UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
AND
THE BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
COOPERATING

A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama

BY KARL SHAFER

SOCIAL RESEARCH REPORT NO. VI

WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 1937

In order that administrators might be supplied with needed information concerning the problems and conditions with which its program is concerned, the Resettlement Administration (absorbed September 1 by the Farm Security Administration) with the cooperation of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics conducted a number of research investigations. This is one of a series of reports on these researches. Others will be made available to administrators of programs for the welfare of rural people as rapidly as they are completed. Reports to be issued, as planned at this time, include:

I. An Analysis of Methods and Criteria Used in Selecting Families for Colonization Projects, by John B. Holt.
II. Tenure of New Agricultural Holdings in Several European Countries, by Erich Kraemer.
III. Living Conditions and Population Migration in Four Appalachian Counties, by L. S. Dodson.
IV. Social Status and Farm Tenure - Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers, by E. A. Schuler.
V. Analysis and Evaluation of Criteria and Methods Used in Selecting Families for a Reclamation Project - A Case Study of the Tule Lake Community in Northeastern California, by Marie Jasny.
VI. A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama, by Karl Shafer.
VII. Influence of Drought and Depression on a Rural Community - A Case Study in Haskell County, Kansas, by A. D. Edwards.
VIII. Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, by Carl C. Taylor, E. L. Kirkpatrick, and Berta Asch.
IX. Analysis of 60,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families, by E. L. Kirkpatrick and Berta Asch.
X. Standards of Living in Four Appalachian Mountain Counties, by C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson.
XI. Standards of Living of the Residents of Six Rural Resettlement Communities, by C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr.
XII. Standards of Living in a Typical Drought Area - South Dakota, by C. P. Loomis and Edmund deS. Brunner, Jr.
XIII. Standards of Living in Good and Poor Land Areas in the Lakes States Cut-Over Region, by C. P. Loomis and Joseph J. Lister.
XIV. Standards of Living in an Indian Village and a Reclamation Village, by C. P. Loomis and O. E. Leonard.
XV. Standards of Living in Six Virginia Counties, by C. P. Loomis and B. L. Hummel.
XVI. Social Relationships and Institutions in Three Established Rural Communities, by L. S. Dodson and C. P. Loomis.
XVII. Migration and Mobility of Rural Population in the United States, by Conrad Taeuber and C. E. Lively.
XVIII. Social Relationships and Institutions in Six New Rural Communities, by C. P. Loomis.

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Acknowledgment is made to Professor Harold C. Hoffsommer of Louisiana State University for his assistance in the conduct of this study.

FOREWORD

The work of the Resettlement Administration in Coffee County, Alabama, offered a unique opportunity to utilize social research in economic and social planning. Antecedent to the establishment of the Resettlement Administration, the Alabama State Rural Rehabilitation Corporation had bought 60,259.11 acres of land in scattered tracts throughout the county. The control of this land, together with a rather extensive rural rehabilitation program, made it possible for the Resettlement Administration to take substantial steps toward the reorientation of the population and the social institutions to the lands of the county.

Complete and hearty cooperation of all county and State agencies - educational, health, welfare, and agricultural - was readily secured. This social study has been carried on, therefore, as a cooperative enterprise between these local and State agencies, the Regional Office of the Resettlement Administration at Birmingham, Alabama, and the Social Research Section of the Washington Office, Resettlement Administration.

Karl Shafer, the writer of this report, was assigned to the study by the Washington Office of the Social Research Section. He acted not only as field agent but also as coordinator of the research project. The data he gathered were considerably more detailed than those included here, but the facts presented will demonstrate the possibility of local planning through the cooperation of all the agencies concerned and the people of a particular area.

Because it was expected that the research and the planning would be followed by definite action, the content of this report is focused rather sharply on specific issues and modified by the extent to which it would be of comparatively immediate use.

In the Appendix a synopsis of concrete recommendations for one phase of action is offered.

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A BASIS FOR SOCIAL PLANNING IN COFFEE COUNTY, ALABAMA

By Karl Shafer

Chapter I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF COFFEE COUNTY, ALABAMA

A little over 100 years ago land in Coffee County, Alabama, was taken over by the Government and offered for sale at 12 cents an acre. Some of this land has now returned to Government hands. The agriculture that has dominated the area throughout this lapse of a century has passed through many phases, bringing important social and economic changes into the life of the county.

Originally, Coffee County consisted principally of forests. Its settlement was delayed by the opposition of the war-like Creek Indians and by the fact that the planters to the west considered the area more or less worthless. When the government first offered the land for sale in the early 1830's, there were no buyers; in the latter part of the decade, however, settlers began coming in from Georgia and the Carolinas to establish homesteads along the Pea River. These settlers, largely of Scottish and Scotch-Irish stock, were poor and lacked the resources to buy large tracts even at the low price asked by the government. Moreover, they did not possess the slave labor which was needed if large plantations of the type common in the Black Belt were to be worked.

The early settlers disregarded the hilly pine barrens around the present site of Enterprise and established themselves along the banks of the rivers. Partly because modern methods of fertilization were lacking, the land was poor and unproductive for cotton; then, too, it was marshy and heavily dotted with small lakes that were not drained until after the close of the Civil War. Consequently, during the early days sheep and cattle raising became the most important industry and remained so until 1880.

The turpentine industry came into existence in the pine lands of the county in 1880; at the same time certain other areas were utilized for cotton and corn. New settlers pushed into the uncleared lands around the present sites of Enterprise and New Brockton where the extensive pine woods proved excellently adapted to the production of turpentine and lumber. This land, after clearing, yielded better crops of cotton and corn than the older sections of the county had ever done.

A spur of the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad was constructed through Coffee County in 1898, and the new towns of Enterprise and New Brockton sprang up beside it. Enterprise grew so rapidly that by 1910 it was the

largest town in the county. The railroad did not pass through Clintonville, which had been the largest town until 1889, and today nothing remains of that settlement.

After 1880 the character of the agriculture in the area changed completely. Stock raising declined, and the profitable turpentine industry that superseded it concentrated local wealth in a relatively few hands. Then, as large-scale cotton farming developed, many small farmers lost their land and became tenants on the small plots they had formerly owned.

Until the middle years of the World War, Coffee County continued to be a cotton section with Enterprise as its center. But the advent of the boll weevil in 1916 brought about another change. In 1917 one-half of the cotton was lost and in 1918 there was a complete crop failure. After that, according to reports, one landlord decided that he had had enough experience with cotton. A tenant farmer, therefore, was ordered to plant his entire acreage in peanuts and was given a profitable contract for the disposal of the crop. The tenant produced a bumper crop, clearing $2,000. Shortly thereafter the landlord in the case established the first peanut mill in the county at Enterprise and offered to buy all the peanuts growers would produce.

Practically the entire section around Enterprise was planted in peanuts by 1920. The crop that year brought about $5,000,000 compared with the average of $1,000,000 formerly realized on cotton. The people of Enterprise even constructed a monument to the destructive boll weevil, a unique testimonial standing in the center of the town and symbolizing the change from the old system to the new. During the 1920's, Coffee County reached its most prosperous period agriculturally, with peanuts serving as a money crop and other products being used for food stuffs and the restoration of the soil.

This relative prosperity, however, did not persist, and after the onset of the depression numerous problems developed. In 1935 some 60,000 acres, consisting of scattered farms on which mortgage holders had foreclosed, were taken over by the Rural Rehabilitation Corporation of Alabama. Some time later the responsibilities of the Alabama Corporation were assumed by the Resettlement Administration which, in turn, was absorbed on September 1, 1937, by the Farm Security Administration. As the present governmental holdings are scattered over the entire county, any program undertaken by the Farm Security Administration affects, at least indirectly, the whole population of the area.

Chapter II

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Growth of Population, 1880-1930

In the 50 years preceding 1930 the population of Coffee County increased from 8,119 inhabitants to 32,556. This amounts to a gain of 301 percent, or an average annual growth of 2.8 percent. By way of comparison, the number of people in the State as a whole increased from 1,262,505 to 2,646,248, registering an average annual growth of 1.5 percent.

The greatest change in population in Coffee County occurred between 1890 and 1900, when there was an average annual increase of 6 percent. During the same period, Alabama's average annual increase was less than 2 percent. After 1900, however, the growth of the county slowed down rapidly. Although the rate of gain for the 10 years preceding equaled 72 percent, it was only 25 percent in the 10 years following 1900. Between 1910 and 1920 the population of the county increased by 15 percent, and between 1920 and 1930 by only 8 percent. Despite a larger number of people in the reproductive ages, the actual increase of population was less from one decade to the next. The trend for the State was very nearly similar.

Table 1.- Population growth, 1880-1930

Year	Coffee County		State of Alabama	
	Number	Percent gain 3/	Number	Percent gain 3/
1880 1/	8,119	32	1,262,505	27
1890 1/	12,170	50	1,513,401	20
1900 1/	20,972	72	1,828,697	21
1910 1/	26,119	25	2,138,093	17
1920 2/	30,070	15	2,348,174	10
1930 2/	32,556	8	2,646,248	13
1880-1930	-	301	-	110

1/ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Population, V. 2.
2/ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, V. 3. part 1.
3/ Gain for preceding decade.

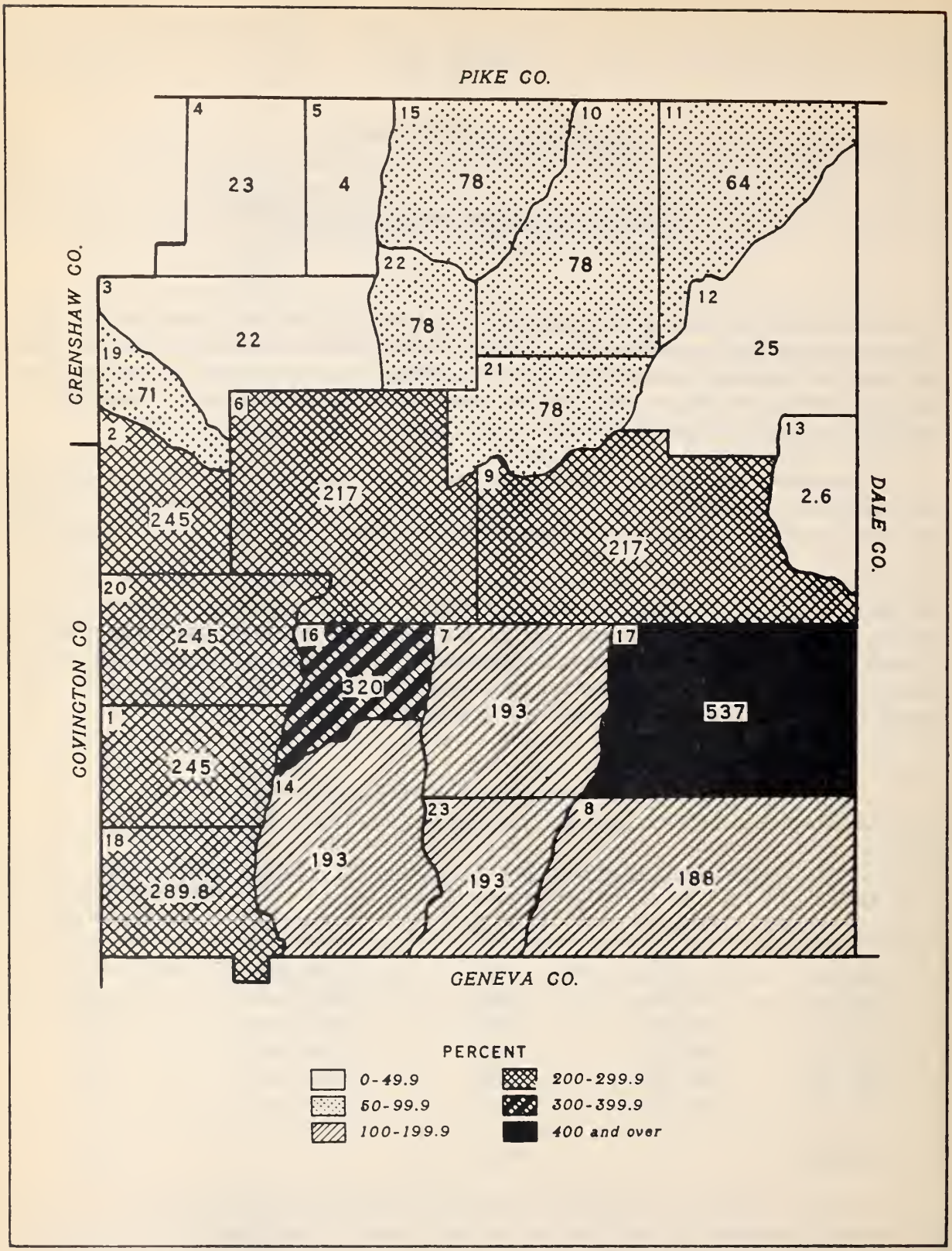

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FIGURE 1.- PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN TOTAL POPULATION, BY BEATS, COFFEE COUNTY, ALABAMA, 1890-1930. (RATES FOR BEATS FORMED SINCE 1890 BASED ON ENTIRE ORIGINAL AREA.)

Population Changes by Minor Civil Divisions

The minor civil divisions of Coffee County, known as Beats, differ widely with respect to area, number of people, and population trends. At one extreme is Beat 13 with an increase of only 2.6 percent from 1890-1930; at the other extreme is Beat 17 with an increase of 537 percent (Fig.1). On the basis of the rates of population change, Coffee County can be divided into 5 sub-areas:

Area I is a sparsely settled region lying in the northwest quarter of the county. Its present population only slightly exceeds that of 1890, and it has been losing inhabitants since 1900.

Area II, similar to Area I in that it has few people, is in the northeast quarter of the county. Its population has been declining since 1910.

Area III, which lies between Areas I and II, is more heavily settled. A small net loss of population took place between 1920 and 1930.

Area IV, in the southeast quarter, consists of 7 Beats. During the last 40 years, most of the population increase has taken place in Areas IV and V, which contain Elba, Enterprise, and New Borckton, the three largest towns in the county.

Area V is situated in the southwest quarter of the county. Its increase in population has been slightly higher even than that of Area IV.

A recent report of the Land Use Section of the Resettlement Administration shows that the superior lands in the county are so distributed as to practically coincide with Areas IV and V. On the other hand, Areas I and II comprise land which, to a large extent, is not suitable for cultivation. Area III includes land classified as "fair," or intermediate.

From the foregoing it is evident that a close relationship exists between poor land and little population growth and between good land and considerable population growth. While the greatest increases in population during the last 40 years have taken place in the best parts of the county, the successive declines in the different areas correspond rather closely with the order of their value as agricultural units.

Growth of Towns and Retardation of Open-Country Areas

The population differences among these sub-areas are in part due to the rapid growth of the county's major trade centers, especially Elba and Enterprise which in 1930 contained 2,523 and 3,702 persons respectively. For every decade in the 1900-30 period, the rates of increase for both towns exceeded those for the county as a whole, as well as those for the open-country population. They have been growing at a rate which could be maintained only

by virtue of migration from the open country. Together, they included 19.1 percent of the county's population in 1930.

Table 2.- Growth of population in Elba and Enterprise, Alabama, 1880-1930

Year	Elba		Enterprise	
	Number	Percent gain 3/	Number	Percent gain 3/
1880 1/	222 4/	-	- 5/	-
1890 1/	285	28	250 4/	-
1900 1/	635	123	610	144
1910 1/	1,079	69	2,322	281
1920 2/	1,681	55	3,013	30
1930 2/	2,523	50	3,702	23

1/ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Population, V. 2.
2/ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, V. 1.
3/ Gain for preceding decade.
4/ Estimated.
5/ Not incorporated.

During the half century elapsing since 1880, the percentage of the population living in incorporated communities increased from about 3 percent to 22 percent. While the open-country population 1/ increased 3-fold, the population of incorporated places grew 30-fold. Even between 1920 and 1930 when the open-country population remained virtually unchanged, the number of people in incorporated places increased by more than 40 percent. During this decade, less than one-fourth of the county's population reported seven-eighths of the total gain.

The open-country population grew from 7,897 in 1880, to 25,216 in 1930 (Table 3). This was the period when migration into southern Alabama was high and urbanization had scarcely begun. Following 1900 the growth of the open-country population became less and less pronounced, so that between 1920 and 1930 the gain amounted to only about 1 percent. The incorporation of New Brockton and Kinston accounts for a part of this retardation.

How long this trend can continue -- the open-country population remaining virtually stationary while the village and urban population continues

1/ Open-country population includes all persons, whether farm or non-farm, not living in incorporated communities.

to grow -- cannot be accurately predicted. If the agricultural land in the county can support an increasing population, the service functions of the villages and urban centers will probably become more and more important. Hence the centers will not only care for their own natural increase, but they will also absorb gains from outlying areas without difficulty. If, on the other hand, the land cannot support additional population under existing farm practices and in accordance with prevailing standards of living, no increase in the service functions of village centers will be necessary. In this event, both the open-country and the urban areas will be able to sustain only a stationary or decreasing population. Should the population adjustment between the rural and the urban areas fail to follow this pattern, an increasing relief load in the towns will be inevitable.

Table 3.- Growth of open-country and village population, Coffee County, Alabama, 1880-1930

Year	Open country				Incorporated places 4/			
	Number	Percent gain 5/	Percent of - County total	Percent of - County gain 5/	Number	Percent gain 5/	Percent of - County total	Percent of - County gain 5/
1880 1/	7,897	-	97	-	222	-	3	-
1890 2/	11,635	47	96	92	535	141	4	8
1900 2/	19,727	70	94	92	1,245	133	6	8
1910 2/	22,390	14	86	52	3,729	200	14	48
1920 3/	24,909	12	83	65	5,161	38	17	35
1930 3/	25,216	1	78	13	7,340	42	22	87

1/ Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Population, V. 1.
2/ Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Population, V. 2.
3/ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, V. 1.
4/ Gains for incorporated places include those due to the incorporation of towns and villages, such as Enterprise between 1890 and 1900, New Brockton between 1900 and 1910, and Kinston between 1920 and 1930.
5/ Gain for preceding decade.

The Negro Population

Although Negroes have constituted a part of the population of Coffee County since its organization in 1841, the racial distribution before 1880 is not here considered. Since 1900, over one-fifth of the population has been made up of Negroes. Between 1880 and 1900, the ratio was 1 to 6. The percentage of Negroes in the county, however, never has been as large as the percentage of Negroes in the State of Alabama.

Although the Negroes are increasing less rapidly than the whites in

the State as a whole, in Coffee County the ratio of increase for the whites was greater than that for the Negroes only between 1910 and 1920 when many Negroes moved North. During the other decades before 1930, the Negroes increased as rapidly as, or more rapidly than, the whites. Between 1890 and 1900, they accounted for one-fourth of the total increase in the population of the county.

Table 4.- Growth of population, by color, Coffee County, Alabama, 1880-1930

Year	White				Negro			
	Number	Percent gain 4/	Percent of - County total	Percent of - County gain 4/	Number	Percent gain 4/	Percent of - County total	Percent of - County gain 4/
1880 1/	6,831	-	84.2	-	1,288	-	15.8	-
1890 1/	10,237	49.9	84.1	84.1	1,933	50.1	15.9	15.9
1900 1/	16,739	63.5	79.8	73.9	4,233	119.0	20.2	26.1
1910 2/	20,336	21.5	77.9	69.9	5,782	36.6	22.1	30.1
1920 2/	23,775	17.4	79.0	87.0	6,294	8.9	21.0	13.0
1930 3/	25,662	7.9	78.8	75.9	6,894	9.5	21.2	24.1

1/ Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Population, V. 1.
2/ Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Population, V. 3.
3/ Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, V. 3, part 1.
4/ Gain for preceding decade.

Table 5.- Residence of population, by color, Coffee County, Alabama, 1930

Residence	White		Negro	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Urban 1/	4,475	72	1,750	28
Rural non-farm	1,786	73	675	27
Rural farm	19,401	81	4,469	19
Total	25,662	79	6,894	21

Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, V. 3.
1/ Elba and Enterprise are the urban centers. The classification of all incorporated places by color is not given in the census.

The urban areas of the county, Elba and Enterprise, possess more of the Negro population than would be expected if no relationship existed be-

tween urban residence and race. Although 21 percent of the inhabitants of the county are Negroes, 28 percent of all the persons in the urban centers are of that race. Moreover, while Negroes comprise 27 percent of all non-farm dwellers, they constitute only 19 percent of the farm population.

On the other hand, white persons comprise 79 percent of all the inhabitants in the county, but 81 percent of the total agricultural population. In the rural non-farm areas they constitute only 73 percent of the total, and in urban communities only 72 percent. Moreover, although urban places include 19 percent of the total population of the county, they have 25 percent of the Negroes and 17 percent of the whites.

If the population is classified as farm and non-farm, the proportion of Negroes living in non-farm places is greater than the proportion of whites reporting non-farm residence. Thirty-five percent of all the Negroes are non-farm residents as compared with 24 percent of all the white persons (Fig. 2). The best land areas in the county contain a larger proportion of the total Negro population than of the white population, this statement holding true even when Beats 6 and 17, which include Elba and Enterprise, are omitted. There is some indication that this concentration of Negroes on good land results partly from the opposition toward Negro competition on poor lands and partly from the employment of Negro labor in the better farming areas of the county (Fig 2).

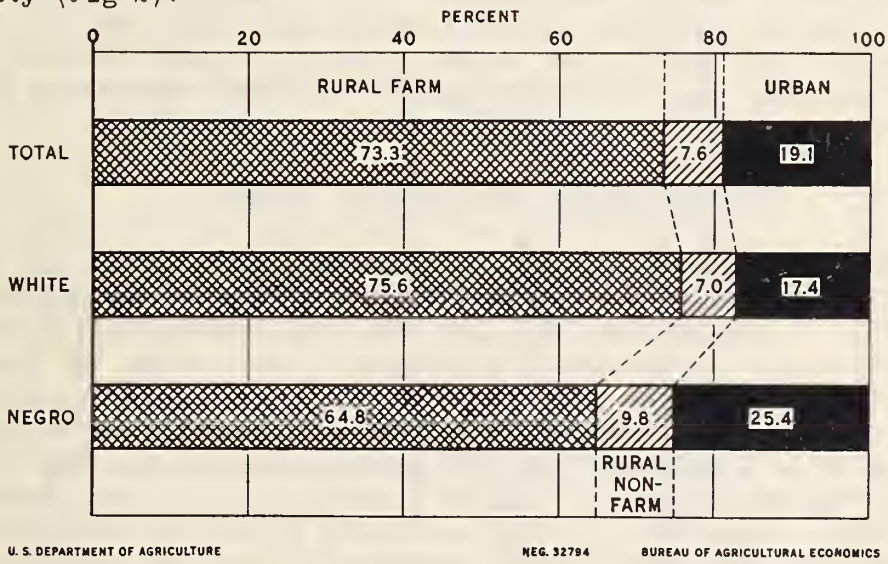

FIGURE 2.- WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION BY SEX AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE, COFFEE COUNTY, ALABAMA, 1930.

If the assumption is correct that most of the rural non-farm homes are located in sections closely surrounding the urban centers, it would appear not only that there are proportionately more Negroes in both urban centers and rural non-farm localities, but also that, as areas farther and farther from urban centers are considered, the proportion of Negroes in the population diminishes.

Vital Processes Since 1920

Changes in the number of persons living in an area are occasioned by migration and by the relationship between births and deaths. In some cases, sections retain practically all of their natural increase in population and absorb other persons through migration. In other cases, while the rate of natural increase is maintained, many inhabitants are lost to other areas. In instances of the latter sort, population may continue to grow numerically, but the stream of outgoing persons is greater than the stream of incoming persons. In still other cases, net emigration is so heavy that it removes a number greater than the excess of births over deaths, and decreases in total population occur.

All of these situations can be found within Coffee County. Elba and Enterprise, which absorbed more migrants than they sent out, grew more rapidly than they would had they been dependent entirely upon their own natural increase. During recent years the rate of growth in the southern sections of the county has diminished. A net migration from these areas is now under way, but it is not heavy enough to counter-balance the excess of births over deaths. The northwestern and northeastern sections have lost population because the emigration has exceeded the natural increase.

The excess of births over deaths in the county from 1920 to 1930 was such that, had no migration occurred, there would have been an increase of approximately 7,500 during the decade. The fact that the total growth between 1920 and 1930 was only 2,500 proves that much emigration actually took place.

Births, Deaths, and Natural Increase

Few data on births were available before 1920. For that matter, Alabama was not admitted to the birth-registration area of the United States until 1927 when it presumably fulfilled the requirement that at least 90 percent of its births be recorded. Changes in the number of births and deaths, especially during the years before 1927, were due partly to changes in the registration system. During the depression years, the number of births declined. The State Bureau of Vital Statistics suggests that the retarding effects of the depression upon the number of births has lessened considerably since 1933. This, together with the increasing number of marriages during 1933 and 1934, may have been largely responsible for the increase in the number of births during 1935.

The trends for whites and Negroes were somewhat similar from 1920 to 1935. Though the colored birth rate exceeds the white birth rate in Alabama as a whole, the reverse is true in Coffee County. Even granting the existence of a considerable error in statistics on Negro births, it seems very probable that the colored people in Coffee County are less prolific than the whites. Neither the white nor the colored population seems to be reproducing here as

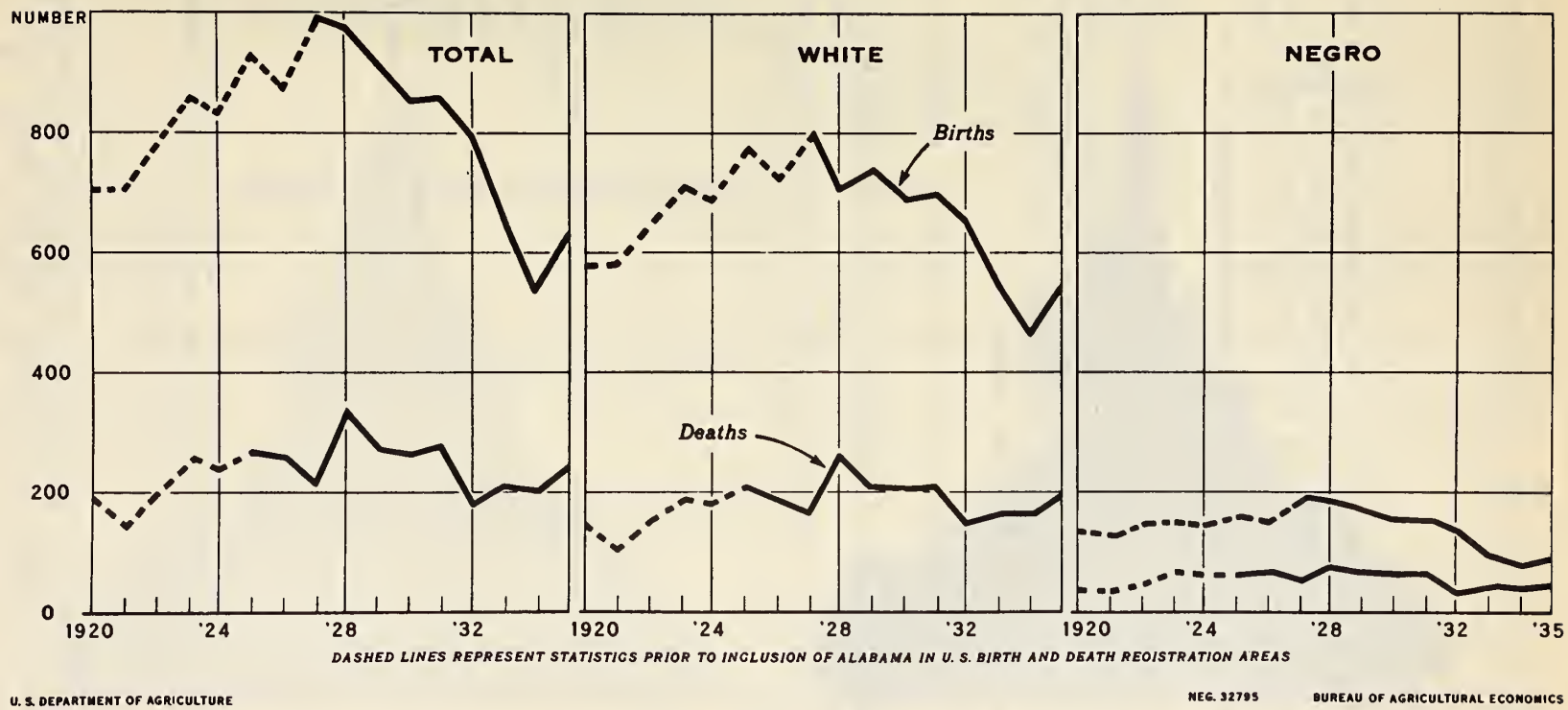

FIG. 3.- BIRTHS AND DEATHS, COFFEE COUNTY, ALABAMA, 1920 - 1935

rapidly as in other parts of the State. Only in the three large urban centers of Alabama was the white birth rate in 1934 less than in Coffee County, and for the total rates for that year only Jefferson County, which includes Birmingham, had proportionately as few births.

In general, the number of deaths in the county has varied less than the number of births. The greatest mortality for the period 1920-35 occurred during 1928, following the large number of births reported in 1927. From 345 deaths in 1928, the number fell to 210 in 1934 and then rose to 241 in 1935 (Fig. 3). This trend existed for both white and colored persons, although the Negro death rate generally exceeded that of the white group.

Among both white persons and Negroes, the death rates were considerably lower than those for the State, only one other county experiencing as few deaths in proportion to its population. This phenomenon may be accounted for either by extremely favorable living conditions or by inadequate reporting of deaths. At present, the State Health Department is attempting to ascertain the relative influence that each factor exerts.

Table 6.- Natural increase, by color, Coffee County, Alabama, 1920-35

Year	White		Negro		Total	
	Number	Per 1000 of population	Number	Per 1000 of population	Number	Per 1000 of population
1920	426	17.8	98	15.5	524	17.3
1921	474	19.7	97	15.2	571	18.8
1922	487	20.1	107	16.6	594	19.4
1923	517	21.1	85	13.3	602	19.5
1924	502	20.4	89	13.6	591	19.0
1925	562	22.7	100	15.1	662	21.0
1926	531	21.3	90	13.5	621	19.6
1927	634	25.2	139	20.7	773	24.2
1928	526	20.8	109	16.0	635	19.8
1929	527	20.6	107	15.6	634	19.6
1930	490	19.1	93	13.4	583	17.9
1931	492	19.0	93	13.4	585	17.8
1932	503	19.3	107	15.3	610	18.4
1933	398	15.1	50	7.1	448	13.4
1934	295	11.2	42	5.9	337	10.1
1935	343	12.8	49	6.8	392	11.6

Rate computed on the basis of the population reported by the census; 1920 figures used through 1929, and 1930 figures thereafter.

The natural increase of a population is obtained by subtracting the number of deaths from the number of births. As the number of births has

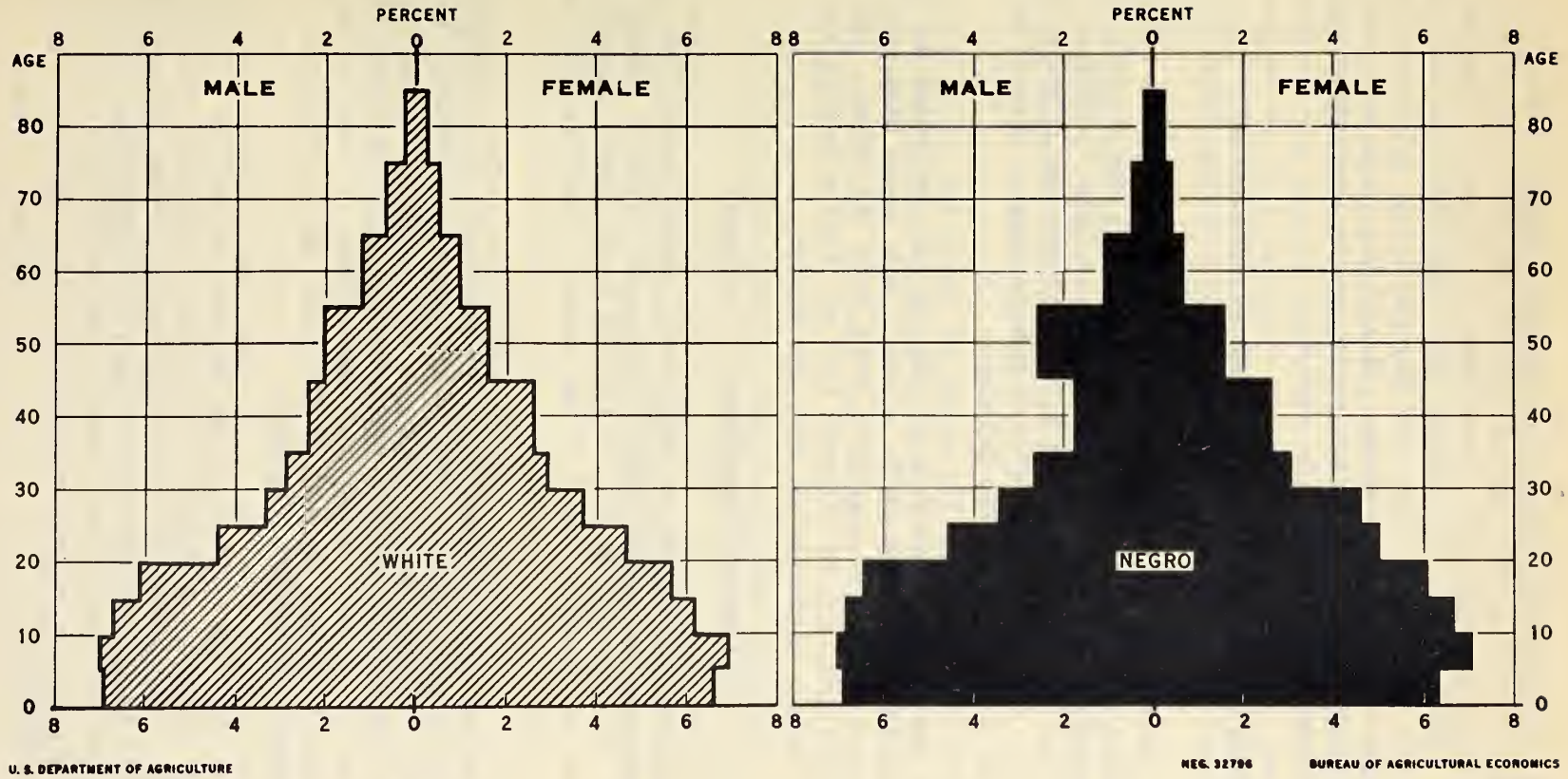

FIGURE 4.- AGE COMPOSITION OF WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION, COFFEE COUNTY, ALABAMA, 1930.

declined more rapidly than the number of deaths, Coffee County's natural increase has dropped. During the period 1933-35 it fell considerably below that of any other year since 1920. (See Table 6, p. 12.) Both white and colored rates of increase for the county were less than the corresponding rates for the State, the county rates for Negroes being only about one-half of those for Negroes throughout the State. Should the birth rate fall to the level of the death rate, the population would remain stationary except for changes effected by migration.

Extent and Effect of Migration on Composition of Population

The actual growth of Coffee County's population has been considerably less than its natural increase. Between 1920 and 1930, the net migration out of the county was equivalent to 60 percent of the natural increase. The reported excess of births over deaths was 6,207, whereas the increase in population according to the census was only 2,486 persons. Therefore the net emigration amounted to at least 3,700 persons.

Similarly, the farm population of the county decreased by approximately .5 percent between 1930 and 1935, a result that could have been brought about only by a pronounced net migration away from the farms. In no year during the 1920-35 period have the Negroes lost as large a proportion of their natural increase through migration as have the whites.

Increasing Proportion of the Aged

Usually emigration removes a relatively large proportion of young adults, thus increasing the proportion of older and younger persons in the area. This fact, in combination with a falling birth rate, tends to result in a smaller number of children and a larger number of middle-aged and older persons.

The age and sex composition of a population may be represented conveniently by a population pyramid. Normally this will show that the number of persons in each successive age group is less than in the preceding age group. The age composition of the population of Coffee County in 1930, however, is typical of an area which has been sending out migrants, in that the number of persons between 20 and 30 years of age is much less than the number in the younger age groups (Fig. 4).

It is clear that the effect of the emigration and the low birth rate has been to increase disproportionately the number of persons over 45 years of age in the county. Another factor in the excess of males between 45 and 65 is the fact that the large immigrant population of 20 years ago is reaching an advanced age. In another generation these persons will have shifted into the age groups characterized by extremely high mortality, and an increase in the death rate may be expected.

Summary of Population Characteristics

In general, population changes and distribution may be summarized as follows:

(1) In contrast to the relatively even population trend for the State, Coffee County experienced a short period of very rapid growth followed by a sharp decline in its rate of increase. During the 1890-1900 decade the population expanded by 72.3 percent, while for the 10 years ending in 1930 it gained by only 8.3 percent. By way of comparison, the increase in the State for the 1890-1900 period equaled 20.8 percent and for the 1920-30 period, 12.7 percent.

(2) The growth in the population of minor civil divisions since 1890 has been irregular. Thus, while one Beat with land of intermediate quality grew by only 2.6 percent in the 40 years preceding 1930, another in the best land area increased by 537 percent.

According to the order in which the population has multiplied since 1890, the 23 Beats may be grouped into five more-or-less distinct areas. Most noticeable in these areas is the close correspondence between inferior land and low population increase and between superior land and high population increase.

(3) The rate of increase in the total rural population has diminished steadily for the last 35 years, and the number of persons living on farms has actually declined. Between 1930 and 1935, the migration from farms was so great that the farm population of Coffee County decreased, despite the presence on farms in 1935 of nearly 1,000 persons who had lived in non-farm residences 5 years earlier.

(4) The proportion of persons living in incorporated places which has been rising since 1880, reached 22 percent by 1930. In that year less than 3 percent of the population lived in incorporated towns and villages. During the last 20 years, practically all gains in Coffee County's population have occurred in urban centers. It is possible that much of this growth may be accounted for by the shifting of rural farm and non-farm people to towns.

(5) Contrary to the trend for the State as a whole and for the South generally, Coffee County reports a growing proportion of colored persons in its population. Negroes now comprise 21 percent of the total, as compared with 15 percent in 1880. In every decade since that year, they have contributed more to the population gain in relation to their numbers than the whites. Urban centers, rather than rural areas, have received by far the greater amount of the Negro increase.

(6) Although the majority of both whites and Negroes live on farms, the trend of movement toward rural non-farm and urban areas is more pronounced among the Negroes. Twenty-five percent of the Negroes, as compared with only 17 percent of the whites, reside in urban centers. The situation in rural

non-farm sections adjoining urban areas is similar. Thus 18 percent of the colored and only 9 percent of the white persons live in the rural non-farm environs of Elba and Enterprise.

(7) Both for white and for colored persons, the birth rates are considerably lower in Coffee County than in the State as a whole. The rate for Negroes is lower than that for whites. A peak of 802 (31.9 per 1,000) white births and 193 (28.7 per 1,000) Negro births was reported in 1927. Since then the proportion has declined to 537 (20.1) and 96 (13.4) respectively.

(8) The death rates for both white and colored persons in Coffee County are smaller than those for the entire State. The death rates in the county have remained more or less constant for the last 15 years. The rate for Negroes has been consistently higher than that for the white population.

(9) The rates of natural increase both for Negroes and for white persons are declining. Within the last few years the rate for the total population of the county has dropped to levels considerably below those that characterized the earlier part of the period following 1920. The rate of natural increase among the Negroes in the county was approximately one-half as great as that among the Negroes of Alabama.

(10) Although the rate of natural increase in Coffee County was less for the colored population than for the white, the rate of actual increase was greater among the Negroes. The proportion of white persons moving away was greater than the proportion of Negroes.

(11) Emigration has contributed much to the development of the following population characteristics in Coffee County:

(a) A pronounced scarcity of males between the ages of 20 and 45. A disproportionately large number of those who are in the area live in urban centers.

(b) An increasing proportion of the people over 45, large numbers of whom live in urban areas. Many of these older people are the immigrants of 25 years ago who have shifted into the older age classification. Since the mortality rate becomes greater with advancing age, an increase in the number of deaths in the population may be expected during the next few years.

Moreover, as the factors responsible for high emigration and the declining birth rate can be modified only over a long period, the population of the county will probably decrease for some time.

(12) White and colored groups in the population do not differ markedly in their age composition, but the general tendencies referred to above are more pronounced among the Negroes than they are in the total population.

Chapter III

SOCIAL FACTORS AND THE LAND

Land-Use Classifications

The Land Use Planning Section of the Resettlement Administration in Region V by actual field inspection made and mapped a detailed use classification of the land in Coffee County. Lands, similar in soil type and texture and calling for much the same treatment as regards land use (the encouragement of cropping practices and the introduction of erosion control measures, for instance), were grouped together and designated as Use-Districts. Seven such districts were outlined for the entire county.

The term Use-District implies a district of contiguous territory which is adaptable to a more-or-less uniform program of land utilization and which is large enough to lend itself to the usual processes incident to sound and logical social and community development.

For a number of reasons the seven districts were combined to form three. Use-Districts I, Ia, and IV represent the extremes. Districts Number I and Ia are characterized by superior land, uniformly favorable terrain, good roads, and a small amount of erosion. On the other hand, Use-District IV is handicapped in that it has little good land and comparatively large areas unsuited for cropping, unfavorable terrain, poor roads, and considerable erosion. In practically every respect, conditions existing in Use-District I are advantageous for agriculture; in Use-District IV, on the other hand, they are definitely prejudicial to success in farming.

Between these two extremes are Use-Districts II, IIa, IIb, and III. They lie between the good lands in the southern part of the county and the poor lands in the north. These areas, variable in quality of soil, terrain, roads, and extent of erosion, may be termed intermediate.

Land Base and Its Relation to Various Social Factors

Land Tenure

Coffee County contained 4,273 farms at the beginning of 1935, nearly 100 more than it reported in 1930. Seven-eighths (3,680) were operated by white farmers. Of these, 28 percent were operated by owners, and the remainder by tenants. Thirty-one percent of all white farmers were sharecroppers.

From census data it is difficult to determine whether or not differences in the land-use classification are related to differences in tenure form. During the summer of 1936, however, it was possible to classify farm families within the county according to tenure and land-use areas.

More than 4,000 white household heads reported agriculture as their chief occupation. Over 400 of these were farm laborers, and the rest were operators (Table 7). More than half of the total lived in the superior land areas, while the others were about equally divided between the intermediate and inferior agricultural sections. The percentage of farm families who owned the land they operated was about the same in each of the three land-use areas. Likewise, tenant percentages were similar.

Table 7.- Land-use area distribution of rural white households engaged in agriculture, by tenure and residence of head, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Tenure status	Total	Land-use areas		
		Superior	Intermediate	Inferior
Total	4,175	2,192	960	1,023
Farm owner:				
Number	1,106	603	227	276
Percent	26	28	23	27
Standing renter:				
Number	1,112	542	237	333
Percent	27	25	25	32
Share tenant:				
Number	1,413	752	353	308
Percent	34	34	37	30
Farm Laborers:				
Number	435	241	115	79
Percent	10	11	12	8
Tenure unknown:				
Number	109	54	28	27
Percent	3	2	3	3

Tenant contracts in the county were of two types. The "standing renter" paid his rental in cash or in produce, the amount being fixed in advance, independently of the success of the current operations; the "share tenant" and the "cropper" paid as rental a certain proportion of the crop produced. The inferior land was worked by a larger proportion of standing renters than either of the other two areas; similarly, it had the smallest proportion of sharecroppers or sharerenters (Fig.5, p.49). Such differences may have been due almost entirely to prevailing economic factors, or they may have persisted simply because they were customary even though no direct economic reason for them existed at that time. In any case, ownership is more prevalent in the poor land areas.

Age of Operators

The heads of farm households living on the inferior lands were older on the average than those on the superior land. The areas classified as inferior, which included about one-fourth of the white farm-family heads, embraced almost one-third of those who were 70 years old or over (Table 8). They also contained a larger proportion of family heads between the ages of 60 and 69 years and a smaller proportion of those under 50 years than were found in the intermediate and best areas. This relationship held true for each of the several tenure groups. Farm owners in the poorest districts were approximately 4 years older than owners on the best lands, but among renters and hired hands the differences were somewhat smaller.

Table 8.- Distribution of rural white families, by age and residence of head, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	All areas	Land-use areas		
		Superior	Intermediate	Inferior
Total number of families	4,692	2,511	1,061	1,120
Median age of head - years	40	40	40	41
Age of head in years:				
Under 20				
Number	46	29	12	5
Percent	1	1	1	1/
20 - 29				
Number	1,035	568	237	230
Percent	22	22	22	21
30 - 39				
Number	1,168	626	274	268
Percent	25	25	26	24
40 - 49				
Number	979	544	230	205
Percent	21	22	22	18
50 - 59				
Number	693	372	156	165
Percent	15	15	15	15
60 - 69				
Number	464	244	90	130
Percent	10	10	8	12
70 and over				
Number	192	94	39	59
Percent	4	4	4	5
Unknown				
Number	115	34	23	58
Percent	2	1	2	5

1/ Less than 1 percent.

These variations probably admit of a twofold explanation. Probably they were due in part to migration, for despite the fact that the natural increase has been larger than that required to maintain a stationary population, the number of persons in the poorest land areas has not grown since 1900 and in some sections slight decreases have occurred. Migrants are usually recruited from the young adult groups; and where migration from a region has continued over a period of years, the older persons are naturally left behind. This shift to an older population is slow, however, when emigration is as gradual as it has been in Coffee County.

Another explanation probably lies in the fact that it is harder to gain a livelihood in the poorer parts of the county. As the effort required to wrest a living from the soil increases, a growing number of farm operators, when they reach retirement age, are unable to live upon past savings or potential rent receipts from their farms. Consequently, the proportion of older family heads engaged in active farming is likely to be larger in economically inferior areas than in superior localities.

It may be true also that certain older people, finding the competition too keen in the cities or on the superior land, took refuge in the economically less desirable districts. But regardless of the factors operating in individual cases, the population occupying the poorest lands in 1935 included a greater proportion of older people than that found elsewhere in the county.

Children at Home

It is recognized that poorer land areas usually supply more children in proportion to their population than richer areas, and that they thus normally bear a larger share of the cost of child rearing. This general observation is applicable to Coffee County. The families on inferior land had many more children under 16 years of age than the families on the superior land. The differences were less pronounced, in regard to children 16 years old or over, probably because there was more migration from the poorer sections.

For purposes of comparison, only families with heads between 20 and 49 years of age were selected. Table 9 gives the average number of minor children for these 3,182 families.

The poorest areas of the county, while losing population in the young adult age groups, apparently are retaining a somewhat larger proportion of dependents, young and old. How the public-school system has responded to this situation in the past will be pointed out in another section. That the contributions are smaller in the less-favored localities for those social and community services which the county now affords is due in part to the characteristics of the population. The poorest lands are carrying a relatively heavier load, both in terms of population and in capacity to pay than the intermediate and best areas.

Table 9.- Number of children per family, by age, according to land-use areas, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936 1/

Item	Total	Land-use areas		
		Superior	Intermediate	Inferior
Total:				
Number of children	10,820	5,769	2,463	2,588
Number per family	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.6
5 years or less:				
Number of children	3,046	1,582	705	759
Number per family	.9	.9	.9	1.1
6 - 10 years:				
Number of children	2,804	1,490	652	662
Number per family	.9	.8	.8	.9
11 - 15 years:				
Number of children	2,701	1,476	595	630
Number per family	.8	.8	.8	.9
16 - 20 years:				
Number of children	1,972	1,085	451	436
Number per family	.6	.6	.6	.6
21 years:				
Number of children	287	132	59	96
Number per family	.1	.1	.1	.1
Unknown:				
Number of children	10	4	1	5

1/ Includes 3,182 families, the heads of which were 20-49 years of age.

Literacy of Parents

In 9 percent of the white farm families of the county in 1936, the family head, his wife, or both were illiterate. Among farm owner families, a similar condition existed in only 4 percent of the cases; but among the 435 families of hired hands, almost one-fifth reported at least one parent illiterate.

The relationship between illiteracy and quality of land was also striking, literacy being more prevalent among families in the better sections. Illiteracy was more conspicuous on the poorest lands, where 12 percent of the families reported one or both parents unable to read and write (Table 10).

The literacy classification depends only upon an ability to work out the simplest text. Information as to the reading habits of the adult population is not available, but one generalization may be made with safety. Where illiteracy is so common that nearly 10 percent of the families report at least one parent illiterate, the proportion of the people who would not be reached by the simplest printed matter will be correspondingly large.

Table 10.- Literacy of parents in rural white families, by land-use areas, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936 1/

Item	Total	Land-use areas		
		Superior	Intermediate	Inferior
Total number	4,692	2,511	1,061	1,120
Both parents literate:				
Number	4,184	2,288	943	953
Percent	89	91	89	85
One parent illiterate: 2/				
Number	277	143	47	87
Percent	6	6	4	8
Both parents illiterate:				
Number	125	65	16	44
Percent	3	3	2	4
Literacy unknown:				
Number	106	15	55	36
Percent	2	1	5	3

1/ "Parents" refers to the head of the household and spouse, if any.
2/ No broken families or 1-person households included in this group.

Educational Level of Children

Of the present generation of adults, few have completed the grade schools, and high-school training is almost an unheard-of attainment. Formal education for the children of school age is limited by the meager facilities which the county affords. The comparatively low value placed upon schooling is indicated by the fact that the average 12-year-old has not completed the fourth grade, although the sixth grade represents the standard for children of this age. A slight advantage in grades completed reflects the somewhat better educational facilities which mark the more desirable areas. In the rural schools, however, the retardation is approximately the same throughout all the land areas of the county.

The children of owners are less retarded than the children of tenants, and these in turn rank somewhat above the children of farm laborers. But in the best sections, the divergence between the several tenure groups in this respect is more apparent than it is on the poorest lands. In the best areas, children of farm laborers are retarded nearly 2 years more than those of owners; in the poorest areas, the difference in retardation is approximately half a year. Since these variations in educational achievement are least pronounced on the poorest land and most pronounced on the best land, they are related apparently to the economic differences among the tenure groups.

Size of Farm

Farm owners in the poorest land areas not only have smaller farms than those in the best areas, but they cultivate a smaller proportion of their holdings. Moreover, renters in the inferior land districts on the average cultivate less land both actually and proportionately than do renters in the superior sections. In each of the land-use areas, the average number of acres cultivated by owners is larger than that worked by tenants, but the disparity is not so great on the poorest as on the better lands (Table 11). Probably differences between the levels of living of owners and tenants are likewise less pronounced in the inferior areas.

Table 11.- Average size of farm and acres cultivated for owners and renters by land-use areas, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	All areas	Land-use areas		
		Superior	Intermediate	Inferior
Owners:				
Acres in farm	144	155	162	128
Acres cultivated	79	105	81	59
Percent cultivated	55	68	50	46
Renters:				
Acres in farm	117	99	126	126
Acres cultivated	56	66	65	47
Percent cultivated	48	67	52	37

Summary

Sharp differences in various social factors are apparent when comparisons and contrasts are made between the superior and the inferior land areas of the county. The best lands, which have more than one-half of all white farmers in the county, show more literacy among parents but approximately the same retardation of school children as in the poorest areas. This retardation is more noticeable, however, in the best areas when related to tenure groups; children of farm laborers, for example, are nearly 2 years behind those of owners, whereas on the inferior lands the difference is only about half of a year. In the inferior land areas, heads of households are older; there are more dependents per gainful worker; 12 percent of the families report one or both parents illiterate; owners have smaller farms, and owners and renters cultivate a smaller proportion of their total acreage than do owners and renters in the superior land areas. Similarities in the two land areas are found in the following factors: the percentage of farm families who own the land they operate, the percentage of tenancy, retardation of school children, and the fact that the average number of acres cultivated by owners is larger than that of tenants.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

As transportation and communication facilities developed in Coffee County, the settled relationship between geographical areas and institutional functions became disturbed. More frequently than not, trade areas expanded more rapidly than the institutional services. Larger and more favorably situated communities, such as Elba, New Brockton, and Enterprise, competed with and soon surpassed the smaller communities. This development of larger aggregates affected the rural life of the whole county.

Closely associated with the change to new geographical centers, and attributable largely to the same causes, was the transition from locality groupings to interest groupings. The unity that tied together the family, the church, and the school in small neighborhoods gave way before the realignment of their functions on a new and larger geographical basis. Today the automatic relationships of the neighborhood are being superseded by a membership of choice. Social behavior is becoming bound up more and more with specialized agencies such as the church, the lodge, and the cooperative organization.

Since Coffee County is going through a period of transition in which locality ties have been broken down without being replaced, this development of interest groupings raises a number of questions. For example, should organizations be developed for the family as a whole, or separately for different age and sex groups? What will be the probable effects of various organizations on personalities and on the mutual relationships within farm families?

In order to avoid haphazard change, these questions must be answered; and the findings must then be employed as effectively as possible in organizations. Certainly, any cooperative endeavor will be conditioned by the attitudes of local units in the rural areas. On the effectiveness with which the communities are organized depends the success of all substantial educational and extension programs.

The following pages review the existing social organizations in the county and point out present tendencies toward the realignment of areas and institutions. In the beginning, the almost complete absence of formal social units should be noted. With the exception of the church and school and the much less formally constructed singing society, no type of organization is found in all sections of the county. No general farmers' organizations exist in Coffee County, but the Woodmen of the World and the Masonic Order have considerable membership. Various other lodges hold infrequent and irregular meetings, but insurance functions constitute their only really active features. Parent-Teacher Associations and 4-H Clubs were once begun, but for the most part soon languished.

Church Life in the County

Of the 118 churches in Coffee County, 86 are for white persons and 32 for Negroes. Thirteen are in the cities of Elba and Enterprise, the remainder being in the open country or in the smaller centers. More than half of these churches are situated in the best land areas.

Table 12.- Distribution of churches, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	All areas	Land-use areas		
		Superior	Intermediate	Inferior
All churches:	118	63	32	23
White				
Rural	80	39	21	20
Urban	6	3 1/	3 2/	0
Negro				
Rural	25	17	5	3
Urban	7	4 1/	3 2/	0
Number of rural families per rural church:				
White	59	64	51	56
Negro	39	39	37	43
Average area in square miles per rural church:				
White	8	7	8	10
Negro	25	15	34	69

1/ Enterprise
2/ Elba

Both for the white population and for the Negroes, the churches on the superior land are somewhat closer together than those on the intermediate land, and those on the intermediate land are closer together than those on the inferior land (Fig. 6, p.50). The number of families contained within the average service area of the white churches varies from approximately 51 on the intermediate land to 64 on the best land. The Negro population, on the other hand, is so unevenly distributed throughout the county (Fig. 5, p.49) that comparisons can scarcely be made. Because each church serves relatively few families, most of the buildings are small, and their physical facilities are generally very meager.

Table 13.- Church data for 45 rural white churches, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	Total
Average age of church	35
Number of organizations in church	1.2
Male attendance as percent of total attendance	43
Number under 21 as percent of total attendance	39
Average number attending church	61
Percentage loss in attendance over last 5 years	22
Average yearly salary of pastor (in dollars)	131
Average number of charges per pastor	2.8

The church membership of the county centers primarily in the Baptist and Methodist groups, which antedate all others. One Baptist organization dates back more than a century. Although the mean age of the church organizations is approximately 35 years, it is estimated that of the 80 rural white churches about one-third are less than 20 years old, and one-fourth are less than 10 years old.

In recent years there has been a considerable development of such religious groups as the Holiness Church, the Assembly of God, and the Pentecostal Church, newer denominations which are competing with the more traditional forms. Whatever the future trends in denominational alignments may be, the churches occupy a vital position in the present life of the county. Their influence cannot be measured adequately by figures on membership or support.

Much of the tradition which plays an important part in the county had its origin in the Protestant denominations. Even the singing societies which offer the chief organized opportunity for social contacts outside the schools and churches bear a close relationship to the religious organizations. These societies have no direct church affiliations but their songs are founded on Protestant concepts and their song books are known as "hymnals."

In keeping with the general indifference to organized social activities, only a small proportion of the total population goes to church. 2/

2/ Wilson, Warren H., The Farmers' Church, Century Company, New York, 1925, p. 40. The author, quoting the Institute of Social and Religious Research, says that less than 20 percent of the Protestant rural population of the country is active as church members.

The average congregation at services comprises about 60 persons with some churches reporting a regular attendance as low as 20. Judging by the average participation and the number of churches in the county, only one-fifth of the rural white population makes a practice of church-going. Even if twice as many persons attend irregularly, evidently less than half of the total population takes part in religious services. Moreover, attendance has declined rapidly in the last 5 years. Of the 40 churches for which records are available, 28 lost participants during the period, 9 remained stable, and only 3 gained in numbers. As a rule, "preaching" is held monthly. It consists usually of one service on Saturday night and two on the following Sunday. Members of the Holiness Churches meet more frequently.

Salaries for ministers range from $25 to $650 a year, the average being $132. In the best land areas salaries average $159 a year, while in the intermediate and poorest areas they are $127 and $95 respectively. The number of charges under any one minister varies considerably. In some instances a local man preaches in the neighborhood church once a month and farms a little, but more frequently the minister has no other employment. To make a living, he must obtain as many charges as he can care for. In one case, a single individual served seven congregations. This entails traveling in a circuit from one community to the next, and limits the minister to one and sometimes two visits a month in each. In some localities services are held on fifth Sundays only, or four times a year. The minister has so little time to spend with his congregation that sometimes the members know neither his full name nor where he lives. He directs other organizations within the church in only a few instances, and seldom exercises any leadership in neighborhood affairs.

Few churches grow consistently while the population which they serve diminishes. Brunner has shown the difficulty of maintaining a church in a failing population or in a section where the general interest is being diverted from local institutions to those of a large center near by. 3/ Both conditions prevail in Coffee County.

Another explanation for church decline heard frequently in the county and said to be of first importance is the increase in the number of farm tenants and the corresponding decrease in the number of owners. Churches that have declined the least in attendance during the last 5 years are found in areas reporting a relatively high percentage of ownership. Conversely, those that have shown the greatest loss are located in areas where a high percentage of non-owners live. On the other hand, decline in church membership seems to have little or no relationship to such factors as the age of the church, the size of its congregation, and the extent to which it attracts members from its service area.

3/ Morse, H. N., and Brunner, E. deS., The Town and Country Church in the United States, Doran and Company, New York, 1923, pp. 41, 42, 46. Quoted in Wilson, Warren H., The Farmers' Church, New York, 1925, p. 39.

The extent to which individual churches reach the people living in their service areas varies widely. One church, on good land, regularly reached only 7 percent of the people within its area; and another of the same denomination, in a poor section, reached 49 percent of the people. The average number of persons regularly contacted by all churches came to only 20 percent of the total population reported for their aggregate service areas. The average size of the service area is 12.5 square miles, and it can be encompassed within a circle that has a radius extending 2 miles from the church.

A number of suggestive inferences might be drawn from these figures. It would seem that the larger the proportion of owners to renters in the service area, the more effectively the church reaches the people within its limits. On the other hand, the larger the proportion of sharecroppers, hired laborers, and persons with other occupations in the area, the less effective the church is in contacting its potential membership.

Conclusions Regarding Church Life

The decline in rural church life is generally recognized. Several explanations of the phenomenon have been proposed. The possible causes may be divided into such readily measurable factors as the size of the church, its age, the extent of its service area, the distance to town, and the character of its neighborhood; or related to such general conditions as the widening of the economic horizon with a breakdown of local and community attachments and the increasing emphasis on the individual in religion and all aspects of life.

Although the presence of farm owners may tend to stabilize church membership, church decline would seem to be associated with a stationary or diminishing rural population, increased transportation facilities, and competing institutions. For many reasons, however, ultimate extinction of the rural church is not likely. The farmer feels the need for his church, a truth which the repeated appearance of new churches demonstrates. Nor is he ready to give up completely his denominationalism, although, as the open departure of the recently organized churches evidences, this may be imminent.

Rural Schools and Locality Interests

Some years ago, under the direction of the Alabama State Department of Education, an excellent analysis was made of the schools of Coffee County. 4/ The report stressed the failure of the one- and two-teacher schools to equal in many respects the educational attainments of the larger institutions. It emphasized the need for the elimination of many small schools, pointing out the pedagogical and administrative interests to be served by the consolidation of a number of school areas.

4/ Report of the Survey of Coffee County Schools, Alabama State Department of Education, Research and Survey Series, No. 16, Montgomery, Alabama, 1930.

More recently, the Resettlement Administration issued a report on public finance and taxation in Coffee County. In connection with the problems of public school finance, the report stated that improvements might be made through limited subsidies from the Federal Government, on condition that a comprehensive economic and social planning program should be instituted. 5/ In view of the close connection between an educational program and Resettlement objectives, the schools are of special interest.

In Coffee County the schools vary somewhat with the quality of the land areas. The schools in the best sections have the largest number of pupils registered per teacher, the highest percentage of pupils in daily attendance, and the largest actual daily attendance per teacher (Table 14). In general, the equipment surpasses that found in either of the other areas. The teaching load is heavy, but this may be accounted for by the favorable terrain and better roads which permit transportation to and from school by county-owned busses.

Table 14.- Rural schools, classified according to land-use areas, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	All areas	Land-use areas		
		Superior	Intermediate	Inferior
Number of schools	50	20	9	21
Age of schools (years)	28.2	23.1	37.9	30.0
Strayer-Englehart ratings	256	339	212	191
Teachers:				
Number	140	89	21	30
Number per school	2.8	4.4	2.3	1.4
Pupils:				
Registration				
Number	5,132	3,306	786	1,040
Number per school	102.6	165.3	87.3	49.5
Number per teacher	36.6	37.1	37.4	34.7
Attendance				
Number	3,753	2,496	541	716
Number per school	75.1	124.8	60.1	34.1
Number per teacher	26.8	28.0	25.7	23.9
Percent attendance	73.1	75.5	68.8	68.8

5/ Resettlement Administration, Land Use Planning Section, Region V, Preliminary Report, Public Finance and Taxation, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936.

A perfect building, according to Strayer-Englehart Standards, ideal with respect to classrooms and equipment and located on an ideal site, would be entitled to a rating of 1,000 points. Few, if any, buildings in the county would receive such a rating. A typical modern brick building equipped with electric lights, furnace heat, and other modern conveniences may often score as much as 800 points. A frame building with no artificial lighting, with outside toilets, and with only a pump and no drinking fountains will seldom score more than from 500 to 600 points, even though it be a new building. Frequently a building that rates as much as 400 points may be readily adapted to the needs of a modern educational program and can be expected to serve 10 years or more in the future. Occasionally a building scoring less than 400 points may be economically altered, while at other times buildings scoring about 400 and 500 points cannot readily be improved. In general, buildings that score from 200 to 400 points cannot be altered economically for use over many years, although it may not always be practicable to abandon such buildings at once. Most buildings that score less than 200 points are entirely unsuited for educational purposes and should be abandoned or replaced as soon as practicable. The low average ratings of schools in the county is apparent from Table 14.

Whereas the best land sections contain four consolidated schools, 12 of the 21 schools in the poorest land areas are one-teacher institutions (Fig. 6, p. 50). Both in registrations per teacher and in daily attendance, the schools of the latter areas rank last. The average daily attendance is only 68.8 percent of the registration. Because of the unfavorable terrain, the roads are impassable except during the best weather periods. Transportation difficulties make it necessary for the schools to be located within walking distance of the pupils. This prevents consolidation. Likewise, the absence of bus transportation is probably one reason why the teaching load here is the lowest of the three sections.

In view of these great differences, the slight advantage in school attainment (0.25 grades) of the children in the best land districts is surprisingly small. In the absence of information on the relative variation of the standards, it may be assumed tentatively either than the teaching in the schools of the poorest areas is superior or that the quality of instruction is comparatively uniform throughout the county and is far more important in educational achievement than equipment and accessibility.

The Singing Society

The Singing Society is an important institution of Coffee County. Historically, singing societies originated in early New England as democratic and semi-religious associations. Following the Revolutionary War, they developed rapidly. American music replaced foreign compositions. Singing teachers, pursuing a practice that has continued to the present day, composed melodies and melody books. From this beginning came much

of our large store of indigenous southern music. 6/

In the North, economic prosperity, European musical influences, and rapid urbanization soon impeded song-making but beginning in the Shenandoah Valley, singing schools spread south and southwest, and the rural singing school and its shape-note practices finally came to the deep South. The character, or shape, note arose as an aid to reading. Its significance as an easily learned musical alphabet was soon displaced by its importance in distinguishing rural from urban music. 7/

Table 15.- Singing societies, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Place	Notation	Frequency of meeting
Elba	Seven Shape	Monthly
Curtis	Seven Shape	Monthly
Brooklyn	Seven Shape	Semi-monthly
Ino	Seven Shape	Monthly
Goodman	Seven Shape	Monthly
Mt. Pleasant	Seven and Four Shape	Monthly
County Line (Dale County)	Seven Shape	Monthly
Enterprise	Seven Shape	Monthly
New Brockton	Seven and Four Shape	Monthly
Chestnut Grove	Seven Shape	Monthly
Basin	Seven Shape	Semi-monthly
Mt. Zion	Seven Shape	Monthly
County Line (Covington County)	Seven Shape	Monthly
Damascus	Seven Shape	Monthly
Rhodes	Four Shape	Irregular
Zion Chapel	Four Shape	Monthly
Center Ridge 1/	Seven Shape	Monthly

1/ Edge of adjoining Pike County.

Coffee County has 17 singing societies (Fig. 6, p.50); four are Sacred Harp or Four Shape Note Societies and the others are Seven Shape Note Societies. The latter are considered more progressive because they can readily use new songs and new hymnals. Both arrange for frequent meetings or

6/ Jackson, George Pullen, White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933.
7/ Ibid., p. 10.

conventions. Recent development has favored the smaller county-wide conventions, partly because of the individual differences among the Seven Shape Note Societies. The average attendance at a meeting of a singing society is 200 persons compared with an average attendance of 60 persons at the churches. However, the singing society does not meet with complete favor. Church conventions frequently deplore the all-day singing sessions which, although they feature sacred songs, do not provide for preaching and exhortation.

Among the other influences bearing upon this type of organization, the most important is the urbanization of the rural South. To the extent that it is urbanized, its traditional practices lose ground. To the uninitiated listener, the harsh music may seem distasteful. On the other hand, to the participant who has sung their songs and had "dinner on the grounds," these singings are not simply cultural antiques, but unifying agencies which provide a type of experience not to be found in any other rural institution, and thus the Singing Society continues to evoke more enthusiasm among its participants than does any other agency in the county.

Community Centers

The establishment of a local school generally reflected a wish on the part of parents to have their children taught in their own community. In most instances, the school, the church, and the locality possessed a common identity, and the neighborhood was the center for all activity. The mere mention of Danley's Crossroads, Chestnut Hill, or Haw Ridge implied an ensemble of relationships. But today many of the locality groupings have broken down, and a school and a declining church are the last visible vestiges of the old community. Economic and educational interests are continuing the process, although not without a grudging assent on the part of many communities. Consolidation of schools has been outspokenly opposed on the grounds that children are removed from the neighborhood and from the parental influence.

Here and there in the county, however, a number of centers have retained their identity. These places, because of their strategic geographical location, remained the centers for certain kinds of economic and non-economic activities. The recent school survey indicates that most of these places should be considered for permanent development. Such communities are Elba, New Brockton, and Enterprise, which are on the Federal-State highway and which act as centers for practically all economic activity in the county. Then, there are Kinston, Curtis, and Pine Level which serve the more densely populated area west of the Pea River and, to some extent, the adjoining counties as well. In fact, Kinston probably is utilized by more people outside of the county than inside. Ham could be made a service area for that part of the county north of Elba. Zion Chapel, on the State highway serves the territory north of Elba and west of White Water Creek. Victoria serves the southern portion. New Hope serves the section lying between White Water Creek and the Pea River. Tabernacle serves the land lying north of Enterprise and New Brockton, from the Pea River east to the county line. In the territory east

of the Pea River and south of the Elba-Enterprise highway are Mt. Pleasant, Goodman, Damascus, and Ino.

Although these are not all of the possible centers in Coffee County, they are the most advantageously located. The considerable distance to another center and the scarcity of available transportation facilities make it advisable to consider Ham and Tabernacle as possible centers even though both are in poor-land areas which have been losing inhabitants for years. Tabernacle is included in the Pea River Land Use Project, where large areas of land have been proposed for retirement from cultivation. Nevertheless, it is the scene of considerable activity.

Locality groupings are desirable because it is now impossible to take care of the social interests of the farmers in the towns. Furthermore, transportation in the county is limited. Local centers are natural points of aggregation because of their strategic location, both geographically and with respect to the distribution of the population.

Chapter V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In general, the distribution and growth of the population in Coffee County has varied with the quality of the land. In the southern part of the county where the better land is located, population is more dense and growth is more pronounced. The inferior land areas in the northern part of the county, on the other hand, have been characterized by less rapid growth and even by some decreases in population. The rate of growth in open-country areas has diminished since 1900. Since 1920 the number of people living in these areas has remained almost unchanged, the increase in the population of the county taking place almost entirely in and immediately around the villages and urban centers.

It seems probable that the best land areas will continue to sustain the number now living on them and perhaps will absorb some additional population. In the intermediate land areas population probably will not increase, and may decrease, for two reasons: (1) for successful farming on these soils the size of farms must be increased; and (2) any improvement of these lands or in land use will probably be utilized to increase the income of those now farming there rather than to support a greater population on the same or a lower level of living. In the poorest land areas, the population will probably continue to decrease, because of the great necessity of increasing the size of farms in that area. For over a decade the number of people in these areas has been declining. However, the shift of population from the poorest lands will not take place quickly.

The better land areas in the county are characterized by younger farm operators, larger farms, smaller families, fewer children under 16 years of age, a greater number of literate parents, and a higher educational level of the children than in the poorer areas. In the latter sections, the older age groups constitute a larger proportion of the total population. For a number of decades, the population in the poorer land areas has been growing gradually older, and it probably will continue to grow older as migration continues.

The social institutions of Coffee County have been essentially of a neighborhood type. This emphasis on neighborhood groupings is particularly true in the poorer land areas. There, schools and churches are smaller and serve relatively fewer families. Singing societies, the only voluntary organizations in the county aside from the churches and schools, are relatively few. In the better land areas, these neighborhood types of organization have been influenced by the larger trade centers of the county. In the better land areas, too, schools and churches are larger and draw from larger areas, and the singing societies are more numerous and active.

The school is the major public institution of the county. The four high schools are located at Enterprise, New Brockton, Elba, and Kinston. These centers are more readily accessible from the southern part of the county. The high schools serve the open-country population to only a very limited extent. There are 50 rural schools in the county; 20 are in the superior land areas, 9 in the intermediate, and 21 in the inferior land areas. In the poorest land areas, the schools are smaller, averaging only 1.4 teachers per school. In the best land areas the average is 4.4 teachers per school. Enrollments per school and the attendance are also higher in the best land areas. School buildings in the good sections are far superior to those in the poorer land areas, but they do not measure up to satisfactory standards. The schools on the poorer lands are 1-room buildings with relatively inadequate equipment. Unfavorable terrain results in impassable roads during much of the year. As transportation is generally lacking, the schools are so located as to be within walking distance. The service areas of these schools are necessarily small and are limited to the immediate vicinity of the place where they are located.

The declining population and the competition of the more strategically placed economic centers have broken down the small localities. But broadly speaking, the larger urban centers are meeting only certain economic needs of the county. Their social institutions have not reached all of the rural people. Consequently, it is advisable that some of the smaller localities in which these social needs are satisfied should be preserved. Some localities are situated very favorably to act as centers for a variety of social services and activities. These centers would be at once smaller and socially more satisfying than the larger economic ones. Moreover, they can be selected readily because of their strategic position with respect both to the distribution of population and to natural advantages.

Recapitulating and summarizing the influence of the four major factors - land, population, community patterns, and transportation facilities - in relation to established trade centers, there appear to be 10 possible community building sites. In the southern part of the county are Enterprise, Mt. Pleasant, New Brockton, Goodman, and Kinston - all in good land areas. In the western part of the county are Elba, a well established trade center surrounded by intermediate farming lands; Ham, a smaller trade center surrounded by a small portion of good land and a great deal of poor land; and Curtis, a well-established trade center in the heart of good land. In the northern part of the county are Zion Chapel and New Hope, each the center of a large block of intermediate farm lands beyond which lie great bodies of poor farm lands which it is probable will ultimately be much more thinly populated than at present.

Appendix

FACTS AND FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE LOCATION OF COMMUNITY BUILDINGS IN COFFEE COUNTY, ALABAMA 8/

Synopsis of Findings

A complete and detailed analysis has been made of the lands of Coffee County, Alabama, by the Land Use Planning Division of Region V of the Resettlement Administration. For the purposes of predicting the location of population in the future as a basis for planning institutional development, these land-use classes can be reduced to four: (1) best farm land areas and poorly drained but potentially superior areas, (2) good farm land areas (including areas adapted to specialty crops only), (3) fair farm land areas, (4) areas unsuited for cropping which can be turned to forestry and grazing or which are useless even for these extensive practices.

By giving due consideration to the characteristics of the land, it can probably be assumed that class number one will continue to sustain the number of people now there and will absorb some additional population. On land in class number two, the population very likely will not increase in the long run, and it may decrease as the result of two factors: (1) farms, in order to be successful, must necessarily be enlarged, and (2) any improvements in the land, which is only moderately good at the present time, will be needed to increase the income of the present farmers rather than to support a greater population on the same or on a lower level of living. On the third class of land, population, which has been diminishing for the last few decades, will in all likelihood continue to decrease since the necessity of increasing the size of farms in this area is great. Probably, it should be assumed that the poorest land areas, even though partially populated at the present time, ultimately will be evacuated and that permanent institutions, those which are intended to serve the population for more than two decades, should not be built. Temporary institutions will be necessary, however, for the shift of population will not take place quickly.

The distribution of population follows in a general way the land-use classes discussed above, being more dense on the better lands and less dense on the poorer lands. Likewise, trends of population change follow more or less these land classes. That is to say, population for a number of decades has been gradually moving to the better lands and leaving the poorer lands. Since 1920 the open country population of the county has been virtually at a standstill, the loss in the poorer land areas being compensated by an increase in the better land areas. It can thus be seen that the adjustment of population to the character of the land is already under way.

8/ Prepared by Carl C. Taylor on the basis of the foregoing report.

The population tends to coagulate along the arteries of communication - the better roads of the county. This grouping along the highways is more marked in the fairly good land areas than it is in either the superior or the poor land areas. This is probably due to the fact that in the superior areas secondary roads are passable the year round, while in the poor land areas the use of the automobile is so restricted that farm residences still continue to be located with relatively little relationship to good roads.

Naturally, the composition of the population in the different sections of Coffee County has changed in keeping with the migration to or from the various areas. As a result, on better lands where population has been increasing there is a nearly normal age distribution; but on the poorer lands where the population has been diminishing the older age groups constitute a greater proportion than normal. That is to say, the population of the poorer areas has been growing gradually older for a number of decades and this trend probably will continue as migration persists.

There is a rather sharp difference between the patterns of social behavior and social relationships in the best and good farm lands on the one hand and in the fair and the bad farm lands on the other hand. In the poorer areas, old neighborhood types of association still tend to prevail. Local schools, churches, trade centers and crossroad stores, singing societies, and the like serve relatively small clusters of families, all of which are located in fairly restricted and pretty well institutionalized neighborhoods. In the good land areas these neighborhood types of organization have tended to give way to larger community clusters, many of them concentrated in and dominated by the larger trade centers of the county - Enterprise, New Brockton, Elba, and Kinston.

The good roads of Coffee County for the most part run north and south. As was mentioned above, inter-communicating roads exist in the best land areas but not to the same extent in other parts of the county. The roads have been built in adjustment to two fundamental factors: (1) the present or past location of the population, and (2) the amount of commerce which must traverse the roads. This gives the best areas, or the southern part of the county, a much better communication system than the northern part. These lines of communication will probably continue to be dominant factors in the correct location of institutions and agencies which connect the population with the outside world and the families one with the other.

Planning Community Buildings for the Community as a Whole

The expenditure of funds for constructing new community buildings or improving those already in existence should be determined by the factors described above on the one hand and by two additional factors on the other hand: (a) the relative deficiency in community buildings in the various sections of the county, and (b) the amount of funds available for construction or improvement. It is assumed that ample funds are not available to adequately

equip each community of the county with a complete community building set-up and that such funds should, therefore, be spent in equalizing such facilities, keeping in mind the population which, according to the best judgment, will reside in the various areas of the county during the next two or three decades.

Recapitulating and summarizing the influence of the four major factors - land, population, community patterns, and transportation facilities - and considering the relation or established trade centers, it appears that there are ten possible community building sites, namely: in the southern part of the county at Enterprise, Mt. Pleasant, New Brockton, Goodman, and Kinston, all in good land areas; in the central western part of the county at Elba, a very well established trade center surrounded by fair farming lands, at Ham, a smaller trade center surrounded by a small portion of good lands and a great deal of poor land, and at Curtis, a well established trade area in the heart of good land; in the northern part of the county at Zion Chapel and New Hope, each the center of a large block of fair farm lands beyond which lie great bodies of poor farm lands, a considerable amount of which should ultimately be much more thinly populated than at present.

Recognizing that funds are limited and knowing that fairly adequate community meeting places are in existence at Enterprise, New Brockton, Elba, Kinston, and Curtis, all in the southern half of the county, it should be apparent that the major deficits or lags lie in the northern parts of the county, namely, at Zion Chapel and New Hope. Consideration should, however, also be given to the Goodman community in the southern part, due to the fact that it is an established trade center and therefore a natural community center, that it is approximately nine miles from the nearest standard high school, and that it is in the good land area where population will probably increase in the future.

In the northern part of the county, 257 white and 6 Negro households now live within a 3-mile radius of Zion Chapel, and 338 white and 35 Negro households reside within a similar radius of New Hope which is in the same section. The largest public buildings in these areas are one 3-room, one 5-room, and six 2-room schools and a number of country churches, no one of which is either equipped or available for any great variety of gatherings or functions.

There is every reason to believe that considerable population will remain in the communities of Zion Chapel and New Hope, since they are each located in the heart of a fairly large block of moderately good farming land. The population now residing on the outlying poor lands adjacent to these centers, although it will gradually diminish in quantity, will probably remain in the area for a number of years or decades. Two centrally located community buildings would serve an area of 288 square miles within which reside at the present time approximately 1,600 families. For the next few decades, at least, each center could count upon 600 to 800 resident families within its service area.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

Table 16.- Births in Coffee County, Alabama, 1920-35

Year	Number			Rate 1/		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
1920	714	579	135	23.6	24.2	21.3
1921	714	583	131	23.5	24.2	20.5
1922	794	644	150	25.9	26.6	23.3
1923	863	709	154	27.9	29.0	23.7
1924	838	687	151	26.9	27.9	23.0
1925	937	775	162	29.8	31.3	24.5
1926	880	723	157	27.8	29.0	23.5
1927	995	802	193	31.2	31.9	28.7
1928	980	703	187	30.5	31.3	27.5
1929	915	741	174	28.3	29.0	25.4
1930	857	699	158	26.3	27.2	22.8
1931	866	706	160	26.4	27.3	23.0
1932	799	658	141	24.1	25.2	20.1
1933	664	568	96	19.9	21.6	13.6
1934	547	465	82	16.3	17.6	11.5
1935	633	537	96	18.7	20.1	13.4

1/ Rate computed per 1,000 of the population, using 1920 Census through 1929, and 1930 Census thereafter. Computed from the State Vital Statistics Reports.

Table 17.- Deaths in Coffee County, Alabama, 1920-35

Year	Number			Rate 1/		
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro
1920	190	153	37	6.3	6.4	5.8
1921	143	109	34	4.7	4.5	5.3
1922	200	157	43	6.5	6.5	6.7
1923	261	192	69	8.4	7.9	10.6
1924	247	185	62	7.9	7.5	9.4
1925	275	213	62	8.8	8.6	9.4
1926	259	192	67	8.2	7.7	10.0
1927	222	168	54	7.0	6.7	8.0
1928	345	267	78	10.7	10.5	11.5
1929	281	214	67	8.7	8.4	9.8
1930	274	209	65	8.4	8.1	9.4
1931	281	214	67	8.6	8.3	9.6
1932	189	155	34	5.7	5.9	4.8
1933	216	170	46	6.5	6.5	6.5
1934	210	170	40	6.2	6.4	5.6
1935	241	194	47	7.1	7.3	6.6

1/ Rate computed per 1,000 of the population, using 1920 Census through 1929, and 1930 Census thereafter. Computed from the State Vital Statistics Reports.

Table 18.- Age composition of the population, by residence, Coffee County, Alabama, 1930 /1

Item	Age groups				Total	Age groups	
	Under 5	5-15	15-45	45 and over /2		Under 15	21 and over
Urban:							
Number	673	1,412	3,003	1,137	6,225	2,085	3,308
Percent	10.8	22.7	48.2	18.3	100.0	33.5	53.1
Rural non-farm:							
Number	351	544	1,182	384	2,461	895	1,281
Percent	14.3	22.1	48.0	15.6	100.0	36.4	52.1
Rural farm:							
Number	3,375	6,851	10,193	3,451	23,870	10,226	10,184
Percent	14.1	28.7	42.7	14.4	100.0	42.8	42.7
Total:							
Number	4,399	8,807	14,378	4,972	32,556	13,206	14,773
Percent	13.5	27.1	44.2	15.2	100.0	40.6	45.4

/1 Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Population, V. III, part 1, Table 11, p. 93, Table 13, p. 100, and Table 14, p. 105.
/2 Includes 22 persons, age unknown.

Table 19.- Average age and highest grade attained for all children between 6 and 20 years of age by literacy of parents and land-use classes, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Land use classes	Children of -								Total		
	Literate parents				Illiterate parents						
	Number	Average age	Average grade	Grades deficient	Number	Average age	Average grade	Grades deficient	Number	Average age	Average grade
Superior	3,638	12.4	4.2	2.2	364	12.6	2.3	4.2	4,002	12.4	4.0
Intermediate	1,512	12.2	3.6	2.6	121	12.8	2.5	4.3	1,633	12.3	3.6
Inferior	1,411	12.1	3.6	2.5	185	12.5	2.6	3.9	1,596	12.1	3.5
Total	6,561	12.3	3.9	2.3	670	12.6	2.4	4.2	7,231	12.3	3.8

Table 20.- Retail sales and related data, Coffee County, Alabama

Item	Total county	Enterprise	Elba	Remainder of county	State
Population, 1930:					
Number	32,556	3,702	2,523	26,331	2,646,248
Percent white	79.0	1/	1/	1/	64.3
Retail sales, 1933:					
Per capita (dollars)	55	262	140	17	95
Amount (1,000 dollars)	1,776	971	354	451	250,384
Percentages of State and county totals:					
Retail sales, 1933	.71	54.68	19.93	25.39	100.0
Population, 1930	1.23	11.37	7.75	80.88	100.0
Wholesale sales, 1933 (1,000 dollars)	495	1/	1/	1/	209,397
Service, amusements and hotel receipts, 1933 (1,000 dollars)	70	55	10	5	17,556
Postal receipts, 1934 (1,000 dollars)	21	9	10	2	3,980
Personal income tax returns (on 1933 income):					
Total number reporting	42	27	13	2	20,475
Number per 1,000 population	1.3	7.3	5.2	0.1	7.7
Wired homes, 1930:					
Number of domestic electric meters	766	307	203	256	149,854
Motor vehicle registration, July 1, 1934:					
Passenger cars	1,425	1/	1/	1/	176,752
Cars per 1,000 population	44	1/	1/	1/	67
Commercial trucks	248	1/	1/	1/	31,023
Residence telephones, January 1, 1935	264	1/	1/	1/	50,974
Farms - January 1, 1935:					
Value of farm land and buildings (1,000 dollars)	5,580	1/	1/	1/	368,220
Total number of farms	4,273	1/	1/	1/	273,455
Change in number since 1930	99	1/	1/	1/	16,060
A.A.A. payments: July 1934 - June 1935 (1,000 dollars)	204	1/	1/	1/	9,781
Unemployment relief, July 1934 - June 1935:					
Average number persons on relief	1,914	1/	1/	1/	369,896
Expenditures for 12 months (1,000 dollars)	335	1/	1/	1/	24,254

Consumer Market Data Handbook, 1936. Market Research Series No. 15, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, U. S. Department of Commerce.

1/ Not available; included in county total.

Table 21.- Density of population by land-use classes, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936 1/

Land use areas	Area in square miles	Number of families	Number of families per square mile	Number of persons per square mile
Superior	255.5	2,511	9.8	41.5
Intermediate	172.75	1,061	6.1	25.8
Inferior	207.75	1,120	5.4	22.1
Total	636	4,692	7.4	30.9

1/ Excluding Elba and Enterprise.

Table 22.- Distribution of 298 rural homestead properties and 202 rural rehabilitation clients by land-use classes, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Land use areas	Rural homestead properties		Average size of property in acres	Rehabilitation clients	
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Superior	96	32	155	153	76
Intermediate	75	25	236	31	15
Inferior	127	43	207	18	9
Total	298	100	198	202	100

TABLES SUMMARIZING VARIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION WITHIN A 3-MILE RADIUS OF PROPOSED COMMUNITY CENTERS

Table 23.- Distribution by tenure of head of all white households within a 3-mile radius of certain proposed centers, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	Total	Farm tenure					Other occupations
		Owner	Standing renter	Share-renter	Farm laborer	Un-known	
Mt. Pleasant							
Number	295	73	148	48	15	5	6
Percent	100	25	50	16	5	2	2
Goodman							
Number	344	81	64	138	37	2	22
Percent	100	23	19	40	11	1	6
Ham							
Number	168	53	48	38	14	3	12
Percent	100	31	29	23	8	2	7
New Hope							
Number	338	74	60	130	50	8	16
Percent	100	22	18	38	15	2	5
Zion Chapel							
Number	257	72	69	75	14	1	26
Percent	100	28	27	29	5	1	10
Perry Store							
Number	285	74	41	100	45	11	14
Percent	100	26	14	35	16	4	5
Curtis							
Number	276	56	46	101	26	9	38
Percent	100	20	17	37	9	3	14

Table 24.- Distribution by tenure of head of all Negro households within a 3-mile radius of certain proposed centers, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	Total	Farm tenure					Other occupations
		Owner	Standing renter	Share-renter	Farm laborer	Unknown	
Mt. Pleasant							
Number	61	-	4	37	19	-	1
Percent	100	-	6	61	31	-	2
Goodman							
Number	22	6	-	7	9	-	-
Percent	100	27	-	32	41	-	-
Ham							
Number	49	9	5	15	18	1	1
Percent	100	18	10	31	37	2	2
New Hope							
Number	35	-	-	23	10	1	1
Percent	100	-	-	65	29	3	3
Zion Chapel							
Number	6	-	-	4	2	-	-
Percent	100	-	-	67	33	-	-
Perry Store							
Number	16	-	-	3	9	-	4
Percent	100	-	-	19	56	-	25
Curtis							
Number	67	2	1	33	20	2	9
Percent	100	3	2	49	30	3	13

Table 25.- Characteristics of the population within a 3-mile radius of Mt. Pleasant, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	Farm operator					Other occupation	Total	
	Owner	Standing renter	Share-renter	Tenure unknown	Farm laborer		Number	Percent
Head of household - age in years:								
Under 20	-	-	2	1	-	-	3	1.0
20 - 29	4	37	14	2	6	2	65	22.0
30 - 39	14	48	18	1	3	1	85	28.8
40 - 49	23	33	8	-	4	2	70	23.7
50 - 59	13	21	4	1	2	1	42	14.3
60 - 69	9	7	1	-	-	-	17	5.8
70 and over	9	2	-	-	-	-	11	3.7
Unknown	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	.7
Total	73	148	48	5	15	6	295	100.0
Children at home - age in years:								
Under 6	28	111	31	-	10	1	181	24.8
6 - 10	43	129	29	-	6	3	210	28.8
11 - 15	44	115	26	2	12	4	203	27.8
16 - 20	29	64	20	-	4	4	121	16.6
21 and over	5	4	5	-	-	1	15	2.0
Total	149	423	111	2	32	13	730	100.0
Children aged 6 to 21:								
Average age	12.8	12.4	12.8	14.5	12.1	15.2	12.6	-
Average grade	5.0	5.9	4.3	6.8	3.3	5.0	4.2	-

Table 26.- Characteristics of the population within a 3-mile radius of Goodman, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	Farm operator					Other occupation	Total	
	Owner	Standing renter	Share-renter	Tenure unknown	Farm laborer		Number	Percent
Head of household - age in years:								
Under 20	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	.3
20 - 29	5	18	46	-	19	5	93	27.0
30 - 39	18	18	50	1	7	3	97	28.2
40 - 49	17	11	18	-	7	2	55	16.0
50 - 59	16	8	14	-	3	5	46	13.4
60 - 69	17	8	7	-	1	5	38	11.0
70 and over	7	1	1	1	-	2	12	3.5
Unknown	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	.6
Total	81	64	138	2	37	22	344	100.0
Children at home - age in years:								
Under 6	27	45	107	-	31	10	220	28.2
6 - 10	41	42	97	1	25	3	209	26.8
11 - 15	54	41	83	-	16	7	201	25.8
16 - 20	42	28	56	-	7	3	136	17.4
21 and over	5	4	3	-	-	2	14	1.8
Total	169	160	346	1	79	25	780	100.0
Children aged 6 to 21:								
Average age	13.1	12.6	12.2	8.0	10.9	13.7	12.4	-
Average grade	4.4	3.2	3.1	1.0	1.7	4.1	3.3	-

Table 27.- Characteristics of the population within a 3-mile radius of Ham, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	Farm operator					Other occupation	Total	
	Owner	Standing renter	Share-renter	Tenure unknown	Farm laborer		Number	Percent
Head of household - age in years:								
Under 20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20 - 29	4	8	13	3	5	1	34	20.2
30 - 39	8	21	13	-	5	5	52	30.9
40 - 49	13	5	6	-	1	4	29	17.2
50 - 59	10	7	1	-	1	1	20	12.0
60 - 69	12	4	3	-	1	-	20	12.0
70 and over	5	2	1	-	-	1	9	5.3
Unknown	1	1	1	-	1	-	4	2.4
Total	53	48	38	3	14	12	168	100.0
Children at home - age in years:								
Under 6	25	38	26	5	16	11	121	30.6
6 - 10	28	41	20	4	9	8	110	27.7
11 - 15	33	34	21	-	4	3	95	24.0
16 - 20	27	16	7	-	4	5	59	14.9
21 and over	4	7	-	-	-	-	11	2.8
Total	117	136	74	9	33	27	396	100.0
Children aged 6 to 21:								
Average age	13.2	12.1	11.3	8.5	12.1	11.8	13.4	-
Average grade	5.2	3.1	3.0	2.0	2.7	2.5	3.7	-

Table 28.- Characteristics of the population within a 3-mile radius of New Hope, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	Farm operator					Other occupation	Total	
	Owner	Standing renter	Share-renter	Tenure unknown	Farm laborer		Number	Percent
Head of household - age in years:								
Under 20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20 - 29	5	9	34	1	19	2	70	20.7
30 - 39	7	26	39	4	10	3	89	26.3
40 - 49	21	12	28	1	9	4	75	22.2
50 - 59	16	7	14	-	3	3	43	12.7
60 - 69	15	6	8	-	7	1	37	10.9
70 and over	8	-	2	-	1	-	11	3.3
Unknown	2	-	5	2	1	3	13	3.9
Total	74	60	130	8	50	16	338	100.0
Children at home - age in years:								
Under 6	28	43	103	2	39	6	221	31.1
6 - 10	17	45	81	2	22	12	179	25.2
11 - 15	31	38	57	1	19	6	152	21.4
16 - 20	31	21	55	2	11	3	123	17.3
21 and over	17	-	13	-	5	-	35	5.0
Total	124	147	309	7	96	27	710	100.0
Children aged 6 to 21:								
Average age	15.2	11.8	12.7	13.4	12.6	10.2	12.9	-
Average grade	6.5	3.3	3.4	2.8	2.2	2.0	3.8	-

Table 29.- Characteristics of the population within a 3-mile radius of Zion Chapel, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	Farm operator				Farm laborer	Other occupation	Total	
	Owner	Standing renter	Share-renter	Tenure unknown			Number	Percent
Head of household - age in years:								
Under 20	-	1	-	-	1	-	2	.8
20 - 29	4	13	29	-	6	3	55	21.4
30 - 39	5	17	22	-	3	6	53	20.6
40 - 49	16	19	11	-	2	7	55	21.4
50 - 59	26	10	7	1	1	2	47	18.3
60 - 69	9	4	5	-	1	3	22	8.5
70 and over	10	3	1	-	-	5	19	7.4
Unknown	2	2	-	-	-	-	4	1.6
Total	72	69	75	1	14	26	257	100.0
Children at home - age in years:								
Under 6	23	67	66	-	10	11	177	27.9
6 - 10	34	59	52	-	5	10	160	25.2
11 - 15	46	49	36	-	3	11	145	22.8
16 - 20	53	37	29	-	3	11	133	20.9
21 and over	16	4	-	-	-	-	20	3.2
Total	172	216	183	-	21	43	635	100.0
Children aged 6 to 21:								
Average age	14.5	12.4	11.7	-	11.5	13.3	12.2	-
Average grade	4.8	3.2	2.6	-	2.4	3.9	-	-

Table 30.- Characteristics of the population within a 3-mile radius of Perry Store, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	Farm operator				Farm laborer	Other occupation	Total	
	Owner	Standing renter	Share-renter	Tenure unknown			Number	Percent
Head of household - age in years:								
Under 20	-	-	4	2	3	-	9	3.2
20 - 29	6	11	27	5	21	1	71	24.9
30 - 39	9	14	26	1	7	6	63	22.1
40 - 49	20	9	29	-	5	1	64	22.4
50 - 59	15	2	9	-	4	2	32	11.2
60 - 69	15	5	5	2	4	2	33	11.6
70 and over	9	-	-	-	-	-	9	3.2
Unknown	-	-	-	1	1	2	4	1.4
Total	74	41	100	11	45	14	285	100.0
Children at home - age in years:								
Under 6	19	36	75	10	25	11	176	28.8
6 - 10	29	26	75	2	14	13	159	26.0
11 - 15	28	21	73	-	12	10	144	23.5
16 - 20	31	20	61	-	16	5	131	21.4
21 and over	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	.3
Total	107	103	284	12	67	39	612	100.0
Children aged 6 to 21:								
Average age	12.9	12.7	12.6	7.0	13.0	11.3	12.6	-
Average grade	5.6	4.4	3.7	.5	3.3	2.6	4.1	-

Table 31.- Characteristics of the population within a 3-mile radius of Curtis, Coffee County, Alabama, 1936

Item	Farm operator				Farm laborer	Other occupation	Total	
	Owner	Standing renter	Share-renter	Tenure unknown			Number	Percent
Head of household - age in years:								
Under 20	-	-	1	-	2	-	3	1.1
20 - 29	2	4	19	3	14	8	50	18.1
30 - 39	12	13	34	-	5	6	70	25.4
40 - 49	18	12	26	1	-	8	65	23.6
50 - 59	13	10	17	1	1	5	47	17.0
60 - 69	7	6	2	2	2	3	22	8.0
70 and over	4	1	2	1	-	7	15	5.4
Unknown	-	-	-	1	2	1	4	1.4
Total	56	46	101	9	26	38	276	100.0
Children at home - age in years:								
Under 6	23	23	85	2	21	17	171	24.3
6 - 10	39	46	72	4	6	10	177	25.2
11 - 15	36	38	82	2	5	14	177	25.2
16 - 20	34	28	57	-	5	10	134	19.1
21 and over	12	4	18	-	3	7	44	6.2
Total	144	139	314	8	40	58	703	100.0
Children aged 6 to 21:								
Average age	12.1	12.6	13.1	9.0	14.2	14.2	12.9	-
Average grade	5.3	3.4	3.7	1.7	2.8	4.1	4.1	-

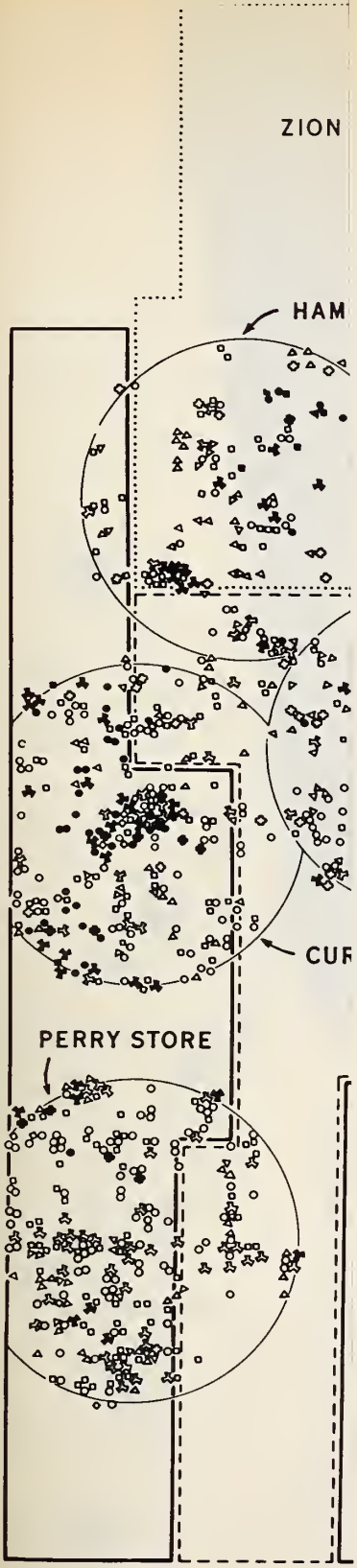

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FIGURE 5.

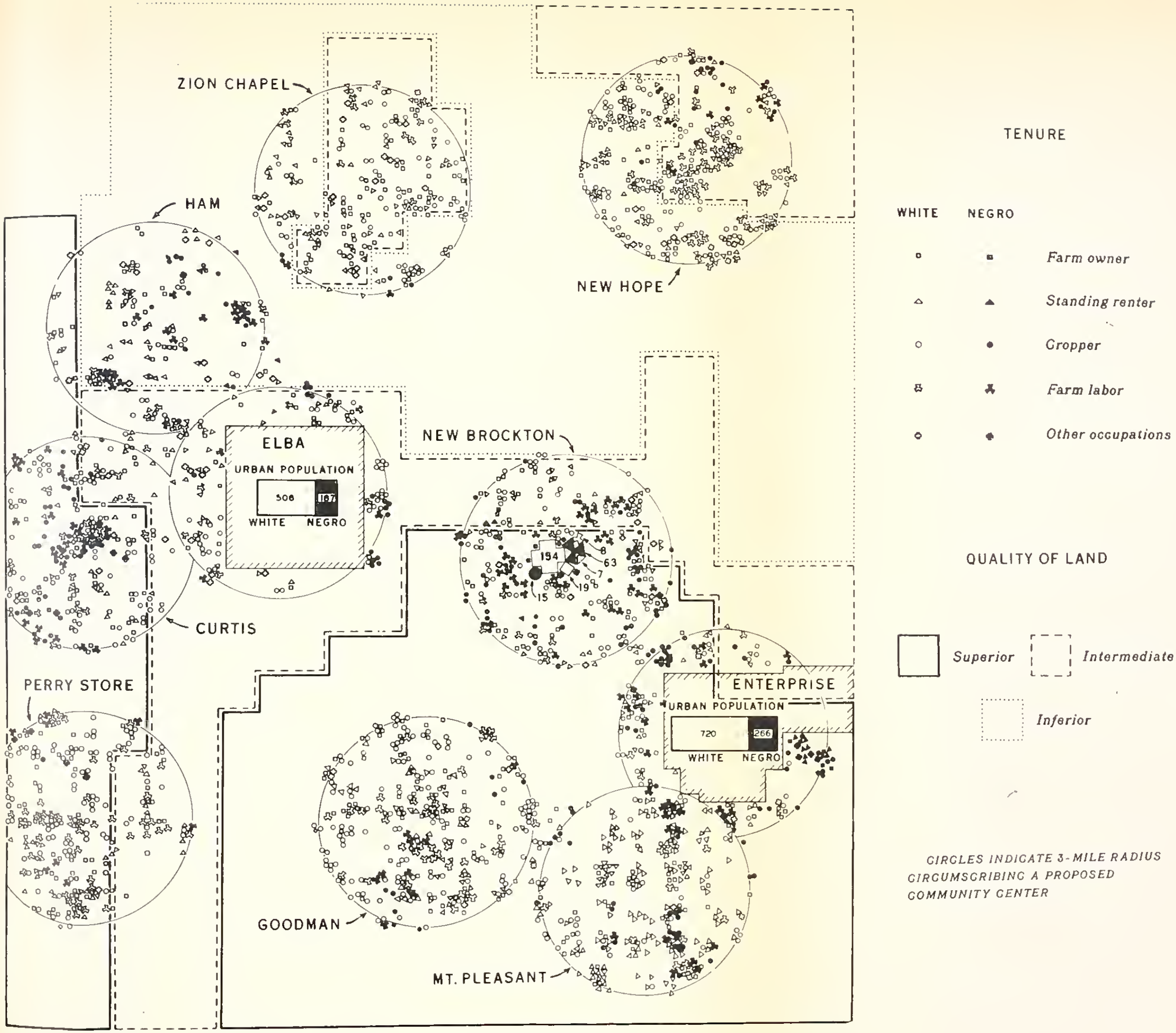

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FIGURE 5.- POPULATION WITHIN 3 MILES OF PROPOSED COMMUNITY CENTERS, COFFEE COUNTY, ALABAMA, 1936.

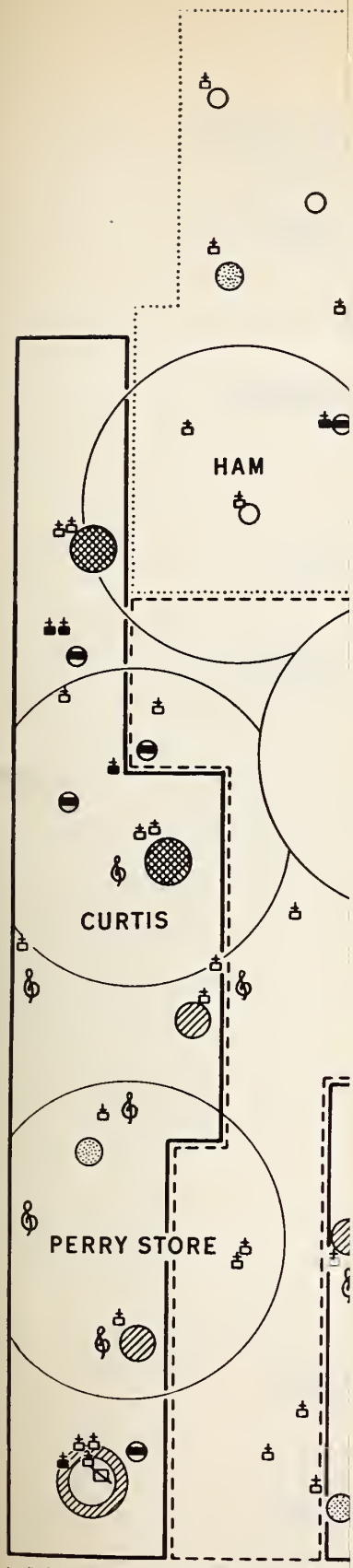

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FIGURE 6.- FOC

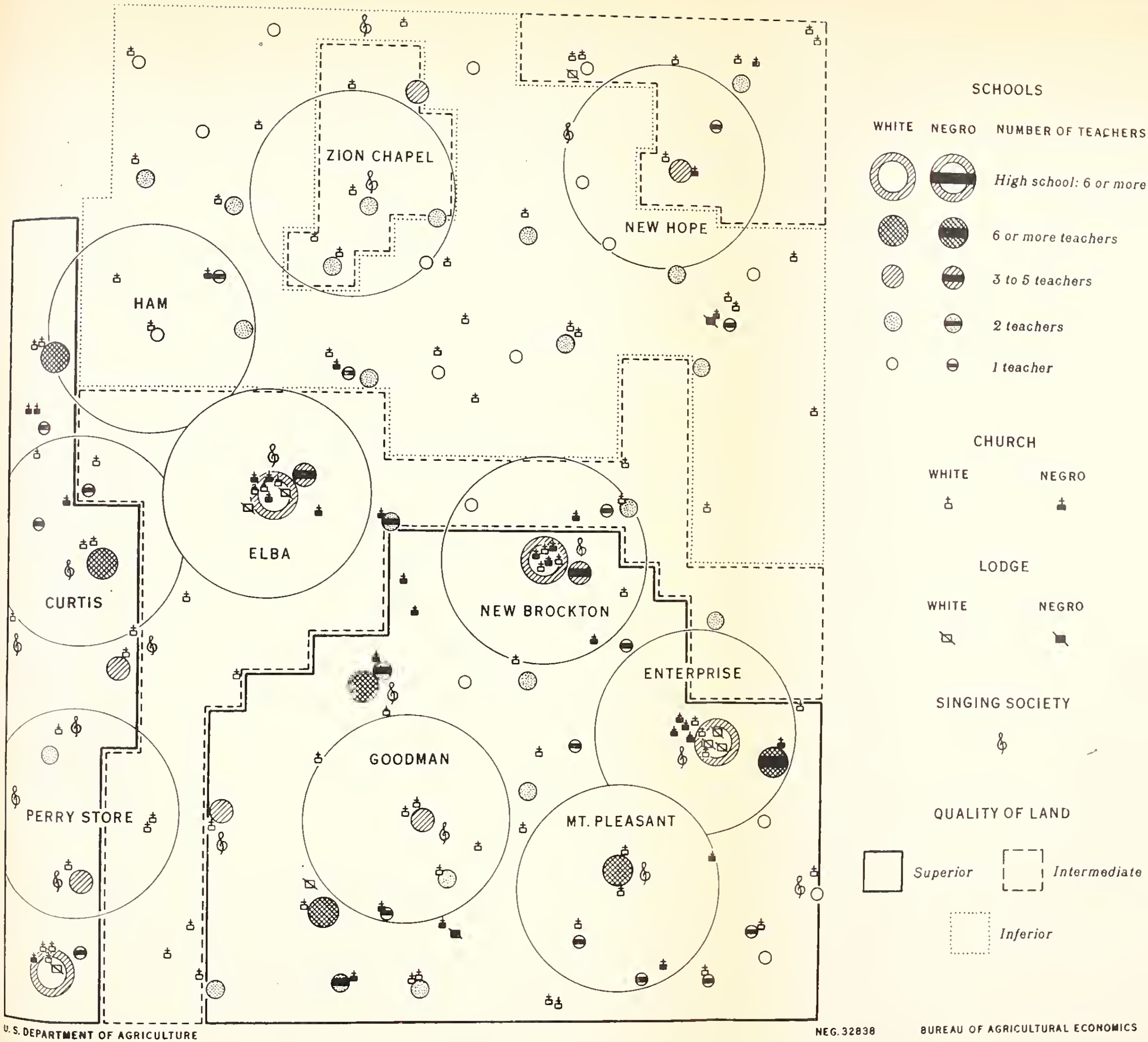

FIGURE 6.- FOCAL POINTS OF INSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITY, COFFEE COUNTY, ALABAMA, 1936.