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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE NEW DEAL RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES OF TEXAS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

CECIL ALLEN WILLIAMS

Norman, Oklahoma

1973

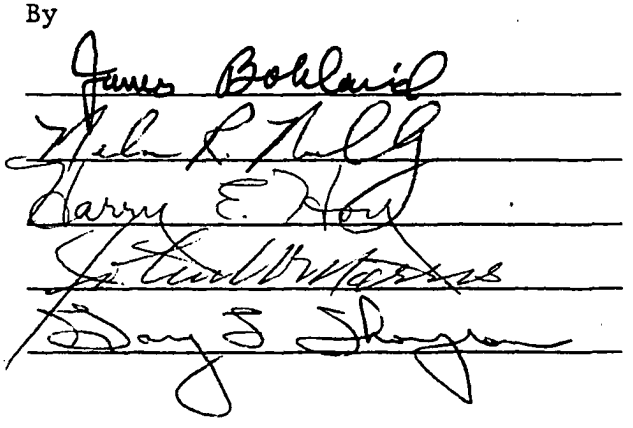
A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE NEW DEAL RURAL

RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES OF TEXAS

A DISSERTATION

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

By



DEDICATION

To the one who made this possible:
Phoebe

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A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE NEW DEAL RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES OF TEXAS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

General Introduction

The central question to be analyzed here is whether landscape modifications initiated by governmental programs (New Deal resettlement communities) have permanency. The primary theme of such a proposition is that these communities, as originally developed, represented modifications of the cultural landscape by an external source and to analyze their permanency requires some understanding of the nature of cultural landscape evolution.

The continued evolution of man as a cultural agent has created cultural landscapes that differ significantly from the natural environment. These landscapes thus are a mirror of man's present and past activities. Any specific cultural landscape is actually a composite of inputs from various cultures, and inputs whose points of innovation are widely distributed throughout the world. Regardless of the origin and extent of a cultural trait, cultural patterns never cease to be in flux. By both the processes of internal evolution and diffusion, cultures grow and spread.[1] The

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[1]Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell (eds.), Readings In Cultural Geography (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 16.

objects, ideas, and institutions of entire civilizations may rise, spread, and fuse with other civilizations.

"A culture spreads as those who share it move about, or as its corresponding sphere of communication, and the symbols embodied therein, come to prevail over those of other cultures in new territories."[1] When a different culture is imported into an area, landscape changes usually take place. Whether the invading culture totally reorders the cultural landscape, or historic landscape elements persist, is dependent on the relative strengths of the two cultures and the significance of the landscape attributes to a culture.

When a complex society expands into areas inhabited by simpler people, three acculturative processes exist.[2] The most extreme process lies in the total annihilation of the invaded indigenes. A process that combines a swift reduction of the natives, often aided by the spread of diseases and poverty, and a hasty destruction of the native way of life. Such was the case along the Atlantic seaboard of the United States.[3] A second alternative is the gradual transformation of the indigenous culture and cultural landscape into a form that best fits the needs of the invaders. The Great Plains and its native cultures are exemplary of this process. The final alternative is the incorporation and fusion of materials from both the invading and indigenous cultures.

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[1] Ibid., p. 2.

[2] Morton H. Fried, "Land Tenure, Geography, and Ecology in the Contact of Cultures," Readings in Cultural Geography, eds. Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 316.

[3] Ibid.

The invaders do not oust the vanquished, but instead, simply take over the upper ranks of the hierarchy. The Spanish conquest of the Incas and Aztecs is representative of this type of acculturation.

Except in rare cases, cultural fusion and a gradual acculturation seem to be the rule. For as Sauer has stated:

> As with landforms and vegetation, the cultural content of an area is an accretion and synthesis by different and non-recurrent historical events and processes of people, skills, and institutions that are changing assemblages in accommodation and interdependence. Few human groups have lived in isolation, excluding persons and ideas from outside; the more they have done so the less have they progressed. Isolation after a while stifles innovation; this is perhaps the major lesson of the history of mankind and also of natural history. An advancing culture accepts new culture elements without being overwhelmed by them; it adapts as it adopts and thus change leads to invention. The history and prehistory of the Old World are read throughout in terms of the communication of people and culture traits, of their blending and modifications into new forms as they are farther removed in time and place from their origins.[1]

In the study of a contemporary landscape, past cultural importations and invasions are visible only when the transplanted culture has been able to maintain some of its cultural integrity.

An investigation of Texas' contemporary landscape patterns reveals that there are several cultural importations that are readily discernable.[2] Texas possesses an extremely diversified cultural landscape that shows the

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[1]Carl O. Sauer, "Middle America as a Culture Historical Location," Readings in Cultural Geography, eds. Phillip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 200.

[2]For the purpose of this paper landscape patterns are defined as, "The total complex of arrangements or systems, visible as well as non-visible, which gives to any landscape its coherent plan and character and which precludes its being an accumulation of random bits connected only by a common location." Ronald L. Chatham et al, A Dictionary of Basic Geography (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1970), p. 117.

impact of many different cultures. The American Indian still maintains his cultural integrity near Livingston, Texas; Spanish-Americans and their culture are visible throughout much of southern Texas; and the influence of the Appalachian South is found in the hills of central Texas.[1] These are but a few examples of the cultural diversity within the state of Texas, and any attempted analyses of these cultural invasions and their resultant landscape patterns would provide a wide variety of potential research problems.

In addition to these cultural infusions into Texas by the migration of people, another cultural input, politically motivated and directed, was important to the evolution of the cultural landscape in parts of Texas. When a group of people move into an area to establish a community, new landscape patterns usually evolve. Thus, the resettlement of people in rural areas sponsored by the federal government in the mid-1930's created new landscape patterns. It is the analysis of this landscape change that brings us to the basic research problem, "What has been the impact of the New Deal rural resettlement projects on the contemporary landscape patterns of Texas?" The objectives of this study are to determine if the present day landscape patterns of certain parts of Texas are a direct result of the implementation of rural resettlement communities by the federal resettlement programs.

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[1]For a brief survey of the impact on the landscape of these cultures see: John Bounds, "The Alabama-Coushatta Indians of Texas," Journal of Geography, LXX (March, 1971), pp. 175-182; Donald W. Meinig, Southwest: Three People in Geographical Change 1600-1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); and Terry G. Jordan, "The Texas Appalachia," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LX (September, 1970), pp. 409-427.

Geographical Implications of Resettlement

The settlement process and its relation to landscape evolution has long been a focus of geographic analyses. As a process, the settling of an area by a population represents a significant cultural diffusion. The nexus between settlement and landscape evolution is thus a critical linkage and one that is worthy of geographical research. The processes involved in the settlement of people and their resultant occupance patterns are of interest to the settlement geographer. Kirk H. Stone states, ". . . since at least the time of Caesar there has been a geography of settlement; it began with a focus on the dwelling and many times has returned to it."[1] Christaller thought that the study of human communities, especially the process of their development, should be the core of settlement geography.[2] Terry G. Jordan offers his definition of settlement geography as, "the study of the form of the cultural landscape, involving its orderly description and attempted explanation."[3]

The landscape orientation of Jordan's definition closely follows a major philosophical view in geography, for the analysis of cultural landscapes represents one of the major schools in geography.[4] A variety of different methods have been used to analyze an existing cultural landscape.

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[1]Kirk H. Stone, "The Development of a Focus for the Geography of Settlement," Economic Geography, XLI (Oct., 1965), p. 346.

[2]Ibid., p. 350.

[3]Terry G. Jordan, "On the Nature of Settlement Geography," Professional Geographer, XVIII (Jan., 1966), p. 27.

[4]Peter Haggett, Locational Analysis in Human Geography (London: Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd., 1965), p. 11.

These involve an analysis of either the contemporary landscape features or a concern with the historical evolution of the cultural landscape may be of paramount importance. Sauer has been instrumental in the development of what has been termed the "genetic approach," i.e., a search for origins through a study of development, to landscape analysis.[1] According to Sauer:

> The development of cultural geography has of necessity proceeded from the reconstruction of successive cultures in an area, beginning with the earliest and proceeding to the present. The most serious work to date has concerned itself not with present culture areas but with earlier cultures, since these are the foundation of the present and provide in combination the only basis for a dynamic view of the culture area. If cultural geography, sired by geomorphology, has one fixed attribute it is the developmental orientation of the subject. . . An additional method is therefore of necessity introduced, the specifically historical method, by which available historical data are used, often directly in the field, in the reconstruction of former conditions of settlement, land utilization, and communication, whether these records be written, archeologic, or philologic."[2]

In the cultural evolution of a landscape, different periods or stages of human occupance can usually be detected. The resettlement of people who carry with them ideas and attitudes that differ from those of their new habitat typically marks the beginning of a new stage in the sequent occupance of an area.[3] This point in the cultural history of a region provides an ideal point from which to begin landscape analysis.

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[1]Andrew Clark, "Historical Geography In North America," American Geography: Inventory and Prospect, eds. Preston E. James and Clarence F. Jones (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1954), p. 88.

[2]Carl O. Sauer, "Cultural Geography," Readings in Cultural Geography, eds. Philip L. Wagner and Marvin W. Mikesell (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 33.

[3]For a better understanding of sequent occupance see Derwent Whittlesey, "Sequent Occupance," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XIX (September, 1933), pp. 162-165.

In most cases this settling process has been spontaneous and voluntary, however, in many areas the settling process has been carefully planned by individual companies, or more commonly, governmental agencies. The impact of planned colonization and resettlement on cultural landscapes has been a focus in settlement geography. However, the emphasis has been on planned colonization and resettlement in countries other than the United States, primarily because of the large number of planned colonization schemes in these areas. Latin America, in particular, has served as the location for numerous foreign resettlement projects. These projects were initiated for several distinct purposes; such as, the relief of population pressure, to supply needed raw materials, to expand a trade basis, and for religious or political freedom. Many were designed as agricultural projects, and thus have greatly influenced the rural cultural landscape.[1] Other foreign

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[1]For a brief review of resettlement in Latin America see: John P. Augelli, "The Latvians of Varpa: A Foreign Colony on the Brazilian Pioneer Fringe," The Geographical Review, XLVIII (July, 1958), pp. 364-387; John P. Augelli, "Cultural and Economic Changes of Bastos, A Japanese Colony on Brazil's Paulista Frontier," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XLVIII (March, 1958), pp. 3-19; Robert C. Edit, "Japanese Agricultural Colonization: A New Attempt at Land Opening in Argentina," Economic Geography, XLIV (Jan., 1968), pp. 1-20; Donald Hastings, "Japanese Emigration and Assimilation in Brazil," The International Migration Review, III (Spring, 1969), pp. 32-53; Midori Nishi, "Some Aspects of Japanese Postwar Migration to Latin America," The Professional Geographer, XIV (Jan., 1962), pp. 47-53; Toru Ogishima, "Japanese Emigration," International Labour Review, XXXIV (Nov., 1936), pp. 618-651; D.C.M. Platt, "British Agricultural Colonization in Latin America; Part II," Inter-American Economic Affairs, XIX (Summer, 1965), pp. 23-42; Norman R. Stewart, "Foreign Agricultural Colonization as a Study in Cultural Geography," The Professional Geographer, XV (Sept., 1963), pp. 1-5; Peter A. Stouse, "A Framework for Measurement of Development in Latin-America Land Settlement Projects," International Migration, I (1963), pp. 114-132; A.S. Tuinman, "Dutch Settlements in Brazil," International Migration, V, (1967) pp. 12-21; and, Leo Waibel, "European Colonization in Southern Brazil," The Geographical Review, XL (1950), pp. 529-547.

areas have experienced planned colonization and resettlement. Resettlement projects in Africa have been linked to the construction of hydro-electric dams and various irrigation projects, and a number have evolved for various political reasons.[1] Planned settlement has also been of widespread importance in Asia.[2] In all these areas the impact of planned colonization has been a focus in the geographical analysis of these colonies.

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[1]Robert Chambers, The Volta Resettlement (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969); D. Hilling, "The Volta Resettlement," The Geographical Magazine, XXXVII (March, 1965), pp. 830-841; Rowena A. Lawson, "The Volta Resettlement Scheme," African Affairs, LXVII (April, 1968), pp. 124-129; "An Interim Economic Appraisal of the Volta Resettlement Scheme," Nigerian Journal of Economics and Social Studies, X (March, 1968), pp. 95-109; R.A. Beddis, "The Aswan Dam and the Resettlement of the Nubian People," Geography, XLVIII (Jan., 1963), pp. 77-80; D.J. Shaw, "Resettlement from the Nile in Sudan," Middle East Journal, XXI (Autumn, 1967), pp. 462-487; I.A. Adalemo, "Resettlement in the Kainji Dam Area: A Geographical Study," Nigerian Geographical Journal, II (1968), pp. 175-188; and A.M. Abou-Zeid, "The Sedentarization of Nomads in the Western Desert of Egypt," International Social Science Journal, II (1959), pp. 550-558.

[2]Owen Lattimore, "Chinese Colonization in Manchuria," The Geographical Review, XXII (April, 1932), pp. 177-195; Harold J. Wiens, "Change in the Ethnography and Land Use of the Ili Valley and Region, Chinese Turkestan," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LIX (Dec., 1969), pp. 753-775; H. Yuan Tien, "The Demographic Significance of Organized Population Transfers in Communist China," Demography, I (1964), pp. 220-226; Joseph J. Zasloff, "Rural Resettlement in South Viet Nam: The Agroville Program," Pacific Affairs, XXXV (Winter, 1962-63), pp. 327-340; R.G.Y. Ng, "Land Settlement Projects in Thailand," Geography, LIII (April, 1968), pp. 179-182; Kernial Singh Sandhu, "Emergency Resettlement in Malaya," The Journal of Tropical Geography, XVIII (August, 1964), pp. 157-183; and John K. King, "Malaysia's Resettlement Problem," Far Eastern Survey, XXIII (March, 1954), pp. 33-40; D.J. Dwyer, "Urban Squatters in Hong Kong," Asian Survey, X (July, 1970), pp. 607-613; Sheila K. Johnson "Hong Kong's Resettled Squatters: A Statistical Analysis," Asian Survey, VI (Novemger, 1966), pp. 643-656; Hamzah-Sendut, "Rasha-A Resettlement Village in Malaya," Asian Survey, I (November, 1961), pp. 21-26; Rudolph Wikkramatileka, "A Study of Planned Land Settlement in the Eastern Marshlands of Malaya," Economic Geography, XXXVIII (August, 1964), pp. 330-346.

Contrasting with the research on resettlement in Latin America and other foreign areas, is the relative absence of research on planned colonization in the United States. This neglect is not a function of the lack of planned settlement in the U.S., for throughout its history various groups within the U.S. have been involved in planning settlements. Indeed, from its early colonial days much of the settling of land in the U.S. has been under the sponsorship of government, individuals, or land-companies. Utopian colonization attempts have received the greatest research primarily because of their uniqueness and reliance on different philosophies of social organization. However, in terms of numbers, government, both federal and state, has been of greater significance. Beginning in colonial days and continuing to the present, the United States government has always been intrigued with colonization and resettlement as a means of solving land and social problems.

One such settlement scheme occurred under the umbrella of Roosevelt's New Deal program. This New Deal resettlement represented the last major period of federally sponsored colonization in the United States. Only a limited amount of geographic research has been completed on the New Deal rural resettlement projects within the U.S.,[1] but historic accounts of New Deal resettlement have been completed. However, analysis of the impact of resettlement on the contemporary landscape or in fact, the past landscape, has not been examined in such accounts. Historians have emphasized

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[1]Two articles of a geographic nature are James R. Bohland, "A Classification for the Spatial Arrangement of Rural Settling Projects: Piedmont Homestead Project," The Professional Geographer, XX (May, 1968), pp. 187-194, and George Webb, "The Cumberland Homesteads After 25 Years," Southeastern Division of American Geographers: Memorandum Folio, XI (Nov., 1959), pp. 106-114.

the politics and the governmental structure of the resettlement programs, but have not attempted to measure the current impact of these resettlement schemes. Instead the focus is on the period from 1933-1945.[1] No attempt has been made to discuss what has happened to the communities between the early 1940's and the present.

The absence of research on the New Deal resettlement projects in Texas is evident. A complete historic account of "The New Deal and Texas," by Patenaude fails to mention any of the New Deal resettlement projects within the state of Texas.[2] Patenaude was primarily concerned with the impact of Texans on the policies and programs developed by the New Deal and neglected state programs as they evolved in Texas.

The absence of any analysis of New Deal resettlement in Texas of itself is an important reason for initiating research on the problem. However, more significant is the more conceptual problem of permanency of landscape and to what degree government superimposition of landholding attributes influences landholding permanency. It is this latter more abstract point that sparked the interest in the particular problem, and which the author feels is the most important issue to be analyzed.

---

[1]Two outstanding examples are: Paul K. Conkin, Tomorrow A New World: The New Deal Community Program (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959) and James D. Holley, "The New Deal and Farm Tenancy: Rural Resettlement in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Louisiana State University, 1969), 365 pp.

[2]Lionel V. Patenaude, "The New Deal and Texas," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, University of Texas, 1953), 468 pp.

Role of Resettlement in Social Problems

Even though our society today is becoming more highly urbanized, it is important that geographers, as well as members of other disciplines, fully understand the rural settlement process. This need stems from the fact that "back-to-the-land movements" are not entirely a thing of the past. People are still moving from the crowded inner cities to the less populated suburban areas, and there are even a few concentrated attempts to move people from the cities back to the farm. Many view this movement as simply a continuing part of the strong agrarian tradition that has developed within the United States.[1]

The United States began its history as an agrarian nation and, in many of its folkways, has largely remained one. A significant element of this agrarian orthodoxy is the belief in land as a symbol of prestige and power. This attitude was partially inherited from the Old World where land ownership had been a major mark of social status. It is true, that many immigrants came to America in search of religious freedom, but an equal number probably came with a worship of land ownership.[2] These early settlers soon developed within the United States an agrarian myth whose basic beliefs were:

> A mystical quality attached to land and its cultivation. The farmer was the elect of God, a priest entrusted with the care of the earth. Agriculture was the only truly moral way to secure wealth and happiness. Rural life was healthier and more

---

[1]A good example of this back-to-the-land movement is the current attempt in Oklahoma of the Office of Economic Opportunity to resettle 300 families on 10 acre farms in Atoka County, Oklahoma. "New Homestead," Time, January 17, 1972, p. 10.

[2]Sidney Baldwin, Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968), p. 23.

> righteous than life in the cities. Virtue lay in individualism and self-reliance; wealth and success were the rewards of initiative, hard work, and thrift.[1]

Among the founding fathers of the United States, Thomas Jefferson was an outstanding proponent of the virtues of rural living and the family farm. He stated, "The small land holders are the most precious part of a state."[2] This belief in the need for family farms was also held by many of the later United States Presidents. Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed a similar interest in the family farm and small landowners, a view which was a strong factor in the development of the New Deal resettlement program. He stated, "The rapid increase of tenant farmers during the last half century is significant evidence that we have fallen far short of achieving the traditional American ideal of owner-operated farms."[3]

Thus the virtues of agricultural pursuits, the greater responsibility of landowning citizens, and the dangers of urbanism and a propertyless proletariat have remained as dominant beliefs for many twentieth century Americans.[4] The back-to-the-land movements of the early 1900's were based on this agrarian myth and its presumed virtues of the family farm and rural living.

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[1] Ibid., p. 22.

[2] Paul V. Maris, The Land Is Mine: From Tenancy to Family Farm Ownership (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), p. 1.

[3] "Report of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy," in U.S. House of Representatives, Activities of the Farm Security Administration, Report No. 1430, 78th Congress, 2d Sess., 1944, p. 25.

[4] Paul K. Conkin, Tomorrow A New World: The New Deal Community Program (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959), p. 12.

If a strong agrarian myth still exists today, an attempt should be made to fully understand all facets of the processes necessary to settle people in rural areas and learn from our mistakes of the past. Within a regional system, there exists a very strong link between the urban area and its surrounding rural environment.[1] It is pertinent that we recognize this linkage and attempt to understand its consequences in order that effective planning can be achieved. As Hahn indicates:

> Planning in rural areas is becoming increasingly important. First, there is the rising national concern with economic development of depressed rural areas. Second, there is recognition that urban poverty and related problems are, at least in part, a consequence of conditions in rural areas (from which great numbers have migrated to the cities). Finally, the outward scatteration of dissatisfied urbanites is extending beyond areas that can accurately be called suburban, and into countryside and jurisdictions that are quite rural.[2]

If future attempts at rural planning are to include the planned resettlement of dissatisfied urbanites, then a review of the impact of past resettlement projects should be helpful in the planning and expediting of any new resettlement projects.

Cultural Landscape Patterns

When a heterogeneous group of individuals establish themselves on the land in newly formed communities, they do so in differing manners. The cultural landscape patterns that evolve from their settling will probably vary from one location to another. The degree to which these patterns are visible on the contemporary landscape will also vary just as the original

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[1]For a better understanding of the rural-urban linkage within a regional system see Niles M. Hansen, Rural Poverty and the Urban Crises: A Strategy for Regional Development (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970).

[2]Alan J. Hahn, "Planning in Rural Areas," AIP Journal (January, 1970), p. 44.

patterns differed. The amount that the landscape patterns established by the settlers have varied could be used as a measure of the success and permanency of the settlements.

In analyzing landscape patterns, certain features of the cultural landscape are significant to the man/land relationship. These are land ownership, dwellings, and transportation networks.

Even though ownership patterns are not always as readily visible as dwellings and transportation networks, they are significant for they influence the manner in which man has subdivided the land. The manner in which the land has been subdivided, i.e., parcel size and shape, is influential in determining land use patterns, efficiency, and overall viability of a farm.

Research Hypotheses

On the basis of the importance of these three landscape elements, the general research problem, "What has been the impact of the New Deal rural resettlement projects on the contemporary landscape patterns of Texas?", can now be made more specific. What has been the impact of New Deal rural resettlement programs on the land ownership patterns, distribution of dwellings, and transportation networks of portions of rural Texas? From this problem, two hypotheses are presented for analysis.

1. The ownership patterns, transportation networks, and dwellings established by New Deal rural resettlement in Texas are still prominent elements of the contemporary landscape.

2. There are variations among the New Deal rural resettlement projects as to their impact on the contemporary landscape patterns.

Prominent Elements of the Contemporary Landscape

Analysis of the first hypothesis consists of a temporal comparison of several landscape measurements. Measurements were made to determine which of the landscape patterns established by the New Deal resettlement programs are still prominent elements of the contemporary landscape. These measurements involved determining the number of original landholdings that have not changed in size or shape, determination of the number of original homes and outbuildings that were still in use, measuring the amount of the original transportation network that was still used, and ascertaining the number of individual landunits that were owned either by original settlers or their direct descendants. Original is here defined as meaning that which existed when the individual settlers purchased their farms from the federal government in 1943 or 1944. Such measurements provided the necessary data to test four supportive hypotheses needed to validate research hypothesis one.

Project Landholdings

1. The size and shape of the original project landholdings can still be identified.

If the resettlement communities were dominant features on their respective landscapes, then the land division patterns that they established should still be prominent elements on the landscape. "Once laid down, the boundaries of land divisions become part of man's inheritance to be accepted or modified by later generations."[1] The patterns into which

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[1]Norman J.W. Thrower, Original Survey and Land Subdivision: A Comparative Study of the Form and Effect of Contrasting Cadastral Surveys (Monograph Series of the Association of American Geographers No. 4. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1966) p. 1.

the land have been subdivided are significant elements of the visible cultural landscape. These patterns of land division established by resettlement should be the most readily recognizable divisions evident on the landscape.

Original Dwellings

2. A substantial percentage (greater than 75%) of the original homes and various agricultural outbuildings are still being utilized by the area's residents.

The inclusion of dwellings as a landscape attribute is based on a recognition of the significance a dwelling has as an element of a group's culture. Human dwellings and their associated outbuildings can be used as a means of delineating the societal groups that have settled in a particular region.[1] As Kohn stated:

> Their exterior forms reflect architectural styles of the time and culture from which they spring. Their distribution produces discernible patterns in the landscape. Once created, they are apt to outlast both the function for which they were originally designed and the architectural fashions of their time. For these reasons they reflect changes in man's occupance of an area and are often existing landscape expressions of the past.[2]

If the resettlement communities did introduce lasting cultural landscape patterns, their dwellings should still be easily recognizeable as distinct elements of the landscape. These structures may differ from

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[1]For a good discussion of the dwelling as a significant element of the cultural landscape see: Fred B. Kniffen, "Louisiana House Types," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, XXVI (Dec., 1936), pp. 179-193, and Fred B. Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, LV (Dec., 1965), pp. 549-577.

[2]Clyde F. Kohn, "Settlement Geography," American Geography: Inventory and Prospect, eds. Preston E. James and Clarence F. Jones (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1954), p. 125.

dwellings built after the completion of the resettlement projects. A high percentage of original structures still in use would indicate that the communities did have an appreciable influence on the contemporary landscape.

Transportation Networks

3. The transportation networks that were initiated by the resettlement agencies have remained as integral parts of the present day transportation patterns.

Roads constructed by the various resettlement communities should be visible elements of the contemporary landscape. New roads may have been built since the completion of the resettlement projects, but the original roads should constitute the core of the transportation network.

Original Ownership

4. A large percentage of the individual land units within the projects (>40%) are still owned by either original resettlement clients or their direct descendants.

The percentage of the land still owned by original settlers or their direct descendants can be used as a measure of the influence of the resettlement programs on the contemporary landscape patterns. A high percentage of original owners would demonstrate the permanence of resettlement.

Though not formally hypothesized, it is felt that co-variance should exist between the original resettlement characteristics. Changes in one resettlement characteristic may be accompanied by alterations in other original landscape elements.

For example, if a high percentage of the projects have remained in original ownership, one would expect a limited amount of land subdivision.

The size and shape of the original landholdings could still be identified and original property lines would continue to be the dominate dividers of individual properties. A higher percentage of original homes would remain occupied as many settlers would continue living in original resettlement dwellings.

Conversely, a reduction in the amount of project lands remaining in original ownership would result from the subdivision of original landholdings. Subdivision creates both more and longer property lines and reduces the importance of original boundaries. The subdividing of project lands and increasing number of land owners could cause an increase in residential structures as many of the new land owners would have purchased land for residential building sites. A large amount of new home construction would reduce the importance of original dwellings and resettlement structures would comprise a smaller percentage of the total residential structures. Also, an increased number of land owners and dwellings would effect the original transportation network and result in an improvement of existing roads and/or the construction of new transportational linkages.

Consequently, changes in one landscape element should foster a series of alterations. This serial type of change process should lead to a group of changes occurring simultaneously in the project area.

Variations Among the Communities

The second major hypothesis is directed to the variations among the resettlement projects as to their impact on the contemporary landscape patterns. Specifically the purpose is to document the variations in the forementioned landholding characteristics between the projects and the

determination of the causes of the variance. The necessity of determining which factors have been responsible for one project maintaining more or less of its original character than another is of paramount importance if future planned resettlement is contemplated. If variations do exist it is hypothesized that these variations among the communities are a function of the size of the original landholdings, adjacency to urban centers, and project organization. These assumed causes of variation would lead to the development of three supportive hypotheses.

Size of Landunit

1. Resettlement projects composed of large individual landunits have exhibited less variation from the original than those with smaller landunits.

Since the projects involved in this study are rural-agricultural communities and the individual farms were designed for general farming, the size of the individual farms is quite important when the economies of agricultural production are considered. "Increasing farm size certainly enables the farmer to achieve greater economies by making more complete use of labor and equipment."[1] Projects with large landunits would provide the settler with more of an opportunity to economically produce agricultural products and thus a better chance of becoming a prosperous farmer. Smaller units are often less efficient for the farmer cannot fully utilize his machinery and labor force. Economic efficiency of production lends itself to stability and when a farmer cannot take advantage of the economies

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[1]Richard L. Morrill, The Spatial Organization of Society (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), p. 41.

associated with larger landunits he is more likely to look elsewhere for a source of income. Projects with large landunits which are more economical to farm should have more original owners and less variation from the original in the size and shape of the landunits.

Effects of Urban Centers

2. Projects located near large urban centers exhibit fewer characteristics of the original resettlement communities than those located in a more rural environment.

Large urban centers exhibit a great influence on surrounding rural areas. This urban influence is immediately visible on the nearby agricultural lands.

> Urban activities, including residences, are of such productive intensity and pay so well that agriculture cannot compete. Therefore, land is constantly changing from farm use to urban use in the fringes of towns and cities. Around U.S. cities there is a peculiar pattern of land use: there is some land used for intensive farming near or even inside the city limits; much land is used for 'farm' residences for urban workers as far as 40 miles out; and much land is bought for speculative purposes, which raises taxes above what farmers can pay.[1]

The land needs of people desiring to benefit from a large urban center but not live in the city, often causes the value of land surrounding the city to rise rapidly as the city grows. This results from the willingness of people to pay high prices for low-density living.[2] The agricultural lands gradually disappear as the land is subdivided into smaller and smaller residential units. As the land is subdivided, roads are added and speculative buying occurs. As land becomes more urban in nature and property taxes

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[1] Ibid., p. 50.

[2] Hansen, op. cit., p. 242.

increase, these higher taxes become a burden to the farmer who finds himself near or within the limits of a large city.

As land is sold and subdivided it loses its original ownership and landscape characteristics. Fewer original owners remain, and the land-holding patterns and transportation networks become altered. With the completion of new homes the original houses are no longer the dominant dwellings on the landscape.

The combination of these processes could be operative on the rural resettlement communities located near large urban centers. Consequently such communities should be dominated more by non-resettlement characteristics than those located in a more rural environment.

Planning and Organization

3. The projects with the greatest variations from the original are those that lacked proper planning and organization.

Proper planning is the single most important element in the creation of a resettlement project. Planning is the necessary first component in the process of resettlement and should show sufficient knowledge of the area, the typical farm unit, size of the settlement, expected result of the settlement, and flexibility.[1] The proper planning involved in the selection of the resettlement site and the type of agricultural activity that is attempted are both instrumental in the success of the project. Poor planning and a weak organization result in a project that quickly loses its original

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[1]Peter A. Stouse, "A Framework for Measurement of Development in Latin-America Land Settlement Projects," International Migration, I (1963), p. 115.

structure. Such a project would have less influence on the contemporary landscape patterns than a well planned community.

Study Area

Texas provides an interesting and readily available field laboratory for studying the New Deal resettlement projects. The records located in the county courthouses are open to individual research and are generally accurate and well maintained. Numerous projects were completed in Texas and provide an example of each type of resettlement community. Personal familiarity and interest in the state also enhances its use as a field laboratory.

The New Deal resettlement projects in Texas can be divided into three major categories. Industrial communities were built adjacent to large urban centers to serve as residences for industrial employees. There were five such communities constructed in Texas. Most of the individual landunits within these projects were from three to five acres in size.

A second category of resettlement projects involved the purchase of scattered farms for the purpose of assisting individual tenant farmers in becoming farm owners. These projects usually covered a fairly large area and did not include the creation of communities. The Texas Farm Tenant Security project located in sixteen counties of east-central Texas is a good example of this type of project. It was composed of 12,027 acres that were divided into 111 farms.[1]

The third type of project was the rural farm community. Six New Deal rural resettlement communities became functional within the state of

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[1]U.S. Congress, House, Hearings Before the Select Committee of the House Committee on Agriculture, Hearings on the Farm Security Administration, Part 3, 78th Congress, 1st Session, 1943-1944, p. 1106.

Texas in the 1930's (Fig. 1). These communities were composed of either contiguous plots of land or plots separated by only a short distance. The land was purchased for the purpose of resettling either tenant farmers or individuals who were on urban relief rolls. Each settler was furnished with a home and the necessary farm buildings. Initially the farmers rented the land for a small annual sum but most of the individual plots were eventually sold to these settlers in either 1943 or 1944 (Table I).

TABLE I

NEW DEAL RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES IN TEXAS

Name	Location	Units[a]	Acres[a]	Total Cost
McLennan Farms	McLennan County	20	2,724	$244,050.17
Ropesville Farms	Hockley County	76	16,223	667,489.03
Sabine Farms	Harrison County	80	7,986	436,674.00
Sam Houston Farms	Harris County	86	4,979	607,777.78
Wichita Valley Farms	Wichita County	91	5,546	931,086.53
Woodlake Community	Trinity County	101	7,600	648,255.81
Totals		454	44,858	$3,535,333.32

[a]These figures represent the projects as they were initiated and do not necessarily represent the projects as they were sold in 1943 and 1944.

Source: Paul K. Conkin, Tomorrow A New World: The New Deal Community Program (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959), pp. 335-337.

These six communities represented the creation of an entirely different environment from that which previously existed. Before the purchase of this land by the federal government, much of it was not being used for agricultural crops. The land varied from heavily forested areas in east Texas to semi-arid grazing land in west Texas. Through the resettlement agencies these lands were divided into individual farms and viable rural communities were developed. This represented a great change from the

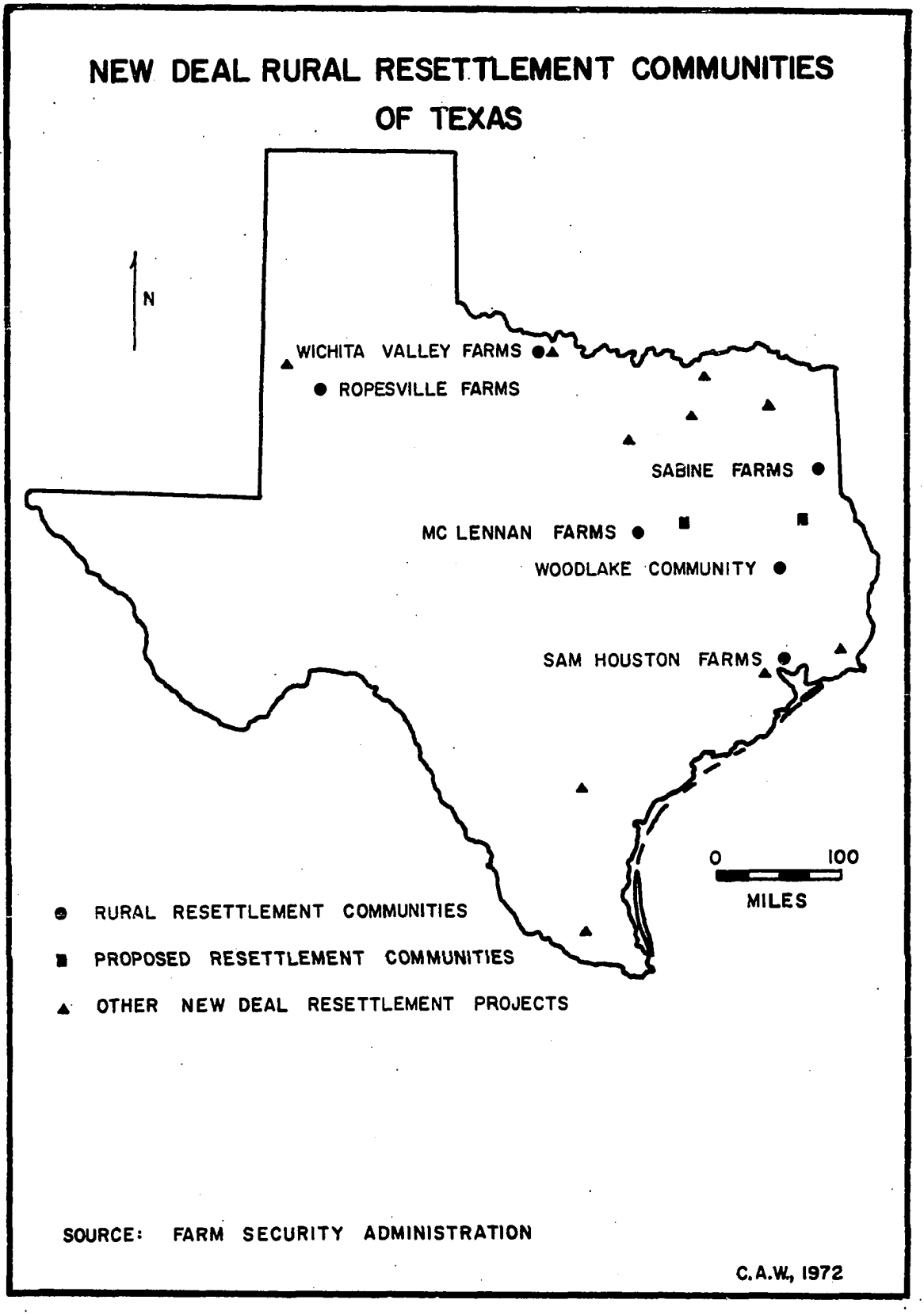
NEW DEAL RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES
OF TEXAS
N
WICHITA VALLEY FARMS
ROPESVILLE FARMS
SABINE FARMS
MC LENNAN FARMS
WOODLAKE COMMUNITY
SAM HOUSTON FARMS
0
100
MILES
RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES
PROPOSED RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES
OTHER NEW DEAL RESETTLEMENT PROJECTS
SOURCE: FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 1

environment that existed prior to the resettlement programs. The question becomes whether the impact of these changes are still evident on the contemporary landscape patterns.

Methodology

Historic Methodology

To understand a landscape requires knowledge and appreciation of its evolution. Landscape and history are inextricably linked to the point where it is difficult to unravel the complex. Much of what one sees in a landscape is really the historic residuals of man's activities. This strong historic-landscape association has been addressed by most of the advocates of landscape analysis. Whittlesey, Sauer, Mikesell, and many others have structured landscape analysis into the genetic-process design.

While one need not be constrained by past procedures and methodologies, it is difficult to examine landscape traits in any way but with such a perspective. Yet, historic methodology is not a singular procedure, for it can take many forms. The static time-slice approach of sequent occupancy contrasts with the dynamic systems approach used by later advocates of temporal sequencing.

The procedure utilized here is an attempt to combine both the time-slice sequency procedure and some elements of the systems approach. The former is used to establish the two datum planes used as the inner and outer time boundaries. Specifically, the landscapes of 1944 and 1972 are the origin and terminal points of the historic period. However, unlike a sequent occupancy approach, interim landscapes are not identified and used as critical evolutionary periods.

While the use of interim time periods as a procedure for analyzing change does have pragmatic value, it does violate a basic concept of culture and landscape - its dynamic nature. Culture and its spatial correlate, the cultural landscape, is revolutionary, i.e., it is a continuance of change. To isolate one period and say it is representative of a major period of change is highly artificial. Though this problem of grouping continuous data is not restricted to historical studies, it is of concern to this research.

In lieu of a formalized sequent occupancy procedure, a less formalized design, but one that is conceptually valid, was used. The evolution of the contemporary landscape was viewed as a result of a complex, interacting system. The visual manifestations of that system are represented on the landscape and these serve as spatial correlates of system behavior. Thus by piecing together the important landscape attributes that bear on a particular problem, one should be able to work back through time and relate pattern to process to factors of causality.

This link of pattern-process-causal factors is the system defined as that operative on the Texas rural landscapes under analysis. It is neither a new landscape system nor one that is unique to Texas landscapes. Its universality as a conceptual framework is its strength. While such a serial association has only the most crude components of a model, conceptually it lies as the basis of most models of landscape change and in fact much of geography.

The sequence of landscape change examined in this study commenced with the introduction of a new idea of rural settlement in the United States. The notion of a government sponsored and initiated rural settlement scheme

was an innovation that originated in Washington and spread to many rural areas of the country. Eventually its introduction to the Texas landscape proved to be the impetus that initiated a series of important landscape changes. Thus, the principle cause of change in the six rural areas of Texas was this innovation originating from Washington. Using this idea of rural settlement organization, i.e., the resettlement concept, as the basic externality in the landscape model of rural Texas, the procedure used was to determine what other components in the system were affected and what other landscape processes were generated by this innovation.

Data

To understand how this settlement innovation developed and came to influence Texas, a thorough search of New Deal resettlement literature was made. Since the focus of this research deals only with rural resettlement, the activities of the various resettlement agencies were surveyed to determine which programs were designed to resettle and rehabilitate rural inhabitants. The resettlement agencies' programs on the national scale were examined first. Next an indepth view was taken of rural resettlement within the state of Texas. Brief sketches of the six rural communities established in Texas were made to describe the method by which the idea of a resettlement community was introduced in Texas.

To recreate the cultural landscape patterns that existed within the six communities at the time of their liquidation in 1943 or 1944, several data sources were used. First, it was necessary to either obtain original plats from the county clerk's offices or construct similar plats from the original land titles that are on file in the county record books. These

plats provided base maps needed to show transportation networks and the sizes and shapes of the original landholdings. Records in the county clerk's office were used to obtain the names of the original settlers and the dates on which they purchased their land. Additional information needed to reconstruct the landscape of the communities was found in the Texas State Archives, newspapers, and through personal interviews. From these sources, accurate representations of the cultural landscape of the 1940 project lands were created. These served as the datum plane against which contemporary variations could be measured and from which processes of change could be identified.

Maps of the contemporary landscape developed from field work were constructed to show current landholding characteristics, residential structures, and transportation networks. Changes in the ownership patterns of the landholdings were ascertained by use of information available in the record books of the local counties. Changes in the size or shape of the landunits were delineated by careful scrutiny of the data found in the county plat offices and by recreating the spatial dimension of all landholding transfers by use of individual deeds to the land. Aerial photographs, obtained from the county ASCS, were useful in determining changes in the transportation networks and in surveying the distributional patterns of homes and other buildings. Additional data on landscape features, project organization, settler perception, etc., were collected by direct field observations and interviews with original settlers. All sources were used to provide the data needed to compile current maps showing the size and shape of landholdings, both original and new homes, transportation networks, and whether or not either original settlers or their descendants still own

the land. Also, information obtained from these sources proved to be valuable in isolating factors of landscape change.

Utilization

Data gathered from historical and contemporary sources were used to make comparisons between the original project characteristics and the contemporary landscapes. By piecing together these changes and relating them to project spatial properties the factors and processes responsible for altering the original projects and creating the contemporary were determined. The reoccurring patterns of change, given certain admixtures of variables, proved to be a common association. The repetitious nature of these associations suggested their inclusion for more detailed investigation. Spatial comparisons were then made to determine if patterns were repetitive in the spatial as well as the temporal dimension.

Much of the quantitative data on landholdings were used to calculate ratios that were used to document significant changes. Such data were then used to determine to what extent the original project characteristics had been altered and if the contemporary cultural landscapes still exhibited significant original characteristics.

Next, the six communities were analyzed individually to determine which landholding attributes varied significantly between the projects. The six communities were classified on the basis of variances in the amount of impact, and existing variations were attributed to differing factors and processes of change working to alter the landscape. The classification was used as a means for examining between group variance in certain characteristics while controlling for certain causal factors. Also, the six communities were ranked on the degree to which they had retained their original

resettlement characteristics. Rank order correlation was then used to determine if any relationships existed between these measures of originality and if changes in one measure might be used to predict alterations in other measures of originality.

By the use of these procedures, it was possible to determine how important the cultural landscape patterns established by the various resettlement agencies have been in determining the contemporary landscape patterns and to explain any variations between the communities. Process and causal factors were also related to these variations to determine what association exists between rural landscape attributes and other system components.

CHAPTER II

NEW DEAL RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMS

The Need for Resettlement

At the beginning of the 1930's the American people suffered the most disastrous economic collapse in their history. The stark realities of this Great Depression with its widespread poverty in the land of plenty posed a basic challenge to Americans. This challenge centered around the ability of a democratic society to survive a major economic collapse and repair the most serious defects of its economic and social structures without a substantial loss of political freedom. To meet this challenge, there occurred an outburst of political leadership and legislation known as the New Deal.[1]

The First New Deal (1933-1935) included attempts to restore America's economic vitality and reform her stricken economic institutions by having the federal government assume a more direct responsibility for the total economy of the nation. This in fact was an attempt to achieve some degree of national economic planning. A second objective of the First New Deal involved efforts for relief and reform which were directed more toward people than toward institutions and brought about broad social welfare programs.

From 1935 to 1939, an additional wave of legislation, the Second New Deal, appeared. This legislation concentrated less on the recovery and

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[1]For a comprehensive discussion of all aspects of Roosevelt's New Deal see: Arthur S. Link, American Epoch: A History of the United States Since the 1890's (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), pp. 377-446.

rehabilitation of the economic structure and more on further attempts at social relief and reform. Much of this legislation was aimed at improving the socioeconomic conditions of rural inhabitants and aiding impoverished farmers.

For agriculture the Great Depression began in 1920 rather than in October of 1929, for at this time farm commodity prices suddenly collapsed and the war-time boom dissolved. During the years that followed, abandoned farm homesteads, dilapidated buildings, equipment in disrepair, longer working hours, especially for farm wives and children, a reduced level of living, lack of ready cash or credit, and a rising wave of political discontent in rural areas nourished agrarian demands for remedial public action.[1] Such were the conditions that led to the U.S. government's last major program of resettlement. The geographic implications of portions of that program serve as the focus of this research.

Against the general background of urban prosperity in the 1920's, it was easy to miss the fact that by the beginning of the twentieth century a number of trends had helped foster a class of chronically impoverished farmers whose economic betterment could no longer be linked to agriculture. The disappearance of homesteading land, rising land costs, greater dependence upon credit and costly farm implements and materials, price instability in farm products, and insecurity of land tenure for those who could not afford to own their farms were forces at work reshaping the agricultural sector of the U.S.

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[1]Sidney Baldwin, Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968), p. 32.

During the hectic days of the wave of prosperity which had swept the United States prior to 1929, millions of farm families migrated to cities to seek the easy living that they thought was to be had there. This urban migration to the cities, which had been progressing long before 1920 became a rushing tide in the twenties, for between 1921 to 1929 the net gain towards the cities varied from approximately 400,000 to 1,137,000 annually.[1]

When the Depression arrived, most people were without the experience to meet such conditions, for they lacked the mental and physical ability to cope with the surge of unemployment and, consequently, fell upon "hard times." These ex-farmers were joined by large numbers of so called "stranded groups," who were workers left unemployed, possibly for good, by the closing down or the removal of the industries upon which they once depended. Workers in the coal industry typified this group. Together these people became charges of charity and members of the various relief rolls.

One of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal objectives was both to improve the conditions of these chronically impoverished farmers and to help the unemployed people who were on relief rolls in urban areas. A segment of these New Deal programs was the creation of ninety-nine communities to resettle some of these individuals. These resettlement communities marked the last major peace-time program of resettlement undertaken by the federal government.[2]

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[1]Pascal K. Whelpton, "The Extent, Character, and Future of the New Landward Movement," Journal of Farm Economics, XV (1933), p. 59.

[2]Paul K. Conkin, Tomorrow A New World: The New Deal Community Program (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1959), p. 337. No discussion of the New Deal resettlement agencies and their communities could be completed without a reference to Conkin's work. This author is greatly indebted to Professor Conkin for his material dealing with the historical development of the various New Deal resettlement programs.

The Resettlement Agencies

The bureaucracy of New Deal resettlement programs was quite complicated, for there were several federal agencies involved, and though each had its own distinct programs, there was some overlap between the various agencies. A bureaucratic organization chart (Fig. 2) illustrates the relationship of each agency and provides a simple breakdown of the major programs.

Subsistence Homesteads

The Division of Subsistence Homesteads of the Department of the Interior was in charge of the first attempt at resettlement under the New Deal programs. The Division was explicitly created for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of Section 208, Title II, of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The act was approved by President Roosevelt on June 16, 1933 and Section 208 reads as follows:

> To provide for aiding the redistribution of the overbalance of population in industrial centers, $25,000,000 is hereby made available to the President, to be used by him through such agencies as he may establish and under such regulations as he may make, for making loans for and otherwise aiding in the purchase of subsistence homesteads. The money collected as repayment of said loans shall constitute a revolving fund to be administered as directed by the President for the purposes of this section.[1]

The directive for the government to begin an active program of resettlement was based on this provision of the New Deal program.

M.L. Wilson, the appointed Director of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads, immediately began to define the extent and purpose of subsistence homesteads. A subsistence homestead denoted a house and outbuildings located on a plot of land on which could be grown a large portion of the

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[1]United States Department of Interior, A Homestead and Hope Division of Subsistence Homesteads (Bulletin 1), 1935, p. 5.

NEW DEAL RESETTLEMENT AGENCIES

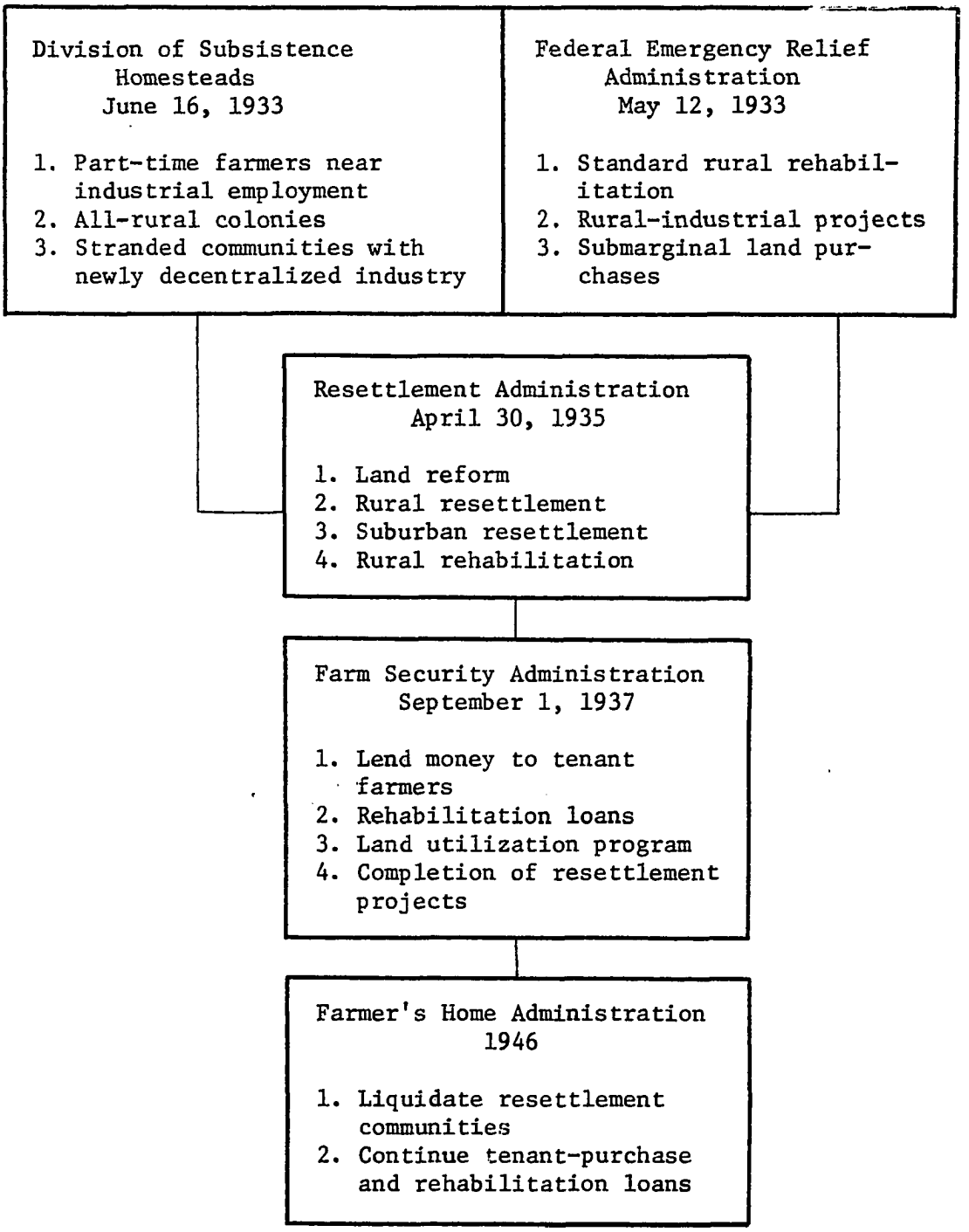

Fig. 2

foodstuffs required by the homestead family. The agricultural production was to be for home consumption and not commercial sale. In that the homestead provided only for subsistence production, it carried with it the corollary that cash income would be drawn from some outside source. Therefore, the central motive of the subsistence homestead was to demonstrate the economic value of a livelihood which combined part-time wage work and part-time gardening or farming.[1]

On October 14, 1933, Wilson announced that in order to carry out the provisions of Section 208, the division would concentrate on three types of resettlement colonies. First, and primarily, there would be communities of part-time farmers near industrial employment. Secondly, there would be all-rural colonies for farmers resettled from submarginal farming areas. Thirdly, there would be a few villages with newly decentralized industry. To speed development and to combat governmental red tape, local corporations were established to plan, construct, and manage the individual colonies.

As the subsistence homesteads program developed, it became limited to one type of community and to the benefit of one economic group. The stranded communities, with their newly decentralized industries which were intended to aid destitute miners, were part of the original program but were quickly curtailed after the first four met legal and economic difficulties. The colonies designed for submarginal farmers were declared illegal by the Solicitor of the Department of the Interior in November, 1934. At that time, the Solicitor ruled that Section 208 specifically provided aid for the redistribution of population in industrial centers and not for the resettlement of farmers.[2] The decision almost eliminated the all-rural colonies;

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[1] Ibid., p. 4. [2] Conkin, loc. cit., p. 128.

since, most of the homesteaders had been farmers and not residents of industrial centers.

The only type of colony that was continued, the industrial community, benefited only those people with an income near or over $1,200 yearly and with the highest character qualifications. These stringent requirements were established in order to assure the success of the communities. In January, 1935, the Comptroller General challenged the legality of the local corporations that had been established to expedite the provisions of Section 208. He ruled that there had been no authorization for the formation of local corporations, no authority for advancing funds to them, no authority for the purchase of land by the corporations, and no compliance with government procedures.[1] The ruling made new legislation imperative if the New Deal resettlement communities were to continue.

The subsistence homesteads program did not relieve the immediate problems of the mass of unemployed and stranded people, either rural or urban. However, with all the talk of subsistence homesteads and of back-to-the-land movements, it was not long before relief agencies attempted to adapt the idea of rural-urban communities to relief problems. Thus the Federal Emergency Relief Administration became the second New Deal agency to initiate and develop resettlement communities.

Federal Emergency Relief Administration

Created by the Emergency Relief Act of May 12, 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) provided funds to the states, and the states in turn distributed them through state relief organizations.

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[1] Ibid.

It was doubtful that the FERA had any legal authority to purchase land other than submarginal agricultural land or to build communities on this purchased land. To circumvent this legal question, state rural rehabilitation corporations were established to handle the financial problems of rehabilitation and community development.

Under the FERA, three distinct programs evolved. First, there was the standard rural rehabilitation program. The program was for farmers already on productive land. Under the program's guidelines, the farmer was expected to follow an approved farm budget and to observe certain prescribed farming techniques. Field supervisors were supplied to assure that these controls were followed. Within a year, the rehabilitation program advanced almost $49,000,000 to farm families.[1]

The second activity of the FERA was the community program. This consisted of rural-industrial communities where part-time industrial employment was combined with subsistence farming. The communities were planned for relief clients and resembled the program under which the four stranded communities of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads were initiated. The rural-industrial communities were to have the dual economic base of co-operative farms and co-operative village industries. Industries were to be related to handicrafts or to the processing of specialized farm products. The concept of rural-industrial communities contrasted with the industrial decentralization desired by the Division of Subsistence Homesteads which encouraged industry to move to the newly formed communities. The dependence upon processing industries or upon highly specialized types of agriculture led to small individual farm plots or to very small co-operative farms.

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[1]Baldwin, loc. cit., p. 64.

The third program of the FERA was an attempt to reform the manner in which the land was being used. Submarginal land was to be purchased and retired from production as a means of improving landuse, conserving its fertility, reducing crop surpluses, and raising the social and economic standards of the people who had lived on this submarginal land. Some farmers removed from submarginal lands became colonists on the later New Deal resettlement projects.

Resettlement Administration

With two agencies actively encouraging resettlement, Roosevelt saw the need for combining their efforts in order to better facilitate the construction and implementation of the resettlement programs. As a result, the Division of Subsistence Homesteads and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration were consolidated in 1935 by the President into the Resettlement Administration.

Prior to consolidation neither the Division of Subsistence Homesteads nor the FERA had accomplished much resettlement. At the time of consolidation, the Division of Subsistence Homesteads had completed only 691 houses and had begun the construction of 1,369 additional homes.[1] Less than $8,000,000 of its $25,000,000 had been spent and the surplus funds were transferred to the Resettlement Administration.

The Resettlement Administration's (RA) function was the "resettlement of destitute or low-income families from rural and urban areas, including the establishment, maintenance, and operation, in such condition of

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[1]Conkin, loc. cit., p. 129.

communities in rural and suburban areas."[1] The RA had to integrate into some kind of viable program an assortment of activities from various other government agencies. They included the Land Program and the Rural Rehabilitation Division of the FERA, the Division of Subsistence Homesteads of the United States Department of the Interior, the Land Policy Section of the AAA's Program Planning Division, the Farm Debt Adjustment Program of the Farm Credit Administration, and the state rural rehabilitation corporations.[2] Thus, the new agency inherited an astonishing diversity of projects, programs, and problems.

Rexford G. Tugwell, Administrator of the RA, immediately created an elaborate organization consisting of fifteen co-ordinate divisions. These fifteen divisions could be divided into four distinct programs:

> (1) land reform, involving more than 275 land acquisition projects providing for eventual purchase of approximately twenty million acres of land and the resettlement of more than 20,000 dislocated farm families; (2) rural resettlement, providing for a variety of model rural communities, individual farms, small garden home projects for farm laborers, and migratory labor camps; (3) suburban resettlement consisting of model suburban communities for families with modest income - $1,200 to $2,000 per year - called Greenbelt, Ohio; Greendale, near Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Greenbrook, near Bound Brook, New Jersey; and (4) rural rehabilitation, embracing five different but closely related types of activity - a standard loan program, based on the coupling of credit and farm and home planning; an emergency grant program for emergency needs; a feed and seed loan program; a farm debt adjustment program designed to assist the farm debtor and his creditors in reaching an equitable

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[1]U.S. Congress, Hearings on the Farm Security Administration, p. 996.

[2]Bernard Sternsher, Rexford Tugwell and the New Deal (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1964), p. 265.

> settlement; and a cooperative loan program to assist client families in organizing or participating in various kinds of cooperative enterprises.[1]

Rural resettlement communities constituted only a small portion of the overall program of the RA. Less than 10 per cent of the total RA expenditures were used for rural resettlement. Although minor variations existed most of the resettlement projects were planned and initiated along similar lines and construction was directed by the Construction Division of the agency. Employing up to 3,000 men on each project, the division was committed by law to the use of relief labor except for certain skilled tasks that were performed by people selected by the United States Employment Service. This committment often caused high construction costs for the slower pace of the unskilled workers escalated costs.

A typical community consisted of approximately one hundred homes. The wooden frame homes varied in size from one to three bedrooms. Many were wired for electricity and contained in-door toilets. Homes were usually built on the individual's landholding but a few projects resembled European communities where the houses were clustered together and the farm lands surrounded the homes. Barns and other farm outbuildings such as chicken-houses, smokehouses, and hog-houses were built near each farm home (Figs. 3 & 4). Before the settler arrived the farm land was usually cleared, plowed, and made ready for the first year's crops. Most communities also had a large community building which served as the meeting place for the co-operative associations, clubs, and religious groups. It was also used for dances, weekly movies, plays, lectures, and recreation.

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[1]Baldwin, loc. cit., p. 106



Fig. 3--An example of a resettlement home constructed at Wichita Valley Farms.

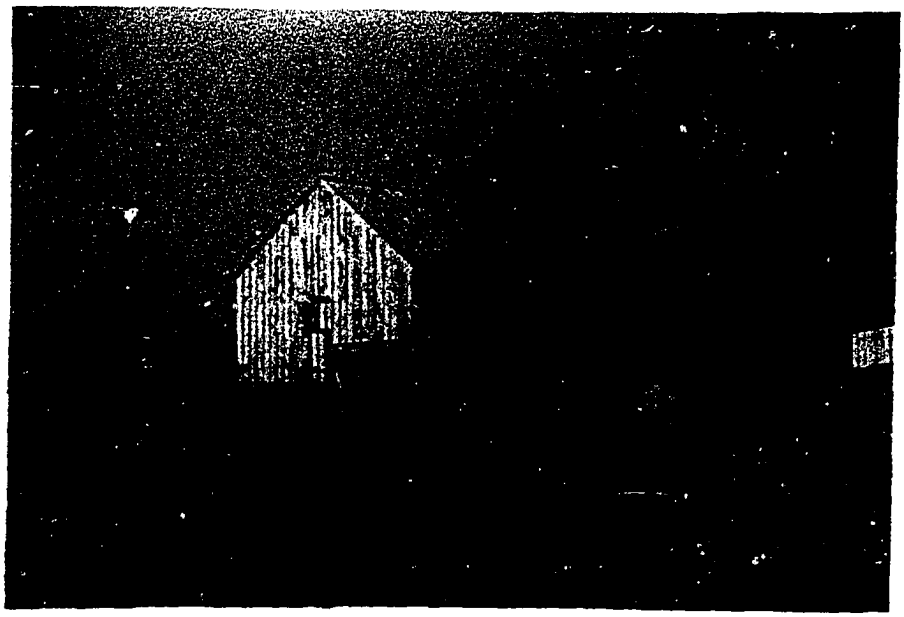

Fig. 4--This barn is representative of the type built on the resettlement project at Wichita Valley Farms.

One of the major problems faced by the agency was the selection of resettlement clients. During the final stages of construction, the RA sent family-selection specialists to each project. The family-selection specialist was assisted by other individuals who were trained and experienced special workers. The selection of settlers was a long involved and difficult process. Detailed questionnaires covering most aspects of the applicant's life were completed, character references were required, and each was visited at home by the RA. Physical examinations were necessary for the adult applicants. The final selection was based on a number of factors, including age, health, character, economic stability, and number of children. A composite picture of all resettlement families indicates the family size was 5, the husband was 37 years old, the wife 33, the husband's education level was 7th grade, and the wife's 8th.[1]

Rural resettlement clients were either refugees from land retirement projects, deserving tenant farmers, successful rehabilitation clients, or young people desiring to enter farming. Of these groups the tenant farmer was usually predominant for "the New Deal's ultimate solution of the problem of farm tenancy was to make independent farm owners out of tenant families."[2] Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, strongly believed that the owner-operated farm was necessary for a strong agricultural program. Wallace stated, "I know of no better means of reconstructing agriculture on a thoroughly sound and permanently desirable basis than to make as its

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[1]Calvin B. Baldwin, "Farm Security Administration's Sixth Year in Rural Housing," Housing Yearbook, 1941 (Chicago: National Association of Housing Officials, 1941) pp. 262-263.

[2]Holley, loc. cit., p. IV.

foundation the family-size, owner-operated farm."[1] From this policy developed the heavy reliance on tenants within the Resettlement Administration.

After settlers had been chosen and moved to the community, two additional ideas were introduced to each community; co-operation and expert supervision. Co-operation was stressed for economies of scale. Through co-operation, machinery that was too expensive or impractical for one small farmer to own could be owned and used by the whole community. Procurement of supplies, processing of products, and marketing of goods could also be handled on a larger scale and thus be more economical.

A farm manager was present in each community to advise and aid farmers. He not only gave agricultural advice but helped each farmer to setup and follow a family budget. Also, at least one home economist was placed on each major project to teach the women how to cook and preserve farm products, as well as, how to make clothing and manage a farm family.

The individual farmers were required to enter into either a land purchase or lease purchase contract with the RA. A sale policy was adopted that was based on: (1) the settler's ability to pay, (2) a reasonable appraisal of the project's worth, and (3) the original cost of the project to the government. In no instance was the yearly payments to exceed 25 per cent of the client's income, the appraisal figure, or the original cost to the government.[2] Under the provisions of the purchase contract the settler had forty years to pay for his farm. Interest rates were 3 per cent.

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[1]Henry A. Wallace, "Wallace Points to the Danger of Tenancy," New York Times Magazine, LXXIV (March 31, 1935), p. 21

[2]Conkin, loc. cit., p. 25.

If he moved the settler was required to offer his farm to the community association which could purchase it for the equivalent of his accumulated equity. Such a contract was known as a tenure "A" contract. For those who did not desire to purchase a farm, a tenure "B" or lease contract was issued. The monthly leasing price was based on the same considerations as the sale price and usually totaled approximately $200 yearly. All new homesteaders moving into a community were required to lease the land for a trial period before becoming eligible to sign a tenure "A" contract.[1]

Farm Security Administration

In January, 1937, the Resettlement Administration became a part of the Department of Agriculture. This change had little initial effect on the individual communities. But in July of 1937, in an attempt to create a more comprehensive farm tenancy bill, the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act was passed by Congress. This act authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to:

(1) Lend money to farm tenants for the purchase of farms.
(2) Make rehabilitation loans to farmers for subsistence, improvement, and other purposes.
(3) Develop a program of land utilization, including the retirement of submarginal land.
(4) Complete projects begun by the Resettlement Administration and other agencies.[2]

The intent of this act was to push for total completion of all existing resettlement communities instead of expanding the resettlement projects.

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[1]Ibid., p. 216.

[2]Russell Lord and Paul H. Johnstone (eds.), A Place on Earth: A Critical Appraisal of Subsistence Homesteads (Washington: U.S.D.A. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942), p. 54.

Subsequently, Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace issued a memorandum changing the RA to the Farm Security Administration.

> In view of the fact that the Administration established by me in the Department of Agriculture . . . as the Resettlement Administration is now carrying out a program which involves resettlement activities only as a minor part of its functions, the name of said Administration is hereby changed, effective September 1, 1937, to Farm Security Administration. The Administration of the Resettlement Administration shall continue to perform the same functions, but shall . . . be hereafter known as the Administrator of the Farm Security Administration.[1]

The Farm Security Administration (FSA) was designated as the agency to carry out the provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act.

Under the FSA the New Deal rural resettlement communities were gradually completed while only a few of the previously planned communities were constructed. Emphasis was placed on seeing that the existing communities were functioning economically rather than creating new communities.

The community building programs of the various New Deal resettlement agencies involved the planning of a wide variety of different communities. Many of which never progressed past the planning stage. Some did proceed beyond the planning stage and land was purchased for their construction, but construction was never started. Others progressed further for a few buildings were actually constructed. However, only a small portion of the originally planned communities were totally completed. By June 30, 1936, funds had been allocated and money spent for 295 resettlement projects.[2] Of these 295 projects only 99 were ever designated as having been completed (Fig. 5). Table II shows the number of completed communities that were

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[1]Baldwin, Poverty and Politics, p. 188.

[2]United States Resettlement Administration, First Annual Report of the Resettlement Administration (Period May 1, 1935 - June 30, 1936) (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 143-153.

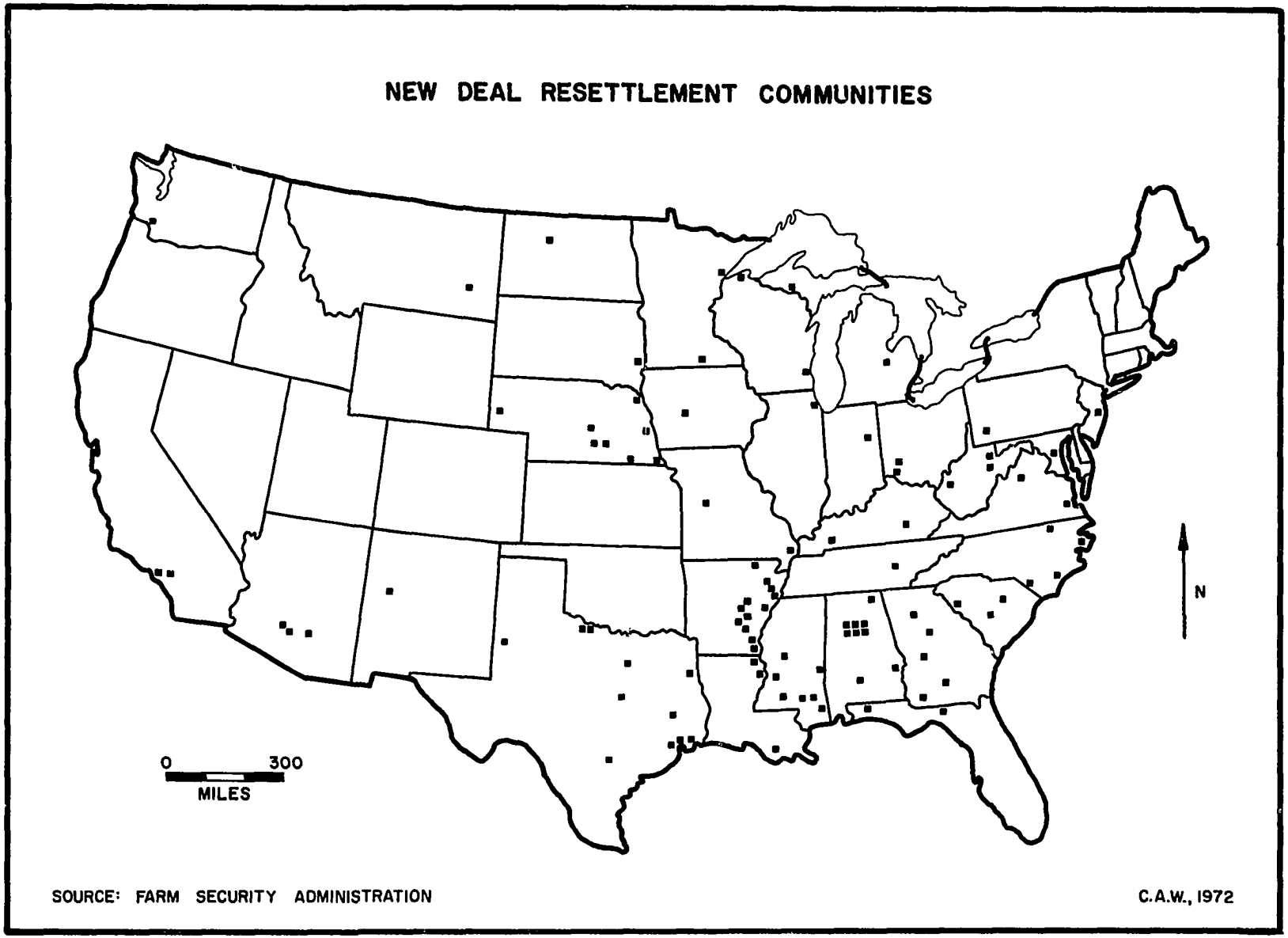
NEW DEAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES
N
0
300
MILES
SOURCE: FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 5

planned or initiated by each New Deal agency.

TABLE II

COMPLETED RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES

Agency	Communities	Units	Total Cost
Division of Subsistence Homesteads	34	3,304	$30,112,467.38
Federal Emergency Relief Administration	28	2,426	21,559,325.39
Resettlement Administration	37	5,208	56,423,535.25
Totals	99	10,938	$108,095,328.02

Source: Conkin, loc. cit., pp. 332-337.

Political Opposition to New Deal Resettlement

By the late 1930's and early 1940's, opposition to the resettlement programs had become quite strong. The basis for the opposition were: (1) the high cost of the individual farms, and (2) the lack of fee simple ownership as a means of obtaining title to the land. It was thought that the projects in many instances cost twice as much as they should have and that a great deal of the taxpayer's money was wasted. The lease purchase plan was highly criticized, since it did not give the individuals title to their farms but in actuality created a group of farmers who were nothing more than tenants for the government. On March 18, 1943, a select committee of the U.S. Congress was named to investigate the activities of the Farm Security Administration.[1]

Much of the congressional opposition to the Farm Security Administration was in part opposition to the whole New Deal reform program. The FSA was presumably established to implement the provisions of the Bankhead-

[1]The best material covering the opposition to the Farm Security Administration can be found in the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee of the House Committee on Agriculture, Hearings on the Farm Security Administration. 78th Cong., 1st Sess., (1943-1944), pts 1-4.

Jones Farm Tenancy Act. It was the intention of Congress for the FSA to complete the projects that had been initiated by the resettlement agencies and not to begin the construction of any new projects. No authority was given for the FSA to purchase land for resettlement purposes. In actuality the Resettlement Administration simply became the FSA and continued to operate in the same manner that it had prior to the passage of the Bankhead-Jones Act. The FSA did complete some resettlement projects but it also added additional land to some projects. This land was purchased through the formation of land purchasing associations.

When Congress realized that the FSA was not liquidating individual projects, it began to appropriate money to the FSA only for the purpose of liquidation and management of the projects. Still no liquidation occurred and by 1940, the FSA had not issued a single purchase contract in the rural colonies. Settlers were required to lease their land while the FSA supposedly determined if they were qualified for land ownership. Since the FSA did not comply with the wishes of Congress, the demand for a congressional investigation of its activities increased.

Representative Harold D. Cooley of North Carolina was the major proponent of a congressional investigation. Cooley justified the need for an investigation on the basis that the FSA had largely ignored the Bankhead-Jones Act, that long term leases and collective farms threatened the traditional land policy of the United States, and that the land purchasing associations were simply means of evading the congressional restrictions on land purchase.[1] Cooley eventually headed the select committee which began its

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[1]Conkin, loc. cit., p. 225.

investigation of the FSA in the early part of 1943. "The fight over the abolition of the Farm Security Administration was one of the most bitter domestic issues during World War II."[1]

After several months of bitter testimony, the Cooley Committee indicted the Farm Security Administration on several counts.

> It was accused of starting collective farms, stretching executive orders, disobeying the intent of the Bankhead-Jones Act, using ninety-nine year leases to prevent instead of encourage landownership, colonizing, regimenting, and too closely supervising its clients by regulating every detail in their lives, uprooting families, deceiving clients with false promises of ownership and a 'promised land' in a community, granting loans to unqualified borrowers, obeying the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy rather than Congress, backing industrial enterprises in competition with private business, and permitting an enlarged and inefficient administrative organization.[2]

The actions of the Cooley Committee eventually led to the abolition of the FSA in 1946 and the creation of the Farmer's Home Corporation.

The Farmer's Home Corporation continued the tenant-purchase and rehabilitation loans of the FSA, but it was given eighteen months to liquidate and dispose of all the resettlement projects. The FSA actually had begun liquidating the projects during the Cooley investigation, but by June 30, 1944, only 3,045 deeds had been granted out of over 9,000 possible units.[3] On most of the projects the liquidation price was very low and out of 8,945 units costing $70,755,970.42, the FSA sold 7,276 units for only $29,245,446.[4]

Thus, New Deal resettlement was brought to a halt in 1946. Much had been accomplished but it had fallen short of their goals. Conkin probably best summed up the programs when he stated:

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[1] Ibid., p. 220. [2] Ibid., p. 227.

[3] Ibid., p. 229. [4] Ibid., p. 230.

The finale to the story of the New Deal communities was written in an age ever farther removed from the insecurity an intellectual volatility of the depression. It was written in terms of reaction. The idealism and reforming zeal of the architects of the communities and the new society were repudiated. The revolution was over. The old society, slightly revamped, was again embraced, at least for awhile. Traditional gods once again possessed men's minds and claimed their loyalties. Experimental communities became, except for their odd designs, ordinary communities. Most people soon forget that Dyess, Arkansas, or Cahaba, Alabama, had been part of a large social experiment. Even Arthurdale and Hightstown, once so controversial, were remembered only because of the controversy. But a few people remembered, remembered well. They were the homesteaders, the living clay in the great exhibit. To them Cahaba and Dyess and Arthurdale represented not only an experiment but their homes. To them the story of the New Deal communities was really a story of one community, their community. Thus, beyond ideas, policies, administrators, bureaus, the story of the New Deal communities was really many varying stories - one for each individual community.[1]

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[1] Ibid., p. 233.

CHAPTER III

NEW DEAL RURAL RESETTLEMENT IN TEXAS

The State Organizations

As New Deal resettlement agencies began their activities on the national level, individual states organized and planned for resettlement within their boundaries. Under the policy of the federal settlement agencies, local groups had to request and illustrate the need for resettlement projects. Texas was fortunate that it possessed a strong group of local leaders who actively solicited such projects and had the ability to augment their decisions.

The organizer and director of state relief in Texas was Colonel Lawrence Westbrook, an engineer, agriculturalist, and politician. His policy was to use Federal Emergency Relief Administration funds for permanent rehabilitation rather than for outright grants. Supporting him in this objective was David Williams, a Dallas architect, who had already contemplated the construction of rural-industrial communities for the unemployed of Dallas.

In order to perform the task of rural community construction, the Texas Rural Rehabilitation Corporation, the state corporation created to carry out the FERA resettlement plans, formed the Texas Rural Communities, Incorporated. Westbrook became the leader of this organization. Plans for a test community were developed by Westbrook and Williams in late 1933 and instigated in early 1934. This test community became known as Woodlake,

Texas. Woodlake, the first all-rural colony to be completed during the New Deal, was to be a model for most of the later Federal Emergency Relief Administration communities that were constructed throughout the country.[1]

Colonel Westbrook so impressed the FERA with his planning and initiative that he was appointed Director of the Division of Rural Rehabilitation and Stranded Populations of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. He left Texas in April of 1934 for his new position in Washington, but before his departure, Westbrook gathered a strong staff to administer the Texas Rural Communities, Inc. This organization became the primary planner and instigator of rural resettlement communities in Texas.

Eventually six rural resettlement communities were completed in Texas (Fig. 1). A number of others were planned but never constructed. This study is concerned with those six completed communities that were built in the mid-1930's and liquidated in 1943 and 1944. A survey of their historical development indicates that while the projects had a number of similar characteristics each also had some distinctive qualities that are critical to an understanding of latter trends.

Historical Development of the Individual Projects

Woodlake Community

Located approximately six miles east of Groveton, Texas in Trinity County, Woodlake was initiated by the Texas Relief Administration in January, 1934 and administered under the Texas Rural Communities, Inc. It served as

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[1]"Rural Industrial Community Projects: Woodlake, Texas, Osceola, Arkansas, and Red House, West Virginia," Architectural Record, LXXVII (1935), p. 12.

a construction model for many of the FERA resettlement communities that were built elsewhere in the United States.

Woodlake experienced the greatest change in organization during the period from initiation to private acquisition. It began as a co-operative farm but was later changed to individual family farms. None of the other resettlement projects in Texas experimented with total co-operative farming.

The original purpose of Woodlake was to care for destitute farm tenants and other families with farm backgrounds who were on relief in industrial centers, principally the cities of Houston and Austin. In January, 1934, a group of former farmers, who were then on Houston relief rolls, moved into a section of cut-over pine land about 110 miles northeast of Houston and began constructing Woodlake Community. The men were aided in their work by additional laborers paid by the Works Projects Administration.

On the original purchase of 1,875 acres were to be built 101 individual farm units. Each of the ten three-room, fifty-one four-room, and forty five-room houses was placed on a three acre subsistence plot.[1] These homes comprised eight distinct styles, and by variations of the eight, no two of them were exactly alike. Some were two-story, some one-story, and some a story and a half. There were even seven log houses.[2] Each home site included a combination barn-garage-laundry, an orchard, a vineyard, and a chicken house.

Half of these homes were built north of United States Highway 287 and

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[1]U.S. Congress, loc. cit., p. 1107.

[2]The Houston Post, April 15, 1934, p. 2.

half south of the same highway (Fig. 6). Native pine lumber was used as the primary building material and even the inside walls were of pine paneling. All homes were painted white on the outside with different color decors for the interior. Each was furnished with a fully equipped bathroom, running water, electric lights, and a septic tank. Water was supplied by a central well.[1] Houses were generally spaced from 100 to 300 feet apart on dirt roads.

Each home cost approximately $1,500, and they were leased to the relief clients for three years at $180 a year. Rent could be paid in farm and poultry surpluses. The whole community jointly owned a 225 acre park, a school, community house, bath-house, trading post, and two co-operative plots of 600 acres each.[2] The homesteader was permitted to keep individual chickens on his three acre unit and he was encouraged to grow a garden to supply his family needs. He was not allowed to keep hogs or cattle on his subsistence plot. A community dairy herd of fifty cows supplied the project with fresh milk.

The two large co-operatively farmed parcels were used to grow cotton, corn, sugarcane, peanuts, and hay. Each man supposedly owned a twelve acre farm, but the individual fields were not separated and all work was done co-operatively to make better use of farm machinery. Originally each family, in addition to farming the three acre subsistence plots and working on the communal farm, was expected to participate in handicrafts and food processing industries. The project possessed some characteristics of an European

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[1]Clarence Roberts, "Stranded on a Subsistence Homestead," The Farmer-Stockman, XLVIII (July, 1935), p. 3.

[2]Architectural Record, LXXVII (1935), p. 12.

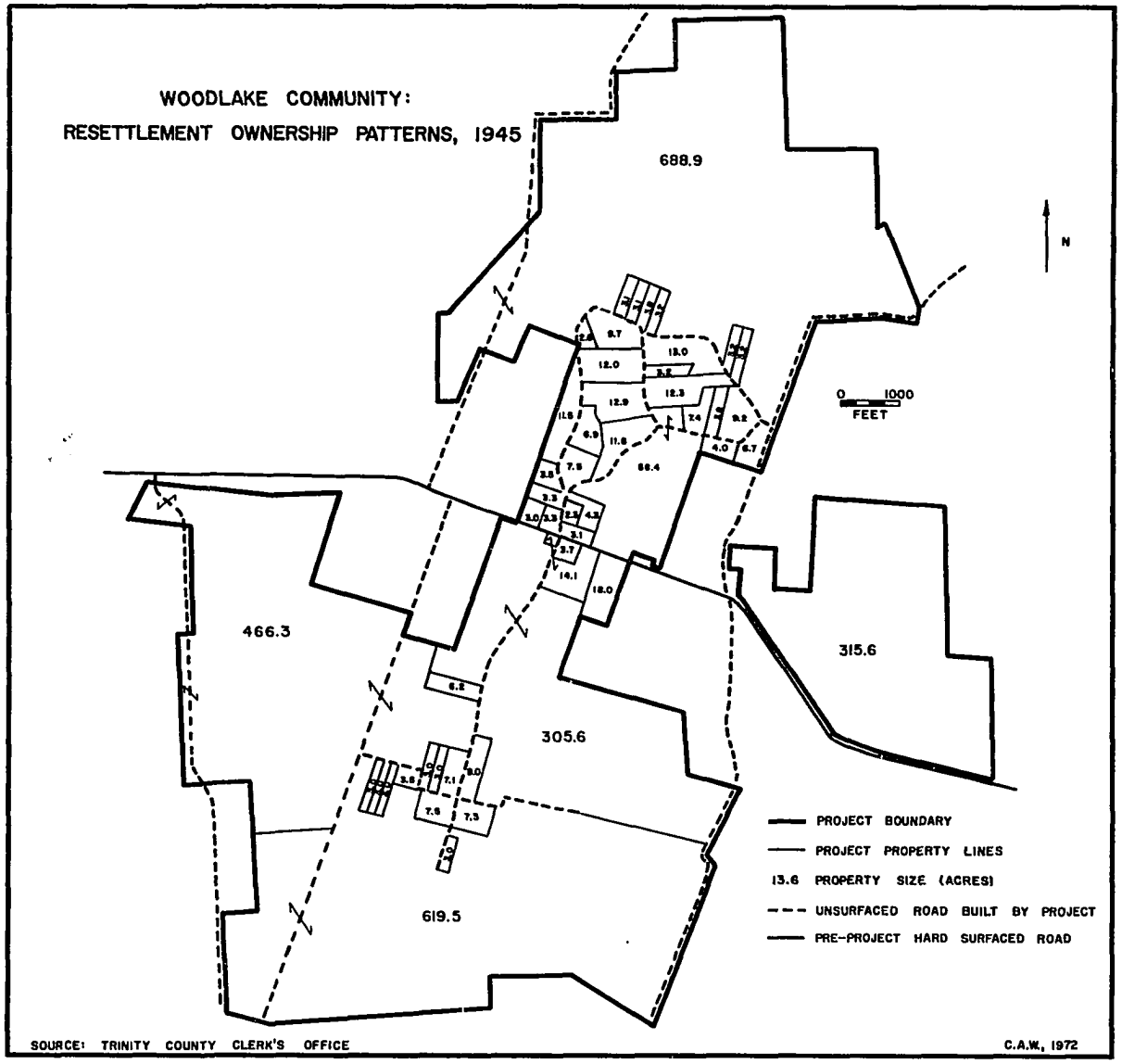
WOODLAKE COMMUNITY:
RESETTLEMENT OWNERSHIP PATTERNS, 1945
688.9
466.3
315.6
305.6
619.5
N
0 1000
FEET
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
13.6 PROPERTY SIZE (ACRES)
UNSURFACED ROAD BUILT BY PROJECT
PRE-PROJECT HARD SURFACED ROAD
SOURCE: TRINITY COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 6

village, with its outlying fields, and a Russian Kolkhoz, with its individual subsistence plots and its collectively operated fields.

The community had been functioning only a short time before President Roosevelt created the Resettlement Administration. In the administration of Woodlake, the first step taken by the RA was the purchase of an additional 5,725 acres of adjacent cut-over land.[1] This land was used to increase the size of the dairy herd and to raise feed for the herd. Two poultry farms were also established. The size increase and the subsequent new activities were to provide employment in dairy and poultry processing so that the homesteaders might receive some cash income, and the project could begin to pay for itself.

By this time discontent had developed among the settlers and approximately one-fourth of them abandoned their homesteads. A number of problems and sources of complaints had developed. One was that none of the settlers had received a title to his home or land. As previously mentioned in Chapter II, this lack of fee simple ownership was a source of discontent among settlers in all resettlement communities and eventually was one of the major reasons for the congressional investigation of the FSA. Another common complaint was the poor quality of the soil and the small size of the farms.

> Fifteen acres of good land isn't enough for a farm. But look at this land, I never knew land could be so poor. Cleared out only one year and already washing away. It isn't possible to raise a living for a family on fifteen acres of this land.

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[1]U.S. Congress, loc. cit., p. 1107.

> I've farmed this kind of soil all my life. A family must have eighty acres to produce a living, eighty acres at least. We are existing on charity here. They say that they are giving us nothing. And, of course, we are signing notes for our budgets, our milk, our electricity, and our rent. I'm going in debt at the rate of nearly $700 a year. We will be on charity as long as we live here. I don't want charity. I want a chance to work and get ahead. When I came here I thought I would have a chance. But if the government would deed this whole property to the eighty families here, and withdraw all support, these houses would be vacant in two weeks.[1]

Each man was required to work four days a week on the communal farm for his budget. The budgets were based on family need and the man with a $3.50 budget was expected to do as much work as the man with a $6.50 budget. This situation caused further discontent among a number of the families.

In 1937 another administrative change was inacted and the Resettlement Administration became the Farm Security Administration. The immediate effect of this was to divide Woodlake's co-operative parcels into individual forty acre plots. A house, with its three acres, plus forty acres of farm land was assigned to each family for farming on an individual basis. This change had little direct results on the out-movement of settlers from Woodlake, and each year a few homesteaders left to try their luck elsewhere. By 1939 Congress cut off all funds for the completion of resettlement projects and in 1943 a congressional investigation of the FSA was begun.

During the years between the establishment of the community and 1943, several changes had occurred in the area. The depression had eased and many of the settlers found that they could secure more profitable employment in industry. World War II had begun and many of the men were called into military service. Others simply moved off and left their property intact,

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[1]Roberts, loc. cit., p. 14.

as they had very little actual value invested in it. The population dropped sharply in a very few years. As a result, school enrollment declined and the school was consolidated with Groveton in 1940. Consequently, the school land with its three rock buildings was left vacant.

The investigation of the Farm Security Administration showed that as of March 31, 1943 only twenty-five families were living on the Woodlake project.[1] The government owned 7,600 acres of land and 101 homes of various sizes and conditions of repair. In addition to the land and homes, there were a trading post, school, dilapidated dairy and poultry houses, and miscellaneous smaller buildings. The government had spent $648,255.81 on Woodlake and had received a total income of $14,183.09 from the various homesteaders over a period of ten years.[2]

Because of the congressional investigation, the Farm Security Administration was forced to liquidate all of its resettlement projects. In the fall of 1943, the FSA lands at Woodlake were sold to the highest bidders by sealed bids. Most of the remaining twenty-five families bought only their subsistence plots and chose to remain as residents. A few families were unable to buy their land and were forced to move.[3] The abandoned farms sold at fairly low prices and most of the land was purchased by individual land speculators from neighboring communities.[4] One tract of 3,841.7 acres was purchased by a local lumber company and a tract of 876.9 acres was purchased by a neighboring rancher.

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[1]U.S. Congress, loc. cit., p. 1107.

[2]Ibid., pp. 1126 and 1133.

[3]Personal Interview with Mrs. Ky Barton, an original settler, Groveton, Texas, July 25, 1972.

[4]Ibid.

McLennan Farms

McLennan Farms was located north of Waco, Texas in McLennan County (Fig. 7). The Brazos and Bosque, which join along the southern edge of the farms, served as natural boundaries on all but the northwestern portion of the project. A majority of the farms lay within a meander of the Brazos and the terrain was relatively level.

The land was owned initially by three families and most of the land was planted in cotton. Each family had several tenants who lived and worked on the respective farms. Texas Rural Communities, Inc. purchased the land in 1936 and divided the 2,732.1 acres into twenty family-type farms.[1] Tenants living on the land were given first choice of the farms and local Farm Security Administration borrowers were given second preference.

The FSA did not construct new homes or farm buildings but chose instead to make limited repairs to existing tenant homes and barns. This later became a matter of discontent among the settlers as the homes were often inadequate.[2] Local FSA county employees served as agricultural advisors but there was not a formal project manager. McLennan Farms was the smallest rural resettlement community in Texas and, consequently, there was no community building. Diversified farming was recommended for it was hoped that the settlers would not become dependent upon a single cash crop. Cotton, feed crops, and dairy cattle were important. In an attempt to provide each settler with equal amounts of productive land, the original twenty family farms were reduced to nineteen. These nineteen farms thus were the nucleus of the project and were those sold by the federal government in 1944.

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[1]U.S. Congress, loc. cit., p. 1103.

[2]Personal Interview with Mr. Vernon Koch, an original settler, Waco, Texas, June 13, 1972.

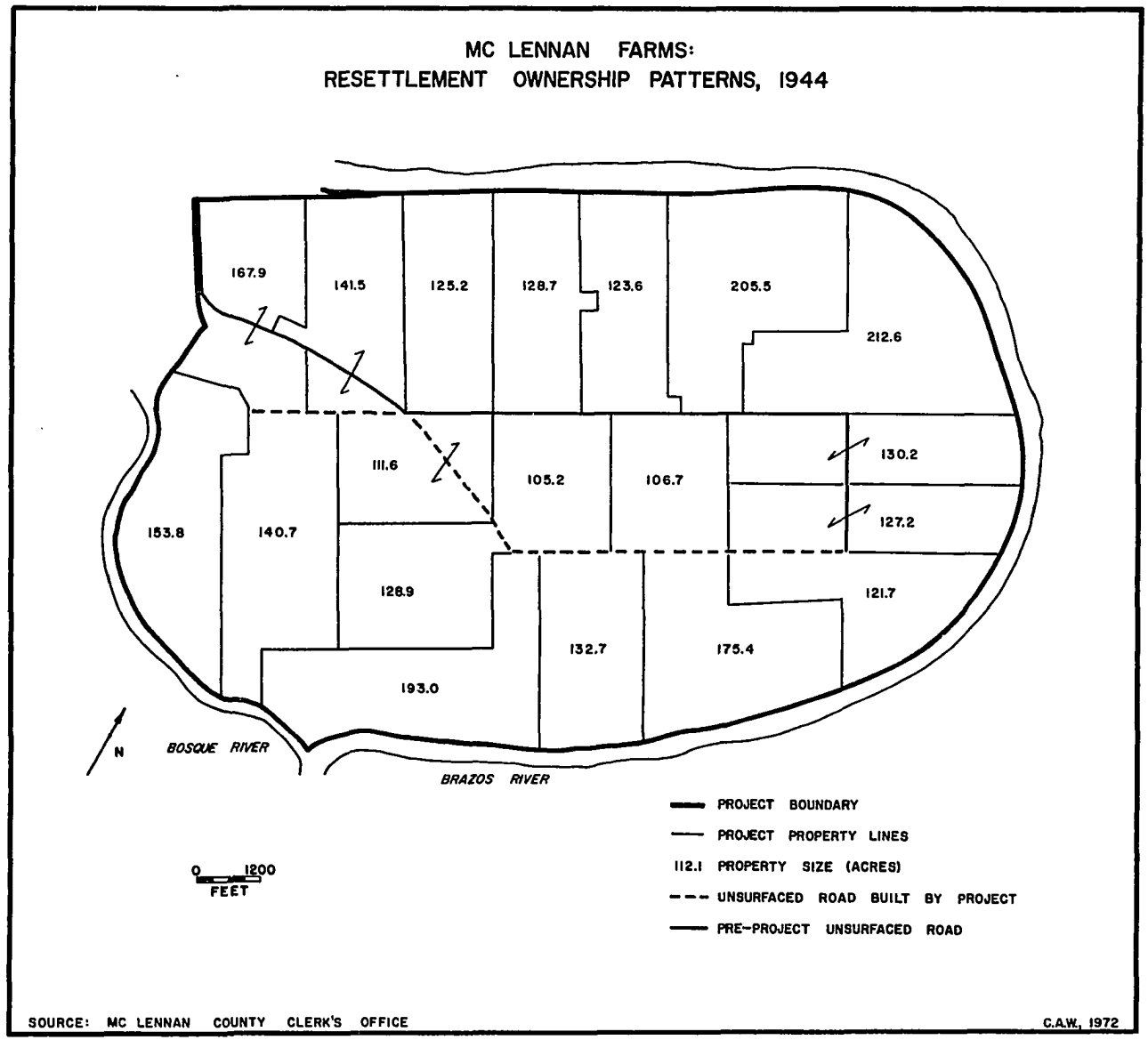
MC LENNAN FARMS:
RESETTLEMENT OWNERSHIP PATTERNS, 1944
167.9
141.5
125.2
128.7
123.6
205.5
212.6
111.6
105.2
106.7
130.2
127.2
153.8
140.7
128.9
121.7
132.7
175.4
193.0
N
BOSQUE RIVER
BRAZOS RIVER
0 1200
FEET
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
112.1 PROPERTY SIZE (ACRES)
UNSURFACED ROAD BUILT BY PROJECT
PRE-PROJECT UNSURFACED ROAD
SOURCE: MC LENNAN COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 7

Ropesville Farms

Ropesville Farms, located in Hockley County twenty-one miles southwest of Lubbock, was the only rural resettlement community in the western part of Texas (Fig. 8). Texas Rural Communities, Inc. purchased the land from the Spade Ranch in 1934 and 1937. Prior to the purchase, the area had never been cultivated and was being used only for livestock grazing.[1] The initial purchase of 4,100 acres was used to resettle thirty-three tenant farmers from Hockley and the surrounding counties.[2] These thirty-three settlers were chosen from over 1,200 applicants and the first resettlement client moved on the project on January 1, 1936.[3] Each unit contained approximately 120 acres. Large units were advised by a local committee who thought that smaller units could not be made to produce enough income for the farmers.

In 1937 a second tract of land was purchased and forty-three additional settlers were chosen. In order to allow the settlers to leave some of the more rugged land in grass vegetation, the new units were significantly larger than the old units and many were over 250 acres in size.[4] Cotton was the major cash crop, and row crops were grown to feed beef cattle, milk cows, and chickens. Each unit contained a home wired for electricity and the necessary outbuildings. A community house was constructed and homes furnished for the farm manager and home economist. A co-operative cotton gin

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[1]Vernon C. Stafford, "The Ropesville Resettlement Project," West Texas Historical Association Yearbook, XXV (October, 1949), p. 93.

[2]The Sunday Avalanche-Journal (Lubbock) May 22, 1938, p. 6.

[3]The Avalanche-Journal (Lubbock) January 3, 1937, p. 1.

[4]Amarillo Daily News, June 1, 1937.

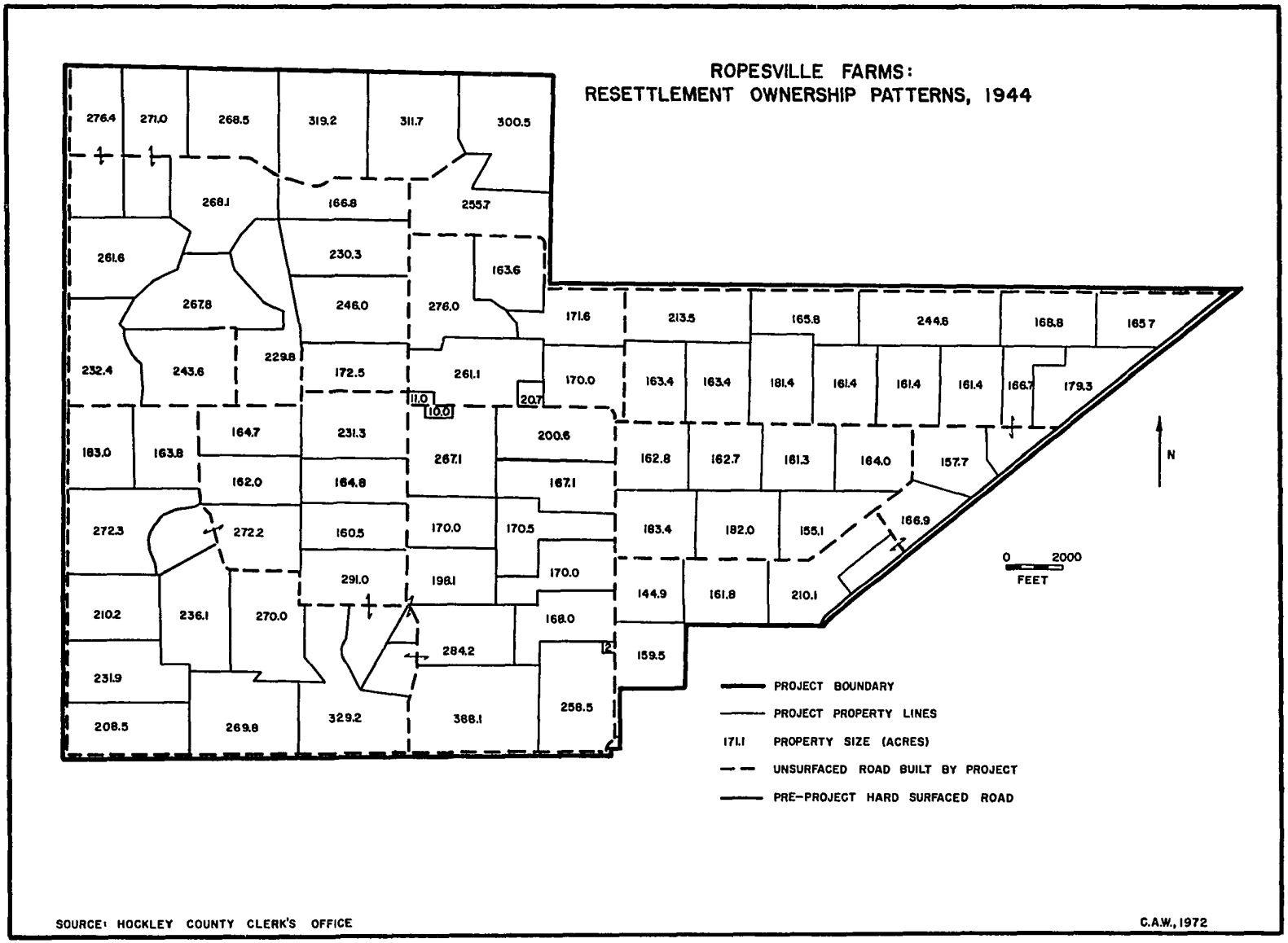
ROPESVILLE FARMS:
RESETTLEMENT OWNERSHIP PATTERNS, 1944
276.4
271.0
268.5
319.2
311.7
300.5
268.1
166.8
255.7
261.6
230.3
163.6
267.8
246.0
276.0
171.6
213.5
165.8
244.6
168.8
165.7
232.4
243.6
229.8
172.5
261.1
170.0
163.4
163.4
181.4
161.4
161.4
161.4
166.7
179.3
11.0
10.0
20.7
183.0
163.8
164.7
231.3
267.1
200.6
162.8
162.7
161.3
164.0
157.7
162.0
164.8
167.1
272.3
272.2
160.5
170.0
170.5
183.4
182.0
155.1
166.9
291.0
198.1
170.0
144.9
161.8
210.1
210.2
236.1
270.0
168.0
284.2
159.5
231.9
208.5
269.8
329.2
388.1
258.5
0
2000
FEET
N
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
171.1 PROPERTY SIZE (ACRES)
UNSURFACED ROAD BUILT BY PROJECT
PRE-PROJECT HARD SURFACED ROAD
SOURCE: HOCKLEY COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 8

was built and served not only the resettlement project but also the surrounding farms. A total of 16,113.36 acres were sold to the colonists in 1943 and 1944.[1] This land was sold in eighty-one units: 76 family farms, a community center, co-operative gin, cemetery, and the farm manager's and home economist's homes.

Sabine Farms

Sabine Farms was located approximately ten miles south of Marshall in the forested area of east Texas, and it contained land in both Harrison and Panola Counties (Fig. 9). This was the only project in Texas that was designed exclusively for Negroes. A total of over 9,000 acres of non-contiguous plots was purchased by the Resettlement Administration in 1936. The largest unit of purchase was 3,744.6 acres but several smaller purchases were also made.[2]

As originally planned, the land was divided into eighty farm units and Negro tenant farmers were given an opportunity to become owners of family-type farms.[3] The land was not cleared of trees prior to settlement and each settler was responsible for clearing his own land.[4] Some of the land proved to be inadequate for farming and was sold to a local lumber company. The remaining 8,983.07 acres were divided into 75 farms and a community center, consisting of an assembly hall and home economics building.[5]

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[1]County Record Books, Hockley County Courthouse, Levelland, Texas.

[2]County Record Books, Harrison County Courthouse, Marshall, Texas.

[3]The Dallas News, April 3, 1936, p. 4.

[4]Personal interview with Mr. Norman Fields, an original settler, Marshall, Texas, June 16, 1972.

[5]County Record Books, Harrison County Courthouse, Marshall, Texas, and Panola County Courthouse, Carthage, Texas.

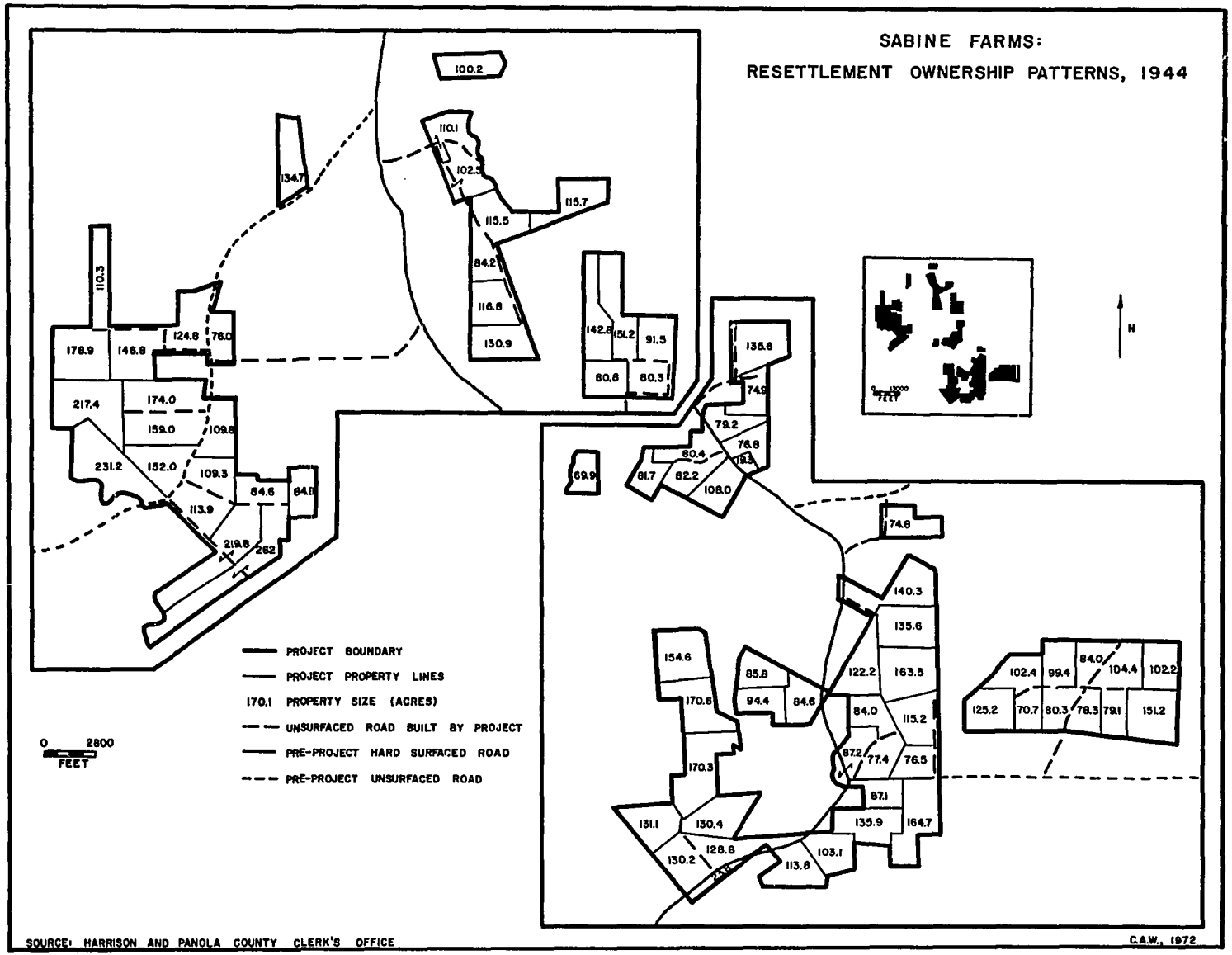
SABINE FARMS:
RESETTLEMENT OWNERSHIP PATTERNS, 1944
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
170.1 PROPERTY SIZE (ACRES)
UNSURFACED ROAD BUILT BY PROJECT
PRE-PROJECT HARD SURFACED ROAD
PRE-PROJECT UNSURFACED ROAD
0 2800
FEET
N
SOURCE: HARRISON AND PANOLA COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 9

Each farm had a metal-roofed home, barn, and other outbuildings. A farm manager advised each settler how to best use his land and recommended the crops that could best be grown. Grain sorghums, corn, peanuts, and vegetables were the dominant crops. Hogs, milk cows, and chickens supplied the farmer with food and a source of cash income. The settlers were allowed to purchase their land in 1944.

Sam Houston Farms

Located in Harris County approximately twenty-two miles southeast of downtown Houston, Sam Houston Farms was situated on the nearly level soils of the Gulf Coastal Plains (Fig. 10). In 1936 Texas Rural Communities, Inc. purchased 4,979 acres of this land to provide an opportunity for farm and home ownership by tenant farmers who were being forced onto relief rolls in large numbers. The land was subdivided into eighty-six family farms that averaged fifty-eight acres.[1] Each farm contained a two or three bedroom home, barn, and various other outbuildings. A community house was built, but it burned in 1942 and was not reconstructed.

A farm manager was provided to advise the settlers, and a home economist taught the farm wives how to grow and preserve farm produce. The most common crops were cotton, corn, feed crops, and vegetables. Chickens, hogs, and dairy cattle were raised both for food and sale.

As originally planned the farms were too small to provide an adequate living for the eighty-six families. In 1941 the project was reorganized into forty family farms with the excess homes leased to industrial workers.

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[1]U.S. Congress, loc. cit., p. 1105.

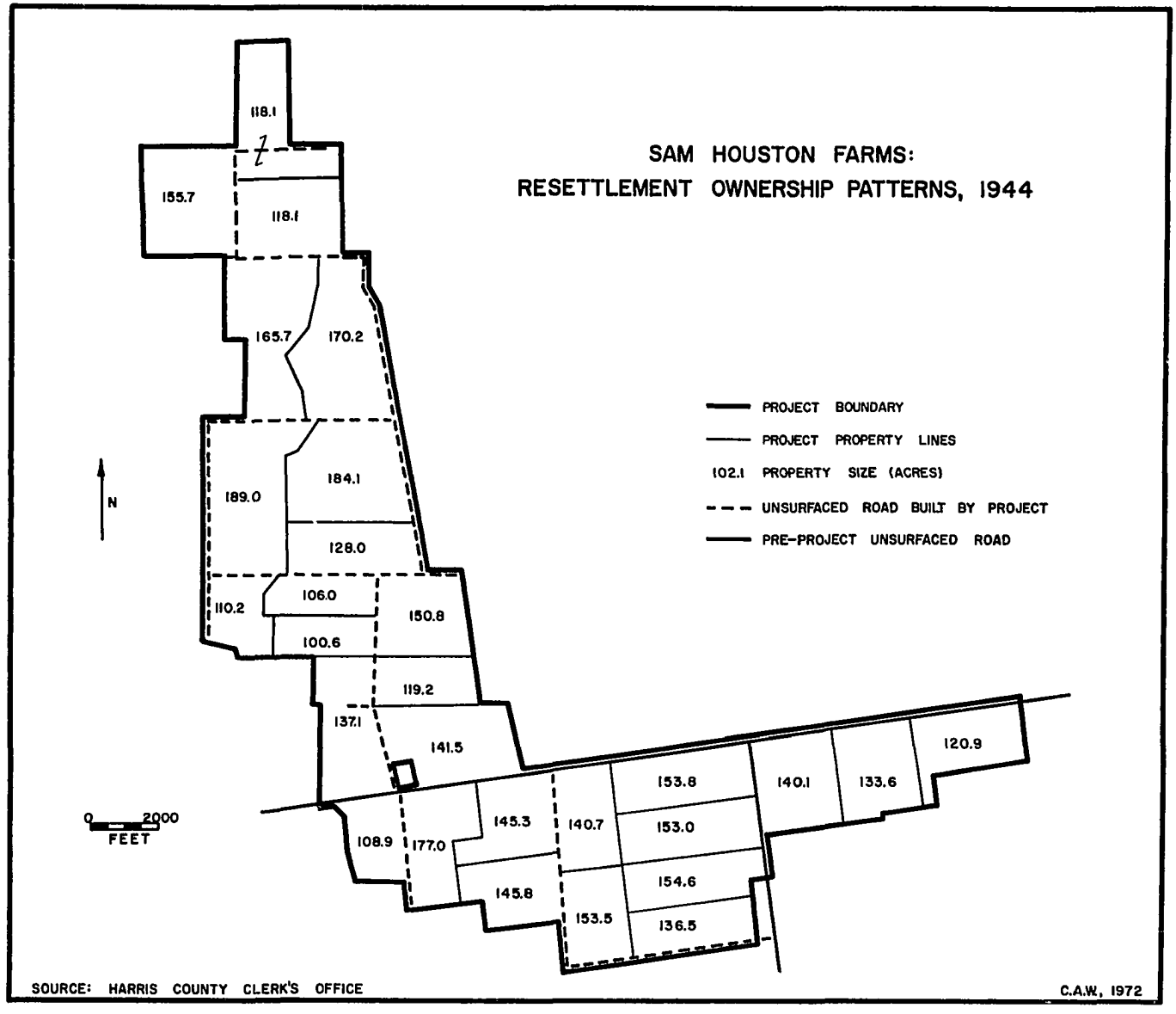
SAM HOUSTON FARMS:
RESETTLEMENT OWNERSHIP PATTERNS, 1944
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
102.1 PROPERTY SIZE (ACRES)
UNSURFACED ROAD BUILT BY PROJECT
PRE-PROJECT UNSURFACED ROAD
N
0 2000
FEET
118.1
155.7
118.1
165.7
170.2
189.0
184.1
128.0
110.2
106.0
150.8
100.6
119.2
137.1
141.5
120.9
133.6
140.1
153.8
153.0
140.7
145.3
108.9
177.0
154.6
145.8
153.5
136.5
SOURCE: HARRIS COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W. 1972

Figure 10

The Federal Works Agency acquired 1,024.4 acres of the project in 1942 to build a resorvoir.[1] The remaining 3,954.6 acres were reorganized into twenty-eight farms and the settlers were allowed to purchase their land in 1944.[2] The excess homes that had been leased to industrial workers were sold and removed from the project.

Wichita Valley Farms

Wichita Valley Farms was located in Wichita County four miles west of Wichita Falls and north of the Wichita River (Fig. 11). The land was relatively level but varied in fertility. Texas Rural Communities, Inc. purchased 5,507 acres in 1934 and 1936 to be used for the resettlement of ninety-one families.[3] The families were chosen from tenant farmers in Wichita and surrounding counties.

As initially established the farms were irrigated and averaged sixty acres in size. A farm manager and home economist were employed to aid the settlers. Cotton, alfalfa, oats, and corn were the chief crops. Some of the farms proved to be too small and their reorganization resulted in the creation of nine subsistence plots and eighty-two family farms.[4] The project contained a large community house and each farm had a home, barn, outdoor toilet, and other farm buildings. The settlers received titles to their land in 1943 and 1944.[5]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] County Record Books, Harris County Courthouse, Houston, Texas.

[3] U.S. Congress, loc. cit., p. 1107.

[4] Personal Interview with Mrs. Thomas M. Thaxton, an original settler, Iowa Park, Texas, June 5, 1972.

[5] County Record Books, Wichita County Courthouse, Wichita Falls, Texas.

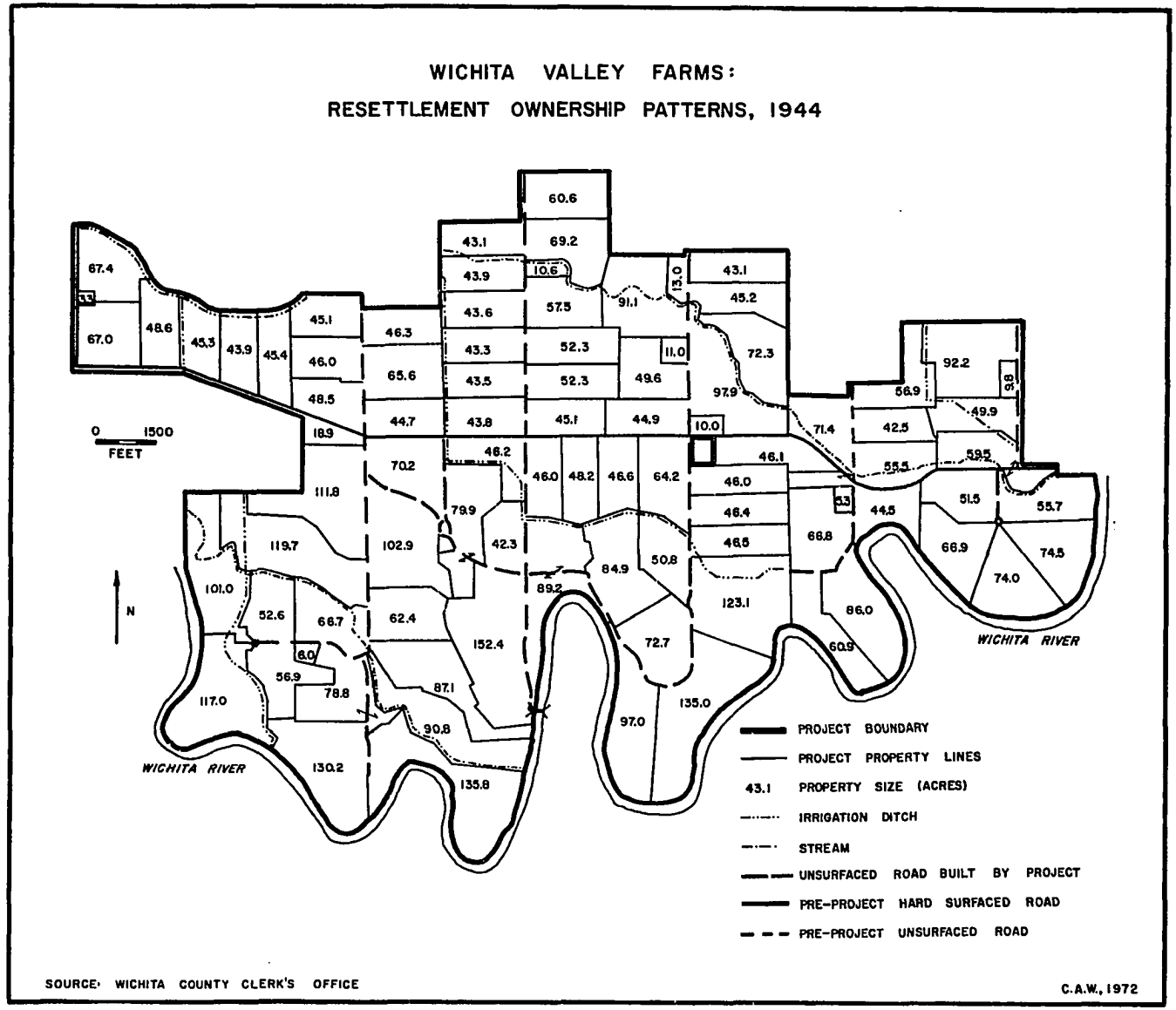
WICHITA VALLEY FARMS:
RESETTLEMENT OWNERSHIP PATTERNS, 1944
0 1500
FEET
N
WICHITA RIVER
WICHITA RIVER
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
43.1 PROPERTY SIZE (ACRES)
IRRIGATION DITCH
STREAM
UNSURFACED ROAD BUILT BY PROJECT
PRE-PROJECT HARD SURFACED ROAD
PRE-PROJECT UNSURFACED ROAD
SOURCE: WICHITA COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 11

Summary

In summarizing New Deal rural resettlement in Texas, it is important to remember that all of the communities, except for Ropesville Farms, had undergone some type of reorganizational change between their initiation and liquidation. Woodlake experienced the greatest change since it originated as a co-operative farm but was later divided into individual family farms.

Table III shows the communities as they existed at the time of their liquidation. A comparison of this table with Table I reveals some of the changes that occurred between the initiation of the projects and their liquidation.

TABLE III

NEW DEAL RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES, 1944

Name	Total Acres	Units	Ave. Size (Acres)	Largest (Acres)	Smallest (Acres)
McLennan Farms	2,732.1	19	143.8	212.6	105.2
Ropesville Farms	16,113.4	81	206.3	388.1	1.9
Sabine Farms	8,983.1	76	119.5	262.0	19.3
Sam Houston Farms	3,954.6	28	141.2	185.8	100.6
Wichita Valley Farms	5,507.1	92	60.5	152.4	1.7
Woodlake Community	7,439.4[a]	48	155.0	3,841.7	2.3
Totals	44,792.8	344	130.2		

[a]161 acres of the original 7,600 acres became a part of Davy Crockett National Forest.

Source: County Record Books of McLennan, Hockley, Harrison, Panola, Harris, Wichita, and Trinity Counties, Texas.

The most common change involved a reduction in the number of farms on each project. These reductions were primarily the result of two things: an attempt to provide the settlers with larger more economical farms than had originally been planned, and the sale of project lands that were not

suitable for farming. Both of these causes of reduction in farm numbers could probably have been eliminated with better project planning. Local advisory committees could have been more select in their choice of resettlement sites and should have established larger individual farms than were originally created.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW DEAL RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES, 1972

Introduction

Understanding both the continuances of cultural landscape traits and the aberrations that evolve through time, requires that the association between process and form be identified. Structuring of geographic problems in the symmetrical process-form associaton is not a new paradigm, for to some it constitutes the basic principle of spatial analysis. Though not expressed in the identical phrase, geographers interested in cultural landscapes have focused on this binary connection, as witness the emphasis on historic methodologies in cultural landscape analyses.

This process-form symmetry is the conceptual framework used to examine the temporal stability of the cultural landscapes of the six New Deal rural resettlement communities of Texas. In addition to the process focus, it is essential that the factors most responsible for initiating and directing processes of landscape change be identified and integrated into a model of landscape change. Also factors that contribute to landscape stability, stability here being the antithesis of change, and their relation to processes, or more appropriately the absence of processes, must be incorporated into any analytical framework dealing with the dynamics of cultural landscapes.

In analyzing the rural resettlement communities of Texas several

distinct factor-process-pattern associations are apparent. Yet, from the complexities some general models of landscape dynamics can be identified (Fig. 12). At the most general level (Fig. 12A) two sets or classes of factors of change can be differentiated, one that initiates a process and regulates its intensity and another that influences the distribution of the process, i.e., its geographic distribution.

This latter set has served as the foci for most geographic studies and to many the two sets have been viewed as one universal class of factors. However, in the strictest sense they are distinctive sets of factors. For example, increase in population has led to landholding subdivision in several New Deal communities. This process is related to urbanization. The distributional aspects of the process are related to such locational variables as distance of the projects from an urban center and quality of roads connecting projects to urban centers. Thus, the resultant landholding pattern alterations are a function of both sets - initiating and locational - of factors, each with a distinct role in shaping the spatial configuration of the contemporary landscape.

From this generalized form several specific models of change can be identified. These are depicted in figures 12B, 12C, and 12D. To reduce the complexities, locational factors have not been visually depicted in the representations; however, their inclusion is implied by depicting the models on a two dimensional surface.

In one situation (Fig. 12B) a series of different causal factors (X,Y,Z) are found to initiate the same processes that lead to similar alterations of the contemporary landscape. As exemplified in the resettlement communities of Texas, the process is land subdivision. This process

MODELS OF LANDSCAPE CHANGE

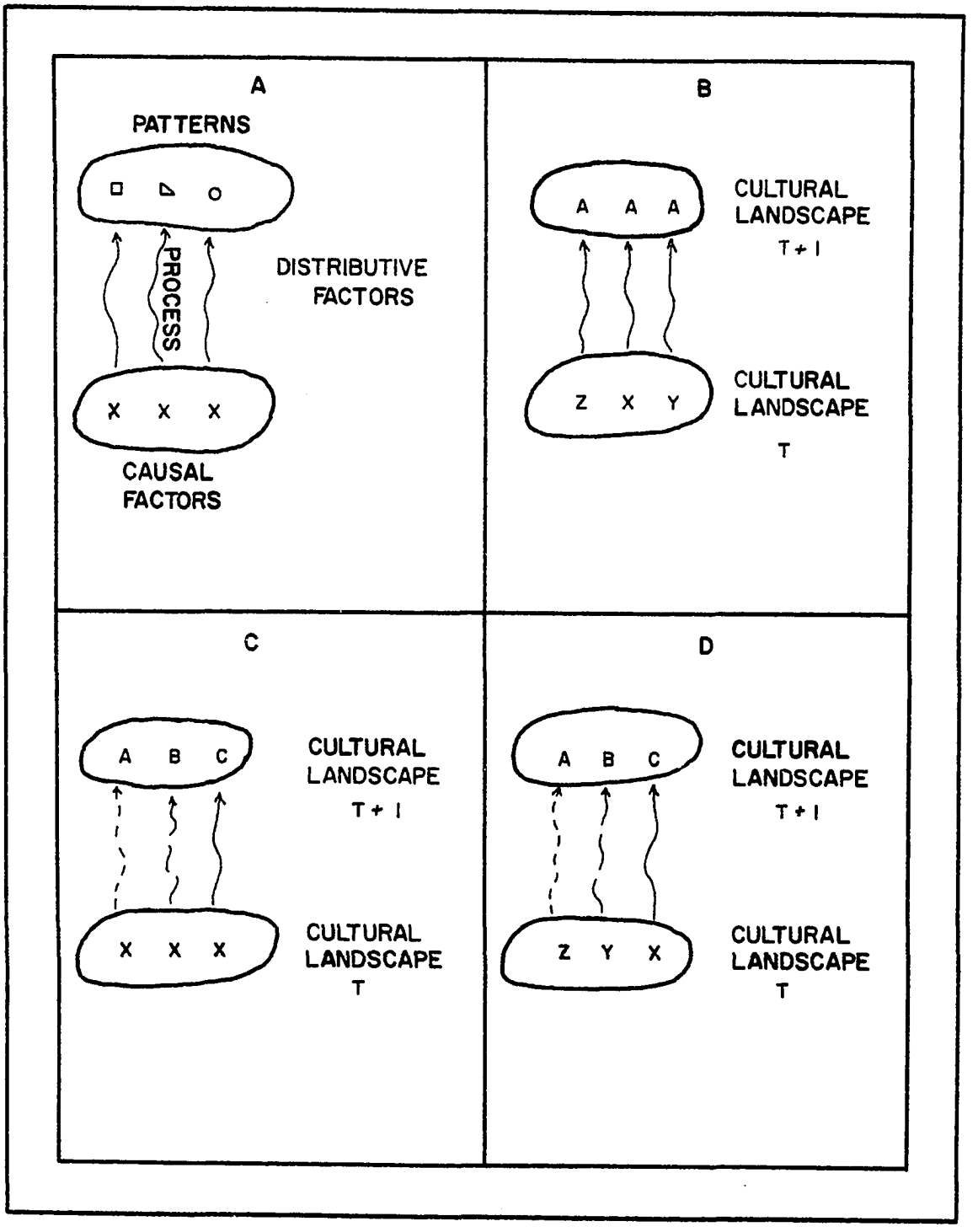

Figure 12

has resulted in similar landholding patterns, i.e., small non-farm landholdings; however, the initiating factors are diverse. Urbanization, land speculation, and indebtedness have all fostered the land subdivision process.

Occurring concomitantly with this model of change is a single cause, multiple process model of landscape modification (Fig. 12C). Here initiating causal factors are the same, e.g., life cycle, but different processes are initiated. Life cycle dynamics has led to dwelling abandonment or structural modifications of original dwellings. Consequently, different settlement patterns have evolved even though causal agents are identical.

Finally, there exists an ideographic factor-process pattern model (Fig. 12D). It is this perspective that is typically used to analyze temporal variations in landscape traits. While identifying the large number of causal variables and processes associated with such a model constitutes a major research effort, the model implies a one-to-one correlation of change. This simple monotonic patterning of change is rarely encountered in cultural landscapes. What in fact exists are all three models and their various combinations. Consequently, the analysis of any landscape must be able to identify and understand the composite sets of changes and their associated landscape patterns.

Since there exists a myriad of landscape attributes that could be used as surrogates of cultural landscape change, some reduction of these must be accomplished to achieve any semblance of order. Those isolated for analysis in this study have been identified in Chapter I. The purpose of this chapter is to examine these attributes in a temporal perspective in order to associate the spatial and temporal patterns of change to processes

and factors of change, but for clarity and ease in presentation, the material is presented in the opposite order. The set of causal factors and their resultant processes are identified first. Their association with patterns is analyzed in the subsequent portions of the chapter. The end result is an attempt at understanding the complexities of cultural landscape patterns in the six New Deal rural resettlement communities of Texas.

Factors And Processes Of Landscape Change

Culture and its landscape correlate, i.e., the cultural landscape, are dynamic. Factors most responsible for these landscape changes must be isolated in order that an analysis of their association with process and patterns on the New Deal rural resettlement communities can be made. For purposes of clarity, these factors are arranged in terms of the major elements of the cultural landscape isolated for analysis in the study.

Landholding Characteristics

The factors most influential in fostering modifications of the original landholdings of the six New Deal rural resettlement communities can be divided into four separate categories: (1) life cycle of the owner and his family, (2) loan repayment provisions, (3) project organization and land speculation, and (4) the influence of urbanization. The singular or combined effects of these factors and the process they have generated have caused major alterations in land ownership, size of the individual property units, and property boundaries in the six resettlement communities.

Life Cycle

As individuals become older, it is increasingly difficult to either

supervise or maintain large landholdings. Many original settlers are now in their mid-60's and have found it both necessary and profitable to alter their landholding patterns in order to achieve a more manageable size, i.e., a process of subdivision. Large tracts of original land have been sold. Consequently, original owners have retained small subsistence or residential plots.[1] Others have sold all their project lands and retired to nearby cities where the arrangement of space is more convenient for older people to obtain the necessary goods and services.[2]

Some of the original settlers died and thus no longer own their land. When no direct descendants existed, land was purchased by other unrelated persons and the continuity of ownership was broken. The exact amount of land that has passed from original ownership due to increasing age or death is difficult to determine, but natural attrition of original owners constitutes an important factor of change in the landholding characteristics of the contemporary communities.

Loan Repayment Provisions

Through an arrangement with the federal government, settlers on several projects were allowed to sell small portions of their land provided that all the money obtained from this sale was applied to the balance of the settler's loan. Due to increasing land values, this made it possible

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[1]Personal Interviews with Mr. Luther C. Evans, an original settler, Marshall, Texas, June 16, 1972 and Mrs. Elmer I. Moore, an original settler, Baytown, Texas, July 26, 1972.

[2]Personal Interviews with Mrs. Thomas M. Thaxton, an original settler, Iowa Park, Texas, June 5, 1972 and Mr. James C. Davenport, an original settler, Waco, Texas, July 28, 1972.

for some of the settlers to complete the repayment of their resettlement loans much sooner than had been expected by the resettlement agencies. Through the sale of several small tracts with a combined size of slightly over forty acres, one settler was able to completely repay his loan by 1946.[1] The result of this repayment provision was a decrease in the amount of land in original ownership and a subdivision of the landholding patterns into smaller, more numerous units.

Project Organization And Land Speculation

Due to poor planning and organization, Woodlake Community was constantly in a state of reorganization and change during the resettlement period. Poor planning was very evident in the disbursement of project lands. Land was purchased by sealed bid and sold for fairly low prices. Speculators were permitted to purchase six large tracts that comprised over 90 per cent of the project lands. In contrast to these large purchases, most original settlers (approximately 70 per cent) purchased subsistence homesteads of less than ten acres. Much of the property purchased by the speculators was completely resold within a short time or was subdivided and sold in smaller units. This resale of the land and subsequent change in property unit size greatly altered the original landholding patterns on the project.

The influence of land speculators was also felt in Sam Houston and Wichita Valley Farms. Project lands were purchased from original owners

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[1]Personal Interview with Mr. Charles J. Jurek, an original settler, Baytown, Texas, July 26, 1972.

by individuals who capitalized on rising land values and subsequently subdivided the land into smaller units for resale, a process that has greatly altered the landholding patterns on these two projects by creating numerous small residential plots.

Urbanization

As in most areas of America, the influences of urban centers have had a substantial effect on Texas resettlement landholdings. Increases in land values, a greater demand for land, and higher taxes are among the numerous facets of urbanization that have had an impact on project landholdings. McLennan, Sam Houston, and Wichita Valley Farms all felt the influence of urban growth and expansion. For example, McLennan Farms is within the city limits of Waco; Sam Houston Farms is not only within the limits of Baytown, but it is also adjacent to the city limits of Houston; and Wichita Valley Farms is only one mile from the city limits of Wichita Falls.

The influences exerted by these large urban center are visible on the rural land. As they have grown, there has been an increased demand placed on adjacent agricultural land. The urban activities command a higher economic rent than do agricultural functions, and consequently, the land use changes from rural to urban and the significant ownership traits of rural land are modified. In particular demand were areas suited for residential space as the suburbs spread from the urban core. Most project land was suitable for this function, and consequently, it was readily converted to this new land use pattern.

Such factors have been important in modifying contemporary landscapes in the three forementioned projects. Several original settlers sold small

tracts of land because the increased land values allowed them to secure additional financial increments. Thus, they were able to purchase luxury items that they could not have afforded without having disposed of some of their land.[1]

Substantial increases in property taxes also accompanied the expansion of the urban domain into the resettlement projects. In some instances, this increase was accelerated by annexation of project land into the corporate limits of a large city. This increase in property tax rates on recently annexed lands forced several original settlers to sell portions of their land to meet tax payments and reduce their tax burdens.[2] As one original settler stated, "I only have fifty acres left. I had to sell the rest to pay my taxes. Each year property taxes get higher and higher, they cost me over $1,000 last year."[3]

An additional element that had a modifying influence on the landholdings was size of the original landunit. Though not an actual causal factor responsible for ownership change, size of the original landunit could create a condition conducive to modification. The size of the individual farms was quite important. Large landholdings provided the settlers the opportunity of scale economies and thus enhanced the probability of success in their farming venture. On smaller landunits, it was difficult

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[1]Personal Interviews with Mr. Vernon Koch, an original settler, Waco, Texas, June 13, 1972 and Mrs Zola Ramsey Smith, an original settler, Wichita Falls, Texas, June 6, 1972.

[2]Personal Interview with Mrs. Louise Willingham, an original settler, Waco, Texas, July 27, 1972.

[3]Personal Interview with Mrs. Ladgie Koudelka, an original settler, Baytown, Texas, July 25, 1972.

to fully utilize one's machinery and labor force. Efficiency in production lends itself to stability and when a settler could not take advantage of the economies associated with larger landunits, he either looked elsewhere for a source of income or attempted to expand his landholdings by consolidating neighboring units. While the latter occurred in some projects, the former behavior was most prevalent. The result has been a decrease in the amount of land in original ownership as some original settlers moved from the projects in an attempt to become more prosperous.

It is difficult to associate a particular process and landholding change with a single causal factor. Modifications are too often caused by a combination of factors and processes rather than a single element. However, the two most important results of all these factors can be identified and documented. These have been a decrease in the amount of project land in original ownership as a result of sales and subdivision and a dramatic increase in the number of landholdings. Only 41 per cent of the project lands remain in original ownership and the number of individual landholdings has increased from 344 to 685.

Residential Structures

Several elements responsible for change in original landholding characteristics have been instrumental in altering the number, type, and arrangement of dwellings on the cultural landscape. An additional factor, loosely referred to as modernization, is also responsible for these changes. This new factor, modernization, is a collective term that refers to the changing needs and desires of man. Since 1944, the standard of living has increased. This has resulted in man desiring new and better homes as well

as larger more efficient transportation systems. During the time period between creation of the resettlement communities and mid-1972, these changing desires have resulted in alterations of the cultural landscape patterns.

When the communities were liquidated in 1944, only 321 homes were present on the six projects. In mid-1972, this number had increased to 622 homes of which 41 per cent were still original structures. In addition, many of the original homes had undergone some type of structural modifications. These settlement alterations were primarily the result of two processes: new settling and original dwelling modification. As exemplified in Figure 12C, these two processes created new settlement patterns.

New Settling

New settling is the combined process of constructing new houses on previously vacant sites and replacing original homes with new structures. Since some original homes were replaced, this process also includes a limited amount of dwelling abandonment. The causal factors most dominant in the new settling process are urbanization, modernization, and life cycle.

As the number of land owners multiplied on each project, there was an increased demand for residential housing. Most of this increased demand was met by the construction of new homes. A total of 366 have been built since 1944. The projects that are subdivided the most have experienced the greatest amount of new home construction. These projects are generally those located near urban centers and have experienced the greatest impact of urban growth. The 149 new homes at Sam Houston Farms and 90 new homes at Wichita Valley Farms are primarily a response to this urbanization.

Since it is not always easy to modify existing structures to meet the changing needs of man, some of the original dwellings were destroyed or removed from their original sites in order that newer, more modern homes could be built. These changes reflect modernization as a causal factor.

Modification Of Original Dwellings

The process of modification of existing original dwellings is a response to the causal factors of modernization and life cycle. Due to the desire for larger, more modern homes, many of the original dwellings have undergone some type of structural modification. Most of the resettlement homes did not have indoor bathrooms or attached garages. Many were two-bedroom homes that were not expansive enough for large families. As the resettlement families became larger, there was a trend towards the construction of additional bedrooms (Fig. 13) and the installation of indoor bathrooms. The result of these changes has been the creation of homes that have architectural styles of both the 1930's and later periods (Fig. 14).

Summary

Changes in the dwellings that comprise a portion of the cultural landscape are a response to the subdivision of the projects into smaller landunits and the changing desires of man. As more individuals became owners of project lands, new homes were constructed. When existing original homes became too small or out-of-date, they were remodeled and changed to fit the needs of modern man. The combined effect of these two processes is a cultural landscape with a wide variety of home styles and a greater number of homes than were in existence in 1944.

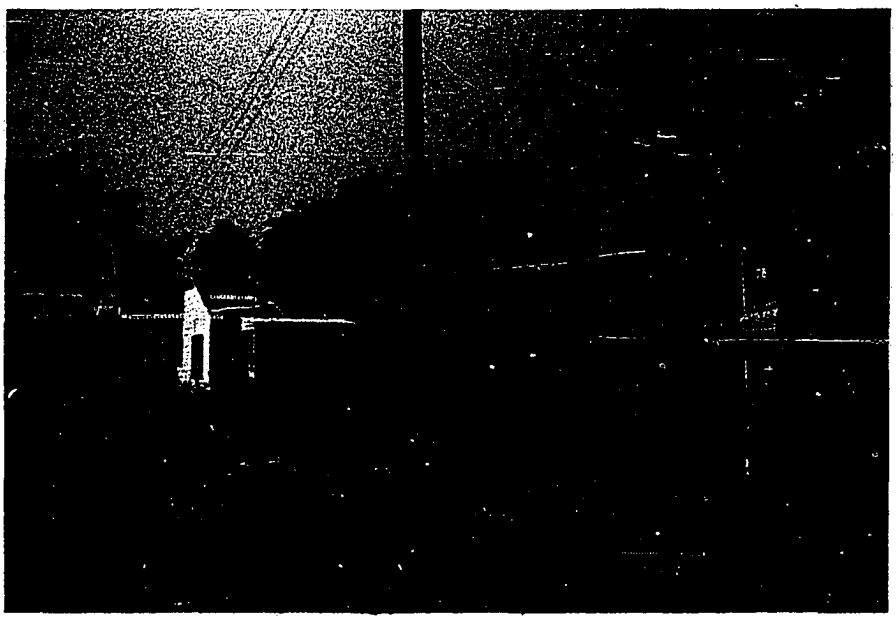

Fig. 13--This home at Wichita Valley Farms has been slightly modified by the addition of a third bedroom.

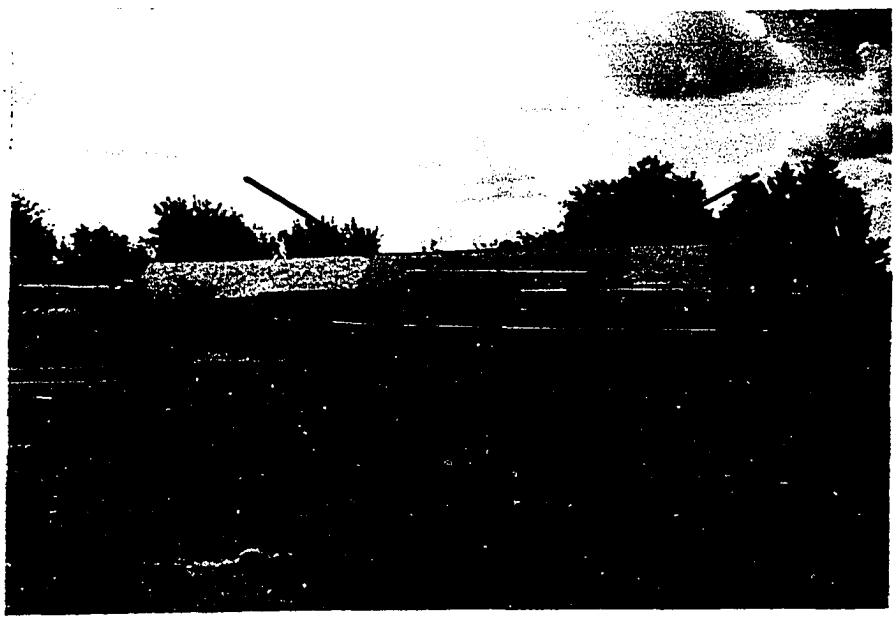

Fig. 14--Note how this original home at Wichita Valley Farms has been modified by the addition of two bedrooms and a garage. The two arrows mark the limits of the original home.

Transportation Network

In addition to the causal factors that have been previously discussed, an additional factor, economies of maintenance, has affected the transportation network. When the various governmental agencies responsible for road networks find that it is no longer economically feasible to maintain and improve roads that serve only a limited number of people, these roads are often modified by either abandonment or deterioration. The end result of this action is a modification of the existing road network. On the resettlement projects, economies of maintenance was joined by urbanization and modernization to create new transportation networks.

These three causal factors were responsible for creating two major processes of change in the transportation system: addition and abandonment. The process of addition is actually composed of two different elements. The construction of new roads and the improvement of existing roads are both components of the process of addition.

Addition

Since 1944, an increase in the number of land owners and dwellings, primarily a result of urbanization, has caused an expansion of the road network and an improvement of the existing facilities. New roads were built and original roads improved to better the resident's access to and from their homes and also to allow more rapid and efficient movement through the projects by individuals who reside outside of the project lands. Of all the communities, McLennan Farms experienced the greatest percentage increase in its transportation network between 1944 and mid-1972. Only 58 per cent of its contemporary transportation network existed in 1944. This increase

was primarily due to the construction of three new bridges across the Brazos and Bosque Rivers to improve access to Waco and provide a better transport system through the project. These alterations were basically a result of modernization and are only one example of changes in the original networks.

Abandonment

When existing transportation facilities are no longer needed, the abandonment of roads often occurs. Abandonment may be the result of economies of maintenance when one individual purchases the land on both sides of a road and thus no longer needs or wants the road to be maintained by governmental agencies. Another cause of abandonment is the movement of dwellings closer to major transportational arteries to improve access to the dwellings. This results in the abandonment of secondary roads that once led to the old dwelling locations.

Woodlake Community is the only project that experienced a great amount of road abandonment, and as a result, only 84 per cent of the original transportation network that existed in 1944 is still in use.

Summary

A transportation network is one of the most visible elements of the cultural landscape. Any changes in the transportation network in terms of the construction of new roads, improvement of existing roads, or road abandonment are immediately evident. These alterations are in response to the changing needs of man which are constantly in flux as he attempts to improve his means of traveling to and through an area. Thus, due to modernization, urbanization, and economies of maintenance, the original transportation network has been altered.

Patterns Of Landscape Change

The landholding characteristics, dwellings, and transportation networks of the six New Deal rural resettlement communities of Texas have undergone some change since their implementation by the resettlement agencies. The result is new cultural landscape patterns that in varying degrees are modifications of the older settlement landscape (Figs. 15-20).[1]

The objectives of this section are threefold: (1) to determine the amount of change that has occurred in the cultural landscape between 1944 and June 1, 1972, (2) to guage whether the cultural landscape features established by the resettlement agencies are still important components of the contemporary landscape, and (3) to determine whether there are distinct variations among the resettlement communities as to their impact on the contemporary landscape patterns. To answer these questions, the analysis focuses on the changes that have occurred since 1944 and their association with the development of the contemporary landscape patterns.

Landholding Characteristics

Ownership

In Table IV ownership data for the six communities indicate a high degree of stability in project ownership. For all six projects, over 41 per cent of the land is still owned by original settlers and 45 per cent of the original settlers still own some project land.

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[1]For immediate visual comparisons, these Figures can be compared with Figures 6-11 which show the resettlement communities as they existed at the time of their liquidation in 1944.

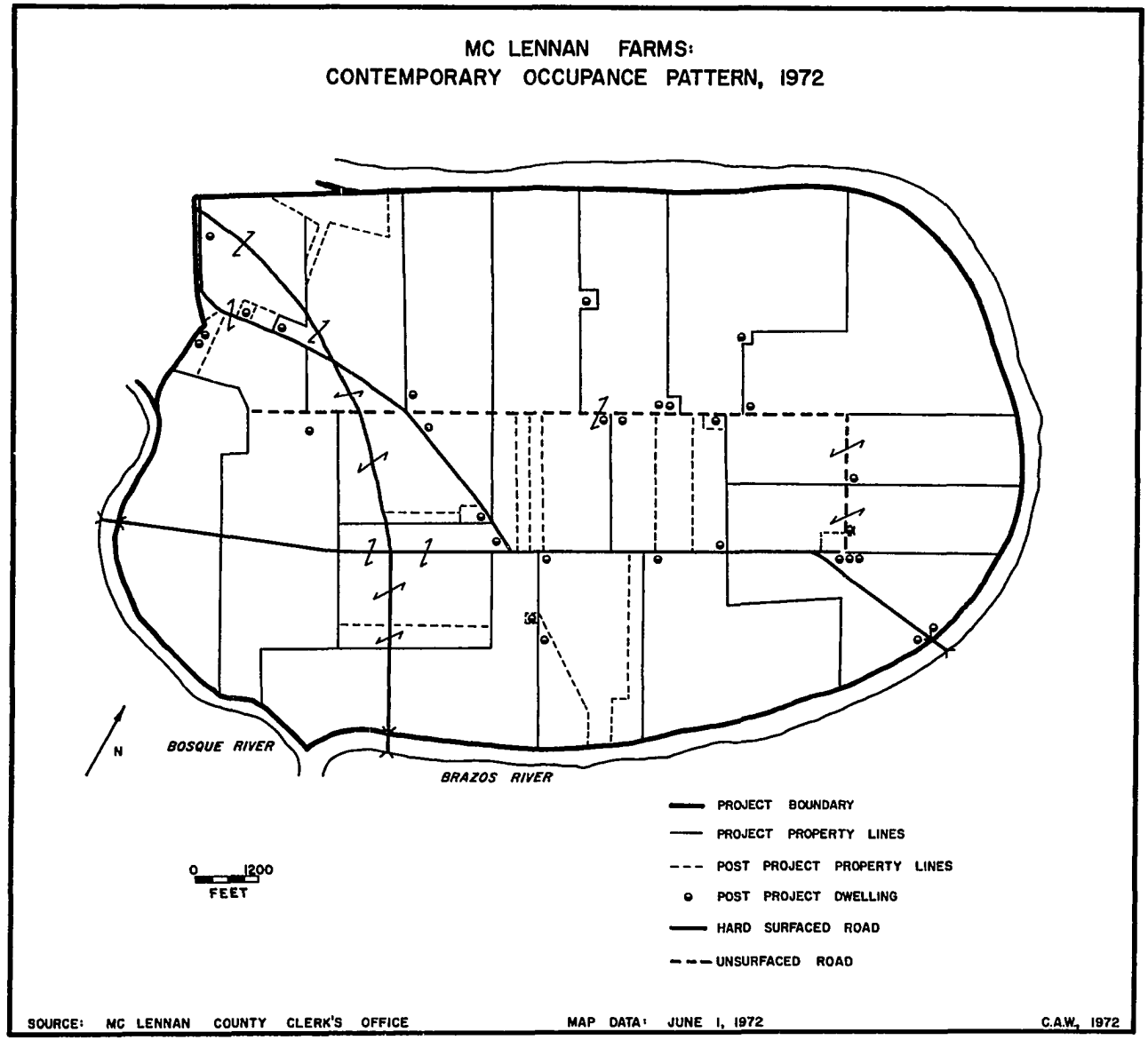
MC LENNAN FARMS:
CONTEMPORARY OCCUPANCE PATTERN, 1972
N
BOSQUE RIVER
BRAZOS RIVER
0 1200
FEET
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
POST PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
POST PROJECT DWELLING
HARD SURFACED ROAD
UNSURFACED ROAD
SOURCE: MC LENNAN COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
MAP DATA: JUNE 1, 1972
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 15

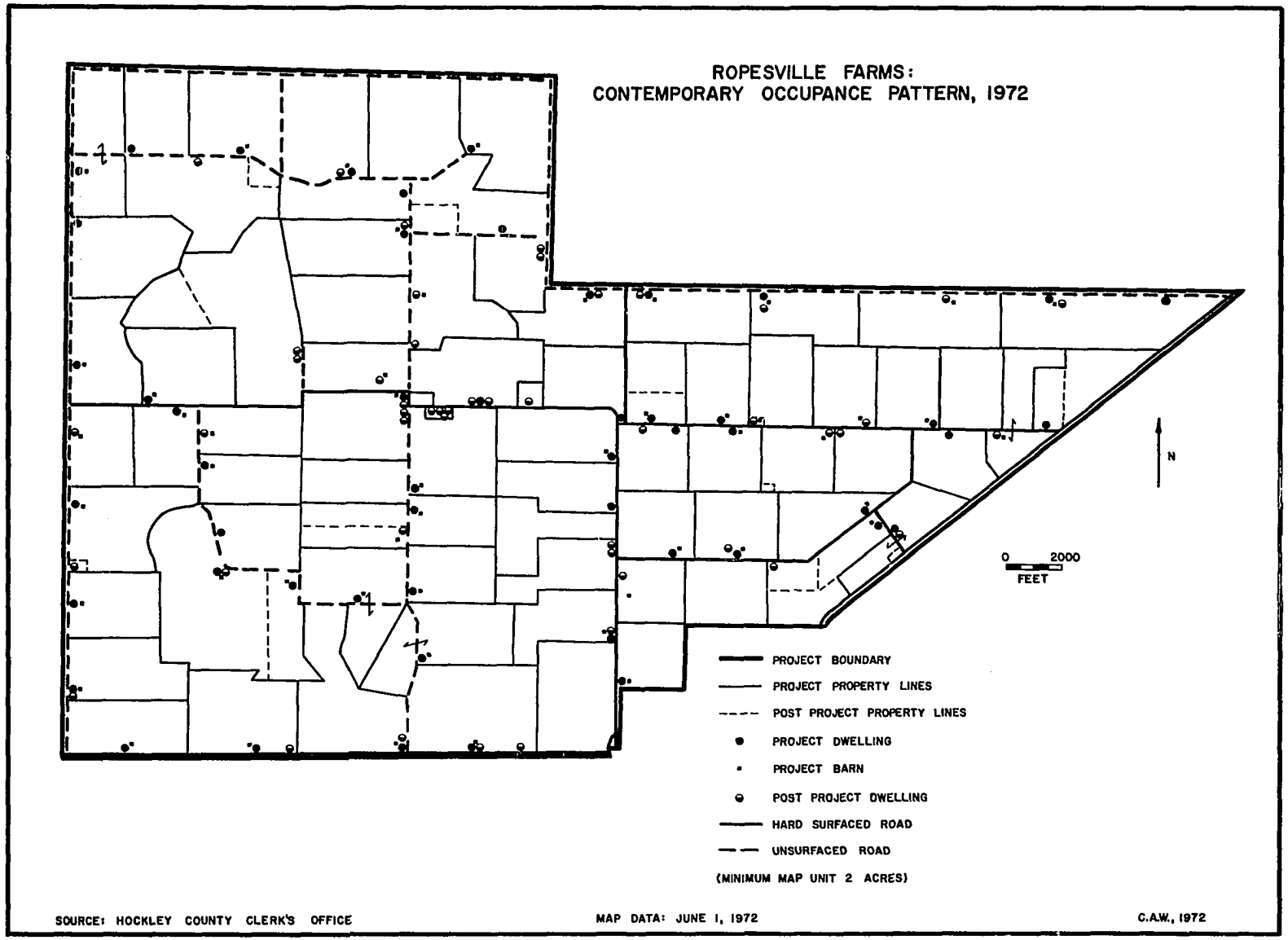
ROPESVILLE FARMS:
CONTEMPORARY OCCUPANCE PATTERN, 1972
N
0 2000
FEET
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
POST PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
PROJECT DWELLING
PROJECT BARN
POST PROJECT DWELLING
HARD SURFACED ROAD
UNSURFACED ROAD
(MINIMUM MAP UNIT 2 ACRES)
SOURCE: HOCKLEY COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
MAP DATA: JUNE 1, 1972
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 16

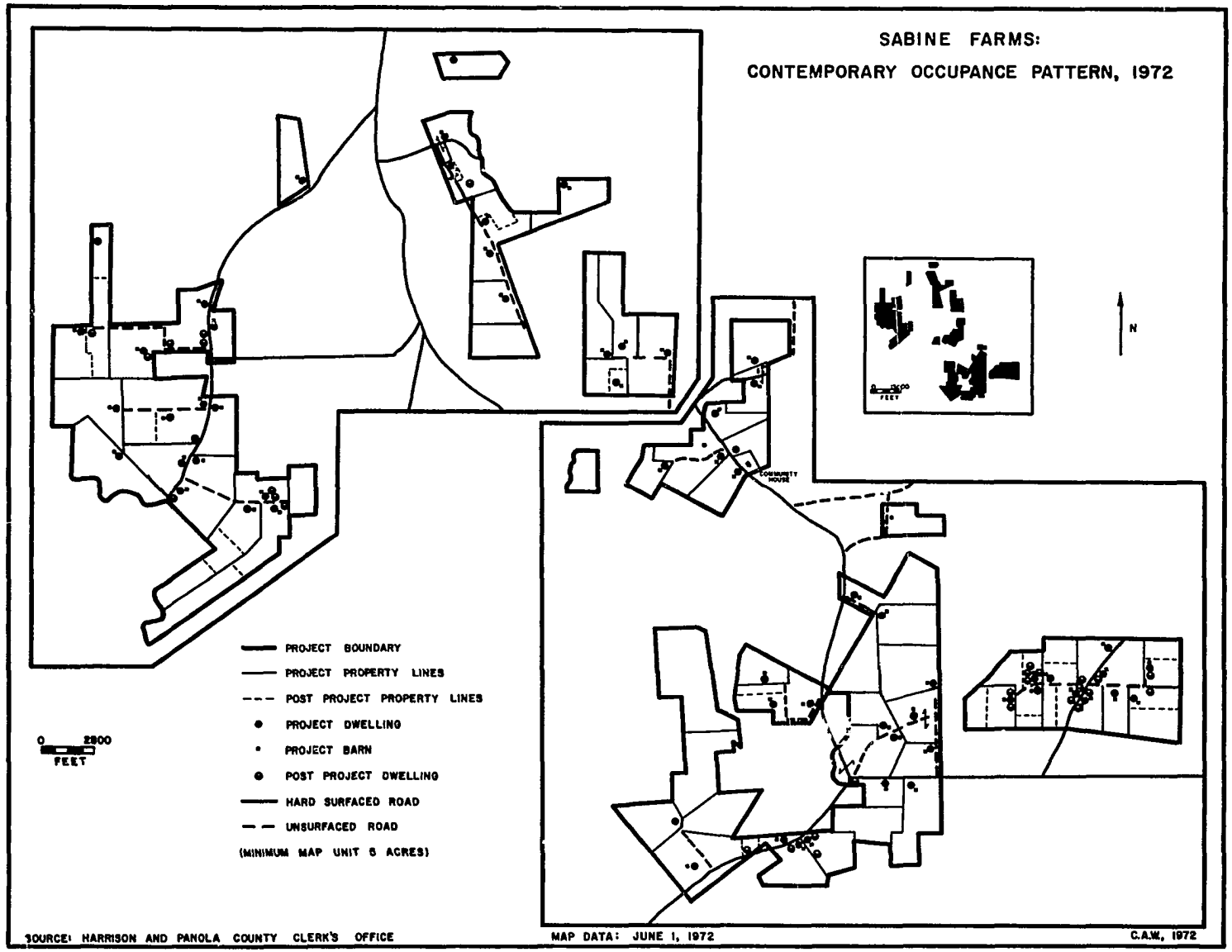
SABINE FARMS:
CONTEMPORARY OCCUPANCE PATTERN, 1972
N
COMMUNITY HOUSE
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
POST PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
PROJECT DWELLING
PROJECT BARN
POST PROJECT DWELLING
HARD SURFACED ROAD
UNSURFACED ROAD
(MINIMUM MAP UNIT 6 ACRES)
0 2800
FEET
SOURCE: HARRISON AND PANOLA COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
MAP DATA: JUNE 1, 1972
C.A.M., 1972

Figure 17

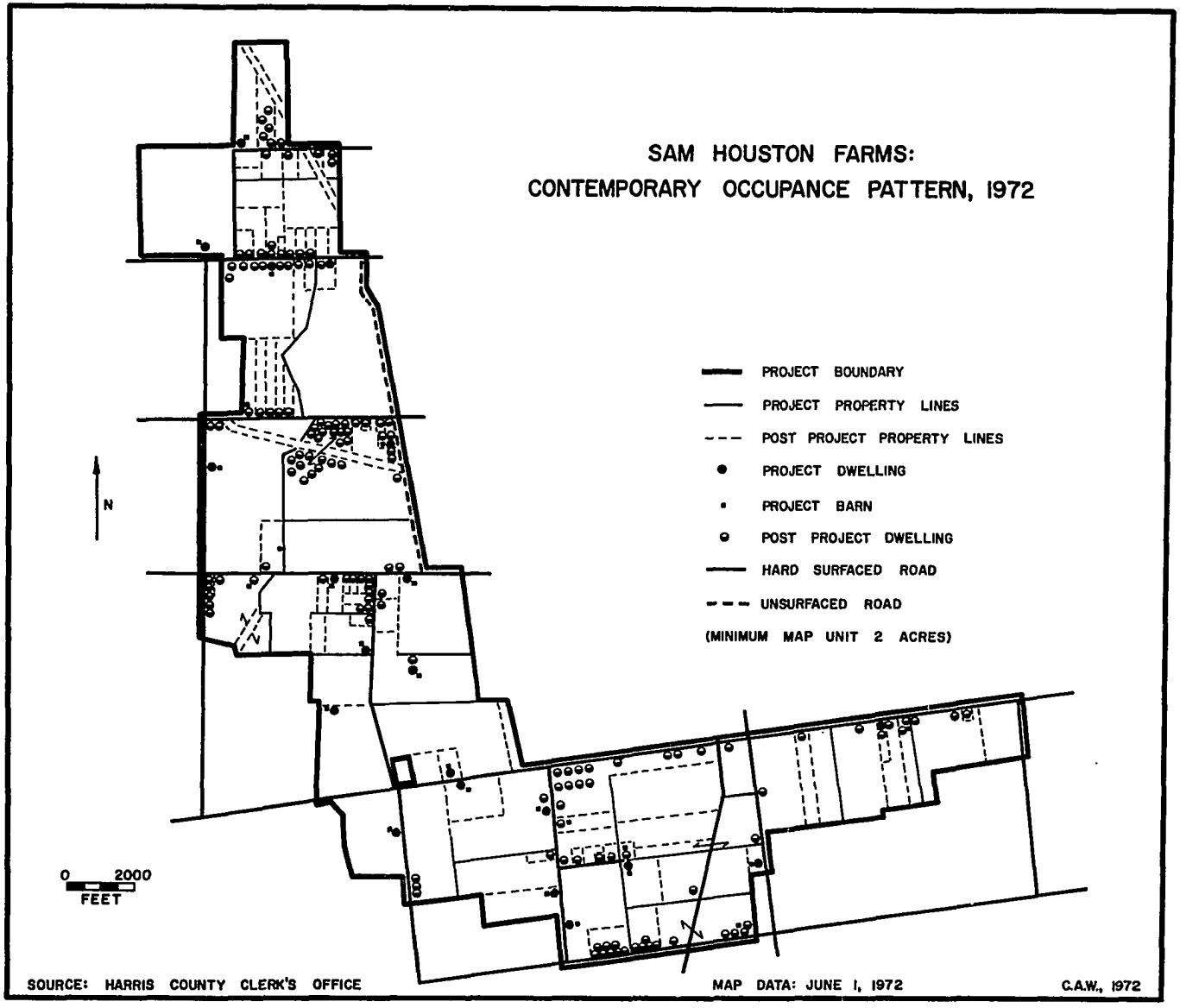
SAM HOUSTON FARMS:
CONTEMPORARY OCCUPANCE PATTERN, 1972
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
POST PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
PROJECT DWELLING
PROJECT BARN
POST PROJECT DWELLING
HARD SURFACED ROAD
UNSURFACED ROAD
(MINIMUM MAP UNIT 2 ACRES)
N
0 2000
FEET
SOURCE: HARRIS COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
MAP DATA: JUNE 1, 1972
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 18

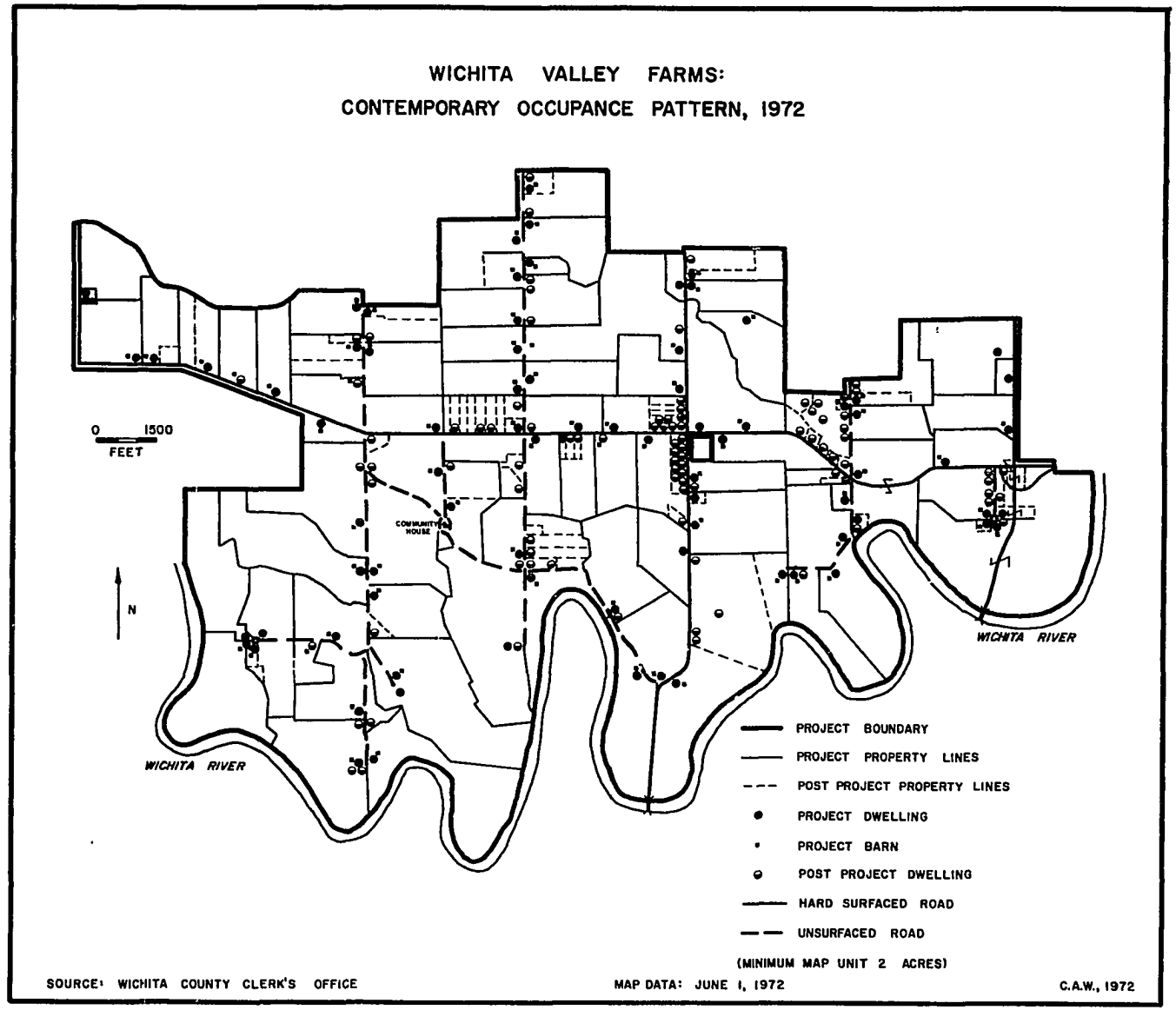
WICHITA VALLEY FARMS:
CONTEMPORARY OCCUPANCE PATTERN, 1972
0 1500
FEET
N
COMMUNITY HOUSE
WICHITA RIVER
WICHITA RIVER
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
POST PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
PROJECT DWELLING
PROJECT BARN
POST PROJECT DWELLING
HARD SURFACED ROAD
UNSURFACED ROAD
(MINIMUM MAP UNIT 2 ACRES)
SOURCE: WICHITA COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
MAP DATA: JUNE 1, 1972
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 19

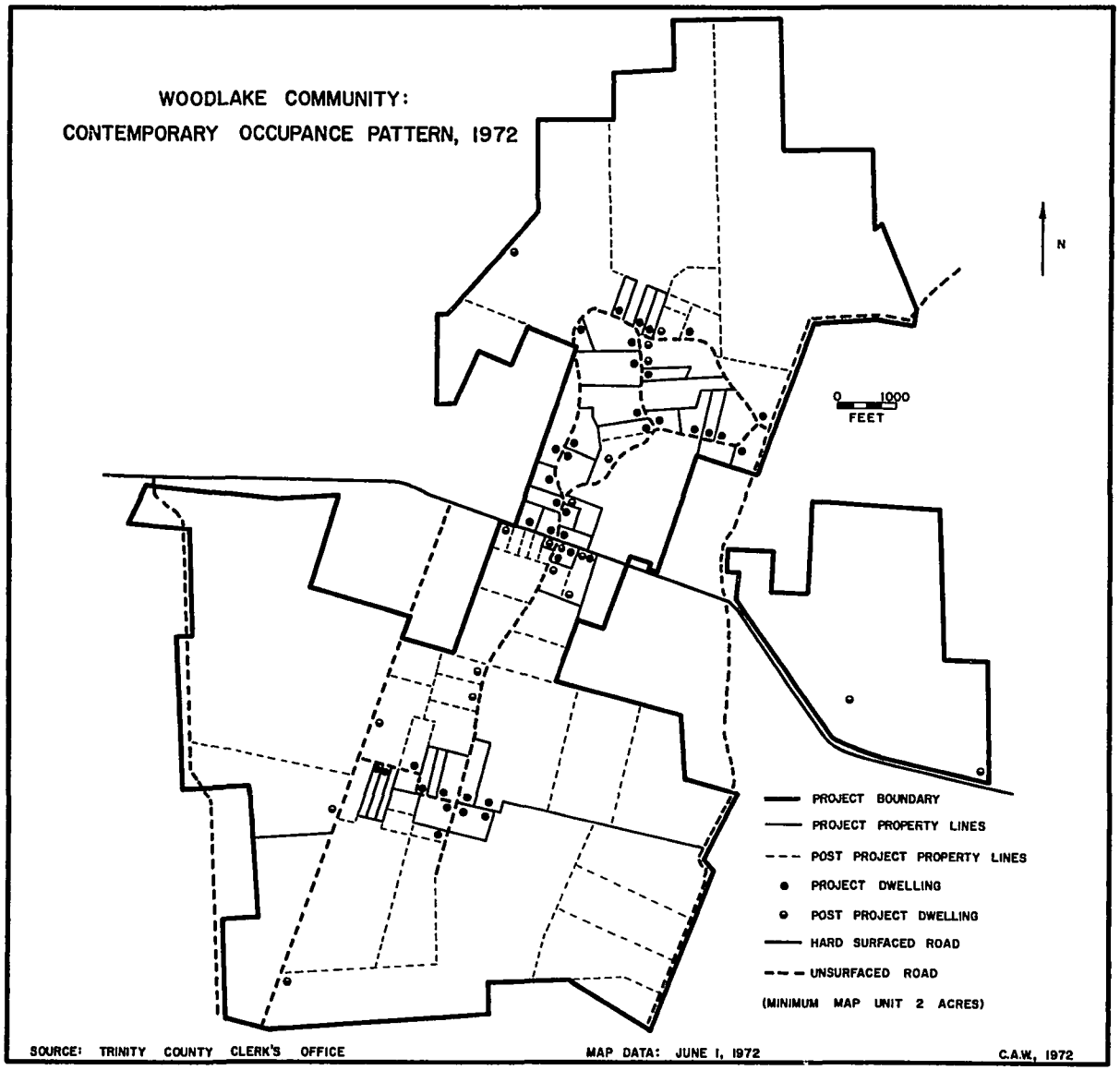
WOODLAKE COMMUNITY:
CONTEMPORARY OCCUPANCE PATTERN, 1972
N
0 1000
FEET
PROJECT BOUNDARY
PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
POST PROJECT PROPERTY LINES
PROJECT DWELLING
POST PROJECT DWELLING
HARD SURFACED ROAD
UNSURFACED ROAD
(MINIMUM MAP UNIT 2 ACRES)
SOURCE: TRINITY COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
MAP DATA: JUNE 1, 1972
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 20

TABLE IV

TEXAS RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES:
LAND OWNERSHIP, 1972

Project	Original Owners	Acres In Original Ownership	% Of Project In Original Ownership	% Of Original Settlers Still Owning Land
McLennan Farms	7	791.9	28.9	36.8
Ropesville Farms	48	9,973.3	61.9	59.3
Sabine Farms	56	5,685.8	63.3	73.7
Sam Houston Farms	12	628.5	15.9	42.9
Wichita Valley Farms	24	1,284.4	23.3	27.2
Woodlake Community	7	59.9	2.2	14.6
Totals	154	18,423.4	41.1	44.8

Source: Compiled by author from County Record Books of McLennan, Hockley, Harrison, Panola, Harris, Wichita, and Trinity Counties, Texas.

These two proportions give strong evidence to the permanency of the projects. It appears that with some exceptions the original settlers constitute a major force in shaping existing ownership patterns.

While permanency appears as a general trend, there are large variations between the projects in the percentage of land that remains in the ownership of original settlers. This varies from a high of 63 per cent at Sabine Farms to a low of 2 per cent at Woodlake Community. This variation is the result of different processes and factors acting upon the six communities.

Using the percentage of land in original ownership, the six resettlement communities were divided into three groups. Sabine (63%) and Ropesville (62%) constitute a class that has a high percentage of land remaining in original ownership. At the opposite extreme is Woodlake Community with only 2 per cent of its land belonging to original settlers. The remaining

three communities: McLennan (29%), Wichita Valley (23%), and Sam Houston Farms (16%) comprise a middle group that have moderately low percentages of their land remaining in original ownership. These latter percentages are to a large extent due to the fact that these three have felt the impact of urbanization. The net result is a decrease in the amount of land in original ownership and a conversion of agricultural land to residential uses. These two facts testify to a high degree of subdivision, influx of new residents, and modification of ownership patterns.

Ropesville and Sabine Farms not only have maintained a high percentage of their land in original ownership, but have a high percentage of original owners still residing in the project. Since both are fairly successful agricultural projects, as witnessed by a high percentage of their residents still engaged in farming, it appears that permanency of ownership is closely tied to the agricultural vitality of a project. Also neither of these projects is near a large city, and consequently they have not undergone the influences exerted by urban areas.

If the spatial and temporal aspects of ownership transfer are examined, several trends are apparent (Figs. 21-26). These trends are suggestive of the factors that have influenced the landscape patterns in each community. When all projects are analyzed there do not appear to be any significant trends in the ownership transfer patterns. Random dispersement appears as the dominant characteristic. However, in two projects, Wichita Valley and McLennan Farms, there exists some variation in the pattern of ownership transfer. Both are suggestive of urban influences. In Wichita Valley Farms there is a trend for land in original ownership to

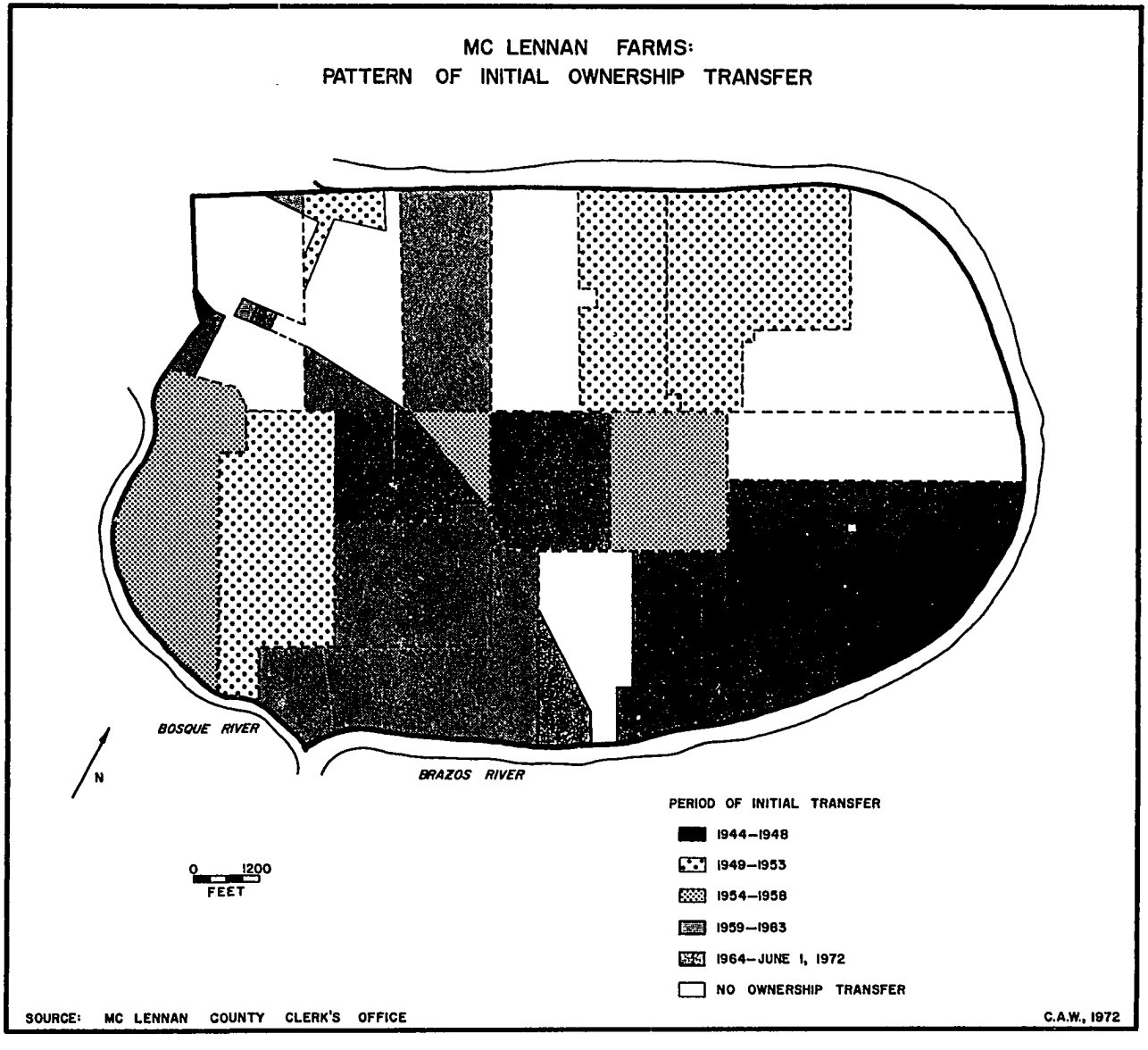
MC LENNAN FARMS:
PATTERN OF INITIAL OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
BOSQUE RIVER
BRAZOS RIVER
N
0 1200
FEET
PERIOD OF INITIAL TRANSFER
1944–1948
1949–1953
1954–1958
1959–1963
1964–JUNE 1, 1972
NO OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
SOURCE: MC LENNAN COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 21

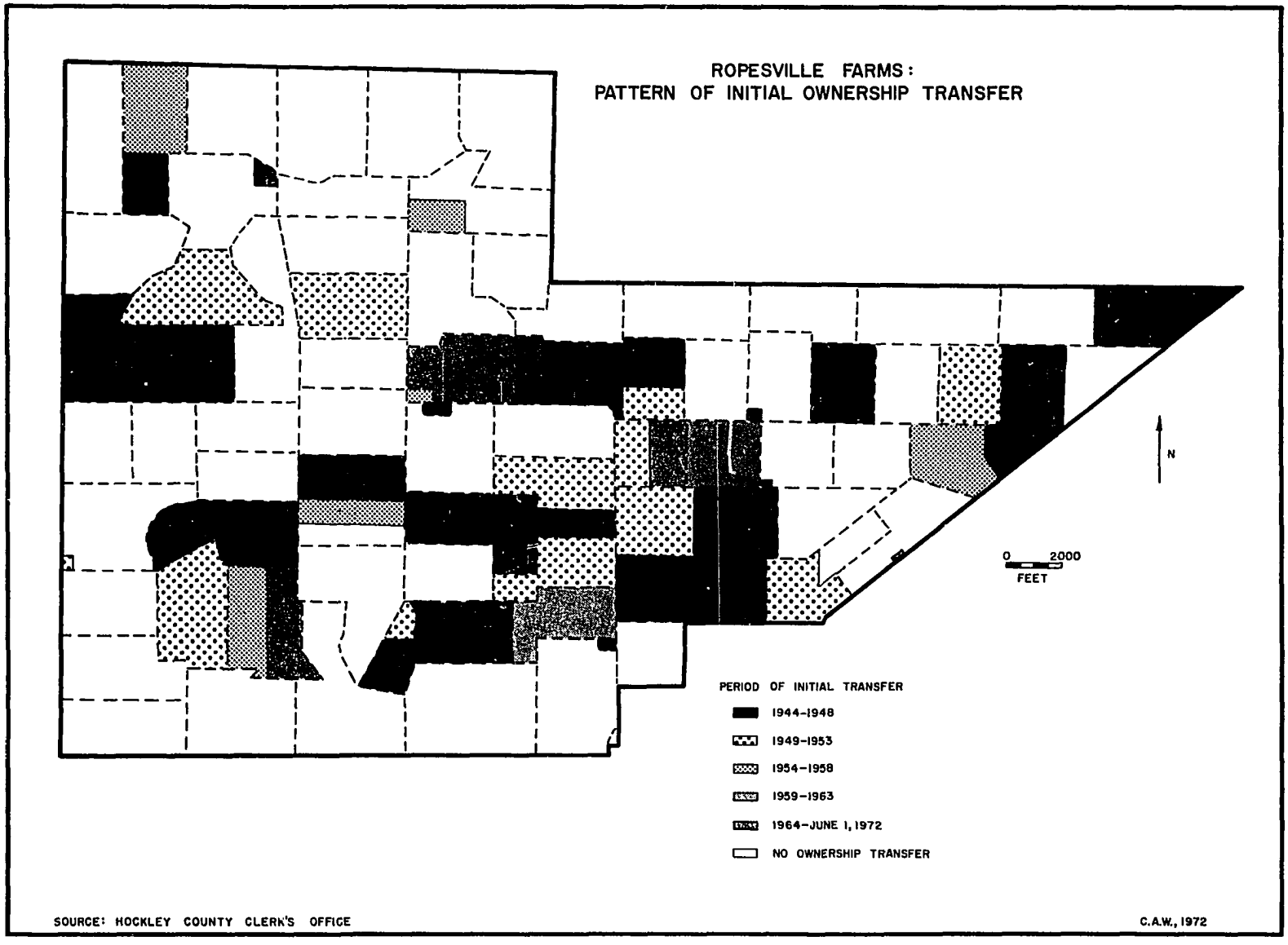
ROPESVILLE FARMS:
PATTERN OF INITIAL OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
N
0 2000
FEET
PERIOD OF INITIAL TRANSFER
1944-1948
1949-1953
1954-1958
1959-1963
1964-JUNE 1, 1972
NO OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
SOURCE: HOCKLEY COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 22

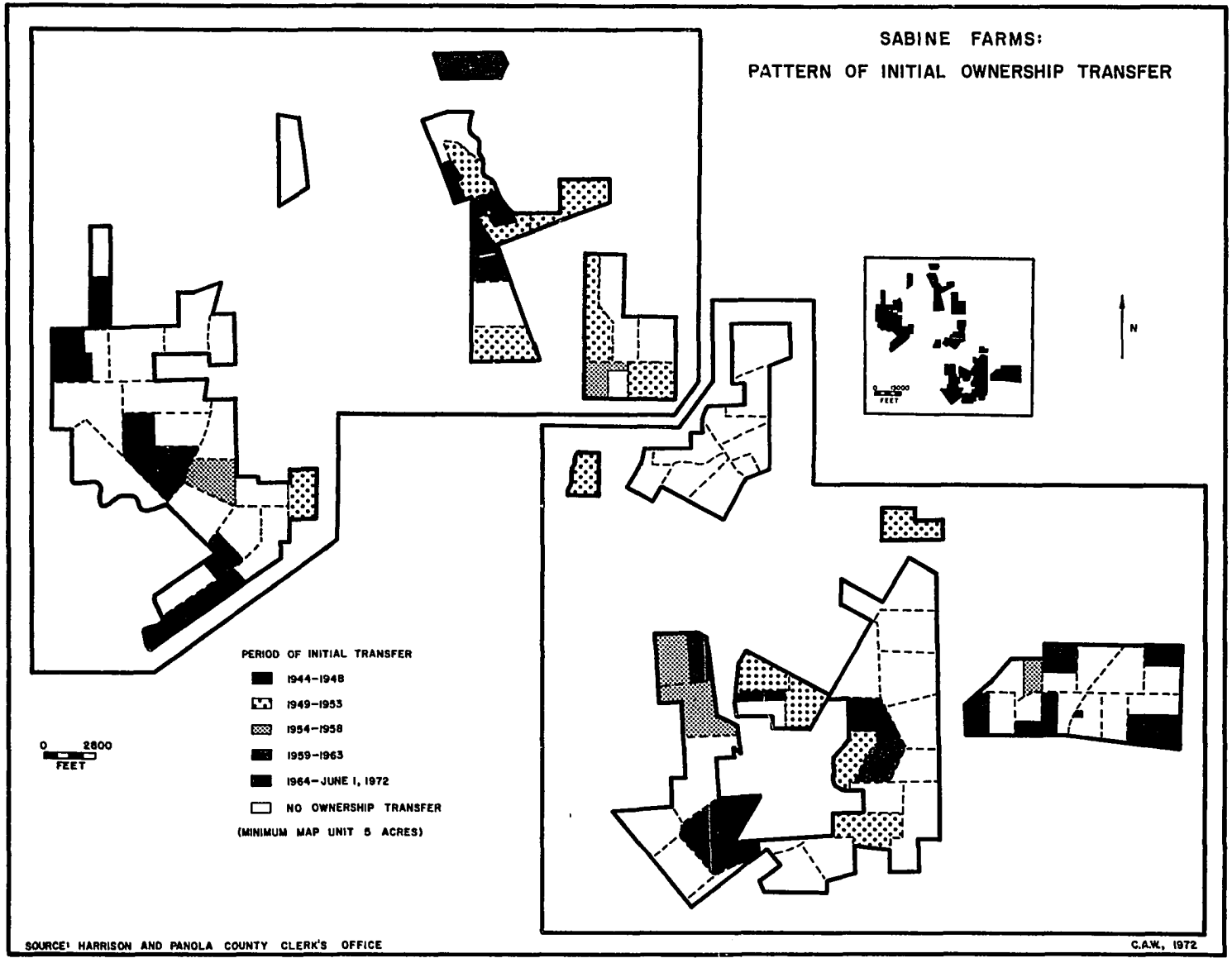
SABINE FARMS:
PATTERN OF INITIAL OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
PERIOD OF INITIAL TRANSFER
1944–1948
1949–1953
1954–1958
1959–1963
1964–JUNE 1, 1972
NO OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
(MINIMUM MAP UNIT 5 ACRES)
0 2800
FEET
N
SOURCE: HARRISON AND PANOLA COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 23

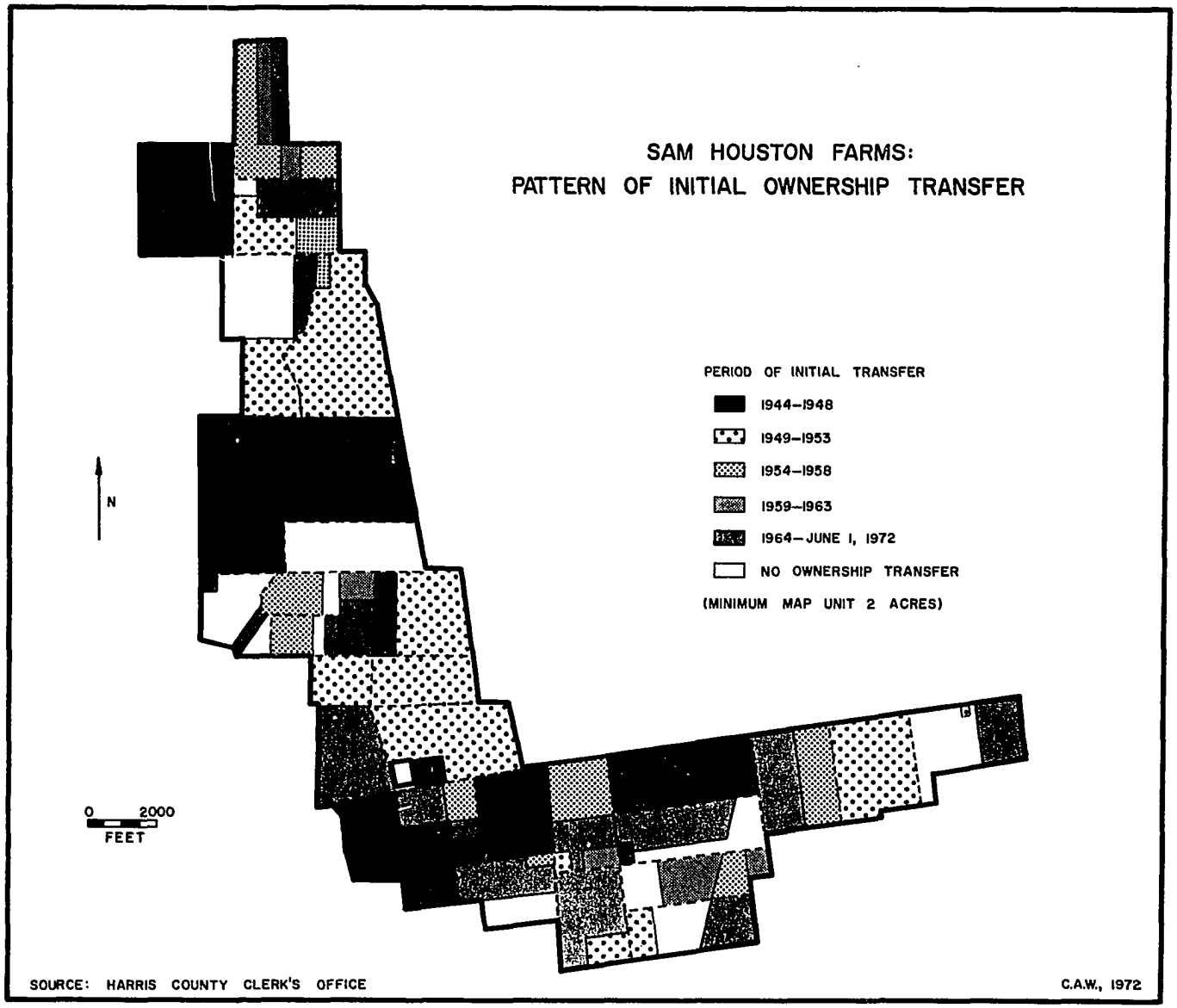
SAM HOUSTON FARMS:
PATTERN OF INITIAL OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
PERIOD OF INITIAL TRANSFER
1944–1948
1949–1953
1954–1958
1959–1963
1964–JUNE 1, 1972
NO OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
(MINIMUM MAP UNIT 2 ACRES)
N
0 2000
FEET
SOURCE: HARRIS COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 24

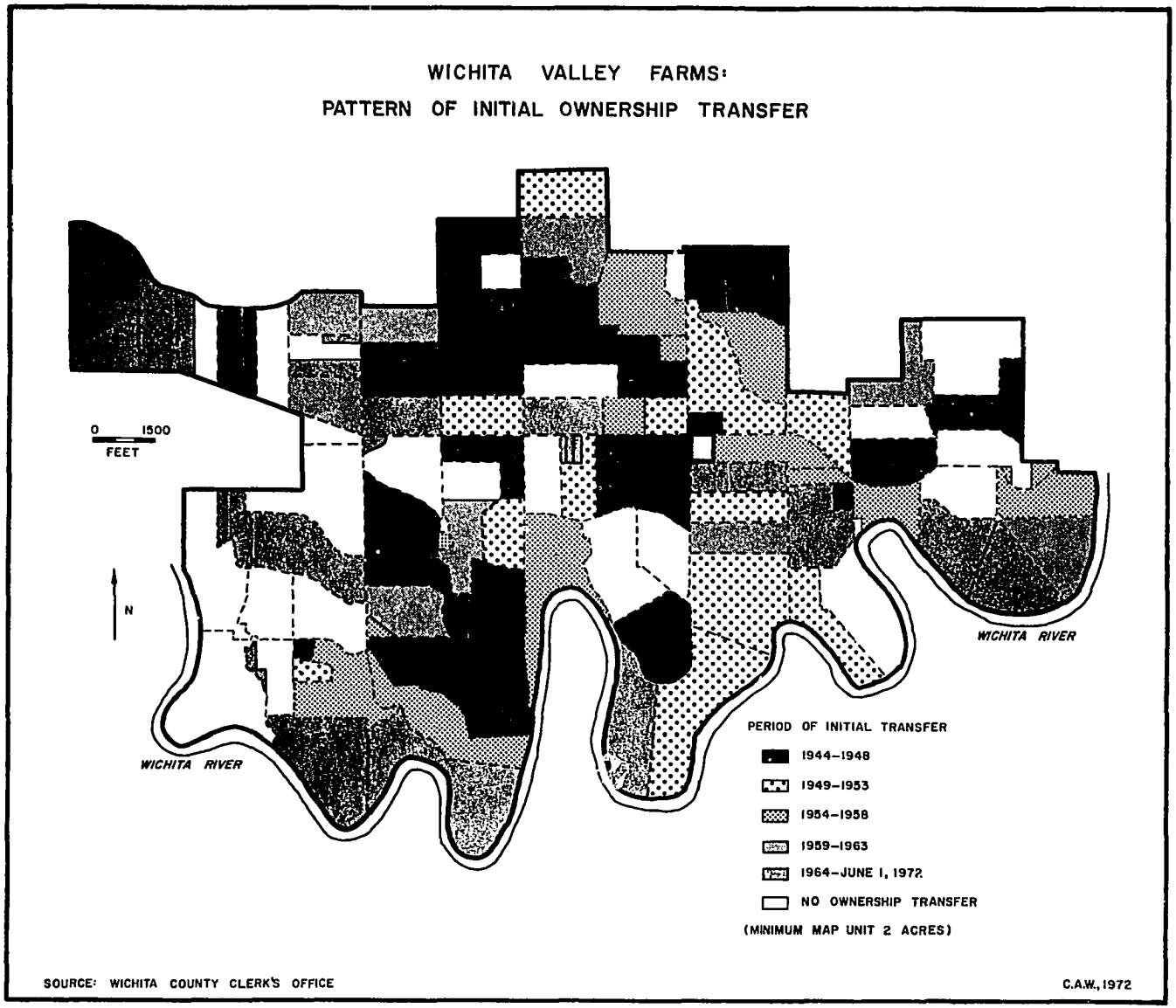
WICHITA VALLEY FARMS:
PATTERN OF INITIAL OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
0 1500
FEET
N
WICHITA RIVER
WICHITA RIVER
PERIOD OF INITIAL TRANSFER
1944–1948
1949–1953
1954–1958
1959–1963
1964–JUNE 1, 1972
NO OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
(MINIMUM MAP UNIT 2 ACRES)
SOURCE: WICHITA COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W., 1972

Figure 25

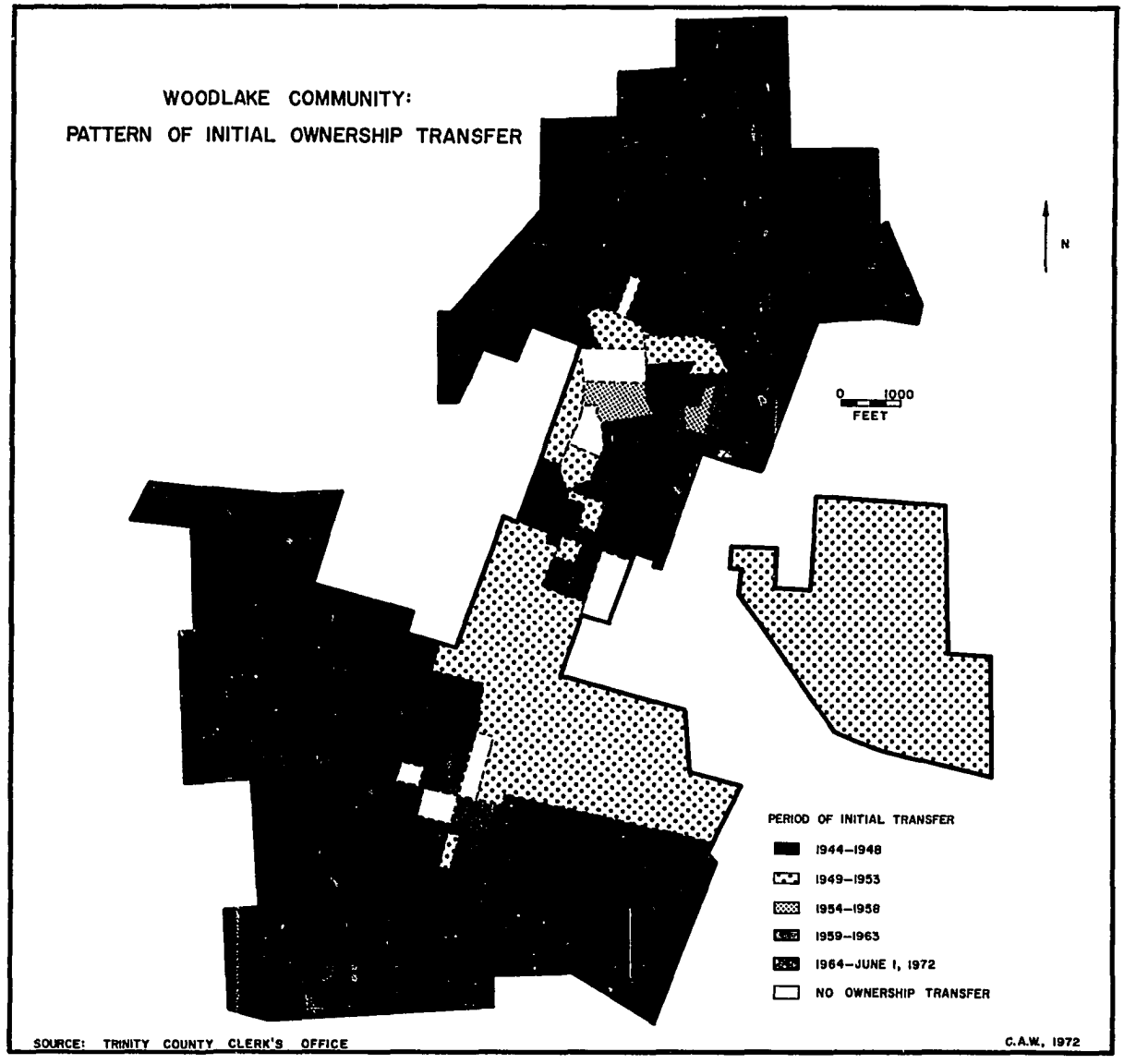
WOODLAKE COMMUNITY:
PATTERN OF INITIAL OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
N
0 1000
FEET
PERIOD OF INITIAL TRANSFER
1944–1948
1949–1953
1954–1958
1959–1963
1964–JUNE 1, 1972
NO OWNERSHIP TRANSFER
SOURCE: TRINITY COUNTY CLERK'S OFFICE
C.A.W. 1972

Figure 26

be concentrated in the southwestern section. Land adjacent to the river in the south demonstrates a higher ratio of original owners. The lack of accessibility to these lands for urban residents and the poorer quality of this land for suburban residential functions has delayed its conversion to urban residential uses. Consequently, there has been less pressure on the owners to transfer ownership.

In McLennan Farms the pressures of urbanization have again influenced those lands lying in closer proximity to the urban center. In the south, the land has a high incidence of transfer while original owners dominate in the north. Construction of major transportation arteries to Waco has also influenced the transfer of land in the southern portion of the project.

The lack of spatial correlate to the urbanization factor in Sam Houston Farms is due to the almost complete suburbanization of this project. the project has almost been totally circumscribed by the city of Houston and consequently the entire area has undergone the landscape changes associated with urbanization. As Figure 24 indicates there has been almost a complete transfer of ownership from project participants to more recent occupants.

When ownership transfers are viewed from a temporal perspective several important trends are apparent (Fig. 27). Woodlake Community again stands as a single distinctive type. In the first five years after government transfer of titles, over 70 per cent of the land was sold by the settlers. Once established this trend continued until 1953 when, because there were few original owners left, the ownership trend stabilized. At this time, only 8 per cent of the project remained in original ownership.

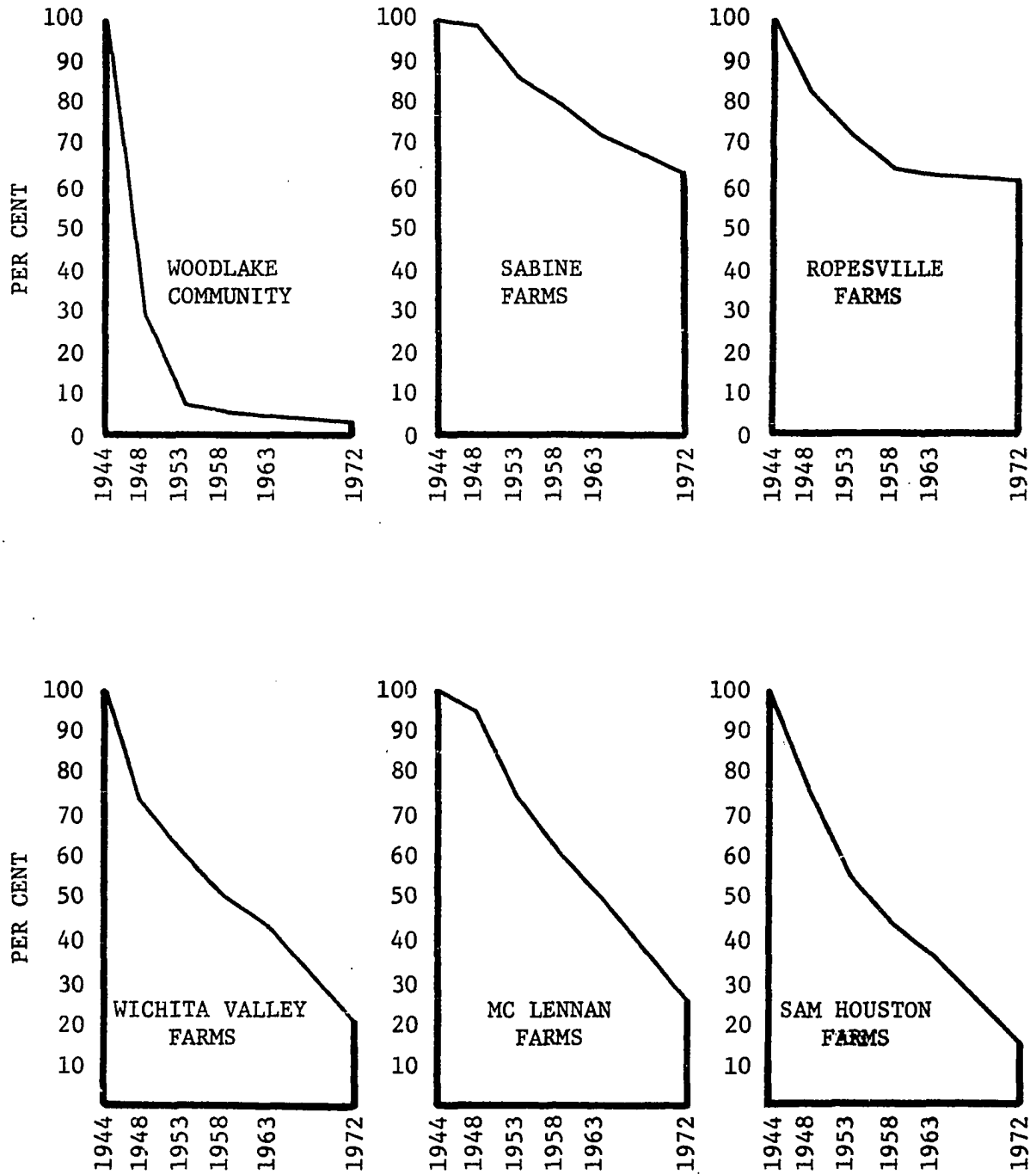

Fig. 27--Percentage of project land in original ownership: 1944-1972

In the five remaining projects there again exist two quite distinctive patterns. McLennan, Wichita Valley, and Sam Houston Farms show a steady and continuing decline in the amount of land in original ownership. While all others stabilized their ownership transfers by the last period, these three have continued a high rate of transfer. Again, urbanization is the major factor behind this temporal pattern. Recent expansion of the suburbanization of the major urban centers has caused greater stress on these urban periphial projects. It is expected that such a trend will continue and the original ownership will continue to decline.

Sabine and Ropesville Farms have not experienced the rapid change in ownership. In Ropesville Farms, an initial period of transfer occurred, but since that time the trend has stabilized, such that in the past fifteen years there has been minimal ownership change. In Sabine Farms a steady decline has existed but in this case at a low rate. Whether stabilization will occur can not be accurately predicted at this time, but it would appear that there will continue to be a high percentage of original owners in the project for the next decade.

The unique pattern of Woodlake Community deserves special attention. Woodlake represents the extreme in terms of the percentage of land remaining in original ownership and the percentage of land sold during the first ten years after federal liquidation of the projects. This is a direct result of the poor planning and organization of the project. At the outset, resettlement clients were dissatisfied with the project and many of the farms were vacant at the time of their liquidation. When the land was sold by sealed bid, land speculators purchased large tracts of land. Much of this land was immediately resold by the speculators which caused a decrease

in the amount of land in original ownership. Thus, in Woodlake, the initial planning phase and the organization of the project were the major factors leading to modification of the ownership patterns.

Landunit Size

Ownership is a property of landscape that is not readily visible, but landholding patterns are not only visible landscape attributes but they constitute an important aspect of landholding structure. Variations in size reflect differential processes and different factors and also are important in influencing subsequent land use patterns. To analyze this landholding attribute, data on landholding size were collected for the 1944 time period and the contemporary period. These data and the ratios derived from the data constitute the sources of the analyses of spatial and temporal variations in landholding size.

Landunits were sorted into size classes that range from units less than ten acres in size to those of 220 or more acres (Table V). Two classes of owners were identified for the 1972 period, original and non-original. Average size landholdings and size distribution were calculated for these two groups for purposes of comparing the effect of ownership transfer on landholding sizes.

From an analysis of the data several important patterns of landholding size were identified.

1. As a general rule, resettlement project landholdings as they were initially created were identical in size to the agricultural landholdings in the surrounding area.

A comparison of average landholding sizes illustrates that the

TABLE V

TEXAS RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES: CONTEMPORARY AND TEMPORAL PATTERNS OF LANDHOLDING SIZE, 1944 & 1972

Project	0-9.9[a]	10-69.9	70-139.9	140-219.9	220+	Ave[a]
McLennan Farms (McLennan County)						
1944						
Project			[c]58%(11)[d]	42%(8)		144
[b]County	11%	30%	30%	15%	14%	136
1972						
Original	14%(1)		57%(4)	29%(2)		114
Non-original	34%(12)	40%(14)	11%(4)	15%(5)		55
County	4%	25%	25%	11%	35%	259
Ropesville Farms (Hockley County)						
1944						
Project	4%(3)	2%(2)		56%(45)	38%(31)	206
County	1%	5%	6%	37%	51%	369
1972						
Original	2%(1)		6%(3)	50%(24)	42%(20)	208
Non-original	10%(5)	10%(5)	27%(14)	41%(21)	12%(6)	120
County	4%	4%	4%	14%	74%	552
Sabine Farms (Harrison and Panola Counties)						
1944						
Project		1%(1)	74%(56)	22%(17)	3%(2)	120
County	6%	54%	23%	9%	8%	106
1972						
Original	2%(1)	20%(11)	62%(35)	14%(8)	2%(1)	102
Non-original	20%(11)	20%(11)	47%(25)	13%(7)		75
County	2%	27%	25%	16%	30%	252

[a]Acres

[b]County data are for 1945 and 1969 and include only rural-farm landholdings.

[c]Per cent that the landholdings in each size category comprise of the total number of landholdings.

[d]Figures within parentheses are the actual number of units in each size category.

TABLE V (Continued)

TEXAS RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES: CONTEMPORARY AND TEMPORAL PATTERNS OF LANDHOLDING SIZE, 1944 & 1972

Project	0-9.9[a]	10-69.9	70-139.9	140-219.9	220+	Ave[a]
Sam Houston Farms (Harris County)						
1944						
[b]Project			[c]39%(11)[d]	61%(17)		141
[b]County	46%	28%	10%	5%	11%	120
1972						
Original	17%(2)	50%(6)	33%(4)			52
Non-original	72%(132)	22%(40)	5%(9)	1%(2)		18
County	13%	35%	18%	20%	24%	256
Wichita Valley Farms (Wichita County)						
1944						
Project	5%(5)	65%(60)	28%(26)	2%(1)		61
County	27%	23%	13%	12%	25%	236
1972						
Original	4%(1)	71%(17)	25%(6)			54
Non-original	48%(63)	41%(53)	11%(15)			25
County	5%	24%	16%	11%	44%	470
Woodlake Community (Trinity County)						
1944						
Project	69%(33)	19%(9)			12%(6)	155
County	22%	44%	21%	7%	6%	166
1972						
Original	71%(5)	29%(2)				9
Non-original	36%(28)	52%(40)	6%(5)	3%(2)	3%(2)	35
County	2%	34%	26%	15%	23%	241

[a]Acres

[b]County data are for 1945 and 1969 and include only rural-farm landholdings.

[c]Per cent that the landholdings in each size category comprise of the total number of landholdings.

[d]Figures within parentheses are the actual number of units in each size category.

original landholdings of McLennan, Sabine, and Sam Houston Farms were slightly larger than their county averages, but in each project there was a higher percentage of farms in the larger size categories than existed in the respective counties. In the three projects, only one landholding was less than seventy acres and that was the community center at Sabine Farms. Whereas in their associated counties, almost 60 per cent of the farms were less than 70 acres.

The average farm at Woodlake Community contained 155 acres while the average farm in Trinity County was 166 acres. However, averages are misleading in this instance. Most of the original landholdings at Woodlake were quite small. Almost 70 per cent of the units were subsistence plots of less than ten acres, but six tracts purchased by speculators were extremely large and one tract contained 3,842 acres. These were responsible for raising the project average to a figure near the county average.

At Ropesville and Wichita Valley Farms the average units were much smaller than the county averages. At Ropesville the average original unit was 206 acres compared to a county average of 369 acres. Yet, it is important to note that the average landholding at Ropesville Farms was more than twice the average unit of any other project. This project is located in an area of semi-arid conditions and in order to pursue agricultural activities, large landunits were a necessity. The large landholdings were created at the insistance of local advisors. Initially the government wanted to establish smaller sized units, but the local advisors exerted strong pressure to have the size increased. The resettlement agencies heeded this advice and provided the larger units. While smaller than the county average in this area, county averages are affected by a skewed

distribution for the major commercial agricultural activities are large ranches and grain farms.

The greatest differences between the size of project farms and county averages was in Wichita Valley Farms. The project landholdings averaged 61 acres, while in Wichita County the average was 236 acres. The difference was again a function of basic differences between the agricultural systems of the resettlement community and the general area. The project was comprised of irrigated farms that relied on mixed farming as a source of livelihood. Irrigated hay, cotton, and feed crops were grown for sale as well as feeding livestock. County farms were either larger, non-irrigated commercial grain farms or livestock ranches. Over 65 per cent of the project farms were between 10 and 75 acres but only 23 per cent of the county farms were in the same size category.

2. Reduction in size of project landholdings.

The most striking change that took place in the landholding patterns between the time of liquidation and the contemporary period is the reduction in the size of the landholdings. This reduction is linked to pressures on the land resulting from increases in the number of settlers in the project areas. For example, in 1944 there were only 344 land owners on all the projects, but on June 1, 1972 there were 685 individual land owners of the six New Deal rural resettlement communities. Given a set amount of land, the doubling of population has the obvious effect or reducing the size of land per resident.

The degree to which subdivision occurred is best illustrated by the units of less than ten acres in size (Table V). Units of this size are generally too small to be economically farmed and are used primarily for

residential purposes. In 1944 there were only 41 original units of less than 10 acres and 33 of these were located at Woodlake Community. By mid-1972 the number increased to 262 of which 134 were located at Sam Houston Farms. There was no increase in this size category at Woodlake and it continued to have thirty-three units of less than ten acres.

A large increase in the number of units in the size category of ten to seventy acres also occurred. Originally only seventy-two landholdings were in this category and sixty were irrigated units at Wichita Valley Farms. Today 199 homesteads are of this dimension, a size that is not used extensively for commercial agriculture. Some of these units are still irrigated farms at Wichita Valley Farms but most are used to provide forage for a few cattle or remain idle with no apparent agricultural use.

These reductions in size have not been uniformally distributed over the six communities. Variations exist and most of these appear to be a function of the urban influence or size of the original landunits.

McLennan, Sam Houston, and Wichita Valley Farms, the three with similar ownership traits, experienced the largest increments in the smaller units. Collectively, they originally contained only five units of less that ten acres. However, presently they have 211 units less than ten acres and most of these are less than two acres.

Ropesville and Sabine Farms have not experienced the subdivision of land and the subsequent proliferation of small landholdings. The two contained only three landholdings of less than ten acres in 1944. Today this has increased to only eighteen of which twelve are at Sabine Farms. The relative absence of subdivision at Ropesville and Sabine Farms is due in part to the absence of a large influx of people desiring to live in the

area. Neither is under an urban sphere that dominates the rural countryside. Also, in the case of Ropesville, the original farms were large enough to support an agricultural enterprise. This has continued through the present. This continued reliance on agriculture is an anomalous trend for the six projects.

3. Disparagement in landholding size between original and non-original project residents.

The most striking contrast on the contemporary landscape is the difference in the size of landholdings between the original members and later residents. Original settlers own units that average 120 acres while later residents have units averaging only 40 acres. Table V illustrates the situation for each project.

This contrast in size is primarily the result of the predominance of holdings of less that ten acres for the recent residents. As Figure 28 illustrates, the major difference between the percentage of land held by size category is in the smallest groups. As the size categories increase the percentage is weighted towards the original settlers. In the three larger size categories (> 70 acres), the percentages are positive. The trend illustrated in Figure 28 indicates that when all projects are considered, original settlers possess larger landholdings than non-original individuals. When individual projects are analyzed the same trend exists, with one exception.

Woodlake Community is the only project where the average landholdings owned by original settlers are smaller than those titles by non-original settlers. The original settler at Woodlake Community averages nine acres

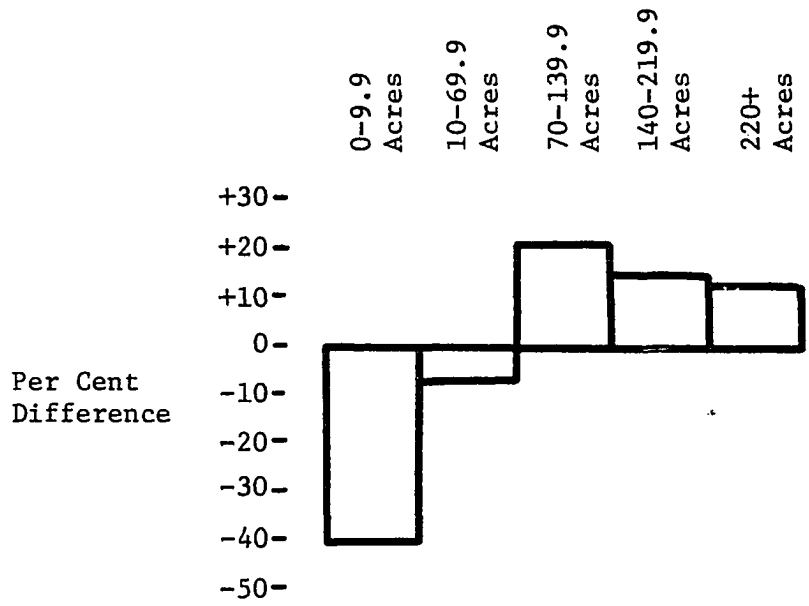

Fig. 28--Per cent difference in the total original and non-original landholdings by size categories. Percentages were computed to show what per cent of the total original and non-original landholdings were in each size category. The percentage owned by non-original individuals was subtracted from the percentage owned by originalsettlers. A negative percentage indicates that a higher per cent of the total non-original owners possess units within the size category than do original owners. A positive percentage indicates that a higher per cent of the total original settlers own units within the size category.

for his unit compared to thirty-five for the other landholders. This anomaly results from the initial organization of the project and the land dispersement policy of 1944. Almost 70 per cent of the original owners purchased subsistence plots of less than ten acres. The number of landholdings in this size category have remained the same but the fifteen units larger than ten acres that were purchased by original settlers have been subdivided into forty-nine landholdings of ten or more acres. Thus, while 74 per cent of the contemporary non-original owners have ten or more acres, over 71 per cent of the original owners

have less than ten acres.

4. Similar distributions of landholding sizes between the original and contemporary original owners.

Comparisons show that there was little change in each size category between the percentage distribution of the contemporary original owners and the original owners (Table VI). Approximately the same percentage of contemporary original owners have landholdings in each size category as did the original owners. This infers that the size distributional patterns established by the resettlement agencies were maintained by the original settlers.

TABLE VI

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ORIGINAL UNITS BY LANDHOLDING SIZE, 1944 & 1972

		0-9.9[a]	10-69.9	70-139.9	140-219.9	220+
Original	1944	11.6%	20.9%	30.2%	25.6%	11.7%
Original	1972	7.2%	23.4%	33.8%	22.0%	13.6%

[a]Acres

Source: Compiled by author from Table V.

Sam Houston Farms did not follow this general trend. Originally all of its landholdings were from 70 to 220 acres. Today only 33 per cent of the remaining owners have landholdings in these size categories, and all other original owners have units smaller than seventy acres. This is a result of original owners selling portions of their land in response to the elements of change that were mentioned in the previous section on the

changing landscape. The primary factor of change was the urban influence of Baytown and Houston. The project lands were subdivided and the original settlers often retained only residential plots or landholdings that were smaller than their original farms.

Property Lines

Averaging changes in property line configurations is another procedure for documenting landholding modifications. Property line modification can result from either size changes or changes in the shape of landholdings.

Changes in land ownership resulted in the creation of smaller land-units. This subdivision into smaller units created an increase in the number and length of property lines. Because of the increase in total property lines, original lines no longer are the only means of dividing property (Table VII). However, the striking statistic is that they compose

TABLE VII

TEXAS RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES:
PROJECT PROPERTY LINE MODIFICATIONS

Project	% Of Original Lines[a] Still In Use	% Of Contemporary Lines[a] That Are Original
McLennan Farms	97.3	76.0
Ropesville Farms	96.3	94.5
Sabine Farms	99.2	91.5
Sam Houston Farms	93.7	48.0
Wichita Valley Farms	96.1	82.0
Woodlake Community	95.0	67.3
Totals	96.6	78.2

[a]Based on linear measures.

Source: Compiled by author from County Record Books.

78 per cent of all contemporary boundary lines. Thus, over three-fourths of the contemporary property lines were established by the government and still stand as dividors of occupancy patterns.

As would be expected, Sam Houston Farms experienced the greatest change and Ropesville Farms the least. Yet, the important consideration is that in projects like Wichita Valley and McLennan Farms where there have been large increments in owners and subdivision of land into smaller plots, the original property lines continue to stand as the dominant markers of ownership. They appear as one of the more resilient landholding properties. Where all other landholdings properties are homogenized under modern processes, it would appear that the imprint of man and his government, sketched on the landscape by property lines, will continue.

Summary Of Landholding Characteristics

The unifying factor throughout the discussion of the landholding characteristics of original and contemporary owners is the large amount of subdivision that occurred. It is this process that links contemporary to past landscape and ties causal factors to landscape modifications. The effects of this process are imprinted on the contemporary landholding pattern in many ways - size, ownership, and property configuration. As would be expected, the landholding changes tied to this process have significant ramifications on other landscape elements.

Residential Structures

The extent to which residential structures change is a direct response to the changing needs of man. These alterations are evident in the

six resettlement communities both in terms of the number of dwellings added to the original cultural landscape and in the modification of many original dwellings. The process most responsible for these changes is subdivision of the project lands and the primary cause of this subdivision is urbanization.

As the land owners on the resettlement projects increased from 344 in 1944 to 685 in mid-1972, the number of dwellings also changed. In 1944 there were 321 project dwellings, today there are 622 homes on the resettlement projects (Table VIII).

TABLE VIII

TEXAS RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES:
STABILITY OF DWELLINGS

Project	Original Homes	New Homes	Original As A % Of All Homes	% Of Rural Homes In County Built In 1939 Or Earlier
McLennan Farms	0[a]	30	0.0	46.5
Ropesville Farms	53	48	52.5	30.1
Sabine Farms	63	30	67.7	30.0
Sam Houston Farms	20	149	11.8	11.3
Wichita Valley Farms	81	90	47.4	37.7
Woodlake Community	39	19	67.2	38.2
Totals	256	366	41.2	24.9

[a]None were originally constructed by the resettlement agencies.

Source: Compiled by author from field observations and U.S., Bureau of the Census, Census of Housing: 1970 Detailed Housing Characteristics, Final Report HC (1) B-45 Texas, 462, 449, 480, 484.

The number of original homes still occupied constitutes a sizeable proportion of the existing occupancy structures. For the five communities

that had living quarters provided, original homes (256) still occupied comprise 41 per cent of the total contemporary homes. This retention percentage is much higher that the county average for homes built prior to 1939, which is when all the resettlement structures were initially built. The figures attest that in terms of dwellings the projects as a whole have provided greater resilience to the cultural landscape than is found in the surrounding areas.

Again, it must be stressed that there exist several important deviations from this general trend. Sam Houston Farms is the most extreme case. Original dwellings constitute only 11.8 per cent of the contemporary dwellings, the only percentage less than the surrounding county's. When this project's contribution is removed from the total, the average for the four remaining projects jumps to 55 per cent, i.e., well over half the dwellings trace their origin to the government resettlement programs.

The reason for Sam Houston Farms' extremely low value is readily apparent. Its adjacent location to the Houston city limits has meant a massive influx of new people, and the construction of residences for this influx drastically lowered the proportion mentioned in Table VIII. Despite this dilution of past landscapes by suburbanization, when viewed from a different perspective, Sam Houston Farms' residential structures show a resistance to change. Over 82 per cent of the homes initially built by the government are still being used as places of residency (Table IX).

The average per cent of original dwellings still being occupied (82.3) reinforces previous statements about the degree of permanency ascribed to the settlement landscape by the federal government's programs. A comparison of Tables VIII and IX gives one some idea of the factors influencing this

TABLE IX

TEXAS RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES: PERCENTAGE OF ORIGINAL DWELLINGS OCCUPIED, 1972

Project	% Of Homes
McLennan Farms	0.0[a]
Ropesville Farms	68.8
Sabine Farms	84.0
Sam Houston Farms	71.4
Wichita Valley Farms	89.1
Woodlake Community	76.5
Totals	82.3

[a] None were originally constructed by the resettlement agencies.

Source: Compiled by author from personal interviews and field observations.

trend.

Ropesville stands as an interesting case. When landholding characteristics were analyzed this project was consistently near the top in terms of permanency of original landholding characteristics. Yet, in terms of dwellings, it ranked lowest or below average in degree of permanency. The reasons for this interesting dichotomy are integrated with the factor of modernization as it was previously defined. The lower percentage for structures is due primarily to the success that the project residents have enjoyed in agriculture. Excellent planning by the local resettlement committee led to the establishment of large individual landunits that have continued to be viable agricultural units. Farmers have been able to either improve and enlarge their original houses or to replace them with larger, more

modern structures. Consequently, original units do not represent the proportion one would expect given all the other cultural landscape traits exhibited by this project.

Sabine and Wichita Valley Farms constitute an interesting couple because while they have similar patterns in dwelling histories, they differ in most other measures of landscape. Here then is a good example of landscape change model B, differing factors - same process - same landscape patterns (Fig. 12B). In Wichita Valley Farms many original homes are now occupied by refugees from the Wichita Falls urban core. Wichita Valley Farms is not an affluent suburb of Wichita Falls. The residents constitute the blue-collar sector of the labor force. New homes were not deemed essential by the exurbanities or, more typically, new homes were too costly. Consequently, the dwellings constructed for the project were a suitable alternative for this group of residents. The transfer from rural to urban has caused changes in a number of elements, e.g., ownership, but in terms of dwellings the transition has not been an important initiator of landscape change.

Sabine Farms has not been influenced by urban sprawl, but the per cent of original homes still occupied is almost as high as Wichita Valley Farms. In fact, in most of the landscape traits analyzed in this study Sabine Farms represents a project in which past landscapes are slow to be modified and ameliorated into new complexes. The absence of certain factors, particularly urbanization, has been important, but the initial care in planning and attitude of the project member to "make a go of it" seems to be critical to the permanency of the project's landscape. The fact that

this was the only project for minority groups appears to be important to the history of Sabine Farms. An internal cohesiveness that has continued through to the present has been the catalyst that has tied together man and his landscape through the past thirty years and created a landscape that strongly reflects the government's efforts to alleviate rural poverty in the depression years.

The dwellings constructed by the resettlement agencies remain as visual reminders of the federal government's first feeble attempts at solving the rural poverty problem. More than any other landscape element, dwellings stand as linkages to the past. Approximately two out of every five contemporary homes are original resettlement dwellings and over three-fourths of the original dwellings are still occupied. Though one may question whether the government's attempts at eliminating poverty were successful, it is apparent that residences constructed during the programs have been and continue to be important elements of the housing landscape in five areas of Texas.

Contemporary Transportation Networks

Transportation networks represent the last landscape element to be examined. Its inclusion is based on the importance of such networks in integrating the spatially dispersed members of the projects. It is the connecting fiber of the project, that which permits and facilitates interaction. This might suggest that as with any system, if any of its components change the interaction must also be modified. As visible channels of this interaction, it is felt that transportation lines would be a sensitive

barometer of landscape changes and be related to other landscape alterations.

Alterations of the transportation network that existed in 1944 are a result of the construction of new roads, improvement of existing roads, and road abandonment. These changes reflect man's attempts to alter interaction networks in order to fit current attitudes and preferences.

Several important aspects of the transportation networks of each project are illustrated in Table X. Comparisons are made between the original project roads and those built either prior to the resettlement programs or since their completion. Original project roads are those built by the various resettlement agencies and were in existence in 1944. By comparing the project roads to the total road system that existed in 1944, a ratio was established between the project roads and the total road system. A ratio between the total road net and the contemporary net gives the percentage of the contemporary road system that was in existence in 1944. A

TABLE X

TEXAS RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES: TRANSPORTATION NETWORK INDICES OF MODIFICATION, 1944-1972

Project	Project 1944 / Total 1944	Project 1972 / Total 1972	Total 1944 / Total 1972	Project 1972 / Project 1944
McLennan Farms	41.9%	24.5%	58.4%	100.0%
Ropesville Farms	90.2	80.5	91.7	97.2
Sabine Farms	73.8	60.0	94.5	86.8
Sam Houston Farms	70.4	47.5	67.5	100.0
Wichita Valley Farms	66.9	59.5	92.8	96.1
Woodlake Community	89.8	87.3	118.9	82.1
Totals	77.8%	64.1%	89.5%	92.6%

Source: Compiled by author from field observations and Texas Highway Department county records.

ratio of the original project roads to the contemporary project roads reveals the percentage of the original roads that are still being used.

In 1944 approximately 78 per cent of the roads in operation at that time were built by the resettlement agencies. Thus, one can conclude that the resettlement programs greatly modified, in this case upgraded, the transportation net that existed prior to the construction of the projects. Today, 90 per cent of the roads in existence, also existed in 1944. Thus, there has been less of a change in the transportation net since 1944 than was originally initiated by the resettlement agencies.

The project plans set the pattern for roads that has continued to the present. The fact that 64 per cent of the contemporary roads were originally built by the resettlement agencies attests to the impact of the project roads on the contemporary road system. While some of these roads have been improved in some manner, their location and network connectivity was placed on the landscape by the government programs.

Even when viewed from a slightly different perspective, the same conclusions are found. For example, 93 per cent of the original project roads are still used. This coupled with the other percentages identifies the processes associated with transportation changes. There has been very little abandonment of the original roads. The basic change has been one of addition rather than a reduction of the road system.

Variations in the transportation networks of the six New Deal rural resettlement communities are most notable in the percentage that original project roads comprise of the total contemporary road network. McLennan (25%), Sam Houston (48%), and Wichita Valley Farms (60%) have the lowest

percentages. These three projects have experienced substantial road construction since 1944. This new road construction is associated with an increase in the number of land owners and residential homes which is a direct result of urbanization.

Since 1944 McLennan Farms experienced the greatest percentage increase in total roads. This is primarily due to the construction of three new bridges across the Brazos and Bosque Rivers which greatly improved access to Waco and provided a better transportation system through the project (Fig. 15).

Another important area of project variability is in the percentage of the original project roads that are still in use. At both McLennan and Sam Houston Farms, 100 per cent of the original project roads are still used. This contrast with only 82 per cent at Woodlake Community.

The fact that all of the original roads are still used at McLennan and Sam Houston Farms is explained in part by the amount of new road construction that has occurred. Both projects have undergone substantial growth in terms of people, households, and owners, consequently the length of their road networks has been adjusted accordingly. With this demand for new transportation facilities and better linkages, it was very unlikely that any existing roads would be abandoned.

Both on a percentage and mileage basis, Woodlake Community has the greatest amount of road abandonment. The abandonment is attributed to the absence of population growth and to the manner by which the original project lands were liquidated. Today, there are only fifty-eight homes on the entire project compared with forty-eight at the time of liquidation in 1944.

In comparison to other projects, this growth is significantly below that of any other project (Table VIII).

Also, Woodlake Community was liquidated by the use of sealed bids and land speculators purchased large tracts of land. Existing project roads were often completely enclosed by the purchases of one individual. When this occurred the roads were no longer subject to maintenance by governmental agencies, and if not maintained by the owner, they were allowed to slip into a state of disrepair and abandonment. This caused a decrease in the amount of original road mileage, and Woodlake Community is the only project with a smaller total contemporary road network than the road net that existed in 1944.

The impact of the transportation system established by the resettlement agencies is readily visible on the contemporary cultural landscape. Approximately 90 per cent of the contemporary road network existed in 1944 and the majority of the 1944 network was constructed by the resettlement agencies. Alterations in the transportation network that existed in 1944 have been aimed at improving and enlarging the network with very little abandonment of existing roads.

Summary Of Patterns Of Landscape Change

The causal factors responsible for changes in the cultural landscape patterns have produced several processes that have altered the original patterns of landholdings, residential structures, and transportation networks. An increase in the number of project owners from 344 in 1944 to 685 in 1972 and the concomitant increase in dwellings (321-622) is the most important factor causing landscape change in resettlement projects.

Its ramifications are apparent in many landscape traits.

Yet, even when the changes initiated by the growth dimension and other factors were considered, original resettlement characteristics were still very evident. In mid-1972, 41 per cent of the contemporary homes were original resettlement dwellings, and 90 per cent of the contemporary road network existed in 1944.

When an analysis is made of the original resettlement characteristics still existing on the six projects, patterns of change become evident. Certain landscape alterations appear to be associated with changes occurring in the patterns of other elements. In order to determine if alterations in the cultural landscape patterns of one element are directly associated with changes in other elements, rank order correlation was used. Certain significant elements of the cultural landscape were used to rank the six projects based on the degree to which they had retained their original resettlement characteristics (Table XI). Highest rankings were given to projects that had undergone the least change from the original and were most like the landscapes created by the federal resettlement programs.

Spearman's $\bar{R}$ho was used to test the correlation between the individual rankings and several important findings were noted (Table XII).

High positive correlation (+.83) was found to exist between the percentage of the projects remaining in original ownership and the per cent of decrease in average size between original and contemporary landholdings. Correlation of +.83 also existed between ownership and per cent of the contemporary property lines that are original markers of land division. In turn, the per cent of decrease in average size between original and

TABLE XI

TEXAS RURAL RESETTLEMENT COMMUNITIES: RANK ORDERED BY PERMANENCY OF LANDSCAPE

Project	Roads[a]	Property Lines[b]	Ownership[c]	Homes[d]	Unit Size[e]	Homes In Use[f]	Decrease In Unit Size[g]
McLennan	6	4	3	0[h]	3	0[h]	4
Ropesville	4	1	2	3	1	5	1
Sabine	2	2	1	1	5	2	2
Sam Houston	5	6	5	5	4	4	6
Wichita Valley	3	3	4	4	6	1	3
Woodlake	1	5	6	2	2	3	5

[a]Per cent of contemporary road network that existed in 1944.

[b]Per cent of contemporary property lines that are original.

[c]Per cent of project land in original ownership.

[d]Per cent of contemporary homes that are original.

[e]Average size of original landholdings.

[f]Per cent of original homes still occupied.

[g]Per cent of decrease in average size between original and contemporary landholdings.

[h]No original homes were constructed.

Source: Compiled by author from Tables III-X.

contemporary landholdings demonstrated a perfect positive correlation (+1.0) with per cent of contemporary property lines that are original.

The elements measured in these three correlations are very closely associated with each other. Generally, a decrease in the amount of land in original ownership results in subdivision with an increase in the

TABLE XII

SPEARMAN CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS
OF LANDSCAPE PERMANENCY

	Roads	Property Lines	Owner-ship	Homes	Unit Size	Homes In Use	Decreased Unit Size
Roads	+1.0	+.14	-.14	+.80	-.09	+.50	+.14
Property Lines		+1.0	+.83	+.50	+.09	-.10	+1.0
Ownership			+1.0	+.40	-.09	+.10	+.83
Homes				+1.0	+.10	+.20	+.50
Unit Size					+1.0	-.90	+.09
Homes In Use						+1.0	-.10
Decreased Unit Size							+1.0

Source: Compiled by author from Table XI.

number of owners and a decrease in the average landholding size. As the number of landholdings increases, so do the number and length of property lines. An increase in property lines decreases the percentage that original property lines comprise of the newer property dividers. Due to these close associations, measures of change in one of these elements could possibly be used to predict changes in the two other elements.

A high positive correlation (+.80) was found between the per cent of the contemporary homes that are original and the per cent of the contemporary road network that existed in 1944. This correlation illustrates that projects with little new road construction have not experienced substantial new home construction. This is directly related to the process of subdivision, as projects that have experienced limited subdivision

have built few new roads and constructed few new homes. Also, it documents the linkage between transportation networks and landscape system components as suggested previously.

Correlation of +.50 existed between per cent of the contemporary homes that are original and per cent of decrease in average size between original and contemporary landholdings. Decreases in the average size of landholdings result from an increased number of land owners. These new land owners usually construct residential structures. As the number of homes increases, the percentage that original dwellings comprise of the total contemporary homes decreases. The lack of a higher correlation between these two is partially due to Ropesville Farms and Woodlake Community. Ropesville experienced the least decrease in average unit size, but due to success as an agricultural project, its residents have replaced several original homes with newer, more modern structures which lowers its ranking in original dwellings to third. Woodlake, due to its six large original landunits, experienced a great decrease in average unit size but retained a high ranking in original dwellings.

It was thought that high positive correlations would exist between the percentage of the projects remaining in original ownership and both per cent of the contemporary homes that are original and average size of the original landholdings. The correlation between ownership and homes (+.40) was again affected by one project, Woodlake. Woodlake ranks last in original ownership but second in per cent of the contemporary homes that are original. This is the result of poor planning in the disbursement of Woodlake and the great amount of ownership transfer that occurred within

the first five years.

The absence of a positive correlation between ownership and original unit size (-.09) can be attributed to the rankings of Woodlake and Sabine Farms. Woodlake ranks last in original ownership and second in average unit size. Land speculators were responsible for both the large average unit size and low ranking in original ownership. Sabine Farms has retained the highest percentage of its land in original ownership but contained next to the smallest average sized original landunits. Strong organization and proper planning are responsible for the high ownership ranking.

The only significant negative correlation (-.90) exists between the average size of the original units and the per cent of original homes that are still occupied. This implies that projects with large original units have not maintained as high a percentage of their original homes as projects with smaller land units. Although no rankings were identical, Ropesville and Wichita Valley Farms are most responsible for this correlation. Ropesville contained the largest original units, but today, it has the lowest percentage (68.8%) of original homes still occupied. As previously mentioned, this is due to the agricultural viability of Ropesville Farms. Wichita Valley Farms possessed the smallest original landholdings but has retained the highest percentage (89.1%) of its original dwellings. This high retention of original homes has been attributed to their use as residences for urban workers from nearby Wichita Falls.

The most important fact that continues to reappear in a comparison of the project rankings and in the previous analysis is the dominance of subdivision as a spatial organization process. Here the process is

primarily related to the influence of urbanization as a causal factor of changing landscapes.

Social Impact Of The Resettlement Communities

Although the social aspect of the resettlement projects was not considered a major focus of the research efforts, a brief discussion of this aspect is included. For in addition to the impact that the resettlement communities have had on the cultural landscape, they have also had an influence on the resettlement families who moved onto the projects, as well as residents of the surrounding areas. Many of the resettlement clients had been tenant farmers with little hope of becoming land owners. The resettlement programs offered them an opportunity to shed the yoke of tenancy and become owners of their own farms. Whether this opportunity in fact existed and whether it was so perceived by the residents is important to the effect of the program both on people and landscapes.

Two facets of the social aspect are important: (1) the individual and his attitudes, and (2) the creation of organizations, either formal or informal. From a personal perspective one only has comments from existing original project members and historical accounts on which to make judgements. Residents interviewed were adament in their praise of the projects and the benefits which accrued to the individual from the programs. The following statements represent a sample of such expressions.

"I came here with a team of horses and a family. Now I own over 300 acres and I've put all my kids through school. If I hadn't moved to this project, I would probably still be a poor tenant farmer and live

in a shack."[1] "If you came here and worked hard, you could make a good living. As a Negro tenant farmer, I was about to starve to death. The government gave me a chance to make a living."[2] "It gave us a start when things really looked hopeless."[3] "This was the most wonderful program the government ever had, it gave me a tremendous opportunity."[4]

From the broader organizational perspective, there is evidence that the government's attempt to create a cohesive community spirit was successful in several projects. Many of the larger community buildings constructed in some of the communities are still being used either by people living on the projects or by people from the surrounding areas. The Woodlake Trading Post still functions as a combination grocery-post office-service station, but the original community house has been converted into a large two-story home. The rock school buildings have been purchased by a religious group and a large encampment was constructed that serves much of eastern Texas.

At Ropesville Farms, the community house was sold in the late 1940's and moved to the nearby town of Ropesville where it serves as the recreation center for Ropesville's social activities. The cotton co-op and its gin are no longer owned by settlers of Ropesville Farms. The co-op has ceased

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[1]Personal Interview with Mr. Clifford Bond, an original settler, Ropesville, Texas, June 9, 1972.

[2]Personal Interview with Mr. Norman Fields, an original settler, Marshall, Texas, June 16, 1972.

[3]Personal Interview with Mrs. John Santava, an original settler, Baytown, Texas, July 26, 1972.

[4]Personal Interview with Mr. James C. Davenport, an original settler, Waco, Texas, July 28, 1972.

to exist but the gin is still in operation.

Among the original Negro settlers of Sabine Farms, there remains a strong attachment to the resettlement project. They take great pride in maintaining the community buildings and in gathering for various community meetings and programs (Fig. 29).



Fig. 29--One of the community buildings at Sabine Farms, note how well the building is maintained.

A very loosely knit agricultural co-op, organized during the resettlement period, still functions and serves as a means of marketing fresh vegetables. One can only speculate because of the absence of reliable data, but it would appear that this tie to tradition is related to this project's maintenance of a cultural landscape that strongly reflects the resettlement landscape of the early 1940's.

The residents of Wichita Valley Farms have also attempted to retain some of the feelings associated with the resettlement programs. In order

to visit with their friends and promote a feeling of pride in the community, each November the original settlers sponsor a community-wide picnic at the community house. The community house remains as the largest structure on the project and is used as the meeting place for various community groups (Fig. 30).



Fig. 30--The Wichita Valley Farms Community House is still the largest structure to be found on the project and is used for community meetings.

In projects like Sam Houston and McLennan Farms a link to the past is absent. Too many many residents who have no linkage to the past live here for a community based on tradition to exist. In these projects not only have visible landscape elements been obliterated by modern growth, but the feeling of community that was planned as the cementing force for success has been lost in the transition from rural to urban and past to present.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE

The Research Problem

In the mid-1930's, the federal government attempted to alleviate the financial and social hardships that had oppressed many individuals during the depression years by a series of "New Deal" programs. A major focus of this effort was the creation of several agencies whose primary purposes were to aid destitute people. Several of the agencies were concerned with the resettlement of individuals into newly constructed communities in the hopes that such settlings would raise their living standards. These resettlement communities varied in purpose and pattern and involved unemployed coal miners, industrial workers, part-time farmers, and tenant farmers. The resettlement of people with agricultural backgrounds, primarily tenant farmers, onto individual farms was but one small program of these agencies. These individual farms were usually groups of contiguous plots that were organized into rural communities.

In Texas the resettlement agencies created six rural resettlement communities. The landscapes created by these resettlement communities differed greatly from those that existed prior to the resettlement programs. The objective of this study was to determine if the landscape attributes created in Texas by the government programs were still prominent on the present landscapes of the areas. The analysis of these landscape patterns

is the focus of the basic research question, "What has been the impact of the New Deal rural resettlement projects on the contemporary landscape patterns of Texas?"

For this problem, two general hypotheses were presented.

1. The ownership patterns, transportation networks, and dwellings established by New Deal rural resettlement in Texas are still prominent elements of the contemporary landscape.

2. There are variations among the New Deal rural resettlement projects as to their impact on the contemporary landscape patterns.

The first hypothesis is concerned with the impact that the federal government's resettlement programs has had on the contemporary landscape and involves temporal comparisons between the original project attributes and the contemporary. The second hypothesis deals with variations that exist among the projects as to their impact on the contemporary landscape patterns and necessitates a search for the causal factors and resultant processes of change that are responsible for these variations.

Conclusions

Several comparisons were made between the original landscape patterns established by the resettlement agencies and the contemporary landscape patterns that have evolved on each project. Data from these temporal landscape slices were used to analyze the supportive hypotheses.

From the analyses one could conclude that land division patterns originally established by the resettlement agencies have remained as visible elements of the contemporary landscape. For example, over 96 per cent of the original property lines are still in use, and 78 per cent of the contemporary property lines existed in 1944. Since over three-fourths of the

contemporary property lines owe their existence to the original project divisions, this attests to the strong impact that resettlement has had on the contemporary pattern of landholdings.

Most residential structures built by the resettlement agencies have remained as dominant elements of the contemporary landscape. Though new homes have been constructed, 41 per cent of the contemporary dwellings date from the resettlement period. In addition, 82 per cent of the original resettlement homes are still occupied. Such a high occupancy rate and percentage of contemporary dwellings leads one to conclude that resettlement dwellings have continued to be significant elements of the contemporary landscape.

The transportation networks established by resettlement agencies have remained as the core of the contemporary transportation system. Of the total network in existence in 1944, 78 per cent was planned and constructed by the resettlement agencies. The elements of the 1944 network still compose 90 per cent of the contemporary transportation network. These figures leave little doubt that the transportation networks initiated by resettlement have remained as dominant parts of the present day transportation patterns.

Land ownership, another significant element of a cultural landscape, also reflects the permanency of the resettlement programs. While some project lands have passed from original project owners, 41 per cent of the total land remains in original ownership and 45 per cent of the original settlers or their descendants still own land. Both figures again attest to a high degree of permanency since almost thirty years have passed between the time that the settlers received titles to their land and the

present.

Thus the data presented have led to an acceptance of hypothesis one. The ownership patterns, transportation networks, and dwellings established by New Deal rural resettlement in Texas are prominent elements of the contemporary landscape.

Though the data support the research hypothesis concerned with the impact of resettlement programs on the contemporary landscape, several important landscape variations exist among the six communities. These variations are a result of the six causal factors that are most responsible for initiating and directing the major processes associated with landscape change: (1) life cycle, (2) loan repayment provisions, (3) project organization and land speculation, (4) urbanization, (5) modernization, and (6) economies of maintenance. These factors, operating both in conjunction with one another and alone, have been responsible for several major processes of landscape change: (1) subdivision of project landholdings, (2) new settling, (3) modification of original residential structures, (4) additions to the transportation networks, and (5) abandonment of the transportation network. Collectively, these processes have altered the original projects in varying degrees and created new cultural landscape patterns.

Three of the aforementioned causal factors have exerted more of an influence on the contemporary landscape patterns than the others. These are urbanization, size of the original landunits, and project planning and organization.

As a causal factor, urbanization has been the most important instigator of landscape change. The influence of urbanization proved to be

more significant than any other factor in the three projects situated adjacent to urban centers. Urbanization caused subdivision of the project lands. The impact of this on the resettlement projects was a large influx of new residents, fewer original owners, a larger transportation network, and with the construction of new homes, resettlement dwellings becoming less important elements of the landscape. The net results of this impact were projects that exhibited fewer original resettlement characteristics than those located in more rural environments.

Projects with large individual landunits have retained a higher percentage of land in original ownership than projects with smaller landholdings. This strongly suggests that viability in agricultural pursuits governs the amount of permanency that exists in the projects. Although this was true in terms of ownership, it was not true in residential structures. The project with the largest original landunits has the lowest percentage of its original dwellings still occupied. This anomaly is explained by the high degree of agricultural success that the project has enjoyed and consequently, the replacement of original dwellings with newer, more modern structures.

Proper planning in the initiation and development of resettlement communities greatly influenced the later success of the projects. The one project in which planning and organization were inadequate has experienced the greatest decline in the percentage of land remaining in original ownership. In contrast to this, the only project designed for a minority group was well planned, and today, in terms of resettlement impact on the contemporary landscape, it consistently ranks near the top.

Thus hypothesis two, dealing with variation among the projects as

to their impact on the contemporary landscape patterns, is also accepted. This acceptance is based on the data presented which show that the original projects have not been uniform in their impact on the contemporary landscape.

The data presented in this study and the resultant conclusions illustrate that the establishment of certain landscape elements by the federal government through rural resettlement communities has created lasting cultural landscape patterns. The communities have retained many of their original characteristics which attests to the permanency and success of New Deal rural resettlement in Texas.

Projections

No hypothesis was stated pertaining to co-variance in the permanency of original resettlement characteristics, but co-variance did in fact exist. Rank order correlation was used to demonstrate these co-variances.

High positive correlations were found between the percentage of the projects remaining in original ownership and both the per cent of decrease in average size between original and contemporary landholdings and the per cent of the contemporary property lines that are original markers of land division. Positive correlation also existed between original ownership and per cent of the contemporary homes that are original. A perfect positive correlation was found between the per cent of decrease in average size between original and contemporary landholdings and per cent of the contemporary property lines that are original.

Additional positive correlations existed between the per cent of the contemporary homes that are original and both the per cent of the

contemporary road network that existed in 1944 and per cent of decrease in average size between original and contemporary landholdings.

These correlations may be used to make several generalized statements about the co-variance of resettlement characteristics.

1. Projects with a high percentage of their land remaining in original ownership have experienced limited construction of new homes and original resettlement dwellings continue to comprise a high percentage of the total contemporary homes.

2. As the amount of project land in original ownership decreases, the number of land owners increases, subdivision occurs, and resettlement homes comprise a smaller percentage of the total contemporary homes.

3. An increase in the number of land owners and residential structures is accompanied by changes in the transportation systems as the original transportation network becomes only the core of the contemporary road network.

On the basis of the analysis of landscape variables, several conclusions about the future of the New Deal rural resettlement communities in Texas can be made. McLennan, Sam Houston, and Wichita Valley Farms will continue to be influenced by their respective urban centers. The effect of this urban influence will be a decrease of land in original ownership, an increased number of land owners, subdivision of project lands, more new homes, and modifications of the existing transportation system. The sum total of these will eventually diminish or even totally obliterate any landscape elements ascribed to New Deal resettlement.

Ropesville Farms will continue as an agricultural community and retain a high percentage of its land in original ownership. Resettlement

dwellings may be replaced with newer homes but original structures will continue to comprise a high percentage of the total contemporary homes.

Woodlake Community will probably retain its status as a residential location for individuals who obtain their living from outside the community. since such a low percentage of the project remains in original ownership, it is doubtful that any major ownership changes will occur.

Since Sabine Farms has retained the highest percentage of its land in original ownership and many of the original resettlement characteristics, this Negro community has resisted alterations of its characteristics and should remain the most "original" resettlement community.

Continuing Questions

While several substantive conclusions were derived from the analysis, several important question were raised and unanswered. These appear to be significant to understanding the success of resettlement programs in eliminating problems of rural poverty. For example, little is known about what the settler actually expected and if the resettlement communities did in fact fulfill his expectations. Additional research might also be aimed at an expansion of this study to include the states surrounding Texas to see if similar results are found. The author believes that the communities of Texas have retained a higher degree of permanency that those in surrounding states. This would be attributed to the planning and organization of the Texas Rural Communities, Inc., which helped to establish the resettlement communities. A word of caution should be added. To do a study of this type on a national scale would require several years of continuous field research to interview settlers, reconstruct landscapes, and trace

ownership records.

This study's concern with the rural resettlement community could easily be expanded to include other types of resettlement activities. The scattered farms, where single tenant families were resettled, could be analyzed to see if they exhibited the same degree of permanency as the communities. This might serve as a gauge of how important the community atmosphere was in keeping the project lands in original ownership.

As a final note, geographers and members of other disciplines who are interested in resettlement as a means of alleviating poverty should pay careful attention to all aspects of the New Deal resettlement agencies. Both the rural and suburban resettlement communities should be carefully analyzed to see if they were successes or failures. Where failures occurred, their causes must be found and eliminated from future resettlement programs. It is hoped that lessons were learned from past failures and that if future attempts at rural resettlement are deemed feasible, these attempts will not replicate past mistakes.

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