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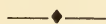
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Social Effects of Government Land Purchase



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SOCIAL EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENT LAND PURCHASE

By RALPH R. NICHOLS and MORTON B. KING, JR*

I. Introduction

Background

In recent years an increasing amount of land has passed from private to governmental ownership. In particular, federal agencies have acquired considerable acreage in the promotion of reclamation, resettlement, flood control, and similar projects. Where large contiguous areas—much of it in farms—are purchased, some dislocation of local life may be expected. The economy and the tax base may be disturbed, families displaced, and community activities disarranged.

Reports and rumors of such adverse results of governmental land purchase have spread. This has led to criticism of the programs which cause them. People are asking whether benefits of the projects outweigh and justify the disruption of local life. There are few data, carefully gathered by disinterested persons, which can be used in answering this question.

North central Mississippi is an area where extensive federal purchases have been made. The rivers which drain this hilly, semi-marginal area are part of the Yazoo River flood control program.⁽¹⁾ The U. S. War Department has constructed dams on the Coldwater and Tallahatchie Rivers. The war has temporarily halted plans for similar projects on the Yocona and Yalobusha. The headwaters of these streams are in the Holly Springs National Forest purchase area, a project of the Forest Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

One county, Lafayette, has been particularly affected. The Sardis Reservoir (Tallahatchie River) cuts diagonally across its northwest corner.⁽²⁾ Of the 98,000 acres purchased for the reservoir, about 58 percent are in Lafayette County. Approximately 96,000 acres in its northeast corner are in the purchase area of the Forest. Of them, 35,000 acres have already been purchased. Altogether, about 20 percent of the total land area of the county is federally owned. The displacement of families and dislocation of the road system which attended the reservoir program occasioned considerable local comment, resentment, and criticism. The fact that one of the two fertile sections of the county had passed from private ownership was a central objection. When it was learned that a dam on the Yocona was contemplated, active opposition was precipitated, as such a program would require the purchase of the remaining river bottomland in the county.

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⁽¹⁾ See House Document No. 892, 77th Congress, 2nd Session, "Survey of the Little Tallahatchie Watershed in Mississippi", for a description of the area and an outline of the program.

⁽²⁾ See map, p. 4.

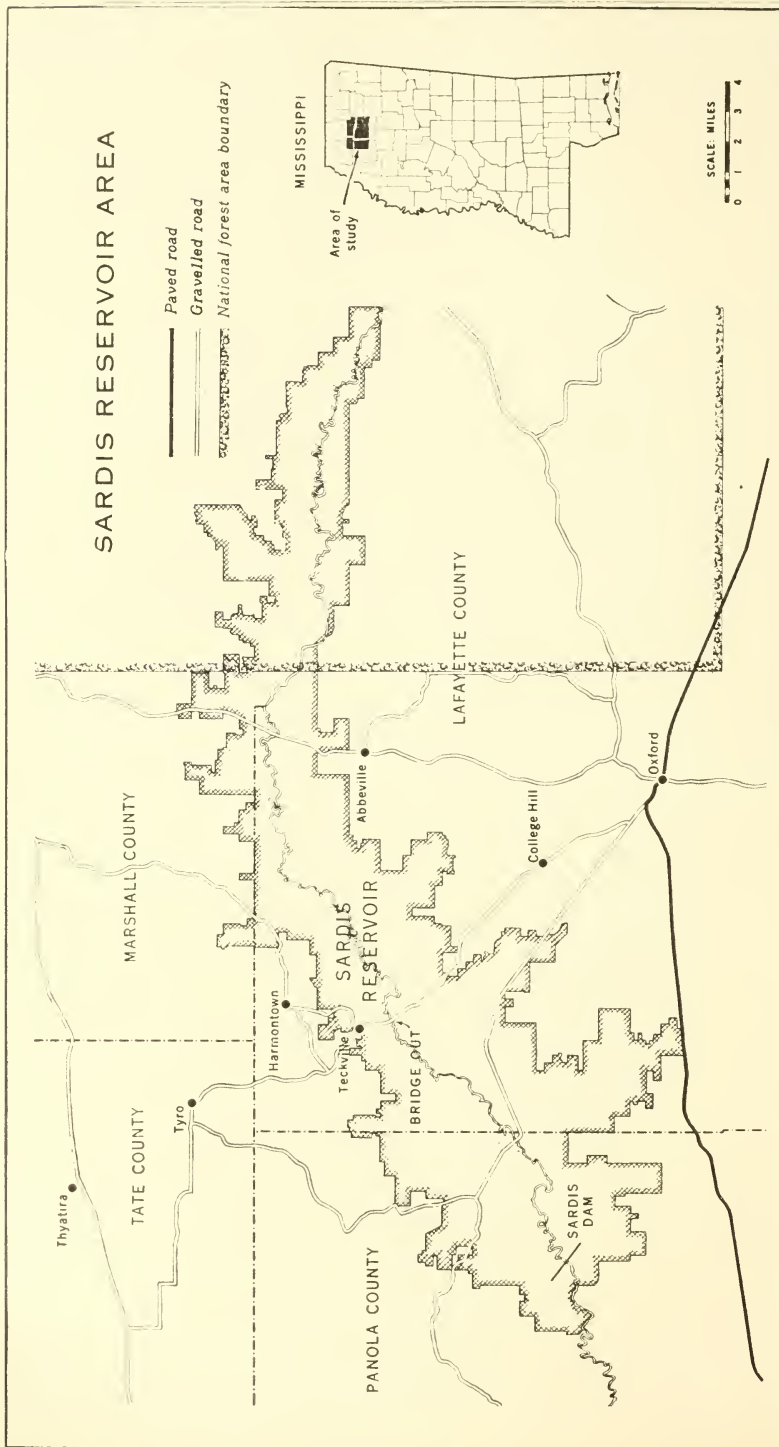


Figure 1. Sardis Reservoir Area

Purpose

Lafayette County thus provides an excellent opportunity for a study of the effects of a land purchase program. This bulletin reports such a study made cooperatively by the Mississippi Experiment Station and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics at the request of the County Agricultural Coordinating Council. The project attempts to answer two sets of questions: (1) What happened to the families who were partially or wholly displaced by the Sardis Reservoir purchase? How have their agricultural operations, economic well-being, and community relationships been affected? What adjustments have they made? How satisfactory to them are their adjustments? (2) What were the effects on the neighborhood, community, and institutional relationships of the areas adjacent to the reservoir?

There are many other important questions that are omitted. Chief among these is the amount of tax revenue lost to the county and the resultant effects on county governmental structure and services. Further, no attempt will be made to evaluate and judge the total desirability of the Sardis Dam and Reservoir. This must await additional and more comprehensive study. By way of conclusion, however, an attempt will be made (1) to evaluate the chief criticisms voiced by local people, and (2) to make certain suggestions regarding the conduct of future flood control projects of this type.

Of what interest or use are such facts about Lafayette County? First, they will provide a basis for the opinions of Lafayette countians toward the proposed dam on the Yocona. Second, the citizens of areas in Mississippi (and, in other states) where similar projects are proposed may find it useful to know what types of changes can be expected. Such foreknowledge may encourage and guide planning to meet expected changes. Third, perhaps the officials in charge of such purchase and construction programs may be interested to know how their actions affect family and community life as well as topography and land use.

Cooperation

It may be significant to describe the cooperation of persons and agencies which produced this study and report. Local citizens, through the County Agricultural Coordinating Council, called the problem to the attention of Station and Bureau of Agricultural Economics representatives. The field work, while planned cooperatively, was divided into two phases. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics was responsible for the part dealing with displaced families. The Station was responsible for collecting data on community and institutional adjustments. The latter phase of the project was partially supported by a grant-in-aid of research made to the Station representative by the Social Science Research Council. Each author was responsible for his portion of the field work and prepared a separate report. These are here combined into bulletin form by the Station representative. The Mississippi Agricultural Extension Service was of great aid in planning the study, and in securing local cooperation. The local Extension workers, the county superintendent of education, and many local officials and citizens extended vital help.⁽³⁾

(3) Special thanks are due D. H. Echols, Maureen L. Bickerstaff, O. D. Smith, T. D. Singleton (U.S. Engineers), and Phillip E. Mullen (The Oxford Eagle) among many others.

II. General Effects of Reservoir Project

Construction of the Sardis dam and reservoir took place between 1935 and 1939. From 1935 to 1937 local persons, employed by the War Department as appraisers, negotiated for all land to be included in the reservoir area. Practically all was secured by direct purchase without recourse to condemnation proceedings. This included the estimated area of maximum inundation, from the river itself to the 285-foot elevation. A few purchases were made beyond this line, following field or farm boundaries. As soon as purchase agreements were negotiated—and prior to payment for the land—clearing crews began removing timber below the 265-foot line. Former owners were instructed to remove all buildings from the purchase area, or have them destroyed by the Government.

The huge earth dam was completed in 1939, and the reservoir filled after that crop season. Two important roads were flooded:⁽⁴⁾ the Oxford-Sardis road connecting these two county seat trade towns, and the Oxford-Tyro road connecting the Harmontown community, northwest of the river, with Oxford, its county seat and trade center. Five county neighborhoods in Lafayette County were primarily affected. Tallahatchie, lying mainly in the bottomlands just south of the river, was almost obliterated as a neighborhood. Most of the population moved. The white school and church which formed its center had to be torn down. Negro churches and a school were moved but remain in the area. The Perkins, Free Springs, and Harmontown neighborhoods just north of the river lost population and were cut off from their service center. Most of the families moved from the Dillard neighborhood between Tallahatchie and the Panola County line.

The exact number of families in the purchase area and the proportion of them who moved could not be ascertained. Local opinion places the number affected at between 350 and 450 families. The War Department purchased 475 separate tracts of land, but had no records on families. Some farmers demolished their buildings and moved to other sections of the county, or to an adjoining county. A few went as far as the Delta, one or two to adjacent states. Many, perhaps most, moved their houses and barns to sites above the 285-foot level. There they lease "their land" back from the Government and continue to operate their farms much as before.

Much of the land in the purchase area will not be flooded except in unusually wet years, since the project is purely for downstream flood control. The War Department rents land between the 250- and 285-foot levels to farmers, former owners having first option. Cropland between the 265- and 285-foot elevations is classed as "cultivable land" and rents for 75 cents per acre per year. All land between 250 and 265 feet, with a greater possibility of inundation, is arbitrarily classed as "pasture land". This, together with pasture and woodland between 265 and 285 feet, rents for 4 cents per acre per year. Much of this "pasture" is fertile bottomland formerly planted to cotton and corn, and continues to be so used. Some former owners rent land from the Government and sub-rent it to tenants, often realizing a profit on the transaction.

The Government makes no guarantee against flooding and the

(4) See map, p. 4.

Table 1. Land purchased by Government for Sardis Reservoir and acreage leased back to private operators

| County | Total land purchased | Leased back by Government (1) | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|
| | | Cropland | Pasture | Total | County total |
| | Acres | Acres | Acres | Acres | Pct. |
| Lafayette County..... | 56,661.67 | 10,190 | 30,605 | 40,795 | 72.0 |
| Panola County..... | 21,955.13 | 2,784 | 9,184 | 11,968 | 54.0 |
| Marshall County..... | 20,034.67 | 5,003 | 13,554 | 18,557 | 92.0 |
| Total | 98,651.47 | 17,977 | 53,343 | 71,310 | 72.2 |

(1) U. S. War Department Engineer's records for 1941.

renter takes this risk. In case of flooding during the crop season the Government will renew the same contract for a total cost of \$1.00. There is no official information, and therefore uncertainty exists, as to the amount of flooding which can be expected. By the fall of 1941 the highest water level had been at the time of the dam's dedication in 1939. It then stood at the 254-foot elevation, flooding approximately 13,000 acres, much of it swamp and woodland which had never been in cultivation. It has been stated unofficially by government representatives that, except for emergencies, the water level will probably not be raised higher than this point.

Table 1 shows the amount of the purchase area in each of the three counties involved and the amount rented back in 1941. The percentage leased back is lowest in Panola which includes the permanent reservoir just behind the dam. It is highest in Marshall which is farthest up-stream. Of the 27,000 acres not under lease, it is estimated that less than 5,000 were regularly under cultivation before the construction of the dam.

An attempt was made to find out how much land in Lafayette County was removed from cultivation as a result of the dam. All 1941 AAA contracts which contained **any** government-owned land were examined. These 114 contracts contained 13,999 acres of cropland in 1939.⁽⁵⁾ In 1941 they included 163.6 more acres of cropland, a gain of 1.2 percent. During the same period the cropland of the county as a whole, including the land in these 114 contracts, increased from 91,284 to 96,759 acres or 6 percent. From the AAA checkers' field notes it was found that only 18 Lafayette County farms⁽⁶⁾ had been wholly **or partially covered** by water between 1939 and the end of the 1941 crop season. The cropland on these farms decreased 20 percent (from 2895.6 to 2291.4 acres) between 1939 and 1941.

While AAA "cropland" and acreage actually under cultivation are not entirely synonymous, it is clear that total acreage farmed in the reservoir area has not changed greatly from 1939 to 1941. As some bottomland was abandoned, an operator would replace it with a slightly larger acreage of land at a higher elevation. This meant replacing fertile land threatened with possible flooding (even before the dam) with less

(5) "Cropland" as defined by AAA. More inclusive than "harvested cropland." On the advice of the county agent, 1939 was chosen for comparison with 1941. 1939 was the last crop season before the dam was closed and the reservoir flooded.

(6) i. e., land under one AAA contract.

fertile "hill land"—perhaps previously regarded as plowable pasture only. Related to this is some shift from cotton and corn to hay and legumes, and a decrease in the per acre yield of land planted to row crops.⁽⁷⁾

III. Adjustments of Displaced Families

When the study was planned, it was assumed that most of the families on land purchased by the Government had moved out of the reservoir area, at least into other sections of the county. The plan was to locate samples of these families, representative as to race and tenure status. It was desired to see what problems they had faced, and how they had met them. This investigation was to be paralleled by a study of the partially truncated communities from which these families had been displaced.

Once in the field, the investigator found that many former operators of land now government owned—owners, tenants, and croppers—had not moved away from the immediate reservoir area. Some families were fortunate enough to have homes and barns above the 285-foot level and thus did not have to move at all. Some families moved short distances, still within their original or adjacent neighborhoods. Some, of course, moved to other sections of the county, and a few, farther away. All, however, had had their family life and farm operations affected to a greater or less extent. Therefore, it was decided to study a sample of **all families** who had been resident in the purchase area in 1939.

There was, however, no complete list of these families. Nor was it possible to discover the race and tenure distribution of the purchase area, since it comprises parts (only) of minor civil divisions in three counties. Use of War Department and AAA records, and notices inserted in local papers and mailed to former residents led to interviews with 157 families. When these families were compared in race and tenure with the total population of Lafayette County only slight differences are shown.⁽⁸⁾ It was the consensus of county agricultural personnel that these 157 families constituted an adequate and representative sample of the entire group affected by the purchase program and that additional interviews would not materially change the findings.

On each of these families a schedule⁽⁹⁾ was taken. The attempt

(7) See Changes in Farming Operations, p. 12 following.

| (8) Race and tenure | Lafayette County (1) | | Sample | |
|---------------------|----------------------|-------|--------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| TOTAL | 3,405 | 100.0 | 157 | 100.0 |
| TENURE: (2) | | | | |
| Owners | 1,267 | 37.2 | 65 | 41.4 |
| Renters | 1,169 | 34.3 | 60 | 38.2 |
| Sharecroppers | 969 | 28.5 | 32 | 20.4 |
| RACE: | | | | |
| White | 2,028 | 59.5 | 91 | 58.0 |
| Negro | 1,377 | 40.5 | 66 | 42.0 |

(1) Mississippi Census, 1940 (Agriculture), 1st Series.

(2) Throughout this section of the report the term "owner" is applied to all owner-operators including those who rent additional land. "Renters" include cash, standing and share renters. "Sharecroppers" are distinguished from share renters by the fact that the former do not own the equipment and work stock they use. The tenure status given is that at the time of the interviews i.e., since the purchase program.

(9) See Appendix, page 54. The assistance of T. G. Standing, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Little Rock Office, in developing the schedule and in organizing the study, is gratefully acknowledged.

was to get a picture of the families' economic and social status both before and after the purchase, to discover problems involved in resuming farm operations, and to find the interviewees' opinions on these problems and on their efforts at adjustment.

Residence and Tenure Changes

Here were 157 families who had lived on land now owned by the Federal Government. How many of them had moved, and how far? Was their tenure status, their equity in the land they worked, affected adversely?

Table 2 shows that 65 percent of the families had changed residence since the purchase program began. There had been slightly less movement in the group who are now owners than in the non-owner group. A larger proportion of white than of Negro families moved. However, most of the moves were for short distances, some only to another point on the same farm. Only about 11 percent had moved out of the county, whereas 55 percent of the total group were still residents of their original community.⁽¹⁰⁾ The majority who moved, then, went to other—often adjacent—communities in the same county, for instance, from Tallahatchie back from the river into College Hill. It seems probable that the long residence of most families in the reservoir area was an important factor in preventing the general trek to distant locations which many had anticipated.

Table 3 shows the present tenure of the 157 families with the changes in status which occurred. Only 36 families (23 percent) had changed status, there being little difference between white and Negro. However, more of the white families gained than lost status, while the opposite was true of Negroes. The greatest change occurred in the group now renters. Some rose from sharecropping to renting, while others dropped from owners to renters. This latter group are those who sold their land and are renting it back from the Government. Thus the change is largely one in name only. The present owner and cropper groups both contain a few families who rose or fell to those statuses during the period covered by the study. Most of the sharecroppers reported that they stayed with their landlord, either on the same farm or moved with him to a new

Table 2. Change of residence and previous residence of operators

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Present residence status | | | | Previous residence | | | | | | Average residence in old community |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|------|-----------|------|--------------------|------|-----------------------|------|----------------|------|------------------------------------|
| | | Changed | | Unchanged | | Same community | | Another (1) community | | Another county | | |
| | | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | |
| TOTAL | 157 | 102 | 64.9 | 55 | 35.0 | 87 | 55.4 | 53 | 33.7 | 17 | 10.8 | 22.3 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 40 | 61.5 | 25 | 38.4 | 35 | 53.8 | 21 | 32.3 | 9 | 13.8 | 28.6 |
| Renters | 60 | 41 | 68.3 | 19 | 31.6 | 30 | 50.0 | 24 | 40.0 | 6 | 10.0 | 18.4 |
| Sharecroppers | 32 | 21 | 65.6 | 11 | 34.3 | 22 | 68.7 | 8 | 25.0 | 2 | 6.2 | 16.9 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | 64 | 70.3 | 27 | 29.6 | 41 | 45.0 | 37 | 40.6 | 13 | 14.2 | 20.9 |
| Negro | 66 | 38 | 57.5 | 28 | 42.4 | 46 | 69.7 | 16 | 24.2 | 4 | 6.0 | 24.4 |

(1) In Lafayette County

(10) "Neighborhood" in the language of the rural sociologist.

Table 3. Change in tenure status

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Status changed | | | | | | Status unchanged | |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|------|--------|----------|----------|----------|------------------|------|
| | | Total | | Upward | | Downward | | No. | Pct. |
| | | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. (1) | No. | Pct. (1) | | |
| TOTAL | 157 | 36 | 22.9 | 16 | 44.4 | 20 | 55.5 | 121 | 77.0 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 8 | 12.3 | 8 | 100.0 | | | 57 | 87.6 |
| Renters | 60 | 22 | 36.6 | 8 | 36.4 | 14 | 63.6 | 38 | 63.3 |
| Sharecroppers | 32 | 6 | 18.7 | | | 6 | 100.0 | 26 | 81.2 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | 22 | 24.1 | 13 | 59.0 | 9 | 40.9 | 69 | 75.8 |
| Negro | 66 | 14 | 21.2 | 3 | 21.4 | 11 | 78.5 | 52 | 78.7 |

(1) Total whose status changed used as base.

Table 4. Sale of land by operators

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Land purchased by Government | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| | | Number selling land | Average net amount rec'd per seller | Land mortgaged | |
| | | | | Farms mortgaged | Av. amt. per farm |
| No. | No. | Dollars | No. | Dollars | |
| TOTAL | 157 | 68 | 6,369 | 27 | 2,169 |
| TENURE: | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 55 | 6,990 | 22 | 1,624 |
| Renters | 60 | 12 | 4,066 | 5 | 4,460 |
| Sharecroppers | 32 | 1 | 1,080 | | |
| RACE: | | | | | |
| White | 91 | 48 | 4,303 | 15 | 3,074 |
| Negro | 66 | 20 | 509 | 12 | 935 |

location. Thus the impact on tenure status is less than might be expected. Only 20 families, about one-eighth of the total, changed "for the worse." Fourteen (14) of these are renters of what was formerly their own land. Their future depends on the continuation of the present favorable leasing arrangements.

Sale, Purchase, and Rental of Land

The problems arising from the sale of land and the need to acquire use of other land or to cease farming were among the most acute met by the families. Table 4 shows the number of families selling land, the mortgages on it, and the amounts received on the sale. Less than half (43 percent) of the families had sold land to the Government, the remainder being renters or sharecroppers at the time of the purchase. Of the 68 who sold land, 55 are still owners. The sellers received an average of \$8,539 each. Twenty-seven (27) of the farms were mortgaged, at an average amount of \$2,170. The average **net amount** received was \$6,369 per seller. It will be noted that those who are still owners received a larger average net return than those now non-owners. This means they had more and/or better land, and with the larger payment were able to retain their status as owners. Related to this is the fact that former owners, now renters, had larger mortgages on the average than those

who retained their ownership status. An even greater difference can be noted between the purchase payments and the mortgages of white and of Negro families.

Whether or not a seller bought other land elsewhere was largely determined by the location of his (former) farm within or adjacent to the purchase area. If his tract contained a sufficient amount of cultivable land at sufficient elevation to make flooding unlikely, he remained as a renter of the Government. Or, part of his (former) farm might be outside the purchase area, and he might continue on the same land as part owner.⁽¹¹⁾ If, however, most or all of his land were purchased and seemed liable to flooding, he sought to purchase another farm elsewhere. The absence of definite information regarding possible flooding made the choice (to stay as renter or purchase elsewhere) an arbitrary one.

Table 5 shows that 40 families had bought new land, 46 were renting privately owned land, 57 were renting land from the Government, and 24 were sub-renting land which someone else rented from the Government. To explain this last group it may be said that former owners frequently had cash, standing, or share renters on their places. The owners had priority right in leasing former holdings back from the Government. This they did, sometimes pocketing a difference as a profit. It will be noted, also, that present owners more frequently rent government land for part of their operations, while present renters more frequently rent from private owners or sub-rent government land. Thus the average part-owner pays a smaller rental than does the average renter. This lends some credence to the charge that the purchase program aided "the rich to get richer." Several of the large operators expressed themselves as highly satisfied with the leasing arrangements, since taxes and interest on mortgages were often treble the amount of present government rental costs.

The average price per acre paid by the Government for all the land it purchased was \$18.25. The average price paid by the 40 purchasers was \$17.69. The six Negro purchasers paid a smaller per acre price. This can be partly accounted for by the fact that they received less money for lands sold and that white purchasers of large acreage had prior choice of the most desirable land. The lump sum payments allowed the large majority of both white and Negro purchasers to pay all cash for their new land.

The fact that the average purchase price exceeded the selling price by about 56 cents an acre does not mean that a general, though small, unearned increment was enjoyed. On the contrary, many buyers complained that they had had to pay a high price for relatively poor land. The purchase program resulted in an increased demand for farm land in the county and thus inflated land values. The buyers, equipped with stock and tools for a certain sized operation, tended to purchase about the same or a larger acreage than they had sold and of definitely poorer quality. Many purchased quickly, trying to "beat" the inflation of values, before the present leasing arrangements were thoroughly understood. Some say this was a mistake, the operation of leased land now appearing more desirable than their present situation.

(11) Classified here in the "owner" category.

Table 5. Purchase and lease adjustments of operators

| Race and Tenure | Bought land elsewhere | | | | | | Renting private land | | Government land | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|-------|---------------|------|-----------------|------------------|----------------------|------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| | Total buying | | Paid all cash | | Bought on terms | | Renting private land | | Sub-renting Government land | | Renting land from Government | | |
| | No. | Dol. | No. | Dol. | Total | Av. time on bal. | Av. rate int. | Pct. | Total renting | Av. rent per acre farm | No. | Av. rent per acre cropland | Av. rent per acre pasture |
| TOTAL | 157 | 17.69 | 32 | 8 | 12.25 | 5.06 | 3.38 | 46 | 57 | .75 | 283 | .75 | .04 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 17.69 | 32 | 8 | 12.25 | 5.06 | 3.25 | 11 | 8 | .75 | 260 | .75 | .04 |
| Renters | 60 | | | | | | 3.43 | 35 | 16 | .75 | 354 | .75 | .04 |
| Share-croppers | 32 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | 18.22 | 27 | 7 | 13.43 | 4.93 | 3.51 | 30 | 17 | .75 | 356 | .75 | .04 |
| Negro | 66 | 11.94 | 5 | 1 | 4.00 | 6.00 | 2.97 | 16 | 7 | .75 | 78 | .75 | .04 |

Table 6. Change in size of operators' farm land

| Race and Tenure | Total acres in farms (1) | | Total acres in crops | | Total acres owned | | Total acres rented | | Total acres sharecropped | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|--------|----------------------|--------|-------------------|--------|--------------------|-------|--------------------------|-----|-----|
| | Before | Now | Before | Now | Before | Now | Before | Now | Before | Now | |
| | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | |
| TOTAL | 157 | 39,191 | 40,523 | 13,484 | 14,651 | 29,836 | 15,235 | 8,399 | 24,909 | 796 | 819 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 30,550 | 28,889 | 9,283 | 9,753 | 25,789 | 15,235 | 4,739 | 13,654 | 22 | |
| Renters | 60 | 7,648 | 10,695 | 3,383 | 4,079 | 3,975 | | 3,508 | 10,655 | 105 | |
| Share-croppers | 32 | 993 | 939 | 818 | 819 | 72 | | 152 | | 669 | 819 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | 33,804 | 34,981 | 10,881 | 12,256 | 26,584 | 13,642 | 6,979 | 21,187 | 221 | 151 |
| Negro | 66 | 5,387 | 5,542 | 2,603 | 2,395 | 3,252 | 1,592 | 1,420 | 3,122 | 575 | 668 |

(1) Both owned and leased.

Table 7. Changes in crop acreage and production(1)

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Changes in | | | | | | Home garden acreage |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| | | AAA cotton allotments | Cotton acreage | Corn acreage | Corn yield (2) | Other main crops | Pas-ture land | |
| | | No. | Acres | Acres | Acres | Bu. | Acres | |
| TOTAL | 157 | +322 | +238 | -132 | -325 | +576 | +350 | +1.33 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | +133 | + 58 | -145 | -235 | +142 | + 27 | + .08 |
| Renters | 60 | +171 | +162 | + 47 | - 64 | +433 | +331 | + .25 |
| Share-croppers | 32 | + 17 | + 17 | - 34 | - 26 | + 1 | - 8 | +1.00 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | +319 | +248 | +108 | -185 | +586 | +490 | -1.17 |
| Negro | 66 | + 3 | - 10 | -240 | -140 | - 10 | -139 | +2.50 |

(1) Plus or minus sign indicates increase or decrease

(2) In bushels per acre.

Changes in Farming Operations

It was noted above that no wholesale withdrawal of land from cultivation occurred in the purchase area. Table 6 shows that for the sample of 157 operators both the total land in farms and the total acreage in crops increased: the former by 3.4 percent, the latter by 8.6 percent. This increase was due to a reduction of acreage planted between the 250- and 265-foot elevations and its replacement with slightly larger acreages of less fertile land "up the hill", previously regarded only as plowable pasture. This was encouraged by a desire to achieve the same total yield.

The data on acreages planted to different crops and on corn yield given in table 7 confirm this trend. The cotton allotments are larger because the total area farmed is larger. However, the fact that only two-thirds of the increased allotment was planted indicates a tendency to shift to other crops. The increase in other main crops (such as hay and legumes) bears this out. Similarly, the acreage planted to corn (and the average yield per acre) has decreased; whereas the acreage in pasture and home gardens has increased. Table A, page 45 of the Appendix, also shows that the number of milk cows decreased while the number of beef cattle increased.

Table 8. Changes in economic status

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Change in value of | | Change in total debts | Net Worth | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------|---------|---------|
| | | Farm equipment | Farm buildings | | Before | Now | Change |
| | | Dollars | Dollars | | Dollars | Dollars | Dollars |
| TOTAL | 157 | +11,125 | +30,285 | -37,761 | 711,570 | 711,361 | - 209 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | + 8,990 | +33,025 | -29,481 | 599,635 | 596,229 | - 3,406 |
| Renters | 60 | + 2,530 | - 2,590 | - 8,240 | 106,365 | 110,112 | + 3,747 |
| Share-croppers | 32 | - 395 | - 150 | - 40 | 5,570 | 5,020 | - 550 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | +10,520 | +29,700 | -28,205 | 644,555 | 654,621 | +10,066 |
| Negro | 66 | + 605 | + 585 | - 9,556 | 67,015 | 56,740 | -10,275 |

While these data are neither complete nor wholly reliable, they do show a trend among purchase families toward increased diversification and conservation practices. This is in part due, of course, to the continuing efforts of agricultural workers in the county. It appears likely, however, that among the families studied the indicated replacement of some bottomland with hill land acted to reinforce a general trend.

Equipment and Resources

An attempt was made to find the changes in value of farm equipment and buildings, in debts, and in net worth of the affected families. This was a difficult job and the methods admittedly "rule of thumb." It is felt, however, that the findings are indicative. Table 8 contains a summary of these data. The total value of farm equipment shows a net increase of \$11,125, or about \$92 per family. The greater part of this increase occurred in the owner group. The value of farm buildings increased similarly. The total debts of the group decreased, decreases occurring in all tenure and both racial groups.

Many of the owners used the proceeds from the sale of their land to build new homes and farm buildings, or to improve old ones. New and improved tenant dwellings also added to the value of "owners' " farm buildings. Some of the purchase money likewise went for new equipment. The value of equipment owned by sharecroppers showed a net loss of \$395. Although this is small, it represents 83 percent of the equipment originally owned by this group. Several of this group were renters who lost a crop due to flooding and were forced to sell their stock and tools. The 66 percent reduction in indebtedness is largely explained by the automatic satisfaction of mortgages which accompanied government purchase of encumbered farms. Hence the reduction is largest among the present owners who formerly held the larger tracts.

The change in the total net worth⁽¹²⁾ of the group as a whole is negligible. However, the total net worth of the Negroes decreased about 15 percent, while that of the white group increased 1.5 percent. The Negro decrease is partly accounted for by a reduction in the number of beef cattle, milk cows, and work stock.⁽¹³⁾ The net worth of the renter group shows a small increase of about 3.5 percent. Changes in the other tenure groups are negligible.

These group figures obscure, of course, significant changes in the circumstances of individual families, some of whom increased, whereas others decreased in net worth to an important extent. There is some indication that the financial impact of the purchase program was more unfavorable on those in the lower economic brackets. The reason in general that there was no more change in net worth is that proceeds from the sale of land were largely reinvested in farm assets or used to retire debts or establish savings. Thus they continued to exist as assets approximately equal to the original value. This is a "balancing" operation, however, only if the operator got what he thought his land was worth and if the new land was worth what he paid for it. Some operators did not think that in their cases this was true.⁽¹⁴⁾

(12) Net worth was secured by totaling the value of all assets—land (if owner), equipment, stock, and money—and deducting all indebtedness including mortgages. The value of growing or unmarketed crops was excluded.

(13) See table A in the Appendix, page 45.

(14) Tables B and C in the Appendix, page 45, give further data on changes in economic status and use of purchase money.

Table 9. Changes in average distances from services and institutions(1)

| Race and Tenure | Total operators No. | To nearest neighbor Mi. | To town Mi. | To store Mi. | To gin Mi. | To county seat Mi. | To church Mi. | To grade school Mi. | To high school Mi. | To doctor Mi. | To all-weather road Mi. |
|-----------------|------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| TOTAL | 157 | + .03 | + .97 | + .18 | - .52 | + 7.3 | + .51 | + .04 | + 1.07 | + .32 | - .50 |
| ENURE: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | + .13 | + .48 | + .46 | - .12 | + 5.2 | + .62 | + .21 | + 1.30 | + 1.54 | - .49 |
| Renters | 60 | - .05 | + .23 | + .08 | - 1.12 | + 5.7 | + .54 | - .11 | + .16 | - 1.02 | - .46 |
| Share-croppers | 32 | - .02 | + 3.37 | - .18 | - .20 | + 14.5 | + .20 | - .02 | + 2.40 | + .34 | - .61 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | + .04 | + .75 | + .40 | - .67 | + 7.8 | + .69 | - .08 | + 1.50 | + .41 | - .44 |
| Negro | 66 | + .01 | + 1.29 | - .11 | - .32 | + 6.5 | + .25 | + .21 | + .44 | + .20 | - .58 |

(1) The figures represent the increase or decrease in distance, not the present distance.

Changes in Social Participation

One of the chief interests of this study is the extent to which social organization and family life were disrupted by the purchase program. The second phase of the report deals exclusively with this problem in one of the rural communities left truncated by the reservoir. Here we will see what the effects were among the families directly affected by the purchase program, as shown by the sample of 157 families. Conceivably, an improvement in economic status might be accompanied by adverse effects on facilities for social interaction. Added distances to services and institutions and fewer opportunities for friendly social contacts could cause dissatisfactions for which a larger bank account or ownership of more land would not compensate.

Table 9 shows the average change in the distances which the families must go to obtain various services. For the group as a whole the distances to most services increased slightly although perhaps not significantly. The average distance to town and to the county seat (partly synonymous) has increased appreciably. This is due to the flooding of roads, particularly the one leading from Harmontown north of the river to Oxford. This special case is treated in the next section of the report. Here it should be noted that the distance to towns increased most for the sharecropper group, those with the poorest means of transportation at their command.

The general decrease in distance to an all-weather road, though small, is worth commenting on. The secondary roads in the river bottoms were seldom maintained as efficiently as those "up the hill" because of periodic overflow. Thus the movement from the lowlands to higher elevations brought many of the families to or near graveled roads.

Table 10 shows the number of families who reported change in the frequency of their participation in various activities and the direction of the changes which occurred. These data are based on the recollections of the family heads and were influenced in some cases by their attitudes toward the whole governmental program. This circumstance makes the bias in the direction of overemphasizing the effects of displacement. Within these limitations some idea may be obtained of the changes which resulted. It will be seen that the great majority of families reported no change in their activities. In four of the seven types of participation

studied, over 90 percent of the families reported no change. These four types were attendance at all types of organizations, attendance at farm meetings separately, attendance at movies, and number of days' work exchanged with neighbors. Changes are reported by about 30 percent of the families in monthly church attendance, number of family visits, and trips to town per month.

For those families reporting changes, some increase in the number of visits to town and in movie attendance occurred, the latter following from the former. The increased proximity to all-weather roads and 20 percent increase in the number of autos owned by the group⁽¹⁵⁾ indicate that the purchase program helped bring this about. However, the growing importance of agricultural programs has necessitated increased contact with county agricultural personnel. Also, the purchase itself required considerable travel to Oxford to settle details of title clearance, payments, etc., by former owners. All other changes were decreases. These were largest in the church attendance, family visiting, and work swapping of the white-owner group. How much of this decreased participation among the 10 to 30 percent of families reporting changes was due to the purchase program and how much to general trends typical of most rural areas cannot be determined.⁽¹⁶⁾

It may then be concluded that only slight increases occurred in the distances which the families must travel for goods and services and that the pattern of social participation of most families was little affected by the purchase program.

Attitudes and Opinions

In addition to the more objective facts already presented about displaced families, it was thought important to obtain a personal evaluation of the displacement and adjustment experience from the families themselves. This was done by asking the family head during the latter part of the interview what the chief problems were which his family had faced, whether or not he felt they had been fairly treated, if unfairly in what way, and whether they felt themselves better or worse off than before,

(15) Table C in the Appendix, page 45.

(16) See table D in the Appendix, page 46 for participation in public affairs.

Table 10. Social participation

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Total organizations attended | | | Monthly church attendance | | | Yearly farm meetings attended | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| | | Re- mained same | Aver- age now | Aver- age change | Re- mained same | Aver- age now | Aver- age change | Re- mained same | Aver- age now | Aver- age change |
| | | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| TOTAL | 157 | 141 | 1.49 | -.08 | 117 | 2.05 | -.30 | 140 | 1.59 | -.07 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 57 | 1.65 | -.18 | 48 | 2.08 | -.31 | 56 | 2.29 | -.14 |
| Renters | 60 | 54 | 1.52 | -.03 | 44 | 1.92 | -.38 | 52 | 1.60 | -.03 |
| Share- croppers | 32 | 30 | 1.12 | -.06 | 25 | 2.25 | -.12 | 32 | .62 | |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | 78 | 1.64 | -.13 | 62 | 1.80 | -.45 | 75 | 2.42 | -.08 |
| Negro | 66 | 63 | 1.29 | | 55 | 2.39 | -.09 | 65 | .68 | -.06 |

Table 11. Operators' problems after displacement

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Most difficult problem | | | | | | | No problem |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|---|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--|-----------|------------|
| | | To find other suitable location | To find good land | To find land within price range able to pay | To find satisfactory landlord | Physical problem of moving | Tear down and rebuild house or buildings | All other | |
| | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| TOTAL | 157 | 39 | 10 | 6 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 13 | 69 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 25 | 2 | 5 | | | 2 | 7 | 24 |
| Renters | 60 | 11 | 6 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 27 |
| Sharecroppers | 32 | 3 | 2 | | 1 | 5 | | 3 | 18 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | 30 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 36 |
| Negro | 66 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 33 |

and why. The unusual opportunity to "unburden" one's self to a government representative under a pledge of anonymity seemed to produce uninhibited discussion. While many answers were biased and emotional, all together serve to give a rough indication of the opinions and feelings of the families affected.

Table 11 classifies the answers to the question "What was the most difficult problem you had to face?" Of the 157 family heads, 44 percent reported they had had no difficult problem in connection with the displacement. The percentage among those answering "No difficult problem" was highest among sharecroppers and Negroes, lowest among present owners. It was noted above that most croppers stayed with their landlords in the same relationship; thus little adjustment was required. The chief problem mentioned by this group was the physical task of moving. However, the reticence of Negroes accounts for part of these apparently "favorable" reactions. The most frequent complaint of the owners was their difficulty in finding another suitable location. Most important to the renters reporting difficulties were finding a suitable location and finding good land, which in many cases were synonymous.

Table 10. Social participation (continued)

| Family visits per month | | | Trips to town per month | | | Movies per month | | | Average days work exchanged | | |
|-------------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------|----------------|------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| Remained same | Average now | Average change | Remained same | Average n-w | Average change | Remained same | Average ncw | Average change | Remained same | Average ncw | Average change |
| No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| 112 | 4.55 | -.72 | 116 | 3.57 | +.27 | 145 | .68 | +.06 | 141 | 3.69 | -.48 |
| 40 | 4.09 | -1.38 | 52 | 4.23 | +.41 | 63 | .65 | +.03 | 58 | 2.52 | -1.17 |
| 45 | 4.98 | -.45 | 38 | 3.58 | +.30 | 51 | .87 | +.10 | 53 | 4.82 | -.17 |
| 27 | 4.66 | +.13 | 26 | 2.19 | -.09 | 31 | .37 | +.03 | 30 | 3.97 | +.31 |
| 60 | 4.45 | -.95 | 61 | 4.46 | +.47 | 80 | 1.05 | +.09 | 77 | 4.20 | -.94 |
| 52 | 4.68 | -.41 | 55 | 2.33 | -.02 | 65 | .15 | +.02 | 64 | 3.00 | +.15 |

Table 12 shows the number of operators who felt they had been fairly or unfairly treated by the purchasing agency. Only 96 replied to the question, the rest being renters or croppers who had little direct contact with the federal authorities. Of these, 53 felt they had been fairly treated, 43 that they had not. There are, however, interesting differences between the tenure and racial groups. A majority of the present owners felt they had been unfairly treated, while a large majority of present renters and sharecroppers felt they were fairly treated. The white operators were about equally divided in opinion, but only a third of the Negroes reported unfair treatment. Here again the response of a Negro to a white interviewer must be considered in interpreting the answers. It must not be thought that the 53 persons reporting fair treatment were necessarily in sympathy with the purchase program or that they had no difficulties and complaints. One may conclude, however, that 55 percent of those replying to the question felt they had not been subjected to discrimination, partiality, or unethical procedures by the federal representatives.

Table 13 summarizes the 62 reasons why the 43 operators felt they were treated unfairly. Most of them fall into 10 categories. The most frequently mentioned complaints were a delay in payment of the purchase price, and a purchase price which was considered too low. As soon as the sales agreement was signed, the Government assumed all the rights of ownership. However, payment was not made until the legal title was cleared by carrying the abstract back to the original Indian owners. At the time of the study, late 1941, several sellers had not yet received payment, and many reported that their payments had been delayed two to three years. No interest was paid on the purchase price from the time the land was relinquished for government use until final payment was made.

Former owners were asked, point blank, if they thought they had received a fair price for their land. Forty-seven (47) percent said that they had not. The average per acre price paid by the Government for the entire 98,000 acres (the sample families account for an estimated 26,200) was \$18.25. The average value of farm land per acre (including buildings) was \$13.43 in 1940 for Lafayette County as a whole.⁽¹⁷⁾ Neither of these figures is completely applicable to the sample families. The Tallahatchie

(17) Mississippi Census, 1940 (Agriculture), 1st Series.

Table 12. Operators' opinion of treatment by Government

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Fairly treated by Government? | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|-----|------------|
| | | Yes | No | No opinion |
| | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| TOTAL | 157 | 53 | 43 | 1 |
| TENURE: | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 26 | 36 | 1 |
| Renters | 60 | 18 | 6 | - |
| Sharecroppers | 32 | 9 | 1 | - |
| RACE: | | | | |
| White | 91 | 32 | 31 | 1 |
| Negro | 66 | 21 | 12 | - |

Table 13. Reasons for feeling unfairly treated by Government

| Race and Tenure | Total reporting "unfair treatment" | Delay in payment | Misrepresentation by Gov't. | Pressure through threat of condemnation | Price too low | Discrimination by Gov't. representatives | Policy regarding timber not clearly defined | Destruction of crops | Destruction of fences | Destruction of Gov't. purchase entire tract | Broken promises of Gov't. representatives | All other |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|---|---------------|--|---|----------------------|-----------------------|---|---|-----------|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| TOTAL | 43 | 17 | 4 | 9 | 16 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 36 | 15 | 4 | 9 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Renters | 6 | 1 | ... | ... | 2 | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| Share-croppers | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 32 | 12 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| Negro | 12 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 6 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 13. Reasons given by operators for feeling unfairly treated by Government

| Race and Tenure | Total operators reporting "worse off" | Worse off financially | Working less land | Working poorer land | Less opportunity for making money | Insecurity of leasing arrangement | Inconvenience of community services | Greater distance to center | Displacement from old home | Sale price unsatisfactory | Took all good land | All other |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| TOTAL | 67 | 7 | 6 | 21 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 41 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 38 | 6 | 4 | 13 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 6 | 21 |
| Renters | 21 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 1 | ... | 1 | ... | 1 | 15 |
| Share-croppers | 8 | ... | ... | 3 | 1 | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 5 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 40 | 7 | 3 | 11 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 25 |
| Negro | 27 | ... | 3 | 10 | 3 | 3 | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | 4 | 16 |

bottomland is some of the best in the county. Indeed, the Government paid over \$60 per acre for some of it. The validity of the contention that the price was too low will be considered in the Conclusion.

Third in importance as a reason for feeling unfairly treated was what may be called "pressure through threat of condemnation." This was expressed in many ways but most simply by those who said, "There just wasn't anything I could do about it." It was felt that the purchase program was begun without their consent and proceeded inexorably regardless of public and individual opinion. Owners were asked to set a price on their land. Appraisers countered with lower offers and endeavored to reach a compromise. When, as frequently happened, negotiations reached an impasse, all that was needed to secure an agreement was to mention the only alternative—condemnation. Many former owners stated that regardless of the price actually received, and even when the opportunity to sell was not unwelcome, they were conscious of a feeling of resentment at their helplessness in the situation.

A few persons mentioned misrepresentation of facts by federal representatives and the destruction of crops and fences by construction workers as additional reasons for resentment. Other widely scattered reasons were given. The fact that two-thirds of all complaints fall under the first three categories discussed above would indicate that these were of primary importance in the minds of those operators who felt unfairly treated.

All of the 157 interviewees were asked, "Do you feel that you are now better off, about the same, or worse off than before the purchase program?" and "Why?" Table 14 gives the answers to the first question. About 17 percent of the total group felt that they were better off. Forty (40) percent said they considered their general condition about the same. A slightly larger percent, 43, stated they were worse off than formerly.

Over half of those who thought they had benefited from the program are former owners who are now renting. They gave three main reasons, all economic. Some just stated they were "better off financially"; whereas others said that their present rental (government) was less than taxes had previously been or that they had paid off large mortgages. The majority (59 percent) of those who are now owners felt that they were worse

Table 14. Operators' opinions of their present status

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | | Better than formerly | | Present status about the same | | Worse than formerly | |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------|----------------------|---------|-------------------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|
| | No. | Percent | No. | Percent | No. | Percent | No. | Percent |
| TOTAL | 156 | | 26 | 16.7 | 63 | 40.4 | 67 | 42.8 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 64 | | 8 | 12.5 | 18 | 28.2 | 38 | 59.2 |
| Renters | 60 | | 15 | 25.0 | 24 | 40.0 | 21 | 35.0 |
| Sharecroppers | 32 | | 3 | 9.4 | 21 | 65.6 | 8 | 25.0 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | |
| White | 90 | | 17 | 18.9 | 33 | 36.7 | 40 | 44.4 |
| Negro | 66 | | 9 | 13.6 | 30 | 45.5 | 27 | 40.9 |

off, with the sharecroppers midway between the other two groups. There is no great difference between the answers of white and Negro families. These figures seem to indicate that former owners who bought new farms or new land to go with part of their old ones felt more severely the impact of the purchase program than did those former owners who, freed of debt, are renting back "their land" from the Government.

Table 15 gives the reasons advanced by those who felt that they were worse off as a result of the purchase program. Sixty-seven operators mentioned 106 different complaints, two-thirds of which can be classified under 10 headings. The most frequent reason was that they were now "working poorer land." This was also mentioned by many who reported their general status "about the same." Related to this complaint were others frequently mentioned: "the Government took all the good land" and "less opportunity for making money." Next most frequently mentioned was just plain "worse off financially"; and, in explanation of that, "unsatisfactory sale price." Last of the economic reasons was "insecurity of present leasing arrangement." Three non-economic reasons were offered by a few: "displacement from old home", "inconvenience of present community services," and "greater distance to trade center." There are no important differences between the answers of the various tenure and racial groups.

Summary

About 40 to 50 percent of all the families who lived on land purchased by the Federal Government for the Sardis Reservoir are included in this sample of 157. Their sales of land account for about 26,000 of the 98,000 acres purchased. The family heads were interviewed to find out any changes in farm operation, economic status, and family activity which had occurred. They were also asked to tell the major problems they had had to face and their attitudes toward these problems and the purchase program as a whole.

Approximately two-thirds of the families had changed residence. For many of these the move was to higher elevation on the same farm unit. Eighty-nine (89) percent of all moves were within the same community or to another community (often an adjoining one) in the same county. There was only minor movement (11 percent of all families) out of the original county. About 25 percent of the operators changed their tenure status. About half of these, 13 percent of the total, "declined" in status. Practically all the changes from owner to renter are cases in which the previous owner is leasing "his land" from the Government and operating it practically as before. Thus much of the "decline" in tenure status is of little significance.

About 43 percent of those interviewed had sold land to the Government. The average gross amount received was \$8,540, and slightly less than 40 percent of the farms were mortgaged. The average selling price was \$18.25 per acre. About 25 percent of the operators, 59 percent of those who had sold farms, purchased new land, practically all within their county of residence. The average purchase price was \$17.69 per acre. Much of the land so purchased was of poorer quality and less productive, and was bought at a somewhat inflated price.

The total land farmed and in crops by the 157 operators has increased

slightly. This increase is chiefly due to the danger of cultivating some (a small percentage) of the bottomland now in the purchase area and its replacement with a larger acreage of less fertile hill land. This change was accompanied by a slight loss in productivity and by some changes in type of crops grown. Corn acreage declined; a smaller proportion of larger cotton allotments was actually planted; more hay and legumes were planted; and more beef cattle raised. Cotton and corn productivity declined. The purchase program seems to have accelerated for these operators the trend toward diversification already under way in the area.

A comparison of the economic resources of the operators now and before the purchase program shows that the value of their farm equipment has increased 17 percent; and the value of their farm buildings, 33 percent; whereas their debts have decreased approximately 66 percent. The total net worth of the operators remains practically unchanged, although there are numerous cases of large individual changes. The Negro group particularly have suffered a considerable reduction in net worth partly because of a decline in number of livestock owned, and partly because of lowered returns from sharecropping less productive land. The economic status of the operators as a whole may be said to have been little affected by the purchase program.

The social participation of the families was somewhat affected in a few instances. The average distance traveled for most activities increased slightly. This increase was particularly true for families in one or two areas now partly isolated by the reservoir. The average family is now closer to an all-weather road, though farther from the county seat than before. Only 10 to 30 percent of the families reported any change in the frequency of their participation in various activities. For these, a majority of whom are white owners, there was some decrease in the frequency with which they attended church, swapped work, and visited neighbors. However, there was an increase in the number of visits to town per month. Not shown is the extent to which different stores, churches, schools, etc., are now patronized.

About 45 percent of the operators reported that the purchase program did not cause them any difficult problem of adjustment. About two-thirds of the owners, however, listed difficult problems they had to face. Of those operators who had had direct dealing with federal representatives, the former owners, 45 percent felt they had not been fairly treated. While the white operators were about equally divided in opinion, only a third of the Negroes felt unfairly treated. More present owners mentioned unfair treatment than other tenure groups. The main complaint was the delay in payment after the Government took possession and while the title was being cleared. Although the delay was two to three years on the average, no interest was paid. Other complaints were that the purchase price was too low (made by 47 percent) and that the threat of condemnation was used.

About one-sixth felt they were better off as a result of the purchase program either because of better financial circumstances, relief from taxes, or the retirement of mortgages. Most of this group were former owners now renting government land. About 40 percent of the group reported their condition "about the same," while the remaining 43 percent maintained they were definitely "worse off." Over half of those so reporting

are present owners. Economic reasons were the main ones given for feeling "worse off." Most frequently mentioned were that they were working poorer land, were working less land, and had less opportunity to make money.

An evaluation of the validity of these and other complaints made by local people is reserved for section one of the Conclusion.

IV. Community and Institutional Adjustments ⁽¹⁸⁾

This section of the study deals with the effects of the reservoir and purchase program on the neighborhood, community, and institutional relationships of the area adjacent to the reservoir. What happens to neighborhoods and communities when some of their members move out? How are churches and schools affected? What happens to existing trade, service, and "neighboring" activities?

The time and money allotted for field work suggested an intensive study of a small area and population. After visits and talks with local leaders in all parts of the reservoir area, the northwest corner of Lafayette County, known as the Harmontown community, was selected. The impact of the program here was midway between slight and extreme, except for the flooding of its main road connection with Oxford.

The Harmontown area had been delineated for the Land Use Planning Program as a community comprising three neighborhoods. About equidistant from three county seat trade centers and having some sense of local unity, the area is justifiably considered a country community.⁽¹⁹⁾ It centers mainly on the hamlet of Harmontown which gives its name to one of the neighborhoods as well as to the whole community.⁽²⁰⁾ Here is located an excellent general store, well managed with up-to-date stock from groceries to farm machinery and furniture; a gin; a grist mill; two small furnish stores; a filling station that handles some groceries plus cold drinks, ice cream, etc.; and a barber-shop, open Saturdays only. The Harmontown Baptist Church is also located here.⁽²¹⁾ One mile south, the Free Springs Methodist Church is the single objective focus of the neighborhood by that name. A Negro Free Springs Church (Methodist) and a one-teacher elementary school are the center of the Free Springs Negro neighborhood, which also includes the Negroes living in Harmontown (white) neighborhood. The Perkins School (elementary and high school) takes its name from that neighborhood, but serves the entire community. Across the road is the Oak Grove (Christian) Church; and one and one-half miles south, the New Hope Baptist Church.⁽²²⁾ At the

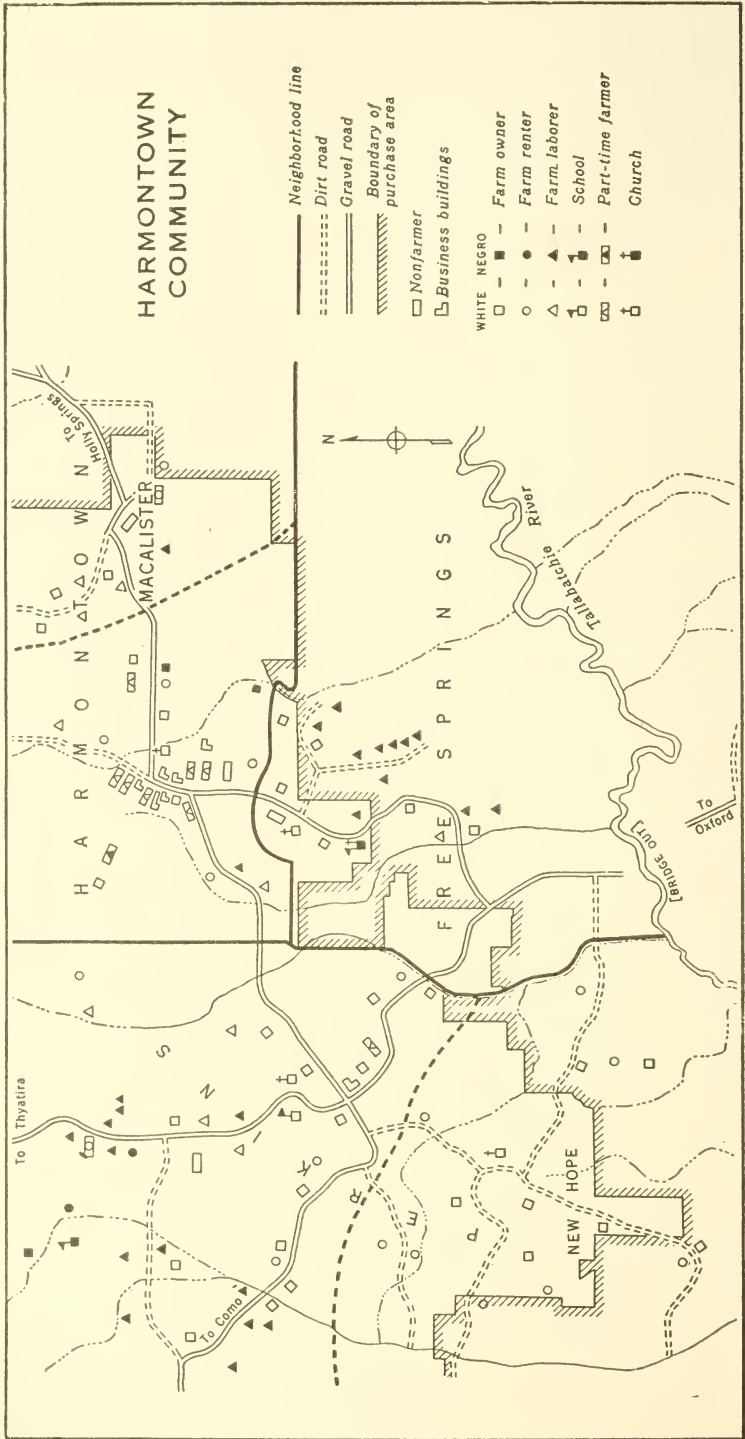
(18) The field work upon which this section is based was financed in part by a grant-in-aid of research from the Social Science Research Council to the Station representative. He wishes to make grateful acknowledgment of this assistance.

(19) Sanderson, *Social Areas of Otsego County*, Cornell Agr. Expt. Sta. Bulletin No. 422, p. 28. An area with less than complete services, distinguished from the town-country or "rurban" community. The term neighborhood is used in this section to refer to a small group of country families in more or less intimate "neighboring" relationship with each other.

(20) See map, page 24. Hereafter, the phrase "at Harmontown" will refer to the hamlet; "in Harmontown", to the whole community, and "Harmontown neighborhood", to that subdivision.

(21) Ten families in the extreme eastern part of Harmontown neighborhood make up an area once known as MacAlister neighborhood, integrated around a one-room school long since abandoned.

(22) This, with a now abandoned elementary school, was once the center of a neighborhood by that name, and the families of this area still retain some feeling of separateness from Perkins as a whole.



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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Figure 2. Harmontown Community

crossroads just south of the school are a store and grist mill recently moved (because of the reservoir) from a location in Free Springs on the (old) road to Oxford. In the northwest corner of Perkins, is another one-teacher Negro school, Rush. It seems to be a subordinate center in a Negro neighborhood, most of which lies in Panola County.

An attempt was made to interview all families in Harmontown. It is believed that four families, two white and two Negro, were all that were missed. A schedule ⁽²³⁾ (see Appendix pages 51 to 53) was taken from 112 family heads. Table 16 shows the distribution of these families by neighborhood and race. It will be noted that although Negroes compose about one-third of the total they are concentrated in Free Springs and the northern part of Perkins. Indeed, Negro families are a majority in Free Springs. This racial distribution should be remembered in interpreting the data to follow.

Two main types of information were sought. First, the interviewee's opinions were obtained on what, if any, effect the purchase program had had on the activities of his family and his neighborhood. Second, a "before and after" picture of his family's trade, service, and "neighboring" activities was obtained. In addition, general information was secured in informal conversations. Proprietors of all businesses in the area, representatives of all churches, and a teacher or board member of the schools were visited. Other data were supplied by the county agents and the county superintendent of education.

Local Opinion of Effects of Reservoir Program

How Were Families Affected? Each family head interviewed was asked if the activities of his family had been in any way changed by the purchase program and the reservoir. He was asked to select one of six answers: YES, meaning changes neither helpful nor harmful; HELPED; HURT; BOTH, meaning changes some helpful, some harmful; NO CHANGE; and DON'T KNOW. The answers obtained to this question represent the experiences of families as interpreted by them. They are

(23) This schedule served a double purpose. It was also used to gather data for a theoretical analysis of community relationships which is being made separately.

Table 16. Number of families in each neighborhood, by race

| Neighborhoods | Negro | White | Total |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | No. | No. | No. |
| Perkins (total) | 15 | 40 | 55 |
| North part | 15 | 25 | 40 |
| New Hope | | 15 | 15 |
| Harmontown (total) | 7 | 26 | 33 |
| Harmontown | 5 | 18 | 23 |
| MacAlister | 2 | 8 | 10 |
| Free Springs | 14 | 10 | 24 |
| | — | — | — |
| Total | 36 | 76 | 112 |

Table 17. Number of families reporting changes, by neighborhood

| Change | Perkins | | Harmontown | | Free Springs | | Total | |
|------------|---------|-------|------------|-------|--------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| Yes | 1 | 1.4 | 1 | 3.0 | 2 | 8.3 | 4 | 3.6 |
| Hurt | 9 | 16.7 | 13 | 39.4 | 6 | 25.0 | 28 | 25.0 |
| No change | 45 | 81.9 | 19 | 57.6 | 15 | 62.5 | 79 | 70.5 |
| Don't know | | | | | 1 | 4.2 | 1 | 0.9 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 33 | 100.0 | 24 | 100.0 | 112 | 100.0 |

Table 18. Number of families reporting changes, by race

| Change | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| Yes | | | 4 | 5.3 | 4 | 3.6 |
| Hurt | 3 | 8.5 | 25 | 32.9 | 28 | 25.0 |
| No change | 32 | 88.7 | 47 | 61.8 | 79 | 70.5 |
| Don't know | 1 | 2.8 | | | 1 | 0.9 |
| Total | 36 | 100.0 | 76 | 100.0 | 112 | 100.0 |

Table 19. Number of families reporting changes by occupation

| Change | Owners | | Renters | | Laborers | | Non-farmers* | | Total |
|------------|--------|-------|---------|-------|----------|-------|--------------|-----|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | No. | |
| Yes | 2 | 4.7 | 2 | 9.1 | | | | 4 | 3.5 |
| Hurt | 15 | 34.9 | 5 | 22.7 | 3 | 7.7 | 5 | 28 | 25.0 |
| No change | 26 | 60.4 | 15 | 68.2 | 35 | 89.7 | 3 | 79 | 70.5 |
| Don't know | | | | | 1 | 2.6 | | 1 | 0.9 |
| Total | 43 | 100.0 | 22 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 8 | 112 | 100.0 |

*Percentages are not given where total number of cases is very small.

what people **think** has happened to them. Tables 17, 18, and 19 display the answers, arranged by neighborhood, race, and occupation.

Approximately 30 percent reported their family life affected one way or another. None said they were helped; 25 percent said their family life had been hurt; and 4 persons reported changes which they were unable or unwilling to describe as either helpful or harmful. The percentage of families reporting changes was lowest in Perkins (17 percent), highest in Harmontown (40 percent). Only 3 out of 36 Negro families reported changes of any kind, all harmful. On the other hand, approximately 33 percent of the white families reported adverse changes. How much of this difference is due to a differing impact of the project on the races and how much to reporting errors is hard to assess. Five of the eight non-farm families reported their family life adversely affected. Of the farm groups, 35 percent of the owners, 23 percent of the renters, and 8 percent of the laborers⁽²⁴⁾ so reported. It should be noted that 30 of the 39 laborers are Negro.

Those persons who had noted changes in family life were then asked to specify the nature of the change. Table 20 displays the answers. Only the changes thought "harmful" are listed. Twenty-eight (28) persons reported 32 such changes. Ten persons, the largest number, said they had been adversely affected by the closing of the high school⁽²⁵⁾ and consequent transportation of their children into an adjoining community to school. Eight persons mentioned that they had changed their farming operations. Because they sold their bottomland to the Government, they now had to rent it back on a year-to-year basis or replace it with larger acreages of hill land. Other families felt that they had been disadvantaged by churches suspending or curtailing activities, going farther to trade now that the direct road to Oxford was closed, losing close

(24) Owners and part owners are grouped together. Non-owners who direct (within the terms of their lease) their operations are classed as renters—whether they pay cash, standing, or share rent. Day hands, sharecroppers, and so-called share tenants (where they are closely supervised by real operators) are classed together as laborers. See Smith, *Sociology of Rural Life*, 1940, pp. 266-270.

(25) Seventeen families reported they had children in high school.

Table 20. Harmful family changes reported

| Change | Families | |
|---------------|----------|------|
| | No. | Pct. |
| High school | 10 | 35.7 |
| Farming | 8 | 28.6 |
| Kinfolks | 4 | 14.3 |
| Roads-Trade | 3 | 10.7 |
| Business | 3 | 10.7 |
| Church | 2 | 7.1 |
| Moved | 2 | 7.1 |
| Total persons | 28 | * |

*Since some persons listed more than one change, the percentages do not equal 100.

touch with relatives who had left the community, having their store or other non-agricultural business hurt, and being forced to move. The figures are too small to reveal significant race or occupational differences.

How Were Neighborhoods Affected? Each interviewee was also asked what changes, if any, the Government project had caused in the life and activities of his neighborhood.⁽²⁶⁾ He was first given the same

(26) The answers below will make apparent the fact that the interviewees answered this question with both their own neighborhood and the community as a whole in mind.

Table 21. Number reporting neighborhood changes, by neighborhoods

| Change | Perkins | | Harmontown | | Free Springs | | Total | |
|------------|---------|-------|------------|-------|--------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| Yes | 1 | 1.4 | 4 | 12.2 | 5 | 20.8 | 10 | 8.9 |
| Hurt | 50 | 91.0 | 27 | 81.8 | 6 | 25.0 | 83 | 74.1 |
| No change | 4 | 7.6 | 2 | 6.0 | 12 | 50.0 | 18 | 16.1 |
| Don't know | | | | | 1 | 4.2 | 1 | 0.9 |
| Total | 55 | 100.0 | 33 | 100.0 | 24 | 100.0 | 112 | 100.0 |

Table 22. Number reporting neighborhood changes, by race

| Change | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| Yes | 3 | 8.5 | 7 | 9.2 | 10 | 8.9 |
| Hurt | 14 | 38.9 | 69 | 90.8 | 83 | 74.1 |
| No change | 18 | 49.8 | | | 18 | 16.1 |
| Don't know | 1 | 2.8 | | | 1 | 0.9 |
| Total | 36 | 100.0 | 76 | 100.0 | 112 | 100.0 |

Table 23. Number reporting neighborhood changes, by occupation

| Change | Owners | | Renters | | Laborers | | Non-farmers | Total | |
|------------|--------|-------|---------|-------|----------|-------|-------------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | No. | Pct. |
| Yes | 4 | 9.4 | 2 | 9.1 | 33 | 7.7 | 1 | 10 | 8.9 |
| Hurt | 38 | 88.3 | 19 | 86.4 | 19 | 48.7 | 7 | 83 | 74.1 |
| No change | 1 | 2.3 | 1 | 4.5 | 16 | 41.0 | | 18 | 16.1 |
| Don't know | | | | | 1 | 2.6 | | 1 | 0.9 |
| Total | 43 | 100.0 | 22 | 100.0 | 39 | 100.0 | 8 | 112 | 100.0 |

six choices as above, and then asked to specify. Tables 21, 22, and 23 display the answers by neighborhood, race, and occupation. Only 16 percent of those interviewed said there had been no change in neighborhood life. Approximately 75 percent said their neighborhood had been adversely affected. The percentage so reporting was highest in Perkins (91 percent), especially in New Hope along the reservoir edge, where 100 percent of the respondents said the neighborhood had been "hurt." Fewest changes were reported in Free Springs. There, 50 percent said "No change", while 25 percent reported harmful changes. Free Springs borders the reservoir, as does New Hope, but has a higher percentage of Negro population. All of the white interviewees said some change in neighborhood life had occurred. Ninety (90) percent thought it was for the worse. Only about half of the Negroes said there had been some change; 39 percent said it had been harmful. Here again is doubt as to the meaning of this racial difference. We do not know whether: there was little harm to Negro activities; Negroes were not aware of changes that had occurred; or they were afraid or unwilling to so report.⁽²⁷⁾ A large percentage of the farm owners and renters, together with nonfarmers, reported adverse effects to the neighborhood. Percentages ranged from 85 percent to 90 percent. About half the farm croppers and day hands, most of whom are Negro, said neighborhood life had been "hurt." Forty-one percent of the laborers said there had been no change in neighborhood life, while negligible numbers of owners and renters and no nonfarmers so stated.

The local residents interviewed were also asked to list the specific changes in neighborhood activities they thought had occurred. Since the majority of changes were thought to be harmful, only such answers are given. Tables 24 and 25 give the harmful changes reported by 83 persons, classified by race and occupation.

Church, school, and trade (including road abandonment) were mentioned most frequently. Approximately 81 percent of the 83 persons said the churches had been "hurt." Loss of the financial and "moral" support of leading members who moved was said to have forced the churches to discontinue services or to carry on the same or inferior services with increased burdens on remaining members. Seventy-seven (77) percent said schools were adversely affected. The preponderance of these were white persons who referred to loss of the high school with the attendant transportation problems mentioned above. Fifty-three percent mentioned changes in roads within the community and especially between it and the county seat, with consequent hardships and dislocations in trade relations. Some reported poorer local roads, especially in New Hope along the reservoir. About 34 percent made the general complaint that "lots of people had to move away." Other changes mentioned by from 1 to 5 persons were: Harm to farming operations, harm

(27) Nor do we yet know the extent to which white and Negro persons feel attachment to the same or to different locality groups. Negroes may "belong" to (that is, have certain consciously recognized relationships in) a white dominated neighborhood. Or, they may be aware of the fact that they have a different and separate neighborhood group of their own. Or, they may "belong" to a white dominated and a Negro neighborhood group at the same time. These, and other situations will probably be found to vary by locality—depending on type of farming and tenure institutions, percentage of Negroes in total population, etc. Observation suggests that "neighborhood" is a two-way affair for Harmontown Negroes. Trade relationships give them participation in community activities. In the economic, personal, and dependency relationships of farming they are part of the pattern of the "white" neighborhoods. And in addition, church, school, and informal sociability are the bases for a purely Negro group. If this is so, it is not clear to which neighborhood Negroes have referred in the above question.

Table 24. Harmful neighborhood changes reported, by race

| Change | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|------------------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| Church | 11 | 78.6 | 56 | 81.2 | 67 | 80.7 |
| School | 3 | 21.4 | 61 | 88.4 | 64 | 77.1 |
| Roads-Trade | 7 | 50.0 | 37 | 53.6 | 44 | 53.0 |
| People moved | 4 | 28.6 | 24 | 34.8 | 28 | 33.7 |
| Farming | --- | --- | 5 | 7.2 | 5 | 6.0 |
| Business | 1 | 7.1 | 4 | 5.8 | 5 | 6.0 |
| Lost neighbors | --- | --- | 2 | 2.9 | 2 | 2.4 |
| Loss of tax base | --- | --- | 1 | 1.4 | 1 | 1.2 |
| Total persons | 14 | --- | 69 | --- | 83 | --- |

Table 25. Harmful neighborhood changes reported, by occupation

| Change | Owners | | Renters | | Laborers | | Non-farmers Number | Total | |
|------------------|--------|------|---------|------|----------|------|-----------------------|-------|------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | | No. | Pct. |
| Church | 32 | 84.2 | 15 | 78.9 | 15 | 78.9 | 5 | 67 | 80.7 |
| School | 35 | 92.1 | 15 | 78.9 | 8 | 42.1 | 6 | 64 | 77.1 |
| Roads-Trade | 21 | 55.3 | 10 | 52.6 | 9 | 47.4 | 4 | 44 | 53.0 |
| People moved | 11 | 29.0 | 7 | 36.8 | 7 | 36.8 | 3 | 28 | 33.7 |
| Farming | 2 | 5.3 | --- | --- | 1 | 5.3 | 2 | 5 | 6.0 |
| Business | 4 | 10.5 | --- | --- | --- | --- | 1 | 5 | 6.0 |
| Lost neighbors | 2 | 5.3 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 2 | 2.4 |
| Loss of tax base | 1 | 2.6 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 1 | 1.2 |
| Total persons | 38 | --- | 19 | --- | 19 | --- | 7 | 83 | --- |

to local nonfarm business, loss of tax base, and loss of neighbors.

White and Negro families differed in the indicated order in the importance of these changes. Among Negroes, effects on the church are most often mentioned (by 78 percent) with trading difficulties second (50 percent). A few persons mentioned general loss of population and harmful effects to elementary schools.⁽²⁸⁾ In contrast, loss of the high school was the most frequently mentioned change by white persons (88 percent), with churches second (81 percent), trading difficulties third (54 percent), and loss of population fourth (35 percent). The occupational differences are probably not significant, with race held constant.

(28) There is no Negro high school in the community. No Negro family reported children in high school.

Neighborhood and Community Changes

The preceding section has presented what local people think are the changes, especially harmful changes, produced by the reservoir purchase program in the neighborhoods of Harmontown. By means of the schedule, interviews with local leaders and use of data available in agency offices as much information as possible was gathered on these and other aspects of community life. These facts are presented here. Their implications, any evaluations, are postponed to the Conclusion.

Loss of Population. How many persons left Harmontown as a result of the dam? The study provides two clues to an answer. Each person interviewed was asked to name the families with whom his family "neighbored" at present. "Neighboring" was described, not as living close together necessarily, but as based on social visiting, borrowing, swapping work, and mutual aid. In addition, he was asked to name all the families with whom he neighbored **before** the purchase program got under way. The years 1935-36 were used as this reference point. With this information two maps were constructed showing every dwelling in the community and the name and race of the occupant in both years. At the time of the field work there were 132 residence structures in the community. Seventeen were vacant, and one house had two families living together. Thus 116 families were identified, 112 of whom were interviewed. Ninety-four families were living in the same houses both years. Of the 38 houses on which the 2 maps differed, 4 were vacant in 1935-36 but occupied in 1941, whereas 21 were vacant in 1941 but occupied in 1935-36. This leads to the conclusion that there were approximately 17 fewer families after the reservoir was filled than before its construction. The present families average 3.97 members each. At this rate, 17 families would be from 65 to 70 persons.

A further analysis was attempted. The names of the families on the two maps were compared. There were 30 families on the 1935-36 map who could not be found there in 1941. Thus it would appear that in the 5-year interval approximately 30 families left the community. What part of this movement was due to Government purchase of land and what to "normal" emigration is not known. All the movement was not forced by the purchase program, since 14 new families moved in during the same period. The net loss of 16 families agrees with the figures suggested above. Due to errors of reporting, suspected particularly with regard to Negroes, these figures represent underestimates. A net loss of 20 to 25 families—15 white and 5 or more Negro⁽²⁹⁾ seems a reasonable estimate. This would represent a total decrease of roughly 15 percent. Since the average family size in 1941 was 3.83 for white and 4.28 for Negro, the loss would be about 55 to 60 white persons and 30 to 35 Negroes, a total of 85 to 95 persons.

The effects of loss of population on the school, churches, and local business will be treated below. Here, however, the interest is in the less obvious effects on inter-personal relationships. In informal interviews, many persons mentioned "the loss of lifelong neighbors" with regret. The schedule contained data to show how many and what families had fewer neighbors in 1941 than in 1935-36. Table 26 contains this informa-

(29) Of the 30 families who left, 7 were Negro and 23 white. Of the 14 new families, 4 were Negro and 10 white.

tion. No Negro family reported fewer neighbors in 1941. One reported an increase. It is possible that some reporting error is involved here due to misunderstanding or reticence on the part of Negro interviewees. However, the net loss of families (as estimated above) was a smaller percent of Negro than of white families—12 to 20 percent. Forty-one (41) percent of the 70 white families reporting neighbors in both years said that they had fewer in 1941. Three reported more neighbors. Fifty-four (54) percent reported the same number. These data are based on recollection. Since the errors are probably those of understatement, it is reasonably assumed that slightly less than half of the white families in the community lost neighbors during the last 5 years, largely due to the purchase program. Table 27 indicates that two-thirds of the white families lost only one or two neighbor families. Forty-two percent lost only one. The largest losses reported were seven and eight, mentioned by one person each. This dislocation in the "neighboring" patterns⁽³⁰⁾ of the white neighborhoods was concentrated in the New Hope part of Perkins and in Free Springs. Several of the families, particularly in Free Springs, were

(30) No attempt has been made to treat any but the net loss of neighbors. From the data, however, it would be possible to see to what extent the loss of neighbors who moved was made up for by initiating such relationships with old residents and ones just moved into the community. Anyone wishing to make this analysis can secure the raw data by writing to the Station representative.

Table 26. Changes in number of neighbors per family (1936-41)

| Race | Stayed same | | Increased | | Decreased | | Total | |
|-------|-------------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| Negro | 31 | 96.9 | 1 | 3.1 | — | — | 32 | 100.0 |
| White | 38 | 54.3 | 3 | 4.3 | 29 | 41.4 | 70 | 100.0 |
| Total | 69 | 67.7 | 4 | 3.9 | 29 | 28.4 | 102* | 100.0 |

*Note: Ten families, new residents, did not report neighbors in 1936.

Table 27. Number of neighbors lost by white families

| Number of neighbors lost | Families | |
|--------------------------|----------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. |
| 1 | 12 | 41.5 |
| 2 | 7 | 24.2 |
| 3 | 3 | 10.3 |
| 4 | 3 | 10.3 |
| 5 | 2 | 6.9 |
| 6 | — | — |
| 7 | 1 | 3.4 |
| 8 | 1 | 3.4 |
| Total | 29 | 100.0 |

conceded to have been community as well as neighborhood leaders. As one informant expressed it: When such families leave, "a community's morale deteriorates."

Loss of High School. One of the effects most resented by local citizens was loss of the Perkins High School. It and the trade facilities at Harmontown have been the nuclei of the community. In the school year of 1936-37, before the purchase program had much effect, the Perkins School had an average net enrollment of 196 pupils, of whom 54 were in high school.⁽³¹⁾ Of the six teachers, three taught high school subjects. One of the latter was a Smith-Hughes teacher of agriculture. In addition, a music teacher paid by the county came to the school at regular intervals. In 1937-38 the average net enrollment dropped to 168 pupils, 40 of whom were in the high school. Part of the loss was due to 12 high school students who in 1936-37 were transported from the Tallahatchie school district just south of the river. Thereafter, its high school pupils were sent to Oxford and its elementary pupils to College Hill. In 1938-39 the Perkins School had 132 pupils of whom 34 were in high school. The figures for the 1939-40 year were 103 and 27; and in 1940-41, 74 and 20.

During the summer of 1941 it was announced that beginning in 1941-42, Perkins would be a three-teacher elementary school. Plans had been made for transporting the high school pupils to Thyatira, 10 miles north of Perkins School and in an adjoining county. All students would be collected as at present and taken to Perkins. From there the high school students would be taken to Thyatira. All pupils, including first graders, would have to leave home a half hour sooner and return a half hour later.⁽³²⁾

Before the dam there were three one-teacher Negro schools in the community: one, Rush, in the northern part of Perkins; and two, Huston and Free Springs, in Free Springs. Huston was on the plantation of one of the prominent families of that neighborhood. The total average net enrollment of these three schools varied from 115 to 125 pupils between 1936 and 1939. After the latter year, Huston was combined with Free Springs. In 1939-40 the enrollment of Rush and Free Springs was 70; and in 1940-41, 85.⁽³³⁾ There was no indication, however, that the program of these schools was rendered any more inadequate than formerly. Former Huston pupils now have only slightly farther walking distances.

The Churches Lose Members and Support. The data on churches were gathered in interviews with leading or official members of each congregation. They represent the observations of the persons interviewed, colored by their opinions. Before the dam there were four white and one Negro congregations in the community. Most of the Negroes in Perkins neighborhood belonged to a church nearby in Pano!a County. It was not studied.

Traditionally, the organized activities of these five churches were practically the same: weekly Sunday School, a monthly preaching service, and an annual revival meeting. All experienced the same effects. All reported declines in membership, ranging from about 60 per-

(31) Enrollment figures for the community's schools were secured from the county superintendent of education. Other data on Perkins School were given by its superintendent.

(32) These plans were put into effect, and in 1943 the school was still 3-teacher elementary.

(33) These figures should be considered approximate because of the county superintendent's doubt as to their accuracy.

cent (New Hope) to 30 percent (Oak Grove). This also meant loss of financial support. The New Hope congregation has suspended services in recent years except for the summer revival. There has been talk of consolidation with the other Baptist congregation at Harmontown, but there is opposition, particularly from members living on dirt roads along the reservoir and thus farthest from Harmontown. Some still hope that monthly preaching services can be resumed. It was reported that three of the churches were paying their part-time preachers a smaller salary. In two cases (one the Negro Church) this led to securing new preachers, stated by some to be inferior to the old. All reported that the financial burdens on remaining members had been increased. The loss of members by Oak Grove and Free Springs A.M.E. was partly due to their being cut off by the closing of the road from families living south of the river.

Dislocation of Roads and of Service Relationships. Harmontown is unique among the reservoir communities in the dislocation of its road system. Several, like it, found the upkeep of local dirt roads "relaxed" or abandoned. It, however, lost—through flooding—direct connection with Oxford, its county seat and main trade center. Study of this situation is nevertheless justified by the likelihood that at least one community will be so affected by any such flood control project.

Formerly, the trip from the general store to Oxford was 16 miles over an improved gravel road. The best of three routes in 1941 was 65 miles via Como and Batesville. Two shorter routes depend in part on circuitous country roads difficult in wet weather. At the time of the field work the WPA was improving a road from the northeast corner of the community to intersect the Oxford-Holly Springs highway. When completed this will bring Oxford within about 25 miles over a part gravel, part black-top road. The new road will make both Harmontown and Oxford more accessible to residents of the northeast part of the community than in the past. New Hope residents will have less access to Harmontown because of the deterioration of local dirt roads.

The schedule attempted to get a picture of the trade and other service relationships of the families both in 1941 and in 1935-36 before the program started. The hamlet, village, or town at which the family obtained each service was listed. If a service was obtained at more than one center, all were recorded in order of importance. The services studied were: retail trade, marketing of farm products, and other economic services; professional, personal, banking, and governmental services; recreational activities; and church and school attendance.

Three main types of situations were found. First, some services were obtained locally⁽³⁴⁾ and therefore little or no change had occurred as the result of the road situation. These are: church and school (except high school) activities; recreational activities⁽³⁵⁾—parties, entertainments, picnics, and "loafing"; men's haircuts, "at home" and by neighbors, as well as at Harmontown; cotton ginning at Harmontown (a little at Glennville); and grinding meal and feeds. Second, some services could be

(34) The terms "local" and "locally" refer to services obtained within Harmontown community, plus a few instances where an adjoining hamlet or small village was used. Tyro, Thyatira, and Glennville are the instances. Como, Sardis, Senatobia, and Holly Springs are classed as "other centers", meaning relatively complete service centers in addition to Oxford.

(35) Movies were the main "non-local" recreation. Six families had attended the movies in 1935-36, principally in Oxford. In 1941, two had ceased going, one still went to Oxford, and three had shifted to other centers.

obtained only at Oxford and therefore little change occurred despite the road closure. These are: governmental services—paying taxes, attending court, and visiting governmental agencies such as AAA, agricultural extension, relief and welfare; consulting a lawyer; and securing hospitalization. Most families who formerly went to Oxford for these services still do so, but in all probability less frequently.

Two other services showed little change, but do not fit the above categories. The women in 41 families patronized Oxford beauty parlors in 1935. In 1941, 33 still did so, whereas 8 had changed to other towns. In 54 families, women did their own hairdressing, or had it done by members of the family or neighbors. There was no change in this group. Farmers' marketing practices changed very little. Cotton is marketed in Como. Livestock is trucked to Memphis by a few large producers while the rest sell to local buyers. Produce is largely handled through local stores, and sold to local buyers. Thus the road to Oxford could have little effect on marketing practices.

In the case of nine services (groceries, work and Sunday clothes, light hardware, farm implements, furniture, banking, doctor, and medicine) there were important shifts. These were services which many persons formerly obtained in Oxford, but which can also be found in other towns, or locally. Oxford lost some of this patronage. Local merchants gained, but the other towns—especially Como—gained the most. Tables E—M, pages 46-50 in the Appendix show these changes in detail, classified by race. Formerly, from 30 to 60 percent of Harmontown residents sought these services in Oxford. Negroes were more localized in their trading habits than white families. After the road was closed, the percentages still going to Oxford ranged from 3 percent (groceries) to 29 percent (banking).

Local Business Declines. In the course of both formal and informal interviews, local merchants reported that they had lost business as a result of the reservoir and purchase program. Three reasons were given: loss of population, loss of some trade territory south of the river, and removal from cultivation of some of the community's best land. At Harmontown one firm operates the general store, main trade facility of the community, and the gin. This store's total volume of business declined about 40 percent between 1937 and 1941. In the same years the cotton ginned dropped from about 1,150 to 650 bales. What loss in profit this represents is not known. A smaller furnish store with incomplete stock had been operated primarily to service the "hands" of the owner and a few of his friends. Since there are now fewer sharecroppers in the area, it has been shifted to a cash business. The owner reports total volume of sales off about 40 percent during the "dam years." The other small store has been doing such a small business that it was difficult to assess the extent to which it was affected.

The filling station reports a 50 percent reduction in the amount of gas and oil sold. Several prominent families, heavy car users, left. Two other persons, one carrying the local mail route and one operating a truck, have moved and now buy their gas elsewhere. While the station suffered only a slight loss in its grocery, ice cream, and cold drink trade, its main income was from gas and oil. The barber shop which operates only on Saturdays was formerly open until 10 p. m. Now the customers are usually cared for in the afternoon. At the Perkins crossroads is a

small general store and grist mill, which moved to that location less than a year before the time of the field work. It had been in Free Springs at the junction of the roads from Harmontown and Perkins to form the main road to Oxford. When the road was closed, the store attempted to "follow the traffic." The owner reported he was doing about three-fourths of his pre-reservoir monthly gross business before he moved. Now, after about a year, business at the new location is getting back to this three-fourths level.

Summary

The construction of Sardis Dam has caused numerous changes in the lives of Harmontown residents. It is estimated that the community lost about 15 percent of its families—about 15 white and 5 to 10 Negro, 85 to 95 persons. Forty-one (41) percent of the white families report fewer neighbors in 1941 than before the dam. Approximately one-fourth of the families say their activities have been adversely affected, and three-fourths say their neighborhood has suffered harmful changes. A larger proportion of white farm owners and businessmen than of other groups spoke of such changes.

The filling of the reservoir increased the distance of community members from their county seat and main service center and cut off that part of Harmontown's service area which had been across the river. Those services which were obtained locally by most people and those which had to be sought in Oxford were little affected. In the case of nine important services, however, Oxford lost some of its former patronage to other towns, especially Como, and to community sources. Despite this gain at the expense of Oxford, Harmontown merchants report losses in volume of business ranging roughly from 30 percent to 50 percent.

Enrollment in the one white school fell to the point where the high school was closed, leaving a three-teacher elementary school. High school students are transported to an adjoining county. One Negro school was closed, leaving two one-teacher schools. The churches lost members and financial support. One congregation discontinued its services, but the others carry on with less money and, in two cases, with less satisfactory preachers.

V. Conclusion

By way of conclusion, an attempt will be made to evaluate, in the light of the study's findings, the principal criticisms made by local people of the reservoir purchase program; and to make, on the basis of the findings and the authors' experiences in the county, some suggestions which it is believed may help future projects of this kind avoid, minimize, or prepare for dislocations in family and community life.

Evaluation of Local Criticisms

Complaints of Displaced Families. In Section III a variety of reasons were advanced by those purchase families who felt themselves unfairly treated or worse off now than before. Here the principal ones are examined without regard to whether they were voiced violently by a few persons or were found to be more general.

"Displacement from the old home" was mentioned with great emotion. The study has shown that the majority who moved went to other, often adjacent, areas of the same county. A majority of all families are still

residents of the same community. There were, however, a few cases in which a disruption of family and neighborly sentimental ties was necessary. The effects endangered the future happiness and contentment of older persons particularly. These exceptional cases were sufficient to cause resentment among a wider circle of friends and former neighbors.

The widespread complaint that "the purchase price was too low" is hard to justify. Unquestionably, however, there were some individual farms whose superior fertility or improvements were not reflected in the purchase price. That the appraisers did a conscientious job is suggested by the fact that practically all the land was secured without resort to condemnation proceedings. In the few instances where the owner made condemnation necessary, the additional compensation awarded by the jury was reported to have been little more than the costs of the legal procedures. It is believed that much of the dissatisfaction regarding price was based on the smaller owners' reluctance to sell at any price. It is significant that the large operators, almost without exception, expressed entire satisfaction with the terms of sale.

Related to this price complaint was the reported "difficulty in finding other suitable land"—i. e., desirable fertility at a reasonable price. During the purchase negotiations it became generally apparent that some operators would be in the market for new land to replace that sold. While there is little evidence of speculative purchasing, the price level of farms in private ownership increased. The only other bottomland available in Lafayette County in any quantity was along the Yocona River, where another flood control program was being proposed. Prospective buyers were wary of another displacement. Most of the remaining available land was typically hilly, much of it overworked, gullied by erosion, and overpriced. Owners of the better farms were understandably reluctant to sell when they could see the difficulty of satisfactory relocation. When the quality of land bought and of land sold is taken into account, it appears that the average buying price of \$17.69 per acre was too high or the selling price of \$18.25 was too low. Interestingly enough, the charge of scarcity of good land was not directed at the Government. It was accepted as an inevitable result of the purchase program. Nor was there criticism of the fact that no agency gave any assistance to the farmers in relocating. Apparently neither of these was regarded as governmental responsibility.

Criticism of the "delayed payment" for land purchased by the Government seems justified. An average time of two to three years elapsed between signing the purchase agreement and final payment. Meanwhile, operators who had purchased other land, depending on proceeds of their sale to clear the debt, were forced to pay interest on their obligations while receiving none from the Government. The delay in clearing the title was recognized as necessary, but did little to abate the resentment.

It was charged that "some details of the purchase arrangement were not made clear." Original negotiations with the owners included two separate propositions: one setting a price per acre for an easement permitting the inclusion of their land for reservoir use, the other setting a price at which they were willing to give an option for selling outright. Some of the informants assert that the difference between the two propositions was not clearly explained, and they later found they had agreed to sell

at a lower price than they had intended. The chief complaint as to lack of clarity in the terms, however, regarded conflicting regulations respecting the cutting and selling of timber on the purchase tracts. Due either to contradictory regulations, changes made during the construction period, or failure in enforcement, the effects on the operators varied. Some cut and hauled away all the timber they wished; some were refused permission either to use or sell their timber, standing or already cut; while others were even required to reimburse the Government for that they had cut and sold. It is clear that the whole procedure relating to timber rights could have been greatly improved.

The "failure or refusal of the Government to buy the entire farm unit", although not serious in its effects, was another cause for resentment. Having established the 285-foot elevation as the maximum upper limits of the reservoir, the federal authorities were naturally reluctant to purchase more land than was needed. In many instances this contour line ran through a farm, cutting off the most desirable cropland and leaving in private ownership only the undesirable hill, pasture, or woodland. In some instances adjustments were made, but these were not always possible. Numerous cases still exist where the operator's unit comprises a small part of the original farm still in his ownership with the balance owned by the Government and leased back for operation on a yearly basis.

Many operators complained of "damage done to crops and fences by government employees." After the purchase agreements were signed and before construction of the dam, laborers were sent into the bottoms to clean the permanent reservoir of timber. It was charged that gates were left open and fences smashed, allowing stock to escape, and that growing crops were damaged by huge caterpillar tractors which operated without regard to roads or lanes. There is agreement that this situation prevailed quite generally. Most of the complainants stated it was largely because of the inability of the superintendents to oversee adequately a large and widely scattered labor force. Most aggravating was the fact that appeals to the workers themselves were generally useless, and the only means of redress lay in making a long trip to the construction headquarters. While the actual damage was slight, the seeming negligence of federal authorities was further cause for criticism.

Two further complaints concern disadvantages being suffered by operators after relocation. One is that they are "working poorer land" than before. To a considerable extent this is true, but it is also partly psychological. The land purchase for the reservoir included all the bottomland lying along the Tallahatchie River, which undoubtedly was some of the best and most productive land in the county. Because of the possibility of inundation, the tendency has been to increase the cultivation of less fertile land on higher elevations. Likewise, the land purchased by those who left the reservoir area is definitely of poorer quality than that which they sold. These facts support the contention of **some** operators that they are working poorer land than formerly, and are valid causes for complaint. On the other hand, only a small portion of the purchase area has been taken out of cultivation. Most of the bottomland is still being cultivated, although at an increased risk. It would appear that this complaint is justified in some cases, but the general consequences are not as serious as has been believed.

Another relates to the "insecurity of present leasing arrangements." Working under a 1-year lease from the Government, the operators assert that they are not justified in farming so as to maintain or increase the fertility of the soil, in making even necessary improvements to farm buildings, or in increasing their investment in farm equipment. While admitting that the rental price is favorable, they point out that the arrangement is temporary. The rental may be increased by the Government at its option. More important, it might decide not to rent the land at all. So far as is known, although the information from representatives of the War Department is entirely unofficial, there is no intention at present of changing the current leasing arrangements. It has been repeatedly emphasized that the primary purpose of the project is flood control and that except for emergencies the water level of the reservoir will not be raised higher than has been done. If the present prices and policies are maintained, it would appear that the lessees have little reason for serious complaint. However, the undesirability of short term leases is generally recognized.

It is admittedly difficult to evaluate criticisms arising from a program which affects such a large number of families, when both individual effects and personal reactions are so varied. Some complaints are the product of circumstances unique to one, or a few families. Others may represent an attempt to shift to the purchase program blame for financial losses due to poor management or other personal shortcomings. Or, the vague resentment of a person over the disruption of habits of thought and work may be crystallized by another's violently expressed opinion into a definite, although second-hand criticism. Behind this, however, has been found evidence of a few defects in the formulation and administration of the reservoir purchase program which future similar programs should take into account.

Community Effects. The chief complaints of Harmontown residents had to do with effects on school, church, and the road-trade situation. The "school" complaint is largely justified, as it relates to loss of the white high school. The combined elementary and high school served the entire community and was one of its main unifying factors. Its entertainments and programs focused the interests of adults as well as pupils, of non-patrons as well as parents. With Future Farmers of America, basketball, and other activities, it provided the only organized life for youth in an area where urban-ward migration is traditionally heavy. The extent to which the elementary program alone will be able to center the attention and interests of community members remains to be seen. Also, only time will tell whether increased transportation difficulties will cause more students to drop out of school after the eighth grade, as many persons fear. Because the high school pupils are to be transported into an adjoining county, all pupils must leave home earlier and return later. This is an aggravation of the often-stated grievance that little children are kept away from home and mother during most of the day, during much of which time they cannot be kept busy at school; and that older children are prevented from helping with farm and household chores.

The extent to which the present plight of Harmontown's "churches" is the result of the dam, is problematical. There is little doubt that they have "gone down" during the last 5 years—fewer members, less interest, less financial support, fewer recruits from the young adults. This, how-

ever, is the almost universal story of rural churches in the last 15 to 20 years. Informants in two of the local churches specifically stated that the trends of which they spoke antedated the beginning of this government program. The safest conclusion seems to be that dam-caused emigration and dislocation implemented and perhaps accelerated a trend already underway in the community.

"Loss of direct contact with its major service center" was the most disconcerting change thrust upon the community. For the services obtained there, it has meant going farther or shifting to other—usually inferior—sources of the service. This has been particularly hard on what might be called the middle class of community members. People with few resources have always traded locally, and thus were little affected. For a few well-to-do families, the longer trip to Oxford is more an irritation than a financial burden.

Two factors will change the road-trade situation from what it was at the time of the field work. First, the war and the rubber shortage will make the longer route to Oxford still more burdensome and will probably encourage more localized services than the study findings indicate. Second, completion of the new route via Abbeville will improve the situation. Upon payment of \$37,500 promised by the Federal Government to the county for "replacement of the facilities destroyed by the Sardis Dam in flooding the old Oxford-Sardis highway,"⁽³⁶⁾ the beat supervisor has promised to maintain this adequately as an all-weather road. Depending on the counter effects of these two factors, community unity may be lessened or promoted. If the community members come to depend more and more on local services, their level of living may be decreased, but integration could be the result of thus throwing the community back upon itself. Or, if the members of different parts of the community should divide their trade among several towns, then further community disruption would result. The present situation is loosening the socio-economic ties between Harmontown and the county seat. And it contains the possibility, at least, of effecting permanent disruption of community unity in Harmontown.

Another complaint is that the "local economy" has been adversely affected. It has been shown that only a small part of the bottomland, main economic base of the community, has been removed from cultivation. To the extent that the former incomes of emigrated families are not being spent in the community and that inferior hill land has replaced some bottomland, less money is circulating locally. It is believed that the importance of these factors has been overemphasized. However, local merchants report they have lost from one-third to one-half of their gross business. If their estimates are correct and their profits have declined in proportion, the local economy has suffered some disruption. This has significance for church, school, and other activities, as well as for the stores and gin.

The "loss of neighbors" was also regretted by Harmontown's white residents. Quantitatively, slightly under half of the white families said they had one or more fewer neighbors in 1941 than 5 years previously. What this means qualitatively can only be inferred—and perhaps only

(36) The Oxford Eagle, Nov. 6, 1941, p. 1, section 1. See also page one of March 5, 1942 issue.

by those who have themselves experienced the security of personal, lasting relationships in a strong neighborhood or community. Habits of neighborly association built up through years of visiting, borrowing, swapping, pleasuring, and sorrowing together are not disrupted lightly. A bereavement follows the loss of neighbors as real, though not as intense, as that occasioned by loss of family members. Naturally such separation is hardest on older people whose attachments are firmer and whose opportunities for forming new associations are least.

These changes in family and community life have been received by Harmontown residents with concern and some irritation. It is likely that their feelings were the more intense because the community was previously integrated and its members appreciated the unifying bases of community life. To predict the success with which adjustments will eventually be made is impossible. Loss of the high school and certain aspects of the trade situation have potentialities for community decline and disruption. There is also the possibility that, having become more isolated and being unified in criticism of the "dam' dam", the community will maintain its identity and integration. In the summer of 1941, Harmontown still had considerable "community spirit."

Suggestions

Local residents appear to be justified in some of their criticisms of the Sardis Reservoir purchase program, its administration, and its effects. Therefore, it is pertinent to inquire whether there are ways by which some of these harmful effects could have been avoided, minimized, or prepared for. Were there, also, ways of preventing the misunderstandings which were expressed as poorly founded criticism? "Yes, to some extent," is the answer of the writers based on the findings of the study and their experiences in the area. The suggestions which follow are concerned with ways in which future purchase programs might escape some of the local criticism and misunderstanding.

It should be possible to devise some plan whereby owners could receive government payment for their land without the delay which occurred in the Sardis purchase program. Titles must be cleared, and the legal procedure is admittedly a slow process. Meanwhile, the former owner is embarrassed in meeting commitments made in the expectation of prompt payment. In private industry this situation is met by various types of title insurance which permit prompt payment of at least the major portion of the indebtedness. If governmental agencies could adopt similar procedures, the former owners would be aided in their negotiations for the purchase of new land and much resentment or resistance to current and proposed governmental purchase programs would be forestalled. If this cannot be done, the fact that payments will be delayed should be made clear during the purchase negotiations. In addition, serious thought should be given to the justice and possibility of paying interest to the sellers during the waiting period.

Complaints regarding misunderstandings over the terms of purchase and contradictions in the regulations as to timber rights seem to have been due in part to the inexperience or ineptness of the local men used as appraisers. The solution of this difficulty need involve no more than a definitely formulated policy, simple and understandable, and trained employees to carry it out. Possibly the whole purchase procedure would

run more smoothly and involve fewer repercussions if it were performed exclusively by federal employees, not residents of the local area.

In most of the complaints concerning destruction to fences and crops, it was seldom clear whether those guilty were employees of the Government or the construction company. In his wrath, all looked alike to the injured operator, and it was only natural that the blame should be charged to the Government. Again, the alleviation of this complaint would seem to be only a matter of more efficient administration and supervision, regardless of whether the Government or the contractor was at fault. Administrative officials should learn, if they have not already done so, that the temper and feeling of families involved in such a program are apt to be more sensitive than usual. If the agency does not wish to antagonize local people, it must sometimes bend backward in its efforts to avoid occasions for misunderstanding and grievance.

To search for ways to avoid complaints about the purchase price is probably fruitless. The Sardis purchase prices were in general based on a fair valuation. A few instances of low purchase prices, vociferously talked about, created the impression that none of the operators received a fair price—this despite the fact that few persons insisted a private sale would have brought more. The chief basis for the resentment of many former owners was the fact that they did not want to sell and therefore could not regard any price as satisfactory. To avoid this would necessitate the owner's giving unanimous consent to the project and its purposes. It is seldom, if ever, feasible to wait for this before starting a project.⁽³⁷⁾

The only feature of the renting arrangement of government owned land for agricultural use which is criticized is the 1-year lease. Its undesirability for the operator is apparent. It is not conducive to better farming practices and fosters a feeling of insecurity in the operator and his family. To extend the rental period would meet with almost unanimous approval. This should be done if it would not seriously hamper execution of the flood control project.

Some relocation of roads will be necessitated by most reservoir construction projects. Since the annual and maximum floodings can be estimated, it is possible to foresee the damage to the road system. Some of the damage will be permanent, other temporary. Some money was allocated for the replacement of road facilities damaged by Sardis Reservoir. It had not been paid to the county in 1941, 6 years after purchase of land began. Replacement of roads began after the reservoir began to form. It is suggested that county and state highway engineers should be informed of impending road changes as soon as the engineers of the construction agency are aware of them, that any funds given to the state and county for replacement be made available as far ahead of the filling of the reservoir as possible, and that substitute facilities be ready for use at the time old ones have to be abandoned. Thus, disruption of trade and service relationships would be minimized. In addition, final adjustments could begin at once and make-shift arrangements pending construction of roads and bridges be avoided.

The effects of loss of population on a community present more difficult

(37) See proposal for consultation machinery, page 43 following .

problems. If displacement of families could be prevented by the provision of alternative sources of income, the community structure would be less affected. This, however, is often impossible. Flood control dams, certainly, require few maintenance workers. The development of recreational facilities which might offer employment depends on local topography and climate and on location with regard to population centers. None of the north Mississippi dams seem to offer this opportunity.

All that can be done, then, is to prepare for and cushion the effect of emigration. This is mainly possible with regard to organized activities like school and church. It is a job of forecasting possible effects and developing adjustments tailored to the specific communities affected. It is suggested that the State Agricultural Extension Service is the logical agency to initiate these efforts. The proper specialists could cooperate with local extension agents and community leaders in encouraging the formation of local committees to channel local planning efforts and to work with such agencies as the county department of education, state denominational leaders, etc.

Several of the foregoing paragraphs indicate the desirability of some machinery for consultation between local residents and officials in charge of the purchasing and construction program. Misunderstandings which led to bitterness arose over the purchasing program. The government agency appears to have been oblivious to, and therefore unconcerned about, the effects of its acts on families and on community life. Many local people feel that whatever has been done was done to them without their consent and often without their prior knowledge. It would seem that much of the resentment, often bitter, of local people toward the project was directed not against **what** had been done, but **how** it had been done.

The formation of a project committee composed of responsible government officials in charge of the local program, of a few representatives of interested county agencies, and of local people seems desirable. It is suggested that such a committee be established prior to any work or purchase in the locality; that it be used as the medium for explaining the project, its purposes, its necessities (even if harsh) to the people of the counties affected; and that it be a means for bringing to the attention of government officials legitimate grievances and for planning to avoid or mitigate them. Such an arrangement would probably allow the government agency to do anything it needs to do—and leave a "good taste" in the mouths of the people, having entered into prior consultation with them. More important, it would allow the agency to avoid many actions of whose "irritation value" they would otherwise be unaware.

It was originally planned for this study to contain an analysis of the tax structure of the county as affected by the removal of land from the tax base. Although most of the government owned land has not been removed from the general economic base, the tax base has been reduced. What this will mean in less tax income, increased tax rates, and in decreased county services is not known. The question has been raised in Harmontown and in other parts of the county of the necessity or desirability of county consolidation. Both the annexation of the Harmontown area to adjoining counties and the consolidation of the entire county in case the Yocona Dam is constructed have been discussed. County leaders are aware of, and concerned about, these problems. They would wel-

come a thorough study of the financial bases of the county's government. Such a study should be made.

A final consideration grows out of an attempt—made by many local people—to weigh the benefits to downstream land and property against the dislocations of the reservoir area. A question often encountered was, "Why should we be penalized to help those rich Delta folks?" Perhaps more to the point was the belief that the main beneficiaries had been one or more real estate companies which had bought large acreages downstream and held them for the rise in price that came when the dam made them cultivable. Some asked whether the benefits were not overbalanced by the upstream damage plus the government expenditures.

The answer to this question is not within the scope of the study. However, several thoughtful persons made this interesting suggestion: that it would be desirable for the Federal Government to acquire simultaneously the reservoir area and the principal downstream lands to be made cultivable. Some of the latter could be exchanged with those families displaced upstream who wanted to settle in the Delta. The Government could sell the remainder so acquired to potential farmers at a fair price, using the profit to replace roads and other facilities destroyed, to make a payment in lieu of taxes to the counties in which land was permanently removed from the tax base, or to help defray construction costs. One of the important effects of this plan would be to eliminate completely the complaint that "the Government took all the best land and no other good land was available." If such procedure were deemed feasible and legal, it would go a long way in removing some of the misgivings which laymen feel toward such flood control projects.

Table A. Changes in number of livestock and workstock

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Milk cows | | | Beef cattle | | | Workstock | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|-----|--------|-------------|-------|--------|-----------|-----|--------|
| | | Before | Now | Change | Before | Now | Change | Before | Now | Change |
| | | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| TOTAL | 157 | 520 | 447 | -73 | 1,282 | 1,638 | +356 | 684 | 675 | -9 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 276 | 273 | -3 | 935 | 1,125 | +190 | 487 | 474 | -13 |
| Renters | 60 | 203 | 140 | -63 | 329 | 493 | +164 | 189 | 200 | +11 |
| Share-croppers | 32 | 41 | 34 | -7 | 18 | 20 | +2 | 8 | 1 | -7 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | 377 | 338 | -39 | 1,192 | 1,578 | +386 | 554 | 562 | +8 |
| Negro | 66 | 143 | 109 | -34 | 90 | 60 | -30 | 130 | 113 | -17 |

Table B. Use of money received from sale of land

| Race and Tenure | Total (1) operators | Bought land | Built house | Bought other real estate | Made improvements on farm | Paid debts | Saved money | Bought equipment | Bought workstock | Bought car | All other |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------|-------------|------------------|------------------|------------|-----------|
| | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| TOTAL | 68 | 31 | 11 | 1 | 13 | 16 | 15 | 10 | 8 | 5 | 15 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 55 | 30 | 10 | 1 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 3 | 5 | 13 |
| Renters | 12 | 1 | 1 | --- | 1 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 5 | --- | 1 |
| Share-croppers | 1 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 1 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 48 | 26 | 10 | 1 | 10 | 7 | 11 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 9 |
| Negro | 20 | 5 | 1 | --- | 3 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 6 | --- | 6 |

(1) Total number who sold land to Government.

Table C. Other changes in economic status

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Own tractor | | Own car | | Carry insurance | | Have bank account | | Public assistance (1) | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-----|---------|-----|-----------------|-----|-------------------|-----|-----------------------|-----|
| | | Before | Now | Before | Now | Before | Now | Before | Now | Before | Now |
| | | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| TOTAL | 157 | 14 | 15 | 60 | 72 | 99 | 99 | 47 | 58 | 10 | 11 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 13 | 13 | 40 | 45 | 40 | 40 | 35 | 41 | --- | 1 |
| Renters | 60 | 1 | 2 | 18 | 22 | 41 | 42 | 12 | 14 | 6 | 6 |
| Share-croppers | 32 | --- | --- | 2 | 5 | 18 | 17 | --- | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | 14 | 14 | 51 | 59 | 56 | 57 | 43 | 48 | 3 | 6 |
| Negro | 66 | --- | 1 | 9 | 13 | 43 | 42 | 4 | 10 | 7 | 5 |

(1) Direct relief, not including FSA or WPA.

Table D. Changes in participation in public affairs

| Race and Tenure | Total operators | Daily paper | | Hold office | | Vote | | Member cooperative | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|--------|-------------|--------|------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| | | Now | Change | Now | Change | Now | Change | Now | Change |
| | | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. | No. |
| TOTAL | 157 | 36 | -8 | 6 | +2 | 85 | -1 | 7 | +2 |
| TENURE: | | | | | | | | | |
| Owners | 65 | 27 | -3 | 3 | +1 | 49 | -1 | 4 | +1 |
| Renters | 60 | 8 | -4 | 3 | +1 | 33 | --- | 3 | +1 |
| Share-croppers | 32 | 1 | -1 | | | 3 | | | |
| RACE: | | | | | | | | | |
| White | 91 | 34 | -7 | 6 | +2 | 85 | -1 | 7 | +2 |
| Negro | 66 | 2 | -1 | | | | | | |

Table E. Trade changes by race, 1936-41: Groceries

| Trade | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| At Oxford | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 2 | 6.0 | 40 | 54.0 | 42 | 39.3 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | -- | --- | 3 | 4.0 | 3 | 2.8 |
| To local..... | -- | --- | 15 | 20.3 | 15 | 14.0 |
| To other town..... | 2 | 6.0 | 22 | 29.7 | 24 | 22.5 |
| Local trade | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 23 | 69.7 | 27 | 36.5 | 50 | 46.7 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 22 | 66.7 | 24 | 32.5 | 46 | 43.0 |
| Changed..... | 1 | 3.0 | 3 | 4.0 | 4 | 3.7 |
| Other town | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 8 | 24.3 | 7 | 9.4 | 15 | 14.0 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 7 | 21.3 | 6 | 8.0 | 13 | 12.1 |
| Changed..... | 1 | 3.0 | 1 | 1.4 | 2 | 1.8 |
| Total | 33 | 100.0 | 74 | 100.0 | 107* | 100.0 |

*Note: Five persons, two white and three Negro, were not living in the community in 1936. They are omitted from this and the following eight tables.

Table F. Trade changes by race, 1936-41: Work clothes

| Trade | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| At Oxford | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 6 | 18.2 | 38 | 52.1 | 44 | 41.5 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 1 | 3.0 | 9 | 12.3 | 10 | 9.4 |
| To local..... | | | 8 | 10.9 | 8 | 7.6 |
| To other town..... | 5 | 15.2 | 21 | 28.9 | 26 | 24.5 |
| Local trade | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 21 | 63.6 | 26 | 35.6 | 47 | 44.3 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 20 | 60.6 | 22 | 30.1 | 42 | 39.6 |
| Changed..... | 1 | 3.0 | 4 | 5.5 | 5 | 4.7 |
| Other town | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 6 | 18.2 | 9 | 12.3 | 15 | 14.2 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 5 | 15.2 | 8 | 10.9 | 13 | 12.3 |
| Changed..... | 1 | 3.0 | 1 | 1.4 | 2 | 1.9 |
| Total | 33 | 100.0 | 73* | 100.0 | 106 | 100.0 |

*Note: One white person left question blank

Table G. Trade changes by race, 1936-41: Sunday clothes

| Trade | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| At Oxford | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 12 | 36.4 | 53 | 71.6 | 65 | 60.8 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 2 | 6.1 | 23 | 31.1 | 25 | 23.4 |
| To local..... | 1 | 3.0 | 6 | 8.1 | 7 | 6.5 |
| To other town..... | 9 | 27.3 | 24 | 32.4 | 33 | 30.8 |
| Local trade | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 14 | 42.4 | 13 | 17.6 | 27 | 25.2 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 13 | 39.4 | 10 | 13.5 | 23 | 21.5 |
| Changed..... | 1 | 3.0 | 3 | 4.1 | 4 | 3.7 |
| Other town | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 7 | 21.2 | 8 | 10.8 | 15 | 14.0 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 6 | 18.2 | 7 | 9.4 | 13 | 12.2 |
| Changed..... | 1 | 3.0 | 1 | 1.4 | 2 | 1.8 |
| Total | 33 | 100.0 | 74 | 100.0 | 107 | 100.0 |

Table H. Trade changes by race, 1936-41: Light hardware

| Trade | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| At Oxford | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 7 | 21.9 | 37 | 50.6 | 44 | 41.9 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | | | 11 | 15.0 | 11 | 10.5 |
| To local..... | | | 9 | 12.3 | 9 | 8.6 |
| To other town..... | 7 | 21.9 | 17 | 23.3 | 24 | 22.8 |
| Local trade | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 19 | 59.4 | 26 | 35.6 | 45 | 42.9 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 18 | 56.3 | 24 | 32.8 | 42 | 40.0 |
| Changed..... | 1 | 3.1 | 2 | 2.8 | 3 | 2.9 |
| Other town | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 6 | 18.7 | 10 | 13.7 | 16 | 15.2 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 5 | 15.6 | 9 | 12.3 | 14 | 13.3 |
| Changed..... | 1 | 3.1 | 1 | 1.4 | 2 | 1.9 |
| Total | 32* | 100.0 | 73* | 100.0 | 105 | 100.0 |

*Note: One white person left question blank, and one Negro stated he did not buy light hardware.

Table I. Trade changes by race, 1936-41: Farm implements

| Trade | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| At Oxford | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 6 | 18.2 | 39 | 52.7 | 45 | 42.1 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | | | 14 | 18.9 | 14 | 13.1 |
| To local..... | | | 7 | 9.5 | 7 | 6.5 |
| To other town..... | 6 | 18.2 | 18 | 24.3 | 24 | 22.5 |
| Local trade | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 6 | 18.2 | 13 | 17.5 | 19 | 17.8 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 6 | 18.2 | 12 | 16.1 | 18 | 16.8 |
| Changed..... | | | 1 | 1.4 | 1 | 1.0 |
| Other town | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 3 | 9.1 | 11 | 14.9 | 14 | 13.1 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 3 | 9.1 | 10 | 13.5 | 13 | 12.1 |
| Changed..... | | | 1 | 1.4 | 1 | 1.0 |
| None | 18 | 54.5 | 11 | 14.9 | 29 | 27.0 |
| Total | 33 | 100.0 | 74 | 100.0 | 107 | 100.0 |

Table J. Trade changes by race, 1936-41: Furniture

| Trade | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| At Oxford | | | | | | |
| In 1936: | 7 | 21.2 | 39 | 52.7 | 46 | 43.0 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change | | | 14 | 18.9 | 14 | 13.1 |
| To local | 1 | 3.0 | 7 | 9.5 | 8 | 7.5 |
| To other town | 6 | 18.2 | 18 | 24.3 | 24 | 22.4 |
| Local trade | | | | | | |
| In 1936: | 15 | 45.5 | 19 | 25.7 | 34 | 31.8 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change | 15 | 45.5 | 17 | 23.0 | 32 | 30.0 |
| Changed | | | 2 | 2.7 | 2 | 1.8 |
| Other town | | | | | | |
| In 1936: | 7 | 21.2 | 12 | 16.3 | 19 | 17.8 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change | 7 | 21.2 | 11 | 14.9 | 18 | 16.8 |
| Changed | | | 1 | 1.4 | 1 | 1.0 |
| None | 4 | 12.1 | 4 | 5.3 | 8 | 7.4 |
| Total | 33 | 100.0 | 74 | 100.0 | 107 | 100.0 |

Table K. Trade changes by race, 1936-41: Banking

| Trade | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| At Oxford | | | | | | |
| In 1936: | 10 | 30.0 | 41 | 56.2 | 51 | 48.1 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change | 6 | 18.2 | 25 | 34.2 | 31 | 29.2 |
| To other town | 4 | 12.1 | 16 | 22.0 | 20 | 18.9 |
| Other town | | | | | | |
| In 1936: | 6 | 18.2 | 19 | 26.0 | 25 | 23.6 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change | 6 | 18.2 | 19 | 26.0 | 25 | 23.6 |
| Changed | | | | | | |
| None | 17 | 51.5 | 13 | 17.8 | 30 | 28.3 |
| Total | 33 | 100.0 | 73* | 100.0 | 106 | 100.0 |

*Note: One white person left question blank.

Table L. Trade changes by race, 1936-41: Physician

| Trade | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| At Oxford | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 2 | 6.0 | 32 | 43.2 | 34 | 31.8 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 1 | 3.0 | 15 | 20.3 | 16 | 15.0 |
| To local..... | 1 | 3.0 | --- | --- | 1 | 1.0 |
| To other town..... | --- | --- | 17 | 22.9 | 17 | 15.8 |
| Local | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 25 | 75.8 | 22 | 29.7 | 47 | 43.9 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 23 | 69.7 | 9 | 12.2 | 32 | 29.0 |
| Changed..... | 2 | 6.1 | 13(1) | 17.5 | 15 | 14.0 |
| Other town | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 6 | 18.2 | 19 | 25.7 | 25 | 23.4 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 6 | 18.2 | 19 | 25.7 | 25 | 23.4 |
| Changed..... | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Total | 33 | 100.0 | 73(2) | 100.0 | 106 | 100.0 |

(1) Note: Most of this change due to the advancing age of the one physician resident in Harmontown.

(2) One white person reported his family did not consult a physician.

Table M. Trade changes by race, 1936-41: Medicine

| Trade | Negro | | White | | Total | |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. | No. | Pct. |
| At Oxford | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 12 | 36.4 | 54 | 74.0 | 66 | 62.3 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | --- | --- | 28 | 38.4 | 28 | 26.4 |
| To local..... | --- | --- | 7 | 9.6 | 7 | 6.6 |
| To other town..... | 12 | 36.4 | 19 | 26.0 | 31 | 29.3 |
| Local trade | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 15 | 45.4 | 11 | 15.0 | 26 | 24.5 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 14 | 42.4 | 8 | 10.9 | 22 | 20.8 |
| Changed..... | 1 | 3.0 | 3 | 4.1 | 4 | 3.7 |
| Other town | | | | | | |
| In 1936:..... | 6 | 18.2 | 8 | 11.0 | 14 | 13.2 |
| In 1941: | | | | | | |
| No change..... | 5 | 15.2 | 7 | 9.6 | 12 | 11.3 |
| Changed..... | 1 | 3.0 | 1 | 1.4 | 2 | 1.9 |
| Total | 33 | 100.0 | 73* | 100.0 | 106 | 100.0 |

*Note: One white person left question blank.

COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENT SCHEDULE

Number _____ Neighborhood _____ Community _____

1. Has government purchase program caused any changes in the life of the family? (Circle proper answer.) Yes—Helped—Hurt—Both—No—Don't Know.

LIST WAYS

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.

2. Has government purchase program caused any changes in the life of the neighborhood? (Circle proper answer.) Yes—Helped—Hurt—Both—No—Don't Know.

LIST WAYS

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.
- e.
- f.
- g.

3. RACE: W—N—. 4. OCCUPATION _____ (_____) _____
(If farmer, give number of acres farmed)

5. SEX: M—F—. 6. AGE: (). 7. AGE OF MATE: (). 8. NUMBER IN FAMILY: ()

9. GRADE IN SCHOOL FINISHED: (). 10. GRADE IN SCHOOL MATE FINISHED: ().

11. How long has family lived at this location? _____ (Within a mile).

12. How long has family lived in this neighborhood? _____ (As defined by family).

13. Name of neighborhood moved from? _____

14. WHAT IS THE NAME OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD TO WHICH FAMILY BELONGS? This may or may not be the name of a nearby town, village, school, church, or creek. (If there is a real neighborhood which has no name, write **No Name**. If family belongs to no neighborhood, write **No Neighborhood**.) _____

Locate on map all families considered regular neighbors by family—because of visiting, work swapping, borrowing, help in time of trouble, etc. (Put **K** by those which are kin.)

15. BEFORE: Family No. _____ Neighbor(s) No. _____

16. NOW: Family No. _____ Neighbor(s) No. _____

17. What holds neighborhood together? **List in order of importance.**

- a. d.
- b. e.
- c. f.

18. With what other neighborhoods does family have contact?

| NAME | KIND OF CONTACT |
|------|-----------------|
|------|-----------------|

- a.
- b.
- c.
- d.

19. Does family have county or other government business in Oxford? Yes? No?
 List kinds:

COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENT SCHEDULE (Continued)

20. List, in order of frequency, the places family goes for each of the following activities. Enter name of church or school. Remember that some goods may be bought from Mail Order houses; also that family may not participate in some activities; enter No. Enter Neighborhood for those activities, except church and school, that are carried on in local neighborhood.

| | NOW | | | | BEFORE | | | |
|-----------------------|------|---|---|---|--------|---|---|---|
| | Main | 2 | 3 | 4 | Main | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| INSTITUTIONS: | | | | | | | | |
| Preaching | | | | | | | | |
| Sunday School | | | | | | | | |
| Revivals | | | | | | | | |
| Grammar School | | | | | | | | |
| Ride bus? Y—N | | | | | | | | |
| High School | | | | | | | | |
| Ride bus? Y—N | | | | | | | | |
| TRADE: | | | | | | | | |
| Groceries | | | | | | | | |
| Work Clothes | | | | | | | | |
| Sunday Clothes | | | | | | | | |
| Medicine | | | | | | | | |
| Light Hardware | | | | | | | | |
| Implements | | | | | | | | |
| Furniture | | | | | | | | |
| Bank | | | | | | | | |
| Gin | | | | | | | | |
| Grist Mill | | | | | | | | |
| MARKET: | | | | | | | | |
| Cotton | | | | | | | | |
| Livestock | | | | | | | | |
| Produce | | | | | | | | |
| SERVICES: | | | | | | | | |
| Doctor | | | | | | | | |
| Hospital | | | | | | | | |
| Lawyer | | | | | | | | |
| Barber | | | | | | | | |
| Beauty Parlor | | | | | | | | |
| COMMUNICATION: | | | | | | | | |
| P. O. (Box or R. R.) | | | | | | | | |
| Newspapers | | | | | | | | |
| Radio Station | | | | | | | | |
| RECREATION: | | | | | | | | |
| Movies | | | | | | | | |
| Entertainments | | | | | | | | |
| Parties | | | | | | | | |
| Picnics | | | | | | | | |
| Loafing | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |

| | NOW | | | | BEFORE | | | |
|--------------------------|------|---|---|---|--------|---|---|---|
| | Main | 2 | 3 | 4 | Main | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| ORGANIZATIONS AND CLUBS: | | | | | | | | |
| P. T. A. | | | | | | | | |
| 4-H | | | | | | | | |
| F. F. A. | | | | | | | | |
| Farm Bureau | | | | | | | | |
| H. D. C. | | | | | | | | |
| Missionary Society | | | | | | | | |
| Church Youth | | | | | | | | |
| Lodge | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | |
| Other | | | | | | | | |

21. List places mentioned in question 20 and give:

| | PLACE | DISTANCE FROM HOME | KIND OF ROAD | MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| a. | Neighborhood meetings | | | |
| b. | | | | |
| c. | | | | |
| d. | | | | |
| e. | | | | |
| f. | | | | |

22. A person "belongs" or "feels at home" in his neighborhood. Does family feel this way about any of the neighborhoods or places mentioned in questions 18 and 21? Answer No, or list places and give WHY.

General Comment

FAMILY DISPLACEMENT SCHEDULE

MISSISSIPPI STATE COLLEGE

Bureau of Agricultural Economics Cooperating

Race: W _____ N _____

Schedule No. _____

Name _____ P. O. Address _____

I. Residence of family head during last 10 years (1941-1931)

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
|-----------|--------|-------|--------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Community | County | State | Town or Farm | Dates (from 1941 back) | Tenure Status or Other Occupation | Chief Reason for Leaving |
| a) | | | | | | |
| b) | | | | | | |
| c) | | | | | | |
| d) | | | | | | |
| e) | | | | | | |
| f) | | | | | | |
| g) | | | | | | |
| h) | | | | | | |
| i) | | | | | | |
| j) | | | | | | |

II. Comparison of status before and after displacement from Reservoir Area

| 1. Economic | | Before Moving | Now | 2. Social | | Before Moving | Now |
|-------------|------------------------|---------------|-----|-----------|--|---------------|-----|
| a) | Acres in farm | | | a) | Miles to nearest neighbor | | |
| b) | Acres in crops | | | b) | Miles to town | | |
| c) | Acres owned | | | c) | Miles to store | | |
| d) | Acres rented | | | d) | Miles to gin | | |
| e) | Acres share cropped | | | e) | Miles to county seat | | |
| f) | Cotton allotment (AAA) | | | f) | Miles to church | | |
| g) | Acres in cotton | | | g) | Miles to grade school | | |
| h) | Average cotton yield | | | h) | Miles to high school | | |
| i) | Acres in corn | | | i) | Miles to doctor | | |
| j) | Average corn yield | | | j) | Miles to all-weather road | | |
| k) | Acres other main crop | | | k) | No. all organizations attended regularly | | |
| l) | Acres in pasture | | | l) | Times attended church per month | | |
| m) | No. milk cows | | | m) | Times attended farmers meetings per year | | |
| n) | No. beef cattle | | | n) | Family visits per month | | |
| o) | No. workstock owned | | | o) | Trips to town per month | | |
| p) | No. rooms in house | | | p) | Movies seen per month | | |
| q) | Acres in home garden | | | q) | Daily paper? | | |
| r) | Value farm equipment | | | r) | Hold public office? | | |
| s) | Value farm buildings | | | s) | Vote? | | |
| t) | Own tractor? | | | t) | Member cooperative? | | |
| u) | Any insurance? | | | u) | Days work exchanged per year | | |
| v) | Have bank account? | | | | | | |
| w) | Total debts | | | | | | |
| x) | Estimated net worth | | | | | | |
| y) | Public assistance | | | | | | |
| z) | Model car, if any | | | | | | |

FAMILY DISPLACEMENT SCHEDULE (Continued)

III. Composition of household

| 1 Relation- ship to Head | 2 Age | 3 Highest School Grade Completed | 4 Now in School? (Yes or No) | 5 Birthplace | | 6 Check if not Living at Home |
|--------------------------------------|----------|--|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-------|--|
| | | | | County | State | |
| a) Head | | | | | | |
| b) | | | | | | |
| c) | | | | | | |
| d) | | | | | | |
| e) | | | | | | |
| f) | | | | | | |
| g) | | | | | | |
| h) | | | | | | |
| i) | | | | | | |
| j) | | | | | | |

IV. Terms of land sale and purchase. Attitudes

1. If you sold land in the purchase area to the Government: (a) Was land mortgaged?_____. (b) Amount of mortgage unpaid?_____. (c) Name of mortgage holder?_____. (d) Amount received for your equity in land?_____. (e) Do you consider this a fair price?_____. (f) What chief uses were made of money received? _____

2. If you purchased land in new location: (a) What was price paid per acre?_____. (b) From whom purchased?_____. (c) Amount of down payment?_____. (d) Time allowed on balance?_____. (e) Interest rate?_____.
3. (a) Are you renting land from Government?_____. (b) Number of acres of cropland?_____. Other land?_____. (c) Rent per acre for cropland?_____. Other land?_____.
4. What was the most difficult problem you had to face in moving from the purchase area?_____

5. What, if any, Government agencies assisted you in re-locating?_____

6. Do you feel that you are now (a) better off, (b) about the same, or (c) worse off than before moving from the purchase area?_____. If "better" or "worse" explain why._____

7. Do you feel that you were fairly treated by the Government in connection with your move from the purchase area?_____. If "No" explain._____

8. General comments: