THE INDIAN WOODS COMMUNITY

A Survey of a Negro Community in Bertie County

North Carolina

"Prime wisdom is not to know of things remote, but that which daily lies about us." - Milton -

A. and T. College

Greensboro, North Carolina

June, 1955

INTRODUCTION

Early in 1951 the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Conference of Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges entered into an agreement to conduct a study of the effects of social and economic change upon the rural Negro population in the Tennessee Valley. It was decided that the study would proceed in three stages. Stage One would be concerned with analysis of census data from 1920 to 1950 for all the counties in the seven Valley states on population, farm mechanization, farm electrification, selected crops, farm tenure, occupations, and charting basic trends. Stage Two would be concerned with selecting from the census data a county that was representative of the state-wide trend, and from such a county a community would then be chosen for more intensive study in order to determine the effect of the contributing factors upon the people in the observed situation. Stage Three of the study would be concerned with the preparation of recommendations for a training and service program based on the findings of the study.

The state-wide study was designed to discern possible trends through the analysis of relevant statistical materials from available censuses. The census data tabulated from 1920 to 1950 for all counties in the state on population, farm mechanization, farm electrification, selected farm crops, farm tenure and occupations, revealed that there were nineteen items indicating change. Of these nineteen criteria, six appeared to have particular significance. These six criteria were:

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1. Per Cent Change in Land in Non-White Tenant Farms.

2. Per Cent Change in Plowable Pasture.

3. Per Cent Change in Total Farm Operators.

4. Per Cent Change in Non-White Owners.

5. Per Cent Change in Tractors on Farms.

6. Per Cent Change in Non-White Population.

These selected criteria seemed to indicate that:

1. Per Cent Change in Land in Non-White Tenant Farms, 1920 -1950 - Movement of Negro tenant farmers out of agriculture was indicated by the decrease in land in non-white tenant farms.

2. Per Cent Change in Plowable Pasture, 1920-1950 - This was related to per cent change in row crops harvested. Change in land pasture is an index to land use. Except where new land was brought into cultivation, land pastured was taken from land previously used for crops. Since land pastured is related to livestock production, hay cut from the pasture as well as supplemental hay production for winter feeding may be expected.

3. Per Cent Change in Total Farm Operators, 1920-1950 - The increase or decrease in farm operators was considered to be an index to size when placed in relation to pasture land and the use of tractors.

4. Per Cent Change in Non-White Owners, 1920-1950 - This was found to be an index to the security of Negro operators. Since the most stable operator was usually found to be the owner-operator, the increase in this category showed the greater number of operators who has achieved security while a decrease showed the disappearance of the hitherto most stable Negro farmer group.

5. Per Cent Change in Tractors on Farms, 1930-1950 - Tractors on farms are an index to mechanization since mose power machines used on farms are power-propelled.

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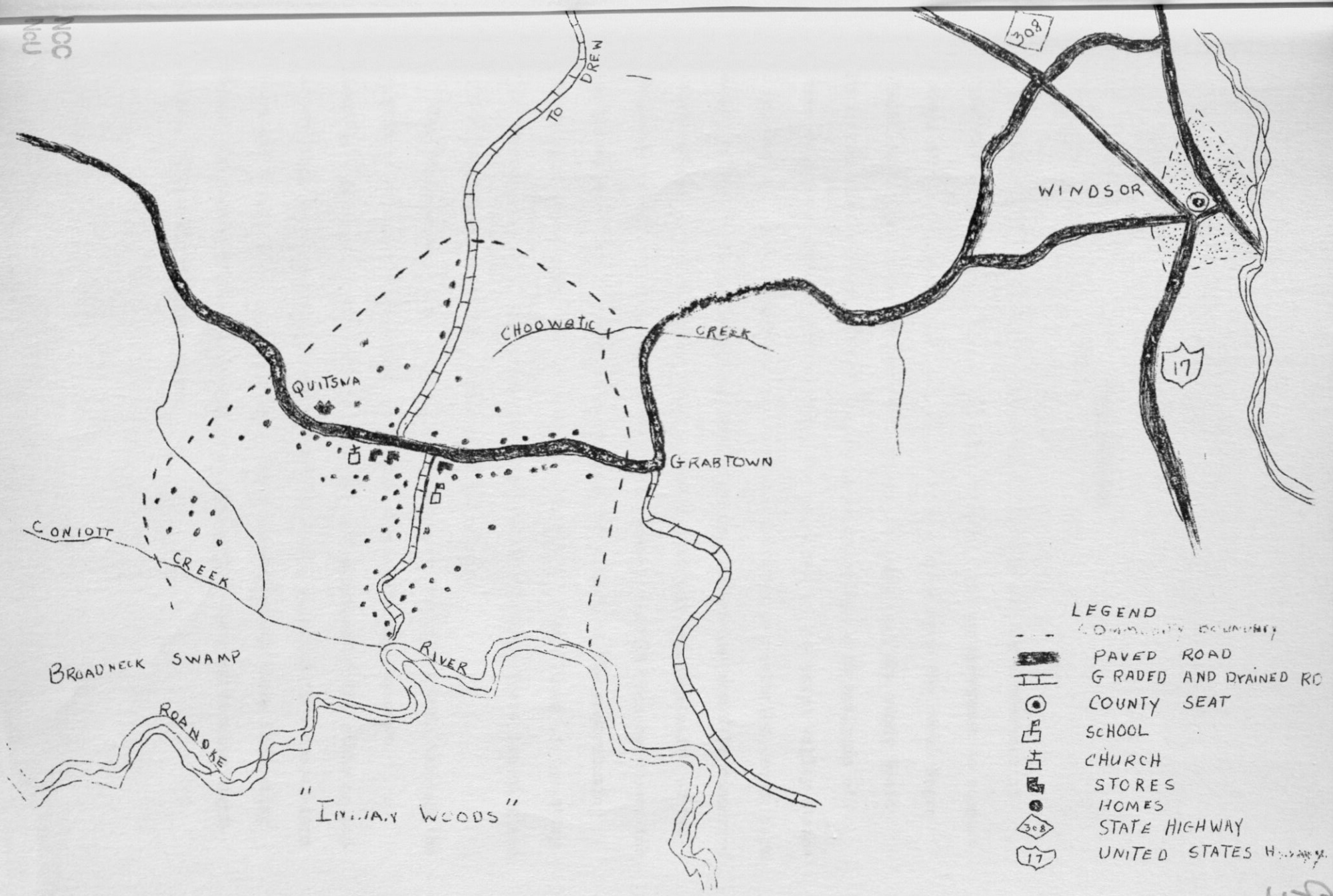
In order to arrive at those counties in which the discernable trends, as regarded the above criteria, were similar to the state-wide changes, a list was drawn up of all counties in the state in which Negroes consituted ten per cent or more of the rural population. Then comparisons on the basis of the



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per cent changes in the six criteria were made between the state average and that of each selected county. Those counties which paralleled or exceeded the state average in four or more instances were then listed.

In North Carolina sixteen counties showed the presence of four or more of the six criteria used which paralled the state average. For example:

BERTIE COUNTY

Criteria	PER CENT CHANGE, 1940-1950 County	State
1.	- 85.7	- 61.5
2.	+ 538.6	+ 261.8
3.	- 6.9	+ 10.7
4.	- 1.8	+ 5.6
5.	+ 477.9	+ 467.9
6.	+ 9.1	+ 41.4

Although several of these counties were even more identical to the state average, Bertie County was chosen by random selection.

The Indian Woods Community within this county, which was to become the subject of the more intensive examination was then determined through conferences with the agriculture extension agents for the eastern area of the state.

The present survey of the Indian Woods Community, therefore, is an outgrowth and continuation of the general investigation of the impace of farm mechanization and electrification, changes in agricultural patterns and industrialization, and the stability of the rural Negro population in North Carolina from 1920 to 1950. The purpose of the survey is to determine in so far as possible the impact upon the community of the general trends observed through the state.

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5.	+ 477.9	+ 167.9
6.	+ 9.1	+ 11.1

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The present survey of the Indian Woods Community, therefore, is an evaluation and continuation of the general investigation of the impact of farm mechanization and electrification, changes in agricultural patterns and industrialization, and the stability of the rural negro population in North Carolina from 1940 to 1950. The purpose of the survey is to determine in so far as possible the impact upon the community of the general trends observed throughout the state.

Characteristics of Bertie County.

Bertie County is located in the northeastern section of North Carolina, which is generally known as the Coastal Plains. The County is comprised of 443,520 acres of land, 61.7 percent of which is devoted to farming. In 1950 the total population of the county was 26,439, of which 15,811 or 59.8 percent were non-whites. There were 16,804 rural farm people in the county, 68.7 percent, or 11,546 of whom were Negroes. Nine thousand six hundred and thirty-five persons were classified as rural non-farm, 4263 of these being Negroes.

The number of persons employed in the county in 1950 was 9,314, with the number of non-whites employed being 3,994. The vast majority of the latter were employed in agriculture.

The median income for whites in the county was $1,390 as compared with a median income for non-whites of $855. Of the 3,200 non-white families in Bertie County, 1790 had an income of less than $1000 and 150 reported incomes in excess of $3,000.

The educational standards of the county were quite low. In 1950 the median number of school years completed by whites was 6.9 and for non-whites 5.7. However, the median for the state in this category was only 7.9;

Bertie County is primarily an agriculture county. In 1950 over 80.0 percent of its income was derived from field crops; the main crops being peanuts, corn and cotton.

Of all land in farms in the county, Negroes till 117,565 acres and whites 155,971, the average size of the Negroe farm being 64.1 acres and the average size of white farms being 11917 acres.

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of such income. Livestock and livestock products sold accounted for 7.1 percent of all farm income. It is interesting to note that no sorghums or small grains were reported for the county in 1950.

Among the field crops tobacco with a value of $4,062,903 and peanuts with a value of $3,229,690 accounted for 74.2 percent of all income derived from farm products in 1950. Two thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine or 87.9 per cent of the County's farms were reported as growing peanuts, 2113 or 67.3 per cent were reported as growing tobacco, and 1934 farms (61.6%) were reported as growing cotton. Only 63 farms in the county, however, grew vegetables for sale.

Eight hundred and seventy-two farms or 2718 percent reported 2864 heads of cattle, and about the same number of farm operators raised 39,168 hogs and pigs. About one third of the farms reported the sale of poultry and poultry products.

Trends in Bertie County.

Per Cent Change in Land in Non-White Tenant Farms, 1930-1950. White tenants in North Carolina had farms of an average size of 53.7 acres in 1930 and 63.3 acres in 1950. The average size for the non-white tenants was 47.0 acres in 1930 and 50 acres in 1950. Thus, it may be seen that the land in the farms of white tenants throughout the state decreased from 4,323,337 acres in 1930 to 2,186,393 acres in 1950, a percent decrease of -49.4. During the same period land in the farms of non-white tenants decreased by -61.5 percent from 2,404,240 to 925,336 acres. Comparable changes took place in Bertie County during the same two decades, with the land of white tenants decreasing by -59.9 percent and that of non-white tenants decreasing by -58.8 percent.

In 1930 there were 489 white tenants and 1323 non-white tenants in the County. By 1950, however, there were only 169 white and 400 non-white tenants, the percent decreases being -65.4 and -69.8 respectively.

Per Cent Change in Plowable Pasture, 1930-1950. From 1930 to 1950 the land devoted to plowable pasture in North Carolina increased from 887,956 acres to 3,212,637 acres, a percent increase of 261.1. The Bertie County trend exceeded the state pattern, with a mere 2630 acres of plowable pasture in 1930 and 16,792 acres in 1950, a percent increase of +538.5.

An increase in plowable pasture, of course, indicates an increase in livestock. Thus, the total value of livestock products sol, traded, or used in Bertie County in 1930 was $275,352, while in 1950 the value of these products amounted to $669,089.

Per Cent Change in Total Farm Operators, 1920-1950. The total number of farm operators in North Carolina increased from 269,763 in 1920 to 288,508 in 1950. This was a percent increase of 10.7 percent. White farm operators increased from 193,473 in 1920 to 215,956 in 1950 for a gain of 11.2 percent. Non-white farm operators throughout the state, on the other hand, declined from 76,290 to 72,522 over the same period for a percentage decrease of -4.9.

Bertie County showed a loss of 6.1 percent in total farm operators from 1920 to 1950. White farmers in the county decreased from 1430 to 1303, a decline of 8.9 percent, while Negro farmers declined 4.0 percent from 1910 to 1835.

Per Cent Change in Non-White Owners, 1920-1950. From 1920 to 1950 the number of non-white owners in North Carolina increased from 22,277 to 23,515, a positive percent change of 5.6. In Bertie County there were ten fewer Negro owners in 1950 than there had been in 1920, the numbers being 585 and 575 respectively. White farm owners, on the other hand, decreased from 934

In 1930 there were 1,497 white tenants and 1,123 non-white tenants in the county; by 1950, however, there were only 1,190 whites and 400 non-white tenants, a percent decreases being -65.4 and -59.8 respectively.

Net Land Change in Plowable Pasture, 1930-1950. From 1930 to 1950 the land devoted to plowable pasture in North Carolina increased from 4,827,956 acres to 4,722,637 acres, a percent increase of 241.1. The Bertie County trend exceeded the state pattern, with a gain 2,630 acres of plowable pasture in 1930 and 16,792 acres in 1950, a percent increase of 638.5.

An increase in plowable pasture, of course, indicates an increase in livestock. Thus, the total value of livestock products sold, traded, or used in Bertie County in 1930 was $2,275,352, while in 1950 the value of these products amounted to $6,569,089.

Net Count Change in Total Farm Operators, 1920-1950. The total number of farm operators in North Carolina increased from 269,763 in 1920 to 288,308 in 1950. This was a percent increase of 10.7 percent. White farm operators increased from 193,473 in 1920 to 215,956 in 1950 for a gain of 11.2 percent. Non-white farm operators throughout the state, on the other hand, declined from 76,290 to 72,322 over the same period for a percentage decrease of -4.9.

Bertie County showed a loss of 6.1 percent in total farm operators from 2,200 in 1920. White farmers in the county decreased from 1,430 to 1,305, a decline of 8.9 percent, while Negro farmers declined 4.0 percent from 1,210 to 1,160.

Net Count Change in Non-White Owners, 1920-1950. From 1920 to 1950 the number of non-white owners in North Carolina increased from 22,277 to 23,515, a positive percent change of 5.6. In Bertie County there were ten fewer owners in 1950 than there had been in 1920, the numbers being 505 and 495 respectively. White farm owners, on the other hand, decreased from 934

to 715 during the three decades. Thus, while the non-white owners decreased by -1.8 percent, the white loss in the same category was -23.4 percent. The statewide trend, as has been indicated was an increase of +5.6 percent.

Per Cent Change in Tractors on Farms, 1930-1950. In 1930 the entire state of North Carolina could boast of but 11,034 tractors on its farms, and, indeed, even as late as 1940 this number had increased by a mere 949 to a total of 11,983, By 1950, however, there were 62,666 tractors in the state. This represented a percent increase over the 1930 figure of 467.9.

The trend in Bertie County was comparable to that of the state. In 1930 there were 172 tractors in the county, but by 1950 there were 994 tractors or a 477.9 percent increase in ownership of this type of farm machinery.

Aytomobile ownership in both the state and the county increased by 11.9 percent, and the comparable gains in motor trucks was 2.4.4 percent and 234.9 percent, respectively.

Per Cent Change in Non-White Population, 1920-1950. In 1920 Negroes made up 13639 or 56.8 percent of the total population of Bertie County. By 1950 the number of Negroes had increased to 15,811, and they constituted 59.8 percent of the County's population. In other words, the Negroes experienced a 15.9 percent increase in numbers while the whites in the county increased by 2.6 percent. During the same period the statewide trend showed a total population increase of 58.2 percent, a white population increase of 66.1 percent and a non-white population increase of 41.4 percent.

A PROFILE OF THE RESEARCH SITE

The Indian Woods community, the site of the research, lies some four to five miles southwest of the town of Windsor, the county seat. Although there are many unpaved roads or "trails" of a sort that lead into the community from various directions, perhaps the best approach is from Windsor over the snake-like "Scott road."[1] This road acts as a sort of thoroughfare that channels traffic between the two communities. Two-wheet, horse-drawn carts rumble along the road aside modern high-powered automobiles, giving the stranger the fleeting thought that he is living in two different worlds at the same time. As one follows this road out of Windsor, a town of about 2,600 people but having, at first glance, the appearance of a "little metropolis", he becomes imporssed with the rapidity with which urban shades into urban and thence into a completely rural area. Woods and field and roadside quickly take on the familiar pattern of the county and the region. The houses, most of the unpainted, are far apart and all around there is the vast desolation of land that tells the story of people who eke a living out of the soil. This is the area "in between" Indian Woods and the Bertie County Seat.

The first turn on the road from Windsor to Indian Woods comes at a sign pointing the way to "Grabtown." Though the name is unique, no one seems to know or even be interested in its derivation. Grabtown is not a town at all.

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[1] "Scott Roads" are so named (unofficially) because they represent the fulfillment of a promise by the former Governor of the State, Kerr Scott, that if elected to office, he would take the farmers "out of the mud."

A PROFILE OF THE RESEARCH SITE

The Jackson County community, the site of the research, lies some four to five miles southwest of the town of Windsor, the county seat. Although there are several roads or "trails" of a sort that lead into the community from adjacent areas, perhaps the best approach is from Windsor over the county road.[2] This road acts as a sort of thoroughfare that carries traffic between the two communities. Two-wheels, horse-drawn carts along the road recite modern high-powered automobiles, giving the impression the Fleetwoods thought that he is living in two different worlds at the same time. As one follows this road out of Windsor, a town of about 2,600 people, he notices, at first glance, the appearance of a "little metropolis", somewhat impressed with the rapidity with which urban encroaches into urban-like a comparatively rural area. Woods and field and roadside cottages are the linear pattern of the county and the region. The houses, though unpainted, are far apart and all around there is the vast depth of land. As it tells the story of people who eke a living out of the land, as the proud "Jackson County" Indian Woods and the Bertie County Seat, Windsor, on the road from Windsor to Indian Woods cross at a sign "the way to Wednesday." Though the name is unique, no one seems to know its intended in its derivation. Grandtown is not a town at all.

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It is just a hazily defined settlement whose best purpose, as far as the research team was concerned, is to set the line of demarcation between Indian Woods and all other space back toward Windsor. Without Brabtown, the boundaries of our research community would not have been so clear.

One does not arrive at Indian Woods, for he is in the community before there is any visible evidence that there is one. He sees the same land, the same scattered farm houses and the same "ubiquitous" two-wheel carts so characteristic of the region. It is not until the County Agent ammounces "you are now in Indian Woods" that he knows he is at the reserach site. A half mile or more down the road, however, loomes unmistakable signs that some type of organized life is to be found there. The rather rickety white church, built in the architectural tradition of a bygone day, is there. Along side of it is the cemetery, with the graves of former deacons forming the row nearest to the church. There are the unpainted building adorned with Cocoa Cola and Pepsi Cola signs that signal the "general store." Not too far away is a little white school house with a water pump standing out in bold relief on the grass-bare ground.

It is not too long before one is aware that there is an area that the old and young and those who fall in the age groups between these extremes call "my community." It is not too long before, in numerous ways, the visitor discovers that here is an area in which strong ffamilial and religious bonds, together with general awareness of uniqueness of historical settlement, form the basic foundation for community.

Life seems to ge by rather lanquidly in Indian Woods. If the stresses and strains are there, the casual or superficial observer does hot see them. Perhaps there were rough times in the past, but there are few visible scars. Perhaps there will be even rougher times in the future, but there seems to

be no anxieties. The people of the Indian Woods Community seem to have faith in each other and through this mutual faith a sense of belonging and mutual security. These are the first impressions of the research Site.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT AND ECOLOGY

The land area of what is not the Indian Woods community was once part of the tribal lands of the Tuscarora Indians. Bertie county records show clearly the process of land tenure dating back to 1766 when the Tribal Chiefs of the Tuscaroras on July 28 granted by a 150 year lease to Robert Jones et. al. "8,000 acres of land on the North side of the river." For this grant the tribe was paid 1,500 pounds as rent.

The chain which links the land tenure processes between the Indians and settlers continues to 1831 when the very acres of the present community along with other lands were, according to the record "deeded" to the people of North Carolina, and the Tuscaroras like many other Indians were moved out of the state.

Twice in fairly recent times the decendants of the early Tuscarora Tribe, along with their attorney have returned to the county so as to reinstiture their land claims, all to no avail.[1] Several of the prominent names of families that appear as grantees of Indian leases date back to 1803.

Indian Woods like other North Carolina Communities came under the institution of clavery once it was finally "deeded" over by the Indians. When The Civil War was ended, Negroes simply remained on the land, later becoming sharecropper and in a few isolated instances farm owners. The two oldest

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The point which links the land tenure processes between the Indians and whites continues to 1831 when the very acres of the present community along with other lands were, according to the record "deeded" to the people of Bath township, and the Tuscarora like many other Indians were moved out of the state.

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informants contacted were born of former slaves shortly after the war and they recall quite vividly what the community was like at that time.

According to a running description provided by these old people, one is able to piece together a general outline of life in the community before the turn of the century. In or about 1890, for example, farm wages were twenty-five cents a day "from sun to sun". A young man was lucky to find a job "by the month" for six dollars and board. Mules at fifteen dollars per head had all but replaced oxen as work animals.

In the early days boys didn't leave home, "because they didn't know where to go."

In the houses one was likely to find the fire place which served as a place to cook and a heating unit. Usually there were hard bottom chairs all at the fire place for the grown folk but "children all sat together on a bench". The floors were made of logs or wood boards. When the planks got seasoned, there would be big cracks in the floor."

One part of the interview went as follows:

> "White folks used to live right up the road. They had a church were ours is now, but the fever moved in Indian Woods and the white folks moved out.
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> "We had a good ball team and that was the main thing on week-ends. I was the catcher. We traveled all over the country in a wagon playing ball and when we won we took all the bats and balls from the other team . The white man who run the store saw me catch and he told his boys about me. They would come to get me every Sunday to catch on their team and paid me three or four dollars - sometimes more."

As far as this old gentleman was concerned times were about as good now as they had ever been. But he remembers that wages were "pretty good" during World War I, and also that 1924 and 1925 were good years. The people in the community haven't changed very much according to him. "They just travel more because they have cars."

The community is adjacent a black-topped loczl mail route called the star route. At several intersections dirt roads enter the community site and then branch off, often along the ends of fields to particular houses. The Church and several local stores are near the highway. The community school is only a short distance from the mail route.

THE AGRICULTURAL SITUATION - PRACTICES AND PROBLEMS

This section of the study outlines in general form the organization of agriculture and details specifically farming practices and problems as indicated by interviews with key members of the community. While the following query cannot be ansered in precise measurable terms from the data provided, the immediate point of interest lies in, how satisfactorily does tne economic organization of the community work in adjusting to fundamental changes in product and factor markets? If it is found to be performing unsatisfactorily as evidenced by underemployment[1] and satatic conditions, what are the nature of the needed changes which might increase the capacity for new ideas and progress?

General Notes - For the most part, the economic welfare of the eighty-seven families in the Indian Woods Community depends entirely upon the yearly income from the sale of agricultural commodities. Because of this any discussion pertaining to the economic organization of the community must concern itself largely with agriculture. In real terms farm income may be supplemented by the addition of wild game and fish as items of food supply. Even more important is the common practice of producing a few chickens, vegetables and pork for home consumption. On the subject of pork, however, one noticable trend is to "self-off" all the hogs except breeding stock and use this income for the purchase of beef and other meats which constitute variety.

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[1]A factor of production is said to be underemployed when its earning are less than those which would be normally expected in some alternative use.

managed and supervised in varying degrees by one landlord. The owner in turn considers his tenants and their tracts of land as part of the whole farm and supervises accordingly.

Under plantations arrangements found in the community, the tenant's home and customary farm sheds are located sometimes near the center and sometimes on the outer edge of the field or fields that are assigned to him for cultivation. No fences dividing tenant tracts are to be found. Usually there is mutual knowledge and agreement among tenants on the same plantations that such landmarks as roads, turn-rows, ditches and trees set the boundaries for their tracts.

The several owner-operator farms in the community are partitioned from the plantations by fences. Otherwise the farms are small and the usual arrangement of buildings and fields fall short of conforming to recommended farm management practices.[4]

The Economic Resource Base

The resource base refers of course to the available factors of production that may be combined in the producgion process and attendant income flow. Reference in this regard involves discussion on land characteristics and use, the community farm labor force, the capital endowment in the community and common managerial problems of farm operators.

Land - The land area of the community totals roughly 4,000 acres; some 40% of which is not used for agricultural purposes. For economic purposes

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[4]The largest farm is an owner-operator unit unit of 60 acres. This farm was bought with F. H. A. funds in 1940.

the "order of competing uses" that is found most frequently in literature on land economics is the following:[5]

1. Urban
2. Suburan
3. Part-time and residential in rural areas
4. Full-time farming (arable land)
5. Forestry
6. Grazing

In addition, observation of land use in the community also indicates service uses such as roads, special institutional uses (church, school, and business sites), and land suitable for fish and wild life.

By definition there is no urban nro suburan land in the community. Aside from garden spots cultivated by the few residential members of the community, aldn utilized for part-time farming purposes is likewise insignificant. In terms of economic concern land utilized for full-timed farming purposes is by far the most important. It would be safe to say that more than 90% of the yearly money income of the community is drawn from this land. There have been no organized a tempts to develop forest lands in the community. However, roughly 40% of the land area is covered by trees. The entire area adjacent to the Roanoke River is swamp land completely wooded. This particular part of the community land base is said to provide wonderful fishing and hunting, and an excellent fisherman or hunter is granted a mark of distinction. Salt fish and cured or frozen venison supplement the food supply in a considerable number of homes.

Except for one landlord who has set aside grazing land for a 200 cow beef her, pasture land for graxing purposes in the community is largely seen in pig lots, and small enclosure for those work animals that have not been displaced by farm tractors.

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[5]Sherman E. Johnson, "Principles of Land Utilization", Land Problems and Policies - a book of readings, edited by John F. Timmons and William G. Murray, Iowa State College Press, Ames, Iowa, 1950, P. 69.

Should we furthur classify land used for farming in terms of inherent characteristics, it is above average in fertility as compared with the county as a whole. The soil type in the community for the most part is Lenoir sandy loam. That small arable area bordering the river is typed as Bladen silt loam.

Labor - Problems that relate to the efficient use of farm labor in Indian Woods are of first rantk. This is to be expected because labor represents the human agent in the production process. Labor for crop production is drawn directly from farm families that average roughly seven members each. There are sixteen children to be found in one family.

As will be made clearer below, the absence of complementary and supplementary farm enterprises, and the lack of part-time job opportunities creates a situation of an over supply of labor in the community except during short periods of peak demands for labor on farms. The problem is apparent in spite of the tendancy for younger members of the community to migrate. This latter tendancy however, does not seem to constitute a factor of change of organization of agriculture. As far as it could be determined farm capital in for form of tractors, for example, register no "push effect" on labor.[6] In other words, a splintering away of families in the community as seen by the migration of younger members reduces the present and potential labor supply but the family composition of those who migrate appear more important than mere numbers, because as the situation now stands the same number and size of farms prevail, the same enterpises are selected andiin general the same farm practices are carried on as before. Community change and development, it is proposed, is

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[6]Conclusions reached in one Negro Community study indicate that an increase in the adoption of farm technology and the out-migration of your people are not realistic indicators of change as reflected in the agricultural organization of the community. See. Lawson G. Banapart, Farm Youth on the Move, A study of Economic Mobility Among Negro Farm Youths in Darlington County, South Carolina, An Unpublished Master's Thesis, A. and T. College, 1954. P. 49

tied more closely with decisions that would affect institutional structure such as breaking up plantations for sale and causing farm families to migrate as a unit. These decisions rest more heavily with the two Indian Woods landlords than with internal community decisions.

It may be said further that little change is noted in the community with references to the customary division of labor on farms between men and women. Whether the source of power is work stock or tractors, men do the plowing, planting and cultivating while women perform the household duties. Chopping and picking is still done by hand. These jobs and the harvesting of peanuts is a joint family effort. In general conclusion the community has found little use of the labor force as an instrument for bringing about change and development.

Capital - As indicated one of the discernable trends in Indian Woods is an accumulation of farm capital as represented by tractors and other pieces of farm machinery. In this regard the community presents a "before and after picture". It is not unusual, for example to witness a new tractor with modern farm equipment in one field and mule drawn equipment a few yards away. Despite this the motivation that stimulates the adoption of new wyas of doing things is extermely hard to explain.

The most frequent ideas expressed on the adoption of new ideas were that even those relating to new agricultural practices could be more readily "sold" if advocated through the church, followed up in the progressive farmer's club and finally "tried out" by at least one farm family. While these is no special attempts toward emulation across the broad plain of community life, the owner-

ship of a car, tractor or some other sonspicuous piece of equipment sets the stage for adoption and change.[7] In other words, whenever progress is revealed by tangible and easily understood evidence the action process is more likely to take hold.

The oldest interviewee in the community put it this way, "When I was a boy about everybody in Indian Woods plowed steers, when a few families got mules that made others want "em".

Another informant gave this information with reference to tranctors. "Before the war (World War II) there wasn't a tractor in Indian Woods. Then right after the war one family tried out a tractor. New everybody is trying to get one."

Needed Imporvements in Agriculture

Nothing has been said concerning the management function as a resource in the community. It was thought that after having presented community characteristics as they relate to agriculture, farm management decisions and problems could be integrated into conditions that are causing community concern.[8]

Some indications of how well the Indian Woodw Community functions have been presented. A further appraisal may be made in terms of existing agricultural problems and how satisfactorily they are being met. While Indian Woods

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[7]It appears that the institution of property ownership is a vital factor in decisions that effect change. For example on tenant farms there is noted a trent in improvement of those items owned by the tenant such as machinery, and household appliances while the outside of the "landlerd's" house is often in need of paint and repair. An inference is that improved lease arrangements may be rewarding.

[8] Concern" might be too strong as a description of community outlook on farm problems. "Recognition" is probably more appropriate.

is further advanced than many other Negro rural communities in the state, when the scope of comparison is broadened the most outstanding problems among a majority of farm families is that of low farm income.[9] There are many facets to the problem and insights may be gathered by examining several possibilities as probable measures for relief. First there is the standard idea that farm income may be increased by improving production efficiency, (2) that farm income may be increased by following the dictates of the labor market; thus the needed adjustment would be the mobility of farm resources (particuarly labor) out of agriculture and (3) there is a growing possibility that farm income might be raised by providing training and employment opportunities in local non-farm pursuits- that is in part-time farming.[10] If each of these measures are applied to Indian Woods Community some implications for action may be revealed.

A basic assumption in the discussion to follow is that Negro farmers recognize elements of community farm problems in Indian Woods and are willing to take advantage of opportunities once they are apparent.

Increasing Farm Efficiency in the Community - There are a number of major factors which affect farm returns. The primary ones as they relate to the Indian Woods Community are (1) size of the farm business, (2) credit, (3) selection of enterprises, (4) labor and capital efficiency, (5) lease arrangements and (6) marketing practices.

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[9]It must be admitted that the income position of some of these farmers is well above that of the majority of Negro operators in the state. Some practices in the community might serve as a model for others.

[10]Part-time farming refers to productive work usually off the home farm by the farm operator or other members of his family household in an amount sufficient to increase family income substantially.

Size of Farms - It is estimated by key informants that the average size farm in the community is twenty-five acres. Alnost without exception farmers recognize this as an inadequate land base and live in hopes of increasing farm size. On the average it is estimated that farmers have about twenty-three crop acres at their disposal. Farms of this size, particularly those put to crops of the kinds traditionally grown in the community, prevents the realization of advantages from the extended use of farm machinery and other forms of technology, due to the usual indivisibilitities thereof.

Recognized as a problem, what are the chances of farm operators in the community increasing the scale of their operations through expanded farm sizes? From what was gathered through interviews possibilities are negligible. The usual words are, "nobody couldn't buy this land, its been in the same families for years and the landlords wont sell at no price".

In some parts of North Carolina part-ownership as a method of controlling land to farm in onethe increase among Negro operat rs. This is not a usual practice in Indian Woods however. Several farmers are seeking through F.H.A. to buy farms outside the community but this likewsie appears to be a slow and uncertain process.

A few of the ramifications associated with the purchase of larger farms by Negroes outside the community may be indicated. While the land market is looked upon as an impersonal register reflecting subjective evaluations by marginal buyers and sellers, it is in actuality the reflector of transactions between two or more people who come together in a social context to transfer the ownership of a scarce commodity. This being the case the social overtones cannot be separated from the restrictive covenant and farmers in the community

express the idea that they would not be allowed to enter the land market in many parts of the county because of social protocol applied to race.

Of course there is the question of land prices. The heavy capital endowment that is required to buy and equipt a farm of adequate size is in itself restrictive. There are evidences in the community that Federal Farm Real Estate Credit has helped to a limited extent, but the impace has touched only several farmers.[11]

Credit Transactions - The opportunity to borrow is of course a major determinant of how efficient farm operations will be. Over the past ten years farmers in the Indian Woods Community have made substantial progress in arranging their credit transactions. For the most part, tenants as well as the several owner-operators have established local bank ratings and therefore secure production credit directly from local banks and Federal lending agencies.

The insistant refusal of landlord "furnishings" and merchant credit brought about the explusion of several tenant families and this land is nos in pasture for beef cattle, nevertheless, in the end other tenants won out. Personal banking directly removes the control of "totalling up" at the end of each crop year from the landlord. Being able to "write his own checks" has in itself becoma a mark of community esteem. Moreover, it also gives tenants a somewhat deeper sense of responsibility in the going concern aspects of the farm business. While the motivating force behind this new equilibrium in social

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[11] One of the few farmers who was able to take advantage of F.H.A. credit is the owner of the 80 acre farm already mentioned. He bought the land in 1940 for $5,000 and had paid for it by 1944. In his opinion the interest of the white extension agent was instrumental in his securing the loan. He also indicates that at that time (1940) other Negroes in the community could have bought farms had they been interested.

relationship could not be fully established, most of the credit for "pushing" it is taken by one of the men whom most identify as a recognized community leader.

Since real estate c edit has been of extreme piecemeal variety no established pattern of doing business in this regard is found in the community. However, most tenants and owners are aware of both public and private sources of such credit. The primary problem, as mentioned, is finding a farm to purchase in a part of the "old south" where ownership ties to land is built into the family structure. Some of the tenants are willing to pay a handsome price for the farms they now operate plus some adjoining land if it happens that plantations are ever broken up.

Consumption credit is on the increase in the community. Household appliances and hard goods are bought in Windsor stores, and delivered to farm homes in the community. The availability of electricity has speeded up this trend. And once again the signs of progress by some community members are made tangible and easily copied.

Selection of Farm Enterprises - One of the most complex problems regarding Negro farmers in general is their rigidity over time in the selection of farm enterprises. Those in Indian Woods are no exception in this regard. The traditional farm enterprises in the community are peanuts, corn and cotton. The two oldest members of the community to be interviewed were probed on this particular agricultural practice. As far as they can remember the selection of enterprises has centered around these same three crops with little or no emphasis on livestock. At times in the past there has been some shifts of interest between peanuts and cotton as a major cash crop, but nevew was one substituted for the other entirely nor has one been substituted for some other "new" enterprise.

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Some studies on this problem have stressed the vital role of enlightened management and the strain put on an average small farmers' credit possibilities as the limiting factors in adjusting the selection of enterprises to changing conditions, and indeed the making of any adjustments that are not customery in a community.[12]

It should be pointed that in the past several years there has been a decided increase in commercial swine production in the community. Swine have always provided meat for the family, but as near as can be determined the process of up-grading swinde herds for sale is a product of the price support program.

Let us examine this hypothesis. It has been mentioned that tractors have been displacing workstock in the community. Coupled with this is the additional fact that traditionally corn raised in the community was for the express purO poses of human consumption and primarily as feed for work animals. Once the workstock were "tractored" off the problem of what to do with the corn crop was paramount. Because of acreage restrictions on such basic commodities as cotton and peanuts land that was once assigned to corn production could not be planted in these crops. Furthermore there was no established market for corn in the community such as that which was available for cotton and peanuts. There was some "fretting" but as one tenant expressed it, "I had to do something with my corn and I knew something about growing hogs. Now I make as much money on them as I do on peanuts and cotton". Another family sells thirty dozen eggs per week and "some chickens on the side."

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[12] W. E. Hendrix, "Availability of capital and Production Innovations on Low Income Farms", Journal of Farm Economics, Volume XXXIII, February, 1951, pp. 66-74.

Several informants indicated that the price support program is also responsibile for the introduction and growing importance of soybeans in the community.

From the above discussion it could be argured that institutional innovations which carry elements of what individuals can and cannot do are capable of bringing about desirable changes in a community which otherwise might not have been initiated.

Labor and Capital Efficiency. Small farms and the rigidity of enterprise selection in Indian Woods community indicate that there can be considerable improvement in the efficiency of both capital and labor. The obvious inefficient use of these vital resources is seen by having "nothing to do" during winter months. The introduction of farm machinery into the community has resulted largely in increased leisure. As by one informant, "With a tractor they (local farmers) are through work about three days out of a week, and then they just loaf; it would take them all the week with a mule". One profitable arrangement might be to share large pieces of equipment cooperatively, or hire machine services.

When one considers the actual man-hours of work performed by farmers in the community a major problem lies in the lack of supplementary and complementary enterprises or local processing industries so as to spread productive labor over the year. The realization of such an opportunity is complicated by the land tenure situation where share-cropping and share tenancy predominates. The introduction of beef cattle as a supplementary farm enterpise does not appear to be feasible for several reasons. One reason is summed up by a tenant, who said, "people around here don't like to fool with cows, they get out in other people's fields and cause trouble". Another reason is that given small farms, even if the landlord would tolerate a shift from row crops to livestock

enterprises, and the plantation layout was amenable, there is still the problem of shifting smoothly and easily without interrupting the customery yearly income stream expected from crops.

Lease Arrangements When a farm is rented it is said to be operated under a lease. The lease is a contract in oral or written form and outlines the understanding between landlord and tenant.[13] It should specify the rights and duties of both parties for a stated length of time. Most important, it should indicate in clear terms all aspects of a rental relationship that commonly subjected to bargaining with respect to (1) the sharing of production and incoem, (2) the resources and expenses that each shall furnish, (3) provisions for improving the farm, and (4) a social groundwork for understanding where two persons expect to gain from the going concern aspects of the farm business.

The primary difficulty with leasing in the Indian Woods community should be broadened to include the fundamental difficulties of share-cropping as a traditional method of land tenure. One of the informants frequently listed as a community leader gave his opinion on lease arrangements.

> "There are good relationships between landlords and tenants. The main reason is that there are colored Gilliams and white Gilliams, the same thing for the Rascoes and Outlaws. The white man furnishes the see, fertilizer and the land and buildings, and the tenants furnish the machinery and labor. Everybody knows what they are suppose to do and tenants like this method. However, they would like to buy if the landlords would sell.
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> "Sometimes though the landlords do play one tenant against the other. They say, "now Jim's doing this--you better". Then this social security thing came up, the white man come to supervise but he don't come out he wont have to put up his two dollars and the tenants can's put up their one dollar. There is only one cash tenant".

Tenants in the community express general satisfaction with their lease arrangements. There are no written agreements, but experience shows that

tenants in the community have long tenure and know what to expect. Moreover, they indicate that it is not usual for landlords to furnish expensive pieces of equipment to be shared among a number of tenant families. One one plantation several tenant "went together" and bought an expensive peanut digger and one commented, "We ain't missed a note yet".

It appears to us that sharecropping as an institution prohibits some community changes rather than particular aspect of the lease. Since tenants in the community do their own financing, family labor becomes a fixed cost to the lanlord and there is no apparent correlation between size of farm families and size of acreages allotted by landlords. Also, farm homes are in a poor state of repair because tenants see no advantage in "fixing up the white man's h house". As long as the plantation system exists in the community there is little change of bringing about some needed adjustments. This it appears is an institutional problem.

Marketing Practices

Very little information was gathered concerning marketing of farm commodities. However, it is apparent that here as in other instances parentalism exerts its influence. The following is an example: "As a farm owner I market my peanuts and cotton where I can get the best grade and price. Sometimes in Windsor, then again in Lewiston, Robinsonville or Williamson. Almost all the tenants sell in Windsor, because all the buyers know that the are Mr. X's (the landlord's) peanuts. Because of this they get a good grade and price."

It might be mentioned that market outlets might hinder or promote farm adjustments. The peanut and cotton markets are well established and their characteristics are generally known. This advantage would not be available for milk

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Economic Mobility.

Indian Woods community is unusually stable. Most of its members were born in the community and in the absence of revoluntionary changes will likely spend the remainder of their lives there. There is a noticabel tendancy, however, of dissatisfaction among the younger members of the community who have reached an age of relative independence. A common expression on the part of these young people is: "There is nother to do here". This indicates that farming of the type commonly practiced in the community is held in very low exteem. Nevertheless, there is the feeling in the commuhity that this attitude on the part of young people is no cause for alarm. "It just works out that when somebody gets too old to farm there is a younger man to take-up where he left off", is the way one farmer put it.

It might be indicated that mobility on the part of young members of the community does not set the stage for community change. The graver and deeper problem lies in improving those who remain on farms. A general community expression toward extension and other services now provided would lead one to conclude that adequate services are not now available.

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PART-TIME FARMING

Part-time farming as an element of supplemanting income is partically unknown in Indian Woods. Several people work at the Lumber company in Windsro and in the "woods". The mail-carrier who lives in the community is a store keeper and landlord over a small acreage cultivated by his son. Little can be expected in this regard in the foreseeable future.

CONCLUSION ON AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS

In answer to the question at the beginning of this section, it may be said that in some regards the community lends itself to change and development under the present social furnishing themselves, the general satisfaction with lease arrangements the widespread adoption of modern farm equipment and household appliances are indication in this direction. It is quite likely that with energetic leadership other progressive trends may become apparent.

Such leadership could suggest those farm enterprises that combine well into the agricultural organization of the community. A basic problem is to arouse general interest in the common needs. Community leaders representing the community as a whole would present a much stronger bargaining force with landlords than any particular tenant family. Emphasis here is placed on community leadership since it is quite apparent that a broadening of experiences is not to be expected otherwiase. There is little exposure to outside influences. Moreover, there is the need for redefining unique problems and indicating solutions. The basic economic problems center around farm size, and the rigidity of enterprise selection. To a great extent the former problem rest with landlords. Community improvement must include their cooperations.

PART-TIME FARMING

Part-time farming as an element of sub-marginal income is particularly common in Indian Woods. Several people work at the Lumber company in Wigwam in the "woods". The mail-carrier who lives in the community is a storekeeper and landlord over a small acreage cultivated by his son. Little can be noted in this regard in the foreseeable future.

CONCLUSION ON AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

In answer to the question at the beginning of this section, it may be that in some regards the community lands itself to change and development. The recent social furnishing themselves, the general satisfaction with prospects, the widespread adoption of modern farm equipment and home-appliances are indicative in this direction. It is quite likely that energies in another other progressive trends may become apparent. Leadership could support those farm enterprises that combine well the agricultural organization of the community. A basic problem is to general interest in the common needs. Community leaders representing community as a whole would present a much stronger bargaining force with banks than any particular tenant family. Emphasis here is placed on leadership since it is quite apparent that a broadening of experience to be expected otherwise. There is little exposure to outside influences. However, there is the need for redefining unique problems and in-[illegible] relations. The basic economic problems center around farm size, and the [illegible] of enterprise selection. To a great extent the former problems rest [illegible]. Community improvement must include their cooperations.

It appears to us that tenants could help their own cause. One way is by spreading wide the cooperative sharing of farm machinery. A precedent in this direction was established in the community when last year four tenants cooperated in purchasing a peanut digger. Another way is to select supplementary farm enterprises like checkens and hogs that can be combined with the customary enterprises.

Incoming industrial opportunities would of course benefit the entire county including Indian Woods Community.

VII

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: THE STATUS AND VALUE SYSTEMS

Class lines in Indian Woods are not clearly drawn. Although distinctions can be made between families and between individuals in terms of levels of living, amount of "schooling," and other prestige or class symbols, none of these constitutes a basis for class alignments or even for the formation of cliques. When questioned, all informants strongly denied that individuals in the community could be classified according to any vertical scale. One informant admitted that

> There are two or three families around here who have pretty good homes, have their farms paid for, got a little money in the bank, and some of their children have pretty good schooling. But they mingle along with the rest of us and nobody thinks of them as being any different. Most of the people in this community are good people and if you are good people, you got class.

When asked what in her opinion constituted "good people," she was not too sure at first. However, she did say that they had to be Christians and "good church goers." Observations support the view that where the element of the church was left out, no person in the community, regardless of the possession of traditional "class traits", was accorded high status.

The church offers, it seems, the only avenue to high status in the community. Most informants agreed that to become a Deacon in the Indian Woods Church was the highest status one could achieve. A retired school teacher and one of the most respected citizens in the community summed up the attitudes towards Deacons in this way:

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When asked what in her opinion constituted "good people," she was not too sure at first. However, she did say that they had to be Christians and "good church members." Observations support the view that where the element of the church was present in a person in the community, regardless of the possession of traditional "prestige", was accorded high status.

In some cases, it seems, the only avenue to high status in the community. Informants agreed that to become a Deacon in the Indian Woods Church was the highest honor the social archive. A retired school teacher and one of the most influential citizens in the community summed up the attitudes towards Deacons in this

The Deacons of the church are the leaders of the community. Deacons are automatically given respect. Once a Deacon, always a Deacon. Deacons are buried separately as an honor of leadership. The practice started about twenty years ago with Mr._____. He was an extra special Deacon. Deacons are the only persons in the community with titles and are addressed as such. There is no attainment that a youngster growing up in this community could make that would be more highly respected than becoming a Deacon.

Since "book learning" has been traditionally looked upon as being something of a phenomenon in folk cultures, such as Indian Woods, one might at first think that the teachers and principal of the community school would constitute an upper class group. In Indian Woods, however, nothing could be farther from the truth. The principal of the school lives in the community and he and his family are highly identified with it. They play active roles in the church, visit in the homes, and generally participate in the total life of the community. While it is recognized that he is a man of education, deference is not accorded him because of this fact. Nor were there indications that the principal expected such. There was considerable evidence that the principal was respected more for his church roles than for his educational functions.[1] When talking to the principal about this attitude toward the community, he made this significant observation:

> I came to this community about twenty years ago fresh out of school and with a lot of ideas about big town and big time living. Well, I am still here and am perfectly satisfied. I look upon Indian Woods as my home and I don't think I could ever find any place in the world in which I could feel any more wanted and any more secure. I ook upon these people as my people and I believe they look upon my family in the same way.[2]

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[1] A check with key informants indicated that throughout the 100 years more or less of the community's existence, only nine of its members had become college graduates. Two of these lived in the community.

[2] The principal is a graduate of one of the leading private colleges of the State of North Carolina and holds a Master's degree from an outstanding Eastern University.

Similarly, as respect to other individuals in the community who can be singled out because of education or economic advantages, there is not mutual awareness of basic difference and thus no ascription of status and resulting implications of prestige. Across-the-board mutual dependency rules out significant alignments on any level and more or less obviates cleaveages in the community structure that might reach proportions serious enough to affect basic community solidarity.

Interpersonal and Interfamilial Contacts. The casualness and informality associated with contacts on both interpersonal and interfamilial levels suggest the basic primary group structure of the community. People just "run into" each other. Designed or planned contacts are few and when they occur, they apparently have little or no significance in terms of the larger group structure.[1] Visiting among the families is a common occurence, but visits are seldom "invitational affairs." Social intermingly reaches its greatest peaks on Saturdays when just about everybody "goes to town" and on Sundays between and after services. Here again, contacts are intimate and face to face. "Mr." and "Mrs." are prefixes seldom if ever used. Informality and "ease" characterize conversation, joking and bantering, regardless of formal differences of income, land tenure status, dress and other "official" marks of class and caste.

Indian Woods has a hunting club. When an informant was asked what was the basis for club membership, he responded that "anyone can 'jine' if he likes to and can hunt if he pays his dues." One member of the club is perhaps the community's most enterprising citizen. Among members of the club is one of the community's least enterprising citizens. Where performance is important, the measure of the

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[1] Indian Woods has a few fraternal and other voluntary associations, but in terms of how they affect interpersonal and interfamilial relations in the larger community, must be considered merely as ends in themselves.

man is for the most part determined by the nature of his performance. If there is such a thing as a status system in Indian Woods, performance in whatever category one happens to fall at a particular time is its basis. Thus, among the "fishing crowd," a good fisherman is recognized as such. When "praying time" comes at the church, it is significant that "Sister So and So" and "Brother So and So" are known as people who can "show 'nough pray." So it goes with singing in the choir, making remarks or "testifying" in the church service, and other roles where performance is generally observed by others. The point to be remembered, however, is that good and "recognized" performances in any of these categories do not in themselves impute any prestiges of a derivative sort to the performer. Thus, status and prestige, however else they can be considered as far as Indian Woods is concerned, are dynamic phenomena subject to redefinition whenever performance or assessment of performance changes.[1]

If social values, by definition, are the things people want, the goals they see and cherish; if they represent appraisals of worth and adequacy, then the value system of Indian Woods seems clearly defined.[2] Most people in the community seem aware of a common origin and express in one way or another something of a sense of

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[1] If there is exception to such a concept of status, it is to be found in the organization of the Indian Woods Baptist Church. Here for generations there has been rigid separation of people in the matter of seating. Such separation or "segregation" is based on age and sex. Men and women sit separately and differentiation is made within sex categories on basis of age. It is doubtful, however, whether significant valuations are placed on such separations to the extent that there are feelings of prestige either of positive or negative character. This probably falls more in the area of custom chrystallized by religious mores than anywhere else.

[2] Cf. Lloyd A. and Elaine F. Cook, A Sociological Approach to Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.), p. 65.

historic and devine mission. Regardless of the discipline or frame of reference a trained observer might employ in investigating and analyzing the community structure, he could hardly escape the conclusion that it veers far toward the sacred extreme of a sacred-secular continum. Whatever evidences of secularization one might observe during the daily life activities of the people, the fact remains that life in Indian Woods has intensive and significant religious orientation. In a basic and fundamental sense, the "axes of life" revolve around a folk concept of God and the Hereafter. Indian Woods Baptist Church is the formal structure which constitutes the main reference point for evaluation of individual, family and community worth.

Whatever ones accomplishments from Monday through Saturday, to be inexcusedly absent from Sunday School and Church on Sunday is considered something of a serious breach of community welfare.[1] Just about every one of the eighty or more families in the community has for generations been identified with the Church.[2] There is only one family that lives completely outside the church. Oddly enough, the head of this family represents one of the most, if not the most, successful farmers in the community and adjacent farming areas. In spite of his success as a farmer, however, many citizens looked upon him as falling far short of the "ideal Indian Woodsman." To be significant, purely securlar successes and realizations must of necessity have religious sanction. Not to go to church means denial of such sanction and thus negative valuation of the realizations.[3]

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[1]It is doubtful that his survey could ever have been made had not proper introduction to the community through the church been made. The investigators attended and participated in Sunday School and Church activities before the first informant was interviewed.

[2]There had been no changes of consequence even in the structure of the church as far back as even the oldest resident could remember.

[3]For a long time, the existence of the "rebel" family was not known. Indian Woodsmen are protective of their "solidarity", and noe of the informants wanted investigators to interview its head. He was a strong, intense, highly individualistic man. His convictions were strong and he defended them despite his lack of education, with considerable "logic" and articulateness. He did not relate material well-being or poverty to religious factors.

Within the religious context of life in Indian Woods, paradoxically, considerable valuation is placed upon individual liberty and freedom. Consistent with the "American Dream", the individual is relatively free to work out his own pattern of life and to define his own situation of happiness and well-being. That deviant social and personality types are few and inconspicuous in Indian Woods documents somewhat the observation of community solidarity and of clear and accepted definitions of individual roles and functions so necessary for such unity.

Material well-being is evident in varying degrees as one looks about the community, but nobody appears particularly interested in "keeping up with the Joneses." The usefulness of things is generally more important than mere ownership. Although it cannot be denied that some of the people place high value on possession of material things per se, such a concept of "good living" does not seem to characterize the general populace. Eating and sleeping and "praising the Lord" are basic concepts in the value system of the people. Economic life has considerable orientation toward such ends. Social life and recreation, which certainly are not separate from these concepts must be thought of as values within the simplicity of life patterns characteristic of the folk sub-culture.[1]

If the old adults are asked what it is that Indian Woods gives them, most of them will say "peace of mind and a feeling of being wanted." Young adults apparently have not reached a decision of finality such as their elders, but they indicate substantially the same thing. They say "We like it here, although there is nothing much to do. Nobody bothers you out here, and we don't have no trouble from people in town."

"We aren't worried about anything. We get along fine." To most questions relating to being happy, most of the children say "Yes Sir." To those relating to

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[1]This is to say that "having a good time and enjoying oneself" may be of considerable value in the community, but what constitutes a good time may be going to town "jest to look" or "jest setting" on one's front porch.

unhappiness, they say "No Sir." Those youths who sense attitudes of dissatisfaction but cannot clearly verbalize them indicate in indecisive ways a reluctance to mode out of a way of life that satisfies the kinds of which goals they have been socialized to have.

Thus, it would seem that simple security, defined in part by having at least the minimum necessities for survival but also defined in terms of complete faith in continued situations of mutual response on all levels of association, constitutes the basic goal pattern of the community. Such a concept of security as a community goal pattern, however, it meaningless except as it is viewed within the religious frame of reference against which the desirability or undersirability of most behavior in Indian Woods is ultimately appraised.

THE WEB OF POWER: THE INDIAN WOODS BAPTIST CHURCH

The Church

The Indian Woods Baptist Church, although conveived of in terms of spiritual salvation, is nevertheless, the most powerful single institution in the community. Indeed, the importance of its power relations are not limited to the Negro community but extend in some degree into the surrounding white culture. Without attempting to probe into the historical development of the Indian Woods Baptist Church, which is hazy and indefinite, it is evident that its primary position stems from the fact that more than any other institution in the community, the Church fills the deeply felt needs of the people. It is the Indian Woods Baptist Church, which incidentally, is the only church in the community, even more than the school,which performs the following primary functions:

1. It brings the people together for a common cause.
2. It trains them for concerted action.
3. It provides an organized followship for the community leaders
4. It formulates and spreads theories of accomodation and protest.
5. It supplies the community with religious guidance and education and the opportunity for spiritual salvation.

The Indian Woods Community is an intensely religious community with all persons excepting three attending the Indian Woods Baptist Church and making surprisingly generous financial contributions with considerable regularity. However, females seem to attend more regularly than males, the middle-aged and old, more than the youth. Yet, the Church confers possibly the greatest degree of prestige and respectability that can be bestowed by the community, and as the young men, almost without exception, wish eventually to achieve the reverend title of "Deacon," there is a tendency for the youth, upon marrying,

to attend the church.

Except for its excessive emotionalism, the Indian Woods Baptist Church is much like any lower class Protestant church. However, it has made a few interesting innovations in the mechanics of the service. For instance, the seating arrangements, apparently steeped in ancient habitpatterns, are strictly, if tacitly enforced. The young children occupy the front center seats, the very old women sit to the right of the pulpit, the deacons and a few matrons of status, sit on the left of the pulpit; and the young married couples and visitors occupy the remainder of the pews. The adolescent males generally sit in the small balcony.

Another interesting feature is found in the personal glorification of the minister; the first order of service being a paean of praise to the preacher by the children, the refrain of which says repetiously, but devoutly: "Reverend _____ we love you ...."

Further, the spiritual singing by the Youth Choir is undoubtedly different from that found in the more sophisticated centers of urban worship. When the Choir lifts its voice in song an ingenuous and infectious rythm dominates the atmosphere and pervades the being of even the most placid listener, and indeed, if one should close his eyes and concentrate on the rhythm rather than the traditional religious lyrics, he would find it difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate between these holy hymns and those tunes which have largely been responsible for the popularity of Beale Street and Tin Pan Alley. Caught up by the rollicking spirits of their own efforts the Choir sways and rocks as it sings, constantly being stimulated by the ejaculations of approval expressed by their rapt and captivated audience.

The Indian Woods Church seeks to make itself indispensable to the people of the community and therefore undertakes many functions of a social nature. It provides effective organization of the whole community. It is the most approved and tolerated place for most social activities. It is the accepted forum for expression on many issues. It is an outlet for emotional repressions. And finally, it is a plan for social living. It is not suggested that the people of Indian Woods actually conceive of their Church in terms of these academic factors. To the people of the community the Church is not only an outlet for one's religious emotions, but also a recognized social center, an arena for the exercise of one's capabilities and powers, an institution in which one may acheive selr-realization and preferment. Thue, the women of the community are afforded an opportunity to display their talents and ability for leadership by being allowed to give a "Missionary Service," immediately following the regular Sunday worship service. It is interesting to note that the "Missionary Service," is actually a repetition of the regular service, the basic difference being that it is organized and directed entirely by the women.

In addition, going to Church means that aside from any spiritual benefits derived, an opportunity for dressing up in one's best clothes, of forgetting for the time being the trials and tribulations of every day life, of having a chance to meet and talk and laugh with one's fellows, and to cast an appraising and approving eye upon the opposite sex. Yet, despite these many advantages, an integral part of church attendance is to be found in the fact that there is no other organization or agency in the community which can meet these needs of the people. Thue, since the members of the community are largely self-

contained socially, and are curtailed in the world at large, the above attributes are somewhat magnified.

The Minister

The Indian Woods Church, like many rural churches of today, has an irregular ministry, and though a Sunday School is held every Sunday by the members of the congregation themselves; a full-fledged church service is held only on the third Sunday of each month. While attendance is commendable at all times, the church is generally filled to overflowing on "preaching" Sundays. The irregularity of the minister may be traced of course to the small size and limited economic resources of the community, which is financially unable to support a full-time minister. Although the very traditions of his profession requires and honors the concept of sacrifice, a minister must nevertheless contrive to stay out of debt. Thus, the minister at Indian Woods not only has several other rural churches in the County, but retains a regular teaching job as well. Since he is paid one hundred dollars ($100.00) per month by the Indian Woods Community alone, it may be assumed that his material security has not been impaired by his spiritual sacrifice.

The Church has recently undertaken the construction of a new church building to replace the present structure which was erected about fifty years ago. Evidence of the sizeable percentage of their incomes that is devoted to the church is seen in the fact that the new building will eventually cost $75,000.. Also enough cement blocks and bricks to build the exterior wall of the structure have already been purchased and fully paid for by the congregation.

The pastor of the Indian Woods Church is the acknowledged leader of the community despite his irregular visits to it, and despite the

fact that he maintains his residence in a small town at some distance away. However, because he has some degree of economic independence, he is not the typical accommodating rural Negro leader. In face, he not only permitted the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to hold a rally in his church, but strongly urged his members to attend and to pay their annual dues. Similarly, his social orientation could be seen by the emphasis he placed upon encouraging the reluctant parents to have their children vaccinated with the Salk polio vaccine. However, his main emphasis still remains the time-honored technique of sublimating the frustrations of his congregation into emotionalism; to fix their eyes and hopes firmly on the after-world. The appeals used by the minister, his way of handling his voice and the movements of his body, and the responses given by his audience, are all attuned to and begotten from theological rather than secular problems.

In this situation, the chief prerequisite for becoming a minister is not education and preparation in the field of religion, but a "call" which in so far as may be determined, seems to be a manisfestation of temporary hysteria or opportunistic self-inspiration than of a deep soul-searching. And the opinion may be tenered that the sudden desire several years ago of the minister of the Indian Woods Baptist Church to preach the gospel was influenced by each of these factors.

Although, the minister is the prime leader of the community, his financial dependence upon the active members of the church, makes for a fundamental democratization of the church and its activities. While this may be said to have many advantages, there also incurs certain

dangers for the minister's integrity. At Indian Woods the minister is a diplomat, a philosopher, a businessman, a preacher, a most astute politician, a father confessor, an accomplished actor, an itinerant lawyer, a humorist, and many other things besides. But danger lurks in the fact that since he is the most powerful and skilled practitioner of these varied arts his integrity is exposed to corruption. For power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

Conclusion

The Indian Woods Baptist Church is undoubtedly a power institution. It has the people of the community organized, and if the church elders decided to do so, they could line them up behind a program. However, the church is actually passive in the field of economic political, or interracial power relations. It generally provides its facilities and encourages its members to attend when other organizations want to influence the people, but viewed as an instrument of collective action to improve the position of the people of Indian Woods, it has apparently been relatively inefficient and uninfluential.

This may be deemed deplorable, but it is not surprising, nor is it suggested as an effort to castigate the Indian Woods Church. Churches have generally conformed to the power situation of the time and the locality, and the Indian Woods Church is no exception. It favors a rather passive acceptance of one's worldly condition, and, indeed, sees its main function as that of providing escape and consolation to the sufferers.

Further, it must not be forgotten that the Indian Woods Church is fundamentally an expression of the Indian Woods Community itself.

If the Church is otherworldly in outlook and indulges in emotional ecstasy, it is primarily because the downtrodden, Negroes of the community have craved religious escape from their poverty and other tribulations. When the community changes the church also will change. Few churches have ever been the spearheads of reform. Thus, few persons can question the church as such, its benevolent influence and its great potentialities.

IMPACT OF OUTSIDE WORLD

Indian Woods has no newspaper, no telephones, no public transportation facilities. A few families have television sets; a number of them have radios. These media represent the sole contacts with the outside world through which events can be related at approximate time of occurrence. The outside world for many of the people consists of Windsor, the County Seat; Williamston, a little tobacco town less than twenty miles to the wouthwest; Tarboro where one of the few Negro physicians in the area has a clinic and in which there is a slightly bigger shopping district than can be found in Windsor, and Norfolk, Virginia, the big seqport town that li s not too far distant to the North and East. Although most Indian Woodsmen are aware of these places and public transportation facilities to them are rather quick and convenient, few of them make frequent visits to such places. Indeed a number of the people look far beyond all of these places when expressing a desire to "get out" of Indian Woods. Washington, Philadelphia and New York, places "up North" where the relatives live are the places for "dream visits." Few of them are actually "concerned," however, whether they will ever get to these places.

The oldest informant, a spry and rather keen-witted gentleman, for all his ninety (plus or minus) years, had been as "far north as Washington" on a couple of occasions. He was twenty-two years old before he made his first trip out of Indian Woods and immediate environment. Even then, he walked to Parmele, a little town less than forty miles away, where he caught a train to Little Washington, North Carolina, just a short distance from Parmele. To put it his way:

> At about twenty-two, I went to Little Washington and worked for a year at eighty cents a day in the sawmill. I walked as far as Parmele through the low ground. When I got to Little Washington, I had fifteen

cent. Other than Washington, I have only been to Suffolk, Virginia. I have never been to Georgia or South Carolina or Tennessee. I always heard they were 'tough places.'

The case of this informant is not extremely a typical. Contacts with the outside world, either directly or vicariously, have been rather infrequent and superficial for most of the people of Indian Woods. Letters from the "folks" outside constitutes one of the chief means of contact. It is doubtful, however, that in such cases things other than those of personal consideration are revealed. A letter might, for example, reveal how "Aunt Susie or Uncle Jim" are "getting along", but not too much about events of general public interest. Thus, one may assume that the inflow of ideas, social forms, moral codes, and ways of living is rather slow and that the impact of none is ever strong enough to produce cultural shock.

Indian Woods is basically a folk culture and thus emphasizes the traditional and the customary ways of doing things. Since isolation is only relative, one may find a bit of the new mized in with the old. Indeed, in many material areas of the culture, the new predominates. Tractors, washing machines, electric refrigerators, television, and modern dress patterns are interwoven with two-wheel carts, mules, "number two" wash-tubs as bath-tubs, patriarchy and "old time religion."[1] There are few iconoclasts in Indian Woods, as ancestral patterns pervade ways of thought and of action.

As one competent observer as well as informant put it:

> This is a relatively static community. Changes come when someone is convinced and does well. Few people seek social or personal advice. They are rugged individualists. Not over five new people come here in the past twenty years. Most live here until they die. Families have great solidarity as far as outsiders are concerned. The whites say 'you can't get anything out of is.' We have differences but not serious ones.

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[1] Informant estimates about 12 television sets in the community. About 80 per cent of the families have washing machines and most of them have radio and refrigerators. Only a few have home freezers.

Indian Woods seems devoid of individuals with anxiety neuroses and other psychoneurotic conditions associated with frustration. It seems that in missing many of the blessings of America's material and technological progress, her people have escaped many of her ills. Institutional forms of coercion and control combine with the more informal law of custom and of the mores to set the bounds and limitations of the individual's behavior. These he seems to understand and in general accept. Although new social forms and codes may "seep in" from the outside world, they are either modified to fit prevailing patterns or are discarded.

Familial roles and functions seem clearly defined and, though quasi-authoritatian and "out of cadence with the times", minimized indecision and personal frustration. Division of labor is simple and personal roles are few in number. There are few choices that the individual can make; thus there are few that he must make. The outside world, as yet, has not made sufficient impact to produce the complexities of social and economic organization and structure that force on the individual the necessity of choosing, happily or unhappily, the alternatives.