ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF NEGROES
AS TENANTS AND FARM LABORERS IN
SOUTH CAROLINA

A Thesis Presented for the
Degree of Master of Science

By
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Approved by

[Signature]
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FOREWORD

A systematic study of Negroes as tenants and farm laborers in rural South Carolina, as far as I know, has not been made. Probably the reason for this is, that no one has thought that data secured by such a study could be of use in making plans for the betterment of the tenant. I believe that if all the facts concerning this large group of the population and the relationship of this group to the agriculture of the State were known, a favorable reaction would finally result.

I have not been successful in getting as many of the facts concerning the value of the tenants' operating capital, operating expenses and the amount and value of his annual production as I had hoped. The reason for this omission will appear in the body of the report. But the home life of the tenants and laborers, the community institutions and farm practices are very vital. These I have described in considerable detail.

I am indebted to all who have written on the economic and social problems that confront country life. Especially am I indebted to Dr. J. I. Falconer, who has encouraged me, in this my first attempt in studying tenant life. Without his advice and encouragement, the task would not have been undertaken. Appreciation is due to him also for directing and advising me in the selection of courses of study while resident at the University.

At the suggestion of Dr. Falconer, I was inspired to ask Dr. C. E. Lively to advise me concerning methods of
studying the social institutions of the community.

I am, indeed, grateful to Dr. Lively for his sympa-
thetic assistance.

Distance made it impossible for me to seek the
advice of Dr. Falconer and Dr. Lively as often as I thought
their advice would have been valuable and helpful. On this
account, I am sure some faults have crept in that would have
been avoided. But, in spite of this, I am convinced that
the effort has been amply justified.

W. M. Buchanan
Motives and Qualifications of the Writer

In 1925-'26 the writer acted as Assistant Supervisor of Vocational Agricultural Teachers in Negro Schools of South Carolina. In this capacity he traveled extensively over the State and saw almost every aspect of rural life. The Vocational Agricultural teachers have a very intimate contact with the rural people. Through this group of workers the writer reached with ease the rural people.

Very helpful in carrying on the survey have been the County Farm Demonstrators and Rural Supervisors of Negro schools. Through conferences with these groups and contacts in the community, the writer has been enabled to get very real and vital contacts with the rural people. A few illustrations will serve to show the character of the contacts. In pursuance of his duties the writer visited a rural community in the northern part of the State of South Carolina. In driving in that part of the State in November 1925, one of the most impressive things to be seen was the arrested growth of the cotton stalks. Further observation impressed the writer with the fact that the adult boys and heads of families were away from home. In the school community visited there was only one Negro man at home, who
was the head of a family, and this man was the school principal. All of the farmers and their sons had gone to Florida. The immediate cause of going was not that the farm had not paid, but that they had made nothing on which to subsist. They had gone to seek work in Florida or elsewhere in order to avoid starvation for themselves and their families. The drought of the previous summer not only cut short the cotton crop, but the small corn crop that usually accompanies the cotton crop was almost a complete failure.

In an adjoining community, not more than seven miles away, was one Negro farmer who produced plenty of corn, peas and potatoes. He had several hogs, about one hundred chickens and a couple of milk cows. Of course, his main money crop, cotton, was far below the average. Nevertheless, he was able to make the usual payment on his farm. The only discoverable difference between him and the farmers of the first community, that could affect the crop, was the method used by the successful farmer. This situation has served to rivet attention on the Negro Farmer with a vividness that does not grow faint. It may not be necessary to say that the cotton failure in South Carolina in 1925 was not general.

Let another illustration show a different type of experience. In the early spring of 1926 in the Piedmont section of the State, close observation and consultation with the Vocational teacher, revealed the fact, that only one Negro farmer owned land. This farmer owned less than thirty
acres. In the little village that served as a market center for the rural community Negroes did not live. Neither did they live on the highway near the little village. The vocational teacher found the writer a place to lodge in one of the best Negro homes. The home could not be reached by a Ford car. The car had to remain in a neighbor's yard, a distance of about ten minutes' walk. The room and bed furnished were very comfortable. The next morning it was raining, and walking away from the house was going to be plainly difficult, due to the water-soaked soil. The lady of the house hastened breakfast in order to avoid some of this difficulty. While breakfast was being served, it rained harder. Before breakfast was over, the rain literally poured through the housetop on to the table and breakfast had to remain unfinished.

Numerouscontacts like these exposed the condition of the Negro tenant in respect to his living. He is not in touch with any group or agency who is concerned about his amelioration and welfare. It will later be shown that this tenant group is large enough to influence profoundly South Carolina agriculture.

The writer is movitated to make this study with the hope that sufficient knowledge will be gained as will serve to indicate a remedy for their betterment, if such is found, it will be to the ultimate benefit of South Carolina agriculture.

TWO TYPES OF COMMUNITIES

In addition to the information gained about the
Negro tenant from all parts of the State, the writer has gained more detailed information in two other communities; one in Orangeburg County and one in the adjoining County of Calhoun. These two communities will give a picture of two types of communities; one a renter and cropper community, and the other a farm labor community. The farm labor community is under the direction of a farm manager. Before giving a picture of the economic and social life of these two communities, it is fitting to show the large place that tenancy occupies in the agriculture of the State. Tenancy has a potent influence in the life of the State.

In South Carolina the number of farms operated by tenants in 1910 was 111,221; 1920, 124,231 and in 1925, 112,430. This shows that between 1910 and 1920 the increase in the number of farms operated by tenants as 13,010 or 11.69%. In contrast to this increase in the 10-year period is the decrease in the 5-year period, between 1920 and 1925 amounting to 11,801 or 9.7%. The decrease in the 5-year period was almost equal to the increase in the 5-year period.

We are precluded from thinking that this decrease in the number of tenant farms is due to the increase in the size of individual farms. If we turn our attention to the land area cultivated by the tenant in the same period, the idea of an increase in size will be dissipated.

In 1910 the land area cultivated by the tenant was 4,913,113 acres; in 1920, 5,284,916 acres and in 1925, 4,358,638 acres. In other words, 1920 showed an increase of 371,803
or 7.5% acres over 1910; 1925 showed a decrease of 926,278 or 17.5% below that of 1920. This is a huge decrease in five years. Hence, we cannot conclude that the decrease in the number of tenant farms was compensated by an increase in the size of tenant farms. The only reasonable conclusion is that the tenants actually abandoned their farming careers in the State. Those who have observed the movement of the Negro, North and to Florida, are not surprised at this conclusion. Evidently the Negro tenant thinks he can get a better living elsewhere than on South Carolina farms. This was notably evident during the Florida boom of 1925.

It is pertinent to inquire if the movement of the tenant or his abandonment of the farm in any way affects the land owning farmer or his operations? Reference to area cultivated by the land-owning farmer in the period concerned will offer a suggestion. In 1910 the area cultivated by the landlord was 8,051,603 acres; in 1920, 6,717,237 acres, and in 1925, 5,987,063 acres. There was between 1910 and 1920 a 16.57% decrease; and between 1920 and 1925, a 10.8% decrease. Take note that between 1910 and 1920 the area cultivated by the landlord decreased 1,334,366 acres; and the 5-year period between 1920 and 1925, the decrease was 730,174 acres. The cause for this decrease in the area cultivated by the landlord is easy to see when it is known that the farm labor is largely recruited from members of tenant families. These young men who were working on the farms operated by landlords, getting experience so they could begin life as
croppers or renters were less incumbered with household goods and home responsibilities. As a result this group began leaving first. The writer has seen several cases and heard of more where the landlord's laborers suddenly disappeared. In one case known to the writer, the owner contracted with a young farmer and his wife to operate a farm as croppers. In February arrangements were made for getting their supplies; fertilizer was hauled out to the place. In March, much to the distress of the owner, the man and wife deserted the place without giving notice. Cases like this have led the owners, in many cases, not to contract with a cropper, unless the cropper had enough property to make it inconvenient for him to get away so easily.

So disturbing to the farm business was the loss of this source of labor and tenants in general, that the State Legislature enacted a law to prevent the activity of labor agents in the State. By getting the new arrivals in the industrial centers to send directly for their friends, the law was easily evaded. The writer spent a part of the summer of 1923 in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and got first-hand information on this point.

**NUMBER OF COLORED AND WHITE FARMERS CONTRASTED**

It remains now to show in another way the preponderance of the Negro tenant. In 1925 the total number of white farmers in the State was 82,186; total number colored, 90,581; total number of white tenant farmers, 40,261 and total number of colored tenants, 72,179. Note that the colored tenant group is almost twice as large as that of the white
group. Consequently the 65.1% tenancy in the entire State in 1925 was largely colored. And in spite of the fact that the Negroes have been leaving the State in large numbers, the per cent of tenancy has gradually increased from 63% in 1910 to 64.5% in 1920 and to 65.1% in 1925. For every white tenant there were 1.79 colored.

THE POPULATION OF ORANGEBURG COUNTY

The difference in tenancy in Orangeburg County and the State as a whole is not great. In 1910 in Orangeburg County the per cent of tenancy was 59.8; 1920, 65.9 and in 1925, 64.7%, an actual decrease between 1920 and 1925 of 1.2%. In 1925 and owners and managers cultivated 100,599 acres, and the tenants, 123,673 acres.

The total number of white tenants in the County is 1169 and total number of colored 3425. Practically three Negro tenants to one white.

Thus, it is seen that the movement of the tenants away from the State has resulted in the actual reduction of the land under cultivation to the extent of more than a million acres, that was formerly cultivated by the landlord, and more than nine hundred thousand acres formerly cultivated by the tenant, making a total of more than two million acres reduction in the land area formerly cultivated. The farm labor situation was made so acute, that legislation was enacted to prevent labor agents from enticing labor to leave the State. A group that is so vital to the agricultural interest of the State should be the concern of more people than
the landlord. It will later be shown that land operated by the tenant is under the process of exhaustion. The population composition and the per cent of tenancy in Orangeburg County are so similar to that of the entire State, a minute study of the social and economic condition of the tenants in this County might prove enlightening for the whole State. Furthermore, Orangeburg County, in soil and climate is very similar to that portion of the State which is south of Columbia, the Capitol. This portion is probably more than half of the area of the State.

THE COMMUNITY SELECTED AND WHY

A community near the village of Futawville about forty miles south of Orangeburg, the County seat, has been selected for study. The main reason for selecting this community is because it consists of two big plantations in close proximity. Observation has led to the belief that the great majority of tenants live on the big plantations. This belief is further strengthened by the fact that in 1925 the total number of landowners numbered 52,401 and tenants 112,430 for the State. It is reasonable to suppose that a considerable number of the 52,401 owners are small owners and cannot have a large number of tenants per farm. Conditions on these two plantations may be typical for the State.

A general layout of one of the plantations will now be given. One plantation is about six miles south of the little village of Futawville. It consists of about six thousand acres of land. The man who built up the estate
has retired. The estate is operated by his three sons. The tenants living on the place seem to be satisfied to work under these men. On the adjoining plantation the tenants say that these men are not aristocrats. They come from the so-called "poor white trash," whereas, the owner of the adjoining place is an aristocrat. By this is meant, that he was born rich and had not known poverty. The significance of this conception will later be emphasized.

The three sons live respectively on three separate and distinct portions of the plantation. The youngest son lives in the center of the plantation on the old homestead. A second son lives on what may be called the rear portion of the plantation. There is a sand-clay highway passing through the plantation south to Charleston. This portion bordering the highway may be called the front of the plantation. The third son lives on the portion bordering the highway. He is near enough to the extremity of the plantation to supervise it.

It seems that the two sons who situated their homes on the two extremes of the plantation had in mind mainly the advantages of a convenient location so as to make supervision easy. If beauty of situation and nearness to the highway had been the impelling motives, their homes would have been differently located.
SEVENTY-FIVE TENANT FAMILIES OF CROPPER AND RENTER TYPE

The writer set for himself the task of studying in detail this community of seventy-five families. The objective being to ascertain the economic and social conditions of the tenants. The amount of the staple crop cotton produced was one of the main items we sought to find. Other crops which were of less importance, but to some extent indicators of the well-being of the people and their farming methods, were studied. Effort was also made to learn the items of expense that entered into the production of crops and to what extent, if any, livestock were grown for the market.

METHOD OF STUDY

Before going very far the difficulty of getting accurate information was encountered. In the Butawville Community, it was impossible to find just about how much was produced by each farmer. In the first place, as will be seen later, these farmers do not know how much cotton they produce each year. They do not know how to speak in terms of the fertilizer elements in the fertilizer bag. In a vague way they do know the meaning of high-grade and low-grade fertilizer. Nitrate of soda is sold in concentrated form. They know that this is a powerful fertilizing agent. But on the whole, the amount and quantity of fertilizer used was very indefinite in their minds.

Another difficulty in the way of securing information was
the unwillingness of many to answer questions when put directly. If one takes the time to become familiar with these people, they will give information very freely. The scarcity of time made this impossible. If they should know that one was attempting to gather information for a purpose which they could not fully understand, it would lead to suspicion on their part.

The writer secured co-operation and assistance of a Vocational Agricultural teacher in the county. We went into their homes and fields and engaged in conversation with them, guiding it so as to get the desired information. We took full notes and observed closely. Before making an intensive study of the community, the writer had made a large number of visits to the community extending over a period of three years. These preliminary visits were very important in order to make contacts and become acquainted with the roads, paths and some of the people in the community. Not less important was the task of becoming familiar with their peculiarities of speech. These plantation people have a very limited vocabulary and local speech habits that an outsider must study before he can understand.

The County Supervisor of Negro schools told the writer that she had to visit a school in this community twice before she could understand fairly well the language of the older pupils. Coupled with these factors is his ignorance of the facts which you desire to know.

The amount of cotton produced in an ordinary year does not impress the tenant to the extent that he remem-
bers well enough for you to attach any importance to his guess. Also his method of ginning and selling makes one doubt that he actually ever knows how much he produces. In an extraordinary year he can tell you how much cotton he made, and in an exceptionally poor year, he can tell you that he made none or practically none. But on the average, say for three successive years, he cannot give you a worth-while guess. It is safe to estimate that only the best farmers can make a fair cotton crop from three to five successive years. Farm Management studies show that only a few of the good farmers can show a profit from the cotton crop alone. It is reasonable to suppose that fewer if any of the tenants can do so.

**PROPERTY OWNED BY THE TENANTS**

The tenants (renters) owned their work animals, usually not more than two mules. A wagon, plows and cultivators, and hoes constitute the property possessed by the renter. This is all that is necessary for the operation of a farm. Almost all tenants have a few chickens and a few have a milk cow.

Out of the seventy-five tenants investigated, according to their own statements, only four had bank accounts and insurance. Two of the four were buying land. Croppers who are living in houses that are grouped very closely together own nothing except their household goods. They do not own cows, hogs or chickens. Croppers that live somewhat separate from each other own chickens, hogs and
they may own a cow. If these things were owned by those whose homes are grouped very closely together they might cause much contention. Croppers have no bank accounts and no insurance. They, like the renters are members of secret orders. In the strict sense of the word membership in secret societies does not constitute insurance. Members are taken in at all ages at a stipulated monthly and joining fee. An additional fee is charged in the event of the death of a member. Notwithstanding that, these secret orders do not, strictly speaking, have insurance features, they are serviceable. The members are obliged to attend to each other in sickness. At death a member receives enough money to assist materially in the burial expenses. This much is clear concerning the tenants' economic status; he depends solely on the cotton crop for money income. Under boll weevil infestation this crop is often a failure. The tenant who can accumulate enough to affect a saving is a rare individual.

No livestock are grown for market. Hogs, corn, peas and potatoes are grown for home consumption. Chickens and eggs are sold at the local market. There is almost no property possessed by the tenant above that actually necessary for farm operation.

Another way of viewing the economic condition of the farmer is to survey and evaluate his farm practices in the light of modern and up-to-date methods. As stated before dependence on cotton is dangerous. First, if the
proper intensity of sunshine does not come at the time cot-
ton is fruiting the yield will be materially lessened.
This often happens. Secondly, too much or too little rain
may result in cotton failure, or near failure. Thirdly,
let the fruiting period be cool and damp or just cool, and
the condition is ideal for weevil infestation. Fourthly,
let there be too little or too much rain or for some unknown
cause the fertilizer does not give adequate return for
the money expended and the loss is material. Fertilizer
is the largest cash item connected with the growing of cotton.
It seems to be the custom for all tenants to apply about
300 pounds per acre to cotton. The grade they used cost
$30 per ton on credit. This means that the fertilizer
cost per acre was about $4.50. The tenant does not count
seed an item of expense because these are saved each year.
Farmers dare not attempt a crop without fertilizer. On the
other hand suppose they do make an exceptionally large crop,
it will be the year that every cotton producer does. They
will be forced to take a low price, and likewise forced to
sell. The tenant is never in a position to hold his cotton.
The great crop of 1925 is a case in point.

The production of this one crop is dangerous for
the tenant because other evils follow in consequence.
Practice is less dangerous for the land owner who has
many tenants. Rents come of the first fruits.

SOIL DEPLETION AND IDLENESS

The first of these attendant evils is soil de-
pletion. Land on which cotton is grown is bare all of the
winter months and is constantly plowed from February to
July. Even the stalks should be removed in early Fall
as boll weevil control. All soil experts are agreed, that
any soil in a southern climate which is bare and freshly
plowed for the major part of the year loses a great deal
of plant food. A winter-cover crop remaining on the soil
until late spring would conserve and restore large quan-
tities of plant food.

The second objectionable accompaniment is enforced
idleness. When the crop is harvested in September
the tenant is idle until time to prepare the soil for seed-
ing another crop. He is not doing any profitable work,
he is consuming the food stuff harvested the previous fall.
Soon after he begins work on the farm in the spring, he
finds it necessary to begin consuming the future crop by
starting a grocery bill. This practice alone is enough
to hold the tenant to a bare subsistence level.

**CROP ROTATION**

The tenant rarely practices crop rotation and
never does systematically. The tenant may at times plant
corn on the land where cotton was grown, but he does not
do it consistently. He feels the practice beneficial
but he does not like to do it because the practice permits,
in the season that corn is grown, too great production of
grass and weed seeds. These seeds in the cotton field
the next year will be too much work in the cultivation of
this crop. Peas may be grown to make hay for the animals
but not as soil builders nor for the market.

Since South Carolina is not a livestock producing State, farmers cannot be expected to have very much barnyard manure. In addition to not having barnyard manure they do not make compost. This is true despite the presence of large acreages of forest where straw and leaves may be had for the hauling.

Lack of sufficient variety and quantity of food crops is conspicuous where cotton is supreme. Chief among these that should have more attention are corn and hay crops. Corn for livestock, for table use and hay as forage. Neither of these crops is grown in sufficient quantities. Grits and corn meal, the table products of corn, are bought from the grocery store, and likewise also some corn for the livestock. Not only is not growing hay objectionable per se, the harvesting of fodder (the corn leaves) for stock food is labor wasting. This fodder is harvested by hand and is low in food value. Pea-vine hay is rich in food value and can be harvested economically by the hay mower.

**FARM MACHINERY**

There are three stages in cotton producing where labor-saving machinery may be used. In preparing the land or plowing the land in late winter and early spring the tractor can be used as well as the two-horse plow. As a rule cotton is seeded by the planter. When the cotton plant is small the whole row cultivator can be used. Stalks can
be cut by machinery. The whole row cultivator and the use of the tractor are generally neglected. The one-mule plow in preparing land at all stages and the one-mule cultivator, cultivating half a row is the rule.

MARKETING AND CREDIT

Probably one of the greatest improvements that the tenant can make pertains to the establishment of credit and a better method of marketing his cotton. The necessary thing of keeping his own accounts is bound up with these two, marketing and credit. In disposing of his cotton crop, this is his procedure: His first objective in harvesting the crop is to get enough to pay the rent. He hauls cotton to the landlord's gin for this purpose until the landlord tells him he has hauled enough to meet the rent requirement. His second aim is to haul enough to cancel his debt at the store operated by the owner. He never knows how much this is; the owner notifies him when he has hauled enough for this purpose. The owner says, himself, that some of them are surprised when they learn that they have something to their credit after the store bill is paid. That which is due to be credited to his account, he may receive as book credit or receive cash. The croppers and renters permit themselves to be ignorant of the amount they owe at the store. However, the renters are in a better position, in that they more often have something to be credited to their account or some cotton coming to them after all bills are paid. In case they have cotton left,
it is sold at the gin to the landowner. This method of marketing and the failure to keep accounts have distinct disadvantages.

In the first place, when a man does not know to what extent his bill is rising from month to month, the increasing bill, regardless of how large the increase, does not serve to check him in the use of goods. He cannot refrain from making it larger as a result of his knowledge of its size for this he does not know. As a result he may fail to economize when he should. Other disadvantages are obvious.

Selling cotton at the gin to the landlord is also contrary to his interest. The price he receives for the cotton is not the result of competitive bidding. The buyer-land-owner is not presumed to be careful of any but his own interest. Second, he cannot have a disinterested part in weighing and grading the cotton. Along with this he is not an expert cotton grader, he cannot weigh and grade as an expert grader would weigh and grade. In the regular cotton markets in the county, there are expert graders and weighers of cotton. These experts are elected by the vote of the people and are impartial in their work. They are more likely to detect inaccuracies in the scales as a result of their expertness and their desire to be impartial. Furthermore, competitive buying makes it imperative for all buyers to adjust their bids according to the price in the central markets. The landlord buyer does not have to do
this. Less obvious but not less real is the fact that
the owner would not be a good business man if he did not
charge enough negatively to pay him to haul the cotton to
the county markets. The tenant had just as well get this
charge for himself. Lastly, and less evident but no less
important is the benefit, that the tenant would get by taking
his cotton to one of the larger markets. Contacts with
the other growers might lead him to improve his methods.
Observing the ways and attitudes of the shrewd buyers would
be valuable stimulants tending toward better business atti-
tudes in his own business.

POLICY OF LANDLORD

Tenants are divided into two classes, croppers
and renters. Croppers pay rent, one-half of what they
produce. Renters pay a stipulated amount of cotton for a
given tract of land. There are other differences but the
point here is to show why renters and croppers are situated
as they are. The renter has more farm experience and is
more capable of self-direction. He requires less supervi-
sion. For this cause he is placed at a greater distance
from the landlord.

The croppers are placed on the portions of the plan-
tation occupied respectively by the landlords nearest to
them. This makes supervision of these croppers con-
venient and easy.

Croppers are supervised in great detail. They are
told what to plant and when and how much. They are given
directions as to the methods of seeding and cultivation. The croppers expect the owner to come to the field where they are working at least twice a day, once in the morning and once in the afternoon. This work of supervision keeps all three owners busy riding from early morning until time to quit work in the afternoon. Each of the three is provided with a light saddle horse for the purpose. Croppers are careful to be at work when the owner comes about.

The renters are not so closely supervised. Under boll weevil conditions, time is the essence of importance in planting. Planting as early as frost will permit is the best policy. Consequently the landlord keeps watch over all on the place, so that none will lag at the time of planting. In seasons of cultivation, the renter is left largely to himself. During harvest time, the landowner visits the field of the renter, at least, once a day until the rent is paid, then, of course, his supervision of the cropper is relaxed.

The effect this supervision has on the renter is complex. In the first place it interferes with his independence. "It goes against the grain." It appears also that the renters are not to sell any cotton until the rent is paid. On this account they work early and late until the rent is paid. It is understood between the owner and the tenant that nothing comes ahead of the rent. In September of 1928, the County Supervisor of Negro Schools suggested to the landlord that it would be a good time to have
the tenants make pledges in order to raise money for the construction of a school building. The owner objected to this on the ground that the tenants had not paid their rent.

Effort was made to ascertain his policy in case that barely enough cotton is raised to pay the rent. Would he demand all of his rent or part of it and let the remainder go until the next year? At first thought, it seems strange that this point had not been considered. Though the crop be little or great the rent is paid if enough is made. If not enough, nothing is done about it.

It appears that the reason the tenant does not think of retaining some of the cotton in the event that not much is made, is because his living requirement is so flexible. It is so very rare for them to get a surplus above a subsistence level that the thrift or saving habit generally is not formed. In that exceptionable event when a surplus does come, they spend willingly and freely until the surplus is dissipated. Consequently this living requirement is so low that it rarely happens that they do not have enough for subsistence. Refraining from paying rent for the purpose of maintaining a standard of living is not thought of. There is no standard they feel constrained to maintain.

At the same time the owner uses considerable diligence in urging them to raise corn, peas, sweet potatoes, a garden, hogs and chickens, so as to be well supplied with food stuff for the table. When the actual land for raising
food stuff is limited, the precept cannot be well carried out even if the will to do it were present. A stipulated amount of lint cotton per farm or 100 pounds of seed cotton per acre operates against reserving a large amount of land for food crops. There are other causes that are just as basic.

A brief description of the landlord who had been referred to as the aristocrat will now be given. This man has an enormous amount of land. A portion of it is occupied by a group of springs. They are noted for their scenic beauty. These are known throughout the county as Batawsville Springs. People go there from all parts of the county for pleasure, recreation and picnics. The writer has never found this owner at home. He travels a great deal. It seems that all he does is to have an understanding with each tenant as to the precise tract of land he is to cultivate and the amount of rent to be paid, the fertilizer to be used, quantity and amount. He gives no supervision at any time.

Rent is charged on the sliding scale. The range is from 50-80 pounds per acre. If the crop is considered just fair, 50 pounds per acre is paid; if better than fair but not very good (not a bumper crop) 60 pounds per acre is paid, and if the crop is very good, 80 pounds is paid.

Like the other landlord he makes no effort to improve the land except by the use of fertilizers. The living condition of the tenant and the methods of farming do not come up for consideration.
The difference between the tenants on the aristocrat's place and those on the place of the man born of poverty is very noticeable. In the first place, these people on the plantation of the aristocrat have from all appearances more physical vigor. They are better in health, wear better clothes, are more alert and in all respects appear superior. These tenants and especially their children appear happier and gayer. Their homes and farm buildings were more substantially constructed and better kept. Of course, they are a selected group. Only those can succeed on the aristocrat's place who are capable of successful self-direction. They are entitled to pay less rent because of this.

THE OBSERVABLE FACTS

Methods of production are woefully backward and ineffective compared to improved methods of the present day. A soil building program is given no attention. Food production for home consumption is not adequate. Credit and marketing methods are not in harmony with the interest of the tenant. Out of a total population of 40,459 in Orangeburg County, 23,882 farmers are tenants. Consequently the condition of agriculture is dominated by tenants.

CONCLUSIONS

On the whole the tenant produces small wealth. Sufficient taxes cannot be collected for the social good when the wealth is not there to be taxed. That a few landowners become rich from having many tenants does not pressage a social benefit. The welfare of the State would be better served if the tenant group were improved. Modern
methods cannot come into being through this group. In South Carolina where 82.5% of the population is rural and more than 65% of this is tenants, the progress of the State waits on the improvement or the elimination of the tenant.

Part III

SOCIAL LIFE

It is interesting to know the kind of social life that thrives on the kind of agriculture that was previously described. For the sake of convenience the social life will be discussed under three heads; Home life, School life, and Church life.

HOW ESTEEMED

It will be suggestive to mention the esteem in which the entire plantation tenant community is held by those not a part of it. As a matter of fact the Negro tenants on the farms of small landowners are comparatively small. Likewise in most communities, the land owning group of Negroes is small. At the same time the social life of the large plantation tenant community is such as to elicit frowns and avoidance on the part of these smaller groups. The large plantation community is variously scorned, avoided or pitied and never envied. As a result the people of these big communities have their home life, church life and school life to themselves. There is a reason for this other than the difference in the social life itself. As a rule, there is a sentiment abroad that the owner of the big estate does not look with favor on any out-
sider making visits to his tenants. In fact, the writer made visits into various rural communities with a minister who endeavored to organize Sunday Schools for the people. He usually thought it politic to go to the landlord first and explain his business and find out directly or indirectly if he had any objection to his presence on the place. Many people, of course, would not do that for such would not be in keeping with their pride. Even before going into the Butawville community, the writer was advised by some living outside not to lay himself liable to insult by the owner by studying the tenants. The explanation was that the owner was interested in keeping his people in ignorance so they could be exploited. Visitors are held in suspicion for fear they may bring the tenants some light. The reason for this sentiment being abroad might be due to the traditional attitude of the owner to the labor agent and salesmen. It is easy to see where he might be interested in keeping salesmen and labor agents away from the tenants. At any rate the sentiment is abroad and the people in the big tenant community live to themselves.

HOME LIFE

As stated before the croppers and the renters live on separate divisions of the estate. There is a noticeable difference between the home of the cropper and that of the renter. Time will not permit the description of many homes of each group; neither is that necessary for the homes of all renters are very similar. Description will be con-
fined to the ones in both groups that are typical for the group.

The location of the home of the renter and the cropper seem to be decided on the same basis. They are placed so that the occupants can get to the land that they are going to cultivate with the greatest ease. This is usually at the border where the field and wood lot join. It very often has plenty of shade. The renter's house that comes to mind now was situated in the edge of the forest adjoining the field. There was a chimney in one end of the house. A door on each side and a porch on one side. They may not have porches. In length the house was about 30 by 14 feet. A partition was in the middle, making a two-room house. The rear room contained two beds and the front room one bed. Attached to the side of the house was a small room that was used for cooking. The furniture was of a very cheap quality. The house was very clean and neatly kept. There were six children, husband and wife in the home. The oldest child was about ten years old.

The house was surrounded by a fence that enclosed enough space to make a very pretty flower yard. The yard and flowers were well kept. Shade was abundant. The barnyard was a reasonable distance away. Home conveniences were not in evidence.

**SPIRIT OF THE INMATES**

In conversation with the head of the house, discovery was made that he was very anxious about the welfare
of his wife and children. He regretted that he had undertaken too large a crop for two consecutive years. This caused him and his wife to have to work extremely hard. They were in debt for one of the mules and a wagon. This debt was cause of anxiety. He and his wife were very industrious and ambitious. They expressed the desire of wanting to get to the point where they could buy some land. To see their six children at the house too small to work and to be cognizant of the short period of time between their births and the debt, with all that these things connotes, was pathetic.

Another couple who had a similar ambition was working near. The home of this second couple was some distance away. They owned fifty acres of land. Thirty acres of this fifty was too wet for cultivation. It was swamp land. They were renting ten acres to complete a thirty-acre farm. They were enough anxious to own land that they were willing to buy fifty acres in order to get twenty. They did not consider themselves a part of this community. This couple was distressed because as the wife expressed it "The school next to my home ain't doing my chullans no good." They talked of moving to another community if the school near them was not soon improved. If space and time would permit, many cases could be cited to show the state of discontent. They accept their condition with quiet resignation and without much complaint because to them the odds under which they work are insur-
HOMES OF CROPPERS

Near the home of each land owner is a group of houses in which croppers live. In one group is about eight small houses not far from the barnyard. These houses are bleak, bare, uninviting and not favored by shade trees. In each yard there are a few beautiful flowers. They have no cultivated land about the house and hence no cotton growing in the yard. The houses generally have two rooms, a front and a rear one. The front room serves as a living-room, dining-room and kitchen. If the houses are painted at all, it is a cheap red paint and all are the same color. The tendency is to have the houses as uniform as possible in every respect except size. The size varies according to the size of the family. On the whole, the houses for croppers are smaller than those of the renter. By the time a man becomes a renter he is older, has been married longer and has a larger family and the necessity for a larger house exists.

The construction of these houses are void of beauty in design and in workmanship. The lumber is crude, rough and unplanned and in every respect without skill and workmanship.

The protection these houses give to the occupants from the elements is very unsatisfactory. It is easy to see the ground through the cracks in the floor and the moon and stars through the housetops and the sides. Of course, wind comes in on all sides. It is not uncommon for them to
leak at the top and sides. The signs of these leaks can easily be detected on the walls and ceiling. In winter these houses cannot be kept warm. It matters not how much fire in the fireplace, keeping warm on more than one side is not feasible so rapidly does the cold wind rush in. This having the side in the direction of the fireplace warm and the other sides cold makes the gathering about the fire highly disagreeable. During the cold winter nights, the bed is the most comfortable place to be found in these homes.

This warmth is provided for in the making of quilts. These are made out of some not very expensive cloth and cotton. They have plenty of quilts.

An effort is made to keep the wind out of the house by the use of papers. Newspapers, magazines and wrapping papers, which they have gotten from the stores for the purpose are plastered over the walls of the house and ceiling. This is very valuable for the purpose.

Reading matter in the home consists of the Bible which is seldom read. Other printed matter are catalogues of Montgomery Ward and Sears-Roebuck Mail Order houses. These are presumably sent by these firms to advertise their goods.

The front room is usually decorated by photographs of members of the family. These are there through the salesmanship of the so-called "picture man." He usually comes in the fall of the year when cotton is being sold.
He brings an enlarged picture with him and persuades the people that he can make the members of their family look like the same. Needless to say, he is well paid for his effort.

Cropper houses situated at the conjunction of the field and forest are better situated than those near the barnyard. They have more shade and, of course, trees in the yard. The houses are at a distance from each other. This makes the raising of chickens possible without being a likely cause of unfriendly feeling.

A full description will not be given unless two extreme cases are brought in. In following a mail route that passes through the center of the plantation out to another extreme rear one is led by the stately dwelling of one of the owners to the end of the mail route which ends some distance beyond the dwelling. Here you will find a group of cropper houses about six or more in number standing out in the open cotton field. These are without shade and without yard. Literally cotton grows up to the very door and against the house. This was a September day.

The wilting cotton on all sides of the house and the unmerciful rays of the sun were beating upon the house relentlessly. Little children too small to go to the field, and not large enough to care for themselves were piled in the door trying to keep cool. An old lady too feeble to go to the field was caring for these children. As a rule the stables are near the homes of these people. Here was
an exception to the rule. The stables were further down at the edge of the woodlot. The mules had the choice location. It is hard to believe that these houses were built here where the burning sun could have such free access to them. The trees must have been cleared away to make space for the growing of more cotton, hence their nakedness.

A second home closely similar was located on another extremity of the plantation. This extremity is bordered by the Santee River which is about one mile back from the sand clay road. You would not expect people to be living in such an out of the way place. However, not far from the river bank there was discovered a house standing on one side of the farm road and a mule stable on the opposite side. The location of the house made it appear lonesome at noonday. A few hundred yards beyond this house was another house sitting more elevated on the river bank and nearer the river. At the time the writer viewed the place, the flood had not long receded, and a part of the path that led up to the house had been submerged in water. On this extremity of the plantation there were twelve houses slightly more advantageousy located.

A fair picture of the living conditions of the tenants has been given. The slight difference in favor of the living conditions of the renter appears not to be the most significant. The main differences lie in the superior intelligence of the renter and the definite contrast between renter and owner.

The associates of the owner can know the terms of
the agreement and may make a bid for a good renter by making him a better offer. The renter's superior intelligence shows itself in his better farming technic and his exercise of self-direction in farming operations. There is a limit to the number of croppers that an owner can, and is willing to supervise. Therefore, those who are capable of self-direction are in demand. This is not the case with the cropper. Between him and the landlord the contract is very indefinite. He must have close supervision.

CONVENIENCES AND SANITATION

Conveniences for economizing human energy has not been planned. In general the dug well is the source of water supply. Where the houses are grouped fairly near together, one well serves for two or more families. The water is drawn by the use of a bucket and rope. The washtub and washpot are placed near the well and under a tree. They are never housed nor sheltered. No systematic way is provided for the disposal of sewage. Where dwellings are near each other and the woodlot is not near enough to afford seclusion, a structure is put up that serves as a toilet. In making these structures, the object is mainly to provide seclusion. The so-called toilet does not protect from heat, cold nor rain. Where dwellings are near the woodlot and some considerable distance from each other, not even a makeshift is constructed to serve the purpose of a toilet.

The idea of sanitation in connection with water
supply and the disposal of sewage is not considered. The well is open. At the base of the curb where the wood usually decays, it is easy for foreign matter to get in the well. In rainy weather surface water freely enters. The fact that the housefly may contaminate their food with the sewage has to them no significance. None of the homes have screens for the doors and windows.

FARM LABOR COMMUNITY

Up to this point the farm manager has not been mentioned. It is well here to give a brief picture of the life of the people who work under the direction of a farm manager. The community surveyed is one in Calhoun County, the county adjoining Orangeburg on the north. The community is about eighteen miles north of Orangeburg and near St. Mathew, the county seat of Calhoun County. The plantation is owned by a large business man who has a state-wide reputation. He is connected with banks, cotton mills and the co-operative cotton association. His farm manager states that he rarely comes out to the farm. The manager is very skillful in the method of farming which is in operation.

This manager has under his direction twenty-seven families. The head of each family is paid a monthly wage of $12.00 in cash, a peck of grits and five pounds of white meat. Each family is allowed for its own use enough land for a garden and approximately enough land to make a bale of cotton. House rent is free. To state it
another way, each man receives $144 per year, 60 pounds of white meat, 12 pecks of grits and house rent free, enough land to make a garden (including the potato plot) and approximately enough land to grow a bale of cotton. The manager furnishes the team and the laborers work their plot of land at their leisure. The women and children are employed as field hands and are paid the current rates. Married men are preferred for they are more dependable labor. Single men may leave when they are most needed. The married man is preferred not merely because of the married man himself but also because of the labor furnished by his family.

The houses occupied by these laborers are very much like those occupied by the croppers in the Eutawville Community. The grits are made from the corn produced on the place and are of very fine quality. The white meat is the cheapest purchaseable. The writer has seen the stuff come to the Orangeburg freight station in carload lots, carelessly loaded in box cars, something like the manner of loading bricks, and unloaded in open wagon bodies and hauled out to the big farms. The living conditions in this county are not different from those in Eutawville.

**HEALTH FEATURES**

Another was of depicting the life of the people is through the family, school and church. A survey of the family will be made to show the health customs of the
people. The family life and health can best be shown by using family cases. Of the seventy-five farmers studied in one community and twenty-seven in another, it was not possible to go minutely into the hundred and two families. It is convenient to take typical cases from the group.

The first case concerning a sick wife, will show many factors. This woman worked in the home of the owner for several years. She finally became sick. The doctor diagnosed the case as hardening of the arteries. The hardening arteries prevented the circulation of the blood through the brain. This lack of blood in the brain caused the woman to be without presence of mind. She would appear to be frightened and thought many times that some member of the family intended to do her injury. In these periods of absent mindedness, she would, if unguarded, stroll out into the field and woodlot. At the same time the doctor had hope of recovery if his prescription was followed. One of the main things in his prescription was plenty of nourishing foods such as milk, eggs and vegetables. The neighbors also diagnosed the case. They said the woman’s enemies had cast a spell on her. Their procedure was to find someone to take the spell off the woman. The doctor discovered this superstition that stood in the way of his prescription and quit the case. Nothing more was done to try to bring relief to this woman. There was no health agency or hospital within her reach. She was not in touch with friends wise enough to give sensible advice.
Her husband and other members of the family were parties to the superstition. The members of the family were too busy at work to keep watch over her at all times. As a result she bruised herself on more than one occasion when absent minded by strolling in the woods and falling into ditches.

Another case is where a man and wife were working alone on the farm. In the midst of the harvest season the husband became sick and was confined to the bed. They were not able to hire anyone to stay at the house with him. The wife had to divide her time between the house and the field. Of course, the neighbors did what they could but that was not enough. The doctor pronounced the case hopeless. The man grew weaker and weaker. For much of the time he was alone. In a vague way the people knew that the sick man was in very great need of human touch and sympathy. Lack of foresight and poverty prevented this family from making provision for the day of sickness. There was no agency to assist the family. Furthermore, harvest time is a very unfortunate time to be sick. The work of harvesting is too pressing to give attention to the sick.

Another case should be cited of a farmer's wife who had tuberculosis during the harvest season and died without getting the attention that a human being deserves. These cases are typical of the treatment that the rural people get.
THE SCARCITY OF YOUTH AND AGE

No effort was made to check the number of young people who had gone. However, it was noticeable that boys between the ages of 17 and 20 were very few. Only on one or two of the better farms could you find a boy as old as 18 years. One young girl complained because all of her companions had gone and that she had no associates and no place in the community where she could have a good time. On the whole, both sexes of the above ages are few. The boys are fewer than the girls. This means that the parents are losing their hold on the children. This tendency cannot be taken lightly when you remember that the family is the group which produces co-operatively and the parents depend on the children for support in old age. Despite the effort of the parents to induce their children to remain on the farm, they are leaving. The very old folks are like the boys and girls of the late 'teens; they are largely absent. Out of the 75 tenant farmers, only one man was seen who was above 60 years old. Only two women were seen who were about 60. The condition of the men who are from 35 to 40 years old offers a suggestive explanation for the absence of the aged. Men of these ages appear to be much older than 35 and 40. One cause for this aging may be the diet. Rice, grits, fat meat and sweet potatoes constitute the diet. This is especially true in the winter season where there are no greens except collards. Chickens and eggs are not used as regular articles of food.
At any rate it is reasonable to conclude that the conditions attending the life of the tenants are not conducive to ripe old age.

EDUCATION

Closely allied with the economic condition in the community are the school and the culture transmitted by the school. The attempt at education here has a history that is worth repeating because of the factors involved. The greatest attempt at education was made by the local Association of the negro Baptist Church. The churches in this association were scattered over the southern part of Orangeburg County. The church people, led by their ministers, thought Buxawville was the center of their field. Therefore, they decided to locate a school in the center. They bargained for 20 acres of land to be used for the school site. In the whole State of South Carolina it is hard to find a more beautiful school site than the one they chose on the elevated part of the sand clay road that passes through the community. One school building was constructed. This building would accommodate about 200 or more pupils. Two dormitories were erected for the use of teachers and pupils. The leaders anticipated drawing pupils from all parts of the southern section of the county.

The property owners in the community looked on the project with favor. The school was designed to be a standard high school. All churches in the Conference were to raise a certain amount of money for its support.
When the land owners were asked for financial support for the school, they began to inquire what the educational program was going to be. Just what would be taught in the school and what the aim of the school should be, were to be made known. The majority of the church people favored teaching the three R's, Grammar, Latin and History. In short the course of study was to be literary. The land owners did give moderate support and promised more if the program was modified to include industrial work and agriculture.

The church people interpreted this to mean that the land owners desired to confine their people to the cotton fields and the trades. They further defined farming to mean nothing more than what the tenants were engaged in doing in that region. As a result the owners were not enthusiastic in their support. The church people carried the school on heroically and poorly for several years. It died in 1924 for want of finance.

For one thing, this case is cited to show what might have been accomplished if the two interested parties could have agreed on a school program. The owners desired material benefits through agriculture and the trades.

At the same time four one-room schools were operated in the vicinity of Eutawville. Three of these were on the property of one landlord. They were supported by the State and were free. They had the additional advantage of being conveniently located for the patrons. The church
school was centrally located and patrons had to pay. The bad roads were a handicap.

BUILDING AND EQUIPMENT

A description of one of these four schools supported by the State, buildings and its equipment will serve as a sample for all in this community. This building is surrounded by beautiful trees and has a fine elevation. It will comfortably seat about 50 pupils. From seventy-five to a hundred have been attending school there. The house covering has rotted so badly that the water in rainy weather literally wets the floor and the people on the inside. The building is so open on the sides and the floor that wind comes in freely almost everywhere. On a cold, wet day it is not possible to keep the house warm and dry. The room is poorly lighted.

Some boards supported by wooden blocks and three well-worn desks comprise the seats. A narrow blackboard on one side of the room on which a chalk mark is hard to make and a little stove in the center comprise the equipment. As before stated there are four school buildings available to the patrons that have similar buildings and equipment.

MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOL

These schools are managed by a District Trustee Board and a local Trustee Board. The District Trustee Board is a legally constituted board. This Board is appointed by the County Board of Education, acting through the County Superintendent of Education. This District
Board decides the salaries and appoints teachers. According to the most recent school law this is not legal. This recent law in the main, places authority for the conduct of the schools in the State Board of Education which is to operate through the County Boards of Education. However, the State Boards of Education are slow to relieve the District Boards of their former duties. The recent school law provides that teachers are to be paid according to their certificates. It further provides that teachers should be appointed by the County Superintendent of Education. The County Superintendent who is an elective officer not only may not deem it wise to relieve the District Board of their traditional duties but it is physically impossible for the County Superintendent to select all teachers to positions in his county. He has no one to assist him.

In order to know the wishes of the colored people, the District Board appoints what is called a local Board. This Board is composed of three colored men. It is supposed to express the wishes of the colored patrons to the District Board concerning school matters which pertain to the Negro schools. The local Board recommends teachers and determines how satisfactorily they do their work. This local Board have three things in mind when selecting a teacher. The first of these is her ability to discipline the school. Inability to discipline is an unpardonable sin. The second consideration is friendship. If the applicant is a friend of some or of all members of the local Board, her
chances are very good or if she is a daughter or granddaughter of someone in the community, she is more likely to be acceptable. She must convince them that she is a good scholar. To them this means that she knows far more about reading, writing and arithmetic and geography than they. Having found such a one, they recommend her to the District or Legal Board. Now the law states that every teacher must hold a first or second grade certificate. A provisional certificate or permit should not be issued as substitutes for certificates. When a teacher is recommended by the District Board who is not qualified to hold a legal certificate, he takes it for granted that the District Board cannot find one better qualified or the Board cannot pay one who is better qualified. Consequently the County Superintendent sends the application to the Board for certification at the capitol and the permit or provisional certificate is issued. A permit is not renewable, and does not demand a stipulated salary. The County Superintendent is reluctant to ask for one and the Board of Certification is more reluctant to issue them. But this District Board is made up of land owners, and these are supposed to know the kind of teacher and the kind of school that the tenant patrons ought to have. The local Board usually are too ignorant to know. If either Board knows better there may not be enough money to hire a better teacher. It is to the credit of the State school law that provisional certificates are being discouraged.
LENGTH OF TERM AND SALARY

The law states the minimum length of a term is four months. Salary is according to certificates. This may not be adhered to because of local conditions. In the first place, the children are needed in the cotton field. This is less true now than formerly. Under boll weevil infestation cotton is seeded and harvested earlier (by about one month). This means that children are released at present from the cotton fields a month earlier. This time may be wasted by procrastination on the part of the local Board. Too, parents may be handicapped because of inability to buy shoes, clothing and books for the children. Although parents are anxious to have their children attend school, they do not see fully the importance of sending them to school at the beginning and keeping them there until the close with as few absences as possible. A few parents are indifferent. These things plus the absence of the enforcement of the compulsory school law reduces materially the effectiveness of the minimum term of four months. The brief school term of four months at a salary of $50 per month and a sorry school building and almost no equipment is not sufficient to attract a teacher who can do effective work.

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

An effort was made to improve the education in the community by an organization of local citizens. In like manner an effort was made to improve the religious life by an outsider. A certain National Sunday School Board sent
into Orangeburg County a well trained and devoted minister for the purpose of organizing Sunday Schools among the rural colored people. He was to give simple religious instruction to the people of all ages and particularly to the youth. The writer traveled with him considerably and studied his procedure. After entering a community, he would first get the best meeting place that he could find and as convenient to as many homes as possible. He would talk up interest in his work. After organizing he would select the man or woman who was most respected, and at the same time, the best informed. He included qualities of leadership. This minister worked for more than a year at his task and finally quit in despair. He found the illiteracy of the people an insurmountable obstacle. In order to give religious instruction he had to teach the people first how to read. Equal to the first obstacle was the finding of a local leader capable of teaching the Sunday School in his absence. In an effort to carry out his program, he secured the co-operation of the owner, and built a house where the Sunday School was held. His efforts failed at the end of a thorough trial.

This failure points to the conclusion that every phase of the religious life must remain with the church. The Butawville community is served by three churches. Two of these are Baptist and one a Methodist. An idea of the kind of sermons the audience gets may be gained if we know the training and attainments of the preachers. One that
comes to mind just now pastors two churches. His formal schooling was barely beyond learning how to read and write. He was born and reared in this community and has never lived outside of it. His prestige with the people is enhanced because he is a landowner and knows very well the psychology of the people. He owns a tract of land adjoining that of the two large white land owners. It is generally known that he was given this tract of land by his former master who owned him at the close of the Civil War.

Emotion concerning religion and superstition loom large in the minds of these people. The preacher makes subtle use of this fact. He does not neglect entirely the ethical side of religion but he stresses hell as a place of fire where sinners burn forever and that the only way to shun it is to gain heaven, a place where the righteous enjoy eternal happiness. The remarkable thing about this minister in connection with this idea, is the large place it holds with him and his people and the emotional element that attaches to it. The minister of the third church is likewise home made. His formal schooling is not essentially different. The use of home talent in the preacher is largely due to their inability to offer a salary sufficient to attract outside talent. The satisfaction of the members is likewise a factor.

In native ability, leadership and living the recognized standards, the minister is above the average. The functions connected with the church such as performing mar-
riages, burying the dead and administering communion and the singing do have some refining influences. The main failing of the church seems to be in not instilling into the people a more enlightened and a saner view of life in respect to social relations. In so far as the church through its meetings encourages group action and co-operation it is valuable. The members have co-operated in building two churches.

Group action is one phase of community action which is not developed outside of the church and secret orders. There is no getting together for play nor recreation of any kind. The school problem and the problem of production do not claim group attention. The absence of group action and group thinking is only symptomatic. It simply means that the people are not aware of any need or objective that can be realized through co-operative action. They have demonstrated their ability to do this when the need is felt. The construction of their churches is a case in point. Under the direction of one minister they have erected two churches, one of brick and the other a frame building. In these instances, of course, the activity was allied with religious emotion and a sense of pride. This effective group action stops before the need of an educational program and the problem of production is keenly felt. It is not to be expected that the play of the child will be thought of and planned for systematically.

lack of group action does not mean lack of unity
in inaction. Neither is it right to infer that the people are not led, or more properly speaking, the people are con-
trolled. The fact that the people are controlled and the method of controlling should receive our attention. The case that is about to be cited took place in the little village of Rutawville. This village is so very near the community of the seventy-five farm families that it power-
fully influences the tenant community. The same pastor of the church in the village also pastors the church in the tenant community. On Sundays that the pastor preaches in the village his members from the tenant community go into the village for church services.

The County Supervisor of Negro schools believed that if she could first organize the people in the village and get them to work for a school that the people in the tenant community would be influenced to imitate. She had it announced on Sunday that she would meet all the patrons at the village church on a specified night for the purpose of discussing their school problem with them. In the mean-
time she discussed with the pastor and with some of the village people the possibilities for constructing a school building and employing better teachers. Among other things the Supervisor told them that the great Chicago Philanthropist would donate a certain amount if the community would raise a certain amount. She further told them that the State Department of Education would co-operate through the prop-
er agencies, and that if they would try it would not be long
until they would have a creditable school building and more competent teachers.

On the appointed night she went to the church and found that the people were very slow in gathering. Finally a goodly number of the people did come to the meeting. The pastor who had promised to be there did not appear. Many of the people to whom she explained the scheme for school construction did not appear. Those who did appear were indifferent and would not commit themselves. The writer was at the meeting and determined to discover the cause for such strange behavior. A week later he talked with several people in the village; one of whom was the local trustee of Negro schools. Here is what had happened. Previous to the meeting, word had gone out over the community that the Chicago Philanthropist would build the school for the community and would control the same. That is, he would own the building and would select the teachers. The local people would have nothing to do with its control. The Negro trustee was asked if he thought this true? He replied in broken English, that the colored school at Ellrose, twenty miles away, had been built by a similar method and that the colored people have nothing at all to do with it except to send there children to the school. Of course, this was not true. He further stated that he, as chairman of the local Board, had been selecting and recommending the teachers for the Negro school to the Legal Trustee Board. This Board usually accepts
the recommendations. "We do not care to have any changes in the method," he said. Exhaustive investigation made it clear that the local trustee was not afraid that the school would go into the hands of the General Education Board or into the hands of the Chicago Philanthropist, Rosenwald, but they did fear that a new school would be under the entire control of the Legal Board and that they would have nothing to do with it.

In order to prevent the building program and thereby make their position secure as trustees, they misinformed the people in a way as to make them think that the school would be controlled by some agency outside of the community. The mass was gullible enough to fall easy victims to this misinformation. The point to be made is, that as long as this village makes no progress, the adjoining community will have nothing to aspire to. The open country people here look to the village for better things. In this section both are equally backward.

The control of these people to make ones self appear important is not confined to the members of the local Trustee Board. The preacher in this community and in others make money one of the objects of his control. Four years previous, an effort was made to organize the Rutawville community for the purpose of raising money to build a schoolhouse. This same preacher stood in the way. As a rule, the rural ministers cannot be trusted to befriend a movement on the part of the people that has as its ob-
ject the raising of money for school purposes. It is likely that they object because they feel the more money is given for school purposes, the less they can raise for themselves.

In places where Negroes own land there will usually be enough Negro owners in favor of the school to inhibit the opposition of the preacher. In tenant places, it is not so. The preachers are dominant. In any community, the minister is a very influential person.

In a community of this type the school Supervisor usually finds her first difficulty in meeting local opposition of the kind described. Given enough time, wisdom and tact, she will eventually get local co-operation. This need not obscure the truth that the most astute few in the community of the type under discussion use the mass to satisfy their selfish aims.

**EFFECT OF LOCATION**

Elsewhere in this discussion, location of the particular community studied in reference to the larger territory about Eutawville was depicted. The location of Eutawville and its surrounding territory with reference to factors that affect it will prove fruitful and enlightening.

About fifteen or twenty miles north of Eutawville there are two highways that you may take leading into Eutawville. The one that is more direct and, of course, shorter passes through sparsely settled territory. The one that is indirect and the longer way passes through densely settled territory and into the town of Holly Hill.
The shorter and more direct passes through territory that is low and is easily made too wet for farming purposes. The land for the most part is very poor. The people living on this direct way are poor. The original physical condition of the land did not invite the enterprising farmer because it was not good farm land. Hence the scattered and poor farm houses by the way.

On the highway that is indirect to Eutawville the opposite is true. The land is elevated and very suitable for farming. It attracted the enterprising farmers. The farm houses are near each other and appear prosperous. This indirect highway was improved to the condition of sand clay road a long while before the direct highway was so improved. The contour of the land in both cases explains what happened. The good farm land by the way of the indirect route, attracted the enterprising farmers. The enterprising farmers created the little town of Holly Hill. The merchants in Holly Hill and the enterprising farmers combined their efforts to have their highway improved. This made Holly Hill easily accessible and the best shopping center for miles around. This poor highway, leading direct to Eutawville is almost impassable in rainy weather and Holly Hill, a rival shopping center in close proximity, detracted from Eutawville.

Another highway coming into Eutawville from Elloree until recently has been impassable in wet weather and hard of passage at all times, has served along with the di-
rect route to make approach from the east and from the north into Butawville hard and difficult. Eight miles south of Butawville and bordering the plantation about which much has already been said is the Santee River. Beyond this river south no one comes for business to Butawville. This means that Butawville and surrounding territory for a radius of several miles have been physically isolated. Road improvement into Butawville is recent.

Add to these natural barriers to contact, a few land owners of large estates, who in turn are isolated from each other because of their large holdings and you have a situation where human contacts are few and infrequent.

Only two cases need be cited to show how this isolation affects the owners. In communities where land owners are small and where they have only a few tenants, the prevailing modern type of farmhouse construction is the bungalow. The big two-story white house of stately build is no longer popular.

The homes of the two younger land owners on the Butawville plantation are of recent construction. But they are large, spacious, white and stately. In this particular they have not been affected by the modern trend. In the past this large, spacious house was not only a sign of wealth; it came to be an instrument for the control of tenants. Landlords must know that the display of wealth in that type of farmhouse furnishes a psychic satisfaction to the tenants. They (the tenants) are pleased to be im-
pressed by something tangible of their landlord's wealth. According to their own count, these three landowners have a total of fifty-five tenants on their place. Consequently the old-style construction could have been motivated by the desire to control or influence the tenant. On the other hand, if one should think of it in connection with their farm practices, one is more likely to conclude that they persist in the present practices because they do not live near enough to those who are more progressive to be influenced by them. Less than twenty miles away farmers are growing early peas and beans, cabbage and truck crops for the northern markets. This physical isolation, plus the large number of tenants must in a large measure account for their lag. Many tenants from whom rent is received, does not make progress in methods imperative, for the owner can accumulate without making advance in methods.

Part IV

Up to this point a fair exposition of the economic and social life of two communities have been given. These consisted of seventy-five families in one community and twenty-seven in the other. The conditions in both were the same except one was a farm labor group and the other a tenant group. The important task of outlining methods that will be productive of improvement remains.

ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT

Plant selection and farm methods are the factors that predicate economic improvement. The one cotton crop
entails too many dangers to profits to be solely depended upon. Other marketable crops should be grown jointly with the cotton. Field crops which have been grown successfully in South Carolina are rice, asparagus, tobacco and tomatoes. These do not complete the list.

Rice is as popular an article of food in South Carolina as white potatoes are in the North. In Orangeburg County some of the best farmers grow enough rice for home use and for the market. The introduction of rice on the plantation would furnish enough, at a small cost, for home use. There are large fields of asparagus in Edgefield County. It is now being introduced in the county by some of the more progressive farmers. For the past two years, tomatoes have been grown in the county within a short distance from Eutawville. This crop is not only profitable in itself; two crops can be harvested in one year from the land on which it is grown. As a money crop, it is far more certain than cotton.

In addition to the introduction of new field crops for food and as cash crops, a group of truck crops should be introduced. One of the men who has been growing tomatoes for the past two years, has for several years grown squashes, watermelons, cantaloupes, cucumbers, white potatoes, beans and peas. These are profitable money crops; they enable the farmer to hire better hands and to keep them busy when field crops are not pressing for attention.

The second direction that improvement should take
is the increased use of labor saving machinery. First among these should be the whole-row cultivator, the tractor and a greater use of the hay mower. This means that more hay should be raised in order to make fodder pulling or stripping unnecessary.

SOIL BUILDING PROGRAM

A conscious and systematic effort in the direction of soil enrichment is imperative for prosperous production. This can best be done by a crop rotation in which legumes are relied upon. Barnyard is a soil builder, but the odds are against the State as a livestock producer. Farmers cannot produce livestock mainly for manure.

THE TECHNIC OF AGRICULTURAL REFORM

At first thought it would appear that improvement in agricultural production should be executed by the farm demonstrator. Such as outlined above should not be attempted in a tenant community by the farm demonstrator. The demonstrator must cover the whole county. To be effective he must develop rural leadership in some of the residents. Close observation of supervisors of rural schools and of a skilled religious worker convinces one, that the leadership necessary for the execution of this work cannot be developed in the time and effort which is at the disposal of the demonstrator. A group of people at the cultural level of the tenants in question, requires most intimate attention and for a longer period of time than the demonstrator is able to give. These tenants have been relieved of the necessity
of initiative, group action and self-direction. The instilling of these traits in members of this group requires patience, skill and time consuming effort. The fittest subject for this task is the vocational agricultural teacher. He is in the community for twelve months. His activities are confined to the community. This narrows him to territory that he can cover. His educational program is with the boys of school age and the adults who are above school age and are engaged in farming. This is true of the Southern States. According to recent scientific findings, adult education should be given a larger place. Up to forty-five years of age, adult education is amply justified, socially and from the standpoint of the adult learner. The vocational teacher is now doing this kind of a thing and should be encouraged by the proper authorities to enlarge his efforts in this direction. The vocational teacher ties up the subject to be taught with the very vital work of making a living. A more effective psychological principle is hard to find.

**EDUCATION**

The problem of education involves four things. These are buildings and equipment, teaching personnel, length of school term and culture to be taught.

The building and equipment are being supplied by the State in co-operation with the General Education Board. This Board by making and furnishing plans for school buildings and offering a large portion of the money is doing more
to construct buildings than any one agency.

Making the school term longer is almost synonymous to making the bread and butter shorter. It means post-
poning work on the farm in the spring and a lag in harvesting in the fall. This is so because the child is looked upon by the parent as the main source of labor. However, there are two factors in this situation that are generally over-
looked. One is the completion of cotton harvest in Septem-
ber in southern South Carolina, is an accomplished fact. The other is that children between the ages of six and twelve years old do not make field hands. Schools may be in ses-
sion to accommodate these children who are between these age limits, and older from the first of October to the last of May. Teachers may be employed to teach this younger group from October up to June; additional teachers may be employed to teach the older group that enter and remain in, from November to March inclusive. Taking this into account by parents and school authorities will make evident the possibility of a longer term without making the bread and butter shorter. The question of salary is not an inflex-
ible handicap.

**CULTURE**

The term culture is used instead of curriculum because of its comprehensiveness. The tenant does not have in his home, training in as many cultural traits as the advanced groups. These should be supplemented by the school. Take such simple matters as dress, manners, per-
sonal cleanliness and home construction which is conducive to privacy, are things that the advanced group receives as part of his home training. Children in tenant homes cannot be expected to have these very necessary habits, and the very farm practices that in many cases are transmitted to the tenants are defunct and anachronistic when transmitted. In short the school must teach the very agricultural practices that are up-to-date and that will facilitate the earning of bread and butter. A school program of the three R's, geography and history cannot enlist the enthusiastic support of tenant mothers and fathers, when they can see no connection between these and bread winning. An attainable standard of living, higher than what they have should be taught these people and every possible effort exerted that will lead them to aspire to it.

PERSONNEL

The actualization of this program awaits the proper personnel. The offering of a moderate salary and the application of that social or psychological principle variously called vanity, social esteem or the desire for social approval will help to attract workers. What else could entice people to go to foreign countries as missionaries at the risk of life and health if it is not an appeal to vanity coupled with a generous spirit? In many cases they do nothing more than teach the natives how to wear clothes, build better houses and eat more food. Basically they are teaching better methods in production. Attach a similar
prestige to the position of the rural school teacher and a better trained group of teachers will be forth coming.

At present when a teacher accepts a position in a tenant community it is assumed that he or she is condescending or cannot get elsewhere a better position. Let school authorities and public spirited citizens foster a better attitude in the public mind through favorable publicity and the situation will begin to change.

Having given the rural teacher respectable standing, the method of paying a moderate salary merits attention. In this type of community the difficulty of getting a suitable lodging place for the teacher is perpetual. Constructing a cottage for housing the teachers is an efficacious method of paying a portion of the salary. This will not only lessen danger to the health and life of the teacher, it will at the same time furnish for her a permanent residence among the people. In this way, the teacher becomes a factor in all phases of the community development.

Up to this point the enlistment of the active support of the landlord has been implied. He is such an important person that special effort should be made to enlist his support in the development of the tenant group. In the first place, it is entirely consistent with human nature to have some very generous spirits. Second, some of them already see and others can be made to see the system of tenancy as practiced is contrary to progressive agriculture; and third, a negative approval to the present
system of tenancy can be expressed effectively.

Consider first the economy of the system. The tenants themselves have been trained to a subsistence level of living. They have not seen enough of their group get out of the system as would give them a strong belief in the possibility of their getting out. Consequently when an owner on the back of a horse rides from field to field in the midst of the hot sun trying to coax a mass of men to produce who are without hope and incentive, he is not producing on a large scale. These owners at Butawville have complained at the very little they are accomplishing. They must know that their soil is each year growing poorer and poorer. The cotton crop, the only marketable crop is very likely to fail. They must feel the uncertainty of their economic security. How can they not know that the system is an anachronism?

Consider together then, the generosity of some owners and the negative approval of the system. The landlords have received social approval. Their fellows have not condemned the system. To this extent they have been encouraged to continue. Find a few generous and wise landowners. Secure their co-operation in putting a vocational agricultural teacher in the community. Let this teacher gradually and positively make desirable economic and social changes in the community. Give publicity to these changes and to the methods by which they are wrought, together with appropriate recognition of the part taken by the owner.
No man will despise such praise. It will at the same time 
give disapproval to the system as it stands. Start out 
with a few generous ones and others will be influenced to 
start similar measures for improvement.

**RELIGIOUS LIFE**

The ministry is the center of church life. Hence, 
the objective is a better ministry. This task for the ten-
ant community is almost hopeless. Men are not turning to 
the ministry to-day in sufficient numbers to supply churches 
that are able to pay more in salary than tenant churches 
can pay. Thus dearth of ministers is a common and well-
known fact.

The strong denominations among Negroes in South 
Carolina have assumed the responsibility of operating col-
leges and normal schools. In addition, they must pension 
retired ministers. They cannot take further responsibility 
of subsidizing the rural minister. The right kind of re-
ligious leadership must wait on the ability of the communi-
ity to pay. This again throws in bold relief the impor-
tance of fostering agricultural production.

**GROUP LIFE**

Group life can best express itself by working to-
ward a certain goal. The choice of the goal will be in 
terms of the ability of the people to achieve. The need 
for achieving such a goal should be made evident to the 
people. It must be understood at the outset that tenants 
are not in the habit of co-operating with any one.
Their habit is to take the dictation and suggestion of the owner. The necessity then, is making the people see the need for achieving a desirable objective. They must be made to see the possibility of achievement. Closely allied to this is the technic of getting the people to work together progressively and smoothly until the objective is attained. This initiative and co-operative group activity must be at the basis of tenant community betterment. Plantation owners and managers will welcome and encourage it when they observe its benefits.

The remedy for the physical isolation lies in part in the completion of road building campaign which is now under way. Increased contacts on the part of the tenants and owners will result. An increased density of population and disorganization of the large estates will make for increasing contacts.

PERMANENCY OF THE TENANT GROUP

If nothing more is done to change the status of the tenant group in the future than has been done in the past will tenants remain as they are? Or will they gradually become owners? Before entering on these questions, the degree of permanency that has obtained up to the present should be known.

Only two men have come into ownership during the life of the senior landlord who is now seventy-five years old. It appears that he inherited the nucleus of the present estate. The aristocrat who owns the adjoining estate inherited
his as a matter of course. It is safe to say then that in a period of fifty years on the two estates there exists seventy-five tenants and two owners. Owner A is 56 years old and has been an owner for 4 years. Owner B is 60 years old and has been an owner for 6 years. The average age of the two at the time of becoming owners was 53 years. The two have fifteen children. Both have grandchildren. Each has a married son living on his place. Both of these men praise their children for staying at home and helping to pay for the land. One owns fifty acres and the other fifty-five acres. Both men paid for the land entirely before they moved on the place. In other words they rented one place from the landlord and bargained and paid for another. They said that the owner encouraged them to pay for it in this manner. They admitted that the land was very poor. The better land was so high in price that they would not attempt to buy it. Forty dollars per acre was the price of what they bought. They began to make payments on the land in the early period of the war.

If only two out of a group come into ownership while seventy-five and more remain tenants, tenancy is very durable. The first factor then that makes for the permanency of tenancy is that those who are in it move out with a snail's pace.

The second factor that tends to make it durable is opportunity for its expansion. You will recall that the senior owner built up an estate of 6,000 acres. Much
of this land is uncleared. There is ample room for many, many more tenants to begin life young and grow old as tenants. This is what has actually happened. In the past when the son of a tenant got ready to marry, the owner simply built him a shack on some part of his estate and the young tenant settled down for life. As a rule the tenants now on the place were born there. Of the entire seventy-five who were investigated, only two were found who were not born on the place. One of these who was not born on the place had lived there for 18 years. It is true that many who were born there left there when they were young.

The third factor tending to permanency is the intentions of the junior owners. As stated before these men have situated their homes so as to be able conveniently to supervise the tenants and the croppers in particular. Not only do they reconcile themselves to the business of controlling tenants, they are habituated to farm practices that are preeminently suited to tenants who are not capable of self direction and have had no training in that direction.

The fourth thing which favors permanency of tenancy is the fecundity of the tenant group. Of the seventy-five tenant families studied, fifty whole families were selected as typical. A whole family is one that is not broken due to death of the mother or father or for any other cause. The average number of children for the fifty families was 6.1.

The twenty-seven farm families in the adjoining
county who were directed by a farm manager had the same living conditions as the fifty tenant families selected. The children 6.55 per family. The average for the two groups was 6.32 per family. This is not as high as one would expect at first thought. After rethinking of the ages of the family heads, one would know that the ages of parents influence the average number of children in each home. In both groups it is a safe assertion that the majority of fathers were in their thirties. Positively this is prolific enough, everything being equal, to sustain a growing tenant group. It is not improbable that the hard life of these tenants cuts or checks the birth rate. On the other hand, there are factors that tend to disintegrate tenancy in the community.

The factors that tend to disintegrate the system may be conveniently grouped under three heads. Namely (1) economic factors that directly and indirectly affect the farm business; (2) economic opportunities elsewhere for the tenant group, and (3) improved transportation.

The senior owner has divided the estate among his three sons. This was done in order to escape paying a very high income tax. Eventually he would have done this but not as soon as he did. Furthermore, his willingness to sell land to tenants is recent according to the statements of tenants. Had it not been for the high tax, he might still be unwilling to sell. Another factor affecting the
farm business is the destructive presence of the boll weevil. This pest makes the production of cotton expensive, highly speculative and unpleasantly disturbing. These owners now think that in the near future they must change to the production of other crops. Their neighbors less than twenty miles away are doing so. This change will force the use of labor that is more intelligent than that used in producing cotton. More training will have to be resorted to through the schoolroom or in the field. As much ignorant labor as is now used, will not be in demand. The use of machinery will multiply as price of labor rises. An increasing number of those who get the training will aspire to ownership.

The fawning of the boys and girls in this community has been mentioned. This means that they have found opportunities elsewhere. As long as these opportunities are available, they will be sought by the young people. Their fawning in this community is a sign that the ability of the parents to fix their children on a farm in order to serve them in old age is weakening. Add to all these the educative influence of improved transportation and the combination making for disintegration is formidable.

The good roads campaign is on in South Carolina. Even a Ford is taxed $9 and gas 6¢ per gallon. In 1922 the 50 miles of road between Orangeburg and Columbia the Capitol did not have the status of a sand clay road. In the summer of 1928 it was in the process of being hard sur-
faced. A young farmer 20 miles south of Orangeburg tells how he and his brothers and sisters would load themselves on the wagon on the night previous in order to attend the big show in Orangeburg the following day. Now in his automobile he attends the picture shows in Orangeburg and returns in the short space of two and one-half hours. The automobile and good roads result in many more contacts. New opportunities will be found by these people. They will see things and people different from those in their own neighborhood. It is true that only two of these tenants had a Ford car, but good roads that are now reaching them will bring more people their way.

Special events in the county encourage travel. Every fall there are two county fairs held at Orangeburg, the county seat. These are broadly advertised and if weather is favorable are well attended. In the spring all schools (colored) unite and have a field day. Various games and contests are participated in by the school children on this day. In August the county farm demonstrator promotes one or more county tours. These tours are designed to have each farmer see what the others are doing. All of these agencies are expedited by good roads and automobiles. They have a positive educational value.

On comparing and evaluating the factors that tend toward the permanency of the tenant system and those that tend to disintegrate the system, it seems to be a fair prophecy that the future will find the disintegrating factors great-
ly reducing this system of tenancy.

**CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION**

Reference has been made to the paucity of the vocabulary of these people; and the few words that they do have cannot be readily understood except by those on the estate who are accustomed to hear them. This arrested vocabulary is due to lack of opportunity.

It is not necessary to speak at length of the emaciated condition of a large number of these people. This is simply due to insufficient quantity and quality of food. The remedy for this is obvious.

Sexual morality is higher than one would think on the surface. Out of seventy-five renters, only two cases were discovered that would lead one to be suspicious. A little thought would make evident the cause of small laxity in sexmorality. In each community the contacts are face to face and numerous. Each one knows his neighbor. This tends to prohibit laxity. For lack of automobiles they do not have the privacy that cars afford. Add to this the fidelity of family ties and the moral code is well kept.

One case of a moron needs mentioning not because of the value of the case per se, but for what it signifies. One young woman was discovered who was unmistakably a moron of low order. She made reference to her mother but she could not be induced to say anything about her father. She, herself, had a little baby girl just large enough to walk well. On inquiry it was learned that neither the young
woman nor her mother had ever been married. No observa-
tion was made of the young woman's mother, she was away at
the field. This is clearly a case of a possible nucleus
for lowering the native capacity of many people for an in-
definite time. The writer had discovered two other similar
cases in tenant groups. A conservative estimate would give
seven persons to the seventy-five families studied. This
would give a population of 525 persons. A few moronic
families reproducing, the lowering of the mental quality
of the groups would be certain.

Now this survey does not claim to have discovered
every essential fact that concerns the life of this com-
munity. It does bring enough facts to the surface to show
some of the many maladjustments that exist. Because of
the similarity of the Rural South, similar maladjustments
may be patent in the tenant system throughout. Such being
the probability, the system should be studied minutely and
the facts brought to the attention of the thinking people
who are concerned about the betterment of the Rural South.
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