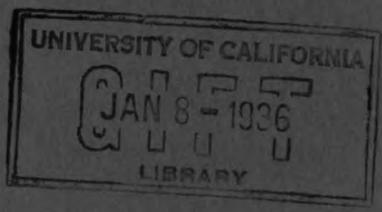


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Fourth Annual Report
of the
Eugenics Survey of Vermont
March, 1930



Auspices of the University of Vermont

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Office of the Survey, 138 Church Street
Burlington, Vermont

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FOREWORD

In its present capacity as coordinate with two other subcommittees working on the Comprehensive Survey of Rural Vermont, the Eugenics Survey of Vermont has been cooperating as fully as possible under the general supervision of the Committee on the Human Factor of which President Paul Moody of Middlebury College is Chairman. There has been gratifying cooperation between the committees and subcommittees of the Vermont Commission on Country Life and some of the work described in this report was suggested or has been facilitated by other divisions of the larger enterprise.

Miss Mary V. Bolton, field worker for the Subcommittee on the Handicapped and Miss Genieve Lamson, field worker for the Subcommittee on Population Changes have been in frequent conference with Mrs. Wadman and Miss Anderson. Members of the Advisory Committee have, as always, given unreservedly of their time and counsel.

The table of contents lists the activities upon which the Survey has been engaged since March, 1929. The account of each study tells its own story and further comment in this place is unnecessary.

March 13, 1930.

I. INSTITUTIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

Introduction

The membership of the Advisory Committee of the Eugenics Survey includes several representatives of the State Department of Public Welfare. This might be regarded as sufficient ground for investigation by the Survey of problems impinging upon the territory of that Department. Another more important reason for the following studies is the fact that the future population of Vermont will be mostly the children and grandchildren of the present generation of Vermonters. It is good eugenical practice to examine the present sources, both good and bad, of that future population and, in so far as the present generation are passing on undesirable characteristics, to discover if possible the best means of checking that trend.

It therefore seemed reasonable to include in the program of the Eugenics Survey a study of two groups of people who are apparently in a position to contribute low grade stock. The first group consists of women of subnormal mentality committed to the Rutland Reformatory, especially those who have returned for a second or third sentence.

The other group consists of those who have been reported to or by some civil authority as suitable candidates for the State School for Feeble-minded but who for some reason have never been committed to that School. They have instead remained in the community, being cared for by their families or by some institution or organization other than the State School.

The Reformatory women are actually State charges and the persons referred to the Brandon School may properly be regarded as potential charges of the State because many of them would probably have been admitted to the State School and would now be members of that group if there had been room for them. The Survey is not supported by State funds. It has no official connection with the State government. The Advisory Committee have no intention of interfering in the affairs of the State institutions, but it has been decided that an investigation of the status of

these two groups would be as profitable as any other project that we could choose. No other has been proposed that seemed to have more definite and immediate possibilities for the betterment of the Vermont population.

We are strongly convinced of the value of the training, the life in the institutions as they are now conducted in Vermont. We have all seen wonders accomplished in the rehabilitation of boys and girls who came from the worst possible environment and so improved during their stay at one of our institutions as to show an almost miraculous transformation. The eugenical implications are not always rightly understood. We believe that their ideals as well as their tastes are elevated by their experience. Their choice of a life mate is almost certain to be very different and a mate from a higher level of society is eugenically desirable. Low grade mental and physical traits are much less likely to reappear in the children than if a marriage is contracted with one of the same or a lower grade. Defects do not actually "breed out," ever. But they may be kept in abeyance indefinitely by favorable matings.

1. STUDY OF A GROUP OF WOMEN AT RUTLAND REFORMATORY

This study was undertaken at the suggestion of the Superintendent of the Reformatory for Women, Miss Lena C. Ross, who has found that repeaters or recidivists were becoming an increasing problem in that institution. It was strongly suspected that many of these women were subnormal mentally and that the delinquencies which brought them to the institution time after time were at least partly due to this low mentality. It seemed that they should be treated more as hospital cases than as criminals, and that it would be desirable to make a series of mental tests as a basis for any appropriate recommendations.

What should the State do about these women if they were found to be low grade mentally? This is a question which belongs to others than the Eugenics Survey to answer. One suggestion is that the ample space and accommodations at the Rutland Reformatory make it possible to care for a number of these women as permanent patients, if some arrangement could be made for their commitment under indeterminate sentence so that they might be kept at the Reformatory until it should seem safe and wise to release them on parole or by discharge.

The purpose of this study was primarily to ascertain the mental levels of the group of women at the Reformatory. Though for many good reasons it was decided not to go into the social history of each individual at this time, sufficient material of interest was secured to make it seem worth while to include it in the report.

The study was extended over a period of several months so that a representative cross-section of the group coming to the Reformatory was gained. One or more interviews were held with each woman and a psychological test given each. The Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon scale was used.

Afterwards the material was treated as mass data. Though the value of detailed case studies was fully recognized, it was considered that mass treatment furnished the information which this study primarily sought, namely, what the characteristics common to this group were, particularly as regards mental capacity. It was of interest to note also whether the group differed in any aspect outside of present criminality from the general run of the female population.

I

The group at Rutland Reformatory is a small one, numbering fifty-three in all. The women are of all ages from 16 to 51 years. With the older ones it is a question to what extent their well-established habits can be changed, so that they may be trusted to assume the responsibilities expected of them by any community. But half the group is under 30 years of age, 21 percent even under 20 years. For these there is still a long future to make or to mar. Careful diagnosis and treatment may do much to undo years of unfavorable early environment, and to prepare them to adjust harmoniously to the social group.

Only a very small percentage of the women have been committed for a major offense. The following table shows the nature of the present offense for which they have been committed.

TABLE I—NATURE OF PRESENT OFFENSE
Number and percent distribution according to selected classifications

<i>Nature of offense</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Offenses against the person	7	13.2
Offenses against property rights	10	18.8
Sex offenses	24	45.2
Offenses against family and children	2	3.8
Violation of the liquor laws	4	7.5
Transferred from Vergennes Industrial School for incorrigibility	6	11.5
Totals	53	100.0

Sex offenses stand out as constituting the largest percentage of offenses of any group. A study that was available, made at Bedford Hills, the New York State Reformatory for Women, showed this same large percentage of sex offenses there, 62.5 percent of the offenses being those against chastity. Offenses against property rights constitute the next largest group, and again the two Reformatories show similar results, 18.8 percent at Rutland compared to 16.7 percent at Bedford Hills.

Sixteen of the women, or 30.2 percent, have been committed before, sometimes two and three times. Ten of these are now back serving their full sentence because of breach of parole. Ten of the sixteen are sex offenders. To those in charge at the institution it sometimes seems as if these sex offenders are released only to return in a short time, either pregnant or having borne illegitimate children during their short period of freedom.

These recidivists are the women concerning whom particularly the question has been raised whether the sentences given are long enough for the treatment needed to prepare them for reassuming the responsibilities and social standards demanded of its members by any community.

TABLE II—LENGTH OF PRESENT SENTENCE
Percent distribution of delinquent women

<i>Length of sentence</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Less than a year	24.5
One to three years	45.3
Three to five years	11.3
Ten years and longer	9.4
During minority	9.5
Total	100.0
Number of cases	53

The greatest percentage of sentences are for less than three years. In some instances, at least, it would seem that a longer time might be needed to reestablish acceptable social habits. It may be a question whether it is any more humane to grant a woman liberty before she is "socially well" than it would be to dismiss a patient from a hospital before he is physically able.

It would have been of considerable interest to learn in detail the early environment of the members of the group. But it was not expedient to do so. Enough, however, was learned to judge that many of the women had come from homes which in one or more respects were below the average. On the other hand, several had come from good homes.

The school histories of these women throw some light on educational standards. Two of the women received no formal education. One completed high school. The largest number reached either grades five or seven.

The law in Vermont states that every child shall attend school till he has completed the eighth grade, or is sixteen years of age. Only 17 percent of the Reformatory group actually completed the eighth grade or more. Granted that a number lacked the mental capacity to go so far, only 32 percent continued to attend school till they were 16 years of age. As a matter of fact, 21.2 percent left school between the ages of 10 and 12. The median age, however, was barely 15 years. A few received full advantages of schooling, but did not have the ability to make much advancement. Criminologists disagree as to whether or not there is any particular correlation between criminality and educational attainment. Be that as it may, it is apparent that the schooling received by most of our group does not measure up to the stand-

ards which we now consider as the barest minimum of school training necessary as a preparation for meeting the demands of later life.

The bearing of our whole economic order on the cause of crime is a matter of great importance, and of considerable contention. Some hold that it is the most outstanding cause of crime, others, that it is of but little real significance. The economic system is undoubtedly responsible—but just to what extent is difficult to determine. Our study was too limited to contribute in any way, but it seemed of interest to note the prevailing type of work done by the members of the Reformatory group.

TABLE III—PREVAILING KIND OF WORK DONE BY DELINQUENT WOMEN

<i>Kind of work</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Domestic	14	26.5
Restaurant and hotel work	13	24.5
Factory	13	24.5
Help at home	4	7.5
Clerk (in store)	1	1.9
Nurse (untrained)	1	1.9
Dressmaker (home)	2	3.8
Farm laborer	1	1.9
In schools and institutions	4	7.5
Totals	53	100.0

By far the greatest number of women are found in domestic and hotel work. As a matter of fact, domestic work seemed basic for practically all the women. According to the U. S. Census, only 6.9 percent of the women gainfully employed in the State of Vermont are engaged in domestic work; only 17.8 percent are in restaurant and hotel work. But 51 percent of the Reformatory group are in these occupations. The second largest number are in factory work, but here the proportion to the general population is better balanced, 24.5 percent of the delinquents being in this work compared to 23.1 percent of the gainfully employed females in the State.

Extensive studies made of the occupations of delinquent women have shown that the largest number are to be found in domestic and hotel work. It seems to draw the mass of unskilled women of which the Reformatory group is a part, and it presents more opportunities for petty thieving and for meeting men than

do many other occupations where supervision is greater. We seem to demand of those among this unskilled group, who are undeveloped mentally or emotionally, the ability to resist the temptations which this work presents.

One of the matters of serious concern related to the commitment of these women is the question of what becomes of the families of the mothers in the group. Forty of the women, or 75.5 percent, are married; five, or 9.4 percent, are divorced; while only eight, or 15.1 percent, are single. There are 154 children belonging to these women, an average of 2.9 children to each woman. But as seven of the married women are childless, and seven of the eight single have had no children, the 154 children are the offspring of 39 of the women, an average of 3.9 children to each. The families range in size from one to eleven children. The average size of these families is probably not any larger than that usual to this class of the general population. But since we must guard the future as well as care for the present, our deepest concern is to help these children who are deprived of the most important social influence in life, a good home. It is left so much to chance what will become of them. Table IV shows how these children are being cared for at present.

TABLE IV—GUARDIANSHIP OF CHILDREN OF DELINQUENT WOMEN
Number and percent distribution of children

<i>Guardianship of children</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Children remaining in paternal home	95	61.7
Children cared for by relatives	11	7.1
Children cared for by interested persons	3	1.9
Children cared for by private and public organizations:		
Charges of Vermont Children's Aid Society	16	10.4%
Charges of State Department of Public Welfare	2	1.3
Charges of Vergennes Industrial School	17	11.1
Charges of State School for Feeble-minded	2	1.3
Charges of Children's Homes.....	5	3.3
Charges of towns	3	1.9
	45	29.3
Total	154	100.0

All of these children are either in broken homes or cared for by others than their own family. When we consider the number

of maladjustments of adult life that can be traced back to unfavorable early environment and broken homes, it would seem that most of these children are handicapped from the start in being well trained to meet some of the difficult situations of later life. Looked at solely from the point of view of cost—the fact that 29.3 percent of these children are cared for by public and private organizations, suggests something of the cost that these delinquent women are to the State above that of their mere upkeep at the Reformatory.

II

The relation between mental capacity and criminality is of much importance. Some authorities consider it the important factor in determining crime; others, that it is only one of many. After many careful studies, the prevailing conception now seems to be that variation in mental capacity is found among criminals in about the same ratio as among the general population. Among certain crimes only, does mental capacity tend to be lower than the average, and these are crimes such as petty thieving and sex delinquency which require but little forethought and into which individuals easily influenced are led. It is well to bear in mind that one factor in lowering the average of mental capacity of a reformatory group is that only the less clever ones “get caught.”

Only fifty-one of the women at Rutland were given satisfactory psychological tests. Two showed such psychopathic tendencies that it was not considered fair to judge their ratings on an intelligence test.

If we accept Terman’s estimate that the average adult age in the general population is 14 years, possibly 16, we find that the Reformatory women do not measure up very favorably to this standard.

Their mental ages range from 7 to 16 years as follows:

<i>Mental age</i>	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Number delinquent women	1	7	7	12	9	6	6	2	0	1

Only 5.9 percent measure up to the average adult age of 14 to 16 years. Comparing their intelligence quotients with Terman’s classification the results are as Table V shows.

TABLE V—INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT OF DELINQUENT WOMEN
 Percent distribution of delinquent women according to Terman's
 classification

<i>Terman's classification</i>	<i>Percent delinquents</i>
90-109 Average intelligence	4.0
80- 89 Dull normal	19.6
70- 79 Borderline intelligence	17.6
0- 69 Feeble-minded	58.8
Total	100.0

The women measure somewhat lower in intelligence than did a group of 447 delinquent women in institutions in New York State, of whom an extensive study was made. Our group is too small for making any fair comparison with such a large one—and it may represent a more selected body of the general population. The difficulty is in making any comparison with the intelligence of the general adult population. The best sampling available of this is that of Binet-Simon tests given to random groups of the army during the war. Even here, however, the groups were somewhat selective. In the New York study a comparison between the army group and the delinquent women of the State was made. It seemed of interest to compare with this the group of delinquent women of Vermont. Table VI shows how the mental ages of the two groups of delinquent women compare. It also shows how these two groups compare with the army group which represents best the mental capacity of the general population.

TABLE VI—MENTAL CAPACITY AS MEASURED BY STANFORD-BINET
 Percent distribution of two groups of delinquent women, one in New York State, the other in Vermont, and of the army group

<i>Mental age</i>	<i>Delinquent women</i>		
	<i>Vermont</i>	<i>New York¹</i>	<i>Army group¹</i>
19.0 to 20.0 .....	...	0.2	0.8
18.0 to 19.0 .....	...	0.4	5.2
17.0 to 18.0 .....	...	1.0	7.2
16.0 to 17.0	2.0	2.2	8.3
15.0 to 16.0 .....	...	6.0	9.6
14.0 to 15.0	3.9	6.7	11.8
13.0 to 14.0	11.8	10.5	10.6
12.0 to 13.0	11.8	13.9	12.4
11.0 to 12.0	17.6	17.0	10.6
10.0 to 11.0	23.5	19.9	10.1
9.0 to 10.0	13.7	13.4	9.5
8.0 to 9.0	13.7	6.7	3.4
7.0 to 8.0	2.0	1.3	0.2
6.0 to 7.0 .....	...	0.7	0.3
5.0 to 6.0 .....	...	...	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	51	447	653

¹ From "A Study of Women Delinquents in New York State," by Fernald, Hayes and Dawley, 1920.

Table VII shows the relation found among the group between mental capacity and nature of offense. Though sex offenders and offenders against the person show lower mental ability than do the offenders against property, family, and government regulations, yet the number of women tested is too small to make any point about such comparisons.

TABLE VII—MENTAL CAPACITY AND NATURE OF PRESENT OFFENSE

<i>Present offenses</i>	<i>Average I. Q.</i>
Offenses against the person	64.6
Offenses against property rights	70.5
Sexual offenses	67.5
Offenses against family and children	77.5
Violation of the liquor laws	79.0
Transferred from Vermont Industrial School	62.8

There is no striking difference either between the intelligence quotient of recidivists and first offenders—the average intelligence of the recidivists being 67.1 compared with 69.2 for the first offenders.

A closer relationship is found between the intelligence quotient and grades attained at school, though the grades attained by some would denote that the degree of mental inefficiency could not have been fully realized in school.

It is of interest to know the relations between the mental capacity of the Reformatory women and the kind of work at which they were most usually employed, to see if those of marked difference in intelligence gravitated to different types of work. From Table VIII it is plain that those women usually found in domestic, hotel and restaurant work are of lower mental capacity than the others. They are, then, not only the most unskilled but also the most poorly endowed mentally, and they represent the largest group in the Reformatory.

TABLE VIII—MENTAL CAPACITY AND OCCUPATIONS
Distribution according to average I. Q.

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Average I. Q.</i>
Domestic	66.5
Hotel and restaurant	67.7
Factory	72.8
Help at home	65.0
Clerk	68.0
Nurse (untrained)	81.0
Dressmaker	77.5
Farm laborer	104.0
In schools and institutions	58.0

When we note the low intelligence quotient of those at home and in schools and institutions, it would seem that there is one very good reason for their being unemployed.

There is practically no relation between the kind of work done and the grade attained at school. The mean in domestic, hotel and factory work is between the fifth and sixth grade. The store clerk completed grade 8, the two dressmakers completed two years of high school, the practical nurse and the farm worker, first year high school.

When one thinks of the mental capacity of some of these women, one wonders whether their children may not be somewhat handicapped at the start in mental endowment as well as in early environing influences. If they inherit to some degree the mental capacity of their mothers, they may find it a little difficult in later life to compete on equal terms with some of their fellows who are better endowed mentally. Table IX shows the number of children born to women of varying degrees of intelligence. Though the average number of children born to women of each grade of intelligence is about the same, the largest number is certainly in the group of subnormal intelligence.

TABLE IX—CHILDREN OF DELINQUENT WOMEN
Number and percent distribution of children according to number and grades of intelligence of delinquent mothers

<i>Delinquent mothers</i>		<i>Children</i>		
<i>Number</i>	<i>Grade of intelligence</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1	90 and over—normal	6	6.0	3.9
7	80-89—dull normal	40	5.7	26.0
7	70-79—borderline intelligence	28	4.0	18.2
12	60-69—feeble-minded (high grade) ..	37	3.1	24.0
10	59 and under—feeble-minded (middle and low grade)	38	3.8	24.7
2	Unascertainable—psychopathic	5	2.5	3.2
39	Totals	154	3.9	100.0

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The study sought to throw some light on the characteristics of the Reformatory group, particularly in regard to mental capacity. It omitted many obvious and important aspects of the problem. But it brought out that the women in Rutland Reformatory represent a somewhat selected group, handicapped more than the average of the general population by unfavorable early environing influences and by limited mental capacity.

Most of the women came from unfavorable homes and lacked the school training that we now consider as the minimum essential for meeting the problems of adult life. They were mostly untrained workers who had gone into occupations which afford little supervision and which offer many temptations.

When besides these unfavorable environing influences we find a limited mental capacity, the latter seems to play the deter-

mining part in upsetting the balance toward delinquency in a time of stress when it is essential to have the capacity for clear insight and forethought concerning the social results of certain forms of conduct.

The crimes for which the largest number of the women at the Reformatory have been committed are crimes of submission or crimes of imperfect emotional control. It is generally recognized that mental deficiency is a powerful factor in determining just such crimes. Most of the women have subnormal intelligence. Yet we have assumed the responsibility of "punishing" them as though they were "normal persons who had chosen to act as though they were not normal persons." And we have been so concerned about the offense, that we have given but little thought to the offenders.

It would seem rather difficult to determine beforehand how long these anti-social people need to spent in an institution to learn to change and reconstruct some of their deeply ingrained habits of conduct, till they are ready to enjoy once again the freedom that all members of society have who conduct themselves in socially accepted ways.

It would certainly seem that those who are poorly endowed mentally and emotionally, or those who have had but little training of any kind, might need a period of training in an institution perhaps much longer than the "sentence" stated. Some might even require constant supervision irrespective of the degree of the crime committed.

2. STUDY OF WAITING LIST OF STATE SCHOOL FOR FEEBLEMINDED

Mental defectives present a social problem which is being given much consideration. For a time all mental defectives were looked upon as potential criminals and treated accordingly. Now, however, we are beginning to understand that their behavior in

adult life is very largely determined by the type of training they receive in their childhood and the habits they then form. Those who have been neglected in their childhood are liable to reward us by becoming serious problems to their family, to the community and to the State. Those who have been well trained become law-abiding citizens and can be depended upon to do good work, at least under supervision. As a matter of fact, there is much work for them to do in our factories which more intelligent people find too monotonous. On the other hand, there are some who are either so defective or so lacking in emotional control that they need continuous custodial care.

To ascertain the extent of mental defect in the State would be a considerable contribution to solving some of our related social problems, especially if such a study were followed up by the necessary care and training of those members of our society who are found to be mentally defective. In Vermont at present there are no means for such follow-up work. It was therefore decided to delay making the more comprehensive study. It was felt, however, that a social study of even a limited group of mental defectives would give some picture of the problems they present. No such social study was attempted in the subnormal or defective people included in our early pedigree studies.

The group selected consisted of those persons who at one time had been referred to the Brandon State School for the Feeble-minded, but who for some reason did not go there and are still at large in the State. They seemed a most important group to follow up concerning their social and economic adjustment to their communities.

A list of the names was then secured from the Brandon State School for the Feeble-minded of those who had at any time prior to August, 1929, been referred to the School, but not admitted. Following this, inquiries were made of social and public agencies as to information they might have concerning any of these persons. These agencies very kindly gave us full information about cases recorded with them. Then a schedule was drawn incorporating some of the points which seemed of interest concerning each particular case.

First we wanted to know who referred the individual to Brandon, the reason for doing so, and the reason for his not being admitted. This suggested answers which might show whether

the institution was large enough to take all those referred to it who really needed its care and also might reflect some of the community's knowledge of and attitude toward the School for the Feeble-minded. Then we wanted to know the social heritage of each individual, his family history, mental capacity of his brothers and sisters; his home environment at present and in the past; his school history and his behavior there as well as in his home. Then something of his work history—what kind of jobs he was able to hold; how his wage compared to that prevailing in the community for similar work; how much supervision he needed in his work; how he spent his money. When we consider the total social picture—his behavior at home, at school, and at work, his relation with his fellows, and the kind of work he is able to do—it seems possible to make some estimate of the degree of social and economic adjustment that he is making in the community.

Home visits are being made to each individual and interviews held with members of the family and himself—usually a psychological test being given him. Visits are also made to schools, to places of work and to interested persons.

The following illustrate some of the types of cases that are being found.

Tom, a Town Charge

Tom is the illegitimate child of a woman who is now in the State Hospital for the Insane. He has always been a charge on the town and has twice been referred by the Overseer of the Poor to the State School for the Feeble-minded because he was making no progress in school. However, he was not admitted because there were others who needed more immediate attention.

When a baby he was placed by the Overseer of the Poor in a large family in which the standards were not very satisfactory. During the fourteen years he spent with this family he learned bad habits, both personal and in regard to work. At 14 he left school since he was only in grade 2, and went to work for a farmer who took unusual interest in him and spent much time in trying to change some of his habits and to train him to become a good worker. He improved a great deal while there, but after two years the boy left by mutual consent.

He is now 16 years of age, a tall, slim, attractive-looking boy. The town has decided that he is old enough to look after himself

and has ceased to be responsible for him. At present he is working with a very fine farm family, doing some of the chores. He works fairly well at some of the simpler tasks, but is unusually stubborn and resents the fact that he gets five dollars less pay per month than some of the other boys, although his work is not worth more. He is sufficiently pleasing still, to mingle well with neighboring boys and girls. But this is just what makes it harder for him to accept his own limitations. He has no sense of the value of money and loves to spend it on taking everyone to the movies or buying cigarettes and tobacco. The people with whom he is living try to advise him but feel that they have no real authority over him. And so he goes his own way. It seems as if it is being left very much to chance what kind of a social and economic adjustment this boy is going to make.

Allen, an Idiot, Mars a Normal Home

Allen is quite another type. He is only seven years old, living with his parents in a pleasant though poor home. He had spastic paralysis shortly after birth and is an idiot. He demands such constant attention from his mother that she is nearly a nervous wreck from looking after him. He takes up so much time that she has found it necessary to place out with relatives two of her younger children. He has even been the cause of considerable estrangement between the mother and stepfather, as well as preventing the two younger children from enjoying normal home life. It would be a great relief to the family to have the boy cared for in an institution. But there is not much room at the Brandon School, particularly for this type of child.

Mary, a Potential Sex-delinquent

At sixteen, Mary left school where she had been doing third grade work in a special class for mental defectives. She has an intelligence quotient of 54.6—a middle grade moron. She has always been so much trouble in school from the sex standpoint that repeated efforts were made to have her sent to the Brandon State School, but her parents always strenuously opposed it.

Mary comes from a very large family in which four of the younger children attend special classes for mental defectives. All the members of the family have violent tempers and quarrel continually. It is in this atmosphere that Mary has been brought

up and in which she continues to live. She is now only 17 years of age and has held three jobs, doing housework for very patient, understanding women in the community. Her work, however, has been so unsatisfactory and her behavior so unpleasant that each employer has had to dismiss her after a week. Now she is hoping to get a job which will bring her in continued contact with the public. Considering her low mentality, her uncontrollable temper and her abnormal interest in sex, it is probably only a matter of time when she will again be brought to the attention of State authorities, if not for mental deficiency, then for delinquency. Some training and supervision could still do much for this girl, but it cannot be given in her present home.

These cases illustrate only some phases of the problem of mental deficiency. The investigation is far from complete and the results therefore cannot be brought out in this report. The study is proving valuable as well as intensely interesting.

II. RECONNAISSANCE OF TOWNS

In connection with the work of the various committees constituting the Vermont Commission on Country Life, the work of the Eugenics Survey has been in a sense that of a pathfinder. Inasmuch as the entire resources of this Eugenics Survey have been turned over bodily to the work of the Comprehensive Survey conducted by the Vermont Commission, such information and facilities as could be put at the disposal of the Commission as a whole were immediately offered to the Director.

In the earlier days of the Comprehensive Survey the only group that was ready to go into the field was the Eugenics Survey. In order that the most advantageous selection of areas for study might be made, a preliminary reconnaissance of towns was undertaken. The plan of procedure was as follows:

The field worker,¹ who was at that time Mrs. Martha Wadman, examined the material available in the libraries that would tell the story of the founding and subsequent history of each of the towns in Vermont. The population changes, upward and downward, were examined and all the more striking examples

¹ Mrs. Wadman resigned in December, 1929, and her place is taken by Miss Elin Anderson.

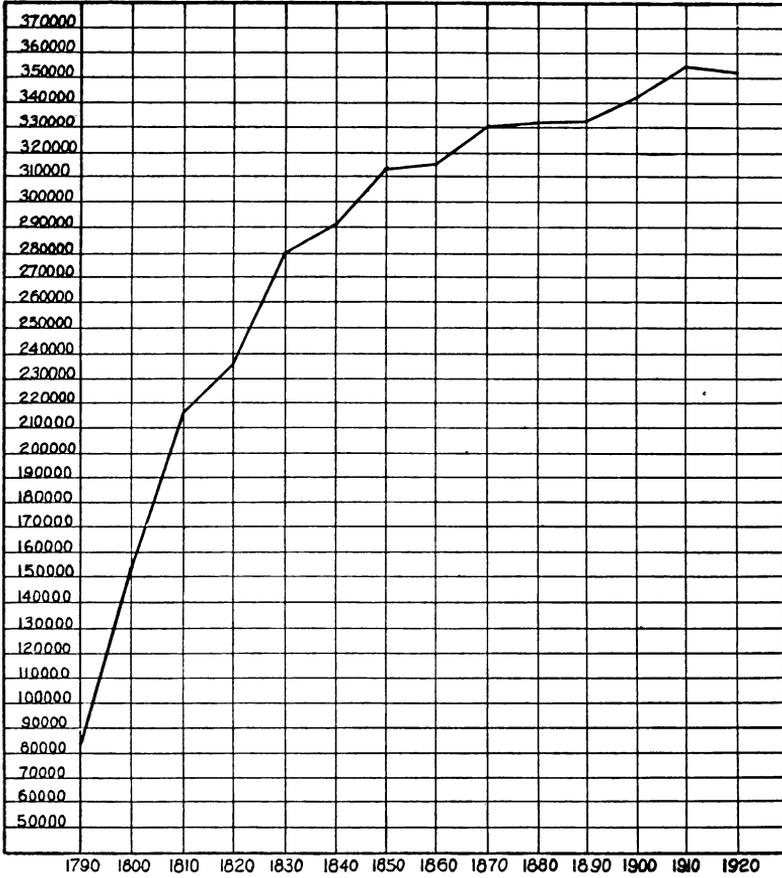
of increase in population or decline, and all the instances of sudden fluctuations with peaks or troughs showing in the population curve were transcribed in the form of graphs. As a sample of the picture that one gets from an examination of such population curves, we reproduce here the polygons of population in six towns. See diagram. These samples are chosen as illustrating, in A, a rather rapid growth with the peak at 1900, since which time there appears to have been a similarly rapid decline up to 1920.

Town B in the diagram shows a decidedly erratic fluctuation with the maximum population at 1850, at which time there were about a third more people living in the town than there were in 1920.

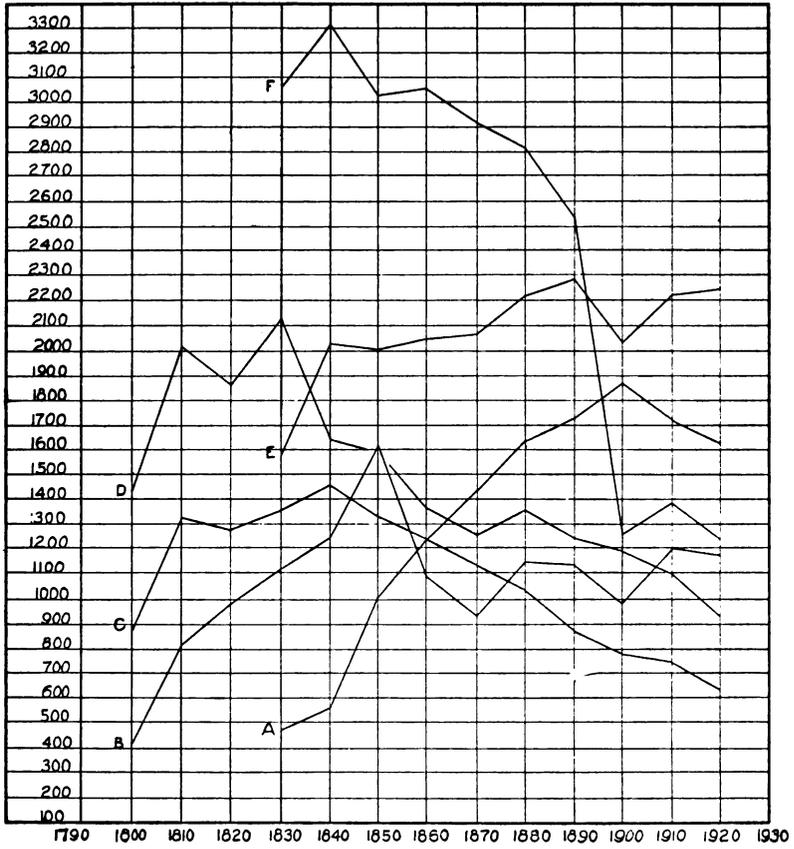
Town C has had a much less "jumpy" history so far as the numbers in the population seem to show. Here again, as in towns B, D and F in our diagram, there has been a decline in the population during recent years. Towns A, B and E, by way of contrast, show an increase during the past 50 years.

There is a feeling, rather definitely confirmed by considerable information, that the population trends in a good many towns in Vermont reflect more or less clearly the vitality of the town. The elements in this vitality are, we suspect, those very things that the Rural Survey is trying to discover and appraise. The Eugenics Survey is concerned with human heredity. Its responsibility has to do with the human factors, such as qualities of leadership, initiative, ability in public office or in business, civic responsibility, intellectual, social and spiritual qualities. It is equally concerned with the opposites of all of these. The way these things appear in successive generations, whether through heredity or through repeated conditions of the environment, challenges the serious study of our organization.

In addition to the population trends, such as shown in the samples represented on our graph, the industrial, educational, church-denominational and other aspects of the town's history were gone into. The investigation included also such facts as could be gathered in a brief preliminary visit to the place, concerning the families now outstanding in the community, especially those that had been there for some time. The story of this family study is given under a separate heading in this report.



POPULATION GRAPH OF VERMONT, 1790-1920



POPULATION GRAPHS OF SIX VERMONT TOWNS

III. CHANGES IN AN OLD TOWN AND IN SOME OF ITS OLDEST FAMILIES

Ever since the middle of the last century or earlier a large number of the rural towns of Vermont have declined in population. Many reached the highwater mark between the years 1830 and 1850. To counterbalance this drain on the small towns the larger cities have grown rapidly and drawn to them many who would otherwise have left the State. But they are not strong enough magnets to hold all, and a larger number of native born Vermonters are to be found in other states of the Union than are natives of any other state scattered from their home state. At the same time Vermont increases very slowly by its birth rate, and for every thousand who leave the State less than a third of that number come in to take their places.

In the light of the above, it appeared to the workers in the Eugenics Survey as a matter of considerable interest to trace some of the changes in activities and in the population of a single long established rural town and to note to what extent some of the oldest families were influenced by these changes.

Dunnfield is one of the Vermont towns which has shown a steady decline since the middle of the last century. Sometime before 1790 a number of families from Connecticut and New Hampshire settled there. Since those first pioneer days scions of these families have held positions of trust and leadership in Vermont and in other parts of the country. But their contribution to other states cannot be traced here since this study is primarily limited to noting changes from the point of view of the town itself.

Today only six of the old families have descendants in the town. These very kindly told us the story of their forefathers who had settled there. Sometimes, of course, they were not able to tell about whole branches of their line, members of which had left the town very long ago. The information they furnished pointed to interesting changes in the town and in their own families, particularly in regard to those factors which influence

population decline, namely, limited occupational opportunities, afforded, emigration and decline in birth rate.

Dunnfield has always been a fertile farming area. The early settlers grew grain and raised sheep. But there was also some valuable timber on the land and it was not long before some of the enterprising members had added lumbering mills to their farms. For a time four of these were successful. Other members of the family established taverns. These also were successful because Dunnfield was on the main road and a center for stage lines.

Between 1812 and 1830 the town grew rapidly so that even before 1850 it had reached the highest period of development with a population of nearly 1,700. At this time, besides the four sawmills, there were several distilleries and two tanneries. In the one village in the town were two general stores. There were four active church societies. An academy for secondary education flourished and drew to it students from long distances. Though every farm family was self-sufficient there was a strong sense of community life and members of the old families took keen interest in politics, church and education.

But even before 1850 changes had already begun creeping in. Restlessness among the younger generation had shown itself. By 1830 some of them had chosen to farm at some distance from their native town. By 1840 some answered the call to go to the new lands of the Middle West. A little later, many others went to California to try their luck at the gold rush or at fruit farming. Thus many of those who showed that same initiative and venturesomeness characteristic of the earliest Dunnfield pioneers were the first to move away to newer fields.

In 1848 the main railway came through but did not touch on the old village, the center of stage lines. It passed through the northern edge of the town and established large railway centers at neighboring towns on either side of Dunnfield. The effects of this were soon felt. Activities gradually died down in the old village and the new one built near the railway never became very large. Some of the people who still loved farming moved to the equally fertile town next to Dunnfield where a large railway center was located; others, attracted by city life, moved to the rapidly growing city on the other side. These at least were some of the obvious influences causing the population decline of Dunnfield.

During all this period of change, opportunities for economic advancement in the old town did not increase. Lumbering, for instance, declined so that today none of the old mills are in use. Other countries offered too keen a competition in sheep raising for it to pay Vermonters to continue this industry. Neither was it worth while to compete with the westerners in growing grain. Dunnfield, like other Vermont towns, began to concentrate on growing potatoes, corn and apples, and on dairying. The latter has now become the leading industry. At first every family made its own butter and cheese. But this was changed with the coming into use of the cream separator. Then creameries sprang up, a cheese factory, and two butter-tub factories. But after a while, when improved railway communications brought Dunnfield into closer touch with the metropolitan centers, New York and Boston, it became more profitable to ship whole milk rather than butter or cheese. This is what is done today.

Dunnfield then offers only limited occupational opportunities, chiefly in dairying and to a less extent in the growing of potatoes, corn and apples. Elsewhere, however, with the growing complexity of our social order, opportunities more varied than this are afforded. Therefore many enterprising young people interested in other fields have left the town.

All these changes have left their mark on the social life of the town. Instead of keeping up the old local activities the interest of the people has centered more in the nearby city so that the town has become something like a suburb to that city. Most of its people go there for amusements and for shopping. Those wanting higher education go to the city, for the famous academy long since died. Instead of the four Protestant churches, which we may assume to have been well supported in the early days, only one now draws to it any congregation. Part of this, of course, is due to the changing element in the population, the newcomers being mostly Roman Catholics of Irish stock.

In relation to these changes it is of considerable interest to note the part played by the leading old families of the town.

Occupations

Since the earliest pioneering days descendants of the six old families have usually been farmers. A larger number than the

average, however, have gone into private business or into professions. Approximately 37 percent have been farmers, 16 percent have been in businesses of their own, 11 percent have been in the professions, 7 percent in the higher ranks of trade, and 17 percent in clerical work or labor. Differences of course are to be found within each family, some being represented to a much larger extent than others in business and in the professions.

Today there are twenty-five gainfully employed descendants of the six families living in Dunnfield. Fifteen of these are farmers; five have their own businesses, such as store and grist-mill; one is a teacher; four are laborers. There is no water power and no obvious raw material of value for manufacturing, so that the starting of any new industry would seem to be a risky venture. The business of the community is adequately taken care of by the existing stores, insurance agents, etc. And so even today there appears to be little opportunity in Dunnfield for those interested in occupations other than farming.

But even the farms have not succeeded in holding all those primarily interested in agriculture. Many members of the old families went away to farm or grow fruit in the far West, and judging from their successes it would seem that they were men whom Dunnfield could ill afford to lose. In 1840, for instance, when a number began going West, three brothers in the Grove family left to take up farms in Iowa. John Grove did especially well, becoming a successful farmer and a leading merchant. His children in turn prospered; two of his sons farmed on a large scale, one was a merchant, another a lawyer. His unmarried daughters took up employment, one being a nurse, the other a librarian. His grandchildren have branched into wider fields. Three are farmers, one is an editor, another is a banker, one is an engineer who has traveled all over the world, and still another is an automobile dealer. One unmarried granddaughter is a teacher, the other is a chemist in a large laboratory. Now his great-grandchildren are nearly all receiving college educations so that they may be expected to enter even more diverse occupations. Descendants of this same family who left Vermont for other New England States similarly took up a variety of occupations. Those who remained in Dunnfield, on the other hand, have all continued to farm.

Emigration

At each census since 1850, approximately 40 percent of native Vermonters were to be found in other states compared to 60 percent remaining in Vermont. The six Dunnfield families have had their share in this emigration. From the time of the earliest settlement (1790) to the present, 958 descendants of these six families have been known. Thirty-nine percent of these have left Vermont. Another 30 percent have moved to other parts of the State, while 31 percent have remained in Dunnfield. Today 520 living descendants of these families are known. Two hundred fifty-nine of these are living outside of Vermont; 196 are in other parts of the State; 65 are in Dunnfield.

Total known living descendants (1930)	520	
Those now living in Dunnfield	65	12.5%
Those now living outside of Dunnfield but still in Vermont	196	37.7
Those now living outside of Vermont	259	49.8
	520	100.0

Throughout the entire period 37 percent of the members of these families have moved to other parts of the Union than the New England States. At the present time 33.1 percent are in this group. A fairly consistent proportion of those who have left Vermont have gone to other New England States. Since 1790 11 percent have gone to these states. At the present time 16.7 percent of those living are to be found there. Over the whole period of time, however, 61 percent of the descendants of these families have remained in Vermont. Sixty-two and seven-tenths percent of those now living are still in the State. Therefore, it is evident that though Dunnfield has lost by the moving away of these families, other Vermont towns have gained. These six families, however, have taken very active part in the emigration from Dunnfield which has caused its decline in population of over 45 percent since 1850. While one admires the initiative of members of these families one regrets for the sake of Vermont that they are lost to Vermont.

Individual families vary considerably as to the proportion which has gone to other states. One of the six old families has still all its representatives in Vermont, whereas another one has 90 percent of its descendants in other states. The members of the first mentioned (family which has all its representatives in

Vermont) are practically all farmers or farm laborers. Only 5 percent have gone into business and a similar proportion into the professions. On the other hand, the family which has sent most of its members out of the State is represented in a number of different occupations.

Low Birth Rate

These same families have assisted in the decline of the town in another way. That is, by the small rate of natural increase. Vermont more than other states has developed slowly by its own birth rate, and this trend has been particularly noticeable among the oldest families, in the first two generations of which five, six and seven children were to be found. From then on there was a decline so that now only two or three children are usually born to a couple. As a matter of fact, considered from the earliest pioneering days to the present time, 17.4 percent of these families have had no children. Forty-six and five-tenths percent have had one, two and three children. Only 36.1 percent have had more than three children. In one case, for instance, it seemed at times as if the whole line were about to die out, but just at that time some couple, having six or seven children, gave it a new lease of life. In another family the infant mortality rate was 5.2 percent, so that this again was a serious check on natural increase. Raising so few children in so many successive generations, these people have not contributed greatly to the population of the town.

Each of these families tells a different story, but in each are found similar trends, particularly in regard to emigration from Vermont and decline in birth rate as well as taking part in a greater diversity of occupations after leaving their native town. Changes have come over both the town and the families. Both have probably made progress in their own particular way. The families through changing opportunities have learned to express varying phases of their inherent ability. The town, too, has adapted itself to changing needs and though for some time there may be a period of depression so profound as to seem like death, it may only presage the birth of a new life, a new expression of its functioning as part of the organism that is Dunnfield.

IV. THE "BURR" FAMILY

Study of a Key Family in a Rural Town

In the annual report for 1929, an account of the "Furman" Family of "Garfield," Vermont, was given. The first representative of this family in Vermont settled in Garfield in 1803 and his descendants have been prominent in the town ever since that date. But, however important the Furmans may have been in the development and history of Garfield in the past, it is apparent that their line is almost at an end, for there are only four Furman households in the town at present, and what few children there are, have moved away.

A study has been made of another old family of Garfield—a family which has been prominent in the town since 1796 when the first representative in Vermont came to Garfield from Dover, New Hampshire, and which is not in immediate danger of becoming extinct in the town. This is the "Burr" family. There are at least a dozen Burr households in Garfield and vicinity, and in most of them there are children.

According to the records of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, the first of this family in the United States was William Burr who came from England in 1650, lived in Ipswich and Gloucester, and died in Salem in 1654, leaving a widow, Patience, and at least four children. One of these children, Martin, after living in Gloucester, "was received an inhabitant of Dover, New Hampshire, August 4, 1659." This Martin and his wife, Edith Dawes, were the progenitors of the Burr family in Garfield and adjoining townships.

In 1796, one hundred and forty years after Martin Burr settled in Dover, New Hampshire, his great-great-great-grandson, John Burr, came to Garfield and settled. Probably about the same time that John came to Garfield, Henry Burr, a cousin of John's father, came from Berwick, Maine, and settled in an adjoining town, and in 1800 two grown sons of Henry came from Berwick to join their father. The two men, John and Henry, were the originators of the Burr family in Vermont. Other relatives now live in Dover and Rochester, New Hampshire, and in Berwick, Maine, where there is a street named after the family of John's wife.

As a family, the Burrs give the impression of being rather conservative, reticent, possibly somewhat slow to act, reliable and reserved. The description of his grandmother by one of them might well be applied to many members of the family—"She was not emotionally quick, but every action counted." Another member of the family says of them, "They are not quick, but like the Indians they never forget a wrong, and they are hard working people." One wife of a Burr, very energetic and not particularly reserved or conventional herself, says of her husband's family, "If their fathers boiled sap on the 28th of March, then they would keep right on boiling sap on the 28th of March, even though the seasons changed so that summer came in winter and winter came in summer."

Originally the Burrs were a Quaker family and a few faithful Quakers are still to be found among them. But in Garfield, although most of the early settlers belonged to the Society of Friends, and although for many years that was the "only society that sustained regular religious worship in the town," they have not, as a family, identified themselves with any sect. Some one has said of them—"They mean to do right and they do in general, but they are not church people." Stories are told of members of the family who, even in Garfield's Quaker days, would not conform. One young man would start on a journey to the nearest gristmill wearing his Quaker hat as directed by his parents, but would leave it hidden near the road a mile or so away from home and pick it up again on his way back. When John Burr's son became of age, the Quakers came to "reckon with him" as was their custom, to persuade him to join the church. He replied to their arguments that he would join the church if they would let him go hunting on Sunday. They would not let him and so he never joined. But although few of his descendants have been active in the church, John Burr was made Clerk at the first organization of the Society of Friends in Garfield, July 16, 1801.

The Burrs have been fairly active in civic affairs. One member of the family was a delegate from his section to the Constitutional Convention held in 1836; another was State's Attorney from 1866 to 1868; two more were Assistant County Judges for one term each; and fourteen members of the family were Representatives to the State Legislature in the period from

1822 to 1915. Of these fourteen Representatives, one served four sessions and another six. We have less exact data for the period since 1915, but it is certain that the family has continued to hold its own in this respect up to the present date, although there have been no offices as high as State's Attorney held by them in recent years.

There does not seem to be a tendency toward any particular defect or defects, either mental or physical, in the family. Seven or eight members of the family are said to have died of tuberculosis; two, of cancer; two, probably of venereal disease. Three members are deaf. Four, including one epileptic, have been in hospitals for the insane; four more are said to be "crazy," not normal, or very peculiar; three more have been undoubtedly insane at some time but never in a hospital; three have been insane in their last sickness; two have gone on periodic drinking sprees; six have been definitely low-grade mentally and six more are said to have been "not very bright." One small branch of the family is particularly unfortunate, for of the number of insane and mentally subnormal in the whole family, four came from this branch in three generations.

One of these four, Nellie, was "paralyzed" and had to be carried about on a sort of stretcher. While "paralyzed" she was "perfectly able to kick a heavy soapstone off the foot of her bed when she wanted to." After eighteen years she suddenly found herself able to walk. A niece who cared for Nellie during the later years of her life runs through the whole gamut of neurotic traits in describing her. She was insane at the close of her life but never violent, and was never taken to a hospital.

Her brother, Daniel, also was a peculiar person, and was insane in his last illness. He had a son who was never able to move. He lay on a bed all of his life, "had no spine," could not talk but was able to make some sounds. He could point to a lost thimble on the floor if he had happened to see it fall, but was never able to do anything more difficult than this.

Daniel's son John has a son who is undeniably subnormal, and a daughter who is quite probably so. In sharp contrast to these two we find three other children of this same family doing well. One is a university student in high standing, two are college graduates and teachers—one the dean in a normal school.

What have been the occupations of the Burr family? Excluding those who have died young, minors, and housewives, we know the occupations of 336 individuals:

- 95—28% have owned or operated farms.
- 62—19% have been laborers (including farm laborers).
- 60—18% have been skilled laborers (blacksmiths, mechanics, garage workers, electricians, foremen in mills, carpenters).
- 58—17% have been professional people. (This group includes: one lawyer, nine ministers, one veterinary, one electrical engineer, seven doctors, two artists, several teachers, some of whom were women who gave up teaching upon their marriage).
- 41—12% have owned or operated businesses.
- 20— 6% have been business workers (salesmen, assistant superintendents of small factories, bank tellers, clerks, etc.).

The preceding figures are for the whole family so far as known. This includes those who never moved to Garfield, as well as those who did go but moved away again, and those who settled permanently in the town. The occupations of the family in relation to its moving to Garfield are interesting to note. Table I shows this. It brings out that more than half the family never moved to Garfield; and that 15 percent of those who did, did not settle there permanently. The largest group to move away were laborers. None of the large farm owners moved out.

TABLE I—OCCUPATIONS OF MEMBERS OF ENTIRE BURR FAMILY ACCORDING TO LOCALITY

Occupations	Total number	Farmers	Labor		Professional	Operate business	Business workers
			Skilled	Unskilled			
Totals	336	95	60	62	58	41	20
Stayed in Garfield.....	126	85	10	20	3	8	0
Moved from Garfield	28	10	6	9	2	1	0
Never lived in Garfield	182	0	44	33	53	32	20

Beyond its relativity to the town of Garfield this table has a further significance. One feels that it places the Burrs as a normal, healthy Vermont family. Conservative, to be sure, yet adaptable. They have the example of the son of their Garfield pioneer, John Burr, who after suffering heavy losses to his property in the flood of 1830, reckoned that floods were a fortuitous occurrence against which he could not defend himself and promptly moved himself, family and farm further up the hill where nothing but a forty-day deluge could harm him. From John has descended a sound backbone of farming men and women. And the descendants have not crowded themselves into Garfield where they would have intermarried and become enervated for want of work. Early members built and operated grist- and wood-working mills. Following generations have developed naturally, taking advantage of opportunities offered by new economic tendencies. Once some one ran a gristmill, now another has a large manufacturing plant; once there were blacksmiths; now there are skilled mechanics; once country school teachers, now college professors. These are the manifestations of stern men and women who persist in working a sterner soil in Garfield. The Burrs are not alone. One is glad that there are many such families in Vermont.

V. CHART OF DEFECTS FOUND AMONG FIFTY-FIVE DEGENERATE FAMILIES STUDIED

In each of the three preceding annual reports there appeared articles in regard to a series of fifty-five low-grade families. It will be remembered that these families were brought to the attention of the Survey on account of their belonging in that lower portion of the population column characterized by defectiveness, degeneracy, delinquency, or pauperism. Most of these families had been represented in State institutions for several generations or under the care of private organizations. They were regarded in our study as a detriment in the past and as apparently likely to pass on hereditary traits which would make them a detriment in the future.

Since the present studies of the Survey are directed toward higher sections of the population column in which defects of various kinds are much less serious, it seems proper to publish this final summary of the results that have been compiled in the

office from data collected in the field in regard to all of these fifty-five "low-grade" families.

Approximately the whole of the first report and the articles under the following titles in the second and third annual reports dealt with these families: "An Expensive Luxury," page 14; Table and Chart at back of second annual report; and "The Children of Feebleminded and Insane Parents," page 15 of the third annual report.

V. CHART OF DEFECTS FOUND AMONG FIFTY-FIVE DEGENERATE FAMILIES STUDIED

<i>Pedigree number</i>	<i>Number of generations</i>	<i>Number of individuals</i>	<i>Main defects</i>	<i>Other important defects</i>
1a	7	407	Huntington's chorea	Pauperism
1b	5	215	Low mentality	.....
1c	5	147	Insanity	.....
2	6	244	Feeble-mindedness, cripples	Criminals, pauperism, sex offenders
3	5	104	Feeble-mindedness, thievery	.....
4	6	471	Feeble-mindedness	Nomadic habits, dependency, criminality
5	6	211	Pauperism, tuberculosis	Low mentality, immorality
6	7	262	Pauperism, feeble-mindedness	.....
7	5	44	Feeble-mindedness, pauperism	Tuberculosis
8a	4	27	Insanity	.....
8b	2	9	Insanity	.....
8c	4	12	Insanity	.....
9	6	117	Feeble-mindedness	Sex offenders, pauperism
10	3	36	Feeble-mindedness	Sex offenders
11	3	35	Friedreich's ataxia	Feeble-mindedness
12	4	22	Feeble-mindedness	Epilepsy
13	6	297	Insanity, immorality	Feeble-mindedness, dependency
14	6	454	Criminality	Alcoholism, sex offenders
15	3	7	Insanity	Feeble-mindedness
16	3	8	Insanity	.....
17	8	597	Insanity	Feeble-mindedness
18	3	29	Insanity	Feeble-mindedness
19	3	25	Feeble-mindedness	Sex offenders
20	3	30	Feeble-mindedness	.....
21	4	34	Huntington's chorea	.....
22	5	81	Criminality	Feeble-mindedness
23	4	34	Alcoholism, insanity, feeble-mindedness	Hare lip, cleft palate
24	4	19	Feeble-mindedness	.....
25a	4	55	Pauperism, feeble-mindedness	.....
25b	5	47	Pauperism	.....
26	5	233	Criminalism	.....
27a	4	21	Pauperism	.....
27b	3	6	Feeble-mindedness, epilepsy	.....
28	4	18	Feeble-mindedness	Veneral disease, insanity, delinquency
29	3	17	Insanity	.....
30	3	21	Criminality	Degeneracy, feeble-mindedness
31	4	16	Feeble-mindedness	Epilepsy, goiter
32	4	27	Feeble-mindedness, immorality	Veneral disease
33	4	29	Feeble-mindedness, tuberculosis	.....
34	6	105	Feeble-mindedness	Sex offenders
35	4	30	Pauperism	Feeble-mindedness, epilepsy, sex offenders
36	3	19	Pauperism	Feeble-mindedness
37	4	34	Feeble-mindedness	Pauperism
38	4	48	Sex offenders	Feeble-mindedness, insanity
39	2	7	Feeble-mindedness, pauperism	.....
40	6	333	Feeble-mindedness	Sex offenders
41	2	5	Feeble-mindedness	Cretinism
42	5	36	Insanity	Sex offenders, alcoholism
43	3	18	Insanity	Feeble-mindedness
44	5	40	Huntington's chorea	.....
45	4	60	Tuberculosis	Arthritis, feeble-mindedness
46	3	16	Insanity	.....
47	3	31	Feeble-mindedness	Pauperism
48	3	41	Delinquency	Sex offenders, feeble-mindedness
49	5	25	Sex offenders	Feeble-mindedness
50	4	14	Feeble-mindedness, insanity	Epilepsy, blindness
51	6	98	Huntington's chorea	.....
52	3	10	Insanity	.....
53	4	10	Insanity	.....
54	5	105	Criminalism	Pauperism, tuberculosis, insanity
55	5	101	Feeble-mindedness	Sex offenders
Totals		5,704		

CHART OF DEFECTS (continued)
PAUPERS

Pedigree number	Town total	State						Other States					Grand total	Percent		
		Total	Number in V. I. S.	Number in V. S. P. & R.	Number in V. S. S.	Number in V. S. H.	Number in B. E. R.	Number with S. D. P. W.	Total	Number in Institute for F. M.	Number in Institute for Insane	Number in prisons			Number with S. D. P. W.	Number otherwise cared for
1	16	12	1	3	1	9	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	23	6
2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1
3	30	22	7	7	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	42	17	
4	13	16	5	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	28	27	
5	45	37	14	19	1	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	72	15	
6	66	6	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	71	34	
7	37	16	7	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	40	16	
8	7	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	16
9	1	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	22
10	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	11
11	4	4	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	8
12	2	3	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	10
13	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	11
14	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	6
15	14	29	10	6	2	2	2	6	6	2	3	1	1	39	36	
16	19	26	15	8	1	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	45	13
17	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	10
18	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	29
19	6	6	3	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	12	25	
20	4	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
21	1	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	21	
22	1	10	5	6	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7	28	
23	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	17
24	9	6	1	..	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	12
25	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	14
26	..	11	5	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	6
27	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	55
28	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	18
29	4	9	5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	11	2	
30	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	5
31	5	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	67
32	7	6	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	61	
33	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	24
34	6	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	10
35	7	8	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	69
36	11	3	1	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	37
37	6	4	..	4	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..
38	3	9	3	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	7
39	6	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	33
40	11	12	8	2	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	58
41	2	2	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	18
42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	24
43	2	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	24
44	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4
45	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	40
46	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	19
47	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	24
48	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	8
49	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3
50	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	25
51	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	26
52	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	17
53	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	8
54	7	17	11	6	1	2	1	8	36	
55	2	4	1	1	1	4	5	8	
Totals	393	358	119	94	58	62	41	39	65	5	24	17	3	18	688	12

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CHART OF DEFECTS (continued)

Pedigree number	Cared for by private organizations			Mental defectives						Insane				
	Number with V. C. A. S.	Number in homes for children	Number with court records not in institutions	Number in institutions for feeble-minded		Number F. M. and suspected F. M. not in institutions	Total	Percent	Number in institutions for insane		Number insane and suspected insane not in institutions	Total	Percent	
				Vermont	Other States				Vermont	Other States				
1	1	4	1	1	..	5	4	1	9	1	10	2		
2	1	..	..	5	5	2	..	..	5	2		
3	1	..	..	5	17	7	..	..	3	1		
4	2	..	..	5	7	7	..	..	3	2		
5	2	..	..	2	4	4	..	..	2	1		
6	4	..	..	1	4	4	..	..	7	1		
7	1	..	..	1	2	2	..	..	3	1		
8	1	..	..	1	10	4	..	..	3	5		
9	1	..	..	1	2	5	..	..	2	2		
10	1	2	1	..	..	1	1		
11	1	6	7	..	..	..	3		
12	2	2	19	..	..	..	9		
13	1	..	..	2	4	17	..	..	1	3		
14	2	4	18	..	..	2	3		
15	2	10	3	..	..	10	1		
16	1	7	2	..	..	4	29		
17	2	50		
18	4	3		
19	18	7		
20	7	24		
21		
22	7	21		
23	2	1		
24	1	1		
25	5	15		
26		
27	3	1		
28		
29		
30	3	17		
31	4	24		
32	1	5		
33	4	7		
34	2	14		
35	4	..		
36		
37	1	5		
38	1	3		
39	1	2		
40		
41	4	1		
42	1	20		
43	13	36		
44	1	6		
45	11	28		
46	8	2		
47	8	19		
48		
49		
50		
51	3	21		
52	7	7		
53	8	30		
54	4	40		
55	4	4		
Totals	1	16	34	58	5	211	274	5	103	20	58	181	3	

CHART OF DEFECTS (continued)

Pedigree number	Number Huntington's chorea	Number epilepsy	Number venereal diseases	Number alcoholic	Number tuber- culosis	Handicapped				
						Number blind	Number deaf, dumb or mute	Number speech defects	Number hare lip and cleft palate	Number cripples
1	25	..	..	5	3	..	..	..	..	1
1a	5	3	..	..	..	..	1
1b	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	10	10	2	..	..	..	..	19
3	..	1	1	2	2	..	..	..	..	5
4	7	2	2	1	..	..	..	5
5	3	5	14	1	..	..	..	11
6	2	1	..	..	..	3
7	4	..	..	..	..	..
8
9	1	..	1	2	1	..	..
10
11	1	1	..	1	2	..	..	5
12	..	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	5
13	5	..	..	..	..	..
14	2	13	16	..	..	..	..	..
15	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
16
17	2	7	..	..	..	..	..
18	1	3	4	1	..	..	..	..
19
20	1	..	..	..	..	..
21
22	6	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
23	..	1	..	6	2	..	3	..	2	..
24	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
25a	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
26	4	1	1	..	..	..	1
27	1
27a	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
28	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
29	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
30	2	..	..
31	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
32	2	1	..	..	..	1	..	1
33	..	1	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
34	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
35	2	..	..	..	..	..
36	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
37	1	..	..	..	..	..
38	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
39
40	..	2	..	5	4	1	..	..	1	2
41	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
42	..	1	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	..
43
44	13	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45	5	..	..	..	..	13
46	1	3	..	..	..	..	..
47	2	1
48	2
49
50	..	1	..	1	..	1
51	7	1
52	..	1	1
53	..	1
54	3	12	1
55	6	1	1
Totals	45	18	32	98	113	13	7	4	3	50

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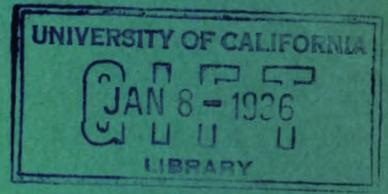
CHART OF DEFECTS (concluded)

Pedigree number	Families on record connected (Pedigree numbers)	Number cousin marriages	Number sex offenders	Number illegiti- mate	Number stillborn	Number suicides
1	..	1	14	3	..	2
2	3, 4	3	22	5	..	..
3	2, 4, 5	..	9	4	..	..
4	..	4	42	17	..	1
5	3	7	15	3	..	..
6	..	6	23	6	..	..
7
8
9	9	4	..	..
10	8	4	..	..
11	7	2	..	..
12
13
14	22	3	27	..	..	..
15
16
17	14	6	8	4
18	1	..	..	..
19	..	1	..	..	..	..
20	..	1	2	1	..	..
21
22	14	1	6	1	..	..
23
24	5	2	..	..
25	6, 26	..	2	..	..	..
26	9	1	..	..
27
28	6	..	6	3	..	..
29
30	4	..	..	..
31
32	4	1	..	..
33	..	1	4	5	..	..
34	4	..	8	3	..	..
35
36	1	..	..	..
37	1	..	..	..
38	4	..	7	1	..	..
39
40	..	3	27	12	..	2
41
42	5	1
43
44	2
45	7	..
46
47
48	3	2
49	..	1	5	4
50	2	1
51	2	1	..	1
52
53	8	5
54
55	6	1
Totals	32	308	94	15	12

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Fifth Annual Report
of the
Eugenics Survey of Vermont
September, 1931



*Selective Migration from Three Rural
Vermont Towns and its
Significance*

Auspices of the University of Vermont

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Office of the Survey, 162 College Street, Burlington, Vermont

*From May, 1930, to June, 1931.

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FOREWORD

The Eugenics Survey of Vermont was established in 1925 in affiliation with the Department of Zoology of the University of Vermont. The funds for its work have been donated by Vermonters who believe in the people of Vermont and in the possibility of their maintaining or even bettering the high standards of the past, an important contribution to that end being the discovery by research and the promulgation by education of salient facts concerning family inheritance and trends of breeding in our communities.

The Advisory Committee, which has sponsored each of the various projects undertaken during these six years, is made up of men and women who are by occupation and personal devotion largely concerning themselves with the ways and means of human betterment.

The following pages tell the story of the effort of the past year and a half. They relate with a little background and in a fuller form the findings of the Eugenics Survey functioning as a division of the Committee on the Human Factor of the Vermont Commission on Country Life and included in condensed form as part of the first chapter of its book. This volume, "Rural Vermont," by Two Hundred Vermonters, has for the title of its first chapter "The People of Vermont." For this chapter the Subcommittee on Population Changes supplied a part, and the Eugenics Survey the rest. The whole chapter was woven together through the assistance of John Holden of Bennington. The eugenic importance of the chapter as a whole, its significance for Coming Vermonters, is, I emphatically predict, to prove considerable.

The Survey was fortunate in being able to place the responsibility of the work for this piece of investigation upon three very able staff members—Miss Elin Anderson, M.A., who under the supervision of the director, was in charge of the study and wrote the report; Miss Marjorie Choate, A.B., who assisted with the

field work and the compilation of the statistical data, and Miss Anna Rome, secretary for five years and field assistant.

This pamphlet, the fifth of the series of annual reports, deliberately braves the criticism invariably and often liberally accorded to any publication that ventures to straddle the chasm between the popular treatment of a theme and the accurate analysis of a piece of scientific research. It attempts to reach, if not to convince, two audiences—one “scientific,” the other “laymen.” Its writers have essayed the difficult and rather thankless task of giving a readable and interesting account of a painstaking investigation with definitely scientific aspirations and technique. They have made this attempt because they are deeply in earnest in their conviction that the matters herein discussed are of the utmost importance, that there is ample scientific fortifying of the statements to qualify them for general consideration, and that the people who must carry out the measures recommended are not the scientists chiefly but The People of Vermont.

H. F. PERKINS, Director.

Burlington, August 19, 1931.

INTRODUCTION

The migration of people within the United States has been on so vast a scale and of such a peculiar character that it threatens the older sections of the country with deterioration in the quality of the stock of future citizens. Vermont, more than any state in the Union, has had to bear the drain of emigration of energetic and enterprising young people from the time of the earliest pioneer movement westward to the more recent migration cityward. It is of prime importance, therefore, in planning any constructive program for the state, to understand the extent to which this movement affects the quality of the stock of those upon whose shoulders rests the future welfare of the State. To ascertain the eugenical significance of the movement, an intimate study of three towns typical of the rural communities of the State was made. The purpose of the study is to determine the extent of the loss due to recent emigration and in particular its bearing upon the heritage, both social and biological, of future generations bred in these communities.

The small size of Vermont, its essentially rural character and the homogeneity of its people, makes an intensive study of a few towns preferable to an extensive study of many, in giving a picture of conditions prevailing throughout the rural sections of the State. The three towns selected for study were chosen by a most careful sampling method, being representatives of good, high average and poor rural areas respectively, and being typical of the greater number of Vermont towns in that they are rural communities of less than one thousand inhabitants, composed mostly of old Vermont stock.

Three field investigators spent eight weeks or more in each town, participating in the social life of the community and visiting every family. To ascertain the extent and nature of recent migration, information concerning every member of each family, whether living at home or having left within the last two decades, was recorded on a prepared schedule. In addition, information was obtained wherever possible about former neighbors as well as

relatives, ex-employees and previous occupants. Where an emigrant had moved to a nearby town he was called upon personally to furnish information about himself. Then in order to secure fuller information concerning the extent of migration within the last twenty years, the "Grand Lists," recording all taxpayers of the town, were consulted. From them was obtained a list of all the people over the age of twenty-one who had paid taxes to the town within the last twenty years but who were no longer resident, and concerning whom no information had been obtained by the house to house canvass. This list of names was then taken to the best informed citizens in the town who furnished more detailed information when they could.

Many obstacles stood in the way of securing as complete and accurate information as was desired concerning the nature and extent of recent migration. The Grand Lists, though a reliable source, do not record the name of any person under 21 years of age, nor of women of any age prior to the year 1921, unless they were property owners. Moreover, a large number of people who have moved in and out of town during the last 20 years have not been recorded, because they did not happen to be resident at the time that the list of taxpayers is annually made out. Although it was ascertained how many people each name on the Grand Lists represented, the total number of emigrants derived in this way falls below the entire number for the above reasons.

It was originally intended that the Grand Lists would be used for detailed statistical tables setting forth the characteristics of the emigrants as well as for ascertaining the total number who had gone away. But when scrutinized, it was found that unavoidable gaps in the information rendered it suitable only for the latter use and for supplying some kinds of information, such as that concerning the occupations followed by the emigrants in town and after leaving, and the locations chosen by them. Although this is not tabulated, it bears out the findings which are presented and therefore strengthens the conclusions.

The cases used are those concerning whom information was obtained by the house to house canvass. Although representative of the whole, they are somewhat selective in that the proportionate number of transients is much less than for the entire group and also in that the emigrants used are more closely connected by

blood with the residents than would be true in a purely chance selection. This, however, is not amiss in a study primarily concerned with the quality of the stock of potentially permanent residents.

It was considered that sufficient material was gathered to make possible a fair estimate of the extent of recent emigration from each of the illustrative towns, and of the selective processes at work. The study is but an attempt to show the eugenical importance of migration within the country.

I

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RURAL EXODUS

We have been a migratory people always. From the time of the earliest settlements, the vast extent of our country and its unknown opportunities have enticed men to migrate to whatever fields have looked most green. In pioneer days it was the new lands of the frontier that drew men—first along Massachusetts Bay, then beyond the Allegheny Mountains into the Ohio Valley, later still into the fertile plains along the Mississippi, then up the river courses further westward, until finally surmounting the Rockies they reached the shores of the Pacific Ocean. The great westward movement has long since passed, yet migration continues on as vast a scale as ever. Only the direction has changed.

Recent Rural-Urban Migration. No longer a movement from the older settled sections of the East to the new lands of the West, it is a migration from the rural communities of the entire country to the new jobs of the cities. With the same promise of great opportunity, vast wealth and strange adventure that the frontier once gave, the cities now beckon thousands of country folk annually. In one year, 1928, when the migration from farms to cities was at the lowest level in twenty years, it consisted of 1,960,000 persons. And though this was offset by the movement of 1,362,000 persons from the cities to the farms, it left a net migration from farms to cities of 598,000 persons.¹ Were the entire population of Vermont to migrate beyond the borders of the State, it would not equal this migrating army. In the last decade the net movement from the farms has numbered almost four million persons.

A migratory movement of these proportions does not persist in a given direction over a period of several decades unless real differences of opportunity exist. In pioneer days these differences lay in the opportunities—real and imagined—that the new lands of the West offered over the old lands of the East. Today

¹ U. S. D. A. Yearbook (1930), p. 27.

the differences lie in the opportunities—real and imagined—that centralized Industry offers over Agriculture. To the frontier went people who were either drawn to it by its promise of freedom from restraint, its possibilities for gaining wealth and its opportunity to begin anew, or were pushed by the religious intolerance, the political oppression and other restraints put upon the individual in the older settled communities of the East. To urbanized Industry in turn are drawn both those who are pulled to it by the economic advantages it presents and those who are pushed by unfavorable conditions in Agriculture.

The present situation is due to the urbanization of rural industries, to the change in place of importance of Industry and Agriculture, and to the revolution within Agriculture itself. Industry has not only become centralized in cities but it has wrested from Agriculture its place of first importance, and continues to have seemingly unlimited possibilities for expansion as it meets the elastic demand for manufactured products. Meanwhile, Agriculture has not only lost its place, but it is compelled to contract still further to meet the more limited and relatively inelastic demand for farm products. It is this difference in opportunity that acts as a magnet in drawing to the city thousands of country folk annually.

At the same time, the application of scientific methods to Agriculture, as it emerges from being "a way of living" to being a specialized mechanized industry, has so increased production per farm unit that fewer farmers are needed to supply the country's demands for farm products. It is estimated that one farmer today can do as much farm work as eight farmers could do eighty years ago.² It is further estimated that since 1910 the efficiency of production per farm unit has increased 30 percent. The far-reaching consequences of these changes are soon felt. During the five years from 1920 to 1925, in spite of a decrease in the crop land of 13,000,000 acres and a decline in the farm population of 10 percent, there was an increase in farm production of approximately 5 percent.³ Under conditions such as these, there is little choice for people but to leave the farms.

² John MacDougall, "Rural Life in Canada," p. 69.

³ Frank App, "The Industrialization of Agriculture," in *Annals of American Academy of Political Science*, March, 1929, p. 228.

Just as in earlier times the migration westward continued on a vast scale until the advantages of the old lands more nearly balanced those of the new, so today the migration cityward will continue on a vast scale until the opportunities of Agriculture and Industry are more nearly equalized. When farmers are able to enjoy some of the more important social advantages of the city and are assured of a fair share of the national income, farm to city migration will be but a normal incident in the life of the nation, consisting of that number which, because of the difference in birthrate between rural and urban areas, is always a surplus in farming communities.

Meanwhile, like every great migratory movement, its favorable aspects are counterbalanced, partially at least, by serious consequences. The pioneer movement made possible the rapid expansion and development of our country. The present migration is not only an invaluable though slow cure for existing agricultural conditions, but also is necessary to the progress of industry, as long as it remains harmonious to industrial expansion. Both migrations have made possible a sorting of men according to their interests and abilities. But it is this very sorting of men that may have harmful and irremediable effects upon the older communities whence persistent emigration has continued since the earliest pioneer days.

Into the westward migration went people from these communities who were characterized by energy, initiative, resourcefulness, adventuresomeness and democracy. Among them, it is true, were lawless, shiftless social parasites of whom any community is well rid. But it is also true that many were marked by that high energy which when directed into social channels means life to a community and vitality to a people.⁴ If in the more recent cityward migration from these communities a selective process of a similar nature is taking place, then the question arises whether these communities have not been drained of people of high energy to such an extent that the quality of the stock of their future members is threatened.

As It Affects Vermont. Of particular interest to Vermont are the consequences of this migratory movement, not only because

⁴ Hornell Hart, "Selective Migration," "University of Iowa Studies," No. 53 (1921), pp. 67-93.

emigration has been more persistent from this State than from any other in the Union, but also because Vermont once was the distant frontier of the Massachusetts settlements, and its people were noted for the characteristics that mark the early pioneer. Of considerable importance to the future welfare of the State is the extent to which these sterling qualities of the pioneer have persisted in the people.

It was back in Revolutionary War days that the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants first won recognition for their daring, courage and resourcefulness in bearing the brunt of many of the northern battles. Somewhat later when they stood out against their two powerful neighboring states, New Hampshire and New York, in their determination to make of the New Hampshire land grants a separate state, they proved their love of independence and freedom.⁵ Nor were they daunted by the refusal of Congress to recognize their independence. Fourteen years of being a separate sovereignty only made them greater individualists. Their struggle for independence, the isolation they have had to know, cut off as the State is from main routes of trade and commerce, the hardships they have had to endure in wresting from the unyielding soil a meagre living have only intensified the loyalty that Vermonters feel toward their little Green Mountain State whose entire population today is little more than that of the City of Rochester, N. Y.

In the Constitution of the State is crystallized the spirit of its people. The power of the people recognized by the dictum that "All Civil Power under God is in the People" is practiced in holding in check ambitious public officials today as rigorously as when into the Constitution was inserted the clause, "Whenever an office becomes so profitable as to occasion many to apply for it, the profit ought to be lessened by the Legislature." "Freedom and Unity," chosen as the watchword, is expressed in the form of government. Each town (township) has its own local government, and to the State Legislature according to the Constitution each town "may forever hereafter choose one Representative." And so to this day, Glastenbury with its seven souls has one member, and Burlington, the largest city in the State, with its 25,000 souls has one member.

⁵ Walter H. Crockett, "Vermont, the Green Mountain State," Vol. II.

A fine simplicity and dislike of pretense among the people is illustrated by their choice of the cow as the emblem on the State seal. But it is merely giving credit where it is due. Actually there are more cows than people in the State; the dairy cow provides employment for more people than does the famous marble industry of the State, and its products are greater than those of the maple tree.

The qualities of vigor and independence, democracy and simplicity have always characterized Vermonters. And yet, tested by the challenging issues of today, one wonders whether all the old time vigor is still there, and whether pioneer independence and democracy have not tended to become self-sufficiency and non-cooperation. At any rate, the State has shown great resistance to change. While all the other New England States have been revolutionized by industrial changes, Vermont has remained primarily agricultural. While the whole of the United States is becoming urbanized, Vermont clings to its small rural towns. While other states have tried new forms of government, Vermont retains its town system. It has been said that "Vermont is static; the state seems to be inoculated against all the bugs of social, political and commercial madness that have bitten the modern world."⁶

Coupled with this resistance to change is the outstanding social phenomenon of emigration from the State. At every census since 1850, approximately 40 percent of native born Vermonters have been living in other than their native State. There would seem to be wide acceptance of the statement attributed to one of Vermont's illustrious sons: "Vermont is a good state to be born in, but it is a better state to leave."

Nor has this emigration been counterbalanced by any great immigration into the State. Fewer immigrants have come to Vermont than to any of the other New England States or into the country as a whole. As a matter of fact, the proportion of immigrants to natives in the State has scarcely changed in one hundred years. In 1920 28.1 percent of the population consisted of immigrants. But 15.5 percent of these immigrants were natives of other states of the Union. Only 12.6 percent were foreign born. The State is unique in the fact that 71 percent of the

⁶ William Allen White, "Masks in a Pageant," p. 440.

entire population is native to the State. No other state is as homogeneous as this. No other state, therefore, is challenged to the same extent to prove the quality of its native stock.

But emigration from the State is not the only aspect of the movement with which Vermont is concerned. Though the trend has been much less marked in Vermont than in other states, there has been a steady emigration from rural to urban areas within the State for the last one hundred years. The only increase in the State since 1830, except for one decade, has been due to the increase in the ten towns of the State whose population today exceeds 5,000. In 1850 only 2 percent of the population lived in towns of more than 4,000 inhabitants.⁷ Today 39 percent of the population lives in towns of this size. This gain to the larger towns has been at the expense of the smaller ones. More and more towns are reduced to the class of less than 1,000 inhabitants. Whereas in 1850 only 40 percent of the towns of the State had less than 1,000 inhabitants, today 62 percent have less than that number.

It is this drain from the rural communities that is fraught with danger to a state that is primarily agricultural. Not that the good effects are not obvious. Emigration has made possible more prosperity for those remaining. Today, though the number engaged in agriculture in the State has slightly diminished and the number of farms and of cultivated acres decreased, farm production has not diminished, and the value of farm products has increased. But if the countryside is being drained of its leaders who are needed today more than ever to cope with the ever increasing complexity of agricultural problems, the gain derived from emigration cannot compensate for this loss.

Marks of Emigration in Three Rural Towns—the Three Towns. In order to estimate the loss due to emigration, three rural towns representative of the greater number of rural towns in the State were selected for study. Each is marked by its individual character. Pomona,⁸ situated in an unusually fertile valley in the heart of the Green Mountains, is a prosperous, self-

⁷ William S. Rossiter, "Vermont, an Historical and Statistical Study of the Progress of the State," in quarterly publications of the American Statistical Association, March, 1911, p. 422.

⁸ The names of the three towns are fictitious.

sufficient, urbanized little farming community which proudly serves the needs of less prosperous neighboring towns.

Beaufield, situated in the famous Champlain Valley in the western part of the State, has remained a purely farming town of a high average type with no real village but looking rather to Norton, a populous neighboring town, for all but its primary needs.

Sylvania, on the eastern side of that mountain ridge which politically as well as geographically divides the State, belongs to another Vermont. Its stony hill farms are slowly being reclaimed by the forest. Long stretches of rugged mountains, rushing streams and narrow valleys separate its people into isolated little communities whose only bond is the common payment of taxes to the town. Walled in as it is from the western part of the State, its interests are turned down the West River Valley beyond the Connecticut River to New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

Changes have left their mark upon the three towns. As the entire country has developed and industries have become urbanized, these towns, like most of the old rural communities of the East, have had to make constant adjustments in the type of farming done and in the kind of industries carried on. Every change has been accompanied by an emigration which in turn has affected the social and economic life of these towns so that it has caused further emigration. Nor has this constant interplay between emigration and social and economic change ceased to the present time.

The population in the three towns has declined steadily though gradually since the peak of population growth was reached between 1830 and 1850. Pomona has suffered least. Its population of 1,048 in 1840 has diminished to 725 in 1930, but its population at present is still more than two-thirds of that attained at the peak of development. Beaufield has declined from a population of 1,264 in 1830 to a population of 629 in 1930, leaving the town in 100 years little more than half its former size. Sylvania has suffered most of all. Once the third largest town in its county, with a population of 1,606 in 1850, it has declined to a population of 563 in 1930, only a little more than one-third of its former size.

Loss of population such as this speaks of changes that have taken place.

Obvious marks of emigration are farms that have grown up into weeds and homes that have tumbled into ruin. Vacant habitable houses show that the process continues.

TABLE I.—OCCUPANCY OF HABITABLE HOUSES, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1930

Habitable houses	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Occupied	498	79.4	182	88.3	161	85.2	155	66.8
Summer residences...	29	4.6	7	3.4	2	1.0	20	8.6
Vacant	100	16.0	17	8.3	26	13.8	57	24.6
Total	627	100.0	206	100.0	189	100.0	232	100.0

In the three towns one-fifth of the habitable dwellings are unoccupied, the greatest number of vacant houses being found in Sylvania, the fewest in Pomona. An encouraging note for Sylvania, however, suggesting greater possibilities in the future, is that a number of houses are being taken over by summer residents. The deserted farms and the vacant houses may be depressing reminders of the changes that have taken place, but nevertheless they stand as proof of man's good judgment in leaving marginal land for better economic opportunity.

The changes have affected each town to a different degree and in a somewhat different way, according to its own individual character. This is shown by the differences in the history of each town and in their appearance at the present time.

Pomona. Pomona has achieved a fortunate balance of a prosperous urban community and a good farming section in which little marginal land is kept up. The town, situated in the widest and most fertile part of the Mad River Valley, is almost surrounded by heavily wooded mountains. On the right of the present main road, the land slopes up at only a short distance from the fertile valley farms. On the left, the Mad River twists and turns. Occasional side roads crossing the river through covered bridges lead to the older Pomona on the other side of the valley. There in the hills are to be seen marks of emigration. Old Pomona Commons lies there—now an irregular plot of land bounded by a deserted cemetery and a few small farms. Roads

still radiate from it in all directions. But many of these, now difficult to follow, lead only to timber tracts where crews of lumbermen are at work, or past homes that are tumbling into ruin among high weeds and apple trees run wild, or by schoolhouses fallen into disuse since the erection of the consolidated school



The Mad River Valley at Pomona

in the village. But one back road in particular is as prosperous as ever. It is known throughout the State because its farms have remained in the same families for generations and the college trained sons have returned even to this day to carry on their fathers' farms. Otherwise this Pomona in the hills belongs to the past, and proves the successful adjustment that the town has made in giving up marginal land to cultivate its more fertile sections.

Back on the other side of the valley the present village hums with life. For a short distance the main road is flanked by fine old houses and freshly painted cottages shaded by a high archway of interlocking elms, above which only the glistening white spire of the Congregational Church reaches. An Odd Fellows hall, a Masonic lodge, and a yellow brick Memorial library bearing tribute to an emigrant son are outstanding public buildings. Where

the silent policeman stands to denote an intersection, the less charming and more business-like section of the village begins. Three general stores, a grist mill, an old hotel, two tearooms, poolrooms and barber shops present quite a business front. People driving up in cars and buggies from outlying farms and neigh-



The main street, Pomona

boring towns to trade create a hum and stir. But the business section soon dwindles, a few shabby tenement houses follow, and then houses at more distant intervals until the quiet little "suburb" of Insville is reached. Beyond this point, the farm houses become more scattered until a few miles down the road the State marker announces the boundary of another township.

The setting of this town is unusually beautiful. To stand on top of one of the highest elevations on a summer morning and look across at the circle of mountains still wreathed in mist and down at the winding roads, the bright patches of color of outlying farms, the snug little village with its gleaming church spire in the valley below, is to believe that one is looking down upon some independent little duchy of medieval times, lying serene and prosperous in its well chosen shelter of the mountains.

Beaufield. Beaufield, situated three miles across "the Marsh" from the college town of Norton, is open rolling land with soil of loam and clay which has grown many crops and some fine apple orchards. This town has lived through the whole history of agriculture in the State. Soon after its first settle-



The D. A. R. Chapter House at a bend in the road in Beaufield

ment in 1772 wheat growing prospered. But by 1825, partly because of the destruction by the weevil, and largely because of the competition with the West, the growing of wheat was given up. Then for a time the raising of fancy breeds of horses flourished. But when draught horses came in demand, the raising of fancy breeds declined. By 1830 the first raising of merino sheep began. People became wealthy raising breeders and selling fine wool. Even today one old farmer tells stories of the time when he shipped sheep to South Africa and Australia, and proudly displays the ribbons he has won in prizes at the Chicago World's Fair and other exhibitions for his fine merinos. But after the Civil War there was little demand for breeders and the tariff seriously affected the profit in wool, so that sheep raising ceased being profitable. Cattle had been raised for beef, but the meat packing concern of a nearby town could not compete for long with the growing meat packing industry of Chicago. Finally

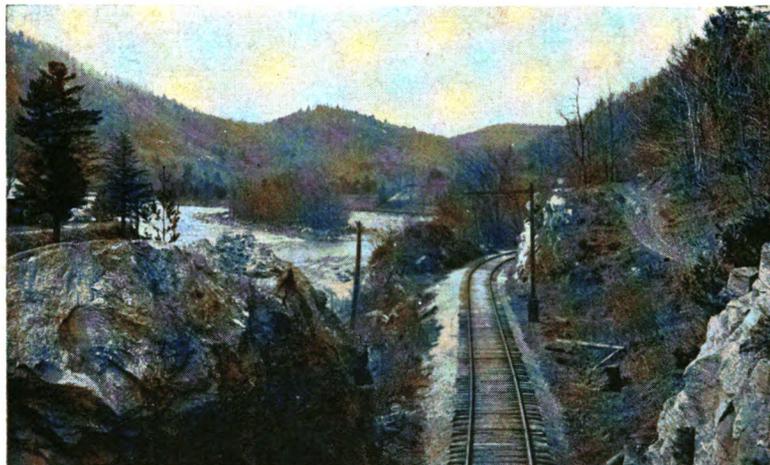
dairying became the main industry. It in turn has gone through an entire evolution from cheese making to butter making, to shipping cream, to the present shipping of fluid milk to the metropolitan centers of the East. What changes may have to be made in this industry when competition with the West becomes keen, is a problem for the future.



A dignified old farm homestead in West Beaufield, built in 1847

In spite of these many changes, life in the town seems little altered. Were a long departed son to return he would find many homes in which descendants of the early settlers still live. Over to the East he could once again lift up his eyes to the wooded hills of the Green Mountain range, and to the West beyond Lake Champlain watch the ever-changing blue of the distant Adirondacks. At short intervals along the gravelled main road are the same old homes—some with fresh white fronts and bright green trimmings, others looking somewhat shabby. At the church and cemetery is the only semblance of a village. Directly across is the town hall and a general store—now owned by a French Canadian who can boast of being the second generation in town. Diagonally across is the new red brick library and chapter house dedicated to the D. A. R.'s of the town by a prosperous emigrant

son. Here one branch of the road angles westward across country to a height of land where a cluster of buildings topped by a church spire denotes West Beaufield. This again is only a semblance of a village—a general store and a short street of houses now occupied chiefly by hired men employed at the nearby estate of another of Beaufield's emigrant sons. Farther on, one turns



The West River Valley at Sylvania

north up the "back street," where a few well preserved homes mark some of the oldest homesteads in town, while others stand as grey old sentinels of long deserted farms. After encircling the town, one comes back to a vantage point on the main road. Looking from it over the fertile rolling fields and the enduring homes, it is impossible to believe, especially on a spring day with the fragrance of apple blossoms in the air, that the prevailing peace and tranquillity of this farming community can be disturbed by any social unrest.

Sylvania. Sylvania is another world. One of the first outposts of the town as one coasts eastward down the mountain ridge silently speaks for it. It is a home—bleak and weather-beaten. In the dooryard are strewn parts of implements and sticks of wood. Near the road a few chickens roam and a cow

grazes. In the rear is a small garden, the only bit of cultivated land. At one side is an old Ford car, the one hint of farm machinery. Beyond this home are miles of wilderness, then another solitary human habitation, and then more wilderness before the first little community of Ralsville is reached. Such is



Reading a sign in Sylvania—"This Road Abandoned and Discontinued by Order of Selectmen"

the character of this large township. Roads up mountains, through long stretches of woods, and over turbulent streams, lead in all directions to one-time populous communities such as Grand Falls, Marston Hollow, Bare Mountain, Littleville, East Hill and West Sylvania, where now only a few isolated families are to be found. It is only down the valley toward East Sylvania that there are a few cultivated farms.

Yet at one time this town was a prosperous farming and industrial community. In Sylvania village were two large tanneries employing many men, while several smaller tanneries were located in other parts of the town. A large boot factory, and more recently, a glove factory were located in the main village. With the coming of the railroad in 1880, lumbering became the chief industry. Lumber mills were situated in every section of the town. Toward Grand Falls were two large mills and a most

successful mop-wringer factory. In West Sylvania were three big sawmills and in Ralsville, two. But of these former industries only two or three small lumber mills and one wood-turning factory remain today. The others have either died down or have moved away to larger centers, and with them have gone many people.



Ruins along the road near Sylvania

A lonely reminder of populous days that have been is the deserted village of West Sylvania. Once one of the best farming and lumbering sections of town, it now has been entirely bought over by lumber companies. Not a single one of the grey weather-beaten houses is occupied. Old timers recall earlier days in this village when at a moment's notice fifty couples could be gathered together for a barn dance; others speak of it as "the dark corner of Sylvania." Only a short distance away a tablet stands to commemorate the spot where Daniel Webster addressed six thousand people who had gathered together from the surrounding hills. Now the entire area is a wilderness, the most bleak part of which, especially on an autumn day when the wind is stripping the trees of their last leaves, is this tomb of a village slowly falling into ruins. But bleak though it is, it is a hopeful reminder of the good judgment shown by the people of the town to move when they have learned of more favorable opportunities elsewhere.

Sylvania village, almost surrounded by mountains and woods, is itself a more stirring center of life. Several short streets are

lined with houses. Along the main road are two churches, a bank, a red frame town hall, as well as many private residences. At the busiest corner a small hotel and a busy general store face the Masonic lodge, a private residence, and another general store. But at only a short distance from this corner, homes again are



"The Busy Corner," Sylvania

located at distant intervals along the main road. When autumn leaves are swirling down from the nearby mountains into the main street, one tends to speculate on the effect upon the town of having one-half of its entire property value in the hands of lumber companies and other disinterested non-residents.

Marks of change such as these lead one to ask: "Who are the people who have gone away from these towns and where have they gone? What has their going away really meant to the social life of the towns and to the heritage of future generations to be born in these communities? Has their loss been compensated for by the kind of immigrants who have come into these towns and by the preservation of vigorous residual stock?" In an attempt to throw some light on these questions the character of the emigration within the last two decades, 1910 to 1930, has been studied.

Summary. 1. Internal migration has become a vast movement from the farms to the cities, due to the urbanization of industry and to the changing conditions in agriculture. The movement will continue on a large scale until farmers enjoy some of the more important social advantages of the city and have a fair share of the national income.

2. Internal migration is of particular concern to Vermont for it has meant an exodus from this State of practically 40 percent of native born Vermonters at every census since 1850. It has also meant a migration from the small rural communities to the larger centers of population in the State. Though this has been valuable in improving farming conditions for those remaining in the rural areas, it has threatened to drain the countryside of much needed leaders.

3. Three towns representative of the small rural communities of the State were selected for study in an attempt to ascertain what the loss due to emigration has meant to the social life of the towns and to the heritage of the future generations born and raised in them. Changes brought about by emigration are marked in each town, though to a different degree and in a different way in each. These marks of change have encouraged a detailed study of emigration from the three towns during the last two decades 1910 to 1930.

II

THE CHARACTER OF THE EMIGRATION FROM THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Migration is one reflection, and usually a healthy one, of social unrest. In the last two decades it has been expressed not only by the exodus from rural communities but also by the influx to them. It has been expressed too by the numbers of people who have attempted to move away from the small towns but who for one reason or another have returned, as well as by the number who drift from place to place and are "erstwhile residents" wherever they may be. All of these emigrants, immigrants and transients are but a part of that great army of migrating folk which is on the march to better opportunities.

The Extent of the Movement. It is difficult to conceive that the peace and tranquillity of the three rural towns can be disturbed by a social unrest such as is expressed in a migratory movement. Yet despite the seeming changelessness of things, there is in these communities considerable flux and movement. Constantly emigrants from elsewhere come by chance into one of these towns on their uncertain march to greener fields. A few take up more or less permanent residence. The remainder stop only a short time and then move on. Their number, depleted by the few who have decided to remain in town, is augmented by the many "belonging to town" who have decided to join the ranks of the moving army.

And yet few people in these towns are aware of any great exodus. When one of the best informed citizens of Beaufield was asked if he recalled many people who had left town in the last twenty years, he replied, "Why no. People don't leave town nowadays." Then added, "Well, yes—I can think of one or two boys down the back street who have gone away in the last twenty years. But that is all." Yet the emigration from Beaufield in the last twenty years, excluding all those not recorded in the Grand Lists, is one and two-thirds times greater than is

the present population of the town. A migration of these proportions is considerable for farmers, who tend to move less than any other occupational group.⁹ From the three towns the emigration during the years 1910 to 1930 is as follows:

From Pomona, whose present population is 725, 995 persons have emigrated.

From Beaufield, whose present population is 629, 1,136 persons have emigrated.

From Sylvania, whose present population is 563, 806 persons have emigrated.

Old timers, who especially pride themselves on knowing everyone who has lived in town since their childhood, were amazed both at the number of people who had left town since the year 1910, and at the number who had lived long enough in town to be recorded in the Grand Lists, concerning whom they knew little or nothing. Some of the names recorded they dismissed with a shrug of the shoulders and the explanation, "Oh, those people don't belong to town. That's not a family name of this town. They are just floaters—no-account people."

The Emigration of Old Stock. It is true that many emigrants are transients—hired men and laborers moving from job to job—but it is also true that many are people who "belong to town." Now "belonging to town" to old timers may mean only those people whose grandfathers and great-grandfathers have lived in town before them. But for the purposes of this study it will include beside these, people whose fathers only have lived in town. Many more emigrants belong to this class than is realized by the townspeople. The latter have the not unusual human weakness of recalling only those emigrants belonging to town who have been outstanding in their distant field of endeavor—and they are naturally few. Pomona takes pride in its brilliant lawyer and its wealthy emigrant sons now living in the Middle West. Beaufield is proud of the illustrious sons it has sent out, among whom have been twenty-four missionaries, a college president and a great Shakespearian scholar. Sylvania will live forever as the birthplace of several outstanding judges who have given their services to the State and to the Nation. But in all the towns there is a tendency to remember the one of unusual ability who

⁹ Sorokin and Zimmerman, "Rural Urban Sociology."

has gone away and forget the hundreds of everyday people who have left.

The emigrants considered in this study are a selected group from which has been excluded all those who have died since emigrating from town. Of this group, two-thirds of the emigrants were descendants of old stock in town—people whose fathers, grandfathers and great-grandfathers were established in town before them. The remaining one-third were of new blood—people who could claim no direct descent in town, but who had come independently and had gone away again. The relationship of the emigrants to the town which they left is shown in Table II.

TABLE II.—EMIGRANTS* CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY "BELONG" TO TOWN, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Relation to town	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Emigrants—Grand total	670	100.0	233	100.0	277	100.0	160	100.0
Emigrants of new blood—Total	227	33.8	106	45.5	70	25.3	51	31.9
Emigrants who "Belong to town"—Total.	443	66.2	127	54.5	207	74.7	109	68.1
Whose fathers came.	221	33.0	57	24.5	98	35.4	66	41.2
Whose grandfathers came	127	19.0	28	12.0	77	27.8	22	13.7
Whose great-grand-fathers came.	42	6.3	25	10.7	10	3.6	7	4.4
Whose gr.-gr.-grand-fathers came.	33	4.9	11	4.7	15	5.4	7	4.4
Whose gr.-gr.-gr.-grandfathers came.	5	0.8	2	0.9	1	0.3	2	1.3
Unknown generations in town	15	2.2	4	1.7	6	2.2	5	3.1

*Fifteen years of age and over at time of leaving.

People "belonging to town" have emigrated more from Beaufield, the more purely agricultural town, than from the other two towns, three-quarters of its emigrants having been people who belong to town. Sylvania, the hill town, has lost almost as many people of old stock, two-thirds of its emigrants being people who belong to town. Pomona, the urbanized farming town, has lost the fewest people of old stock, only a little more than half its emigrants having been people who can claim descent in town.

The high turnover in Pomona of people who have brought new blood to town is accounted for by the larger number of people who come and go as hired men and farm tenants in this town compared to the number in the other towns. The turnover of people of new blood in Sylvania is accounted for by the number of people who come and go, working at temporary lumber jobs, bridge building and similar work.

Among those emigrating who "belong to town" are the offspring of present residents. Only one child in each family is needed to carry on the home farm. Only a few can find other work in town. The rest must leave. But it is a matter of considerable concern to every farmer when all his sons and daughters decide to leave and there is no one left on the family farm. It is true that a few farmers are so disillusioned by the hard work, the long hours and the little income attached to farming that they emphatically exclaim: "I don't want to see my son become a farmer." But most farmers are attached to the land and even though they feel certain that a better living can be made at another occupation, they find other values in the rural life and would like to see the old farm kept up after they are gone. What this means to those who really love the land was expressed by an old farmer in Beaufield. He pointed out his land, showed where the weeds had begun to grow high and where the apple trees had become gnarled and twisted, and then explained: "This land has been in our family since my great-grandfather settled here. Over in the field there was the old home. This house was built a hundred years ago. My father was born in it, I was born here and so was my son. But my boy has gone away—he doesn't like farming. I'm getting too old now to keep up the place. And so when I am gone, the old farm will grow up to weeds or be sold to the French-Canadians."

When the number of grown-up children of living residents, that is, the number of children who have completed their education, was counted, it was found that in each town the ratio of sons to daughters is much greater than is the ratio of males to females in the total population of each town. This affected considerably the proportion of all male grown-up children compared to the proportion of all female grown-up children who have left town in the last twenty years. Numerically a greater number

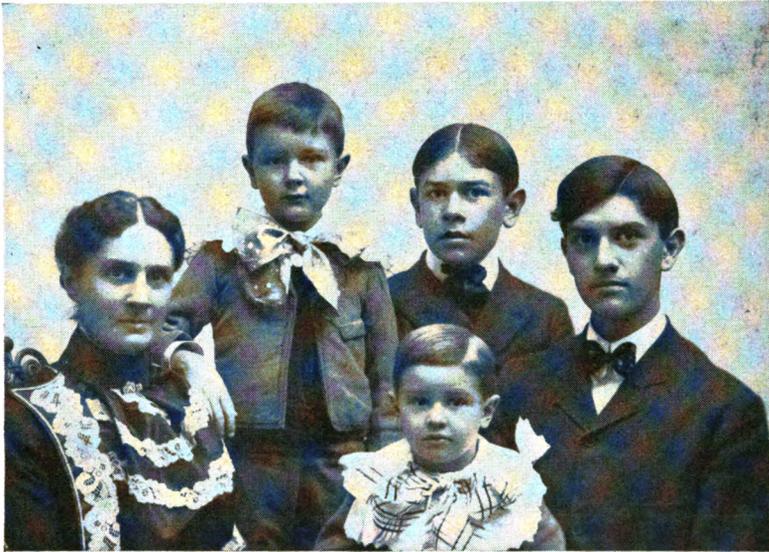
of sons than of daughters have left town, but because of the small number of daughters compared to the number of sons, proportionally more daughters than sons have gone away. The greater emigration of daughters is accounted for by the limited opportunities for work for them in town. Whereas sons are assured of being farm owners some day or are able to enter any one of several occupations in town, daughters can find very little to do except housework, and if they are not content with this, they must leave town. The greater number of daughters, however,

TABLE III.—GROWN-UP CHILDREN* OF RESIDENTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THOSE WHO HAVE EMIGRATED AND THOSE WHO HAVE REMAINED, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Present location	Three towns			Pomona			Beaufield			Sylvania		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Grown-up children—Total.	547	324	223	189	112	77	200	121	79	158	91	67
Who have left town	265	137	128	82	41	41	119	60	59	64	36	28
Who have remained in town	282	187	95	107	71	36	81	61	20	94	55	39
At parental home ..	184	126	58	72	50	22	51	39	12	61	37	24
Elsewhere in town.	98	61	37	35	21	14	30	22	8	33	18	15
Percent distribution												
Grown-up children—Total.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Who have left town	48.4	42.3	57.4	43.4	36.6	53.2	59.5	49.6	74.7	40.5	39.6	41.8
Who have remained in town	51.6	57.7	42.6	56.6	63.4	46.8	40.5	50.4	25.3	59.5	60.4	58.2
At parental home ..	34.2	38.9	26.0	37.6	44.6	28.6	30.5	32.2	15.2	34.8	40.6	35.8
Elsewhere in town.	17.4	18.8	16.6	19.0	18.8	18.2	10.0	18.2	10.1	24.7	19.8	22.4

*Includes only those who have completed their education.

do remain in town and at their parental home until marriage, when many of them leave town. The proportion of the grown-up children of present residents who have left town in the last twenty years compared to the proportion who have stayed in town, is shown in Table III.



A brilliant family from Beaufield. The eldest son has become a successful minister working in an executive capacity in New York City, the next is a very able lawyer and the third is a business executive. The youngest son has remained to carry on the old home farm

Of all the grown-up children of present residents, 42 percent of the sons compared to 57 percent of the daughters have left town in the last twenty years. The loss of both sons and daughters is greatest in Beaufield, the purely agricultural town, one-half of the grown-up sons and three-quarters of the grown-up daughters of its present residents having gone away in the last twenty years. In hilly Sylvania, more than in the other two towns, grown-up sons and daughters have remained, although in urbanized Pomona almost as many have stayed. In each of these towns, however, those children who have remained have been influenced to do so

by different reasons; in Pomona sons and daughters have remained because of the economic opportunities afforded, in Sylvania they have remained because, as expressed locally there, the children are "no hand to go out and find themselves a job."



A Pomona family, whose sons have gone away. One has become a mechanical engineer, one a full professor at Princeton University, and the other a university instructor. The youngest remains to help carry on the home farm which has been in the family since 1865

Characteristics of the Emigrants. All the emigrants, whether of old stock or of new, have many characteristics in common. One of these is their youth. Nearly two-thirds of the emigrants belong to that age group which any town can least afford to lose, namely, that group in the active period of life between the ages of 15 and 45 years. Yet even prosperous Pomona cannot retain more people of this age than can the other two towns. Beaufield has lost more old people than have the other towns. But this is accounted for by the fact that it alone has no real village to which older people may retire when they are able no longer to farm.

TABLE IV.—AGE OF EMIGRANTS AT LEAVING, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Age groups	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
0-14	223	25.0	87	27.2	84	23.3	52	24.5
15-44	573	64.1	205	64.1	228	63.2	140	66.0
45-59	59	6.6	19	5.9	29	8.0	11	5.2
60 and over	24	2.7	7	2.2	13	3.6	4	1.9
Unknown age	14	1.6	2	0.6	7	1.9	5	2.4
Total	893	100.0	320	100.0	361	100.0	212	100.0

It is generally held that the rural-urban migration is composed largely of single individuals and of more women than men.¹⁰ But this tendency has not been marked in the three towns. Of the emigrants over 15 years of age at leaving, 52 percent have been males and 48 percent females. The proportionate loss of males to females is, however, equal when it is considered that there are 107 males to every 100 females in the rural population of the State.

TABLE V.—MARITAL STATUS OF EMIGRANTS* AT LEAVING, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Marital status	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Total number	670	100.0	233	100.0	277	100.0	160	100.0
Married—Total	328	49.0	124	53.2	121	43.7	83	51.9
Male	166	24.8	62	26.6	62	22.4	42	26.3
Female	162	24.2	62	26.6	59	21.3	41	25.6
Unmarried—Total	342	51.0	109	46.8	156	56.3	77	48.1
Male	182	27.1	56	24.0	82	29.6	44	27.5
Female	160	23.9	53	22.8	74	26.7	33	20.6

*Fifteen years of age and over at time of leaving.

Among those over 15 years of age who leave, the number who are married is almost equal to the number who are single, widowed or divorced, 49 percent being married, and 51 percent comprising

¹⁰ Sorokin and Zimmerman, "Rural Sociology," p. 582.

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all others. More men than women are unmarried on leaving. The loss of unmarried people is greatest in Beaufield.

The education and vocational training received by the emigrants is one measure of their equipment to meet the experiences that must be faced on migrating. One-half of the emigrants who had completed their education before leaving town had received no more than part or all of the instruction given in the elementary schools. More than one-third, however, had received partial or complete high school training. Seven percent had attended college for the four years or less. Of the entire number, only 10 percent had received vocational training in addition to whatever formal education they had received.

TABLE VI.—COMPLETED EDUCATION OF EMIGRANTS,* THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Completed education	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Illiterate	4	0.6	...	...	4	1.5	...	...
Elementary school (part or complete)	323	51.1	86	39.1	151	57.6	86	57.3
High school (part or complete)	231	36.6	101	45.9	80	30.5	50	33.3
College (part or complete)	41	6.5	18	8.2	19	7.3	4	2.7
Unknown education ...	33	5.2	15	6.8	8	3.1	10	6.7
Total	632	100.0	220	100.0	262	100.0	150	100.0
Additional training (included in above) ..	64	10.1	29	13.1	23	8.8	12	8.0

*Those whose education had been completed at time of leaving town.

The amount of education received has been largely determined by the proximity to school. In Pomona where for over 30 years there has been a consolidated school which has given high school as well as elementary school instruction, 70 percent of its emigrants, compared to little more than 40 percent in the other two towns, have received an education above that provided by the elementary schools. Not only have more people gone to high school from this town, but more have attended college, even though the nearest college is considerably more distant than it is from Beaufield. But Beaufield, on the other hand, has sent

more people to college than has Sylvania. While the former town is only three miles away from the college town of Norton, the latter is remote from any institution of higher learning.

It is generally held that those who join the rural-urban migration are, as a rule, people who have made few investments and assumed few responsibilities in the rural community, and are consequently its least settled people.¹¹ One test of stability is the length of time that the emigrants have resided in town before leaving. For newcomers, a fair test of their stability would be that they had resided in town 10 consecutive years before leaving. For those who have been brought up in town, a fair test would be that they remained in town ten years after they had completed their education. But when the stability of emigrants is put to this test, only a small proportion can be considered stable or settled.

TABLE VII.—STABILITY OF EMIGRANTS* AS SHOWN BY PERIOD OF RESIDENCE IN TOWN, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Length of residence in town prior to departure	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent	Num- ber	Per- cent
Ten or more consecutive years	170	25.4	51	21.9	71	25.6	48	30.0
Less than ten consecu- tive years	471	70.3	174	74.7	194	70.1	103	64.4
Unknown length of residence	29	4.3	8	3.4	12	4.3	9	5.6
Total	670	100.0	233	100.0	277	100.0	160	100.0

*Fifteen years of age and over at time of leaving.

When the stability of emigrants is judged by the length of residence in town, only one-quarter of them are settled people. The loss of this stable group has been greatest in hilly Sylvania and least in fertile Pomona.

The work at which emigrants were engaged while in town is a further test of their stability. Farmers move less than any occupational group. The number engaged in agriculture, therefore, tends to be a more settled group.

¹¹ Ernest C. Young, "The Movement of Farm Population: its Economic Causes and Consequences," in "The Country Life of the Nation," edited by Gee.

TABLE VIII.—OCCUPATION OF EMIGRANTS* WHILE IN TOWN CLASSIFIED BY AGRICULTURE AND NON-AGRICULTURE, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Class of occupation	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Agriculture	185	51.5	62	46.6	98	71.0	25	28.4
Non-agriculture	174	48.5	71	53.4	40	29.0	63	71.6
Total	359	100.0	133	100.0	138	100.0	88	100.0

*Those who were gainfully employed while in town.

The proportion of emigrants engaged in agriculture in each of the three towns differs. In Sylvania few of the emigrants can be considered farmers in the same sense that the emigrants from Beaufield and Pomona are classed as such, even in those cases where they speak of themselves as farmers. In that town, although a man may own 150 acres of land, he will cultivate only an acre or two, and earn his living at road work, lumbering, ferning and other odd jobs at different times of the year. This

TABLE IX.—OCCUPATIONS OF EMIGRANTS* WHILE IN TOWN, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Occupation	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
<i>Agriculture:</i>								
Farm owners	33	17.9	12	19.3	14	14.3	7	28.0
Farm managers	1	0.5	1	1.6	..	...	..	...
Tenants	10	5.4	2	3.2	7	7.1	1	4.0
Hired men—								
At home	42	22.7	12	19.4	22	22.5	8	32.0
On other farms....	99	53.5	35	56.5	55	56.1	9	36.0
Total	185	100.0	62	100.0	98	100.0	25	100.0
<i>Non-agriculture:</i>								
Lumbering	12	6.9	3	4.2	..	...	9	14.3
Mining .....	..	...	..	...	..	...	..	...
Manufacturing	41	23.6	15	21.1	3	7.5	23	36.5
Professional	36	20.7	13	18.3	14	35.0	9	14.2
Domestic	39	22.4	14	19.7	15	37.5	10	15.9
Clerical	1	0.6	..	...	..	...	1	1.6
Transportation	32	18.4	17	24.0	6	15.0	9	14.3
Trade	12	6.9	9	12.7	1	2.5	2	3.2
Public service	1	0.5	..	...	1	2.5	..	...
Total	174	100.0	71	100.0	40	100.0	63	100.0

*Those who were gainfully employed while in town.

fact made it difficult even to classify the occupations other than farming at which the people of this town were engaged, for few gainfully employed men are engaged at any one type of work consistently throughout the year. In all the towns those engaged in other than agricultural pursuits were usually domestics, carpenters, painters and laborers in lumber mills. The professional class was composed almost exclusively of school teachers.

Among those engaged in agriculture farm owners are the most stable group. Less than one-fifth of those engaged in farming were farm owners while in town, whereas more than three-quarters were hired men. The loss of the stable group of farm owners was greatest in stony Sylvania and least in farming Beaufield.

The most obvious characteristics of the emigrants therefore in the last 20 years is that they have been the young and usually the unsettled members of the rural communities.

Nature of the Migration. How these emigrants have moved and where they have gone reveal other characteristics and tendencies. One of these is the uncertainty and timidity with which man migrates. Few of the emigrants have gone away alone, or when they have done so, have gone where they had neither friends nor relatives. Few have gone any long distance; they have rather, as a rule, preferred to move by slow steps to the next town and to the nearest job.

TABLE X.—MANNER OF LEAVING OF EMIGRANTS* CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER THEY LEFT INDEPENDENTLY OR AS MEMBERS OF A GROUP, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Unit	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Individuals within								
family groups	610	68.3	215	67.2	245	67.9	150	70.8
Independent individuals	283	31.7	105	32.8	116	32.1	62	29.2
Total	893	100.0	320	100.0	361	100.0	212	100.0

*Includes all living emigrants about whom complete information was obtained.

Emigration today from the three rural communities is still largely a family movement. From the three towns more than

two-thirds of those emigrating during the last 20 years have left in family groups. Less than one-third have gone away alone.

The emigration of family groups is significant in that it may mean a loss to these towns of entire family strains. Such a migration does not only imply a loss of future citizens with the qualities which have marked members of these families in the past, but it may also mean a loss of mating possibilities and a disappearing of the entire stock from the towns. This emigration of family groups is somewhat greater in Sylvania than it is in the other towns.

That the rural-urban migration tends to be a movement by short steps¹² from town to town, is evident from a study of the nature of the migration from the three rural towns. On first leaving, more than half of the grown-up emigrants moved no further than to towns within the same county. But after a period of time, a considerable number had moved to more distant places. This tendency of the migrants to move by short steps is shown in Tables XI and XII.

TABLE XI.—FIRST LOCATIONS CHOSEN BY EMIGRANTS* AFTER LEAVING, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

First location chosen after leaving town	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Adjoining towns	215	34.0	40	18.2	122	46.5	53	35.4
Other towns in county.	113	17.9	51	23.2	23	9.0	39	26.0
Elsewhere in Vermont.	113	17.9	52	23.6	38	14.5	23	15.3
New York State	42	6.6	6	2.7	31	11.8	5	3.3
Adjoining N. E. States.	71	11.2	37	16.8	14	5.3	20	13.3
Other N. E. States.	19	3.1	5	2.3	9	3.4	5	3.3
Other states in U. S.	41	6.5	15	6.8	21	8.0	5	3.4
Other countries	2	0.3	2	0.9	..	..	..	..
Unknown location	16	2.5	12	5.5	4	1.5	..	..
Total	632	100.0	220	100.0	262	100.0	150	100.0

*Those whose education had been completed at time of leaving town.

On first leaving, more than one-third of the grown-up emigrants moved no further than to an adjoining town. Nearly two-thirds remained within the State. Of those who did leave the State, few went further than to a neighboring state. From Beaufield most of these emigrants went to New York State. From Pomona and Sylvania they went to the adjoining New England

¹² E. G. Ravenstein, "On the Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 48, 1885, 167-235; Vol. 52, 1889, 241-305.

States. Of all the emigrants, only 22 persons from Pomona, 30 from Beaufield and 10 from Sylvania ventured longer distances on first leaving. The great majority of emigrants leaving Beaufield for an adjoining town moved to Norton, the nearest as well as the largest town in the county. But Sylvania emigrants stayed closer to home than any. Nearly two-thirds of them on first leaving, remained within the county.

Over a period of time there is a gradual shift in location. Considered according to the number of years away from the three towns, the emigrants who had completed their education at time of leaving town, and who were consequently freer to choose what they wished to do, are located at present as shown in Table XII.

TABLE XII.—PRESENT LOCATION OF EMIGRANTS* IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF YEARS SINCE LEAVING TOWN, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Present location	Number of years since leaving town											
	Total 20 year period		Less than 1		1-5		6-10		11-15		16-20	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Adjoining towns..	185	29.3	18	39.1	84	35.1	41	27.1	27	21.3	15	21.7
Other towns in county	127	20.1	10	21.7	50	20.9	27	17.9	28	22.0	12	17.4
Elsewhere in Vermont	104	16.4	12	26.1	36	15.1	17	11.3	27	21.2	12	17.4
New York State. Adjoining N. E. States	44	7.0	4	8.7	19	8.0	9	6.0	10	7.9	2	2.9
Other N. E. States	87	13.8	2	4.4	24	10.0	27	17.9	19	15.0	15	21.8
Other states in Union	27	4.3	..	...	9	3.8	7	4.6	5	3.9	6	8.7
Other countries..	54	8.5	..	...	17	7.1	21	13.9	9	7.1	7	10.1
Total	4	0.6	..	...	..	...	2	1.3	2	1.6	..	...
Total	632	100.0	46	100.0	239	100.0	151	100.0	127	100.0	69	100.0

*Those whose education had been completed at time of leaving town.

From Table XII the slow steps in migration are apparent. First, the movement away from adjoining towns to more distant places is gradual but steady. Of those who have been away less than one year, 39 percent are located at present in adjoining towns, whereas of those who have been away 16 to 20 years only 22 percent are located at present in adjoining towns. The emigration from the State has also increased according to the length of time the emigrants have been away from any one of

the three towns. Of those who have been away from town 1 to 5 years, 29 percent have left the State, whereas of those who have been away 16 to 20 years, 44 percent have left the State.

During any period in the last 20 years, the migration to other New England States has been considerably greater than the migration to other states of the Union. This tendency on the part of the emigrants from the three rural towns to remain within the New England States, is in marked correspondence with the present trend of emigration from Vermont as a whole. Whereas formerly the emigration from the State was directed mostly toward New York and the western states, at present it is directed much more toward the other New England States.¹³

That the trend of migration is not only away from the State but also away from rural areas to cities is apparent when the size of place is known in which the adult emigrants are at present located.

TABLE XIII.—SIZE OF PLACE IN WHICH EMIGRANTS* ARE NOW LOCATED, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Population	From three towns		In Vermont		Elsewhere	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Under 500	60	9.5	57	13.9	3	1.4
500 and under 1,000	92	14.5	85	20.8	7	3.1
1,000 and under 2,000.....	72	11.4	55	13.4	17	7.6
2,000 and under 4,000.....	115	18.2	107	26.2	8	3.6
4,000 and under 25,000.....	154	24.4	100	24.5	54	24.2
25,000 and under 50,000.....	10	1.6	...	...	10	4.5
50,000 and under 100,000.....	15	2.4	...	...	15	6.7
Over 100,000	59	9.3	...	...	59	26.5
Unknown size of place.....	55	8.7	5	1.2	50	22.4
Total	632	100.0	409	100.0	223	100.0

*Those whose education had been completed at time of leaving town.

Three-quarters of the emigrants are at present settled in towns larger than any of the three studied. Almost one-half have gone to towns from 2,000 to 25,000 population. More than one-fifth have gone to larger centers. Of those who have remained in Vermont, one-half are residing in the larger towns in the State. Of those who have left the State, more than one-third are residing in cities of over 25,000 population, that is, in cities larger than

¹³William Rossiter, *op. cit.*, p. 428; U. S. Census (1920).

any existing in Vermont. From this it is evident that the flow at present is toward the larger towns and cities within and outside the State.

Change of location tends to imply change in occupation. Almost two-thirds of the emigrants who were gainfully employed while in town changed their type of work when they first went away. Some, of course, only changed the type of job done within the same general class of occupation. But 33 percent of all the emigrants changed on first leaving town from agriculture to non-agricultural pursuits, whereas only 3 percent changed from other occupations to agriculture.

The change from agriculture to other occupations is more marked over a period of time. This is evident from the occupations followed by emigrants at present, even when length of time away from town is ignored.

TABLE XIV.—PRESENT OCCUPATIONS OF EMIGRANTS* CLASSIFIED BY AGRICULTURE AND NON-AGRICULTURE, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Class of occupation	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Agriculture	83	21.2	33	24.6	39	24.4	11	11.3
Non-agriculture	308	78.8	101	75.4	121	75.6	86	88.7
Total	391	100.0	134	100.0	160	100.0	97	100.0

*Those who were gainfully employed and about to be gainfully employed upon leaving town.

The proportion of emigrants engaged in agriculture while in town was 52 percent, whereas at present that proportion is only 21 percent. The change has been greatest in Beaufield where only two-fifths of the former number of emigrants now follow agriculture, whereas of those from Pomona nearly one-half still do so.

Changes made in the type of work done both by those who have remained in agriculture and by those engaged in other occupations is apparent even when the length of time away is ignored. For those who have remained in agriculture there has been considerable advancement from hired men to farm owners, the proportion of the latter having increased more than twofold since

leaving town. For those engaged in other occupations the changes made have been mostly away from domestic service and lumbering and to clerical jobs and trade. The decrease in the proportions in professions is largely due to the number of school teachers who marry and do not continue with their work.

TABLE XV.—PRESENT OCCUPATIONS OF EMIGRANTS,* THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Occupation	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
<i>Agriculture:</i>								
Farm owners	31	37.4	10	30.3	15	38.5	6	54.5
Farm managers	7	8.4	5	15.2	2	5.1	0	...
Tenants	5	6.0	1	3.0	4	10.3	0	...
Hired men—								
At home	2	2.4	1	3.0	0	...	1	9.1
On other farms ...	38	45.8	16	48.5	18	46.1	4	36.4
Total	83	100.0	33	100.0	39	100.0	11	100.0
<i>Non-agriculture:</i>								
Lumbering	6	1.9	2	2.0	0	...	4	4.7
Mining	7	2.3	3	3.0	4	3.3	0	...
Manufacturing	91	29.5	29	28.7	33	27.3	29	33.7
Professional	47	15.3	23	22.8	18	14.9	6	7.0
Domestic	47	15.3	11	10.9	26	21.5	10	11.6
Clerical	20	6.5	8	7.9	5	4.1	7	8.1
Transportation	41	13.3	9	8.9	17	14.0	15	17.4
Trade	39	12.7	13	12.9	15	12.4	11	12.8
Public service	10	3.2	3	2.9	3	2.5	4	4.7
Total	308	100.0	101	100.0	121	100.0	86	100.0

*Those who were gainfully employed and about to be gainfully employed upon leaving town.

The tendency among the emigrants, except for a very few, has been, then, to move by short steps to the nearest town, and with some uncertainty and backward turning, to gravitate to the larger towns and cities in Vermont and elsewhere. In new locations they have tended to change from farming to other occupations.

Reasons Given for Leaving. To attempt to analyze the reasons given for migrating is to attempt to analyze human nature. The reasons given by the emigrants and by their nearest kin are probably little more than the determining factors in the sum total of factors that have influenced these people to migrate. Economic

improvement was given as a main reason for emigrating more frequently than any other. It also was subordinate among many of the other main reasons given. The reasons for leaving, known for 558 adult emigrants from the three rural towns, may be divided roughly as in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI.—REASONS GIVEN BY EMIGRANTS FOR LEAVING TOWN CLASSIFIED BY ECONOMIC AND OTHER, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Economic	326	58.4	114	55.3	124	58.8	88	62.4
Other	232	41.6	92	44.7	87	41.2	53	37.6
Total	558	100.0	206	100.0	211	100.0	141	100.0

Economic reasons were most important in determining more than half the emigrants to leave town. Among these, the one given most frequently was, "Went because he had a chance to better himself." Close second to that was, "Nothing to do in town—had to find a job." Others were, "Didn't succeed—was in debt," and "Found a farm he could buy." It was of interest to distinguish between those who left because a better opportunity was offered, and those who left because they had to have a job and there was nothing to do in town. The latter reason, different from the former, implies an unwillingness to leave except for the necessity of earning a living. People in Pomona and Beaufield gave most frequently as a reason, "Went because he could better himself." But in Sylvania, they gave most frequently, "Had to find a job." It is of interest to note further that while the emigrants from Sylvania usually have left for purely economic reasons, emigrants from Pomona have left more for other reasons, among which the desire for more social advantages has been dominant.

Among other than economic reasons, some which were given most frequently might be classed as social, such as "Went to be near relatives," or "Wanted to be near a good school," or "Left on marriage." But others given were more psychological, such as "Were just unsettled—didn't know what they wanted to do," and "Didn't like farming." Many who gave such reasons are

among those who become transients in both agriculture and industry. All of the reasons given, however, are only outstanding ones among many which have played their part in determining people to migrate.

A few people from the three towns, and only a very few, have been guided in emigrating by the desire to pursue a career or to carry out a definite vocational plan. These with but few exceptions have been descendants of old stock who have received education above their peers. When they have emigrated they have gone with but little hesitation to whatever place, no matter how distant or strange, which they have deemed best suited to the furtherance of their plans. These are the potentially distinguished emigrants whom every town chooses to remember because they are its promise of immortality. But of the whole migrating body they compose only a very small part.

Summary. 1. The emigration from the three rural towns is considerably greater and consists of more people who "belong to town" than is generally realized by the townspeople. Among those "belonging to town" who emigrate are nearly half the grown-up sons and more than half of the grown-up daughters of present residents.

2. The emigrants have characteristics in common. One of these is their youth. Two-thirds of the emigrants belong to that active period of life between the ages of 15 and 45 years.

More emigrants are not married than married, although the difference in number between the two groups is very slight.

The proportion of males to females is equal.

One-half of the emigrants have not received education above that provided by the common school. Seven percent, however, have attended college. Only 10 percent have received vocational training in addition to their schooling.

That the emigrants tend to be the less settled members of a community is shown by the fact that three-quarters of the adults have not resided in town 10 consecutive years before leaving, and also that only a very small proportion have been long established farm owners or business men.

3. The migration tends to be a movement by short steps to neighboring towns and to nearby jobs, though always directed

toward the larger towns and cities both within and outside the State. In new locations the majority of emigrants change their type of work, the greatest shift being from agriculture to other industries.

Only a very few, and they are almost without exception the better educated among the emigrants, move without much hesitation any distance to whatever place seems best suited to the furtherance of their plans.

III

GAUGING THE LOSS DUE TO EMIGRATION

To evaluate the selective processes at work in the recent migration it is necessary to compare characteristics of the emigrants with those of the immigrants who have taken their place, and with the residual residents. Such a comparison will throw light on the extent to which the qualitative loss due to emigration is compensated for by the qualitative gain due to immigration, and by the preservation of vigorous residual stock.

Characteristics of Emigrants Compared with Immigrants and with Older Residents. One condition that is essential to preserving the same fine quality of stock and social traditions in a community is that immigrants have a social heritage similar to that of the emigrants and older residents. This has been largely true for Vermont as a whole insofar that changes due to the incoming of foreigners have been few. It has been true also for the three towns in that foreign-born immigrants make up only a small portion of the population.

In the three towns, of all the immigrants, including their children born in town, that is, of all the present residents who have come into town during the last 20 years and their children born since that time, less than 9 percent are foreign born. But only 4 percent of the emigrants, and even a smaller percentage of the old residents are foreign born, so that there is some substitution of foreign for native stock. This substitution, however, is not very great, 71 percent of all the immigrants in the last 20 years who are now living in these towns being native born Vermonters. Yet this proportion is lower than among older residents and emigrants, 90 percent of all the older residents and 82 percent of all the emigrants being native born Vermonters. A large number have been born in the town in which they are now residing, or from which they have emigrated. Two-thirds of the older residents and one-half of the emigrants were born in one of the three towns. But more than one-quarter of the immigrants are people

TABLE XVII.—NATIVITY OF EMIGRANTS COMPARED WITH IMMIGRANTS AND WITH OTHER RESIDENTS, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Place of birth	Emigrants						Total						Immigrants						Residents					
	Total			Total			Total			Total			Total			Total			Total					
	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.				
Vermont	729	270	286	173	1,509	628	463	418	817	348	241	228	692	280	222	190								
In town	432	136	187	109	812	284	258	270	306	88	90	128	506	196	168	142								
Elsewhere	297	134	99	64	697	344	205	148	511	260	151	100	186	84	54	48								
Adjoining states..	87	20	40	27	210	43	80	87	170	35	61	74	40	8	19	13								
Other states	20	4	7	9	66	18	13	35	59	15	12	32	7	3	1	3								
Other countries..	34	15	19	0	121	35	66	20	100	24	56	20	21	11	10	..								
Unknown	23	11	9	3	11	1	7	3	6	1	5	..	5	..	2	3								
Total	893	320	361	212	1,917	725	629	563	1,152	423	375	354	765	302	254	209								
Percent distribution																								
Vermont	81.6	84.4	79.2	81.6	78.7	86.6	73.6	74.2	70.9	82.3	64.3	64.4	90.5	92.7	87.4	90.9								
In town	48.4	42.5	51.8	51.4	42.3	39.2	41.0	47.9	26.6	20.8	24.0	36.2	66.2	64.9	66.1	67.9								
Elsewhere	33.2	41.9	27.4	30.2	36.4	47.4	32.6	26.3	44.3	61.5	40.3	28.2	24.3	27.8	21.3	23.0								
Adjoining states..	9.8	6.3	11.1	12.7	11.0	5.9	12.7	15.5	14.8	8.3	16.3	20.9	5.2	2.7	7.5	6.2								
Other states	2.2	1.2	1.9	4.3	3.4	2.5	2.1	6.2	5.1	3.5	3.2	9.0	.9	1.0	.4	1.4								
Other countries...	3.8	4.7	5.3	...	6.3	4.8	10.5	3.6	8.7	5.7	14.9	5.7	2.7	3.6	3.9	..								
Unknown	2.6	3.4	2.5	1.4	.6	.2	1.1	.5	.5	.2	1.3	..	.7	..	..	.8					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0								

who have been born in one of these towns, and who within the last two decades have returned to the place of their birth.

The change due to the substitution of foreign for native stock has been greatest in Beaufield, where 15 percent of the immigrants are foreign born, almost exclusively French Canadians. But in both Pomona and Sylvania less than 6 percent of the immigrants are foreign born, and of the older residents 90 percent are native born Vermonters. In these towns at least there would seem to be little danger of change due to the substitution by immigration of people of stock and social customs different from that of the emigrants.

The preservation of a stock and its traditions is determined further by the proportion of the population that not only is native born but that also can claim descent in town for more than one generation. These people tend to set the tone of social life in a community.

TABLE XVIII.—COMPARISON OF EMIGRANTS* WITH IMMIGRANTS† AND WITH OTHER RESIDENTS‡ ACCORDING TO WHETHER OR NOT THEY CAN CLAIM TO "BELONG TO THE TOWN," THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Relation to town	Emigrants		Total		Residents		Others		
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	
Emigrants and residents—									
Grand total	Three towns	670	100.0	1,352	100.0	788	100.0	564	100.0
	Pomona	233	100.0	515	100.0	297	100.0	218	100.0
	Beaufield	277	100.0	448	100.0	256	100.0	192	100.0
	Sylvania	160	100.0	389	100.0	235	100.0	154	100.0
Those of new blood—Total..	Three towns	227	33.8	630	46.6	488	61.9	142	25.2
	Pomona	106	45.5	255	49.5	196	66.0	59	27.1
	Beaufield	70	25.3	203	45.3	154	60.2	49	25.5
	Sylvania	51	31.9	172	44.2	138	58.7	34	22.1
Those who "Belong to town"—Total	Three towns	443	66.2	722	53.4	300	38.1	422	74.8
	Pomona	127	54.5	260	50.5	101	34.0	159	72.9
	Beaufield	207	74.7	245	54.7	102	39.8	143	74.5
	Sylvania	109	68.1	217	55.8	97	41.3	120	77.9

*Fifteen years of age and over at time of leaving.

†Fifteen years of age and over at present.

TABLE XVIII.—*Concluded*

Relation to town		Emigrants		Total		Residents		Others	
		Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Whose fathers came	Three towns	221	33.0	375	27.7	190	24.1	185	32.8
	Pomona	57	24.5	138	26.8	67	22.5	71	32.6
	Beaufield	98	35.4	134	29.9	66	25.8	68	35.4
	Sylvania	66	41.2	103	26.5	57	24.3	46	29.8
Whose grandfathers came..	Three towns	127	19.0	180	13.3	64	8.1	116	20.6
	Pomona	28	12.0	59	11.5	16	5.4	43	19.7
	Beaufield	77	27.8	55	12.3	20	7.8	35	18.2
	Sylvania	22	13.7	66	17.0	28	11.9	38	24.7
Whose great-grandfathers came	Three towns	42	6.3	116	8.6	29	3.7	87	15.4
	Pomona	25	10.7	44	8.5	11	3.7	33	15.1
	Beaufield	10	3.6	36	8.0	10	3.9	26	13.5
	Sylvania	7	4.4	36	9.2	8	3.4	28	18.2
Whose gr.-gr.-grandfathers came	Three towns	33	4.9	36	2.7	10	1.3	26	4.6
	Pomona	11	4.7	17	3.3	5	1.7	12	5.5
	Beaufield	15	5.4	11	2.5	3	1.1	8	4.2
	Sylvania	7	4.4	8	2.1	2	.9	6	3.9
Whose gr.-gr.-gr.-grand- fathers came	Three towns	5	.8	4	.3	2	.3	2	.3
	Pomona	2	.9	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Beaufield	1	.3	4	.9	2	.8	2	1.1
	Sylvania	2	1.3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Unknown generations in town	Three towns	15	2.2	11	.8	5	.6	6	1.1
	Pomona	4	1.7	2	.4	2	.7	..	..
	Beaufield	6	2.2	5	1.1	1	.4	4	2.1
	Sylvania	5	3.1	4	1.0	2	.8	2	1.3

One of the most interesting facts revealed in the above table is that among emigrants, old residents and immigrants alike are people who can claim direct descent for as long as six generations in town. An even larger proportion of emigrants than old residents can claim such long descent in town. But even of the immigrants in town, nearly two-fifths "belong to town." In this group are people who left town in early childhood as well as others

who left at a later date. Few of them went away any great distance, and all, for one reason or another, have returned to the town where they "belong."

The proportion of these people who have come back to town is least in Pomona and greatest in Sylvania; 34 percent of the immigrants in Pomona, 40 percent of those in Beaufield and 41 percent of those in Sylvania "belong to town." It is interesting that the largest percentage of such immigrants have returned to the least prosperous town, Sylvania. This may be accounted for by two conditions. One is that Sylvania probably offers as many opportunities as do the immediately surrounding towns. The other is that the town is so different from more prosperous communities that it demands considerably more effort on the part of its emigrants than on the part of those of the other towns to make the adjustment to a new and strange environment. For some, at least, this adjustment has demanded too much effort and they have returned to town.

Change in the towns due to the coming not necessarily of foreigners but of newcomers, that is, of people who have brought new names and new blood into the community, is considerable. Of the emigrants who have gone away during the last two decades, a little more than one-third were newcomers in town. Among the older residents one-quarter had brought new blood into the community. But among the immigrants nearly two-thirds are newcomers. This substitution of new blood for old, however, may be of considerable value to the three towns to counteract the tendency to intermarriage which otherwise tends to take place.

The greatest "turnover" of new blood is in the prosperous urban town of Pomona, where 46 percent of the emigrants and 66 percent of the immigrants have been newcomers in town. This, according to townspeople, is due largely to the fact that one of the long established residents of the town who does farming on a large scale employs many farm laborers and tenants, few of whom remain in town any length of time.

There has, then, been a drain due to emigration of native born Vermonters who often have been people of long descent in the three towns. But the old stock still predominates in these towns, especially since some of the immigrants have been of old stock.

Considerable substitution by immigration of new stock has taken place, but as this has been almost entirely native American, there is little danger that it will threaten the social traditions and standards of the communities. Beaufield alone has been somewhat changed due to the immigration of foreign born and to the large emigration of native stock. Sylvania, on the other hand, has been affected least by infiltration of foreign stock, as is evident from Table XVII, and it has also the largest proportion of people who can claim long descent in town.

One characteristic of the emigration movement that is outstanding is the flow of young people from the rural towns. But the actual loss due to the drain can be determined only by comparing the ages of emigrants at leaving with the present ages of the residents and with the ages of immigrants on arriving.

TABLE XIX.—AGE OF EMIGRANTS AT LEAVING COMPARED WITH IMMIGRANTS AT ARRIVING AND WITH PRESENT AGE OF TOTAL RESIDENT GROUP, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Age groups	Emigrants at leaving				Immigrants at coming				Total residents at present			
	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.
0-14	223	87	84	52	289	125	93	71	565	210	181	174
15-44	573	205	228	140	484	182	164	138	709	291	226	192
45-59	59	19	29	11	110	38	36	36	319	120	111	88
60 and over....	24	7	13	4	67	20	19	28	319	102	110	107
Unknown age...	14	2	7	5	1	..	1	..	5	2	1	2
Total	893	320	361	212	951	365	313	273	1,917	725	629	563

Percent distribution

0-14	25.0	27.2	23.3	24.5	30.4	34.2	29.7	26.0	29.5	29.0	28.8	30.9
15-44	64.1	64.1	63.2	66.0	50.9	49.9	52.4	50.5	37.0	40.1	35.9	34.1
45-59	6.6	5.9	8.0	5.2	11.6	10.4	11.5	13.2	16.6	16.5	17.6	15.6
60 and over....	2.7	2.2	3.6	1.9	7.0	5.5	6.1	10.3	16.6	14.1	17.5	19.0
Unknown age...	1.6	.6	1.9	2.4	.1	...	.3	...	.3	.3	.2	.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The migratory movement is undoubtedly selective in regard to age. Whereas nearly two-thirds of the emigrants were between the ages of 15 and 45 years on leaving, little more than one-third of the residents today are in that age group. One-tenth of the emigrants were over 45 years of age, but one-third of the residents are over that age. This drain of people between the ages

of 15 and 45 has been similar in all the towns, although it has been greatest in poor Sylvania and least in farming Beaufield. At the same time a somewhat larger proportion of older people has remained in Beaufield and Sylvania than has remained in Pomona. Such a large proportion of older to younger people is bound to have its effects upon the activities and social life of a community, and tend to make it more static.

A fortunate counterbalancing force to the drain of young people by emigration is the gain of young people by immigration. At the time of arriving in town, one-half of the immigrants were between the ages of 15 and 45, and scarcely one-fifth were over 45 years of age. The incoming and the outgoing people are then of similar age groups. But the proportion of young people coming in is not so great as the proportion going out, one-half of the immigrants compared to two-thirds of the emigrants being between the ages of 15 and 45; and nearly one-fifth of the immigrants compared to one-tenth of the emigrants being over 45 years of age. It would appear from this that those of the entire migrating army who decide to take up permanent residence in a small rural town are somewhat older than those who move on to larger centers. The immigrants are, however, younger on the average than are the established residents, so that there is partial substitution at least for the loss of young people due to emigration.

One thing in favor of the residents is apparent from Table XIX, and that is that the percentage of children under 15 years of age is greater among the present residents of the community and among the immigrants on arriving than it is among the emigrants at leaving. This, however, does not mean that the emigrants raise smaller families, but rather that a greater proportion of emigrants at time of leaving are single as compared with the residents and with the immigrants at time of arriving.

The selective aspect of rural migration in regard to its drawing married people, who tend to be the more stable people of a community, is shown in Table XX, where the marital status of all emigrants over 15 years of age at time of leaving is compared with that of the immigrants on arriving and with the present status of other residents.

The proportion of persons who are either single, widowed or divorced is considerably greater among the emigrants on leaving than it is among either the immigrants on arriving or among the residents at the present time. Whereas 51 percent of the emigrants at time of leaving were unmarried, only 45 percent of the immigrants on arriving were, and only 40 percent of residents at the present time are unmarried. According to this, there is a definite selection by emigration of single persons, which is compensated for only in part by the immigration of single persons.

TABLE XX.—MARITAL STATUS OF EMIGRANTS ON LEAVING COMPARED WITH IMMIGRANTS ON ARRIVING AND WITH PRESENT STATUS OF TOTAL RESIDENT GROUP, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Marital status of persons 15 years of age and over	Emigrants 15 years of age and over at leaving				Immigrants 15 years of age and over at arriving				Total residents 15 years of age and over at present			
	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.
Total number...	670	233	277	160	662	240	220	202	1,352	515	448	389
Married—Total..	328	124	121	83	367	123	111	133	815	280	282	253
Male	166	62	62	42	187	58	59	70	409	139	143	127
Female	162	62	59	41	180	65	52	63	406	141	139	126
Unmarried—												
Total	342	109	156	77	295	117	109	69	537	235	166	136
Male	182	56	82	44	158	64	65	29	301	133	97	71
Female	160	53	74	33	137	53	44	40	236	102	69	65
Percent distribution												
Total number...	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Married—Total..	49.0	53.2	43.7	51.9	55.4	51.3	50.5	65.8	60.2	54.4	62.9	65.0
Male	24.8	26.6	22.4	26.3	28.2	24.2	26.8	34.6	30.3	27.0	31.9	32.6
Female	24.2	26.6	21.3	25.6	27.2	27.1	23.7	31.2	30.0	27.4	31.0	32.4
Unmarried—												
Total	51.0	46.8	56.3	48.1	44.6	48.7	49.5	34.2	39.7	45.6	37.1	35.0
Male	27.1	24.0	29.6	27.5	23.9	26.7	29.5	14.4	22.3	25.8	21.7	18.3
Female	23.9	22.8	26.7	20.6	20.7	22.0	20.0	19.8	17.4	19.8	15.4	16.7

Whether or not the emigration movement has been selective in drawing from the rural communities their better educated and vocationally trained members is shown by the tables in which the education and vocational training of emigrants is compared with that of the older residents and of the immigrants.

TABLE XXI.—COMPARISON OF COMPLETED EDUCATION OF EMIGRANTS* WITH IMMIGRANTS AND WITH OTHER RESIDENTS, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Completed education	Emigrants						Residents									
	Total			Total			Immigrants			Others						
	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.				
Illiterate	4	..	4	..	35	12	17	6	23	8	12	3	12	4	5	3
Elem. school (part or comp.)	323	86	151	86	747	230	254	263	432	135	147	150	315	95	107	113
High school (part or comp.)	231	101	80	50	409	185	126	98	230	104	61	65	179	81	65	33
College (part or comp.)	41	18	19	4	37	17	11	9	26	10	9	7	11	7	2	2
Unknown education	33	15	8	10	18	11	3	4	12	6	2	4	6	5	1	..
Total	632	220	262	150	1,246	455	411	380	723	263	231	229	523	192	180	151
Add. training (incl. in above)	64	29	23	12	109	68	23	18	70	44	12	14	39	24	11	4
Percent distribution																
Illiterate .....	.6	..	1.5	..	2.8	2.6	4.1	1.6	3.2	3.0	5.2	1.3	2.3	2.1	2.8	2.0
Elem. school (part or comp.)	51.1	39.1	57.6	57.3	60.0	50.6	61.8	69.2	59.7	51.3	63.6	65.5	60.2	49.5	59.4	74.8
High school (part or comp.)	36.6	45.9	30.5	33.3	32.8	40.7	30.7	25.8	31.8	39.6	26.4	28.4	34.2	42.2	36.1	21.9
College (part or comp.)	6.5	8.2	7.3	2.7	3.0	3.7	2.7	2.4	3.6	3.8	3.9	3.1	2.1	3.6	1.1	1.3
Unknown education	5.2	6.8	3.1	6.7	1.4	2.4	.7	1.0	1.7	2.3	.9	1.7	1.2	2.6	.6	..
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Add. training (incl. in above)	10.1	13.2	8.8	8.0	8.7	14.9	5.6	4.7	9.7	16.7	5.2	6.1	7.5	12.6	6.1	2.6

*Those whose education had been completed at time of leaving town.

As far as formal education is concerned, there is undoubtedly a selection by emigration of those who have received education above the average of the community. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the more able people have gone away. Some of the older residents did not have the opportunities for education that the present generation has, and some of those who did have may not have been interested in school as such. Nevertheless, neither the immigrants within the last 20 years nor the longer settled residents of the towns have received the amount of formal education that the emigrants have. Only a fraction of 1 percent of the emigrants are illiterate, whereas 3 percent of the immigrants and 2 percent of longer settled residents are illiterate.

The standard of necessary education is still the completion or only partial completion of elementary school. Nearly two-thirds of the residents, who have lived in these towns since before 1910 and whose education is completed, have gone no further than through or part way through elementary school. In Sylvania, in particular, three-quarters of the older residents have received no more schooling than this. The immigrants have been a little better educated. Yet considerably more than half of them have gone no further than to common school. But of the emigrants only one-half have received no more schooling than this. It may not be fair to compare the education of the young emigrants with the older residents, but comparing immigrants of the last 20 years with emigrants of the same period, fewer emigrants than immigrants have had only common school education.

Again, the percentage of emigrants who have gone to high school and college is greater than the percentage of immigrants and other residents who have gone. Thirty-seven percent of the emigrants have received part or complete high school training, whereas only 32 percent of the immigrants and 34 percent of the longer settled residents have received such training. Again, 7 percent of the emigrants attended college whereas only 4 percent of the immigrants and 2 percent of the older residents did. As far as college education is concerned then, the emigrants were better equipped than are the immigrants, but the latter in turn are better equipped than are the older residents.

TABLE XXII.—COMPARISON OF KINDS OF ADDITIONAL TRAINING COMPLETED BY EMIGRANTS* WITH THAT OF IMMIGRANTS AND OF OTHER RESIDENTS, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Kind of training	Emigrants						Residents									
	Total			Total			Immigrants			Others						
	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.				
Teacher	21	12	7	2	54	34	12	8	37	24	7	6	17	10	5	2
Agricultural	7	6	1	0	19	13	4	2	7	6	1	0	12	7	3	2
Business	20	5	7	8	26	17	4	5	18	11	2	5	8	6	2	0
Nursing	6	2	3	1	6	3	1	2	6	3	1	2	0	0	0	0
Other	10	4	5	1	4	1	2	1	2	0	1	1	2	1	1	0
Total	64	29	23	12	109	68	23	18	70	44	12	14	39	24	11	4
Percent distribution																
Teacher	32.8	41.4	30.4	16.7	49.5	50.0	52.2	44.4	52.9	54.6	58.3	42.9	43.6	41.7	45.4	50.0
Agricultural	10.9	20.7	4.4	...	17.4	19.1	17.4	11.1	10.0	13.6	8.3	...	30.8	29.1	27.3	50.0
Business	31.3	17.2	30.5	66.7	23.9	25.0	17.4	27.8	25.7	25.0	16.7	35.7	20.5	25.0	18.2	...
Nursing	9.4	6.9	13.0	8.3	5.5	4.4	4.3	11.1	8.6	6.8	8.3	14.2	...	...	...	...
Other	15.6	13.8	21.7	8.3	3.7	1.5	8.7	5.6	2.8	...	8.4	7.2	5.1	4.2	9.1	...
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Those whose education had been completed at time of leaving town.

A selection by emigration of the better educated has, then, taken place from all the towns. A certain selection of the better trained vocationally has also taken place, as is shown in Table XXII.

Only a small proportion of all the adults has had special vocational training. Such training has, however, been received more by emigrants than by immigrants and more by the latter than by the older residents. Of all the emigrants who had completed their education at time of leaving, 10 percent had received vocational training in addition to whatever schooling they had received, compared to 8 percent of all the older residents who have received such training. But on the other hand, 9.7 percent of all the immigrants had received vocational training, so that the loss of vocationally trained emigrants is compensated for, in large part, by the gain of trained immigrants.

The type of training received by the adult members of all groups has been very similar. It has been almost exclusively to teach, to farm or to go into business. More people have received training for the teaching profession than for any other occupation. The next largest number have taken business courses. The third largest have received training in agriculture. A few have had training for nursing and the others have trained for a variety of occupations. The interesting point about the vocational training is that very few, proportionally, have been trained for the occupation in which they now are engaged. Certainly only a small fraction of residents or immigrants or emigrants have continued to teach school. Very few of those who have taken business courses have followed business as a career. Only a small number have recognized that training in agriculture is a valuable aid to success in farming.

The extent to which there has been a selection by emigration of people engaged at certain types of work is shown by comparing the occupations of the emigrants while in town with the occupations of the residents at present. Further, the extent to which the drain from certain occupations due to emigration is compensated for by the inflow due to immigration is shown by comparing the occupations of emigrants while in town with those of "newcomers"—the people among the immigrants who have brought new blood to these rural towns and are not part of the

TABLE XXIII.—COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS OF EMIGRANTS WHILE IN TOWN WITH THAT OF NEWCOMERS AND OF OTHER RESIDENTS* CLASSIFIED BY AGRICULTURE AND NON-AGRICULTURE, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Class of occupation	Emigrants						Residents									
	Total			Total			Newcomers			Others						
	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.				
Agriculture	185	62	98	25	356	132	155	69	160	61	69	30	196	71	86	39
Non-agriculture	174	71	40	63	344	142	74	128	120	42	28	50	224	100	46	78
Total	359	133	138	88	700	274	229	197	280	103	97	80	420	171	132	117
Percent distribution																
Agriculture	51.5	46.6	71.0	28.4	50.9	48.2	67.7	35.0	57.1	59.2	71.1	37.5	46.7	41.5	65.2	33.3
Non-agriculture	48.5	53.4	29.0	71.6	49.1	51.8	32.3	65.0	42.9	40.8	28.9	62.5	53.3	58.5	34.8	66.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*All those gainfully employed.

old stock who have come back during the last 20 years. The ratio of those engaged in agriculture to those in non-agricultural pursuits among the emigrants while in town as compared with newcomers and with other residents is shown in Table XXIII.

In the three towns the drain by emigration has been greatest among those engaged in agriculture, 52 percent of the emigrants while in town compared to 47 percent of the older residents having been engaged in agriculture. Among the newcomers, a larger proportion is engaged in agriculture than was true among the emigrants while in town, 57 percent of the former compared to 52 percent of the latter being so engaged. But in actual numbers, 185 emigrants while in town, compared to 160 immigrants at present are engaged in agriculture, so that there has been a numerical decrease of 25 among those engaged in farming. This loss is slight, and it can be said that the drain by emigration of people engaged in agriculture has almost been compensated for by the gain in this occupation due to immigration. Further details of differences in the type of work done by emigrants while in town and that done by newcomers and other residents is shown in Table XXIV.

From Table XXIV it is apparent that of those engaged in agriculture, the emigrants while in town were less established than are the residents of either old stock or new. Whereas three-quarters of the emigrants while in town were hired men, only a little more than half of the newcomers and less than one-third of the older residents are hired men. Again, while less than one-fifth of the emigrants were farm owners in town, one-third of the newcomers and three-fifths of the old residents are farm owners. In actual numbers, there has been an increase by immigration of 21 farm owners over the number who emigrated. In the three towns, therefore, though the number engaged in farming has diminished, the number of farm owners has increased.

The occupations of all those who are not farming vary but little among emigrants while in town and among newcomers and other residents. All have been engaged mostly in Transportation, as truckmen and roadworkers, and in Manufacturing, as carpenters, painters and workers in lumber mills. More newcomers than either older residents or emigrants while in town are engaged

TABLE XXIV.—COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONS OF EMIGRANTS WHILE IN TOWN WITH PRESENT OCCUPATIONS OF NEWCOMERS AND OTHER RESIDENTS,* THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Occupation	Emigrants						Residents									
	Total			Total			Newcomers			Others						
	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.	Three towns	P.	B.	S.				
<i>Agriculture:</i>																
Farm owners	33	12	14	7	173	59	72	42	54	15	25	14	119	44	47	28
Farm managers.....	1	1	..	..	4	3	1	..	2	1	1	..	2	2	..	..
Tenants	10	2	7	1	29	5	23	1	15	2	12	1	14	3	11	..
Hired men—																
At home	42	12	22	8	39	11	20	8	18	4	11	3	21	7	9	5
On other farms..	99	35	55	9	111	54	39	18	71	39	20	12	40	15	19	6
Total	185	62	98	25	356	132	155	69	160	61	69	30	196	71	86	39
<i>Non-agriculture:</i>																
Lumbering	12	3	..	9	14	6	..	8	5	..	..	5	9	6	..	3
Mining .....	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..
Manufacturing	41	15	3	23	74	25	21	28	23	2	11	10	51	23	10	18
Professional	36	13	14	9	27	15	7	5	9	3	2	4	18	12	5	1
Domestic	39	14	15	10	78	42	21	15	36	21	8	7	42	21	13	8
Clerical	1	..	..	1	3	1	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Transportation	32	17	6	9	95	33	18	44	30	10	6	14	65	23	12	30
Trade	12	9	1	2	34	16	6	12	7	4	..	3	27	12	6	9
Public service	1	..	1	..	5	2	1	2	2	1	1	..	3	1	..	2
Hunting and trapping .....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Ferning .....	..	..	..	..	11	..	..	11	7	..	..	7	4	..	..	4
Total	174	71	40	63	344	142	74	128	120	42	28	50	224	100	46	78

Percent distribution

<i>Agriculture:</i>																
Farm owners	17.9	19.3	14.3	28.0	48.6	44.7	46.5	60.9	33.7	24.6	36.2	46.7	60.7	62.0	54.6	71.8
Farm managers .....	.5	1.6	...	...	1.1	2.3	.6	...	1.2	1.6	1.5	...	1.0	2.8	...	...
Tenants	5.4	3.2	7.1	4.0	8.1	3.8	14.8	1.4	9.4	3.3	17.4	3.3	7.2	4.2	12.8	...
Hired men—																
At home.....	22.7	19.4	22.5	32.0	11.0	8.3	12.9	11.6	11.3	6.6	15.9	10.0	10.7	9.9	10.5	12.8
On other farms..	53.5	56.5	56.1	36.0	31.2	40.9	25.2	26.1	44.4	63.9	29.0	40.0	20.4	21.1	22.1	15.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Non-agriculture:</i>																
Lumbering	6.9	4.2	...	14.3	4.1	4.2	...	6.3	4.2	...	...	10.0	4.0	6.0	...	3.8
Mining .....	...	...	...	...	.6	1.4	...	...	...	...	...	...	.9	2.0	...	...
Manufacturing	23.6	21.1	7.5	36.5	21.5	17.6	28.4	21.9	19.2	4.8	39.3	20.0	22.8	23.0	21.7	23.1
Professional	20.7	18.3	35.0	14.2	7.8	10.6	9.5	3.9	7.5	7.1	7.1	8.0	8.0	12.0	10.9	1.3
Domestic	22.4	19.7	37.5	15.9	22.7	29.6	28.3	11.7	30.0	50.0	28.6	14.0	18.8	21.0	28.3	10.3
Clerical .....	.6	...	...	1.6	.9	.7	...	1.5	.8	2.4	...	...	.9	...	...	2.6
Transportation	18.4	24.0	15.0	14.3	27.6	23.2	24.3	34.4	25.0	23.8	21.4	28.0	29.0	23.0	26.1	38.5
Trade	6.9	12.7	2.5	3.2	9.9	11.3	8.1	9.4	5.8	9.5	...	6.0	12.1	12.0	13.0	11.5
Public service .....	.5	...	2.5	...	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.7	2.4	3.6	...	1.3	1.0	...	2.5
Hunting and trapping .....	...	...	...	...	.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.4	...	...	1.3
Ferning .....	...	...	...	...	3.2	...	...	8.5	5.8	...	...	14.0	1.8	...	...	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*All those gainfully employed.

as domestics; and more emigrants while in town than both newcomers and older residents together were in the professions. But those in the latter class were almost all elementary school teachers. There has been, then, no marked drain of people engaged in other than agricultural pursuits.

Change in occupation among those who have remained in town compared with those who have gone away has been very slight. But any change that has taken place has been usually from agriculture to other occupations. Few older residents have not been hired men or farm owners at one time, but at present only 47 percent of the older residents compared to 57 percent of newcomers are engaging at farming. Emigrants, however, have shifted to a far greater extent, 79 percent of them being engaged at present in occupations other than farming.

Stability in terms of length of residence in town cannot be evaluated in the same way for residents as for emigrants. But one test of stability among residents is the length of time that they have resided in their present homes in town.

TABLE XXV.—LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN PRESENT DWELLING FOR HEADS OF FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY FARMS AND OTHERS, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Farms								
Length of residence in present dwelling	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Less than 1 year.....	7	3.3	2	3.0	3	2.9	2	4.9
1- 5 years	45	21.4	13	19.4	24	23.5	8	19.5
6-10 years	26	12.4	7	10.4	10	9.8	9	22.0
11-15 years	21	10.0	4	6.0	11	10.8	6	14.6
16-25 years	45	21.5	15	22.4	22	21.6	8	19.5
Longer than 25 years..	66	31.4	26	38.8	32	31.4	8	19.5
Total	210	100.0	67	100.0	102	100.0	41	100.0
Non-farms								
Less than 1 year	37	12.7	21	18.1	10	17.0	6	5.2
1- 5 years	104	35.7	43	37.1	19	32.2	42	36.2
6-10 years	50	17.2	20	17.2	10	16.9	20	17.2
11-15 years	26	8.9	10	8.6	4	6.8	12	10.3
16-25 years	33	11.4	7	6.0	11	18.6	15	13.0
Longer than 25 years..	41	14.1	15	13.0	5	8.5	21	18.1
Total	291	100.0	116	100.0	59	100.0	116	100.0

Of the residents who do not live on farms, one-third have resided in their present homes more than 10 years. Of those who do live on farms, nearly two-thirds have resided in their present homes more than 10 years and nearly one-third have resided there more than 25 years. The emigrant group shows a much lower degree of stability, especially when it is remembered that of all the emigrants only one-quarter had either resided in town 10 consecutive years after moving in, or, of those who had been brought up in town, had remained there 10 years after completing their education.

Nevertheless, there is some movement among the settled residents, though considerably less marked than that among the emigrants. This mobility of the residents is shown both by their migration within town and by their emigration from town and return.

The migration within town proves the tendency to move to the more populated centers, for even here the movement is one from the more remote farms and isolated sections to the concentrated villages in the community. The degree of mobility in town among heads of families is shown in Table XXVI.

TABLE XXVI.—MOBILITY IN TOWN AMONG HEADS OF FAMILIES, THREE RURAL TOWNS

Movement in town of heads of families	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
Heads of families—Total	501	100.0	181	100.0	163	100.0	157	100.0
Those who have never moved	173	34.5	56	30.9	69	42.3	48	30.6
Those who have moved once	127	25.3	49	27.1	49	30.1	29	18.5
Those who have moved twice	75	15.0	35	19.3	12	7.4	28	17.8
Those who have moved three times	29	5.8	10	5.5	8	4.9	11	7.1
Those who have moved more frequently....	97	19.4	31	17.2	25	15.3	41	26.0

In the three towns there is little mobility among the residents. More than one-third of the heads of families have never moved at all. One-quarter have moved only once. This permanence of residence is most marked in Beaufield, the purely agricultural

town, where nearly three-quarters of the heads of families either have never moved or have moved only once in town. In Sylvania there is more change of residence than in the other two towns, 33 percent of the heads of families there, compared to 20 percent of those in Beaufield and 23 percent of those in Pomona, having moved three times or more within town.

The nature of the mobility of residents within town is shown further by the number of times heads of families have moved in town in relation to the number of years they have been residents.

TABLE XXVII.—NUMBER OF TIMES HEADS OF FAMILIES HAVE MOVED IN TOWN, IN RELATION TO LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN TOWN

Times heads of families have moved in town	Average number of years heads of families have resided in town			
	Three towns	Pomona	Beaufield	Sylvania
Those who have never moved.	15.5	16.0	18.0	12.4
Those who have moved once..	25.8	22.9	24.2	30.2
Those who have moved twice..	31.3	28.8	33.0	33.2
Those who have moved three times	30.2	30.1	21.3	39.1
Those who have moved more frequently	26.1	24.0	26.9	27.3

Table XXVII shows that the number of times heads of families have moved in town depends considerably upon the number of years they have resided in town. For those heads of families who have never moved in town, the average length of residence is 16 years. For those who have moved once, the average length of residence in town is 26 years. For those who have moved twice, the average length of residence is 31 years. For those who have moved three times, it is 30 years, and for those who have moved more frequently, the average number of years in town is 26.

Further, it is evident from the last two tables that, though heads of families in Sylvania have moved more than have those in the other two towns, the average number of years these families have resided in Sylvania is greater than is the average number of years that the heads of families have resided in the other two towns. This would tend to imply that there is less change in the population of Sylvania than in that of either Pomona or Beaufield, and that its population is composed more of residual stock than is true of the other two towns.

The migration within town is, however, not the only movement among the residents. There has been considerable emigration from town and return. For want of a better word, those people who have ever moved away but have returned during the last 20 years have been called "Repeaters." The proportion that they make of the total population of each town is shown in Table XXVIII.

TABLE XXVIII.—RESIDENTS* CLASSIFIED BY "REPEATERS" AND OTHERS, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Classes of residents	Three towns		Pomona		Beaufield		Sylvania	
	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent	Num-ber	Per-cent
"Repeaters"	253	18.7	89	17.3	77	17.2	87	22.4
Others	1,099	81.3	426	82.7	371	82.8	302	77.6
Total	1,352	100.0	515	100.0	448	100.0	389	100.0

*Fifteen years of age and over at present.

Nineteen percent of the population of the three towns consists of "repeaters," people who have left town and returned during the last 20 years. The proportion of these in the entire population is greatest in Sylvania, nearly one-quarter of its citizens having gone away and returned within the last 20 years.

It cannot be said, however, that there is any great mobility among the residents, but neither can that be said about the emigrants of recent times. From Table XVII, in which the nativity of the emigrants is compared with that of the immigrants and other residents, it is evident that of all old residents, immigrants and emigrants together, less than 3 percent have migrated from their place of birth further than to an adjoining state. Migration from the three towns during recent times, at least, is not a great trek to distant lands.

The reasons given by residents for remaining in town, and by immigrants for coming to town, are as complex to analyze as the reasons given by emigrants for leaving town. The economic reason is less of a determining factor for old residents to remain than it has been for immigrants to come in or emigrants to leave. While an economic reason was dominant for 58 percent of the emigrants for leaving, and for 47 percent of the immigrants for coming into town, it was dominant for only 18 percent of the

older residents. They, more than either immigrants or emigrants, were influenced by other reasons. Those given most frequently were, "Always lived in town and never thought of going away," and "It was the most obvious thing to do to carry on the home place." While others "Liked farming and thought this as good a town as any other to make a go of it." Such reasons as these show up interesting differences between older residents and emigrants. But the extent to which one shows initiative in leaving and the other an ability to "recognize a good thing when he sees it" by remaining is difficult to determine.

When characteristics of the emigrants are compared with those of old residents and of immigrants, it is evident that selective processes are at work in recent migration, particularly in regard to age, education and training of migrants. As a whole, such selective processes have been felt in Sylvania more than in the other towns. But in all the towns the qualitative loss due to emigration has been compensated for, in part at least, by the quality of the immigration and by the preservation of capable old stock.

Summary. To evaluate the selective processes at work in recent emigration from three rural towns, characteristics of the emigrants were compared with those of the remaining residents and of the immigrants.

1. Although people of old Vermont stock, and among them many who can claim long descent in the three towns, have been drawn away into the migratory movement, much of the same quality of stock remains in the communities. The immigrants who come into these towns are also mostly of Vermont and other native stock. The substitution by immigration of foreign stock to take the place of the emigration of native stock is, therefore, slight in the three towns.

2. The emigration has been highly selective in drawing young people from the rural communities. This drain is only partially compensated for by the immigration of young people.

3. The emigration movement is also selective in drawing away people of more than average education and vocational training. More emigrants than either residents or immigrants have received education above that provided in the elementary school, and more

have received vocational training in addition to their schooling.

4. The emigration movement drains people engaged in farming more than those engaged in other occupational pursuits. But this is counterbalanced by the high percentage of immigrants who are engaged in farming.

5. Much more change in occupations is made among the emigrants than among the immigrants and older residents who remain in town. But among all is a movement away from farming to other occupations.

6. Movement among the older residents is very small as compared to that among the emigrants. The mobility of residents has been expressed by their migration within town and by their emigration from town and return.

7. Reasons given by residents for remaining and by emigrants for leaving differ. Residents are dominated more by social reasons and a sense of responsibility; emigrants more by economic factors. But the extent to which one shows initiative in leaving and the other the ability to "recognize a good thing when he sees it" for staying is difficult to determine.

8. Though there has been much chance selection in the migratory movement of recent times, there has been a considerable drain of the young, better-educated and better-trained members of the rural communities. This drain has not been fully compensated for by the inflow of young, well-educated, well-trained immigrants.

IV

THE EUGENICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF EMIGRATION TO THE THREE TOWNS

The eugenical importance of emigration to the rural towns lies in the bearing that the movement has upon the quality of the stock of future generations born in these communities and upon the social environment in which they are reared. Changes in either are apparent only over a long period of time. A cross-section of emigration in the last two decades cannot tell the whole story. But by throwing light on the selective factors at work at present, it shows trends that have persisted over a long period of time. It is these that leave the deepest marks upon the life of a community.

The Three Towns. In the three towns the most marked consequences of emigration are two, one more directly the result of emigration than the other. The one is the consequence in these rural towns of the persistent loss of young people; the other is the effect of the substitution of immigrants of greater age, lower education and less diversity of occupation than is characteristic of the emigrants.

The importance of the latter problem is twofold. The nature of the immigration has encouraged very little intermingling of old timers and newcomers, so that considerable intermarriage and inbreeding takes place in the towns. Each town is closely bound together by ties of kinship, and though this has not necessarily had unfavorable results, it is a common situation that must be faced in all three towns. Another factor of significance is the difference in the character of the immigrants and emigrants. These differences, even when very slight, tend toward changing the quality of the stock and the social traditions of the people of the towns.

Of more immediate eugenical significance is the loss of young people in the prime of life from these rural communities. One consequence is the tendency to lack of vitality in the social life

of the towns; the other is the effect that this drain has on the fecundity rate in the towns.

It is only when one compares the composition of the population in these rural towns with that of the State as a whole, or with the United States, that one realizes something of the effect that emigration has had upon the population of these towns.

TABLE XXIX.—COMPARISON OF THE PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION IN SIMILAR AGE PERIODS IN THE THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1930, AND IN VERMONT AND IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1920

Age period	Percent population in specified age groups					
	United States 1920	Vermont 1920	Three towns 1930	Pomona 1930	Beaufield 1930	Sylvania 1930
All ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 1 year	2.1	1.9	1.6	.8	1.4	2.8
1 and under 5 years	8.8	7.9	7.2	7.0	7.5	7.2
5 and under 50 years	73.7	67.6	63.1	66.6	61.8	59.8
50 years and over..	15.3	22.5	27.8	25.3	29.1	29.8
Unknown age .....	.1	.1	.3	3	.2	.4

The proportion of older people in the population of the three rural towns is greater than it is in Vermont as a whole, and considerably greater than it is for the United States.

One condition that is closely related to this large percentage of older people in each town is the low differential birth rate. Whereas for the United States the excess of births over deaths is ten per thousand of the population, and for Vermont as a whole it is six per thousand, the excess of births over deaths in the three rural towns is only three per thousand.

At the same time the size of families is small, smaller than is usual for rural communities.

TABLE XXX.—AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER RESIDENT MARRIED COUPLE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WHETHER PARENTS ARE "NEW BLOOD" OR OTHERWISE, THREE RURAL TOWNS, 1910-1930

Relation of parents to town	Three towns	Pomona	Beaufield	Sylvania
Neither parent "new blood"	2.2	2.7	2.4	1.7
One parent "new blood"...	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.6
Both parents "new blood".	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.3
Total	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.2

In the three towns the average number of living children is 2.5. The average for the older residents is only 2.2, while for new-

comers it is 2.7. The older residents of Pomona only are raising families of similar size to those of the newer people.

It is generally agreed that for the preservation of a family 3.6 children per couple is necessary. According to this, it would appear doubtful whether the family strain in these old towns can continue for very long. From all appearances it would seem that, though the quality of the stock may not be lessened in these towns, the quantity is diminishing.

The loss of young people has affected not only the fecundity rate in the towns but also the social life and institutions. A theoretical classification of types of population according to progressive, stationary or regressive has been based on the proportion of persons under 15 years of age to those more than 50 years of age. When the percentage of persons between 15 and 50 years of age is much less than 50 it indicates that the population has lost by emigration; if it is much greater than 50 it indicates that there have been accessions to the population by immigration.

TABLE XXXI.—THEORETICAL TYPES OF POPULATION BASED ON AGE DISTRIBUTION*

Age	Percent of population		
	Progressive	Stationary	Regressive
0-14	40	33	20
15-49	50	50	50
50 and over	10	17	30

*G. C. Whipple, "Vital Statistics" (2nd ed.), pp. 189-190.

When the population in each of the three rural towns is compared with this theoretical scale the results are as shown in Table XXXII.

TABLE XXXII.—AGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF THE THREE RURAL TOWNS ACCORDING TO THEORETICAL TYPES

Age	Three towns	Percent of population		
		Pomona	Beaufield	Sylvania
0-14	30	29	29	31
15-49	42	46	42	39
50 and over	28	25	29	30

When rated according to this scale all the towns are regressive; even Pomona is, though it ranks highest of the three. Even

though this is a theoretical scale by which to measure the character of the composition of the population in a community, it shows up the seriousness of the drain due to emigration.

To test the character of the people themselves demands another scale of values. Nothing is more important than that, in spite of emigration, there remain in the towns people of vigorous stock, for the future of any community depends upon the ability, energy and initiative of its members. The extent to which such characteristics exist among the residents can best be tested by their ability to earn their living and provide for their families, to furnish a social environment for the best development of their children, and to participate in the affairs of the community and meet the main problems that confront its members. "By their works ye shall know them" seems a fair criterion by which to test the vigor and ability of the citizens of the rural towns. In order to show this best, each town is dealt with separately.

Pomona. Of first importance to a community is that its members are able to earn a living and provide for their dependents. In Pomona there is little question about this ability among the majority of the people. The average income of its farmers leaves little net profit but is sufficient to provide a comfortable living. Business men and wage earners in the village also earn a fair living, wage earners being considerably better off than they are in Beaufield and Sylvania. Nobody is "on the town." Considering the resources of the valley and the economic conditions in agricultural areas, the people of this town show good ability to earn as much as they do.

The homes that Pomona residents provide for their families are, with but few exceptions, very comfortable. Electricity, running water, and modern plumbing are in nearly every home. Up-to-date books and magazines that are not in the homes are to be had at the fine town library. Some of the old retired farmers are a little concerned about the way in which their sons run the old family farm. In their day it was a matter of work from sunrise to sunset with little thought for anything beyond the immediate problem of earning a living for their families. But their sons do not believe in working such long hours, insist on modern conveniences and comforts, and even take a day off occasionally to

motor with their family on a holiday, reflecting in this way the improvement of the farmer's lot and the change in his attitude toward life.

The people of Pomona have undertaken a big task in order to give their children the best advantages of education. The town was one of the first to organize a consolidated school in the village where the children could be sure of good instruction. Even 30 years ago it was possible to obtain two years high school in town. Now a four year course is available. The maintenance of such a school has not been without difficulties. The cost and upkeep is greater than anticipated and the taxes, therefore, are high. The difficulty of bringing the children in from remote farms and the effect that a centralization of education has had upon the remote districts which have become depleted since the closing down of the district schools, has aroused criticism among some people. But in spite of difficulties the fine consolidated school continues.

The townspeople seem to feel, however, that they have done all that is necessary when they have provided a good school for their children. In contrast to the many organizations in town for adults, there is only one organization for young people, and that is the 4-H Club. Even this club, which after all meets the needs of the farm children more than it serves the young people of the village, is maintained with difficulty, due partly to the lack of clubrooms. These could easily be provided would the townspeople agree to permit one of the two churches to be used for such purposes. But rather than let either church meet such a need, the people prefer to hold services for six months in the Congregational Church and six months in the Baptist Church, letting each stand vacant for six months of each year. The town-fathers will not permit movies to be shown in the town but they do not provide facilities for organized recreation such as tennis courts or a swimming float in a safe part of the river, to direct the interests of the young people from such recreation as the movies provide. This lack of facilities for recreation, however, is little different from that in the majority of small towns in the State. The people of Pomona do provide many advantages for their children. But it was interesting that in this town which does

more for its children than do the other two towns, there was heard expressed more discontent and a desire to "get out" among its young people than among those of the other two towns.

The social mindedness of the adult members of the community is expressed by their participation in the many social organizations of the town and by the interest shown in problems concerning their own welfare. The representatives of old families who keep up the old farms on the famous "back road" have a good understanding of the fundamental problems that confront the farmer. They are also keenly interested in the affairs of their town and often discuss the issues at hand before coming down to town meetings. To care for the social life of the adults in the community are such organizations as the Masons, the Odd Fellows, the Rebekahs, Eastern Star, Parent-Teacher Association, the Farm Bureau, the Red Cross, the Relief Corps and a few other organizations, besides such church organizations as the Ladies' Aid and the Missionary Society. There is no Grange in Pomona but farmers attend the meetings of the Grange in the neighboring town. Judged by the number of clubs it is evident that the town is overfilled with organizations, and to all of them most of the same people belong. The number of organizations does not reflect their vitality, however, and the impression is unavoidably conveyed that some of these organizations are maintained through force of old habit rather than for any other reason. People's time is so taken up by them that, for instance, an attempt made to organize a club with cultural interests had to be dropped because there was no evening or afternoon free for meetings of such a club. There is, however, a desire for a leader within the community expressed by many. One or two people are named as having all the potentialities but not the willingness to lead, due to their vested interests. The felt need for a leader was expressed only in this town which came the nearest of all to having one.

There is only one problem that may threaten in any way the preservation of an unusually fine class of people and of a high code of living, and that is the character of some of the immigrants of late years. The problem is not one of the incoming of a foreign stock but what is more serious, it is the problem of the incoming of native Americans who appear to be of less high quality of

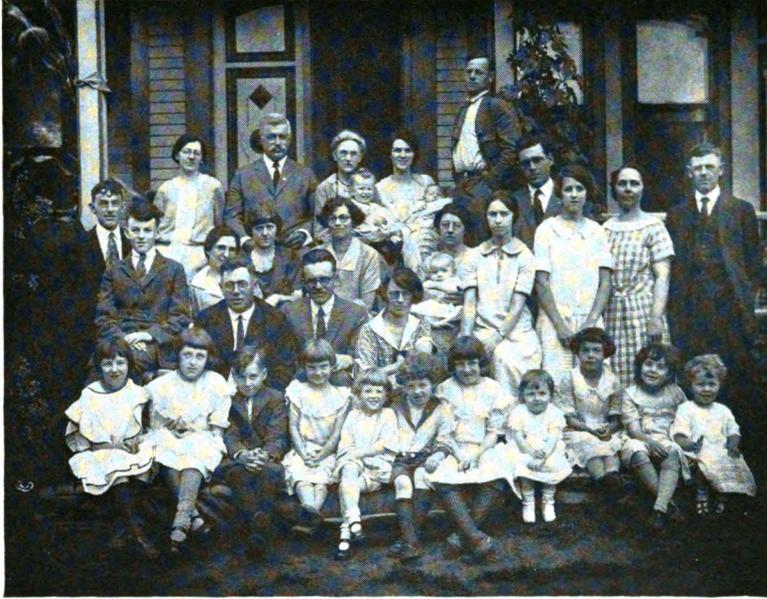
stock than are the older residents of the town. Not that this is true of all the immigrants but it is true of a number, a few of whom have come in first as lumberjacks, and many of whom have come in as hired men and tenants for the one farmer in the town who does large scale farming. Some of these have taken up more or less permanent residence in the shabbiest homes in the town and neither in their honesty nor morality measure up to the high standards prevailing in the community.

Except for a few families such as these there can be little question but that people of the finest yeoman stock live in Pomona today. There are few brilliant men and there are few dullards among them. Judged by the interests and activities of the people and by their ability to make of their farms and businesses going concerns, there is little reason to believe that the stock has deteriorated or that descendants of these people for a long time to come, though perhaps diminished in number, will not show as fine capacities as the people of the past and of the present have shown.

Beaufield. The ability of the people of Beaufield to provide a living for themselves and their dependents is on a level practically parallel with that of Pomona. For farmers, incomes range even higher in Beaufield than in Pomona, but the average income in Beaufield is a little lower. The wage earners and business men earn somewhat less than do those in Pomona. But this is due largely to the purely farming aspect of Beaufield compared to the urban aspect of Pomona. Homes are maintained on as high a level as those in Pomona except for the fact that fewer homes in Beaufield are equipped with electricity and modern conveniences.

The children of the town receive their education in the eight district schools of the town which provide the elementary school courses. To obtain high school training it is necessary to go to Norton. Outside of the schools, however, the only organization that cares for the interests of the children of the town has been, until very recently, the C. A. R.—Children of the American Revolution. Such an organization, fine as it is, can serve the needs of only a small group in the community and is not particularly suited to bringing together children of old residents and those of foreign-born immigrants. The 4-H Club, the one club

which does serve the need of all children of the farming community, has only very recently been organized because of the difficulty of finding a leader willing to carry on the work. There is no organized recreation.



A former lieutenant-governor at his home in Beaufield with his sons and daughters and their children. Only one of his eight children now lives at home; the others have all settled in other parts of the state

For the adults of the community the social activities are few. One-time active organizations such as the debating society have died down. Concerts and entertainments at the town hall are only poorly attended, the prevailing opinion being that good entertainments can be found only away from town. But there are here, as in most towns, such organizations as the Masons, the Odd Fellows, the Grange, the Parent-Teacher Association, the Ladies' Aid, and, most active of all, the D. A. R. Annual town meetings which afford the best opportunities for all the townspeople to get together have dwindled in importance to perfunctory affairs, even

though discussions become heated about high taxes, the upkeep of back roads and the maintenance of schools. This lack of interest in town meetings, according to some of the citizens, is caused by the town governments having given over much of their power and privileges to the State Legislature.

The lack of vitality of local organizations is due in part to the loss of young people by emigration, but it is also due to the changed outlook of farmers. No longer concerned with only local issues, the farmer's interests radiate far beyond the bounds of his small community, and he is challenged to organize on a large scale.

Some of the changes that have taken place are due to the character of the immigration into town. It is not that the immigrants are of inferior stock, but that they are mostly of foreign stock, with different social customs than those of the old residents. Assimilation is not an easy matter. The church, once the greatest agency for bringing together all the people of the town, is no longer able to do this. While the old residents meet as before in the one remaining church in town, the French Canadians, who now compose a considerable part of the population of the town, go to the Roman Catholic Church in Norton. The French Canadians do, however, take an active part in the Grange in town, but since they have done so, the older residents for one reason and another have dropped out. It would seem that there is much to be learned about cooperation on both sides. A certain amount of working together has come about, however, and is due, in part at least, to the fact that the immigration of French Canadians has been gradual. Many who are now second and third generation in town are thoroughly American and are as concerned about the coming in of new French Canadians as are the older residents of Vermont stock. As a rule, the old residents speak well of the French Canadians, though they explain that the town is no longer "one big family" as it once was.

The townspeople, both old and new, take unusual care to keep out of their town persons of questionable character, or people who may become dependent on the town. The elimination of such people does much to maintain a fine class of people in the town. Nor does there seem to be any danger that the quality of the

stock of future citizens will decline. The quantity may diminish, but as long as representatives of present residents remain in town, there is little question but that they will be able to produce as fine future citizens as ever have come from this fine agricultural town.

Sylvania. Sylvania is different. Its people are not driven by the will "to get on," as are the people on the other side of the mountain. For them "to be content" means much more than "to get on." Earning a living is something of a haphazard affair for most people in the town. Few work at steady jobs or own private businesses such as store, garage or woodturning factory. Few too persist at farming. Most of the townspeople have long since decided that to work as hard as the farmers of the town do to earn so little, isn't worth the effort. They prefer rather to raise "just enough for ourselves" and earn their living by other means than farming.

The ways in which these citizens earn their living illustrate the ingenuity of man in competing with nature. In the spring they usually tap maple trees on their "farms" and boil down maple sugar to sell. During the summer and fall many go ferning. This has been quite an industry for many years. Sometimes a "boss" rents a whole side of a mountain and hires men and women to pick a special variety of fern which he ships to florists in Boston, or else people do this "on their own." For every neat bunch of twenty-four fresh, perfect ferns twelve inches long, the pickers earn one cent. On an especially good day fast pickers occasionally earn as much as six dollars but the average daily earning is nearer three dollars. In the winter there is little work to be had except occasionally to cut some timber and sell a few loads of wood.

There are other ways of earning a living. People on remote farms beyond the area served by a school district sometimes have as their chief source of income the money paid them by the town for driving the children back and forth to school. It is said that some people even choose to live at a considerable distance from school so that they may be assured of this steady income. Then there is always work at repairing and maintaining the roads. This is a highly desired job because it means more or less steady employment during the summer and a steady wage of \$2.75 to

\$3.00 per day. Fortunately the flood of 1927 did considerable damage in the town, and the repairing of roads, the building of bridges and the rebuilding of the West River railroad that runs through the town have provided employment for many people ever since. Now that this work is nearly completed it seems uncertain what the people will do next unless lumbering booms again.

None of these ways of earning a living is particularly lucrative, though a few men have made small fortunes in Sylvania. The great majority of its townspeople earn little more than five or six hundred dollars a year, and some earn less. This has been estimated as a good earning average for isolated sections of the country as a whole, but it seems very little on which to raise a family. Yet citizens of Sylvania generally pay their debts, are seldom in arrears with their taxes, and usually manage to save a little nest egg for later years.

But there are many poor, though only three are dependent on the town for reasons of poverty only. One of the many instances of poverty is the circumstance in which an old couple in a remote community find themselves. They never managed to save any money and now they are too old to work. Their tiny home is mortgaged and unless they make the yearly payment of \$180 they are in danger of losing it. By gathering faggots and doing a few odd chores the old man has managed so far to earn each year just the sum necessary to meet the payment on the mortgage. But what this old couple may be suffering at present or what may be their worry over the future is apparently no one's concern until they become so destitute that they have to appeal to the town for aid.

The town is not always careful to keep out families who may become dependent on the town. Among several such families is a young couple and their nine children who have left debts behind them in a distant town to come and "squat" in a remote vacant house in Sylvania. Here without money and without work they plan to stay. Giving the best of care to nine children is too much work for a nervous mother, 26 years of age; and so a five-year-old son who has had infantile paralysis does not get the attention needed to restore atrophied muscles. He hops

and crawls around on his one good leg while his braces go unrepaired until some time when his father will remember to take them to town to be mended.

Small incomes limit the comforts of home and the advantages that can be provided for the children. A great responsibility is put upon the schools of such a town, and mature experienced teachers are needed. But here, as in other rural communities, such teachers are seldom found. In one isolated school in town, a young inexperienced teacher does her best to instruct nearly fifty children in all the elementary school grades. In another remote school is a young teacher concerned with the responsibility of providing for her home and caring for her twin babies while she teaches school. None of the schools are equipped well enough to measure up to standard.

But in spite of handicaps, the people of the town do what they can for their children. The most active organization in three communities of the town is the Parent-Teacher Association. In each section it has worked hard to raise the standard of the schools. Many parents deprive themselves in order to send their children to high school in neighboring towns. But they are often discouraged at the lack of ambition shown by their children. Among even those who finish high school there are some who have little desire to do anything other than work at whatever chance jobs may arise in the town. When some young people were asked what they would like to do more than anything else if they were perfectly free to choose, they replied, "Oh, I like logging and any work around here as well as anything." To find a fine-looking young girl who says she wants to go to high school but is staying at home because she cannot afford to go, is very disturbing until one discovers that the real reason for her not going is that she cannot face being away from her mother the five school days out of each week. As a rule parents are proud that their sons remain "home boys" and are little concerned with the criticism sometimes made that "It would be hard to tell what the married sons in town would do if it weren't for their fathers." The initiative and healthy discontent that is found among the young people of Pomona scarcely exists here, and its lack strikes a discouraging note in the life of the town.

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The immigration into Sylvania appears to be of a different character from that into Pomona and Beaufield. It is not an immigration of people of somewhat inferior stock as is the tendency in Pomona, or of foreign stock as in Beaufield, but rather it tends to be an immigration of able but maladjusted people. The impression that newcomers give is that they are running away from life and that Sylvania has provided them with the means for escape. Some of these are people who have "come in the night" to Sylvania, to find there freedom from interference. Many who come are well-educated people, a few even talented. Of two brothers who have come in with their families, one is an accomplished violinist, the other a clever cartoonist. After wide traveling, they have chosen to make their homes on worthless back farms of Sylvania. Religious extremists find a haven here. Near Grand Falls two families still remain of a former colony of Seventh Day Adventists. These two families maintain a church in which room is made for a school. Here five children are instructed without supervision by an Adventist mother who teaches geography according to the location of Missions of Adventists throughout the world. Nearby on a lonely farm lives a Finnish woman of rare character who after years of hard work in New York and other cities has bought herself this piece of land which nothing could induce her to leave. Numerous examples such as these cannot fail to convey the impression that these people have found a means of escape in Sylvania.

Some of the older residents too have found life difficult to face. One unusually able and gifted mother having had to bear the brunt of all the shiftlessness and the failure of her family has chosen to see only the beautiful in her drab surrounding. Even her dull 15-year-old son who stands about, tall and lank and homely, is to her "like Abe Lincoln must have been."

Another instance is that of a young man of 21 years who has come back with his wife and child to the old home farm long since vacated by his father, after having worked around in fifteen different places and finding it impossible ever to get along with his employers. The old farm is long since worn out, the outbuildings are fallen down, and the house is badly in need of repair. But there in one tiny room furnished with a few

pieces of furniture he and his family live. When in the middle of the night in late fall his wife gave birth to a child, it was with difficulty that the doctor could persuade one woman in the village to venture with him on the dangerous journey over miles of impassable road to the wilderness where this lonely farmhouse stands.

Some people are "queer," with peculiarities hardly necessary to describe. Some people chafe against their fate. One cultured woman explained that it wouldn't be bad if one hadn't known anything different but as it is, "One might as well dig one's grave and lie in it as continue living in Sylvania."

But these are instances of maladjusted people, who after all are not many in the entire population of the town. The average citizen of Sylvania is a fine type and a choice character that is all too fast disappearing. Among representatives of well-known families in town are direct descendants of Vermont's hero, Ethan Allen, and representatives of the families who in the past have given to the country Presidents Pierce and Taft. The descendants of these and other illustrious families are still among the outstanding people in town. Only a detailed study of each of these families might tell the extent to which the members who have remained in Sylvania stand above or below the average for all the members of each family, in ability and energy.

The social activities of the town are cared for by the Masons and the Eastern Star, the Dramatic Club, and by the church organizations such as the Benefit Society, the Ladies' Aid and the Missionary Society. Some of these organizations have been particularly concerned with improvements in the town such as the building of sidewalks and providing equipment in the schools. But the organizations of each community seldom work together. The people of Ralsville and East Sylvania do not even attend church in Sylvania village. On the occasions that they do go to church it is usually to one in an adjoining town. And yet, proof of the fine ability and the capacity for cooperation that does exist among the people, was their production of a pageant for "Home Day" last year. Practically all the residents in town participated in the scenes of a pageant which told the history of Sylvania from the days of the Indians to the present time. The entire program

was planned and conducted by the people of the town and was one of the most outstanding performances given in years in the entire southeastern part of the State.



Scene from the Historical Pageant held in Sylvania—A Skirmish with the Indians at the old Salmon Hole

There is a charm about Sylvania that is not found in the other two towns. In a short time one becomes so imbued with its spirit of carefree contentment that the hustle and hurry on the other side of the mountain seems useless and vain. During hunting season for instance, everyone feels free to stop work and hunt game. For a few days shots resound through the woods, and in nearly every home, at any time of day are to be found a group of men with old red caps pushed back on their heads, shotguns at their sides, seated around the kitchen stove—deer hunting. Perhaps the charm of the place is best expressed by one of the citizens who explained—“It is always afternoon here.”

The town is an ideal place for a rest cure, but not so ideal a place in which to spend a lifetime. There is lacking in the environment the stimulus that is necessary to bringing out the best inherent capacities of the citizens and to encouraging the children

to greater effort. In the words of a critical newcomer, "The people seem to be dormant." This suggests deterioration, and is, in consequence, a challenge to the State to pursue a line of action, for the sake of its future welfare, that will prevent deterioration from taking place in the quality of the stock of the citizens yet to be born in such of its rural communities.

These are ways in which the three rural towns have been affected by emigration—each in a different way and each to a different degree. It may be said that three towns are not representative of all the small rural towns of the State, but this we know—that there are few small rural communities as prosperous as Pomona, many that do not measure up to the high average set by Beaufield and some that fall far below the standard set by Sylvania.

Summary. Emigration has affected the life of the rural communities by the loss of able young people and by changes due to the nature of the immigration.

1. The small immigration has affected the communities by encouraging considerable intermarriage and inbreeding; it has also brought a new element into the towns which though small is somewhat difficult to assimilate. In Pomona immigrants tend to be American of poorer stock than that of the emigrants or of the older residents in town. In Beaufield most of the immigrants are foreigners—French Canadians. In Sylvania they tend to be able but somewhat maladjusted people of native stock.

2. The emigration of young people has affected the vigor of the social life and the fecundity rate in these towns. The excess of births over deaths in each town is very low and the size of family is small.

3. In order to show the extent to which the qualities of energy and vigor attributed to emigrants exists among the residents of the three towns, their ability to manage their own affairs, to provide for their young and to meet the problems that confront them, were illustrated in each town. In Pomona and in Beaufield, judged by the ability of the people to provide well for their families, to give their children advantages of education, to cope with the problems that are common to all rural people, there is little

sign of deterioration in the quality of the stock or in the social environment in which the young people of these communities are raised. In Sylvania people live under difficulties. Many are able to earn but a meagre living and can provide but few advantages for themselves and for their children. The environment lacks the stimulus that is necessary to challenge the potential abilities of the residents so that some fine qualities of character tend to become dormant and may, in the process of time, deteriorate.

V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Migration within the United States continues on as vast a scale as in pioneer days. Only the direction of the movement has changed so that the westward trek has become a cityward movement. The persistency of this migration has threatened the older communities of the country with deterioration in the social life and in the quality of the stock of future generations. The consequences are of particular importance to Vermont since its rural communities have been drained more by emigration over a longer period of time than have similar communities elsewhere. Into the recent migratory movement have gone the young people of the rural towns, and among them many of the better educated. Their loss has affected to a considerable extent the vigor of the social life and also the fecundity rate in the rural communities. The quality of the immigration has compensated to a large extent for the loss due to emigration, but it is made up, in part, of people of a different quality of stock from that of the emigrants and of the old residents, and has therefore tended to alter the life in the towns. But people of fine character and ability predominate in the rural communities. Whether they will continue to do so, considering the low fecundity rate and the extent of emigration, is the challenge that is flung to the State.

Recommendations. To maintain people of fine stock in the rural communities two conditions are most essential. One is that in the rural sections which are fertile and well suited to cultivation conditions be so improved that people who really love the land are encouraged to remain. The other is that in the rural sections where the land is poor and little suited to cultivation the people be encouraged to leave for more progressive communities, lest deterioration in the quality of the stock of future citizens occur.

One line of action that is necessary to holding a fine class of people in the rural communities is that both the economic and

social conditions of the farmers in the good rural sections be improved. Economic improvement for Vermont farmers can be brought about by greater cooperation in marketing, and by producing and selling products of only first class quality—for Vermont's future prosperity lies not in the quantity but in the quality of its products. Amelioration in the social life can come only through better rural schools, improvement in rural health conditions, and in means to enjoy comforts and modern conveniences. Such improvements will do much to encourage people of fine character, who really love the land, to remain in the rural communities; and only when such improvements have been made can the people be encouraged to raise larger families so that the same fine quality of stock may always be represented in the rural towns of the State.

The second line of action is, if anything, more important than the first. It is that the State encourage people who live on marginal land to move to the more progressive communities of the State by taking over all marginal land. This of course would demand first a careful study of each township to determine reorganization on the basis of the uses for which land is best suited. It may appear at first a costly program, but in the long run it will repay a hundredfold in human values even more than in land values. Deterioration can take place only in poor isolated communities where the potential capacities of the people are not challenged into use. If then Vermont wishes its future citizens to have the same fine qualities of character that marked the early builders of the State, it must pursue a line of action that will prevent deterioration from taking place by providing a social environment that will continue to bring out all the fine qualities in the character of its people.

RESIDENTS

Farm No: _____ Town: _____
 Family No: _____ Gen: _____ Date: _____
 Name: _____ Residence: _____ Tenant: _____ Owner: _____
 Gen. in T: _____ Nationality: _____ Religion: _____ Inf: _____
 Owned by Op: _____ A. Cul: _____ Rent: _____
 Total Acres: Cash Rented: _____ Crops: _____ Value: _____
 Share Rented: _____ Livck: _____ Mortgage: _____
 Yearly Income:—Chief Source: _____ Gross: _____ Net: _____
 Year Farm Purchased: _____ Relation to Previous Owner: _____

No.	Name	Age	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Relation	M S W D	Age at Mar.	Date Came to Town	Date Left Town	Years in Town	Places Lived in Town	Yrs. on Farm
1												
2												
3												
4												
5												
6												
7												
8												
9												
10												
11												
12												

No.	Education	Fm. No. T:R	OCCUPATION			
			Previous to Present		Present	
			Kind	Address	Kind	Address
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						

Total No. Living on Farm:
 Par: Ch'n: Rel:
 Others: HM (S): (Y): HK:

Total No. Living Elsewhere:
 Ch'n: Out of Town: In Town:
 HM (S): (Y):

RESIDENTS

No.	Reasons for Coming or Staying

Condition of Farm:

Condition of Home:

Social Status:

NOTES

EMIGRANTS

Farm No: Resident: Town:
 Family No: Gen: Date:
 Name: Residence: Tenant: Owner:
 Informant: Address: Rel. to Em:
 Gen. in T: Nationality: Religion:
 Owned by Op: A. Cul: Rent:
 Total Acres: Cash Rented: Crops: Value:
 Share Rented: Livstck: Mortgage:
 Yearly Income—Chief Source: Gross Net:
 Year Farm Purchased: Relation to Previous Owner:

No.	Name	Age	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Relation	N S W D	Age at Mar.	Date Came to Town	Date Left Town	Years in Town	Places Lived in Town	Yrs. on Farm	Co'n
1													
2													
3													
4													
5													
6													
7													
8													
9													
10													
11													
12													

No.	Education	Fm. Rd. Y:N	Occupation of Father	OCCUPATION				
				Before Coming to Town		In Town	After Leaving Town	
				Kind	Address	Kind	Kind	Address
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								

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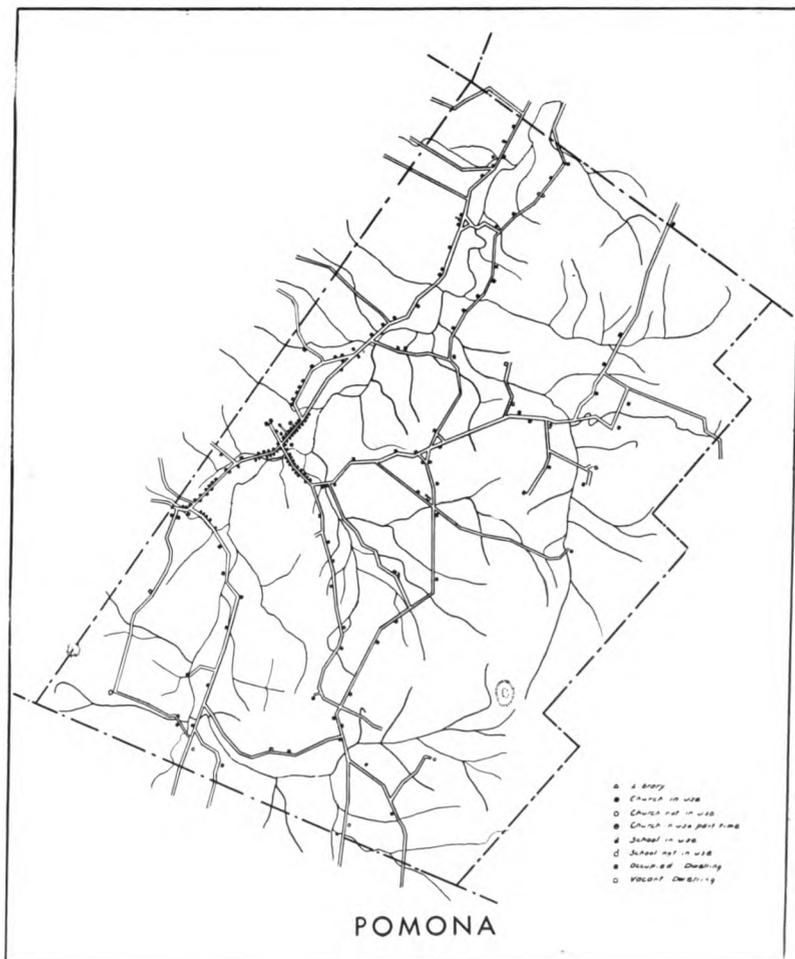
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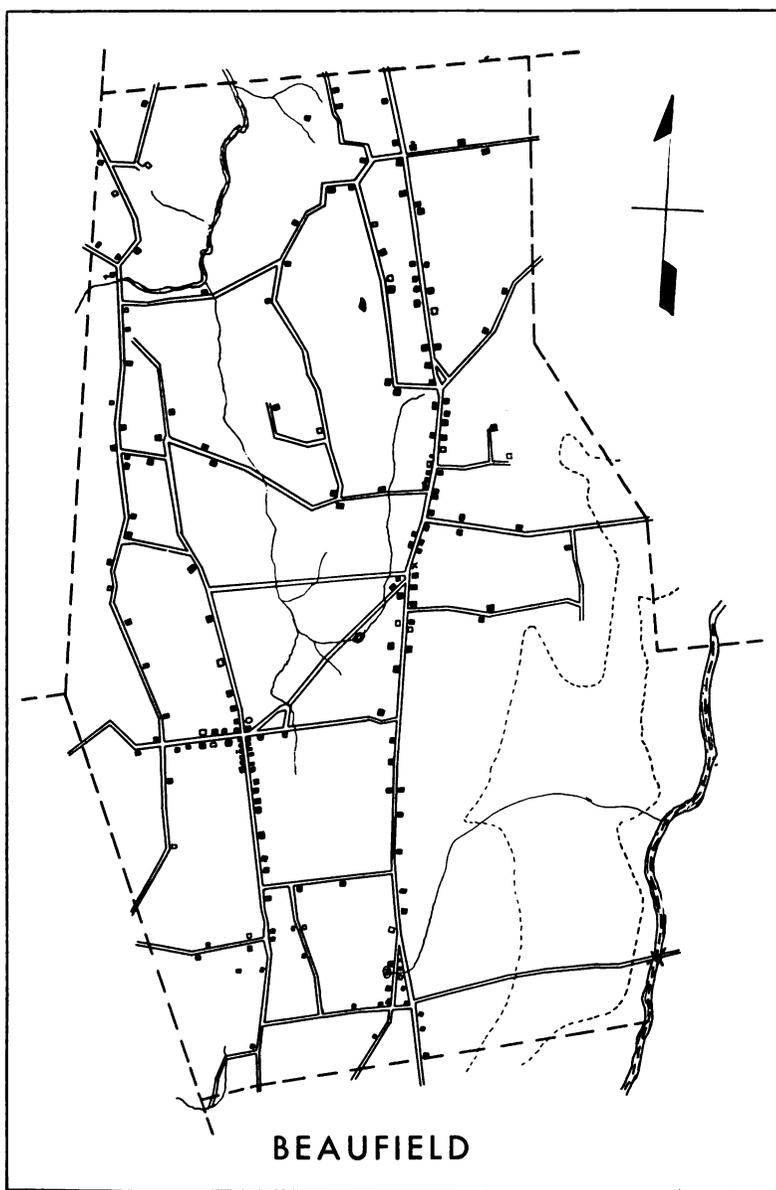
No.	Present Occupation		Reasons for Leaving
	Kind	Address	
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2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			
12			

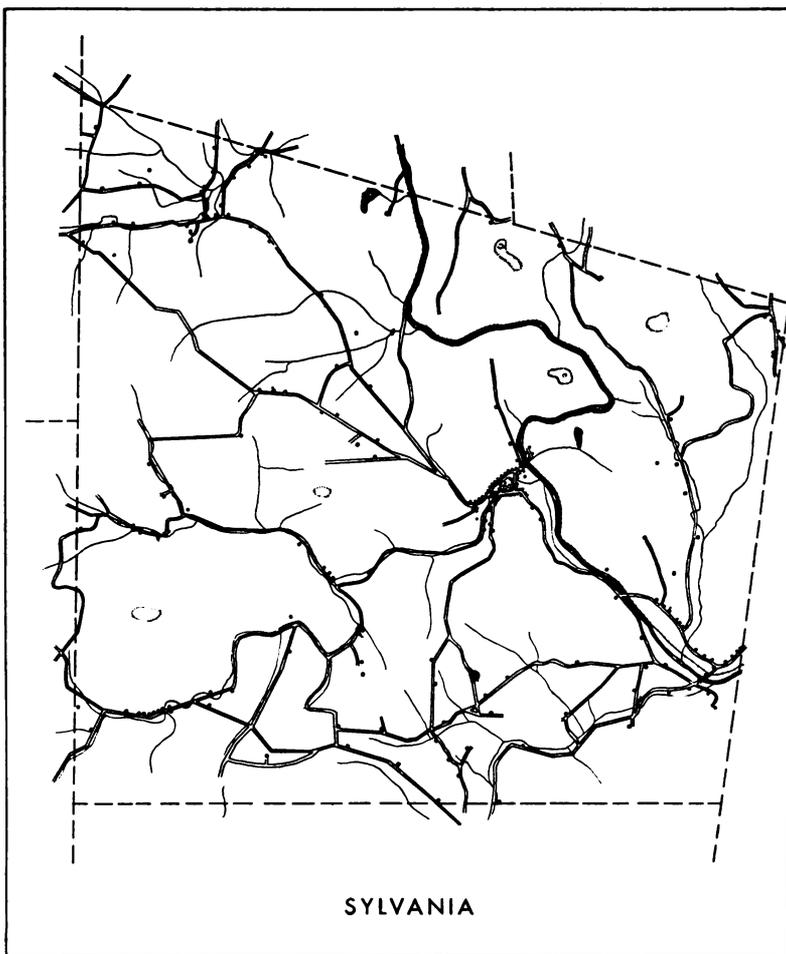
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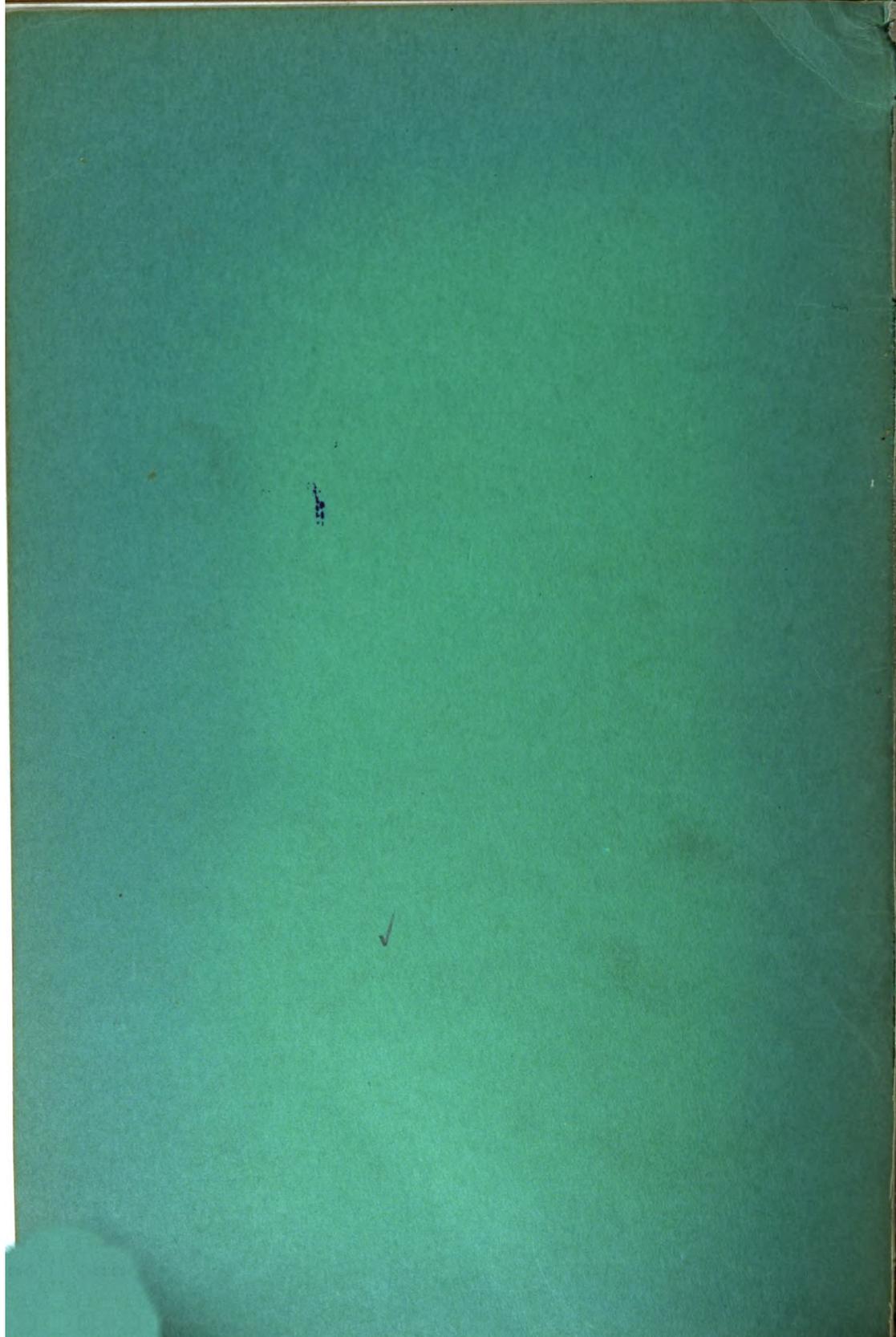
NOTES

MAPS OF THE THREE TOWNS—1930









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