be more explicit every principle and problem of farm life discussed in this comprehensive volume focusses directly or indirectly upon the standard of living. Better farm management, better business methods, an improved physical environment, higher grade rural people, better community organization, better government, and better institutional life in their total effect make this thing which we call the standard of living of individual, community, and nation. By understanding each of the separate phases of the rural problem, and improving it, we are raising the standard of living. Where any one of these is allowed to decline instead of advance living standards are so much impoverished.

Black says that "much time has been spent, considerable of it wasted, trying to settle the question as to whether in practice a higher income means a higher plane of living. The studies show that, on the average, larger incomes and higher expenditures on living are found on the same farms. But *there is absolutely no evidence in this as to which caused the other*. A reasonable assumption would be that the two grew rather closely together, sometimes one leading a little and sometimes the other " [2]

Social heredity is a great factor in determining standards of living. Families with an established traditional emphasis on the higher things of life often will manage a modest total expenditure so that the satisfactions derived from life are much greater than those secured by other families with higher incomes. The farmer's

[1] Taylor, C. C., in "Standards of Living." *Proceedings*, Thirteenth National Country Life Conference. U. of Chicago Press, 1930. p. 15.

[2] Black, J. D., in "Standards of Living." *Proceedings*, Thirteenth American Country Life Conference, p. 64.

lag is not so much in the matter of basic requirements of food, clothing, and shelter. The main deficiencies are in the realm of advancement and cultural expenditures. Undoubtedly, if the emphasis in the ideals of farm family living can be developed more in terms of the fundamental importance of these phases of life, economy in things less essential can make a larger place for them in the family budget. Many a farm family today economizes desperately in clothes, personal items, and other things in order that a son or daughter may go to college. In the total result to society they are not hurt by the severe ordeal. A considerable rearrangement along such lines needs to be made and can be made in farm family living.

QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the term "standard of living," and what is the significance of the concept?
2. Differentiate among "a subsistence standard of living," "a comfort or efficiency standard of living," and "a standard of luxury." In what still more technical sense do some economists use the term "standard of living"?
3. Give Ernst Engel's laws with regard to family living expenditures.
4. What modifications in these were found by Streighthoff to exist in his analysis of all data up to 1911 on standards of living among industrial people in America?
5. How do the results of Kirkpatrick on rural standards of living compare with the findings of Streighthoff among industrial people?
6. Discuss the validity of the statement that "the real question, however, is whether increased income produces the higher standard of living or whether it is not merely a condition which makes possible the attainment of a higher standard, a standard previously recognized as desirable and which itself forms the stimulus for increasing the income."
7. Where the average annual cost of the various goods and services used by 2,886 farm families in selected localities of eleven states is $1,508, what amount goes to the satisfaction of primary wants—food, clothing, and shelter—and what amount is devoted to advancement purposes?
8. By means of Table 19 and Figure 7 in the text, point out the more striking differences in the proportionate emphases in living expenditures among farm families in the New England, Southern, and North Central States.
9. Compare "poor," "intermediate," and "prosperous" Virginia farm families as to actual and proportionate expenditures for food, clothing, rent, household furnishings and equipment, and advancement and recreation.
10. Does the American farmer seem to place too much emphasis on food? What improvements should be made in the farm family diet according to the findings of Hawley as reported in the Virginia study of Gee and Stauffer?
11. Give a general comparative picture of living standards in Virginia among "poor village" and "poor farm" and "poor city" families.

12. Make a similar comparison in the case of "intermediate village" families in Virginia with the corresponding farm and city families.
13. How do "prosperous village" families in Virginia live as compared with "prosperous farm" and "prosperous city" families?
14. What does a study of standards of living among rural families and various occupational classes in cities in Minnesota show as to comparative adequacy?
15. Why is it true that "farm family findings can not be applied in wholesale fashion to urban conditions"?
16. Give Carl Taylor's reasons for saying that "it is no longer particularly fruitful to argue about which is the most important, the qualitative or the quantitative measures of the rural standard of living."
17. In what sense may it be said that every principle and problem of farm life discussed in this comprehensive volume is either directly or indirectly related to the standard of living?
18. Discuss "social heredity" as an important factor in determining standards of living, showing how some families on a comparatively small income and expenditure really live better than some families with a large income and expenditure.
19. Give the main deficiencies in the farmer's standard of living. To what general extent might it be possible for the farmer to live better on the same income by rearranging somewhat the emphases on the several items of expenditure, *e.g.*, to place less stress on food and to reduce waste in that connection?
20. Suggest some methods by which, in your opinion, it is possible to improve standards of living on the American farm.

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

1. GALPIN, C. J *Rural Social Problems.* Century Company, 1924, Chapter III, pp 33–50, "The Farmer's Standard of Living."
2. STREIGHTHOFF, F. H. *The Standard of Living among the Industrial People of America* Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1911, Chapter I, pp. 1–8, "The Standard of Living"; and Chapter II, pp. 9–28, "Family Expenditures."
3. KIRKPATRICK, E. L. *The Farmer's Standard of Living.* Century Company, 1929, Chapter IV, pp. 46–78, "The Prevailing Standard of Living of Farm Families", and Chapter XI, pp. 202–241, "Factors Which Condition the Standard of Living."
4. KIRKPATRICK, E. L. *Standards of Living.* The Extension Service of the College of Agriculture, the University of Wisconsin and the American Country Life Association for the 1930 Country Life Conference, Circular 241, September, 1930, pp. 1–79.
5. GEE, WILSON, and STAUFFER, W. H. *Rural-Urban Living Standards in Virginia.* Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, Monograph No. 6, Century Company, 1929, Chapter II, pp. 16–43, "Farm Living Standards."
6. TAYLOR, C. C. *Rural Sociology.* Harper and Brothers, 1926, Chapter VI, pp. 108–130, "The Rural Standard of Living."

CHAPTER XVIII

RURAL HEALTH

It is generally conceded that the country is an environment naturally more conducive to health than the urban environment. Plenty of fresh air, the possibility of wholesome food in abundant quantities, the absence of population congestion, outdoor work, and the freedom from noise all are factors contributing in this direction However, health is best conserved where there are sanitary provisions,—such as sewage and garbage disposal, effective quarantine measures, and like benefits inuring from public health organizations—doctors, nurses, and hospital facilities. In such matters the country is woefully behind the cities, and the situation is having its telling effects.

A report [1] from the United States Public Health Service shows that the annual death rates for the period from 1900–24 was appreciably lower in the rural than in the urban parts of the registration area for vital statistics. However, during this time, the decline in death rate has been greater among the urban than among the rural population The following tabular arrangement on a basis of death rates per 1,000 of the population shows the average annual rates for the first five and the last five years of the

	1900-1904	1920-1924	Decline
Cities (10,000 population and over)	17.74	13.00	4.74
Rural (open country and villages and towns of less than 10,000)	14.25	11.25	3.00
Difference	3.49	1.75	1.72

period. The same authority concludes that "the greater decline in the urban rate probably has been due mainly to the better progress in sanitation and in more efficient health service in the cities with populations over 50,000. The age factor may have operated to

[1] Lumsden, L. L. "Coöperative Rural Health Work of the Public Health Service in the Fiscal Year 1927." *Public Health Reports*, Treasury Dept., Vol 42, No. 42, October, 1927

some extent because the drift of population from country to city presumably involves the young more than it does the old." Such facts reveal the lag of the rural districts in these important concerns and serve to emphasize the need of more efficient health service in these sections of the nation.

The diminishing supply of country doctors is a situation widely deplored throughout the nation, and has met with the serious consideration of the organized medical profession. The young, well-trained doctor today seeks the city where there are hospitals with modern equipment, where there is a more accessible clientele, and where the opportunity for specialization is available. "Taking the country as a whole, 63 per cent of the physicians are located in cities and towns of 5,000 or more population. But these 1,467 places include a little less than half our total population. Thus the 14,225 incorporated places of less than 5,000 inhabitants, together with all the rural territory and including more than half our population, have only 37 per cent of the doctors." [1] Moreover, the country doctor is usually fifty years of age or over and often out of step with modern medical methods. Some distressing situations occur as a result of this shortage of doctors. For example, in the same article, Dr. Cumming tells us that in a Montana county, 5,500 square miles in area, there are only three doctors and no hospital. In the same area two-thirds of the mothers endure the trying ordeal of child-birth without medical care. Forty Kentucky counties have been discovered to be without adequate medical service, at least one county being without a single doctor. As many as 127 small villages in Minnesota report the lack of a doctor. In the Dakotas, several counties were entirely without doctors, and conditions are about as bad in many other states. Dr. W. S. Rankin, formerly health officer of North Carolina, is authority for the statement that 750,000 women, or about one-third of the 2,500,000 bearing children annually, do not have medical attention at child-birth and the depressing picture might be continued at great length.

1. Rural-Urban Comparisons

In answer to the question as to which is the healthier, the rural or the urban population, one of the best sets of data is that supplied

[1] Cumming, Hugh S. *The Country Gentleman*, Nov. 22, 1924, p. 17.

by the Federal War Department in its report [1] on the operation of the selective service system during the recent World War. From the cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Seattle, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and New Orleans, a sample of 100,000 registrants was selected; and one of similar dimensions for the rural areas was taken from all states, using only boards having less than 1,200 registrants. The results show "that a considerable physical advantage accrues to the boy reared in the country." With regard to the physical standards of qualification the report states that those "adopted at first for the selective service were based on those used by the Army under the volunteer system, though differing therefrom in some particulars. It was soon found that these standards were too severe. In time of peace, when the supply of volunteers ordinarily exceeds the demand, a high physical standard may be exacted. When a necessity exists for great numbers, many minor physical defects must perforce be waived, in order to secure the requisite man power." [2]

The records show that 83.11 per cent of the rural sample qualified for service, whereas 78 32 per cent of the urban met the physical qualifications; or to express it differently and in the terms of the report, 21.68 per cent of the 100,000 urban sample were rejected, as over against 16 89 per cent for the rural sample of equal size. With regard to the causes for physical rejection, the city led in disqualifying defects due to alcohol and drugs, developmental, ears, eyes, flat foot, genito-urinary (venereal), hernia, nervous and mental disorders, respiratory (tuberculous), while the country showed higher rates in disqualifying defects of bones and joints, digestive system, genito-urinary (non-venereal), heart and blood vessels, mental deficiency, respiratory (non-tuberculous), skin, teeth, and thyroid.

If we may credit the results of data compiled by Wood for more than 500,000 school children, the rural child shows a pronouncedly greater proportion of physical defects than does the urban child of school age. His results are as shown on page 347 [3]

The picture presented is a pitiful one for the rural child, indicating a marked advantage for the city in every count. Sorokin and

[1] *Second Report of the Provost Marshal General to the Secretary of War on the Operations of the Selective Service System to December 20, 1918* Government Printing Office, Washington, 1919, pp. 159 and 419.

[2] *Ibid.*, p 151.

[3] Wood T. D. *Health Essentials for Rural School Children*, p. 4.

Zimmerman [1] strongly contest the reliability of Wood's findings stating that they are "rather dogmatic and based on data of a somewhat mysterious character." These authorities studied the comparative data concerning 1,800,000 children from the standpoints of the percentages of urban and rural children that had defects, and of the kinds of defects predominating among the

PER CENT OF CHILDREN SHOWING DEFECTS

TYPE OF DISEASE	CITY	RURAL	TYPE OF DISEASE	CITY	RURAL
Heart disease	.40	.74	Breathing defects	2.1	4.2
Mental defects	.20	.8	Ear defects	1.28	4.78
Lung defects	.32	1.25	Enlarged glands	2.7	6.4
Anaemia	1.5	1 65	Malnutrition	7.65	16.6
Unclean	.17	1.7	Eye defects	13.43	21
Skin disease	3.3	3.53	Adenoids	12 5	23.4
Curvature	.13	3.3	Tonsil defects	16.42	28.14
			Teeth defects	33.58	48.8

urban and rural children. They say that the results "do not permit any definite conclusion in favor of the city or the country," and continue if "we turn to numerous local studies, and to the kind and per cent of specific defects of urban and rural children, the conclusion is in no way unfavorable to the rural children. At the worst, they are to be recognized as healthy, at least, as the urban children."

While there are no diseases which are peculiar to the rural sections, there are some which occur there in considerably larger proportions than in the urban environment. Among these predominantly are malarial fever, typhoid fever, hookworm and dysentery, caused by the lack of sanitation in and about many rural homes; pellagra, caused largely by dietary deficiencies, and the diseases of old age.[2] In an extensive review of the literature regarding the comparative diffusion of important diseases in the country and city, not only in the United States but among many leading European countries, Sorokin and Zimmerman conclude that the health of the rural population is somewhat better than that of the urban population. Their findings in summary are as follows:

[1] Sorokin, P., and Zimmerman, C. C. *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, Henry Holt, 1929, pp. 144–145.

[2] Gillette, J. M. *Rural Sociology* (Revised Edition). Macmillan, 1928, p. 152.

1. In spite of some differences from country to country (for instance Italian peasants are at a greater disadvantage than English farmers in respective comparisons with the city populations of these countries) certain important diseases, part of which may have an influence on posterity, such as tuberculosis and diseases of the lungs, syphilis and important venereal diseases, alcoholism and drug addiction, tabes dorsalis and progressive paralysis, organic heart diseases, arteriosclerosis cancer, and several other malignant tumors, nephritis, and Bright's disease are more common within the urban populations. Further, teeth defects, obesity, underweight, errors of refraction, diseases of digestive organs, and diabetes mellitus are also more common within the city than the country populations. As the majority of these diseases compose practically the most important of the constitutional diseases, and are influential in regard to posterity; this mere fact is quite sufficient for the claim that the health of the rural population is no worse, and, more correctly, is somewhat better than that of the urban population.

2 Pellagra and a few other relatively unimportant and not widely spread diseases are more common within the rural population

3. The majority of the infectious diseases, puerperal and other child-bearing diseases, hernia, and enlarged inguinal rings, defects of the eye, ear, trunk, upper and lower extremities, rheumatic diseases, tonsilitis, goiter and so on, are distributed, on the whole, rather evenly between the classes studied.

4. The above generalizations and the data of "wholesale disability and sickness" make us think that, on the whole, the country population and the agricultural class is still healthier than the city population or the majority of the big occupational classes of the city.

5. As in all preceding items, the urban population, in its upper and lower classes, exhibits enormous contrasts which seem to be much greater than the contrasts within the rural population. "London shows greater extremes of excellence and superiority" but "the worst in London are lower than the worst elsewhere." This may be said generally of city health compared with country health.

6. As these conclusions agree perfectly with the results of anthropometric measurements and the medical examinations of armies and recruits, and with other fundamental sources for study of the comparative health of the rural-urban populations, they add still more to the validity of the conclusions.[1]

In the matter of sanitation, however, no good case can be made for the rural sections as compared with the urban. Kirkpatrick [2] found that if the criteria of central heating and central lighting systems, and running hot and cold water, including sewage disposal, for kitchen, bath and toilet uses be considered as determining a

[1] Sorokin, and Zimmerman. *Op. cit.*, pp. 169–170.

[2] Kirkpatrick, E. L. *The Farmer's Standard of Living.* Century Co., 1929, pp. 134–138.

completely modern home, and the not modern as entirely lacking any of these facilities, approximately 84 per cent of the homes studied in three representative Southern States were not modern. The corresponding figures for four North Central States was 73 per cent, and for four New England States, 41 per cent. Only 2 per cent of the Southern farm homes were completely modern, 8 per cent of the North Central and 9 per cent of the New England A more recent study made by the General Federation of Women's Clubs in approximately 40,000 farm homes in twenty-eight states shows only 17 per cent with flush toilets. "The use of screens to keep out flies, mosquitoes and the like is unquestionably one of the housing needs of farm families. Screens appear to be used quite universally on the doors and windows of farm-houses of most farming localities. The study made by the General Federation of Women's Clubs (1926) shows 86.5 per cent of almost 40,000 homes screened. Of the 1,000 Nebraska farm homes studied by Rankin (1923), 95 per cent reported screens on windows and doors. Also, one half of the back porches and one-sixth of the front porches were reported screened. Von Tungeln reports 80 per cent of 400 farm-houses studied in Cedar County, Iowa (1923), fitted with screens. The results of a recent study of 1,000 North Carolina farm homes by Taylor and Zimmerman show a different picture with regard to screening. Almost 65 per cent of all the homes of white families and 91 per cent of all the homes of colored families were without screens on doors and windows. It is worthy of note, however, that less than 2 per cent of these 1,000 homes had each a central heating system, a central lighting system and running hot or cold water, and none of them were completely modern." [1]

While conditions have improved somewhat since 1914–16, the United States Public Health Service in those years studied sanitary conditions in rural homes located in fourteen states. The findings were as follows: "Without toilets of any kind, 31.5 per cent; with unsanitary privies, 67.2; with grossly unsanitary disposal of human excreta, 98.2; with sanitary privies or sewer systems, 1.6; with water supply regarded as unsafe, 63.5; without screening of doors or windows, 40.7. In Union County, Mississippi, 73.8 per cent of the country homes were without toilet of any kind and in Orange County, North Carolina, about 68 per cent. Over 95 per cent of rural privies in Dallas County, Iowa, were unsanitary and in a

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

number of other counties the situation was as bad. Rural Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, and Alabama ranged from 60 to 80 per cent of homes without screens." [1]

2. The Situation in Two Rural Counties

Two recent intensive studies [2] have been made of the extent of sickness and health facilities in rural areas of Ohio and New York. In the Ohio county, of 884 people who were interviewed, 43 per cent had been ill during the year. A larger percentage of the females were ill than of the males, but part of the difference was due to child-bearing. The chief causes of illness were mumps, colds and grippe, accidents, child-birth, whooping cough, chronic rheumatism, influenza and indigestion, to name the first eight. The epidemic infections group gave most cases, the respiratory group second, and the digestive group third. In 72 per cent of these cases some medical resource outside of the family was called into use.

In New York State, it was found that those residing on farms had 0.173 cases of sickness per capita, which indicates a considerably healthier condition than in Ohio, and the average length of sickness, excluding accidents and confinements for child-birth, was approximately four days. In order of greatest incidence, the leading causes were found to be influenza, confinements, accidents, stomach trouble, rheumatism, removal of tonsils and adenoids; colds and pneumonia and measles, tying for eighth place

In both the Ohio and New York counties, hospital facilities were available Four-fifths of the people in Cortland County reported no difficulty in getting a physician; however, one-fifth did experience such difficulty. "In general the physician's charges are fairly reasonable considering the distances traveled. However, the cost for those farms more than five miles distant is so great as to deter the employment of one except when absolutely necessary." The average expenditure for medical services and facilities for the farm families averaged $41.65 per family, or 5 7 per cent of the total annual expenditures The aggregate of this figure multiplied by the farm families in the county, and the total of the considerably higher per family figure in the villages leads Sanderson to say that

[1] Gillette, J M. *Rural Sociology* (Revised Edition). Macmillan, 1928, p. 148.
[2] Lively, C E., and Beck, P. G. *The Rural Health Facilities of Ross County, Ohio.* Ohio Agric. Expt. Sta. Bull. 412, October, 1927.
Sanderson, Dwight. *A Survey of Sickness in Rural Areas in Cortland County.* Cornell University, Agric. Expt. Sta., Memoir 112, March, 1928.

"the question may well be raised whether it would not be a good investment for the people of Cortland County to support a county health department, with a competent medical officer in charge who could study the health needs of the rural towns, and with a sufficient number of public health nurses adequately to cover the county."

In the Ohio county, the average expenditure per rural family for health service was $39.29. Such expenditures were found to be proportionately greater the higher the economic group. The average cost of the physicians' visits to the home was $4.14, and the average distance from a physician about 5 miles. In some areas of the county, the nearest doctor was 12 miles away. It was noted that physicians were becoming increasingly urban in location, a factor which increased the cost of medical care and due to poor communicative facilities and bad roads, preventing the use of the automobile, doctors are more difficult to secure in the rural homes. Country people used the hospital only in the extreme cases. With them the practical nurse was customarily sought instead of the graduate nurse. The use of patent medicines was found to be extensive, 18.5 per cent of the total health service expenditures going to unprescribed drugs and remedies. Ross County has a combination city-county district with a full-time health commissioner and a health nurse, but their task is far from a completed one. Lively and Beck say that "it is evident that much systematic and sound health education is needed throughout the county. Health practices, generally, appear to be much below the best accepted standards of today. The assumption that health education tends to put the physician out of business is apparently not borne out by the facts, though it is probably true that health education tends to change the nature of the physician's function. It is more probable that where ignorance prevails the patent medicine salesman puts the physician out of business. It is altogether likely that the best relationship between physician and layman occurs when the health intelligence differential is not great, that is, when the physician is health expert and the patient is intelligent coöperator. If this be true it is to be hoped that the good work of the Ross County health commissioner and his staff may be greatly extended to reach more effectively both adults and school children."

While the situation is far from satisfactory in these two areas,

if we might have studies of other counties in locations even more typically rural, it would be little short of desperate and distressing. If the remedy of such conditions does not appeal from the standpoint of humanity, it should be made to appeal from that of the economic loss. Wandel in a recent study of the rural health problem in Virginia under the direction of the author states that at a conservative estimate the annual loss in rural Virginia due to deaths from preventable diseases, and sickness from such diseases amounts to approximately 14 millions of dollars An investment of somewhat more than a million dollars in the health service of the state he tells us would go a long way towards reducing this enormous loss. The method of calculation and the process of reasoning accompanying it make the following quotation a significant one:

> Preventive diseases, in addition to bringing with them misery and unhappiness to thousands, also entail a large money loss to rural Virginia. This cost may, within certain bounds, be measured. We may consider at least five causes of death to be preventable or controllable through the exercise of public health activities and public health education: typhoid fever, tuberculosis, smallpox, malaria, and diarrhea and dysentery to those under two years of age. In 1928 these causes resulted, in rural Virginia alone, in the deaths of 534 white men, 525 white women, 537 colored men and 561 colored women. Should we assume that each white man would have attained a maximum earning capacity of $1,000 at one time in his life, then, using tables worked out by Dublin and Lotka (*The Money Value of a Man*, New York, 1930), we find that their deaths entailed an economic loss, that is, the excess of earnings over cost of maintenance, of not less than $2,747,150. If in addition we should assume that the white women and colored men have an economic value one-half that of white men, and that the colored women have a value one-third that of white men, we will find that the economic loss due to deaths has been raised to $7,505,238. To measure money loss due to sickness we may assume an average annual wage of $900 for white men, $450 for white women and colored men, and $300 for colored women, and by eliminating all those not of wage earning age and by adding on a similarly conservative basis modest estimates of cost of care and doctor's bills, we may augment our estimated annual economic loss to the startling sum of $13,837,560. This may properly be considered a conservative figure. There is also an unmeasurable loss arising out of decreased efficiency in the cases of diseases in which no disablement results and that due to decreased longevity. This latter type of loss is particularly common to tuberculosis. These losses, while not susceptible to exact calculation, must nevertheless be acknowledged to be of serious proportions. An economic loss of this magnitude among our rural population alone and for but a limited number of causes is certainly sufficient

reason to pause to consider in what ways and by what methods preventive action may be taken.[1]

3. Control Measures

In a consideration of measures by means of which to mitigate the defects of the rural health situation, a difficulty is confronted in the diffuseness of the farm population and in the intense individualism of the farmer. In a city or town, scavenger service for the removal of garbage is a practical undertaking; in the country, the expense would be prohibitory, and it is often dumped in the pig pen or elsewhere near the premises to breed flies and conditions that tend to incubate disease-producing germs. A municipality can economically provide supplies of pure water, and for sanitary sewage disposal In the country, these problems are ones for the individual farmer, and compulsion in such matters still awaits a more generally enlightened public sentiment. The municipality attracts the physician; today he shies at the country How may such conditions be improved? Partly through educative processes, and partly by providing more adequate health facilities. The former is best accomplished through the county health unit in coöperation with the schools, and the latter through rural hospitalization, and organized effort on the part of communities to attract physicians of ability and character.

1. *The County Health Unit.*—The first county health unit was organized in Yakima County, Washington, in 1911. In 1930, there were 505 counties in 37 different states, supplying local health service to about 24 per cent of the rural population of the United States. When it is noted that there are in this country about 2,500 counties or districts comparable to counties wholly or in considerable part rural to which local health service under the direction of whole-time county or local district health officers is applicable and in which such service would be highly advantageous, it becomes clear that such work has only made a well-established start. From an experiment in environmental sanitation it has advanced to a well-developed program reaching all phases in which a public health service should engage in a county. "The full-time county health unit plan has passed through the period of skepticism and doubt, when the soundness of its principles was questioned by

[1] Wandel, W. H. *Rural Public Health in Virginia.* Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, Richmond, 1931 pp. 1-35.

business men and it was looked upon as a fad by the uninformed general public. It has come at least to be considered an absolute necessity for every progressive rural community and is recognized as a sound business enterprise which, when conducted properly, will pay greater dividends on the capital invested than any other investment to which the public may subscribe." [1]

So important an agency is it in rural health improvement that it is well to give in detail the activities of a county health unit. These are compactly set forth in a publication of the United States Public Health Service as follows:

Activities of a County Health Department

All of the activities outlined herein rarely can be conducted in any one county, owing to limited funds and personnel. Every activity mentioned, however, is now being conducted by some county health departments. During the first years especially, the health officer should concentrate on the most important of his problems rather than dissipate his efforts in too many directions.

The county and State health authorities should agree upon a health program to be undertaken, the general guides being (a) the relative importance and the relative preventability of the disease or group of diseases, (b) the conjectural value of those health activities not directed specifically against particular diseases, and (c) the psychological response of the people to the service.

Health Education

The primary duty of the county health department is to interest and educate the people of the county in matters pertaining to the cause and prevention of communicable diseases and the possibilities for community health promotion. This is accomplished by—

1. *Public addresses*, using, where desirable, illustrations with lantern slides, charts, models, or motion pictures;

2. *Educational literature* furnished by the Public Health Service, the State health department, and other public health agencies dealing with various phases of health conservation;

3. *News articles* in the press of the county relating to the work of the health department and to general health subjects;

4. *Public health exhibits* at county and community fairs, public schools, and such other places as may be practicable.

5. *Other educational methods* to interest and inform the people in the importance of health protection.

In the execution of the above, and all other phases of health work, the health officer should enlist the support and coöperation of all available organizations and agencies.

[1] Foard, F. T. "The County Health Unit of Yesterday and Today." *Public Health Reports*, U. S. Public Health Service, Vol 46, No. 17, April 24, 1931, p 970.

Control of Acute Communicable Diseases

Prompt and efficient measures of communicable disease control are conducted. These include the following:

1. *Reports of cases,* and suspected cases, of notifiable diseases are secured from physicians, school authorities, and heads of households. In general, the completeness of morbidity reports will vary directly with the intelligent use made of them by the health department.

2. *Quarantine and isolation procedures* are enforced as required by law

3. *Epidemiological investigations* are made to determine the source of disease as a basis for its elimination Every primary case of smallpox, diphtheria, scarlet fever, typhoid fever, poliomyelitis and cerebrospinal meningitis should be visited by the health officer *in person* whenever possible for this purpose.

4. *Home visits* are made by the nurses to give instruction to the household in the prevention of the spread of disease.

5. *Office records and a spot map* are kept to show the current and past prevalence of communicable diseases.

6. *Consultations are held with attending physicians* relative to cases of communicable disease whenever there may be difference of opinion as to the diagnosis

7. *Free immunizations* are done for educational and demonstrational purposes in the prevention of smallpox, typhoid fever, and diphtheria An harmonious understanding of this matter should first be had with the local medical profession and the coöperation of its members be secured.

8. *Biologics,* when distributed free by the State health department may be handled by the county health office, or the county health officer should see that these biologics are kept under proper conditions and in sufficient quantities for the needs of the county.

Laboratory Work

Either State or local laboratory facilities should be provided to aid in the diagnosis of communicable diseases and to control water and milk supplies. It is especially desirable to have a laboratory in connection with the county health department when State laboratory facilities are not located so as to be available for prompt service.

Venereal Disease Control

1. Educational measures for the promotion of social hygiene are conducted by all practical and usual methods.

2. The health department provides or sees to it that adequate treatment is provided for all persons infected with a venereal disease who are unable to pay a private physician for this service. Arsphenamine should be furnished without cost to any physician in the county for the treatment of indigent patients.

3. The health department should coöperate with the agencies primarily responsible for law enforcement and should take the initiative in mobilizing public sentiment to enact or enforce necessary legal measures.

Tuberculosis Control

1. An educational campaign is conducted concerning tuberculosis prevention. This is done especially in the schools and will include classes, lantern slides, moving pictures, suitable literature on the subject, instruction in personal hygiene, and other effective methods.

2. Reports are secured in so far as possible of all persons in the county who are suffering from tuberculosis.

3. Diagnostic clinics are held in coöperation with the local medical profession for the examination of tuberculosis suspects.

4. Visits are made by the nurses to the homes where cases of tuberculosis exist, to give the patient and the household such nursing instruction as will enable them to utilize to best advantage the treatment prescribed by their physician; and to advise with them concerning those sanitary precautions necessary for the prevention of the spread of the disease to others. Efforts should be made to secure sanitarium care of tuberculosis cases, especially for open cases of the disease, and if sanitarium facilities are not available, special efforts should be made to provide proper home care of patients.

5. Physical examinations of the school children will be made with the view of discovering potential and early cases, and of preventing cases by efforts designed to improve child health.

Control of Special Diseases

Such diseases as malaria, hookworm disease, or trachoma offer special problems in many counties. In such cases appropriate additions should be made to the general health program. One of these diseases may be of sufficient importance to justify the major effort of the health department to be directed against it for considerable periods of time.

Malaria.—Prior to the institution of malaria control work it is necessary—

1. To secure knowledge of the prevalence of the disease and of malaria-carrying mosquitoes, not only for the county as a whole but for the various localities in the county (towns, townships, or school districts). This knowledge may be determined by a mosquito survey, blood and spleen examinations, history of attacks among school children, and reports from physicians.

2. To formulate a definite and practical program for malaria control both in urban and rural areas.

3. To educate the public by all available means as to the nature and extent of the problem and the measures necessary for its solution.

Malaria control procedures vary greatly, but in general they include one or more of the following:

1. Eradication of mosquitoes by drainage, use of larvicides, or fish.

2. Preventing the infection of mosquitoes and of man by screening and by prophylactic doses of quinine to man.

3. Curing cases and carriers of malaria by thorough treatment, using the standard method of quinine administration.

Hookworm disease.—Knowledge of the prevalence of this disease, gained by examination of feces, and the education of the public form the basis for a control program. This program is directed towards—

1. Sanitary disposal of excreta in rural districts by means of sanitary privies to prevent dissemination of the disease.

2. Cure of existing cases by administration of antihelmenthics to eliminate sources of infection.

Trachoma.—Where this disease is prevalent, the cure of existing cases by surgical treatment offers the best method of eradicating it. Special assistance from the State or from the United States Public Health Service often may be secured in conducting trachoma clinics and in establishing temporary hospital facilities needed for the patients.

Sanitation

Provision of safe public water and milk supplies, and of sanitary methods of excreta and sewage disposal constitutes a primary duty of any health department, and concerted efforts to secure these sanitary essentials ordinarily will precede all other activities except immediate measures for the control of communicable diseases.

1. *Towns.*—The health department will make a sanitary survey of all towns in the county with particular reference to the source and safety of the water supply, the methods of excreta disposal, the safety of the public milk supplies, and the general sanitary conditions of the towns.

The services of the State sanitary engineer should be available for aiding the health officer in the solution of municipal water and sewage problems. Efforts are made to have any insanitary conditions corrected by the education of the public and by adoption and enforcement of necessary laws or ordinances. A special effort will be made by the health officer to secure the installation of sanitary privies at those places where connection with a sewerage system is impracticable.

The provision of safe public milk supplies should be assured by the adoption and enforcement of model milk ordinances. Sanitary inspections are made of dairies, milk depots, and food establishments to see that proper sanitary conditions prevail.

2. *Schools.*—In addition to making an annual sanitary survey of all schools in the county, the health officer should make a persistent effort to induce the school boards to provide a safe supply of drinking water, sanitary toilets or water-closets, adequate light and ventilation, and such other facilities at each school as are needed properly to safeguard the health of the pupils.

3. *Rural homes.*—Improvements in the sanitary condition of rural homes will be accomplished by educating the individual householder to the need for a sanitary privy, a safe water supply, and adequate screening. Supervision and assistance should be given in the construction of rural sanitary privies.

4. *Public buildings.*—Periodic inspection should be made of public buildings and institutions in the county and recommendations made to responsible authorities for correction of any insanitary conditions.

Child Hygiene

1. *Prenatal, infant, and preschool hygiene.*—Mid-wives are instructed and supervised; home visits are made by the nurse; and mothers' classes are held to give individual and group instruction in the diet and care of babies, the importance of prenatal medical care and hygiene, and the importance of birth registration. Baby conferences are held in various parts of the county, in coöperation with the local physicians, where examinations are made to detect physical and dietary defects and to encourage their correction. A general educational campaign is conducted in regard to the various phases of child hygiene.

2. *School hygiene.*—Physical examinations are made of all school children in the county, except where parents do not desire this service Parents and school authorities are notified concerning defects found, and home visits are made by the nurse to urge that the family physician or dentist be consulted concerning correction of defects. For those children whose parents are unable to pay for medical treatment in the correction of defects, arrangements should be made, preferably through the local medical profession. whereby corrective treatment may be secured. Nutrition classes are held and mothers are instructed regarding the proper diet and food for children. The serving of hot lunches and milk in schools is promoted.

Other Activities

1. Complete registration of vital statistics in the county is promoted or maintained by investigation of conditions, by coöperation with local registrars, physicians, and the public, and, where necessary, by law enforcement.

2. In some States the county health officer is required to perform the duties of county physician to the poor. Except in the smaller counties this is not a desirable arrangement.

3. Miscellaneous medical examinations sometimes are performed, including examinations for marriage license, for children's work certificates, for teachers' certificates, for admission to insane institutions, etc.

4. Periodic health examinations are encouraged and may be performed to some extent by the health officer.

5. Industrial hygiene problems may present themselves for solution in some counties.

6. Accident prevention and safety campaigns may be conducted or promoted by the health department.

7. Mental hygiene, a problem of great and growing importance, should be a concern of the health officer, although at present little or nothing is being done by county health departments toward its solution.

8. Records of all activities of the county health department are kept on suitable forms, and reports are made as required by State regulations. These reports include current, weekly or monthly, reports of communi-

cable diseases to the State health department and should include monthly and annual financial, statistical, and narrative reports to the local and State authorities.[1]

The minimum personnel of such a unit should consist of a full-time medical health officer, one nurse or sanitary inspector, and an office clerk. It is much more effective to have both a sanitary officer and a nurse. The larger units have more nurses and inspectors, and sometimes include a dentist, sanitary engineer, nutrition worker, bacteriologist with laboratory, etc. The minimum cost for such an organization is usually placed at about $10,000, though the larger units are much more costly. It has been found as a general proposition that 50 cents per capita per annum furnishes a county with reasonably adequate health service. The health unit is usually provided suitable office facilities in the courthouse or some other central location. Supervision of the work is provided by the state health department, and the financing is cared for in a number of states by joint state and county appropriations. Obviously, the support of the county board of supervisors or commissioners is necessary to establish the organization. In counties where the largest town or city does not exceed 50,000 in population, it has been found economical and efficient to combine the county and city health departments into a single unit under one administrative health officer.

2 *Rural Hospitals.*—Attention has already been directed to the fact that the young doctor today is accustomed to the facilities provided by a modern hospital, and that he gravitates to centers where these things are available. Then if well-equipped hospitals, at well-determined locations, are made available to the rural areas of the nation, it is to be expected that the acute problems of doctor shortage and hospital shortage will be solved at one and the same time.

In this connection it is well to state that a poor hospital, inadequately equipped, with inexperienced, bungling surgeons is worse than no hospital. However, it has been clearly demonstrated that community hospitals, serving a sufficiently large constituency, render an inestimable service to rural people, and townsfolk as well, and attract a high grade personnel to the staff of the institution.

The following sketch of a very successful hospital of the type

[1] Parran, Thomas Jr. "Coöperative County Health Work." *U. S Public Health Reports*, Vol. 40, No. 20, May 15, 1925, pp. 987–992.

under consideration illustrates well what may be done in considerable measure in almost every section of the nation, and it may be added what is coming about widely in the United States today, proving a boon to all people within the sphere of their influence.

The Rockingham Memorial Hospital

The Rockingham Memorial Hospital is a splendid example of a high grade county hospital, located in the county seat and serving in a most efficient way both the rural and urban people of the county. The institution is in the city of Harrisonburg, in the heart of the beautiful Shenandoah Valley, easily one of the prettiest towns in the South. The 1920 Census gives Harrisonburg a population of about 6,000, and Rockingham County proper is credited with approximately 30,000 rural inhabitants. The citizenship is rather uniformly a substantial one—thrifty, intelligent, prosperous, and educated much above the average.

Through several years prior to 1908, a number of forward-looking Rockingham citizens, both men and women, began agitating the need of a hospital in this section. As with all such movements, there soon came forward expressions of opposition to such an undertaking. However, the sentiment in its favor grew under the strong advocacy of its friends, so that in July, 1908, a number of representative citizens of the town of Harrisonburg and the County of Rockingham met for the purpose of effecting an organization looking to the establishing of a hospital. This aim was realized on the twenty-third of that month when about one hundred citizens formally made application for a charter of incorporation with the name set forth as The Rockingham Memorial Hospital.

The charter was granted, and the first meeting of the body creating the hospital resulted in the election of the first Board of Trustees as follows: J. Wilton, President; T. N. Haas, Vice-President; Dr. J. M. Biedler, Secretary and Treasurer; W. J. Dingledine, Dr. T. O. Jones, George E. Sipe, Layton B. Yancey, E. U. Hoenshel, John S. Funk, Walter B. Yount, and John H. Hoover. On October 27th, 1908, the charter was approved, and immediate steps were taken to procure the necessary funds to build the first unit of the hospital. These efforts were greatly encouraged by the terms of the will of W. G. Leake, a resident of the town of Harrisonburg, which stipulated that the proceeds of his estate should be used for the purpose of aiding in the building of a hospital. This estate having been made available at once for this purpose by friendly agencies, a beautiful site was purchased and the plans made for the main building.

On October 1, 1912, the hospital was opened for the reception of patients. This occasion was marked by a reception entered into heartily by the officials of the town and county with many friends gathered to do honor to the event. A special feature of the opening exercises was the perfecting of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Hospital that was to prove as the years passed the strong right arm of the institution. Their first

public service was the splendid luncheon provided at this opening ceremony.

As the hospital progressed and its aims and usefulness became better understood, many friends rallied to its support. From time to time, a few of these have remembered it in their wills, so that through these years of its history, bequests amounting to well towards $100,000 have been provided in that way. This sum, together with other gifts, has been used in enlarging the hospital and for the most modern and commodious Nurse's Home in this part of the State.

Naturally, the demand on the part of the public for hospital services taxed the institution from time to time to accommodate its patients From 236 patients treated during its first year, the growth has been steady until there was cared for in 1925, 2,043 patients. While the hospital has multiplied its friends many times over during its short life, there have been strenuous times financially in its history. Through much of its existence the income was not sufficient to meet the operating expenses. However, the ever increasing patronage and friendly cooperation on the part of the public has made the balance finally fall on the right side of the ledger. This has been true in spite of the large amount of charity services the hospital was forced to render, even though there has never been a charity ward nor any endowment for such purposes.

During the first year of the hospital's operations the School of Nursing was established, with an enrollment at the start of seven pupils With the growth and enlargement of the hospital, the school has increased accordingly and now maintains an enrollment of 32 pupils. The course of study conforms to the requirements of the State in all respects and its graduates have rendered signal services both in institutional work and in the public nursing fields

The management of the hospital continues in the hands of its Board of Trustees who give freely of their time to its care and interests. The Board consists of active, representative business men of the city and county, thus bringing to the institution the best possible organization for efficient and economical administration.

About two years ago, the State Board of Health feeling the need of a branch laboratory in the Valley, coöperated with the hospital in the establishment of its laboratory. This coöperative service has been of inestimable value to both the hospital proper and the public generally throughout this section of the State. The laboratory's public health work is free. These free examinations not only include the usual things, such as diphtheria and tuberculosis, but also blood cultures, agglutination work, and special bacteriological tests of various kinds. As a result of this arrangement the population of Rockingham County and surrounding counties, receive laboratory work of a character that otherwise would be impossible.

The laboratory is in charge of a well trained technician, who has had extensive experience both in a hospital and public health work With the help of a competent assistant the capacity for services in this laboratory are unexcelled in the state.

The establishment of the laboratory, together with the increased equipment of the various departments of the hospital, makes the Rockingham Memorial eligible to membership in the American College of Surgeons, and the final steps to that end are now being taken by the medical staff of the hospital.

It is worthy of note that the hospital maintains an open medical staff, thus permitting all physicians of the city, county, and surrounding territory to practice in the hospital, and to bring their patients there for treatment.

Splendid as the accomplishments of the Rockingham Memorial Hospital have been to this time—both in the care and restoration of the sick patients attended in the hospital and its work as a public health agency for the community—there stands out in bold relief an even greater institution in the near future, for the prevention of disease as well as for curative surgical and medical service. Surely it is time for hospitals, at least the county hospitals, to realize their responsibility to the community in which they are located for the prevention of disease and the promotion of health. The county hospital is really the only organization which has the equipment necessary for this purpose. For prevention work, such a hospital as the Rockingham Memorial with its laboratory facilities, has everything for coöperative work with public health nurses and county health boards. With the additional buildings now in sight, it is not too much to hope that there will soon be a department for the prevention of disease at the Rockingham Memorial Hospital, where a special study will be made of community sanitation, housing conditions, and the control of communicable diseases. The further possibility is a dispensary, or clinic with suitable quarters to serve as an "out-patient" department. Such plans would also provide for the medical care of many indigent citizens who are now unable to get such attention. Furthermore, such clinics keep the medical staff thoroughly abreast of the times in their work. Dental clinics also for children and others, too, will then be possible. Since these dental clinics are being recognized everywhere as a part of the welfare work of most communities, they could not be conducted anywhere quite as well as at the County Hospital. The management of the Rockingham Memorial Hospital has a broad vision of its opportunities and responsibilities towards the health interest of the rural sections of the region it serves, and as means and facilities are provided is entering into this field in a large sort of way.[1]

There are a number of advantages in having rural hospitals, many of which are apparent on first thought. The principal ones[2] may be enumerated as follows:

[1] Gee, Wilson. *Some of the Best Things in Rural Virginia.* U. of Virginia Record, Extension Series, Vol. X, No. 9, 1926, pp. 45–49.

[2] Nason, W. C. *Rural Hospitals.* Farmers' Bull. No. 1485, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1926.

(1) *Transportation difficulties are overcome.*—In times of emergency, to await an ambulance from a remote city hospital, or to undergo a long trip on train, is dangerous and often fatal. With a hospital conveniently located, this difficulty is largely overcome. (2) *A reduction in costs.*—It has been found that including the transportation expenses, city hospitals, because of the costly and intricate equipment, expensive buildings and grounds, cost more than the rural hospital and such savings are important to the farmer who more often than not has a limited income. (3) *Personal attention is given the patient.*—In a smaller community, the relationships are less impersonal. The patient is known to the doctor, and, also, relatives and friends are sufficiently close to visit him during the days of convalescence. (4) *Follow-up work is made practical.*—The patient will be able during the stages of convalescence to come in at regular intervals for observation, necessary treatment, and advice This is often expensive and impracticable when the hospital is in a remote city. (5) *Its health education and disease prevention values.*—Among the most important of the advantages of the community hospital is that it brings together a group of competent medical men and nurses who serve the surrounding countryside, not only directly, but also by creating a community consciousness and information regarding improved health conditions

3. *Community Doctors.*—"Always, and everywhere, the people of the towns have among them a substantially greater number of physicians than has an equal rural population. Such has been the situation in this country for fifty years back, beyond which our figures do not go; such is the situation today in all foreign countries for which figures are readily available, and presumably, to an equal extent in countries for which they are not available.

"Manifestly this cardinal feature of the distribution of physicians bears no relation to the need for medical service; for on the basis of need, a given rural population, thinly scattered over an area served only by difficult roads, would require a substantially greater number of physicians than an equal population in a compact urban settlement. Similarly, among the rural areas themselves, the sparser the area, and the worse the conditions of travel, the more doctors are needed; whereas in fact, as is well known, the fewer doctors there are found. What determines the distribution of physicians between town and country under the régime of in-

dividualism in medical practice is not the relative need for medical service but the relative attractions of the several towns, villages and rural locations as possible fields for the practice of medicine." [1]

Moore [2] quotes with approval the analysis of a writer in the *American Medical Journal* to the effect that "the reasons why the country doctor will not stay in the country are these: the inadequate fees, the bad roads, the hard work, lack of hospital accommodations, insufficient opportunities, but above all the lack of loyalty on the part of his patients."

The following two advertisements appearing in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* illustrate the plight in which many small villages and the surrounding countryside find themselves today:

> WANTED.—Married physician; yearly practice $8,000, in one of the richest sections of Iowa; bank deposits, $1,250,000; town about 500; good housing facilities; will introduce a good man well. (This is sponsored and signed by a state bank.)
>
> WANTED.—Physician, $6,000 to $10,000 first year, unopposed; in small town; wealthy farming community; good roads; five miles from modern hospital facilities; office intact; community in dire need of good physician on account of recent death of long-time physician.[3]

In neighboring Canada, rural Saskatchewan, where there are governmental units known as rural municipalities, has faced this problem and is solving it by the "municipal doctor" system. In 1930, twenty rural communities levied taxes of $7 to $10 per family to engage the services of full-time physicians at annual salaries ranging from $3,000 to $5,000 and both physicians and communities participating regard the system favorably [4] "Municipal doctors declare that patients seem to be more willing now than formerly to ask for the services of the resident physician. Of seven municipal doctors expressing their opinions in personal interviews, all believe that the doctor is called as often as necessary" Also, "the physicians declare that there is no special tendency on the part of patients to ask the doctor to make house calls in the country for

[1] Mayers, L., and Harrison, L. V. *The Distribution of Physicians in the United States.* Gen. Education Board, N. Y., 1924, pp. 3–4

[2] Moore, H H *American Medicine and the People's Health.* Appleton, 1927, p. 516.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 524

[4] See Rorem, C R. *The "Municipal Doctor" System in Rural Saskatchewan,* abstract of Publication No. 11, the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, Washington, D. C., 1931.

insignificant illnesses or conditions." In many of these communities, the municipal doctors also act as health officers. It is especially significant to note that although this system had its beginnings as far back as 1921, no community which has adopted it has returned to the private practice basis. It may reasonably be expected that as the rural doctor shortage becomes more acute in rural communities the results of this experiment will become more generally adopted. Of course the organization of rural government in Saskatchewan favors the application of the plan; and the absence of such rural municipalities in this country—a situation discussed in a subsequent chapter—is a distinctly retarding factor in its practical adoption.

QUESTIONS

1. In what ways is the country environment more conducive to health than the urban environment?
2. Give the comparative rural and urban death rates per 1,000 of the population, and the trend in this regard from 1900 to 1924. How do you account for the greater decline in the death rate among the city population?
3. Describe the diminishing supply of country doctors throughout the nation, and the resulting health situation.
4. What does the report of the Provost Marshal General on the operations of the selective service system during the World War show as to the comparative physical deficiencies among the country and city registrants?
5. Discuss the figures of Wood on the percentages of city children and country children showing defects. What do Sorokin and Zimmerman report as their findings regarding this same matter?
6. Are there any diseases peculiar to the country? Name the diseases which predominate in the rural environment in contrast with the urban.
7. What principal conclusions do Sorokin and Zimmerman draw as to the comparative health of the rural and urban portions of our population?
8. Describe the sanitary conditions in rural sections of the United States as revealed by some of the surveys considering that phase of our national life
9. What significant conclusions may be drawn from the studies of the health situation in Ross County Ohio, and in Cortland County, New York?
10. Using the estimates of Wandel in Virginia as to the financial losses from preventable disease in the rural sections of that commonwealth, show where it is good economy for a state and its units of local government to provide public health facilities for all of its rural inhabitants.
11. Name some of the difficulties in the way of mitigating the deficiencies of the rural health situation which the city does not encounter in its similar program.
12. When and where was the first county health unit organized? What was

the extent of such organizations among the rural counties of the United States in 1930?

13. Describe the "health education" activities of a county health department.
14. What rôle does such a unit play in the control of acute communicable diseases? in the control of special diseases such as malaria and hookworm? with regard to improved sanitation? Mention some of the other activities of such a public health department
15. Give the minimum personnel of a county health unit and the cost of such service. What coöperative arrangement may be effected between the country and city in a county where the largest municipality does not exceed 50,000 in population?
16. What is meant by a "rural hospital"? Why is it important to have good standards of efficiency for such institutions?
17. Name five advantages which rural hospitals have over the similar institutions of the more remote city.
18. Describe the work of the Rockingham Memorial Hospital as illustrating the possibilities of a rural hospital.
19. What do the two advertisements cited in the text from a leading national medical journal indicate as to the situation confronting many rural communities and small towns throughout the United States in the matter of medical facilities?
20. Explain the operation of the "municipal doctor" system in rural Saskatchewan. How satisfactory are the results? What governmental arrangement not now found in the United States exists there favoring the development of the plan?

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1. Nason, W. C. *Rural Hospitals.* Farmers' Bulletin No. 1485, United States Department of Agriculture, 1926, pp. 1–46.
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3. Binder, R. M. *Health and Social Progress* Prentice-Hall, 1920, Chapter II, pp. 15–31, "Meaning of Health."
4. Gillette, J. M. *Rural Sociology.* The Macmillan Company, 1928, Chapter VIII, pp. 137–170, "Rural Health and Sanitation."
5. Sorokin, P., and Zimmerman, C. C. *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology.* Henry Holt and Company, 1929, Chapter V, pp. 143–156, "Comparative Health of Rural and Urban Populations"; and Chapter VI, pp. 157–170, "Predominant Diseases of the City and Country."
6. Wood, A. E. *Community Problems.* Century Company, 1928, Chapter XII, pp. 219–233, "Public Health Activities of State and Federal Governments."
7. Moore, H. H. *American Medicine and the People's Health.* D Appleton and Company, 1927, Chapter VI, pp. 100–129, "The Inability of the People to Pay the Cost of Medical Service"; and Chapter XIX, pp. 342–356, "Probable Next Steps."

CHAPTER XIX

RURAL RECREATION AND ART

As a class, farmers have learned the place of work in the scheme of life, but the lessons of play have been too largely neglected. And, undoubtedly the failure to provide for the expression of the play desires of country youth has been one of the fundamental factors in the restless surge of rural humanity to the cities. In discussing the specific and powerful socializing effects of play, Gillin and Blackmar say that "releasing the pent-up emotions and the stress and strain of vocational effort, breaking up the monotony of life incident to close confinement to a task, and stimulating the age-long impulses to active physical or mental activity, play opens up the fountains of human nature and gives opportunity to the passion of self-expression in pleasant contact with one's fellows in the delightful land of make-believe, where the actual failures of life are forgotten in the successes of the game, and where all things become possible. Moreover, with the stimulation of the emotions it makes possible relationships which, under different circumstances, could not be formed. It provides that fellowship which builds attachments bridging over into the serious business of life, and which lies at the basis of democracy. It breaks down the reserve by which we shut ourselves off from each other for self-defense in the ordinary business relationships of life. By stirring the emotions it lifts us over national and cultural barriers and levels for us race prejudices."[1]

While the seasonal changes bring marked differences in farming activities at varying periods of the year, still year after year a certain monotony develops in the occupation. Man's emotional life is reacted upon by his environment to a greater degree than we are accustomed to think; and the farmer as well as the city man benefits in recreative effects secured from a visit completely away from his accustomed haunts, glimpsing new scenes, new faces, and different ways of life. His life is more often than not one of comparative

[1] Gillin, J. L., and Blackmar, F. W. *Outlines of Sociology*. Macmillan, 1930, p. 361.

isolation, and his morale and outlook on life is best sustained by more neighborly visiting than he is accustomed to do, and by the refreshing effects of community gatherings, whether amateur plays, picnics, church, or the like.

Hoffer [1] says that there are four distinctive characteristics of the recreational activities of rural people. The first of these is the influence which farm work has upon these activities. When the busy season is on, recreational activities are largely neglected. "The fall and late spring or early summer appear to be the periods when the festive spirit runs high. In the autumn fairs, exhibits and entertainments of various kinds are held. In the spring and early summer picnics are popular and numerous." Such extreme variations from season to season make a well-organized recreational program a difficult matter And it must be remembered that there are always the livestock to be watered and fed, cows to be milked, and other chores calling for unremitting care if severe loss is to be avoided. These conditions make it difficult for the farmer to get away entirely without his economic interests suffering to some extent. A second characteristic is that the rural environment provides fewer forms of commercial recreation than does the urban environment, which makes it necessary in large measure that the forms of rural recreation must be created by the people themselves. There are many decided advantages in this characteristic, making for a greater wholesomeness in recreational activities. Ross notes the developmental trend along these lines, calling attention to the dangers of too great a commercialization of amusement and recreation. In this connection he says: "Formerly young folk's fun was not catered, but was self-made, home-made, church-made, or school-made. In the home there was the inevitable chaperonage of the old folks amiably looking on. Entertainments held in the school-house ordinarily were supervised by the teacher and, in any case, the school trustees were in the background as board of censors. Other social gatherings were sponsored by the church, or by some daughter organization. Now, the habit of contenting one's self with amateur amusement is dying out. In a word, as never before, recreation is being supplied for money. The danger of this is that commercial recreation tends to become a means for the economic and moral exploitation of the young. It is in the nature of play and amusement to tend upward or tend

[1] Hoffer, C. R. *Introduction to Rural Sociology.* R. R. Smith, 1930, pp. 123–128.

downward. In case they are catered and without regulation, they tend downward, because more money can be extracted from young people by offering them the high-flavored, the *risque*, the sensational than by offering them the pure and elevating. The conscience of the individual amusement-caterer is well-nigh a negligible factor, for if he is restrained by scruples he will be forced out of business by a less scrupulous rival."[1] A third characteristic of rural recreation is the limited number of people in any given age group in a rural community. This prevents desirable specialization and competition in many games. Then, as a fourth characteristic of rural recreational activities is their dependence upon local leaders, too often untrained or lacking entirely, in order that the play of farm youth may be properly directed. Altogether there are as many or more deficiencies in the rural recreational situation than there are advantages, and we return to the original contention that more attention must be given to this phase of rural life if boys and girls are to have the satisfactions which it is desirable for them to have from life in the country, and the valuable lessons derived from wholesome play with each other.

1. The Farmer's Leisure and Its Use

There is something else to life besides the business of making a living. It is the necessary time, understanding, and inclination to enjoy that life in a measurable degree. While it is true that a good part of a person's time must be devoted to work, it is possible to derive a large measure of satisfaction in living from the sense of accomplishment of worth while work. But "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," hence the striving on the part of human society to see that through greater efficiency an increasingly larger amount of leisure is available to every citizen. And this applies to the farmer as well as to the city man. While there have been no adequate studies of the farmer's leisure time and his use of the same, some data are beginning to be accumulated along these lines. We know that his work day is a long one, often measured by labor from "sun to sun" and then some additional. A study [2] of 2,886 farm families in selected localities in eleven states indicates that the average length of work day was found to be 11.4 hours for

[1] Ross, E. A. *Principles of Sociology*. Century Co., 1920, pp. 466–467.
[2] Kirkpatrick, E. L. *The Farmer's Standard of Living*. Century Co., 1929, pp 223–227.

home-makers and 11.3 hours for operators as a yearly average. This average excluded time spent at meals and in reading or other rest during the day. "A study was made of the relation of the length of work day of the home-maker to the prevailing standard of living for the 2,886 families. The records were sorted into nine groups, starting with 15.5 hours or more per day and dropping by one hour steps to 8.4 hours or less per day. The average value of all family living goods increased only slightly with a decrease in the length of work day from 15.5 hours or more to 8.4 hours or less per day. This increase was most pronounced in the average values of advancement goods and all other goods. Indication of a more significant relationship was evident in the percentage that the average value of advancement goods formed of the average values of all goods used. Also, the average size of family decreased from 5 1 persons to 3.8 persons, with a reduction in the hours of work per day from 15 5 and over to 8.4 and less. This is indicative of a higher standard of living among the families in which the home-maker works less hours per day, to the extent that the slightly larger amounts of goods available were shared by fewer persons per family on the average A similar classification of the records from the standpoint of the operator showed practically no relation between the length of the work day and the prevailing standard of living. The average number of persons per family remained almost constant or varied without regard to the average number of hours of work per day of the operator."

Excluding Sundays, the home-makers averaged 2.7 hours per day spent in rest or relaxation (including reading) during the afternoon, as well as in rest or recreation (including reading) between the completion of the day's work and the time of retiring. The corresponding rest period for the operator was 2.6 hours per day. Some indication was found of a higher standard of living in the families where the home-maker rested a larger number of hours than the average, largely due to the fact that the size of the family was smaller, and the practically constant amounts of goods were used by less persons per family.

About three-fourths of the families studied had no vacation away from their work, the other fourth averaging about 13 days of time off for both the home-maker and the operator. "The average value of all goods rose slightly, although not regularly, as the days of vacation increased from none to thirty and over. At the

same time the percentage for advancement goods increased roughly from 6.4 to 11.9 per cent."[1]

In Virginia, Gee and Stauffer [2] studied the utilization of time on Virginia farms for three groups of farmers, characterized as the poor, the intermediate, and the prosperous. The working time varied negligibly for farmers of the three groups, averaging between twelve and thirteen hours in the summer months, and slightly more than ten in the winter ones The average was 11.2 hours per day. "These seemingly long hours must be modified with the statement that they hardly represent a continuous period of intense labor, even allowing for meal interruptions. Allowance for such factors as independence of action permitting interruption of work, time consumed in 'resting spells' and in going to and from the field are essential if we attempt to compare the working hours of farmers with those of city workers." There seemed to be little difference in the hours of work per day reported for farmers and for home-makers, principally the wives of farmers. Their duties, while unlike in nature, are time-consuming in approximately equal measure. This finding agrees substantially with those of Kirkpatrick to which attention has already been directed

It was observed that families enjoying relatively higher living standards devoted more time to reading than those below them, and that as we ascend the scale of living we find greater diversity in the reading matter and more of it in the case of particular families. The data in Table 24 on hours spent in reading per week represent the combined reading time of the farmer and his wife or homemaker. In the poor group, an average of slightly more than six hours per family was devoted to reading. Farmers in the intermediate group average above 50 per cent more reading than those in the poor group, with ten hours weekly devoted to this form of recreational activity. It is among the prosperous families, as we should expect, that reading comes to be an almost universal custom. Families of this group spend on the average nearly nineteen hours weekly in reading, which is almost twice the amount of time spent by the intermediate group, and slightly more than three times as much time as poor families devote to this subject.

Visiting friends and neighbors in a social manner is customary

[1] Kirkpatrick, E. L. *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

[2] Gee, Wilson, and Stauffer, W. H. *Rural and Urban Living Standards in Virginia.* Century Co., 1929, pp. 61–68.

TABLE 24

UTILIZATION OF TIME OF VIRGINIA FARM FAMILIES[1]

	Hours in Working Day		Hours Spent in Reading per Week	Visiting in Community per Month	Trips to Town by Family per Month	Trips for Pleasure or Rest per Year	Entertainment	
	Summer	Winter					At Home	Outside Home
Poor	12.0	10.0	6.3	5% none at all 2% less than once 41% once 52% twice or more	3.7 times	77% none 19% one 4% two or more	90% rarely 10% occasionally	95% rarely 5% occasionally
Intermediate	12.6	10.5	10.1	2% none at all 6% less than once 36% once 56% twice or more	6.4 times	62% none 25% one 13% two or more	66% rarely 28% occasionally 6% frequently	74% rarely 20% occasionally 6% frequently
Prosperous	12.8	10.3	19.9	42% once 58% twice or more	8.5 times	17% none 24% one 59% two or more	16% rarely 25% occasionally 59% frequently	25% rarely 33% occasionally 42% frequently

[1] Source: Gee, Wilson, and Stauffer, W H. *Rural and Urban Living Standards in Virginia*. Century Co., 1929, p. 63.

in the three living standard groups, and to approximately the same extent. A comparatively negligible percentage of the poor and intermediate groups report no regular visiting at all, but even here it will be found that in most instances the failure to do so is not so much due to lack of desire, but is rather the result of restricting circumstances of one sort and another. More than 50 per cent of all the families studied visited friends or relatives twice or more monthly. Doubtless the automobile has been a factor to extend the matter of visiting.

The value of visiting with friends is tremendous as a socializing influence On such occasions, thoughts and opinions are expressed, and ideas which give broader horizons to mentality may be developed. It is traditionally true that the Virginian is a master at making conversation, and one finds today that the representative farmer is interested in questions extending beyond the field of his immediate community. A combination of forces have tended to give him enlightenment upon national and international questions, and to extend his interest in social and economic problems of the day. Friendly discourse through visiting affords a means of more complete understanding of facts gleaned through reading or through the radio. In the words of Izaak Walton who said that good company and good discourse are the very sinews of virtue, is epitomized the reason for an expression of the hope that in rural life there may be no lessening of the habit of regular visiting.

There is an appreciable difference in the frequency of trips to town among the three economic groups in Virginia. Poor farmers average less than once weekly, while the intermediate group averages approximately twice the frequency of the poor families. Families of the prosperous group average fully two trips to town per week. As here considered, trips to town cover those instances when the entire family or a majority of its members make an "occasion" of it. Occasional and hurried journeys for business purely, were not considered in arriving at the averages under this heading.

Trips to town permit many contacts of social value. The town gathering on Saturday or court day has at all times served as a strong force in the recreational life of the farmer Here most of the families of the community are to be found, doing more talking than marketing generally, but helping others and themselves in the discussion and exchange of ideas, relieved for the time from the monotony of farm routine. The nature of such a gathering is

greatly changed with the shortening of distances to larger areas and with the wide extension of the motion picture and other forms of community entertainment.

Coming to the matter of entertainment in farm families, a first question is the sources through which this form of diversion is provided. We may consider entertainment under two broad divisions; where it is furnished within the home, or away from home.

Home entertainment pertains to parties, dances, club meetings, or musical gatherings within the homes of families in the community. It is differentiated from the entertainment which comes through other sources in that the members of the group entertaining, as well as those who are being entertained, are participating actively in the function in a sociable manner. Entertainment outside the home covers, for the most part, those forms of amusement and recreation in which the relationship between entertainers and entertained is impersonal. Moreover, this source is most frequently one requiring payment, as in the case of the movies, theaters, lectures, musical concerts, and the like. Undoubtedly, both forms of entertainment possess merit when in proper balance. Home entertainment is to be commended primarily because of its salutary effects on home life and unity. The tendency of late years, however, seems to be in the opposite direction. The lure of the paid entertainer has been a distracting influence to community spirit and the integrity of family and group relationships.

Poor farm families in Virginia were found to enjoy a negligible amount of specially planned or ordered entertainment, either within or outside the home. On the basis of a three-fold classification of frequency, the order of which is "rarely," "occasionally," and "frequently," poor families report 90 per cent rarely and 10 per cent occasionally, for entertainment at home and still less for entertainment obtained outside the home.

Families of the intermediate group present an appreciably better showing, though even here two-thirds of the families rarely have home entertainment and nearly three-fourths report "rarely" for entertainment outside the home. In the prosperous group we find the most wholesome situation. Here the larger percentages report "occasionally" and "frequently" for entertainment both at home and outside the home.

We may conclude from the findings shown in Table 24 that there is a deplorable insufficiency of formal entertainment in the case of

poor farm families and a very great need for an extension of such facilities for families in the intermediate group. The fact that families seem to be satisfied in their present status cannot be imposed as an argument to gainsay the need for improvement. No profound sociological theories need be brought forth in the contention that a more wholesome form of living would in large measure necessitate an eradication of the deficiencies which exist in the matter of entertainment for the poor and intermediate groups of families in the Virginia farm community.

A strikingly similar situation exists respecting the experience of families in pleasure or rest trips away from home. In less than one-fourth of the poor families either the operator or home-maker gets away from home for a period of several days or longer. About one-fifth reported such visits away from home once a year, while only one or two reported more than one per year. The facts are somewhat better for the intermediate group in which we find one-fourth of the families enabled to get away once a year for visits extending over several days, while 13 per cent of them get away twice, or more often in the course of the year In prosperous families a fourth get in one annual visit of some length, and approximately six-tenths of them report two or more vacations or rest trips.

In these Virginia farm families the economic or financial status of the family seems to tend to make for a gradation of cultural and wholesome activities proportional to its ability to sustain the costs therefor. It is doubtful if the financial status is responsible in all instances, however, for the failure of families of the lower standards group to get out and away from their immediate community for visits. Inertia and custom enter as factors to keep them at home sometimes when no other restraints prevail.

One of the most intensive studies made of rural recreation is that of Lively [1] regarding Gallia and Paulding counties in Ohio In both of these counties the one-room school was found to have practically no value as a recreational institution. Where consolidated schools exist "organized recreation for school pupils begins to appear, and in some cases the school begins to develop some social center functions But neither function appears to be clearly conceived." The churches in both counties were found to be

[1] Lively, C. E. *Rural Recreation in Two Ohio Counties.* Ohio State University Studies, Contributions in Rural Economics, No. 1, Columbus, 1927, pp 94–99.

about equally backward from the standpoint of recreational activities, though a half or more of them favored a recreational program, while admitting that they are neither equipped nor organized to offer such a program. In Gallia County the chief recreational activities appear to be attending picnics, sociables and fairs, hunting and fishing, friendly visiting, playing horseshoes, some form of music (though there is little organized musical production), reading and fancy work. Marbles were a favorite pastime in several communities for people of all ages. Dancing and cards were rarely found, but there were plenty of checkers, dominoes, and other card games. In Paulding County, organized athletics were more in vogue, and a county library system afforded reading matter widely sought by the people in the open country. Auto driving was found to be a common form of recreation. Hunting and fishing occurred, but boating and camping were almost unknown in the county. The most widespread activities were friendly visiting, attendance at picnics, fairs, sociables, institutes and reunions, reading and fancy work—a situation quite similar to that in Gallia County. With very few exceptions, the recreational activities existent were of a commendable nature, but it was "the recreation of people who live in the open spaces, close to nature, with few of the organized recreational devices of society close at hand either to invite or facilitate participation. The activities enjoyed are mainly of the individualistic sorts, requiring only simple and ephemeral personnel organization and little material equipment."

Lively's conclusions with regard to the principles underlying the improvement of rural recreational opportunities in these two Ohio counties may well be cited to indicate a needed trend in the development of recreational facilities for the whole of rural America.

> If a modern recreational program may be judged by these standards, that it provides both directed and free activity for all manner of wholesome use of leisure time, manual, physical, æsthetic, social, civic, for all classes and ages of people, throughout the year, indoor and outdoor; that it is largely supported and controlled by the community, and aims to develop high standards of sportsmanship and behavior; that the emphasis is placed upon group rather than individual activity, and upon coöperative rather than competitive effort, then it is clear Gallia and Paulding counties have far to go in the direction of developing a balanced recreational program for the rural districts.
>
> In the second place, attention should be called rather sharply to the

last of the standards just mentioned, namely, that of placing emphasis in recreation upon group activity rather than upon individual activity, and upon cooperative effort rather than upon competitive effort. The data herein reviewed reveal an abundance of individual and competitive effort in the leisure time activity of these two counties, but very little activity which requires close cooperation and team play. Play, it is now believed, develops its greatest social usefulness when carried on in groups. Its intensity is greater and the temporary subordination of the individual to the team has an important effect upon personality from the standpoint of organization tolerance and loyalty. Play is a powerful socializer

If this principle be correct, it should not be overlooked in these days of the promotion of coöperative enterprise among rural people, that play and recreation constitute a valid avenue through which to learn the techniques of coöperative endeavor. There is no single and infallible road to coöperation, but many roads may lead that way. To be sure, coöperative endeavor as a method of social organization involves certain techniques. It none the less involves certain attitudes of mind. True, the techniques involved in successful coöperative, *i.e.*, group play and recreation may not be the same techniques as those required for successful coöperative economic endeavor, but many of the attitudes of mind which are involved in both activities appear to be identical. If this be true, it would seem wise to develop and utilize group recreation among country people as an avenue for the development of more socialized attitudes of mind which may serve as favorable backgrounds for the organization of coöperative economic endeavor, or indeed any other sort of coöperative endeavor which the welfare of country life may demand. The educational principle of making the result of teaching more effective by preventing the same thing in a variety of ways holds here The more avenues there are set up through which country people can learn the symbols of coöperation the more quickly will they be able to use the language of coöperation.[1]

2. The Drama in the Rural Community

Shakespeare has told us that all the world is a stage upon which each of us is acting his own particular part. And there is as much truth as there is poetry in the great artist's statement. Since our earliest days of settled history, rural communities have been accustomed to give amateur theatricals, as much perhaps to bring the community together, and to give the opportunity for self-expression on the part of local talent, as to make money for some worthy community cause. The possibilities of the wholesome directing of this universal activity have been forcefully brought to the attention of our educational institutions, primarily the state

[1] Lively, C. E. *Op cit.*, pp. 98-99.

colleges and universities, and the results have become gratifying in a large measure.

A number of these institutions notably North Dakota (both state college and university), Wisconsin, North Carolina, and Cornell, have for the past decade or more, been sending out amateur companies into rural communities, "package libraries" of plays, leaders to direct plays and pageants, and teachers to train local groups of theater-minded until many remote places have become drama conscious. As is true with any great idea, there is always some uncertainty as to just where it originated Two names stand out conspicuously in this development in America—one of them Frederick H. Koch, promoter of the folk-play, and the other Alfred G Arvold, creator of the Little Country Theater. The movement began in North Dakota about 1906. Each of these men seems to have gotten the idea about the same time, and each in an artist's way pursued it after his own leadings --Koch in the art of the folk-drama, and Arvold in the spreading of the theater into communities as a means for socialization.

Koch, after studying playwriting at Harvard, started his work in North Dakota by taking a group of actors from the State University throughout the state with a production of Sheridan's *The Rivals*. His experiences make vivid reading. When it was necessary, the whole company paraded the streets of the villages in costume, distributing handbills advertising the production. Early in his development, stimulated by the pageantry movement sweeping over the country, Koch gave much attention to the pageant as a form of dramatic expression. His interest seems always to have been along the line of finding some way for natural or native expression, so he turned from the insufficient realm of the pageant to that of the folk-play. By 1915, he had the North Dakota Players well organized, and with a repertoire of plays which they produced throughout the state. Koch then went to the University of North Carolina, organizing the Carolina Playmakers, which have established a national reputation

But Arvold is more genuinely of the soil than Koch. Arvold went to the North Dakota Agricultural College from the University of Wisconsin about the same time that Koch went to the State University. He had grown up under the influence of a small country town "opera house" where he sold candy, popcorn, and peanuts. His interest in the community theater was doubtless

inspired by the development of the little theater movement which had its start in this country near the beginning of the present century. In 1910, a country school teacher wrote him, asking that he send her some plays from which to make a selection for production. This he did, sending her three plays, one of which she staged. Others heard of it, and many inquiries followed. From these beginnings, the package library idea was developed. "It is a sort of an intellectual rural free delivery. One might call it the backbone of The Little Country Theater. In order to render the best aid possible, the system gathers data and information from reliable sources. Briefs upon subjects relating to country life, copies of festivals, pageants, plays, readings, dialogues, pictures of floats, parades, processions, exhibit arrangements, costume designs, character portrayals, plans of stages, auditoriums, open-air theatres, community buildings, constitutions of all kinds of organizations, catalogues of book publishers—in short, every kind of material necessary in building a program which will help people to express themselves—are loaned for reading purposes to citizens of the state." [1] This was the first of many such extension libraries which widely cover the country. These materials were available to anyone in North Dakota—or in the whole world for that matter—who was interested enough to send a card requesting any of it. At the present time, Mr. Arvold has a map over his desk which was put there many years ago. His original intention was to put a pin in it for each new place in the state from which a request came for information. The map is now a solid mass of pins, and has been so for some time, there being no room on it to put in any more pins.

Under the impact of this widespread demand, Arvold felt the need of a dramatics laboratory to test out various kinds of programs. He tells us "the idea conceived became an actual reality when an old dingy, dull-grey chapel on the second floor of the administration building at the North Dakota Agricultural College, located at Fargo, North Dakota, was remodeled into what is now known as 'The Little Country Theater.' It was opened the tenth day of February in the year nineteen hundred and fourteen. In appearance it is most fascinating. It is simply a large playhouse put under a reducing glass. It is just the size of an average country town hall. It has a seating capacity of two hundred. Simplicity is

[1] Arvold, A. G. *The Little Country Theatre*. Macmillan, 1923, p. 43.

the keynote of the theater. It is an example of what can be done with hundreds of village halls, unused portions of school houses, vacant country stores and basements of country churches in communities." [1]

A comprehensive picture of the work which Arvold, Koch, and others are accomplishing for rural recreation and art in America is vividly stated by a national authority on the theater, and the editor of two journals in that field. She says: "One special phase of dramatic work which the college workshops have developed and which offers great promise in the actual creation of an American drama and a complete American theater is folk playmaking. In the wheat fields of the Dakotas, in the sea-coast centers of the State of Washington, in the mountains of North Carolina, college groups are learning to recreate the history of their States, to interpret the character of their people, the quality and meaning of their life and labour. All the plays in these groups are written by the students on the basis of local material to carry on a story or to establish a tradition. They are acted by student actors, and increasingly are enlarging their audiences to cover the people not only of the college town but of neighboring towns and sometimes of neighboring states. The Carolina Playmakers of the University of North Carolina, under the direction of Frederick Koch, have built up a large repertory of folk-plays of their own writing, a theater company and an entire crew which travels in a large touring truck through the cities and towns of a dozen states. In North Dakota, Alfred Arvold, director of drama at the State Agricultural College at Fargo, keeps the Little Country Theater on the second floor of the administration building continually busy with productions of plays that range from Shakespeare and Ibsen to modern farce and that play to audiences of grain-growers, cattle-ranchers, miners, who come from miles around. Through the influence of Arvold's work, moreover, hardly a schoolhouse is built in North Dakota today without a theater equipment, hardly a crop is harvested without a pageant of the grain to celebrate and illuminate it, hardly an event of historical or political significance passes without its dramatic interpretation." [2]

The socializing effect of such work is readily apparent, and it is

[1] Arvold, A. G. *Op. cit.*, pp. 43–45.

[2] Isaacs, Edith J. R., in an article on "Little Theatre Movement" in the 14th Edition, *Ency. Britannica*, Vol. 14, p. 224.

becoming widespread. In New York, the work is sponsored by Cornell University. It had its beginnings in 1919, when Professor A. M. Drummond, director of the Cornell Dramatic Club, selected a group of his best talent, and gave several one-act plays in what was called The Little Country Theater at the state fair in Syracuse. The effort was tremendously successful, and from this beginning, under the guiding genius of Miss Mary Eva Duthie of the Department of Rural Social Organization at Cornell work in rural dramatics is being developed throughout New York State. This leader goes all over the state directing, holding three-day institutes on the crafts and arts of the theater, and inspiring the people to raise the standard of their work.

In the state of Wisconsin such work is highly developed, and much appreciated as a means of recreation in the community and for the potential value of the amateur drama. Dr Glenn Frank, President of the University of Wisconsin, has given the work his enthusiastic support, as may well be seen from the following statement:

> It would be gratifying to see the people of Wisconsin rise above the current standardization and commercialization of leisure by making possible the development of a folk-theater and a folk-drama that will sink its roots in the soil of Wisconsin's colorful past and challenging future. Can we not, in Wisconsin, prove that it is better for a whole people to be rich in folk-drama than for a few producers to get rich on sex-drama?
>
> Of all the agencies of expressions that the spirit of man has invented I do not know a more comprehensive and flexible medium through which the sufferings, the doubts, the dreams, the perplexities, and the aspirations of a people may find voice and achieve clarification than the theater.
>
> May we not hope to see the development of amateur groups here, there, and yonder in Wisconsin communities that shall not only produce the plays that other men have written of other peoples and other places but that shall write plays into which shall be woven the legends and the life of Wisconsin, the stuff of her daily problems, and the visions of her people?
>
> To those young men and young women of Wisconsin who may venture to write such plays, I should like to venture a little amateur advice.
>
> Don't overlook your local history when you are looking for your dramatic raw materials. There is a rich and relatively untouched field for Wisconsin dramatists in Wisconsin's pioneer days. As Shakespeare wrote his Henry IV and his Richard III by dipping into his history, you may dip into Wisconsin's history. Don't go to the ends of the earth or to Greenwich Village for your drama stuff.
>
> Don't overlook Wisconsin's rural life as a possible source of play

materials. Agricultural Wisconsin is troubled by the economics of farming, and to these challenging economic difficulties we must give heed, but agriculture is a life as well as a livelihood. It is on the farm that men live in first-hand contact with the healing spirit of nature. There is poetry as well as production on a farm. Art can help us to preserve the poetry of farming while we are battling with the economics of farming. I do not mean that you can disguise a bankruptcy with a sonnet or write a comedy that will laugh a mortgage off a barn, but you should not overlook the farm when you set out to write Wisconsin plays.[1]

To carry into effect this ambition, and the further thought that "every community possesses sufficient embryonic genius to meet all its recreational needs, but commercial entertainment dominates —not only because it offers opportunity for profit but also because no one has seriously undertaken the task of identification and development of the latent talent everywhere available,"[2] the Bureau of Dramatic Activities of the Extension Department of the University of Wisconsin has been sponsoring a great work. Its services are open to adults in their little theaters and community organizations, to the young people in the many schools, colleges, high schools, and elementary schools. In short, the whole state of Wisconsin is considered as a stage, and from the University radiates interest and enthusiasm for this new dramatic movement to the most remote points

Among the other states in which the movement has taken firm rootage are Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, and Virginia. In such a deep-seated art as the theater it is not hoped to take farmers and make them into geniuses of the theater. This is not the purpose of rural dramatics. But opportunity is afforded thereby for community recreation of a high order, and close students of the movement see in it one of the most vital forces which has come into the American theater. With some further growth, some more time for the torchbearers to ally forces and become more expert in what they are about, the rural element will be one of the strongest parts of the national organization for a theater created by the people—a folk-drama for a folk-theater of America.

[1] Foreword to *Goose Money, A One-Act Play*. Special Circular, Extension Service College of Agric., U. of Wisconsin, June, 1928.

[2] Hatch, K. L., in *Home Talent Tournaments*. Cir 221, Extension Service. U. of Wisconsin College of Agric., May, 1928.

3. Art in the Countryside

Richard C. Cabot holds the view that "play and art are essentially one; beauty lives in each, and though the beauty of athletics or of whist is not always quite obvious, it is no more obscure than the beauty of tragedy or of rhyme. Artificial they all are; an outlet for the cramped human spirit they all furnish." And in the same connection he continues "art and play, then, fulfil the same function, provide us the same refreshment. Moreover, they are both their own excuse for being. In work, and to some extent in love, we are building for the future; we are content to save, to sacrifice, and to repress for the sake of a 'far-off divine event' But in all art, including the variety called play, we anticipate heaven and attain immediate fruition: we give full rein to what strains against the leash "[1] Certainly there can be no abrupt transition if in the same chapter we turn from a discussion of rural recreation by the way of dramatics to a consideration of art in the countryside.

Much of beauty and of distinction has been achieved in American country homes. Willard asks: "Is anything more inviting than the Dutch farmsteads of the Hudson River region, or more substantial than the stone buildings of Pennsylvania? In the mansions of Virginia the classic portico appears with much better utility than was achieved for the same type in New England houses. Is there anything on the American Continent that approaches the restful dignity of Virginia mansions in ample settings of lawn, gardens shrubs, trees and meadows? All lovers of colonial America rejoice, too, that the fine old brick churches of pre-Revolutionary Virginia have come into such recognition that their preservation is assured: churches which have opportunity to survive long after the wood meeting-houses on wind-swept New England have succumbed to weather and decay. The Spanish mission introduced a new note, but the adobe is the truly native contribution of the Southwest."[2] And as to the interior furnishings of these beautiful examples of architecture he continues: "Woodwork in these earlier houses—fireplaces, mantels, settles, timbering, paneling, cupboards, and stairways, doorways, windows and moulding—these all show not only sound craftsmanship, but discerning taste. Andirons, kettles, cranes, candle stands, chests, chairs, tables, silver-

[1] Cabot, Richard C. *What Men Live By.* Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1914, p. 101.
[2] Willard, J. D., quoted by Poe, Clarence, in "Some Agencies for Developing Rural Culture." *The Progressive Farmer*, Aug. 16, 1930.

ware, desks, clocks, beds, bedquilts with patterns often borrowed from imported china, warming pans, lanterns, spinning wheels, all evidenced the desire for beauty in early rural America. To this day woodpiles are often works of art. Stone walls and pasture rock piles that have stood one, even two centuries were built with a care and labor far beyond the needs of utility. Older stone-arch bridges are a delight."

Undoubtedly, there was much of beauty and art in the homes, equipment, surroundings, as well as manners, in American rural life in those days, and still more of the same things in the rural life of today. Moreover, it is worth while to have these exceptional expressions held out to us as examples of what has been done and what can be done along these lines. But in general a severe indictment of neglect in these important matters is to be laid at the door of the average American farm home today, and at that of the small town home as well. And it is in the improvement of the farm home exterior, interior, and surroundings that the movement for more beauty in rural sections should focus. "Order is heaven's first law," and many farm homes fearfully violate it. Well-planned shrubbery, a few walks, a lawn, a coat of paint, and a frequent cleaning of premises can transform a shack into a lovely cottage. The most serious reflection that can be made against our farmers is the way in which such fundamental things are disregarded. The necessary expenditure is not too great for any farm home, and the increased satisfaction from living is immeasurable.

Undoubtedly, a part of the cause for this neglect is that the crops and livestock require too much time and energy, and they are the means of income. But a more important cause is that the tradition for these things has not come down from generation to generation. Our pioneer forefathers more than likely left homes in the Old World where beauty of surroundings was emphasized, but the crude conditions of the wilderness invited little in the way of retaining them. The problem is how to restore the tradition, and to improve upon it.

Inside the home too often only the grim ancestral photos or enlargements look down upon one. Of course there is a place for these, but they should not dominate the atmosphere. A mid-Victorian gloominess altogether too often pervades the parlor, and there is a stiffness about furniture which does not signify attractive comfortableness. Fortunately, the home demonstration forces are

focussing upon such problems as these, and well they may, for few matters connected with the farm are more important. Changes must come slowly and tactfully, but come they must if farm life is to realize its best

Illinois is a state which has given much attention to this matter. It has an Art Extension Committee made up of a representative from each community cooperating in the movement. The purpose of the Committee is "to assist in making art a more potent elevating force in the lives of the people of the State of Illinois. It aims to help the people to discover beauty in nature and to enjoy it, to recognize beauty in art and to appreciate it, and to stimulate the production of beautiful things."[1] Representative of the sort of things which the Committee undertakes are exhibits of oil paintings loaned by prominent artists of Illinois; an exhibit of photographs of the best sculpture of the state; a collection of landscape designs showing plans of beautifying; a collection of photographs of the newer and better types of community high school buildings and grounds; and an annual tour to the most beautiful parts of the state for education and inspiration. Such efforts as these deal in intangibles, but in their long-time worth and accomplishment yield good returns in better living.

It is encouraging to note an increasing attention to art in the countryside, promotion more of beauty in the home, about the home; a greater love for music, and a growing regard for the drama In addition, the farmer needs to learn to appreciate more the natural beauty of his environment. The story [2] is told of an artist who painted a corner of a field and a group of trees which fringed it The picture was placed on exhibit in a nearby city, and it became widely acclaimed as a wonderful piece of work. Among those who went to see it was a farmer and his wife, both of whom greatly admired it and wished that they might have something so lovely to look at. They did not recognize in it a corner of their own farm which the painter had caught on the canvas. It was Robert Browning who said through the character of *Fra Lippo Lippi:*

> We're made so that we love
> First when we see them painted, things we have passed
> Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see;
> And so they are better painted—better to us,
> Which is the same thing; Art was given for that.

[1] Hieronymus, R. E. "Art Extension in Illinois." *Rural America*, May, 1925, p. 3.
[2] Hansen, Joanna M. *Book of Rural Life*, Vol. 1, pp. 34–48.

Too long the American farmer has neglected these finer expressions of life, and his soul is much leaner as a result. Beauty of surroundings induces more beauty in the art of living. There are few valid reasons why every farm home should not be a thing of beauty; there is every reason why it can and should in every instance express the fine possibilities along such lines which have been realized in a few homes in almost every community.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the relative rôles of work and play in the life of the American farmer.
2. What do Blackmar and Gillin have to say with regard to the specific and powerful socializing effects of play?
3. Describe four distinctive characteristics of the recreational activities of rural people.
4. What dangers adhere in too great a commercialization of amusement and recreation?
5. Give the average length of work day for the farm operator and the farm home-maker. To what extent does a decrease in this affect the standard of living?
6. How long do the farm operator and the home-maker spend daily in rest and relaxation? What proportion of farmers enjoy a vacation away from their work? Are vacations possible and advisable for the farmer?
7. Compare the extent and quality of reading among "poor," "intermediate," and "prosperous" farm families in Virginia.
8. What differences occur among these three groupings of Virginia farmers in the matter of visiting friends and neighbors in a social manner? in the frequency of visits to town?
9. How do these same groups compare in the amount of entertainment within and outside of the home?
10. Describe the rural recreational situation in Gallia and Paulding counties, Ohio, as revealed by Lively's study of those areas.
11. Discuss Lively's conclusions with regard to the improvement of rural recreational opportunities in those two counties, and the applicability of them to recreation in the whole of rural America.
12. State the advantages of the drama as a socializing agency in the rural community.
13. Who is Frederick H. Koch, and what contribution has he made to rural dramatics?
14. Describe the work of Alfred G. Arvold in the development of "The Little Country Theater."
15. How widespread is the example of these two men becoming, and what promise does such work offer toward the actual creation of an American drama?
16. Give Glenn Frank's estimate of the possibilities and the value of developing a folk-theater and a folk-drama which will sink its roots

in the soil of Wisconsin and America's colorful past and challenging future?

17. What is the relationship of play and art? Discuss the function of art and beauty in and about the country home.
18. Give some striking illustrations of exceptional achievement in beauty and distinction in American country homes.
19. Describe the situation existing today as to the stress placed upon beauty in the architecture and in the surroundings of the average American country home? How do you account for such neglect in so vital a matter?
20. Is it practical to improve these conditions, and if so, how should we proceed in accomplishing such a splendid objective?

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

1. Sanderson, Dwight. *The Farmer and His Community.* Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1922, Chapter XIII, pp. 153-163, "The Community's Play and Recreation."
2. Curtis, H. S. *Play and Recreation in the Open Country.* Ginn and Company, 1914, Chapter XI, pp. 154–168, "Recreation for the Farm Wife"; and Chapter XII, pp. 169-179, "Recreation for the Farmer."
3. Hayes, A W. *Rural Sociology.* Longmans, Green and Company, 1929, Chapter XX, pp. 489-513, "Rural Art and Recreation."
4. Arvold, A G *The Little Country Theatre.* The Macmillan Company, 1923 Chapter IV. pp. 41-58. "The Little Country Theatre"; and Chapter VI, pp. 67–94, "Characteristic Incidents."
5. Koch, F. H. *Carolina Folk-Plays.* Henry Holt and Company, 1922, pp. ii, xi-xxix, "Aims of the Carolina Playmakers" and "Folk-Play Making."
6. Taylor, C. C. *Rural Sociology.* Harper & Brothers, 1926, Chapter XVII, pp. 376-394. "The Problem of Rural Art."

CHAPTER XX

RURAL PUBLIC WELFARE

A civilization may be judged in considerable measure by its attitude towards and its treatment of its unfortunate classes, and its efforts to ameliorate such conditions. That such groups should constitute a significant proportion of the total population is regrettable; but nevertheless they do. The developing science of public welfare has taught us that in considerable measure society is responsible for the condition of the pauper and the criminal and certain phases of insanity, and that in an ideal society practically all of these dependent, defective, and delinquent classes may be eliminated by humane processes or salvaged for useful citizenship. The approach to these problems today is that of discovering the underlying causes, and seeking to remedy these diseases of the social order at the base.

The biologist would have us distinguish between the *germinal heredity* and the *social heredity* of the individual By germinal heredity is meant that aggregate of characteristics which he receives as the contribution of the germ plasm or physical basis of heredity passed on to him from his immediate and remote ancestors The eugenist tells us that no fatalistic view need be held in this regard; for while the individual may not be able to modify the physical basis of his heredity, it is possible and desirable that in a sane and sensible way society should see that every individual coming into the world is "well-born." To determine the relative rôles of social inheritance and germinal inheritance has always been a problem intriguing the intense interest of the student of human personality and relations. But it is generally recognized that the social environment and training of the individual and the group may be so adjusted as to compensate in considerable measure for defective hereditary tendencies.

Concrete example will serve to make these abstractions clearer. Certain forms of mental deficiency are inherited These it is practicable to eliminate through the intelligent application of the laws of heredity. Normal individuals carrying such latent characteris-

tics in their germ plasm should not consort with individuals of similar taints, else a certain proportion of their offspring will show these defective characteristics. The problem of feeblemindedness, it is believed, can be tremendously mitigated, or almost completely eliminated through the institutionalization or sterilization of these classes, and the intelligent mating of those normal individuals carrying such defects latent in the germ plasm.

In many forms of insanity, it is realized that a detection of it in its incipient stages makes possible preventive and remedial treatment which saves the individual to a life of happiness and useful ness in human society. Of course no system, even the most ideal, which may be developed can abolish the inequalities of natural endowment of the millions of human individuals, but this would hardly be advisable, even though it were possible But when one considers the potentialities of the movement to ameliorate distressing conditions of dependency, defectiveness, and delinquency through the knowledge supplied in the evolving science of public welfare, one takes heart in the hope that in the society of the future, these things may be banished as we are banishing typhoid fever, smallpox, and similar diseases of the human system The consummation of such an objective must be a gradual one, accomplished through an enlightened social attitude, which will reach even to the individuals where most drastic action needs to be exerted.

1. Poverty and Dependency

The farming class is a proprietorial class *par excellence*, slightly less than two-thirds of them owning the farms they operate In spite of this fact the wealth and income of the farmer on the average is not high. "Compared with that of the city population it is, first, somewhat lower, second, more evenly distributed and free from the enormous contrasts of exceedingly rich and exceedingly poor, which marks the city distribution of wealth and income; and third, the average income (and wealth) of the farmer and peasant owners is much below that of the city proprietorial classes and is near to that of the urban labor classes."[1] Although farmers as a class display "fear of the poorhouse" as a prominent attitude, and in addition have a greater proportion of aged persons than does the city population, fewer of them are given poor law relief and state aid.

[1] Sorokin, P., and Zimmerman, C. C. *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*. Henry Holt, 1929 pp. 69–79.

It is believed that the savings propensities of the farming classes is what mainly accounts for this difference.

The amount of definite information illuminating this important phase of the advantage of rural over urban life is very inadequate. While the following data [1] are fragmentary in nature, and mainly serve to stimulate further more extensive investigation along these lines, there is ample justification in citing them in this connection in the absence of a larger sample. A few years ago, in connection with a study of rural depopulation in Virginia, the attempt was made to answer the question as to whether the individual of the same equipment who left the country for the city generally made a larger income, and also acquired as the results of his efforts, a larger equity to sustain him in old age. It was soon discovered that to secure the complete and reliable sort of data needed on this point would in itself constitute a considerable problem, largely because the individual in the country in most instances knew little that was accurate regarding the financial status of his city brother.

However, a careful sifting of the 3,376 individual record sheets gave 103 white individuals, 51 non-migrants, and 52 migrants, regarding which the reports seemed to have been based upon definite knowledge of the status of the migrant as well as of the non-migrant.

TABLE 25

DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO INCOME OF WHITE MALE MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS [2]

EDUCATION		ESTIMATED INCOME IN DOLLARS			
		0–1,000	1,001–2,500	2,501–5,000	5,001 and over
Elementary	Migrants	0	18	9	0
	Non-Migrants	14	15	3	0
High School	Migrants	0	4	7	1
	Non-Migrants	2	3	5	0
College	Migrants	0	1	8	4
	Non-Migrants	2	2	4	1
Total		18	43	36	6

In the table given above it is seen that rather uniformly the individual who left the country for the town and city made the

[1] Gee, Wilson. "Farm Migration in Ten Eastern Virginia Counties." *Proceedings*, Institute of Rural Affairs, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1929, pp. 88–101.

[2] Source: *Proceedings*, Institute of Rural Affairs, Blacksburg, Va., 1929. p. 96.

higher income as compared with the person who remained on the farm. In the case of the lowest income level, $1,000 and less, all of those within this classification were among the non-migrants. With the other three income classifications, in only one other instance, the college income group of $1,001–$2,500, did the non-migrant show an advantage over the migrant group. These fragmentary data seem to indicate quite clearly that the town and city individual fares better than the country dweller; a fact quite generally accepted both in the country and the city.

TABLE 26

ESTIMATED AVERAGE WEALTH ACCUMULATIONS OF WHITE MALE MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS [1]

	NON-MIGRANTS		MIGRANTS	
	Number	Average Wealth	Number	Average Wealth
Elementary	32	$11,110	27	$ 3,140
High School	10	16,150	12	10,450
College	9	16,170	13	15,600
Total and average	51	$12,991	52	$ 7,942

The situation, however, is reversed when the average wealth accumulations of the same individuals are contrasted. The farmer who has only an elementary education has more than three times the success at amassing an equity than does the migrant of the same equipment—$11,110 as compared with $3,140. While not so wide a difference persists, the high school group shows for the non-migrant $16,150 as compared with $10,450 for the migrant. The disparity in the college trained group is reduced to $570, but the margin continues in favor of the person who casts his lot with the country. If such a situation can be confirmed in a larger study, it constitutes the best sort of argument to make the country boy think longer and more seriously before he leaves the country stretches for the tumult and stress of the cities.

The statistics of the federal government on paupers in almshouses are valueless for comparing pauperism between rural and urban areas. A recent report frankly states that since such statistics "relate only to paupers in public almshouses, they cannot be taken as a measure either of the poverty or of the pauperism exist-

[1] Gee, Wilson. *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

; in the United States. Recipients of outdoor relief are omitted ntirely, as are also inmates of institutions other than public almshouses. The extent of poverty and of pauperism in a community is influenced by climatic conditions, the nature of existing industries and the racial composition of the population."[1] Gillette is authority for the statement that "when the country had half of the nation's population, it produced much less than half of the nation's paupers This statement rests on the fact that in 1904, 'agriculture, transportation and other outdoor' occupations accounted for but 23.7 per cent of all almshouse paupers; and most of the dependent persons of the open country are almshouse paupers. It is obvious, therefore, that the agricultural population gave rise to considerably less than 23.7 per cent of those classed as almshouse dependents."[2]

Galpin believes that the first great advantage of farming is that it provides a sure living. "If a family cannot make a living on a farm, it is questionable whether it can make a living at anything. Dire poverty is not, in America at least, a feature of farm life as it is of city life. This holds true, whether the family is in the position of owning a farm, renting a farm, or working for wages on a farm. The farm family eats, is sheltered, is warmed, and always is in possession of a job. This characteristic of farm life, a sure living, will especially appeal to the homemaker and mother of a family. To be free from the worry of 'losing the job' is, for the woman at least, to enjoy life day by day, if life has any joys, without the dark cloud of a lost job, an empty cupboard, no money to pay next month's rent, no fuel in the bin. In the city, the illness of the breadwinner may bring the storm from the cloud; on the farm, illness of the man does not mean giving up the job. Others in the family can carry on the work and thus bridge over the illness. Many a woman, reared on a farm but marrying into a city-working home has felt the strain of life just at the point of an assured living. And there are thousands of women, at least, with whom the one great advantage of a sure living for all in the home will overcome all objections there may be to farm life."[3]

Such considerations as these become especially significant when a business depression sweeps over a nation or the world, throwing

[1] *Paupers in Almshouses 1923*. Bureau of the Census 1925, p 2.
[2] Gillette, J. M. *Rural Sociology* (Revised Edition) Macmillan, 1928, pp. 112–113.
[3] Galpin, C. J. *Rural Social Problems*. Century Co., 1924, pp. 167–168.

millions in the cities out of employment and upon the public for support even though there is plenty of farm produce and of manufactured goods in the warehouses, if only they might have the opportunity to work for the money with which to have the use of them.

2. Criminality

The question logically arises as to which produces more criminals, the country or the city? The situation is far from adequately illumined, but the preponderant evidence points to much less crime in the aggregate for the country than for the city. "In general the conclusion seems to be that crime increases with the density of the population, but the major crimes increase less than the minor crimes It may be, also, that small towns have a higher proportion of delinquency than either the open country or the large cities, though this is not certain."[1] In support of this view it may be cited that the federal census reports that in 1910 the farming classes composed 18.6 per cent of the male population ten years of age and over, but furnished only 3 3 per cent of the males committed to penal institutions. Their rates for both minor and major offenses were said to be less than those of all other occupational groups. However, this same report states that "in general the more serious the offense the greater is the proportion of farmers and farm laborers among the total number of males committed for it."[2] Only 2.6 per cent of those committed for drunkenness and disorderly conduct were farmers, but this class constituted 18.6 per cent of those committed for grave homicide and 19.8 per cent of those committed for lesser homicide.

Another outstanding student of criminology in this country tells us the criminal statistics of no nation enable us to answer the question categorically, but continues "on the whole, I think we may conclude that there is more criminality in the city than in the country, considering crime not only from a legal but also from a sociological point of view." [3]

A recent survey [4] of criminal justice in Virginia gives some attention to the matter of rural and urban felonies on a comparative

[1] Sutherland, E. H. *Criminology.* Lippincott, 1924, pp. 93–97.
[2] *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in the United States.* U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1910, p. 151.
[3] Gillin, J. L. *Criminology and Penology.* Century Co., 1926, p. 68.
[4] Fuller, H. N. *Criminal Justice in Virginia.* Century Co., 1931, pp. 61–64.

basis. The term rural included certain portions in proximity to larger cities of the state which vitiates the findings to a certain extent. The estimated size of the population sample studied was approximately 352,000 for the urban area and 460,000 for the rural. In rates per 100,000 population, the rural exceeded the urban area in homicides, though how much of this is due to the negro is not stated. In aggravated assaults, burglary, robbery, larceny, and forgery the city rate was much higher, but in rape the rates were more nearly equal, the city leading in two of the years and the country in two. Liquor felony charges showed a much more rapid increase in the rural areas than in urban centers, though this is very likely more a measurement of comparative enforcement sentiment and machinery than it is of comparative violations of liquor laws. In total rates the urban criminality exceeded the rural, and if liquor offenses are excluded, the margin is still greater in favor of the rural areas. Classifying the offenses as against person and against property, the rural rate is less in both instances than the urban, appreciably so in the offenses against property.

TABLE 27

FELONY CHARGES PER 100,000 POPULATION IN VIRGINIA, URBAN AND RURAL [1]

	URBAN				RURAL			
	1917	*1923*	*1927*	*1928*	*1917*	*1923*	*1927*	*1928*
Homicides	9.2	12.3	14.3	12.4	8.1	21.7	19.1	17.1
Aggravated assaults	21.4	26.1	33.0	30.8	13.7	20.6	17.2	20.0
Rape	4.9	4.7	6.3	7.5	4.2	10 6	7.1	5.4
Burglary	43.8	62.8	37.8	55.6	16.3	36.3	25.9	47.4
Robbery	5.6	8 5	6 3	5.7	1.6	3.1	2.5	3 1
Larceny	31.0	66.4	61.6	57.7	7.2	14.4	20.0	18.3
Forgery	14.8	16.2	19.0	20.7	4.2	5.5	5.0	3.7
Frauds	0	1.5	0	.5	.7	.4	1.1	1.0
Liquor	3.3	21.2	46.0	49.4	.7	14.3	72.4	75.6
Offenses against person	38.8	50.4	61.0	55.9	32.3	60.4	49.7	48.9
Offenses against property	95.5	160.7	132.1	141.5	32.3	63.2	55.3	78.9
Liquor offenses	3.3	21.2	46.0	49.4	.7	14.1	72.4	75.6
All other	10.2	16.7	9.5	6.9	10.9	17.0	13.0	16.4
Total	147.8	249.0	248.6	253.7	76.2	154.7	191.0	219.8
Total non-liquor	144.5	227.8	202.6	204.3	75.5	140.6	118.6	144.2

[1] Source: *Criminal Justice in Virginia.* Century Co., 1931, pp. 62–64.

Recently, Sorokin and Zimmerman [1] have carefully sifted the data comparing rural and urban criminality in the United States, Germany, France, Sweden, Netherlands, Denmark, Canada, England, and a few other nations. They reach the conclusion that "on the whole, rural or agricultural criminality, according to the residence of the offenders or the place of perpetration, is somewhat lower than that of the urban population, or those of the majority of the large occupational classes with the exception of the professional and official groups. The somewhat greater urban criminality is due to a series of specific urban conditions. Among them especially important parts are played by the greater instability of the city family, the greater heterogeneity and mobility of the city population, the greater number of contacts of the city dwellers, and by other secondary factors which have been the satellites of the city agglomerations" In the opinion of these students, the agricultural occupation, on the whole, is one of the least criminal occupational classes or one of the most law abiding groups of the population, a situation which is especially true in regard to owners and independents in agriculture, and less true with regard to the laborers. They also find that the agricultural class is stronger in crimes against persons, particularly in homicides, infanticides, and grave assaults, than in crimes against property, especially theft, fraud, forgery, and embezzlement; abortion (instead of infanticide), prohibited forms of vice, intemperance, political crimes, transgression of the rules of the press, traffic ordinances and so on. The city population seems to yield a greater number of repeaters of crime than does the country population.

Gillin summarizes the factors tending to the greater urban criminality in the main as follows:

1. There is more law breaking in the city than in the country because there are more laws to break. Moreover, there are more officials charged with the responsibility of seeing that breakers of the law are dealt with by the courts The same man, therefore, might have an entirely different history in the city and in the country. In the country he might commit the same act as in the city and yet escape observation. Furthermore, the complex relationships of city life demand that those relationships should be more carefully guarded and regulated than in the country.
2. The contacts in the crowded city are much more frequent and therefore provide irritating situations which lead to personal violence
3. The pressure of poverty is frequently very much harsher in the

[1] Sorokin, P., and Zimmerman, C C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 370–401.

city than in the country and therefore the economic motives to crime probably play a larger part in city populations than in sparsely settled districts.

4. The crowded living conditions in cities, denying common decency in houses, and the incitements to vice, more frequent and also commercialized, intensify the demoralizing effects of contact between people.

5. The crowded city, with the possibility of hiding, draws the more turbulent and criminally inclined elements of the country to itself. Consequently, more criminals of the habitual or professional kind will congregate in the city. Furthermore, it is in the city where those who have been thoroughly demoralized find the excitements and the vice which they crave.

6. Because of the economic opportunities offered by the city, its population is composed of a higher percentage of adults than the country population. Since we have seen that the young adult is in the age of highest criminal incidence, it is natural to expect that the rate of criminality in cities would be greater than in the country.[1]

3. Insanity and Feeblemindedness

Insanity seems to be a characteristic of the city population much more than of the inhabitants of the rural districts. The Bureau of the Census reports [2] in 1922 that the rate per 100,000 of the urban population admitted to hospitals for mental diseases was 78.8, while for the rural areas the corresponding rate was only 41.1 per 100,000 of the population. Fewer females than males were admitted in both city and country, the rates being as follows: for the males, 89.6 per 100,000 of the urban population, and 46.4 in the rural sections; for the females, 67.8 per 100,000 of the urban population, and 35.5 in the rural districts.

In the census report twenty-five forms of insanity or psychoses are given. "If a comparison be made between both sexes, urban and rural, the following appears true. All types of mental psychoses are more prevalent in urban districts except Huntington's chorea and psychoses with pellagra. The rate for Huntington's chorea is the same in rural and urban districts. This is an unimportant disease because it caused insanity in only one out of a million of the population for that year. Pellagra accounted for 2 per 100,000 in urban districts and .5 per 100,000 in rural districts. It appears that the two outstanding types of insanity which increase in urban districts are general paralysis and alcoholism. General paralysis is nearly always the result of syphilis." [3]

[1] Gillin, J. L. *Op. cit.*, pp. 68–69.

[2] *Patients in Hospitals for Mental Diseases.* Bureau of the Census, 1923.

[3] Sorokin, P., and Zimmerman, C. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 265–266.

It is interesting to speculate as to the causes of the increase of mental disease with urbanization. The best analysis of the reasons for this is given by Sorokin and Zimmerman, who say: "One of the factors in the prevalence of insanity in the city, compared with the country, *is a lower proportion of the married and a higher proportion of the divorced in the city than in the country*. It has been well established that the unmarried and the divorced have been giving a higher proportion of the insane than the married. For this reason the cities have to have a higher proportion of the insane than the rural parts. In so far as the divorce-rate has been growing in industrialized countries for the last few decades, this growth may be responsible for a part of the growth of mental disease. Such is one of the factors. We suggest further that the next significant factors are *the increased complexity of social organization which is associated with urbanization; and the increased mobility of the individual*. This increased complexity and mobility of individuals calls for a greater mental strain, greater numbers of adjustments, and adjustments to a more intricate and fluctuating order of physical and social objects. Under such pressures greater numbers of individuals break down. More of them become subject to fears, delusions, manias, and psychopathic states; more of them take to alcoholism, drugs, and other stimulants which quicken the mental abilities for the time but lead to a more rapid breakdown later, and result in mental incapacity before the other parts of the bodily organism have reached the ends of their spans of life. More of the dwellers in urban communities and urban societies lose their religious and moral beliefs; they come in contact with prostitutes; these prostitutes infect them with syphilis more often; and in spite of the developments and use of salvarsan and curatives for syphilis, greater numbers are driven insane as a result. The loss of these religious and moral beliefs puts more of them on a 'rationalistic' basis; with a purely 'personal rationalism' they are unable to settle problems which would never occur to them in a homogeneous rural community with an accepted and unchallenged set of mores, faiths, and religious beliefs; as a result more of them lose 'the peace of mind,' their equilibrium, break down and increase the mental disease rates." [1]

The statement is widely made that feeblemindedness is more a problem of the country than of the city. This is believed to be

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 279–280.

true because feeblemindedness is known to be an inherited condition, and that its perpetuation is due in great measure to the intermarriage of feebleminded persons, and to the inbreeding of families with such latent defects. The rural environment is less complex in its relationships and adjustments, and a feebleminded person fares better in the competitions of life inhering in the agricultural industry. Also, isolation prevails in many rural communities, and is conducive to the intermarriage of related families, and to the mating of feebleminded persons. But the concrete data on the matter do not appear to be conclusive.

The federal census reports [1] a much higher rate of urban than of rural admissions to institutions for the feebleminded in 1922 The rate in that year was 4 4 per 100,000 of the rural population as compared with 8.5 per 100,000 of the urban population in the United States as a whole. The similar rates for the males were in the urban districts, 9.6 per 100,000, and in the rural, 4.5, an advantage more than 100 per cent in favor of the country. The disparity was not so great in the case of the females where the urban rate was 7 4 per 100,000 of the population, and the corresponding rural figure was 4.1 per 100,000. Moreover the advantage holds for the rural population in these figures for every section of the nation except the New England States. It is the opinion of Sims that "despite these data we cannot call the case settled in behalf of the rural community. For it is altogether probable that a much smaller proportion of the feebleminded and epileptic groups are committed to such institutions from rural districts than from urban districts. Moreover, the states with large urban populations have more adequate institutions of this sort, and hence show a larger proportion of the classes in question under institutional care than do many states that are preponderantly rural. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that owing to less adequate home facilities, city people are compelled to make greater use of institutions in the case of their mentally deficient than are country people. In view of these considerations it is therefore not reasonable to conclude that the advantage really lies with the rural population." [2]

The record of causes for rejection in the selective service system of the World War gives mental defectiveness as the cause in 1.5 per cent of the cases among urban draftees, while the corresponding

[1] *Feebleminded and Epileptics in Institutions.* Bureau of the Census, 1923.
[2] Sims, N. L. *Elements of Rural Sociology.* Crowell, 1928, pp. 91–92.

figure for the rural dralftees was 3.9 per cent. A number of fragmentary studies of comparative feeblemindedness in rural and urban areas in different localities seem to indicate a more favored condition in this regard for the city population. But the statistical adequacy of both of these sets of data are called severely into question by Sorokin and Zimmerman [1] who are of the opinion that the town-country differences in this respect are not as great as often pictured. They believe that "in regard to the incidence of feeblemindedness in the non-institutional population, there is some evidence to believe that it is more prevalent among the rural than the urban population in the United States," but that "we must set the greater incidence in the rural non-institutional population against the greater incidence in the urban institutional population." Then we may return to the original proposition stated in this section to the effect that the impression prevails that there is a greater amount of feeblemindedness in the country than in the city, though convincing statistical proof is still lacking to establish the conclusion with a desirable degree of definiteness.

4. Poor Relief

The following general principle, justifying public relief is well established: "Modern society so far recognizes an obligation to the individual who through no fault of his own finds himself in want and without ability to help himself, as to establish the obligation of government to assist him, at least to the extent of providing those necessities of life which he is unable to secure by any other valid means." [2] This public relief of the poor has taken mainly two forms in the United States—indoor relief, which is accomplished through the "poorhouse" or almshouse, prevailing generally in this country; and outdoor relief or that administered by monies or goods supplied to aid the indigent in their own homes.

Any discussion of poor relief must center about the almshouse; for it is the fundamental institution ministering to this end. Warner, Queen, and Harper say of this institution: "It cares for all the abjectly destitute not otherwise provided for. Its shelter is the guarantee against starvation which the State offers to all, no matter how unfortunate or degraded. Consequently, the inmates of the almshouse are often the most sodden driftwood from the

[1] Sorokin, P., and Zimmerman, C. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 266–270.
[2] Kelso, R. W. *The Science of Public Welfare.* Henry Holt, 1928, p. 194.

social wreckage of the time. It is ordinarily a depressing experience to visit an almshouse, and accordingly we find in it an institution that even the benevolent willingly forget. In many of the country almshouses no clergyman comes the year around; and no friendly visitor appears to encourage the superintendent to be faithful, or to bring to light abuses that may exist. Yet, since the institution is so fundamental, and since the number of its inmates is necessarily considerable, it may be doubted whether a more profitable work can easily be found than that for right organization and proper management of almshouses. The benevolent too frequently hurry away to make excellent provision for certain classes, while the maladministration of the local almshouse leaves a large assortment of destitute people under evil conditions." [1]

The defects of such institutions are numerous The superintendents, often stolid, unsympathetic persons of mediocre ability, have instead of merely the poor an assortment of diseased, defective, and incapable as inmates, with frequently, "dishonest or wasteful management of the funds, culpable stinginess on the part of the appropriating power, resulting in inadequate or unhealthful food, lack of proper buildings, heating apparatus, clothing and so forth; insanitary conditions, including dirt and vermin; and finally, actual cruelty, resulting from either brutality or neglect on the part of officials in charge." [2] An aroused public consciousness, and more to the point, increasing efficiency in state departments of public welfare, are doing much to correct these conditions The defective are being sent to state institutions for their particular classification, the diseased are being treated, and the almshouses utilized for the care of the poor instead of the previous agglomerations committed to them. A significant movement is under way in some states to consolidate the county almshouses into well-equipped, well-superintended and managed district homes for the poor at a reduced cost to the participating counties, and with a most desirable improvement in efficiency and humaneness of operation.

Outdoor relief for the poor, both public and private is also subject to many abuses. Unless it is intelligently handled by trained personnel, the procedure is more likely to encourage

[1] Warner, Queen, and Harper. *American Charities and Social Work*. Crowell, 1930, p. 90

[2] *Ibid*, p. 96.

poverty and dependency than it is to help matters. It should be administered through the trained case worker, "visiting the applicants in their homes, planning with them the family budget and the steps to be taken to make the bounty of the public a true investment for the community. Where districts are too small to support a full-time paid visitor, contiguous areas should combine until the unit is large enough to make such employment practicable." [1] Constant and intelligent coöperation between the private agencies, such as the Red Cross and the churches, and the public agencies should prevail, and a record should be kept by the public agency of all cases helped so that each case may be followed, and the treatment made to be as curative as possible.

5. Social Control of Mentally Deficient

It is now recognized that many forms of insanity are curable, and especially so if detected sufficiently early. Instead of mental disorders being considered a disease of adult life, now it is known that the condition develops over a period of years, frequently beginning in youth. The science of mental hygiene has evolved, and modern medical schools today are giving emphasis to this work in the training of the medical profession. Hospitals have their psychiatrists, and take care of the mentally as well as the physically ailing. In some states, the state hospitals for mental diseases now have special departments for the incipiently mentally sick, where such a person may be restored to health without the necessity of a formal commitment, and the stigma occurring from having at one time been adjudged insane.

The elements of a sound system of care and treatment of the insane in modern society are thus well summarized by an outstanding student of public welfare:

> 1. The process provided by law for apprehending and providing immediate custody for insane persons should be as expeditious and easy of application as can be found consistent with obvious safeguards of the rights of the individual.
>
> As insanity is the manifestation of a disordered personality rooted in the brain and nervous system, requiring expert knowledge and long experience in the diagnostician,
>
> 2. The determination of insanity should be made only upon a finding of competent medical experts. This should be made legally regular through a final decree by a court of law, based upon such medical find-

[1] Kelso, R. W. *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

ing. The process of jury trial offers nothing in the way of safeguards of liberty and is stupid as regards the diagnosis.

Since the care, custody and treatment of insane persons involve deep problems of medicine, and require the personal custody of thousands of individuals in any single jurisdiction,

3. The process of care should be headed up in a system dominated by the largest unit of government, the state. The problem is uniform. The exigencies of local financing, local politics, local ignorance of the subject matter, multiplied by scores or even hundreds of county and municipal units, should not be permitted to render the making of major policy impossible and the system impotent. Unification is the only alternative, and this means a state system as against county or town leadership. It means also the ownership and conduct of institutions by the state to the exclusion of municipalities and counties.

Because insanity is the outward expression of a profound complex of disorders,

4. The treatment of insane persons should follow the principles found valid in the treatment of other ailments,—sound medical application; therapeutic occupation; pleasant, beautiful surroundings; and kindly nursing. In general this means non-restraint methods as opposed to the shackles, straight-jackets, muffs and cribs of earlier days

Knowing insanity to be so highly destructive of social values, it is not enough in the social economy of the future to wait until a condition of insanity comes about and then to seek to repair the damage as best we may; hence,

5. The present movement to encourage the voluntary patient to come to the psychopathic hospital furthers prevention and should be encouraged and greatly extended; and

6. Methods and processes of examination of individuals in public custody or in governmental contact, in order to detect mental disorder or incapacity, should be pursued. Finally,

7. Research into the medical aspects and social results of mental disorders should be pursued persistently and constantly in order that the sound course in the furtherance of the public welfare may be foreshadowed.[1]

Dr. Walter E Fernald, a leading authority on mental deficiency says on the subject of feeblemindedness that it is "the synonym of human inefficiency and one of the greatest sources of human wretchedness and degradation. The past few years have witnessed a striking awakening of professional and popular consciousness of the widespread prevalence of feeblemindedness and its influence as a source of wretchedness to the patient himself and to his family, and as a causative factor in the production of crime, prostitution, pauperism, illegitimacy, intemperance and other

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 307–308.

complex social diseases." And again: "The social and economic burdens of uncomplicated feeblemindedness are only too well known. The feebleminded are a parasitic, predatory class, never capable of self-support or of managing their own affairs. The great majority ultimately become public charges in some form. They cause unutterable sorrow at home, and are a menace and a danger to the community. Feebleminded women are almost invariably immoral and if at large usually become carriers of venereal disease or give birth to children who are as defective as themselves. Every feebleminded person, especially the high-grade imbecile, is a potential criminal, needing only the proper environment and opportunity for the development and expression of his criminal tendencies." [1]

This is a severe indictment, perhaps too severe, but the larger part of it holds with tragic truthfulness. How may the condition in human society be remedied? It was formerly thought that if every feebleminded individual might be sterilized or segregated during his or her life time in an institution where procreation would be prohibited, feeblemindedness would be eliminated. But segregation and institutionalization are too expensive for modern governments on such a scale, and sterilization has many practical difficulties. Studies of the inheritance of feeblemindedness show that it is a complicated matter, and not one of simple Mendelian heredity as was at one time supposed. Yet these are the two most practical remedies yet devised, and both are being applied in progressive states in varying degrees. The constitutionality of a sterilization law in Virginia has been upheld by the United States Supreme Court, and in California such a measure has been operating extensively and satisfactorily for a number of years. Much enlightenment on the part of families concerned, and of taxpayers is necessary before such a program may be developed as effectively as it needs to be.

A comprehensive program for handling the problem of mental deficiency is outlined by Kelso as follows:

> 1. Mental defectiveness must be recognized as a community problem to be met by the whole community through its largest unit of government, the state.
>
> Starting with this premise, the next step should relate to the identification of the feeble-minded.

[1] Fernald, W. E. in Davies, S. P. *Social Control of the Mentally Deficient.* Crowell, 1930, pp. 92–93

2. There should be set up a state census and continuing registration of mental defectives. Through schools, mental clinics, psychiatric examination of prisoners and all other reliable channels, each feeble-minded person should be found and recorded.

3. Constant intensive social research should be carried on in order to identify defective heredity strains with a view to providing a factual basis for that growing public opinion which may, in time, be counted upon to demand the cutting off of such strains in the defense of the common welfare.

4. Public institutions for care, custody and training should be established, to serve as resources for the careful vocational training of those persons who appear capable of full or partial self-support without menacing the public well-being through crime or the breeding of more defectives. But the principal function of such institutions must be the segregation of hereditary defectives to prevent procreation. No hereditary mental defective should be permitted to procreate.

5 Such institutions should develop farm colony extensions for the training of defectives in unskilled labor suitable to their abilities at a minimum cost to the public.

6. Defective delinquents should be segregated for separate custodial care in special institutions. This for purposes of safety and economy.

7. The state, through a department or bureau for the feeble-minded, should provide psychiatric clinics in all local districts, making it practicable for the public to secure expert examination of all persons suspected of mental defectiveness. Institutions for the feeble-minded should be made the headquarters of this network of clinics.

8. Every person coming to public custody through crime of a serious nature or for misdemeanor often repeated, should receive a psychiatric examination, and if found defective, made the subject of further proceedings to protect society as far as may be advisable.

9. Every person, male or female, suffering from venereal disease and convicted of prostitution or illegal sex relation, should be examined, and if found defective placed in charge of the state department for custodial care or such other dispositions as may safeguard the public from further harm.

10. A process of examination under the supervision of state psychiatrists should be carried out in all public schools in connection with a process of special instruction for all children found to be markedly backward in their grades. A school visitor should relate the findings of those school examinations to the parents, encouraging their coöperation in protecting the child and recognizing its probable limitations. It is essential that the feeble-minded person should be recognized while he is a child, before his career of potential community damage begins, and while he can be helped, if ever.

11. No feeble-minded person, especially of the non-hereditary group, who can in the opinion of the state department be kept safely in the community, should be placed in an institution except for a course of training preparatory to a life occupation.

These principles, in substance, involve two main steps, namely, preventing all feeble-minded persons from procreating and providing kindly care, in custody where necessary, in the community where practicable, salvaging as many for self-support as possible. The present state of public sentiment will not support the first of these proposals, and is coming slowly enough to agree to the second. But the better social sense of the future will support both—must out of social necessity support both. Man with his increasing knowledge of himself and the world in which he must live, is driven in time to this only course as a protection to Society. Only by so doing can he combat those social ills which beset him with increasing power to destroy him.[1]

6. The County Unit in Public Welfare

Under varying designations, all but three of the forty-eight states in the nation have central boards, functioning as state boards of public welfare. The members of this board are customarily appointed by the governor of the state, and serve for rotating and overlapping terms. A state commissioner of public welfare, or an executive officer otherwise designated, is appointed by this board, though in some cases the appointment is made directly by the governor. The state department of public welfare is mainly supervisory in its functions, as well as that of a program builder in public welfare service. It is usually organized into a number of divisions appropriate to the several phases of welfare work in which it is charged with the responsibility of functioning.

The state of North Carolina is one of the pioneers in effective state public welfare organization. It represents a commonwealth predominantly rural in character, and hence it was necessary that important consideration be given the rural sections. County government is the phase of our governmental organization which most directly impinges upon the farmer, and it was logical that the county should be made the unit of state public welfare administration. Thus North Carolina in 1919 established county public welfare units, a movement which was extended to Missouri in 1921, Virginia in 1922, and Illinois in 1925.[2] This plan has proved effective and its adoption undoubtedly will grow in different sections of the nation. In North Carolina, the state board appoints the three members of the county board of public welfare. The secretary of this board is the county superintendent of public

[1] Kelso, R. W. *Op. cit.*, pp. 328–330.
[2] Hoffer, F. W. *Counties in Transition*. Century Co., 1923, p. 1.

welfare, an officer appointed jointly by the county commissioners and the county board of education. It is necessary, however, that he have a certificate of qualification from the state board before he is eligible. Provision is made that the county superintendent of public instruction may act also as county superintendent of public welfare. An enumeration of the duties of this officer acting under his county board serves to give a rather clear picture of how the county unit is expected to function. These duties are eleven in number, as follows:

1. Direction of school attendance work.
2. Care and supervision of the poor and administration of the poor funds.
3. Follow-up of persons discharged from asylums and other state institutions.
4. Oversight of all paroled prisoners in the county.
5. Oversight of dependent and delinquent children, especially paroles and probationers.
6. Oversight of all prisoners paroled from the county institutions.
7. Promotion of wholesome recreation in the county and the enforcement of the laws relating to commercialized entertainments.
8. Oversight of all dependent children placed in the county.
9. Assistance of the state board in finding employment for the unemployed.
10. Investigation of the causes of distress (under state board direction) and the making of such other investigations in the interests of social welfare as the state board may direct.
11. Investigation of mothers' relief cases and general oversight of the application of Article 4 of Chapter 90, Consolidated Laws, for aid of needy orphans in homes of worthy mothers.[1]

The problems of juvenile delinquency and of domestic relations have led to the establishment of juvenile courts with special judges presiding over them. If such bodies are to function as they should, a probation officer is necessary to follow up closely the probationers, and see that the imposed reforms are effected by the parents or guardians of the children. It is highly important that such work should relate closely to the state public welfare organization. One way of effecting this is to have the state commissioner of public welfare concur in the appointment of the juvenile court judge. While, as is the case with so much of social reform, these courts are as yet far from perfect in their functioning, their establishment removes the juvenile delinquent from the

[1] Kelso, R. W. *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

classification of common criminals, and gives the opportunity for wholesome reform, salvaging the youthful offender to a life of future usefulness instead of branding him for all time as a one-time criminal.

Public welfare is a new and evolving science. Its closest students are among its most enthusiastic prophets of increasing usefulness in ameliorating many of the existing ills of human society. One of them says in this connection that "what public education was to the last half of the last century in the development of the democratic ideal, public welfare may well be to the first half of this century. Indeed it seems very probable that progress in the field of public welfare will constitute the outstanding contribution of the half century toward progress in American democracy. But like public education, long considered unnecessary, dangerous and bringing the stigma of charity to its recipients, public welfare must needs take its time to get under way, and must be misunderstood, misinterpreted and surrounded by limitations that impede its progress." And again: "It would seem most important, therefore, that larger efforts be undertaken to see that the state systems of public welfare in the United States be put upon some such substantial basis as are state departments of education, of which every state has its definite organization and its definite administrative head." [1]

QUESTIONS

1. What is the justification for the statement that a civilization may be judged in considerable measure by its attitude toward and its treatment of its unfortunate classes, and its efforts to ameliorate such conditions?
2. Distinguish between "germinal heredity" and "social heredity."
3. To what general extent ultimately may we expect the science of public welfare to eradicate poverty, defectiveness, and delinquency from the social order?
4. Compare the wealth and income of the farming classes with that of the city population.
5. Describe the results of the study in Virginia as to the income and wealth accumulations of rural-born of the same educational and social levels, a part of whom remained in the country and the other part migrated to the city
6. Compare the extent of poverty and pauperism among the rural and urban populations of the United States. In this connection, what does Galpin consider the first great advantage of farming and why?

[1] Odum, H. W. *Systems of Public Welfare*. U. of North Carolina Press, 1925, pp. 5, 14.

7. Which produces more criminals, the country or the city? How do farmers compare with other classes of the population in the frequency of the more serious offenses? in the offenses against person and against property?
8. Summarize the factors which make for the greater urban criminality.
9. Give the situation with regard to the comparative prevalence of insanity in the country and in the city. Account for these conditions.
10. What does the statistical evidence show as to the comparative extent of feeblemindedness in country and in city? In which environment would a feebleminded person find more favorable conditions for survival and procreation?
11. What is the recognized obligation of society toward the individual who through no fault of his own finds himself in want and without ability to help himself? Name and define the two main forms of public relief of the poor in this country.
12. Describe the adequacy of the almshouse as an institution for poor relief. Along what lines has improvement in this institution been made in recent years?
13. Discuss the abuses to which outdoor poor relief is subject, and the proper administration of this plan for relieving dependency
14. To what extent is insanity curable? Give the provisions which the science of mental hygiene has brought about in progressive states for the detection and treatment of the incipiently mentally sick.
15. Enumerate the principal elements of a sound system of care and of treatment of the insane in modern society.
16. Explain the significance of the statement to the effect that "feebleminded-ness is the synonym of human inefficiency and one of the greatest sources of human wretchedness and degradation."
17. Outline a comprehensive program for handling the problem of mental deficiency.
18. Describe the machinery of state government which has in recent years been developed to care for public welfare work. What is a "county public welfare unit," in organization and in function?
19. Tell what is meant by a "juvenile and domestic relations court," and discuss the importance of such an institution.
20. Give Odum's opinion as to the increasing usefulness of the emerging science of public welfare.

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2. Kelso, R. W. *Poverty.* Longmans, Green and Company, 1929, Chapter XXI, pp. 324–349, "Summary and Conclusion."
3. Sutherland, E. H *Criminology.* J. B. Lippincott Company, 1924, Chapter V, pp. 89–110, "Composition of the Criminal Population"
4. Sorokin, P., and Zimmerman, C. C. *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology.* Henry Holt and Company, 1929, Chapter XVI, pp. 370–401, "Compara-

tive Criminality, Immorality and Intemperance"; and Chapter XII, pp. 263–281, "Rural-Urban Mental Disease."

5. GILLIN, J. L. *Criminology and Penology.* Century Company, 1926, Chapter XXXVI, pp. 851–858, "A Program of Treatment and Prevention."
6. DAVIES, S. P. *Social Control of the Mentally Deficient.* Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1930. Chapter XVIII, pp. 368–381, "The Mentally Deficient in the Social Order"
7. ODUM, H. W., and WILLARD, D. W. *Systems of Public Welfare* University of North Carolina Press, 1925, Chapter I, pp. 3–14, "The New Public Welfare."

CHAPTER XXI

FARM YOUTH

The country is preëminently the environment in which youth is represented in larger proportions than in the city. As has been pointed out in the preceding chapter on rural population trends, in each 100 of the farm population in 1930, approximately 47 were in the age group from infancy to 20 years, with a corresponding figure of around 35 per 100 of the urban population. If we limit the term "farm youth" to mean those between the ages of ten through twenty, we find in 1920, there were 7 292,420 children of these ages in the farm population; or around 23 per cent of the total population on the farm. The corresponding figure in the urban population was 16.8 per cent. This situation is occasioned by the fact that the marked migration cityward removes from the country in larger proportions those between the ages of 18 and 45 years. When it is recalled that about half of the urban growth from 1910 to 1920 was occasioned by this rural migration, the proper training and development of farm youth assumes a tremendous significance not only for the country but for the city as well.

Until comparatively recent years, the care and culture of the young has been considered a matter that was entirely the domain of parents, governesses, and teachers. However, there is now a growing consciousness that it is a matter for deep concern in national and state planning for the largest public welfare. "In some countries, particularly in our own, statesmen are coming to see that the stability and prosperity of a nation depend mainly in the long run upon the mental poise and acumen, and the social understanding and good will of the rising generation, which values can be secured only by a proper regimen of bodily, mental and social training. Those who are studying the requirements of national welfare as well as those who are charged with the conduct of governmental affairs at home as well as abroad, are turning their attention today, very much more generally and acutely than they did formerly, to the promotion of the physical, in-

tellectual, and social well-being of the rising generation. Our own country has led in this new movement, but all progressive countries have shown, or are now showing, that they regard the careful investigation of the nature and the needs of childhood and youth and the dissemination of knowledge relating to education and child welfare as of supreme importance." [1]

One of the committees of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, held at Washington, D. C. on November 19, 20, 21, and 22, 1930, reported that of 15,000,000 children,

35,000,000 were reasonably normal.
6,000,000 were improperly nourished.
1,000,000 had defective speech.
1,000,000 had weak or damaged hearts.
675,000 presented behavior problems.
450,000 were mentally retarded.
382,000 were tubercular.
342,000 had impaired hearing.
18,000 were totally deaf.
300,000 were crippled.
50,000 were partially blind.
14,000 were wholly blind.
200,000 were delinquent.
500,000 were dependent.

The total deficients amounted to about 10,000,000, more than 80 per cent of whom were stated not to be receiving the necessary attention, though it is known to a high degree the conditions can be corrected or improved. In discussing these and related facts, Hoover said in part: "We approach all problems of childhood with affection. Theirs is the province of joy and good humor. They are the most wholesome part of the race, the sweetest, for they are fresher from the hands of God. Whimsical, ingenious, mischievous, we live a life of apprehension as to what their opinion may be of us; a life of defense against their terrifying energy; we put them to bed with a sense of relief and a lingering of devotion. We envy them the freshness of adventure and discovery of life; we mourn over the disappointments they will meet." [2] In the same address, he said further that "we have grave responsibilities to the rural child. Adequate expert service should be as available to him from maternity to maturity. Since science discovered the

[1] O'Shea, M. V. *The Child: His Nature and His Needs.* The Children's Foundation, Valparaiso, Ind., 1924, p. 1.

[2] Hoover, Herbert. *Proceedings White House Conference on Child Health and Protection,* Nov. 19, 1930. U. S. Daily Supplement, Vol. V, No. 228, Section II, Nov. 28, 1930, p. 3

cause of communicable disease, protection from these diseases for the child of the farm is as much an obligation to them as to the child of the city. The child of the country is handicapped by lack of some cultural influences extended by the city. We must find ways and means of extending these influences to the children of rural districts. On the other hand, some of the natural advantages of the country child must somehow be given back to the city child—more space in which to play, contact with nature and natural processes."

1. Advantages of Farm Life for Youth

In what is perhaps the most extended study of farm children made in this country, Baldwin [1] and others point out the opportunities which those coming up in rural areas enjoy. Since the prevalent attitude today is a critical one towards agriculture, such advantages are too often lost sight of in the process of pointing out the hindrances to proper development. Wisely, these students of the problem state that "these influences, both favorable and unfavorable, make farm children neither better nor worse than city children, but different and doubtless equally valuable to the world. Although more advantages are desired for rural children, they were not in an utterly deplorable state as they possessed opportunities others might well envy them."

1. *Association with Nature.*—Farm life is vitally dependent upon the processes of nature, and the country child from his earliest impressions is reacted upon by his environment. The weather regulates much of farm activity, and the youngster soon becomes a close observer of the elements, and keenly conscious of the meaning of the procession of the seasons.

At an early age, the farm child comes to know the birds and other wild life in the country. The seasonal migration of the robin denotes the coming of winter or the return of spring. There is the annoying crow and the hawk, the delightful mocking-bird, the noisy blue-jay, the thrush, and numbers of other familiar friends of the woods and fields. As soon as he comes to the age of responsibility in such matters, the boy on the farm is allowed to have his rifle or gun, and spends long hours hunting quail, rabbit or squirrel, and similar game, thereby learning in an intimate way the habits of these animals.

[1] Baldwin, B. T., and others. *Farm Children.* Appleton 1930. Chapter X.

Although the farm child is not often given to extravagant praise of the beauties and mysteries of the natural world, there is every evidence that he is appreciative of them and that they produce in him a wholesome worth-whileness.

2. *Companionship of Pets.*—The conditions of city life make it difficult for children to have pets, but it is the exceptional boy or girl on the farm that does not have some animal for a pet, or often several of them. There is plenty of room to take care of dogs, cats, ponies, goats, and of course there are pet calves and pigs. The attachment between the children and their pets is often a close and affectionate one, especially so when the isolation of the region makes for a limited association with other children.

An Iowa boy thus described his pet: "My pet is a dog and his name is Rex. I like him because if you drag a rope behind you he will try to catch it if he can. When you take him out in the field he will run his nose in the ground and he will dig a hole in the snow. He will catch rabbits when he gets big and keep the strangers off the place." [1]

There is more of fundamental training in sympathy, companionship, and responsibility in these associations with animals than one is inclined at first thought to attribute.

3. *Responsibility for Regular Tasks.*—It is often remarked with much correctness that the child in the country soon becomes an asset in the farm enterprise, whereas in the city during childhood and adolescence he is very largely an economic and often a social liability. In discussing this situation, Baldwin and those associated with him in the Iowa study of farm children say:

> One of the great advantages possessed by rural children is their training in responsibility for certain work that they are required to do regularly. On a farm some of the many duties are generally portioned to the children who follow a daily routine in their chores. Rising often at six o'clock, considerable work is done before school hours and again after school a period is given to work. Feeding and watering horses, cows, chickens and pigs, milking cows, taking animals to and from the barns and cleaning stables are tasks that occupy boys and girls both morning and evening At some homes the girls did less outdoors but instead assisted in the house at such work as setting the table, putting up the lunch for school, wiping dishes, sweeping and dusting or caring for a younger child. These tasks, the lack of which in many city homes is so generally deplored, were amply provided in the rural home and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

afforded constant training in self-reliance and the taking of responsibility. In this respect the rural children should be equipped far better than are many city children to whom later training never quite makes up for the lack of opportunity in early years to establish self-reliance and independence.[1]

4. *The Rhythm of Rural Life.*—The gregarious inclinations of youth assert themselves strongly during the years of adolescence. With the town child, baseball, basketball, football, glee clubs, and dramatics are provided even for the children of grammar grades, and in the high school with its additional literary societies, scout organizations, Hi-Y clubs, debating clubs, and rifle teams the result is often confusion worse confounded In the country, particularly in the one-room school still reaching the majority of country children, the rhythm of life is more in step with the farming operations. Frequently school terms are adjusted to times of major farm activities, and the child accepts without protest the interruption of education for corn husking or cotton picking "Too many activities are perhaps more pernicious than too few. A rural child seldom prepared for more than one program at a time, and these programs were spaced at such intervals that he could enjoy them in preparation, presentation and in retrospect before planning for another. He belonged to but few organizations and to these he devoted as much time as he could spare, content to bend all his energies towards the furtherance of their success." [2]

Life in the country is usually unhurried for children and adults. One must wait on the seasons, and the times of rain and drought. There is a time to plant, to cultivate, and to harvest, and the lives of all tend to fall into the cadence of nature and the rhythm of activities determined thereby. These conditions have a certain wholesomeness. Because of them, the farm child "has an opportunity to think out problems alone, and stands in little danger of being stampeded by the opinion of others. There is much in the life of the farm child that develops independence of spirit and sturdiness of character." [3]

2. Hindrances to Development

In spite of the formidable array of environmental advantages inuring to the benefit of children growing up on the farm, the situation is far from ideal, and there are several hindrances to

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 152. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 153. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

their development to which attention must be directed. The intensive Iowa study of this problem states that "the narrow confines of the rural community place special limitations upon life that have serious consequences for children. Both the school and the home suffer from the closeness with which the lives of some neighbors are interwoven, the lack of knowledge that prevails among people out of touch with the newer trends in thinking, the absence of an effective educational system and lack of social agencies that could make better the lot of the unfortunate." [1]

1. *Unfavorable School Conditions*.—The training of youth centers in three principal institutions—the home, the school, and the church. Each of these institutions is treated in a separate chapter of this volume so only a few of their special features in connection with the youth problem will be considered at this point. The home problem is a very difficult one with which to wrestle for its improvement. The church today is entirely too limited in the extent of its influence for symmetrical community development. So, much of the desirable change must be effected through the school. The one-room school characterizes our rural educational system even in this twentieth century. The Iowa study which forms the basis of the present discussion found that "the drawbacks that beset rural education prevailed most extensively in the one-room schools in which the various factors that militate against educational progress seemed to have gained a firm foothold. Conditions that might arise in any school had come to be a menace in the one-room schools, surrounded as they were by influences that made for laxness." [1] This situation in the one-room school was quite in contrast to that found in the consolidated school, an influential institution in rural community life.

The standards in the one-room school were maintained at low levels, and the teachers were often prevented by community sentiment from enforcing the laws regarding compulsory attendance. Many children enter schools of the one-room variety at too early an age for their proper handling and progress. Irregularity in attendance was found to be a serious factor in retardation. Supervision of rural schools is still inadequately provided in this country, and one of the consequences is much ineffective teaching. This is intensified by the fact that the carrying out of the daily program in a one-room school is a very difficult pedagogical task.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

In such schools, progress is so varied in different subjects that it is difficult to classify them accurately into grades. In almost every particular some glaring deficiency is to be noted, and yet these are the institutions by which the great majority of country youth are being trained.

Perhaps the most serious hindrance to the development of the rural child is the lack of even reasonably efficient school advantages. Such a situation is an unpardonable one with the wealth resources possessed by a nation like this. Ways and means can be found for the removal of this serious disadvantage of rural youth

2. *Lack of Cultural Appreciation* —The cultural advantages of modern life are much more characteristic of the urban environment than of the rural. The urban social economy has produced the theater and the moving picture show, the art and natural history museum, the botanical and zoological garden, the library, and many other institutions and agencies which broaden one's knowledge and appreciation of life. While the diffusion of such cultural influences is by no means general in the city, these focal centers are present and the extent of the impression they make is vast.

The phonograph and radio have increased musical interest and education in rural sections, but it is safe to say that the urban child is better educated musically, and much of this traces back to the difference between the modern city school system and the one-room school.

Too often the rural home is devoid of pictures, or the walls are covered with anything but inspiring enlargements of photographs A modern school will introduce the pupils to the world's great treasures of art, and the walls of the school room set an example for the home along such lines.

With regard to books, if he will, the city child can avail himself of the extensive collections in libraries available to him, reading under the guidance of a person well equipped to point the way. But the great proportion of rural children have either a very limited access or none at all to library facilities. The meager school libraries are about their only dependence, and these are usually very poorly accessible, and are resources limited and soon disintegrated for lack of efficient care

While these are by no means all of the hindrances to the de-

velopment of farm children—there are poor health facilities and inadequate knowledge of the principles of nutrition; a feebly developed program of religious training; a great lack of social contacts and the resulting social confidence derived from them, etc.,—they do serve to emphasize the fact that in many important phases the farm youth of today is denied advantages which should be a part of his social birthright. Moreover, it is not impractical nor unduly idealistic to insist that he shall be provided with them.

3. How Shall Country Youth Be Served?

In four representative communities in Missouri, Morgan and Burt [1] studied the community relations of young people. Among the significant finds of that piece of work, it was discovered that the young people expressed a greater number of recreational activity-wishes than any other kind, and that the community was providing a smaller number of recreational activities than any other type. Those who understand the psychology of the farmer group will not be surprised that these authors find an evident conflict of the old and the new. "The most numerous class of old people (the farmer group) expresses the most friendly attitude toward the church and the least friendly attitude toward play and recreation for young people." The conclusion was reached that the most frequent reasons why young people leave the rural communities are the economic ones, and that "it would appear that the rural communities of Missouri must provide increased economic activities if they wish to check the migration of their young people, and must provide, above all, more numerous opportunities for recreational activities in order to satisfy the most generally expressed needs of the young people who remain."

A few years ago, the Institute for Social and Religious Research sponsored a first-hand study of five representative national character-building agencies functioning for rural youth. These organizations were the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Boy Scouts of America, the Girl Scouts, Inc., and the Camp Fire Girls. None of these makes its rural work a major function, but they are among the most important agencies serving country youth. The results of

[1] Morgan, E. L., and Burt, H. J. *Community Relations of Rural Young People*, Research Bulletin 110, Agric. Expt. Sta., U. of Missouri, 1927.

the investigation as reported by Douglass [1] constitute one of the best analyses of the problems of rural young people which has yet been made.

The purposes of these organizations in their rural work is well set forth in the following brief characterization of each:

1. *Young Men's Christian Association.*—In its rural work the Young Men's Christian Association is the most obviously religious of the agencies compared. This is unmistakable; although its recreational work is more outstanding in the minds of communities, and though the lack of adequate religious effort is sometimes criticized. The announced objective: "To help win boys to Jesus Christ," is commonly taken with real seriousness; and personal Christian consecration and Christian vocation are very strongly stressed in all the more general expressions of Young Men's Christian Association work as found on the field.

Beyond this explicit emphasis, the Young Men's Christian Association is versatile in the forms of rural service undertaken, but opportunistic rather than philosophic in the choice of them. It is progressive in the search for new methods and devices, but perhaps less so in fundamental thinking. The movement is old enough to have developed a somewhat traditional pattern of leadership, lay and professional—one pretty generally embodying a moderately conservative attitude in religious matters, though an attitude often decidedly progressive when compared with the position of the rural church.

2. *Young Women's Christian Association.*—The Young Women's Christian Association is more original, liberal and independent in its expression of religion. Consequently, in local verdicts it is sometimes termed "less religious" than the Young Men's Christian Association. It reflects locally a rather definite reaction from conventional ecclesiastical limitations. In other words, its adherents are not exactly the type of women who chiefly make up prayer meeting and women's missionary society circles. They are more largely drawn from the ranks of economically independent women, a fact which accounts for their somewhat more varied contacts with the world of affairs than a strictly home environment affords. The central problem of development is generally phrased as one of personal adjustment to idealistic ends, with a strong sense that woman has a special version of this problem. Some of the outstanding leaders of the Young Women's Christian Association approve the description of their movement as one of socially minded Christian feminism in which the realization of self and of sex in a world of social responsibility is an indivisible aim. The problem is worked out, characteristically, in an atmosphere of eager spiritual striving which sometimes amounts to agitation. To a considerable degree this attitude towards life is shared by non-professional local leaders and is conveyed more or less fully to girls' groups. Ac-

[1] Douglass, H. P. *How Shall Country Youth Be Served?* Doran 1926

cording to the testimony of representative citizens, however, the rank and file of supporters in small communities do not always sense this atmosphere, but are inclined to think of the Young Women's Christian Association as a semi-philanthropic movement to care for poor or bad girls.

3. *Boy Scouts.*—As a local movement the Boy Scouts unquestionably reflect the directness, aggressiveness and naïveté of organized business groups in America, projected into the realm of idealistic endeavor. They appear to cherish a simple and unreflective faith in the value of manly and wholesome activities under forceful leadership of men of average and unpretentious moral standards, who are generous enough to give personal time to the interests of boys and to carry out a program definitely laid down. "Outing is three-fourths of Scouting" impresses one as a slogan coming close to the facts. The character-building influence of the Scout virtues and the values of the specific achievements required for advancement are accepted as obviously good and self-demonstrating. What communities chiefly value in Scouting is the civic aspect of these accomplishments. They are strongly believed to carry over into helpful community life Scouting, then appeals to the kind, wholesome, honorable and rather inarticulately reverent man who is blessed with something of an outdoor spirit and is willing to acquire a fixed technique. This ideal, effectively phrased, has vastly impressed the lay mind of America. It has proved especially welcome to educators as a supplement to their rather stilted required programs. It furnishes a simple and intelligible secular ideal which practical men, confident in straight-away promotional methods, can operate and be loyal to. It falls in with an era of organized business idealism and community spirit expressed in the Rotary, Kiwanis and other men's service clubs. Scouting has thus become the vehicle of one of the most impressive movements in behalf of youth measured either by its rapidity of growth or by the breadth of its appeal.

4. *Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls.*—Agencies that do not have organization for intensive supervision, numerous local executives or close contacts with contiguous communities have less chance to carry any peculiar atmosphere and emphasis down into individual places. This was found to be true of the Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls in the rural areas studied. They had been promoted almost entirely at long range, through literature and general publicity. It is doubtful whether one can fairly trace any particular set of characteristics in the local units of these organizations that were studied. The impression conveyed was that they almost entirely took the color of their individual local leadership and had not very generally developed organizational traits. Possibly the Girl Scouts may be said to appeal to the idealism of professional and publicly active women of a somewhat sophisticated and urbanized type, in contrast with the more domestic and esthetic type to whom the Camp Fire Girls movement is attractive. Possibly the former are rather more democratic in their local groups, and the latter more selective. Both organizations, however, clearly take their

idealism more simply and objectively and less intensely and personally than the Young Women's Christian Association. Both lack the tradition of ecclesiastical origins and express themselves rather in civic and social terms. It should not be forgotten, however, that this characteristic has sometimes particularly commended them to churches that are strongly desirous of keeping formal religion directly in their own hands.[1]

The question may be asked as to how far the work of these organizations goes toward serving rural youth in America. In the fifty-three counties studied, including as rural all members in places of 10,000 and less, it was found that at the most favored age (years 14 and 15) these five agencies are reaching only about 10 per cent of the total youth population of these counties, and less than 5 per cent in the next most favored age (years 16 and 17). The opinion is advanced that "at best, organized group-work for boys and girls is not likely to reach the smallest village and open-country communities generally; and no complete solution of their problem was suggested apart from the radical reorganization of rural civilization. On the other hand, it was agreed that there can be and should be very much wider occupancy of rural communities by the organized work of the agencies than at present, and that a larger proportion of the work should be definitely rural." [2]

The work of these agencies was found to be abundantly worth while, "yet the largest claims for the importance of the work cannot hold that it is all comparable with the magnitude of serving rural America. The field as a whole is not really occupied. It is because the laborers are so few that one has the greater inclination to say, 'God bless anybody who is doing anything.' The total attack of the agencies on the problem is not great enough really to constitute a genuine preëmption of the field. It still remains an unsolved question as to how the work is to be done on a larger scale." [3]

The public school, the church, and Sunday School, and the club work sponsored by the state agricultural colleges through their extension services are agencies extensive in their influence upon rural youth, but rather specialized in the scope of the activities fostered. The work of these is not discussed here, because separate chapters are devoted to each of these institutions in relation

[1] Douglass H. P. *How Shall Country Youth Be Served?* Doran, 1926.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 188. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

to rural life. One of the great unsolved problems of our country life today remains how adequately to minister to the social and recreational life of our country boys and girls in a way that provides for the largest development of fine characters.

4. The Children's Charter of Rights

It is impossible adequately to consider the factors contributing ideally to the development of youth without considering almost every phase of rural life in its relation to youth. Such an undertaking would be to repeat with special application much that has been said in many other parts of this volume. Fortunately, in summary, it is exceedingly significant to review briefly the Children's Charter, born out of the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, and adopted unanimously by that body at its final meeting.

Ray Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of the Interior in the Hoover Cabinet and chairman of the conference, has prepared an excellent review of the Children's Charter, and from this account a comprehensive view may be secured as to what the American child, both rural and urban, has a right to expect at our hands. These matters are tremendously important because, as Secretary Wilbur points out, "the kind of country the United States of 1950 will be depends more on how we carry out the principles of the children's charter than upon any other factor in American life. If this country is going to succeed biologically, we must plan our future; and in that plan supreme place must be given to the child" [1] There are nineteen points or objectives composing this charter, each of which will be given and briefly discussed.

1. *For every child spiritual and moral training to help him to stand firm under the pressure of life.*

It is reassuring to note that first in importance is placed the need of a sound spiritual and moral basis for life. "A child can meet shifting conditions more easily, perhaps, than an adult, but he has not had time or experience to build foundations which will enable him to stand firm against the pressure of haste, expediency and cynicism. He is beset with new ideas in rapid succession, from the radio, the press, the movies, the hurried program of his family. No longer has he the experience of conquering a

[1] Wilbur, R. L. "What the Children's Charter Means to the Nation's Future." Sunday *N.Y. Times*, April 26, 1931.

small area before advancing into a new territory. From the beginning the world comes within his scope and it puts on him a tremendous burden. Training, therefore, to help him to withstand and to understand is vital." [1]

2. *For every child understanding and the guarding of his personality as his most precious right.*

Our attitude toward the training of the child has been too much that of suppression instead of expression. Indicative of this are a number of common maxims, much more extensive in their influence than we may be inclined to suppose: "Children should be seen and not heard"; "They are just children"; "Little pitchers have big ears."

Modern science has taught us that these youngsters are developing personalities, unfolding, and changing from day to day like little plants, and that it is tremendously significant what conditions and influences surround them and react upon their little lives beneficially or harmfully. It is exceedingly important that we respect these little personalities and give them every opportunity for normal, wholesome expression.

3. *For every child a home and that love and security which a home provides; and for that child who must receive foster care, the nearest substitute for his own home.*

"From the standpoint of the child the dearest word next to 'mother' is 'home.' The child must have a place of refuge. One of his basic needs, the expert tells us, is his need of security. Home to him should be a place where he is loved and where he finds peace."

One of the problems of human society is to provide substitutes for the youngster who is without a home, and the sound modern point of view in this regard is that as far as possible the mother-child relationship should be preserved for these little unfortunates.

4. *For every child full preparation for his birth, his mother receiving prenatal, natal and postnatal care.*

It is generally conceded that every child has a just claim to being born right when he comes into this world. While the heredity factor cannot be solved under the provisions of this fourth objective, many other dangerously hampering conditions both to child and mother may be in large measure removed by it. The months before the child is born are just as important, if not more so, than a similar period of time later, and much neglect exists in

[1] *Ibid.*

this regard due to ignorance and lack of medical advice. The number of mothers dying at the critical period of child-birth is appalling in this enlightened age, and the matter is one for community and national concern. It is the duty of modern government in coöperation with the particular communities to see that the services of physicians, nurses, and laboratories are brought together, so that these may be available to all mothers at a price they can afford. As a nation, we have been backward in this regard, a score or more of the leading nations of the world doing a better job along these lines than we are

5. *For every child health protection from birth through adolescence including: periodical health examinations and, where needed, care of specialists and hospital treatment: regular dental examinations and care of teeth, protective and preventive measures against communicable diseases, the insuring of pure food, pure milk and pure water.*

Clinics and health centers must be provided so that the child may be given adequate medical attention at every stage of his development. In considerable measure, these years of infancy and youth determine whether the resulting man or woman will be an asset or a liability to human society. Today we place much emphasis upon the proper care of machinery, its frequent inspection and overhauling Certainly, we cannot afford to give less attention to the human machine—the most marvellously and delicately adjusted of them all.

6. *For every child from birth through adolescence, promotion of health, including health instruction and a health program, wholesome physical and mental recreation, with teachers and leaders adequately trained.*

Luther Burbank in his book, *The Training of the Human Plant*, says: "Every child should have mud pies, grasshoppers, tadpoles, frogs, mud turtles, elderberries, wild strawberries, acorns, chestnuts, trees to climb, brooks to wade in, water lilies, woodchucks, bats, bees, butterflies, various animals to pet, hay fields, pine cones, rocks to roll, sand, snakes, huckleberries and hornets, and any child who has been deprived of these has been deprived of the best part of his education." While the natural environmental conditions of the country are much superior to the city in many of these matters, the country child needs yet to be taught how to play, and health instruction and health programs are much more advanced in the urban centers.

7. *For every child a dwelling place, safe, sanitary and wholesome, with reasonable provisions for privacy, free from conditions which tend to thwart his development; and a home environment harmonious and enriching*

The home is the castle of the family, and in and about it is developed the characters of the young, and those of the adults come into a mellow ripeness or grow into a warped embitteredness with the passing years. It is not too much to ask that every home should be clean, and with a little ingenuity and extra effort even the most cramped quarters can be made reasonably attractive While some measures of restraint are decidedly necessary and beneficial in the lives of young people, the home should be an atmosphere allowing a large freedom of development in personality. In order that such may proceed normally, the child requires some part of the home which he can call his own, and to which he may retreat to read, study, or recuperate from conflicts inevitable even in the life of a child. Parents need to realize these things, and also to be conscious that if they are to train their children to get along with others in the world, the home environment must be not one of constant strife, but harmonious and enriching.

8. *For every child a school which is safe from hazards, sanitary, properly equipped, lighted and ventilated. For younger children nursery schools and kindergartens to supplement home care*

Education of necessity is the chief concern and defense of modern democracy. In large measure it has become the function of government to see that its citizenship is equipped for the tasks of an effective life. The very least that the state, locality, and the nation, as a whole, can do is to see that the physical setting and equipment of the schools, in which our youth spend a large part of their day, is up to the high standards of modern knowledge regarding sanitation and safety from hazards. To do less represents criminal neglect, and unfortunately too much of this exists today in many of our schools, particularly in the rural sections.

9. *For every child a community which recognizes and plans for his needs, protects him against physical dangers, moral hazards and disease; provides him with safe and wholesome places for play and recreation, and makes provision for his cultural and social needs.*

The intensive studies which have been made of numbers of communities in recent years, have brought us much about the

structure of such units. Numerous deficiencies have come to light along with the discovery and appraisal of the things that are good. Supervised play is growing in our urban centers, and larger provisions must be made for it in the country sections. The child's time is going to be employed, and it is the serious responsibility of the community to see that opportunity is afforded for the wholesome application of it. The normal development of the child requires not only that the home be clean and wholesome, but also that the community be purged of things that constitute moral hazards and breeders of disease—that it be made a safe environment morally and physically in which a child may grow up into clean manhood and womanhood.

10. *For every child an education which, through the discovery and development of his individual abilities, prepares him for life, and through training and vocational guidance prepares him for a living which will yield him the maximum of satisfaction.*

Modern psychology teaches nothing more emphatically with regard to educational processes than that if they are to be efficient each child must be considered as an individual. As far as possible education must be individualized. Mass production methods will not give largest results in this field. Also, we are coming to realize the importance and necessity of vocational education and guidance for the various tasks of life. Only a minority percentage of those who finish the high school training go on to college for further cultural and professional training, and it is not fair to the larger percentage who do not, to attempt to fit them into a system of education geared up to such an objective. Marked changes have occurred along these lines in recent years, and still greater ones remain to be made.

11. *For every child, such teaching and training as will prepare him for successful parenthood, homemaking, and the rights of citizenship; and, for parents, supplementary training to fit them to deal wisely with the problems of parenthood.*

"Life is all that we have. It is our only real possession, the only thing that we pass on that amounts to anything. Let us teach this to our children, for this point of view will steer them through many a stormy experience in later years and will bring an inner serenity which cannot be bought." [1] Human civilization is greatly enriched by a life fully and effectively lived. The

[1] Wilbur, R. L. *Loc. cit.*

example of father and mother in this respect is passed on to son and daughter with cumulative richness of influence. The full stature of manhood and womanhood may be reached only by the inculcation of these ideals into the youth of each succeeding generation.

12. *For every child, education for safety and protection against accidents to which modern conditions subject him—those to which he is directly exposed and those which, through loss or maiming of his parents, affect him directly.*

An appalling list of accidents to human beings mounts up each year in this machine age. It applies to large numbers of children and to their parents who make their living by tending the ruthless robots of industry. While the problem of safety along such lines is more characteristic of urban than of rural life today, the machine is invading the farm also, carrying an increasing number of accidents in its train. Reckless driving on highways must be curbed, incompetent and unfit drivers prevented from handling automobiles, and the community must insure the support of the family whose breadwinner has been injured in the pursuit of its essential processes.

13. *For every child who is blind, deaf, crippled or otherwise physically handicapped, and for the child who is mentally handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he may become an asset to society rather than a liability. Expenses of these services should be borne publicly where they cannot be privately met.*

A community or civilization may be fairly accurately appraised by a consideration of its treatment of its unfortunate or underprivileged classes. Much progress has been made in methods of salvaging handicapped children for serviceable lives. Many of these handicaps may be permanently corrected if diagnosed at an early enough age, and proper treatment applied. Moreover, it is economy in the long run to do these things, if necessary at public expense. But the greatest argument for such expenditures is in the fact that it builds happy and useful lives out of human individuals who otherwise would be forced to lead dreary, miserably despondent existences.

14. *For every child who is in conflict with society the right to be dealt with intelligently as society's charge, not society's outcast; with the home, the school, the church, the court and the institution, when*

needed, shaped to return him whenever possible to the normal stream of life.

The problem in this respect is much simpler in the country than in the city. Fortunately, our rural civilization still centers in large measure about the home. The child from an early age has chores about the house and farm to perform Opportunities are much fewer to trespass upon the property and rights of others than is the case in the congested urban center. But the problem is by no means entirely lacking in the country, particularly in this day of automobiles, and the increasing proximity of cities to the rural areas.

"No child should be called delinquent. That is a word which we should strike out of common use. Every child represents human material which needs developing It is the special duty of communities today to aid the judges of their juvenile courts to find an adequate solution for the needs of each individual child who comes their way. It is largely a problem of giving the child health and something worth while to do. This will go far toward reshaping him" [1]

15. *For every child the right to grow up in a family with an adequate standard of living and the security of a stable income as the surest safeguard against social handicaps.*

Here is constituted one of the major problems in the case of the rural child. It is absolutely necessary that a reasonable prosperity be restored to agriculture, one commensurate with that which normally characterizes the manufacturing industries. A considerable part of the limitations of the child who grows up in the country today comes not so much from lack of wholesome environment and ideals motivating those who train him as from the lack of an income adequate to provide for the cultural advantages of life. At present levels of farm income, very little is left for advancement purposes after the bare necessities of life are met. It must be realized that this is a problem which vitally affects urban welfare as well as rural.

16. *For every child protection against labor that stunts growth, either physical or mental, that limits education, that deprives children of the right of comradeship, of play and of joy.*

The long infancy and youth of the human race is necessary for the adequate training, growth and development of the individual

[1] Wilbur, R. L. *Loc. cit.*

for effective living. It is essential that when opportunities for education, recreation, health, and social expression are provided, the child should have the time to benefit by them. Our national attitude towards child labor has been greatly enlightened during recent years, but many children are greatly handicapped for life by having been placed or allowed to go into the routine grind of the life of man or woman before they are physically or mentally equipped for the strain. As a nation, sensible of the forces making for its sound future, we should fight all tendencies which tend to thwart the full development of the child physically, mentally, and socially. Surely, in this machine age of large-scale production, it is not necessary at too early an age to enslave the child to the task of the adult. The situation in the city is more difficult in this regard than that in the country. Many of the farm chores are light work, and constitute good training in habits of industry; but there are altogether too many farm families today who retard their children by keeping them out of school to work on the farm, or who permit them to drop out of school at too early an age.

17. *For every rural child, as satisfactory schooling and health services as for the city child, an extension to rural families of social, recreational and cultural facilities.*

Other chapters in this volume deal at greater length with the problem suggested in this objective. The inequalities between country and city in educational and health matters is a notorious deficiency of our present day civilization. It is becoming increasingly recognized that this is about as important to the urban as to the rural area, because so large a proportion of city growth comes from the migrating rural population. Moreover, while the amelioration of the problem calls for statesmanship of a high order it is one which lends itself to practical solution.

18. *To supplement the home and the school in the training of youth, and to return to them those interests of which modern life tends to cheat children, every stimulation and encouragement should be given to the extension and development of the voluntary youth organization.*

It is estimated that more than 40 per cent of a child's time up to 18 years of age is spent outside of the home and school. Such agencies as the Boy Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, the County Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s and similar organizations for youth develop programs which provide for supervised, wholesome recre-

ative activities when the child is out from under the care of parent and teacher. Such agencies as these are teaching the boy and girl how to care for themselves, and also the principles of coöperation involved in good citizenship.

19. *To make everywhere available these minimum protections of the health and welfare of children, there should be a district, county or community organization for health education and welfare, with full-time officials, coördinating with a state-wide program which will be responsive to a nation-wide service of general information, statistics and scientific research.*

In order that this last of the objectives may be met, the following facilities are necessary:

(a) Trained, full-time public health officials, with public health nurses, sanitary inspection, and laboratory workers.

(b) A sufficient number of available hospital beds.

(c) Full-time public welfare service for the relief, aid, and guidance of children in special need due to poverty, misfortune, or behavior difficulties, and for the protection of children from abuse, neglect, exploitation, or moral hazard.

This last point concerns the development of a machinery which has been tested to the task and which is practical to purposes set forth. Moreover, it is not prohibitive in its expensiveness for almost any county in the United States. Such organized effort, working in full coöperation with the people of the entire nation, is well calculated to give the American child health and protection. In this connection, Secretary Wilbur has said: "We ask all this for every child, no matter where he lives under the American flag. The principles of this charter can be wisely and widely used for the next ten years They present not just a lot of scattered facts, but plans and procedures agreed upon by the experts of today as both suitable and desirable. Unless this nation charts its course with the well-being of the child as its goal, it is sure to drift."

QUESTIONS

1. Compare the proportions of youth in the populations of the country and the city. How do you account for this situation?
2. Discuss the importance of the care and culture of the young in national and state planning for the largest public well-being.
3. What did the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection report as to the deficiencies among the children of this country? To what general extent is it possible to improve this situation?

4. Give the sentiments expressed by President Hoover as to the problems of childhood, including the nation's responsibility to the rural child.
5. Contrast the advantages of country and city life for youth.
6. What may be said with regard to the wholesomeness of farm youth's "association with nature" and the "companionship of pets"?
7. Discuss the character building advantages of the "responsibility for regular tasks" of children in the country and of the "rhythm of rural life."
8. Make a list of the disadvantages of country life for youth, and set alongside of it a similar list of the disadvantages of city life for children.
9. In what three principal institutions does the training of youth center? Evaluate the relative importance of these. Which is most susceptible of scientific improvement?
10. Give the significance of unfavorable school conditions as a hindrance to the best development of farm youth.
11. What is meant by the statement that the cultural advantages of modern life are more characteristic of the urban environment than of the rural? Suggest some ways in which this situation may be improved.
12. Describe the findings of Morgan and Burt in a study of community relations among young people in representative communities in Missouri.
13. Name the principal five representative national character-building agencies which include in their program work for rural youth. Briefly outline the purposes of the Young Men's Christian Association in its rural work.
14. Discuss the objectives of the Young Women's Christian Association in its program for rural girls.
15. State the value of such organizations as the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls in character-building among farm youth.
16. What proportion of farm youth do these organizations reach, even in the areas where they are in existence? Evaluate the soundness of the statement that one of the great unsolved problems of our country life today remains how to minister adequately to the social and recreational life of our country boys and girls in a way that makes for the largest development of fine characters.
17. Explain what is meant by the "Children's Charter" and how it originated. Give Wilbur's estimate of its fundamental importance in our national life.
18. Why should every child be given sound spiritual and moral training? Which should be more emphasized in the personality development of the child, suppression or expression? Why does every child need "a home and that love and security which the home provides"?
19. Discuss the provisions which the charter makes for the health of the child and the education of the child.
20. Through what facilities does the nineteenth point propose to carry out the provisions of the Children's Charter?

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CHAPTER XXII

RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Much hair-splitting definition over the word "community" has been indulged in by sociologists in recent years. Some clarification has been the result of this, but the term has been found sufficiently broad in its meaning and customary usage to include a wide range of application to human groupings. Our English word community is derived from the Latin word *communitas*, and Webster defines it as "a body of people having common organization or interests or living in the same place under the same laws and regulations. Hence, an assemblage of animals or plants living in a common home, under similar conditions of environment, or with some apparent association of interests." Thus the term may be used correctly in characterizing a comparatively small group living in Sweetwater Valley, or it may apply to the metropolitan center of New York, the commonwealth of Virginia, or the United States as a whole; for the dictionary definition continues "society at large; a commonwealth or state; a body politic; the public or people in general;—used with the definite article; as, the interests of the *community*." We often hear the term applied to the world as a community, and according to definition such usage is correct.

A foremost student of community organization, Jesse F. Steiner,[1] comments that the efforts to limit the use of the term community to groups that are properly organized and efficient is an interesting intellectual task, but too far removed from current practice to have any great value. He tells us that "perhaps at the present time the best that can be done is to recognize the prevailing uses of the term community and to endeavor to avoid ambiguity by the use of descriptive words, as for example, rural community, urban community, immigrant community or industrial community. This, at least, seems to be necessary for the student of community organization since this latter term is quite generally applied to such diverse units as the rural school district and large urban areas."

[1] Steiner, J. F. *Community Organization*. Century Co., 1925. p. 18.

1. The Rural Community

When the concept of community is delimited to its rural implications, the problem of characterization is considerably simplified. It is much easier for those conversant with rural life as it is grouped into neighborhoods to understand what Cooley meant by a "primary group" than it is to mark out such areas in the complicated urban patterns of civilization. This authority thus defines the primary group: "By primary group I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation They are primary in several senses, but properly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual The result of intimate association, psychologically is a certain fusion of individuals in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group." [1]

The family is of course our best example of the primary group, and applies in both country and city. But the studies of rural primary groups, or agricultural neighborhoods in the state of Wisconsin by Kolb, and the earlier studies of Galpin in the same state dealing with rural communities enable us to make a fairly clear distinction between the two The neighborhood may be defined as "that first grouping beyond the family which has social significance and which is conscious of some local unity." [2] In answer to the question and following explanation: "By what name is the country neighborhood called in which you live? We do not mean the name of the township nor the name of the nearby village or city, nor even necessarily, though it may be, the name of your district school, but we do mean the name of the country locality or neighborhood in which your home is located. Some such names in the country are Albion Prairie, Spring Valley, Pierceville, Springfield Corners, etc.."—more than 100 neighborhoods were found in Dane County, Wisconsin. The findings in part are summarized as follows:

> It has been suggested that going out in an agricultural district to find groups was like trying to find "the beaten tracks on the open deep." No such difficulties were experienced, for everywhere there was evidence of group life and activity. After a few days in the field, enough to whet

[1] Cooley, C H *Social Organization*. Scribners, 1909, p. 23.
[2] Kolb, J. H. *Rural Primary Groups*. Research Bull. 51, Agric. Expt. Sta., U. of Wisconsin, Dec, 1921.

one's sense, the social "water sheds" could almost be recognized as one passed along the road stopping every now and then to visit or to ask a few non-committal questions.

One hundred and twenty-one groups of rural people have been represented within neighborhood geographic boundaries and they have beside the criterion of local consciousness of unity, the one common objective characteristic of a group name. This name may stand for as many different things as there are groups or it may stand for a number of differing bonds within the one group. For the sake of getting at bases for discussion, these various possible meanings were classified under seven heads termed functions, as follows: economic, educational, kinship, local government, nationality, religious, and social. It was found that 95 of the groups could be located within this classification and 26 for one reason or another were practically without designating factors, that is, were decadent or as it might be expressed, they were present-day names but for traditional groups. About each village or city was found a grouping or focusing of the open country life toward this center. Sometimes a rural consciousness as distinct from the village was found and sometimes, especially with the smaller centers, there seemed to be a blending over until no boundary could be distinguished.

These groups owe their original existence to a number of different factors or their combination such as topography and original vegetation, nationality bonds, religious purpose, the migration from a common place of residence and economic or social purposes. Again these groups are changing things. Only 18 were found in which changes were not easily recognizable. These changes are partly to be explained on the basis of shifting population, modification of institutional arrangements and leadership, and in improvements in means of communication and transportation.[1]

With the agricultural neighborhood fairly well defined, it is pertinent to inquire what is meant by the rural community as the next step in increasing complexity of organization. Galpin [2] states that there are two methods of finding the bounding lines of a rural community. The first of these is by the method of determining the trade area about a trading center common to the community. The procedure by which this may be done is best expressed in the words of the author of a now widely used technique:

> An up-to-date atlas of the county in which the community lies, will show by dots or small squares the location of every farmhouse in the county. For convenience, transfer upon a single large sheet of paper that part of the atlas map concerned, in such manner as to locate at

[1] Kolb, J. H. *Op. cit.*, pp. 66–67.
[2] Galpin, C. J. *Rural Life.* Century Co., 1918, pp. 338–340.

the center the trading village or small city which is to be the business center of the community, and so much of the contiguous farming territory as will reach nearly, if not quite to each adjoining business center in every direction. This map with farm homes spotted and numbered, all highways accurately placed and township lines included, will form a tentative or trial map—obviously a good deal larger than the area of the actual borough in question.

A card index of the *present occupants* (not necessarily the owners) of each farmstead located on the map should be obtained. This will require systematic inquiry, persisted in till the last name is obtained. It will require one person's time for a week to obtain this card index properly numbered and arranged for a territory of a hundred square miles. The sources of information are physicians, livery men, real estate men, ministers, bankers, and the like, living at the trade center. The telephone will help out in cases. A few scattered farms may require visiting to make the index absolutely complete.

For ease in handling, and for accuracy, these names should be typewritten on uniform cards properly numbered and arranged by townships, sections, or other well-known districts. In fact, if these cards are printed, with blank space for name of farmer at the top and then in a column on the left with such words as *banking trade*, *shipping*, *paper*, *library*, *high school*, *church*, and the like, the card index may serve the double purpose of determining the map of the borough, and later of recording useful details

The next step is to take the trial map and card index to the principal merchants of the business center and, considering each farmer's card separately, ask whether this farmer's family trades regularly in this business center. Check all names that do so trade here. Repeat the process with bankers on the simple subject of *banking*, not going into any details such as deposits or loans. Repeat with the freight agent, newspaper, library, high-school principal, each clergyman, and so forth. When the card index is completely checked, the trial map and the checked index contain the essential facts for making the final map of the rural community.

The last step which cuts down the trial map to the actual map is simply mechanical. For determining the trade map, stick a pin in every farmstead dot which you find checked in the card index. Run a thread around the outside pins. Draw your boundary along the thread. The result will give you the trade community. Repeat the process for the banking community, shipping community, paper community, library community, high school community, church community, etc.

As business is the basic principle of the borough, the trade community map will be accepted as the basic community area. The other communities may be assumed to be as yet not fully developed, and it will become the function of persons most interested to make the incomplete communities coincide with the basic trade community.

The second way of making the final map is to put the question direct to each farmer living in the area of the *trial map*, "Where do you go

to do the most of your trading?" The answer of each farmer forms a *bona fide* basis in connection with the foregoing card index, for finally tracing out the actual boundary of the borough. The latter method, though tedious and most easily employed through the medium of the country schools, can be carried out. The two methods produce approximately identical results. Tradesmen know their customers. Bankers have their records, newspapers their subscription lists clergymen their membership lists, high schools their rolls and records. Fact, not opinion, is the outcome.

Half-way between two business centers a narrow strip of farmsteads all around a borough will divide their trade and other interests between the two centers. Close inspection, however, goes to show that this aspect is fairly negligible in actual map making.[1]

Once the community is so delimited, the basis for much constructive planning and further study is made possible. Such a community is not an arbitrarily determined one according to lines laid off by the surveyor's compass, but constitutes a more nearly natural community with a greater similarity of interests than the customary school district, township, or arbitrarily determined political unit.

2. The Need for Community Organization

Every person who has undertaken almost any sort of community improvement effort in rural areas has found that to work through existing organizations, feeble though they may be, has been the most effective approach. Where the organizations have been many, and vitally functioning, the success of the undertaking has been greatly enhanced; and where such agencies have been lacking, which is often the case, it has been necessary to set up some sort of organization so that the objectives might be attained. The farm and home demonstration agents through such agencies as farmers' clubs, home-makers' groups, and the 4-H clubs have found the reach of their valuable lessons multiplied many times as a result. The statement can be ventured that the efficiency of such workers can in considerable measure be gauged by the extent to which they have made their work one through organizations rather than that of rendering individual service to the farmer or housewife.

The physical isolation characterizing the environment of most of rural America, together with the nature of the farming occupa-

[1] Galpin, C. J. *Op. cit.*, pp. 338–340.

tion, have bred in our farming classes the trait of individualism to an unhealthful degree. However, farming as a business has found that in order to secure anything like equality of treatment with the manufacturing interests it must organize coöperatively its marketing phases. Also, it is becoming apparent that an important function of such organization is that of controlling the extent and nature of production, if the proper adjustment of the supply and demand factors entering into favorable prices is to be brought about. Increasingly, we are finding such needs taking form in organizations of various types.

Today we have come to realize as never before some vision of what can be accomplished through community planning for the symmetrical progress of natural and political units While some communities may be severely lacking in organized effort, many others have a large number of societies, clubs, and associations each working with little regard to the tasks which have been set by the others. The result is that there is a great deal of wasted effort which might be valuably conserved and properly directed; there is much overlapping and duplication; a great deal of prejudice and cross purpose prevails which often exerts a disorganizing effect; and in more cases than not, there is almost no intelligent, systematic planning of what is to be accomplished by the group These things strongly indicate the need for some coördinating, unifying organization through which the various special interest agencies may clear in a friendly, understanding way to promote well-rounded development in the community as a whole. If, as many students of the subject believe, the chief rural problem of today is that of socializing the country people, then not haphazard, but well-directed community organizational effort is a matter of fundamental concern and the principal means of achieving this desirable end.

3 Unit of Organization

In a consideration of community organization in rural sections a great deal of discussion [1] has been devoted to the size of the unit which can be most effectively organized. The small school district, the consolidated school district, the township, the trade area, and the county each has advantages for certain types of activities.

[1] Hayes, A. W. *Rural Community Organization.* U. of Chicago Press, 1921.

The *small school district* has been characterized as "America's smallest democracy." Very often its extent roughly coincides with an agricultural neighborhood as previously defined, and its population have many common ties of interest, and frequently of blood relationship. Taking the nation as a whole, there are many of these small school districts which are real, effective socio-economic units. This is particularly true in the organizational life which has the advantages of county and state leadership in the planning of the work of the local unit—boys' and girls' clubs, farm and home demonstration groups, etc., finding a homogeneous clientele in their economic and social problems. But the school district has its serious deficiencies in the matter of community organization. It functions best in the more isolated, thinly settled community. Even there we do not find a richness of variety in the population composition, the social contacts or the economic concerns to make for a satisfying and progressive organizational life. Too frequently, the people will unite over the school, but divide over almost everything else, and the special interest groups are not large enough to provide a basis for successful organization.

The *consolidated school district* is a much more satisfactory area for organization Many states now set legal minimum requirements as to taxable property values in the consolidated area, the school population, the distance the children must be transported, and similar matters. These considerations provide a much larger community with a wider range of interest to function through the consolidated school as an organizational center. Moreover, the consolidated school is perhaps more frequently located in the village than in the open-country, and it is well that this is the case. In spite of animosities sometimes engendered in the consolidation process, which by the way are usually rather quickly healed, the schoolhouse is a non-partisan community center in a very real sense in American rural life. Much has already been realized in building community organization up about it, but still more needs to be done along these lines when rural community organization has become a better-ordered field of human experience.

The *township* finds in the New England States its largest expression as a unit of organization. In that section of the nation, from earliest days the civilization has been built up about the

town as a natural center. Local government partakes of the township pattern. Although there may be a number of neighborhoods within the township, it is traditional that their interests should blend in the larger community or township program. There are many instances in the New England States where the township is just about as satisfactory a unit of organization as can be found, but unfortunately this is not true in other parts of the nation.

The town and its *trade area* represents in other sections of the nation an approximation to the New England township unit It is in large measure a natural community, but is generally held together by no governmental ties such as have always characterized the New England township. Ideas of the new rural municipality have been advanced in which such would be the case, but rearrangements of long existing culture patterns in our political life will prove slow in their consummation A great deal of town-country antagonism exists, which is largely a result of misunderstanding on the part of both town and country people Much of this can be allayed when the town ceases to face so largely to the cities for pattern and ideals, and comes to realize that its welfare depends upon that of mutually beneficial relationships with its rural hinterland These factors are emphasized in a succeeding chapter of this volume dealing with small towns As a matter of fact, a great deal of the organizational life of rural communities today already centers about the village, and it is the opinion of many of the leading authorities in the rural field that it is wholesome that such should be the case to an increasing extent. About the most natural basis of community life in rural America is the small town, and its surrounding trade area.

Many organizations, primarily those related to larger ones, state and national in scope, function with the *county* as a convenient unit. The farm and home demonstration work, the county public health unit, the public welfare unit, and the Red Cross are examples. The county is usually sufficiently large in area so that the overhead costs of organization are less prohibitory, and, too, some of these agencies derive a part of their support from the county budget If the activity is so planned that it reaches the more isolated parts of the county, which is often not the case, for many phases of the organizational life of the rural sections the county is an effective area over which to operate.

4. Rural Community Buildings

In recent years, there has been a widespread tendency towards the development of rural community buildings to house the activities of the various organizations of the community. "Many towns, country villages, and farm communities realize the need of a building for the whole community where general gatherings may be held, organizations meet, societies coöperate for the public benefit, recreation activities be held, public games and local dramatics be viewed, where people may congregate socially, and where movements of a civic nature may originate." [1] Such an arrangement has much to commend it. A schoolhouse is often a drab sort of structure when its newness has worn off, and the most of them are not well adapted to attractive club gatherings of various sorts. The churches suffer from many of the same physical defects, and besides denominational lines are often limiting factors to community-wide sentiment.

A mere catalogue of uses to which such community buildings are put is not a very thrilling sort of thing; but it does reveal in a rather clear manner just how advantageous such an adequately financed and kept building may be. In a study by Nason and Thompson of some 256 such buildings in different sections of the United States, the following uses were found to be made of rural community buildings:

"*Economic:* Canning demonstrations, boys' and girls' club work, domestic science, agricultural society meetings, fairs, cafés, cafeterias, farmers' institutes, and coöperative purchasing and marketing activities.

"*Educational and recreational:* Lectures, moving pictures, night schools, entertainments, billiards, pool, bowling, table games, reading room and library.

"*Social:* Dancing, banquets, suppers, club meetings, socials and parties.

"*Athletic:* Baseball, basket ball and tennis.

"*Political:* Political meetings and elections.

"*Hygienic:* Nursery, welfare work, and rest rooms.

"*Religious:* Union church work.

"*Gymnastics:* Activities of the gymnasium.

[1] Nason, W. C. *The Organization of Rural Community Buildings.* Farmers' Bull. 1192, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1921.

"In addition to the organizations already mentioned as using the buildings, the following were also found: Parent-teacher association, commerce club, board of trade, women's club, county agricultural society, town board, Daughters of the American Revolution, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Grange, Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America, Society of Equity, choral society, athletic association, various fraternal organizations, Farmers' League, art club, driving association, hospital corps, Young People's Christian Association, industrial club, dairy association, civic association, fire department, poultry association, men's club, relief society, ladies' aid society, Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, Sunday school, coöperative marketing association, and county medical society." [1]

Such community buildings represent an investment of from $2,000 in sparsely settled communities, where considerable amounts of labor and material are often donated, to as much as $50,000 in the small cities. The structures are financed in a variety of ways: through individual donations, through club or society initiative, through community-wide endeavor, sometimes by the local government, or by a local manufacturing concern. The buildings vary from comparatively simple structures to extensive affairs with accommodations for every phase of community gathering. The maintenance expense ranges from 5 per cent to 10 per cent of the initial cost of the plant in the average community building, the expenditures covering light and heat, water, telephone, and salaries for secretary of physical director, caretaker, and librarian. These funds for maintenance are derived from dues, assessments, rentals, receipts from entertainments, dances, moving pictures, bowling, and billiards, and in case of publicly constructed buildings, by money coming from the public treasury.

Many of these community buildings have been conspicuous successes in mobilizing and coördinating community organizational effort. They must be upon a sound financial basis to operate permanently and effectively, and this necessitates carefully considered planning, and community-wide support of the undertaking. In estimating the significance of this movement Galpin

[1] Nason, W. C., and Thompson, C. W. *Rural Community Buildings in the United States*. Departmental Bull. No. 825, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1920, pp. 5–6.

says that "the community building movement enters the farming situation at a time most opportune. The social and economic life on farm, in farm neighborhood, and in village and small agricultural city is being organized on a community basis; and the great demand in connection with this social and economic development is for an adequate building program, good housing facilities, and expressive architecture. The country-life movement, moreover, which sums up modern thought on the life side of the farm, is a community movement in large part and will welcome the community house as a tangible symbol of rural social unity." [1]

5. The Community Council Idea

Most rural communities in America have followed the *laissez faire* attitude with regard to community organizations Wherever there has been a group which wished to organize about some specific set of objectives or definite interest, they have organized. The result of such haphazard development is often a large number of organizations, many of them duplicatory and conflicting in nature. One has but to list the organizations and alongside the functions of each in almost any community to see how true is this statement. The most widely discussed plan to remedy such a situation and to focus the organizational energy upon the symmetrical development of the entire community in all of its interests is the "community council" idea which has been well outlined by Morgan who tried it out extensively in Massachusetts.

The steps by which such a form of organization is brought about are in condensed form as follows:

1. Conference of a Few. [This is a general or preliminary get-together by representatives of each local organization to consider what can be done.]
2. Organization Representatives. [Here is a council which represents the coördination of all local interests for initial action.]
3. The First Work.
   (a) Bring about a thorough understanding among the various local organizations as to just what each is doing.
   (b) Take up any specific items of community interest which should receive immediate attention.
   (c) Call in representatives of county organizations and ascertain in what work they are prepared to coöperate in for your town.

[1] In foreword to *Plans of Rural Community Buildings*. Farmers' Bull. 1172, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1921.

4. The First Community Meeting. [Elect chairman and secretary and discuss improvements needed.]
5. Committees. [Appointed if action in foregoing discussion is favorable and may be as follows:
   (a) Farm production.
   (b) Farm business.
   (c) Conservation.
   (d) Boys' and girls' interests.
   (e) Community life.]
6. The Second Community Meeting. [It will be an unofficial community gathering to give anyone a chance to object or to offer plans.]
7. Community Plan or Program.
8. Getting Results
9. Council Meetings.
10. The Annual Community Meeting:
   (a) Reports should be made of work done by any organization or group during the past year.
   (b) The council committees should report the working plans for the coming year.
   (c) The chairman, secretary, and committees for the ensuing year should be chosen.[1]

Such a plan has much to commend it. Certainly, its idealism is finely conceived, and its objectives unquestionable. The principal difficulty is in its practical achievement. Most of our American rural communities are organizationally too young to carry forward such an elaborate scheme. No field of rural life study lends itself better to idealistic planning than does that of community organization, but one requires only a little actual experience along such lines to temper his enthusiasm, and to make him realize the concretely practical nature of his task. These statements are made not to disparage efforts toward the achievement of the community council method of community planning, but to point out the great difficulties in its way in most of our rural sections.

6. Special Interest Groups

One of the recent studies of rural community organization which throws a vast amount of light on the problem is that of Kolb and Wileden in which they present the results of an intensive case history or life story of 351 special interest organizations in

[1] Summarized by A. W. Hayes in *Rural Community Organization*, from E. L. Morgan, *Mobilizing the Rural Community*. Mass. Agric. College Extension Bull. No. 23, pp. 20–25.

five Wisconsin counties. This interesting and significant analysis shows that "locality is giving way to special interests as a basis for group organization in rural society today. In this changing process, modern transportation and communication facilities are vital factors. This transfer from locality groups to interest or intentional groups on the part of country people, either voluntary or as a result of skillful promotion, is the key to an understanding of rural organization movements of the present time." [1]

It is possible to list the objectives around which rural groups function under the general headings of social enjoyment; better farming; helping school and teacher; better business; young people's interests; health and social welfare; home improvement; public and civic affairs; general community betterment; uniting of locals; mutual improvement, and helping church and preacher. The organizations in each of these groups have more or less definite characteristics Local leadership in the persons of officers is highly important in carrying forward all of these groups except those concerned with "young people's interests," which in considerable measure are dependent upon farm and home demonstration agents, teachers and leaders of this type The "better business" groups are inclined to stress business interests to the exclusion of other community enterprise. The "home improvement" groups were found rather consistently to be small, but the interest and attendance was high.

One hears a great deal these days concerning cycles and movements in all phases of human endeavor It is a rather new concept when applied to the organizational life in a community. However, Kolb and Wileden tell us that "local organizations are usually a part of a county or state-wide movement. Their genesis is often in some such movement. They start with a period of stimulation in which there is much talking and promotion. There follows a period of rapid rise consisting of frequent meetings, large crowds, and good times. Then there is the rather trying carrying-on period in which numerous difficulties arise and in which various adaptations are tried. Finally, comes a period of rather gradual or perhaps sharp decline and complete inactivity.

"Older organizations, when they refuse or are unable to readapt themselves to meet the changing needs, must give way

[1] Kolb, J. H., and Wileden, A. F. *Special Interest Groups in Rural Society.* Research Bull. 84, Agric Expt. Sta., U. of Wisconsin, Dec. 1927.

and make room for the next stage, which may be a new cycle or an entirely new movement. Such inactivity need not mean failure, for often the purpose has been accomplished. It is well that they do pass out in order that rural society shall not be burdened with outgrown institutions. Organizations, however, can and frequently do make the necessary adaptations. They make the change from the old to the new a perfectly natural process. Sometimes it is done with a struggle, but it is done The test of successful rural group organization may, therefore, be put in terms of serving the local community in its present needs, of adaptability to changing needs, and of uniting its members with members of other groups to the end that the cause of agriculture be advanced." [1]

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the range of the common usage of the term "community," and give Steiner's opinion of the practical value of the sociologist's efforts to delimit its definition "to groups that are properly organized and efficient."
2. How does the same authority suggest that ambiguity in the use of the term community may be avoided?
3. Give Cooley's characterization of a "primary group." How does the family answer to such a definition?
4. What is Kolb's definition of an agricultural "neighborhood"? Does it come under Cooley's classification as a primary group?
5. Describe what Kolb and Wileden found in a study of rural neighborhoods in Dane County, Wisconsin. Name some of the criteria besides that of local consciousness of unity by which these neighborhoods are characterized.
6. What is happening today throughout the nation with regard to neighborhood boundaries, and what are some of the causes of this change?
7. Explain in detail Galpin's technique of determining the bounding lines of a rural community. In this connection what does he mean by a "trade area" community; a "banking" community; a "school" community; a "church" community?
8. What are some of the advantages of thus delimiting the area of the community? Why would you say the "trade area" is an approximation to a "natural community"?
9. Discuss the present need for effective community organization in our rural sections.
10. How well adapted is the "small school district" as a unit of area for effectively organized community effort? Is the "consolidated school district" subject to the same criticisms?
11. Does the "township" in the New England States afford a satisfactory unit for the mobilization of community effort and why? Can the "trade area" in other parts of the United States be made to function as effectively

[1] Kolb, J. H., and Wileden, A. F. *Op. cit.*, p. i.

in community organization as the New England township? What political difficulties stand in the way of consummating such a desirable objective?

12. In what respects does the "county" serve as a unit for effective community organization?
14. What is meant by a "rural community building"? Give the variety of uses to which a sample of 256 such buildings in different parts of the United States are put, and some of the types of organizations utilizing these community buildings.
14. What is the range in cost and in maintenance of such community buildings? How are they financed? Give Galpin's estimate of the significance of this movement.
15. Explain the "community council idea" of mobilizing and coördinating community organizational effort.
16. Briefly outline the steps by which such a form of organization is achieved.
17. Discuss the conflict between the ideal and the practical in the community council plan of community organization.
18. What do Kolb and Wileden mean by "special interest groups"? Name the principal general headings around which such rural groups function.
19. Give the significance of the statement that "locality is giving way to special interests as a basis for group organization in rural society today."
20. Apply the concept of the cycle to the nature of the organizational life in a community.

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

1. Steiner, J. F. *Community Organization.* Century Company, 1925, Chapter XXIII, pp. 359–367, "Summary of Principles of Community Organization"; and Chapter XXIV, pp. 368–377, "Limitations of the Community Organization Movement."
2. Cooley, C. H. *Social Organization.* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, Chapter III, pp. 23–31, "Primary Groups."
3. Galpin, C. J. *Rural Life* Century Company, 1918, Chapter IV, pp. 66–100, "Structure of Rural Society."
4. Kolb, J. H. *Rural Primary Groups.* Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, Research Bulletin No. 51, December, 1921, pp. 1–81.
5. Nason, W. C. *The Organization of Rural Community Buildings.* Farmers' Bulletin No. 1192, United States Department of Agriculture, 1921, pp. 1–42.
6. Morgan, E. L. *Mobilizing the Rural Community.* Massachusetts Agricultural College, Extension Service, Bulletin No. 23, 1918, pp. 1–54.
7. Kolb, J. H., and Wileden, A. F. *Special Interest Groups in Rural Society.* University of Wisconsin, Agricultural Experiment Station, Research Bulletin 84, 1927, pp. 1–109.

CHAPTER XXIII

RURAL LEADERSHIP

There is in American life today a distressing indifference, if not disregard, as to what becomes of our rural civilization. In a democracy, the majority rules, led of course as in all forms of government by the presumably intelligent few to whom has been intrusted the leadership of its affairs, also presumably with the consent of those who are governed. It is perhaps a logical expectation that in a nation which has become predominantly urban and industrialized, a predominantly urban philosophy should come to prevail. Such a philosophy takes the attitude that agriculture, instead of constituting a way or mode of living essential in the social structure, is merely subsidiary to the functioning of an urban civilization, and that its only useful function is to derive from the soil as efficiently as possible the food and raw materials not elsewhere available for the urban organization The city becomes the acme of perfection in our social evolution, and everything must revolve about it, or else be doomed to annihilation.

The person who takes an opposing view, who points to the many defects in urban life everywhere, its ruthless grind of human pabulum, who contends it has in its make-up alone the elements of its own ultimate undoing, and states that if a sound and wholesome national civilization is to persist, there must be preserved a proper rural-urban balance is dubbed a dreamer, an idealist steeped in the obsession that agriculture is a noble profession and has a definite, valuable social contribution to make to our national social structure. Yet there are many born of the soil, conscious of its wholesomeness of environment, and keenly appreciative of its sound emphasis upon the virtues of sensible living, who have the temerity to raise their voices against the tremendous urban din of clang and clatter, and to insist that the nation is imperiled if a vigorous rural life is not preserved throughout all time as an effective offset to the failures and short-comings of a city civilization.

A leader among these idealists is the Irish poet, philosopher, and champion of rural life, George Russell, widely known as "A.E." At a recent meeting of the American Country Life Conference, he voiced his views in part as follows:

In the last ten years 4,000,000 people have left the land in the United States; 19,000,000 acres have gone out of cultivation and 760,000 farms have ceased to exist as farms. One of your editors, Mr. McMillen, says 20 per cent of your population now are on the farms, 15 per cent is enough to produce all the food that is required, 10 per cent properly educated could do it. Yet those who remain produce more than ever before The agricultural engineer and the agricultural scientist came to the aid of the depressed farmer. They acted like the elephant of myth who saw the motherless chickens and said, "I will be a mother to the poor little things" and lay down upon them. The survivors of their tenderness are really able to produce more, but what is going to happen to your civilization if this process goes on?

If 90 per cent of your people live in big cities and only 10 per cent on the land, I believe that must be a peril to life, to the quality of your humanity. Humanity is like that ancient giant Antaeus, who drew strength from touching the earth. In London I was told that only one Londoner of the 4th generation was known. I met him, a creature of aches and ailments since his birth. I looked with terror on the shrunken anaemic and bloodless population, the third generation of factory workers about Lancashire. For I could find in those shrivelled forms no likeness to that noble Adam, the Father of all humanity, which Michael Angelo painted on the roof of the Sistine Chapel. And it maddens one to think that man, the immortal, the divine, about whom so many prophecies were made, could retrograde to the brute in fetid slums, or mirky alley where the devil hath his many mansions, where thousands of families live each in one room, where no function of the body can be concealed, and modesty and delicacy are creatures ere they are born

Doctors have told me that many of these slums are so overrun with vermin that the only condition on which a man or a woman could purchase sleep was that they were drugged with drink. The psalmist says, "The Lord gives sleep to his beloved." But in these dark city slums men and women must pay the devil his price for a little of the peace of God.

You do not fear this fate. At present your cities are teeming with vitality because they are fed from the yet unexhausted countryside and by the sturdy peasantries of the old world. But what is to happen to you if only 10 per cent remain on the land, and in two or three generations more of these great cities of yours must perpetuate themselves from their own inherent vitality? It is not only in the country that the engineer and scientist enable fewer people to produce more. It is happening in the cities of the old and new world.

> It is because I foresee this, that I wish to get the reformers and foreseers in your country to think of building up a rural civilization, something which the world has never yet seen. It is the noblest and most practical of human enterprises, the building up of a civilization. And it will need the highest political genius to so organize the rural community that something of the culture and prosperity of so great a state will be reflected in the men in the villages and fields [1]

Civilization is not static. There must be either social progress or social retrogression. In a changing age, agriculture must undergo readjustments, is going through violent throes of an effort to accommodate itself to the new order. "Changing emphasis in our national life makes it important that the rural and urban parts of our population should understand each other better. It is especially essential that the city resident should know more about the country dweller and his problems. While the principal aims in a democracy, theoretically at least, are towards equality of opportunity and a fair distribution of wealth in proportion to services rendered, it is not likely that an uninformed majority will give due regard to the rights of a proportionately decreasing minority. Moreover, such justice is hardly probable unless the minority understands its own problems, the practical measures looking toward solutions of these, and through effective leadership aggressively insists upon fair treatment." [2]

The state agricultural colleges, their experiment stations and extension services, the federal government through its department of agriculture and farm board, a number of political statesmen, national and state, with unusual insight and sympathy for the problems of rural life, and others are rendering a valiant service along these lines The greatest lag in the matter seems to be among the farmers themselves. There need be implied no criticism of the efforts of all of these friends of agriculture when the statement is made that one of the most crying needs of rural life today is for more intelligent, unselfish, and concerted organization and leadership, local, state, and national, among the farming classes. No one who knows our farmers today, in every great section of the nation would be able to deny the potential leadership among them to handle effectively their economic and social interests, if only these latent forces might in some better way be

[1] Russell, George. "Building a Rural Civilization." *Rural America*, Nov. 1930, pp. 15–16.

[2] Gee, Wilson. *The Place of Agriculture in American Life* Macmillan, 1930, p. 1.

released from the enshackling ultra-conservative tendencies engendered by their intense individualism and the widely prevailing physical isolation surrounding their lives and thinking.

There is a great need for more vital rural leadership today, beginning with the local community and extending to that of state and national policies. Sanderson well says in this regard that "lack of leadership has ever been one of the chief handicaps of rural life as compared with that of the town and city, and with the growth of organization the need of rural leadership is increasingly apparent Until very recently the vocation of agriculture has had but little call for leadership Successful farming required strict attention to the work of the farm and leadership brought no pecuniary advantage to the farmer as it did to the business or professional man. Furthermore there seems to be an innate desire for equality among farmers and a disinclination to recognize one of their number as in any degree superior, which discourages the development of leadership among them. The town and city place a premium on leadership and a position of leadership gives a status which is coveted; but for the farmer any position of leadership is a burden or a public duty rather than an opportunity. For this reason the control of government, education, religion, and all the larger associations of life has been largely in the hands of urban leaders." [1]

1. Does the Farm Produce Leaders?

As is true of so many rural-urban comparisons, those dealing with the leadership contributions of country and city are far from adequate enough to be convincing. It does seem to be true, however, so far as the 6,005 biographies given in *Rus*, "a register of rural leadership, in the persons of living men and women" in the United States and Canada, indicate, farm leadership is predominantly recruited from those born and reared in the country. "In 1880 the population on farms composed about 40 per cent of the total population of the United States. Forty per cent of the population which were on farms, produced 64 5 per cent of the farmer leaders of 1925; the 31 per cent in villages and towns produced 20 per cent; and the 29 per cent in cities produced 15 per cent." [2] Since

[1] Sanderson, E D *The Farmer and the Community*. Harcourt, Brace, 1922, pp. 241–242.

[2] Sorokin, P., and Zimmerman, C. C., and others. "Farmer Leaders in the United States." *Social Forces*, Vol. VII, No 1, Sept. 1928, p 40

only 4.1 per cent of these farmer leaders listed in *Rus* did not have college training, it is interesting to discover the proportion of those majoring in agriculture in the land-grant colleges who follow that profession after finishing their schooling. A recent survey [1] of these institutions by the federal government shows that of a sample of 5,269 graduates who registered in agriculture, approximately 62 per cent of them are now following that occupation; the next highest proportion, about 15 per cent going into commerce and business, and around 9 per cent finding their way into education. These figures would seem to indicate that the agricultural colleges are sending back to the farms a splendid quota of well-trained potential leadership.

A number of studies have been made of the comparative contribution of the country and the city to those who have attained sufficient distinction to meet the qualifications for listing in *Who's Who* The most recent of these is that of R. H. Holmes [2] who finds

TABLE 28

RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF THE BIRTHPLACES OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS, SHOWING THE DECADE OF BIRTH [3]

CENSUS	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS BORN IN EACH DECADE	RURAL	URBAN	PERCENTAGE OF URBAN IN TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENTAGE OF URBAN AMONG THE 21,600 NAMES
1820	2	1	1		
1830	49	42	7	6 72	14 28
1840	593	435	158	8 52	26.64
1850	2,391	1,669	722	12.49	30.19
1860	5,859	3,916	1,943	16 13	33.16
1870	7,289	4,563	2,726	20.93	37.40
1880	4,309	2,538	1,771	22.57	41.10
1890	1,055	526	529	29.20	50.14
1900	53	9	44	33 10	83.01
Total	21,600	13,699	7,901	———	36 57

in every census decade since 1830, the city has produced more than its proportionate share of distinguished individuals. However, he discovers that the tendency is characterized by a decreasing excess for the urban group. This authority is of the opinion,

[1] Klein, A. J. *Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities.* U. S. Dept. of Interior, Office of Education, Bull., 1930, No. 9, p. 369.

[2] Holmes, R. H. "A Study in Origins of Distinguished Living Americans," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXIV, 1929, pp. 670–685.

[3] Source: *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 671.

in conflict with that of a number of others, that it is seriously to be doubted whether the country stock has been appreciably depleted by urban migration. He believes without doubt that among the young country people who have shown themselves to be unusually capable the cityward movement has been well marked. The contention is made that since every individual has many sets of "innate" or hereditary characters, the conditions under which he develops determine which set he shall bring forth. "Obviously, there is a real possibility that farm conditions have been such that the most of the very finest of such ability has never come to expression. The very most that can be said with safety upon this point is that *possibly* the urban stock has been enriched at the expense of the country." The tendency toward the declining superiority of the city in the matter he thinks is to be explained in part by the fact that the country today is becoming extensively suburbanized and rurbanized. "The rural portion of society has

TABLE 29

RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF THE BIRTHPLACES OF DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS GROUPED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION [1]

OCCUPATION	TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	PERCENTAGE OF URBAN
1. Art	2,168	884	1,284	59.22
2. Business	2,203	1,177	1,026	46.57
3. Journalism	1,629	907	722	44.32
4. Engineering	1,142	645	497	43.52
5. Law	1,048	607	441	42.08
6. Medicine	1,584	923	661	41.72
7. Science	3,817	2,594	1,223	32.04
8. Army and navy	537	372	165	30.72
9. Church	1,921	1,401	523	27.18
10. Politics	3,238	2,424	814	25.13
11. Education	2,183	1,650	533	24.41
12. Agriculture	127	115	12	9.44
Total	21,600	13,699	7,901	36.57

gained environmentally in other ways than through the development within itself of the more highly favored groups resident in the towns. Through the improvement of means of communication, including transportation, the country population as a whole has been able to share more and more completely the life of the

[1] Source: *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 883

cities. Thus insofar as the city environment is superior to that of the country as a developing field for potential genius, the superiority has been lessened by a gradual but very real extension of its influences out over the countryside"

In a consideration of occupational groups, according to the table on page 452, Holmes found that, with the exception of the small agriculture group, the cities have contributed more than their proportional share to every occupation. "The urban excess is least in the case of education, but even here 24.41 per cent were urban-born, while as late as 1880 but 22 57 per cent of the population were in cities. Art is in a class by itself from the standpoint of urban birth, being nearly 13 per cent higher in the list than business with its 46.57 per cent of city-born." In explaining the favorable showing of the country in the last six occupational groups he believes that "lacking the numerous suggestions of the city-born, the country boy has at least the teacher, the minister, and the local politician to turn to as models. Then, too, distinguished careers in the fields represented by these men may have, and quite frequently do have, most modest beginnings. The farm boy of good capacity, and strong ambition, although lacking money and influence, may gradually make his way to success in one of these familiar fields."

A valid criticism of attaching too large a significance to such studies as these of Holmes is made by Lundquist and Carver [1] who state that comparisons based upon the number of individuals from country and city whose names get into *Who's Who* are defective. "If someone were to publish a rural *Who's Who* containing the names of all those who have achieved conspicuous success in rural industry and life, it might seem to show that cities had not made their proportionate contributions to this list. This would not prove much, however, because no one expects cities to produce rural leaders. As a matter of fact, *Who's Who* is really an urban *Who's Who*. The man who applies great executive ability and scientific knowledge to agriculture may get good crops and make profit for himself; he may also win local recognition, particularly among farmers; but unless he talks or writes about it, he does not gain general recognition. In proof of this let anyone look through *Who's Who in America*, which is supposed to contain

[1] Lundquist, G. A., and Carver, T. N. *Principles of Rural Sociology*. Ginn and Co. 1927. pp. 476-477.

the names of those who have achieved marked success in every large field of human endeavor. Judging by its pages, either agriculture is not a large field of human endeavor or else there are no markedly successful farmers. This lack of recognition of the farmer is not of course the fault of the editors of *Who's Who.* They include in their publication only the names which are widely known or talked about. The fact that an eminently successful farmer is not widely known or talked about is due to the fact that our people have no interest in that kind of achievement"

Huntington [1] in a somewhat earlier study of similar data from *Who's Who* is quite pessimistic in his interpretation. He is of the opinion that a great deal of the dearth of leadership in the country is due to the impoverishment of the rural areas by what he calls the sifting power of the cities. "Cities attract three main types of people: first, the bright, energetic type which possesses special talents; second, a multitude of the duller sort of laborers—the kind who feed automatic machines; and third, the vicious and criminal elements. Fortunately, the attraction of bright minds appears to outweigh that of the dull. Unfortunately, however, the cities lower the birth-rate and raise the death-rate. This might be highly advantageous if the changes in both rates affected the intelligent people only a little, and the unintelligent and vicious a great deal. But the fine types are the ones whose birth-rate is especially lowered, while their death-rate is probably raised almost as much as that of the lower classes. And why not? Do they not keep late hours, live indoors, get little sun and fresh air, and spend a great deal of nervous energy on obviously useless things as well as on lowering the death-rate of the most worthless people around them? The net result is that the better classes in the cities tend to die out from generation to generation. The poorer classes either continue to increase, or more probably die out at a slower rate than do those of greater social value. Even in our own day, cities are self-destructive, and in the past they have doubtless been far more so."

The significance of this process is expressed in Huntington's view of the three stages through which a civilization passes:

> The first stage begins with the pioneer period when a country has been newly settled. It may last many generations as perhaps in England, or come to an end speedily as seems to be happening in Australia.

[1] Huntington, Ellsworth. *The Pulse of Progress.* Scribners, 1926, pp. 50–66.

During this stage most of the people live in the rural districts. The largest towns are not much more than over-grown villages, and the drift toward the urban centres is slight. In such a region the farmers are not only numerous, but influential. The successful farmer may be a squire as in England, a plantation-owner as in our South, or simply a prosperous farmer as in early New England. Almost unconsciously, but quite effectively, he sees to it that the farmers have their share of influence in the public councils and that legislation is favorable to their interests. In such a community education is highly honored and many of the brightest young men become teachers. The same is true of religion, science, and philanthropy. Government officials are respected and esteemed, and their occupation attracts persons of a relatively high type. Medicine, journalism, law and literature receive some attention but are secondary. Music, engineering, business, and art are not well developed. In fact, they are often treated with scorn as being trivial or mercenary. Such conditions appear to have prevailed in early China and early Rome, in England almost down to the manufacturing period, in the United States until the great cityward migration was stimulated by the advent of steam-power, in New Zealand until today. They are typical of a sturdy, rigorous, and narrow type of civilization to which people are apt to look back as "the good old days." This is the stage of moral fervor, religious zeal, and high political ideals.

Suppose, now, that the towns in such a community begin to grow but have not yet become dominant. That brings the golden age, the time when the older professions and the older type of high moral ideals are still vigorous, but when music, art, engineering and business also enjoy a healthy development. Opinions differ as to just when this stage begins and ends in a country like Egypt, Rome, or China, but few would question that such a stage is part of the normal course of human progress. Perhaps the United States, England, France, Germany, and Japan are still in this stage. Let us hope so, but the extreme devotion of France and Japan to art, and of the other three to engineering and business may be signs that the best days are past. That, however, is a matter where one man's guess is still as good as another's.

The third stage often seems so glorious that people are dazzled into thinking that it is the culmination of its predecessor. The material and aesthetic aspects of civilization forge to the front. Great buildings, monumental bridges, huge business corporations, fine pictures, and entrancing music dazzle the imagination. But the rural people are likely to have become dull, sodden, and ultra-conservative. Intellectual pursuits pure science, the discovery of abstract truth and the practice of pure and undefiled religion are forced to the wall by commercial journalism, applied engineering, applied science, and over-organized philanthropy. Education becomes perfunctory, religion loses its fervor, corruption in government becomes rife, and the feverish pursuit of wealth makes men think that money and the power which it brings are the chief ends of human existence. The extreme of this stage of

ultra-urban development is found when art runs wild and the artistic temperament is used as an excuse for every sort of self-indulgence and moral weakness. Fifty years ago, the rural districts and smaller towns of the United States were still not far removed from the first of our three stages. Today, in our larger cities the third stage seems almost to have been reached.[1]

In the light of existing data on the subject of selective migration from the country to the city, it is not possible to deny the contention of Huntington that the country is steadily being impoverished to the advantage of the city. The preponderant opinion is that just this sort of thing is taking place. However, it seems to be clear that the country still possesses sufficient potential leadership, and an increasing number of state agricultural college graduates, to meet the needs of farm leadership, and to make a larger contribution to that of the affairs of the city than the city does to that of the farm. But we must face the fact that the leadership of the city is better mobilized, in general is better trained, and is more effective in meeting the modern demands of the urban center than is the similar response of rural leadership to the conditions confronting the farm today. It is possible to take comfort in the fact that somehow leadership arises to meet the new demands of a period, but it seems at present that the demands have overwhelmed the leadership capacities of the country. Perhaps it has in the cities, too, in a considerable measure. There is no need to be pessimistic about the supply of possible rural leadership. The problem is that of awakening it and training it. As coöperative organizational effort proceeds, breaking down the intense individualism characterizing the rural resident, new opportunities are provided and a fine leadership response is being exhibited, imperfect at first, but rapidly becoming experienced and more effective. A succeeding chapter discusses the national organizational efforts of the farming class, and it will be observed leaves much to be hoped for in the future in this regard. The situation is equally to be deplored so far as the life of the individual rural community is concerned. Those who are capable of leading and trained to lead in rural affairs must accept the challenge and responsibility else the progress of the rural part of our civilization will continue to suffer in a democracy now primarily urban in its composition.

[1] Huntington, Ellsworth. *Op. cit.*, pp. 63–65.

2. Local Community Leadership

Bailey has said that "the country will rise no higher than the aspirations of the people who live there, and the problems must be solved in such a way that they will meet the conditions as they exist on the spot." [1] In order that rural life in general may be wholesome and vigorous, it is necessary that its constituent local communities should express the same characteristics The realization of such a status in the individual community in large measure depends upon the quality of its constituent citizenship, and the local leadership which it develops, as these react upon physical environmental and economic factors operative in the area. There are many inciting, directing, and stimulating agencies, state and national, such as the agricultural extension service, the Grange, Farm Bureau, Farmers' Union, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Red Cross, etc., the work of which reaches into the local community, but without local interest and effective local leadership, their programs are largely transitory and futile. "Good officers are the mainstay of an organization. The officers, especially the president, and the committee chairmen, need to be real leaders, and care should be taken to see that they are put into the places of responsibility where their ability will contribute most toward the progress of the organization. One of the saddest days of an organization is the day when its natural leaders are brushed aside, and perhaps more pretentious but less able members are handed the reins. This is a more or less common situation because local leaders are often retiring by nature, and will step aside rather than cause hard feelings." [2] It is the opinion of Sanderson that "until genuine local leadership is available, community organization will be impossible." And, that "the willingness to assume leadership is the acid test of community loyalty, for only through the development of a maximum of leadership can the best life of the community be achieved. Every citizen has some ability which qualifies him to lead some group, however small it may be, or however humble the cause. Indeed the highest type of community is one in which there is a conscious direction of community purposes through a body of leadership

[1] Bailey, L. H. Quoted in *Rural Community Organizations' Handbook*. Agric. Expt. Sta., U. of Wisconsin, Bull. 384, 1926, p 9

[2] Kolb, J. H., and Wileden, A. F. *Rural Community Organizations' Handbook* Bull. 384, U. of Wisconsin, Agric. Expt. Sta., 1926.

which is divided among all its members, so that each feels responsible to the whole community for the success of his share of the common enterprise and has satisfaction in his contribution to the common achievement. In last analysis the success of the community rests upon the loyalty of its people as measured by their willingness to assume leadership in whatsoever capacity may best serve its interests." [1]

It was found in a study [2] of organizations in five Wisconsin counties that in about 90 per cent of the cases the idea of starting the group came from some source outside of the community. But when it came to the matter of the persons who actually got the organization started, it was local farmers in 59 per cent of the instances In answer to the question as to whom the organization depended upon to keep it going after it was once started, almost 100 per cent of the three hundred and thirty-six organizations reporting, stated that the job was almost entirely up to the local people Analysis of the occupations of the officers showed that farmers, including farm women, made up the principal part of the group, 67 per cent of the presidents and 53 per cent of the secretaries being farmers. Local business men and young persons constituted from 7 to 12 per cent of the presidents and secretaries of all organizations. The principal classes of organizations which depended upon outside sources for guidance were those concerned with "better farming" and "young people's interests" both of which relied mainly on the agricultural extension service.

The development of community organizations inevitably calls for local leadership, and it is one of the best training grounds for leaders. A person who has handled one organization successfully, much more easily and confidently leads another. And it is a logical step, where native ability, the proper manner, and social vision combine, for the community leader to progress to county, state, and even national positions of responsibility in the same and other organizations

3. Successful Farmers

Many of the state agricultural colleges now publicly recognize farmers who have been outstanding in their achievement. At commencement, or some other appropriate season, they award

[1] Sanderson, D. D. *Op. cit.*, p. 244.

[2] Kolb, J. H., and Wileden, A. F. *Special Interest Groups in Rural Society.* Research Bull. 84, Agric. Expt. Sta., U. of Wisconsin, 1927, pp. 21–27.

"certificates of merit" upon these leaders. A similar honor is that known as the "master farmer" award, conferred by farm papers usually in coöperation with the agricultural extension service of the particular state. In almost any rural community of size in this country today, some one or a very few farmers stand conspicuously above all the rest. No single measure of farm relief could be more effective than to bring the communities of the nation up to the levels of farming and living maintained by these leaders As it is, the value of these superior farmers is incalculable. Often, when they are least conscious of it, they are being most closely watched, and the lessons of their success are carried over by a less successful neighbor to improve conditions on his place. The cumulative experience of the ages tells mankind that it is wisdom to profit by the mistakes and successes of fellow human beings. The whole structure of farm and home demonstration work is based upon this fundamental principle. Many farmers who are leaders in their home communities are such by virtue of lessons they have learned that would prove a blessing to entire states or regions if generally adopted.

Who are these leading farmers? Why are they outstanding? Are not superior farmers entitled to distinction such as is accorded the leaders in practically all other industries? Is not the lack of such recognition in farming a considerable factor in the urge of the ambitious youth towards the city? In order to answer these and many other like questions Clifford V. Gregory, editor of the *Prairie Farmer*, in 1925 started what is known as the Master Farmer movement. Rather quickly the idea spread to some twenty or more states, sponsored by a farm paper in each of these areas.

A study [1] has been made of the records of these Master Farmers in eight Southern States, and the findings give some factual evidence as to the outstanding characteristics of the successful farmer. It is regrettable that the data on the score cards did not shed more light on the personality traits of these leaders in better farming and better living in their several communities. However, many points of value in an objective study of farm leadership, a badly neglected field of investigation, are brought to light, and

[1] Gee, Wilson, "The Efficiency of Self-Help: A Socio-Economic Study of Southern Master Farmers" *Proceedings* Southeastern Economic Association, Atlanta, Ga., 1930, pp. 94–112.

have a significant value by indicating leadership characteristics that apply to a great degree in every section of the nation.

It was found that outstanding among the reasons why these men have succeeded while others have not is that they have a *genuine love for country life*, country things, country folks, country ways, and country living. These Master Farmers tell us sincerely that they do not find the chief rewards of their lives in the monetary returns on their labor and capital investment, but rather in the intellectual and spiritual satisfactions which enrich their hearts and minds. As Mr. R. W. Scott, Master Farmer of Alamance County, North Carolina, told his fellow farmers in their state convention: "We need to raise the standards of farming and teach our young men that money alone is not the thing we seek, but health, contentment and happiness."

Out of the cities today are flowing many influences which are urbanizing the countryside. A considerable fraction of these are beneficial, urging the farmer to higher levels of living. But there are many baneful features about this "rurban" influence. Psychologically, young farm people are being misled to believe that the only worth while goal of life is to be found in the city. Nor is this the case only with the young. And, unfortunately, the disrupting effects of such urban superiority attitudes seem to affect in undue proportion those whom it is most necessary to have remain in the country. Business depression is a good antidote, but there must be maintained constantly among country people the high regard for the social and economic values of farm life. If they will take the trouble to inform themselves of the comparative advantages of country and city life, they will find ample basis for a country-superiority complex.

These Master Farmers have been *stable elements* in their communities. In farming, like all phases of human endeavor, substantial success comes slowly and through painstaking, self-sacrificing endeavor. Listen to the story of one of these successes in Piedmont South Carolina: "I never knew anything but the farm. I was born on a small farm, and because of the ill health of my father, the management of the farm fell to my lot at the age of 16, and I have been in the field ever since. I get more pleasure while performing most of my farming operations than most men get playing golf. I 'batched' the first year, worked a rented mule and made enough to pay for one mule. Since that time I have

added one mule to my farm every year for 25 years. If I have accomplished anything worth while in my life time, it has been because I believe in going slow and paying my bills and obligations before they come due."

The mean age of the Southern Master Farmer is 51 years. They range from 33 to 92 years In South Carolina, which averaged the oldest, its Master Farmers were on the average 55 years, while the Texas group, representing the youngest, were 47 years As is true in practically all other occupations, success in farming comes mainly to those of a mature age who have spent many years achieving it, but it also awaits the man of earlier years who loves the calling and who exercises in it the practices of good farm management, with a keen insight to its many problems, and who tackles his job with the idea of making his farm a paying proposition.

Another thing that characterizes this group of successful farmers is their *stability of location*. One of the most constant differences between urban and rural folk is that the city people are much more mobile than those who live in the country. Amid a constantly shifting tenant population characterizing the Cotton Belt, these Master Farmers have been steady landmarks in a stream of humanity moving to and fro about them.

Of course, simply to remain put is no criterion of success. It is significant, however, that the number of moves for these Master Farmers was an average of .63 or less than one within the community—county of residence—and .8 without the community. The average number of years that these men had lived on their present farms varied from 17 in Texas to 37 years in Tennessee. The mean average for all the states studied was 25 years A number of examples were found where these men had spent all of their lives on the farms they now occupy. This characteristic of permanency is basic to success in farming, just as it is in the various other callings of life

It cannot be argued that these Master Farmers have not experienced the limitations of farm tenancy upon their aspirations to climb the agricultural ladder. Approximately 42 per cent of these first began to engage in farming by renting, and the average length of rental was 6 years for those who went through the status of tenant. For the United States 30 to 40 years ago, the average time for stepping from the rung of tenant to that of owner

have ... present, about 11.1 years are required. So, the ... warranted that these Master Farmers, in serving ... tenant apprenticeship, had about the same extent of service as does the average American farmer toiling upward from the ranks. About 31 out of every 100 of the Master Farmers were fortunate enough to inherit a start. Of these only 21 per cent secured 50 per cent or more of their land in this way. An average of 289.2 acres was inherited by those who gained their start through this method.

The element of daring comes into farming to a large degree. The life of any farmer requires *courage*, and this is especially true with the successful farmer. Around 30 per cent of the Master Farmers in the South purchased their entire farm at the start without renting it.

Hard work goes a long way towards making a success in anything, but there are many unsuccessful farmers who work just as hard as these Master Farmers and who worry a great deal more. The factor of *intelligence* must apply; to use a homely phrase, "brains must be mixed with the soil." Profitable farming is conditioned upon the maintenance and improvement of the fertility of the soil; a proper size of farm for the best returns for capital and managerial skill involved; a wise system of crop planning, including diversification and sufficient livestock units; sensible price forecasting based upon supply and demand factors, and curtailment or expansion of acreages in particular crop or livestock interests; judicious marketing procedures; and a willingness to learn from those who know the many technical phases of the farm industry and whose business and pleasure it is to impart such information to the farmer big enough to receive it and with common sense enough in using it to adapt it to his peculiar needs. It is in the observance of the principles of *good farm management*, more than in any other particular that the key to success in these Master Farmers is to be found. If a way could be discovered humanely to rid the country of its marginal and submarginal farmers, hanging on tenaciously to poor lands by the "skin of their teeth," with standards of living blighting soul and body for them and their children, the most significant measure of farm relief would have been accomplished.

The average value of land per farm in the states of South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee,

Kentucky, and Texas in 1925 was $2,861. The land of the Master Farmers is worth $51,111 per farm. On a per acre basis, the average value of land in these same states is $16, while that of this group of successful farmers averages $76 per acre. Moreover, a good part of this difference is not due to inherently superior lands at the outset but to the application of principles of *maintaining and increasing soil fertility.*

The homes of these Master Farmers on the average were valued at $7,505. The Kentucky group on the whole had the highest valued homes ($13,200), and the Texas Master Farmers the lowest average value ($5,088) The figures indicate that these farmers do not have expensive houses, but only *substantial, comfortable homes.* Generally, the structures are simple and made attractive by shrubbery and flowers. Many of these men have remodeled or rebuilt one or more times since they first came into possession of the farm.

In value of total property owned, the Master Farmers far surpass the average for the other farmers in their respective states. On the average, this amounted to $79,805 for each. The nearest somewhat comparable figure for the average farm in these eight states was $4,136. Such comparisons are between exceptional individuals and a general average, but these values will go far to show how much progress these outstanding farmers have made

Such facts indicate that these Master Farmers make money. One of the incentives in improved farm methods has been that their families might have higher standards of living. But very few of these men are "wealthy" or "rich" men as these terms are correctly used. They may more accurately be known as "well-to-do." This means that they have good homes, good barns, and equipment, productive land well drained and fenced, and *sufficient yearly income* to enable them to live comfortably, take an occasional trip for pleasure, send their children to school and college, and to provide for old age. The average gross income of the Master Farmers under consideration was $15,200. The corresponding figure per farm for the eight states represented was $1,291. Unfortunately, the net income of the average farmer in this area was not available, but for the Master Farmer this amounted to $5,028 as the annual average. This sum reflects a reasonably good return on the capital invested.

The Master Farmer places emphasis on good livestock. He knows this is the best way to consume with advantage much that would otherwise be wasted and the most effective method of improving soil fertility. This contention is justified in the fact that the average value of all livestock per farm was $5,488 for the Master Farmer, and only $359 for the average farm in these eight states Poultry values averaged $27 per farm in the states included, and $284 for the Master Farmer.

In the matter of farm equipment, the average per farm in this area was $178 as compared with $3,374 for the Master Farmers. The modern farmer is following the example of manufacturers today and cutting down as far as possible the cost of human labor through replacing it with the machine. How far this process of mechanization can go in the manufacturing industry without too much overproduction and unemployment is a serious question at the present time. It is certain that farming has much further to go with advantage in the more extensive use of farm machinery.

The interests of these Master Farmers and their wives have extended beyond doing well for themselves, their families, and their farms; they are *community-minded.* They have visions of better communities, and they have contributed time and money to make these dreams come true. These men and women have had zeal for and faith enough in the future of agriculture to work enthusiastically for and through crop and livestock coöperatives, farmers' clubs, school boards, churches, and other organizations which meet and help solve the economic and social problems of life Most Master Farmers belong to all of the significant organizations within their communities and a high percentage of them are officers and moving spirits in these organizations.

They have usually exhibited a very keen foresight in the matter of coöperative associations Often at much personal disadvantage they have remained loyal to such organizations, realizing that the coöperative is theirs, and that it is fighting not only for present betterment but for a larger future in all phases of farm life.

Master Farmers are vitally interested in churches and schools. Uniformly they are church members, and in a large percentage are officials in their respective churches. Their wives are enrolled in the auxiliary organizations of these institutions, actively help in this great work, and see that their children are brought up

amid influences that establish a firm religious basis for the development of character—the only certain insurance for the vicissitudes of life.

These leaders in farming and farm life promote the cause of education—some of them because they know in their personal experience its potency; others of them because they cherish for the oncoming generations equipment for life, the lack of which they know has been a retarding factor in the fullness of their own careers. Less than half (46 per cent) of these Master Farmers obtained a high school education In the matter of college training 12 per cent of them attended agricultural colleges and 27 per cent other colleges, with 20 per cent graduation.

An encouraging tendency is that the children are improving beyond their fathers. The sample under consideration totals 363 children, or approximately four to each Master Farmer family. At present, 135 of these children, or 37 per cent, are in public schools; 161, or 44 per cent, have already finished high schools; 10, or 3 per cent, are now in agricultural colleges; 29, or 8 per cent, in colleges other than agricultural; and 51, or 14 per cent, have graduated from college. The remaining 46 were too young to enter school. On the average, the education of these children of Master Farmers is far above that prevailing in rural sections

The *culture of the home* is more important than that of the school, and the increasing appreciation of this fact in these Master Farmer centers of social influence is one of the most encouraging signs in country life today Back of almost every man who has achieved notably in life is the strengthening influence of some fine woman—mother, wife, sister, or friend. These men would never have arrived at success without the active partnership with *intelligent, thrifty, frugal, energetic,* and *self-denying wives.* The average farmer today eagerly spends for additional land, livestock, farm equipment, and similar items, but grudgingly for home improvements. How is it with these Master Farmers? We have seen that they have simple, substantially built houses. What do they have in them?

It is to the everlasting credit of these successful farmers that in every instance the kitchens had been well arranged to reduce the burden of the farm housewife. Over half (58 per cent) of the homes had radios, as compared with 1 per cent among the average of the farm houses of the eight states. Every Master Farmer ex-

cept one had an automobile. Nine-tenths of the homes had telephones, and four-fifths of them electricity and waterworks. Seventy-three per cent of the homes had a septic tank or cesspool. Ninety-two per cent reported a bathroom. All of the houses had the doors and windows screened. Comfortable furnishing of the interior adds to the attractiveness and happiness of the family life in them. A good list of periodicals, a dozen or more in some instances, come to these firesides—daily paper, farm paper, religious journal, and often a number of magazines besides.

These are the things that really constitute life in its ultimate analysis; all other considerations only lead up to this achievement of a higher standard of living. As long as such wholesome environments as these can be built up in the American countryside they are going to anchor strong men and women in them to the good of all those who come in contact with their beneficent influence. More emphasis must be put upon effective living on the farm as even more important than improved production and marketing. In the measure that these things are accomplished the American farm will retain a good citizenship, and in the pursuit of them develop more generally the higher grades of leadership so vitally needed in all phases of our rural life at the present time.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the validity of the statement that there is in American life today a distressing indifference, if not disregard as to what becomes of our rural civilization. To what factors do you attribute such an attitude?
2. What does George ("A.E.") Russell, the Irish poet, philosopher, and student of country life, have to say with regard to the importance of a proper balance between the agricultural and industrial phases of civilization, and the opportunity of the United States to build up a rural civilization?
3. Why is there a great need for more vital leadership today in the rural sections beginning with the local community and extending to state and national affairs?
4. According to Sorokin and Zimmerman's study of the 6,005 biographies in *Rus*, what is the proportionate distribution of rural leadership from the farm, the villages and towns, and the cities?
5. Discuss the extent to which graduates of agricultural colleges are going back to the farms, into commerce and business, and into education. How do these facts square with the prevailing sentiment in regard to the matter?
6. Give Holmes' findings as to the comparative rural and urban contribu-

tions to American men and women of distinction recorded in *Who's Who in America?* What tendency does he note in these relative proportions?

7. What do you think of Holmes' statement that "there is a real possibility that farm conditions have been such that most of the very finest of such ability has never come to expression"? What factors are contributing to an improvement along these lines?
8. To which occupational groups does the city contribute most largely? the country? How do you account for these differences?
9. Why do Lundquist and Carver say that comparisons based upon the number of individuals from country and city whose names get into *Who's Who* are defective?
10. To what cause does Huntington ascribe a great deal of the dearth of leadership in the country?
11. Describe Huntington's view of the three stages through which a civilization passes.
12. Do you think there is reason to be pessimistic about the supply of "potential leadership" in the rural sections of the United States at the present time?
13. Discuss the profound importance of genuine local leadership in effective community organizational life
14. Compare the proportionate influence of sources in and out of the community toward originating the idea of starting the organizations in five Wisconsin counties. What does this show as to the rôle of national, state, and county organizations in the local community?
15. What is meant by "certificates of merit" and "Master Farmer" awards, and what are the advantages of such a procedure?
16. Why is it necessary that a successful farmer have a "genuine love of country life, country things, country folks, country ways, and country living"?
17. Explain the significance of "stability of location" as a factor in the success of Southern Master Farmers
18. What place do "courage," "hard work," "intelligence," and "good farm management," have in successful farming?
19. Discuss the "culture of the home" and "community-mindedness" as emphases in the life of Master Farmers in the South.
20. What may be said as to the value of the example of the successful farmer toward improving farm conditions in the local and larger community?

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4. PHELAN, J. *Readings in Rural Sociology.* The Macmillan Company, 1922, Chapter XIX, pp. 581–609, "Leadership."
5. WILSON, W. H. *The Church of the Open Country.* Eaton and Mains, 1911, Chapter VII, pp. 177–202, "Leadership of the Community."
6 GILLETTE, J. M *Rural Sociology.* The Macmillan Company, 1928, Chapter XXIII, pp. 517–531, "Developing Rural Leadership."

CHAPTER XXIV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

The early history of agricultural organization in the United States goes back to the days immediately following the Revolutionary War and includes some of the most distinguished names in our national history. George Washington's extensive farming interests led him to see the importance of organized effort on the part of the farmers themselves and on the part of the federal government to improve the status of agriculture in this country. The following quotations [1] from correspondence between Washington and Sir John Sinclair of England point to substantial influence in this direction from the Old World. In September, 1786, Sinclair wrote to our first president as follows:

> The people of this country, as well as of America, learn with infinite regret that you propose resigning your situation as President of the United States. I shall not enter into the discussion of a question of which I am incompetent to judge; but if it be so, I hope that you will recommend some agricultural establishment on a great scale before you quit the reins of government. By that I mean a board of agriculture, or some similar institution, at Philadelphia, with societies of agriculture in the capital of each state to correspond with it. Such an establishment would soon enable the farmers of America to acquire agricultural knowledge, and what is of equal importance, afford them the means of communicating what they have learned to their countrymen.

Answering another letter of the same correspondent, Washington on July 20, 1794, wrote as follows:

> It will be some time, I fear, before an agricultural society, with congressional aid, will be established in this country. We must walk as other countries have, before we can run. Smaller societies must prepare the way for greater; but with the lights before us, I hope we shall not be so slow in maturation as older nations have been. An attempt, as you will perceive by the enclosed outlines of a plan, is making to establish a state society in Pennsylvania for agricultural improvements. If it succeeds it will be a step in the ladder; at present it is too much in embryo to decide upon a result.

[1] Wiest, E. *Agricultural Organization in the United States.* Ext. Dept., U. of Kentucky, 1923, Chapter XIV, p. 291.

In 1785, at Philadelphia, the Society for Promoting Agriculture was organized. It numbered among its members, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and Timothy Pickering. In the same year, the South Carolina State Agricultural Society was established. Both of these societies achieved substantial success, though at first their efforts were ridiculed by practical farmers. The movement spread rapidly to other states, partaking of the nature of a private organization rather than a public. The scope of the plans of these societies is well illustrated by those of the South Carolina organization. "It had for its objects the establishment of an experimental farm, the importation and distribution of 'foreign articles suitable to the soil and climate of South Carolina,' to educate the public in improved agricultural methods, and to reward those who improved the art. After the Civil War the society began to hold fairs. It imported vines and olives. The vines failed from the beginning, while the olives thrived temporarily. In 1808 the society directed its attention to rice cultivation. It offered medals for the best use of water, and for the best hydraulic machine to raise water. It also offered medals for the 'best method of preventing injury by the caterpillar to the cotton plant,' and for the best method of extracting oils from the ground-nut, benne, cotton, and sun-flower seeds." [1]

Included in the aims of these early agricultural societies were many of the recognized needs of the farm industry now performed by the state and federal departments of agriculture and the agricultural colleges, but not with the effective functioning of these later institutions. Statistics were collected by some of these societies, papers were read, and discussions engaged in; in many instances proceedings were published. Undoubtedly, the organizations performed a largely useful service and as will be seen, pointed the way effectively to the present institutional and organizational situation pertaining to agriculture.

One of the principal developments of these state and county agricultural societies was *the agricultural fair*. It is believed that the first fair held in the United States was that given by the Columbia Agricultural Society in Washington in 1804. "During the first half of the 19th century farmers' clubs and agricultural societies, organized for the purpose of holding fairs and also for educational purposes, prepared the way for the 'golden age of the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 335.

agricultural fair' which is said to have reigned from 1850 to 1870." [1] An intensive study of the fair has been made by Rubinow in North Carolina who says regarding the recent development of this agency for the furthering of agriculture that "fairs and expositions have multiplied so rapidly that it is not feasible to try to chronicle the actual number in the United States. More than 3,000 fairs, including state, district, county, community, township, school and street types, are held every year at various seasons And every year sees an increase and a redirection toward better purposes. In North Carolina, there were 227 fairs in the fall of 1917. There are strong indications that this number will be widely increased in 1918. The fall of 1917 was a record breaking season for fairs everywhere. Reports from the West and North present the greatest attendance and the largest number of competitors and entries in the history of fairs. In North Carolina, more than three-quarters of a million people attended the fairs, while the number of entries exceeded 45,000 " [2]

The most striking characteristic of the trend with regard to these private agricultural organizations was that towards the differentiation of them into associations built up about special interests. As early as 1829 Massachusetts organized a horticultural society, state-wide in extent. Such an organization exists today in many states, and besides there are wool growers' associations, dairy associations, and the like. Such a tendency was inevitable and highly to be commended.

1. State Departments of Agriculture

It early became the practice in widely separated parts of the nation for these agricultural societies to receive bounties or subsidies from the state treasury to enable them to carry out their purposes, in nearly every instance much larger than their finances would justify. In order that the expenditure of these appropriations might be supervised, to some extent at least, state boards of agriculture were established, made up of representatives or delegates from the societies together with state officials. "Even to this day there are still state boards of agriculture varying, however, greatly in the functions they perform as well as in the way they are constituted; and in the more progressive states

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
[2] Rubinow, S. C. North Carolina Agric. Extension Service, Circular No. 39.

the practice of appropriating funds to societies for the purpose of promoting agriculture has actually increased." [1]

It was in Georgia that the first State Department of Agriculture was formed. This step was taken in 1874, the department constituting a part of the state cabinet. The Commissioner of Agriculture was elected by the people. In the following year, 1875, Tennessee established an even more centralized state department, the commissioner of which was appointed by the governor of the state. This movement spread widely throughout the South, and has extended rather generally throughout the nation as the most effective way of handling indispensable state functions with regard to agriculture and its related interests.

The urgency for such a centralized department grew very largely out of the regulatory functions which are its principal fields of activity. In New York State, such a development may be traced to the necessity of curbing the adulteration of foods, especially of dairy products, milk, butter, and cheese. With the increased knowledge acquired in the development of the science of agriculture more and more regulation has been necessary with regard to agricultural products. Dairy herds today must be tested for tuberculosis. The consumer should be protected by having slaughtered meat inspected for animal parasites. The dozens of plant and animal diseases affecting fruit trees, shrubs, nursery stock, and seed require rigid inspection laws. Fertilizers must come up to a guaranteed analysis; standards have been established for packing farm products, and the farmer must not be allowed to evade these. It is generally conceded that it is in this field of regulatory activities that the justification of the state departments of agriculture is to be found. In their earlier days, many of them had what today are known as research and extension functions. The tendency increasingly is to relinquish these to the extension divisions and to the agricultural experiment stations of the land-grant colleges.

2. The Grange

The first really national organization of farmers in the United States is what we know today as the Grange or the Order of Patrons of Husbandry. The germ of the idea about which it was born is to be credited to Oliver H. Kelley, a young man from Boston who

[1] Wiest, E. *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

had migrated to a Minnesota farm at Itasca in 1849. He was a frequent contributor to the agricultural press of his day, and a thoughtful student of the farm situation of which he was a constituent part The Civil War had wrought havoc in the South, and a deep-seated antagonism prevailed between the two sections of the nation which had been in conflict. The war had scarcely come to a close until President Johnson and Commissioner of Agriculture Isaac Newton gave attention to the matter of learning as accurately as they could of the economic and agricultural situation in that part of the nation. In October, 1865, Mr. Kelley was requested to come to Washington on special business, and upon reaching that city he was asked "to proceed immediately through the states lately in hostility against the government to procure such information and report the same to this department." In January of 1866, Mr. Kelley began his tour of duty, and secured the data for a detailed report upon the conditions he was asked to study. He was a Mason, and membership in that fraternity added to the hospitality with which he was received everywhere. The conclusion which he reached was that the politicians would never restore peace, and that what was needed was a national organization, patterned along the lines of a secret order, through which the people of the two sections might come to know each other better. When he had returned to Washington, Mr. Kelley discussed his plan with Miss Carrie A. Hall, a niece of his and a Boston school teacher. Miss Hall insisted that women should be admitted to full membership in the organization, on an equality with men, which suggestion was accepted by Mr. Kelley.

The summer of 1866, he spent on his farm in Minnesota, returning to Washington in November to accept an appointment in the Post Office Department. The idea of a "secret society of agriculturists as an element to restore kindly feelings among the people" continued to ferment in his brain, and in Washington on December 4, 1867, the "birthday of the Order," Mr. Kelley and six others organized the National Grange of Patrons of Husbandry So enthusiastic had the founder become over the possibilities of his organization that he resigned his position in the Post Office Department, and set out to extend the order. The first local Grange was established shortly thereafter in Fredonia, New York, an organization which is still flourishing. The progress

was at first quite discouraging, and the parent organization was harassed with debts for printing and other expenses.[1] However, by 1873, there were 20,000 Granges in 28 states, with a membership of 750,000. In that year the National Grange was officially organized. After a few years, the strength of the Order began to dwindle, and its prestige suffered a decline during the decade following 1880.[2] Since 1890, the Order has continued to increase so that in 1925, the membership totaled 800,000, included in about 8,000 local organizations. Thirty-five states are organized, New York leading with Ohio standing second. The Grange is strongest in the New England States, New York, and the farming states of the West, but less so in the South than in some preceding years.[3]

A few excerpts from the Declaration of Purposes of the National Grange as promulgated in its earlier years will serve to emphasize the non-political aims of the organization:

> We shall endeavor to advance our cause by laboring to accomplish the following objects:
>
> To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves. To enhance the comfort and attractions of our homes and to strengthen our attachments to our pursuits. To foster mutual understanding and coöperation. To maintain inviolate our laws, and to emulate each other in labor, to hasten the good time coming. To reduce our expenses, both individual and corporate. To buy less and produce more, in order to make our farms self-sustaining. To diversify our crops and crop no more than we can cultivate. To condense the weight of our exports, selling less in the bushel and more on hoof and in fleece; less in lint and more in warp and woof. To systematize our work, and calculate intelligently on probabilities. To discountenance the credit system, the mortgage system, the fashion system, and every other system tending to prodigality and bankruptcy.
>
> We propose meeting together, talking together, working together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our mutual protection and advancement, as occasion may require.
>
> For our business interests we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers and manufacturers, into the most direct and friendly relations possible. Hence we must dispense with a surplus of middlemen, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits.
>
> We wage no aggressive warfare against any other interests whatever.

[1] Atkeson, T. C. "Outlines of Grange History." *National Farm News*, 1928.
[2] Butterfield, K. L. *Chapters in Rural Progress*. U. of Chicago Press, 1907, pp. 136-151.
[3] Farrell, Geo. E. "The Grange." *Book of Rural Life*, Vol. IV, p. 2428.

On the contrary, all our acts and all our efforts, so far as business is concerned, are not only for the benefit of the producer and consumer, but also for all other interests that tend to bring these two parties into speedy and economical contact. Hence we hold that transportation companies of every kind are necessary to our success, that their interests are intimately connected with our interests.

We are opposed to such spirit and management of any corporation or enterprise as tends to oppress the people, and rob them of their just profits. We are not enemies to capital, but we oppose the tyranny of monopolies. We long to see the antagonism between capital and labor removed by common consent, and by an enlightened statesmanship worthy of the nineteenth century. We are opposed to excessive salaries, high rates of interest and exorbitant per cent profits in trade.

We emphatically and sincerely assert the oft-repeated truth taught in our organic law, that the Grange—national, state, or subordinate—is not a political or party organization. No Grange, if true to its obligations, can discuss political or religious questions, or call political conventions, or nominate candidates, or even discuss their merits at its meetings.

However, this idealistic statement of purposes did not deter the organization from taking an active and aggressive stand regarding national and state measures considered discriminatory against the farming interests. In addition to advancing agriculture and binding the farmers of different sections together in a friendly way, emphasizing the Rochdale principles of coöperation and promoting the cause of agricultural education, the Grange has an extensive legislative record to its credit.

Some of the achievements attributed to the efforts of the Grange are the separation of certain agricultural colleges from universities receiving land-grant funds but not in the opinion of the farmers duly contributing to the cause of agricultural education; the limiting of the appropriations under the second Morrill Act of 1890 to purposes of instruction in agriculture and the mechanical arts; the effective sponsoring of the Hatch Act of 1887, which established an experiment station in each state and territory; the creation of a Cabinet position for agriculture and its elevation to the status of a Department of the federal government; the promotion of pure food and dairy laws; measures of tax reform in many states; and the agitation leading to the establishment of rural free delivery service.[1]

The most spectacular of the reforms instituted through the

[1] Butterfield, K. L. *Op. cit.*, pp. 150–151.

efforts of the Grange were those which had to do with railroad regulation. So necessary were the railroads to the economic development of the country, that at first it was considered that in their operation and promotion nothing but good could be the outcome. Their rapid development soon outran the possibilities of conservative policies of capitalization and operation. Farmers on adjacent lands to be benefited by a railroad mortgaged their farms to purchase stock in the new enterprises. All too frequently, the railroad went into the hands of receivers for reorganization with the result that the farmer's land was still mortgaged, but his stock valueless. The public was not duly considered in the matter of rates, and the charges to the farmer were so great as to prove detrimental instead of beneficial. Widespread prejudice developed against the railroads, and the Grangers took their cases to the various state legislatures. The result was that in a number of states railroad commissions were created to regulate rates and other activities of these corporations The railroads were equally active in denouncing such policies of regulation as confiscatory and unconstitutional. The matter was carried to the United States Supreme Court in 1877, and the constitutionality of the so-called "Granger Laws" was upheld, the court ruling that the several states possessed the power to regulate rates provided they were set at levels sufficiently reasonable so as not to amount to confiscation of property.

While a subsequent decision of the Supreme Court in the case of the Wabash Railroad *vs.* Illinois partially reversed its former decision, ruling that states could not regulate interstate commerce, the principle that the railroads were quasi-public corporations was clearly established, and the final result was the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Act, setting up the Interstate Commerce Commission, an agency supplementing the activities of the state railroad commissions.

Bizzell says of this significant farmers' movement: "The farmers of the West had won a great victory, both in the legislative halls and in the courts of the country They demonstrated their political strength and revealed the power of concerted action. Had they possessed continuous coherence, their influence would have been more permanent and helpful in securing social justice for themselves and the farmers of future generations. The passing of the era of financial depression weakened the spirit of class con-

sciousness among the farmers composing the Grange. The influence of the organization gradually declined as prosperity slowly returned and their grievances disappeared." [1]

3. The Farmers' Alliance

The decline of the Grange was soon followed by the development of the Farmers' Alliance, a movement which came to take on a decidedly political turn in the Populist, or the People's Party. Someone has said that it is as difficult to determine the starting point of the Alliance as it is to find that of the Mississippi River. Whether it started in Texas, Kansas, New York, or Arkansas, the movement soon became widespread. By uniting the Texas Farmers' Alliance, the Louisiana Farmers' Union, and the Arkansas Agricultural Wheel, and working in political coöperation with the Northwestern Alliance, the movement mobilized the opinion of about three million farmers.

Economic conditions prevailing at the time provided a fertile matrix in which the Alliance movement might rapidly develop. The organization early took a political turn, and by doing so invited dissension within its ranks in Texas and elsewhere. In several states, particularly in the South, the Alliance became the dominant influence in determining the state tickets An enumeration of the demands of the movement is significant in that it includes a number of issues then considered radical, but some of which are now accepted reforms. A partial list of the aims included: Government ownership of railways and telegraph lines; establishment of a graduated income tax; the abolition of national banks; the elimination of land speculation; an increase in the supply of paper money; free coinage of silver; a subtreasury plan; the establishment of a postal savings bank; direct election of United States senators; the initiative and referendum; the abolition of alien ownership of land; and coöperative buying and selling.[2]

Although the Alliance sought and did exert a potent influence in state elections, particularly in 1890, it did not as an organization attempt to form a national party. However, it may be viewed as the precursor of the Populist or the National People's Party, because that body recruited its strength mainly from the politically active farmers who had been influential in the Alliance, the

[1] Bizzell, W. B. *The Green Rising*. Macmillan, 1926, pp. 162–164.
[2] Comish, Newell H. *Coöperative Marketing*. Appleton, 1929, p 383.

Grange, and the Greenback Party. This Populist movement, constituting as it did a merging of agrarian and labor interests, held its first national convention at Omaha, Nebraska, in July, 1892. It capitalized the marked economic depression of agriculture, and in the following language vigorously expressed its dissatisfaction with the existing old line political parties: "They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver, and the oppression of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives and children on the altar of Mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires."

The usually conservative agrarian element in our national life had become the most radical, and the People's Party in large degree advocated the measures which had been urged by the Alliance. James B. Weaver of Iowa was nominated for president and James G. Field of Virginia for vice president. These candidates in 1892 received over a million popular votes, and twenty-two votes in the electoral college.[1] Thus for the first time since 1860, a third party had exacted a place in the electoral college. Eight hundred thousand of the popular vote were polled in the South and West.

The surprising strength developed by a party which had been ridiculed and denounced as socialistic made both the Democratic and Republican parties apprehensive and alert to gain the support of the disaffected element. In 1896, the platform of the Democratic Party was distinctly a bid to the Populists and the candidate, William Jennings Bryan, with his advocacy of free coinage of silver forced the Republicans to the defense of the gold standard under the successful leadership of William McKinley. The popular vote in the ensuing election gave Bryan 6,287,352 ballots as against 7,107,304 votes for McKinley. Bryan received 176 electoral votes.

The agrarian interests undoubtedly contributed heavily to the strength of the Democratic Party, but they by no means represented the entirety of the restless element. Beard says in this

[1] Haynes, F. E. *Social Politics in the United States.* Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1924, p. 165.

connection: "The free coinage of silver, which Mr. Bryan made the leading issue, appealed particularly to the farmers with heavily mortgaged property and to debtors generally; but back of that issue was a deep-seated antagonism of small property owners, merchants, petty manufacturers, and a large portion of organized labor to the great financiers and corporation interests. Mr. Bryan marshaled in his ranks radicals of every school who were opposed to what they called government by a 'plutocracy.'" [1]

For the national campaigns of 1900, 1904, and 1908, the Populist Party maintained its separate organization but in the latter year its candidate polled only 29,146 votes While there were political heresies in its program, a great many of the reforms which it advocated have become established national policies. Moreover, the movement undoubtedly had the effect of making the old parties more sensitive to the needs and wishes of the agrarian element of our national life

4. The Farmers' Union

We have seen that "the rapid and extensive development of the Alliance was even more marvelous than that of the Grange; and if the decline of the Grange in its reactionary period may be thought of as a debacle, the end of the Alliance must be recorded as a precipitous and thoroughgoing disaster, destroying every vestige of the order and leaving only memories of what it might have been if only correct policies of organization had been adhered to." [2] Due to these developments, the South and a part of the Middle West for a second time was without a farmers' organization of any extensive scope.

In 1902, at the little town of Point, Texas, Newt Gresham, one of the official organizers of the earlier Farmers' Alliance, and editor of a local newspaper began the Farmers' Union, or to give its complete name, The Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America Organizers soon entered Arkansas, Oklahoma, Mississippi, Indian Territory, Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia, and in the following year, 1903, the order was established in four of these states—Louisiana, Georgia, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. By 1905, a national organization had been effected, made up of the state unions in the 4 states just mentioned and Texas in addi-

[1] Beard, C. A. *American Government and Politics.* Macmillan, 1914, p. 123.
[2] Wiest, E. *Op. cit.*, p. 475 *et seq.*

tion. By 1914, the Union was functioning in 20 states, extending into the North Central, Western, and Pacific States. Naturally, the influence of the Farmers' Alliance was strong in the new order, but the new organization was able to profit by the mistakes of that organization, particularly in the matter of participation in politics.

The form of organization begins with local unions, usually forming county unions. These in turn make up the state unions, which grouped together constitute the national body. The secret feature, which characterizes the Grange and was a part of the plan of the Alliance, applied in the earlier years, but later was abandoned in 1917 upon vote of the national body. However, the use of the ritual is permitted in those states which desire it.

"Any white person or Indian may be admitted to membership, if of sound mind, over the age of 16 years, of industrious habits, believes in a Supreme Being, is of good moral character, and if a farmer, country mechanic, school teacher, physician or minister of the gospel, and not engaged in any of the following occupations, to-wit: Banking, Merchandising, Practicing Law, or belonging to any trust or combine" which speculates in agricultural products. Women are admitted to membership on full equality with the men, except that the women do not pay dues. The growth of membership was a rapid one, and "in a short time its membership went into the hundreds of thousands. Like all other farmers' organizations, it has had its ups and downs, and today its membership has fallen off, although in a few states, particularly in Kansas, Nebraska, Virginia and Texas, it still has large units." [1]

The general objectives of the organization may be visualized from the statement of purposes as expressed in the constitution of the Union, as follows:

1. To secure equity, establish justice and apply the Golden Rule.
2. To discourage the credit and mortgage system.
3. To assist our members in buying and selling.
4. To educate the agricultural classes in scientific farming.
5. To teach farmers the classification of crops, domestic economy and the process of marketing.
6. To systematize methods of production and distribution.
7. To eliminate gambling in farm products by Boards of Trade, Cotton Exchanges and other speculators.

[1] Farrell, G. E. "Farmers' Union." *The Book of Rural Life.* Bellows-Durham Company, Chicago, 1925, p. 1850.

8. To bring farming up to the standard of other industries and business enterprises.

9. To secure and maintain profitable and uniform prices for cotton, grain, livestock and other products of the farm.

10. To strive for harmony and good will among all mankind and brotherly love among ourselves.

11. To garner the tears of the distressed, the blood of martyrs, the laugh of innocent childhood, the sweat of honest labor, and the virtue of a happy home as the brightest jewels known.

"To sum up in a fundamental way these objects of organization, it may be said that the Union recognizes happiness and self-respect as the chief goal of organized effort. The importance of scientific agricultural education is duly acknowledged but a scientific study of market organization with a view to reconstruct it in such a way as to give greater advantage to the farmer is considered equally important. Happiness, self-respect and social standing are to come through the two-fold means of agricultural education and control of the market organization, the former lightening the burden of production, the latter increasing the farmer's share of the distribution of wealth." [1]

One of the things sponsored by the Union was that of setting a minimum price per pound for cotton It is very doubtful whether its efforts along these lines were very effective, applying only when the guesses as to the minimum price accorded with the factors of supply and demand. The initial attempts at acreage reduction seem to have been successful at the outset, but the improved prices which resulted brought about a situation which led one of the leaders in the movement to say: "Whenever we tell the farmers to plant less cotton, they plant more." The campaigns for warehouses, elevators, livestock shipping associations, and livestock commission exchanges were accompanied with a considerable degree of success. "The Union has a great many exchanges which do both a buying and a selling business for farmers. These exchanges buy primarily groceries, coal, twine, and the like. In certain cases considerable savings have accrued. It might be added that some of these exchanges transact relatively large volumes of business. A Nebraska exchange, to exemplify, does a yearly business in excess of $3,000 000. All things considered, these economic activities of the Union are vitally important, and are becoming increasingly more significant as time comes and

[1] Wiest, E. *Op cit.*, pp. 485–486

goes." [1] Direct sales of cotton to manufacturers, both domestic and foreign have been one of the objectives of the Union, but no conspicuous success has attended the efforts in this direction. The legislative and educational activities of the organization, as well as its stimulation of cooperative effort have been among its outstanding contributions. The national laws contended for have related to more and better rural credit, and the Union deserves many thanks for its effective influence in securing the establishment of the Federal Farm Loan System, and more recently of the intermediate credit banks. The marketing activities of the Union placed much emphasis upon the need for standard grades, and greatly stimulated the development of these by the federal government. In the several states, the Unions have advocated better tax laws, lower interest rates, pure food laws, the initiative and referendum, and credit extension, sometimes with notable success And the educational activities of the organization exceed in accomplishment its legislative record. It has spread the doctrines of a diversified agriculture, better grading, storing, and marketing of farm products, the importance of limitations of acreage from time to time, and has long been a champion of the principles of cooperative enterprise. The interest of the organization in improved schools for the rural sections has been a significant influence in hastening the movement along these lines.

5. The American Farm Bureau Federation

In Broome County, New York, the Binghamton Chamber of Commerce was interested in relating its work more closely to the development of a wholesome agricultural status in the surrounding rural territory. A committee on agriculture was appointed which made an investigational tour of the county and adjacent territory accompanied by representatives of the state college of agriculture, the state and the federal departments of agriculture. It was at this same time that the farm demonstration work was taking form, and it was decided to employ a farm demonstration agent to carry out the work as visualized by the committee of the Chamber. Thus, supported by the Binghamton Chamber of Commerce, the Lackawanna Railroad, and the Department of Agriculture, the first farm bureau took form, and John H. Barron, a graduate of the state agricultural college began his duties on

[1] Comish, N. H. *Op. cit.*, p. 405.

March 20, 1911. "Mr. Barron soon made close contact with the people in the various communities. He selected community chairmen as the first step in the development of local organization. He also enlisted the aid of existing organizations such as the Grange. While this first farm bureau was different from the character of the organization of the present-day farm bureau, it must be regarded as the first organization of its kind in as much as it had a regularly appointed county agent and a 'local governing, consulting and coöperating body.' What was done in Broome County, New York, therefore, was merely the planting of a seed that bore fruit later in a way wholly unexpected by officials of the Department or by any of the other parties who took part in preparing the soil for its growth." [1]

Thus, from its beginning the Farm Bureau movement grew up about the work of the county agricultural agent. With the passage of the Smith-Lever Act, and the resulting widespread establishment of state agricultural extension services in coöperation with the Federal Department of Agriculture, the Farm Bureau idea extended rapidly throughout the several states of the nation, particularly in the North and West. The States Relations Service, the division of the federal agricultural department under which the Smith-Lever Act was administered saw in the Farm Bureau a plan which was calculated greatly to strengthen the farm and home demonstration work. Its agriculturalists studied the plan, and issued literature advocating the organization of farm bureaus and furnishing full advice as to how to organize and operate them.

The purposes of the Farm Bureau movement are well set forth in the following characterization in one of the bulletins issued by the United States Department of Agriculture:

> A county farm bureau is an association of people interested in rural affairs, which has for its object the development in a county of the most profitable and permanent system of agriculture, the establishment of community ideals, and the furtherance of the well-being, prosperity, and happiness of the rural people, through coöperation with local, State and National agencies in the development and execution of a program of extension work in agriculture and home economics.
>
> At the outset acknowledgment should be made of the excellent work already accomplished by many farmers' organizations. Thousands of coöperative agricultural associations, farmers' clubs, granges, equities, gleaners, and other secret and nonsecret organizations are working

[1] Wiest, E. *Op. cit.*, pp. 504–505.

together successfully for the betterment of rural conditions. The county farm bureau aims to coördinate and correlate the work of all these organizations, thereby unifying and strengthening the work they are doing. It does not supply or compete with any existing organization, but establishes a bureau through which all may increase their usefulness through more direct contact with each other and with State and National institutions without in any way surrendering their individuality. It is a nonpolitical, nonsectarian, nonsecret organization representing the whole farming population, men, women, and children, and as such it acts as a clearing house for every association interested in work with rural people.

While the original conception of the farm bureau was to develop county-agent work, it soon filled a broader field and it is now rapidly coming to be recognized as the official rural organization for the promotion of all that pertains to a better and more prosperous rural life. It coöperates directly with the State and the Federal Government in the employment of county agents, home-demonstration agents, boys' and girls' club leaders, and other local extension workers. The services of the farm bureau are available to all extension agencies desiring to work within the county. It is quite as much interested in home-economics demonstrations, boys' and girls' club work, farm-management demonstrations, and the work of the various institutional specialists as it is in the demonstrations carried on directly by the county agent. Thus while an outgrowth of county-agent work it has become broader than county-agent work, and is now the federating agency through which all groups of rural people, whether organized or unorganized, are able to secure a hearing.

The primary purposes of the farm bureau are:

1. To encourage self-help through developing and exercising leadership in the rural affairs of each community.

2. To reveal to all the people of the county the agricultural possibilities of the county and how they may be realized.

3. To furnish the means whereby the agricultural problems of the county and the problems of the farm home may be systematically studied and their solution attempted through a county program of work to secure the well-being, prosperity, and happiness of all rural people.

4. To coördinate the efforts of existing rural agricultural forces, organized or unorganized, and to promote new lines of effort.

5. To bring to the agents representing the organization, the State agricultural college, and the Federal Department of Agriculture the counsel and advice of the best people in the county as to what ought to be done and how to do it.

6. To furnish the necessary local machinery for easily and quickly supplying every community in the county with information of value to that community or to the county as a whole.[1]

[1] Simons, L. R. *Organization of a County for Extension Work—The Farm Bureau Plan.* U. S. Department of Agriculture, States Relations Service, Department Circular 30, 1919, pp. 4–5.

The chief features of the plan were:

1. *A representative membership*, composed largely of farmers throughout the county, paying usually a membership fee of from one to ten dollars.

2. *An executive committee*, composed of the officers of the bureau, and five other members, all elected at the annual meeting of the farm bureau. "Representation on this committee is given to other strong county agricultural organizations, such as the grange, breeders' associations, etc. Each member is selected because of his special fitness to promote some important part of the county agricultural-improvement program. Each must not only be willing to serve, but he must have the necessary time to give to the work and must be so located that he can be of the most effective service." [1]

3. *A community committee*, consisting of a chairman and one to four members, functioning in each well defined community of the county. Such a body gives recognition in representation to strong, active, local agricultural organizations of the particular community, and the membership on these local committees is selected on the basis of special fitness to further the program of the county bureau in the several parts of the county.

4. *A county agricultural council*, made up of the chairmen of the various community committees

The organization was well conceived and had good endorsement because the Farm Bureaus were important financial and moral supporters of the local demonstration agents. Also, "the state extension forces were quick to realize that a state federation of the county farm bureaus would provide a powerful influence in securing liberal appropriations from the legislatures for further extension work." [2] State federations were a logical outcome, and are supposed to have grown out of the custom of inviting the county farm bureau presidents to attend conventions held annually at the state agricultural colleges. Once state-wide organizations were effected, the movement was launched which led in 1920 to the formation of the American Farm Bureau Federation. "Along in 1921, when the movement was probably at its height, about 68 per cent of the country, 2,052 counties, were employing

[1] Simons, L. R *Farm-Bureau Organization Plan.* G. R. S. Doc. 54, Circ. 4, Ext. N.

[2] Kile, O. M. *The Farm Bureau Movement.* Macmillan, 1921, p. 111.

county agents. Of this number, nearly one-half supported their agents by paid membership associations. Besides there were over 500 counties in the Southern States that had local farmers' clubs." [1]

In its fullest strength, the Farm Bureau movement expanded to a scope attained by few if any farmers' organizations in the history of this nation. It mobilized a higher grade of scientific talent in its leadership, and undoubtedly has served greatly to improve the economic and social institutions of American rural life. Naturally, it met with much opposition from the older established organizations, into the territory of which it sought to intrude.

While it can by no means claim sole credit, it was largely instrumental, together with other general farm organizations, in developing the "farm bloc" in Congress. This body with the backing of the farm organizations deserves considerable credit in achieving such measures as the Federal Intermediate Credit Act, establishing a system of federal intermediate credit banks in conjunction with the federal land banks, the increase to $25,000 as the upper limit of loans to individuals under the terms of the Federal Farm Loan Act, the Capper-Volstead Act giving larger federal sanction to coöperative marketing, the Purnell bill providing for research facilities in the economic and social problems of country life, and a number of other similarly important measures.

While as is the case in the history of practically all farmers' organizations, the Farm Bureau Federation seems to have had its period of greatest growth, and now experiences the difficulty of maintaining its membership, it still is a significant organization and continues to wield a vital influence in national farm policies. It has never like the Alliance worked to put out a farmer's ticket. It has chosen to lobby for its desired legislation and to exert itself to elect those candidates for office who were in sympathy with its ideas.

6. Other Farmers' Organizations

It is impracticable to give within a single chapter even a brief summary of the activities of all farmers' organizations which have achieved national attention. The American Society of Equity now strongest in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Utah was unique in many of its organizational features, but too complicated to stand

[1] Comish, N. H. *Op. cit.*, p. 419.

the test of practicality in these, and they were subsequently modified to meet modern conditions. It must be accorded "a historical place among other general farmers' organizations, not because it apparently succeeded in doing the impossible along the lines of price-fixing and crop limitation, but because it accelerated the movement for cooperative grain elevators, tobacco warehouses, and exchanges, and gave the farmers a stronger bargaining position. Many of the business ventures are sound and have a healthy growth. Today, however, it is one of the small general farmers' organizations in the United States." [1]

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society is a well-planned organization, working under the provisions of a fund established by Baron de Hirsch and other wealthy Jews interested in the plan. Its purposes are intelligently to settle members of this race adapted to agriculture upon carefully selected farm lands. Quite wisely the program includes not only loans upon favorable terms to those settling on the land, but the settler is kept in touch with and supplied individual information as to the principles and application of them to scientific farm management and instruction in rural health sanitation.

One of the most dramatic and radical of the various farmers' organizations is that of the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota, an avowedly political organization representing agrarian interests. While it was limited largely to the Northwest in the national extent of the organization, before its collapse it extended its sphere of influence to thirteen states, some as far south as Texas and Oklahoma, and others as far west as Oregon. The Non-Partisan League at its period of greatest growth probably totaled as many as 230,000 members.

The League had its birth in North Dakota in 1915. It grew out of the economic unrest of the farmers in a distinctly agricultural state, where if they chose in a determined sort of way the farmers could say forcefully what the state should do. A succession of poor wheat years in the state from 1910 to 1920 meant that the average yield of wheat was one-third less in North Dakota than for the nation as a whole. The farmers felt that the credit facilities were inadequate and that interest rates were exorbitant at banks and stores. The grain of the state was marketed largely through commission men in St. Paul, Minneapolis, Duluth, and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 393.

Chicago. It was believed that unfair dockage and freight charges were made, and that the marketing situation in a number of other particulars militated against the farmer.

All of these factors contributed to a discontent which led the farmers to cast about for some plan of relief. A group of socialists in the state were ready with a plan of state ownership and operation of grain elevators, stores, mills, and banks. Under the leadership of Bowen, Townley, and a number of others, the farmers set about to capture the reins of state government. Although the membership fees were raised to as much as $9.00, in 1920, the state membership in the League numbered as many as 50,000. In 1916, the organization elected 81 out of a total of 113 in the lower house of the legislature, but it did not satisfactorily secure the control of the Senate It also elected its candidate Lynn J Frazier as governor of the state, and all of the remaining state officers except one. In the subsequent election of 1918, the League carried into office its entire state ticket.

When the Legislature convened in 1917, the Senate under the influence of the lieutenant governor contended that, in order to carry out the program of the League, amendments to the state constitution were necessary. A new constitution was proposed and adopted by the House, but consideration of the measure was postponed indefinitely in the Senate. In spite of this action, a number of measures favoring the farmers were passed by the Legislature including a state grain grading act, a Torrens title registration law, a statute guaranteeing deposits in state banks, an act determining a rate of assessment on farm improvements, a law reducing freight rates, the creation of a state highway commission, and increased appropriations for good roads But the program of the Non-Partisan League looking to state ownership and control was scarcely touched.

With a complete domination of the machinery of state government in 1919 the following agrarian legislation was enacted, embarking the state upon the most extensive state socialistic program ever undertaken in this country:

"1. Provision was made for state-owned grain warehouses and elevators, and flour mills. Working capital was provided by a bond issue of five million dollars.

"2. The Bank of North Dakota was created with an initial capital of two million dollars, to be supplied by a bond issue.

"3. Exemption of all farm improvements from taxation.

"4. Creation of a hail insurance fund, which was provided from an acreage tax on all tillable land.

"5. Establishment of the Home Building Association of North Dakota for encouraging home ownership.

"6. Control of state-owned financial and commercial industries was assigned to an industrial commission, consisting of the Governor, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Attorney-General." [1]

It is scarcely to be expected that so ambitious a program launched at one time could have been successful. The price of wheat dropped and other farm products along with it in the general agricultural depression of the fall of 1920. Rural banks failed, the state bank experienced financial embarrassment, elevator and flour mill construction were discontinued, and the state credit operations through the Home Building Association and elsewhere were suspended. The movement in its actual operation failed.

It is difficult to pass upon the merits of the program Much of it was perhaps unsound economically, but perhaps more of its failure was due to the human nature elements involved. Disloyalty, inexperience, lack of careful planning combined with national agricultural distress did not permit bringing the matter to a fair trial. Today the League is "practically shattered to pieces." [2] Undoubtedly, the experiment, as expensive as it was, has been useful, and it has served to illustrate the extent of power farmers may exert in agricultural states if they chose to do so. Also, the movement is indicative of the way the farmers are coming to feel about the unfairly adjusted economic situation with which they have to contend.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe George Washington's interest in the matter of agricultural societies as revealed in his correspondence with Sir John Sinclair.
2. What two agricultural societies were established in the year 1785? Give the general scope of the activities of these earlier organizations. Mention the most striking characteristic of the trend with regard to these private agricultural societies.
3. Discuss the relationship of such state and county agricultural societies to the "agricultural fair" and briefly trace the history of this institution.
4. Explain how the state departments of agriculture evolved from the agri-

[1] Bizzell, W. B. *Op. cit.*, pp. 186–187.
[2] Comish, N. H. *Op. cit.*, p. 425.

cultural societies. Which was the first state to form such a department? What is the present extent of such divisions of the state government, and the principal sphere of their activities?

5. Name the first really national organization of farmers in the United States. Give the high points in the history of the National Grange, including the present effectiveness of the organization.
6. State the principal aims of the National Grange as promulgated in its "Declaration of Purposes."
7. Describe the principal achievements attributable in considerable measure to the efforts of the Grange Which was the most spectacular of these?
8. What was the Farmers' Alliance, the conditions giving rise to the organization, and its principal aims?
9. Discuss the political activities of the Farmers' Alliance, particularly in its relation to the People's Party or the Populist movement.
10. Outline briefly the history of the Farmers' Union, including the present extent of the organization.
11. Give the general objectives of the Farmers' Union as set forth in the statement of purposes in the constitution of that organization.
12. Enumerate the principal contributions which the Farmers' Union has made to the cause of agricultural improvement.
13. Narrate the high points in the history of the American Farm Bureau Federation, emphasizing its relation to the farm and home demonstration work.
14. Epitomize the purposes of the Farm Bureau movement.
15. Describe the chief organizational features of the Farm Bureau, including the functions of each major part of the plan of organization.
16. Give the principal national measures which the Farm Bureau helped to bring about to the benefit of American agriculture
17. Why is the American Society of Equity entitled to a historical place among other general farmers' organizations in this country?
18. Briefly describe the scope and method of the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society.
19. What was the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota? Give the conditions which gave rise to the movement
20. Discuss the extent of the success of the Non-Partisan League as the most extensive state socialistic program ever undertaken in this country.

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3. Atkeson, T. C. *Outlines of Grange History.* National Farm News, Washington, D. C., 1928. pp 1–39

4. FISHER, C. B. *The Farmer's Union.* University of Kentucky, Studies in Economics and Sociology, No. 2, 1920, pp. 1–66.
5. KILE, O. M. *The Farm Bureau Movement.* The Macmillan Company, 1921, Chapter VIII, pp. 100–112, "The Growth of an Idea."
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CHAPTER XXV

THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND RELATED INSTITUTIONS

The nation was so completely agricultural in nature during the first half century of its existence that few urged practical aid for farming, and the voices of those who did were soon lost in the midst of the vast sea of indifference. Two resolutions were introduced in the Continental Congress by John Adams in 1776, the first designed to stimulate the production of certain agricultural commodities, and the other for the establishment in every colony of a society for the improvement of agriculture. Washington was naturally greatly interested in farming, and possessed an unusual understanding of its problems. In his first annual message to Congress, he proposed federal aid to agriculture, suggesting that its promotion should accompany that of commerce and industries. His last annual message pointed out that with increases in population, the cultivation of the soil became increasingly a matter of national concern: "institutions for promoting it grow up, supported by the public purse; and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety?" [1]

In the meanwhile, other individuals and agencies urged a national board of some sort to help agriculture and manufacturing, but nothing concrete came of their proposals. However, in 1820, the House of Representatives recognized the importance of the farming interests as a matter of national concern by the appointment of a committee on agriculture; and five years later, the Senate appointed a similar committee.

The year 1839 saw the humble beginnings of the present Federal Department of Agriculture. They were in the form of a $1,000 appropriation by Congress, allocated to the Patent Office, then in the Department of State; and this limited fund was for collecting and distributing seeds, carrying out agricultural investigations, and gathering statistics relating to agriculture. Even this

[1] Eisenhower, M. S., and Chow, A. P. *The United States Department of Agriculture.* Misc. Pub. No. 88, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1930. p. 1.

paltry amount was not renewed during the two ensuing years; but, in 1842, it was again made available. In 1845, the sum of $3,000 was appropriated, but in 1846, Congress made no appropriation. From 1847 on, however, small amounts were made available for agricultural purposes under the direction of the Commissioner of Patents until the establishment of the Department of Agriculture in 1862. "Thus the first official service performed by the Federal Government was done in the Patent Office. This office soon after the organization of the Government began the practice of exhibiting models of the more important agricultural inventions More than any other office of the executive branch of the Government it seems to have been early interested in agriculture and therefore was the logical office to fall heir to the paltry appropriations first made by Congress in the interest of agricultural improvement." [1]

On May 15, 1862, while this country was in the stress of the Civil War, President Lincoln signed the act creating the Department of Agriculture but placing over its direction a Commissioner of Agriculture, who was not given a place in the Cabinet It is significant that the Morrill Act establishing agricultural colleges was passed in the same year, only a little more than a month later. The enabling appropriation of $64,000 made it possible for the new department to carry its work forward with a measure of efficiency impossible under its earlier organization and limited appropriations. It was in 1889, that Norman J. Colman, previously Commissioner, was elevated to the position of Secretary of Agriculture, and given a seat in the President's Cabinet.

The two functions most stressed in the establishment of the department were the collection of statistics and the distribution of valuable seeds and plants. Section 3 of the act creating this branch of the government says: "It shall be the duty of the Commissioner of Agriculture to acquire and preserve in this department all information concerning agriculture which he can obtain by means of books and correspondence and by practical and scientific experiments (accurate records of which experiments shall be kept in his office), by the collection of statistics, and by other appropriate means within his power; to collect as he may be able, new and valuable seeds and plants; to test by cultivation

[1] Wiest, E. *Agricultural Organization in the United States*. U. of Kentucky, 1923, pp. 26–27.

the value of such of them as may require tests to propagate such as may be worthy of propagation, and to distribute them among agriculturists." Such activities as these required the employment of scientific specialists and the Commissioner was empowered to "employ other persons, for such time as their services may be needed, including chemists, botanists, entomologists, and other persons skilled in the natural sciences pertaining to agriculture."

There was abundant work for the new department, and its expansion, while slow at first, proceeded soundly. "From 1890 on, the department's duties and responsibilities increased rapidly Existing units of the organization were merged and new units created to carry on research, service activities, and regulatory-law administration. Coöperative extension work in agriculture and home economics was provided by the Smith-Lever Act of May 8, 1914, under which a nation-wide extension service was set up. Subsequent legislation provided increased extension funds. In 1889 the Federal appropriation for agriculture totaled nearly $2,000,000. By 1917 the figure had risen to approximately $30,000,000 annually. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1929, money expended or obligated for department activities, including road building, exceeded $170,000,000 Today the department's personnel numbers approximately 25,000, of whom about 5,000 are in Washington and 20,000 in the field. In 1868 one building, erected at a cost of $100,000, housed the department's entire force of 73 persons. Its Washington staff now occupies more than 40 buildings or parts of buildings scattered over the city. Its field staff reached into all the States, and into Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, Porto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Representatives of the department are stationed in Europe, South America and Asia." [1]

1. Organization and Functions

The chart on page 495 sets forth in graphic form the structural organization of the United States Department of Agriculture This branch of the federal government is one of its ten major executive departments. The Secretary of Agriculture is in charge of its activities. "He formulates and establishes its general policies. His extra-departmental functions include contacts with Congress, to secure necessary appropriations and to advise regarding pending agricultural legislation; contacts with other executive depart-

[1] Eisenhower, M. S., and Chew A. P. *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

ments, to coördinate interdepartmental activities and to avoid duplication in work; and membership on numerous boards and commissions such as the Federal Farm Board, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, the Forest Reservation Commission and the Migratory Bird Conservation Commission." [1]

On the administrative staff is an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture and five directors of the principal types of work, each reporting directly to the Secretary. These are the Director of

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

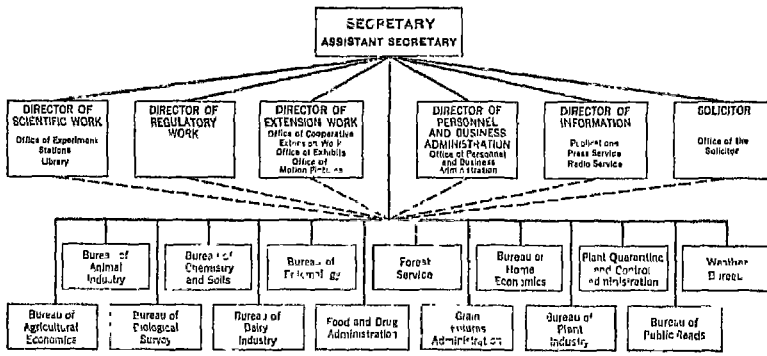


FIGURE 9.

(Source: Miscellaneous Publication, No. 88, U. S. Department of Agriculture 1930, p. iv.)

Scientific Work; the Director of Regulatory Work, who is also chief of the Food and Drug Administration; the Director of Extension Work, who has under him the Office of Coöperative Extension Work, the Office of Motion Pictures, and the Office of Exhibits; the Director of Personnel and Business Administration, who is in charge of the offices dealing with finance, personnel, salary classification, department organization, and general business operations; and the Director of Information who has immediate charge of the Office of Information comprising the Division of Publications, the Press Service, and the Radio Service. In addition there is a Solicitor for the department, who is the legal adviser of the Secretary, and who has a large staff of assistants.

At the present time there are fourteen major departmental

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

units, the activities of which are under the charge of a Chief reporting directly to the Secretary. These units are: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Bureau of Animal Industry, Bureau of Biological Survey. Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, Bureau of Dairy Industry, Bureau of Entomology, Food and Drug Administration, Forest Service, Grain Futures Administration, Bureau of Home Economics, Bureau of Plant Industry, Plant Quarantine and Control Administration, Bureau of Public Roads, and Weather Bureau.

Along with the development of the department there has grown up the state agricultural colleges and experiment stations. The work of these agencies is closely coördinated. "In some cases, this coöperation is made binding by formal agreement or by the control of funds, while in other cases the coöperation is voluntary. Thus the Secretary of Agriculture and the executive committee of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges appoint a joint committee to work with the Director of Scientific Work and the Office of Experiment Stations to correlate the scientific research of the Federal department and the state research agencies. In regulatory law administration it is often necessary for the department to establish contacts with State agencies, and this is done under the supervision of the Director of Regulatory Work. Extension activities of the Federal and State organizations are correlated by the Director of Extension. By voluntary action, those in charge of publication, press and radio relationships of the colleges and the Director of Information of the department try to avoid duplications of endeavor and jointly plan special programs. In general, the United States Department of Agriculture centers effort on national problems, interstate problems or problems the solution of which may require facilities not possessed by the States. The State colleges, experiment stations, and State departments of agriculture deal with the more localized problems." [1]

The functions of the department may be grouped broadly into six general classes as follows: (1) Research; (2) extension and information; (3) eradication or control of plant and animal diseases and pests; (4) service activities, such as weather and crop reporting; and forest and wild life refuge administration; (5) the administration of regulatory laws; and (6) road construction. All of these are so coördinated and integrated that "the department is

[1] *Ibid.* p. 5.

not a mechanical creation but a living institution evolving structurally and functionally in a changing world."

A still broader classification of the functions of the United States Department of Agriculture would group them into (1) *research,* (2) *extension and service,* and (3) *regulation.* Since the matter of extension is reserved for a succeeding chapter, a brief characterization of the research and regulatory activities are pertinent in the present connection.

1. *Research Work.*—The scientific research undertaken by the department has been rightly regarded as primary and fundamental, much of its structure and usefulness depending upon the results secured. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been added to the wealth of the nation through the introduction of new crops, and the adaptation of others to the varying soils and climates of the different sections of the country. Other hundreds of millions have been added through the devising of methods of control of plant and animal diseases, increased knowledge of the principles and methods of crop production, the discovery of better methods of breeding plants and animals, improved marketing procedures, and dozens of other valuable findings.

The best way to present the significance of the research work of the department will be to narrate only a few instances out of hundreds of similar ones that might be cited. These are given in the words of a former Assistant Secretary of the department, C. W. Pugsley:

> Veterinarians of the department discovered that the small tick so often found on cattle was responsible for transmitting Texas fever from one animal to another. Texas fever is a disease which makes cattle raising unprofitable, and sometimes kills cattle. Following the isolation of the cattle tick as a factor in spreading fever, the practice of dipping infected animals has reduced the scourge to a minimum. The veterinarians also established the fact that insects might be important factors in spreading other diseases. Since the discovery of this fact, yellow fever has been controlled and the Panama Canal dug.
>
> For many years after pork production became a big factor in the business of farming, hog cholera caused annual losses far into the millions of dollars. It is still a destructive disease, but the discovery by department scientists of a serum and virus treatment has made it possible to control and prevent cholera. Statistics show that since the control work was started the death rate among hogs from this disease has been reduced from eighty-eight head a thousand to thirty-nine head a thousand for the country as a whole.

While work was being done on various animal problems, other scientists were studying field crops, vegetables and trees, finding new varieties, developing others and searching for new principles and practices. Important things have been discovered. The new varieties that have been found or developed and shown to be of superior value now fill many fields and in some cases entire valleys, or have become dominant over whole states. Pima cotton, for example, was developed by selections made from cotton originally brought from Egypt. This variety has a fiber of great length and strength and is now grown almost exclusively in the Salt River Valley of Arizona. The annual value of the product of these fields is nearly a million dollars.

By searching in various parts of the world, department scientists found many plants that have since become important in American agriculture. Among these are hardy alfalfas from Siberia and other parts of Asia, and the soybean from the Orient. From Africa and elsewhere have come Sudan grass, Rhodes grass, Napier grass, the velvet bean and purple vetch. We are indebted to Russia for Durum wheat, a crop that now has an annual value in the United States of from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000. Sudan grass rapidly became popular in the Southwest and now has a value of more than $2,000,000 a year.

American orchards and groves have been enriched by the addition of scores of new fruits and nuts, but only a few of those that have been brought into the country and developed can be mentioned. Perhaps the most conspicuous of these is the Washington navel orange which was introduced by the department from Brazil and now constitutes an important feature of the California orange industry, with an average yearly production of 8,400,000 boxes for a five-year period. Lately this orange has been improved in productiveness and quality through bud selection based on performance records of trees from which planting stock is propagated. In more recent years have been added the date, the avocado, or alligator pear, the mango, Chinese and Japanese persimmons, the papaya and pistachio nut.

But of more importance than the breeding or bringing in of new plants is the discovery of new principles, such as that of the improvement of the quality of fruit and the yield by means of bud selection mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Until recently it was generally believed that a bud or graft from a certain tree when used for propagating reproduced exactly the parent tree. But the department has established the fact that in the case of oranges, lemons and grapefruit, at least, buds vary sometimes in their inherent characteristics and perpetuate these differences when propagated. This has led to the practice of bud selection from trees that have proved to be superior in productiveness or quality of fruit, or both, through carefully conducted performance records of yield and quality maintained for periods of years.

Plant diseases receive the same attention as those afflicting animals of the farm. Methods and poisons have been discovered for use in combating insects, one of the most important being calcium arsenate

now used in the form of a dust to control the destructive cotton boll weevil. As a result of its use it is now possible to raise profitable crops of cotton in spite of this insect. The discovery of the part played by the common barberry bush in the life of the black-stem rust of wheat has made it possible to control this worst enemy of the wheat crop.

In the war on insect pests agricultural scientists have been active. If they were not, some crops might be in a fair way to elimination. One of the successful ways of fighting a pest that comes into the country is to go back to its old home or to some other part of the world and bring in an enemy that will keep the destroyer in subjection. This was done in the case of the white scale of citrus fruits in California. When this pest started doing damage, scientists went to Australia and brought back the ladybird beetle, which set about eliminating the destroyer. It has since been reduced to negligible numbers, saving the orange and lemon industry of the Pacific Coast. The gypsy and brown-tail moths, which once spread terror before them because of their damage, have been fought and checked until they are no longer important enemies of orchards and shade and ornamental trees in cities and towns. The area infested by the gypsy moth has extended somewhat but it is no longer a major pest in the original territory. Parasites and natural enemies of these leaf eaters were imported from Europe and Japan and have become established to the infested area.

As a result of the various kinds of scientific investigations carried on by the Department of Agriculture, of which this article mentions only a few examples, life is being made easier, and conditions which make it infinitely more difficult are avoided. The scientist has proved that he is not only useful, but essential. He builds the foundation on which the rest of the work of the department is based.[1]

2 *Regulatory Activities.*—The regulatory work of the Federal Department of Agriculture is vitally related to the welfare not only of the producer, but also to that of the consumer and the middleman. The enforcement of the Food and Drugs Act affects every home, kitchen, and individual in our nation, insuring to them a minimum of adulteration and misbranding of foods and drugs. The Grain Standards Act enforces the scientifically determined standards for wheat, insuring that No. 1 wheat is the same in Nebraska and New York. The Bureau of Animal Industry has charge of the inspection of meats, and the little purple stamp of "U. S. Inspected and Passed" insures to the buyer the wholesomeness of the product he secures. Many of the worst animal and plant diseases which we have in this country have been brought in unawares from foreign nations. Since the establish-

[1] Pugsley, C. W. "U. S. Dept. of Agriculture." *The Book of Rural Life*, Vol. 1, Bellows Dunham Co. Chicago, 1925, pp. 114–125.

ment of the Federal Horticultural Board, which rigidly enforces the Federal Quarantine Act,—a measure laying down regulations to protect major agricultural crops, both against insect pests and diseases established in the United States and against the entry of others from foreign countries—no serious pest has entered the country.

The care which the government gives all phases of the national welfare is well illustrated by the regulatory activity of the department which provides that livestock in shipment must not be confined longer than twenty-eight hours without unloading them into properly equipped pens for rest, water, and feeding for at least five hours. Before this measure was enacted, it was not uncommon for animals to be confined while in process of shipment for as much as sixty hours or more without feed and water.

The ramifications of this regulatory work are too extensive even briefly to allude to all of the phases in a summary of this length. Suffice it to say that no part of our federal government is of more importance than that which has developed from the humble beginnings in the Patent Office a little less than a century ago. The United States Department of Agriculture today stands out pre-eminently among all such agencies in the several nations of the world, and it grows in efficiency and usefulness from year to year.

2. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Of all the important and interesting bureaus in the Department of Agriculture, the one most significant to the student of the economic and social relationships of country life is the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. In 1921, the Bureau of Markets, the Bureau of Crop Estimates, and the Office of Farm Management were consolidated into the Bureau of Agricultural Economics under the leadership of Dr. Henry C. Taylor, one of the founders of and distinguished contributors to the field of agricultural economics.

The Bureau is organized along two principal lines—commodity and functional. Cotton Marketing; Dairy and Poultry Products; Fruits and Vegetables; Grain; Hay, Feed and Seed; and Livestock, Meats, and Wool are the commodity divisions. The functional ones are: Agricultural Finance; Crop and Livestock Estimates; Farm Management and Costs; Farm Population and Rural Life; Foreign Agricultural Service; Land Economics, Statistical and Historical Research; and Warehousing.

As is true of the department as a whole, the work of the Bureau encompasses service and regulatory work, though its emphasis is upon research. Among the many problems engaging the attention of its staff are farm management, cost of production, credit, insurance, taxation, transportation, land utilization, land tenure and land values, price analysis, foreign competition and demand, and the social phases of rural life. A staff of more than 2,400 people are engaged upon these and other activities of the Bureau.

One of the most vital phases of the work of the Bureau is the collection of statistics of agricultural production and the estimating of acreages planted and prospective yields. The estimates of crop production and numbers of livestock are based on the returns of 300,000 individual farmers, each reporting for his own farm. This crop reporting service "is generally considered the most adequate and accurate reporting service of its kind in the world. It is furnishing to the grower, to the distributor, and to the consumer invaluable information to replace the wild guesses that were formerly issued from the most varied and often biased sources" [1]

Early in the crop year, an annual agricultural outlook report is issued by the Bureau constituting a review of the prospective conditions of supply and demand. From time to time this is supplemented by special reports of a more limited scope as they are found advisable throughout the year. This outlook information has proved to be about 90 per cent correct, and the farming interests of the nation have made wide use of it. If this guidance might become general in its application it would constitute a great step toward improving the economic welfare of American agriculture.

In addition to its important work in commodity standardization and inspection, the Bureau has developed a nation-wide market news service covering all important farm products. "Such blanketing of the entire country with timely market information pertaining to farm products has decreased the disadvantage of the individual producer and the small shipper who are in competition with the stronger commercial organizations better capable of obtaining for themselves accurate information through far-flung trade connections. The market-news service helps to promote orderly market-

[1] Eisenhower, M. S., and Chew, A. P. *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

ing. It has greatly reduced the losses previously sustained through the blind shipment of perishables to glutted markets while other markets were undersupplied. The Federal Government is the only agency in a position to furnish such a service impartially to all concerned on commodities in which there is a nation-wide interest" [1]

To the student of the social problems of country life, the work of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life is especially interesting. From the beginning of the Bureau, under the capable leadership of Dr. C. J. Galpin, this division has been studying such problems as the extent, nature, and significance of rural migration, the composition and characteristics of the farm population, farm tenancy, institutions affecting rural life, rural standards of living, farmers' attitudes towards their coöperative marketing associations, etc. These studies conducted by this division of the Bureau and the large list of the cooperative projects with various institutions and agencies throughout the length and breadth of the nation have greatly contributed to a more intelligent understanding of the social side of our country life and to the building of the newly developing science of rural sociology.

3. The Land-Grant Colleges

"The history of the land-grant institutions in the United States is the story of the growth of an idea—an idea centred in the democratization of higher learning." [2] This idea, at first vague and nebulous, began to take form about the middle of the nineteenth century, and was occasioned by the growing conviction that if our national industrial, commercial, and intellectual development was to proceed as it should, there had to be a larger extension of the privileges of higher education to the masses of the people. "At that time most of the American universities and colleges were private institutions and they confined themselves principally to the teaching of the traditional classics, letters and scholastic subjects. The scientific, the technical, and the practical as applied to the industries and trades, in which the vast majority of the people were engaged, had no place in the scheme of their curricula. Higher education was limited largely to those who planned to enter the learned professions.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[2] Klein, A. J. *Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities*, Office of Education, Bull. No. 9, Vol. 1, Pt. I, 1930, "Historical Introduction."

"From the first the idea of democratizing higher learning received little sympathy from the existing private universities and colleges. The proposal was regarded as more or less visionary. The early leaders, therefore, realized that a new type of college would have to be created—a college that would provide instruction in both the liberal and the practical arts for the classes of American citizens that had previously not had the means nor the social background for higher education in the old institutions. To reach the masses of people in all parts of the country, it was necessary to establish at least one of the colleges in every State in the Union." [1]

As early as 1845, Jonathan B. Turner, formerly a professor in Illinois College, was advocating higher education for the industrial classes by means of the organization of industrial universities. The plan which he proposed, predicated upon the assumption that society consists of two classes, the professional and industrial, is set forth in the following words of that advocate:

> All civilized society is, necessarily, divided into two distinct coöperative, not antagonistic classes: A small class, whose proper business it is to teach the true principles of religion, law, medicine, science, art, and literature; and a much larger class, who are engaged in some form of labor in agriculture, commerce and the arts. To enable these industrial classes to realize its benefits in practical life, we need a university for the industrial classes in each of the States, with their consequent subordinate institutes, lyceums, and high schools in each of the counties and towns.
>
> There should be connected with such an institution, in this State, a sufficient quantity of land of variable soil and aspect, for all its needful annual experiments and processes in the great interests of agriculture and horticulture. Buildings of appropriate size and construction for all ordinary and special uses; a complete philosophical, chemical, anatomical, and industrial apparatus; a general cabinet embracing everything that relates to, illustrates, or facilitates any one of the industrial arts; especially all sorts of animals, birds, reptiles, insects, trees, shrubs, and plants found in this State and adjacent States.
>
> Instruction should be constantly given in all those studies and sciences, of whatever sort, which tend to throw light upon any art or employment, which any student may desire to master, or upon any duty he may be called upon to perform; or which may tend to secure his moral, civil, social, and industrial perfection, as a man.[2]

Turner proposed in 1852 the idea that Congress should make these industrial universities possible by means of funds to be

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[2] True, Alfred Charles. *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States*, pp. 86–87.

derived from land grants. He said in part: "And I am satisfied that if the farmers and their friends will now but exert themselves they can speedily secure for this State and for each State in the Union, an appropriation of public lands adequate to create and endow in the most liberal manner, a general system of industrial education, more glorious in its design and more beneficial in its results than the world has ever seen before" [1]

But it is Justin Smith Morrill who is regarded as the father of the land-grant college. Mr. Morrill was then the Representative in the lower House and later United States Senator from Vermont. While it seems extremely doubtful that the movement originated with him, yet he is the person who carried the brunt of the fight for such a measure in two successive sessions of Congress, finally winning the battle. The initial land-grant college bill was introduced in the House by Mr Morrill in 1857, and supported by him and a large outside sentiment from educational and farm leaders, it was passed in the House by a vote of 105 to 100 in April, 1858, and in the Senate in February, 1859, the vote being 25 to 22 President Buchanan vetoed the bill, giving as his principal objection its constitutionality, the question being whether Congress had the power to make a donation of public lands to the several states for the purpose of establishing colleges to educate their citizenship.

In the next session of Congress, Mr. Morrill again introduced the measure, answering the objections of Buchanan, and the bill was passed in June, 1862, receiving the signature of President Lincoln in July of that year. "The first Morrill Act, which provided for the establishment of the most comprehensive system of scientific, technical and practical higher education the world has ever known, contained three outstanding features. The first was the provision for the creation of a permanent endowment through grants of public lands for the organization and support of the colleges. The second was the designation of the type of college to be established. The third was the placing of an obligation upon the States to maintain intact the capital fund of the endowment for the maintenance of the college, which carried the far-reaching implication of future financial support by the State governments themselves." [2]

The resulting institutions are called land grant colleges because 30,000 acres of public lands for each Senator and Representative

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Klein, A. J. *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

which they had in Congress was provided for each of the states upon legislative acceptance of the provisions of the bill within two years, and the establishment of at least one college in each state within a period of five years. Where no public lands were available in a state, scrip was issued for public lands elsewhere, this being sold and applied to the purposes of the measure. Iowa was the first state to express acceptance and others followed in rapid succession. After the conclusion of the Civil War, the Southern States were allowed the privileges of the measure.

The second Morrill Act was passed by Congress in August, 1890, and was signed by President Harrison in the same year. Under the terms of this act, the institutions were to receive $15,000 in 1890, with $1,000 additional each year, until the annual appropriation reached a total of $25,000. This money was to be expended only for instruction in "agriculture, the mechanic arts, the English language, and the various branches of mathematical, physical, natural, and economic sciences with special reference to their application to the industries of life and to the facilities for such instruction." The provision was made that no racial distinction should apply, and this second Morrill Act greatly stimulated the development of negro land-grant colleges, one being organized in each of the Southern States. In 1907, Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota, in what is known as the Nelson Amendment, secured an additional $25,000 annually for the support of the colleges. The terms under which it was to be expended were quite similar to those of the second Morrill Act.

These three acts have resulted in sixty-seven land-grant colleges and universities, giving agricultural training of college grade, seventeen of which are institutions for the colored. The work of these, in conjunction with that of the agricultural experiment stations and the agricultural extension services, reinforced as they all are by the coöperation of the United States Department of Agriculture, has been profound in its influence upon our national economic and social structure. A scientific agriculture has been developed, and it may truthfully be said that these institutions have only begun to gain their stride.

4. Agricultural Experiment Stations

At the outset, the state agricultural colleges were confronted with the teaching of a relatively unorganized and unexplored field

of knowledge. It was extremely logical that almost as soon as they were established an insistence should arise that provisions for research be made. However, the first experiment station in the United States supported by the state was not in one of these institutions but developed at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, in 1875, under the directorship of W. O. Atwater. It was supported in part by private funds and in part by state appropriations. Two years later, in 1877, the state increased its appropriation, took complete charge of the station, and moved it to New Haven where the land-grant institution was located at that time. In 1873, the Board of Regents of the University of California established an experiment station with E. W. Hilgard as director. In 1877 a legislative appropriation was made for the work. In the same year a similar development took place in North Carolina, the experiment station at that time being located at Chapel Hill in connection with the State University, but ten years later it was moved to Raleigh where the state agricultural college is located.

To trace this movement at Cornell, in New Jersey, Ohio, Massachusetts, and numbers of other states would be beyond our needs in this brief account. The convention of agricultural colleges and experiment stations became actively interested in federal aid for research. This organization firmly backed the Hatch Act, so named for its author, Representative William H. Hatch of Missouri, and the bill became law in 1887. "As a result of the law, the greatest national system of agricultural experiment stations in the history of the world came into existence." [1] In the measure, provision was made for an experiment station in every state, preferably in connection with the land-grant college. The act appropriated the sum of $15,000 annually for the station, described the general nature of the investigations to be conducted, gave to the Federal Department of Agriculture general supervision over the work, and also provided for the publication of results and their dissemination under government frank. The appropriation was not a large one, but it accomplished the purpose of stimulating the creation of a station in every state and of calling forth state appropriations to extend the work which was thus started.

The Adams Act approved on March 16, 1906, greatly strengthened the experiment stations of the various states. It carried an

[1] Klein, A. J. *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

annually increasing appropriation which reached the maximum of $15,000 in 1911, thus giving a total of $30,000 to each state for experimental work. The Adams Act restricts the expenditure of the funds which it made available more than does the Hatch Act, stating that the amount appropriated shall "be applied only to paying the necessary expenses of conducting original researches or experiments bearing directly on the agricultural industry of the United States, having due regard to the varying conditions and needs of the respective States or Territories."

In 1925, the Purnell Act, under the sponsorship of Representative Fred S. Purnell of Indiana, was passed, in the aggregate providing $60,000 annually for the purposes thus specified in the Act: "The funds appropriated pursuant to this act, shall be applied only to paying the necessary expenses of conducting investigations or making experiments bearing directly on the production, manufacture, preparation, use, distribution and marketing of agricultural products, and include such scientific researches as have for their purpose the establishment and maintenance of a permanent and efficient agricultural industry, and such economic and sociological investigations as have for their purpose the development and improvement of the rural home and rural life, and for the printing and disseminating of the results of said researches." This measure emphasized for the first time research in the fields of rural economics, sociology, and home economics, and increased experiment station aid from the federal government to a total of $90,000, including the $30,000 from the two previous acts. However, in 1927–28 state support had gone much beyond the federal in all but five states. In that year, $14,209,755 represented the income of agricultural experiment stations in continental United States, $3,360,000 of this amount representing federal funds.

And yet the amount spent in this important field is still much too limited. A recent comprehensive survey [1] of the extent of agricultural research states that the following suggestions seem warranted concerning the future of agricultural research by the land-grant institutions: "(1) The whole field is important and there should be a general strengthening of research rather than development in one field to the exclusion of others. (2) The pressure and need for results immediately applicable for relief or

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. C49.

solution of problems will, perhaps, on the whole, continue to limit or defer much-needed research of more fundamental character unless there is general realization on the part of constituents that quick results for practical application depend upon the store of basic facts available. (3) The economic necessity for practical results will probably result in provision of funds, consistent with State financial limitations, for research of the more practical type. (4) For the best interests of agriculture, State and national welfare, more liberal and adequate support should be provided for and assigned to research of the more fundamental types. While such research may have as an objective the development of principles and facts underlying the practical solution of a problem, or group of problems, there should be general understanding that such research effort should not be diverted to temporary solutions of single problems."

QUESTIONS

1. What was the attitude of John Adams and George Washington with regard to federal aid for the promotion of agriculture in the young republic?
2. Describe the humble beginnings of the Federal Department of Agriculture in the Patent Office. Why did it originate in that branch of the government?
3. When was it constituted a separate department of the federal government? What was the title of the officer placed in charge of it? How recently was the position of Secretary of Agriculture created as a Cabinet position?
4. Outline the growth of the Department of Agriculture from 1890 to June 30, 1929, giving in round numbers the persons employed and the annual budget.
5. Give the duties of the Secretary of Agriculture. What officials constitute his administrative staff?
6. How many major departmental heads are there in the Department of Agriculture? What is the head of each of these called? Name these major departmental units.
7. Describe the general relationship existing between the United States Department of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges
8. Into what three general classes may the functions of the department be broadly grouped? Explain briefly what is meant by each of these classes.
9. Discuss the importance of research in the work of the department.
10. Give a few concrete examples illustrating the far-reaching value of the research done by the department
11. What are some of the ways in which the regulatory work of the department is vitally related to the welfare not only of the producer, but also to that of the consumer and the middleman?

12. Along what two principal lines is the work of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics organized? Name a few of the many problems engaging the attention of its staff.
13. Describe the "crop estimating," "nation-wide market news service," and "agricultural outlook" services of the Bureau, and the importance of these to the farmer.
14. Why is the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of special interest to the student of rural social problems?
15. What is a land-grant college, and why is it so called? How have they contributed to the "democratization of higher learning"?
16. Who was Jonathan B. Turner and what did he propose? Describe the important part played by Justin B. Morrill in the establishment of the land-grant colleges and universities.
17. Briefly summarize the provisions of the Morrill and Nelson acts relating to these institutions, and the general significance of the resulting achievements.
18. Why was the agricultural experiment station a logical next step after the land-grant college and university?
19. What did the Hatch Act of 1887 provide? the Adams Act of 1906? the Purnell Act of 1925? Compare the federal and state support for agricultural experiment stations in the fiscal year 1927-1928.
20. Discuss the suggestions made by a recent comprehensive survey concerning the future of agricultural research by the land-grant institutions

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

1. Eisenhower, M. S., and Chew, A. P. *The United States Department of Agriculture.* Government Printing Office, Miscellaneous Publication No. 88, United States Department of Agriculture, 1930, pp. 1-30, "The Department as a Whole"; and pp. 32–41, "Bureau of Agricultural Economics."
2. True, A. C. in *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, Vol. IV, Chapter IX, pp. 478–483, "Government Service for Agriculture in the United States."
3. Wiest, E *Agricultural Organization in the United States.* University of Kentucky, 1923, Chapter II, pp. 21–48, "The United States Department of Agriculture"; Chapter X, pp. 187-217, "The Land-Grant Colleges"; and Chapter XI, pp. 219–228, "Experiment Stations."
4. Klein, A. J. *Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities.* Government Printing Office, 1930, Vol. I, Bulletin No. 9, pp. 1–33, "Historical Introduction."

CHAPTER XXVI

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION WORK

"There is a new leaven at work in rural America. It is stimulating to better endeavor in farming and home making, bringing rural people together in groups for social intercourse and study, solving community and neighborhood problems, fostering better relations and common endeavor between town and country, bringing recreation, debate, pageantry, the drama and art into the rural community, developing cooperation and enriching the life and broadening the vision of rural men and women. This new leaven is the cooperative extension work of the state agricultural colleges and the Federal Department of Agriculture, which is being carried on in cooperation with the counties and rural people throughout the United States." [1] In these words, C. B. Smith, who has given many years of his life to promoting agricultural extension work, gives a summary evaluation of its importance.

Once the land-grant colleges were well under way and the experiment stations were effectively functioning, it was inevitable that a knowledge of improved agricultural methods should result that would be of inestimable value to the farmers of the several states. The store of useful information in these institutions derived from research, and gathered from sources of practical experience over state and nation are so far ahead of what the average farmer knows that the chasm thus existing is one of the most serious problems of modern education. Fortunately, the state-supported institution in this country considers that its responsibility is not alone to the students within its walls, and to the world of scholarship, but that just so far as is practicable its facilities must be extended to the humblest citizen in the remotest corner of the state. Someone has remarked that the campus of such an institution is the entire state.

In its essential nature extension work is teaching the farmer and his community the things which most concern "better farm-

[1] Smith, C. B., and Wilson, M. C. *The Agricultural Extension System.* Wiley, 1930, p. 1.

ing, better business and better living." While much of the work is done through printed matter, the main emphasis is upon demonstration and personal contact. Such work is a part of what we are accustomed to call "adult education" For a number of years there has been a growing appreciation throughout the nation that one's education is not completed with the close of one's formal schooling. To a certain extent we must learn throughout life, often by bitter experience, but the extension worker's point of view is that in effect we should consciously always be in school, learning with open minds the valuable lessons available from the world's rich treasure store of knowledge.

An enumeration of the objectives of agricultural extension work shows how thoroughly in line it is with the modern conception of adult education. Smith and Wilson [1] list them as follows: "(1) To increase the net income of the farmer through more efficient production and marketing and the better use of capital and credit. (2) To promote better homes and a higher standard of living on the farm. (3) To develop rural leaders. (4) To promote the mental social, cultural, recreational and community life of rural people. (5) To implant a love of rural life in farm boys and girls (6) To acquaint the public with the place of agriculture in the national life. (7) To enlarge the vision of rural people and the nation on rural matters. (8) To improve the educational and spiritual life of rural people."

1. The Development of the Idea

True [2] points out that the "form of popular education of farming people in the United States now known as agricultural extension work passed through several stages of development covering nearly a century and a half." Almost co-extensive with the formation of agricultural societies in this country, there was an effort to reach a wider audience than their membership in the improvement of agriculture. As early as 1792, the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture is on record as recommending "that the members in different parts of the State would meet at stated times in places convenient to themselves and invite the aid of others who are desirous of forwarding improvements in agricul-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[2] True, A. C *A History of Agricultural Extension Work in the United States: 1785–1923.* Miscellaneous Publication No. 15, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1928.

ture." Letters were sent out by the same society to be read by the town clerks, the message being intended to stimulate the improvement of agriculture. The state agricultural society in 1843 sponsored the plan of itinerant lecturers, practical and scientific farmers, who gave lectures throughout the state. Local organizations of farmers were stimulated for discussion of improved agriculture in a number of states, and fairs and exhibits were promoted.

One of the most significant forms which this early extension work assumed was that known as "farmers' institutes." These grew out of the more or less irregular meetings of the agricultural societies and the work of the state departments of agriculture but the real beginnings came with the establishment of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations. Groups of speakers were sent out from these institutions on scheduled itineraries, and lectures were given to farmers regarding the methods and problems applicable to their particular localities. These meetings were in the nature of a forum in which those who attended presented questions as to their particular difficulties and interests. In 1914, there were around 9,000 institutes held in 44 states with an attendance of over 3,600,000. The passage of the Smith-Lever Act, however, developed other forms of extension work which were more effective, and the farmers' institutes have declined in number and extent. They accomplished a vast amount of good, in a widely diffused sort of way; and they effectively served to create an atmosphere which was favorable to the development of the farm demonstration work.

This country is deeply indebted to Dr. Seaman A. Knapp for the basic idea of farm demonstration. In discussing his experiences in Louisiana in 1886, this grand old man of agriculture, said "we then learned the philosophy and the power of farm demonstration." At that time he was in charge of a movement to settle a vast tract of land in the southwestern portion of that state As the result of extensive advertising in the Northwest, settlers began to arrive. They did not know the problems of farming under such pioneer conditions, and Dr. Knapp tells of a carload who arrived in the evening, looked over the situation, talked with the natives and left before breakfast! In that emergency, he resorted to demonstration. "He made an attractive offer to one good western farmer for each township. He saw that that man had proper instruction and guidance. In a few years successful object lessons

were established. The immigration movement was a complete success from that time forward and now there are more than 30,000 prosperous citizens in Southwest Louisiana whose coming is the result of this method of procedure. Thousands of these immigrants are among the most successful farmers, but best of all, the Acadians soon learned to do as well as newcomers. A great prosperous section of the country is producing rice, sugar, cotton, corn and high-class livestock where for centuries there had been swamp, prairie and waste land 'Such are the possibilities of demonstration' says the man who is responsible for its inauguration." [1]

Some years later, in 1903, we find him in Terrell, Texas, where in the fall of that year officially the Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration Work had its beginning. The Department of Agriculture at Washington put up some money to aid an area demoralized in almost every way by the advent of the boll weevil. The first volunteer demonstrator was Walter C. Porter, and he was indemnified against loss from his experiments by a guaranty of $1,000 collected from bankers and business men for the purpose. But he did not have to collect the indemnity. When the demonstration had been completed, Mr Porter found that he had cleared $700 more than he would have made under the methods that he had previously pursued.

Dr Knapp in the autumn of 1903 was allotted $40,000 of a Congressional appropriation made to fight the boll weevil. This amount supplemented by contributions from bankers, merchants, railroad presidents, and business men generally was used to appoint a number of men as farm demonstration agents in Texas, and the movement in 1905 spread to Oklahoma and Mississippi. At first, the men appointed covered a territory consisting of several counties, selecting demonstrators in a diffused sort of way throughout the area for which they were responsible. It soon became apparent that a county was about as much territory as an agent could cover with an approach to desirable efficiency in the work In reporting to the Federal Department of Agriculture in 1908 with regard to his work Knapp said in this connection: "A few demonstration farms scattered throughout the country,—say five or six, such as would be the case where one agent had charge of seven or eight counties,—do not create sufficient public senti-

[1] Martin, O. B. *The Demonstration Work*. Stratford Co., 1926, pp. 1–2.

ment and moral force to change the long-established usages of the masses. There must be at least five or six demonstration farms and quite a number of coöperators in each township so that practically we reach every neighborhood, arouse interest and competition everywhere, and arouse the whole community. To do this requires at least one agent in the county." It was in line with this policy that in November, 1906, W. C. Stallings of Smith County, Texas, was appointed the first county agent in the United States. Supported in part by the federal government, in part by the General Education Board, and by business men, chambers of commerce, and similar sources, the work spread over the South, and to the North and West, greatly proving the soundness of the demonstration idea.

At the present time there are in the agricultural extension system of the United States over 5,700 federal, state, and county employees, coöperating with approximately 250,000 volunteer local leaders and 1,500,000 farm and home demonstrators. The expenditures by national, state, and county governments aggregate a total of more than $23,000,000, and each year around three million farm homes are influenced for improvement in some phase of their activities and farming operations.

2. The Smith-Lever Act

The Committee on Extension of the Association of American Agricultural Experiment Stations in 1908, at a meeting in Washington, through its chairman, Kenyon L. Butterfield, made the following report, in which was contained the suggestion which led to the Smith-Lever Act, the federal legislation which gave power to the farm demonstration work:

> It is the belief of your committee that the chief means of stimulating the proper recognition and adequate organization of extension work in agriculture in our land-grant colleges is a federal appropriation for the work. We are quite aware of the objections that may be made to this proposition—that we already have too much federal supervision; that the federal treasury is inadequate to the demands made upon it; that it is becoming too easy to rush to the federal government whenever money is desired for any public purpose; and that initiative should be left to the states. But there are fundamental reasons, so it seems to your committee, why we have a right, and, indeed, a duty, to ask Congress to appropriate money for this purpose. Extension work in the land-grant colleges differentiates itself sharply from research work on the one hand, and from the instruction of resident students on the

other. There is little chance for argument upon the proposition that the organization of resident instruction in agriculture through the Morrill and Nelson acts and the organization of research and experimentation through the Hatch and Adams acts is chiefly responsible for the progress in agricultural education that has been made during the past few decades. It is true that a few individual states had recognized their obligations and opportunities before any of these acts were passed But what brought these types of work into well organized form, and what put them upon a substantial foundation, was the federal appropriation. We can think of no argument that has ever applied or does now apply to federal appropriations for agricultural colleges and experiment stations that does not equally apply to extension work, which is organic and vital in the development of the functions of the institutions which we represent

We would not advocate a large appropriation for this purpose. We would suggest that the proposed law should make an appropriation of, say, $10,000 a year from the federal treasury to each land-grant college for the purpose of carrying on extension work in agriculture, and that the act be so framed that, after this appropriation has been made, there shall also be an appropriation, based on some per capita standard, made to the same institutions for the same purpose on condition that the states themselves appropriate equal amounts. Thus we would have effected a stimulus for well-organized extension work in every land-grant college in the United States. State initiative would not be destroyed, but rather stimulated It would remain with the states themselves to determine how far they would care to go In any event it would not be a heavy drain on their own treasuries.[1]

The bill met with enthusiastic support from President Woodrow Wilson, and with the customary delay and changes in Congressional procedure, under the sponsorship of Hon. A. F. Lever of South Carolina in the House and Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia in the Senate was finally enacted into law on May 8, 1914. A tribute to the work of Dr. Knapp and an interesting picture of the method and philosophy of the work was given by Congressman Lever in his report for the Committee on Agriculture to the House of Representatives in 1913. Mr. Lever had been keenly interested in the demonstration work from its inception and his report comes from an intimate knowledge of it.

> Various agencies have been tried as a connecting link, with various degrees of success. The printed page is insufficient. The bulletin and agricultural press have not been found effective in reaching and impressing the farmer in the remote districts, who most needs the information. The late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, founder of the Demonstration Work in this country, said.

[1] Smith. and Wilson *Op cit.*, pp. 40–41.

"There is much knowledge applicable and helpful to husbandry that is annually worked out and made available by the scientists in the United States Department of Agriculture and in the State Experiment Stations and by individual farmers upon their farms, which is sufficient to readjust agriculture and place it upon a basis of greater profit, to reconstruct the rural home, and to give country life an attraction, a dignity, and a potential influence it has never received. This body of knowledge cannot be conveyed and delivered by a written message to the people in such a way that they will accept and adopt it This can only be done by personal appeal and ocular demonstration."

His judgment was correct, and to meet the deficiency of the bulletin and agricultural press in impressing the farmer there arose the system of undertaking to do this by means of the lecture institute work, as the bulletin and lecture has its place in the extension field, but the best thought of the country had concluded that the characteristic attitude of the farmer is such as to make the development of some other system of reaching him with the best practice of agriculture a pressing necessity.

The farmer is naturally conservative, and to an extent skeptical of new methods. His habits of thought and methods of procedure are well settled upon him, and he is slow to change either unless convinced beyond any doubt of the wisdom of doing so.

To him experimentation with new methods seems to be, and is, in the nature of a gamble and the farmer cannot afford to gamble. He may read the bulletin and hear the lecture, but unless he is shown that the method proposed for handling his business, shown under his own conditions, is better, he will not accept it as against his own, which has provided a living at least for himself and family. It is not sufficient to tell the farmer that his method is not the best. He must be shown the best methods. The appeal must be made through his eye. He will quickly accept new principles and practices if their value is demonstrated to him under the environment in which he lives, and the system of itinerant teaching, which Sir Horace Plunkett says, "has stood the test better than any other," is predicated upon the idea of the willingness upon the part of the farmer to adopt those methods which have been proven to him personally to be most effective in his business.

The fundamental idea of the system of demonstration or itinerant teaching, presupposes the personal contact of the teacher with the person being taught, the participation of the pupil in the actual demonstration of the lesson being taught, and the success of the method proposed. It is a system which frees the pupil from the slavishness of the textbooks, which makes the field, the garden, the orchard and even the parlor and kitchen classrooms It teaches us to "learn to do by doing." As President Wilson said: "It constitutes the kind of work which it seems to me is the only kind that generates real education; that is to say, the demonstration process and the personal touch with the man who does the demonstrating." [1]

[1] Martin, O. B. *Op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

The Smith-Lever Act provided $10,000 the first year for each of the states which by action of its legislature approved the provisions of the act, and an additional sum aggregating $4,100,000 which is distributed to the states and Hawaii in accordance with the proportion which the rural population of each state and of Hawaii bears to the total rural population of all the states as determined by the next preceding census. The provision is made that the allotment to each state from the $4,100,000 appropriation is conditioned upon the appropriation of an equal sum from the legislature of the state, or provided by state, county, college, local authority, or individual contributions from within the state.

In 1930, there was a $1 580,000 Federal Supplementary Smith-Lever fund which is distributed to the states and Hawaii on the same basis as the other Smith-Lever funds, except that all but $300,000 of this amount must be spent for the salaries of agents in counties.

The Capper-Ketcham Act, approved May 22, 1928, appropriates $1,480,000 additional for agricultural extension work. This measure also supplements the Smith-Lever Act. Its provisions are that $20,000 goes to each state and Hawaii without the necessity of state offset. An additional $500,000 is provided which is distributed according to the ratio of the rural population of each state and Hawaii to the total rural population, and the amounts so determined must be matched by funds from within the state.

These Federal Smith-Lever funds and the Federal Capper-Ketcham funds are the stabilizing funds of the agricultural extension work. "They make possible a national system of extension. These funds, given by the federal government to the states for the most part on condition that the state will contribute a like amount, have a unifying and steadying effect on the whole movement. They stimulate the states not only to contribute as much as does the federal government but considerably more. In actual practice, the states are contributing from sources within the state about $1.50 for each dollar contributed by the federal government for extension work. It is probably not too much to say that national funds made possible the whole system of county extension agents, which is the chief thing that differentiates present-day agricultural extension from earlier work in the United States." [1]

[1] Smith, and Wilson. *Op. cit.* p. 159.

3. Organization of the Work

Agricultural extension work may be characterized as a partnership undertaking between the government and the people. Within the state, the responsibility for this work is in the agricultural college. The official in charge is customarily known as the Director of Extension, and this position is usually coördinate in rank with that of the director of the experiment station and of the director of teaching. In accord with the organization of the agricultural college, the director of extension is either directly responsible to the president, or where there is a dean to that officer. His duties are the employment of all members of the extension teaching staff, the responsibility of administering all extension funds, the determination of policies, and the approval of extension projects and publications. In addition he is the contact officer of the Federal Department of Agriculture, as well as the representative of the state college in national or regional extension conferences. The extension program of a number of states is so extensive that an Assistant Director of Extension is necessary to share the administrative load.

On the staff of the director, and responsible directly to him are a number of district supervisors, each having the territory of some 15 or 20 county agents. These supervisors, or state leaders as they are sometimes called, are contact officers for the director in his dealings with county officials to arrange the local financial coöperation and employment of the county agent. From time to time, these district supervisors visit their agents and help them plan their work. District meetings of the agents are arranged at appropriate times so that they may have the benefit of common counsel and the interchange of experiences.

Another very essential feature of the director's staff, usually located at the extension headquarters, is a group of subject-matter specialists. For example, there may be an extension agronomist, extension economist, extension horticulturist, extension dairyman, extension nutritionist, etc., the services of each of these being available to the county agent for consultation, and to the director in planning his programs of work and answering correspondence relating to the particular field of the specialist. Often the schedule of the county agent for special campaigns is made to coincide with the visit of a specialist. For example, the extension horti-

culturist may spend a week with an agent at the time of the year when pruning operations are in order and the extension economist when the farm management plans for the year are being mapped out. It is impossible for a county agent to be a specialist in all fields, and this group of extension specialists gives much solid reinforcement to his efforts.

The publications and publicity work of the extension service is important, and is usually handled by an agricultural editor and publicity agent, and such assistance as may be required in the field of visual instruction.

In the Federal Department of Agriculture, there is a Director of Extension Work who is responsible directly to the Secretary of Agriculture. This Extension Service of the federal department "is made up of three main offices: the Office of Coöperative Extension Work, which represents the Director in handling all coöperative extension work with the states, especially such as involves Smith-Lever Clarke-McNary Extension, and Capper-Ketcham funds; an Office of Exhibits, which represents the Director in preparing and handling exhibits at state, regional, national, and international fairs; and an Office of Motion Pictures, which represents the Director in the development and handling of all departmental motion picture films. The federal Director of Extension represents the Secretary of Agriculture in dealing with all state extension directors in approving all state extension projects involving Smith-Lever, Capper-Ketcham, or other federal funds, and through the Office of Coöperative Extension Work, whose Chief reports to the Director, studies the effectiveness of the extension work in the field, examines all state accounts involving Smith-Lever and Capper-Ketcham funds to see that the moneys have been spent in accordance with law and agreements, and prepares an annual report to Congress on all agricultural extension work done in the United States." [1]

Four regional agents, each having about twelve states in his territory, represent the Office of Coöperative Extension Work in its supervisory and advisory contacts with the state extension systems. In addition, there is a staff of about a dozen technically-trained men and women who carry the practical results of the researches of the Department of Agriculture to the extension specialists in the various states.

[1] Smith, and Wilson, *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

The general plan of organization and financing of the extension system of the United States is well summarized in the following condensed statement [1] of the personnel employed in 1929 to carry on this great movement for educating the farmers of this nation:

A national extension director, with about 35 federal organization and subject matter extension specialists

About 60 state extension directors and assistant directors.

About 410 state supervisors of county agents

About 1,100 full-time and part-time extension specialists.

About 4,000 county extension agents and assistants

In 1929, approximately three out of every four of the rural counties in the whole United States had county agents, about one out of every three had a home demonstration agent, and about one out of every eight had a club agent. A doubling of the extent of this work would make an approximately complete extension service.

4. The County Agent

The county agent occupies one of the most strategic and influential positions in American rural life. His is the opportunity and duty, so far as is humanly possible, to raise the farming efficiency of his county to the levels made possible by the advances in research and method in the modern science of agriculture. The task which confronts him is not an easy one. In no occupation does individualism hold greater sway than in farming, and the traditional way of the father and grandfather is altogether too good in the opinion of the average farmer. The method of the agent is that of an itinerant teacher, everywhere—on farm, along the highway, on the streets of the town, in meeting assembled, at conference in office, and by correspondence and printed matter—carrying the practical message of an improved agriculture. Necessarily, such a job requires an unusual combination of characteristics, principal among which are integrity, perseverance, faith, ability to plan, vision, initiative, and courage. There are county agents varying from average to markedly superior ability, and the most of them are deeply in love with their work, and according to their talents are doing in a marvelously effective way the task of reconstructing an ancient occupation into a modern industry.

The average rural county in the United States contains between

[1] Smith, and Wilson, *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

2,200 and 2,500 farms, scattered over an area of 500 to 600 square miles. In such a county there is an average of about twenty communities. In each of these, the agent should have a dozen or fifteen demonstrators who are carrying out under his direction experiments proving the worth of new farm methods. Not only does the lesson of such a demonstration effect improvements on that individual's farm, the example spreads throughout the entire community.

In the development of this work two principal kinds of county agricultural extension agents have evolved --"those who deal with individual farmers and attempt to do all their teaching direct, and those who deal with individuals only as such individuals are representatives of groups of farmers and who do their teaching largely through these farmer representatives, generally called local leaders. Between these two groups of county agents there are all gradations, and success has followed the efforts of agricultural agents working in any of these ways. Increasingly, however, teaching by the group method is leading all other methods." [1] The agent who can successfully carry on his work through organized groups multiplies many times the spread of his instruction.

The office of the agent is located at some central town in his territory, most often at the county seat, where he is easily accessible by telephone, mail, and personal conference for the farmers constituting his clientele. An automobile is a necessary part of his equipment He is generally provided with a stenographer-clerk who in addition to handling his correspondence and records, attends to telephone and other calls in his absence, bringing these to his attention upon his return from the field and thereby adding greatly to the efficiency of his work. The range of salary for the county agents in the United States is from about $1,800 to $6,000 a year, with an average of around $2,800

A little imagination applied to the following weekly field report of Robert F. Waters of Love County, Oklahoma, as of January 3, 1919, will serve to afford a good picture of the activities of the county agent who does his work largely through the individual rather than the group approach:

> Monday—My work for the day was confined largely to my office. I did a lot of regular routine office work, besides some that might be easily classed special in that it was out of the ordinary. I have refer-

[1] *Ibid.*, p 51.

ence to some correspondence with a little girl in the Eastman community in regard to helping her secure one of the pretty little Holstein calves which are so frequently advertised in our farm papers. This little girl is a hustling member of my calf club, and became intensely interested after I had visited the boys and girls in the interest of club work. This sort of interest and initiative in only a little child is enough to stimulate and encourage any one, and I am glad of the opportunity to report that this little club member, on the strength of her own initiative and forethought, will soon be the proud possessor of a Holstein calf.

Tuesday—In the early part of the morning I had a consultation with Mr. Hartman. He wanted to pay outright for the Poland China gilt which his son, Arthur, received on the E.C.P. I was really glad to allow him this privilege. Mr Thurman of near Rubottom asked to be allowed to pay for his gilt. I allowed him to do so. I have decided to give all of the other boys, 33 in number, the same privilege. This will lift quite a burden from me, and will be just as good as selling the increase at auction, and will be a much faster way of settling matters.

Wednesday—I was interpreter among a bunch of Mexicans for the census enumerator Here we had quite a little fun

Thursday—I write several letters, one in particular, to Mr. S. Herrington, placement officer, Okla. City, in regard to Tom S. Gardiner, a soldier who has proliferate anthritis (dead bone). I am trying to secure free training for this boy, and I feel sure I will be able to do so.

Friday—Wrote some letters, one to the Central Scientific Company, sending warrant for a farm level which I purchased some time ago. The money with which this purchase was made was given to me by our county commissioners. These commissioners have never denied me yet.

Saturday—A gentleman called to see me this morning and asked me to come out and survey his land. The other day I was called to show a man how to butcher a hog. A third man wanted me to visit his place and take a bloody wart off the leg of one of his horses. The county agent, I have observed, must be a utility man, so to speak. He must be a cosmopolitan, sort of a Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde. He must be a civil engineer, mechanical engineer, orator, teacher, preacher, Sunday school superintendent, veterinary surgeon, entomologist, queen expert, politician, bookkeeper, lawyer, importer, exporter, auctioneer, financier (to get by), statistician, economist, landscape gardener, farmer, and Ford mechanic. The county agent must render service in all the above callings in a rundown hard-to-crank tin Lizzie. The county agent has a cinch.

"Thus it will appear that this worker has wonderful opportunities to stimulate the agricultural and economic life of the county. He may be a strong moral force. He should certainly be a great co-ordinator. He sustains a vital relation to the school and is instrumental in connecting them closer with the life of the

people. He brings the city closer to the country and causes greater harmony between them. He is a publicist of the highest order. He is a booster for the best in our civilization and when he has been on the job for a hundred years, this will be a better country because of his ministrations." [1]

5. The Home Demonstration Agent

Early in the development of the farm demonstration movement Dr. Seaman A. Knapp saw the necessity for the development of home demonstration agents coördinate in rank with the county agricultural agents, and ministering to the improvement of the farm homes. This work is usually headed by a state leader known as the State Home Demonstration Agent responsible directly to the Director of Extension. In addition to the necessary office and clerical staff, there is available the services of a group of home economics extension specialists. The activities of these relate to the home demonstration agents just as the other extension specialists do to the work of the county agents

It has been estimated that within and about the home he builds, the farmer spends about 90 per cent of his life. However, it is a matter of record that customarily he has been much readier to buy more land, improve other farm buildings, purchase new machinery, etc., than to provide modern home conveniences. As a result, the farm home as an institution has been even more retarded in its development and outlook than has the operation of the farm. The advance of modern science and the machine age now make available running water in the home, central heating systems, power driven labor-saving devices such as the churn and the washing machine, electric refrigeration, the radio, the telephone, and a host of other things which are changing the outlook of the life of the farm women, children, and men. There has developed a science of nutrition in recent years, and the benefits of this are necessary to provide balanced diets and resulting healthy farm families. Particularly is this true with regard to the progress which has been made in our knowledge of feeding children. The saving in fruits and vegetables which are canned each year as a result of the efforts of the home demonstration agents is tremendous, and as a result of these activities, roadside markets, and similar developments the farm woman is

[1] Martin, C. B. *Op. cit.*, pp 133–134.

securing an income sufficient to enable her to finance improvements in the home without making an inroad upon the farm budget proper.

It must be remembered that the task of the home demonstration agent is a more difficult one than that of her fellow worker, the county agent. She must enter the home which in a very real sense is the castle of the family. Infinite patience, courage, unlimited tact, great energy must be combined with a practical knowledge of the affairs of a wholesome home life and a great willingness to be of service in raising the standards of the basic institution of our social life. An appreciation of these qualities and conditions may well be granted from the following statement of some of the principal things the home demonstration agent may do as made by the administrative head of this work in the United States:

> The things home demonstration agents may do to help the farm woman in making a home are many. Among them are the following:
>
> Help the farm woman see the challenge of the job of home making.
>
> Help her with her poultry, dairy, garden, and marketing problems so that the farm woman may have more money with which to buy the things she needs—things for the house, things for the children, things for herself.
>
> Bring to her attention labor-saving devices and short-cut methods in doing housework so that the farm woman may have more leisure to read, enjoy her children, work with her flowers, visit her neighbors, go to town or do like things.
>
> Bring to her attention the blending of colors harmony in design, the use and making of patterns, the quality of textiles and fabrics, so that the farm woman may clothe herself becomingly and in accordance with the fashions of the time.
>
> Help her with the problems of child training to a knowledge of the child mind at various stages of development, child habits at different ages, the nutrition and growth of the child, so that it may be normal in mind and body
>
> Help her to find the time and to have the desire to join her neighbors in the upbuilding of community affairs and to do her full share. The mind and heart expand with worth-while and altruistic enterprises.
>
> Teach her the need and value of play and social life She is a better wife and better mother who gets outside the home occasionally to see how other folks live and do, and who retains her youth with play and social life.
>
> Help her to a better knowledge of nutrition. It is said a third of our rural people are suffering from preventable ailments like constipation, anemia, rheumatism, goiter, headaches, indigestion, and pellagra, be-

cause of the improper selection, preparation, and use of the foods which are so abundant on the farm.

Help her to knowledge of home decoration, the beauty of pictures, the choice and arrangement of furnishings, painting of china, the making of rugs and baskets, the landscaping of the home grounds, the arrangement of flowers, and like matters.

Encourage her and show her how she may attend the women's extension camp, take a short course of a week or more at the agricultural college, where the mind is freed and the vision expanded, as a result of which she becomes increasingly interesting and companionable to her husband and children.

All these and many, many more things the home demonstration agent brings to the attention of the farm woman and helps her to ways of accomplishment. Her life, like that of the county agricultural agent, is a full one, for she has an average of 2,200 farm women to deal with and a group even more conservative than are farm men.

Home demonstration agents organize their extension work in the communities and county much as the county agricultural agents do but in such subjects as nutrition, clothing, and household furnishings they are likely to approach more nearly school methods of teaching by means of assembled groups and lessons [1]

The home demonstration agent utilizes the group method of approach to her task much more than does the county agricultural agent. The nature of such subjects as nutrition, clothing, and household furnishings makes this more practical than is true with most farm operations. Most of her work, also, is indoors. At some convenient center, a group of local leaders are assembled for a day or two and are given demonstrations in matters relating to their homes. These local leaders then call meetings of their groups and pass on the instruction gained, as well as applying it to their own homes Through such an organized method of procedure, the extent of the instruction given is greatly multiplied. However, there are a number of factors in this connection which call for remedy. The report on the extension service as given in the recent survey of land-grant colleges says: "In spite of the fact that the adoption of the local-leader method has made it possible for home-economics extension to reach more people and to secure adoption of more practices per worker and per dollar of cost than any other type of extension service, its ultimate success will depend upon the solution of the following problems: (a) Teaching subject matter and methods of presentation to local leaders in a relatively short time; (b) a method of adequate supervision of the

[1] Smith, and Wilson. *Op. cit.*, pp 62-64.

teaching done by local leaders; (c) the present dependence upon acceptance and use of material presented by local people rather than by trained State specialists; and (d) the tendency for the county agent to become merely an instigator of events rather than a teacher of subject matter." [1]

The home demonstration agent, like the county agent, usually has an automobile to get about over the county In addition she has an office, usually at the county seat, equipped, and frequently with the services of a clerk. The work is usually for eleven months, with a month of vacation. The salary paid averages about $2,200 a year, though it may reach as much as $4,000 or more.

6. Club Work

While any general account of so large a movement as the extension service must neglect many salient phases of the work, it would be unpardonable to close this chapter without some attention to the matter of club work among farm boys and girls. Fundamentally, the idea is that young people are easier to teach than the older ones, and that one of the most effective ways to teach the parents is to demonstrate through their children. This work of the extension service is organized into groups known as 4-H Clubs. The four H's represent the head, hand, heart, and health of the members. The club emblem is a four-leaf clover with an H on each leaf. The national pledge reads as follows:

"I pledge
my head to clearer thinking
my heart to greater loyalty
my hands to larger service, and
my health to better living,
For my club, my community and my country."

These club members range in age from about 10 to 20 years, each state determining its own regulations. There are now some 800,000 of these club members, boys and girls who are carrying on demonstrations in the growing of corn, cotton, potatoes, tobacco, home gardens, dairy and beef cattle, hogs, sheep, poultry, forestry work, food preparation, food preservation, meal planning and preparation, the making, care, and selection of clothing, room improvement, and the planting of the home grounds. But the functions of this 4-H Club work are even broader than the

[1] Klein, A. J. *Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities* Vol 2, p 540.

enumeration of the kinds of demonstrations would indicate. The main objectives may be listed as follows: (1) to better the practices of both farm and home; (2) to inculcate a pride in farming as an occupation; (3) to give a better understanding and appreciation of nature; (4) to develop the coöperative spirit; (5) to train rural leadership; (6) to encourage vision and foresight; and (7) to make better men and women.

There is usually a state club leader on the extension staff who is in charge of this work in a state. In the county, it is cared for by the county agent or home demonstration agent. In about 250 counties in the United States a county club agent is employed who gives all of his or her time to this work. A feature of the work is the county or district camps, the state 4-H camp or short course held at the state agricultural college, and the national 4 H Club camp at Washington pitched on the historic grounds of the Department of Agriculture. Few phases of extension work give promise of better results than this 4-H Club work, the records for 1928 indicating that 67 per cent of the boys and girls who began work in that year carried it through to conclusion. However, there is large room for further development along these lines for there are about 6,000,000 boys and girls from 10 to 20 years of age on farms in the open country, and only 800,000 of them are being reached through these groups at the present time

7. Smith-Hughes Work

In 1917, Congress enacted legislation which provided in a large sort of way for vocational education of less than college grade in agriculture, home economics, and trade and industry. Under the provisions of this act, an increasing number of rural high schools are developing vocational courses in agriculture and home economics. The administration of this measure is under the Federal Board for Vocational Education of which the Secretary of Agriculture is a member. Within the states, the teacher-training feature for the agricultural and home economics teachers is usually located at the state agricultural college, but the administration of the vocational courses in the high schools is lodged more often than not with the state boards of education or in some instances with a separate board for vocational education.

This Smith-Hughes work is meeting a long-recognized need in a very effective way. However, certain phases of it are closely

related to the extension work under the Smith-Lever law. It has been necessary to avoid duplication of effort and friction between the two undertakings that a memorandum of understanding be drawn up. The principal provisions of this are clearly set forth in the following quotation:

> The memorandum agreed upon provides that all extension work shall be administered by extension officials and all vocational education in agriculture shall be administered by those in charge of the vocational schools of the state. If the vocational teacher does any extension work, it is understood that it should be done in coöperation with and under the direction of the responsible extension agent in the county. It is recognized that all general community activities of an agricultural nature, dealing with persons not enrolled in vocational agricultural classes, are in the field of extension.
>
> In the holding of meetings for the development of county or state agricultural programs by the extension forces, it is held desirable that the teachers of vocational agriculture shall be invited to sit in and participate. The memorandum recommends, also, that, in counties having vocational agricultural departments or schools, the extension service should not enroll students of vocational agriculture in its 4-H club work. If a boy or girl is carrying on club work and becomes a student in a Smith-Hughes school, there is no reason why he or she should not continue in club work, if desirous of doing so. It is understood, however, that effort will not be made by club forces to enroll Smith-Hughes students, but rather that they will try to enroll members who are neither in club work nor in Smith-Hughes schools.
>
> In most cases, it is believed undesirable for Smith-Hughes vocational teachers to act as local leaders of 4-H clubs.
>
> It is believed desirable for extension forces, especially those engaged in 4-H club work, to encourage boys and girls of suitable age to take Smith-Hughes vocational training, so that later in life they may function more largely and efficiently as leaders of 4-H clubs and of extension projects with adults.[1]

A closing paragraph from the memorandum itself presents the principle of action upon which possible conflict is to be avoided. "Coöperation should be the watch-word in all Smith-Hughes and Smith-Lever relationships. This means going beyond the letter of the law and doing what one is not obligated to do. Both these laws were instituted in the interests of the people. Each group, while attending to its own task first, should lose no opportunity to promote, in all practical ways, the work of the other. With this spirit animating both forces, good feeling is likely to prevail everywhere and the maximum accomplished in both lines of work."

[1] Smith, and Wilson. *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

QUESTIONS

1. How does C. B. Smith characterize the leaven of agricultural extension at work in rural America?
2. In what sense does the chasm existing between what is known about the science of agriculture and what is practiced on the farms of this country constitute one of the most serious problems of modern education?
3. Enumerate the objectives of agricultural extension work.
4. Discuss the rôle of "farmers' institutes" as forerunners of farm and home demonstration work.
5. Who was Dr. Seaman A. Knapp? Describe his experiences in settling immigrants upon lands in Southwestern Louisiana, and the important method which he developed as a result.
6. When and where did the Farmers' Coöperative Demonstration Work have its official beginning? Who was the first volunteer demonstrator and what success attended his efforts?
7. How was the earlier farm demonstration work financed? How wide a territory was covered by the earlier farm demonstration agents and why was the county determined upon as the effective unit of operation? Who was the first county agent and where did he work?
8. Give the extent of the agricultural extension system at the present time.
9. What important suggestions were made in the report of the Committee on Extension of the Association of American Agricultural Experiment Stations in 1908 at its Washington meeting?
10. What is the Smith-Lever Act and when was it enacted into law? Discuss the provisions of it and its supplementary measures for financing the agricultural extension work in the several states On what general basis are the federal funds distributed?
11. Give Mr. Lever's analysis of the philosophy and significance of the work of Dr. Seaman A. Knapp.
12. Describe the organization of the agricultural extension work in the land-grant college, including the duties of the "director," the "district supervisors," and the "subject-matter specialists."
13. Explain briefly the plan of organization in the Federal Department of Agriculture for the national administration of the agricultural extension system.
14. What is a "county agent," the nature of his task, and the methods employed in handling it?
15. Discuss the strategic position which he occupies as a national force for the improvement of agriculture
16. What is a "home demonstration agent," and how does her method of work differ from that of the county agent?
17. Name some of the things which home demonstration agents may do to help farm women in making a home.
18. What is the significance of the term "4-H Clubs?" Give the seven main objectives of this phase of extension work.
19. Explain how these objectives of 4-H Club work are achieved. Discuss the importance of this work among young people and the need and room for its further development

20. Describe the nature of Smith-Hughes vocational agricultural work. What provisions does a memorandum of agreement between it and the Smith-Lever forces make for preventing duplication of effort and friction between the two lines of work?

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE FARMER AND GOVERNMENT

It was the opinion of Thomas Jefferson that a government was best which governed least. No doubt everyone, at some time or times in his life has felt the same way to some degree. Also, there is a large measure of soundness at all times in the position taken by the political philosopher of Monticello. However, it is believed that if he were to view the condition of rural government in the United States today, or rather the lack of it, he would surround his statement with some rather emphatic qualifications which would apply both to the scope and efficiency of public affairs as they affect the farmer

In discussing the basis of government, Odum says that "the old conflict between the two sorts of government has been fought out and won The one theory of government held that the sole excuse for the existence of citizens was his service to the state—a superorganization of driving power. The other theory held that the state existed solely for its institutional power to serve mankind and that it has assumed its present form because of generations of experience in which such organization has proved to be essential for the welfare of all the people. The victory of the democratic over the despotic form of government has set the standard form of our modern government. The basis of statesmanship is found in the measure of service to be rendered; and the basis of citizenship is found in the spirit of coöperative service. Government is not some formal, objective, far-distant all ruling Leviathan which people, who ought to be citizens unafraid, look upon with fear or dread, as some great power existing to restrain their liberties and energies. On the contrary government is meant to give added freedom and development through adequate protection and ample social services. Of course it must have its form, and it must constitute authority—authority vested in certain men and agencies by the citizens themselves." [1]

The functions of education, sanitation and disease prevention,

[1] Odum H W. *Man's Quest for Social Guidance* Henry Holt, 1927, p. 394.

charities and corrections, and police protection are among the definite responsibilities of government today, and all of these are sadly neglected when the country sections are compared with the similar processes in urban areas A part of this situation is due to the greater difficulties of effecting such arrangements for a diffuse population; a part of it is occasioned by the lesser amounts of taxable property in the rural areas; a considerable part is due to the indifference or actual hostility from the inhabitants of the country towards these imagined infringements upon their freedom; and perhaps a still greater portion is due to lack of public consciousness and organized effort on the part of farmers to demand these facilities and services of a modern age.

It is a striking fact [1] that in the entire history of this nation there has never been a distinct agrarian party which functioned effectively or extensively for any length of time as such. Until after the Civil War, no definite agrarian political organization appeared. This is perhaps due to the fact that the Anti-Federalist Party and its successor, the Democratic Party of Jefferson and his followers, constituted one which in its composition and sympathies was keenly sensitive to the needs and wishes of the farmers and its policies largely controlled by this class The industrial element of our national life up to that time had evidenced no likelihood of encroaching upon the interests of agriculture, and it is interesting to note that the protective tariff policy grew up during this pre-Civil War dominance of the agricultural class.

In the early days of the making of the nation, it was farmers who had the leading rôle. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and somewhat later Jackson, Calhoun, and many like them were farmers for the most part possessed of extensive estates. Of course, the rights of farmers in the newly formed republic would be safe in such hands!

It is not merely sentimental to reflect that much of the fundamental greatness of our government is due to these high-grade farmers. They were certain of their living, and a satisfying one at that The consequence was that they did not hesitate to enter the arena to fight for things they believed in, no matter if they were defeated. If they met with such reverses, they retired from

[1] See, Wilson. *The Place of Agriculture in American Life.* Macmillan, 1930, pp. 103-104.

the conflict to their estates only temporarily to renew the conflict when the time seemed appropriate to do so. Today the multitude of complexly adjusted relationships of large fortunes with other large fortunes makes the wealthy individual when he does enter politics rather timid in striking at policies or problems which may seriously interfere with his private interests. More often he does not care to become involved in the political mêlée. The ear today is much closer to the ground to hear the tramp of entrenched privilege than it was when our national leaders were farmers, their living assured, and their financial success conditioned upon the whims or animosities of no man or group of men. This sort of element in our public life was wholesome, and with all of the great fortunes accumulated in our cities and towns today, there has not yet been developed the adequate replacement of the gentleman farmer and his attitude in political life.

In discussing this situation, Solon J. Buck says: "In the early days of the republic farming was looked upon as the most suitable occupation for gentlemen, and a large proportion of the positions of high political preferment were filled by men from the ranks of the agriculturists; planters or farmers were to be found in considerable numbers, serving as legislators, as executive officials, or in judicial positions; and the interests of agriculture were sure of adequate consideration. Just previous to the Civil War the controlling influence in national affairs had been for some time in the hands of the planter element of the South, whose interests apart from the question of slavery, generally coincided with those of agriculturists throughout the country. The commercial and manufacturing classes, however, were rapidly forging to the front, particularly in the North and East, and the Civil War marks their definite triumph in national affairs over the agricultural interests of the country as represented by the Southern planters. From that time on, the needs and interests of the more or less organized mercantile and manufacturing classes received primary consideration and the positions of political power were occupied more and more by representatives from these classes or by lawyers who took substantially the same point of view." [1]

Confirmatory evidence of this statement is cited to the effect that the membership of the Forty-third Congress of the United

[1] Buck, Solon J. *The Granger Movement.* Harvard University Press, 1913, pp. 34–35.

States (1873–75) was composed of only 7 per cent professing the pursuit of farming, 61 per cent were lawyers, and 16 per cent manufacturers or in other commercial occupations. At that time, the working population of the nation had 47 per cent of its number engaged in farming, and commerce and manufacturing represented only 31 per cent. Even in a distinctly agricultural state like Illinois, the composition of the state legislature showed the farmer representation markedly out-numbered.

Carl Taylor has recently studied this problem, stating that his efforts to collect statistics as they relate to state legislatures have met with but indifferent results. In part he concludes:

> State government is considerably more personally controlled directly by the people than is the federal government. It is not so much that public opinion plays a lesser rôle in state government but that the representatives elected by the people play relatively a much greater rôle Until 1916, United States Senators were not elected by the direct vote of the people. State legislative officers always have been elected by popular vote. There are only ninety-six United States Senators and 435 United States Representatives The same people who elect these 531 legislators to make the federal laws, elect about 2,400 state senators and 5,000 state representatives to make state laws. Because a very much larger number of voters personally know the state legislators, state government can and must respond much more directly to the personal demands of its constituency
>
> No one seems to have been able to ascertain just what per cent of the state legislators are farmers by occupation. The evidence is sufficient, however, to indicate that a greater per cent of state than United States legislators are farmers. This means, of course, a very much greater total number of farmer legislators because of the increased number of these offices to be filled. It is questionable whether more than four or five United States Senators have a right to classify themselves as farmers. Many of them may own land, and thus indirectly operate farms, but they also operate other enterprises and follow other professions. On the other hand, in the state of Ohio, 14.1 per cent, and in Iowa 35 2 per cent, of the total general legislative assemblies are farmers. The per cent of farmers in the lower house in each of these states greatly exceeds that in the upper house. This is apparently due to the fact that the total number of representatives is greater than that of senators, usually averaging about one representative to each county Thus the individual who runs for office is quite personally known to those who elect him to office. The writer has attempted to obtain statistics from all the states on these items, but has been unable to do so. From what facts he has gathered it is his calculation that about 15 per cent of the state legislators are farmers by occupation. The percentage ranges much higher than this in the Midwestern,

Northwestern and Southern States but considerably lower than this in the New England and Northeastern States.

Practically every method used by the farmers to influence legislation is used also to influence state government. The efforts are usually more effectual in state than in national government. Many state representatives are elected by almost purely rural constituencies. In thirty states a majority of the population is rural. In these states, all state officials find it necessary to respond directly to farm interests and farmer demands [1]

Considerable attention has been given in preceding chapters to the relation of the federal government to the matter of farm relief, and to the influence of farmers' organizations upon national legislation affecting agriculture. In succeeding chapters, the matters of the tariff and taxation in relation to the farmer are considered. All of these topics relate to federal and state governments as they affect the farm industry. Not less vexing and more immediate is the problem of local government, which is the theme this discussion will seek mainly to illumine. But before the topic of the farmers' legislative representation in Congress and the several state assemblies is dismissed, the writer wishes to express the conviction that intelligent *bona fide* farmers in larger numbers must be willing to enter the political arena and fight for their interests. It is inimicable to their ultimate welfare to leave so important a matter to those who represent them by proxy. That there are many farmers well equipped to contend on a high plane for the rights of agriculture must be conceded by anyone who knows American farm citizenship. This class has always been modest about seeking public office; and has been too unwilling to have their farming interests suffer from their sacrifices to the public good, but no one knows the problems of the farmer as well as he himself does. The situation will become increasingly urgent, though, that he make such sacrifices, for "in case the present farm distress is not relieved, it may quite certainly be predicted that the farming interests of the Nation will be forced to combine without respect to which side their parents fought upon in the Civil War, but with regard to their economic interest, insisting with effect that one or the other of the existing parties shall serve their needs. If this is not done, it is to be expected that a farmers' party of greater strength and higher quality of leadership than any which has as yet characterized American agrarian politics

[1] Taylor, C. C. *Rural Sociology*. Harpers, 1926, pp. 453–454.

will take form, and it is believed that when it does, its demands will be met." [1]

1. Types of Local Government

The right to "local self-government" has been a phrase with which the various dominant or contending political parties have been wont to conjure the support of the possible constituencies. Nor has the use of it been abandoned in recent years. In discussing the significance of self-government, Porter says that "contemporary political thinkers are by no means convinced that local self government has been looked upon as an essential feature of democracy in America, and it has been through the county and the township that self-government has been exercised. If it were not for the political machinery of county and township all the people living outside the boundaries of urban districts would have no opportunity to enjoy this peculiarly American form of democracy And after all, so far as area is concerned, the municipalities are but dots upon the map. To be sure this particular feature of American democracy is rapidly losing its hold The measure of real discretion resting with the county or township comes to be less and less each year, and the functions which local authorities have to perform simply as agents of their own community are less and less important. This is a result of the extension of state activity and control as well as a declining interest in local governmental institutions. But American democracy has its roots down deep in the county and the township, and the county particularly, is the very basis of the political structure in most of the states. This doubtless will continue to be the case notwithstanding the fact that the county is losing its place as an area of local self-government strictly speaking" [2]

The same authority points out that in the historical development of local government there were four types which evolved in the older portion of the United States, these influencing in great measure the form which came to prevail in the new areas subsequently settled and the emerging states which resulted. Those four types were (1) *The Southern Type*, developed in Virginia and the Southern group of colonies, where there was a highly

[1] Gee, Wilson. *Op. cit.*, p. 127.
[2] Porter, Kirk H. *County and Township Government in the United States*. Macmillan, 1922, p. 17.

developed county in which was vested practically all of the functions of local government, the township being absent. (2) *The New England Type*, prevailing in the New England colonies, in which the town was the principal unit for local government, though later the county came to exist for certain purposes not cared for in the town governments. (3) *The North-Central Type*, which consisted of two distinct forms of local government, involving a combination of the township and the county. This type applied in the colonies between New England and Virginia. New York is typical of this group In that state the township was clearly defined, and had its clearly defined functions independent of the county, yet serving as a unit for representation on the county board of supervisors. (4) *The South-Central Type*, of which Pennsylvania is representative. In this group "was to be found the township and the county, but the township was distinctly a subordinate unit, had virtually no independent functions, was not a unit of representation on the county board and served principally as an administrative district for the county." [1]

The present-day influence of these four types is evidenced in the fact that in the New England States today, the town is still exploited as a more important unit of local government, the county exists mainly as a unit for the administration of justice and the assessment and collection of taxes in the areas not included in the towns. In twenty-five states, beginning with Delaware and Maryland, including all of the Southern States, the Rocky Mountain group, certain of the Far Western States, and the three Pacific Coast States, townships do not exist at all, or where they are found they function merely as justice of the peace districts. The county is the unit of organization that performs all of the essential functions of local government, although it is often divided into districts to facilitate administration.

In the North-Central group are included New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Nebraska. Here is to be found the "township-county" or "supervisor" type. "The distinguishing feature of this type of organization is that the county is controlled by a board of supervisors composed of one or more supervisors elected from each township in the county. The result is that the size of the county board varies from three to fifty, depending upon the number of townships in the county.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 54–55.

This means of course that the county board is usually quite large, averaging about twenty. It further means that very definite organic connection is established between the two units of local government—the county and the township, for in reality it is township officers who manage county affairs." [1]

In the South-Central group, consisting of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, and Oklahoma both the county and the township exist, but the "township is rapidly coming to be little more than an administrative district existing in order to facilitate the administration of county business. Most of the important functions of local government are under the control of county officers, and while the township is still maintained as a distinct unit of government with its own organization, in order to perform such functions as caring for highways, extending poor relief and assessing property, it is greatly overshadowed by the county organization." [2] This form of local government is often designated as the "county-township" or "commissioner." No organic connection exists between the two units of government. The county is controlled by a board of commissioners popularly elected, and the township is distinctly a subordinate unit.

Thus it may be observed the county is an important unit in a large proportion of the states of the nation, and in the majority of them the dominant unit of local government. This area has been variously designated as the "jungle of American politics," the "dark continent of American politics," and similar uncomplimentary terms. It is significant for our purposes to inquire somewhat more in detail into its defective functioning and to view some of the remedies which have been suggested.

2. County Government

"A county is one of the civil divisions of a state or territory for judicial and political purposes, and at the same time a district of a quasi-corporate character for purposes of local civil administration. Counties are created by the sovereign power of the State." [3] Everywhere, and principal among its functions the county is a unit for the administration of justice. As a corollary of this

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 62.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[3] Fairlie, J. A. *Local Government in Counties, Towns and Villages.* Century Co., 1906, pp. 57–58.

work, courthouses and jails are a part of the equipment of the county. To some extent it is a police and militia district. It also serves as a district for probate administration and the recording of land titles. Important road and bridge functions of construction and maintenance are performed by the county. It is usually a unit for the administration of poor relief. In many states, particularly in the South, it is the primary unit for school administration. Increasingly it is becoming the primary sanitary administration district. As a unit for finance administration, it levies and collects taxes for its own purposes, and acts as the agent for the collection of state revenues within its borders. In many states it is a district for the assessment of taxes. And, it is an important entity for election purposes. "Most county officers are elective; the county is always a unit for canvassing the returns for state officers; and in most states it is the district for electing members of the state legislature." [1]

However in general outline the structure and functioning of county government is fairly well understood by everyone, if not from practical contact, from his study of elementary and high school civics. The tendency is altogether too much to accept its effective functioning as a matter of course without inquiring into its deficiencies Many governmental research agencies, political scientists, publicists, and forward-looking citizens in recent years have been persistent in calling its shortcomings to our attention. Typical of these is the following from a survey of *County Government in Virginia* made by the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and submitted to Governor H F. Byrd of Virginia in 1927:

> The present county government has no responsible head; it is without a chief administrative officer and the board of supervisors controls through appointment only a small part of the county administration. Authority for carrying on the administrative work of the county at the present time rests with many individuals. The voters of the county have very little power in the determination of county policies. It is true that they elect a number of administrative officers besides the members of the board of supervisors, but this serves only to dissipate authority and to increase the difficulties of securing effective and economical county government. In fact, there is nothing to commend the present form of county government in Virginia. In many of the counties it is grossly political, careless, wasteful, and thoroughly inefficient.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

It has been that way for years, but still it exists and seems to flourish. Perhaps the reason for this is that the people of the State have not yet become aware of the possibility of establishing a different form of county government, which is less costly, more efficient, and better able to meet modern conditions.[1]

Somewhat along the same lines of criticism is the statement of Gilbertson[2] that "county officers have long ceased to worry about the legality of most of their acts. A common practice is not to investigate the law at all but to look back over the work of predecessors and follow in their tracks—an easier and more natural method for the untrained mind than to seek legal authority for action at its fountainhead in the statutes." The same writer quotes the late Herbert Quick who several years ago investigated the affairs of a county in one of the Central-Western States as saying:

A supervisor would draw thousands of dollars from the road and bridge funds in his own warrant, put the money in his pocket, and account for it by turning in receipts for road or bridge work. Some of this work was done and some was not Most of the receipts were signed by political supporters of the supervisors. To some of them were signed names of persons who never existed.

Everything the county bought was extravagantly bought. Any dealer who was willing to put in padded bills could get the chance to sell his goods.

There was a regular system of letting bills go unpaid so that the persons furnishing the goods would put in the statements the second time, after which they would be paid twice—once to the firm to which they were really owing, and again to one or more of the county ring. In most cases the merchant furnishing the goods never knew of the double payment. They had a system of orders and receipts by which the merchant was kept in ignorance.

In some cases the approaches to bridges were built and charged twice, once to the road fund and once to the bridge fund. The man who did the work got one payment and the grafters got the other. The people paid twice in these cases, and sometimes three times.

A merchant sold some blankets to the county for the use of the prisoners in the jail. He was allowed about a hundred dollars on the county claim register, but refused to accept the payment and sued the county. In court he recovered judgment for all he claimed, and was paid out of the judgment fund. The general fund claim he had refused

[1] *County Government in Virginia.* Report on a survey made to the Governor and his Committee on Consolidation and Simplification. Supt. of Public Printing, Richmond, Va., 1928, p. 6.

[2] Gilbertson, H. S. *The County.* National Short Ballot Organization, New York, 1917, p. 74.

to accept showed as unpaid. Somebody on the inside went to him and got an order for "any sums due me from the county" and drew the original bill over again. So the county paid the original allowance, the amount of the judgment, and the costs of the lawsuit. Rather dear blankets!

Orders of this sort were drawn in the names of the people who had been dead for years.

This is a sample of the sort of work which prevailed in that county, and which plunged the county into debt from which it will not recover, the way things generally go, for generations.[1]

The remedies for the existing situation from the very complex nature of the problem cannot be reduced to a formula which will meet with general acceptance. The solution which has been most widely advocated is the county-manager plan. The success of the city-manager form of government in municipalities has evoked the idea that such an arrangement would effect the same results in the county. The essential concepts of this plan are tersely expressed by Richard S. Childs, one of the leading students of county government in America as follows:

If we can keep away from the old fashioned doctrinnaire theories which have made so much trouble for this nation in the last hundred years, we should be able to agree that the county, like any other organization, private or public, needs a chief executive with appointive power over all other administrative officials. Not until all the officials have a single common superior on the job all the time, with plenty of authority over them, can they be compelled to work in mutual harmony. There has been ample experience to show that the attempt to secure a good chief executive by popular election is a failure. It always gives us a transient amateur who never really learns his job, because he is not allowed to stay on the job long enough. The cities have been all through that phase and are abandoning the elective chief executive, or mayor, and moving onward to the type of government in which the chief executive is appointed and held subject to the continuous supervision of the joint mind of a board or commission. Accordingly, let us look forward to a time when counties will be governed by a small board of supervisors, a board small enough so that each member will be a really important officer with power enough in the government to make it worth while for the people to scrutinize the candidate carefully and watch him after election. A board of three or five or seven will be better than a board of twenty or thirty.

Let this small board of supervisors (or commissioners) possess all the powers now vested in all officers of the county, except the county judge. Put upon them the responsibility for all of the work of the county. Permit them to hire their county manager from anywhere in

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77

the United States and pay him whatever salary they believe necessary in order to secure the requisite ability. The county manager will appoint and control all other county officials and employees, subject to civil service regulations. The county manager will have no power of his own, no independence of his superior. He is the board's executive agent. If the new board of supervisors tells him to take money out of the treasury and spend it for peanuts, he must spend it for peanuts or take a chance of losing his job. The supervisors who hire him can also fire him. The county manager, naturally, would be expected to relieve the supervisors of all details, and if they found him trustworthy and devoted to their service they would probably leave him considerable discretion, but they would have to take the responsibility for him if he proved to be foolish or weak or dishonest.[1]

Kilpatrick is by no means assured that the county-manager plan is either inevitable or the adequate solution of the problem. He says in part:

To regard the executive power of the chairman of the county board as a passing oddity is hardly warranted when many board chairmen, regardless of plans, occupy a position of leadership. And when many city manager cities are turning for civic leadership the characterization of "anomaly" is dubious. The first European city, Cork, Ireland, to model its government on the American manager plan provides a Lord Mayor as well. To the manager advocates, the present financial agent or auditor is but a forecast of complete centralization. Why that result is certain is not apparent in view of the increasing recognition by public and private corporations alike that efficiency is attained through specialists in each field instead of one man control.

If the structure of county government is to follow the selected progressive features evolving from the awakening counties, instead of the injection of a foreign method, the plan will be built upon the improvements of the past decade or two. Here and there, in a spotted fashion, improvements have occurred in most states. The county road engineer is supplanting obsolete methods, the county is becoming the unit of school administration with consolidated schools in every state supplanting the old one-room school on the hill; and from the hill is disappearing the old poorhouse in favor of homes for the aged; the county library has developed; the public welfare board and trained superintendent are no longer innovations; the county health units have spread markedly during the past decade; rural hospitals have appeared; more than a beginning has been effected in some counties in accounting and budgeting. Parenthetically, it may be noted that in each and every one of these improvements the county manager has played no part.

The renascence of the county will continue from its present beginning by a plan that will embody some, if not all, of the elements of the county

[1] Wager, P. W. *County Government in North Carolina.* U. of North Carolina Press, 1928, pp. 402–403.

supervisory plan. The exact working out of county administration may discard one or more of the more ambitious projects, but in general outline the financial supervisor, the elective chief supervisor (or chairman of the board), and the supervisors or superintendent of functions constitute the required executives to coördinate administration within the county and in relation to the state. The name of manager may be retained; but the essence of the plan invites rejection. For the county mechanism is not constructed to accord a position for an all-controlling manager who, in the long run, invites inefficiency in administration.

The present progressive trends upon extension do not result in a single administrator If the county is properly officered with directors of services, the trouble with the managerial scheme becomes not that the position is too powerful but that the manager has nothing to do. He becomes a superfluous supernumerary. In the end, the result may be the adoption of the county manager plan in name and, in fact, the administration of counties by financial managers, health and welfare managers, school managers, and engineering managers under a county board that refuses to govern entirely by proxy.[1]

Whatever may be the form or forms which improvement in the administration of county affairs may assume, public consciousness has been aroused to the point where efficiency will be more and more demanded. It has been clearly demonstrated that county government as at present operative harks back to machinery developed to meet the needs of pioneer days, and much of it is now outgrown and obsolete. It must be brought down to date through an extensive overhauling. And the increasing costs of local government make necessary every reasonable economy consistent with a performance of desirable and justified functioning. A great deal is heard these days about the consolidation of counties Modern transportation methods and improved roads make this a logical step in the direction of both economy and efficiency. The chief obstacles are county pride and the entrenched political strength of the ring of county office-holders whose positions are affected in the process. Also, a growing sentiment is manifest for equalization of opportunity as among the poorer and wealthier units of the state in education, health, public welfare, and other benefits which a government affords its people. This will have to be accomplished through the state as an equalizing and distributive agency among the several cities and counties within its borders.

[1] Kilpatrick, Wylie *Problems in Contemporary County Government.* Century Co., 1930, pp. 657–658.

3. The New Rural Municipality

The government of the rural community in America today is largely expressed through the county. The contention is made by a number of students of the subject that such an area is too large to meet all of the various governmental needs of the rural people, and that a more convenient sized unit, to be known as the rural municipality is the solution. It is thought that as far as possible this should coincide with the natural community, which is considered in general to be co-extensive with the trade area surrounding some small town or municipality. There is a real need for the small municipality to be more closely related to its adjacent rural territory. Its economic and hence social welfare is to a large degree dependent upon that of the surrounding countryside. Yet many such towns do not seem to have come to a clear realization of this fact, and many town-country antagonisms have developed as a result. United under the same municipal government, these difficulties would tend to resolve themselves through common problems and a clearer comprehension of the intimate relationship of both town and country to them. The institutional life of the country more and more is coming to revolve about schools, churches, community houses, and similar things located in the town Yet the farmer feels that he does not have a sufficient voice in the management of these institutions which supply his needs. The rural municipality would bring about this participation in control to the mutual advantage of town and country.

In discussing this problem, Galpin says:

> In the county, and in the townships of some States, city and farm have long coöperated in government. Many of the activities of this government approach close to local municipal government in type. It is not a new proposal, therefore, that city and farm form a municipal alliance. The new idea is to make the alliance a substitute for the present collection of municipal functions possessed by the farmer. Let us briefly look at an ideal case for alliance, and this may indicate what could be done in circumstances less ideal
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> If there were a consolidation of rural trade centers, so that in place of several thousand incomplete hamlets and villages the American farm people had five thousand complete trading cities ranging from thirty-five hundred to ten thousand in population, then the farmer would have a start toward an ideal municipality. Like the original New England town, each such municipality would have a city core. There

would be five thousand rural-urban municipalities. The natural farm trade basin of each small city would be included with its trading city in a coöperating municipality. The municipal boundary lines would be as irregular as the boundaries of city municipalities now, all depending upon the lay of the land and the accessibility of farmers to this city in comparison with an adjoining city. On the average, six thousand farm people would be attached to each municipality. Their farm lands would lie within it, as the farms of New England lie within the New England town.

The farmers trade with these particular city people, anyway. The farmer's banks are in the city, with his railway, his freight office. Virtually all his dealings of buying and selling are here These tradesmen he is acquainted with. These people are his people What more natural than that he should carry on with them political affairs as he does already with economic affairs? [1]

The state of North Carolina by law has authorized an entirely new unit of government along somewhat similar lines. However, the growth of such a movement is slow, and thus far very few rural communities have undertaken such a unique form of development. In view of the very unsatisfactory governmental isolation of the farmer, and the decided lack of anything like real rural government, together with the increasing volume of criticism regarding the situation, it is likely that such a plan will take hold in widely different parts of the nation. A recent volume [2] is devoted entirely to the subject of the coming new rural municipality, and the plan is formulated in much detail regarding the necessary state legislation, desirable size of the area to be incorporated, the form of government, and zoning for different tax purposes. While the matter is yet largely in its theoretical stages, there is very much to say in its favor as one of the most interesting experiments taking form today in the neglected area of rural government.

QUESTIONS

1. Give Odum's views as to the prevailing theory of government.
2. Describe the lack of government characterizing our rural areas.
3. How do you account for the fact that in the entire history of this nation there has never been a distinct agrarian party which has functioned effectively or extensively for any length of time as such?
4. Discuss the salutary rôle played by farmers in the earlier days of the making of this nation.
5. According to Buck, when did the commercial and manufacturing classes

[1] Galpin, C. J. *Rural Social Problems*. Century Co., 1924, pp. 221–222.
[2] Manny, T. B. *Rural Municipalities*. Century Co , 1930.

definitely triumph in national affairs over the agricultural interests of the United States, and why?

6 What did Taylor discover regarding the comparative farmer representation and influence in state and federal governments?

7 Why is it necessary and important that a larger number of intelligent well-balanced *bona fide* farmers must enter the political arena and fight for the interests of agriculture?

8 Is the concept of the "right to local self-government" gaining or losing ground in the governmental trend of today? Give reasons for your answer

9 Name and briefly characterize the four types in the historical development of local government in the United States

10 To what extent was the New England township form of local government influential in determining patterns in other states? the Southern type? the North-Central type? the South-Central type?

11 Give Fairlie's definition of a "county" What are the principal functions of such a governmental unit?

12 Discuss the findings of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research with regard to county government in Virginia How applicable are they to the state in which you live?

13 Give Herbert Quick's description of the results of an investigation several years ago of the affairs of a county in one of the Central-Western States Do such conditions exist today?

14 Explain how it is expected that the "county-manager" plan of county government would function

15 Why does Kilpatrick argue that the county-manager plan is neither the inevitable nor the adequate solution of the problem of county government?

16. Discuss the validity of the statement that whatever may be the form or forms which improvement in the administration of county affairs may assume, public consciousness has been aroused to the point where efficiency will be more and more demanded Why will such reforms come about slowly?

17 What arguments can you advance in favor of the consolidation of counties, and what are some of the barriers that stand in the way of such a sensible movement?

18 From economic and social viewpoints, why is a closer relationship between the small municipality and its surrounding trade area a mutually advisable one?

19 Give Galpin's idea of rural-urban municipalities, and the logical reasoning for such governmental units

20 Describe the present extent of the "new rural municipality" movement, and its potentialities toward the future improvement of the status of rural government.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE TARIFF AND AGRICULTURE

The tariff controversy plays an important part in the economic history of this nation. During the formative days of the republic, Alexander Hamilton was the brilliant advocate of protection. This first Secretary of the Treasury, a young man of about thirty-two years, was confronted with tremendous problems of national indebtedness, of money and banking, of governmental revenues, and in general fostering the financial welfare of a lustily growing new country. In his noted Report on Manufactures (1791), he summarized the arguments for and against protection, reaching the conclusion that this policy was required if the manufactures of the nation were to prosper as they should. The outcome was that early in its history, the United States became definitely committed to the "protective tariff," and with the exception of about thirty years of our history (the period from 1830 to the Civil War, 1861), a high protection policy has prevailed.[1] The first strictly high protective tariff act was that of 1816. Eight years later, in the act of 1824, another increase was made; and four years later, still higher duties characterized the so-called "Bill of Abominations" in 1828. The resulting nullification controversy, with the threatened secession of South Carolina, forced a lowering of rates in succeeding tariff acts. The issues of slavery and states' rights came into the foreground in the national consciousness during the next few decades, ultimately resulting in the War Between the States. Since that time the tariff bills enacted may be characterized as highly protective to the manufacturing interests. Sectionally, the North has favored protection, and the South tariffs for revenue only. Traditionally the Democratic Party has advocated free trade, or at least low tariffs, and the Republican Party has been the recognized proponent of high protection. The increasing extent of industrialization has operated to attenuate more and more these sectional and party attitudes. It is accurate to say that the prevailing high protection policy

[1] Boyle, J. E. *Agricultural Economics*. Lippincott, 1921, pp. 397–406.

has become warp and woof of our national economic structure, and marked revisions in public sentiment and business functioning must occur before the situation becomes materially changed.

1. The Case for and against Protection

While economists rather generally have favored and contended for a "free trade" policy, they have been sufficiently fair-minded to view the matter from both sides. Ely [1] lists eight arguments usually advanced on the side of protection in the modern tariff controversy. No extensive attempt is made here to discuss the validity of these. (1) One of the most captivating arguments advanced is to the effect that since protection promotes domestic trade, it tends to draw the citizenship together, thereby promoting national unity, or what is known as the spirit of *nationalism*. (2) Advocates of protection point out that it is the duty of a national government to foster *infant industries* in order to develop natural resources and to promote diversity in industrial pursuits. (3) A nation must have industrial independence in order effectively to insure the safety of its people and their property in times of war. Therefore, protection is fundamentally a *military necessity*. (4) The *home market* argument is frequently the first one advanced, most validly when it takes the form that it is a superior one because it is a more certain one, and it is important that the wheels of industry do not depend too greatly upon the caprices of a foreign market. (5) Protection is cited as a *defense against dumping*. If the lowered prices caused by selling in foreign markets more cheaply than in the domestic market were of a permanent nature, there might be advantage in the process, but usually when the market is secured prices are advanced. (6) It is contended that the utilization of labor and capital in a free-trade nation is subject to the control, perhaps, even to the whims and caprice of *foreign nations*. (7) We are told by protectionists that the protection policy *increases wages* by diversifying industries and stimulating the demand for labor. The claim is made that every American industry is entitled to an amount of protection equal to the difference between the wages which it pays and the wages paid by its most efficient foreign competitor. (8) The last of the eight arguments considered in favor of protection is that it should *equalize costs of production* here and abroad.

[1] Ely, R. T. *Outlines of Economics*. Macmillan, 1916, Chapter XVIII.

The same authority [1] cites seven arguments advanced by free-traders in favor of their position. It is well to set these alongside those just enumerated for protection. (1) The basis of the free-trade argument is the logical application of the principle of *comparative advantage*, to the effect that each nation should produce those commodities in which it has the advantage over other countries, and exchange these for the portable goods in which those countries excel. Obviously protection constitutes a barrier to the uninterrupted operation of this principle. (2) It is not at all clear that protection is necessary to *diversify industry* in a country of varied natural resources. (3) The *home market* argument is designated as essentially weak, because home products will seek foreign markets, and the country that sells abroad must buy abroad. (4) Because of the double-faced way in which the argument is manipulated to suit time and place, the protectionistic appeal to the *wage-earner* as promoting higher wages seems particularly inconclusive. "France wants protection in order to protect her low-paid workmen against the greater skill and efficiency of America's highly paid workers. The United States, on the other hand, must have protection in order to shield her highly paid employees from competition with the 'pauper labor of Europe.'" [2] (5) With regard to the *fiscal aspects* of the question, the free-trader contends that the protective import duty is an uncertain and viciously variable tax as compared with the import duty "for revenue only," and in the great majority of cases it is borne by the home consumer. (6) Then there is the *ethical criticism* against protection to the effect that when the prosperity of influential classes is made dependent upon government bounty, those classes engage in systematic lobbying, log rolling, and corruption of the voter to achieve the tariff levels which they desire. (7) The contention is made that protection *fosters monopoly*, because when foreign competition is shut out, home producers will increasingly unite to maintain high price levels.

It is valuable in this connection to quote from Ely's conclusions with regard to protection versus free trade a couple of interesting and sage paragraphs. Not only is the analysis a summary of the preceding arguments, but it is typical of the point of view of economists with regard to the controversy.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 374–380.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

Most of the arguments enumerated above, both for and against protection, contain a measure of truth. Historically, protection was inevitable in the United States, and, in the early period of the country's development, beneficial. During the three great wars which seriously threatened the stability of this country, many new industries sprang up which, upon the cessation of war and the resumption of internal trade, were seriously threatened by foreign competition. Many of these industries were so suited to our soil and our people that only a short period of protection was needed to make them self-supporting. Under the circumstances it would have been unwise to permit the sacrifice of the capital invested in these industries; and whether it would have been unwise or not, human nature is such that the desired protection was sure to be granted. In short, there is a large measure of real truth in the infant industry argument.

Circumstances, however, have radically changed in the last few decades. Our *quondam* infant industries have, for the most part, attained a very vigorous maturity, and in some instances have become belligerent and prone to monopolistic bullying; our manufactures have become sufficiently diversified to remove all danger of industrial collapse in time of war; and, above all, we are rapidly entering the economic stage in which, according to the ablest exponent of protection that economic science has ever known,—Friedrich List,—protection is a hindrance rather than a help. That is to say, we are rapidly building up an extensive export trade in manufactured articles; year by year raw materials constitute a larger proportion of our imports and a smaller proportion of our exports; and we have already become the greatest exporting country of the world. All this means that in the near future our manufacturers themselves will look with kindlier eyes upon the withdrawal of the protection they do not need, which in fact actually increases the cost of some of their raw materials, and incites foreign governments to retaliatory taxation upon goods imported from the United States. Our growing export trade will itself bring a wider appreciation of those fundamental principles which have led economists, with but few exceptions, to condemn protection as a permanent policy applicable to all stages of economic development.[1]

2. Industry and Agriculture

The present tariff policy of the United States is designed to protect American industries in that it operates to enable producers in this country to sell their products at a higher price than would be possible if goods could be freely brought to this country from abroad.[2] A fundamental premise in this procedure is that it costs more to produce goods in this country than it does with our foreign

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 381–382.

[2] Page, T. W. "What the Tariff Means to the Farmer" *Proceedings*, Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1927, pp. 49–53.

competitors, and that the higher American standard of living is maintained by resulting higher pay for our wage earners. But some one must settle the bill for this increased price of American products, and it is the consumer. The situation, however is not capable of such a simple statement as this; for almost everyone who buys, also has something to sell. If the prices of what one buys are raised in fair proportion to the prices of what one has to sell, there is no unfair burden imposed. It must be noted in this connection that the tariff does not have an equal effect on the prices of all sorts of goods and services; because it raises the prices on some to a considerable degree, and does not affect others at all. The result is that some classes of our citizenship are greatly benefited by the tariff, and other classes bear the burden of such benefits.

In its operation, the tariff requires people to pay a "duty" or tax on foreign goods imported into this country. This tariff rate is so arranged as to make it advantageous for people to buy instead goods produced in this country. Where the supply of such goods is limited, the competition among buyers, enables producers to get a higher price for their products. "As this is the only way the tariff works it does not raise the price of goods that can be readily produced here in greater quantity than our people need. There are many goods of this sort. Some are minerals, such as copper, coal, or iron ore. Some are manufactures, as boots and shoes, certain varieties of automobiles, of farm implements and plain cotton fabrics." [1]

By and large, American agriculture is and has been since colonial days a surplus product industry. Consequently, as an industry it has not been in a position to profit from tariff protection. American manufacturing, taking it likewise at large and without regard to differences in the situation of different manufactured products, has been since colonial days a deficit industry, and thus has benefited extensively from tariff protection.

A leading farm journal in the Middle West, *Wallace's Farmer*, in its editorial columns expresses the view that agriculture probably laid the basis for its present situation when it permitted the tariff policy to be established in this country. In discussing the matter it points out that "the tariff increased the cost of the manufactured goods the farmer bought. The immigration law in

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

creased the cost of labor that went into those manufactured goods, and so sent prices up a notch higher. From the start of the protective system the farmer, to a large extent, especially as regards base crops, has been buying in a protected market, and selling in a world market. The price of wheat, for instance, is set in Liverpool, not in the United States. The price of hogs is set largely by the price paid in the countries of Europe for the surplus lard and ham that go abroad. It is the price paid for surplus food shipped abroad that determines the price for the whole product." [1]

This argument is essentially sound, because the price which our farmers receive for the part of the crop marketed in the home market cannot be higher than the price received for the surplus sold abroad. Otherwise, no farmer would sell any of his products abroad. However, with increasing industrialization and the growing proportion of urban in the population, there are a number of agricultural commodities which are produced in less quantity than is demanded for consumption in this country. Upon most of these, Congress has placed a protective tariff which operates to affect the price at which they are sold. The principal of these are wool and sugar, and of less importance certain specialties among fruits and vegetables Some dairy products from time to time are affected. While a tariff exists on leading staple crops like corn, pork products, wheat, beef, and poultry produce, it has almost no appreciable effect. On other farm products like short staple cotton there is no tariff at all. Because of these facts, the overwhelming majority of farmers get no direct benefit whatsoever from the tariff.[2]

3. Effects of Agricultural Duties

Provided the country is regularly importing an agricultural product, the effect of a tariff will be to raise the domestic price approximately to the full amount of the duty. This is what happens in the case of sugar and flaxseed, for example. However, the effect of the tariff on sugar has been to increase production in Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines rather than in the United States. Black [3] states that our imports from these islands averaged

[1] Quoted in Gee, Wilson. *The Place of Agriculture in American Life.* Macmillan, 1930, pp 155–156.

[2] Page, T. W. *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

[3] Black, J. D. *Agricultural Reform in the United States.* McGraw-Hill, 1929, pp. 132–231.

a half million tons more in 1925 to 1927 than in the three years previous. The tariff of 1922, assuming that it was fully effective, added about $60,000,000 to the gross incomes of sugar producers in our insular possessions, and only about $40,000,000 to the gross incomes of the growers in continental United States. On the other hand, farm families alone, not to consider urban and village consumers paid in excess of $50,000,000 more for their sugar supply than would have been the case without the tariff. A farm family consumes an average of 375 pounds of sugar annually, and the tariff of 1922 was effective in their wholesale market to the extent of about 1 75 cents per pound. Flaxseed is a commodity in the deficit class. Duties under the previous tariff law are estimated to have added about $9,000,000 to the gross income of flax producers, at an increased cost of about $17,000.000 in the wholesale market to manufacturers. What the added cost to consumers of paint and other linseed oil products is would be difficult to estimate.

One of the most widely studied of all tariffs affecting farm products is that on wool. Three careful investigations of the influence of the tariff on wool raising, arrive at the conclusion that it has constituted only a minor factor. The availability of cheap frontier lands has been the most significant factor. One of the analyses of the problem states: "It is not advisable permanently to maintain a duty on wool The burden on consumers of wool goods more than counter-balances the gain to producers. Moreover, there is no element of public policy that dictates the indefinite retention of a duty. It is not necessary for national defense, nor because of 'vested rights' of wool growers Sheep raising is not an 'infant industry,' nor can the duty be said to aid materially in diversification of industry. In maintaining a duty we are, in the words of the old adage, 'paying too much for our whistle.'" [1]

A careful study of the cattle industry reveals much the same conditions. Though a tariff has long been levied on imported cattle, to date they have had little effect on the industry. "Analysis of the gains and burdens to the country as a whole that may be expected to result from the continuance of duties on cattle and beef indicate these duties, though they do not now directly affect any domestic interest very appreciably, will eventually impose an

[1] Smith, H. A. *The Tariff on Wool.* Macmillan, 1926, pp. 253–294.

economic burden on the country that will not be compensated by other effects which they may have upon the national welfare." [1]

The criticism may justly be lodged against these analyses that they are considered in the light of long-time national welfare, and not from the standpoint of the farmer who may grow sugar cane, flaxseed, wool, cattle, etc. It may validly be contended that the manufacturer does not consider the tariff on his products from the viewpoint of the additional cost to the consumer, so long as the latter may be minded to buy in sufficient quantities for his business to be profitable. However, the farmer is himself a considerable consuming class, and the aggregate of tariff benefits inuring to him under the Fordney-McCumber Act of 1922 was studied by the research department of the American Farm Bureau Federation a few years ago. The conclusion arrived at was to the effect that the gains derived by the different classes of farmers in this country because of tariffs on agricultural products amounted in the aggregate to $124,800,000 a year, but the loss to their fellow farmers because of increased prices on these agricultural products was $94,000,000 a year. Thus the net gain to the farming classes was only about $30,000,000. The same study arrived at the figure of $331,000,000 as the sum which the farmer paid annually as a result of the tariff on manufactured and other protected goods which he had to buy. Deducting the net gain of 30 millions, the net loss to American farmers as a result of the tariff was estimated at about $301,000,000 annually. Critics of this investigation have pointed to inaccuracies in it, but the general findings are provocative of much thought as to proper tariff policy for the farming interests.

It is significant to point out here that all is not smooth sailing in the application of a tariff to deficit agricultural products. The effect is often that which is described by Hibbard [2] in the case of dairy products. Subsequent to the recent War, dairy products fell in price less than general farm prices. The effect was to stimulate the production of dairy products. In spite of the then prevailing tariff of 8 cents per pound on butter, New York prices made it profitable to import a little butter. During the three years prior to the most of 1924, the increase was about 20 per cent. But few industries can stand such increases without a decline in price, and this

[1] Edminister, L. R. *The Cattle Industry and the Tariff.* Macmillan. 1926, p. 267.
[2] Hibbard, B. H. "The Tariff on Dairy Products." *Journal of Farm Economics,* Vol. 7, 1925, pp. 136-144.

was the result in this instance. There was a sharp decline in price, and a return to the world market for an outlet for the surplus.

It is popularly supposed that tariffs tend to correct the price instability which is a notable characteristic of our highly commercialized agriculture. Black in discussing this situation says: "Many farm leaders consider this instability of prices as one of the major problems of the day. It is popularly supposed that higher tariffs tend to correct this instability. Yet both the evidence and the theory are to the contrary. Put up a very high tariff wall and prices at home will rise very high before domestic production catches up and levels them out again. With a moderate tariff, foreign supplies flow in and keep prices from rising to dizzy levels, while domestic production is catching up No doubt the dizzy prices hasten the catching-up process; but they also intensify the price slump following. The popular error on this point arises from focusing attention on the checks and slight temporary recessions in prices which occur just at the point where it pays to import. But these temporary effects are of slight importance compared with the longer ascents and steep declines that occur behind a high tariff wall." [1]

4. Agriculture and Tariff Policy

Economists rather generally are of the opinion that agriculture has little to expect in the long-time effects of a protection policy. This view is expressed by one of them as follows: "The sound position for the farmer to take is to disavow protection for his own products and to maintain vigorous opposition to protection for any other products. If such procedure should result simply in the withholding of protection from agriculture and its continuance for manufactures, time will moderate if not wholly remove the unjust burden. Though easy to understand, it is not possible to justify the farmer's readiness, the moment opportunity offers, to wield against others a weapon against whose unfairness he had himself loudly exclaimed when it was wielded against him The protected manufacturer may, perhaps, have no standing in court. But the rest of the community is entitled to demand that the farmer should seek in other and more equitable directions the remedies for his economic ills." [2]

[1] Black, J D. *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

[2] Viner, Jacob. "The Tariff in Relation to Agriculture." *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. 7, 1925, p. 128.

It would be inaccurate to say that all economists favor free trade, for they do not. Some of them who do, maintain their position with reservations. The distinctly preponderant attitude of the economist, though, is in favor of free trade as against protective policies.

The free-trade theory is based upon the following assumptions: (1) free competition; (2) wealth as the end of economic activity; (3) a maximum aggregate of wealth in a country as the test of the merits of a given national policy; (4) differences between countries with respect to their natural resources and the abilities and inclinations of their constituent populations.

> Under these assumptions it is argued that, if no artificial barriers are imposed every individual in every country will direct his efforts to the line of industry for which by his inclinations, his abilities and the natural resources of the country he is best fitted. He will thereby produce the greatest amount of wealth of which he is capable. With each individual producing his individual maximum, the aggregate national and world wealth will also be maximum. With a maximum to distribute among all countries, each country may obtain more by exchanging the surplus of the things which it is best adapted to produce for the surplus of the things which other nations are best adapted to produce than it could obtain if, by imposing trade barriers, it compelled itself to satisfy its needs by producing things which it is not well adapted to produce. It is simply an especial case of the advantage which it is generally conceded can be obtained by a division of labor.[1]

The same close student of the tariff asks "Can farmers benefit directly by protection?" It is his opinion that farmers are becoming skeptical as to such benefits, and their representatives in Congress are asking for decreases rather than increases in industrial tariffs. But on the other hand, they clamor vigorously for increased duties on agricultural products, on sugar, on flaxseed, on beef and cattle, on wool, on the animal and vegetable oils and a number of other products. Wright's opinion of the matter is expressed succinctly in his statement to the effect that "while producers of certain farm products benefit by a duty on these products, the benefit is in all cases much less than the duty and that these duties are a burden rather than a benefit to the farming community taken as a whole. It is to be noted in these cases, as is generally true of protective duties, that though in the aggregate the burden outweighs the benefit, the latter is highly concentrated

[1] Wright, Philip G. *Protection: Benefits and Burdens* Rawleigh Tariff Bureau, Freeport, Ill., 1930, pp. 6–7.

and considerable in individual cases while the former is widely diffused and slight to any one farmer." [1]

A farm journal in the agitation for tariff revision which was one of the factors calling for the special session of Congress in the spring of 1929, shortly after the inauguration of Mr. Hoover as President, stated that "*The Southern Planter* is for a protective tariff for agriculture. We believe the farmer should demand tariff protection. The tariff can and does benefit agriculture The sentiment towards tariff is rapidly changing in the South—a section formerly adverse to tariff for protection. Southern farmers are now asking for higher duties on peanuts, long staple cotton, citrus fruits, winter vegetables, cottonseed oil, etc Their idea in regard to tariff is changing because they have something that needs protection. The government is committed to a protective tariff. The farmers should demand their share." [2]

Another farm paper in the same region is inclined to more pessimism regarding the then pending tariff bill. It expresses its dissatisfaction as follows:

> *The new Hawley Tariff Bill is a disappointment, to put it mildly;* to be brought before a farm session of Congress for the purpose of "the enactment of farm legislation and limited changes in the tariff, both *in the interest of agriculture*." The Hawley bill recommends higher duties on about 1,000 products. Approximately 75 of these increases are on farm products and 925 on manufactured products. Such a bill, if passed, will hurt the farmer far more than it will help him.
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> In fact, it seems to us, the farmer is looking in vain for relief through tariff protection. A tariff is non-effective on farm crops of which a surplus is produced. This already takes in our major farm crops and it will only be a matter of time until the few remaining crops of which we do not now produce a surplus, will be facing a surplus problem. The American farmer—the most efficient farmer in the world and equally as efficient a producer as the American manufacturer—will soon be producing surpluses of dairy products, wool, etc. At the present rate and increased efficiency in production, this is inevitable.
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> In asking relief through tariff protection, the farmer is running the risk of greater "economic inequality for agriculture" If he is not careful in the wind-up he will find himself paying out $2 in increased tariffs on manufactured products, which he must buy, for every $1 gain received on farm products. The Hawley tariff bill in the only farm session of Congress ever held proposes an increase of over nine to one in favor of the manufacturer. To us it seems that the sooner the farmer recog-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[2] Editorial in *The Southern Planter*, Richmond, Va., Oct. 1, 1929.

nizes the tariff as an economic and not a party issue, the sooner he will be in position to demand intelligent and practical farm relief.[1]

Nothing is so characteristic of tariff legislation as its frequent revision. This lack of permanency has often been a source of loud complaint on the part of business men as detrimental to the best interests of the nation. From 1883 to 1930, the average life period of a tariff law has been less than seven years.[2] The Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930 in form is much like that of its predecessor the Fordney-McCumber Act of 1922. The general level of rates is appreciably higher, however, than that of the law of 1922. A tariff law is too complicated a matter to treat in all of its phases in brief compass. A staff writer of the *World's Work* several months after the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act was enacted thus appraised the benefits to agriculture from a measure ostensibly designed primarily to benefit the farming industry of the nation:

> Congress was called together by Mr. Hoover to pass a new tariff bill, largely because farm organizations and such senators as Borah were demanding farm relief. The general idea was to equalize the tariff positions of farm and factory. One must admit that many of the high duties on agricultural products are not effective, since we are on a heavy export basis in these particular commodities. Other duties are gold-brick or bread-pill specifics which confer, like Carlyle's trip to the Louvre, "only a faintish good but perhaps no harm." Still others are a positive detriment. An almost unlimited field exists for the exercise of injury to the farmer through raising the rates on manufactured commodities.
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> If one wanted to be a bit satirical he might run through the new tariff bill in a generous effort to detect compensations to agriculture in lower duties on imported articles. Under the new bill the farmer pays more for his shoes, harness, saddles, and leather belting; but his wife can get her uncut diamonds and diamond dust into the country absolutely free. The farmer has to pay more for his shovels and spades, but he can import his joss sticks and images of Chinese deities absolutely free. Of course he must pay more for the soft wood lumber which border-state farmers have been accustomed heretofore to bring in free from Canada, but he can import his tagua nuts and pieburim beans without paying a cent of duty. His building materials, such as brick, cement, shingles, and lumber, have been taken from the free list and he must pay more for his modest home and his silo, but let him reflect that under the new bill he has the privilege of bringing in skeletons and fossils absolutely free of duty. If any farmer is not satisfied with one

[1] Editorial opinion, *The Progressive Farmer*, June 8, 1929, p. 4.

[2] Berglund Abraham "The Tariff Act of 1930." *American Economic Review*, Vol. XX, No. 3, Sept., 1930, pp. 467–479

skeleton in his closet he is now in a position to have two or three without paying a cent to the Federal treasury.[1]

Fortunately, the flexible provision of the preceding tariff was retained in the 1930 measure. This provides that when in the case of any commodity the President shall find that the rate determined by the Act does not operate to equalize the difference between the cost of production in the United States and in its principal competing country, he has authority to raise or lower the rate until it shall equalize this difference, provided that the increase or decrease does not exceed 50 per cent of the rate provided in the Act. Such changes are to be based upon previous investigations of the Tariff Commission, and are to be effective 30 days after the proclamation of same by the President. A complete reorganization of the Tariff Commission was ordered by the new law, and a long step forward taken in scientific methods of tariff making. These provisions constitute the "silver lining" in the tariff act of 1930. However, it seems unlikely, as desirable as it is, that the tariff will ever be taken out of politics.

Berglund [2] points out that American public opinion is still largely national-minded, while our economic interests are becoming more and more international in scope It is his opinion that our mental attitude in this respect must change to conform with economic influences. He hazards the prediction that it will, and gives voice to the guess that the tariff act of 1930 will mark the apex or culminating point of high protection in this country. It may well be that it is in this direction that the sanest solution of the tariff questions of our national life is to be found.

Before concluding this chapter it is well to mention that a number of the farm relief measures are designed through "equalization fees" or bounties to make the tariff effective on agricultural products of which we produce a surplus. These are the commodities which represent the major economic interests of the farming industry, and by the very nature of the factors involved in their marketing, are comparatively uninfluenced by even the highest tariff rates that may be placed upon them These matters, however, have been considered at some length in a preceding chapter, and thus require only mention here.

[1] "Tariff Absurdities." *World's Work*, Vol. LIX, No. 11, November, 1930, pp. 39-41.

[2] Berglund, A. *Op. cit.*, p. 479.

QUESTIONS

1. What rôle did Alexander Hamilton play in the development of the protective tariff policy in this country? Trace briefly the nature of the tariff bills up to the Civil War Give the general tendency in such measures since that time.
2. Describe the traditional attitudes of the Democratic and Republican parties toward the tariff issue. What effect is the increasing industrialization of the nation having upon these attitudes?
3. State the case for protection in terms of eight arguments.
4. Name seven arguments which the "free-traders" often offer against a protective tariff.
5. Cite Ely's analysis of the arguments pro and con. Is it characteristic of the economists' point of view rather generally?
6. Explain concisely how the present tariff policy of the United States is designed to protect American industries.
7. What is the significance of the fact that by and large our agriculture since colonial days has been a surplus industry, whereas American manufacturing over the same period of time has been a deficit industry?
8. Explain why it is that "the price of wheat is set in Liverpool, not in the United States. It is the price paid for surplus food shipped abroad that determines the price for the whole product."
9. What is the effect of a tariff upon an agricultural product which the country is regularly importing and why?
10. Give the effect of the tariff on sugar in Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, and in the United States
11. Is it advisable permanently to maintain a duty on wool? on cattle? Give reasons for your answer.
12. Discuss the findings of the research department of the American Farm Bureau Federation in its study of the effects of the tariff upon the farmer.
13. Using the instance of butter subsequent to the World War, point out how a tariff on deficit agricultural products may react to the detriment of the industry
14. In Black's opinion, what is the effect of higher tariffs on price stability?
15. Defend or oppose the following statement: "The sound position for the farmer to take is to disavow protection for his own products and to maintain vigorous opposition to protection for any other products."
16. Upon what four assumptions is the free-trade theory based? How is it expected that it would operate under these assumptions?
17. How does Wright answer the question, "Can farmers benefit directly by protection?"
18. Contrast the attitudes of two Southern farm papers in adjoining states with regard to the advantages of the tariff to agriculture.
19. Give the gist of the criticism made by a staff writer of the *World's Work* of the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Bill as a measure ostensibly designed primarily to benefit the farming industry of the nation.
20. Explain what is meant by the flexible provision of the tariff act of 1930, and why it may be called the "silver lining" of that measure. Do you

think we are near the apex or culminating point of high protection in this country and why?

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

1. TAUSSIG, F. W. *Principles of Economics.* The Macmillan Company, 1926, Chapters 36 and 37, pp. 507–545, "Protection and Free Trade."
2. WRIGHT, PHILIP C. *Protection: Benefits and Burdens.* Rawleigh Tariff Bureau, Freeport, Illinois, pp. 3–56.
3. BLACK, J. D. *Agricultural Reform in the United States.* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1929, Chapter VII, pp. 182–231, "Tariff Revision."
4. VINER, JACOB, in *Journal of Farm Economics,* Vol. 7 1925, pp. 115–123, "The Tariff in Relation to Agriculture"
5. BERGLUND, ABRAHAM, in *American Economic Review,* Vol. XX, No. 3, September, 1930, pp. 467–479, "The Tariff Act of 1930."

CHAPTER XXIX

FARM TAXATION

If it were possible to abolish taxation, many of our politicians would be hard put to find a popular substitute for the campaign platform of reduction in taxes. The practice of decrying taxes has tended to produce in the public mind a dislike of taxes in any recognizable form. It is much better to approach the matter from a sensible viewpoint, and to recognize in most cases that a citizen does not derive from any similar amount benefits anything like proportionate to those which accrue from his payment of taxes

There are many functions to be performed in organized human society which cannot be undertaken by private enterprise. The state is to be viewed as an organization of ourselves, directed by ourselves, and operating for our benefit in a number of essential ways. Fundamentally, there must be laws to delimit rights, sovereign power to enforce such laws, to maintain order, and to protect the state in case of attack from the outside. Once the state is so constituted the services of public education, health protection, highway construction, the care of the dependent and delinquent, and related activities fall within its province for economical and efficient development. All citizens, to some extent, are benefited by these services, and when inclined to complain at reasonable tax loads, it would be worth while for them to pause and to consider just what federal, state, and local governments do for them. All of these things cost much to provide, and taxes are the price we pay for the services of government. As a rule, governmental services cannot be measured and allocated to individuals, nor can the citizen refuse to accept them whatever the charges. Also, the wise individual determines the amount he will spend by the size of his income. Governments, to a considerable extent, are within certain limits bound by the same factor, but a practice widely applied is to decide upon the expenditures which the best public interest requires, and then to set the tax rates accordingly.

1. Characteristics of a Good Tax System

The characteristics of a good tax system should be viewed from the administrative standpoint, and from that of the political principles involved. The administrative characteristics may be classified from the point of view of the government and that of the taxpayer.

> Government requires a tax-system first of all to be *productive;* hence a finance minister will be very reluctant to relinquish on any grounds of political principle a tax to which people have become accustomed and which brings in a large income to the Treasury, and, on the other hand, he will be willing to forego small receipts that take a great deal of collecting. Secondly, it requires a tax-system to be *certain;* the yield must be easily calculated and the incidence certain and reliable, or the intentions of the Government will be frustrated. Thirdly, it requires a tax-system to be *elastic;* the system should contain some taxes, the rate of which can be readily varied to meet sudden and exceptional demands for Government expenditure. Under the same head of administrative precepts come certain requirements of the tax-payer. The first is again *certainty*, the payer should know exactly how much, when, and where he will have to pay. Uncertainty is a check upon industry, and it makes the burden of taxation more grievous since an unexpected burden cannot be anticipated and provided against like a certain one. Secondly, the payer requires a tax to be *economical; i.e.* it should take from the tax-payer's pocket as little as possible over and above what it brings into the treasury. Protective duties are uneconomical, since the consumer has to pay an enhanced price, not only on imported articles which are taxed, but also on home-manufactured articles which are not taxed. Thirdly, the payer requires *convenience* in a tax; a tax should be levied at the time and in the manner most convenient to the payer. The advantage of the system of raising revenue by indirect taxes on luxuries is that it leaves the payer free to some extent to choose the time and amount of taxation he will pay. Of these administrative precepts certainty is the most important. Society can adjust itself to almost any burden if the burden is definite; any uncertainty prevents this process of adjustment. Hence the saying "An old tax is no tax," and hence the known reluctance of finance-ministers to remit an old tax, however logical such action might seem.[1]

A fundamental political principle which should characterize a tax system is that of *justice* or *equality*. Such abstract concepts are difficult to define, and accordingly there is much diversity of opinion with regard to their application. One interpretation is that the individual should be taxed in proportion to the *benefit*

[1] Clay, Henry. *Economics for the General Reader*. Macmillan, 1929, pp. 366–367.

received; but obviously it is impossible to measure this with any degree of accuracy. Adam Smith, many years ago, expressed the view that taxation should be *proportional to income*. He said that "the subjects of every state ought to contribute towards the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities, that is, in proportion to the revenue which they enjoy under the protection of the State." However, he was in error in suggesting that ability to pay is proportional to income; for the principle of diminishing utility operates so that the person who is taxed a tenth of a small income is subjected to much more sacrifice than the individual who pays a tenth of a larger income. This leads to the principle of *progressive* taxation, applied for example in our income tax laws, where an increasing tax is levied upon successive segments of the larger income. In this way some approach to equality of sacrifice is secured. Perhaps the prevailing interpretation of the concept of justice or equality in taxation is that of *faculty*, or *ability to pay*. So far as any principle exists, even in modern tax systems, it is probably largely that of ability to pay, which is really to be viewed as a compromise between proportional and progressive taxation.

Tax systems cannot be impractical and visionary, even though policies in such matters should be guided more or less by abstract principles. "The ultimate source of all revenue is the national income, and from the purely economic standpoint a tax system should be so devised as not to reduce the national income or check its growth; taxes should be levied where they will not reduce efficiency. These 'principles of taxation' are indefinite and often conflicting. The best tax system must be a compromise between them; existing tax systems are based on no principle, and can be understood only by reference to the historical circumstances under which they grew up." [1]

2. Kind of Taxes Paid by Agriculture

Taxes in the United States are levied by federal, state, and local governing bodies. That there has been a marked increase in taxes in recent years is a fact well known to everyone. It is interesting to view the trend in this respect with regard to the three kinds of taxing agencies. The National Industrial Conference Board has computed the percentages that federal, state, and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 368.

local taxes in the aggregate are of total national income for the period from 1903 to 1922. The results are as follows: [1]

	1903	1913	1919	1921	1922
Federal taxes	2 5	2.0	7 6	8.8	5.0
State taxes	.8	.9	.9	1.6	1.5
Local taxes	3.4	3.5	3.6	6.3	5.6
Total	6.7	6.4	12.1	16.7	12.1

It will be observed that the greatest increase in the proportion that taxes are of the national income from 1903 to 1922 is in the case of federal taxes. A considerable part of this is attributable to the World War. However, the proportionate increase in state taxes is almost as great; and the same general situation prevails in the matter of local taxes. It is safe to state that the tendency has been accentuated since the latest year for which figures have been cited.

But what are the kinds of taxes paid by farmers in this country? The farmer pays directly less federal taxes, proportionately, and more of the load of state and local taxation. A considerable part of the federal taxes is derived through levies on incomes. The exemption limits of the federal income tax law are $3,500 of net income for a married man with no dependents, plus $400 for each minor child or other dependent. Due to the low incomes of most farmers, the exemption levels of the income tax exclude agriculture in large measure from contributing to this source of national support. For the year 1924–25, somewhat less than $10,000,000 of a total of $1,500,000,000 of taxes paid by farmers is to be credited to federal income tax payments. During the period of peak prosperity in the days of the World War the farmers' incomes were at higher levels and the aggregate of income tax paid by them was much greater. Due to the low income of the farmer, his excise taxes to the national treasury make the incidence of this form of taxation heavier proportionally than with the urban industrial group. However, it seems accurate to conclude that, in the totality of federal taxes, the farmer suffers from no discrimination made against him.

In an increasing number of states, 12 in 1930, an income tax is levied on individual incomes. The exemption level is usually less

[1] These data are derived from an article by Eric Englund, "Taxation in a Constructive National Policy," *J. Farm Econ.*, Vol. 7, p. 367, 1925, and are based upon National Industrial Conference Board, Research Report, No. 64, p. 13.

than with the federal government, but in spite of this fact, no considerable amounts are secured from farmers by reason of this tax. Where the income tax makes up any considerable fraction of the support of state government, the effect is to reduce the farmer's load in this respect.

Farmers are subject to the state inheritance tax, because farm property, along with other property which changes hands by descent, is usually liable to this tax. The inheritance tax is irregular in operation by its very nature, varying from time to time, but the per capita amount collected is reported as insignificant in all states.[1]

The two kinds of taxes directly affecting the farmer to greatest degree are those on general property and those connected with the automobile. The percentage amounts of these are indicated as highest in the accompanying table.

TABLE 30

TAXES PAID BY FARMERS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1927[2]

KIND OF TAX*	AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE
	Dollars	
General property	755,000,000	83.8
Automobile license	50,000,000	5.5
Gasoline	65,000,000	7.2
Income, Federal, and State	15,000,000	1.7
Inheritance, Federal, and State	10,000,000	1.1
Poll	6,000,000	.7
Total	901,000,000	100.0

* Taxes paid by farmers on other than farm property are not included. Taxes on farm property paid by owners of farm property not themselves farmers are included. No attempt is made in this table to estimate the amount of taxes that are shifted to the farmer by other groups or the amount that the farmer is able to shift to others

The general property tax provides the basis of support for the local units of government, and is clearly the most important factor in the tax burden of farm owners. A considerable variation exists in the tax systems from state to state, but in all of them a primary source of revenue for the local units is the general property tax. So successful has been the evasion of intangible property from

[1] Coombs, Whitney. *Taxation of Farm Property.* Technical Bull. No. 172, U. S. Department of Agriculture, February, 1930, pp. 1–74. (This provides the best available analysis of the problem of farm taxation from the national point of view, also summarizing the recent studies made in the several states. Consequently, it furnishes much of the basis of the discussion in this chapter on farm taxation.)

[2] Source: Coombs, Whitney. *Taxation of Farm Property,* p. 3.

taxation in many states that the general property tax has become almost wholly one on tangible property. The farmer whose property in the main is tangible, and so visible in the case of land, buildings, livestock, machinery, etc., has come in heavily for his share of taxation for local governmental units.

Next in importance to the general property tax with the farmer is the automobile as a source of taxation. In most states, the automobile is taxed as personal property, and as such comes under the general property tax. In addition license taxes are levied, sometimes known as "tag fees." Then the owner of an automobile pays a tax varying from 2 to 6 cents a gallon, depending upon the state, for the gasoline which he consumes in its operation. Farmers as a class are automobile owners, though by no means all of them are provided with this modern means of transportation.

At one time, poll taxes were a significant factor in the taxes of the farmer. In many states, they are now completely absent, and in the national aggregate such taxes constitute less than one per cent of the taxes paid by farmers in the United States.

Like all other citizens, the farmer pays certain governmental fees, which are usually for some specific service. There are fertilizer inspection fees, feed inspection fees, etc., as well as those paid to officials of the county government for the recording of deeds, mortgages, the probating of wills, and similar matters.

Besides these direct taxes, as has already been intimated, the farmer has a considerable indirect tax load which it is very difficult to estimate. The tariff duty is reflected in the price of goods which he must buy, and he pays excise taxes for the tobacco and similar products which he consumes.

Estimates for 1927 place the federal taxes collected at about three and one-third billions of dollars, while total state and local taxes amounted to around five and one-half billions of dollars. Since the farmers' load was in round numbers $901,000,000, he paid somewhat over one-tenth of all taxes as a direct contribution from agriculture. It is estimated that 17 per cent of state and local taxes were derived from our farmers.

3. Increase in Farm Taxes

Direct taxes paid by farm owner-operators show a steady increase since 1919.[1] During the same period farm incomes have

[1] *The Agricultural Problem.* Nat'l Industrial Conf Board, Inc., 1926, p. 112.

declined to a marked degree. If we trace the trend back to 1913, we note in that year the total taxes paid by farmers, both direct and indirect, were $624,000,000; by 1922 they had mounted to $1,436,000,000, an increase of 133 per cent. Direct taxes in the period 1909–14 averaged $265,000,000 annually. In 1924–25, they totaled $891,000,000, an increase of nearly 236 per cent.

The federal government, reporting on this situation, has constructed an index number of taxes on farm lands and buildings in the United States. Using the year 1914 as a base with an index of 100, in 1927 the corresponding figure was 258.[1] These figures denote an increase of about 1.6 times. A part of this is to be accounted for in the change in the purchasing power of money. In 1927, it required about $1.50 to purchase the goods and services that could be bought for $1 in 1914. Thus by far the larger part of the increase is to be attributed to the sheer increase in the tax burden.

In discussing such trends, the same authority expresses the opinion "that the period of rapid rise of farm taxes has been passed and that, although a material decline is not to be expected, such increases as may occur in the immediate future will, on the average, be slight. The expansion in governmental services that has characterized the past two decades, particularly in education and highway construction and maintenance, shows little sign of abating. The rate of increase of state and local taxes will be less than it has been, but no general reduction in farm taxes is likely to come from a decrease in total expenditures. It may come either through new methods of financing certain governmental expenditures, such as more state support for schools, or through the introduction of new sources of local revenues to supplement the general property tax."

4. Farm Taxes and Farm Income

The Business Men's Commission on the Condition of Agriculture in the United States [2] finds that when the tax rates of farmers and non-farmers are compared, the farmer does not pay a higher per capita tax than the remainder of the community. In 1922, excluding direct federal taxes, the per capita tax of the farm population was $46.23 as compared with a per capita figure

[1] Coombs, Whitney. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

[2] Report of Business Men's Commission on *The Condition of Agriculture in the United States*. National Industrial Conference Board, 1927, p. 221.

of $52.64 for the rest of the population. Including such federal taxes, the per capita figures are $47.90 and $70.96, respectively. Where the inequality in the tax burden resides is in the ratio of this tax load to his net income. While the farmer, in 1922, paid only 67.5 per cent as much per individual as did the other classes of the population, his proportionate income per capita has been somewhere between a third and a half. His tax burden viewed from this standpoint has been proportionally a much heavier one than is the case with the remainder of the population.

Coombs [1] has approached somewhat the same problem from two angles. One is the relation of the farmer's taxes to the net rent on the farm; the other the similar relation of taxes to the income which the farmer receives from the operation of his own farm. The diagram on page 571 graphically presents the situation with regard to net rent and taxes in fourteen states.

The farms in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana carried an average tax rate of $1 50 or more per acre. In Iowa and Michigan the corresponding rate was between $1 and $1.50. The remaining of the 14 states, with the exception of Virginia, reported taxes of from 50 cents to $1 per acre The rate in Virginia was 42 cents per acre.

Pennsylvania figures show the highest figure for average net rent per acre after the deduction of taxes, but this is explained by the fact that the data were secured from the better farms of the state. Average net rent after the deduction of taxes in Iowa and Missouri amount to between $3 and $4 per acre. The similar figure for Arkansas, Indiana, Ohio, and New Jersey is from $2 to $3. All of the remaining states are to be found in the $1 to $2 group.

For comparative purposes, the percentage that taxes take of net rent before taxes are deducted is of more significance than the per acre figures. The conclusion is that the conditions represented are typical for the period from 1922 to 1927. During that time taxes took about 30 per cent of the net income from rented farms.

Approaching the problem from the relation of net returns on owner-operated farms to taxes per farm, it is discovered that in 1923, the former amounted to $605, and the latter was $190. Thus the proportionate relationship of taxes to net returns was 31.4 per cent. In 1924, there was a much larger net return, and

[1] Coombs, Whitney. *Op cit.*, pp. 7–44.

taxes decreased to 22 per cent of the net return. From 1924 to 1927, the percentage alternately fell and rose, with a figure of 18.5 in 1927, when the average net return was the highest for

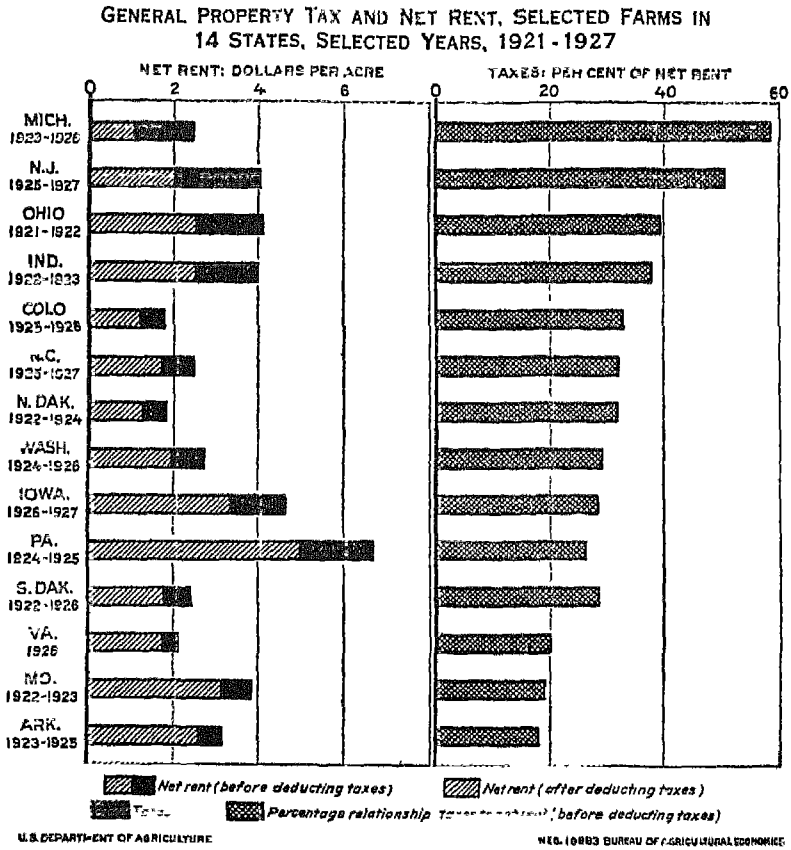


FIGURE 10.

(Source: Technical Bulletin No. 172, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1930, p. 30.)

any year of the period and taxes were proportionately lower than in any year since 1922.

It is significant in this connection to compare taxes and earnings in other industries with comparable data on the farm industry. According to a report of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, in 1922, corporations throughout the country which were engaged

in agriculture and allied industries paid taxes other than federal income and excess profits taxes to the extent of 65.3 per cent of their profits. This was a much higher ratio than characterized any other class of industry. In arriving at the figure, 9,092 agricultural and allied corporations were concerned, of which 7,747 were farm corporations proper. "It is unlikely that the ratio shown for the whole group conveys an overdrawn picture of conditions for farm corporations alone. In most instances the

RELATION OF TAXES, OTHER THAN FEDERAL INCOME AND PROFITS TAXES, TO NET PROFITS OF CORPORATIONS 1922

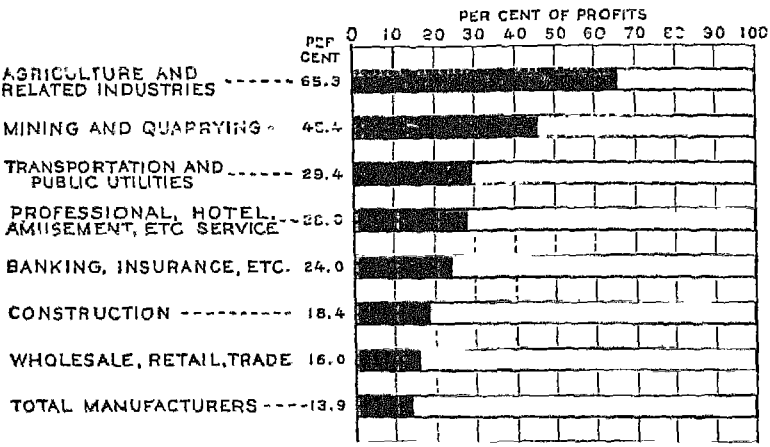


FIGURE 11.

(Source: *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1924, p. 239.)

taxes shown for corporations were largely general property taxes. Practically all of the tax on those engaged directly in farming was of this nature." [1]

5 THE GENERAL PROPERTY TAX

The federal government does not make any use of taxes on property as such. However, as the chart on page 573 reveals quite clearly, by far the major proportion of state and local revenues are derived from this source. It would follow naturally that the farmer's taxes are largely those from general property, and in the states predominantly rural, he bears the load of support

[1] Olsen, Nils A., and others. "Farm Credit, Farm Insurance, and Farm Taxation." *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1924, pp. 185–284.

of state and local government. Then it is important in a consideration of farm taxation to consider carefully the various implications of the general property tax.

The theory of the general property tax professes to consider the aggregate property of each taxpayer as a unit, and to tax the property of each alike, but there are inherent differences in various kinds of property. Administrative necessities have forced distinctions according to different bases.[1] The most significant of these are the differentiation between *real* and *personal* property, and

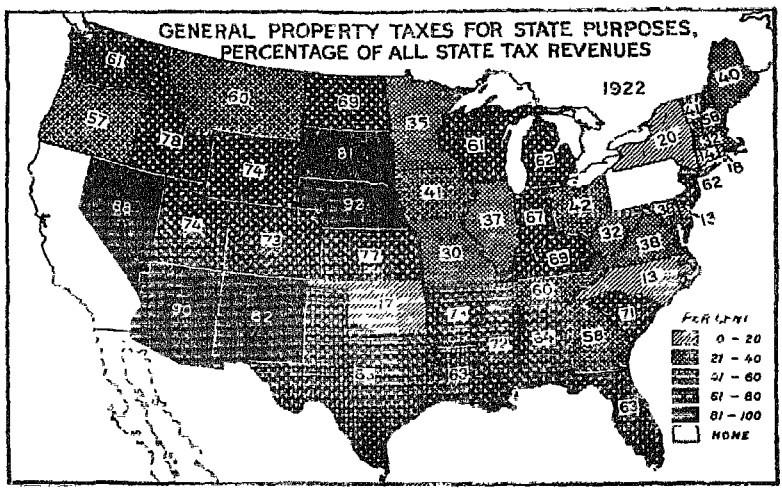


FIGURE 12.

(Source: *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1924, p. 282.)

between *tangible* and *intangible* property. Under common law interpretation, *real property* is that property which devolves to the heir directly, or passes to vendee on sale, while personal property devolves indirectly through an administrator. Real property is taxable in the district in which it is located, while the tax obligation of personal property follows the owner.

Tangible property includes property which is corporeal or perceptible to the touch. Thus we may have tangible real property, and tangible personal property, though the distinction is commonly applied only to personal property. Intangible property consists of rights, interest, or claims to tangible property; for example,

[1] Jensen, J. P. *Public Finance*. Crowell, 1924, Chapters XV–XVI, pp. 235–280.

bonds, stocks, promissory notes, mortgages, and other *choses in action* in general are intangible.

Although the general property tax purports to tax all property owners alike, there are many factors which operate to make this true only in that it is professed to be the case. There are sweeping exemptions of tangible and intangible property of a public or semi-public nature. Only a small proportion of intangible personal property finds its way on the tax books, and in many states, the property tax paid on this form of property amounts, as a rule, to little more than a voluntary contribution on the part of the owner, since he could avoid payment if he chose to do so. In cities, much tangible personal property escapes taxation, particularly in the case of persons who escape the tax rolls because they are not owners of real estate.

Customarily, the general property tax has called for assessment at sales value. To return intangible personal property at such a figure with prevailing tax levies would in many cases be almost confiscatory in its effect. So, since it can easily be concealed, it is not placed on the tax books. The proportion of assessed value to sales value in real estate ranges even in the same community from ridiculously low figures, almost to actual sales value. The great bulk of real estate assessments in the United States are largely based upon the personal opinions of assessors or reviewing bodies. Where state taxes are levied on general property, and this is widely the case, one county vies with another to see which can accomplish the greatest evasion of tax load by a lower rate of assessment.

The defectiveness of the general property tax has long been apparent. It certainly cannot be justified on the basis of ability to pay. Yet it continues because it is a convenient and certain method of securing revenues, and as has been stated, it is still the leading source of state and local support of government. "Almost everywhere property used in agriculture stands out as the most ill-favored of all classes when the tax is considered in relation to earning. The tax on farm real estate, together with taxes on farm machinery, livestock, and other property, all of which are easily reached by the property tax, has caused the agricultural industry to bear an undiminished tax burden despite the rise of more productive industries." [1]

[1] Olsen, Nils A., and others. "Farm Taxation." *Yearbook*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1924, pp. 230-233.

A close student [1] of this problem states that the general property tax system has really broken down in every state, though it is not to be construed from this conclusion that property taxation will be abandoned. Its significance resides in the fact that other methods must be developed for the reasonable and equitable distribution of the tax burden among the owners of different forms of property, and for reaching the taxpaying capacity of those whose incomes depend on personal service rather than on the use or ownership of property. Some of the ways in which this end may be more effectively accomplished are discussed in the concluding portion of this chapter.

6. Incidence of Farm Taxes

One of the most involved problems in public finance is the shifting or incidence of a tax. The operator of a filling station does not pay the tax which a state may levy on gasoline for highway construction and maintenance. He adds this to the price at which the gasoline is sold at a profit and the consumer pays the tax. The manufacturer passes his tax load on to the consumer by including it in the price at which his goods are sold Under usually prevailing conditions, the city owner who rents property includes his taxes in the figure at which he rents the offices, houses, or apartments. Thus there is little burden to one who pays his money directly to the taxpayer if there is some economic transaction involved by means of which he can compel his customers to pay his taxes for him by including the taxes in the price of the goods or services rendered.

What is the situation with the farmer in this regard? To what extent does the owner of a rented farm pass the taxation on to his tenant? Still more important is the question as to whether or not the farmer can shift his taxes to the consumer in a manner characterizing the manufacturing industries?

The first question may be briefly answered in the statement that only under very unusual conditions can the taxes on rented farm property be shifted from landlord to tenant. Where competition among renters contesting for the rental of land is keen, such a shift may occur, but as is apparent, with the available land in this country, such a situation would be quite inconceivable except in very limited areas. The answer to the second of these specific

[1] Lutz, H. L. *Public Finance.* Appleton, 1926, Chapters XVIII and XIX.

questions is that the shifting of farm taxes to the consumer will occur only under conditions that are so rare that few farmers at the present time are able to make consumers pay their tax bills. If the farmer were in the bargaining position where the supply of the commodity he produced was quite limited in relation to the demand, he could then demand a price from the consumer which would include the tax factor in his costs of production. But, as is well known, it is extremely rare that the American farmer occupies any such enviable position. Much more often he is confronted with the condition of a surplus than of a deficit in the products of a farm Moreover, in such matters too largely he bargains as an individual instead of through a well established coöperative association or similar agency producer-owned and producer-controlled.

It must be remembered, too, that the farmer is himself a consumer, and although he is unable to pass his taxes on to those he serves, he carries himself the incidence of taxation shifted to him by those from whom he buys. This is a very important fact which should be borne in mind clearly in considering the tax load of the farmer. Not only must he bear his own burden in this matter, but he also must carry a significant part of the load of other classes of the population.

7. Reform in Farm Taxation

From a number of standpoints, it is obvious that farm property is heavily taxed, and particularly so when considered from the standpoint of the farmer's ability to stand heavy additional financial loads of any kind in the present condition of agriculture. A great deal of the difficulty in the matter is inherent in the general property tax system, but there are also other phases of the problem which may be improved perceptibly.

The principal approaches [1] for farm tax revision concern four general types of change, as follows: (1) The improvement of the administration of the taxes now in effect; (2) the addition of new forms of taxation; (3) broadening the base of support of a number of governmental functions; and (4) reduction of expenditures by means of increased administrative economy, and by governmental reorganization to eliminate duplication and promote simplification among the several departments.

[1] Coombs, Whitney *Taxation of Farm Property*, pp. 67–73.

1. *Improvement of Tax Administration.*—The problem of assessment is the basic administrative problem in the matter of local farm taxes. It has been argued by some that income instead of sales value should be the basis of assessment, and a few states are taking cognizance of this factor in determining the figure at which the property is assessed. The difficulties in such a measure are multitudinous, and there seems little likelihood of any immediate widespread application of this principle. Experimentation with it should be encouraged. The most practical measures for improvement are along the lines of securing trained assessors, removed as far as possible from political influence, who will undertake the task in a scientific and impartial manner. In most rural sections a county assessor, instead of township assessors has proved more satisfactory. Since assessment calls for highly specialized ability, it seems to be agreed by authorities on the matter, that the assessors should be appointed rather than elected. Appointment might well be based upon meeting certain rigid eligibility requirements as determined upon by the state tax commission In order to secure good men the appointment should be made for a period of five years. It is necessary that state supervision of the matter be provided in order that uniformity of approach be insured Types of equipment, such as maps and rating cards should be the same throughout the state. Land classification should be uniform, values given to livestock should not vary from county to county, assessment rolls should be made up and indexed in the same way, and reports of the ownership of property secured on a systematic and uniform basis. There is room for improvement along these lines in every state of the nation, and equality of assessment would give needed relief to much property that is overburdened.

2. *New Types of Taxes.*—It is clear that if the tax load of farmers is to be made less oppressive some readjustment of the tax system must be made Any equitable tax which will diminish the contribution of real estate will contribute to this desirable end. Through a classification of property, and differential rates of taxation, much intangible property has been brought on the tax books. There is considerable room for the further extension of the income tax in many states. Certain excise taxes on nonessentials, such as cigars, cigarettes, soft drinks, etc., have been found productive in some states. Another form of taxation which has been applied successfully is the severance tax on the exploita-

tion of consumable natural resources. There are other possible forms of taxes, but the ones suggested are sufficient to show the possibilities in this regard. Fortunately, there is a widespread tendency for the various states to study their tax systems, and on this basis to increase the number of sources of revenue, thereby more equitably distributing the load in accord with the fundamental principles of a good tax system.

3 *Broadening the Base of Support.*—Often the use of new taxes provides little relief for the county that is dependent upon the agricultural interests for its revenue. This situation may be relieved by increasing state aid to the essential governmental activities of such units. "A chain is no stronger than its weakest link," and backward counties are an effective barrier to the best economic and social development of a state. The development of state highways has been made necessary in order that improved roads might connect the important centers over which heaviest traffic passes. In the further progress of this procedure, an increasing mileage formerly cared for by the counties is being added to the state system. In the field of educational support, the county unit basis serves to equalize the educational opportunities among the wealthier and the poorer districts State equalizing funds are being developed to insure reasonable minimums of term and trained teaching personnel in the poorer counties of a state. The same principle of state aid is being applied to the extension of public health and public welfare activities to the poorer counties. Every expenditure that can be removed from the local governmental unit in this way will help the situation. It is important, however, that a policy of this type should not be applied in such way as to allow the local unit to evade its responsibility in the matter of support in proportion to its ability to do so. The justification of this broadening of the base of support of such governmental activities is to be found in the fact that much of the primary wealth on which the structure of our urban, industrialized society is based comes from the farms, and a surprising proportion of the population of our cities has been recruited from the country areas.

4. *Reduction of Expenditures.*—The duties which have been delegated to governmental responsibility are fundamental and extensive. Moreover, the tendency is to increase rather than diminish the service demanded. No "penny-wise, pound-foolish" policy should characterize efforts toward economies in govern-

mental expenditures. It must be remembered that this is the most effective weapon of the demagogue and cheap politician. But economy and efficiency necessarily are required in modern government just as in the modern business world. Reorganization and consolidation of departments of government, federal, state, and local is needed from time to time in an institution which has undergone rapid and often poorly planned development. Consolidation of counties has been advanced as an effective way of reducing local governmental costs. Tax collection frequently can be performed more efficiently and at less expenditure. Where school districts are too small, the situation can be carefully considered, and the consolidated school established. Many thoughtful students are today giving much attention to these matters and are contributing markedly to enlightened public sentiment in this regard. In addition, the county, state, and federal officials who face such problems intelligently and fearlessly are becoming more numerous

QUESTIONS

1. What is the baneful effect of decrying taxes and forever urging reduction in taxes?
2. Name some of the significant, indispensable functions performed by government, and show that proportionately a taxpayer receives larger returns from the money paid in taxes than in almost any other form of expenditure.
3. Describe the characteristics of a good tax system from the administrative standpoint.
4. What are the chief political principles to be considered in evolving a good tax system?
5. Give the proportion which federal, state, and local taxes constituted of the total national income in 1922, and trace the trend in that regard from 1903 to 1922.
6. Why is it accurate to conclude that in the totality of federal taxes the farmer suffers from no discrimination made against him?
7. Consult Table 30 and name in order of importance the principal kinds of taxes paid by farmers. Give the proportion of all taxes paid by the farming classes in 1927.
8. To what extent has the farmer's tax load increased in recent years?
9. Discuss Coomb's opinion to the effect that "the period of rapid rise of farm taxes has passed and that, although a material decline is not to be expected, such increases as occur in the immediate future will, on the average, be slight."
10. Compare the per capita tax load of the farmer and other classes of the population in 1922, particularly in relation to proportionate income.

11. Describe the situation with regard to the relation of the farmer's taxes to the net rent on the farm; and the similar relation of his taxes to net returns from the farm.
12. Consult Figure 11 in the text and compare the relation of taxes, other than federal income and profits taxes, to the net incomes of agricultural and other corporations in the United States in 1922.
13. Distinguish between "real" and "personal" property, and between "tangible" and "intangible" property.
14. What is meant by a "general property tax"? In what principal ways is it defective?
15. Show how the general property tax operates to make agricultural property stand out as the "most ill-favored of all classes when the tax is considered in relation to earning," and "has caused the agricultural industry to bear an undiminished tax burden despite the rise of more productive industries"
16. Explain what is meant by the "shifting" or "incidence" of a tax.
17. Discuss the ability of the farmer to shift his taxes to the consumer.
18. Name the four principal approaches by which reform in farm taxation should be accomplished.
19. What is the nature of the improvements which can be made in tax administration? Name some new types of taxes which will operate to diminish the tax contribution of real estate.
20. Why is there a need for "broadening the base of support" for local government, and what is meant by the phrase?

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

1. SELIGMAN, E. R. A. *Essays in Taxation.* The Macmillan Company, 1921, Chapter I, pp. 1–18, "The Development of Taxation."
2. COOMBS, WHITNEY. *Taxation on Farm Property.* United States Department of Agriculture, 1930, Technical Bulletin No. 172, pp. 1–73.
3. OLSEN, NILS A., and others in *Yearbook,* United States Department of Agriculture, 1924, pp. 257-284, "Farm Taxation."
4. LUTZ, H. L. *Public Finance* D. Appleton and Company, 1929, Chapter XVII, pp. 342–375, "The General Property Tax"; and Chapter XVIII, pp. 376–407, "Modified Property Taxes."

CHAPTER XXX

THE SMALL TOWN

"Every farmer's gate swings open to a road, and good roads lead to towns. Beyond the town lies the city. Therefore, between the country and the city stands the town. It has characteristics of the city and it has characteristics of the country. But it can be said with equal truthfulness that the small town has characteristics and opportunities all its own. Some of these characteristics and opportunities are just being discovered and appreciated by the townspeople themselves and by students of society." [1] The preceding quotation introduces in a pleasing sort of way the growing consciousness of the importance of the small town.

There is an old proverb to the effect that God made the country, man made the city, but the devil made the small town. "As they have collectively impressed the nation, these petty places have won two verdicts which have become a by-word and an example: the little town is ugly; the little town is bad," says Douglass [2] and quotes a president of the American Civic Association as characterizing it as "that abomination, the shameless, unpatriotic, filthy small town." It should be said, however, that such is not the personal view of Douglass, for he conceives the little town to be "of one piece with all the rest of the world, something between the Worst and the Best, a fair field for Honour and Dishonour, and capable of being made at least a little better."

According to the 1920 Census, there are in the United States about 12,800 incorporated places of between 250 and 2,500 people, *i.e.*, those below urban grade. In addition there are some 5,500 unincorporated places of the same size If we consider that the small town is a place up to 5,000 in population, which in general is a justified assumption, and include those incorporated places between 2,500 and 5,000 population, there is a total of 19,700 small towns in the United States. Nearly 17,500,000 people live in these towns, or about one out of every six of the total population

[1] Kolb, J. H. in "The Opportunity of the Small Town," in Geo. Wilson. *The Country Life of the Nation.* U. of North Carolina Press, 1930, p. 177.

[2] Douglass, H. P. *The Little Town.* Macmillan, 1927, pp. 3–4.

The dwelling place of one-sixth of our population is in itself an important concern from the standpoint of national welfare, particularly when there is so much room for improvement in the economic, social, esthetic, governmental, and religious phases of the life of our towns. In addition, however, the small town is to be viewed correctly as the capital of the surrounding countryside. It is in these centers that the goods and services of the rural hinterland are provided; and in the measure of effectiveness that we find marketing facilities, shopping possibilities, school, church, and community organizational advantages, do we find the corresponding measure of living standards in both country and town. The mutually reinforcing town-country relationship is easily one of the most important matters of present-day national concern.

1. Town-Country Attitudes

To the urban resident, the small town is colorless and insignificant. He looks upon it as a rather contemptible miniature of itself, and overlooks the profounder rural relationships. Such an attitude has a large degree of justification in fact, and a larger respect for its own individual sphere of usefulness, and a development of its resources to that end will beget on the part of both city and surrounding country a larger appreciation of the significant place of the town.

Unfortunately, a somewhat similar situation exists in the attitudes on the part of the country toward the town, and in that of the townsman with regard to the country dweller. Taylor[1] says that "the average farmer looks upon the small town as bad or evil. He does not desire his sons to frequent the town too often. It has been the home of the saloon, the pool hall, the public dance house, the house of ill-fame, and above all is a place to squander money. His attitude is often so pronounced on the matter that he would almost consent to its complete annihilation." The countryman considers that the townsman's attitude is that of selfishly exploiting him, robbing him in prices charged, often delivering inferior products, displaying a lack of interest in the farmer's welfare, and doing little to make him feel at home when he comes to trade in the center.

The townsman views the countryman as lacking in *savoir faire*, unbusinesslike, an uncertain risk, and too stingy in his trade re-

[1] Taylor, C. C. *Rural Sociology*. Harpers, 1926. p. 425.

lationships. Inevitably, such a lack of understanding must breed conflict, and while conflict is often a force in human progress, it is also a cause of unpardonable waste of wealth and energy, and a barrier to wholesome civilization. The latter interpretation is more usually the case in town-country conflicts. However, in discussing this problem, it is well to remember that it is easily possible to exaggerate, and that there is a large measure of understanding between the merchant and his patron, the banker and his depositor, the minister and his parishioner, the lawyer and his client, and the teacher and his pupil

An objective study has been made of this problem,[1] and it is the opinion of the investigators that because of economic dependence of the villagers upon the surrounding countryside, they are more interested than the farmers in working out a satisfactory basis for village and open-country relationships. "The basic cause of antagonism between village and country can best be described as lack of mutual understanding."

All of us are sensitive in varying degrees, and so is the farmer. One of the chief causes of misunderstanding was found to be *inadvertent acts* on the part of the villagers. A case is cited where a storm in a teapot arose because the townsmen removed some hitching posts where the farmers who did not own automobiles were accustomed to tie their horses. Another instance based on the similar assumption that all farmers owned automobiles resulted in a bitter town-country contest when the village government connived at the removal of a low watering trough which had stood for years at the intersection of two main thoroughfares and which had become an obstacle to automobiles driven rapidly through the center of the village. The farmers protested, but the villagers, innocent of any unfriendliness, did not listen seriously But the farmers construed the acts as unhospitable, and retaliated by removing their trade to nearby towns. Even when the situation was remedied, the country people were slow to return with their trade, and the villagers in turn became aggrieved because the farmers failed to respond to their surrender.

Another specific cause of ill-will was found to reside in the question of *prices*. A favorite pastime of the shopper anywhere is to grumble at prices. Sometimes the complaint is correct;

[1] Brunner, Hughes, and Patten. *American Agricultural Villages*. Doran, 1927, pp. 96–112.

again it is not. Proprietors are inclined to assume that, since the trade is theirs at a given time, it will always remain so. When transportation facilities were limited, it was possible to raise prices in an unwarranted manner, but the automobile and good roads give the farmer an opportunity to visit and trade in other nearby villages or cities and he becomes informed as to tendencies toward exorbitant charges. There are two sides to almost any question. though, and a case in point is where farmers were claiming that the same goods were cheaper in a neighboring town than in the one where they had always traded. The matter was clearly demonstrated by community farm leaders who made an actual comparison of prevailing prices in the two centers. The merchants concerned reported that in the competing town the farmers paid cash and were entitled to a lower price, but when trading in their stores. they always insisted upon credit, and naturally the prices were higher. "The merchants of this particular village had not been able to agree to offer a discount for cash, each one fearing that his competitor might not keep the agreement. Hence prices were kept high because of the accounts carried by the merchants and there was no inducement for anyone to pay cash. To prosper the village must serve well. In a large majority of the cases in which store prices were an active cause of poor relationship between village and country, it was the opinion of the field workers that the village stores were below par." [1]

School difficulties are also a fertile cause of town-country conflict. The program of school consolidation has had a hard road to travel. Often if the village seeks consolidation with the surrounding country districts, the farmers agitate that it is in order to increase their taxes, and not to develop an efficient school system. On the other hand, often when the farmers wish to consolidate with the town school, the residents protest that it means an additional building expenditure, and they demand that the farmers continue to pay tuition for the children they send to high school, provided there are enough facilities to accommodate them. A case is cited where the village sought to force a consolidation, and in the discussion relating to the matter, the village lawyer pointed out that this village was the one in which the farmers "habitually traded." The farmers' answer was, "Is that so? Well, we'll show you." And they did by boycotting the town singly and in groups.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Mail-order business prospered so greatly that one of the two banks had rubber stamps made with the names of the larger mail-order houses on them so that the writing of drafts might be facilitated.

Other causes of conflict, though less in extent than those just mentioned were *the policies of emerging farmers' coöperatives*, particularly in the first year of their existence. The villagers were suspicious of their cutting into the business of established concerns, and frequently they did. However, "if the coöperatives survived, conflict over them virtually ceased after the first year. Indeed, the relations in villages with well established coöperatives were often above the average." [1]

Deficiencies of *the credit* in stores and banks, leading to denial of credit in depressed times, and monetary losses in bank failures for both country and town dwellers, are cited as another cause of town-country misunderstanding. Then there is the widespread conflict between the industrial system and the agrarian system. When *industries* begin to develop in villages, labor becomes higher to the farmer. The payroll of the industry makes the village more independent and the farmers resent it. And finally, one of the least common occasions of antagonism is that based upon *differences of political opinion* as brought out in election contests.

2. Its Distinctive Place

It is significant that probably the first scientific study [2] in rural sociology made in this country should have dealt with the basic problem of the relations of the agricultural community to its village or trade center. Galpin says that "the prevailing school of thinking on the rural problem, commonly expressed in recent books, magazines, newspapers, and the agricultural press, sounds the slogan 'keep the boy on the farm.' There goes with this cry the demand that the farm home shall be 'brighter,' country schools shall be 'redirected toward the land,' business shall be 'coöperative,' religion shall be 'social.' This program of pure ruralism may be reduced to a segregation of the farm population—keep the farmer a country man; erect his schools in cornfields; build his churches in the far open; create an agricultural class consciousness; and restrict farm business largely to coöperation of farmers." But, he points out, "study is gradually disclosing

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[2] Galpin C. J. *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community.* Research Bull. 34, Agric. Expt. Sta., U of Wisconsin, 1915.

such a mesh of interrelated social interests uniting small-city dweller and farmer that no doctrine seems adequate to the rural situation which does not frankly recognize both factors."

> The creation of magnificent, large-scale farm social institutions in the open will simply create new magnetic centers; and if these new centers are accessible and comprehensive, people will be diverted from accustomed paths and settle about them, and villages will be started and the making of a city will begin. The primitive antagonisms between buyer and seller, employer and employee and borrower and lender, are being slowly mitigated through enlightenment by readjustment to the facts. The ancient antagonisms between countryman and city dweller under the dynamics of a new democracy, may possibly in like manner be transformed into community alliances. A community platform may possibly be erected so high that the mutual interests of the land basis and the civic cluster shall ever be in plain view. It is quite certain that the successful modern farmer, whose business methods have become social whose products, such as fruit, live stock and milk, reflect in their quality wide and exacting social demands, who has full scope for scientific methods and intellectual satisfaction, cannot be segregated away from business centers. The main question is whether the farmer shall be willing to enlarge his social responsibility beyond the small rural neighborhood and accept the large-scale responsibility of a comprehensive community Socially he is now a free lance. His automobile takes him quickly beyond the bounds of his little kingdom. "Rurbanism" would ask the farmer to assume his full share of responsibility in community alliance, both social and governmental, from which he would gain the removal of his present social handicaps and maladjustments without loss of his native independence.[1]

Many small towns have difficult problems of readjustment confronting them today in the changing structure of civilization due to automobiles, improved highways, and the competitions of neighboring towns and emerging and realized city developments. The most of them must candidly face the fact that the principal reason for their continued existence depends upon the range and quality of service which they can render their rural constituencies. The mutual implications of this situation are for the townsman that it means his town must become the specialized service station for the larger community. It is essential that each town should specialize in the service for which it has the greatest advantage. "This means of course that no one town and its community can live unto itself but must work out interrelations with other towns and their communities. The implication for the farmer involves

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34.

the assumption of a keener responsibility for the larger community life rather than attempting to hold to a family or a neighborhood economy. The farmer is in real need of this larger organization relationship where his own interests may be safe-guarded and at the same time united with those of his town or city in order to effect an efficiency commensurate with the greatly expanded needs of his day." [1]

A discussion of the distinctive place of the town cannot be concluded in better sentiment and phrasing than the following: "The little town is a field for altruistic service of thrilling importance. Here stands greatness humbly clad; here patriotic labour is involved with charm; here deep social processes are bound up with intimate personal contacts; here especially the high futures of the open country are to be centred and inspired: here lies the pleasant middle-ground through which if one will have it so the Garden of Eden merges into the City of God." [2]

3. The Town's People

Just as the little town stands between the country and the city, so does its people in their characteristics. While there are hundreds of thousands of people in the United States who have never known any other life, there is a considerable number of the small town population who are either direct from the farm, or only a generation or two removed from it. The small town may be looking towards the city, but its origins are not far removed from the surrounding countryside. Frequently, its professional leadership, the doctor, the minister, the lawyer, and the teacher is city-bred or at least city-trained, and altogether too often for the good of the town, and perhaps of themselves, are making their stay in it a stepping-stone to the real or imagined larger opportunities of the city.

The town is characterized by its happy medium between the isolation of the country and the congestion of the city. The atmosphere of neighborliness prevails; everyone speaks to everyone else, and visiting over the fences dividing lot from lot is a common occurrence. Even in this age of automobiles, the townsman more often than not walks to and from his work, and it is difficult to estimate the value of contacts originating in this way, both of a

[1] Kolb, J. H. *Service Relations of Town and Country.* Research Bull. 58. Agric. Expt. Sta., U. of Wisconsin, 1923, p. 1.

[2] Douglass, H. P. *Op. cit.*, p. 244.

social and business nature. His life may be well described as *bifocal*. The two centers are home and the down-town store or office. "Main Street and home again" rather accurately pictures the life of man, woman, and child.

The work of the small town is principally indoors, but not nearly so much as in the city Lower prices of real estate make gardens possible, and the chores of chopping fire and stove wood have not as yet been supplanted by gas and electricity in many of the village centers. In contrast with farming the occupations of the townspeople are more varied, and this becomes increasingly so the larger the town and the greater its specialization.

The small town sustains a bad reputation as a place to bring up children The chores are not sufficiently extensive to train the child adequately in the importance and dignity of work. Educative play, or that properly supervised, is altogether too infrequently available But perhaps the greatest of all deficiencies affecting youth is the lack of serious vocational atmosphere. The only redeeming feature of this situation is that it operates to keep the children of the town longer in school than is the case in either country or city.

For womanhood, the town offers but little opportunity for employment outside of the home. The young men of the town migrate in large numbers to the cities, and the result is a surplus of unmarried women. The town has more than its share of spinsters A compensating feature in this situation is the fine resources here provided in voluntary community activities. "Church, women's clubs, and all pursuits of ideals find an army of women with some measure of leisure and desire to be useful. ready to be mobilized for service. This constitutes one of the choicest assets of the little town in solving its immediate problems. Here is the most plentiful and unhurried supply of workers—if not the most competent—for every good work." [1]

As for old age, the little town is most nearly its earthly paradise. A simple, leisurely life, with enough chores not taxing physical vitality too severely; a garden to work; strength enough to walk back and forth to store, post office and church; and congenial friends of like circumstances—these are the sorts of things which make those of advanced years feel that they are still wanted and useful on earth.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

4. Its Physical Plan

A distinguished young British social scientist on an extensive visit to this country once remarked to the writer that one of the traditional heritages from the mother country that was not carried over to any large degree in the structure of our civilization was the emphasis upon attractiveness of small town homes and those in the countryside. There are a few notable exceptions but his indictment in general is correct. Nature has been generous in lavishing beauty of surroundings, but the customary small town in America is a rather drab affair. A wide main street, with three or four times as much space as is necessary stretches through the town: its business establishments exhibit an anomalous variety, and there is little of architectural beauty about the homes which make up its residential section.

The most of these towns are laid out after a rectangular fashion, though, and it is possible to achieve, through well considered town-planning, rearrangements that would greatly improve the situation. Many large corporations in planning their industrial villages have demonstrated what it is practical to achieve in the way of a beautiful small town. Particularly in the New England region, it has been demonstrated what good taste and some degree of spiritual unity in developing a town can bring about. Of course, New England civilization was built up around the towns as centers, and wealth accumulations from commercial interests made it possible to have considerable architectural variety. But shrubbery, lawns, painting from time to time, is possible in every American small town, if the general feeling that it is the expected thing to do can be made to prevail.

The diagram on page 590 illustrates what has been done in a small Mid-Western community in the past decade or two and remaining steps practical to be taken. Douglass says in discussing the matter: "A little foresight and radical action at the right time,—especially as the law comes to authorize town-planning commissions—can gradually work over thousands of planless little towns into fairly unified and not unbeautiful condition. Thus a small Middle-Western community within the last fifteen years has erected its high school, public library, government building and three churches, and has done all its street improvement. At an unappreciable additional cost—perhaps $30,000—used to purchase

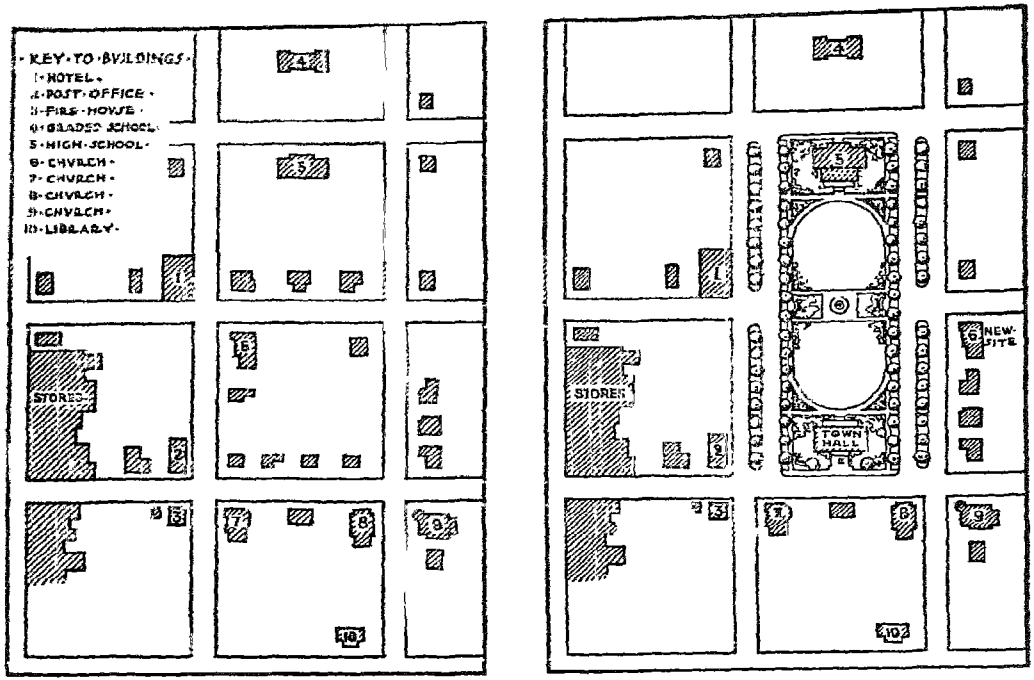


FIGURE 13.—REPLANNING AN OLD TOWN. (Source: Douglass, H. P. *The Little Town*. Macmillan, 1927.)

a block and a half of land with nine dwellings and to move one church to a new site, this town may even now obtain a civic centre on which will face nine of its ten accidentally placed public buildings. In hundreds of American communities it is not yet too late to take radical and far-reaching action, while almost every little town in America can decidedly improve itself by making the inevitable changes of its next quarter-century according to a definite plan." [1]

5. Knowing Its Constituent Community

In its economic life the town has the needs of its own population to consider, as well as those of its surrounding rural community. The degree of specialization in meeting the needs of its local citizenship has a distinct bearing upon the similar problem with regard to its rural clientele. A factor of considerable moment here is the size of the center If the industrial development is considerable, many more facilities are likely to be present. When the town is simply a service unit for a prosperous and thickly settled countryside, the interests and population are likely to be much more homogeneous.

Since the town is usually so largely dependent upon its rural constituency, it is exceedingly important that accurate knowledge should exist regarding the economic functions which it can and should most satisfactorily and profitably perform. An intensive study has been made of this set of problems by rural sociologists at the University of Wisconsin. The findings [2] are to the effect that the community area surrounding the towns falls naturally into three zones: the first is *a primary or personal service zone;* the next *a secondary or general trade service zone;* and the third *a specialized service zone.* The investigators visited 787 farm families in Dane, Walworth, and Waupaca counties, Wisconsin, and secured answers to questions as to "where" and "why" they went for thirteen different kinds of goods and services.

The set of town-country relationships in the first of these zones were naturally of a more or less personal, intimate, or close-by character. This is particularly the case around the smaller, unincorporated town where there is little or no industry. The kinds of services sought in the town by these families closest to it were

[1] Douglass, H. P. *Op. cit.*, pp. 103–104.
[2] Kolb, J. H. in Gee, Wilson. *The Country Life of the Nation*, pp. 179–180.

the educational facilities of the elementary or graded school; the religious service of the church or Sunday School; the relationships of the clubs, the lodges and the similar social and semi-social organizations; and the goods supplied by the general store such as groceries, and general household and farm supplies. When questioned as to why they went to the particular town for these facilities, the answers given in the majority of cases were that they "had friends there," they "knew folks there," "relatives lived there," or that it was simply "handy and convenient to do so."

The secondary or general trade service zone extends much beyond the first but includes the first for its particular sets of services. In this larger area, the families either visited the town for or secured from it the services of the bank, the stores, the marketing agencies, the educational service of the high school, and such facilities as the telephone, delivery of mail, and the newspaper. Among the reasons assigned for doing so were those of proximity, good roads, favorable prices, and fair and considerate service.

The attraction of the town for the larger specialized service zone is contingent upon its ability to furnish the economic service of the larger department store for women's "ready to wear," and men's "good clothes," the health facilities of the hospital or clinic, the educational service of a normal or special training school, and the recreational advantages of the motion picture show, the musical concert, or the theatre. The selection of a particular town for such goods or services is conditioned upon established confidence in the quality of the facilities offered.

The approximate nature of any such classification is apparent from the statement that "it becomes important not only to know one's own constituent community, but also to know of the relationships to other towns and their communities. A southern Wisconsin farmer, for example, may expect to find a small town of about four or five hundred population within perhaps four or five miles of his home. He may find a centre of about a thousand or twelve hundred people about eight or ten miles away, but he will be driving through another small place before he gets there. If he wishes to go to a city of five thousand or larger, he may have to drive, on the average about thirty or thirty-five miles and en route will pass through other smaller centres. These distances, of course, will vary in different sections of the country." [1]

[1] *Ibid*., p. 183.

The practical application of the relationships involved in the foregoing descriptive analysis is not a simple one. Towns and villages are not static any more than other phases of our civilization. Some of these centers are growing, while others are declining: and the competitive interrelationships involved are numerous and complicated in the economic and social forces which are operative. It is certain that the small town if it is to prosper must in an intelligent way determine upon its reasonable task, and set its houses in order to perform these services in a manner which is effective in developing its rural patronage because of the high-grade service rendered. Applying the familiar analogy, if a town makes better mousetraps than another, it will secure the trade over its competitors; and modernizing the illustration somewhat, this will prove particularly the case when the roads leading to it are of a satisfactory nature. The farmer of the present day by means of the automobile is becoming more and more a citizen of the larger community, and the traditional forces of habit and custom no longer determine his movements and activities in the thickly settled areas as they did a few decades ago. Towns are a natural and necessary part of the structure of human society, but a particular town is seldom justified in the complacency of a conclusion that it necessarily will always continue to flourish The statement may safely be ventured that it will not unless it proves its solid worth to its constituency.

6. Its Institutional Life

The most extensive survey which has been made of the small town in this country is that undertaken by the Institute of Social and Religious Research under the direction of Edmund de S. Brunner. Their concern was primarily with the agricultural village, which also is the more immediate interest of the present discussion. In the matter of *schools* it was found that these institutions in general are held in high esteem by their communities. "Buildings are good, teachers' training and salaries conform to the generally accepted standards, the attendance of pupils is good, even if not quite as high as in the cities, and village youth remain longer in school than do city boys and girls. Education as a social service is not narrowly interpreted. Instead, many of these schools are enriching their programs with vocational and social subjects, and in the development of varied extra-curricular

activities, they are making an effective contribution to the social life of their student bodies and communities. It should be added that many buildings were used for community meetings, lectures, boy and girl scout meetings, winter chautauquas, clinics, daily vacation Bible schools, banquets, band rehearsals and meetings of various organizations, while school gymnasiums were usually at the disposal of the community when not needed by the school. In short, the public school is the most important factor in the social life of villages." [1]

The *church* situation is far from being satisfactory. The coöperation of denominations, and the development of programs of community service among village churches was notably lacking. A depressing phase of the matter is that in many of the areas studied, satisfaction was evidenced with conditions as they were; a hopeful sign in other villages was that the membership was in open revolt against the inadequacy of the manner in which their churches were meeting the spiritual needs of their constituencies. The village churches were found to be organized on an adult basis, and while there were Sunday Schools and young people's socio-religious societies, "the heart of the young people's problem had been reached by only the exceptional church." A comparison of the interest on the part of the adult males in lodges and economic groups and in the work of the church showed striking evidence that "church interest hangs low in the balance with that of other village institutions so far as adult males are concerned." The church in the village has shown little tendency to adjust itself intelligently to the rapidly changing conditions of the day, either in the village or to its surrounding rural community.

The situation with regard to public health facilities, also, was found to be a decidedly unsatisfactory one. A number of different studies have been made, and in every type of community except cities of 50,000 inhabitants and above, the number of physicians in proportion to the population has declined. In places of from 1,000 to 2,500 people, the relative decline was 26.5 per cent, and in communities of less than 1,000 there was a further decline of 10 per cent The seriousness of the situation is intensified when it is stated that there are practically no physicians living outside these village communities, and that the surrounding countryside looks

[1] Brunner, Hughes, and Patten. *American Agricultural Villages*. Doran, 1927, p. 171.

to the villages in considerable measure for such professional service. Moreover, there seems to be almost complete lack of concern about health matters in the agricultural villages. Of the 140 villages studied by Brunner, Hughes, and Patten,[1] "in fewer than two-fifths of them is there a separate heading for health in the village budget. This statement applies especially to the South and Middle West and least to the Far West." In the case of the 55 communities which itemized their health expenses separately, only nine spent more than $500, and three of these were in counties where public health demonstrations were being carried on. "There seems to be no relation between the size of the village and the amount of money it expends on health. Some of the largest villages failed to appropriate even as much per capita as the medium-size or small communities, and they failed to itemize health expenditures almost as often. Nor was any significant difference found between the general type of health service offered by the large village and by the smaller centers. The probable explanation of these facts is, first, that much of the health program is determined by county and state laws or by services that the small place has as good a chance to secure as the large, and, secondly, that much of the remainder of the health work is inspired by enlightened individuals, often members of the school faculty, and apparently the small community is just as likely to have such leadership as the one that is slightly larger." The most encouraging ray of light in the general situation is the growing extent of county public health units such as have been discussed in a preceding chapter dealing with rural health.

7. Some Remedial Principles

It is not practical here to discuss in an extended way the suggested solutions of these many problems touched upon in connection with the small town. Many of them may be much more nearly accommodated by a wise coöperation between town and country. Does the small town need a high school and is the tax burden likely to be too heavy in supporting it properly? Would a hospital make the community a safer one in which to live? Is a library desired and the resources of the village inadequate to its development and maintenance? The answer is that the surrounding rural community also needs these same things. Why

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 230.

cannot much of the institutional life of the country be firmly established in the village center? Through such an arrangement sufficient population and taxable property would be available to make these things possible. The chief barrier to such a solution at the present time is in the structure of our local government. The shackles of an outworn system, adapted to a pioneer settlement, cannot continue indefinitely to retard such logical developments. The new rural municipality is already being heralded, and no plan among all of those which have been suggested will do more to bring country and town closer together to their mutual benefit Some day in the not too distant future the natural community surrounding its nucleus, the little town, will be a corporate part of the village, reinforcing its trade, social, and institutional life in a way which is almost impossible under existing governmental arrangement.

QUESTIONS

1. Is the prevailing conception of the place of the small town in our national life a correct one? Give reasons for your answer.
2. What would you consider a small town? How many such places were there in the United States in 1920? What proportion of the total population lived in them?
3. Why may the small town be characterized as the "capital of the surrounding countryside"?
4. Describe the attitude of the average farmer toward the small town.
5. How does the average townsman view the countryman?
6. What is meant by "town-country antagonism or conflict"? To what basic cause is it attributable? Name the chief causes of town-country conflict.
7. Illustrate how "inadvertent acts," "prices," and "schools" are fertile sources of such misunderstanding between town and country.
8. Who made the first scientific study in this country in the field of rural sociology? What was the title of it? the year of its publication? the nature of its subject matter?
9. How does Galpin view a program of pure ruralism, which would "keep the farmer a country man"?
10. Discuss the problem of readjustment faced by the small town today, and the essential principles which should motivate its adaptations to the changing conditions.
11. Give the characterization which Douglass makes of the distinctive place of the small town.
12. What is meant by the statement that the life of the small town is a "bifocal" one?
13. Enumerate the advantages and disadvantages of the small town as a place of residence for children.
14. How well is it suited as a place of residence for women? for old people?

15. Criticize the physical plan of the typical small town in America, and illustrate how it may be improved.
16. Into what three zones does the community area surrounding the small town naturally classify? Characterize each of these.
17. Discuss why it is important "now only to know one's constituent community, but also to know of the relationships to other towns and their communities" if the small town is to prosper.
18. How effective generally are the schools and churches as institutions in the life of the small town?
19. Describe the situation with regard to the public health facilities of the small town.
20. State some of the remedial principles which will aid in the strengthening of the contribution of the small town to our national life.

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

1. Douglass, H. P. *The Little Town.* The Macmillan Company, 1927, Chapter I, pp. 3–25, "The Little Town."
2. Kolb, J. H. "The Opportunity of the Small Town" in Gee, Wilson. *The Country Life of the Nation.* University of North Carolina Press, 1930, Chapter VI, pp. 177–189.
3. Brunner, E. de S., and others. *American Agricultural Villages.* George H. Doran Company, 1927, Chapter III, pp. 96–112, "Village and Country Relations."
4. Burr, W. W. *Small Towns.* The Macmillan Company, 1929, Chapter XXII, pp. 258–264 "A Community Forecast."
5. Galpin, C. J. *Rural Social Problems.* Century Company, 1924, Chapter V, pp. 65–75, "Where the Farm Family Trades."
6. Sims, N. L. "Little Country Towns and What They May Do for Their Surrounding Trade Areas" in Gee, Wilson. *The Country Life of the Nation.* University of North Carolina Press, 1930, Chapter VI, pp. 163–176.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE FARM FAMILY

In a consideration of social institutions the family ranks first in importance. It has its *biological* foundations in the fact that it grows out of the expression of one of mankind's strongest impulses. It was the first *economic* unit in human society, and the home continues today to be the principal center about which the *social* activities of all peoples revolve. Ross says that the societies which have contributed most to human progress have taken a deep interest in the family and have had no little success in standardizing it. "The scientific study of society, which has made marked progress in the last thirty years, has brought to light in the family unsuspected social significance. It has become clear that the family is basic in respect to the production of the social traits of character, so that society has good reason to treat it as a social institution rather than a personal concern" [1]

Much speculation has been engaged in by various classes of scientists as to what stages the family as an institution passed through in its evolution to the present monogamic type. Whatever may have been the case in the earlier periods of the history of mankind, the social and the physiological functions of the race unquestionably seem served best by the existing order of one wife to one husband. In this way marriage regulates the legal association of the sexes, and assigns to every individual born a definite place in that society by which his or her social relations to the rest of society are determined.[2]

The family as an economic unit has undergone quite considerable changes since the middle of the nineteenth century. In its earlier structure, the arts of spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, baking, brewing, pickling, canning, and preserving were largely household operations. This gave to the housewife an economic status as a producer almost equal that of the husband; but the marked industrial expansion of the last half century and more

[1] Ross, E. A. *The Outlines of Sociology.* Century Co., 1923, p. 394.
[2] Tozzer, A. M. *Social Origins and Continuities.* Macmillan, 1925, p. 127.

has done much to place the emphasis upon individual effort rather than upon that of the family as a group. Moreover, these significant changes are still much evident in their continuing effect upon family unity.

The home is the cradle of religion, the center of inspiration for education, and the training ground for the social relationships of life. The measure in which the individual homes of the nation attain unto perfection in these matters is the proportion in which society measures up to the wholesome. As to religious influences, Graham Taylor calls the family the "birthplace of religion," reflecting that it is difficult if not impossible to conceive of religion apart from the family. The Holy Family is spoken of as the "great seal of Christianity" and the statement made that "it is less difficult to think of reconstituting the human race, and the relations which make the race human, if it had to begin over again, without the church rather than without the home. Indeed, religion could be more readily reproduced from the family, if the church were lost, than it could be maintained by the church if the family were lost." [1]

It is a matter of common knowledge that the children of educated parents, the products of cultured homes, unless exceptionally recalcitrant, themselves take on like or higher levels of education and resultant culture. The marked similarity of grammar, rhetoric, and enunciation within family groups shows how potent is the home circle in the matter of language. While the tendency in modern education is to remove it more largely than ever before from the home, neither home nor school is improved thereby. This tendency is but another outcome of the weakened economic unity of the family above referred to, and is baneful because a child with rare exceptions cannot "lift himself by his own bootstraps," but needs the intelligent interest and sympathy of the members of his family in determining the degree and direction of his education.

The social heredity of an individual is of like importance with his physical heredity. The family traditions, the little niceties of life, the thoughtfulness of one member towards another, the broader relationships in the business and social world of parents and older brothers and sisters are things that serve to orient the child and make the success or non-success of his adaptations to the complex

[1] Taylor, Graham. *Religion in Social Action*. Dodd, 1913, p. 121.

relationships of the modern social order. In other words, the family is the training ground in habits of industry, self-restraint, manners, and the general body of folkways, mores, and attitudes which we are accustomed to call culture in the varying connotations of that term.

1. Characteristics of the Rural Family

All of the members of the farm family are partners in the same enterprise. The occupation represents varied interests and the procession of the seasons relieves, in some measure at least, the dull monotony of the same tasks day after day characterizing the industrial position. But the different duties performed by father, mother, son, and daughter are but parts of the one enterprise of farming. Failure to accomplish his allotted portion reacts upon the efficiency of the whole, and brings down upon the offender the reproach of the other members of the family. The children are healthfully employed, from their early days, in the numerous chores on the farm, and thereby are taught the meaning of labor. Usually all are together at the meals around the table. The mother, more often than not, has the dreariest grind of all; but the consciousness that in the affairs of the household she has the most important phase of the farm, even from the economic standpoint, strengthens her loyalty and stays her endurance. On the American farm there is still much of privation and hardship, but in meeting and solving these difficulties shoulder to shoulder is one of the greatest influences known for welding together human sympathies.[1]

At times, in the country, one feels that his neighbors know too much about his affairs, but the fact that his every deviation from the basic moral standards would be observed is a wonderful restraining influence in favor of right ways of living. The farmer sees fewer people than the city dweller, but he has the advantage of knowing those whom he sees Moreover, he becomes acquainted with his own family; and much of its recreation is provided within the home. When it is not, it is usually at the church or the schoolhouse.

It is a matter of record that the country environment produces less of vice and crime than does the city. Nothing is so destructive

[1] Gee, Wilson. "Family Unity in Country Life." *Rural America*, Vol. III, No. 5, 1925.

of family ties between husband and wife as invasions of character. The happiness of the whole relationship is largely destroyed when mutual distrust creeps in. The most insidious and vicious of the disharmonizing tendencies are sex offenses. This is the cancer, more than any other, with all of its attendant forms of jealousy, subterfuge and deceit, gnawing at the very vitals of the most sacred institution evolved in human civilization. The white light of public conscience and consciousness shines intensely in the countryside, making clear the path of right and duty; and it bears fruit in a comparative minimum of these unspeakable shames.

Children are the center about which the farm home revolves. The average size of the country family is larger than that of the city. This situation is due mainly to the fact that, from an early age, children are profitable on the farm. The family-sized farm is the typical area for farming in most of the sections of the nation; the farmer plants only so much as he can tend with his own labor. With the plain living of the countryside, and the contribution of the child's labor, larger families are a matter of course. It is a notable fact in the history of the divorce problem that there is no greater cementing force in family life than children. Fortunately, the country environment is a superior one in which to rear children, and develop in them the qualities that make for an unusually fine type of manhood and womanhood. With the improving school facilities and the increasing social contacts of the rural sections, this is even more the case today.

The frontiersmen of our nation, who are the progenitors of our farming population, on the whole, were men and women of stout hearts, strong wills, and high ideals of living Their God, their family, and their country were the objects of their devotion. At a moment's notice, they were ready to die for any of these revered institutions. Such traditions have become a strong part of the social environment of the countryside, and thoroughly ingrained have passed down by social heredity from generation to generation.

In discussing the relation of the farm home to the community Sanderson calls attention to the fact that permanent home life was not begun until the agricultural stage in human development. He continues: "As he became a farmer, primitive man stayed at home with his wife and shared with her the nurture of the children. Before then the family had been *hers*, now it was *theirs*. The more

fact that the home and the business are both on the farm, that father is in the house several times a day and that the whole family are acquainted with his farm operations, will always give the farm home a superior solidarity, so long as the farmer lives on the farm. Though but few farm homes are ideal and some of them have but little that is attractive yet nowhere are conditions so favorable for the enjoyment of all that is most precious in family life as it is in the better American farm homes." [1]

2. Marriage and Divorce

In 1920, there were more married persons in proportion to the population in the United States than characterized any preceding decade for which the data are recorded [2] The 1890 Census reports 55.3 per cent of the population as married and the corresponding figure for 1920 was 59.9 per cent. These increases have been principally among the earlier age groups, while marriages from 35 years and above have decreased in proportion to the population. However, these trends are more characteristic of the city than of the country, because there is a much larger percentage of older women married in the country than in the city This is perhaps to be accounted for in the statement that there is a greater marital demand for older women in the country than in the city, due probably to the greater economic value of the maturer woman in farm life

The city seems to discourage marriage by about 10 per cent more than does the country Defining cities as population units of 2,500 and over, in 1920, 57 per cent of the population 15 years of age and over were married, while in the rural districts (under 2,500 inhabitants), 63.5 per cent were married, when the age distribution was the same.

> The rural districts seem especially favorable to married women. Among 1,000 rural women there are 17 per cent more married women than there are among 1,000 urban women. Fifty-three per cent of the men in the United States live in cities, and 56 per cent of the women. The city seems to attract single men and widows. Fifty-four per cent of the single men live in cities, and 59 per cent of the single women. Of women 20–34 years old, 58 per cent live in cities; while of women of other age groups, only 54 per cent live in cities which would indicate a preference on the part of young women for the city.

[1] Sanderson, E. D. *The Farmer and His Community.* Harcourt, Brace, 1922, p. 17.
[2] Groves, E. R., and Ogburn, W. F. *American Marriage and Family Relationships.* Henry Holt, 1928 p. 151.

The scarcity of single women in rural districts is further noted by the fact that out of 1,000 women 25 years old and over living in rural districts, only 93 are single, while out of 1,000 city women of the same age group, 158 are single—an increase of 68 per cent over the group of single women living in rural districts. Can the difference be explained on economic grounds? Is it because the economic function of the woman in the country lies in the home, while in the city her economic service is often outside the home? Would these differences in economic function also explain the fact that 206 out of 1,000 urban men 25 years old and over are not married, whereas in the country there are only 163 men out of 1,000 of this age group who are single? [1]

Another student [2] of this problem asks the question: "What is more forlorn than the lone man or the lone woman on a farm?" He supplements the question by the statement that "since boarding houses are unsuited to the country, agriculture *commands* people to marry. Everywhere in the country districts married life begins earlier for both sexes, lasts longer before being broken by divorce or death, and, if thus broken, is more likely to be succeeded by a new union than in the large cities. Family life prevails, therefore, in country rather than in city, and this is so because on the farm the family is a more natural and indispensable unit for life and work."

It is worth while to follow the speculations of Hawthorn [3] as to just why this is the case. The living conveniences of the boarding and rooming houses are not to be found in the rural districts, thus making it difficult for the single man or woman to find a home other than of their own establishment. A young or old bachelor may and often does find work and living conditions that are congenial in the city or town, but he would not long attempt farming under such conditions. In addition, a wife is an economic asset in the country, caring for the poultry, garden, dairy, and numbers of similar sources of farm income. From the standpoint of the woman the farm home provides an occupation, fully engaging her talent in its many diverse interests. Another reason offered is that courtship is taken more seriously in the rural sections, more often ending in marriage. "Few young farmers have the guiles of the city 'sheik' who glories in the long list of 'shebas.'" Also, a factor which is operative is that the men outnumber the women in the country and it is easier for women to

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.
[2] Ross, E. A. *Op. cit.*, p. 22.
[3] Hawthorn, H. B. *The Sociology of Rural Life.* Century Co., 1926, p. 142.

secure husbands. At the same time, there are comparatively few opportunities for women to earn a living outside of the home in the rural districts, and the building of a home and family is the best career afforded.

A logical inference from the foregoing figures with regard to marriage would be that there is a larger proportion of the population in the cities consisting of those who have never married than in the country. In 1920, of the urban population 15 years of age and over, 32.3 per cent had not married, as compared with a similar figure of 30.2 per cent for the rural population.[1] Such urban and rural influences are more marked in the case of females than in the case of males. Of the urban male population 15 years of age and over, 35.5 per cent had not married and the corresponding figure for the rural male population of the same age group was 34.7 per cent. Of the urban females 15 years of age and over, 29 per cent have never married, and for the rural females, the similar figure was 25 2 per cent Spinsters and bachelors who are more than 45 years of age comparatively seldom marry. The percentage constituting this group is higher in the city than in the country, both among males and females, and pronouncedly so among the spinsters

The same authorities[2] report that the proportion of the divorced in the urban population is higher than among the rural population. In 1920, 0.8 per cent of the urban population 15 years of age and over were divorced, and the similar figure for the rural population of this age group was 0.5 per cent, denoting a difference of 0 3 per cent. This situation holds true for both males and females, more pronouncedly so among the females The fact that state laws differ so widely with regard to the ease in securing a divorce, and states differ so widely in proportions of rural population makes a national comparison of rural and urban population in the matter of divorce one that is open to criticism. It is better to consider the data for a more limited area, a state or selected samples within that political unit.

Charlton[3] has studied the divorces in the state of Virginia over the ten-year period from 1920 through 1929 He selected a rural area consisting of 24 counties, and an urban sample composed of

[1] Groves E. R., and Ogburn, W. F. *Op. cit.*, pp. 333–335.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 368–370.
[3] Charlton, J. L. "Divorce in Virginia: 1920–1929." *University of Virginia News Letter*. Vol. VII, No. 14, April 15. 1931.

the total population in the seven largest cities which are removed in large measure from the vitiating effects of the different divorce laws in adjoining states. He finds that in the rural area the divorce rate is 0.68 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 2.27 divorces per 1,000 of the population in the urban sample. Thus divorces occur about three times as often in these cities in Virginia as in the strictly rural area.

This matter of divorce has long given concern in this country to thoughtful students of the problems of human society. As early as 1885, there were 23,742 divorces in the United States as against 20,131 for all the rest of Christendom. In 1905, the proportion was 68,000 for us as compared with 40,000 for all of the other civilized countries. The ratio in that year was one divorce to every twelve marriages; by 1916, it had become one to every nine; and in 1928, there was approximately one divorce to every six marriages. This tendency under the most liberal construction must be considered a baneful one, and a strong point in favor of the wholesomeness of country life is registered in the fact that this evidence of family disorganization is much less prevalent in rural than in urban life

Among the conditions contributing to family solidarity in the country are the stigma which attaches to a divorced person in the country; the greater number of children in the rural family over the urban, and the larger proportion of families with children; a less extent of dissipation in the life in the rural areas, as expressed in the disrupting influence of "night life" in cabarets and similar establishments characterizing certain sections of the metropolitan centers; the unifying influence of the economic interdependence of life for the members of the family upon the farm; and the superior housing conditions in the country over the apartment and congested tenements of the city

For whatever may be the reasons, and they become of little consequence in the presence of the fact, the beautiful thing is that family life flourishes vigorously in the country. This is but another bit of evidence that most of the stable institutions of our civilization have found their origin and their best flower and fruitage among our country folk. It is also argument that the crowded tenement house should be abandoned for the cottage in the suburban area, town, or smaller village where the smoke and stench of the man-made industries may be dissolved in the vast purify-

ing all spaces and the sunlight of God's great open stretches, and the urban family find more wholesome conditions for expression. The importance of a steady retention and strengthening of the forces making for family unity in our national life cannot be overemphasized. May the day never come when they will be less potent than at the present time, either in our urban or in our country life.

3. The Woman on the Farm

The American farm woman has always been a sturdy and courageous character in our national life. Of the early days in the history of this country, Emerson Hough says that "the chief figure of the American West, the figure of the age, is not the long-haired, fringed legging man riding a raw-boned pony, but the gaunt, sad-faced woman, sitting on the front seat of the wagon, following her lord where he might lead, her face hidden in the same ragged sunbonnet which had crossed the Appalachians and the Missouri long before. That was America, my brethren! There was the seed of America's wealth. There was the great romance of all America,—the woman in the sunbonnet; and not, after all, the hero with the rifle across his saddle horn. Who has written her story? Who has painted her picture?"

In the opinion of Mary Meek Atkeson, her equality with man was recognized in those days, for she showed herself equally capable in all of the tasks of life which they had to meet together, and a sense of dignity and worth grew out of the knowledge that this was true. Regarding the situation today, the same author points out that while her tasks may be physically less hazardous than those of her prototype in the conquering of the wilderness, still she is pioneering amid the new and conflicting forces interacting in the rapidly changing rural environment which is her sphere of intense activity.

> Of course conditions have changed greatly in America in the past one hundred years. But even yet farm life is decidedly a vigorous adventure. The woman who succeeds in that environment must still be strong in body, quick of brain, and indomitable in spirit. And in the farm life of today she has even more need for that adaptability which has been so necessary in the past. Our country life is in a state of rapid change, and many an inefficient family is being ground beneath the wheels of its progress. For the good old days of the early American frontier, with their crude methods and open-handed hospitality, are passing, by successive stages, into an organization of forces and cul-

tured ease and refinement similar to that prevailing in the cities. And the woman on the farm today, with her husband and her children, stands somewhere midway, alternately torn by influences toward the old and toward the new.

It is a most difficult position to hold with stability and common sense. And it is the woman on the farm, with her keen sense of values in life, who must decide where her family shall stand. On one side of her may live a family of the old days, with ideas and living conditions little removed from those of the early settler's cabin in the forest, or a family of recent immigrants with the customs of their old home in Europe. On the other side may live a family of wealthy and cultured city people, who maintain a country home for health or pleasure Yet somehow under these difficult conditions the woman on the farm must evolve a wholesome home life—not too much like the one nor too much like the other—so that her children will be happy and contented and equally at home in conditions the most primitive and the most modern.[1]

The life of the farm woman has always called for a large measure of optimism, and that has been a necessary quality in the recent prolonged hard times which the farm industry has encountered. This is sustained by the fact that she loves the soil and believes in its certainty of yielding a living. There is an elemental security in farm life which appeals to her deepest sensibilities, and she feels that whatever may be the change in the affairs of state or nation her feet are planted upon bedrock. A few excerpts from letters of farm women express these sentiments eloquently. A Wisconsin farm woman writes that "we, the farm women, are where we belong. I feel that this close-to-nature elemental existence, is the fullest, richest source of emotional satisfaction We give our services, and we give up the superficial, sensational stimulants of society and fashion, so we feel square and honest as we take our gifts." From a New York farm comes this woman's estimate of country life: "I wish people generally knew what we on the farms know—that there is comfort, real comfort, in plain living and calm, clear-headed thinking, in the sweet old-fashioned way of working till you are tired, commending yourself to God at night, and enjoying a good deep sleep till morning breaks and you wake up rested. In walking over the fields in the spring to see how the 'new-seeded' are coming, in watching things grow, in making your own delicious butter, in picking the raspberries from your own patch, and in getting the first peas and sweet corn, and in the fall gathering the apples from the trees that your own grand-

[1] Atkeson, M. M. *The Woman on the Farm.* Century Co., 1924, pp. 5-6.

father planted on the farm years ago. They are simple things, all of them, but there are the simple virtues back of them that make life worth living." [1]

Nor is the farm woman lacking in the fundamental elements of culture. A genuineness of attitude characterizes her relationships with fellow-humankind She eschews faddishness, but in this age of larger communication, she is usually well informed in terms of essential matters. It is a striking fact that the average farm woman is better read and better informed on current questions than the average city woman, perhaps because there are fewer distractions in the country and much of her leisure time is spent in reading The automobile and good roads are additional factors extending the sphere of her social interests, and she is entering increasingly into organizations promoting better home and community life.

One does not ordinarily think of the farm woman as an economic factor in farming operations. Not to do so, however, is inaccurate analysis; for anyone at all familiar with the fundamental principles of home economics knows how much of waste or of saving can be brought about by the inefficient or the thrifty housewife, as the case may be.

Viewed from the standpoint of a producer, the farm woman is largely responsible for the butter, milk, poultry, and eggs added annually to the wealth of the nation. In 1919, the total value of dairy products in the United States was $1,481,462,091, while the eggs produced were valued at $661,082,803 and the chickens raised worth $386,240,367. These items alone constitute approximately two and a half billions of dollars. Obviously, to attribute all of this value to the care of farm women alone is inaccurate, but there are the home gardens which in no small measure are the result of the planning and even the physical labor on the part of the women of the farm family. Over 75 per cent of rural home-makers do a large part of their own sewing, and the amount of saving in canning, preserving, and drying fruits and vegetables is tremendous. A very small percentage of the homes, outside of the South, have hired help throughout the year, and not a large per cent for a part of the year. Thus, as a contributor to the production of wealth, the farm women are an exceedingly significant factor.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

4. Farm Home Conveniences

The statement has been made that whatever lessens woman's work benefits the race. "Conservation of time and energy is obviously one of the problems of the housekeeper. Time and strength may be saved in two ways, first by taking thought as to the way one uses strength, and second by making use of labor-saving equipment. This may easily make the difference between a tired, overworked housekeeper and one who has some time and energy left for reading and recreation after the day's work is done." [1]

Florence E Ward [2] in what is perhaps the most extensive survey ever made in this country with regard to farm women's problems finds in the North and West that, for the more than nine thousand homes reporting, 32 per cent had running water, 15 per cent power machinery, 65 per cent have water in the kitchen only, more than half have washing machines, nearly a half have carpet sweepers, 95 per cent have sewing machines, 85 per cent still have an outdoor toilet, 25 per cent own bath tubs, and 60 per cent a sink and drain.

It is unfortunate that this study due to the then existing organization of extension work in the Federal Department of Agriculture did not include the Southern States. A partial comparison is afforded by a recent living standards survey [3] in Virginia. In this study, the families studied were divided into a poor, an intermediate, and a prosperous group.

The dwelling of the average Virginia farm family of the poor group is of frame construction, in most instances badly in need of paint and repairs. All the families of the poor group interviewed in this study were found living in frame structures, and this may be said to be typical for the greater portion of the state. A few poor farmers will be found occupying dwellings of stone or brick—frequently the habitations of farmers once more prosperous; occasionally one finds dwellings once pretentious now housing poor families, but these instances are exceptional

Poor farm homes are usually characterized by disorder and un-

[1] Reese, Madge J. *Farm Home Conveniences.* Farmers' Bull. 927, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1918, p 2.

[2] Ward, Florence E. *The Farm Woman's Problems.* States Relations Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Dept. Circular 148, 1920.

[3] Gee, Wilson, and Stauffer W H *Rural and Urban Living Standards in Virginia.* Century Co., 1929, pp. 59–62.

attractiveness. It is only fair to observe, however, that a small number of the poor families have a fine appreciation of order and respect for appearance.

One enters the dwelling of the average poor farmer to find that it contains 5.8 rooms, of which 3 are devoted to sleeping. If we account for the kitchen as one room, there remains for the living quarters, 1.8 rooms. The family eats mostly in the kitchen where the cooking is done, and in the winter months confines itself for living purposes to two or three rooms at most. The universality of this concentration among the poorer families arises from the lack of heating facilities for the entire household. In none of the families of the poor group were modern heating arrangements installed. Stoves and, in many instances, open grates serve for heating the rooms which the family occupies during the cold months. Wood is the principal form of fuel for heating, in most cases being supplied from the woodland of the farm occupied.

The use of oil lamps for lighting is almost universal among poor farmers, only one household being recorded as having either electricity or gas

While frame dwellings predominate in the intermediate and prosperous groups, as in the poor, they are of more substantial construction and provide more adequately for utility, convenience, and comfort The average number of rooms in the home of the intermediate farmer is 7.4. Bedrooms account for an average of 3.7, or nearly one more than for the poor group. Homes of prosperous farmers average 10.6 rooms, with 4.5 reserved for sleeping.

Modern heating devices are not common among farmers of the intermediate group, but we find the use of stoves fairly general throughout the entire house during the cold months. In farm homes of the prosperous group, central heating plants of one sort or another are more common. The figures show that over 40 per cent of the homes of this group were equipped with modern systems of heating. Coal comes in as an important item in the budgets of those farm homes which have modern heating devices, though it is questionable if, when all labor costs are fully considered, there is much greater economy in the use of wood than of coal.

In approximately one-fifth of the homes of the intermediate group, electricity or gas is used for lighting, and in the prosperous group fully three-fourths of the families enjoy one or the other of these conveniences.

Where we find electricity installed, further use is generally made of the service in the operation of labor saving devices, such as washing machines, separators, pumps, and so forth. It is not unlikely that considerable extension of electric service for farm use will ensue as the result of the very lively interest which is being displayed on the part of manufacturers as well as potential users of electricity living in the rural sections.

Other evidences of wide differences existing between the several living standards groups are not lacking. The inadequacy of facilities for procuring water furnish another example in point. Only two of the forty families which comprise the poor group in this study were supplied with running water in the home. Twenty per cent of the homes of the intermediate group, and 75 per cent of those of the prosperous group enjoyed these facilities. None of the homes of the poor farmers had bathrooms, while both the intermediate and prosperous groups were thus equipped to the extent that running water was available in the house.

The telephone has come to play an almost indispensable rôle in farm life. Its availability extends the scope of community relationships and is thus, in a sense, a partial index of living modes. Yet, among poor families, only one-sixth had telephones, while six-tenths of the families of the intermediate group and all of those in the prosperous group enjoyed this service.

It is safe to say that the situation in the Cotton Belt is in many sections far worse than that presented for Virginia. It is also apparent that the introduction of home conveniences in the Northern and Western homes in many items exceeds by a considerable margin such development in the South The climatic advantage is with the more southerly states, but the net returns on farms are much lower than in the other areas under consideration.

There is a sage remark among farmers to the effect that "fools build fine houses for someone else to live in." Although the farm home is not directly an income producing factor, it does greatly enrich life on the farm, thereby contributing to the efficiency of the farming enterprise. The average farmer is too slow to improve his home. Life consists of more than the ideal "to buy more land to plant more corn to feed more hogs to sell to buy more land, etc.," but many heads of farm families never seem to realize the fact. In discussing one phase of this matter Taylor says that "regulation housing standards require one-and-a-half rooms per individ-

ual resident. In some cases, and for convenience's sake, it may be desirable to place the family dining table in the ample kitchen, combine the dining room and living room, or combine the living room and parlor. The facts, however, that the farm man should have office space in the house, that the children ought to have play space, and that family entertaining in the home is much more prevalent in the country than in the city would sufficiently offset these suggested combinations to make the regulation housing standards apply to the rural house. Practically every rural survey yet made in any part of the nation reveals the fact that these conditions do not prevail." [1]

5. The Farm Woman's Problems

No one will dispute the soundness of view presented by the head of the agricultural extension work of the federal government when he says that "the future rural home and the future rural life should be the most attractive home and the most attractive life of all the ages, a home the child leaves with regret and returns to with outstretched arms, a home of plenty—fields, flocks, orchards, gardens—of beauty and grace, where intelligence, hospitality, culture and happiness abound. The folks who feed and clothe the nation and furnish the revivifying blood of our urban population are entitled to no less." [2]

In order to accomplish such a desirable ideal it is necessary to visualize the outstanding problems of the farm woman, and the means by which their amelioration may be brought about. The national survey [3] of the farm woman's problems points out that there are five outstanding situations which demand correction.

1. The working day of the average farm woman was discovered to be 11.3 hours, and 87 per cent of the homes reporting state that they have no regular vacation during the year, with the exception of scattered "days off" in the family automobile. The best interests of the farm families require that the working hours of the farm woman be materially lightened, and a larger leisure be provided for rest, cultural advancement, and recreative activities.

2. Women in the country have too much heavy work to do.

[1] Taylor C. C. *Rural Sociology*. Harpers, 1926, p. 202.
[2] Smith, C. B., quoted in Gee, Wilson. *The Country Life of the Nation*. U. of North Carolina Press, 1930, p. 127.
[3] Ward, Florence E. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

For example, 61 per cent of them still carry water an average distance of 39 feet; 96 per cent of them do their own washing, and only 57 per cent of them have washing machines with which to lighten the load. It is for the good of the future farm population as well as the present that such a condition should be remedied.

3. The pull of the city is strong today for country youth. The necessary proportion of the choicest may be held in the country only through the establishment and realization of higher standards of comfort and beauty for the farm home. It is possible that there shall be much of beauty about every home in the country, well-planned yards, neat fencing, cleanly kept barnyards, and farm buildings located with some sense of proportion with regard to each other. Also, at least a reasonable minimum of comfort can be maintained inside the home coupled with cleanliness and attractiveness of arrangement of furnishings

4. There is a dearth of facilities in many parts of the country for safeguarding the health of the farm family, and especially of the mother and growing child. For example, among the several thousand families studied, the average farm home is more than five and one-half miles from the family doctor, nearly twelve miles from a trained nurse, and about fourteen miles from a hospital. More often than not, a part of these distances must be traversed over roads that vary between poor and impassable by automobile. These things mean that often the farm family must act unaided in case of sickness, child-birth, or serious accident, and the general result is such as emphatically to call for a marked betterment of these conditions.

5. If given the opportunity, and allowed to spend the returns upon home improvements, there are many money-yielding home industries which can be introduced and developed by farm women. The actual experience of a few farm women demonstrates what may be accomplished along these lines. One farm housewife writes: "The money I get from the market is buying things for the comfort of my family; it has installed water in the kitchen, it has bought a Chevrolet car, purebred poultry, two cows, furniture, rugs and clothing for myself and other members of my family. My plans for next year are to get a new dining-room suite, furnish a bedroom for my son and finish some work on the house." Another states that "the money I made on the market was for the comfort of my home. I have sold produce to the amount

ot $644.42." Still another reports that at the end of a summer marketing season she had made a profit of $278 on products from her own garden, pantry and poultry yard—articles which otherwise would have gone to waste because, as she says, "I didn't realize I had the things." [1]

Fortunately, a number of agencies are developing systematic programs which are effectively aiding the solution of these vital problems of the farm home. A few of the more outstanding of these organizations are the United States Department of Agriculture and the state colleges and universities, principally through their extension work, Better Homes in America, the federal and state educational systems, the Public Health Service, the Red Cross, the Federal Board of Vocational Education, and the Federal Farm Board. The practical measures designed to improve these deficiencies among American farm homes have been briefly summarized as follows:

"1. Introducing improved home equipment, principal among which are running water and power machinery, and adopting more efficient methods of household management, including the rearrangement of the inconvenient kitchen and the installation of a modern heating system for the whole house.

"2. Helping farm people to understand and apply the laws of nutrition and hygiene through home demonstrations in child care and feeding and food selection for the family, and through training in the essentials of home nursing and the installation of sanitary improvements.

"3. Cultivating the idea that investment in the comfort, beauty, health, and efficiency of the farm home and the rural community is a wise and legitimate expenditure and perhaps the only means of stopping the drift of young people to the city." [2]

QUESTIONS

1. Why does the family rank first in importance among our social institutions?
2. Describe the changes which have taken place in the family as an "economic unit" since the middle of the nineteenth century.
3. State the importance of the rôle of the family in the preservation, transmission, and extension of what we are accustomed to call "culture" in human society.

[1] Quoted from section on the "Farm Family" in Gee, Wilson. *Country Life of the Nation*, p. 118.
[2] Ward, Florence E. *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

4. Discuss the natural basis for a greater family solidarity in the country.
5. Compare the rural and urban areas of the United States in the proportions of married males and females in the population. To what extent does the city seem to discourage marriage in proportion to the country?
6. What does Ross mean when he says that "agriculture *commands* people to marry"?
7. Give the reasons to which Hawthorn ascribes such a tendency.
8. Cite the figures of Ogburn and Groves for the nation as a whole, and the findings of Charlton in Virginia as to the comparative frequency of divorce in country and city.
9. Trace the trend in the divorce rate in the United States from 1885 to 1928. In what ways is this a serious tendency?
10. Give several reasons why divorces are less frequent in the country than in the city.
11. How does Emerson Hough characterize the place of the American woman in the early days in the history of this country?
12. Why does Mary Meek Atkeson say that the rôle of the woman on the farm today in a rapidly changing environment is a difficult one?
13. Is the farm woman of America today lacking in the fundamental elements of culture? Give reasons for your answer.
14. In what respects are the farm women in this country producers in the farm industry and to what extent?
15. Give the general extent of farm home conveniences found in a survey of the farm woman's problems in the North and West.
16. Describe the similar situation in the South as revealed in the study by Gee and Stauffer of living standards among "poor," "intermediate" and "prosperous" farm families in Virginia.
17. Quote the statement of C. B. Smith as to the ideal to be striven for in the future rural home and the future rural life in this country.
18. What five outstanding situations are revealed by the national survey of the farm woman's problems as demanding correction in order that such an ideal may be approximated?
19. Discuss the importance of money-yielding home industries which can be introduced and developed by farm women as a factor in the improvement of the farm home.
20. Name some of the principal agencies which are effectively aiding in the solution of the vital problems of the farm home. Along what three principal lines should practical measures proceed to improve the deficiencies among American farm homes?

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2. Sanderson, E. D. *The Farmer and His Community*. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922, Chapter II, pp. 14-28, "The Farm Home and Community."

3. Atkeson, M. M. *The Woman on the Farm.* Century Company, 1924, Chapter I, pp. 3–15, "The American Farm Woman."
4. Reese, Madge J. *Farm Home Conveniences.* United States Department of Agriculture, 1922, Farmers' Bulletin 927, pp. 1–32.
5. Ward, Florence E. *The Farm Woman's Problems.* United States Department of Agriculture, Department Circular 148, 1920, pp. 1–24.
6. Kirkpatrick, E. L. *The Farmer's Standard of Living.* Century Company, 1929, Chapter XIV, "The Satisfactions of Farming and Farm Life."

CHAPTER XXXII

THE FARMER AND HIS CHURCH

Symbols of faith, they lift their reaching spires
  Above green groves down many a country way;
And on the wide plains there are altar fires
  That light the forms of those who kneel to pray.
Oh, I have seen them stand knee-deep in wheat:
  White country churches rising from the sod,
Where men in gratitude for bread to eat,
  Have paused and reared their altars to their God.

Symbols they stand of mankind's daily need:
  The urgent need to pray, the need to praise.
Without their altars men grow blind indeed,
  And grope bewildered down unlighted ways.
The look of God is over every land
  Where men have toiled—and where their churches stand.

GRACE NOLL CROWELL.

The religious sense is deeply implanted in the make-up of every human race which has ever existed. From the primitive worship of nature it has ranged to that of the sublime exaltation of one supreme, all-powerful Being. Various opinions have been advanced as to the usefulness of religion, and some have declaimed loudly against it as a barrier to the progress of human civilization. Perhaps its best definition is to the effect that it is the "worship of higher powers from a sense of need." [1] The exercise of it is largely of the realm of faith, though its concrete effects on human attitudes and actions are significantly apparent about us every day of our lives. Amiel says:

> Society lives by faith, develops by science. Its basis, then, is the mysterious, the unknown, the intangible,—religion,—while the fermenting principle in it is the desire of knowledge. Its permanent substance is the uncomprehended or the divine; its changing form is the result of its intellectual labor. The efficiency of religion lies precisely in that which is not rational, philosophic, nor eternal; its efficacy lies in the unforeseen, the miraculous, the extraordinary. Thus religion attracts more devotion in proportion as it demands more faith—that is to say, as it becomes more incredible to the profane mind. The

[1] Menzies, Allan. *History of Religion.* Scribners, p. 13.

philosopher aspires to explain away all mysteries, to dissolve them into light. It is mystery, on the other hand, which the religious instinct demands and pursues; it is mystery which constitutes the essence of worship, the power of proselytism. When the cross became the "foolishness" of the cross it took possession of the masses. And in our own day, those who wish to get rid of the supernatural, to enlighten religion, to economize faith, find themselves deserted, like poets who should declaim against poetry, or women who should decry love. Faith consists in the acceptance of the incomprehensible, and even in the pursuit of the impossible, and is self-intoxicated with its own sacrifices, its own repeated extravagances.[1]

Warren H. Wilson characterizes religion as a form of behavior in the presence of the unknown. In spite of the advances of modern science, mystery continues to predominate and the greater part of the universe is unmapped, uncharted, unexplained. "Toward this greater reality our attitude must be religious. Awe and fear, humility and forgiveness, are thus the expressions of man in the Jewish-Christian religions covering reality. Other religions have sacrifices, ceremonies, taboos; and we inherit from them some of their forms because we have not fully emerged from paganism. But the followers of the Hebrew prophets and of the apostles of Jesus have for more than two thousand years translated religion into moral conduct appropriate to the fear of one God who does righteously." [2]

The choicest phases of our life have been derived from religion.[3] The primitive civilization's *law* was simply the will of the gods, and morals were determined by the religious taboos which developed. The earliest expressions of *art* took the form of carving idols, or the semblance of the gods, and the decorating of their shrines. *Music* and *the dance* originated through the crude expression of primitive man's sense of rhythm expressed vocally in repetitions of hymns, and bodily in his prancings at ceremonies in honor of his deities. The *drama* was developed within the chancel of the church as a part of religious service, and the remnants of early *literature* coming down to us through the ages uniformly are the sacred books. Moreover the early church was the fostering mother of the *sciences* and the *arts*. In the earlier stages of human civilization, religion and life were one, and in the correct interpretation of the term such should be the case today.

[1] Quoted in Wilson, Warren H. *The Farmer's Church* Century Co., 1925. p. 47.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48.
[3] Potter, C. F. *The Story of Religion*, Garden City Publishing Co., 1929, p. xix.

The history of religion reveals that all religions have as their beginning some man's religious experience interpreted to and reproduced in others. As these religions have become established their body of creed and doctrine has taken form, and temples of worship built to be attended by a priesthood. And thus we have the organization known as the church even in the modern sense.

The church has played a significant rôle in our national history. The first churches were country churches, erected among the earliest of the buildings constructed by our forefathers in the settlement of the wilderness. And the spirit which animated the first Godly ministers in attendance upon their flocks persists today in the experience of our foremost student of the country church, and a host like him for whom he speaks. The importance of this institution in our earlier and present civilization is well characterized in the following statement in Brunner's own words: "I have been a country pastor. I ask no greater claim to distinction. Stand with me on the crest of that favorite hill in my first charge. Away to the left stretch fields white already to the harvest, broken here and there by small woods rich in the foliage of the maturing summer. Yonder at the foot of the hill lies the little town. It seldom figures in the news of the world; it contributes little to the wealth of the nation; but I view it with affection. It was part of my field. There is a home, and there, and there, whose occupants looked to me, their pastor, to supply a definite need in their lives. There is a house that hides the tragedy of a living sorrow. There is a home that exerts a powerful but little suspected influence. There is the school—what will it and its youthful country lads and lassies mean to the big workaday world some years hence? There is a flash, a rumble, and the inter-urban trolley has sped into the village and out of it. Farther away, beyond the trolley line, are more farms, stretching away to the distant hills. The westering sun is slowly sinking to its rest. Its rays strike the high steeple of a country church, and once again, as in the days of Constantine, the cross is seen emblazoned in the sky. 'In this sign conquer.' The vision fades with the sunlight, but its message remains. It is the moment of rededication to the Hero of the Cross, whose Kingdom is yet to come in rural America.

"There is need for such a vision, for the field is a typical one—small and not growing. Denominational prejudice, superstition, cramped lives, narrow outlook, confront any country pastor.

There are thousands of similar situations in America, lighted here and there by their bright spots, and in the midst of these conditions, by means of everyday toil and typical experiences, the Kingdom of Heaven is being wrought out." [1]

1. The Present Condition of the Country Church

An eminently sound and wholesome interpreter [2] of American rural life thus summarizes statistically the condition of the country church in this nation today. Among our rural population, only one-fifth goes to church. Two-fifths of our rural churches are either marking time or showing signs of loss. One out of every four of all rural churches has no Sunday School. Home-mission aid must be extended to one-fifth of these churches in order that they may be kept alive, and a large number of such subsidized churches are in active competition with churches of closely similar doctrines. Seven out of every ten of our rural churches have only a part-time pastor. One-third of all rural pastors must needs work at some other occupation so that they can make a living, and not a very satisfactory one at that. Only one out of every two of the rural churches makes an annual gain in membership of as much as 10 per cent.

The statement by the same authority that many American country children are virtual pagans is a difficult one to believe in a nation which contributes many millions annually to foreign missions But here are the facts in his own words: "Of the fifteen millions of farm children—children under twenty-one years of age,—more than four millions are virtual pagans, children without knowledge of God, If, perchance, they know the words to curse with, they do not know the Word to live by." These figures are based upon a careful survey of a representative area in different parts of the United States, made by the Institute for Social and Religious Research. That agency asserts with confidence "that 1,600,000 farm children live in communities where there is no church or Sunday School of any denomination," and that there are "probably 2,750,000 more who do not go to any Sunday School, either because the church to which their parents belong does not have any, or because they do not care to connect themselves with such an organization" Moreover, these 1,600,000

[1] Brunner Edmund de S *The Country Church in the New World Order.* Association Press, 1919, pp. 3-4.

[2] Galpin, C. J. *Empty Churches.* Century Co., 1925, p. 9.

pagan children are not distributed evenly, among the other millions of children who are in contact with the Bible, but in a great measure are homed in bibleless, godless communities. "The nation might possibly assimilate a million bibleless children if they were brought up among several millions of children who know the concepts of religion; but absorbing godless children in great numbers from whole godless groups is a bird of a different feather. What is still more disconcerting, the trend, we are led to suppose, is not from bad to better, but from bad to worse." [1]

Quite in contrast to the unchurched communities, there is a large part of our nation in which there are too many churches for adequate financing and hence efficient operation A recent survey in Virginia found that there is "an average of 37 rural churches per 225 square miles, an area 15 miles square, or a circular area with a radius of 8.5 miles. Were these churches distributed evenly all over the state, there would be 13 churches within 5 miles and 52 churches within 10 miles of any one farm home." [2] In some of the rural districts of the United States, there are ten times as many churches per thousand of the population as there are in New York City. In spite of this situation, the percentage of attendance in these rural sections is somewhat lower than that obtaining in the great metropolitan center. Such a showing points in a startling manner to the lack of system in the distribution of country churches, and to a woeful waste of religious potentialities in the American countryside.

Goodwin [3] says: "Who with any knowledge of country life, has not seen the pitiful spectacle of a little village of three or four hundred souls trying to support two, three, or even five, churches? The inevitable result of this denominational rivalry is the conspicuous abandonment of rural and village churches, a fact cheerful or alarming according to whether your church or someone else's is the one abandoned.

"In a town of 800 persons in a mid-western state there were eight churches. Three of them, including the Episcopal Church, were closed. A few church folk from a nearby city moved in, and the rector from an adjoining town came over and opened up the

[1] Galpin, C. J. *Op. cit.*, pp. 31–33.

[2] Hamilton, C. H., and Garnett, W. E *The Rôle of the Church in Rural Community Life in Virginia.* Virginia Agric Expt. Sta., Bull. 267, 1929, pp. 38–39.

[3] Goodwin, F. D. *Beyond City Limits.* The National Council, 281 Fourth Ave., New York City, 1926. p. 55.

Episcopal Church for services twice a month. 'We must reopen ours too,' said the officials of another of the closed churches. 'And we likewise,' decided those in authority in the third church. So again the community of 800 was called on to divide its interest and support among eight churches, whereas three would probably have satisfied every fundamental racial, social, theological, ecclesiastical, and temperamental difference in the community With equal sincerity they all sing, 'We are not divided.'"

An analysis [1] of the *1926 Census of Religious Bodies* answers some interesting questions. The churches in the United States are growing During the decade from 1916 to 1926, the increase was 17.3 per cent Adult population, for these purposes made up of those 13 years of age and over, has increased 17.2 per cent over the same period. Thus the growth in church membership has kept pace almost exactly with the growth of population. The same situation characterizes the ten year period from 1906 to 1916.

In 1926, 55 per cent of the adult population in the United States were enrolled as church members. Among the rural population, 52 per cent of the adults as above defined were church members as contrasted with 58 per cent for all cities 2,500 in population or above. "This comparison may be slightly modified, because the country people who belong to city churches probably outnumber the city people who belong to country churches; but this factor alone can hardly affect the conclusion that urban people belong to church in relatively greater numbers than do country people. This does not necessarily mean that country folk are less interested in organized religion than are the inhabitants of cities Rather the low rural ratio reflects differences in opportunity arising from the fact that many sparsely settled country areas have no churches." [2] Nearly four-fifths of the churches have Sunday Schools. The number enrolled in them is 15 per cent less than the number on the rolls of public schools, both elementary and secondary. During the twenty-year period from 1906 to 1926, the reported scholars in Sunday Schools increased about 45 per cent. In the decade following 1906, however, the increase was 35.7 per cent; while from 1916 to 1926, the net growth was only 5.5 per

[1] Fry, C. L *The U. S. Looks at Its Churches.* Institute Soc. and Religious Research, N. Y., 1930.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

cent. A part of this decline can be explained by differences in methods of reporting, but by no means all of it.

The opinion prevails that the larger the city, the lower the percentage of church membership. It is supported by the reasoning that the larger the city, the more agencies and interests with which the church has to compete, but statistics do not bear out the widely current opinion. "Places with 300,000 inhabitants and over have 59 per cent of their adults in church, which is identically the same as the ratio for cities having 100,000 to 300,000 people. Cities from 50,000 to 100,000 report 57 per cent; those from 25,000 to 50,000 have 60 per cent; while large towns ranging from 2,500 to 25,000 inhabitants return 55 per cent Obviously, the mere size of a city does not seem to influence the relative number of people belonging to the church. There are, however, significant differences from city to city." [1]

However, we are told that the relative number of city inhabitants belonging to church has been declining while the proportion of town and country population who are church members has tended somewhat to increase The census data show for cities of 25,000 and over 66 per cent of the population on the church rolls in 1906, 61 per cent in 1916, while the figure had declined to 59 per cent in 1926. Outside of these principal cities, this proportion had increased from 51 per cent in 1906 to 53 per cent in 1926.

2. Regional Characteristics

There are rather striking geographic differences in the proportion of the adult population belonging to church In the Southern and Eastern States, a larger percentage are church members, while in the Middle West, the corresponding figure is somewhat lower, and more conspicuously so in the Far West. Utah is an outstanding exception, because in that state, nine out of every ten of its adult population are on the church rolls. North Carolina, South Carolina, and Alabama make the best showing in the East. In these states, more than seven-tenths of the adult population are church members. As has been pointed out, most of the Western States have comparatively few church members; for example, Washington, Nevada, and Montana have fewer than three out of every ten adults enrolled in church. The generalization that

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

the church is more firmly established in the older sections of America than in the more newly settled areas seems a warranted one.

In every area of the nation, a larger proportion of women are in church than is true with the male population. The highest proportion obtains in the East South-Central division made up of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. In that group of states, three-fourths of the women are church members, but only about half of the men. The New England States show a less marked difference, with 56 per cent of the men and 67 per cent of the women on the church rolls

In the light of these general facts, it is significant to view more in detail the situation by fairly well-defined regions in the United States, and fortunately an excellent study of the problem has been made from this approach.[1]

1. *Colonial Region.*—The urban population shows a marked preponderance in this region, consisting of the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In 1920, about 76 per cent of the population was urban. Here the country churches show the characteristics of the European traditions back of them. The church buildings at an average cost of $3,600 present a fairly adequate plant; the pastorates are long, and the churches are missionary in spirit The Puritan influence is traceable in New England; the Dutch in New York; and the German, Scotch-Irish, and Quaker in Pennsylvania. An important factor in the rural church situation is the increasing racial complexity. Less than one-half of the churches in the Colonial Region are growing; and only one-third made a net gain of 10 per cent in membership over a period of ten years.

2. *The Southern Region.*—Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Kentucky constitute this region. The area has one of the highest percentages rural of any in the United States. In these states the country church is characterized by conservatism in religion and backwardness in education. The circuit system is still in vogue, though its effectiveness is outgrown in most communities. Only 6.1 per cent of the churches have full-time ministers; 15.1 per cent part-time resident ministers; 69 7 per cent have

[1] Morse, H. N., and Brunner, Ed. de S. *The Town and Country Church in the United States.* Doran, 1923. pp. 17–36, and Goodwin, F. D. *Op. cit.* pp. 64–71.

non-resident ministers; and 9.1 per cent of the churches have no ministers at all. The average salary paid the minister is about $1,300 per year, and this includes $250 for the use of a parsonage. "This area, relatively speaking, uses more 'toiler preachers' than any other section, ministers who make part or all of their livelihood by following some other occupation. This greatly reduces the economic overhead. Consequently, although the South has the most churches in proportion to population and is by no means the best able financially to support them, comparatively few of these churches are listed as without ministers. The prevailing type of church work places less stress on the need of the resident minister. More churches are accustomed to having public service on only one or two Sundays a month. Social and educational aspects of the churches' programs are less emphasized." The church buildings are usually of the one- or two-room type, with an average value of $1,500. The South is the stronghold of Protestantism in the United States. One-half of the rural church organizations in America are to be found in the South. The Southern Baptists have 20,000 rural churches, the Southern Methodists have 17,000, and the Presbyterians 1,000. In the Southern Region 63 per cent of the churches are growing, while 54 per cent gained as much as 10 per cent or slightly less

3. *Middle West Region.*—The settlement of the Middle West was derived largely from three main population movements. (1) From the New England States and New York; (2) from the nearby South, by way of the Ohio River Valley; and (3) by direct European immigration, principally from Germany and the Scandinavian countries. This section is composed of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin. It is often referred to as the "Valley of Democracy" or the "Heart of America." The region is progressive, and constitutes a rather prosperous agricultural section except for certain retarded areas. Pioneer traditions are evident in the country church, and except in the German and Scandinavian communities, the country churches usually do not have resident pastors. There are 19.2 per cent full-time resident pastors; 16.6 per cent of the churches have a non-resident pastor; and 12.7 per cent of the churches are without ministers. About 3 per cent of the town and country population are without Protestant churches. Sixty-one per cent of the churches are growing; 55 per cent gained 10 per cent or more in a decade.

4. *Southwestern Region.*—The churches of this region are influenced by both Southern and Western characteristics. The original population was of the Southern tradition, but progressive Western elements have come in, particularly in Oklahoma and Texas. Missouri and Arkansas are the other two states composing this region. Country churches are small; and 54.1 per cent are without resident pastors, 19 per cent having no pastor at all. About 7 per cent of the town and country population are without Protestant churches. Tenancy is high, and is an important retarding factor in the functioning of the rural churches. The population is not a homogeneous one; negroes are numerous, Mexicans and Indians are present in many thousands, and there is a considerable number of foreign immigrants. The social conditions are much like those characterizing the poorer parts of the South. Denominationalism is everywhere an important factor, and is accentuated in many communities by the fact that there are Northern and Southern branches of some of the denominations

5. *Northwestern Region.*—Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Eastern Montana are characterized by large farms, a low tenant rate, and by a sharp cleavage between town and city on the one hand, and open country districts on the other. The real and suspected exploitation of the country by the town and city led to the movement known as the Non-Partisan League in this section. Due to racial differences, language lines, the size of farms, and the resulting dispersion of population, social and religious life lacks a certain necessary cohesiveness. This area is a difficult one for the country church. It is estimated that about 8 per cent of the population of town and country are without Protestant churches Twenty-four and four-tenths per cent of the churches have a full-time resident minister; approximately 27 per cent have a part-time resident minister; 40 per cent have ministers who are non-resident; and about 9 per cent are without ministers at all. The population of this section is predominantly rural. This is the country of the *Daughter of the Middle Border* and *Main Street.*

6. *The Prairie Region.*—Kansas, Nebraska, and part of Oklahoma represent a comparatively prosperous and wealthy farming section. In Nebraska 75 6 per cent of the farmers own cars, and in Kansas, 62 per cent. The region is largely rural and coöperative principles are successful. These states represent the Puritan survival. They were among the first to take a stand for prohibition,

and they have again taken steps designed to limit the use of tobacco. The influence of the churches has been strongly in support of these movements. It is estimated that around 8 per cent of the town and country population are without Protestant churches. Approximately 36 per cent of the churches have full-time resident ministers, 39 per cent are served by non-resident ministers, and 11 per cent have no ministers. Rather generally the church buildings are good, and a strong religious feeling is evident. This region ranks highest in the proportion of its church membership which is resident and active. Four-fifths of the membership come within such a classification.

7. *The Range Region.*—The Range includes Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Nevada, and Western Montana. The region is characterized by the mountainous nature of the country and the light rainfall. These states have very distinctive features; New Mexico, a sparse population, two-thirds of it originating from Spanish ancestry; Colorado and Nevada, great mining industries and deserted mining towns; Utah and Southern Idaho, high-grade farming of the dry and irrigation types, together with a predominantly Mormon population; Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho, great resources of mine, forest, and agriculture, largely undeveloped, and Arizona and Nevada, important mining states with a small percentage of land devoted to farming, though much is used for grazing. An outstanding characteristic of the region is the general isolation of its population, which has made for a diffused type of settlement. Naturally, this makes for a lack of neighborhood or community organization and for an absence of social life. There is a high quality of population, which is chiefly American, with a high average of property holders. "These states are all characterized by a low estate of religion, unless one should make an exception in favor of the Mormon establishment, where the church has very evident influence. Elsewhere the churches are generally inferior in type, insecurely rooted, with little social sympathy. They have not yet taken hold of the life, or commanded the spiritual attention of the people." In this region, 37 per cent of the churches have full time resident ministers, 25.5 per cent part-time resident ministers, 24 per cent non-resident ministers, and about 13.5 per cent of the churches are without ministers. Indicative of the possibilities in this area for further church extension, it is noted that 71 per cent of the churches in the Range

counties are growing, and all of these gained annually at least 10 per cent.

8. *The Pacific Region.*—In California, Oregon, and Washington, farming is generally of a specialized nature. Coöperative marketing associations flourish vigorously in this region. The spirit characterizing the economic development is a progressive one. People from the Middle West and the East have been largely influential in such development, particularly in Southern California. Somewhat like the Range Region, social life is non-traditional and is characterized by freedom and initiative. Only 10.7 per cent of the total town and country population are members of Protestant churches. This, together with the increasing population helps to account for the fact that 73 per cent of the churches are growing. Sixty-four per cent of the churches show an average annual gain of at least 10 per cent. This region has the largest percentage of its churches with full-time resident ministers—about 42 per cent. The churches have not been highly successful. "They are still too much under the Eastern tradition and are poorly appreciated by the population."

3. The Country Minister

"The ministry itself will be the chief pioneer of the revitalized country church. When the arch of the social structure is to receive its keystone, they look for one man to place it—the modern country preacher."[1] Masters says there are not fewer than four classes of rural ministers. These are first the influential group of educated country pastors, whose worth is rather generally recognized by the responsible leaders of the several denominations, and it embraces preachers of fine gifts and culture, who have chosen the country field because they see its great possibilities. Then there is an impressive group of country ministers, with commanding personality and a large degree of self-education, both from books and from experience. "By reading and the study of men, these preachers have developed an intellectual and moral leadership among rural communities which is more influential and helpful, though less conspicuous, than it is usually possible for a pastor to gain in an urban environment." Third, there are the faithful, loyal, untrained men who are doing all they can to take care of the spirit-

[1] Masters, V. I. *Country Church in the South.* (Second Edition) Home Mission Board Sou. Baptist Convention, Atlanta, Ga., 1917, p. 86.

ual destitution about them. "These are usually one- and two-talent men. In the sight of God, the one-talent man is as pleasing as the man of ten talents. If he is more faithful than his more gifted brother in the use of his one talent, he outranks him. The one-talent country preacher is practically always uneducated and his natural gifts are limited." The fourth class is made up of the indifferent and reactionary ministers, those who are "time-servers," men who stand still. "In retarded rural sections are still to be found not a few preachers who are fixed in their opposition to missions, education and all progress The ignorance of the people often makes it easy for the preacher to fortify them against the influence of any chance ray of light which might disquiet them from their habitual repose."[1]

One of the most serious deficiencies of the country church situation today resides in the fact that there is entirely too small a proportion of trained preachers in the country ministry today. The *1926 Census of Religious Bodies* reports that of the 25,000 city ministers among the seventeen white Protestant bodies, only 20 per cent reported that they were not graduates of either college or seminary, while 52 per cent claimed graduation from both. The situation for the rural areas is practically the reverse of that for the urban. Among the 46,000 reporting Protestant country pastors, only 23 per cent were graduates of both college and seminary, and 53 per cent—more than half—were not graduates of either.[2]

It is exceptional today that the well-equipped young minister is looking to the country for his field of endeavor. The situation is strikingly analogous to that of the young medical doctor. A considerable factor operative in this connection is the low salaries which are paid the country minister in proportion to the difficulty of his task if he accomplishes it as he should. A study[3] made of the salaries of 565 town and country ministers throughout the United States shows that most of the men who give full-time to the ministry fall within these four salary groups—$751 to $1,000; $1,001 to $1,250; $1,251 to $1,500, and $1,501 to $1,750. The peak is reached in the two middle groups, 237 ministers of the 565 receiving a salary between $1,000 and $1,500. And it must be remembered that included in these figures is $250 for the rental value

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[2] Fry, C. L. *Op. cit.*, pp. 65–66.
[3] Morse, H. N., and Brunner, E de S. *Op. cit.*, pp. 142–144.

of each parsonage that is provided free of charge. The laborer is worthy of his hire, and it is apparent that such a salary is ridiculously low for a well-trained, aspiring leader, young or old.

The statement has been widely made that the country church is too largely led by ministers who have failed to keep step in their city charges and young preachers serving an apprenticeship in the rural church, their ears keenly attuned to the expected city call. One of the remedies for this condition is in the broader equipment of the young minister, and as far as possible the older one too, for his gigantic task. The National Commission on Country Life made an excellent statement[1] of the needs along such lines. In part it said: "We must have a complete conception of the country pastorate. The country pastor must be a community leader. He must know the rural problems. He must have sympathy with rural ideals and aspirations. He must love the country. He must know country life, the difficulties that the farmer has to face in his business, some of the great scientific revelations made in behalf of agriculture, the great industrial forces at work for the making or unmaking of the farmer, the fundamental social problems of the life of the open country.

"Consequently, the rural pastor must have special training for his work. Ministerial colleges and theological seminaries should unite with the agricultural colleges in this preparation of the country clergyman. There should be better financial support for the clergyman; in many country districts it is pitiably small. There is little incentive for a man to stay in a country parish, and yet this residence is just what must come about. Perhaps it will require an appeal to the heroic young men, but we must have more men going into the country pastorates not as a means of getting a foothold but as a permanent work. The clergyman has an excellent chance for leadership in the country. In some sections he is still the dominating personality. But everywhere he may become one of the great community leaders. He is the key to the country church problem."

It is just this task which the theological seminaries, church boards, agricultural colleges, state universities, and other related agencies have set about to accomplish in recent years. A committee of the Federal Council of Churches on this subject has recommended that students who look forward to the rural ministry

[1] *Report of the Commission on Country Life*, Macmillan, 1917, pp. 127-144.

should have an understanding of rural sociology, instruction in making rural surveys and experience with pastorates in the country, research work and reports on rural movements, and "elsewhere than in the seminary, they should make a study of agriculture, including farm practice and management and the application of science to farm problems; agricultural economics, including coöperation and market distribution; farm business methods; and advanced rural sociology, including rural education, art, literature, recreation, sanitation, and social organization. These may be pursued by means of summer schools, correspondence courses, or one or two years in an agricultural college." In a number of universities and colleges in different sections of the nation, institutes of a week or more are being held for rural ministers. Such meetings serve the very useful purpose of stimulating conference for groups of rural ministers and of instruction of men already in the ministry who need to supplement their limited previous training along these lines But what must be accomplished along these lines has merely been begun. Concerted and heroic efforts are necessary if this basic problem of the country church is to be materially improved.

4. Equipment and Finance

Nationally we have ceased to laud the one-room school. It is necessary that we begin a similar onslaught against the one-room church Three out of four of our town and country churches are one or two-room buildings of unattractive and nearly uniform design. It is true that the church building is not a material but a spiritual symbol, and that a severely plain, unpainted frame house of worship is often used with wonderful effectiveness in promoting the Kingdom of God. But it is also a matter of fact that churches with three rooms or more make proportionately from 50 to 300 per cent better records through various features of the church program, especially in relation to religious education.

Morse and Brunner ask the question: "What idea of religion in rural America would a visitor from Europe glean if he were to study nothing but our church buildings?" And they proceed to answer it by saying: "How different from the outward appearance of the churches, or even of the wayside chapels of Europe, would the visitor find the bare, board exterior of this, our average church. And its interior would be, for him, devoid alike of either dignity

or beauty. Instead, there would be the bare floor, the hard pews, the pine or golden oak pulpit set, and the asthmatic 'organ.' Manifestly, structures of this type, designed as buildings in which people may assemble periodically for worship, and to hear the word of God expounded, are a prized legacy from a day that is gone."[1]

As a practical matter, no church simply because it has one or two rooms should despair of adopting a modern efficient program. The instances are too numerous where this has been done successfully. Also, it is an unwise policy to build so large a church plant that there is waste and inefficiency in the failure to use it adequately. But it must be firmly impressed that the church must become a modern institution if it is to keep its place in the life of the community. Usually the first room which has to be added is a kitchen, and often along with it housing facilities for the primary department. Then logically come additional rooms for the young people's and the adults' classes. Such a plant readily lends itself to related community functions such as the Boy and Girl Scouts. With a practical vision of plant extension, these improvements often can be financed by a little at a time, and this has the advantage of preventing the development of unnecessary building space.

An encouraging sign is that more modern methods of church financing are being applied in town and country churches.[2] One-third of the town and country churches have the annual budget, every-member canvass, and envelope system. A number of others have adopted one or two of these practices. As a result the per capita contributions have been increased sometimes as much as 100 per cent. Where there is a resident minister such measures are greatly enhanced in effectiveness The average annual budget of a country church with a full-time resident minister is $3,064, while the church with a non-resident minister averages only about $559. It is a significant fact that in the matter of per capita contributions they are not necessarily determined by the prosperity of the community. Some churches in poor communities are found to put to shame the per capita contributions from others much more able to give.

5. The Church School

There is no more neglected field in American education today than that of religious training. It is well recognized that the most

[1] Morse, H. N., and Brunner, E. de S. *Op. cit.*, p. 137.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

effective method of evangelization, and the building of the church of tomorrow is found in the Sunday School. Yet as has been pointed out in the introductory section of this chapter about four millions of the total fifteen millions of farm children today are without religious instruction of any kind worthy of the name.

We are told that about one-fourth of the town and country churches in the United States have no Sunday Schools The attendance at the exercises held in these averages only two-thirds of the enrollment. For the most part, the teachers in them are untrained; the lessons are ungraded, except with some of the younger class-groups. In the average school, there is a woeful lack of modern educational equipment It is interesting to note that "the schools which produce the greatest number of church members and of life-work recruits for Christian service, are the schools which have the leadership of an active resident minister," and that "the churches with classes to prepare for church membership are only 20 per cent larger than those without; but they add four times as many members per year."[1] Certainly the conclusion is justified that the real problem of the average country Sunday School is largely untouched by present programs.

The neglect in this important matter, and the existing inefficiency in its operation where such schools are carried on is one of the gravest problems of the country church. Entirely too many pastors and church leaders seem to have forgotten the fact that there will be no church of tomorrow unless it is built upon the boys and girls of today. McLaughlin [2] points out the influence of educated, cultured ministers in meeting this situation. He says that "trained leadership is needed in the country Sunday Schools today as never before. There is a movement of the better educated people to the cities High school graduates and college men and women enter professions or a business career. Not many country communities have a minister capable of discovering and training leadership Frequently ministers do not maintain friendly relations with the schools and the teachers. There is need in the country communities for educated, cultured ministers, not only that people may be attracted to the churches, but that leaders may be trained among them." Where such guiding genius is present teacher-train-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 135–136.
[2] McLaughlin, H. W. *The New Call.* Presbyterian Committee of Publication, Richmond, Va., 1923. pp. 153–154.

ing schools may be successfully conducted, and the Daily Vacation Bible School can be utilized not only for the children but also for the equipment of teachers. Most of the denominational boards are attacking this problem of religious education in a serious and scientific manner, but as yet the country sections are woefully lacking in really effective provision in this matter.

6. Too Many Churches

Around 8 per cent of the town and country population of the United States is to be found in communities without Protestant churches. These are the areas which are "underchurched." On the other hand, it has been pointed out that in many town and country communities there is a much larger number of churches than can possibly be operated on an efficient basis from the standpoints of adequate membership and sufficient financial resources for support. Where there are too many churches for an area to support them, it is said to be "overchurched." It is clearly obvious from many foregoing facts that a church functions as it should only when it has the services of a resident pastor. The frequency of churches in the older settled areas of this nation harks back to an earlier day when they were so placed that their constituencies might reach them by horse and buggy, or saddle, or on foot. Good roads and the automobile have greatly changed those earlier limitations of time and space that once existed.

1 *United Churches.*—It has been suggested by many of the ablest thinkers on this subject that the solution of the country church problem is in large measure the establishment of united churches. Many of these have already been established in the United States and other countries and are effectively functioning. Miss Hooker [1] who has studied this problem found four kinds of united churches in this country: the federated, the denominational, the undenominational, and the affiliated.

The *federated church* she defines as "composed of two or more organized churches differing in denomination, each related to its own denominational body, which have entered into an agreement to act together as regards local affairs The denominational units retain their own rolls, usually keep in the hands of their own trustees their separate property, and almost always continue to send benevolences to their separate denominational boards. They

[1] Hooker, Elizabeth R. *United Churches.* Doran, 1926, p. 35.

combine in calling and in paying a minister, hold services of worship in common, almost invariably conduct a common Sunday School and frequently join in other local activities." [1] In the thirty states investigated in 1924, there were discovered to be 312 federated churches, at which time this was considered to be a rather exact figure.

The *denominational united church* is defined as "a church connected with a single denominational body, that has definitely undertaken or had allocated to it responsibility for the religious needs of a public not confined to one denominational group, and that includes in its membership—whether regular or associate—elements of different denominational origins. Members received from other than the official denomination are not required to surrender creed, form of baptism, or denominational loyalty, denominational united churches being easily distinguished in this way from the numerous denominational churches of the traditional kind that have received a large proportion of their members by letter from churches of other denominations." [2] It was found that not fewer than 528 denominational united churches exist in the northern and western parts of the United States.

The *undenominational united church* is characterized as "an organized church, not connected with any denominational body. Such churches are often called 'union' churches." The total number of undenominational churches in the town and country area of the northern and western parts of the United States as discovered through careful and repeated inquiries, was only 137. The type had its greatest development in the Middle West, which had sixty undenominational united churches.

The *affiliated church* "signifies a church that in freedom to form its own constitution and control its own local affairs resembles the undenominational church, but that is connected with a denominational body for certain specific purposes, usually including ministerial supply and distribution of benevolences. Persons from other denominations are received to full membership with equal voting powers." [3]

As would be expected on an issue of this kind opinion is sharply divided. One authority [4] says that highly successful instances

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 36. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 80. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 100–101
[4] Brunner, E. de S. *The Church and the Agricultural Crisis.* The Pilgrim Press, 1928, pp. 43–44.

are found in all four of these types of united churches "but that denominational united churches, measured by the usual statistical foot rules make the best record on number of tests. As a whole the united church movement is spreading rapidly. It has an official organ and holds an annual meeting. The desire for union and coöperation is of the people. It must be reckoned with, not fought."

On the opposing side, may be quoted a student [1] of the problem who has decided convictions. He says that "the united church movement is clearly a fad—the result of sincere but misguided sentiment, the foolish notion that a community can organize for worship just as it organizes for education, recreation, economic efficiency, etc. This notion misses the mark, as we have seen, because religion essentially involves dominating beliefs which divide, as well as unify. A sound community program must make a place for the grouping of those who believe alike. If my contention is correct, united churches must, sooner or later, take the logical line of development and become another denomination, or gradually decline and disappear."

2 *The Larger Parish Plan.*—Another plan for meeting the problem of increased efficiency and adequate support of the country church is known as "the larger parish plan." It is thus described by M. A. Dawber: "The Larger Parish is based on the idea of several churches under coöperative and comprehensive leadership. Instead of two or three churches on a circuit, with an untrained pastor struggling alone, the plan seeks to group several churches under a combined ministry that will be trained to meet the varying needs of all the people in a given territory.

"A minimum of leadership would be, first, a supervisory preacher-pastor who will be responsible for the general program. Second, a man who, in addition to preaching, will care for the young men's and boys' work for the entire field. Third, a woman who will have general charge of the program of religious education and the girls' and children's work. Such a group working together can render service to a larger group of people with a broader program, eliminate duplication, and include the vital elements of a Christian program which are frequently omitted under the present system"

[1] Jent, J. W. "United Churches Do Not Solve the Country Church Problem," in McLaughlin, H. W. *The Country Church and Public Affairs.* Macmillan, 1930, pp. 132–133.

3. *Consolidation within the Denomination.*—Many close students of the country church problem believe strongly in the retention of denominational lines. Warren H. Wilson says: "I am convinced, after observing many congregations, that nothing is gained by mongrelizing the Methodist church with independency, or adulterating Baptist efficiency by the control of a bishop. The best thing a church can do is to be what it professes. Therefore a congregation ought to serve the communion to which it belongs. Denominations are the best religious agencies we have at the present time." [1] Some very practical suggestions are made by Hamilton and Garnett [2] in a recent survey of the country church problem in Virginia. They recommend the exercise of caution and patience in the movement to consolidate rural churches, expressing faith in the view that sooner or later the movement will gain impetus where the consolidations are among churches of the same faith. Home-mission aid is a factor of much importance with the country church and it should be used judiciously in order to prevent denominational duplication.

Nothing can be quite so apparent from these varied expressions of opinion, often conflicting in nature, that no cut and dried formula can be applied to the solution of the country church problem in the different communities of the nation. It does seem sensible to agree, however, that where the needed improvement can be secured by action taken within the boundaries of the particular denomination, it can be more quickly, certainly, and perhaps effectively accomplished. The traditional conservatism of religious bodies is too deeply ingrained to expect that it can easily be swept aside.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a good definition of religion. What is meant by the statement of Amiel that "society lives by faith, develops by science"?
2. Explain how the choicest phases of our life have been derived from religion.
3. Why does Brunner say that he asks no greater claim to distinction than to have been a country pastor?
4. Outline concisely the present status of the country church in the United States. How many farm children in this country are without the advantages of religious instruction?

[1] Wilson, W. H. *The Farmer's Church.* Century Co., 1925, p. 262.
[2] Hamilton, C. H., and Garnett, W. E. *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

5. How does the number of churches per thousand of the country population in the United States compare with the similar ratio in a city like New York? Illustrate the problem of overchurching in many rural areas by the instance of the situation in a town of 800 persons in a Mid-Western State.
6. Are our churches growing in membership and to what extent in proportion to the increase in adult population? What is the corresponding situation in the Sunday Schools?
7. What proportion of the adult population of the country and of the city are church members? Is it true that the larger the city, the lower the percentage of church membership? Which is growing at a more rapid rate, proportionately, the country or the city churches?
8. What do statistics on the matter show as to the comparative church interest on the part of men and women?
9. Briefly characterize the country church situation in the Colonial, Southern, Middle Western, and Southwestern regions of the United States.
10. Give a similar picture of the corresponding situation in the Northwestern, Prairie, Range, and Pacific regions.
11. Why must the ministry itself be the chief pioneer of the revitalized country church? Give Masters' four classes of country ministers.
12. Can you name several reasons why it is exceptional today that the well-equipped young minister is looking to the country for his field of endeavor?
13. What suggestions did the Report of the National Commission on Country Life make as to special training for the rural pastor? Are these being followed and to what general extent?
14. Would a European visitor in rural America be impressed if he were to study nothing but our rural church buildings? Give reasons for your answer.
15. Explain how a country church of one or two rooms should go about improving its equipment and method of financing.
16. Are our provisions for religious instruction in this country anything like adequate? Why is neglect in this matter fatal to a church?
17. Suggest several reasons why it is vital that a church should have a resident pastor. What barriers does an overchurched community have to the accomplishment of this ideal?
18. Explain what is meant by a "united church" of the "federated," "denominational," "undenominational," and "affiliated" types How effective are such institutions?
19. Describe the "larger parish plan" as a solution for many of the difficulties of the country church.
20. Discuss the merits of the idea of consolidating churches within the denomination.

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

1. Wilson, W. H. *The Farmer's Church.* Century Company, 1925, Chapter II, pp. 8–28, "The Farmer's Church."
2. Brunner, E. de S. *The Country Church in the New World Order.* Association Press, New York, 1919, Chapter I, pp. 3–14, "In the Round of Daily Rural Ministry."

3. GALPIN, C. J. *Empty Churches.* Century Company, 1925, pp. 3-150.
4. MORSE, H. N., and BRUNNER, E. DE S. *The Town and Country Church in the United States.* George H. Doran Company, 1923, Chapter XI, pp. 160-171, "The Rural Church Program."
5. HOOKER, ELIZABETH R. *United Churches.* George H. Doran Company, 1926, Chapter I, pp. 23-31, "Development of United Churches."
6 MCLAUGHLIN, H. W *The Country Church and Public Affairs.* The Macmillan Company. 1930, Chapter VIII, pp. 107-123, "United Churches Solve the Country Church Problem" by W. R. King; and Chapter IX, pp. 124-133, "United Churches Do Not Solve the Country Church Problem" by J. W. Jent.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE COUNTY LIBRARY AND COUNTRY NEWSPAPER

The modern library has come to be considered an indispensable part of present-day educational machinery. One period of human history has been able through the agency of books to hand on to the next and all posterity its best and worst experiences as guides to like enjoyments and as words of caution against similar pitfalls. The work of the teacher would be impossible without books, and the full acquaintance with a wide range of worth while books and periodicals is in itself a good education. Most research would be next to impossible without well stocked library shelves. The mind of wholesome youth, in order to be kept wholesome, requires the fine things of juvenile books, and it is the duty of civilization in such an age of printing presses as this to meet adequately this worthy craving of youth.

Libraries are the continuation schools for adults, the great army of those who have passed the days of precious and often neglected privilege More and more the sentiment grows that education does not stop with the ending of one's school days. And the most practical way to continue mental improvement is through a continued, persistent familiarity with good books. For the most of the citizenship this need must be met by the public library, and it is largely toward this end that such an institution was created.[1]

It will always be true with many that they can say with Henry Clay that "a wise mother and good books enabled me to succeed in life. She was very poor, but never too poor to buy books for her children. It is a mean economy that starves the mind to feed the body." It was Theodore Roosevelt who once said, "After the church and the school, the free public library is the most effective influence for good in America." And one of the greatest educators

[1] Gee, Wilson, "Libraries as Supplementary Educational Agencies." Chapter 72, *Public Education in Virginia, A Survey of the Public Educational System of the State*, Supt. Public Printing, Richmond, Va. 1928. pp. 445–453.

America has ever produced, Charles W. Eliot, long time distinguished president of Harvard University, has told us that "our youth should read, read, read. Science may facilitate the use of the senses in acquiring knowledge—through motion pictures and the radio. But I do not believe these will supplant the surest process of instruction—reading. While science may improve ease and pleasure in life, it can never replace the will to learn as an instrument of culture." And equally as much to the point comes these words from the farm: "As I look back over the years that are past, I can think of nothing that has brought more real happiness into my life than good books. As a source of inspiration, cheer and practical helpfulness, they have had no equal. Books, magazines, and periodicals have been the greatest single factor in making me what I am today." [1]

The public library is the agency which has been devised by modern civilization to meet this fundamental need for books in a democracy. The nature of the services of such an institution are well set forth in the following quotation from Charles F. D. Belden a librarian in Boston:

> More and more it is seen how firmly the public library rests, for foundation, upon a nation's faith in the power of thought. This faith—this belief in the ennobling and strengthening values of the things of the mind—continues so great that our communities are increasingly willing to be taxed in order to make the records of thought freely available to all comers at all times.
>
> Acting upon this faith, the public library, through the proffer of ever more effective service to persons of all ages, both educated and uneducated, eagerly promotes the advancement of learning. That is the task which it accomplishes through stimulating and encouraging the reading of the best books and the making of investigations in every realm of thought and knowledge. At the same time the library is the medium through which the community provides for its members, one and all, the means of recreation, inspiration and education in the broadest sense through books and all other forms of recorded thought.
>
> The service of the public library begins to-day, as it has for years past, in the work with children. For them it is the chief gateway to the world of books. Through the wisely directed story-hour, through class and individual instruction in the use of books, through expert and sympathetic advice, it inculcates the habit and love of good reading. It supplements the instruction of the school and college, and serves as a continuation school for all of life. By its intelligent work with

[1] *Why We Need a Public Library.* Amer. Libr. Assoc., 1927, pp. 16–17.

children, the public library has the power, ultimately, to lift the thinking of a whole community to higher levels.

Similarly, the public library of today can do much to increase the earning-power of the community and of its members. Employers and laboring men alike—the great corporation and the individual artisans in its employ—can all be helped by the library which will select books adapted to the raising of standards of efficiency, and will make them easily available The economic level as well as the intellectual tone of the community can be deeply affected by the service of the library.

Recent immigrants may be aided in becoming better Americans; the stranger may be made at home; the scholar, the inventor, the poet, the artist can all be helped toward creative work by the public library. It is all things to all men, and its possession in freely available form of the best thought of all times, on all possible subjects, gives it, perhaps, a wider potentiality of human helpfulness than any other agency hitherto conceived.

While the public library does not give formal instruction, it provides, or should be able, with the aid of inter-library loans from neighboring libraries or loans from central libraries established to meet the need, to provide the best books on every possible subject of interest or curiosity. The efficient public library will aid the enquirer in the wise choice of the book or books suited to his or her individual needs or desires. But it goes further, and through such devices as lectures, exhibitions, musical performances and reproductions of music by mechanical means, through reading lists and other forms of library publicity and propaganda, and, most helpful and significant of all, by means of the services of trained and sympathetic personal advisors, it seeks to attract the people to its treasures, and to introduce them to books in such a way as to secure their intelligent interest.

The public library is universal in its application. No one American institution provides so widely for the intellectual needs of every member of the community. Its service is absolutely impersonal—except in so far as it adapts its wares to its users—and it asks no questions except "What do you want?" Through its reference service it seeks to furnish the answer to any reasonable question, no matter what its nature or who the enquirer, and to provide him with the books which he needs, so far as they are available, or can be made available; failing in this, it guides the student, whenever possible, to the ultimate sources of information on the desired subject.

The modern library is becoming more and more an active factor in keeping alert, open and well-informed the minds of all those who have ceased their formal school education. Through the literature of emotion and imagination, it offers an enlargement and enrichment of life; through the literature of knowledge it promotes the growth of power and of the ability to serve self and mankind. The success of a modern public library, with its ever increasing opportunities of service to the public, is dependent not alone on more adequate funds for the purchase, housing and proper care of books and related material, but also

on its ability to attract to its staff persons of training and scholarship who possess those human and sympathetic qualities of mind that will win the confidence and respect of all seekers after knowledge.

The modern public library is the most universal of public servants—an institution created by the citizens of a community to provide for their own needs in the all-embracing fields of thought and learning.[1]

1. Extent of Rural Library Service

A public library is generally understood to mean one which gives general, free, public service under any form of management and support. According to this definition, the American Library Association reports that there are 5,954 public libraries in the 3,065 counties in the United States. However, 1,135 counties do not have public libraries within their borders.[2] Approximately 45,000,000 people in this nation are without access to public libraries, and of this number about 42,152,000, or 93 per cent are rural, *i.e.*, living in the open country or in places having less than 2,500 inhabitants. The figures show that in round numbers eight of every ten of our rural population (82 per cent) are without public library service, as compared with only six out of every one hundred (6 per cent) of the urban people. It is clear from these figures that in the cities the matter is largely one of improving the existing services, and that the public library problem is in its more significant phases today a rural problem of the first magnitude.

The annual expenditures for public libraries in the United States amounts to $35,347,156, an impressive sum in itself, but when compared with $1,581,000,000 for public schools, or $128,000,000 for public higher educational institutions it sinks into relative insignificance particularly when it is recalled that it is for the people's university, the continuation school with no age limit. The meagerness of the expenditure for so important a function becomes still less impressive when we consider that it is little more than the cost of one battleship, and several million less than is spent for chewing gum. "The country is spending four hundred million dollars for soft drinks, one billion dollars for candy, four hundred and fifty million for radios, eight hundred million for moving pictures, three billion for automobiles and motor trucks.

[1] Belden, C. F. D., in *Why We Need a Public Library*, pp. 21–22.

[2] Nason, W. C. *Rural Libraries*. Farmers' Bull. No. 1559, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1928. p. 4.

It seems reasonable to suppose that it could afford adequate public library service." [1]

Critics of the movement to provide reading matter for farm homes, largely tight-fisted members of boards of supervisors and legislators, often advance the argument that rural people will not read the books if library facilities are made available to them. Such an argument cannot be justified, because factual studies of the problem indicate that farmers are readers, especially in their leisure time during the long winter evenings. A comparative farm and city study [2] made in Virginia indicates that poor, intermediate, and prosperous farm families spent a larger proportion of their total living costs for reading matter than did the corresponding city groups. Even the poor farm families spent as much as $4.50 a year for reading matter. It was observed in this study that families enjoying relatively higher living standards devoted more time to reading than those below them, and that as the scale of living is ascended a greater diversity is found in the reading matter, and more of it in the case of particular families. If we consider the hours spent weekly by the farmer and the wife or home-maker combined, in the poor group an average of slightly more than six hours per family was devoted to reading. The low average educational levels affect this matter to a considerable extent. The reading among this group consisted in the main of the country weekly papers and occasionally a daily paper. Where other reading matter is found, it is generally in the form of short stories of an emotional or sensational nature. It is significant in this group also to note that in many families the reading done is almost nil, in others it is irregular or spasmodic. The average for the group reaches the given level mainly because of a few inveterate readers who devote more time to reading than the best interests of their work sanction.

Farmers in the intermediate group average almost 50 per cent more reading than those in the poor group, with ten hours weekly devoted to this aspect of living. Among this group also the newspaper predominates as the source of reading, though here we find a greater variety of reading matter than in the lower group. Weekly and monthly magazines and journals find their way into

[1] *Library Extension.* Amer. Libr. Assoc., Chicago, 1926, p. 24.

[2] Gee, Wilson, and Stauffer, W. H. *Rural and Urban Living Standards in Virginia.* Century Co., 1929, p. 93.

homes of this group, and a considerable interest is displayed by some families in the reading of books. Here, too, the practice of reading regularly is more widespread among the families, and there is a better balance of time spent in reading on the part of the farmer and his wife.

It is among the prosperous families, as we should expect, that reading comes to be an almost universal custom. Families of this group spend on the average nearly nineteen hours weekly in reading, which is almost twice the amount of time spent by the intermediate group, and slightly more than three times as much time as poor families devote to this subject. The prosperous group may be said to read everything in some degree, but primarily its reading consists in the daily and weekly papers, periodicals of an elevating and instructive sort, and acceptable books. Best sellers must be included in the listing along with those of a high literary value. In the majority of cases the type of reading is high. In this group we find greater interest displayed in bulletins and periodicals pertinent to farming and farm life In the other groups these are subject to only occasional perusal.

Rankin [1] in a study of the similar problem in Nebraska farm homes, found the reading in the country and the small town to be much alike. In each of these locations, the homes were equally supplied with daily newspapers. He emphasizes the importance of supplying reading matter to the farmer in the following words: "The farmer is even more dependent upon the printing press than the town dweller. It is harder for him to keep in touch with the world, or to obtain his information or instruction, or to have his good times by attending the school, the church, the lodge, the lecture, the ball game, the fair, the theater or moving picture. When these have done their best for him there is still much time that must be used at home—more time than in the case of most other people of similar economic and financial independence. Rain, snow, mud, and the nature of his work keep him more constantly at home. His spare time comes most largely when it is least convenient to go visiting or to engage in any other activity away from home. He is more in need of enjoyment and teaching that do not take him away where he cannot see and hear what is happening to his livestock or other property. His wife and children

[1] Rankin, J. O. *Reading Matter in Nebraska Farm Homes.* 1922. As quoted in *County Library Service,* Amer. Libr. Assoc., Chicago, 1925, pp. 12–14.

likewise depend more upon the home and what they can use there than do the women and children of the town." It is interesting to note in this connection that nine-tenths of the farm homes studied were reached by mail delivery. Regarding the nature of the reading in Nebraska farm homes, it was found that nearly every one of them subscribed to a newspaper, and that farm papers reached more than three fourths of the homes included in the survey. However, only one out of every four of the homes was supplied with women's magazines, household magazines reached only one-fifth of the homes, and less than one home out of every thirty-three subscribed to periodicals intended primarily for the younger members of the household. Rankin concludes that the great bulk of the reading matter "comes in publications whose main purpose is to take care of the news and dollar side of life, and deals secondarily, if at all, with home-building and the things that make life more worth while in the country. Many of the periodicals taken are of course paying a great deal of attention to making farm life more worth living, as well as enabling the farmer to feed and clothe the world more effectively."

These investigations and others that might be cited show that farmers do read, but that their range of reading matter is rather limited. Books do not figure largely in the matter, because books are expensive and the average farmer's income is not large. Also amid the bewildering maze of books issuing from the presses today, some technical guidance is necessary to a wise selection. This advice and the books as well are provided by the public library, available to nearly all of the urban population, but signally lacking in our rural sections. The problem becomes one as to how such service may be supplied most economically and effectively.

2. Types of Rural Library Service

There is a large amount of experimentation going on in human society all of the time. A definite need is sensed, and the best form of institution to meet it is more often than not slow in evolving. This has been the case with the problem of meeting the library needs of the rural population in this country. While, today, the county library stands out preëminently as the best institution developed to meet this need, there are several other kinds of library service which have been created to accomplish the same purposes,

though in a decidedly less satisfactory manner. It is well to consider each of these briefly before giving major emphasis to the county library plan as an adequate solution.

1. *State Library Extension Agencies.*[1]—As early as 1890, Massachusetts, a leading state in library facilities, developed a state library extension agency to meet the needs of its rural people. In 1926, thirty-eight states had similar developments, and in two others the necessary legislation had been enacted to establish them. State wide library service is the ideal of a state library extension agency, and it is customarily purposed to achieve this through state library commissions, state libraries, or as a division of the state department of education. Such library extension agencies aid in establishing local and county libraries and in the further improvement of existing libraries; supplement the book collections of these libraries from their larger resources; advise or supervise school and institution libraries; and furnish direct book service to communities, groups, and individuals until adequate local library service is established. The last of these objectives is sought to be attained by means of traveling libraries, direct mail service, and package libraries. These state library extension organizations are financed from state funds, as are other divisions or departments of state government. Most of them are on the basis of annual or biennial appropriations, though a few are supported from standing appropriations, fixed by law. A field agent or agents, sometimes known as the "state library organizer" is maintained, as well as the necessary clerical and other library assistance.

a. *Traveling Libraries.*—These traveling libraries constitute the original form of state book extension. Collections usually of 50 books, sometimes more, are made up for general reading or to fit a variety of needs, securely packed in a wooden or similarly durable container. Study club, agricultural, foreign language, and other special collections are used in a number of states. These traveling collections are sent out to communities, schools primarily, and to rural organizations upon payment of carriage charges or a small fee. The books are usually loaned over a period of from three to six months, after which they are returned to headquarters for needed repairs and relending. This method of getting books to

[1] See *Library Extension*, Amer. Libr. Assoc., Chapter IV, and Nason, W. C., *Rural Libraries*, Farmers' Bull. 1559, pp. 4–15.

a state-wide constituency was begun in New York in 1892, and now about 40 states have adopted the plan. Traveling libraries have reached a number of potential readers who otherwise would not have been reached, but the method is only a very partial approach to an extensive fundamental problem. In states like California and Massachusetts where public library service is most developed, the state agencies have come to feel that traveling libraries are no longer needed.

b. *Direct Mail Service.*—In recent years, state library extension agencies have adopted the plan of mailing one or several books direct to the individuals who apply for them. Naturally, this form of service is primarily utilized by those who are without local public library facilities The rural free delivery greatly enhances the possibilities of such an approach. Some of the state agencies pay outgoing postage; some expect the borrower to refund it. So far as records are available, approximately 548,000 volumes were utilized by individuals in all of the states supplying the direct mail service—a considerable figure in the aggregate, but an exceedingly incomplete solution of rural reading needs.

c. *Package Libraries.*—A very interesting form of state service is the development of package libraries, consisting largely of packages of pamphlets, clippings and other printed material supplying the latest information on current events and other rapidly changing topics. Plays and recitations, study outlines, reading courses, agricultural bulletins, the material distributed free or at small cost by many civic, social, and educational organizations, ephemera of all kinds, are collected and arranged in subject files or stock packages to be sent out as the individual requests are received High school debates, club women, discussion groups of all kinds, make the heaviest use of such information service, but it also serves a large number of scattering calls. Package libraries were begun by the Oregon Library Commission in 1905, and have since been adopted by many states. The extension division of the University of Wisconsin discovered the possibilities of the idea in 1906, and now more than thirty similar institutions of higher learning are employing the system with varying degrees of effectiveness.

The possibilities and limitations of state library service are well summarized by Nason in the following statement: "State library-extension activities have resulted in great good to many rural

people. Many have been supplied with books who could get them in no other way, and many isolated communities have come into touch with the best literature and information in this way. Schools, clubs, and debating societies have received much needed assistance. But no one claims that these agencies are much more than a beginning in relieving the rural book situation. No information is available as to the actual individual circulation of the material, but it is known that much of it does not go to rural people, and a large share of it goes to schools and to local libraries. One and a half million books in 1,000 collections and by direct mail are reported to have been sent out from extension headquarters in the various states to be circulated in the field during a recent year. One important result has been the establishment of many local rural libraries. Massachusetts and California have given up their traveling systems on account of extensive local and county library development. The most important rural service of State extension agencies may be that of encouraging the establishment of adequate local libraries through expert advice from the central office and with the assistance of traveling organizers.

"Notwithstanding the good work done, State library extension activities are limited by (1) lack of contact between librarian and borrowers and direct personal supervision and service; (2) ineffectiveness of scattered effort and long-range work; (3) inadequate choice of selection by borrowers, as collections are largely arranged at headquarters; (4) cost of transportation and duplication; and (5) insufficient book supply, personnel, and financial income to render adequate library service to the 43,000,000 rural people who are without local public-library service, even if this were the sole object." [1]

2. *Other Types of Rural Library Service.*—There are a number of other kinds of library service which have a more or less direct bearing upon the supplying of books in rural communities. The most significant of these is the county library, special attention to which will be given in subsequent portions of this discussion. In order that the library picture may be reasonably complete, it is worth while to mention briefly some of the existing agencies which imperfectly function for their surrounding rural communities.

The *membership-fee library* is a long existent type. Its book

[1] Nason, W. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

service is usually limited to those who pay the membership fee, though the reading rooms of the library are usually open to the public. Public-spirited citizens frequently contribute small or large sums, and special library benefit entertainments are held, the receipts from which go to the purchase of books and the maintenance of the organization. Farmers in the surrounding territory are privileged to membership upon the payment of fees, but for a number of reasons they join to a very limited extent. Many of these libraries have a precarious and struggling existence due largely to inadequate budgets. This lack of adequate financing gives rise to such limitations as untrained voluntary or poorly-paid librarians, infrequent opening hours, shifting, rented or donated quarters, and small collections of books, often poorly selected. The membership-fee library is a valuable effort to meet a fundamental need, but it is principally worth while as a step toward a more efficient type of library development. Their contribution to rural reading needs is slight.

A step in advance beyond the type of library just described is the *municipal library*. This has often grown out of the membership-fee library. Municipal libraries are supported by fixed levies on taxable property or by specified sums in the budget of the municipality. Sometimes, the buildings are donated, and often such an enterprise is the recipient of gifts for the popular cause it represents. Due to their organization and basis of support, these libraries are limited to the citizens of the municipality. However, many of them extend their privileges to farmers in the conveniently accessible surrounding territory provided they pay a designated fee. Municipal libraries, where adequately supported, serve their citizenship efficiently, but usually they are not acceptable service institutions to farm people, who find them inconvenient on account of distance, the comparative infrequency of the visits to the trade center, and the irksomeness of regulations well-adapted to urban needs, but little suited to the farmer, especially at certain seasons of the year.

The *township library* exists in 13 states, principally in New York and in the Middle West. There are 475 of these, and where the leading town is sufficiently populous and wealthy, they are maintained as an effective unit of service. Such well-to-do township libraries sometimes maintain book automobiles to deliver reading matter to branch rural libraries. However, in townships

where the amount of tax-support is meager, the rural sections of the township are inadequately serviced.

Another form of library is known as the *community library*. By this is usually meant a library that is open freely to the people of a community, but which is supported neither by taxation nor by fees, but by the voluntary interest of the community. Annual drives and the proceeds from benefit entertainments furnish the often meager and continually uncertain sums for support. Perhaps more often than not they are sponsored and ultimately controlled by some women's organization in the community, but in a true sense they are the care and charge of the entire community. "Although handicapped by low salaries or by no salaries for the volunteer workers, by short opening hours, and a small book supply, they accomplish much good in rural sections. A number of such struggling libraries are keeping lighted the torch of learning, waiting for some civil unit to assume the responsibility." [1]

3. The County Library

The county library is a logical development and it would be difficult to say just who originated the idea. John Sanford Brumback, a public-spirited citizen who lived in Van Wert County, Ohio, an area largely rural in character, had amassed a fortune from industry within the county.[2] He had watched with much interest the efforts of a group of ladies to develop a small public library in the city of Van Wert. But he was interested not alone in its serving the city but the country citizenship of the county as well. In his will he left to the discretion of his heirs the establishment of a county-wide library system, and the idea met a cordial response from them. The necessary enabling legislation was secured from the Ohio Legislature in 1898, and on January 1, 1901 an even better library building than their father planned was dedicated. From the start, plans were laid for establishing library stations in the village and trading centers of the county. During the first year nine such stations were opened, and today the reading needs of the people of Van Wert County are served through approximately one hundred and fifty stations.

At the same time that the Van Wert County Library was as-

[1] Nason, W. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.
[2] Long, Harriet C. *County Library Service.* Amer. Libr. Assoc., 1925, pp. 15–34.

suming form, the Cincinnati Public Library was taking steps to extend its facilities to all of the residents of Hamilton County. Power was given to the city library to derive support from the taxable property of the entire county, upon the condition that branch libraries and delivery stations be maintained in the rural areas. With such facility did the plan proceed that it was effective before the Van Wert County Library was set in operation. But Van Wert County enjoys the distinction of having been created from the beginning as a county institution.

It is significant that Washington County, Maryland, was evolving a similar system about the same time, the incorporation of the effort occurring in 1898. Through the beneficence of B. F. Newcomer, and the joint support of the municipality of Hagerstown and of Washington County in which it is located, a library was established which in the first year of its operation (1901–02) provided twenty-three deposit collections in the voting districts or other villages in the county. These collections each consisted of "50 fresh readable books in a case somewhat after the traveling library order." But this method of distribution was not considered adequate, and we find Miss Mary Titcomb, the librarian, saying in the first report, 1901–02, that "before we rest content, every home in the county must be the recipient of its benefits. To this end we need more branches, home libraries for clusters of homes remote from any rural centre, closer relations with the schools, and more particular work with the children" To Washington County is due the idea of a book wagon, which since 1905 has regularly driven over the county, carrying the books from station to station, and replenishing with new supplies. This plan has become an essential part of the county library as we know it today.

The county library movement has become firmly established as one of our most promising rural institutional developments. In 1929, 265 counties were financing some form of county library service, and the number is increasing annually. California has inaugurated such a system on a state-wide basis, and 46 of its 58 counties have county libraries. In New Jersey, nine of the twenty-one counties have voted favorably for county libraries.

1. *What It Is.*—The reader must already have arrived at some idea as to what a county library is, but it is perhaps well to give a somewhat clearer picture in the words of Julia Wright Merrill,

one of the most effective exponents of the plan in America. Miss Merrill says:

> The county library is a public library system for the entire county. Like the consolidated school, the county library is able to give a high quality of service to scattered country people, as well as to the villages. But in practice it is frequently different from the school, for it takes its service to the people wherever they live. The headquarters library, usually at the county seat, is, of course, open to the country people, and used by them when they come to the city. It is supplemented, however, by deposits in all rural schools, by service stations in cross-roads' stores, post-offices, filling stations, community houses or farm bureau centers, and by branch libraries or reading rooms in the larger villages. A book automobile, a library on wheels, often fills in the gaps, with community or house-to-house stops, and helps in changing the collections and keeping the books fresh. Any book, anywhere in the system, is available for the reader, and telephone and parcel post are used to get it to him quickly. A skilled and capable county librarian circulates with the books, learns the reading needs and the interests of the whole county, works with the county superintendent, the county agent and home demonstrator and with county organizations of all kinds. The county is a large enough unit for effective and economical service without loss of personal contact
>
> The village, as well as the open country has much to gain from a county library system. It is becoming increasingly difficult for a very small library to buy enough new books to keep its collection alive, and to secure the services of a well-informed librarian with even summer library school training. A recent study of small communities in Wisconsin concludes that four thousand population is the minimum for good library service at standard cost. A village branch of a county library has a share of a large book stock and the services of a skilled librarian. Cataloging and other technical processes are centralized and the local librarian is relieved of such work, and brought in to the headquarters' library for simple training and book discussions.
>
> The plan is extremely flexible. Two or more counties may combine to make one strong unit. A city library may be made the headquarters of the new system, or may be left out of it entirely (and the city left out of the tax levy), or may keep its organization but receive additional service from the larger system. Kern County Free Library, California, absorbed the county seat public library, when its patrons realized that the country people had better service than they. Brecksville Township, Ohio, was left out of the original Cuyahoga County Library District because it was already appropriating public funds for a library. As soon as a new superintendent of schools found out the kind of library service other county schools were enjoying, he started a movement to unite with the county system, the state library field agent was called in, and Brecksville now has a strong branch of the county library, with good feeling on the part of all concerned. Where trade zones or

community interests cut across county library boundaries, informal arrangements are made for exchange service. Rural schools may merge their collections completely with the county library (turning over their school library funds, if any) and contract for branch service, as is usually done in California, or they may continue to buy reference tools and use county library service for circulating material.[1]

2. *How It Is Supported.*—Thirty or more states have enacted legislation authorizing the county library. Such an institution is established when the county itself wants it as demonstrated by either the action of the county governing body or popular vote. A county library board is constituted, and a trained county librarian is employed with the necessary staff. Upon the advice of this official, the amount of income needed is determined, and an appropriation is made from county funds or a library tax is levied. There are many factors entering into the question of actual cost, such as the population to be served, the size and topography of the county, number of centers needed, and the number and kind of libraries already in existence. The minimum standard of good city service is usually set at $1 per capita, and this is recommended as a good basis for the county library. The counties spending this much or more are getting the worth of their money; while at the other extreme, there are counties appropriating only a few hundred dollars for service to many thousands of country people which have very little to show for their expenditure. It is basic that the county library be considered as a public institution for all the people, an educational institution with no age limits. Consequently, it should be supported from public funds and not by membership fees or private enterprise. Tax support distributes the cost of community service among many people. It is also well to emphasize the necessity of an adequate budget because the county library would be futile without a good librarian, who like a doctor, or a lawyer, or a teacher, should have a good general education and professional training, as well as an interest in people and books.

3. *Advantages of the County Library System.*—The Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the United States Department of Agriculture made a critical study of 100 rural libraries, and came to the conclusion that the advantage was decidedly with the county system because it offered equality of opportunity, service,

[1] Merrill, Julia W. "The County Library Gains Recognition." *Rural America*, March, 1929, pp. 10–11.

and economy. It is valuable to quote here the arguments given in substantiation of that position.

Equality of Opportunity.—Farmers ask nothing more along economic, educational, social, or other lines than equal opportunity with other groups. In library matters the county system gives them this because under this plan the people pay for what they receive and receive what they pay for. They receive according to what they pay, as do other groups. In the case of a library system supported by a county tax, equal-pay opportunity comes through taxation fixed by the people or by county-elected officials. Equal service is approximated through use of local branches and stations with transported and changing book supplies; advice and service of visiting trained librarian; and availability of central library. Equal control and management come through county-elected officials or their appointees.

In the case of contract libraries, county-elected representatives determine the county part of the library budget and have county representatives on the management boards, whereas the library gives service through branches and stations proportionate to the amount the county pays as determined by a management in which the county shares. A town with an existing library may come in or may stay outside of the system.

Service.—The taxable wealth of a large unit, the county, is behind the service of a county library. A large and well-selected book stock is available, in the selection of which rural interests are considered. Changing supplies of books, both general and agricultural, are transported directly to the farmer's home or neighborhood.

An expert librarian, who has had from one to three years of library-school training, directs the system, gives assistance in book selection, and offers expert advice to branch librarians and to library users on the days of her visits. This librarian coöperates with the county agent, county superintendent, and all rural organizations in the interest of the farmer's library welfare; she influences the lives of farm boys and girls; for men and women her educational and social influence is incalculable in country districts. Direct mail service from the main library is available to the most isolated farmer, and special books may be requested by telephone. Direct service at the central office is equally available. Service is given to any small-town library that may wish to preserve its identity. Schools are served with reference books, supplementary material, and books for children.

A larger proportion of the library funds are expended for service than for large buildings or for salaries of untrained librarians. Library service is made intimately known to country people who know little of city or State services and hesitate to use them when they are available.

Economy.—The extensive unit area, the large population, and the available wealth of the average rural county make it possible to establish a library that will give better service and more nearly equal opportunities to farm people at less expense than does any other rural or

small-city unit. A recent study of rural social institutions in Wisconsin, in which the United States Department of Agriculture coöperated, concludes that 4,000 population is the minimum for good library service at standard cost. Savings are made through (1) quantity purchases, (2) reduction of overhead cost of tools and operation, (3) lessening the accumulation of unused books, for if one group does not care for them another group may, (4) expert selection of books, including expensive reference books, (5) county service of a trained librarian, (6) free exchange of books, and (7) lowered building costs.

The experience of California and other states seems to prove that schools that are served with reference and supplementary books through the county library receive much better service at less expense than through any other method. Comparisons of rural county library service with service of libraries in small cities of similar populations indicate that better service is given in counties at considerable less expense than is given in such cities. Many small cities that have tried to maintain their library individuality after the county system was started have later joined the county system as a matter of economy. If any small city has left the county system the fact is not generally known.

As between the full county system and the system under which a county contracts with a city library, country people appear to receive better service at less expense under the full county system, especially after initial establishment In some localities good county library service is being given both to city and to country people at less than the cost of one good book per capita. A high grade of service to city and country people and to schools is being given in many rural counties at a maximum tax of 0.5 mill. The National Grange, by resolution, indorsed the county-library plan in 1923 and the Women's Auxiliary of the American Farm Bureau Federation indorsed the plan in 1927. The General Federation of Women's Clubs and National Congress of Parents and Teachers actively support the plan.[1]

4. The Country Newspaper

One of the most important agencies operating in rural community life is the country weekly, or as some prefer to call it the "community weekly." Its definition is not entirely clear, yet what is meant by the term is rather well understood. One authority [2] points out that the phrase is elastic, but says that the *country newspaper* may be considered as a newspaper, daily or weekly, of general circulation published in a town up to 5,000 population. Atwood [3] defines country weeklies as those published in places ranging in size from 500 or less to, roughly, 10,000 population, with by far the greater number printed in places of less than 1,000

[1] Nason W. C. *Op. cit.*, pp. 42–44.
[2] Safely, J. C. *The Country Newspaper and Its Operation.* Appleton, 1930, p. 1.
[3] Atwood, M. V. *The Country Newspaper.* McClurg, 1923, p. 4.

and up to 3,000 in population. Country newspapers often present an insignificant appearance when contrasted with the more pretentious city dailies, and by reason of the contrast, their true service is all too often poorly appreciated. However little one's estimate may be as to the value of the country weekly, he must be impressed by its numerical importance, for country weeklies out-number daily papers about five to one. In 1921, there were 10,797 country weeklies in the United States as compared with 2,318 dailies.

5. A Community Institution

If an institution is defined as "anything forming a characteristic and persistent feature in social or national life or habits," the country newspaper can qualify. "Surely the country paper has become a permanent, 'a characteristic and persistent feature' in community life. It has become as much stock material for humor as has the mother-in-law and the spinster As for its persistency, Abe Martin is right when he says that next to a temporary chairman there is nothing so hard to stop as a country weekly We will pass over the possibility that Abe meant the discontinuing of a subscription rather than the suspension of the paper. The country newspapers are among the oldest of our institutions. There are several country weeklies in New York State which are more than a century old, while the average age is forty-three years. Even in the newer country of the Middle West, South Dakota, for example, where one is usually impressed with the newness of things, at country editors' gatherings it is not uncommon for a grizzled veteran editor to say that he has been running his paper for thirty-five or forty years." [1]

The country newspaper is a permanent institution largely because of its specialization in matters of local interest. It has been well characterized as the voice of the community. In this connection its usefulness is primarily three fold. It is the most effective agency in keeping the people informed as to what is taking place in it While its news-gathering service is not as complete as might be desirable, the country newspaper carries thousands of items annually about folks and things, regarding which those who are without it are scarcely likely to hear When church meetings will be held, the time tax returns should be made, who the new teachers

[1] Atwood, M. V. *Op. cit.*, pp. 53–54.

in the schools are for the coming year—such matters as these and many others of like moment locally are what makes the country weekly a welcome visitor, and one eagerly read in millions of American farm homes today. Nor would it be well to omit the important service rendered by the advertising columns.

The country newspaper is very often a tremendous force in the promotion or retardation of community activities. Sanderson [1] says that "no agency may be more powerful in unifying or disrupting the life of the local community." Such matters as school consolidation, the selection of certain highways for permanent improvement, the voting of a bond issue, and dozens of others are aired in the columns of the weekly newspaper. It becomes a sort of open forum in which the opinions of thoughtful citizens, unprejudiced and prejudiced, are expressed, and public sentiment often is molded. The editor may or may not take sides, but he can be a powerful influence when he does.

The value of the local paper as a historical record of the community is keenly appreciated by anyone who has ever made an excursion into the important and intriguing field of local history. It may be a special issue featuring the dedication of a monument to the veterans of a war in which the citizens of the county participated; the notice of the passing of some useful and distinguished citizen gives the important events in which he had a part; the economic conditions and forces at a given period are chronicled in the prices of commodities and the yields and profits on unusual farms, or in the expressions of satisfaction or cries of distress from contributors; and an excellent picture of social customs is given in the files of the country newspaper as nowhere else. These things also emphasize the great importance of the location and preservation of complete files of these source materials for the historian of the present and future.

The following beautiful tribute shows just how extensive is the sphere of influence and service of the local newspaper:

> I am the Country Weekly.
>
> I am the friend of the family, the bringer of tidings from other friends; I speak to the home in the evening light of summer's vine-clad porch or the glow of winter's lamp.
>
> I help to make this evening hour; I record the great and the small, the varied acts of the days and weeks that go to make up life.

[1] Sanderson, E. D. *The Farmer and His Community.* Harcourt, Brace, 1922, pp. 103–106.

I am for and of the home; I follow those who leave humble beginnings; whether they go to greatness or to the gutter, I take to them the thrill of old days, with wholesome messages.

I speak the language of the common man; my words are fitted to his understanding. My congregation is larger than that of any church in my town; my readers are more than those in the school. Young and old alike find in me stimulation, instruction, entertainment, inspiration, solace, comfort. I am the chronicler of birth, and love, and death—the three great facts of man's existence.

I bring together buyer and seller, to the benefit of both; I am part of the market-place of the world. Into the home I carry word of the goods which feed, and clothe, and shelter, and which minister to comfort, ease, health, and happiness.

I am the word of the week, the history of the year, the record of my community in the archives of state and nation.

I am the exponent of the lives of my readers.

I am the Country Weekly.[1]

6. Problems and Possibilities

The matter of publishing a modern newspaper is an expensive one from the standpoint of capital investment and the labor required. Most country newspapers are inadequately financed; in other words, they are small businesses in an age when big business is the vogue. The rural community of today is becoming much less isolated, hence more sophisticated in its tastes as to reading matter. The better equipped and staffed city newspapers, with their widely distributed news-gathering arrangements are deliberately competing with the country newspaper in its own particular field of local news and agricultural items, and the result is often a severe inroad upon the subscription and advertising patronage of these smaller papers. All of these factors operate to diminish the appreciation of the country weekly by its constituent community.

In recent years, the mortality rate among this class of papers has been heavy. A part of this is inevitable, and is based upon the competition among the weeklies themselves. Undoubtedly, there will always be a place for the local newspaper. But if it is to serve its function properly it must use modern newspaper methods in its operation. Local news must be efficiently and adequately collected, mechanical make up made more attractive, subscription lists kept up with and extended, and salesmanship and science

[1] Adams, Bristow, quoted in Atwood, M. V. *The Country Newspaper*, p. 134.

employed in the advertising end of the business. The country newspaper deserves the appreciation and support of its community, but it will secure it only when it develops into an institution in step with the demands of the times. How clearly possible this is, hundreds of local newspapers are demonstrating vividly today in all sections of the nation. The disastrous consequences of not doing so are equally evident. "The newspaper man of the future, studying his reader, will wish to know not only what interests him but why it interests him, with a view to uncovering new sources of interest and fitting the whole paper more positively into his daily life. Looking at an event, he will wish to get at the story behind the story, the slow significant human narrative of which the event is the crisis, not only for the sake of presenting the whole truth, but of training the reader to look for the deeper facts beneath the news, to read the paper for all there is in it. He will wish to present his material in attractive and accessible form, with enough background to insure that it shall be clearly understood.

"The newspaper is undoubtedly more widely, spontaneously and eagerly read than any other form of printed matter. It is often the chief—sometimes the only—educational resource of the adult. No small part of the responsibility of the newspaper man, therefore, lies in the fact that if the bulk of his readers are to be educated further, he is the man to educate them, not directly, except to a slight degree, but through a skillful selection and presentation of news, utility matter and advertising. This is a large task and a wide opportunity for service. It requires insight into human motives and into both individual and group behavior The local newspaper man will need to bring to bear not only his powers of observation, his willingness to work and to learn by experience, but a knowledge of what the experts in psychology, economics and sociology can tell him." [1]

QUESTIONS

1. What part does the modern library play in present-day educational machinery? Explain what is meant by the statement that libraries are "continuation schools for adults."
2. Give the estimates of Henry Clay, Theodore Roosevelt, and Charles W. Eliot as to the value of books in their lives.
3. Cite Belden's analysis as to the principal functions of the public library.

[1] Harris, E. P. *The Community Newspaper*. Appleton, 1923, pp. 50–51.

4. Compare the extent of public library service in the rural and urban areas of the United States.
5. How do our expenditures for libraries compare with those for soft drinks, candy, radios, moving pictures, and automobiles?
6. What do the studies of Gee and Stauffer in Virginia and of Rankin in Nebraska show as to the extent which farmers read and the nature of their reading matter?
7. Explain what is meant by "state library extension," how many states have it and the general nature of its services.
8. Name and briefly characterize three forms of state library extension discussed in the text.
9. Discuss the limitations of state library extension activities.
10. How satisfactory is the service afforded rural people by the "membership-fee library"? the "municipal library"? the "township library"?
11. Explain how a "community library" may operate to serve rural people.
12. Briefly outline the history of the "county library" idea
13. What is a "county library" and how does it function?
14. How does the county library serve the villages and the rural schools in its territory?
15. Explain how a county library may be established, and how it is supported.
16. Discuss the advantages of the county library system as to (1) equality of opportunity; (2) service; and (3) economy.
17. Tell what is meant by a "country newspaper." How do these periodicals compare in number with the dailies in the United States?
18. Describe the rôle of the country newspaper as a community institution.
19. Give the three-fold usefulness of the country weekly in connection with its specialization in matters of local interest.
20. Discuss the problems and possibilities of the country newspaper.

SUGGESTED PARALLEL READINGS

1. *Library Extension.* American Library Association, Chicago, 1926, Chapter I, pp. 19–28, "Public Library Service Today."
2. NASON, W. C. *Rural Libraries.* United States Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bulletin No. 1559, pp. 1–50.
3. LONG, HARRIET C. *County Library Service.* American Library Association, Chicago, 1925, Chapter I, pp. 9–14, "The Library's Place in Rural Life"; and Chapter II, pp. 15–23, "Development of Rural Library Service"
4. KOLB, J. H. *Service Institutions for Town and Country.* Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, Research Bulletin 66, 1925, Part III, pp. 27–42, "The Library."
5. HARRIS, E P. *The Community Newspaper.* D Appleton and Company, 1923, Chapter II, pp. 15–28, "The Service of the Local Paper."
6. ATWOOD, M. V. *The Country Newspaper.* A. C. McClurg and Company, 1923, Chapter VI, pp. 97–134, "Its Future and Possibilities."

CHAPTER XXXIV

COUNTRY SCHOOLS

The American public school system is weakest in the rural sections. The city schools are generally much superior to the rural schools. Their revenues are more adequate, their buildings are better, the teacher personnel of higher training, and the curriculum better adapted to the situations and problems with which the city population must deal in every day life than is true of the rural schools. The principal problem in rural education, then, is to bring the levels of educational opportunity in the rural sections up to those existing in the urban communities.

The education of all of the citizenship of the state, poor and rich, white and colored, is a definitely accepted function of the modern state. The time is not so long past since such was not the case in several states of the nation. The poor considered that they were being dubbed as paupers by the early efforts to provide free educational facilities for their children, and the rich felt that such attempts were unnecessary and an addition to their tax burden. This situation has completely changed, and today the children of all classes secure their educational equipment in the public school system, and the foundations of democratic government are thereby strengthened. No institution in American life has in it such fine elements of national solidarity and of great usefulness as does the public school. A richer meaning is imparted to the life of the average citizen, a keener sense of social values is created, and the whole effect is to elevate the standard of living of our citizenship.

While not the most important of its contributions, yet certainly not the least significant is the fact that education pays the state in an economic way. A study made of this problem by the United States Bureau of Education shows that those states having the highest per capita incomes today are the ones which a decade or two ago spent more per capita for education. If we consider the matter of per capita wealth by states, a high degree of correlation is found between high expenditures for education 10 or 20

years before and the average per capita wealth at the present time. The converse is true that states spending less for education were lower in per capita wealth 12 and 23 years later. Moreover, the higher per capita incomes and wealth accumulations are usually found in the states with the lower percentages of illiteracy, and these are generally the states with highest educational expenditures. The same government report concludes its findings with the statement that "notwithstanding obvious difficulties of proving such matters statistically, it seems clear that properly applied expenditure for education is profitable to the State, because it tends to increase income and wealth, aids in the decrease of illiteracy, and gives to the individual better opportunities for self-development and achievement, as well as a higher standard of living."

Since education is so important a function of government in both its economic and social values, the quality and extent of the educational offering of a state is extremely significant. The best educated state will become the wealthiest, and with proper sort of education, as a result, the most advanced in its civilization. Education obviously cannot smooth out entirely the inequalities of natural ability among its citizenship, but it is the most potent of agencies operating in this direction. Often, well-trained individuals of less native ability forge far ahead of the unequipped brighter mind. Thus education is an agency working towards the goal of equality of opportunity so much sought as an objective in a democracy.

These things mean that it is incumbent upon a state to provide as nearly as possible equality of educational opportunity for the several component parts of its citizenship. There can be advanced no valid reason as to why the country boy and girl should not at the hands of the state receive at least a near approach to educational facilities equal with those provided for the city boy and girl. That this situation does not exist is amply clear from succeeding parts of the present discussion.

Our public instructional system is predicated today upon the major part of the school funds coming from the county and district, and the minor part from the state. In the continental United States in 1917–18, 85.2 per cent of the receipts for public schools came from county and local sources as compared with 14.8 per cent from the state. In 1927–28, the aggregate state support had increased relatively 1.4 per cent, 16.2 per cent of public school

funds coming from the state and 83.8 per cent from county and local sources. In almost every state of the nation, there are notoriously poor counties. Such political units in supplying the major part of the funds for education of their citizenship cannot measure up in the quality of such efforts when compared with the more compactly organized and wealthier cities, as well as with the richer counties in taxable values. Clearly, it is a case for the help of the weaker at the hands of the stronger—a fundamental principle of an enlightened age.

Is the inequality of wealth distribution the fault of the poorer unit? That it is to some extent a lack of initiative and enterprise in developing latent resources and opportunities cannot be denied. But to a much greater extent the differences are due to favorableness of geographic location, the presence of wealth-bearing natural resources, and similar irremediable disparities There has always been the tendency to greater wealth aggregations in the city than in the country. But it may pertinently be remarked that a great part of this wealth comes from the manufacture or elaboration into finished products of raw materials derived from the farm, the forest, and mine. We may say without fear of contradiction that the "greatness of the United States is founded on agriculture."

Moreover, where have a great portion of the population of the cities come from? During the census decade from 1920–30, the urban population of the United States has grown proportionately about six times as rapidly as that of the rural sections. It has been pointed out that birth rates are lower in the city than in the country, and death rates tend to be lower in the country, also. It is in the rural areas that the significant natural increase is taking place, and it must be that a considerable proportion of this urban growth is derived from the country population. Gillette [1] tells us that in the decade ending in 1920, 45.2 per cent of the total urban increase was due to rural migration. In view of this fact, is it not the responsibility of the city to aid substantially in the education of its future citizenship? And since education is so manifestly a wealth-producing factor, can it not be accurately argued that to do so is the highest type of investment for future dividends?

In this connection, an examination of the statistics on age

[1] Gillette, J. M. *Rural Sociology*. Macmillan, 1928, p. 94.

distribution in the rural-farm and urban United States for 1930 reveals some very significant things. Considering all classes, 36.2 per cent of the rural population are within the age group from 5 to 19 years, whereas only 26.3 per cent of the urban population are thus distributed. It is evident from these figures that in each 100 of the populations, rural-farm and urban, there are approximately ten more children of school age to be educated in the country than in the city. Also, an examination of the figures concerning those within the productive ages of 20 to 44 years shows in the rural-farm areas 31 0 per cent as over against 42.2 per cent of the total population of the city. The age groups of 45 years and over show relatively about 2 per cent more of the older people in the city than in the country. Thus, with 10 more children per 100 of the population to educate in the country than in the city, there are about 11 less individuals of productive years to provide the means for doing so. And what is the cause of this aberrent age distribution? It is that the city attracts those within the productive years of life, and leaves larger proportions of the young and old in the country.

The proposition is submitted that because they are all citizens of the same state, the rural and the urban boy and girl are entitled to as nearly equivalent educational opportunities as can be approximated. But is not the logic of the position indubitably confirmed when it is realized that a great part of the wealth of the city comes from the country in its origin, and that the urban population increase is so largely at the expense of the country, leaving greater proportions to educate and smaller proportions to produce the wealth resources for such educational facilities? One cannot ponder over these facts for long and not be convinced that the equalization of educational opportunities is one of our most important national problems.

1. A Larger Unit

One of the most severely limiting factors in rural education resides in the fact that in many sections of the nation the unit of organization and administration is too small. The old district system admirably served its purpose in the pioneer days of our national life. But, today, it is a great contributing factor to inequality of educational opportunity. "We glibly speak of 'equality of educational opportunity' and in the same breath

laud the district system because it is so 'democratic,'" says Mueller.[1] And he continues: "What democracy or equality of educational opportunity is there in a system which will make it possible for one rural school district to raise $202.83 per pupil on a 4 mill tax levy, while another rural school district in the same county can raise only $113 per pupil on a 6 mill levy, and a third can raise $369.03 per pupil on a 7 mill levy, as is the case in one of the counties in Washington?" The illustration is widely applicable in various sections of the nation.

What are the results of such wide disparities in the distribution of school resources? Just what would be expected. Many school districts suffer from short terms; poor buildings; underpaid teachers and hence immature, inexperienced, and poorly qualified ones; and a whole train of similar conditions traceable to the same general cause. Accompanying these disadvantages, the district is often too limited an area to find school boards which are really qualified to administer school matters at all properly.

City school organization points the way to remedy the situation. No longer are city schools supported and administered by wards. The city provides for all of its schools as a part of the annual budget, and equal opportunity is afforded all of its children. The county is increasingly becoming the unit of school administration. The township of the northern part of the United States, while usually a larger unit than the district, is open to many of the same criticisms. In the strong county unit form, the county board of education selects the county superintendent of schools, and in advisement with him, hires the teachers, determines the county school tax, makes appropriations, and in general manages the school system according to the plan of the customary city school system. Not all of the states with the county unit form have so compact and effective an organization as is provided in the strong type. In the weak county unit form the district boards constitute the dominant administrative agencies, the county superintendent of education is elected by the people, and the county remains as a contributor to school finances. No matter how many additional duties are added so long as the district authorities have the dominant power for local school purposes, the county unit must be characterized as the weak form. The states having the strong

[1] Mueller, A. D. *Progressive Trends in Rural Education.* Century Co., 1926, p. 5.

county unit form of organization are Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Mexico, North Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia, and most of Georgia. The weak county unit form exists in Arizona, Arkansas, California, parts of Georgia, Mississippi, Ohio, South Carolina, Texas, and Washington. Feeble beginnings have been made towards county unit organization in Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin.[1]

The advantages of the county unit have been demonstrated as numerous and significant. Only the principal ones will be enumerated. (1) Attention has already been directed to the fact, that in using the county as a unit, it is possible to distribute available school funds equitably over the county, removing the inequalities of support among the poorer and wealthier areas in taxable values (2) A more efficient administrative machinery is provided. A county board of education of good caliber is elected by the people of the county, and responsibility for efficient management is placed upon their shoulders. (3) Uniformity is established throughout the unit with regard to length of school terms, qualifications of teachers, supervision, adequate school equipment, and similar matters (4) The county superintendent of education is appointed by the board, insuring a higher grade official and an indefinite tenure. This makes for the establishment of long-time policies in the development of the school system largely removed from the sphere of politics. (5) A definite, uniform salary schedule can be established which will provide as good a teacher in the poorer as in the wealthier areas of the county. (6) Medical service in the form of a county physician, public health nurses, and dental facilities are much more practical for a county than for a district plan of organization. (7) Consolidations of schools can be intelligently and systematically planned and effected, a situation impossible under the district type of organization. (8) The larger unit makes possible effective supervision of the schools of a county. Instead of the supervision being limited to one visit a year from the county superintendent, well-trained, experienced rural school supervisors may be employed with tremendous benefit to the entire school system. (9) Many economies are effected in the larger unit which are impossible under the district plan. Supplies may be purchased in bulk, trustees' salaries and office expense are reduced, permanent improvements are more economically provided, and often it is

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13.

found possible to decrease the number of teachers, due to a more sensible location of the schools.

2. Consolidation of Schools

Almost one hundred years ago, Horace Mann said that one-teacher schools "crumble the teacher's time into dust." He stated that this was true because of the great diversity of subjects and the large number of classes which the teacher in such a school must handle. Although the defects of the one-teacher rural school have been so long apparent, there are many of them still in existence, and the possibility seems strong that they will continue to be for some years to come. In 1924, there were 165,417 one-room schools in the United States.[1] In 1922, there were 10,028 more, or 175,445 which indicates that substantial progress is being made in reducing the number. One of the important problems of rural education is to make such schools more efficient. That task is a discouraging one in the light of Horace Mann's strictures, but much time and serious investigation have been given to the problem with results which have justified the effort.

However, the more we learn of the limitations of the one-teacher school, the more we become converted to the idea of the consolidated school. Knight says: "Most of the inequalities that now exist in public education can be removed by the consolidation of the small, weak, poorly graded and poorly taught schools into large, strong, well graded schools, properly located, adequately equipped, effectively taught by competent, well-trained teachers. The purpose of the consolidated school is to give larger and better educational service to the community. Intelligent consolidation means a larger taxable area, better buildings and equipment, better teachers, enriched courses of study, better grading and classification of pupils, closer and more intelligent supervision, more wholesome and attractive community spirit. The minimum standard for rural school consolidation and transportation requires the school authorities to consider the needs of the county at large rather than the desires of special localities."[2]

By "consolidation" is meant the concentration of school work in a smaller number of places, under more centralized control, thus

[1] Covert, Timon. *Consolidation of Schools and Transportation of Pupils.* U. S. Bureau of Education, Rural School Circular No. 16, April, 1926.

[2] Knight, E. W. "Fundamental Needs of the Country School" in Gee, Wilson. *The Country Life of the Nation.* U. of North Carolina Press, 1930, pp. 151–152.

providing more adequate financial support. The term "centralized school" is sometimes used synonymously with the "consolidated school," but it is more accurately applied to the centralizing of schools or grades in a district, at one central point therein. For example, a consolidated district may have within it a number of one-room schools, and yet have the upper grades and the high school "centralized" in a centrally located building. Consolidation also may be complete or partial by grades or territory. It is complete by grades when all of the children of elementary grade and high school grade in the consolidated district are transported to the central school, and it is partial in the case of the centralized school as above defined. Consolidation is complete by territory when all of the schools of the administrative unit, township, or county are included in the consolidated program, and partial consolidation by territory when some districts of the administrative unit are not included.

It is apparent from these distinctions that the size of the consolidated district varies in different parts of the nation. There are three general requirements [1] with regard to the size of the area to be consolidated: First, there must be sufficient taxable property to insure adequate school facilities without an exorbitant tax rate. The standard set here is that the taxable property values should not be less than $2,000,000. In actual application there is wide variation in this particular. Second, there must be a sufficient number of pupils within the area to justify a good graded school and a high school. The children in the grades should not number less than 80 to maintain a four-teacher graded school, nor should they be less than 60 for a four-year high school. Third, the teachers must be well qualified, and housed comfortably, and safe and effective transportation must be provided for the children. Teacherages built conveniently to the central school are now being widely used to solve the problem of comfortable and congenial living conditions for the teaching staff. It is generally agreed that the distance children are transported should not exceed one hour's ride for the child farthest removed from the school, and too much care cannot be given to the selection of a safe driver of good moral character.

Ever since the development of the consolidation idea there has been much discussion as to whether the consolidated schools

[1] Mueller, A. D. *Op. cit.*, pp. 60–61.

should be located in the open-country or in the village. The arguments on both sides of the issue are briefly but well set forth in the following quotation:

> There is some disagreement among rural educators as to which is the best place to erect the new central building, when a consolidation is effected, the open country or the village. Those favoring the open country maintain that the only way to create rural-mindedness and a love for the farm, and to prevent the younger generation from leaving the farm is to have a typical rural school, situated in a rural setting free from the contamination of urban association, where truly rural life courses may be offered.
>
> Those favoring village consolidation maintain that the natural community center is the village and that we have no right to deprive the child of the development he might receive through associating with village children. We have no right to limit the child's life possibilities to one occupation, farming. The country child's education should be the same as that of the village child, so that he may have the same choice of a life career.
>
> Doubtless there is some weight to arguments on either side. Our village and city high schools have unquestionably been educating young people away from the farm. The chief reason for this has been, probably, the fact that they offered merely academic or college preparatory courses. They have been unable, because of size to offer more. But, I do not believe that we can lay the entire blame on the high school. Many young people who have not attended high school, have left the farm merely because the city offered more attractions. Farm life was one round of monotony. The consolidated school is doing much, and can do a great deal, to change this state of affairs. A real consolidated school is more than a place where children meet to receive instruction; it is a community center where all members of the community, large and small, come together and are bound by common ties of social relationship.
>
> In some sections of our country this "community" needs to be created. No former center exists; and here the open country consolidated school is the only solution. This is the case with many of our best consolidations in the West.
>
> In many sections of the country, perhaps, the best consolidations can be effected by including the natural trade and community center—the village—in the consolidated district, by erecting the new central building here. Most of the taxable wealth of the community will be centered in the village, and it is only fair that this wealth, which is created by the community, should help educate the children of the community. Little apprehension need be felt that the village center will spoil the country child for the farm. In the present age of the automobile he will mingle with much wider circles than his immediate neighborhood, and if farm life is not made more attractive to him than city life, he will leave the farm in spite of a rural school in a rural setting.

The problem is not so much one of location as it is one of stimulation. The country boy and girl must be filled with enthusiasm for country life, by having all its possibilities revealed to them. The village center is sufficiently rural in its make-up to make it possible to offer rural life courses together with the other courses. It will be possible to have demonstration plots and to carry on club work just as easily from the village consolidated school as from the open country consolidated school. [1]

3. The Element of Supervision

There are in the United States about 230,000 rural and small town school teachers. About 53,000, or approximately 23 per cent of these, have had less than two years of study beyond the elementary school. More than one-third of them have not even graduated from high school. The eighth grade tops the limits of educational training for fully 15,000 of them. In addition, around 5,000 have completed only the sixth grade or less. As many as 4,000,000 children in the rural areas of the United States have only the educational advantages offered in old-fashioned and primitive one-teacher schools.

The need for a careful supervision of the activities of this generally poorly trained personnel are obvious, and require little argument to justify such a contention. One of the best students of the problem of rural education in the United States says in this connection:

> Schools of this kind do not have and cannot have a social vision. The teachers are not centers of light and leading. Spiritless, uninspired, and uninspiring they grope their way clumsily and aimlessly through the routine and monotony of giving and hearing lessons, which number in some cases thirty-five to forty a day in the one-teacher schools. Many of the teachers are doubtless doing the best they can, as well as their little light will allow. But most of them are without adequate preparation and training and a great many of them are in charge of schools for the first time. They go on from day to day, week to week, and from month to month without any professional help or supervisory guidance whatever from those who know. Chained in their own helplessness they are allowed to warp the plastic minds of little children, many of whom seek and find escape from the dreary surroundings as soon as they are able, probably to become, as they grow older, stubborn opponents to any proposal for schools better than they themselves have known. Most of the teaching in the rural schools is, for these reasons, below acceptable standards and a great deal of it is far below such

[1] Mueller, A. D. *Op. cit.*, pp. 58–60.

standards. Superior teaching is not often seen; it is generally lifeless and marked by a lack of acquaintance with modern materials and methods of instruction. The poor preparation of the teachers, the short terms of the schools, the lack of supervision, poor equipment and unwholesome surroundings, and the irregularity of attendance, make many of the rural schools mere makeshifts of educational agencies. Much of the instruction in many of the small rural schools is probably no better today than that found in such schools twenty-five or thirty years ago.

The rural schools suffer seriously from a lack of proper supervision, a defect that reflects itself in the absence among the teachers of a professional attitude, the absence of any observable unity of purpose, and in the absence of any general understanding of educational ideals, objectives, and policies. It reflects itself also in the absence of wholesome community spirit. School societies, parents' and teachers' organizations, debating, athletic, library, musical, civic and other clubs are not numerous in the rural areas. The possibilities of making the school the community center have not been realized generally. Few of the agencies now so widely used in progressive urban school systems to unify the educational work of the community and to encourage collective action are being utilized in rural areas. The lack of adequate rural school supervision results, therefore, in much social waste, prevents the public from becoming acquainted with the needs and vitally interested in the problems of the schools, and prevents the school from becoming acquainted with the needs and problems of the community The value of competent rural school supervision is now recognized in all progressive school systems. Besides greatly improving instruction, supervision increases the children's interest in and appreciation of their school work. It also encourages them to look beyond the conventional subjects taught in the school, enables them to discover interests in new subjects, leads them to wider reading and establishes in them reading habits. It also leads them and their parents to feel the need for improving their school.

Intelligent and effective supervision justifies itself as an agency for unifying the educational work of the county. It enables the county school authorities to gain an intelligent view of the teachers as individuals, it encourages a community to desire and to make effort to get good teachers, and it also encourages and assists the weaker teachers to become stronger. Supervision helps to remove isolation, one of the greatest obstacles to effective educational work in many of the rural schools. Isolation is the mother of many evils, among them retardation and backwardness for pupil, teacher, and community. Sympathetic supervision helps to break down barriers, to foster understanding, and to organize all the forces of the community. Supervision works against provincialism and narrowness and makes for a wider educational and social outlook.[1]

[1] Knight, E. W in Gee, Wilson. *The Country Life of the Nation.* U. of North Carolina Press, 1930, pp. 142-144.

Foremost in any plan of effective rural supervision comes the county superintendent of education. For many years in the history of rural education, he was the only supervisor whose services the county had by which to ameliorate the appalling deficiencies of training in his teacher personnel. With the many duties which such an official has upon his shoulders, he could reach the individual school about once a year. Such an occasional visit could do little more than strike terror into the heart of the isolated country teacher, who under different conditions, would reveal an eagerness to talk over her numerous school problems with some one approaching her with tact and understanding. To meet this situation, experienced teachers have been developed into rural school supervisors, and their contribution to increased school efficiency has been enormous. But if such work is to be developed, first of all the county superintendent must appreciate the value in the light of the need and the demonstrated achievement of such efforts in numerous parts of the nation.

1. *The County Superintendent of Education.*—A wholesale indictment of the county superintendents of education would be unwarranted. Many of them, particularly in the states where the larger administrative unit has been established, are experienced, and well qualified for their job. However, in the majority of states the method of selection and the salaries militate against such satisfactory conditions. Election by the people, too often upon hand-shaking ability rather than educational qualifications, is still the prevailing method of selecting the county superintendent. This method is practiced in 25 states In 16 states these officials are appointed by local boards of education or local civil boards. The state board of education or the state commissioner appoints the county superintendent in seven states.[1] The term of office varies from one to five years. In the states in which the county superintendent is an elective officer the term is two or four years.

For the United States as a whole the salaries are most frequently between $1,500 and $2,000. The best paid superintendents are those in whose supervisory area a large city is included, in such instances the salary reaching as much as $10,000 or over. These instances unfortunately are relatively rare. In general, the rural

[1] Cook, Katherine M. *Salaries and Certain Legal Provisions Relating to the County School Superintendency in the United States.* Rural School Leaflet No. 45, Bureau of Education, Washington, 1929.

superintendent is paid much less than corresponding urban positions provide, and the factor operates to limit the qualifications of the rural official.

Fortunately, there is a growing tendency, particularly since 1916, to set up for rural superintendents by state law certain eligibility requirements of an educational nature. "Educational qualifications for county and other rural superintendents, as prescribed by law, are not so high nor so specialized as the importance of the position appears to justify. Fortunately in many states, especially those in which the appointment is made by boards which have some freedom in fixing salaries, the legal qualifications are considered only as setting a minimum standard of eligibility. Actual qualifications of the superintendents in service, particularly when established by appointing boards and sometimes even in states in which the elective system prevails are higher than the legal requirement. On the other hand, there are many counties in which minimum qualifications prescribed by their respective state laws are considered adequate."[1] The conclusion is justified that the situation with regard to the county superintendency of schools in the United States in the majority of states is far from satisfactory. The first step in adequate supervision is in improvement in this strategic position, and the adoption of the larger unit is an effective step in that direction.

2. *Rural Supervisors.*—A close student[2] of educational problems states that native teaching ability, academic and professional training, and opportunity to gain experience under intelligent guidance are the three factors which make for skillful teaching. The last two of these are notoriously lacking in rural schools, and it is for this reason that effective rural supervision is so necessary. Thus rural supervisors are field agents largely from the county superintendent's office who are concerned with the improvement of teachers in service.

Their principal functions may be listed as follows: (1) Giving advice as to methods of teaching. (2) Deciding upon special methods for required use. (3) Meeting the problems of in-school work as presented to her by the teacher. (4) Making recommendations with regard to the details of in-school work. (5) Carefully observing methods of instruction and management, and offering constructive suggestions for improvement in these features. (6) Fos-

[1] Cook, Katherine M. *Op. cit.*, pp. 16–17.
[2] Mueller, A. D. *Op. cit.*, p 79.

tering and guiding the work of local or group teachers' meetings. (7) Furnishing assistance to the teacher in organizing worth while school clubs. (8) Special advice as to reading and study designed to advance professional equipment. (9) Analyzing the data from tests and measurements, and interpreting the results to the teacher.

Even a partial achievement of such a task calls for a number of essential requirements, not always easily found in an individual. Some of the principal ones of these are:

1. Pronounced possibilities of leadership, including an inspiring personality and skill in effective public speaking.
2. Special ability in stimulating rural school improvement through such means as demonstration teaching and the holding of successful group and individual conferences.
3. Several years of successful teaching in elementary schools, including preferably some rural-school experience.
4. Graduation from a standard normal school and in addition the attaining of a college degree.
5. First-hand acquaintance with and sympathetic interest in rural conditions and rural needs.
6. Capacity for professional growth, as shown by the undertaking of progressive activities in school work, attendance at summer schools, etc.
7. Industry, versatility, good judgment, health and vitality.
8. Ability to coöperate with county superintendents and normal instructors in preparing rural teachers.

Concerning the last point it should be added that, so far as is compatible with loyalty to administrative officers, the supervisor has the right, in common with any citizen, to assist educational leaders to improve the administrative machinery or secure the passage of needed laws. The supervisor's work, however, is not to attempt to change the administrative machinery except as conferences with administrative officers provide the opportunity; the ethics of the situation demand that loyalty to the administrative officers under whom the supervisor works should be the first consideration

The experience of the past 10 years proves convincingly that rural supervision pays Its ultimate and complete success is conditioned by the administrative system under which the supervisor works; travel conditions in the territory supervised; rural teacher preparation; the supervisory load given to one person; the support received from the State department of education. the county superintendent, the State teachers' association; the coöperation secured from teacher-preparing institutions of all kinds; the strength of the organization effected by the supervisors themselves; and adequate provision for securing definite. thorough preparation for the work of supervision.

Rural supervisors hold a strategic position. The future of rural education is largely in their hands. On the successful efforts of the thousand or more rural supervisors at work through the country today

depend to a very large degree the progress and influence of the rural schools they serve. Without rural supervisors at work in every part of every state where rural schools are found there is very little hope for rural education.[1]

4. Equalization of Educational Opportunities

It is not difficult to establish the fact that the American people can well afford to provide adequate educational opportunities for all of their children. Recent figures [2] show that in 1926, the estimated national income was $84,150,000,000. The expenditures in 1925–26 for public elementary and secondary schools amounted to $2,026,308,190, or 2.68 per cent of the total income. In the year 1926, the expenditures for life insurance totalled in round numbers $2,624,000,000, considerably more than the entire cost of the public school system. But still more eloquent as an argument for adequate school support is the sum expended for passenger automobiles in 1927, in round numbers $12,000,000,000, or about six times the public school expenditures.

The generally accepted theory of education in the United States is that it is a definite responsibility of the state. This is written into most state constitutions, and is supported by innumerable court decisions throughout the country. The implications of this situation are to the effect that the state should, if necessary, provide the funds to support a minimum standard of educational advantages throughout its borders. However, the development of educational finance has been to encourage local initiative and the major source of support of public schools in this country is that derived from the county and the school district. This is perhaps advisable because the duties of state government are numerous and expensive, and its sources of revenue limited. Yet the responsibility of an equalization of educational opportunities among the poorer and wealthier counties of a state is clearly one which is upon the shoulders of the state, because by no other machinery can it be effected.

There has been throughout the nation a growing tendency for an increase in the amount of money invested in education by the state. These have in recent years partly taken the form of what is known as an "equalization fund." But the standards and costs

[1] Reynolds, Annie. *Some Lessons from a Decade of Rural Supervision.* Bull. 1925, No. 9, U. S. Bureau of Education, pp. 18–19.

[2] *Research Bulletin,* National Education Association, Vol. VII, No. 1, Jan. 1929, pp. 9, 15, and 16.

of education have been advancing at a considerable rate, and we find that the percentage of state contributions has decreased from 23.8 per cent in 1890 to 16.2 per cent in 1924, while local and county support had increased from 76.3 per cent to 83.8 per cent in the same time.[1] It has been generally recognized that the principle of stimulation must be considered in aiding the backward counties; for it is possible through a system of state-aid to pauperize these counties, and to burden the state with so excessive a tax load that a popular reaction will occur, and one which is likely to be prejudicial to the effective development of health, public welfare, higher education, and other necessary phases of normal state life. Consequently, any sound system of equalization must consider the extent of the ability of each political unit to meet its just portion of the burden of school support. Oftentimes, though, the basis of distribution of a purported equalization fund has operated to benefit the wealthier counties more than the poorer, a situation which must be guarded against. In discussing this matter of state-aid, Myers says:

> State aid in these typical cases tends to give the larger amounts to the wealthier school districts. Almost every equalization measure contains a "joker" or is so drawn that its actual operation defeats the purpose for which it was apparently designed. One state (Pennsylvania) provides for equalization by paying as high as eighty per cent of teachers' salaries in the supposedly poorest districts and only twenty per cent in the supposedly richest, but variation in salaries provided by the same act defeats its purpose in that eighty per cent of the small salary provided for the poor districts is largely offset by twenty per cent of the large salary provided for the rich district. Other controlled factors in classifying the districts according to wealth practically nullify the equalization effect of the act. Baldwin shows how this form of equalization in Pennsylvania leaves districts with tax rates varying from .4 of a mill to 21 9 mills.
>
> The common typical procedures in distributing State aid to schools which tend to give less to the poor and more to the wealthy districts are distributions on the basis of:
>
> 1. School population.
> 2. School enrollment.
> 3. Number of teachers employed without State control.
> 4. Special aid for approval services or organization, such as: teaching special subjects, providing supervision, effecting consolidation, etc.
>
> Procedures in distributing State aid which should tend to equalize educational opportunities are distributions on the basis of:
>
> 1. A basic salary for all teachers actually needed. (The actual num-

[1] Butterworth, J. E. *Rural School Administration.* Macmillan, 1926, pp. 321–322.

ber of teachers needed is a technical professional problem involving many factors.)

2. A percentage of teachers' salaries in inverse ratio to the taxables in the local school units, where the number of teachers actually needed is controlled, a basic State salary is set and assessments are equalized.

3. A percentage of the cost of the minimum State standard educational program in inverse ratio of the taxables in the local school units when assessments are equalized.

The difficulties in making State Equalization Funds effective are found in the technical procedures in determining the taxables in the different school units so they are justly comparable and, on the other hand, defining uniform state educational standards. In each field are found so many inter-related and conditioning factors that it has, so far, appeared almost impossible to secure the passage of an equalization bill which in reality equalizes educational opportunity and support.

The distribution specified by the professional educator was determined a generation ago and experience has shown that almost every other conceivable method has failed in practice. In 1905 Cubberley developed the following guiding principle: "The real unit of cost is the teacher. Hence, the teacher employed should occupy a prominent place in any general apportionment plan, the balance being given on a basis which considers regularity of attendance at school." In 1927, Baldwin summarizes his evaluation of the equalization funds in the various states and says: "Apportionment of relatively large amounts per teacher seems to equalize both opportunity and burden up to relatively high minimum educational offering. As amounts apportioned per teacher decrease, the effectiveness of this measure decreases also." These conclusions presuppose efficient professional administration and control of such factors as a basic salary or salary schedules and the number of teachers actually needed.

State aid may be justified for purposes other than equalization. Special aid for approved services which tend to make educational opportunities unequal, may serve purposes almost as important as equalization. The equalization fund, however, is the first consideration as it deals with a minimum standard educational service which the State should guarantee every child, whereas the special appropriation for approved educational practices is of second importance as it makes for growth and development. A perfect equalization fund might tend to make a standard and static educational system, whereas the special appropriation for approved practices tends to encourage change and growth. Equalization and special aid each tends to counterbalance the effect of the other but together make for optimum conditions in education.[1]

The matter of method of distribution of such equalization funds will be recognized from the foregoing discussion as a technical

[1] Myers C. E. "The Equalization Fund for Education in Other States." *University of Virginia News Letter*, Vol. VI, No. 4, Nov. 15, 1929.

one, and one which the students of educational finance are tackling with vigor, but which has not as yet been satisfactorily determined on a fair and practical basis. The important point to establish in such a necessarily brief discussion as the present is that it is the duty of the state to see that children who are born in poorer counties are not penalized in educational advantages on that account. There are many who believe that if the burden of adequate educational support proves too heavy for the state and local units, the federal government sustains a responsibility to extend its resources in this direction.

5 Compulsory Education

It would not seem that it should be necessary to bring force to bear upon a people in order that they educate their children. But the travesty of the situation is that those who are least able to educate their children at their own expense are very often the ones who are most negligent in availing themselves of the facilities offered by the public school system. So that at least a minimum of educational equipment may apply to all of the citizenship, every state has passed compulsory education laws, varying in the standards that are set

The compulsory idea in education is not a new one. About a hundred years before the first permanent settlement in this country at Jamestown, Virginia, Luther propounded to the Elector of Saxony the proposition that: "Government, as the natural guardian of all the young has the right to compel the people to support schools." The Pilgrim Fathers, before they left the Mayflower to land on the soil of the new nation, passed a resolution to the effect that "we have come to this new world that we may educate our children"; and among the first legislative acts under the Colony charter of Massachusetts Bay is to be found the statement: "It is ordered, that the selectmen of every town in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbors to see that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavour to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices, so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue and knowledge of the capital laws." Kleesecker says in this connection that "in 1642 the General Court of Massachusetts Colony ordered that

the chosen administrative officers of every town should be charged with the duty and power to take account of parents and their children, 'Concerning their calling and employment of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of their country.' The order imposed fines upon any refusing to render such accounts as shall be required by the administrative officers. This law was supplemented by further order of the court in 1647, which required every town with 50 families to provide a schoolmaster to teach all children who 'shall resorte to him, to write and read;' and which furthermore required every town of 100 families to 'sett up a grammar schoole.' These orders sprang from the conviction that all children should be educated, and that the parent, community, and state should be jointly charged with this responsibility. They embodied the principles upon which modern compulsory education rests and became the basis of the public-school system of Massachusetts and the prototype of similar State systems throughout the United States." [1]

A fairly summary picture of the extent of the requirements of the several states in the matter of compulsory education may be secured from the following condensed arrangement: [2]

LAWS RELATING TO COMPULSORY EDUCATION

The average minimum age for compulsory attendance is 7.36.
Two States make age of 6 the minimum: New Mexico and Ohio.
Twenty-eight States make age of 7 the minimum.

Arkansas	Iowa	Mississippi	Rhode Island
Connecticut	Kansas	Missouri	Tennessee
Delaware	Kentucky	Nebraska	Virginia *
District of Columbia	Louisiana	Nevada	West Virginia
Florida	Maine	New Jersey	Wisconsin
Illinois	Maryland	New York	Wyoming
Indiana	Massachusetts	North Carolina	
	Michigan	North Dakota	

Eighteen States make age of 8 the minimum:

Alabama	Idaho	Pennsylvania	Vermont
Arizona	Minnesota	South Carolina	Virginia *
California	Montana	South Dakota	Washington
Colorado	New Hampshire	Texas	
Georgia	Oklahoma	Utah	

*Except for any county which decides to make it 8–16. The age was 8–14 until 1928.

One State makes age of 9 the minimum: Oregon

[1] Kleesecker, W. W. *Laws Relating to Compulsory Education*, U. S. Bureau of Education, Bull. No. 20, 1928, pp. 1–2.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 5–7.

Maximum Ages for Compulsory Regular School Attendance

The average maximum age for compulsory regular school attendance is 16. Five States require attendance until 18:

Idaho	Ohio	Oklahoma	Utah
Nevada			

Five States require attendance until 17:

Delaware	Maryland	North Dakota	South Dakota
Maine			

Thirty-one States require attendance until 16.

Alabama	Illinois	Mississippi	Pennsylvania
Arizona	Indiana	Missouri	Rhode Island
California	Iowa	Montana	Tennessee
Colorado	Kansas	Nebraska	Vermont
Connecticut	Kentucky	New Hampshire	Washington
District of Columbia	Massachusetts	New Jersey	West Virginia
Florida	Michigan	New Mexico	Wisconsin
	Minnesota	New York	Wyoming

Three States require attendance until 15. Arkansas, Oregon, and Virginia.
Five States require attendance until 14:

Georgia	North Carolina	South Carolina	Texas
Louisiana			

Number of Years of Regular School Attendance Required

The average number of years required is 8.65. One State requires 12 years: Ohio.
One State requires 11 years: Nevada.
Eight States require 10 years:

Delaware	Maine	New Mexico	Oklahoma
Idaho	Maryland	North Dakota	Utah

Twenty-one States require 9 years:

Connecticut	Iowa	Missouri	South Dakota
District of Columbia	Kansas	Nebraska	Tennessee
Florida	Kentucky	New Jersey	West Virginia
Illinois	Massachusetts	New York	Wisconsin
Indiana	Michigan	Rhode Island	Wyoming
	Mississippi		

Twelve States require 8 years:

Alabama	California	Montana	Vermont
Arizona	Colorado	New Hampshire	Virginia
Arkansas	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Washington

Two States require 7 years. Louisiana and North Carolina.
Four States require 6 years:

Georgia	Oregon	South Carolina	Texas

MINIMUM TERM OF REQUIRED ATTENDANCE

The average minimum annual school term required is 7.23 months.
One State requires 38 weeks: Connecticut.
Eight States require 9 months:

District of Columbia	Montana *	New Hampshire	New York
Maryland	Nebraska †	New Jersey	Rhode Island

Eighteen States require 8 months:

Arizona	Massachusetts	Pennsylvania	Washington
California	Missouri	South Dakota	West Virginia
Delaware	Nevada	Tennessee	Wisconsin
Iowa	Ohio	Vermont (8½ months)	Wyoming
Kansas	Oregon		

Eleven States require 7 months:

Idaho	Louisiana	Michigan	North Dakota
Illinois	Maine (7½ months)	Minnesota	South Carolina ‡
Kentucky		New Mexico	Virginia

Six States require 6 months:

Arkansas	Georgia	North Carolina	Texas
Colorado	Indiana		

One State requires 5 months: Utah.
Two States require 4 months: Florida and Mississippi.
One State requires 3 months: Oklahoma.
One State has no minimum school term: Alabama.

* Four months in third-class district.
† Six months in districts with less than 10 pupils.
‡ Except in any district where school tax is less than 8 mills and monthly attendance is less than 15, in which case 3 months is required.

There are many defects in the compulsory education laws in several of the states regarding both the extent of educational training required and the provisions for actual enforcement. "While public interest is an important factor in law enforcement, a good law must possess in itself some power of enforcing its provisions. No law can be satisfactorily enforced unless adequate penalties are imposed upon delinquent officers charged with its enforcement. Ordinarily, courts have no power to impose penalties unless such power is specifically granted. Penalties upon parents are no doubt sufficient in most States to secure compliance on their part; but 33 States do not specify any penalty for principals or teachers failing to report truancy, and furthermore, 32 do not specify penalties for attendance officers who fail to act on truancy cases. Greater concern and vigilance on the part of principals, teachers, and attendance officers could, without doubt, be stimulated by imposing adequate penalties upon them for failure to perform." [1]

[1] Kleeseker, W. W. *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

6. The School and the Community

In the old established rural communities, the church, the farmers' organization, and other social organizations are undoubtedly potent influences for community progress. Due to the denominational lines, the church usually cannot function for the community as a whole, though it is the powerful religious center for its separate clientele, and for that matter, to many without its fold. Such organizations as the Grange are rather specialized in the extent of their activities, and altogether too infrequent in their branches throughout rural sections. But there is everywhere a school within easy reach, the recognized property of everyone in the community. Each one of these is a logical community center, and it is well recognized in the planning of the modern consolidated school that it must function as such. These modern buildings have kitchens in the home economics laboratories, and thus facilities are present for the preparation of community feeds. There is an auditorium for meetings of all worthy kinds affecting community welfare; and usually a stage is provided where amateur theatricals may be given, widely enlisting the talent and the attendance of all the people. Playgrounds and athletic fields make possible inter-community athletic contests, and the support of the home team is a strong unifying force in community life. Mabel Carney says that "the school is the best and most available center for the upbuilding of the country community and may become the most immediate and effective local agency in the solution of the farm problem." [1]

Under effective leadership the one-room school can function as a community center to a limited extent, but in order that such an ideal may be effectively consummated, such a plant as that provided by the consolidated school must be available. What is being accomplished in such plants in Weld County, Colorado, is possible throughout the length and breadth of the land. C G. Sargent in discussing the community activities of these Colorado schools says:

> These schools are fast coming to be real community schools. Most of them have sites of ample size, carefully planned for use, and well equipped with all the most common appliances for play activities.

[1] Carney, Mabel. *County Life and the Country School.* Row, Peterson and Co., 1912, p. 136.

They have basket-ball courts, baseball diamonds, football fields, and many have good gymnasiums. Play activities and the literary, musical, and social activities of the larger and stronger schools are well organized. Some publish school papers, and most of them have lyceum courses. All of these things make frequent opportunities to invite the parents and patrons to attend these school and community functions. This community life was anticipated and is amply provided for. The fine school and community auditoriums, in nearly all the schools, afford a common meeting place for both young and old.

These schools have begun to react favorably upon the homes in the communities. Habits of industry encouraged by the school, ability to read, understand and appreciate good books, the study of current events and practical civics, lead to the reading of books, daily papers and good magazines in many homes. Musical talent developed at school enriches life in the farm home. All these and other things like them afford opportunities for the profitable use of leisure time, time that in former years was largely wasted.

The agricultural classes train the boys in the latest, best, and most approved methods of farming. The supervised projects carried out on the home farm have already borne fruit in better seed selection, better rotation of crops, better marketing and in a still more noticeable way, in the raising of purebred live stock.

The country girls learn valuable lessons in personal hygiene, sanitation, first aid, and home nursing; in care, repair, and making of their own clothing; in the canning, preserving, and storing of food products, house decoration, house management, labor-saving devices, and a variety of other things that they may put in actual practice as they participate more and more in the regular household duties, in coöperation with their mothers. In response to the influence coming from the vocational classes, many homes have been improved. People have been made happier and better in these consolidated districts, and the social life of the communities has been greatly enriched.

All these things, while somewhat intangible, still have a cash value. The ranch property in these districts has increased in value as a direct result of the good schools and the helpful influences that emanate from them more than the new school plants cost. The good schools have proved to be a paying proposition. In these 25 communities in Weld County the people are to be congratulated upon the degree of success they have attained in reorganizing their schools. They have accomplished it by the harmonious coöperative effort of a large majority of the people in each community.[1]

QUESTIONS

1. Why would you say that the American public school system is weakest in the rural sections?

[1] Quoted from Rural School Leaflet, No. 13, Bureau of Education, in Mueller, A. D. *Progressive Trends in Rural Education.* Century Co., 1926, pp. 328–329.

2. Discuss the responsibility of the state in the matter of public education.
3. Show how education pays a state in greater wealth and income of its citizenship.
4. Justify the proposition that the rural boy and girl are entitled to receive at the hands of the state public educational facilities equal to those received by the urban boy and girl.
5. Give some of the disadvantages resulting from too small a unit of administration of rural education in this country.
6. What is meant by a "strong county unit form of organization"? a "weak county unit form of organization" of the school system?
7. Name the principal advantages of the county unit form of organization and administration of rural schools.
8. Discuss the limitations of the one-room school. How characteristic is this type of instruction in our rural school system?
9. Distinguish between a "consolidated" and a "centralized" school. What is the importance of consolidation in the improvement of the rural educational situation?
10. In a consolidation program what three general requirements should govern the size of the area to be consolidated and why?
11. Give Mueller's views as to the matter of "open-country" versus "village" location of the consolidated school
12. Describe the preparation of rural and small town school teachers in the United States. What does this situation together with that of the inefficiency of the widely prevalent one-room school indicate as to the importance of a careful supervision of the operation of rural schools?
13. Discuss the status of the office of county superintendent of education. Along what principal lines should improvements be made in this matter?
14. What is meant by "rural school supervisors," and what are their principal functions?
15. Enumerate some of the essential requirements of a person filling the position of rural supervisor? What does the experience of the past ten years show as to the value of rural supervision?
16. Can the American people afford to provide adequate educational opportunities for all of their children? Cite evidence in support of your conclusion.
17. What are some of the essential considerations in a state program of equalization of educational opportunities between the poorer and the wealthier districts of the state?
18. Trace the history of the compulsory education idea. How widely are compulsory education laws to be found in the United States?
19. Briefly summarize the compulsory educational requirements for the state in which you make your home. Do you think they are sufficiently high, and that they are effective?
20. Using the consolidated schools of Weld County, Colorado, as an example, illustrate the place the school should occupy in the broader life of its constituent community.

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