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Skyline Farms: A Case Study of Community Development and Rural Rehabilitation

by DAVID CAMPBELL
and DAVID COOMBS

And now my message to you: on this mountain you have an opportunity such as has been given to few men and women—an opportunity to make a living, an opportunity to educate your children and to improve your own education, an opportunity to develop a new community whose future lies in the hands of your people and your children, a special and privileged opportunity in the market place. (William Davis, speech at Skyline Farms, July 4, 1936)¹

With these words from an official in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, ex-tenant farmers in the Appalachian region of northeast Alabama set to work in a project intended to transform them into independent landowners. The Skyline Farms Project began with great hopes during the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt as a pilot rural rehabilitation project that would lead the way in wiping out rural poverty in the United States. It was to set an example of how rural people could combat poverty and improve their standard of living by cooperating with each other. Not only were these ex-tenants to become landowners; they were also supposed to live in harmony in an idyllic community. These were the dreams of Skyline Farms. But for many participants in the project the dreams turned tragic.²

I

The concept of Skyline Farms grew out of the Roosevelt administration's efforts to deal with American agricultural problems. Prices for farm products were extremely depressed in the early 1930's, and officials in the Roosevelt administration blamed over-production. The corrective policy of Roosevelt's Agricultural Adjustment Administration was to limit production and consequently to increase the market price of certain farm products, particularly cotton. With cotton this was attempted through a "plow-up" program and then through an allotment system in which the government rented land from farmers and held it out of production.³

David Campbell teaches in the social science department at Northeast Alabama State Junior College, Rainsville. David Coombs teaches in the sociology department at the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.

A side effect of this policy was that many tenant farmers found themselves without work because land-holding farmers reduced cotton acreage. Although many landowners did provide for tenants, evictions occurred widely in the South. According to one account:

Travelers in the South saw the homeless families on the rivers in flatboats, in the coves and swamps, on barren hillsides, and on the roads. They were without homes, food, or work, half-clothed and sick of body and soul—the “grapes of wrath” of a government which had not intended to harm them.⁴

The Roosevelt administration increasingly recognized the tenant issue as a substantial social problem. For example, in 1936 the Commission of Farm Tenancy concluded that a substantial portion (20-25 percent) of the American farm population, mostly tenants, lived in extreme poverty and were often undernourished, lacked adequate clothing, and were without medical care.⁵ Cooperative farming in carefully designed rural communities became one of the approaches the Roosevelt administration utilized in dealing with the tenant problem. In this historical context the Skyline Farms Project evolved as a program to give some tenants a new start in life.

As far back as Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Americans have expressed a preference for the rural life over that of an industrialized, urban society. Rural life—so the argument ran—lends itself to self-sufficiency and creates good citizens. This belief had strong advocates in the years preceding Roosevelt's New Deal. For example, in his work *Small Farms: A Solution for the Evils of Overcrowded Cities and Unnatural Living* (1911), Gustav Stickley wrote:

...Given agricultural villages with many of the social and cultural advantages of the cities, scientific methods of cultivation, a reasonable amount of cooperation, and the addition of varied handicrafts, there seems to be no obstacle in the way of a return, of all who desire, to the land, to Nature's more rational way of living.⁶

In essence, Stickley had expressed the design of Skyline Farms.

By the 1930's a model for rural community development already existed: the Delhi and Durham rural communities, sponsored by the state of California and planned by Elwood Mead. Consequently, when the industrial economy collapsed in 1929, it was natural that government officials turned to the idea of establishing small, rural communities for ex-tenant farmers.

Several federal agencies were involved in community development during the 1930's and 1940's: the Division of Subsistence Homesteads, the Resettlement Administration, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, and, later, the Farm Security Administration. These agencies attempted many experimental programs. For example, they made loans to the poor for housing, established farming cooperatives, created “green belt” communities in urban areas, and developed rural communities. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)⁷ planned Skyline Farms as such a rural community.

FERA developed twenty-six rural village/community projects; of these, Skyline Farms had the largest number of housing units, the most land, and cost more money than other rural projects. The Skyline Farms Project was located on Cumberland Mountain (elevation: 1,300-1,500 feet), a part of the Southern Appalachian chain that extends into north Alabama. This was a logical location for a project like Skyline Farms because of a high tenancy rate and the availability of land.

Skyline Farms sought rehabilitation in two ways. First, the area's unemployed got jobs constructing the project. Approximately 200-250 unemployed men were hired and paid fifteen cents per hour, the standard rate for labor in the area at the time, to construct roads and clear land so



Work crew uses oxen to clear land at the Skyline Farms project. Photograph provided by Mrs. Ruth Harrington.

that the community itself could be built. Breakfast was served to the workers each morning, because FERA officials realized that many of the employed men were without sufficient food. A former participant described how the men acted at breakfast time:

...I was a cook when I first started. People now can't realize how bad things were back then. The men who started working here a lot of times didn't have money to buy food. I would look out at a crowd of hungry people every morning. There would be as many as 200 some mornings. There would nearly be a stampede when we would put the food out. The meat would be stringy and tough. But the men would just throw their heads back and swallow it whole, they were so hungry. Young people today, they can't understand that. (Interview, S.W. Fairbanks, June 30, 1981)

Second, former tenant farmers became participants in the community building projects. They were to become landowners, through a government-planned collective effort in which ex-tenants would buy their own land. Those selected for the community were organized into various cooperative associations. They jointly owned the project commissary, for example, and helped each other clear land, saw lumber, and construct their houses. FERA officials stressed cooperation. They believed that it was a major innovation that would improve the standard of living for the rural poor, not only at Skyline Farms but elsewhere in the United States.⁸

To permit tenant farmers to become landowners and thus break the cycle of poverty, FERA had a specific, systematic plan. First, land in the project was divided into units of forty to sixty acres. Most of this land was cleared for cultivation and a house was constructed on each land unit. The houses varied in size from three to seven rooms, and eventually 171 housing units were constructed. A barn and smokehouse were also built on each land unit.

After the houses were completed families were selected to occupy house and land. FERA officials seemed keenly aware that who they selected would determine the project's outcome. Therefore, families were required to be on relief, but they had to have had a good credit rating before the Depression.

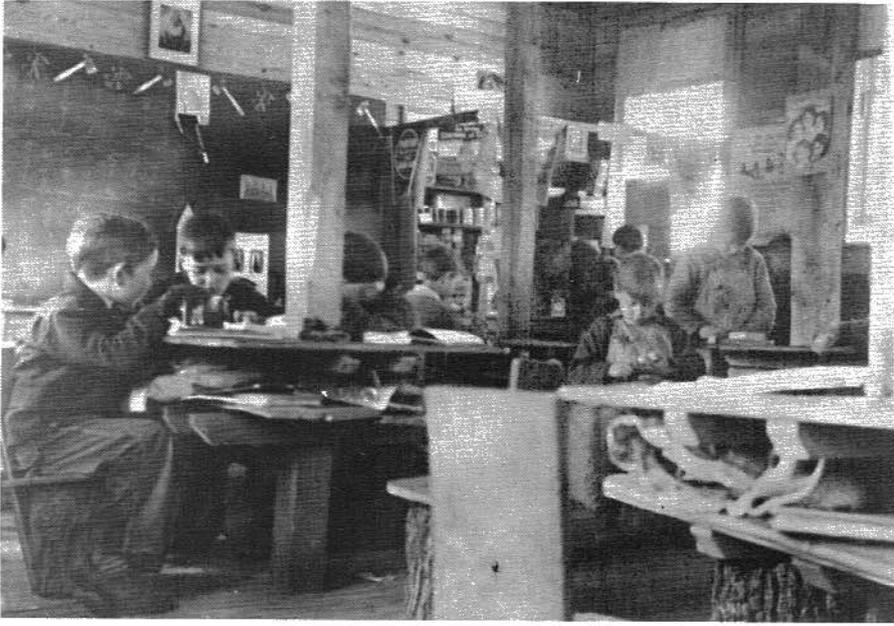
They had to have farm experience, be willing to live in a rural community, be in good health, and be able to show evidence of their past persistence in a work arrangement. Each family needed to be headed by a male aged 35 to 55 and to be of good character with no police record.⁹

On the basis of these criteria, case workers with the Alabama relief program recommended applicants to project officials. Most men selected were employed with the project already. Workers not selected often stayed in temporary housing on the project hoping to be chosen. If selected, families moved into a "colony" house and became full-fledged project participants. They were issued food stamps and their children were given clothing. More important, the participants were prepared to become independent farmers. They were directed in clearing and readying land for cultivation. At first, steers were issued for this work, but later mules were provided. Participants got seed and fertilizer to plant their crops and were instructed by an agricultural expert from Alabama Polytechnic Institute (now Auburn University).

The legal details for converting these former tenant farmers into landowners were initially unclear. The farmers were told that they would be given an opportunity to own their own houses and farm units. Beyond that there were few specifics; policy simply had not been determined. The program was new and unique, and there were no guidelines. FERA officials decided to begin the project and work out purchase details later.¹⁰ Project participants themselves heard several versions of how they would become landowners. At first, they believed that they would be charged for construction of their houses and that the cost of the house could be paid for by other labor done in the project; then they would receive a forty-year mortgage to pay for their land. A later version had it that the participants were considered "homesteaders," and after five years of improving their units they would be granted title (interview, Mr. Virgil Brewer, June 30, 1981). Federal officials finally decided on a lease and purchase contract system, based on the ability of each farmer to pay. The farmer agreed on a fixed price for his unit and paid twenty-five percent of that price by a determined percentage of cash income from crop sales. When this twenty-five percent was fully paid the farmer would be granted a quitclaim deed conveying the property to him. At this point the farmer was to sign a promissory note to pay the balance of the purchase price in forty years at a three percent interest rate. This lease and purchase system was followed by FERA and later by the Resettlement Administration and the Farm Security Administration.¹¹

But there were two qualifications in the quitclaim deed. First, the federal government kept the mineral rights to the land, excluding whatever coal the farmer might need for his own use. The federal government also retained the power to supervise the land until the balance of the purchase price was paid, thus permitting the government to continue its efforts in community development. The effect, of course, was that the farmer would not completely control his land for at least forty years.

This rather complicated procedure for land transference often confused farmers at Skyline. One former participant paid sixty dollars per year for his unit, believing that each sixty-dollar payment was an installment on full payment. In actuality, he was paying the twenty-five percent down payment. He, like many others, was not able to pay that portion completely and lost his unit. He still does not understand why (interview, Mr. Virgil Brewer).



Children prepare lessons in the first temporary school. Photograph provided by Gay and Ola Vaught.

II

To enrich the lives of participants and improve the standard of living, Skyline Farms offered a complete range of social services including education, health care, home economics training, and recreational activity. There were also a cooperative commissary and a small factory.

An important means of breaking the cycle of farm tenancy was thought to be educating the participants' children. FERA attempted this with a government school. At first, officials used a temporary building as the project school; then they constructed a ten-room fieldstone school building. The school employed six teachers and a principal and enrolled 150 to 200 students. The teachers lived in the project, and they used "progressive" educational techniques. Students, for example, were grouped according to educational level and not age. Students advanced at their own speed because instruction was individualized.

The project also provided a health-care clinic. A nurse was on duty at the clinic, and a physician was available on a part-time basis. Health care came through what now would be called a pre-paid group plan, a part of the first such program sponsored by the federal government. Participants paid a nominal fee (approximately two dollars per month) for all medical needs. This program, originated by the Public Health Section of the Resettlement Administration, was common in other such rural projects.

The cooperative commissary at Skyline Farms provided food, merchandise, and general supplies to participants at a low cost. It sold a wide range of supplies, and participants bought food there through a stamp program. It was not a highly profitable venture; dividends never amounted to more than several dollars per year. The commissary was sold when the Skyline Farms Project ended in the mid-1940's and has since been used by private owners as a general food and dry goods store.

Community planners knew that the public works aspect of Skyline Farms would eventually dwindle. Consequently, they decided in 1937 to create permanent jobs by developing a small industry at Skyline Farms and at four other community projects. These industries were constructed with 4.3 million dollars in government loans to cooperative associations throughout the country. Private companies provided plant management and sales service at each industry and got a flat fee plus a percentage of profit. These were highly controversial programs because many opponents of community development labelled them as socialistic.

The small Dexdale Hosiery Mills of Pennsylvania operated and managed the Skyline Farms plant. The mill employed 40 to 50 workers at first and expanded eventually to 100. Workers were paid the prevailing minimum wage, initially thirty-five cents per hour and later forty cents (interview, Mr. Chester Allen, former plant employee, July 7, 1981).

As a financial venture, the industrialization program failed, not only at Skyline Farms but at other projects. After four years in operation, the five hosiery mills suffered a net loss of \$63,982.44. They were hampered by a war-time scarcity of nylon and by mismanagement.¹² The hosiery mill at Skyline Farms was sold outright to the Dexdale Company and has been operated by various companies since then. Though unsuccessful financially, the mill did provide industrial jobs in an area where few existed. However, even these jobs disappeared temporarily in 1947 when the plant closed.

III

A special and intriguing aspect of the Skyline Farms Project was the attempt to create a sense of community among the participants. Neighborliness, cooperativeness, and group activities were encouraged. These, it was believed, would enrich lives and break the social pattern of rural isolation. Carl Taylor, a rural sociologist employed with the Subsistence Homestead Division, felt strongly about creating this sense of community; his ideas reflected the philosophy that went into the planning of Skyline Farms. Taylor believed that "community consciousness" would help establish the collective approach to community development and at the same time make organization easier.¹³

Taylor thought that "community consciousness" could be created through folk music. Such activities, he believed, not only "brought people together" but also served as a means of "self-expression" and relaxation. He also advocated regular "field days" which were festive occasions complete with competitive games. Taylor believed that recreation would break the monotony of day-to-day rural life.¹⁴

Each Friday evening a community band provided music for a square dance. In addition, the Special Skills Division of the Resettlement Administration sent a teacher to Skyline Farms to give instruction in folk dancing and music. In 1938 the band and square dancers from Skyline Farms performed at a White House garden party. The trip was paid for by the Roosevelt family and the federal government. While at the White House, the group, consisting of about thirty people, was introduced to President Franklin Roosevelt. A participant recalls meeting the President:

...When he spoke to you, there was a wake behind him...you could feel it. It wasn't just put-on or make-up. He meant what he said. And that smile on his face. He didn't act like he was worried about a thing in the world. (Interview, Mr. Chester Allen)



Skyline Farms musical group visits Washington, D.C., in 1938. Photograph provided by Ms. Pluma Sparks.

Later, specialists at the Library of Congress recorded the musicians from Skyline Farms as an example of traditional mountain music.

Additionally, participants at Skyline Farms were encouraged to develop their skills in handicrafts which could be sold for extra income. Organizers stressed weaving, quilting, furniture-making, and wood and metal work. And as a part of their progressive education, children in the project learned arts and crafts skills.

As with all aspects of Skyline Farms, there was a deeper social philosophy behind the handicrafts program. The social theorists of the New Deal believed that the creation of handicrafts would serve as a source of community pride which would strengthen the collective spirit of such projects as Skyline Farms. They also felt that by stressing handicrafts, they could develop a sense of pride in workmanship which had been lost in America because of automation and mechanization.¹⁵

IV

Subsistence relief, job opportunities, land and home ownership, education for children, health care, a cooperative store, industrial development, training in agriculture and home economics, recreational activity, creation of a sense of community, and instruction in handicrafts—all were a part of the Skyline Farms program. In looking back, Skyline Farms seems as carefully conceived and as sophisticated in planning as any social reform effort ever attempted by the federal government. Moreover, officials with FERA, the Resettlement Administration, the Subsistence Homestead Division, and the Farm Security Administration envisioned long involvement with these community development projects. However, few projects, including Skyline Farms, were long-lived. As the economy improved in the early 1940's, political hostility to the projects grew. The philosophy and methods behind these planned communities were not in keeping with the values of mainstream American culture, for the projects stressed collectivism under

close government supervision. Many Americans considered these practices in conflict with values of individualism, competition, self-reliance, and freedom from government interference. Contemporary economic conditions had allowed the government temporarily to bypass the mainstream consensus and experiment with new social ideas. But by the early 1940's the Depression was over, and a reaction to the community development projects began. In Congress the Cooley Committee investigated the Farm Security Administration, which had taken over most of the community development projects, including Skyline Farms.¹⁶ Legislators criticized the projects for their extravagance and collective philosophy and often accused program developers of supporting the programs because of communist influence.¹⁷ The end of Skyline Farms was near.

But many participants stayed with the project until the government began liquidation by selling project units en masse. If a participant owed the government, he was ruled automatically ineligible to purchase his unit. Those ineligible to purchase their units were evicted. Many had lived and worked on their units for seven or eight years. For them the order to leave was a life tragedy. One such participant recalls:

...So they decided to just move us off and sell it to outsiders....I got a notice to vacate....So we moved off the project. I had the place in real good shape. I had taken an interest in it just like it was mine....We cleared most of the land ourself ...and finished our home ourself. (Interview, Mr. Virgil Brewer, June 30, 1981)

Eventually, Mr. Brewer said, the government cancelled his debt, but his land and home of seven years were lost. He went back to tenant farming after leaving the project and later migrated north to work.

Other families were forced to leave. In one case a family had lived on their unit for twelve years. A member of the evicted family recalls:

We were told that the place would be ours, then they came and took it from us. We'd worked hard and cleared land, and then we lost it all. We worked so hard at it, I think it broke our health down. (Interview, Mrs. Henry Black, October 19, 1981)

Few families were able to buy their units. Of the approximately 175 to 200 families that took part in the program, only two purchased their units.¹⁸ How did they do it? One former participant explains: "I kept putting off farming, so I didn't owe the government anything." He lived on a unit with his mother and worked at the hosiery mill. Consequently, he was debt-free when the government projects were sold. Had he farmed, he said, he would have been in debt like the others were. Another farm participant stayed out of debt by saving a portion of the money that the government loaned him each year to plant his crops. He, too, bought his unit (interview, Mr. S.W. Fairbanks and Mr. Chester Allen).

Resentment and bitterness toward the federal government still exists among former members of the Skyline community. One observer, for example, maintains that the entire project was a mere scheme by the government to obtain "cheap" labor to clear the land, then sell it for a profit (interview, Mr. Erskine Lands, October 18, 1981).

The Skyline Farms Project did not achieve its goal of turning tenants into landowners. One problem was that the government's rehabilitation plan assumed that the participants could make enough money to buy their units. The results of the project, then, greatly depended on how well this aspect of the government plan worked. But even though the government saw to it that farm participants were equipped with tools, machinery, and supplies, and even though, later, federal officials gave loans to participants each year for their crops, the farms were never very profitable. In fact, they were notably

unprofitable. Participants first attempted to raise cotton, but cool nights on Cumberland Mountain and a problem with boll weevils made cotton a bust. Then the project turned to corn and potatoes, but even though the farms were fairly productive, there was still precious little profit. A former disbursing agent at Skyline Farms describes what happened one particularly productive year:

...We'd pack those potatoes and take them down to Scottsboro and load them in a refrigerated car [train] and send them to Cincinnati. They'd get up there, and they had been sending up so many from over the Southeast...the market was flooded and no one would buy our potatoes. They would just sit there until they started rotting.... We got one broker to take a car that had been sitting on the track several days. He took a car just for the freight. So we lost all the potatoes and the cost of producing them and packaging them.... That proved a big loss...and a lot [of participants] went into debt. (Interview, Mr. Elton Kennamer, July 17, 1981)

Because farm participants at Skyline Farms made little profit, many went further and further into debt, just as though they were still tenant farmers. The only difference was that they were in debt to the government instead of to a private landowner. The ex-tenants were expected to rehabilitate their lives financially through small-scale agriculture, which was, in fact, inherently unprofitable for them.

Many farm families also left the project for other jobs after the economy improved in the early 1940's. These families left for better jobs or to return to their home communities. Some were given the choice of buying their units at market-level prices during the liquidation period. The units sold for approximately \$2,500 to \$3,000 for a house and forty acres. However, most participants refused the offer (interview, Mr. Cecil Harris, July 7, 1981). Their motives for refusing can only be guessed at. Some, perhaps, did not like farming "new ground" that had not been cleared completely. The work was physically hard and unprofitable. Perhaps others did not like the collectivistic approach to community building and the extremely close supervision by government officials. Like other Americans, participants undoubtedly held traditional American beliefs about the value of individualism, freedom, self-reliance, and competition.

Robin Williams, in his classic analysis of American society, pointed out that values such as personal achievement, equality, and freedom are historically based beliefs which most Americans honor in theory and practice. The underlying philosophy behind Skyline Farms might seem to be in basic opposition to those classic American values, might even have seemed that way to people who actually participated in the Skyline Farms experiment. Living and working in the Skyline Farms project was perhaps not sufficient to change values and attitudes deeply rooted in the majority of the participants. Even during the Depression, personal success in the United States had become measured by achievement in the occupational realm through individual competitive effort.¹⁹ And the myth of American equality (of opportunity, of basic rights) maintained the right of every man to manage his own property and compete in a free market to achieve.²⁰ While there was and still is, in fact, vast inequality in the United States, the idea persists that every man is equal to compete and achieve with minimal interference. Consequently when other job opportunities became available, many participants perhaps decided to leave Skyline Farms to pursue more traditional lifestyles. Skyline Farms had been, after all, a work relief project as well as a scheme for redistributing farmland. Many people employed at the project learned skills that permitted them to find work as painters, brickmasons, or carpenters after they left Skyline Farms. And children at

Skyline School had educational opportunities unavailable to them elsewhere during the Depression era. Many workers and their children, no doubt, used their training and education to break the tenancy cycle.

The project had other benefits. People received adequate health care, food, clothing, and housing at least for a few years. The project carried many participants through the worst part of the Depression. As a relief agency, the Skyline Farms Project had unquestionable benefits. "I think it improved the standard of living to no end," recalls one administrator at the project (interview, Mr. Elton Kennamer, July 17, 1981).

On still another level, Skyline Farms did develop a community on Cumberland Mountain. Though it was not the collective, cooperative community that federal planners once envisioned, it was—and continues to be today—an environmentally attractive and relatively prosperous community of several hundred people. Importantly, many who participated in the Skyline Farms Project still have a sense of pride that they helped build the community.

Many present-day residents of Cumberland Mountain stem from families that bought land units when they were sold between 1944 and 1947. At that time it was stipulated that units must be sold to people of low or moderate income. Consequently, families obtained homes and farms that otherwise might not have been available. Most of the purchasers had stayed free of the debt incurred by participants. They drew regular salaries as employees of the project or in the private sector of the economy. When the units were sold, they could afford them.

In looking back, then, all was not lost at Skyline Farms, even though the project fell short of its original goal. The experiment had its victims—ex-tenants who heard the rhetoric of opportunities that were never delivered. Many of those who participated in the project still wonder today what went wrong.

NOTES

1. Quoted in the Jackson County (Ala.) *Progressive Age*, July 9, 1936.
2. This paper is based in large part on interviews with former participants in the Skyline Farms Project:

Chester Allen, Skyline, Ala., factory worker and musician;
 Vesta Allen, Skyline, homemaker;
 Lilah Beason, Scottsboro, Ala., teacher;
 Mrs. Henry Black, Skyline, homemaker;
 Virgil Brewer, Skyline, farmer;
 S.W. Fairbanks, Skyline, farmer;
 Jean Hill, Powell, Ala., student;
 Elton Kennamer, Guntersville, Ala., disbursing agent;
 Ruby Kennamer, Guntersville, homemaker;
 Bertha Kirby, Scottsboro, project neighbor;
 Ruby Lands, Skyline, homemaker;
 Jean Nelson, Rainsville, Ala., student;
 Mrs. Otis Sharp, Powell, Ala., homemaker;
 Ozell Sparks, Rainsville, project neighbor;
 Pluma Sparks, Rainsville, homemaker;
 Gay Vaught, Scottsboro, commissary employee;
 Ola Vaught, Scottsboro, teacher.

The interviews were conducted in 1981 and 1982. Tapes are available at Northeast Alabama State Junior College, Rainsville, Ala. A more lengthy analysis, including some photographs, also is available at the Northeast State Library.

SKYLINE FARMS

3. For background information on the Roosevelt administration's agricultural policy see David Conrad, *The Forgotten Farmer* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1965); Richard Kirkendall, *Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt* (Columbia, Mo.: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1966); Paul Mertz, *New Deal Policy and Southern Rural Poverty* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1978); and Van L. Perkins, *Crisis in Agriculture: The Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the New Deal* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1969).

4. Conrad, *The Forgotten Farmer*, p. 77.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

6. Gustav Stickley, quoted in "Small Farms: A Solution for the Evils of Overcrowded Cities and Unnatural Living," *Craftsman*, 20 (1911), 305-11.

7. For an excellent account of these programs see Paul Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1959). For information on specific programs see Edward Banfield, *Government Project* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951); Paul W. Wager, *One Foot on the Soil* (Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Ala. Press, 1945); Russell Lord and Paul H. Johnstone, eds., *A Place on Earth* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942); Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1968); and Donald Holley, *Uncle Sam's Farmers: The New Deal Communities in the Lower Mississippi Valley* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1975).

8. For an example of this attitude, see Carl Taylor, *Rural Sociology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1926).

9. John Holt, "An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects" (Washington, D.C.: Farm Security Administration, 1937), pp. 39-44. This selection process was followed at other community projects. For example, see Mike Smathers, "The Search for the Garden," *Southern Exposure*, 8 (Spring 1980), 58.

10. Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, pp. 218-20.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

13. Taylor, *Rural Sociology*, pp. 516-24.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 528-9. Also, for a very good account of this program see Jannelle Warren-Findley, "Musicians and Mountaineers: The Resettlement Administration's Music Program in Appalachia, 1935-1937," *Appalachian Journal*, 7 (Autumn-Winter 1979-1980), 105-123.

15. Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, p. 193.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-8.

17. *Ibid.*

18. The methodological device utilized for this finding was the following: the names of persons obtaining quitclaim deeds from the FSA during the 1944-1947 period were obtained. Then, key participants in the project examined the list to determine how many of the people acquiring homes or land were original members. Deeds were obtained from Direct Index to Deeds, Book Eight, 1936-1946, the Office of Probate Judge, Jackson County Courthouse, Scottsboro, Ala.

19. Robin Williams, *American Society* (New York: Knopf, 1959), pp. 417-21.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 436-44.