STUDY OF LEVELS OF LIVING IN THREE SOUTHEAST
MISSOURI COUNTIES

by

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PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

Purpose

The purpose of the study was to ascertain something of the levels of living of farm and village families in a selected area in Southeast Missouri. Particular emphasis is given to the tenure groups: owner, renter, share-cropper, and farm laborer.

Scope

The inquiry included a sample of 1,533 households in the open country and villages of Dunklin, New Madrid, and Pemiscot Counties in Southeast Missouri. The households were both white and Negro and represented all occupations and income groups. The scope of the inquiry is embodied in the schedule used, which appears in the Appendix.

Procedure

In May of 1936 a group of eight experienced research interviewers, including the writer, were employed and after a brief training period went to the area which was to be studied. One of the number, acting as supervisor, made the necessary contacts with newspaper editors, teachers, ministers, and prominent farmers in order that these local leaders might understand the purpose of the inquiry. The remainder of the group visited families and gathered the desired data through the use of the formal

schedule.

When completed, the schedules were edited in the area and sent to the Department of Rural Sociology in Columbia. Later the data were tabulated and interpreted by the same persons who gathered the materials. The data have been analyzed by simple statistical methods with tabular and graphic presentation.

Responsibility

Joint responsibility for the study was assumed by Dr. E. L. Morgan of the Department of Rural Sociology of the University of Missouri, and P. G. Beck of Region III of the Rural Resettlement Administration.

The Sample

Originally the area to be studied included the seven counties of Butler, Dunklin, Mississippi, New Madrid, Pemiscot, Scott, and Stoddard. However, due to the lack of time, only the three lower cotton counties of Dunklin, Pemiscot, and New Madrid were included in the sample.

The townships representing the total usable population (excluding urban townships) were classified under the following divisions: those having a place of 1,000 to 2,499 population, those having a place of 125 to 999 population, and those having no place larger than 124 population. Through this classification it was intended to obtain households in towns, villages, and the open

country according to the ratio of each to the total usable population. In addition, the open-country households were sampled in ratio to all three divisions; i.e., from strictly open-country townships, from townships that had villages of 125 to 999 population, and from townships that had towns of 1,000 to 2,499 population.

Population ratios were computed to find the distribution of population under the above classifications. The results of this computation and the distribution which provided the basis for the sample follows:

A

Total usable population.....	85,060	100.0%
------------------------------	--------	--------

B

Population in places having 1,000 to 2,499 population.....	15,798	18.6%
--	--------	-------

Population in places having 125 to 999 population.....	7,805	9.2%
--	-------	------

Population in areas having no place above 124 population.....	61,457	72.2%
---	--------	-------

C

1

Open-country population in townships having a place of 1,000 to 2,499 population.....	26,234	42.7%
---	--------	-------

Open-country population in townships having a place of 125 to 999 population.....	29,454	47.9%
---	--------	-------

Open-country population in townships having no place over 124 population.....	5,769	9.4%
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Total open-country population.....	61,457	100.0%
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-
1. Open country is defined here to include places of less than 125 population in addition to population outside the limits of any village.

A random sample of townships was obtained to provide the necessary population with respect to the ratios given above. In order to control the sample further, it was found necessary to take every other household in some places and in one case, every fourth household. It would have been possible in places of 1,000 to 2,499 population, for example, to draw one place and get a sufficient number of households to make up the entire ratio for that division, whereas by taking every other, every third or fourth household, it was possible to cover two or three places in different parts of the area where the sample was drawn.

The sample to be taken according to the population ratios, by townships and counties is as follows:

	TOTAL POPULATION
I. Places of 1,000 - 2,499	
1. Dunklin Co., Salem Twp.,	
Town of Senath.....	1,086
2. New Madrid Co., New Madrid Twp.,	
Town of New Madrid.....	2,309
3. Pemiscot Co., Cooter Twp.,	
Town of Steele.....	1,219
POPULATION TO BE SAMPLED 1,106	
(Sample every fourth household)	
II. Places of 125 - 999	
1. Dunklin Co., Freeborn Twp.,	
Village of Clarkton.....	493
2. New Madrid Co., Le Font Twp.,	
Village of Marston.....	350
3. Pemiscot Co., Braggadocio Twp.,	
Village of Deering.....	200
4. Pemiscot Co., Butler Twp.,	
Village of Hayward.....	150
5. Pemiscot Co., Holland Twp.,	
Village of Holland.....	289
6. Pemiscot Co., Little River Twp.,	
Village of Wardell.....	272

II. Places of 125 - 999 (Con't.)

7. Pemiscot Co., Pascola Twp., Villages
of Pascola and Bragg City..... 467
POPULATION TO BE SAMPLED 1,020
(Sample every other household)

III. Areas under 125 population

A. From open-country townships

1. New Madrid Co., Le Sieur Twp.....1,732
2. Pemiscot Co., Organ Twp..... 95
POPULATION TO BE SAMPLED 893

(Sample all households in Organ Twp. and
every other household in Le Sieur Twp.)

B. From townships containing villages of
125 - 999 population

3. Dunklin Co., Freeborn Twp.....1,445
4. Pemiscot Co., Braggadocio Twp.....2,164
5. Pemiscot Co., Butler Twp..... 813
POPULATION TO BE SAMPLED 3,636
(Sample all households)

C. From townships having town of 1,000 - 2,499
population

6. Pemiscot Co., Cooter Twp.....2,696
POPULATION TO BE SAMPLED 893
(Sample every other household)

Definition of Terms

In classifying population as to residence, the United States Census definitions of urban and rural were followed. That is, places of 2,500 inhabitants and upward are classified as urban. Rural population includes inhabitants of places up to 2,499 and all open-country residences.

For purposes of this study, the population is sub-divided into villages and open-country. A village is arbitrarily defined as a place having from 125 to 2,499 inhabitants. Throughout the village population is referred to as village. Open-country population includes residents of localities having 124 inhabitants or less, as well as the population residing on farms in the open country. The open-country population is referred to as rural-farm.

I. Dunklin II. New Madrid III. Pemiscot

the land which he operates. This includes squatters and

Figure 1. Counties of Southeast Missouri showing the location of Villages and Open-country Sampled.

A renter or tenant is a farmer who operates rented land only. The landlord furnishes him all work animals, equipment, fertilizer, and often the food his family consumes. He receives a smaller per cent of the crop than a renter. The share-cropper contributes his labor only.

Definition of Terms

In classifying population as to residence, the United States Census definitions of urban and rural were followed. That is, places of 2,500 inhabitants and upward are classified as urban. Rural population includes inhabitants of places up to 2,499 persons and all open-country residences.

For purposes of this study, the rural population is sub-divided into village and open-country. A village is arbitrarily defined as a place having from 125 to 2,499 inhabitants. Throughout this study the village population is referred to as rural-nonfarm. Open-country population includes residents of localities having 124 inhabitants or less, as well as the population residing on farms in the open country. The open-country population is referred to as rural-farm.

A farm owner refers to one who owns all or part of the land which he operates. This includes squatters and homesteaders who are farming the land on which they live.

A renter or tenant is a farmer who operates rented land only. The landlord furnishes him all work animals, equipment, fertilizer, and often the food his family consumes. He receives a smaller per cent of the crop than a renter. The share-cropper contributes his labor only.

A farm laborer is a person who works on a farm for wages or for the equivalent under the supervision of the farm operator.

All others refers to a classification including foremen, overseers, professional persons, W.P.A. workers, fishermen, and others who do not depend directly upon the soil for their primary income.

Furnish is a practice whereby an owner or operator advances cash or material goods such as food, clothing, or household necessities to the worker during the crop production period, the value of which is deducted from the wages or share of the crop at harvest time.

CHAPTER I

POPULATION

The purposes in analyzing the accompanying data are first, to ascertain whether there are marked differences in levels of living among the people in the cotton area of Missouri, and second, to discover whether differences in such levels are coincident with race or with either the social or economic status of the people as indicated by their relation to the agricultural industry either as owners, renters, share-croppers, or laborers.

Our first consideration in this connection pertains to the composition, distribution, and occupational grouping of the people on farms and in villages in the area studied. Figure 2 shows the comparison in per cent of increase of the three cotton counties of Dunklin, New Madrid, and Pemiscot and the state of Missouri as a whole.

During the period, 1920 to 1930, New Madrid and Pemiscot Counties show the greatest per cent of growth of any counties in the Lowlands or of the state as a whole as is indicated in Table I. This increase has been partly caused by the large acreage of land being opened for cultivation. As the timber was cleared and the operating companies withdrew interests, the land was sold for farming purposes. With the extensive drainage projects in this area since about 1910, large tracts of land

Figure 2. Population Increase by Decades by Counties.

TABLE I
POPULATION CHANGES BY DECADES, 1900 TO 1930*

COUNTY	POPULATION				PER CENT OF INCREASE		
	1930	1920	1910	1900	1920 to 1930	1910 to 1920	1900 to 1910
THE STATE	3,639,367	3,404,055	3,293,335	3,106,665	6.6	3.4	6.0
Dunklin	35,799	32,773	30,328	21,706	9.2	8.1	39.7
New Madrid	30,262	25,180	19,488	11,280	20.2	29.2	72.7
Pemiscot	37,284	26,634	19,559	12,115	40.0	36.2	61.4

*Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population Bulletin, pp. 5,6,7.

have been made available and have attracted many immigrants from the nearby cotton states. Many came from Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi, while only a small per cent came from northern states. This phenomenal population increase might also be attributed to the expansion of cotton to new land, rumors of good crops, and easy money associated with cotton raising. The stories of a land of opportunity and greater production that went back to relatives and friends brought additional families from the other neighborhoods. In gathering data for the present study, it was not uncommon to interview four or five families from the same community of a southern state. As the introduction of cotton was extended northward, migration from the south continued northward with it. This is particularly true with the flow of Negroes.

The density of population in these counties is interesting, particularly so since the development of agriculture in the area is rather recent. There has been a continual and rapid increase in population per square mile since 1900, according to the United States Census. Although New Madrid County has fewer persons per square mile than the state as a whole, Dunklin County exceeds the state by about the same figure. Pemiscot County has fully 50 per cent more persons per square mile than the state as a whole. The figures for 1930 are as

follows: State of Missouri, 52.8; Dunklin County, 67.5; New Madrid County, 46.4; Pemiscot County, 81.8 persons¹ per square mile.

SOURCE AND COMPOSITION

Table II indicates that from 1900 to 1930 foreign immigration decreased to an almost negligible factor in the population of the three counties. This is to be expected when trends for the state as a whole are considered. In 1930, 4.1 per cent of the state's population was foreign born, while in the three counties only 0.2 per cent of the population was foreign born.

This table further shows that Dunklin County has a comparatively small per cent of Negroes and they are confined rather definitely to the town of Kennett where they are employed chiefly as domestics. Our inquiry revealed that the white inhabitants have a very unfavorable attitude toward large numbers of Negroes migrating into their county. This feeling can be partially explained by the fact that while many of the earlier settlers moved into the county from the South, they came largely from the hill sections. They disliked the "Nigger" and even though cotton was an important crop, they did not think the Negro an economic necessity. Their attitude was further aggravated by the fact that when

1. Fifteenth Census of the United States, Bulletin on Population in Missouri, pp. 5-7.

TABLE II. POPULATION PERCENTAGES BY RACE AND NATIVITY
SINCE 1900, BY COUNTIES*

COUNTY	P E R C E N T											
	1930			1920			1910			1900		
	NATIVE	FOR-	NEGRO	NATIVE	FOR-	NEGRO	NATIVE	FOR-	NEGRO	NATIVE	FOR-	NEGRO
	WHITE	EIGN- BORN WHITE		WHITE	EIGN- BORN WHITE		WHITE	EIGN- BORN WHITE		WHITE	EIGN- BORN WHITE	
MISSOURI	89.5	4.1	6.2	89.3	5.5	5.2	88.2	7.0	4.8	87.9	6.9	5.2
Dunklin	98.5	0.2	1.3	99.2	0.3	0.4	99.4	0.3	0.3	98.6	0.4	0.9
New Madrid	81.2	0.2	18.6	91.9	0.4	7.7	88.7	0.5	10.8	81.0	1.0	18.0
Pemiscot	72.8	0.2	26.9	85.1	0.4	14.5	91.8	0.4	7.8	92.3	0.6	7.1

*Table compiled from United States Census data for year indicated.

I. Dunklin

II. New Madrid

III. Pemiscot

Figure 3. Per Cent of Native White, Foreign Born White, and Negro in Population by Counties, 1930.

cotton was first introduced, a few large land owners imported Negroes to work in the fields during the cotton season. Many of them thought to be of an undesirable class and being temporarily in a section with few of their own established institutions and organizations, they became somewhat of a social problem and were considered objectionable.

In contrast to Dunklin, the two neighboring counties of Pemiscot and New Madrid have drawn increasingly large numbers of Negroes. In general, the white population movement into these counties was also from Arkansas and Tennessee, but the immigrants came more generally from the plains. They, too, were prejudiced against the Negro as an equal, but tolerated him as an economic asset. When interviewed, they frequently summed up the situation by saying, "Cotton, mules, and Niggers go together".

In 1935 the census data stated that there were 12,531 Negroes on farms in the three counties. More than 43 per cent of the Negroes on farms in Missouri were² located in these three counties.

In Missouri as a whole, 75.9 per cent of the Negroes are urban, while 13.2 per cent are rural-farm, as is shown in Table III. In these three counties the

2. United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.

TABLE III. PROPORTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION,
1930, WHICH IS URBAN, RURAL-FARM, AND RURAL-NONFARM*

COUNTY	NEGRO POPULATION							
	TOTAL		URBAN		RURAL-FARM		RURAL-NONFARM	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
THE STATE	223,840	100.0	169,954	75.9	29,613	13.2	24,273	10.9
Dunklin	461	100.0	94	20.4	299	64.9	68	14.7
New Madrid	5,617	100.0	000	.0	4,556	81.1	1,061	18.9
Pemiscot	10,040	100.0	1,105	11.0	8,361	83.3	574	5.7

* Negroes in the United States, 1930 to 1932, Bureau of the Census, pp.761-766.

percentages are very much reversed. In Dunklin County 64.9 per cent of the Negroes are classified as rural-farm; in New Madrid, 81.1 per cent; and in Pemiscot, 83.3 per cent. The single-crop system and absence of industrial opportunities open to both whites and Negroes, as well as exclusion of the Negro from most trades, leave no alternative for residence. The need for the employable population is in the open country near or in the cotton field.

Out of the 1,533 households interviewed, 209 or 13.6 per cent were Negroes, according to Table IV. Of these 209 Negro households, 195 or 93.3 per cent lived in the open country, while out of the 1,324 white household families, 1,006 or 76 per cent lived in the open country. This leaves 6.7 per cent of the Negroes and 24 per cent of the white households in villages of a population over 125.

Many of the people in the villages object to Negro residents and make it difficult for the colored person to rent or own property. They welcome his business, but quite freely boast that "He had better not let the sun set on him in town. Let him stay where he belongs--in the cotton patch." However, some of the people (formerly from the South) who live in the larger towns have Negro maids. They are usually housed in the maid's quarters back of the large home. Some few Negro men are

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE AND NEGRO HOUSEHOLDS
ACCORDING TO PLACE OF RESIDENCE

RESIDENCE	ALL COLORS		WHITE		NEGRO	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
TOTAL	1,533	100.0	1,324	100.0	209	100.0
Open Country*	1,201	78.3	1,006**	76.0	195	93.3
Village***	332	21.7	318	24.0	14	6.7

*Less than 125 population.

**Places having 125 - 2,499 population.

***Includes one part-Indian household.

employed in cotton gins, compresses, and at various occupations within the more urban centers.

In contrast to Missouri and the United States, the counties of the Southeast Lowlands have not had a definite trend from rural to urban. Table V shows that Pemiscot County had a decline in urban population from 1920 to 1930. Dunklin had less than one per cent increase, while New Madrid remained 100 per cent rural. No urban center in the three counties has reached the 5,000 population class, while only two are over 2,500. In 1930, Kennett, in Dunklin County, had a population of 4,128 and Caruthersville, in Pemiscot County, had 4,781 people.³

Many of the rural-nonfarm families live in small villages. They may not have tracts large enough or of sufficient agricultural productivity to be classed as farms, but do produce many of their own vegetables and enjoy other low living costs. Some are retired farmers who depend for a living on lands they have rented to others.

There are few industries carried on in this section of the state. The chief ones such as cotton ginning, compressing, and lumbering are frequently so seasonable that people employed in them may be engaged in other types of activities the major part of the year. At the

3. Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Bulletin on Population in Missouri, p. 42.

TABLE V. RURAL, RURAL-FARM, AND RURAL-
NONFARM POPULATION OF COUNTIES, 1920 AND 1930, WITH PERCENTAGES*

COUNTY	POPULATION									
	1930						1920			
	Total Popula- tion	Rural- Nonfarm Popula- tion	Rural Farm Popula- tion	Total Rural Popula- tion	Per Cent Ur- ban	Per Cent Rur- al	Total Popula- tion	Rural Popula- tion	Per Cent Ur- ban	Per Cent Rur- al
THE STATE	3,629,367	661,279	1,108,969	1,770,248	51.2	48.8	3,404,055	1,817,152	46.6	53.4
Dunklin	35,799	8,914	22,757	31,671	11.5	88.5	32,773	29,151	11.1	88.9
New Madrid	30,262	10,572	19,890	30,262		100.0	25,180	25,180		100.0
Pemiscot	37,284	5,917	26,586	32,503	12.8	87.2	26,634	21,884	17.8	82.2

*Data from Fifteenth Census of the United States, Vol. III, 1930, pp. 1339-46.

same time many of the industries are located in unincorporated places or in the open country and those employed are rural-farm people.

The per cent of rural-farm people in 1930 for the three counties sufficiently outbalances the rural-nonfarm to warrant our giving the rural-farm factors the greater consideration. Hence, more emphasis will be given the life and welfare of the open country.

Along with changes in population should appear some consideration of the natural increase. The census data shown in Table VI indicate that the birth rate in the United States had declined at a very rapid rate and that Missouri has a falling birth rate. The three counties under consideration show a fluctuation, but no tendency for decline.

The death rate for Missouri has remained approximately stationary and the three counties seem to approximate that of the state. It is reasonable to assume that both births and deaths are under-reported; doctors often are not present at either births or deaths; the people are uneducated and unimpressed with the necessity of reporting vital statistics.

The vital index showing the ratio of the birth rate to death rate in determining the probable increase in population due to natural causes is found by dividing a hundred times the birth rate by the death rate. In

TABLE VI. BIRTHS AND DEATHS PER THOUSAND POPULATION FOR COUNTIES,
WITH RATE FOR MISSOURI AND UNITED STATES, 1925 TO 1934*

BIRTHS						DEATHS					
YEAR	U.S.	MISSOURI	COUNTY			YEAR	U.S.	MISSOURI	COUNTY		
			DUNKLIN	NEW MADRID	PEMISCOT				DUNKLIN	NEW MADRID	PEMISCOT
1925		19.60	37.34	23.34	19.51	1925		11.86	14.02	10.70	9.72
1926		19.04	34.27	21.96	21.94	1926		12.2	12.64	10.10	10.38
1927	20.6	18.9	30.1	20.5	21.9	1927	11.4	11.6	9.2	9.0	10.7
1928	19.8	18.0	27.4	16.4	15.7	1928	12.0	12.8	11.2	10.4	12.3
1929	18.9	16.9	28.5	12.8	17.0	1929	11.9	12.9	11.8	12.3	11.2
1930	18.9	17.1	31.5	18.9	18.4	1930	11.3	11.8	11.9	11.5	12.0
1931	18.0	16.5	29.1	19.9	17.6	1931	11.1	12.0	12.5	12.7	14.2
1932	17.4	16.2	25.7	19.6	15.4	1932	10.9	11.8	11.1	12.6	12.3
1933	16.4	15.5	28.5	19.7	15.9	1933	10.7	11.6	13.1	15.3	13.1
1934		16.4	30.0	21.5	18.8	1934		12.7	13.0	13.3	13.9

*Data for 1935 have not been released.

1934 Dunklin County showed a vital index of 231; New Madrid, 162; Pemiscot, 135.

Considering an index of above 100 as a healthy and increasing one, all three of the Southeast Missouri counties indicate a healthy and increasing population. However, the health statistics for death rates for particular diseases tend to color such a statement.

The birth rate or number of newly born per one thousand of the average population is a crude measure indicating how the population is replenished. It cannot be considered a good plan for judging fertility. A better rate of fertility may be secured by relating the number of births to the women of childbearing age. The proportion of children under five and under one year of age to women 15 to 44 years of age indicates a high rate of reproduction in these counties, as is shown in Table VII. This may indicate that in a section so largely agricultural, children are considered an asset. It may also have a cultural implication indicating a lack of knowledge of birth control information among a large per cent of the people.

Since the population is primarily rural, it is to be expected that the ratio of males to females would be high. According to the 1930 census there are 3,555 more males than females over 15 years of age in the three

TABLE VII. FERTILITY RATE BY COUNTIES, 1930*

County and Race	Total Population	Number of Women 15-44 Yrs. of Age	Number of Births	Number of Births per 1,000 women 15-44 Yrs. of Age	Children		Number of Children Under 5 and 1 Year to 1,000 Women 15-44 Years of Age	
					Under 5	Under 1	Under 5	Under 1
Dunklin	35,799	7,762	1,065	523	4,605	944	2,460	508
White	35,338	7,731	1,053	136	4,547	932	589	121
Negro	461	31	12	387	58	12	1,871	387
New Madrid	30,262	6,424	573	147	3,841	730	1,123	226
White	24,645	5,074	511	101	3,167	579	624	114
Negro	5,617	1,350	62	46	674	151	499	112
Pemiscot	37,284	8,671	689	141	4,511	913	975	199
White	27,244	6,043	563	93	3,448	689	571	114
Negro	10,040	2,628	126	48	1,063	224	404	85

*Data from the Fifteenth Census of the United States, Volume III, Part 1, p. 1328.

⁴
counties. This excess of males over females holds true when Negroes alone are considered. Perhaps this ratio is due to the nature of the farm work and greater demand for male hand laborers. As there appears to be more single males than females, it raises the question of possible negative influence on the development of the family.

The median size of family in the Missouri Lowlands stands decidedly above that for the state as a whole, according to Table VIII where the median for the state is shown to be 3.2. The figure for the counties ranges from 4.06 in Dunklin and 3.65 in Pemiscot to 3.99 in New Madrid County.⁵ The high per cent of Negro families

TABLE VIII
MEDIAN SIZE OF FAMILIES BY COUNTIES, 1930*

COUNTY	ALL FAMILIES			ALL RURAL-FARM FAMILIES	ALL RURAL-NONFARM FAMILIES
	ALL GROUPS	NATIVE WHITE	NEGRO		
THE STATE	3.20	3.23	2.48	3.63	3.07
Dunklin	4.06	4.08	2.72	4.52	3.40
New Madrid	3.99	4.15	3.27	4.25	3.56
Pemiscot	3.64	4.00	2.77	3.86	3.38

*Fifteenth Census of the United States, Vol. VI, pp. 738-751.

4. Fifteenth Census of the United States, Vol. III, 1930, pp. 1339-46.

5. Fifteenth Census of the United States, Vol. VI, pp. 738-751.

in New Madrid and Pemiscot Counties bring down the average. The native whites of these two counties have a much higher average than Dunklin County or the state as a whole.

It is found that the normal family of husband and wife, or husband and wife and children, with or without non-family persons, is characteristic. The proportion of broken families seems small, perhaps smaller than in most sections of the state. One would be led to believe that the unusually high proportion of young families would indicate the need for a varied educational, religious, and recreational life to reach the rural youth of the area. As one woman expressed it, "All my children married before they had any sense. They think that when they are fifteen they have to get married. I guess there is little else for them to do."

In spite of the fact that the normal family type seems to be most common, there is a great amount of instability in family life. Many adults stated that they had been married three, four, or five times, denoting impermanence of marital ties. It might be that the great amount of mobility is contributory. The owners and renters are more settled, less mobile, and more or less respond to social controls. The share-croppers and laborers move about and have little interest in established social organizations. A big renter with fifty

people living on his farm paid little or no attention to the marital difficulties of his families. "I have no objection to their 'common law' marriages. I hire them to work and if I become too noseey, they might leave me in the middle of the season." A land owner had a man and his "woman" living in one of his houses--"They're not married; they have a river license." A Negro woman, 38 years of age, said she had been married six times. "Lawdie, if I had money for a divorce, I'd buy me some-
thin' to wear." When asked how she secured license to marry after her separations, she freely explained, "When they leaves, I don't know where they go, and for all I know they are dead; so if they are dead, I don't need no divorce. But, no man is living with me 'less he has papers."

Among the farm population 60.8 per cent of the total are under 25 years of age, as contrasted to 50.3 per cent in the farm population for the state. Not only are the children more numerous, but the heads of the families are younger. The median age of the male heads of farm families in the state is 47.2, but Table IX shows that among 1,096 representative families in Dunklin, New Madrid, and Pemiscot Counties the median age of the male head is only 40.1.

The table further shows that among the various tenure groups there is considerable variation in age

TABLE IX. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HEADS OF 1,096 FARM FAMILIES
IN THE THREE COUNTIES, BY TENURE GROUP AND RACE

TENURE GROUP	W H I T E						N E G R O					
	A G E						A G E					
	15-24 %	25-34 %	35-44 %	45-54 %	55-64 %	65 & OVER %	15-24 %	25-34 %	35-44 %	45-54 %	55-64 %	65 & OVER %
Owner	3.5	11.0	31.4	27.6	24.1	12.4	2.6	5.2	31.6	39.6	10.5	10.5
Renter	7.7	29.2	25.4	18.4	14.8	4.4	6.7	26.7	33.3	13.3	13.3	6.7
Cropper	10.5	27.0	27.1	22.7	9.9	2.8	5.5	25.4	30.9	20.0	12.7	5.5
Laborer	15.8	37.5	23.2	13.0	7.7	2.8	8.9	30.3	29.1	19.0	7.6	5.1

distribution. Among the whites there is a definite tendency for the age of the head to increase as one proceeds from day laborer to share-cropper to renter to owner. Among the Negroes this is not so pronounced. There is little difference between the median ages of Negro day laborers, croppers, and renters, although the owners are somewhat older.

In the migration there was a selection process that brought the younger people, but left the older behind. The life in a new country, with hard work ahead, was not so attractive to the older people.

MOBILITY

In studying the residence history of the head of each family since January 1, 1920 (or if married since 1920, the date of first marriage) to the date of the survey, records were made of changes of residence involved. These changes included: moves outside the village or city in which he or she previously resided; moves into a village or city or to an open-country place in another township (precinct or parish), county or state. Notations were made of changes within the same township, village, or city.

To aid in comparison, an index was worked out by the following formula: number of moves divided by number of years times 100. The indices should be interpreted as follows: an index of 100 represents one move per year

on the average; an index of 20 represents one move in five years on the average, etc. The indices ranged from a low of 6 to a high of 300.

As shown in Table X, a third of the village households visited, both white and Negro, had made no moves. A slightly greater per cent of the whites had lived in the same residence, on the average, more than five years. A fourth of the Negroes had not moved as often as once in five years.

In the open country the percentages are somewhat different. Of the white households 17 per cent had made no moves, while only 6.2 per cent of the Negroes were so classified. Those who did not move so often as once in five years comprised 31.7 per cent of the whites and 41 per cent of the Negroes; on the average, 22.2 per cent of the white households and 27.2 per cent of the Negro households move about every three years. Table XI shows that 22.1 per cent of the white families and 17.8 per cent of the Negro families averaged one move each year. Of these last figures some few moved as often as twice a year.

The United States Census for 1930 shows that less than one-seventh of the farms in the three counties were operated by owners.⁶ Consequently, the tenancy group

6. Fifteenth Census of the United States, Agriculture, Missouri, 1930, pp. 6, 8, and 11.

TABLE X. PER CENT OF OPEN-COUNTRY AND VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED
ACCORDING TO SIZE OF MOBILITY INDEX, BY RACE

HOUSEHOLD	TOTAL*	PER CENT	NO MOVES	LESS THAN 20	20- 59	60- 99	100- 119	120- 139	140- 159	160- 179	180- 199	200 AND OVER
Open Country:												
White	1,000	100.0	17.0	31.7	35.0	9.2	4.7	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.8
Negro	195	100.0	6.2	41.0	38.5	7.7	3.6	0.5	1.5	0.5		0.5
Village:												
White	314	100.0	34.1	35.4	25.4	2.9	1.6	0.6				
Negro	15	100.0	33.2	26.7	33.4							6.7

*The total households excluded 9 families visited for which no data were reported.

**TABLE XI. PERCENTAGES OF TENURE GROUPS
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO MOBILITY INDEX AND BY RACE**

Classification	House- holds	Per Cent	No Moves	Less Than 20	20- 59	60- 99	100- 119	120- 159	160- 199	200 and over
White										
Owner	145	100.0	45.5	36.5	17.3	0.7				
Renter	297	100.0	15.5	38.0	35.7	8.1				0.3
Cropper	180	100.0	7.2	27.2	48.9	13.3	1.7	0.6		1.1
Laborer	281	100.0	10.7	24.9	35.6	12.5	11.0	2.8	1.1	1.4
Negro										
Owner	38	100.0	2.6	50.0	44.8	2.6				
Renter	15	100.0	6.7	60.0	26.6	6.7				
Cropper	56	100.0	7.1	33.9	46.4	3.6	5.4	1.8		1.8
Laborer	79	100.0	6.3	39.2	32.9	12.7	3.8	3.8	1.3	

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would be large. It follows that without the stability of home ownership, the mobility rate will be high, with much shifting from farm to farm. The rate of farm-to-farm mobility appears to be closely linked with tenure status. The higher the farmer climbs up the agricultural ladder, the more stable he becomes. The plight of the renter was stated by a member of that group in these words:

"When we came here, we thought we could soon make plenty, but the land companies had the same idea and a chance to do it. When work is scarce you keep moving, thinking things are better farther on. If you stay with a man two or three years, you have to move about on the place. About as fast as you get one piece of land cleared up, you get moved on so that someone with stock can tend the land and make him more money. You can't accumulate if you keep on the move. So you are up agin' it if you can't get stuff (implements and stock) so you can rent. Our boy in C.C.C. Camp wrote home: 'Mother, you all move so often I'm ashamed to have my check changed again.'"

Table XI further shows that Negro tenants and croppers are a more stable group with respect to residence than white families of the same status. This is probably accounted for to a large extent by the fact that there are relatively few opportunities for Negroes in certain localities outside the field of agriculture and that Negroes as a whole are more easily satisfied, more docile, and less likely to express dissatisfaction than whites. "Niggers can be told what to do, but whites have to be treated as whites," stated many owners and renters.

From the foregoing data it is evident that the people are here in sufficient numbers; that they are agricultural people, in a large measure from southern states; that they are quite mobile; that the croppers and laborers are more mobile than renters and owners. There is a high rate of reproduction; there is a high fertility rate. It implies that in a section so largely agricultural, children are considered an asset. It may also have a cultural implication, indicating a lack of knowledge of birth control information among the large percent of the people.

CHAPTER II

LAND UTILIZATION

HISTORICAL BASIS

Scarcely more than a half century ago marked the beginning of extensive agricultural development in the Lowlands, now known as the "Boot heel of Missouri". The early settlers found much of the land in swamp and covered with dense timber. The first settlers cleared the land for home sites, crops, and pasture. As time went on, land was taken for towns, highways, and railroads. It was not possible, however, for agricultural development to take place on a very large scale until much of the land was cleared and extensive drainage projects were completed.

Until the last twenty-five years, lumbering was an important industry. The early histories of all of the counties point out that timber has been one of the great resources of this area.

The earthquake of 1811-12 evidently destroyed acres of valuable timber. Older residents were interviewed who can remember seeing acres of land when trees were standing above the water. They stated that during their time, they had seen old cypress trees in submerged regions still leafing out although some of the boles at

the root of the tree, commonly called cypress knees, were under water. An old resident of Pemiscot County who followed the lumber activities as a workman during this period refers to the Lowlands as a section that developed "one hundred years in ten".

Today the timber resources are almost exhausted. Much clearing of new land is taking place at the present time, but the major part of the sawing is done by small mills. People are now lamenting the fact that soon the timber will be so completely exhausted that fuel will not be available.

The soil throughout these counties is very fertile and is readily cultivated after it is cleared and adequate outlet provided through which the farms may be drained. Except as artificial drainage has been provided, the land is typical southern swamp. Considerable protection against overflow of the Mississippi is afforded by levees.

According to census data for 1930, approximately two-thirds of the drainage area in Missouri is in the Lowlands.¹ Drainage has played an important role in the agricultural development of this area. In 1850, Congress gave the swamp land to the state in which it was located. Shortly after this, Missouri undertook to encourage the

1. Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Drainage of Agricultural Lands, Missouri, (Bulletin),
p. 7.

development of the land. The peak of the development of drainage projects was not until 1900 to 1915, when the entire Lowland was organized into districts. In many districts the annual drainage tax alone amounted to three dollars an acre. With the onset of the depression and the lowering of farm income, many farmers lost their land to insurance or loan companies, and tenants were prevented from climbing the agricultural ladder to ownership. One owner remarked that "the levee has been a wonderful thing but it has taxed us to death".

There is no doubt that drainage costs are heavy, but the cost is outweighed in the improvement to thousands of acres as well as the resultant improvement in health through the reduction of the incidence of malaria.

The bringing of undeveloped land into farms accounts for most of the increase of land in farms during the period 1900 to 1935. The extension of the acreage has increased along with the number of farms. According to census data, New Madrid and Pemiscot Counties, during the past thirty-five years, had a percentage increase of 301.41 and 271.1, respectively, in the number of farms.² Dunklin County, slightly less subject to overflow than the counties along the Mississippi River, was

2. Percentages derived from Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Agriculture, Missouri, (Bulletin), pp. 6, 8, and 11.

gradually cleared and opened to cultivation. It was not the scene of such extensive lumber activities and for that reason showed less change since 1900. Between 1900 and 1935 Dunklin County had an increase of 43.94 per cent in number of farms. However, since 1930 there seems to be a slight increase in size of farms in Dunklin and Pemiscot Counties, while New Madrid County remains about the same. According to the census reports for number of farms for 1935, Dunklin County has 6.9 farms per square mile; New Madrid County, 6.5; and Pemiscot County, 9.8.³

Farmers in these counties are not so materially affected by droughts as in other sections of the state and have produced some crops on most of the land cultivated. A comment frequently heard in this area is that "we never have a complete failure of crops". Even though crop rotation may be highly desirable, there probably is not so much shift from crops to pasture or rotation of crops as there is in older agricultural areas. One owner freely said, "We don't need any soil conservation program here. This soil has not lost any of its richness in the twenty years I've been here." In many parts of these counties the land is comparatively new and soil depletion and erosion is not so extensive as in many of the older

3. Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1935, Agriculture, Vol. I, pp. 261-269.

sections. In many of the fields of cotton and corn stumps are visible, indicating the newness of the land.

With comparatively few specialized uses of the land, it may be unquestionably stated that the chief use is in some form of agriculture. Farms and farm acreage has increased since 1900. Timber has been exhausted and various manufacturing establishments depending on wood for their raw materials have practically disappeared and no other form of industry has been developed to take their place. As population has increased, more people have been attracted to the area than can possibly secure a living from the soil under the present system of tenure. With such pressure of population on means of subsistence, standards of living are kept at a low ebb. Large numbers of people are forced into a social and economic status that cannot measure up to the minimum standards of health, wealth, security, and social well-being essential to national welfare. This has given rise to a social and economic problem, the solution of which appears beyond the people of this area. Many people frankly say, "We realize it, we see it, we feel the effects of it, but what can we do?" It is a rich land of many poor people and is often characterized by the expression, "We're living in the shadow of the plantation".

STAGES IN LAND USAGE

*Industry In The Open Country
Pemiscot County*

*Second Year Crop
Pemiscot County*

*Deadening Timber First Year Crop
Pemiscot County*

*Drained But Uncleared Land
Pemiscot County*

*Where Corn Meets Cotton
Dunklin County*

FARM TYPES AND OPERATION

Physical conditions are important factors in determining the size of farms in these counties. The flat land and good soil are inducive to putting all land in cultivation. In contrast to the counties on the north where the topography is rough, farms are much smaller, ranging in average from 38.2 acres in Pemiscot County and 58.2 acres in Dunklin County to 67.6 acres in New Madrid County, as is shown in Table XII. From one-half to five-sixths of the farms contain less than 50 acres. In 1935 there was a slight increase in average acres per farm, as is indicated in Figure 4.

These figures as reported by the Census Bureau are important, but show no significant economic trend. For census purposes, a "farm" is all the land directly farmed by one person, either alone or with the services of his family or hired laborers. If a land owner has one or more tenants, renters, share-croppers, or managers, the land which each operates is considered a farm. Thus interpreted, the data do not show the tendency for creditor landholders or operating companies to get possession of large tracts of farm land in depression periods, nor do they show whether there is a trend for centralization or decentralization of ownership.

TABLE XII

TOTAL NUMBER OF FARMS AND PER CENT OF FARMS
OF SPECIFIED SIZE, 1930*

COUNTY	TOTAL NUMBER FARMS	AVERAGE ACRES PER FARM	A C R E S								
			UNDER 10	10- 19	20- 49	50- 99	100- 174	175- 259	260- 499	500- 999	1,000- 4,999
			%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
THE STATE	255,940	131.8	4.3	4.3	15.5	23.5	29.0	13.2	8.5	1.5	0.2
Dunklin	3,892	58.2	10.6	5.5	41.8	29.1	9.9	1.8	1.0	0.3	0.0
New Madrid	3,825	67.6	4.3	13.0	43.7	20.8	10.7	4.3	2.3	0.8	0.1
Pemiscot	5,546	38.2	9.9	22.0	49.4	13.9	3.4	0.8	0.4	0.1	0.1

*Fifteenth Census of the United States, Agriculture, Missouri Bulletin, 1930,
pp. 15-21.

Figure 4. Percentage of Farms Under 50 Acres, 50 to 259 Acres, and 260 or More Acres, by Counties, 1935.

The General American Life Insurance Company, the Central States Life Insurance Company, Prudential Life, and Metropolitan Companies, as well as lumber company holdings and absentee landlords control thousands of acres. Many farm operators who have purchased lumbering or insurance company land have been faced with heavy property tax, excessive drainage taxes, and declining prices and have been unable to keep up payments. Speculative buying transferred the land to absentee ownership. Merchants, bankers, lawyers, and corporations took advantage of land price fluctuation and the small owner's inability to meet his expenses.

The classification of farms as used in this study is that followed by the 1930 census. The classification is made on the basis of the relation of the value of products from a specific source to the value of products from all sources. Table XIII shows that cotton farms constitute the largest per cent of all types in the three counties studied. The sandy and loamy soils found in these three counties are suitable for cotton raising. Cotton acreage has increased since 1919 and in some counties has doubled since 1924. Most of the soils produce from three-fourths to one and one-half bales to an acre.⁴ According to King approximately 71 per cent of the total

4. King, B. M., Cotton Production in Missouri, University of Missouri, Bulletin 299, 1931, p. 3.

TABLE XIII.

PERCENTAGES OF COTTON, CORN, AND
HAY AND TOTAL CROP LAND BY COUNTIES,
1919 - 1934

COUNTY	YEAR	TOTAL CROP LAND	PER CENT		
			COTTON	CORN	HAY
THE STATE	1934*	22,521,179	14.1	21.5	13.4
	1929**	22,663,935	15.5	24.6	16.2
	1924**	22,137,141	21.5	27.4	16.4
	1919**	24,832,966	4.4	22.4	11.5
Dunklin	1934	207,324	35.1	39.6	9.2
	1929	202,048	44.2	29.9	7.3
	1924	172,545	54.2	30.5	4.7
	1919	160,094	16.7	30.4	8.5
New Madrid	1934	248,671	26.0	38.6	11.5
	1929	232,425	23.3	34.9	6.1
	1924	208,209	43.2	33.6	6.0
	1919	195,362	6.1	35.7	7.3
Pemiscot	1934	206,867	45.6	37.0	9.2
	1929	191,137	65.7	18.2	4.3
	1924	125,184	66.6	23.7	4.7
	1919	118,359	31.5	34.4	9.5

*United States Census of Agriculture, 1935, Vol. I,
pp. 262-269.

**Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Agri-
culture, Missouri, (Bulletin), pp. 40-48.

crop produced in Missouri for the year 1930 was produced in Dunklin, Pemiscot, and New Madrid Counties. In 1935, 84 per cent was grown in these three counties. According to estimates of the United States Census of Agriculture for 1935, 93 per cent of the farms in Dunklin County are in cotton; 91 per cent of those in New Madrid County; and 96 per cent of the farms in Pemiscot County.

Corn is an important field crop as is indicated in Figure 5. The general trend from 1919 to 1934 was a slight increase in acreage, but not in proportion to new land opened up for cultivation during this time. The usual plan is to produce only enough corn to feed the farm animals. The corn acreage is usually farmed by day labor and not share-cropped.

Hay was a more important crop in this area in 1934 than in 1919. More alfalfa is grown than any other type. The Sharkey Clay loam soil, extending from north to south through the central part of the counties is particularly superior as a grass soil.

A comparatively small per cent of the farms in these counties grow small grains.

Truck gardening is given little acreage. Watermelons are extensively grown in the lighter sandy soils. Dunklin County had 191 farms reporting melons in the 1930 census,

Figure 5. Percentage of Crop Land in Principal Field Crops, by Counties, 1934.

while Pemiscot had 11 and New Madrid 23.⁵

There has been an increase in crop acreage for each of the three counties since 1919. There was an unusual expansion in cotton acreage between 1919 and 1924. Since that time the per cent of land in cotton has decreased. The trend in corn acreage has varied somewhat. Dunklin County held its 30 per cent rather consistently until 1934, at which time there was an increase. Possibly the decrease in cotton acreage accounted for the increase in corn for this county. New Madrid has shifted less than 3 per cent in the four years considered. Pemiscot had 34.4 per cent of crop acreage in corn in 1919 and decreased in 1924; in 1929 the per cent was about that of 1919. However, the increased acreage for corn in 1934 was about the same as the decrease in cotton.

Whether the shift was due to A.A.A. or general trend toward diversification of crops or both is a subject for question. The schedules of the three county families did not stress this point; therefore, any such statement would be a mere guess.

5. Data on crops were compiled from Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Missouri Farm Census, Bulletin 5, State Department of Agriculture, 1935, and The United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.

LIVESTOCK

Since this section of the state has principally a one-crop system, stock raising for market is little emphasized. At a glance this can be seen by the number of horses, mules, cows, sheep, hogs, and chickens (January 1, 1936) as shown for each county in Table XIV. The nature of the farm work in the area accounts in a large measure for the excess of mules as farm animals. In general, the farm work is heavy and the temperature is high. The mule excels the horse in muscular endurance. It is more easily kept, withstands hunger and thirst better than the horse does, lives to a greater age, and is comparatively free from disease. For land operation, owners and renters must have mules and should a cropper have a mule, he is expected to use it with little or no additional crop allowance.

In living standard study it is of great importance whether a family has adequate supply of milk, butter, and eggs. Particular study might be given to the number of milk cows found in these three counties. If milk cows were distributed throughout the area there would be less than one to a farm. The high value of land for raising cotton tends to discourage the keeping of cows. Many are grazed along the highways in an effort to conserve pasture space. Table XV shows that of the 1,533

TABLE XIV. LIVESTOCK AND CHICKENS,
BY COUNTIES, JANUARY 1, 1936*

COUNTY	HORSES	MULES	MILK COWS	ALL CATTLE	HOGS	CHICKENS
Dunklin	2,024	7,349	4,849	12,423	36,740	89,246
New Madrid	2,105	9,247	5,182	15,357	35,585	83,157
Pemiscot	772	9,275	3,610	8,844	22,904	77,725

*Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1935, Agriculture, Missouri,
Vol. I, pp. 262-269.

TABLE XV

DISTRIBUTION OF OPEN-COUNTRY AND VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS
ACCORDING TO NUMBER AND PER CENT
HAVING COWS AND CHICKENS

RESIDENCE AND OCCUPATION	MILK COWS		CHICKENS	
	NO.	%	NO.	%
All Households	1,533	100.0	1,533	100.0
Having	709	46.2	1,089	71.0
Not Having	824	53.8	444	29.0
Open-Country				
All Occupations	1,201	100.0	1,201	100.0
Having	646	53.8	967	80.5
Not Having	555	46.2	234	19.5
Owner	183	100.0	183	100.0
Having	163	89.1	173	94.5
Not Having	20	10.9	10	5.5
Renter	313	100.0	313	100.0
Having	257	82.1	301	96.2
Not Having	56	17.9	12	3.8
Cropper	237	100.0	237	100.0
Having	125	52.7	207	87.3
Not Having	112	47.3	30	12.7
Laborer	364	100.0	364	100.0
Having	72	19.8	216	59.3
Not Having	292	80.2	148	40.7
All Others	104	100.0	104	100.0
Having	29	27.9	70	67.3
Not Having	75	72.1	34	32.7
Village	332	100.0	332	100.0
Having	63	19.0	122	36.7
Not Having	269	81.0	210	63.3

households interviewed, 46.2 per cent reported milk cows. The village households reported 19 per cent. The per cent of owners and renters in the open country greatly exceed the croppers and laborers. The scale of those reporting cows for the tenure groups in the order named is as follows: 89, 82, 53, and 20 per cent.

There are less than two-thirds of the farms that produce hogs and usually these are for family use.

Many farms are without chickens and a number of those reporting chickens state that their flock consists of an old hen and eight or ten chicks. They are interested in chicken raising for meat primarily and not for egg production. Table XV further shows that about three-fourths of the 1,533 households had chickens. The renter group exceeds the landowner group by 2 per cent. The croppers reporting were lower, with 87 per cent. Surprising enough, over half the laborers reported chickens. It is evident that poultry raising is not gone into extensively, for a drive through the section will show the absence of hen houses. Often the chickens are housed in the barn or a little lean-to shanty adjoining the outdoor toilet. There may be no provision made for their housing and they go into or under the house for shelter. To most cropper and laborer families fried chicken and eggs are luxuries.

It appears that there is some relation between the

low incomes, quantity of milk, butter and eggs for family consumption, and malnutrition. It seems to be a vicious circle, each in turn perpetuating the revolution. With the lower income groups, there is less cash for purchasing the necessary food items. This is true with the general farm laboring group. They cannot afford to buy milk and eggs, and their occupational position does not permit them to own and keep a cow. The share-cropper is not in a much better position. The land that he share-crops is to be put in cotton and does not include pasture space. The renter may be able to raise feed for his mules and may reserve a small section for pasture. However, he is not free to plan the acreage as is the owner. Along with the absence of proper foods goes poor health, which in turn contributes to low vitality and decreased initiative. Even though this may not be a series of causes and effects, the factors may be correlated, varying in degrees, directly, with the tenure groups.

CHAPTER III

TENURE GROUPS

One of the most outstanding features of the three cotton counties appears to be the high per cent of tenancy. In 1930, according to Table XVI, 76 per cent of the farms were operated by tenants. Pemiscot County has the highest per cent of tenant families. New Madrid falls into the middle position, having 1.7 per cent less tenant families than Pemiscot County and 8 per cent more than Dunklin County. Of the 1,201 households studied, 76.2 per cent worked on land that was not owned by a member of the household. Figure 6 shows that for both races combined, the group that owns the land is in the minority. This does not hold true when only Negro tenure groups are considered.

For a study of trends in the sample, the usual occupation for the last five years was recorded and compared with the present status. By "usual" was meant the occupation followed for the greatest part of the time within the past five years. Tables XVII and XVIII show that there were 1.5 per cent more owners in 1935 than for the average of the five-year period. This increase was surely due to, in the main, the recent colonization of Negro owners near Gobbler. The renter group has remained

TABLE XVI
FARM TENURE IN COUNTIES, 1930*

COUNTY	TOTAL FAMILIES		OWNERS		TENANTS		TENURE UNKNOWN	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
THE STATE	939,476	100.0	459,810	48.9	461,203	49.1	18,463	2.0
Dunklin	7,910	100.0	2,289	28.9	5,516	69.7	105	1.4
New Madrid	6,657	100.0	1,330	20.0	5,172	77.7	155	2.3
Pemiscot	8,717	100.0	1,698	19.5	6,907	79.2	112	1.3

*Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population, Vol. VI, pp. 738-744.

Figure 6. Occupational Groupings of Open-country Households.

TABLE XVII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HEADS OF 1,201 OPEN-COUNTRY HOUSEHOLDS
 ACCORDING TO USUAL OCCUPATION AND BY RACE

OCCUPATION	ALL COLORS		WHITE		NEGRO	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
All Occupations	1,201	100.0	1,006	100.0	195	100.0
Owner	164	13.7	144	14.3	20	10.2
Renter	321	26.7	305	30.3	16	8.2
Cropper	240	20.0	170	16.9	70	35.9
Laborer	343	28.5	267	26.6	76	39.0
All Others*	133	11.1	120	11.9	13	6.7

*Includes heads who are incapacitated for work, W.P.A. workers, fishermen, cotton gin employees, farm managers, river and drainage workers, and all other occupations reported.

TABLE XVIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HEADS OF 1,201 OPEN-COUNTRY HOUSEHOLDS
 ACCORDING TO PRESENT OCCUPATION AND BY RACE

OCCUPATION	ALL COLORS		WHITE		NEGRO	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
All Occupations	1,201	100.0	1,006	100.0	195	100.0
Owner	183	15.2	145	14.4	38	19.5
Renter	313	26.1	298	29.6	15	7.7
Cropper	237	19.7	181	18.0	56	28.7
Laborer	364	30.4	285	28.3	79	40.5
All Others*	104	8.7	97	9.7	7	3.6

*Includes heads who are incapacitated for work, W.P.A. workers, fishermen, cotton gin employees, farm managers, river and drainage workers, and all other occupations reported.

approximately stationary. The cropper group did not show a marked change when both races are considered. However, there was an increase of 1.1 per cent for whites alone and 7.2 per cent for Negro croppers. The laboring group had a total increase of 2 per cent, with about the same per cent of change for Negro and white households.

These changes seem slight but if the trends continue over a period of time, they would become quite significant. Particularly, if the laboring group continues to grow, and all indications point toward an increase, there may be more reason to look into the plight of the field worker. As one share-cropper put it: "I remember when the share-cropper just gathered his own part of the crop and left the boss' standing. Then it got to where he had to gather both parts and now he furnishes his own mules if he has them. The cropper will be a thing of the past before long. The owner knows he can make more by day labor."

Regardless of the unfavorable aspects of the share-cropping system, many renters, croppers, and laborers are alarmed at its possible collapse. Many comments are made regarding a distinct trend toward day laboring and away from share-cropping. In spite of its many evils, the share-cropping system affords one advantage to the people living under it--they are "furnished" during the time the crop is being put in. They are assured some form of

subsistence during the period when they are without cash income. The day laborer, however, is entirely dependent upon his wages and is usually hired only during cotton picking and cotton chopping. In the interim, he is left without "furnish", food, or credit.

Table XVIII shows that of the open-country households interviewed, 15.2 per cent were owners; 26.1 per cent were renters; 19.7 per cent, croppers; 30.4 per cent, laborers; and 8.7 per cent were nonfarm households. Of the 195 Negro households, 19.5 per cent were owners; 7.7 per cent, renters; 28.7 per cent, croppers; 40.5 per cent, laborers. The number of Negroes is high in the laboring group and low in the group of renters. This can be explained, at least in part, by the fact that many Negroes have never held any place except that of a laborer. The low wage scale makes it virtually impossible for the laborer to acquire stock and equipment of his own, and without these he is unable to become a renter. One seldom finds a Negro who has had the experience of responsibility and supervision, regardless of his managerial ability. Too, there is a strong prejudice against Negro land ownership on the part of some of the whites. Where a Negro is reported as a land owner, one usually finds that he has taken up new, uncleared land sold for delinquent taxes. Because of the difficulty of clearing and cultivating such land, it is unattractive to white people. It is

land of this type which was bought by a number of Negro owners in Pemiscot County who settled in a colony near Gobbler in 1934. This colony was engineered by a Negro preacher who "realized the security of home ownership and visioned that his congregation could not pay a preacher unless they had the income to pay with." He preached the idea of home buying and through his chartered organization and his personal persuasion enlisted the legal assistance of influential white men. The Negro families pooled their meager savings and bought 1600 acres of land being sold for taxes. They came into this uncleared land within the past three years, constructed shacks and cultivated a few acres while they were in the process of clearing more land. Theirs is a story of pioneer life with its accompanying hardships and is characterized by marked persistence on the part of the Negroes. They have never received any governmental assistance or supervision. The private project has been successful in many ways. The stimulation in morale, the hope for better conditions, the element of future security, the educational helps that the leader has given and is continuing to give, all have been evidenced within the colony and will probably be a stimulating influence to other Negro families in this section.

Much of the data for Negro owners, particularly in

1. Statement made by Rev. T. W. Thompson, organizer and resident of the Negro Colony, Gobbler, Pemiscot Co.

regard to income, housing, and general living conditions, show the owners lower in the economic scale than the renters who have been established for some time. The newness of the colony and the accompanying standards will have to be borne in mind throughout the entire study.

INFLUENCE OF THE COTTON ECONOMY

Since this area has grown to depend upon the one crop--cotton--and the basis of tenure includes well defined occupations, relatively speaking, there seem to be lines of division between these occupational groups. It appears that the steps of the agricultural ladder are more or less rigid, and if that is the case, one great American ideal will be destroyed through the cotton economy. In a community of rigid groups, normal democratic processes are unable to function. "The agricultural ladder has indicated that in recent years movement from rung to rung has been predominantly in the direction of descent rather than ascent. It has also indicated an increasing tendency for the rungs of the ladder to become bars--forcing imprisonment in a fixed social status from which it is increasingly difficult to escape."²

The influence of the large land owner or absentee creditor institution has resulted in a social structure with a rigid scheme of social control. A distinct prestige group, consisting roughly of the large property or plantation owners, retail business people, and gin operators are distinctly in control. They work together and are reported often to take advantage of the small owner, the

2. Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, prepared under the auspices of the National Resources Committee, Washington, D. C., February, 1937, p. 11.

tenant, share-cropper, farm laborer, and all Negroes. Quite often this prestige group resents intrusion of either ideas or movements which might upset the status quo.

There is a small group of small tradesmen and professional people who do not necessarily exploit the tenure groups but who adopt a laissez faire attitude. They express the opinion that "the croppers and laborers are worthless and deserve nothing better than they have; they are an ignorant lot." This demonstrates the realization that a problem exists but expresses an attitude of hopelessness.

There are many small owners who are far from being secure. Often the security of the farmers who succeeded in becoming owners has been precarious because of the terms under which they acquired their land. Many are burdened with heavy indebtedness, high interest rates, or short terms, so short that without doubt conditions will force them to become tenants or croppers or join the parade of migratory laborers. Many speculators are waiting for the advantageous moment. A further handicap arises out of the high taxes prevalent in this area. In addition to state and county taxes, an owner is burdened with drainage taxes which add materially to the cost of his land. In recent years an effort has been made to reduce these taxes, but they are still so high that the

small owner, with limited capital, finds them an encumbrance. There are some few tenants who are able to move up to the ownership group but usually odds are against the greater per cent of them.

The renter may pay for the use of the land by cash; a combination of cash for corn land and a share of the cotton; or the three-four plan--a third of the cotton and a fourth of the corn. In either method of payment, the renter furnishes farm equipment, work animals, and labor.

The cropper is usually the most insecure group of the tenants. He supplies only his labor in return for a share of the crop. His part is usually one-half. If he is fortunate enough to have a cropper's contract, he might be assured to some degree. However, with crop failure, he has a total loss. If the landlord or renter decides to use day labor and not crop out his land, he will have to move on or do day laboring. Along with this insecurity, low incomes and low levels of living follow hand in hand.

The laborer is at the mercy of the owner or renter. He takes work when and where he can get it. As the chopping and picking are seasonal, with long periods of unemployment in between, he might work for one "boss man" during chopping time and be with another during the picking season. He may move about within one general locality or migrate long distances from the locality he calls

"home". Such laborers migrate both as individuals and as families. The families depend upon the wages of the men, women, and children to eke out a bare existence. Their standards of living are correspondingly low. This high mobility has a social affect. It deprives many families of normal social participation and it hinders large numbers of children from continuing their schooling. After a family has been subject to insecurity and lack of normal social contacts, it tends to lose the incentive for improving its lot.

The very nature of the share-cropping system for a single-crop agriculture creates great dependence of one group upon another and makes exploitation and subordination easy. Many families cannot live two months without assistance. The "furnish" is a recognized plan of credit. It is the advanced cash or material goods such as food, clothing, and household necessities during the crop production period, the value of which is to be deducted from the wages or share of the crop in the settlement at harvest time. This furnish is made through a commissary or some designated local store. The interest rate varies with different operators, ranging from 8 to 10 per cent. Very few laborers are furnished, as many do not stay long enough in one place to prove their dependability. Many croppers and renters have to have help before the cotton is sold in the fall.

One big land company superintendent stated that 90 per cent of the tenants on the company land had to be furnished for eight months of the year. The furnish varies in amount. The company store sells goods at the usual competitive prices. The renters are free to trade where they please but if they are furnished, "they are expected to trade at the commissary". From some families interviewed, it was learned that there is a 10 per cent interest charge on the furnish. Others stated that on \$30 per month furnish for eight months of the year, the cost in interest was \$30. Many families did not know just what was charged them and they pay without question. It is not uncommon to hear, "We never know how we stand 'cause the bookkeeper at the store keeps the books."

A Negro commented: "We made over \$600 last year but when we went to pay our furnish, we owed \$24.93 more than we made and so we had to sell a cow to pay out. When we asked for a receipt to show we was clear, the storekeeper asked me, 'Who has been learning you things?' A cropper never knows where he stands when the boss man grubstakes him."

The following page gives an outline of the customary system of tenure and presents a fair picture of exchange with some of the variations.

From the social point of view, the significant element appears to be the number and percentages of farm

CUSTOMARY
SYSTEMS OF TENURE

Landlord Furnishes	To Laborers	To Croppers	To Renters
	Land	Land	Land
	House	House	House
	Tools	Tools	Fuel (if on
	Stock	Stock	the place)
	Stock feed	Stock feed	May give
	Seed	Seed	furnish
	Fuel (if on the place)	Fuel (if on the place)	
Renter Furnishes	Wages or furnish	May give furnish	
	To Laborer	To Cropper	To Subrenter
	Stock	Stock	Land
	Tools	Tools	
	Seed	Seed	
	Stock feed	Stock feed	
Cropper or Laborer Furnishes	Wages or furnish	May give furnish	
	To Landlord or Renter		
	Labor		
Landlord Receives	Hoes		
	From Laborer	From Cropper	From Renter
	Labor	One-half the crop	One-fourth or one-third the crop
			Fixed amount of cash rent
			Share for cot- ton land and cash for corn land
Renter Receives	From Laborer	From Cropper	From Subrenter
	Labor	One-half the crop	One-third or one-half the crop
Cropper Receives	From Laborer	From Subcropper	From Renter or Landlord
	Labor	One-fourth the crop	One-half the crop
Laborer Receives	From Laborer	From Cropper, Renter, or Owner	
	Labor	Wages or furnish or wage value in cotton	

families who are tenants, croppers, and laborers, rather than the number of acres they farm or the amount of land under their supervision. Not only is an individual's opportunity for economic advancement jeopardized by tenancy and dependence, but his social status is also fixed more or less rigidly by his position on the agricultural ladder. Furthermore, a psychological factor is evidenced in the standard of living or culture of the community. From interviews in the field study, it was realized that families of a particular group saw their occupational positions in relation to those of other tenure levels. The laborer repeatedly commented upon his helplessness, his dependence upon the renter and owner, and said, "We are just common poor people". The cropper felt that his position as a laborer for a share of the crop could easily be changed to that of the day laborer. He took land where he could get it and lived in the house that went with the land, no matter what its condition. The renter thinks that he is lucky to find land to rent. He puts in the crops that the owner designates and farms according to the terms arranged by the owner. The owner is out to make money and clear indebtedness if it exists. In many cases insecurity is felt, but compensation is gained by assuming a dominating position over those persons that work under him. This defense mechanism is used by both owner and renter groups and there follows an established

reaction. For example, it was difficult to interview a laboring family until one let it be known that the "boss man" approved of the visit and had expressed himself as approving the interview. Otherwise, the cropper or laborer would say, "I don't want to get into trouble with my boss, and maybe I had better not say anything." Again, the domineering element was shown in the reaction of the renter in this expression: "If I only had thirty or forty acres of my own, where I could be my own boss and work for myself, I'd be the happiest man in the world."

The situation in Southeast Missouri might well be described in the words of the President's Committee: "Although in all areas of the United States there are notable instances of desirable relationships between tenants and landlords, tenancy conditions, in many cases and areas, are unsatisfactory to both tenant and landlord, are condemned by both, and are objectionable from the point of view of social welfare. Tenancy in many areas presents serious problems of insecurity, instability of occupancy, and lack of concern with soil conservation."³

3. Ibid., p. 5.

A Cotton Field in Pemiscot County.
This is the third picking. Note the quality of the cotton.
Thirteen members of a white laboring family of fifteen are shown in this picture.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

To meet the needs of an increasing population many one-room district schools were established about 1900. For a while the smaller unit of administration met needs, but after the population outgrew the facilities there was some expansion in districts by consolidation. The state attempted to meet this need in 1913 when the legislature passed the first consolidated school law providing aid to districts if they would vote to combine and agree to meet the specified requirements of the law. This proved a boon to the area which was still in the infancy stage of secondary education. As a result there are more consolidated school districts here than in any other section of the state. Most of the first-class high schools, except in the urban centers, are in consolidated school districts. Table XM shows that in 1935 there were 28 first-class high schools in the three counties, while there were only five first-class rural schools.

The salaries are very low for both white and Negro teachers. Table XX shows that there is a greater differentiation between salaries for white men and women than there is for Negro men and women. Requirements of teachers are much lower for Negro teachers than for white. The amount of college education for the rural teachers gives some idea of the small amount of preparation.

TABLE XIX
APPROVED SCHOOLS IN THE THREE COUNTIES
FOR SCHOOL YEARS 1934 AND 1935*

COUNTY	HIGH SCHOOLS				RURAL	
	FIRST CLASS	SECOND CLASS	THIRD CLASS	UN-CLASSIFIED	FIRST CLASS	SECOND CLASS
Dunklin	9 CD**	---	1	---	---	---
New Madrid	11 CD	1 (Col.)	1	---	---	---
Pemiscot	7 CD	1 (Col.)	1 CD	1 (Col.)	5	1
	1 (Not CD)	1 CD	1 (Not CD)			

*Eighty-sixth Report of the Public Schools of Missouri, 1935, State Department of Education, pp. 14-26 and 32-48.

**Consolidated districts.

TABLE XX

NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN RURAL SCHOOLS
AND THEIR AVERAGE SALARIES, 1934 - 1935*

COUNTY	W H I T E					N E G R O				
	NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED			SALARIES		NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED			SALARIES	
	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN
Dunklin	16	56	72	\$574	\$490		1	1		\$360
New Madrid	14	27	41	531	499	4	7	11	\$360	411
Pemiscot	9	25	34	662	586	4	9	13	345	292

*Eighty-sixth Report of Public Schools of the State of Missouri, School Year
Ending June 30, 1935, pp. 122-24.

Table XXI shows that twelve rural teachers have had no college credit, while ten teachers have 120 or more college hours. More than half of the rural teachers have less than two years of college credit.

The census data for 1930 show that 93.2 per cent of the children between the ages of 7 and 13 in the three counties studied attend school. For the state as a whole, the figure is 96.8 per cent. For children 14 and 15 years of age, the per cent attending school is 79.9 for the three counties and 85.7 for the state. In the group of college age (18 to 20 years) the school attendance in the Southeast Missouri counties is about 7 per cent lower than the state figure of 20.0 per cent.¹

Irregular attendance characterizes the rural schools of these three counties. For the school year 1934-35 computations of the per cent of the enrollment which attended school daily revealed the following: The per cent of daily attendance for Dunklin County rural schools was 61, for New Madrid it was 47, and for Pemiscot it was only 42.² In the case of the latter two counties, rural school children attend school less than half the time it is in session.

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1. Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, Vol. III, Part I, pp. 1339 ff.
 2. Eighty-sixth Report of the Public Schools of the State of Missouri, School Year Ending June 30, 1935, p.

TABLE XXI

NUMBER OF SEMESTER COLLEGE HOURS OF RURAL SCHOOL TEACHERS
1934 - 1935*

COUNTY	NONE	NUMBER OF TEACHERS HAVING SEMESTER HOURS						
		8-15	16-29	30-59	60-89	90-119	120 OR MORE	TOTAL
Dunklin	8	12	10	10	23	7	3	72
New Madrid		7	10	7	12	3	2	41
Pemiscot	4	2		8	13	4	3	34

*Eighty-sixth Report of Public Schools of the State of Missouri,
School Year Ending June 30, 1935, pp. 131-33.

Much of the irregular attendance in both elementary and high school can be attributed to the demand for a great amount of hand labor at a particular time of the year. The necessity for every member of the family to contribute toward the family maintenance is found in many cases. A white laborer said, "My children didn't get very far in school because they had to stay out and work to help keep us in groceries." A white share-cropper commented, "I didn't get schooling, but it wasn't because I didn't want it."

The cotton vacation breaking into the school year adds to the rationalization that "school will soon be dismissing, so what do a few more days mean". The cotton vacation plan is quite generally used in the rural schools of these three counties. The plan is to hold school during July and August and dismiss for six weeks during the cotton picking season. As a matter of fact, many children do not go for the latter part of the summer session and the only incentive needed for dropping out is to hear that "over on the next farm, they say the cotton bolls are breaking". Then, when school is again opened in October or November, many do not return until they are positive that all the cotton has been picked. The cotton picking season may run into December. A teacher may start her summer session with 65 pupils, by early winter the average attendance may be 20, and she may end

the school year with 6 pupils. Many drop out along the line due to discouragement; many stop because of "nothin' fittin' to wear"; still others leave the district because the family moves on trying to "find something better". In spite of these disadvantages, the general population prefers the broken term to a continuous one beginning in September and continuing for eight or nine months.

As many of the adults in these three counties recently came into this area, the educational system of the section with its inadequacy or suggested low standards cannot be the only determining factor or implied cause for the low educational level of its farm population. In considering the adult group, or persons over ten years of age, the amount of illiteracy in these three counties is exceedingly high and the average grade reached in school for those who were fortunate in attaining some degree of education is very low. The per cent of illiteracy for the three counties in 1930, according to the United States Census, is as follows:

County	Whites	Negroes
Dunklin.....	7.4	26.7
New Madrid.....	7.3	20.4
Pemiscot.....	5.9	19.7
MISSOURI (entire state)...	1.5	8.8

3. Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, Vol. III, Part 1, pp. 1339 ff.

Table XXII shows that of the heads of households in all tenure groups, the Negroes have a greater per cent of illiteracy than whites. This table further shows that the heads of the households who have had no formal education increase as one descends from owner to laborer. It also shows that the greatest per cent of all heads of households did not go beyond the eighth grade in school. Of those who had more than an eighth grade education, there were more renters than owners with a high school education. However, there were more owners than renters who had completed more than twelve grades. Only two Negroes had gone beyond high school; they are ministers.

Among the 1,094 heads of households in the farm group studied in these three counties, the median number of grades completed is 5.5. Among the Negroes the average schooling is 2.6 grades. Among the whites the owners have completed on the average of 7.3 grades; renters, 6.3; croppers, 5.6; and laborers, 5.4. Table XXIII shows that the schooling of the wife or paramour of the male head is a little greater, averaging 6.6 grades. The Negro homemakers' average is 5.1 grades.

There are several questions that surround the study of educational attainment. Does education, as measured by grades completed, determine the standard of living or does the standard of living determine the opportunity and

TABLE XXII DISTRIBUTION OF OPEN-COUNTRY AND VILLAGE
HOUSEHOLDS ACCORDING TO EDUCATION OF HEAD, BY RACE

Residence and Race	Grades Completed											
	All Heads		None		1 - 4		5 - 8		9 - 12		13 and More	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All Residences	1,527*	100.0	144	9.4	498	32.6	688	45.0	159	10.5	38	2.5
White	1,321	100.0	100	7.6	400	30.3	629	47.6	156	11.8	36	2.7
Negro	206	100.0	44	21.3	98	47.6	59	28.6	3	1.5	2	1.0
Open-Country												
Owner	183	100.0	11	6.0	51	27.9	92	50.3	19	10.3	10	5.5
White	145	100.0	7	4.8	32	22.1	79	54.5	18	12.4	9	6.2
Negro	38	100.0	4	10.6	19	50.0	13	34.2	1	2.6	1	2.6
Renter	313	100.0	20	6.4	102	32.6	144	46.0	46	14.7	1	0.3
White	298	100.0	19	6.4	95	31.9	137	45.9	46	15.5	1	0.3
Negro	15	100.0	1	6.7	7	46.6	7	46.7				
Cropper	236	100.0	27	11.4	92	39.0	99	42.0	18	7.6		
White	181	100.0	11	6.1	67	37.0	85	46.9	18	10.0		
Negro	55	100.0	16	29.1	25	45.4	14	25.5				
Laborer	362	100.0	49	13.5	137	37.8	156	43.1	19	5.3	1	0.3
White	283	100.0	31	11.0	98	34.6	135	47.7	19	6.7		
Negro	79	100.0	18	22.8	39	49.4	21	26.5			1	1.3
All Others	101	100.0	19	18.8	34	33.7	33	32.6	11	10.9	4	4.0
White	96	100.0	18	18.7	33	34.4	31	32.3	10	10.4	4	4.2
Negro	5	100.0	1	20.0	1	20.0	2	40.0	1	20.0		
Village	332	100.0	18	5.4	82	24.7	164	49.4	46	13.9	22	6.6
White	318	100.0	14	4.4	75	23.6	162	51.0	45	14.1	22	6.9
Negro	14	100.0	4	28.6	7	50.0	2	14.3	1	7.1		

*Total excludes 6 heads whose education was not reported.

TABLE XXIII
EDUCATION OF WIFE OR PARAMOUR OF 997 FARM FAMILIES
BY RACE AND TENURE GROUP

RACE AND TENURE GROUP	PER CENT COMPLETING			
	NONE	4 GRADES OR LESS	5 - 8 GRADES	9 GRADES OR MORE
White				
Owner	0.8	18.3	59.6	21.3
Renter	2.4	19.2	61.7	16.7
Cropper	5.2	26.0	57.8	11.0
Laborer	5.5	24.6	60.6	9.3
Negro	5.8	43.6	47.3	3.3

attainment of schooling? Which is cause and which is effect? To what extent is poverty caused by low mentality or to what degree is low mentality caused by poverty? What part does disease play? Without question, no factor is the one and only cause, nor is there a single result. It appears that factors are associated and in the end a personality, a person, a family, or a community is what it is because of the total influences and conditioning factors. Whether education is a cause or an effect, it can be considered one criterion for determining levels within a group. In the consideration of the farm population of the three counties of Southeast Missouri, Figure 7 shows a trend in the educational attainment of the tenure groups.

Figure 7. Grades in School Completed by Heads of Open-country Households by Tenure Groups.

TYPES of SCHOOL BUILDINGS

*Consolidated High School
New Madrid County*

*Negro One-room Rural School
Pemiscot County*

*School Bus Waiting Room
Pemiscot County*

*One-room Rural School
Pemiscot County*

*One-room Rural School Inside The Levee
Pemiscot County*

CHAPTER V

CRITERIA OF LEVELS

In order to determine levels of living, it is necessary to examine data on the circumstances under which people live and work. That personality results from an interaction of biological heredity and social environment has been well established. Any study of heredity is beyond the scope of this investigation, but the social environment may be examined with a view to determining the conditions under which life is carried on by the families studied in Southeast Missouri. After this is done, some interpretation can be made to indicate the effect of such conditions upon the individual and the group.

GROSS INCOME

It is not difficult to see that the amount of money which is at the disposal of a family influences the conditions under which it lives. Of course there is not a perfect correlation between income and expenditures for goods thought to better the standard of living. However, the income determines at least the maximum amount which can be spent for food, clothing, and conveniences. In many cases the family's social status is defined to some extent by the income.

No attempt will be made here to state the amount of

gross income necessary for a family in this area to maintain an adequate standard of living, nor will any effort be made to classify expenditures. Many studies have been made giving particular emphasis to the distribution of expenditures, as was done in Kirkpatrick's study in Wisconsin,¹ Woofter's cotton plantation studies,² Wilson and Stauffer's studies of rural and urban Virginia,³ and others. Of the group studied in the three Missouri Lowland Counties, the masses had very low incomes, leaving little choice as to expenditure.

The incomes do not consider any returns for the use of the houses occupied by croppers and laborers, the value of food raised and consumed by the family, or the fuel produced on the farm. The gross income does cover all cash received by all members of the households for wages, moneys from roomers and boarders, cash from crops, stock or produce sold, rent from real estate, interest on loans, pensions, insurance, A.A.A. benefits, subsidy and parity, gifts in cash, and direct relief orders.

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1. Kirkpatrick, E. L., Farm Family Living in Wisconsin, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, Bulletin 114.
 2. Woofter, T. J. Jr., Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936.
 3. Wilson, Gee, and Stauffer, William Henry, Rural and Urban Living Standards in Virginia, The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, University of Virginia, 1929.

Very few families kept written records of financial transactions and often had to give estimates. However, the owners, renters, and croppers, with few exceptions, were able to state quite definitely the number of bales of cotton they had for sale and the amount received for them. Persons with regular employment were able to give without much difficulty the wages received. Many families had few sources of income and did not hesitate in stating what their incomes had been. In spite of probable errors, the figures obtained make a fair basis for comparison between tenure groups.

Table XXIV shows that of the 1,417 households reporting, the incomes during 1935 ranged from \$50 (reported by one laborer) to over \$5,000. The latter classification included sixteen households of which nine were owners, one was a renter, and six were non-farm households located in the villages. The median gross income for white owners was \$1,269; white renters, \$854; white share-croppers, \$415; and white laborers, \$264. For all Negro households the median gross income was still lower--\$251.

Ignoring racial divisions, but considering tenure groups, Table XXIV shows the peak of laborers in the income group under \$500 and a smaller per cent of croppers under \$500, while the renters have the greatest per cent between \$500 and \$1,000. The owners have the greatest per cent between \$1,000 and \$2,000. Table XXIV further

TABLE XIV. OPEN-COUNTRY AND VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS CLASSIFIED
BY RACE ACCORDING TO AMOUNT OF GROSS INCOME

Residence and Race	Income Classification															
	All Incomes		Less than \$50		\$50- \$199		\$200- \$499		\$500- \$999		\$1000- \$1999		\$2000- \$4999		\$5000- & Over	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
All	*															
Residences	1,417	100.0	3	0.2	197	13.9	553	39.0	353	24.9	231	16.3	64	4.5	16	1.0
White	1,217	100.0	2	0.2	123	10.1	454	37.3	330	27.2	229	18.9	63	5.1	16	1.2
Negro	200	100.0	1	0.5	74	37.0	99	49.5	23	11.5	2	1.0	1	0.5		
Open- Country																
Owner	171	100.0			13	7.6	38	22.1	39	22.8	47	27.5	25	14.6	9	5.4
White	134	100.0			1	0.7	17	12.7	35	26.2	47	35.1	25	18.7	9	6.6
Negro	37	100.0			12	32.4	21	56.8	4	10.8						
Renter	301	100.0			11	3.6	73	24.2	103	34.3	94	31.3	19	6.3	1	0.3
White	286	100.0			8	2.8	68	23.9	99	34.6	92	32.2	18	6.2	1	0.3
Negro	15	100.0			3	20.0	5	33.3	4	26.7	2	13.3	1	6.7		
Cropper	212	100.0			29	13.7	106	49.9	58	27.4	18	8.5	1	0.5		
White	160	100.0			12	7.5	79	49.3	50	31.3	18	11.3	1	0.6		
Negro	52	100.0			17	32.7	27	51.9	8	51.4						
Laborer	329	100.0	1	0.3	100	30.4	197	60.0	29	8.7	2	0.6				
White	253	100.0			66	26.1	160	63.2	25	9.9	2	0.8				
Negro	76	100.0	1	1.3	34	44.8	37	48.7	4	5.2						
All Others	100	100.0			20	20.0	43	43.0	21	21.0	15	15.0	1	1.0		
White	93	100.0			19	20.4	38	40.9	20	21.5	15	16.1	1	1.1		
Negro	7	100.0			1	14.2	5	71.6	1	14.2						
Village	304	100.0	2	0.7	24	7.9	96	31.5	103	33.8	55	18.1	18	5.9	6	2.1
White	291	100.0	2	0.7	17	5.8	92	31.7	101	34.7	55	18.9	18	6.1	6	2.1
Negro	13	100.0			7	53.8	4	31.8	2	15.4						

*Total excludes 116 households for which data were not available or incomplete.

indicates trends in income of open-country households, and the following summary presents the gradation of income between tenure groups:

Laborer--30 per cent with less than \$200; 90 per cent with less than \$500.

Cropper--14 per cent with less than \$200; 63 per cent with less than \$500.

Renter--27 per cent with less than \$500; 62 per cent with less than \$1,000.

Owner--30 per cent with less than \$500; 53 per cent with less than \$1,000; 80 per cent with less than \$2,000.

With the small gross income seen above, it is evident that the general plane of living is low and that the level of living, which can be attained by the laborers and share-croppers, in particular, is extremely low. The family which must subsist at such a level is forced to spend almost its entire income for food and clothing. There can be little accumulation of capital goods, nor is the family able to afford the protection of insurance. Any credit extended is at a high rate of interest. The family has little chance, or none at all, to build up savings for emergencies or for education. While the land owner enjoys some security arising out of an adequate income, this is increasingly difficult for each group as one descends the scale outlined above.

Figure 8. Distribution of Gross Income of Farm Families by Tenure Groups.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Even cursory observation of Missouri's cotton counties gives one the feeling that the term "rural slums" is a fit description of the living conditions prevalent here. A panorama of unpainted hovels, dirt, bareness, poverty, and drudgery presents itself.

An almost infallible index of tenure status is found in the presence of barns and outbuildings. A land owner or renter almost always possesses stock and therefore requires barns and outbuildings. The absence of such structures indicates that the land is farmed by share-croppers or farm laborers.

The size of the garden and care given it also vary with the family's financial standing and control of the land. Often the cropper or laborer must work in the cotton field at the same time the garden needs attention. The situation results in inadequate gardens among the share-croppers and laborers. It is somewhat of a paradox that the group which most needs garden stuff is least able to produce it.

Fruit trees are more scarce than shade trees. Little encouragement is given in time or space for orchards and cultivation for scenic beauty. However, there is evidence of some aesthetic sense for practically every home has

some flowers planted in old tire casings or around the porch. Zinnias seem to be the most popular flower. These flowers often give a touch of color to the bare yard and surroundings.

The well with a pitcher pump is just as likely to be seen in the front yard as in the back yard. In any event, it is to be found in most open-country places. The low cost and amount of work necessary to obtain water encourages this type of water supply. The pipe is driven from twelve to twenty-five feet and demands only a few hours' work. Since the problem of seepage is an acute one, the danger of a contaminated water supply is ever present.

Most of the white families' homes have some type of wire screening or cloth mosquito netting, while only a few of the Negro homes have any type of screening. Many screens are in poor condition and many are not used. It is not an uncommon sight to see the front screen door propped back. One landlord freely made the expression, "There is no use to buy screens; they leave them open anyway. Perhaps they want to let out the flies." Some renters own their screen doors and carry them from place to place.

The interior of many homes approaches the level of bare existence. Often one finds homes with no rugs or linoleums, insufficient beds, bedding, chairs, and

complete absence of the comforts which are a commonplace to agricultural workers in other areas. As one laborer said, "We can't have rugs and a lot of things for in the first place we can't buy them, and in the second place we can't move them around." Books and newspapers are rare, except among land owners. Little seems to lend enlightenment or provide an escape from the immediate reality. Many of the laborers' and croppers' homes were completely without literature.

The kerosene lamp is the common type of lighting in both village and open-country households. Some few villagers have electric lights. The number who can boast of delco systems approximately equals the number who hesitatingly say they have no type of lighting system.

Planed soft wood floors are found in the majority of homes. In about a fourth of the homes one finds rough plank floors. More Negro homes than white homes have plank floors, but in practically all cases the floors are in bad condition.

On the walls of some land owners' homes sheet rock or wall paper is found, but never plastering. The walls of houses occupied by share-croppers and laborers are commonly covered with building paper. The renter may have wall paper, but building paper is probably more common.

It is unusual to find a foundation with underpinning. The framework is supported off the ground by concrete or

wooden cubical blocks. No basements are found even in the better homes. The shifty sandy soil and the great amount of seepage make such construction impracticable.⁴

The above generalizations have been presented to give a picture of some factors that influence everyday life. The following pages will be devoted to a statistical presentation of some other factors and the stratification according to tenure groups.

4. For details on housing and conveniences, see the unpublished thesis, "Some Factors Relating to Housing Conditions in Southeast Missouri", by Joseph H. Stokes, University of Missouri.

HOUSING TYPES

Only one brick home was visited. This was occupied by a land owner. Table XXV shows that two-thirds of the white owners were found in weatherboard and shiplap houses. A little less than one-half the renters, about one-fourth of the croppers, and one-sixth of the laborers occupied such houses. Very few Negroes of any tenure groups lived in houses of drop siding.

The strip house (box type with narrow stripping over the cracks) was most commonly found. The per cent of the tenure groups living in the strip house ranged from 31 per cent for the owner group to 90 per cent of the laborer group. The percentages for cropper and renter families are 63 and 42, respectively.

About 10 per cent of the laborers lived in houses classified as box (houses with wide vertical boards, but with no stripping over the cracks). A few more renters than croppers lived in such homes. Less than 3 per cent of the owners lived in the box type. These data, presented in Table XXV and Figure 9, indicate rather marked differences in the types of houses occupied by the various economic groups. Striking dissimilarities are apparent between the types commonly occupied by the owner and his tenants.

In the "All Other" classification (including the log,

TABLE XXV
DISTRIBUTION OF OPEN-COUNTRY AND VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS
ACCORDING TO TYPE OF DWELLING CONSTRUCTION

RESIDENCE AND OCCUPATION	ALL TYPES		BRICK		WEATHER- BOARD		STRIP		BOX		SHANTY		OTHERS*	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
All Residences	1,529**	100.0	5	0.3	616	40.3	710	46.4	114	7.5	12	0.8	72	4.7
White	1,321	100.0	5	0.4	585	44.3	577	43.7	99	7.5	11	0.8	44	3.3
Negro	208	100.0			31	14.9	133	63.9	15	7.2	1	0.5	28	13.5
Open Country	1,199	100.0	1	0.1	390	32.5	642	53.6	89	7.4	10	0.8	67	5.6
Owner	183	100.0	1	0.6	100	54.6	56	30.6	5	2.7	1	0.6	20	10.9
Renter	313	100.0			140	44.7	131	41.9	29	9.3	2	0.6	11	3.5
Cropper	235	100.0			60	25.5	148	63.0	14	6.0	1	0.4	12	5.1
Laborer	364	100.0			54	14.8	255	70.1	37	10.2	4	1.1	14	3.8
All Others	104	100.0			36	34.6	52	50.0	4	3.9	2	1.9	10	9.6
Village	330	100.0	4	1.2	226	68.5	68	20.6	25	7.6	2	0.6	5	1.5

*Includes log, pole, and tent.

**Does not include 4 households that failed to report housing types.

Figure 9. Distribution of Open-country Farm Households According to Housing Types.

*All others include log, pole, shanty, and tent.

slab, and pole house, and the shanty and tent, the percentage for laborer, cropper, and renter families living in this classification ranged around 5 per cent. However, in the owner group, the figure rose to 11.5 per cent, due to the large number of hurriedly constructed log houses of the Negro owners in the Gobbler colony.

Most homes in the open country are crudely constructed; windows and doors are out of alignment and the roof frequently leaks. The customary size is two or three rooms. When the house has a width of one room and a length of two or three rooms, it is called a shot gun house. Many persons commented that this arrangement of rooms is so called because it is possible to stand in the front door and shoot through all three rooms, through the middle doors, and out the back one without hitting a wall. The saddlebag house, common in the southern states, is seldom found.

TYPES OF HOUSES

Owner's Home
Pemiscot County

Laborer's Homes
Pemiscot County

Field Laborers And Their Home
Pemiscot County

Renter's Home
Dunklin County

Share-croppers Cabin
Pemiscot County

CONVENIENCES

Sewing Machines

Table XXVI shows that ownership of sewing machines was reported by more than half of the households. However, there is marked variation when the data are analyzed according to tenure groups. Such breakdown reveals the following: Eighty-five per cent of the land owners' households have sewing machines. Seventy-three per cent of the renters own sewing machines. However, the figure falls to 62.7 per cent in the share-cropper classification and drops still further in the laborer group, where only 34 per cent own sewing machines. Wherever such machines were reported, it was indicated that many garments were made in the home, especially house dresses, underwear, and children's garments.

Radios

Out of 1,533 households, 342 reported having a radio in the home. Of this group, 135 were located in villages. A greater number of land owners in the open country had radios than any other tenure group. The percentages for the tenure groups are as follows: owner households, 40 per cent; renter, 26 per cent; cropper, 10 per cent; and laborer, 3 per cent. Those that were able to own a radio seemed to appreciate this convenience. In the

TABLE XXVI
DISTRIBUTION OF OPEN-COUNTRY AND VILLAGE HOUSEHOLDS
ACCORDING TO SELECTED ITEMS OF PROPERTY

RESIDENCE AND OCCUPATION	RADIO		SEWING MACHINE		TELEPHONE		AUTOMOBILE	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
All Households	1,533	100.0	1,533	100.0	1,533	100.0	1,533	100.0
Having	342	22.3	946	61.7	38	2.5	319	20.8
Not Having	1,191	77.7	587	38.3	1,495	97.5	1,214	79.2
Open Country								
Having	207	17.2	707	58.9	20	1.7	223	18.6
Not Having	994	82.8	494	41.1	1,181	98.3	978	81.4
Owner								
Having	73	39.9	156	85.2	9	4.9	81	44.3
Not Having	110	60.1	27	14.8	174	95.1	102	55.7
Renter								
Having	80	25.6	229	73.2	3	1.0	79	25.2
Not Having	233	74.4	84	26.8	310	99.0	234	74.8
Cropper								
Having	24	10.1	146	61.6			21	8.9
Not Having	213	89.9	91	38.4	237	100.0	216	91.1
Laborer								
Having	9	2.5	123	33.8			19	5.2
Not Having	355	97.5	241	66.2	364	100.0	345	94.8
All Others								
Having	21	20.2	53	51.0	8	7.7	23	22.1
Not Having	83	79.8	51	49.0	96	92.3	81	77.9
Village								
Having	135	40.7	239	72.0	18	5.4	96	28.9
Not Having	197	59.3	93	28.0	314	94.6	236	71.1

isolation of farm life, radio has taken the place of expensive commercial recreation. Many families invite their neighbors in to listen to favorite programs. The stores that have radios are the loafing places during the league baseball series, and serve as a place to catch up on the latest news.

Telephones

People visit a great deal in this part of the state but it is not by telephone. The area is marked by a high degree of isolation if the absence of telephones is a criterion. Table XXVI further shows that out of the 1,533 households, only 38 reported telephones and 18 of these were in villages. Nine owners and three renters in the open country reported telephones. The remaining eight were found in the cross road stores, filling stations, and land superintendents' homes. No laborer or cropper household reported a telephone.

Automobiles

Examination of Table XXVI also shows that 21 per cent of all households reported automobiles. This included families that owned a car in running order, regardless of whether there had been a state license issued to permit their using it. Many families do not use the car during the spring and summer months for they cannot afford the license until cotton picking or cotton selling time. At

the time of the interview, there were some cars not in use which would doubtless be driven after the first week's wage had been received or after the first bale of cotton had been sold. The per cents of tenure groups reporting cars descend the agricultural ladder as did the percentages of households possessing the other conveniences, with 44 per cent of the owners reporting possession of an automobile, while only 5 per cent of the laborers were so classified. In the intermediate groups between the extremes, it is observed that 25 per cent of the renters and only 9 per cent of the share-croppers owned automobiles. A common means of transportation is the wagon, but walking is probably the most customary means of travel among share-croppers and laborers. As a social worker in the area remarked, "Walking is not a lost art, but a fine art in Southeast Missouri." Well defined foot paths can be seen along the highways and drainage ditches.

Figure 10. Distribution of Open-country Farm Families According to Selected Items of Property.

SUMMARY

In the consideration of such factors as income, education, housing, conveniences, and the like, it is possible to distinguish certain groups one from the other on the basis of their position in the agricultural industry. In the cotton economy the descending rungs of the ladder are as follows: land owner, renter, share-cropper, and laborer.

In the matter of tenure status, the owner's position in the top level is assured by his possession of land and property, his assumption of financial risks, his relative security, and his ability to dictate terms and conditions to other groups. Next to him is the renter, who attains this position because of his possession of stock and equipment, his degree of security for at least one season at a time, and his ability to hire labor or give out to share-croppers some of the land he has rented. Because he has some interest in the crop he produces, and because he has at least some degree of stability during the time he is putting in a crop, the share-cropper ranks in third position. At the lowest level is the laborer, who lacks all possessions except household goods, whose security is almost non-existent, and who is completely dependent upon other groups for his livelihood.

In the matter of education, there seem to be some lines drawn between the tenure groups. It appears that there is some discrimination against the Negroes, for it does not appear that through choice they would have averaged only 2.6 grades completed in school. This appears to be a function of both economic necessity, which forces children into agricultural work at an early age, and a form of race prejudice which leads to the establishment of inferior schools for Negroes. For the white heads of households studied there is a gradation down the tenure groups. The owners have averaged 7.3 grades completed in school; for renters the average is 6.3; for croppers it is 5.6 grades, and for laborers, 5.4.

During the year 1935, the median gross income for white owners studied was \$1,269; for white renters it was \$854; for white share-croppers it fell to \$415; and for the white farm laborers, the median was \$264. When Negro households are considered, the median gross income is still lower, \$251. The gradation downward with each descent of the agricultural ladder appears to be both cause and effect of the different levels in tenure status. That is, the laborer makes less than a cropper or renter because he has less to put into agricultural enterprise. Having no stock or equipment, he can offer only his labor to a land owner. On the other hand, his inability to accumulate stock and equipment arises out of the fact

that his wages are sufficient only for a rather meager living. Thus it would seem that he remains a laborer because his income is too low to permit him to ascend to a higher level, and his low income is due to the fact that he is a laborer.

Housing may be considered as a factor in levels of living. The owners studied were living in the better type houses. Two-third of the group occupied houses with drop-siding and less than a third lived in strip houses, which is the type commonly occupied by other tenure groups in this area. The renters were less fortunate. A little more than two-fifths lived in the drop-siding type, while about the same proportion lived in strip houses. Approximately sixty per cent of the croppers were found in strip houses. An even larger proportion of the laborers were living in houses of this type.

In considering selected items of property, the sewing machine was found in decreasing numbers descending the agricultural ladder. The radio is a measuring stick for social contacts and provides a means for keeping in touch with the times. Here again, the percentages decrease with each step downward in tenure status. The same thing is true for automobiles.

The rapid increase in population has influenced the stability of families in their economic position and social life. The comparatively recent development of agricul-

ture in the lower counties, concentrating on the one crop of cotton and demanding much unskilled labor, has tended to perpetuate the system of tenancy. The low incomes keep many of the lower tenure groups in their present position. The demand for hand work during the school year and the prevalent use of child labor hinder educational attainment in direct proportion to the need of the family. This need appears to follow the tenure groups, increasing as one descends the agricultural ladder.

The findings of this investigation appear to indicate the existence of rather well-defined levels of living in the three Southeast Missouri counties studied. These levels seem to conform with the several positions in the tenure system. Each advance made on the agricultural ladder is accompanied by an improvement in the level of living.

APPENDIX

I. Name of Head of Household _____ P. O. Address _____

II. Place of Residence: (1) State _____ (2) County _____ (3) Township _____

If not Living within Limits of any Village Check (X) here ().

A COLOR OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (X)		
WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER (SPECIFY)

Name of Interviewer _____

Date of Interview _____

B PERSONAL DATA - ALL PERSONS IN HOME												
LINE NO.	REL. TO HEAD	SEX	AGE	MARITAL STATUS	DATE OF MARRIAGE	EDUCATION		OCCUPATION	INDUSTRY	DESCRIP. OF PHYSICAL DISABILITIES	TYPE OF MEDICAL CARE	
						IN SCHOOL (CHECK)						LAST GRADE COMP.
						YES	NO					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Head											
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												
11												
12												
CHILDREN OUTSIDE OF HOME						WHERE LIVING NOW						
13												
14												
15												
16												

C PROPERTY (INCLUDE NUMBER OF EACH)			
	NO.		NO.
1. TELEPHONE		23. COTS	
2. AUTO		24. BED SPRINGS	
a. PASSENGER CAR		25. TICKS	
b. TRUCK		a. STRAW	
3. RADIO		b. FEATHER	
4. ICE REFRIGERATOR		c. COTTON	
5. MECHANICAL REFRIGERATOR		d. SHUCKS	
6. OTHER METHODS OF REFRIG- ERATION (SPEC)		26. MATTRESSES	
7. SEWING MACHINE		27. BLANKETS & QUILTS	
a. ELECTRIC		28. SHEETS	
b. FOOT PEDAL		29. PILLOWS	
8. COOK STOVE		30. DRESSERS	
a. OIL		31. TABLES	
b. WOOD		32. STANDS	
c. COAL		33. DESKS	
d. OTHER (SPEC)		34. KITCHEN CUPBOARD	
9. HEATING STOVE		35. RUGS	
a. CIRCULATOR		a. FABRIC	
b. BOX		b. LINOLEUM	
c. KING		36. CARPETS	
d. OIL		37. MILK COWS	
e. CHARCOAL BUCKET		38. OTHER CATTLE	
f. HOME MADE		39. HOGS	
g. OTHERS (SPEC)		40. SHEEP	
10. FURNACE		41. GOATS	
11. WASHING MACHINE		42. HORSES & MULES	
a. ELECTRIC OR POWER		43. CHICKENS	
b. HAND		44. TURKEYS	
12. IRON		45. GEESE	
a. CHARCOAL		46. DUCKS	
b. ELECTRIC		47. TRACTOR	
c. GASOLINE		48. STATIONARY ENGINE	
d. SAD		49. BUGGY	
13. CHURN		50. WAGON	
14. MILK SEPARATOR		51. PUSH CART	
15. PRESSURE COOKER		52. PLOUGH	
16. CARPET SWEEPER		a. WALKING	
a. ELECTRIC		b. RIDING	
b. HAND		53. HARROW	
17. STRAIGHT CHAIRS		54. DISC	
18. LOUNGE CHAIRS		55. CORN PLANTER	
19. ROCKING CHAIRS		56. COTTON PLANTER	
20. BENCHES		57. LISTER	
21. BEDS		58. HAY RAKE	
22. BUNKS		59. MOWER	
		60. HOES	

E BUILDINGS	
1. CHECK TYPE OF CONSTRUCTION:	a. BOX HOUSE, b. BRICK HOUSE, c. DUG-OUT, d. POLE-SHANTY, e. SHANTY, f. STRIP HOUSE, g. STUCCO, h. TENT, i. WEATHER-BOARD, OTHER (SPEC)
2. DIMENSIONS OF DWELLING	NUMBER OF ROOMS, NUMBER OF STORIES, NUMBER OF DOORS, NUMBER OF WINDOWS, SCREENS? YES () NO ()
3. CHECK TYPE OF FLOORS:	a. CEMENT, b. EARTH, c. HARD WOOD, d. PLANK, e. SOFT WOOD, f. OTHER (SPEC)
4. CHECK TYPE OF FOUNDATION:	a. BRICK, b. CEMENT BLOCKS, c. CONCRETE, d. WOODEN BLOCKS, e. OTHER (SPEC)
5. CHECK TYPE OF WALLS:	a. PLANED BOARD, b. PLASTER, c. ROUGH NATIVE LUMBER, d. TONGUE GROOVE CEILING, e. OTHER (SPEC)
6. CHECK TYPE OF WALL COVERING:	a. BUILDING PAPER, b. CARD BOARD, c. NEWSPAPER, d. PAINT, e. WALL PAPER, f. WHITE WASH, g. OTHER (SPEC)
7. CHECK CONDITION OF ROOF:	a. LEAKY, b. TIGHT
8. CHECK CONDITION OF EXTERIOR:	a. PAINTED, b. UNPAINTED, c. WEATHERED
9. CHECK TOILET:	OUTSIDE, OTHER BUILDING, NONE
10. CHECK OTHER BUILDING PRESENT:	BARN, GARAGE, POULTRY HOUSE, OTHER (SPEC)

D CLOTHING																
LIST THE NUMBER OF ARTICLES PURCHASED, MADE IN HOME, OR RECEIVED FROM OTHER SOURCES IN 1935																
	HOUSE DRESSES	BETTER DRESSES	HATS	SHOES	COATS	SWEATERS	GLOVES	UNDERWEAR	HOSE	NIGHT GOWNS AND PAJAMAS	BABY GARMENTS	OVERALLS	SHIRTS (WORK)	SHIRTS (DRESS)	SUITS	TROUSERS
WOMEN:																
PURCHASED																
MADE IN HOME																
OTHERS (SPEC)																
MEN:																
PURCHASED	XX	XX														
MADE IN HOME	XX	XX														
OTHERS (SPEC)	XX	XX														

F AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES	
1. TOTAL NUMBER OF ACRES FARMED IN 1932	1935, 1936, OPERATING PLAN 1932, 1935, 1936
LIST THE TWO MAJOR CROPS GROWN IN 1932:	a., b.; 1935: a., b.; 1936: a., b.
2. IF LAND IS OWNED, HOW ACQUIRED?	PURCHASED (SPEC), HOMESTEADED, GIFTS, MARRIAGE, INHERITANCE
3. SIZE OF GARDEN IN 1935	1936, CHECK VEGETABLES IN PRESENT GARDEN (1936): POTATOES, CABBAGE, TOMATOES, ONIONS, RADISHES, LETTUCE, CELERY, PARSNIPS, TURNIPS, BEANS, PEAS, BEETS, GREENS
4. NUMBER OF FRUIT TREES ON FARM:	PEACHES, CHERRIES, APPLES, PEARS, PLUMS
5. NUMBER OF QUARTS OF VEGETABLES CANNED IN 1933	1935
6. NUMBER OF QUARTS OF FRUIT CANNED IN 1933	1935
7. NUMBER OF HOGS KILLED IN 1933	1935

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