ARTHUR F RAPER: THE NEW DEAL FROM THE OLD SOUTH TO THE NEW SOUTH

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Abstract

Arthur F. Raper (1899-1979) was a sociologist who studied the rural South during the Great Depression, focusing on the impact of the New Deal as the South transitioned away from the plantation system. This paper focuses on the question: What role did Raper believe the New Deal should play in the rural South? This paper argues that Raper believed New Deal programs could aid the South in moving on from the plantation system, and address the class, racial, and environmental issues he observed. Raper used several New Deal programs including the FSA, AAA, and CCC to provide economic relief to sharecroppers and tenant farmers and to implement soil conservation efforts and better farming practices. Raper criticized the New Deal for favoring whites over blacks and sought additional ways to improve racial issues such as supporting anti-lynching legislation and proving the inequalities between white and black schools. This paper draws three conclusions: first, Raper's numerous studies exposed that the South's economic, race, and environmental problems largely stemmed from its plantation economy; Second, Raper successfully initiated several New Deal programs in Greene County, Georgia, addressing it's economic, racial, and environmental issues; Finally, as a Southerner himself, Raper's work provided a necessary perspective of the South.

Arthur F. Raper (1899-1979) was a sociologist who studied race and class relations in the rural South during the Great Depression era before expanding his involvement in rural development to a global scale following World War II. Raper was a liberal whose beliefs were often considered radical, frequently resulting in accusations that he belonged to the Communist party. His domestic work included positions on the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the United States Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Agriculture Economics, as well as research and teaching positions at several colleges and universities. Raper published several books and articles on topics that concerned life in the rural South, including negative manifestations of southern cultural practices like lynching, sharecropping, and rural development. Raper's work stood out as it successfully combined data and statistics with real stories from the communities he studied. This paper focuses on the question: What role did Raper believe the New Deal should play in the rural South? This paper argues that Raper believed that New Deal programs could aid the South to progress beyond the outdated, immoral, and undemocratic plantation system plantation system, and would address the negatively constructed class, racial, and environmental issues he observed and wrote about.

Historians have disagreed over the effectiveness of social scientists, such as Arthur Raper, who used New Deal programs to initiate change in the rural South. Some historians argue that reformers like Raper played an important role in implementing New Deal programs that brought much needed aid to rural communities and ended the exploitative practices of the plantation system.[1]Other historians criticize these same social scientists for supporting programs that did not sufficiently help Southerners through their economic struggles.[2] This paper supports the first interpretation and argues that Raper successfully used New Deal programs to address the deteriorating social and economic issues caused by the plantation system.

Background

Raper was born and raised on a yeoman family farm in rural North Carolina, which provided his work a unique criticism of the rural South from one of its own.[3] Raper confessed, "as a Southerner I express the hope that as the New South emerges that the best of the Old South may be retained."[4] Raper's work on the rural South is documented in his books: The Tragedy of Lynching (1933), Preface to Peasantry (1936), Sharecroppers All (1941), and Tenants of the Almighty (1943), as well as numerous scholarly articles. Raper also made significant contributions to Gunnar Myrdal's revisionist historical work An American Dilemma (1944).[5]

Most of Raper's study of the rural South was focused on Greene County, Georgia. In the 1830's. Georgia was the leading cotton state in the country with Greene producing more than any other county.[6] The Greene County that Raper found a century later, however, had been devastated by the disintegration of the plantation system, the Great Depression, soil erosion, and a boll weevil infestation.[7] Raper's depiction of Greene County and the initiation of the first New Deal programs he recorded in Preface to Peasantry caught the attention of the Department of Agriculture and was chosen as a model county for the new Unified Farm Program (UFP), the results of which Raper recorded in Tenants of the Almighty. The UFP combined the efforts of the Bureau of Agriculture Economics (BAE) and Farm Security Administration (FSA) in agricultural counties to efficiently bring federal, state, and local aid to farm families.[8]

At the time, the South was still in transition from the Old South to the New South. The Old South and New South are generally defined as the time before and after Reconstruction (1865-77). The transition took the agricultural South from a slave-dependent plantation system to industrialization. Raper studied a South caught somewhere between the new and the old. The

plantation system, now dependent on sharecroppers and tenant farmers rather than slaves, was disintegrating, while industrialization was slowly creeping into the rural regions.[9]

Economic and Class Issues

Raper argued that the Great Depression hit the South before the rest of the nation. Cotton markets flourished during the First World War but crashed in the 1920s when the war and high demand for cotton ended.[10] Between 1920 and 1921, gross farm income dropped forty percent while total farm value dropped fifty percent between 1920 and 1925. Lint cotton worth $296,261,000 in 1919 had dropped to just 29,782,000 by 1932[11] Raper concluded that, under the plantation system of the Old South, "per capita production was not enough to support the population."[12] The New Deal sought to tackle this issue through the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA). The AAA wanted to bring supply and demand into balance by restricting the amount of cotton produced. Farmers were paid not to plant portions of their field to reduce production and increase prices. The AAA successfully helped increase farm income by about fifty percent between 1932 and 1935. [13]

Raper determined that the plantation system functioned on the exploitation of sharecroppers and tenant farmers. In Sharecroppers All, Raper produced the most detailed documentation of the sharecropping condition at the time.[14] Tennant farmers rented a parcel of land for a set price each year and were responsible for their own supplies and equipment. The crop's sale was used to rent the next year's land, purchase seed, and buy any necessary equipment. Sharecroppers were furnished in advance of the growing season their supplies, equipment, and other necessities such as food and clothing by their landlords. The sharecroppers and landlords received fixed shares of the crop's sales with the sharecropper using his's share to repay the

landlord, with interest, the cost of the furnishings.[15] Over nine million Southerners were tenant farmers, which included seventy-five percent of Greene County's farming population.[16]

Raper viewed sharecroppers and tenant farmers as sub-peasants; inspiring the title of Preface to Peasantry. It was his belief that "the Black Belt plantation economy … prepares the land and the man for the emergence of a peasant rather than for the appearance of the traditional independent farmer…. The collapse of the Black Belt plantation system is a preface to American peasantry."[17] A large amount of the landlord's income came from the interest earned on furnishing his tenants with their work product and daily sustenance. The landlord would advance supplies and food to the farmers in the beginning of the growing season and collect on average 10 percent interest until the crops sold and the farmers could repay their debts.[18] The New Deal's programs sought to decrease the sharecropper's and tenant farmer's financial dependency. The federal government's Emergency Crop Loan Department was created to provide financial support to farmers who could not afford to plant the next crop. In Georgia, nearly 100,000 loans were issued in 1933.[19]

Raper argued that the plantation system was also responsible for the rural South's public health problems. There was hardly any maternal or child health care.[20] Raper observed that most women gave birth with only the assistance of midwives, as doctors resided in town and charged an extra fee per mile that they traveled. Both meant that most poor rural families were unable to afford medical care. While midwives generally had lower cases of both maternal and infant mortality, they were unequipped to deal with emergency situations like doctors. Additionally, due to the patriarchal takeover of medicine throughout the United States, many states, including Georgia, had sought to drive out midwifery through laws and corrupt licensing requirements that drastically reduced the number of qualified midwives. [21] Raper noted that in most rural towns

veterinarians were more available than physicians.[22] Raper found that the implications of this general lack of medical care were obvious, as Greene County had an infant mortality rate per thousand of 120.0 compared to 59.4 for Georgia as a whole.[23] He additionally found that disease and malnutrition were abundant among sharecroppers and tenant farmers.[24]

The Unified Farm Program utilized federal and state funding to improve Greene County's health situation. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) installed two hundred public sanitary privies. Two part-time nurses were hired from the State Health Department to oversee midwives, administer vaccines, and examine school children. Clinics were also opened to treat and prevent syphilis, typhoid, and diphtheria.[25]

The plantation system, according to Raper, led to malnutrition among farming families. To increase their profits, many landlords forbade their tenants from growing their own vegetable gardens. This restriction was meant to ensured that farmers spent all their time and energy on growing cotton and that landlords would profit from the interest collected on furnishing food to their tenants.[26] The diets of the farmers were referred to as the meat, meal, and molasses or the 3 m's diet and typically had little nutritional value. Ironically, fresh produce was seldom found in farming homes. One home supervisor discovered that three quarters of her clients had never even seen a carrot before.[27]

One of the most successful projects was the FSA's garden and canning initiative that was a step in the direction of self-sufficiency for sharecroppers. Farmers were given supplies and funding to start their own gardens. They were given additional supplies as well as tutorials on canning their crops so that their produce could be consumed year round.[28] While many families were initially reluctant, they were reminded that growing their own food would save them money and that failure to comply would disqualify them from the Rural Rehabilitation loans that many of

them relied on to fund the next year's crop.[29] Raper saw the initiative as creating a "balance between the waning plantation system and the new democratic hopes…."[30] He deemed it a success that more than 80 percent of participating families used their saved income to pay back loans.[31] Raper was additionally able to prove to landlords that gardening would actually increase their profits, as their tenants worked harder when well-nourished and with a new sense of self-worth.[32]

The plantation system prompted a mass migration out of the rural South. From 1920 to 1930, more than one third of Greene County's population moved away, often to cities.[33] More than 90 percent of Atlanta's unemployed were born in plantation regions, most often Greene, Morgan, and Putnam counties. The ex-farmers were often unemployed due to a lack of transferable skills from farm to factory. Most women struggled to get hired as domestic servants because they were unfamiliar with modern home appliances.[34] Often times, only young and middle-aged adults who were more likely to find work, were the only members of their household to migrate to the cities. The elderly, young children, and the disabled, all unable to support themselves, were left behind.[35] Old-Age Assistance, under the Social Security Act was given to the elderly, and additional aid was provided to dependent children and the blind.[36]

Raper attributed many of the South's economic problems to its slow effort to mechanize. He explained that there was an economic issue because farmers "have been using the money earned in a hand economy to buy consumer goods in a machine economy…."[37] This problem was especially apparent in Greene County as well as throughout the cotton belt as cotton and tobacco were the least mechanized crop in the nation.[38] Raper explained that mechanization was contributing to the migration problem, as one tractor could replace one or more farming families. He notes that from 1930 to 1945 there was a decrease in 337,303 farm operators compared to an increase of 133,000 tractors.[39] Another study similarly found that from 1940 to 1960 while the

index of man hours of farm work dropped from 191 to 92, output per hour increased threefold.[40] He demonstrated that displaced farmers often ended up in cities, but with no experience or training outside of farming making most unqualified for industrial jobs; most struggled to find alternative employment.[41] Raper suggested that communities should arrange training, set up employment agencies, and establish vocational schools to aid those who had lost their farming jobs.[42]

Despite the displacement of many farmers, Raper saw mechanization as a necessity in order for the South to modernize the plantation system. He saw great benefits for the farmers who were able to stay, as mechanization meant they could produce more cotton thus affording them better living conditions and health care. From 1940 to 1950, farm tenancy decreased by 20 percent while farm ownership increased more than eight percent. No longer needed in the fields, children could attend school more often, with some families being able to afford sending their children through high school and even college. One community noted that mechanization resulted in an increase in school attendance for children between the ages of 5 and 19. The community also recorded a significant increase in church attendance, which Raper viewed as a vital distinction between strong and weak communities. [43]

Although he strongly supported the New Deal, Raper found it flawed and had several constructive criticisms about its administration. Acknowledging the good the New Deal did for sharecroppers and tenant farmers, Raper also found that the economy of the plantation system he wanted to dismantle had been temporarily revitalized.[44] Raper felt that the potential of some programs was hindered by the conservative views of the government employees tasked with supervising them. For example, he thought that Ed Downs, head of the FSA in Greene County, was too close with the landlords. Additionally, an FSA supervisor had expressed the conflict he felt between his job and being the son of a store owner who extended credit to the sharecroppers

and benefited from the system of oppression against them.[45] Raper also found that, especially early on, some landlords would collect all of the benefit payments and not pass on the proper share to their sharecroppers or tenants who often did not realize they were entitled to benefits or were afraid they would lose their jobs if they asked.[46]

Raper concluded that the New Deal successfully addressed some of the South's economic problems and improved the living and working conditions of many Greene County sharecroppers and tenant farmers. In Franklin D. Roosevelt's first term, gross farm incomes rose by half.[47] There was relative prosperity throughout the Black Belt and Raper even believed the rural South was leading the nation's recovery. He thought that the success in Greene County demonstrated the potential impact the New Deal could have in the rest of the rural South.[48] Raper explained that The New Deal had become such an important part of Greene County's history that residents used the term "before the government" to refer to the time before the New Deal much like they did with "before the war" to refer to the time before World War I. He found that the New Deal "gave these people maybe a first chance they had had to believe they could ever be anything accept a sharecropper's son or a sharecropper's daughter…,"[49] In Greene County, he saw the New Deal had given residents a new sense of hope and created aspirations and desires for a better future.[50]

Racial Issues

Raper was also concerned with the impact of the plantation system on the plight of the South's black population; he was considered one of the most outspoken and progressive amongst his peers on race relations. Raper felt that race relations could not be ignored in his study of the Black Belt, named for it's more than half black population and former home to some of the nation's largest slave plantations.[51] Raper first became professionally involved in race relations when he joined the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) and studied lynching. In 1933, he published,

The Tragedy of Lynching.[52] Despite coming to a similar conclusion as NAACP president Walter White had in Ropes and Faggots (1929), the South's white population was more receptive to Raper's message because, unlike White he was both from the South and white.[53] Raper found that after the Civil War the plantation system had adapted to "keep the Negro in his place," by making him financially dependent on the white population.[54]

Raper often felt that blacks did not receive their fair share of New Deal benefits. Raper claimed "the AAA, WPA, FSA, NYA, and CCC are merely initials to many Negroes in the South…."[55] Raper cited a WPA study that concluded that blacks had not received as high a proportion of acceptance into the Civilian Conservation Corps as whites had in the rural South.[56] Raper also noticed issues amongst some of the white supervisors of the program who had never dealt with black farmers on a regular basis. Raper's plan to tackle the racial problems in the South relied heavily on improving the economic situation of blacks, so he found it disheartening that they did not receive as much aid and consideration as the poor whites did.[57]

Despite his own criticisms, Raper was quick to defend the New Deal against critics who claimed it did more harm than good to the South's blacks. Raper found that some programs, including the National Youth Administration (NYA), treated blacks and whites equally, while the Social Security Act additionally provided many benefits to black mothers and children.[58] Many historians have supported these claims and praised Georgia's NYA for giving equal treatment to blacks and women as it did white men, claiming its efforts changed the lives of a generation's worth of Georgia's black rural youth.[59] Some critics had claimed that the AAA had led to landlords evicting their black tenants. A statistical analysis, however, proved that black migration was higher in the two years before the AAA than in the two years following it, meaning the AAA was not responsible for increasing migration.[60] The program most criticized for harming the black

population was the National Recovery Administration (NRA), dubbed by some as the "Negro Removal Act."[61] Many blacks feared that the NRA, which regulated wages, would cause them to lose their jobs. They feared that an employer would rather employ a white person over a black person if he had to pay the same wage regardless. Raper proved that while some blacks had lost their jobs to whites, it was a trend that had predated the NRA. Raper claimed that the NRA caused very few blacks their jobs while increasing the wages of many more.[62]

Raper argued that lynching was a direct product of the plantation system. While lynchings occurred throughout the country, Raper argued that they were largely a Southern problem. From 1882 to 1938, only 366 of the 3,397 black lynchings occurred outside the former Confederate states.[63] Raper additionally found a negative correlation between the price of cotton and the number of annual lynchings.[64] Raper explained that lynchings often stemmed from poor white resentment to black prosperity. This resentment grew in hard economic times as the competition between poor whites and blacks grew.[65] Raper supported Walter White's claim that "lynching is more an expression of Southern fear of Negro progress than of Negro crime."[66] Raper also discovered that lynchings were more abundant in places with little to no sense of community and that had a highly transient population, both characteristics of which were found in newer plantation towns.[67] Raper was a strong supporter of anti-lynching legislation believing that it would lead to more convictions if witnesses knew they would be protected for testifying.[68]

Although he never directly challenged segregation, Raper was very critical of the "separate but equal" policy. Raper was concerned that pushing controversial racial topics, such as segregation, would hinder efforts at addressing the South's economic and issues, which he saw as the root to most racial issues.[69] Racial equality was important to Raper, and he received backlash for hiring both blacks and whites for the Farm Security Administration.[70] Gunnar Myrdal, whom employed

numerous social scientists in his study on American race relations, considered only Raper and Ralph Bunche his most valuable contributors to An American Dilemma.[71] In "Race and Class Pressures" a manuscript prepared for Myrdal's study, and quoted in his book, Raper claims that "the phrase 'separate and equal' symbolizes the whole system, fair words to gain unfair ends."[72] Raper also praised the Southern Tenant Farm Union and the Delta Cooperative Farm for including both blacks and whites. Raper felt that races were pitted against each other to prevent black and white workers from joining forces against their exploitative employers.[73]

Raper was equally outspoken about the inequalities between white and black schools. He reported that there was little public interest in the education of black children. He asserted that the poor state of black schools was related to the white planter's attempt to keep the Negro in his place. The planter's logic was that the black's place in society was as a tenant farmer or wage hand, meaning that there is no reason to invest in their education.[74] Raper examined the expenditures of the Civil Works Administration and Federal Emergency Relief Administration and found that Negro schools in rural Georgia were both in the worst condition and receiving the smallest share of federal funds. In some places white schools were receiving up to sixty times as much public funding as black schools.[75]

Some of the harshest backlash Raper received during his career came from his stance on race relations. Raper had been indicted by Greene County's grand jury for addressing black people with the titles Mr. and Mrs.[76] He explained, "They had assumed that if I used titles for Negros, I might want to overthrow the government."[77] This attitude was not out of the ordinary in Greene County where a black man could be arrested for contempt of court for addressing a black woman as Mrs. in court.[78] Raper had to agree to stop using titles when addressing black people, making a promise to himself to no longer use them when addressing anyone instead.[79]

Raper's progressive views, including those other than on race, frequently had consequences for him. Jack Delano, the FSA photographer Raper worked with for several years, and his wife recalled that Raper's views had lost him his job at a Sunday school and had caused his young children to be physically attacked.[80] Delano also shared that a man, who had publicly admitted to killing a black man, claimed, "Raper should be electrocuted *under* the electric chair. He's not good enough to sit in it."[81] Raper's views about race ultimately forced him to resign from his position as a part-time sociology professor at Agnes Scott College. Field trips were an important part of Raper's teaching method, but he came under attack by the community after taking his students, all young white girls, to Tuskegee University, a historically black university.[82]

Agriculture and Environment Issues

Arthur Raper argued that the South's plantation system's exploitative practices extended beyond the laborer to the land. Raper explained that many Southerners thought it was "good business to get more from the earth… than he puts back."[83] He further called exploitation the "essence of the present-day plantation system."[84] Farmers used destructive practices in order to produce large quantities of crops at the lowest price. This was especially true among sharecroppers and tenant farmers who cared little about the long-term health of land they did not own. As Raper observed these cost saving tactics were starting to cost the South greatly.[85] In 1930 the South was responsible for 50%-60% of the nation's total eroded acres and covering 25% of the piedmont.[86] Raper additionally concluded that Greene county's migratory problem was much worse than Macon County's due to its graver soil conditions.[87]

The pressure of the plantation system gauged gullies into the South's landscape. Gullies are a severe form of soil erosion that often forms on hillsides where farming practices have left the topsoil thin and loose, easily washing away during rainfall.[88] Raper described gullies as "receipts

for the 'bargains' the system got out of virgin soil, slavery, and farm tenancy combined."[89] The effects of soil eroding farm practices also caused the Great Plain's Dust Bowl, where topsoil was picked up by the wind instead of being washed away.[90] He observed that soil erosion was worse in the Old Plantation section where the land has been exploited for longer. About two-thirds of this land had lost between three to eight inches of topsoil over the last two-hundred years. For comparison, Raper notes that this topsoil took an estimated two thousand to eight thousand years to form.[91]

Raper helped design and implement programs to prevent further soil erosion. These included the Department of the Interior's Soil Erosion Service, later replaced by the USDA's Soil Conservation Service (SCS), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the AAA, and the Unified Farm Program. In Greene County, the SCS and CCC planted soil building crops whose root systems prevented the soil from washing away, including 17,000 acres of Kudzu, 173 acres of sericea, and 2,000 of meadow. Additionally, several thousand acres in the worst conditions were purchased by the government and converted into forests and meadows, including much of today's Oconee National Forest. Terracing was also constructed along steep hillsides to prevent erosion.[92] In 1936, the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment act was passed making conservation a key element of basic agricultural policy. This act also paid farmers to take some of their land out of production for conservation efforts which alleviated the economic pressures farmers were under to plant every bit of their land.[93] Raper claimed that the story of the Unified Farm Program and Kudzu successfully demonstrated the goal of the program and the role of other New Deal programs in the South. Raper explained that Kudzu was already successfully used by a few farmers, but it's abundance and large-scale soil conservation was only made possible with the aid of the Unified

Program. This follows the reoccurring theme that Raper believed New Deal programs were most successful when they used aid to incentivize and encourage Southerner's to improve themselves.[94]

The South was suffering from soil deprivation, becoming reliant on commercial fertilizers to continue cotton production. The monoculture practices of the plantation system had depleted the land of its nutrients.[95] The costs of fertilizer per bail of cotton rose from $16 in 1919 to $665 in 1922.[96] With inflation and more fertilizer being needed as the soil became increasingly depleted, Georgia's cotton markets were suffering. In Sharecroppers All, Raper cites a 1934 WPA study that found 1/5 to 1/3 of all expenditures in the older cotton sections were for fertilizer. Compared to 1/20 in the Mississippi Delta and less than 1/30 in Arkansas, Georgia's cotton was faced with an expense its competition was not. The value of Georgia's cotton was the same as its competitors, meaning that its fertilizer expenses had a serious impact on its profitability.[97]

Several programs were used to invest in soil quality. Farmers could apply for AAA grants to cover their fertilizer costs. With government funding, farmers could afford to purchase enough fertilizer to fully cover the year's crop, preventing it from depleting the soil's natural nutrients any further. The AAA also intended the fertilizer to be used in the farmer's gardens and threatened to cut funding from those who refused to do so. Farmers were often reluctant because they felt using their precious fertilizer in gardens rather than on the crops was a waste and a poor financial decision, but the AAA assured them they would have enough for both. Additional incentives were given to farmers who began practicing crop rotation.[98] To eventually transition farmers from commercial to barnyard fertilizers, manure was collected from FSA supplied livestock. The FSA also constructed compost pens and encouraged families to actively give back to their soil.[99]

Raper called out the plantation system's exploitation of the land and helped create programs that transformed the South's farming practices. In "Gullies and What They Mean," Raper

contended that if the South continued its exploitative farming practices "the Old South will continue to wash away" but "if gullies of the South are stopped, a New South in a New America shall have emerged and stopped them."[100] Raper and these programs helped save thousands of Greene's acres and made soil conservation an important part of future agricultural policy. By encouraging farmers to actively work towards improving their land and by negotiating longer leases for tenant farmers and sharecroppers Raper helped forge a stronger bond between farmer and land.[101]

Conclusion

This paper draws three conclusions. First, Raper's numerous studies demonstrated that the South's economic, racial, and environmental problems largely stemmed from its plantation economy. He proved a correlation between the increase in lynchings and the decline in the cotton market. He explained that increased job competition between whites and blacks resulted in the migration of many black families to the cities. Raper exposed how sharecropping decreased farm productivity and worsened the economic situation. He also condemned the unsustainable practices of the plantation system which robbed the soil of nutrients leading to the abandonment of infertile farmlands and the need for mass amounts of expensive fertilizer in order to grow crops.

Second, Raper successfully initiated several New Deal programs in Greene County, Georgia, which improved it's economic, race, and environmental issues. These programs provided economic relief to tenant farmers**.** The programs also prompted tenant farmers to start gardens and to can their produce, which led to an improvement in their diets and overall health. Raper and the New Deal programs created stronger ties between tenant farmers and their lands by increasing lease lengths in order to make them more concerned over their treatment of the land. The programs also encouraged the planting of cover crops and other forms of investing back into the land.

Raper's success in Greene County showed many skeptics that the New Deal could transform the rural communities of the South.

Finally, Raper's work provided a necessary perspective on the South. Other political scientists had criticized the plantation system but were labeled as outsiders and their criticism was discounted. Raper was also more outspoken on racial issues than other Southern white liberals and his reiteration of what leading black activists had been claiming made other whites finally give those claims consideration. With writing more about the plight of sharecroppers than had ever been done before, it is evident that Raper was exceeding the efforts of other Southern social scientists. Raper's approach to sociology also contributed to his success. While many in Greene County were certainly unwelcoming of Raper, he had successfully integrated himself into the community providing the many anecdotes and the anthropological touch that made his books unique.

[1] For the defensive interpretation, see Daniel Joseph Singal, The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919-1945 (Chapel Hill,: University of North Carolina, 1982); Louis Mazzari, Southern Modernist: Arthur Raper from the New Deal to the Cold War (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006); Jess Gilbert, Planning Democracy: Agrarian Intellectuals and the Intended New Deal (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Richard S. Kirdendall, Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1966); Theodore Saloutos, The American Farmer and the New Deal (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1982).

[2] For the critical interpretation, see Don Parrlberg, "Effects of New Deal Farm Programs on the Agricultural Agenda a Half Century Later and Prospect for the Future," American Journal of Agricultural Economics 65, no. 5 (December 1983): 1163-67; Richard S. Kirdendall, Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt, (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1966)

[3] Mazzari, Southern Modernist, p. 3; Louis Mazzari, "Arthur Raper and Documentary Realism in Greene County, Georgia," Georgia Historical Society 87, no.3/4 (Fall/Winter 2003): 394.

[4] Arthur Raper, "Is There a New South?" New Republic, August 18, 1952, p. 11.

[5] Mazzari, Southern Modernist, pp. 5-7.

[6] Virginius Dabney, "Georgia's Doughty Stepchildren," New York Times, July 18, 1943, p. BR20.

[7] N.a., "Greene County Comes Back," The Atlanta Journal, August 31, 1941, p. 71.

[8] N.a., "Tenants of the Almighty by Arthur Raper," The Atlanta Journal, June 13, 1943, p. 77; N.a., "Greene County Comes Back," p. 71; Mazzari, Southern Modernist, p. 217.

[9] Edward L Ayers, The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 3-5. For the transition of Georgia's plantation system see Lewis N. Wynne, "The Role of Freedmen in the Post-Bellum Cotton Economy of Georgia," Phylon 42, no. 4 (4th Quarter, 1981): 309-21.

[10] Steven E. Knepper, "The Nation's Bioregion: The South in Pare Lorentz's The River," Southern Quarterly 55, no.1 (Fall 2017), p. 89.

[11] Paul Finkelman, and Peter Wallenstein, The Encyclopedia of American Political History, (Washington DC: CQ Press, 2001), p. 28; Michael S. Holmes, "From Euphoria to Cataclysm: Georgia Confronts the Great Depression," Georgia Historical Society 58, no. 3 (Fall 1974): 313, 317-18; Giovanni Federico, "Not Guilty? Agriculture in the 1920s and the Great Depression," The Journal of Economic History 65, no. 4 (December 2005): 969-70.

[12] Raper, "Is There a New South?" p. 10.

[13] Arthur F. Raper, Preface to Peasantry (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), p. 243; Finkelman, and Wallenstein, The Encyclopedia of American Political History, p. 30; Wayne D. Rasmussen, Gladys L. Baker, and James S. Ward, "A Short History of Agriculture Adjustment, 1933-75," Economic Research Service, United States Department of Agriculture, Agriculture Information Bulletin no. 391, (March 1976), p.4.

[14] Singal, The War Within, p. 305.

[15] Wynne, "The Role of Freedmen in the Post-Bellum Cotton Economy of Georgia," p. 316.

[16] R.L. Duffis, "A Grim but Able Study of the American South," New York Times, February 2, 1941, p. BR9; Scott L. Mathews, Capturing the South: Imagining America's Most Documented Region (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), p. 70. For sharecropping and farm tenancy see Arthur Raper, Sharecroppers All (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941); Lewis N. Wynne, "The Role of Freedmen in the Post-Bellum Cotton Economy of Georgia," Phylon 42, no. 4 (4th Quarter, 1981): 309-21; James Agee and Walker Evans, Let Us Now Praise Famous Men (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941).

[17] Raper, Preface to Peasantry, p. 4.

[18] Ibid., p. 22.

[19] Raper, Preface to Peasantry, pp. 228-29; Arthur F. Raper, Sharecroppers All (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 46.

[20] N.a., "Morality Urged by Joe Bowdoin," Macon Telegraph, June 10, 1939, p. 9.

[21] Joan M Jensen, "Politics and the American Midwife Controversy." Frontiers: A Journal of Woman Studies 1, no.2 (Spring 1976): 19-21.

[22] Raper, Sharecroppers All, p. 21.

[23] Raper, Preface to Peasantry, p. 69

[24] Raper, Sharecroppers All, p. 221.

[25] Arthur F. Raper, Tenants of the Almighty, (New York: Macmillan, 1943), pp. 207-8, 295; For the FSA's public health programs see, Michael R. Gray, New Deal Medicine: The Rural; Health Programs of the Farm Security Administration (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

[26] Raper, Sharecroppers All, p. 38; Raper, and Tappan, "Never Too Old to Learn New Tricks," p. 5; Duffis, "A Grim but Able Study of the American South," p. BR9.

[27] Arthur Raper, and Pearl Wheeler Tappan, "Never Too Old to Learn New Tricks: The Canning Program in Greene County, Georgia," Applied Anthropology 2, no. 3 (April-June 1943): 5; Raper, Preface to Peasantry, p. 52; Clifford M. Kuhn, "'It was a Long Way from Perfect, but it Was Working': The Canning and Home Production Initiatives in Greene County, Georgia, 1940-1942," Agricultural History 86, no. 2 (Spring 2012): 78.

[28] Raper, Sharecroppers All, p. 262.

[29] Raper, and Tappan, "Never Too Old to Learn New Tricks," p. 6; Kuhn, "'It was a Long Way from Perfect, but it Was Working',"p.77.

[30] Raper, and Tappan, "Never Too Old to Learn New Tricks," p. 10.

[31]Arthur Raper, and Ira De A. Reid, "Old Conflicts in the New South," The Virginia Quarterly Review 16, no. 2 (Spring 1940): 227-28.

[32] Raper, and Tappan, "Never Too Old to Learn New Tricks," p.11; Summers, "The New Deal Farm Programs," p. 243.

[33]N.a., "Greene County Comes Back," p. 71.

[34] Arthur Raper, "Gullies and What They Mean," Social Forces 16, no.2 (December 1937): 205-06; Mazzari, Southern Modernist, p. 107.

[35] Raper, Preface to Peasantry, p. 34.

[36] For this sentence see Raper, Tenants of the Almighty, pp. 205-06, 313; The Social Security Act of 1935 provided welfare for the elderly, disabled, dependent children, and single mothers. For the Social Security Act see Edwin E. Witte, "Old Age in the Social Security Act," Journal of Political Economy 45, no. 1 (February 1937): 1-44; Edgar Sydenstriker, "Public Health Provisions of the Social Security Act." Law and Contemporary Problems 3, no. 2 (April 1936): 263-70; Gareth Davies and Martha Derthick, "Race and Social Welfare Politics: The Social Security Act of 1935," Political Science Quarterly 112, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 217-35.

[37] Arthur Raper, "The Role of Agricultural Technology in Southern Social Change," Social Forces 25, no.1 (October 1946): 25.

[38] Raper, "The Role of Agricultural Technology in Southern Social Change," p. 21; Warren G. Whately, "Institutional Change and Mechanization in the Cotton South," The Journal of Economic History 44, no.2 (June 1984): 614-16

[39] Raper, "The Role of Agricultural Technology in Southern Social Change," pp. 23-24.

[40] Richard H. Day, "The Economics of Technological Change and the Demise if the Sharecropper," American Economic Review 57 (June 1967): 427-28.

[41] Raper, "The Role of Agricultural Technology in Southern Social Change," pp. 27-28.

[42] Ibid., p. 29.

[43] Raper, "The Role of Agricultural Technology in Southern Social Change," pp. 27, 30; Raper, "Is There a New South?" pp. 10-11; Valerie Grim, "The Impact of Mechanized Farming on Black Farm Families in the Rural South: A Study of Farm Life in the Brooks Farm Community, 1940-1970," Agricultural History 68, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 179.

[44] Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996), 1: p. 267; Kuhn, "'It was a Long Way from Perfect, but it Was Working',"p. 70.

[45] Kuhn, "'It was a Long Way from Perfect, but it Was Working',"p.75.

[46] Wilbur Joseph Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1941), p.
Cash, The Mind of the South, p. 395; Monica Richmond Gidolfi, "From Crop Lien to Contract Farming: The Roots of Agribusiness on the American South, 1929-1939," Agricultural History 80, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 174.

[47] Finkelman, and Wallenstein, The Encyclopedia of American Political History, p. 883.

[48] Raper, Preface to Peasantry, p. 272; Gilbert, Planning Democracy, p. 219.

[49] Raper, interview by Kuhn, quoted in Kuhn, "'It was a Long Way from Perfect, but it Was Working'," p. 86.

[50] Raper, "Is There a New South?" p. 11; Jess Gilbert, "Rural Sociology and Democratic Planning in the Third New Deal," Agricultural History 82, no .4 (Fall 2008): 433.

[51]John Chamberlain, "Books of the Times," New York Times, June 8, 1943. p. 19.

[52]John Egerton, Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2013), p. 156; Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and The Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), p. 328.

[53] Mazzari, Southern Modernist, pp. 72, 80, 101; Singal, The War Within, p. 332; Amy Kate Bailey, and Stewart E. Tolnay, Lynched: The Victims of Southern Mob Violence, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), p.122.

[54] Raper, "Gullies and What They Mean," p. 202; J. William Harris, Deep Souths: Delta, Piedmont, and Sea Island Society in the Age of Segregation (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), p. 287; Egerton, Speak Now Against the Day, p. 330.

[55] Raper, Sharecroppers All, p. 135.

[56] Ibid., pp. 134-35.

[57] Gilbert, "Rural Sociology and Democratic Planning in the Third New Deal," p. 431; Kuhn, "'It was a Long Way from Perfect, but it Was Working'," p. 75.

[58] Raper and Reid, "Old Conflicts in the New South," p. 227; James S. Sears, "Black Americans and the New Deal," The History Teacher 10, no.1 (November 1976): 89-105.

[59] Florence Fleming Corley, "The National Youth Administration in Georgia: A New Deal for Young Blacks and Women," The Georgia Historical Quarterly 77, no. 4 (Winter 1993): 728, 756.

[60] Finkelman, and Wallenstein, The Encyclopedia of American Political History, p. 883.

[61] Arthur Raper, "The Southern Negro and the NRA," The Georgia Historical Quarterly 64, no.2 (Summer 1980): 128.

[62] Ibid., pp. 129, 134-35.

[63] Cash, The Mind of the South, p. 299.

[64] Bailey, and Tolnay, Lynched, p. 203.

[65] Bailey, and Tolnay, Lynched, p. 122; Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 2: p. 561; Mazzari, Southern Modernist, pp. 84, 88-89.

[66] Bailey, and Tolnay, Lynched, p. 122.

[67]Singal, The War Within, pp. 332-33; Ayers, The Promise of the New South, pp. 156-57.

[68] For sentence see Raper, interview by Hall; Mazzari, Southern Modernist, p. 95. The anti-lynching bill attempted to establish lynching as a federal crime and was proposed as a solution to counteract local municipalities that took little to no action against lynchings of blacks. For the anti-lynching bill see William B. Harvey, "Constitutional Law: Anti-Lynching Legislation," Michigan Law Review 47, no.3 (January 1949): 369-77; William F. Pinar, "The N.A.A.C.P. and the Struggle for Anti-Lynching Federal Legislation 1917-1950." Counterpoints 163 (2001): 163-752.

[69] Harris, Deep Souths, p. 313.

[70] Mathews, Capturing the South, p. 79; Mazzari, Southern Modernist, p. 123.

[71] Southern, Gunnar Myrdal and Black-White Race Relations, p. 37.

[72] Myrdal, An American Dilemma, 2: p. 1353, n. 17.

[73] Raper, Sharecroppers All, pp. 256-57. For the Southern Tenant Farmers Union see Donald H. Grubbs, Cry from the Cotton: The Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the New Deal (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1971); H.L. Mitchell, "The Founding and Early History of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union," The Arkansas Historical Quarterly 32, no.4 (1973): 342-69.

[74]Arthur F. Raper, The Tragedy of Lynching, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933), p. 80; Mazzari, Southern Modernist, pp. 124-25.

[75] Raper, Preface to Peasantry, pp. 5, 311.

[76] Mazzari, "Arthur Raper and Documentary Realism," p. 404; Delano, interview.

[77] Harris, Deep Souths, p. 237.

[78] Lears, No Place of Grace, p. 171.

[79] Mathews, Capturing the South, p. 79.

[80] Delano, interview.

[81] Jack Delano, Photographic Memories (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1997), p. 38.

[82] Clifford M. Kuhn, "A Mind-Opening Influence of Great Importance," Southern Culture 18, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 82-84. The Tuskegee Institute is a historically black university located in Macon County, Georgia. For the Tuskegee institute see Monroe N. Work, "Tuskegee Institute More than an Educational Institution," The Journal of Educational Sociology 7, no. 3 (November 1933): 197-205; Budd Bailey, Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute (New York: Cavendish Square, 2016); Emmett Jay Scott, Tuskegee and its People: Their Ideals and Achievements (New York: Appleton, 1905).

[83] Raper, Sharecroppers All, p. 209.

[84] Ibid., p. 220.

[85] N.a., "Conservation Seen as a Moral Duty," New York Times, December 19, 1937, p.43; Paul S. Sutter, "What Gullies Mean: Georgia's "Little Grand Canyon" and Southern Environmental History," The Journal of Southern History 76, no. 3 (August 2010): 603-4.

[86] Sutter, "What Gullies Mean," p. 600; Cash, The Mind of the South, p. 280.

[87] Mazzari, Southern Modernist, p. 120.

[88] Raper, "Gullies and What They Mean," p. 201.

[89] Raper, Sharecroppers All, p. 220.

[90] Knepper, "The Nation's Bioregion." p. 90.

[91] Raper, "Gullies and What They Mean," pp. 203-4.

[92] Raper, Tenants of the Almighty, pp. 207, 228-30.

[93] Finkelman, and Wallenstein, The Encyclopedia of American Political History, pp. 31-32.

[94] Raper, Tenants of the Almighty, pp. 229-30.

[95] Knepper, "The Nation's Bioregion." p. 89; Dabney, "Georgia's Doughty Stepchildren," p. BR20; Benjamin S Child, The Whole Machinery: The Rural Modern in Cultures of the U.S. South 1890-1946 (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2019), p. 56.

[96] Raper, Preface to Peasantry, pp. 204-5.

[97] Raper, Sharecroppers All, p. 29.

[98] Raper, Tenants of the Almighty, p. 228; Finkelman, and Wallenstein, The Encyclopedia of American Political History, p. 33.

[99] Raper, Tenants of the Almighty, p. 242.

[100] Raper, "Gullies and What They Mean," p. 207.

[101] Finkelman, and Wallenstein, The Encyclopedia of American Political History, pp. 31-32; Raper, and Tappan, "Never Too Old to Learn New Tricks," p. 6.

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