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RURAL SOCIOLOGY *and* RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

By DWIGHT SANDERSON
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Rural Community Organization
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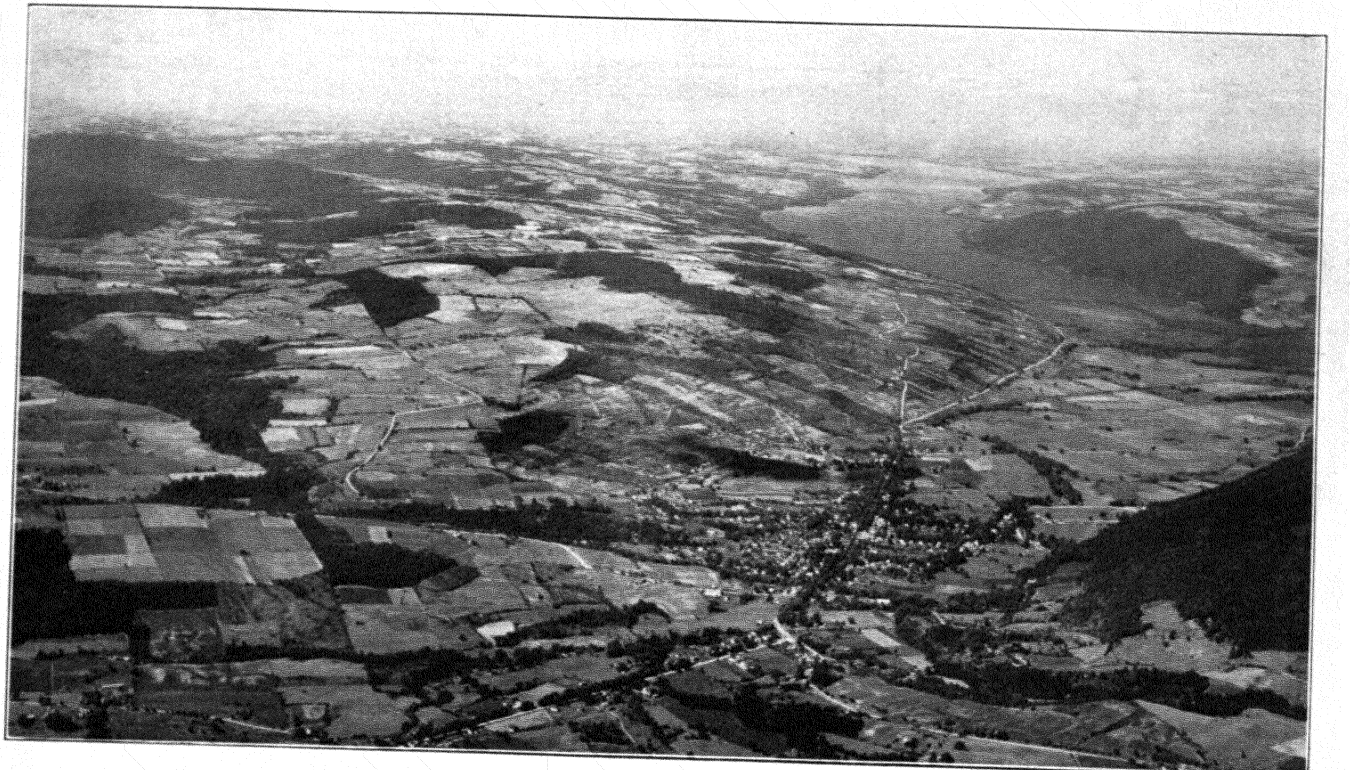


Photo by C. S. Robinson, Aerial Surveys

"A naturalistic approach to rural society"—a rural community, an area of association, from the air.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY *and* RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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LATE PROFESSOR OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY
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To my students ~ old and new ~
companions in discovery

PREFACE

Twenty-five years have passed since I prepared my first course in Rural Sociology, which dealt chiefly with rural social problems. About twenty years ago I was requested to write a textbook on rural sociology, but I declined on the ground that I had nothing essentially new to say on the subject. Meanwhile a dozen or more textbooks on the subject have been issued and I have hesitated to add to their number, but am now doing so for use in my own classes and with the hope that I may bring a new interpretation to the subject as a whole and to many of the topics treated.

My views with regard to the distinction between Rural Sociology as a science and Rural Social Organization as a technology are set forth in Chapter 2, and the argument need not be repeated here. This distinction forms the basis of my analysis, and in most of the chapters in Part III the structure and functions of the groups or institutions from the standpoint of sociology are described in the first part; the practical problems of rural social organization are discussed in the second part of each chapter. The sociological analysis is confessedly sketchy because of lack of careful monographic studies of the various groups and institutions involved, but is given in the hope that it will point out the need for intensive research on them by rural sociologists in the future. It is my belief that rural sociology will not be able to make the contribution to rural social organization which it should unless it pursues a strictly scientific method and creates new knowledge concerning its phenomena, through a more scientific analysis of their elements; and, on the other hand, that rural sociologists cannot assume sole responsibility for rural social organization, but must realize that their role is to utilize the findings of rural sociology *and* to aid in the integration of the findings of other disciplines and in promoting teamwork among their specialists in working out programs of rural social organization, in whatever plane or area it is involved.

This book deals mostly with social structure, because the student must have a knowledge of the nature of the phenomena before he can think intelligently concerning their processes or qualities. It is a matter of regret that there is not more consideration of the socio-psychological aspects of the subject, but this is done deliberately because we do not,

as yet, have a great quantity of empirical data in this field, and because the principles involved apply to all the social structures of rural life and really require a separate treatment, a textbook on rural social psychology, to supplement the material of this book.

The book has been written for those who have had no sociology as well as for those who have had an introductory course in general sociology, because most classes in this subject include both. There has been a most desirable increase in the number of the latter, and this increase should be encouraged.

It may be felt that there is too much theory in Part I, but there is no short cut to a knowledge of so complex a subject. The student must have a fundamental knowledge of the theory involved and there is no way to make an abstract subject easy.

The teacher should be warned that there is more material in the book than can be used in the usual three-hour college course. He will, therefore, need to omit some chapters and cover their main points in his lectures, and merely use them for reference. Too much time should not be spent on the chapters in Part I following Chapter 1; not more than enough to permit the student to get the chief points as a background. Parts II and III contain the vital material and will be found more interesting to the student.

The community studies presented in the Appendix and referred to in Chapter 1 are given for the benefit of those students who are not familiar with rural life, as well as for those who have been reared in a rural environment but have not analyzed its social structure. These studies are given just as prepared by the students. The preparation of such community descriptions is one of the best methods of making students think concretely about a situation with which they are intimately acquainted, and of revealing to them what they do not know about it. The teacher should supplement the text by the use of illustrative material of local significance and by the assignment of reference reading. Many quotations in the original manuscript have been omitted to keep the book within a practical size. They are cited in the footnotes and the teacher should familiarize himself with them, particularly those marked "Consult" (or *Cf.*).

The usual list of topics for discussion and exercises, usually given in textbooks of this sort for each chapter, is omitted from the conviction that it is the function of the teacher to outline such as may be most pertinent to the environment of the students, the method of handling the course, and the type of students involved. Such discussion topics are soon out of date and are not equally applicable to various types of institutions.

The first half of this book was written in 1939 and 1940. Data from the 1940 Census which were available at time of going to press have been included, but it has not been feasible to bring the statistics of various governmental administrations up to date.

This book has been written in the hope that it may be a contribution to the better understanding of Rural Sociology by its growing number of students. So far Rural Sociology has been building only its foundations. It is important that they be sound and enduring, for the time is now ripe for erecting a larger superstructure upon them. Rural Sociology is already confronted with the need of a much more exact and fundamental analysis of its phenomena if it is to meet the growing demands being made upon it.

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June, 1942

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. & M. Coll.	Agricultural and Mechanical College
AES	Agricultural Experiment Station
Am. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sc.	American Academy of Political and Social Science
ALA	American Library Association
BAE	Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
Bul.	Bulletin
Ext.	Extension
FSA	Farm Security Administration
Misc. Pub.	Miscellaneous Publication
NEA	National Education Association
Res.	Research
St. Coll.	State College
Tech.	Technical
Univ.	University
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
WPA	Works Projects [or Progress] Administration

Periodicals

Am. J. of Pub. Health	American Journal of Public Health
Am. J. of Soc.	American Journal of Sociology
Am. Soc. Rev.	American Sociological Review
Ext. Serv. Rev.	Extension Service Review
J. of Educ. Soc.	Journal of Educational Sociology
J. of Farm Eco.	Journal of Farm Economics
J. of Home Eco.	Journal of Home Economics
Land Pol. Rev.	Land Policies Review
Quar. J. of Eco.	Quarterly Journal of Economics

Part I

Introduction: Scope and Aims in the Study of Rural Society

Rural sociology and rural social organization are relatively new fields of scientific study. Like all fields of science they seek to give a clearer understanding of certain phenomena by methods of analysis which reveal relationships not apparent to the casual observations of the layman. They are delimited from other sciences by the subject matter—the phenomena—and by the point of view from which they approach these phenomena.

This introductory section describes the phenomena of rural society with which we are concerned and delimits the field of our inquiry.

In Chapter 1 we look first at the ways in which rural folk associate in the same manner as a naturalist observes association in the animal world, in the attempt to establish a naturalistic or objective attitude or point of view. (In the Appendix an analysis of the social organization of several rural communities is undertaken to familiarize the student with the types of phenomena he is to study, in terms of definite communities described by students well acquainted with them.)

Having become acquainted with the phenomena of rural society with which we are concerned, we proceed to Chapter 2 which describes the aims and objectives of Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization and points out the distinctions between them. Rural sociology as a science is stressed, for the subsequent chapters seek to give the student an understanding of sociological analysis which will enable him to give a more meaningful interpretation to rural life. It is held that the significance of any science is no greater than the methods of analysis of phenomena peculiar to it.

It is shown that the ultimate justification of all study of rural sociology as a science is in its use in programs for rural social organization, or the betterment of rural life. Rural social organization is dependent on it, but it is by no means only applied rural sociology, for the improving of rural society is an art, or a technology, involving many other fields of knowledge and organizational skills. The rela-

tions of rural sociology to the other social sciences, particularly its intimate relation with social psychology, are also pointed out.

Any program of social organization must necessarily presuppose certain aims, and if the methods of science are to be used to attain these ends, some definite criteria must be established whereby progress to the desired ends may be measured. A consideration of such criteria forms the third chapter, which deals with the values of human personality and the welfare of society (represented in group welfare and community welfare) as being interdependent and together forming the aims of any improvement in social organization.

With such a background the student is prepared to consider the environmental conditions affecting rural society, as described in Part II.

Chapter 1

TWO VIEWS OF RURAL SOCIETY

I. A NATURALISTIC APPROACH TO RURAL SOCIETY

When the naturalist studies animals he not only considers their physical structure and life processes, their anatomy and physiology, but he observes their relation to their environment and to each other. He finds that ants and bees live in nests; beavers have colonies; sea fowl congregate on shores, cliffs, and marshes; horses, cattle, buffalo, and other ruminants roam the plains in herds. The study of these forms of association is essential for the understanding of animal life and is one of the most interesting phases of natural history.

The naturalist follows the ants or bees to their nests, observes the different forms of nests, studies the structure of the colonies, their biological relationships and internal economy; he is able to recognize their forms of collective life by the structures in which they live. The study of the collective life of the human animal, man, is not so simple, because his life is not controlled alone by hereditary instincts; to a considerable degree it is the result of free association made possible by his ability to direct his behavior through abstract ideas which are the product of his ability to communicate through spoken and written language. Furthermore, the forms of association to which he is accustomed are so much a part of his mode of thought that it is difficult for him to see them as the naturalist does the ant colony.

Let us attempt to free ourselves of this subjective view of human collectivities by imagining that we approach the Earth by airship from some other planet and that we can observe the gross evidences of human life from the skies and then, with some sort of an apparatus for television, we may observe how the human animals behave toward each other within their colonies, just as the naturalist can observe the ants or bees in an artificial nest or hive.

HUMAN AGGREGATIONS. As we fly over the Earth we note that certain areas are in forest and others are cleared. In the clearings we can see small structures, houses, to and from which men are seen to go, as the ants to their nests, the same individuals going to the same

houses. In certain areas, as, for example, eastern France, southern Germany, India, and China, we observe that all the houses are clustered closely together into villages, from which the men go out to work the surrounding fields, and that the land belonging to each village is definitely delimited. In other regions, as in the United States and most of the British colonies, we find the houses scattered over the land, and observe that each family works the land immediately around its homestead. There also are aggregations of houses in villages, but few of their inhabitants go out to work the land. On the other hand, we observe that the men from the farm homes now and then go to the villages to carry their farm products, to bring from them articles purchased there, or merely to gather in the village for meeting together for various purposes. If we watch closely we see that the people from the individual farmhouses go mostly to a certain village, although now and then to another larger one, or to a more distant, larger aggregation of dwellings, stores, and factories—a city.

Cities. Here and there, at varying distances apart, we see the cities, larger aggregations not only of dwelling houses but also of areas of larger buildings, the stores and factories, to which the men and women go daily to work and from which they return to their homes at night. In some sections the cities are far apart, 100 to 300 or more miles; in the better agricultural regions they are more frequent, 30 to 50 miles apart; in the highly industrialized sections, along coastlines, they may be more thickly concentrated with only a few miles between them, so that the cities are the predominant feature of the landscape. We notice that from the cities radiate roads and railroads to the villages and other cities and that in and around the cities there is very little land cultivated by the people for food but that their food supplies and other raw products are brought from the surrounding country and from far and near by water and rail transportation. On the other hand, the products of the city factories are transported to other cities and villages where they are obtained by the farm people who thus secure their manufactured goods, farm machinery, furniture, manufactured clothing, and all the goods not produced locally. Thus the open country is the source of the food supply and of raw materials upon which the cities depend for their life. In this relationship is the primary distinction between rural and urban society, which becomes less definite and more complex as the region becomes more industrialized and the farm homes become more dependent upon city goods.

Open-Country Neighborhoods. In regions where cities are scarce and villages are far apart, or even in the more thickly settled sections

where topography makes access to the villages more difficult, we see church and school buildings in the open country, sometimes with half a dozen or a dozen or so houses scattered nearby. Possibly a store or the hall of some farmers' organization may form the center of such a cluster. To these institutions the people of the surrounding country, for a radius of one, two, or three miles, are seen to come more frequently than they go to the villages. Within this area the people associate more closely than they do with others outside it, even though for many of their common needs they go to the more distant village. Such an area we can distinguish as a rural neighborhood; it is the area of association most common in such sections as the southern Appalachian Highlands and much of the South, as it was throughout American colonies and the United States in the period of first settlement.

THE RURAL COMMUNITY. In the areas of dispersed farm homesteads we observe that roads have been built to the village centers, and between them and to the cities. If we observe closely, particularly in hilly sections or where the roads are unpaved, we may be able to see that at the edge of the area in which the farmers go to a given village the roads are poorer because less used, and in such cases we can actually see the limits of the area within which most of the farm people habitually go to a certain village center. This area, therefore, is one in which the people are seen to associate in the common village center more than they do elsewhere, and we recognize it as a rural community. In some regions with dense population the villages are near each other and the community areas are relatively small; in other, less densely populated regions they are farther apart and their community areas are less clearly defined. Some of the village aggregations are small, not more than twenty or thirty houses and three or four stores, whereas others may contain several hundred houses with scores of stores and public buildings.

VILLAGES. Within these villages we see not only dwelling houses, but also buildings containing goods of all sorts—stores—to which the farm people come daily to purchase their supplies. To other buildings of more ornate design, often surmounted by pointed spires or bearing crosses—the churches—the people come only one day a week, when they stop working on their farms and the stores are closed. To one building in the village—the school—all the village children come, five days in the week; in a considerable proportion of the larger villages we observe that the children from the farms are transported to this building by buses. Other buildings, or parts of buildings, are used only occasionally, when groups of people from village and country

meet in them for various purposes, but usually the same people come to these gatherings on the same days. Evidently they have some common interests or purposes which bring them together.

GROUPS. Were we to continue our study by carefully observing all these gatherings, we should find that some of the people go only to the church, others go only to the stores or the school, whereas others are found habitually attending many of the group meetings. We should find that each of these group gatherings is given a definite name by those attending it and that they recognize certain obligations to act together for the specified purposes of the given group. We should find that the members of some of these groups are also commonly members of certain other groups, whereas they rarely belong to some others. Thus there is a considerable proportion of common membership and consequent cooperation between some groups, whereas there is open competition or antagonism between others.

THE PHENOMENA OF SOCIOLOGY. As will be shown in more detail later, sociology consists of the description of these various forms of human association, in the family, the neighborhood, the community, the church, the school, and the various organizations and groupings found in any community. As the rural community includes the area within which most of rural group life is observed to occur, we would naturally seek to examine its associated life more closely, just as the naturalist studies the life of a beaver colony or other animal society. Were we able to visit these communities over a series of years and to observe their behavior without interfering with it we would be able to gain definite knowledge about it. This is just what is essential for the accurate description of the forms of association in rural areas, but as such a process is expensive in time and money, we shall have to content ourselves with descriptions of some fairly typical communities made by those who have lived in them and are intimately acquainted with their life. By studying these descriptions we may be in a better position to determine what uniformities and differences occur in the group life of rural communities under different conditions, what difficulties they meet, and under what circumstances they seem to function successfully. In examining the associated life of these rural areas we are interested in discovering the most common forms of association and how they are adjusted to each other and their environment, so that we may be in a position to formulate a plan for studying them more intensively and to determine upon what aspects of this associated life we shall concentrate our attention.

II. ANALYSIS OF RURAL COMMUNITIES

The case studies of the social organization of four rural communities, as presented in the Appendix, give us a good general picture of how people associate under rural conditions, and of some of the social problems which arise. Although in these descriptions a few individuals play a prominent role in the community life, and their influence is probably more important than revealed, for the most part the descriptions are concerned with various groups, organizations, and institutions; they deal with the forms of association. They reveal that there are many different kinds of groups; some are present in one place and absent in another; membership in some groups seems to affect membership in others; different groups include different classes of people, according to their several interests.

In order to sharpen our perception of these different kinds of association, the groups and activities in these four communities should be compared carefully by answering the questions in the following exercises, and other important differences and similarities should be noted.

EXERCISES

1. List the names of all the groups or forms of association mentioned in the four communities; place them in four parallel columns showing presence or absence.
2. Which are the most important groups found in all four communities?
3. How important is the neighborhood in the life of each of these communities?
4. What are the principal problems of group relationship in each of these communities?
5. How have changes in the means of communication affected the life and social organization of these communities?
6. What kinds of farmers' organizations exist in these communities?
7. Is there any one organization or institution which seems to be most important in all these communities?
8. What differences are there in the social stratification of these communities?
9. What effect does this have on group relations?
10. What were the chief factors in the integration and disintegration of each of these communities?
11. How have changes in economic conditions affected the life of these communities?
12. Which of these communities had the best church situation and which the poorest? Why?
13. Compare the recreation facilities of these communities.

14. What is the relative importance of the school in the life of each community?

15. What differences are there in the number and kind of social and civic organizations?

16. What are the predominant social attitudes of each community toward progress or improvement?

17. Compare the leadership in these communities.

18. List the community events in each community. To what extent do they indicate strong or weak communities?

19. Compare the extent to which contacts with other communities or the influence of outside agencies affect the life of each community.

The answer to these and similar questions will bring out many important points with regard to the ways in which rural people associate and the conditions affecting them. These studies do not give any detailed description of the differences in organization of the various groups mentioned, as it is assumed that the reader is fairly familiar with their structure and operation, but if we were to study these groups more carefully we would find that they are organized quite differently, that some resemble others whereas some are wholly different in nature. The Grange and the fraternal orders are secret; they have many officers and an elaborate ritual, wholly different from a ladies' aid society or a card club. Furthermore, the behavior of what seem to be rather similar kinds of groups varies widely; the Episcopalians may dance, but the Methodists are strongly opposed to dancing. Individual groups of the same kind differ as much as do different persons. The Parent-Teacher Association in one community is concerned only with the relation of home and school; in another it tends to become a community improvement society. We may also observe that the loyalty of individuals to groups and the influence of a group on the behavior of individuals vary from the strong loyalties to the family and the church to the casual adherence to a civic organization. We may also find that the behavior of many of these groups is strongly influenced by tradition and custom. The village pastor will not open his church or the school board will not open the school for the use of the young people because such a thing has never been done. Land owners and tenants do not mix in the South because of tradition. Changes in environmental conditions also affect the number, nature, objectives, and behavior of most groups.

People have been aware of these different groups and forms of associations for countless generations, for they have lived in families and communities, they have attended churches and belonged to various societies or clubs, and they have had to deal with the problems which

arise within these groups and among them, but their activities in groups have been mostly on a purely perceptual level, just as an animal lives in the natural environment. Only when we attempt to obtain general ideas—concepts—of the nature of the structure and behavior of these different groups, organizations, and institutions are we able to evaluate the efficiency with which they function and to understand the nature of their interrelations and the causes of their behavior. It is the purpose of sociology to obtain an understanding of groups and all forms of human association, with the hope that a knowledge of these phenomena may enable men to adjust their relationships better. The ultimate aim of sociology, as of all sciences, is to improve human welfare, but as a science it is primarily concerned with obtaining new knowledge of the phenomena with which it deals, with discovering facts which are hidden to ordinary common-sense observation, and with so relating these newly discovered facts as to make possible the prediction of the behavior of particular kinds of groups under given conditions or circumstances, so that we may be able to control them for the general welfare. The ultimate objective is human welfare, but if the scientific method is to contribute to this end, it must first study its phenomena and discover the unknown relations existing between them. Let us consider, therefore, the objectives and methods of rural sociology as a science, and its relation to rural social organization as a means of advancing the welfare of rural people.

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Chapter 2

THE RELATION BETWEEN RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

For a study of the sociology and social organization of rural life, it is desirable that we first delimit our field of investigation by a definition of these terms. First, what is the field of sociology and social organization as applied to rural life; and, second, what do we include in the term *rural?*

1. RURAL SOCIOLOGY. Rural sociology is the sociology of life in the rural environment. Without reviewing the origins and development of rural sociology [1] it may be stated that most treatises on this subject have conceived it as a general description of rural life for promoting rural welfare or rural progress. This point of view was well stated by Dr. John M. Gillette in the first textbook on rural sociology:

> If by sociology is always meant a rigidly scientific attempt to account for group phenomena, and if, further, the attempt must be disassociated from utilitarian motives, then the title "rural sociology" is incompetent to express the scientific import of sociological studies of rural communities. But, for the same reasons, there are few treatises which may be called sociologies, and the newer works bearing that name are especially ineligible because they deal so largely with the solution of practical problems. If to treat rural life quite largely as a set of problems to be solved is unscientific, rural sociology at present cannot qualify for the scientific class. It arose out of a growing demand for the application of rational intelligence to the conditions obtaining in country districts, and its initial spirit and motive was thereby necessarily rendered practical and utilitarian. The great business of rural sociology is, and perhaps ever will be, the attainment of sympathetic understanding of the life of farming communities and the application to them of rational principles of social endeavor. But general sociology, at its best, is but a wrought-out structure of intellectual problems, and if rural sociology pursues its mission of understanding and solving in a rational manner the issues of rural life, it will become scientific, but will differ essentially from sociology in general by reason of its more restricted and immediate sphere. Its first

[1] For which see N. L. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology, Chapter I.

> imperative is to understand rural communities in terms of their conditions. Its next imperative is to formulate right ways of action. We may think of rural sociology as that branch of sociology which systematically studies rural communities to discover their conditions and tendencies, and to formulate principles of progress.[2]

As so defined rural sociology is an attempt to apply "rational intelligence to the conditions obtaining in country districts." This is a worthy objective and certainly if rural sociology does not contribute to this end it has no *raison d'être.* However, when we commence to analyze the problems of rural life we find that they are dealt with by various sciences, and that they involve not only all social sciences but the physical and biological sciences, as well as problems of social ethics which take us out of the realm of science into that of philosophy. In short, no major problem of human relationships in rural life can be solved by the methods of any one science. The art of dealing with the problems of rural life is necessarily a technology involving the application of many sciences and disciplines, just as the technology of bridge building involves not only mechanics, but metallurgy, geology, meteorology, and other disciplines for the determination of the method of constructing a particular bridge.

The fundamental question, therefore, is whether rural sociology is to be considered a common-sense application of the knowledge of other disciplines to the problems of rural life, or does it have a distinct point of view and method of analysis of certain aspects of these problems which make it a discrete science. If the former is the case, it must be regarded as a technology or application of science, but with no distinctive contribution of its own, and there is no particular reason why it should be called sociology. If, on the other hand, rural sociology is to be considered a science which undertakes to give a new and unique insight into the phenomena of human relationships in the rural environment, just what are its subject matter and method?

The science of sociology consists of the description of the forms of human association or human relationship structures and the factors influencing the origin, development, structure, and functioning of these various forms. By forms are meant all describable types of association, including all kinds of groups, crowds, or other human collectivities, as well as their established behavior patterns, such as marriage, burial, the market, etc. If, by a thorough analysis and description of

[2] J. M. Gillette, Rural Sociology, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1922, p. 6. Reprinted by permission of the publishers. It should be noted that in the latest edition of this text (3rd ed., 1936, p. 30) the author has changed the purposes stated in the above quotation.

the different forms of human association, sociology is able to reveal aspects of these phenomena which are not apparent to ordinary common-sense observations and concerning which generalizations can be made that will make possible a larger degree of purposive control over them, it will have a definite division of labor in the attempt to apply the method of science to human affairs and it will be able to make a contribution of new knowledge to the technology of rural welfare which would not otherwise be available. As we conceive it, therefore, the primary effort of rural sociology as a science should be the accurate description of the phenomena with which it deals, namely, the forms of association in rural society, the family, the community, the church, the school, the lodge, and the numerous organized societies and informal, unorganized groups which are becoming more numerous in modern rural life.

The present difficulty with this procedure is that as yet sociology has done very little in the scientific description of the phenomena with which it deals. As the chemist describes atoms and molecules, and their combinations and how they behave, and the biologist describes species, genera, families, and orders, their structure, physiology, and mode of life, so the sociologist in a manner adapted to his subject matter must describe the composition, structure, and behavior of the various forms of association recognizable in human society. The idea that sociology deals with the study of human association is already generally accepted, as, for instance, when Professor Sims says, "The field of rural sociology is the study of association among people living by or immediately dependent upon agriculture." [3] The difficulty is that this study of association has dealt only with the gross structure of rural society and has not, in general, made a sufficiently detailed study of the various forms of association to give us any better understanding of their nature or function. Thus we speak glibly of the rural church, but from a sociological standpoint there is little in common between a Quaker meeting, the services of a Negro church, and the Catholic mass. They all have the common "interest" of religion, and are called churches, but they have a very different structure and behavior pattern. Discussing the rural church without defining our terms and describing the phenomena with which we are dealing may result in the confusion of our thinking rather than its clarification. It is for these reasons that we believe that a technology of rural welfare, or rural social organization, will be advanced best by the development

[3] Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

of a rural sociology which will give a scientific description of the forms of association most characteristic of rural society.

According to Sir Arthur Thomson all science is but description. "The aim of Science," he says, "is to describe the impersonal facts of experience in verifiable terms as exactly as possible, as simply as possible, and as completely as possible."[4] The facts or phenomena peculiar to sociology are the forms of human association, most of which are commonly called groups. Professor A. W. Small has given a good statement of the concept group when he says, "The term 'group' serves as a convenient sociological designation for any number of people, larger or smaller, between whom such relations are discovered that they must be thought of together."[5] Some groups, like a baseball team or a military company, may be seen and their behavior observed as units. Others, for example associations whose members are widely scattered and which meet only occasionally, are mere conceptual entities. In any event the group as a sociological unit is not merely the sum of the individuals composing it, but is a "dynamic order, pattern, or integration"[6] of human beings. Yet, although the group is but a conceptual phenomenon, a pattern or form of association, it behaves as a unitary system, just as the atoms in a molecule behave as a system in a chemical structure. The differences in the form or pattern of association and in its characteristic behavior which are recognizable are what give meaning to the name designating a given type of group, such as church, lodge, or family. For our purposes, therefore, we may make the definition: *A group consists of two or more people between whom there is an established pattern of psychological interaction; and it is recognized as an entity, by its own members and usually by others, because of its particular type of collective behavior.*

The first step in sociological analysis should, therefore, consist of the description, as exact, simple, and complete as possible, of the form or pattern of association which is characteristic of each type of group and which distinguishes it from others. Consequently we shall in Part IV give a description—a sociological analysis of the group characteristics—of each of the principal groups common in rural society, and we shall then consider the practical problems of the particular type of group as a phase of rural social organization. These group descriptions will be incomplete and inadequate because of the limitations

[4] J. A. Thomson, An Introduction to Science, p. 56.

[5] A. W. Small, General Sociology, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1905, p. 495. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[6] *Cf.* C. M. Child, Physiological Foundations of Behavior, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1924, p. 1.

of our present knowledge concerning them, but it is hoped that they may give students an insight into the nature of these groups which such a method of analysis and description alone can reveal. I have elsewhere [7] given an outline for group description, which has been followed more or less closely in the descriptions in Part IV.

The adequate description of a group involves two aspects: first, its *structure* and, second, its *function*. The structural aspect involves five major sets of characters, which are described in more detail in the paper cited: (1) identity—what limits it or sets it apart from other groups; (2) composition—the individuals composing the group; (3) *inter*group relations—whether the group is independent or is controlled from without; (4) *intra*group relations—the forms of interaction between members; (5) structure and mechanism—the established procedures and division of labor for performing specific functions.

These characteristics will describe the structure or anatomy of a group, but it is equally important to know how it functions, what its characteristic behavior is. The term *function* involves two aspects or is used in two senses: first, to describe how the group structure operates or behaves within itself as an organic system, the *intra*group behavior; second, the function of the group in its relations to other groups in the larger society, its *inter*group behavior. The relation of structure and function in the group may be likened to that of a machine. Thus the *structure* of a typewriter consists of the keys, type bars, carriages, escapement, platen, ribbon, etc. A description of how the machine *functions* would involve showing how the keys operate the type bars, how the escapement controls the movement of the carriage, etc., and it might be shown that one particular type of structure has certain functional advantages for certain purposes. This is the internal functioning of the machine, but it may also be considered as it functions as a whole, i.e., as a writing machine for typing letters, manuscripts, etc., and one could show how it has greatly increased the volume of correspondence by increasing the speed of writing, has made possible making several copies at once, etc. Furthermore, by changing the structure of the machine by including an adding mechanism, it may acquire an extra function as a billing machine which greatly enlarges its usefulness and gives it an entirely different function in the work of an office.

The same relations of structure and function apply to a group. Thus the *structure* of the family consists of parents and children and involves the relationships of husband and wife, parent and child, etc.

[7] Dwight Sanderson, "Group Description," *Social Forces*, Vol. 16, March, 1938, pp. 309–319.

The *function* of the family, on the other hand, involves procreation, the nurture of the children, making a living, providing food and shelter, creating affectional satisfactions, emotional security, etc. This is how the family group functions or behaves in its internal relations. We may, however, consider the function of the family as an institution in the larger society. As such it is a means of education, of transmitting the social heritage, of property control, of social control, and of maintaining the established mores.

In addition to the general description of the functioning of a given type of group, either within itself or in its external relations, one may also study the method or quality of its functioning. Thus a family, with the ordinary family relationships, may operate with the accepted dominance of the father or it may be democratically organized; there may be a fine give-and-take between husband and wife and parents and children, or there may be constant friction. It is obvious that the description of the method of functioning of individual families, or of any group, would involve countless variations, which, although of importance for the clinical analysis of the problems of an individual family, would be of value for general description only in so far as generalizations might be made inductively as to the efficiency or inefficiency of certain types of behavior. However, when we attempt an assessment of the quality of the functions of a given group, either with regard to its internal or external relations, we at once encounter the question of what is desirable or undesirable; we meet the question of *values* and how they determine our objectives. We must, therefore, recognize that any description of function must be related to the established or desired values of the group in a given culture. We shall indicate the importance of the recognition of values later in this chapter and in Part III.

Nevertheless, it is possible to describe objectively much that is of significance both as regards the internal and external functions of any *type* of group, and the same method of analysis will be of value in the study of any individual group. Thus most voluntary organizations conduct their meetings by parliamentary procedure, whereas the family and the gang proceed by informal discussion. With parliamentary procedure one group, such as a business corporation, may proceed by voting to make decisions by a majority control of the stockholders, whereas another type of group may habitually function by encouraging discussion and coming to a consensus before making a decision as to policy. These are important differences in the functioning of a given group which must be taken into account in any adequate sociological description. One may well raise the question of how such descriptions

of different types of rural groups can be used for the improvement of rural life in the technique of rural social organization. Some of the practical uses of group description are:

1. For understanding the relation of individuals to the group, and the influence of the group on the individuals composing it; for example, how does the position of the individual in the rural community or rural family differ from that of one in a similar group in an urban environment and how does the relationship of individuals to the group in a church or a grange differ from that in a lodge or a farmers' club?

2. For clinical use with the individual group, by comparison of the structure and functioning of an individual group with the usual pattern of this type of group, to determine how it may be improved, and to determine the factors within the group life which condition its success. What sort of organization and relationships are essential for the success of a church, a grange, or any other group, and how do they differ?

3. For understanding the relation of a given group or type of group to other kinds of groups, as a basis for determining policies of group relations; for example, what is or should be the relation of the grange or the farm bureau to cooperative associations, or of the church to welfare agencies?

4. For determining policies affecting the general group pattern; for example, should the grange stress its ritual or minimize it? should the church rely on the usual Sunday School or develop weekday religious education with paid teachers?

5. For determining the adaptability of group structure to certain societal functions, and, consequently, for determining which groups are needed for meeting certain needs or functions; for example, the relation of small size and intimacy of personal relations in a group to large membership and power; is the grange organization adapted to cooperative business enterprise? is the church a suitable agency for social welfare work?

2. Social Psychology of Rural Life. Although a better knowledge of rural sociology, as above defined, may have many very practical applications, it must be recognized that at best it gives us but the anatomy and gross physiology (or how structures function) of rural society. The established forms of behavior which are characteristic of the various groups are the structural elements of their organization, but how these behaviors originated, what dynamic force maintains them, how groups will act under given conditions, and how the group influences the behavior of the individual and how his behavior influences

that of the group, are subjects which involve the life process of these collectivities and may be understood only through a study of the psychology of these phenomena. Social psychology is, therefore, the partner of sociology in the study of group life and is sometimes considered a phase of sociology. As the physician or surgeon must know not only the anatomy but also the physiology of the human body if he is to cure successfully an organic disease or perform an operation, so he who aspires to be a technician in social organization must understand social psychology as well as sociology.

It is evident that the fundamental psychological principles affecting one group will not differ materially from those affecting another, except in so far as each has a distinctive psychological setting. It is not, therefore, feasible to attempt a generalized description of the psychological processes of any particular type of group, although a more thorough analysis of the psychology of different types of groups will undoubtedly reveal psychological processes which are somewhat characteristic of each of them. Thus a card club is essentially a competitive group, whereas a college fraternity frowns on conflict and encourages attitudes of comradeship.

Probably the difference between psychology of human association in the rural environment and that in towns and cities is as much or more important than the differences in group structure and relationships. However, even less exact scientific analysis has been made of the psychology characteristic of rural life, so that although we recognize its primary importance for a technology of rural social organization, we shall not attempt to discuss it separately because of inadequate data. Most of what has been written on the social psychology of rural life is but a summarization of common-sense knowledge and does not involve a scientific analysis which gives us new insights into the processes involved.

Although all credible knowledge in this field should be utilized in attempting to solve the practical problems of rural social organization, at present the student will need to acquaint himself with the best works available on social psychology and make his own application to the life of rural groups. Research in this field is of primary importance as a basis for any valid technique of rural social organization and with its accumulation we may hope ultimately to have a better knowledge of whatever differences may exist in the social behavior of different groups in various types of rural environment.

3. Environmental Conditions. When we undertake the practical application of our knowledge of groups to the concrete problem of

improving the life of any given social situation, whether of an individual group, a locality, or a larger section or region, we at once become aware that there are many conditions which affect it and which must be understood before a hypothetical program for its improvement can be created. Such factors as physiography, topography, soil, and climate; geographical location, including relation to cities; available means of transportation and communication; the nature of the population, its composition, ethnology, growth, and movements; the history of the group or locality under study—all these must be considered before it is possible to determine which plans are feasible for its improvement. It will be necessary, therefore, to give consideration to the general effect of these conditioning factors upon the social organization of rural life, which will be taken up in Part II.

4. Rural Social Organization. All this knowledge of group life and of the factors conditioning it is of value only in so far as it will enable us to show how the social organization of rural life, the improvement of human relations, and satisfaction in the rural environment may be advanced. As previously stated (pp. 9, 12), Rural Social Organization involves the application of Rural Sociology, but it is much broader than that and cannot solve its problems by using only sociological data or methods of analysis. Rural social organization is a technology, or art, and as such it must utilize not only rural sociology but all other sciences and disciplines which affect its problems. When we approach the problem of improving rural health or rural education, we are at once involved in the technical problems of the sciences of public health and education, but what may be done also depends upon economic conditions, the political organization, religious beliefs, and the established mores. Rural social organization does not undertake to deal with the technical problems of medicine as applied to public health, of educational psychology as applied to the schools, of economics as applied to agriculture, or of political science as applied to rural government. It does endeavor to bring together the results of the work of these various disciplines, and the knowledge of group life derived from sociology, and of the processes of social behavior derived from social psychology, in a synthesis which indicates how the various forms of human association in rural life may be so related as best to achieve the values which people in a given culture desire. Sociology makes a special contribution to rural social organization in that it describes the interrelatedness of the various factors affecting the forms of association, or of any social problem, more than have some of the other social sciences. It takes a comprehensive

and synthetic view of its phenomena. Rural social organization attempts to show how different forms of social organization are related and how they may be improved for realizing man's desire for health, education, religion, recreation and sociability, beauty, economic organization, local government, the care of the dependent, community organization, and intercommunity relationships. It is the art of planning social relationships in the rural environment by use of the methods of science.

In Part III we shall discuss the problems of social organization for each of the more important rural groups and institutions, after first presenting a sociological description of them.

5. Social Values. Although Science may show what is possible or how man may accomplish certain ends, Science cannot determine what is or is not desirable for man to do. What ought to be is determined by man's ideals, by his system of values and his attitudes toward them, which are the subject matter of ethics, philosophy, and religion. The practical problems of rural social organization are, therefore, always questions of what man desires as well as how this may be accomplished, and their solution will always be conditioned by what he conceives to be for his welfare. The description of the effect of certain types of social organization may lead to changing his values and ideals, but which type of social organization is desirable will always be determined by the prevailing mores and ideals. Rural social organization must, therefore, always be adapted to the culture with which it is dealing. What will be feasible and desirable for most of the United States will not apply to the present status of the Navajo Indians in the Southwest or to people living under the caste system of India or the familistic system of China. Even in a given locality there will be differences of opinion as to what is desirable or undesirable, so that the whole problem of a better social organization will always be experimental and exploratory, proceeding by trial and error to determine which forms and methods of human association are most successful for achieving the values desired. The methods of science are of value in showing *how* certain life values may be achieved and whether they result in forms of social organization which are conducive to the improvement or decadence of human life under given conditions, but they cannot directly change them. Thus in any program of rural social organization, as, for example, in the field of education, it will be necessary to consider the ends to be attained, the values in human life desired, for they will largely determine the means, the forms, and the methods of association which may be desirable for their achievement. In

determining the objectives of social organization we may rely upon the reasoning of social ethics, social philosophy, or social theory for rational guidance, or we may proceed upon the accepted values of the existing mores or religions, but in either case we must recognize that the type of social organization attempted will depend upon the system of human values accepted. The values to be considered for establishing criteria for the aims and objectives of Rural Social Organization will be discussed in Chapter 3.

6. WHAT IS RURAL? The above considerations with regard to the nature of sociology as a science and its application to concrete social problems in the process of social organization would be equally applicable to urban sociology or the sociology of any segment of society. We are, however, immediately concerned with their application to *rural* society; this raises a second problem of orientation to our study, namely, the question, What do we mean by the term *rural?*

For statistical purposes the United States Census Bureau defines all populations outside of incorporated places of 2,500 persons or over as rural, and for most purposes this definition is acceptable. However, when the word rural is used as a qualitative term two points of reference require consideration. First, it should be pointed out, as will be elaborated later, that just what is involved in the term rural, as contrasted with urban, is a changing and relative concept. In the definition of rural sociology previously quoted Professor Sims says that it is "the study of association among people living by or immediately dependent upon agriculture." When the United States was chiefly an agricultural country this distinction was tenable, but as the majority of its population has come to live in cities and as the proportion of persons living in the open country in the industrial regions has rapidly increased with improved transportation, it is difficult to confine the term rural to those immediately related to agriculture. The people of the industrial village and those who live in the open country but are not dependent upon agriculture, with the farmers of the same area, are all part of the rural community which is only partially agricultural. Although the point of view expressed by Professor Sims represents what may be termed the typically rural, the distinction is but relative and more and more in the most industrialized regions of this and other countries the differences between rural and urban are diminishing. Nevertheless it is true that there are points of contrast between the typically rural and the distinctly urban forms of society.

Second, it is necessary to call attention to the fact that it is impossible to describe what is *rural* for the United States as a whole or

generically, any more than it would be possible to give a general description of the characteristics of rural society in this and other countries. The fact is that for purposes of social analysis the United States involves various cultural areas which are decidedly different in many respects, and almost no statement can be made concerning their rural social organization or concerning the groups composing rural society which will be true for all of them. We are not now concerned with any exact delimitation of regional or cultural areas, which has recently become a matter of considerable interest as a basis of social and economic planning,[8] but merely to indicate the radical differences which exist and which cannot be reduced to a single type of rural society. Thus the Old South has its large Negro population, high proportion of poor tenants, relatively low education, the larger place of the church as a rural institution, and a very small proportion of rural people belonging to any sort of farmers' organizations as shown by the small membership in cooperative associations.

In the Appalachian Highlands is the highest proportion of self-sufficient farms with a correspondingly low standard of living, poor social institutions, large families, and a surplus of population. In contrast, the Pacific Coast has a highly commercialized agriculture with the incidental problem of large numbers of itinerant agricultural laborers living a squalid existence in an otherwise highly developed rural society.

Inasmuch as more study has been given to the social aspects of rural life in the Northeastern States, i.e., east of the Missouri and north of the Ohio rivers, our discussion will deal more with rural life as found in that area, but even there very radical differences exist between the social conditions of large numbers of families living in considerable areas of submarginal hilly or poor land and those in the better agricultural sections. It must, therefore, be constantly remembered that rural life in this country includes all stages from that of the pioneer to that found in the most prosperous and cultured rural communities. Consideration of problems of rural social organization must, therefore, be in terms of the local culture and social situation, and very few, if any, generalizations can be made which will be applicable to all parts of the country. We shall call attention to some of these differences in various connections, but it is important for the student to realize that one cannot generalize, from a knowledge of one type of rural society, with regard to another, and that the importance of our study lies chiefly in acquiring a method of social analysis which will enable us to deal

[8] *Cf.* H. W. Odum, Southern Regions of the United States, 1936; National Resources Committee, Regional Factors in National Planning, 1935.

realistically with a given social situation, whatever it may be. To this end it is obviously important to gain as much knowledge as possible of the differences and characteristics of rural life in various parts of the country, for only by means of contrast of dissimilar types of social organization are we able to gain any adequate perspective as to their merits or limitations or of the immediate social situation in which we reside.

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Chapter 3

CRITERIA OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In the preceding chapter we distinguished Rural Sociology, as a scientific description of the forms of association in rural society, from Rural Social Organization, as a technology using various sciences and disciplines for the practical improvement of rural welfare. In the following chapters we shall examine the environmental conditions which affect the structure and behavior of rural groups. It is obvious that the practical application of all this knowledge to the improvement of rural society is our ultimate aim. Two factors are involved in effecting this: first, the ends or aims and, second, the means; the means will depend upon the aims.

At this point we may well consider, briefly, why our desire for societal improvement arises. It is true that in the modern world we have developed the concept of Progress and have assumed that improvement in and for itself is desirable, but most of us are not motivated by a mere desire for progress, nor do advances in human welfare occur for the sake of progress. On the contrary, most of our desire for improving social relations arises out of some maladjustment which interferes with our habitual life or thwarts our established purposes. The country church or the rural school dwindles in size and can be supported only with great difficulty. The problem is what is to be done about it. To determine this a new definition of the situation is required—a determination of all the facts involved and of means of solution which are possible. We have to think out the problem, and thought arises in the solution of problems.[1]

The desire for improvement arises out of our attempt to meet various concrete social problems. These problems occur more frequently in modern society because our environmental conditions are changing more rapidly. In the static society of a primitive people social problems occur infrequently and, when they do, are usually resolved by appeal to custom and tradition. But with the necessity of making more frequent adjustments to changing conditions, there has naturally arisen the question, why should not mankind plan a definite program

[1] The steps in this process have been clearly outlined by John Dewey, How We Think, Boston, D. C. Heath and Co., 1933, p. 107.

for his advancement, rather than merely adjust to circumstances as they arise? Men have planned advances through the various technologies which have made possible our modern material or physical environment. Why should they not plan a better social environment? This has been a controlling motive with sociologists from the time of the first great American sociologist, Lester F. Ward, whose central idea was his doctrine of *telesis:* "man, in his social capacity, seeking to improve society by the exercise of an intelligent foresight." [2]

But assuming the possibility of developing such a program for improving societal relations, it must be evident that it is but a means to desired ends. What it will be depends upon the objectives sought. One nation desires conquest; another, peace. One church desires a better social order in the present; another seeks bliss in a heaven hereafter. The aims determine the program as a means to their achievement.

Therefore, in considering the problems of rural social organization we must establish some criteria which will enable us to evaluate our objectives. These criteria will, in turn, depend upon what we consider the supreme values in life, and the controlling influence which social values have in determining the objectives of social organization. We need not attempt to evaluate these values, to determine whether they are based on truth or error, whether they are real or chimerical, for this is the task of philosophy, ethics, and religion, but we must recognize that any program of social organization is based on certain generally accepted values. Therefore, what may be desirable for one people with a given set of values may be entirely repugnant to another who have opposite values. Chinese society has been largely influenced by its veneration of male ancestors and its reverence for the past. Our culture exalts the child and the woman, and looks toward the future. The one desires to maintain the ancient ways; the other seeks progress.

Ultimately, of course, if we are to make real progress, we must test our values and be as sure as possible that our philosophy of life is sound, for, otherwise, the results achieved will be disappointing. Here we approach some of the crucial problems of current society. Can there be a permanently satisfactory society under the dictatorship of a totalitarian state, and is democracy a utopian dream? In the past human slavery was ardently defended as a divinely sanctioned institution; but history and economic science have shown it to be undesirable if we assume the general welfare as our aim. At present we solve

[2] L. F. Ward, Dynamic Sociology, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1915, Vol. I, p. 28.

such questions by the trial-and-error method, but social science and social philosophy should be able to determine the answers. Therefore, if we are to plan a better social organization we must have some criteria for, and we must examine how its objectives are influenced by, the values which we knowingly or unconsciously accept.

If we were to state the general aim of social organization in terms of the preceding chapter, we should say that it is to bring about a better social environment.[1] The question then arises at once, what is better; better for whom and for what, why better? To answer these questions the development of some criteria of the aims and objectives of social organization is necessitated. A social environment may be improved with regard to its adequacy, the facilities it has for meeting human interests and desires, and with regard to its quality, the degree to which these facilities have satisfactory characteristics for achieving the values desired. Professor N. L. Sims has indicated two aspects of adequacy: "Two especially important criteria for judging the adequacy of organization have been mentioned. One is its sufficiency relative to the needs of the community; the other is its sufficiency for the development of personality."[3] The personality of the individual and the welfare of the community, i.e., the great community or society, are the ends toward which all social organization is directed and are, therefore, the major criteria for evaluating it. Let us examine how social organization may be tested by each of these criteria, and how it advances these goals.

I. THE PERSONALITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

In our own culture we recognize, at least in our ideals, that the personality of the individual is our chief value. If we attempt to analyze what we mean by personality, we may commence with the behavioristic conception of John B. Watson, who says: "I define personality as the sum of the activities that can be discovered by actual observation of behavior over a long enough time to give reliable information. In other words, personality is but the end product of our habit systems. Our procedure in studying personality is the making and plotting of a cross-section of the activity stream."[4]

[3] N. L. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology, New York, T. Y. Crowell Co., 2nd ed., 1934, p. 177. This and the following quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[4] J. B. Watson, Behaviorism, New York, W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1924, p. 220.

THE SOCIAL SELF. But when these habitual activities are observed it is found that most of them occur in a social setting, that they are conditioned by the social relations of the individual. Indeed, as shown by Professor C. H. Cooley, the personality—the self—is a "social self"; it is a self only in terms of its reactions to its social environment. Cooley has summarized his view of the social self in the following:

> . . . The social self is simply any idea, or system of ideas, drawn from the communicative life, that the mind cherishes as its own. Self-feeling has its chief scope *within* the general life, not outside of it, the special endeavor or tendency of which it is the emotional aspect finding its principal field of exercise in a world of personal forces, reflected in the mind by a world of personal impressions.[5]

THE GENESIS OF PERSONALITY. But the idea of the value of the individual personality is a fairly modern affair and has come about only with the modern trend toward individualism, as a result of greater personal freedom from former group controls. Before the modern era and still among many peoples, the group—the family, clan, or tribe—is much more important than the individual, and his interests are entirely subservient to those of the group. The historical emergence of the individual personality from the group, and the repetition of this process in the life history of each one of us, has been described by MacIver:

> The whole history of society bears out this truth that only at the last and in his full development does the social being find the social focus in himself. To the primitive man the group is all. He finds himself in the group, but he never finds *himself*. He is not a personality, but one of the bearers of a type-personality. He is summed up in the group, the clan or tribe. So it is with the boy, the analogue of primitive man. He need not be bidden to remember that he is first a member of a school or a family and then an individual. To his undeveloped mind the group is a circle with no centre, for he can find a centre only when he finds himself. The boy has a passion for uniformity, and regards all divergence from group-custom—the school-custom or whatever it is—with something of that abhorrence which filled the mind of the primitive tribesman in beholding the violation of his sacred tribal law. More and more as the boy grows and as the community grows, the centre of initiative and responsibility becomes the individual. So the individual becomes the focus of his own

[5] C. H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902, p. 147. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

personality, to the enrichment of personality, and thus to the enrichment of community.[6]

Although the personality of the individual is achieved only by setting himself off from the group, he does not achieve personality by isolation from groups. Paradoxically enough, as we have seen, his personality is a product and function of his social environment, so that the more he participates in group life and yet maintains his own independence and is not entirely dominated by it, the richer and broader is his personality.

GROUP INFLUENCE ON PERSONALITY. That membership in a group has a direct influence on personality is now well understood and is widely used by social workers and psychiatrists as a therapeutic measure in what is known as group work. One of the most obvious examples of how personality is influenced by the group is in the life of the family, although similar effects could be shown for the influence of a 4-H club, a scout troop, a church, a gang, or other groups.

We have seen that personality is largely the product of the social experience of the individual, and the part that he plays in society is the result of the roles that he has been taught or has imitated and of his experience in being able to realize them. In this process of transmitting the accepted roles of behavior to the child, the family group has precedence over all others both because the child's first definition of its own self and of its relations with others occurs in the family, and also because the family has almost exclusive control of this process during the preschool years. It is evident, therefore, that the type of family relations will determine many personality traits in a static society and will be the chief influence in determining them in a society, like our own, in which social usages are more variable and not strictly prescribed.

It is somewhat difficult for us to realize the ways in which the accepted forms of family life in our own culture influence our standards and affect personality. They may be revealed to us by a comparison of our present type of family life with other historical types or with those which occur in widely different cultures. Thus in our culture a boy who sews may be considered effeminate by his fellows, but among certain African tribes where the men do the sewing, this would not be true. The effect of the culture standards transmitted by the family on personality have recently been very clearly revealed by Margaret

[6] R. A. MacIver, Community—A Sociological Study, London, Macmillan and Co., 2nd ed., 1920, pp. 332–333. This and the following quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Mead in her studies of three tribes of aborigines in New Guinea.[7] She shows that the most fundamental personality traits associated with sex differences are very largely the result of social conditioning, and challenges the "cultural assumptions that certain temperamental attitudes are 'naturally' masculine and others 'naturally' feminine."

In our own culture the influence of the family on the personality of the child occurs in the following ways: (1) the family gives the child his social status; (2) the family conditions the intelligence of the child; (3) the emotional and affectional aspects of personality are largely determined by the family environment; (4) the family gives the child its norms or standards of conduct; (5) the family influences the development of specific attitudes, such as those toward authority, loyalty, etc. We do not err much when, in seeking to understand a given personality, we at once inquire as to his family.

SOCIALIZATION. This broadening of the personality through association is called socialization; it forms one of the chief measures of personality. The nature of socialization and its relation to personality has been well summarized by Dr. E. W. Burgess:

> The socialization of the person consists in his all-round participation in the thinking, the feeling, and the activities of the group. In short, socialization is "personality freely unfolding under conditions of healthy fellowship." Society viewed from this aspect is an immense cooperative concern for the promotion of personal development. But social organization is not the end of socialization; the end and function of socialization is the development of persons. The relation is even closer: personality consists almost wholly, in socialization, in the mental interaction of the person and his group. The person is coming to realize that, in achieving his interests, he must at the same time achieve functional relations with all other persons. In this achieving of right relations with his fellows, in this capacity of fitting "into an infinitely refined and complex system of cooperation," the development of personality consists.[8]

PARTICIPATION. Socialization is achieved chiefly through participation in group life. Participation in organized groups is, therefore, a means for the growth of personality. The socially isolated person may have a strong individuality in the sense that it is unique, different, or peculiar, but he does not have a rich personality and does not gain esteem or friendship by his distinction.

[7] Margaret Mead, Sex and Temperament, New York, William Morrow and Co., 1935, p. 279.

[8] E. W. Burgess, The Function of Socialization in Social Evolution, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1916, pp. 236–237. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

One of the best indexes of the social organization of a community is the degree to which all its people participate in its organizations and institutions. So important is this factor that H. B. Hawthorn [9] has written a textbook on rural sociology in which this concept forms the central theme.

The number of families who have no contact with organized groups is surprising. In one rural community in central New York,[10] 11 percent of the families in the main village (821 population), 21 percent in a small village, and 38 percent of the families in the open country had no membership in any organization. In 12 school districts in Wisconsin, it was found that 17 percent of the families in those districts which had a high number of organizations belonged to none of them, whereas in the districts with few organizations, 43 percent belonged to none.[11] In a study of nearly 3,000 farm operators in four counties of central New York, Anderson [12] found that 21 percent belonged to no organization; 29 percent belonged to only one; and 50 percent belonged to two or more. In Pope County, Illinois, 47 percent of male and female heads of families belonged to no organization, 44 percent belonged to one only, and only 9.5 percent belonged to two or more.[13] One object of social organization is to obtain larger participation of all the people in organized associations and thus to promote their socialization and produce finer personalities.

LEADERSHIP. Another measure of the development of personality through social organization is the amount of leadership which is found in a given group or community, the willingness of the people to assume the responsibilities of leadership, and their attitudes toward leaders. A group or community which has many leaders, which encourages a wide distribution of leadership, and which definitely seeks to enlist as many as possible to assume leadership and makes it easy for them to do so, is a more socialized group, and the number of leaders is an index of the development of personality of its members, for it takes a highly

[9] H. B. Hawthorn, The Sociology of Rural Life, New York, The Century Co., 1926.

[10] B. L. Melvin, "The Sociology of a Village and the Surrounding Territory," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 523, p. 69, Table 46.

[11] E. L. Kirkpatrick, *et al.*, "Rural Organizations and the Farm Family," Univ. of Wis. AES, Res. Bul. 96, p. 4, Table 1.

[12] W. A. Anderson, "The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 695, April, 1938, p. 4, Table 1.

[13] V. B. Fielder and D. E. Lindstrom, "Land Use and Family Welfare in Pope County," Dept. of Agr. Economics, Univ. of Ill. AES, 1939 (processed), p. 69. See also D. E. Lindstrom, "Forces Affecting Participation of Farm People in Rural Organization," Univ. of Ill. AES, Bul. 423, May, 1936.

socialized individual to become a leader. In some organizations and communities the number of leaders is very small and they are jealous of their control, whereas in others there is a definite effort to divide the leadership as much as possible, and particularly to encourage young people to assume leadership. The status of leadership is, therefore, another aspect of personality which forms a criterion of social organization.

PERSONALITY AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT. Professor MacIver has used the growth of personality as the criterion of community development, which he has summarized in the "law": "The differentiation of community is relative to the growth of personality in social individuals."[14] To illustrate this process he uses the relations in the family as an example of the application of this principle, which is particularly significant in connection with our discussion above:

> In the highest type of all not the family alone but also the wider community serve the increased helplessness of the young. Human beings are of all beings the most helpless at birth, of all beings the most plastic and potential, the most able to profit by the stored experience of the community. The better a community is organized, the more it serves the needs not only of its adult individualities but also of its potential members. When a community is so organized that not the family alone but all associations within the community contribute their full respective shares to the formation of new individualities no less than to the expression of those already formed, then socialization may be said to be complete and individualization advanced to the highest capacity of its members.[15]

II. THE WELFARE OF SOCIETY

Although the welfare of the individual and the development of his personality is the supreme goal of social organization, we have seen that these are promoted and occur only in a social setting. The welfare of society is, therefore, another criterion of social organization. Society, the great society, is a rather nebulous concept, and to be more concrete we may consider the welfare of society under the categories of Group Welfare and Community Welfare.

1. GROUP WELFARE. The relation of social organization to the welfare of the group might be analyzed in much the same terms as its effect on the individual personality. Every group has a certain personality or character, but group personality is much more difficult to describe than individual personality. Groups also vary with regard to the degree

[14] MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 230.

to which they are socialized; some are self-centered and socially isolated, whereas others are out-going and cooperative.

Groups differ from individuals in that most of them exist for specific purposes. Their welfare may, therefore, be measured by the degree to which they are functioning successfully for the accomplishment of their objectives. As we saw in Chapter 2 (p. 14), when we speak of the function of a group we may refer to the manner in which it is functioning internally (whether it is functioning effectively for its own ends), or we may consider its function in society (whether it functions for the general welfare). Social organization is of value to the extent that it assists in the development of groups which are socially desirable and helps to change those which are socially undesirable. Social organization should make it more possible for the church, the lodge, the grange, the cooperative association, and all desirable groups to be successful, and it should make it more difficult for self-seeking groups, such as gangs, political rings, and bureaucracies, to exploit others.

If we attempt to measure the success of groups, we find that one yardstick cannot be used for all of them. Voluntary groups, such as lodges, clubs, cow-test associations, etc., are formed for specific purposes and the measure of their success is the degree to which these purposes are achieved. On the other hand, the success of involuntary groups, such as the family, the clan, and locality groups, is measured by the degree to which they maintain the approved values, the mores, of the culture in which they exist, and are able to adapt them to a changing environment. With regard to the involuntary groups one criterion of social organization is the degree to which it assists them to become conscious of their purposes and values, to bring their purposes and values out from the uncritical sanctions decreed by tradition and custom, and to make them positive, voluntary objectives. Good social organization will help the family to free itself from undesirable fetters of the mores and to become a group in which its members associate in freedom but are bound together with ties of affection and common purposes; it will help the community to free itself from undesirable traditions and enable it to adopt voluntarily a definite program for achieving the common welfare.

The relation of social organization to the way in which groups function in society—whether they are fulfilling their roles, whether they are integrated to produce the best results, and whether they are really meeting social needs—involves the larger question of their relation to community welfare, which is the peculiar field of social organization.

2. COMMUNITY WELFARE. By community welfare is meant the welfare of any community area of common interest, however defined, for it is within a community, some area of common interest, that the chief need for social organization arises as a means for furthering common ends or objectives not otherwise attainable.

We have defined rural social organization as the technology of improving human relations in the rural environment (p. 19). To understand better the relation of social organization to the improvement of human relations, we may well consider just what is involved in the concept *organization*. "An organization," says Professor E. C. Hayes, "is a set of differentiated activities serving a common purpose and so correlated that the effectiveness of each is increased by its relation to the rest." [16] According to Professor N. L. Sims, "Social organization is form, structure, orderly relationships, and systematic modes of acting together. There are always three things involved, namely, persons, actions, and ends." [17] And he well points out: "To cover adequately all social activity, structure will have to include passive as well as dynamic conditions. People occupy positions with respect to one another, as in the layout of a village or the plot of a farming area. This sort of relationship is just as much organization, even though people are not acting together, as are their correlated activities. In fact, taking society as we find it, the passive organization is the first thing encountered, and the dynamic, or that of relations proper, is the second."

With this concept of the nature of social organization, if we seek to determine how it may be tested with regard to its effect on community welfare, we naturally consider first the matter of its adequacy. Are there sufficient groups, organizations, and institutions to meet the needs of the people, within the limits of their ability to support them? If there is not a sufficient number of groups available, the desirable socialization of the personality of the individual cannot be achieved, as was illustrated in the lower degree of participation which Kirkpatrick found in the rural districts with few organizations. (See p. 29.) Are the organizations and institutions for the promotion of health, education, religion, business and industry, recreation, art, and government adequate to the needs of the community? This can be answered only for each indivdiual community after the facts of the situation have been studied, and the solution may involve its becoming part of a larger community for certain purposes. Thus a small rural community cannot support an orchestra or band, but by becoming part

[16] E. C. Hayes, Introduction to the Study of Sociology, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1919, p. 410.

[17] Sims, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed., 1934, p. 169.

of the larger community, the county, it may enjoy participation in a county organization of this sort.

Professor Hayes's definition of organization commences with "a set of differentiated activities." These are the different groups and institutions which may contribute to community welfare. Whether they do so or not, whether desirable social organization exists, depends upon the third part of his definition, on their being "so correlated that the effectiveness of each is increased by its relation to the rest." This is the heart of the problem of organization. Are "the differentiated activities," the various groups and organizations, so correlated as to increase their effectiveness? This involves the matter of relationships. Is there cooperation or undue competition or conflict between the various groups in the community? This will determine whether they can or cannot increase each other's effectiveness in "serving a common purpose." Social organization implies that the various groups and institutions are so integrated that they form part of a smoothly working, well-adjusted system directed toward a common end. The coordination of group activities is the heart of social organization in so far as it is related to community welfare, and we shall give it further consideration in Chapter 29. This forms another criterion of social organization. However, if there were complete cooperation and no competition or conflict in the social organization of any community, it is probable that it would be static and unprogressive, for improvement comes through adjustment and this necessarily involves some opposition to the existing system. A certain amount of competition and conflict is necessary and desirable. The best social organization will provide for this, in that it will create social attitudes which recognize and tolerate differences of opinion. Such an attitude of tolerance is a phase of what sociologists call *accommodation,* "a state of relative mental and social peace, an equilibrium between or among contending forces that is more or less permanent and acceptable because of the existence of a supporting body of habits, sentiments, and institutional organization." [18] "In an accommodation the antagonism of the hostile elements is, for the time being, regulated, and the conflict disappears as an overt action, although it remains latent as a potential force." [19] Accommodation is, therefore, another criterion of social organization.

[18] E. B. Reuter and C. W. Hart, Introduction to Sociology, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933, p. 320. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[19] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921, p. 665. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher.

The antagonism between individuals or groups which remains latent under a system of accommodation, and which may flare into conflict, is wholly resolved only through the *assimilation* of the opposition. "Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life." [20] Assimilation produces greater homogeneity and, therefore, a better social organization, although a satisfactory state of accommodation may give a more dynamic situation, more favorable to progress, than complete assimilation into uniformity.

Even with the best internal social organization, the community may be self-centered and more or less isolated from its social milieu. It may not be sharing in the responsibilities of building a better social organization of the larger community of which it always forms a part. The previous discussion of the socialization of the individual applies as well to the socialization of the group or of the community. With the increasing intercommunication and interdependence of society in modern life, no community, local, regional, or national, can have a satisfactory social organization in isolation. Its social welfare is inextricably involved with that of the rest of society. For this reason excessive provincialism or chauvinistic nationalism is incompatible with sound social organization.

The second item in Professor Hayes's definition of organization is that it is "serving a common purpose." There can be no coordination or integration of the various social forces of a community or group unless there is a common purpose, or common values, regarding what constitutes community welfare. To produce such a common purpose, a consensus with regard to the common values, is the object of *social control,* which will be discussed later, in Chapter 9, as an important phase of our social environment. "All social problems turn out finally to be problems of social control." [21] Social control has been defined as "the change in behavior of a person or group caused by another person or group." [22] Without attempting a detailed analysis of the nature or processes of social control, it may be stated that it is through the various means of social control that individuals and groups are given a common set of values and that their behavior is made to conform to the accepted values or purposes of the society in which they live. "So-

[20] *Ibid.,* p. 735.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 785.

[22] L. D. Zeleny, Practical Sociology, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, p. 175. Reprinted by permission.

cial control signifies the social definition of the wishes of the individual and their incorporation in the common culture of the group." [23] Social control is, therefore, the chief means of developing "common purposes," and the degree of social control will be an important criterion of social organization.

SUMMARY. Thus we have established certain criteria which will serve as yardsticks for the efficiency of social organization. These are:

1. The personality of the individual, the degree of his socialization through participation, and his willingness to accept leadership.

2. The welfare of individual groups and social institutions and the degree to which they function socially and come to define their purposes consciously in terms of their social functions.

3. The adequacy of social organization for the common life of the community, and the degree of cooperation and integration obtained through the control of conflict by the processes of accommodation and social control.

These criteria give us means of determining what may be called the efficiency of social organization, but they do not deal with the third item of Professor Sims's triad of factors involved in social organization, namely, "the ends," the nature of "the common purpose" which Professor Hayes says is necessary for organization. The nature of any planned social organization depends ultimately on the values which it desires to achieve. We are forced, therefore, to give brief consideration to the problem of social values.

III. SOCIAL VALUES

The purposes or aims of individuals, groups, and communities are largely influenced, and sometimes dominated, by the social values prevailing in the particular culture. These social values which a given culture holds as ideals are the dominant factors of the psycho-social environment (see Chapter 9), and determine the *quality* of social organization. Any attempt at planned social organization must, therefore, take them into account or its efforts will be misdirected.

Such words as Liberty, Democracy, Progress, Security, and Peace are but symbols of social values which dominate the purposes of whole nations. Thus the United States is committed to Democracy and any consideration of the social organization of our institutions must be related to this fundamental value. For example, in the introductory

[23] C. A. Dawson and W. E. Gettys, An Introduction to Sociology, New York, The Ronald Press Co., rev. ed., 1935, p. 372. Reprinted by permission.

chapter of a recent very able report of the Educational Policies Commission, "The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy," written by Dr. Charles A. Beard, the commission states as one of its guiding principles that "Every system of thought and practice in education is formulated with some reference to the ideas and interests dominant or widely cherished in society at the time of its formulation." [24] From this premise it shows how "the philosophy of Democracy enters into the definition of education." [25]

It is evident, therefore, that, if we are to deal with the social organization of our educational institutions, we must do so in the light of the fundamental social value of Democracy. In the totalitarian States the whole educational structure and program is dominated by a very different set of social values, namely, the supremacy of the state and the subservience of the individual to the party in power.

The place of social values in education has also been made the subject of a recent report entitled "Implications of Socio-Economic Goals for Education," in which their significance is carefully explored.[26]

These statements by leaders of American thought show the intimate relation of fundamental social values to one of our most important social institutions, the school.

This problem of social values affects not only our attempts at social organization, but it is also intimately involved in any attempt at a scientific description of social phenomena. This is well illustrated by an effort to establish categories for the description of the family. Concerning this I have written:

> In our effort to establish such categories for the description of the family we are at once confronted with the question of criteria for our selection. As far as the physical composition of the family is concerned, i.e., the number and kind of persons composing it, the task is fairly simple; but when we attempt to distinguish what are termed family structures, i.e., the established behavior patterns, the problem becomes more difficult. We at once become aware that these behavior patterns largely reflect the mores of our own culture and that we tend to describe those structural characteristics which seem to us to be essential to family life under our existing situation. Obviously certain of these characteristics are not

[24] Educational Policies Commission, The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy, Washington, D.C., NEA, 1937, p. 6.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 89–90.

[26] A Report of the Committee on Socio-Economic Goals of America: Implications of Socio-Economic Goals for Education, Washington, D.C., NEA, 1937, pp. 57, 114.

essential for family life under other conditions. Do we not inevitably tend to describe family life in terms of values which seem to us essential to our understanding of the functions of the family group? Thus one category of family relationships which we may seek to describe is the degree of confidence which children have in their parents, and another is whether the mother is employed outside of the home. Why do we seek to describe these categories unless we consider them of importance and why do we consider them of importance except as they affect the stability of the family under our existing conditions? My query is, therefore, whether we can formulate any adequate set of categories for family description without first considering the functions of the family and coming to some tentative agreement as to the essential functions of the family group. In a recent article on "Limitations to the Application of Social Science Implied in Recent Social Trends," Professor Charles A. Beard closes a very thoughtful analysis of this comprehensive social research with the following pregnant paragraph:

"A revolution in thought is at hand, a revolution as significant as the Renaissance: the subjection of science to ethical and esthetic purpose. Hence the next great survey undertaken in the name of the social sciences may begin boldly with a statement of values agreed upon, and then utilize science to discover the conditions, limitations, inventions, and methods involved in realization."

I would seriously question whether it is possible to do any worthwhile research upon the sociology of the American family, except upon some such basis as that suggested by Professor Beard. If this is true, then a first consideration in sociological research of family life will be to establish a tentative statement of the functions of the family as a basis of testing their validity and determining whether they do or do not secure the values which we deem desirable, and, indeed, to test out these values and determine whether they are real and permanent or fictitious and fleeting. Inevitably values will change and any such statement of family functions must be regarded as tentative and subject to revision. This is essential to sound science or sound ethics.[27]

And in referring to this in another article, I have said:

. . . The point is, can we describe the relation of the employment of the mother to the life of the family without using criteria which seek to establish whether it is beneficial or detrimental to the normal functioning of the family? In other words, although the essence of scientific method is in studying the repetition of observable phenomena, in case of the family and other human institutions and groups, we study such repetition only within a certain culture and within a certain temporal period, and

[27] Dwight Sanderson, "Sociological Analysis of the Family," *Social Forces*, Vol. XII, p. 231, Dec., 1933.

> our large concern is with the changes which are going on and in the direction of those changes.[28]

It seems inevitable that, if we are to discuss the characteristics of the family or the problems of social organization related to it, we must predicate our discussion upon some notions of what sort of a family we desire, in other words, upon the accepted social values of the family, or those which we explicitly avow. Or, let us consider the change in the attitude of American farmers to the values of individualism. As a result of the prolonged agricultural depression there has been a decided shift from faith in individualism to confidence in collective action.

> These same tendencies have broken down the former "rugged individualism" of farmers to a very considerable extent, and they are now much more united in a general conviction that their problems can be met only through collective action, although in many cases they are still far apart as to how this should be effected. In times of crisis the individual presumably turns to some superior authority, either that of an individual leader or the collective authority of an organized group, whereas in better times he cherishes his independence and magnifies the values of individualism. . . .
>
> The steady growth of farmers' cooperative associations throughout the whole period of the agricultural depression is also evidence of the gradual but increasing change in the attitude of the farmer from the individualism of the pioneer (who could succeed only through his own initiative) to a belief that only through organization and united action can he maintain his interests.[29]

Social security has now become an outstanding social value as a result of continued widespread unemployment during the depression, whereas formerly it was held to be entirely a concern of the individual. Other illustrations of the control of social values might be cited at length. Thus in Puritan New England play or recreation was rigidly censored, whereas in the plantation life of the South it was one of the chief ends of life, and among the Mormon villages of Utah recreational institutions have had a unique development. The examples given are, however, probably sufficient to establish the point that the values desired must be specifically recognized in any plans for social organization.

[28] Dwight Sanderson, "Status and Prospects for Research in Rural Life Under the New Deal," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XLI, p. 189, Sept., 1935.

[29] Dwight Sanderson, "Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression," New York, Social Science Research Council, Bul. 34, 1937, p. 145. For a more extended discussion of the causes of the decline of individualism see also "What Prevents Social Progress?" *The Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XL, p. 353, April, 1935.

Social science cannot escape the consideration of values, for all human institutions are inevitably based on certain values. Science cannot establish which values are best, but it can test existing or proposed human institutions in terms of the values which are claimed for them and determine whether they actually function so as to produce the values desired.

Social science can deal only with those social phenomena which are repeated with sufficient constancy under given conditions that certain relationships may be established. The uniformities which we find in any existing social phenomena are dependent upon the acceptance of the fundamental cultural ideas, the accepted social values, which control human institutions, such as capitalism, Mohammedanism, the divine right of kings, feudalism, or whatnot; if the accepted values of the prevailing system are changed, the uniformities which form the data of social science no longer exist, except in so far as they are directly related to the physical phenomena of nature. "A Hindu economist, Ranade," says Bouglé, "observes that almost none of the postulates of our political economy seem to fit in with the life of his country."[80]

One of the most important social studies in recent years was the report of President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends. With regard to the importance of social values, the closing paragraphs of its findings are significant:

> Finally the Committee is not unmindful of the fact that there are important elements in human life not easily stated in terms of efficiency, mechanization, institutions, rates of change or adaptations to change. The immense structure of human culture exists to serve human needs and values not always readily measurable, to promote and expand human happiness, to enable men to live more richly and abundantly. It is a means, not an end in itself. Men cling to ideas, ideals, institutions, blindly perhaps even when outworn, waiting until they are modified and given a new meaning and a new mode of expression more adequate to the realization of the cherished human values. The new tools and the new technique are not readily accepted; they are indeed suspected and resisted until they are reset in a framework of ideas, of emotional and personality values as attractive as those which they replace. So the family, religion, the economic order, the political system, resist the process of change, holding to the older and more familiar symbols, vibrant with the intimacy of life's experience and tenaciously interwoven with the innermost impulses of human action.

[80] C. Bouglé, The Evolution of Values, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1926, translated by Helen S. Sellars, p. 95. This has been confirmed by Wm. H. Wiser in his The Hindu Jajmani System, Lucknow, U.P. India, Lucknow Publishing House, 1936.

> The clarification of human values and their reformulation in order to give expression to them in terms of today's life and opportunities is a major task of social thinking. The progressive confusion created in men's minds by the bewildering sweep of events revealed in our recent social trends must find its counterpart in the progressive clarification of men's thinking and feeling, in their reorientation to the meaning of the new trends.[31]

As the committee says, "the clarification of human values . . . is a major task of social thinking," and is a necessary feature of any statement of criteria for social organization.[32] As we proceed to describe the social structure of rural society and to indicate what seems possible for its better social organization, we must constantly test our proposals by the criteria outlined above and by a clarification of the values involved, in relation to the rapidly changing environment of contemporary rural society.

REFERENCE

SIMS, N. L., Elements of Rural Sociology, New York, T. Y. Crowell Co., 3rd ed., 1940, Chapter 20, pp. 481–497.

[31] Report of President's Research Committee on Social Trends, Recent Social Trends in the United States, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, Vol. I, p. lxxv. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[32] A recent effort in this direction is P. A. Sorokin's, The Crisis of Our Age, New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., 1941.

Part II

Environmental Conditions

In the preceding chapter it was noted that human society is affected by *environmental conditions,* and that an understanding of them is essential for effecting any satisfactory improvement in social organization. In the next six chapters we shall, therefore, discuss various phases of these environmental conditions.[1]

The environment is both physical and social. First we shall consider the influence of physiography and geographic location as described in Chapter 4.

Obviously, human association depends upon the number of people in a given area, the density of population, the kinds of people, their tendency to increase or decrease, and their mobility. Population conditions are discussed in Chapter 5.

As rural life is chiefly dependent on agriculture, the status of agriculture as an industry, the trends of its development, and its economic organization are factors which vitally affect the nature of rural society. These factors form the topics of Chapters 6 to 8.

In addition to the physical and biological or organic environments, there is a social environment produced by mankind throughout the ages, often called the cultural environment or culture. This social or cultural environment consists of (1) material goods made by man for his use, such as tools, houses, transportation systems, etc. (the *physico-social environment*), and (2) the *bio-social environment* of domesticated plants and animals and human beings, and also (3) a *psycho-social environment* of attitudes, ideas, folkways, mores, language, and tradition or history. All of these affect men's desires and interests and condition the form and direction of their association. These influences of the cultural environment are discussed in Chapter 9.

[1] See W. D. Wallis, "Environmentalism," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1931.

Chapter 4

HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

The influence of geography on human affairs is perceived by every school child in the study of elementary geography, but its effect on the forms of human association and on collective human behavior is a phase of sociology based on the findings of Human Geography. Geographical influences affect all sociological phenomena, but after cities are located the relations of their people with geographic factors are chiefly secondary rather than direct, whereas rural sociology is concerned with the people who make their living from the land. The geographic factors are of particular importance in conditioning rural society.

As we discuss the effects of climate, topography, and soil, we shall see that geography is of the utmost importance in the spatial distribution of human association, the location of cities, communities, neighborhoods, and other larger locality groupings, such as culture areas. However, physiography also sometimes indirectly affects the form of association, as in an irrigated community, and undoubtedly also has an indirect effect upon the psychology of the farmer, and consequently upon his social life, through his reaction to the influence of climate and soil on his work with crops and livestock.[1]

The geographic conditions, or the *physical environment,* may be divided into categories of climate, topography, soil, and location. For purposes of discussion it is necessary to consider these separately, but it must be remembered that they do not exist separately in nature, that each of these factors affects every local situation, and that they are interdependent.

1. CLIMATE. Climate is governed by rainfall, temperature, and prevailing winds. Of these *rainfall* seems to be the most important in determining the areas which are habitable by man and which may be used for agriculture. Lack of rain makes the uninhabitable desert. A light rainfall produces the prairies and steppes, where livestock grazing is the chief mode of subsistence and is often associated with a nomadic

[1] See J. M. Williams, Our Rural Heritage, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1925, Chapter IV.

or seminomadic type of life. Only where rainfall is sufficient and reasonably regular can agriculture exist, except where it depends upon irrigation. This exception is noteworthy, for considerable areas in the oldest agricultural regions can grow crops only by means of irrigation and the art of irrigation is one of man's first conquests of the natural environment.

Where irrigation is undertaken men must cooperate in building the irrigation works, for they are beyond the capabilities of an individual. Furthermore their operation involves a necessary control of the use of the water and a consequent organization of the users. Thus irrigation has a definite influence on social organization, as well stated by Dr. L. H. Bailey:

> . . . Irrigation communities are compact. As all the people depend on a single utility, so must the community life tend to be solidified and tense. Probably no other rural communities will be so unified and so intent on local social problems. We shall look, therefore, for a very distinct welfare to arise in these communities; and they will make a peculiar contribution to rural civilization.[2]

One of the most notable examples of the effect of irrigation on community life is the Mormon villages in Utah, whose whole organization and economy were built upon the cooperation necessary for constructing and maintaining irrigation canals.[3] Similar examples of the effect of irrigation on community life have been noted by Brunhes [4] in Spain and in the Orient.

The effect of attempting to farm where there is an inadequate rainfall has been disastrously demonstrated by the experience of the short-grass country of the Western Great Plains during the past few years. Owing to the demand for wheat during World War I and the use of tractors and combines, which made it possible to farm large acreages with little man power, the Wheat Belt was pushed westward into territory that was known to have a deficient rainfall. When the drought years from 1930 to 1935 struck this region tens of thousands of families were bankrupted and forced to accept public relief; large numbers have moved to other states.[5] In addition to this, the very soil itself was blown by the winds for hundreds of miles, so that there was serious

[2] L. H. Bailey, The Country Life Movement, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1915, p. 45. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[3] See Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community, Boston, Ginn and Co., 1932, p. 350.

[4] Jean Brunhes, Human Geography, pp. 533 *ff.*, 540.

[5] See WPA, Division of Social Research, Social Problems of the Drought Area, Res. Bul. Series V, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1937.

wind-erosion of the topsoil, which it will take long to replace. Much of this land probably should never have been plowed and federal and state governments are working out plans for getting it back into grass for grazing. Irrigation farmers have met a lack of rainfall by controlling a water supply. The dry-land farmers gambled on the rainfall and lost, with social disorganization and migration as the result.

Temperature also conditions social organization, but more indirectly, and the differences in its effects are discernible only in the larger temperature zones. With rainfall, temperature affects the areas in which agricultural crops can be grown, and thus influences the general culture pattern of a given area. It is generally held that people in tropical and subtropical countries are more genial, carefree, and less provident. Certainly they need to work less to obtain the essentials of life, food, clothing, and shelter, and they are unable to sustain as rapid a tempo of life as in a temperate climate.

The rhythm of the seasons and the need of providing for winter have undoubtedly had an effect on the economic development and on the whole psychology of peoples in the temperate zones. Certainly voluntary associations have become much more numerous among peoples in the temperate zones. It seems probable that the necessity of better housing in the temperate zones has had a definite effect on home life and family relations. It is difficult, however, to isolate the exact effects of temperature on human social organization in distinction from other environmental and cultural factors.

It is evident that temperature very definitely limits the paths of human migration. There has been little mass migration from tropical to temperate countries, and although our Southern Negroes have migrated to the North, a large proportion have returned to the more congenial Southland, and it is doubtful that there will be any large permanent increase in their numbers in the North.

With the advent of the automobile there has been a very definite effect on seasonal migration of the better class of people from the North to the South during the late winter; this migration has assumed considerable proportions in recent years. It is too soon, however, to assess the permanent effect of this temporary association on the culture of either region.

Miss Semple has well summarized the effect of temperature on the development of civilization in the last two paragraphs of her book, Influences of Geographic Environment:

> . . . Most of the ancient civilizations originated just within the mild but drier margin of the Temperate Zone, where the cooler air of a short

winter acted like a tonic upon the energies relaxed by the lethargic atmosphere of the hot and humid Tropics; where congenial warmth encouraged vegetation, but where the irrigation necessary to secure abundant and regular crops called forth inventiveness, cooperation, and social organization, and gave to the people their first baptism of redemption from savagery to barbarism. Native civilizations of limited development have arisen in the Tropics, but only where, as in Yemen, Mexico, and Peru, a high, cool, semi-arid plateau, a restricted area of fertile soil, and a protected location alternately coddled and spurred the nascent people. As the Tropics have been the cradle of humanity, the Temperate Zone has been the cradle and school of civilization. Here Nature has given much by withholding much. Here man found his birthright, the privilege of struggle.[6]

2. TOPOGRAPHY. Topography has a much more definite influence on human association, chiefly with regard to its spatial arrangement.

Rivers. It is well known that cities have arisen at the confluence of rivers, at the head of navigation or at the mouth of a river, wherever the change of transportation is necessary. Navigable rivers have been the earliest means of communication and so have been the highways of civilization. The Nile in Egypt, the Danube and Volga in Europe, the Mississippi and its tributaries in this country—these have been the routes of penetration. Likewise a favorable coastline, affording sheltered harbors, has encouraged maritime commerce and the growth of seaports, as the indented shores of Greece and Italy. The growth of commercial cities has caused the growth of villages and agriculture in the adjacent hinterland.

Mountain and Plain. Rarely do large communities develop in a mountainous region. The small neighborhood is the characteristic social unit of the valleys of the Southern Appalachian Highlands. In the plains and large valleys of Europe and the Orient most of the farmers have lived in village communities[7] with their lands scattered in intermixed holdings around the village, but in the mountains the people live on isolated farmsteads, as described by Lewinski:

. . . It is a commonly known fact that village communities are to be found in the valleys but not on the hillsides. In Switzerland, Tyrol, and Bavarian Alps, we observe very clearly this dependence of forms of property on topographic conditions. Among the Scandinavians, the Norwegians living in a mountainous country settle in "gaards," or separate

[6] E. C. Semple, Influences of Geographic Environment, p. 635. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[7] See N. L. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology, New York, T. Y. Crowell Co., 1934, Chapter II; Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community, Chapters IV–X.

> homesteads, the Danes in "bys," or villages. In India we find the village community in the *plain* country; at the same time we do not find it on the Himalayan hillsides.[8]

In the early settlement of this country many rural villages were found on the hills, for the earliest highways followed the ridges, but in recent times the larger agricultural villages are situated in the valleys or on the plain, as in Europe and the Orient.

Rivers and hills or ridges are also of importance in forming the boundaries of rural communities.

With the advent of good roads and the automobile, topography became less important in limiting the areas of association than formerly, but in spite of them it is still an important factor and, in more isolated sections, a controlling one. Wherever there is physical isolation there are fewer social contacts and fewer organized groups.

3. Soil and Minerals. The nature of the soil, together with the climate, determines the crops that can be grown and the general type of agriculture. The type of agriculture in turn quite largely determines the general culture of a region, such as that characteristic of the Cotton Belt,[9] the Corn Belt, or the Western Range.

In general, the better class of people inhabit the better lands and there develop a better social organization. Thus our German immigrants have been noted for picking out the best lands and becoming good farmers, and they have usually developed strong community life. The best people do not always gravitate to the best land, for in an exploitative type of commercial agriculture the condition of the farm workers sometimes becomes a secondary consideration. A recent study calls attention to the "paradox of rich land and poor people." It says:

> Living conditions on the fertile lands of the Missouri Lowlands, which includes the seven southeastern counties of Missouri, where the Mississippi Delta meets the Ozark Highlands, and the "Colonial" agriculture of the South merges into the agricultural economy of the Corn Belt, refute the American myth that a region of rich agricultural lands will always be populated by healthy, happy farm people living in security and enjoying the benefits of a rich community life.[10]

[8] J. St. Lewinski, Origin of Property and the Formation of the Village Community, London, Constable and Co., 1913, p. 64. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. See also Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community, pp. 454–457.

[9] See R. B. Vance, Human Factors in Cotton Culture, Chapel Hill, N. C. Univ. Press, 1929; and Howard Odum, Southern Regions of the United States, Chapel Hill, N. C. Univ. Press, 1936.

[10] M. R. White, Douglas Ensminger, and C. L. Gregory, Rich-Land-Poor-People, Indianapolis, USDA, FSA, Region III, 1938, Research Report No. 1, mimeographed.

On the other hand, poor soil usually means rural poverty, although, again, Denmark and Scotland are notable exceptions, and early New England developed a fine culture in spite of a refractory soil. Class distinctions are greatest on good land and least on poor land. It is on the good land that tenancy and serfdom flourish, for poor land will not support the workers and an absentee landlord.

Much of what was once good land in this country has been impoverished of its fertility by excessive cultivation. Constant cultivation with no addition of humus also results in erosion, from both water and wind. H. H. Bennett, chief of the U.S. Soils Service, writes: "The gargantuan dust storm of May 11, 1934, swept 300,000,000 tons of fertile soil material from the drought-stricken trans-Mississippi country eastward across the Appalachians and far out over the Atlantic." Concerning water-erosion he says: "At least 3,000,000,000 tons of soil material are washed out of the fields and pastures of America every year. To load and haul away this incomprehensible bulk of farm soil would require a train of freight cars long enough to encircle the earth thirty-seven times at the equator." [11] The Report of the Land Planning Committee of the National Resources Board, made in 1934, says:

> It is estimated . . . that already the utility of approximately 35,000,000 acres of formerly good farm land has been essentially destroyed, insofar as the production of cultivated crops is concerned, chiefly by gully erosion. This represents an area about the size of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Connecticut combined, or 218,000 farms of 160 acres each. From about 125,000,000 additional acres—land still largely in cultivation—the topsoil, representing the most productive part of the land, has been washed off or largely washed off by the erosive action of unrestrained run-off of storm waters. In addition, approximately 100 million acres of cultivated land are starting in the direction of the 125 million acres of impoverished soil-stripped land.[12]

This country is just becoming conscious of the seriousness of the depletion of fertility and erosion of the soil. As a result thoughtful farmers are commencing to raise the question whether the individual owner should be allowed to do as he pleases with his land if his misuse of it endangers the general welfare. This is a large question which has far-reaching social implications. An unrestricted alodial tenure system may not be the last word in land ownership. We have come to

[11] H. H. Bennett, "Soil Loss through Erosion Threatens Our 'Basic Asset,'" *New York Times,* June 17, 1934.

[12] National Resources Board, A Report on National Planning and Public Works in Relation to Natural Resources, Part II, Report of the Land Planning Committee, p. 161, Washington D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1935.

regard real property as something sacred, ordained of God, but if we seriously study the origin of the rights to ownership of land and of usages with regard to its control, and consider the whole problem in terms of the general welfare, we soon become aware that our present system is a product of our modern individualism and that all rights to land are maintained only as upheld by the common will through the law.

The same considerations are more pertinent and obvious with regard to our mineral resources. Mining and quarrying produce a distinct type of social organization and many distinctive social problems. Mining villages or towns introduce a different type of people and life into an agricultural area. Our mining laws have permitted the wasteful exploitation of our mineral resources. Mineral rights have been bought up by large corporations, for profitable operation involves large investment of capital, and have been operated with little regard for the interests of the states from which their wealth has been removed. Thus it has been difficult for the states to control the living conditions of corporation-owned mining communities and, when the properties have become exhausted or unprofitable, the state is left with the problem of suporting the unemployed workers. A notable example of the latter condition is in the copper and iron mines of the northern peninsula of Michigan.[13]

The exploitative cutting of our timber has produced many of the same problems and has often left a denuded country with a stranded population. This is particularly true of the Lake States cut-over region and the Southern Appalachian Highlands.[14] European countries have learned that their timber supply can be conserved and a stable type of life for the people engaged in forestry can be maintained only through governmental control of cutting. We have finally restricted the cutting of timber and the mining of minerals on government-owned lands, but have done practically nothing to control them on private property.

We have become aware, however, that floods and soil erosion are the direct result of denuding the upper watersheds of their forests and are seeking to correct the evil through the establishment of national and state forests. We have also come to appreciate the value of forests as recreation areas, and the rapid increase and use of publicly owned forests—federal, state, county, and municipal—is having a notable influence on our recreation habits.

[13] See P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, Six Rural Problem Areas, Washington, D.C., Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, Research Monograph I, 1935, p. 11.

[14] See Beck and Forster, *ob. cit.*

Thus the economic and social life of any given community or area is directly affected by its soil and mineral resources, which directly condition the number and types of people who inhabit it, and which give rise to problems of social adjustment among their varied interests.

4. LOCATION. We have seen that the location of centers of population and the general distribution of population are affected by climate, topography, soils, and mineral resources, but there are problems of rural society which arise with regard to its location as related to village and city centers, irrespective of the basic reasons for the particular economy and culture of the area.

Thus, as we discuss the distribution of population in Chapter 5, we shall see that the bulk of our cities are in the Northeastern States, east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio rivers. Much of this region is highly industrialized and the nearness of cities has a direct effect upon the whole life and culture of the rural areas. The relation of the countryside to the cities and towns involves many problems of rural-urban relations which we shall consider in Chapter 28. Around every city there is a rapidly growing suburban area, which is neither country nor city, where city workers find a more satisfactory rural residence. This gives rise to the problem of assimilating them into some form of local neighborhood or community life with the few remaining farm families of the area, and also of extending the advantages of schools, water and electricity, to which they have been accustomed in the city.

There are also the problems of communication, roads, telephone, and mail service, which directly affect the life of rural areas in proportion to their distance from the centers from which these services radiate. The social isolation of rural life has been very greatly decreased by better means of communication during the last generation, through good roads and automobiles, telephones, and rural free delivery routes, but the best adjustment of these to provide the best social organization of given areas creates problems of community organization which we shall consider in Chapter 29.

The mere distance of certain farm families from the institutional centers of villages and cities creates certain problems with regard to the areas and support of these services. We shall see, in Chapter 20, that the problem of medical care for farm people is directly connected with their location, for the physician must be paid for his time and transportation. This results in the people living farthest from the villages and cities having to pay the highest charges, although, because of their location and the lower value of their land, they are least able

to pay. This matter of location gives rise to the whole problem of the equalization of costs and facilities for rural people which, we shall find, is a major consideration in the maintenance of all rural institutions.

Thus location with regard to the relation to institutional centers is a primary factor conditioning the social organization of rural life.

5. Adaptation or Control. Regarding all these factors of geographic environment which condition rural life, the final question is to what extent do they compel man to adapt to them or to what extent can man control them. It is obvious that extreme conditions of heat or cold, or lack of rainfall, make any permanent habitation impossible, and that geography determines factors which limit human life. But that, within certain limits, geography has a determining influence on the forms of human life has been a matter of dispute from such geographical determinists as Buckle and Montesquieu down to the present. Certainly man must adapt himself to his environment if he is to make it habitable, but his adaptation may result in a direct change in the environment or in developing means whereby its limitations may be overcome. The success of the peoples of Scandinavia, Scotland, and New England with inhospitable soil and climatic conditions is evidence of this. Man has more or less conquered malaria in the Roman Campagna and yellow fever in the Panama Canal Zone. With the discovery of fire and tools for constructing shelter and clothing, he was able to invade the temperate and arctic zones and now, with mechanical refrigeration and air conditioning, he can make life in the tropics more tolerable for the white races.

As a result of their studies of the influence of geographical factors on human life, the leading human geographers no longer subscribe to geographical determinism, although they point out the effects of geographical conditions and the necessity of adapting to them. What the form of social organization in a given area will be will depend not only upon the geographic environment but upon man's purposes and ideals and his ability to invent means of overcoming environmental handicaps. The American Indians roamed over the apparently barren lands of Utah, but the Mormon settlers built a high type of civilization through means of irrigation, although even they found it impossible to maintain settlements in the more unfavorable sections of that state. Irrigation was the means, but the form of their settlement was determined by their ideals of social organization. Here, again, we see that the question of human values (see Chapter 3) has a direct relation to the form of control of the environment. This point of view has been well summarized by Brunhes, one of the leading French geographers.[15]

[15] Consult Jean Brunhes, Human Geography, pp. 534, 536.

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Chapter 5

THE RURAL POPULATION

Other factors which affect the forms of association of rural people are the nature of the rural population, the number and kinds of people living in a given area, the proportion of rural and urban population, the location of the rural people's residences, and their occupations. Differences in age, sex distribution, marital status, fertility, and death rates also affect the types of groupings in various rural areas.

We have already noted (p. 20) that the U. S. Bureau of the Census defines as rural population all who live outside of incorporated places with more than 2,500 inhabitants.[1] This is obviously an arbitrary rule, but inasmuch as most of our statistical evidence concerning population comes from the Census, this forms the commonly accepted basis for distinguishing between rural and urban population.[2]

[1] Certain exceptions to this occur in the New England States. "In New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, towns (townships) are classified as urban if they have more than 2,500 inhabitants and certain characteristics, and a few large townships in other states are likewise classified as urban under a special rule." This arises from the fact that in New England villages are not usually incorporated separately from the township and the high proportion living in villages—some of which are really cities—makes many of the townships really urban in their characteristics.

[2] In the reports of some of the state departments of health and education the term rural is defined as under 4,000, or in some cases 10,000, and these differences should be noted in using such statistical data. In the earlier federal censuses the line was drawn at 8,000, and later at 4,000. Kolb and Brunner have made the following pertinent observations on this point: "It should be remembered that these census figures are based on an arbitrary dividing line between rural and urban. Some such line must, of course, be drawn. Because an agricultural village grows from 2,450 to 2,550 population in ten years, however, it does not cease to be a farmers' service station. Its people still live in rural surroundings. They have not changed their residence nor become urbanized because at one period their records were tabulated in the rural column and in the next in the urban. At one time the United States Census used 8,000 as the diyiding line between rural and urban. If it had continued to do so 49.1 percent of the population would have been classed as rural in 1930. The 1930 United States Census of Retail Distribution classed together rural and small town communities, including all centers of less than 10,000 inhabitants in the latter category, or 52.4 percent of the total population of the nation." (A Study of Rural Society, rev. ed., 1940, p. 206, footnote.)

I. THE TOTAL RURAL POPULATION

In 1940 only 43.5 percent of the total population of the 48 states was rural and 56.5 percent was urban. As recently as 1910 the reverse was true, for in that year 54.2 percent was rural. After World War I this country became predominantly urban. The decline of the proportion of the rural population is shown graphically in Fig. 1.

AREAS OF RURAL POPULATION. Although the total population of the United States is more urban than rural, it should be noted that the

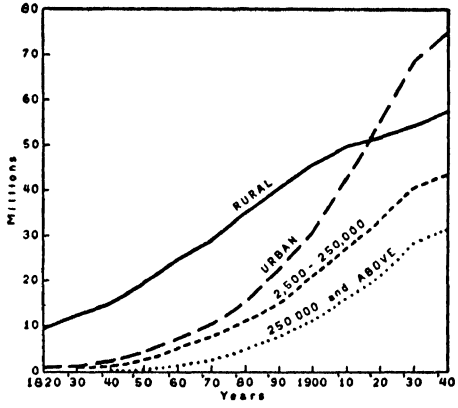


FIG. 1. Rural population and urban population by size of city, 1820–1940. (After Thompson and Whelpton; U.S. Census 1940.)

urban population is chiefly in the three northeastern census divisions, as shown in Fig. 2. In 1940 60 percent of the urban population of the United States was in the New England, Middle Atlantic, and East North Central states. The rest of the country, which forms the larger part of its area, is still predominantly rural. Twenty-eight of the 48 states have more rural than urban population and 22, or nearly one-half of the total, are 60 percent rural, whereas only 10 are over 60 percent urban. This difference by states is shown in Fig. 3. It is evident that the most rural areas are those of the South Atlantic, South Central, and West North Central states. It is becoming increasingly evident that this predominance of the rural areas has important political implications, which will be noted later.

CLASSES OF RURAL POPULATION. To understand the characteristics of the rural population we must analyze it further, for we shall see that it is composed of elements which are as different as those which distinguish it from the urban population. The last three federal cen-

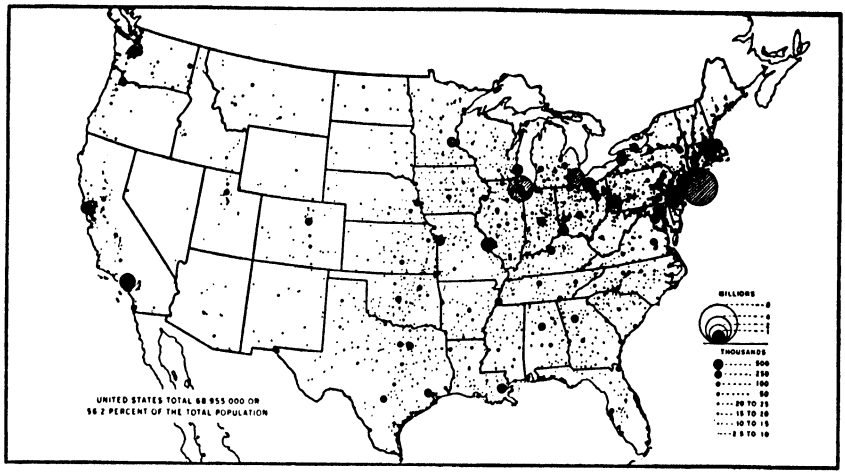


FIG. 2. Urban population, April 1, 1930. Cities and other incorporated places of 2,500 or more. Over half of the urban population in the United States live within the Hay and Dairy Belt. The urban population in this region constitutes nearly three-fourths of its total population and over one-fourth of the total population of the United States. The distribution is practically the same in 1940. (After Folsom and Baker, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

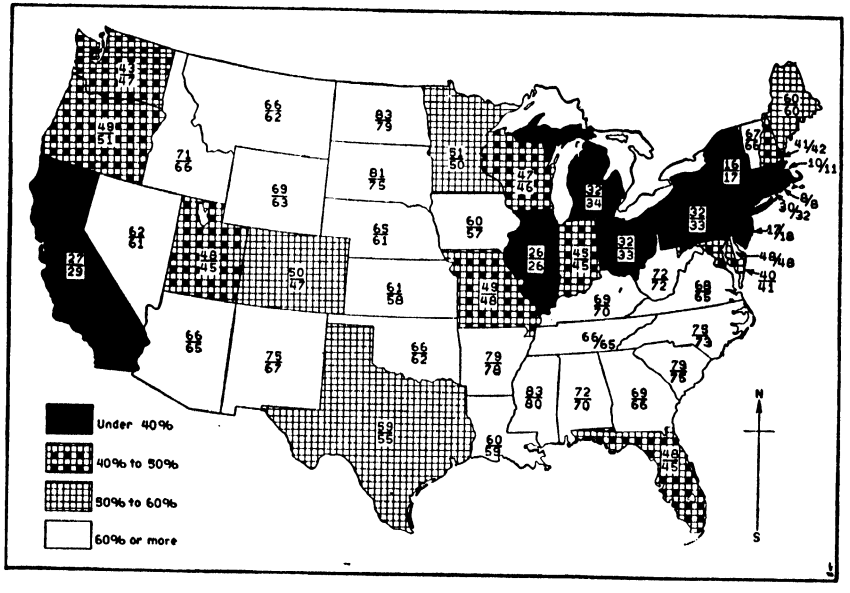


FIG. 3. The proportion of rural population. Percentage of the total population which is rural, by states. Upper percentage, 1930; lower, 1940. Hatching is for 1930, but for 1940 would be changed only for Oregon, Colorado, and Kansas.

suses, 1920 to 1940, divide the rural population into rural-farm and rural-nonfarm. This classifies the rural population by place of residence as far as those living on farms are concerned, but the rural-nonfarm population is composed of persons living in villages of 2,500 or less and those living in the open country not on farms. In 1940 only 22.9 percent of the total population was rural-farm, a decrease from 24.6 percent in 1930. We shall see that the village populations have characteristics which make them in many respects more like those of the cities than of the open country. The Census publishes the population of incorporated villages, but does not tabulate those of the unincorporated villages. If we consider a village as any aggregation of over 50 to 100 people, as is the common usage in the countryside, over half of the villages are unincorporated.

The only means of estimating the population of the unincorporated villages is by the figures given in commercial altases, which have been proved to be quite inaccurate, and by the estimates of Dun and Bradstreet's Book of Commercial Ratings, which Landis believes to be more accurate. Using the latter source, Dr. Paul H. Landis [3] has made a very careful study of the unincorporated places, the results of which are summarized in Table 1. He shows that 7,642,177 persons lived in unincorporated villages and hamlets in 1930.[4] The 1930 Census gave 9,184,758 persons in incorporated villages. Adding these figures we have 16,826,935 persons in villages and hamlets or almost 14 (13.7) percent of the total population of the United States, and practically one-third of the rural population. Deducting this number from the total rural-nonfarm population as given by the Census, we find that nearly seven million (6,835,000) people were living in the open country not on farms in 1930. This is 5.5 percent of the total population of the United States, one-eighth of the rural population, and over one-fifth

[3] P. H. Landis, "The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and their Estimated Populations," Pullman, Wash., Research Studies of the State Coll. of Wash., Vol. VI, 4, Dec., 1938. Trewartha has recently indicated that Dun and Bradstreet's figures are by no means reliable for showing changes in time. (See Glenn T. Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet: An Analysis of Data Sources," *Rural Sociology*, **6**: 35–42, March, 1941.)

[4] *Ibid.*, Table 12. This is considerably less than the estimate of Brunner and Kolb (Rural Social Trends, p. 18), who estimated four million in villages of over 250, and four and one-half million in hamlets of less than 250 population; and is less than that of T. Lynn Smith who estimates 5,350,000 in 1940 (*Rural Sociology*, Vol. 7, p. 16). Smith estimates the total village population in 1940 as 14,500,000, but this includes only places with 250 or more persons. Inasmuch as Landis estimates the population of the hamlets as 2,029,819, the two estimates of the total village population are very close.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY, 1900–1940

Community Class	Number of Places					Population in Thousands					Percentage of Total Population				
	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940*	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940*
Farm								31,359	30,158	30,151			29 6	24 6	22 9
Rural-nonfarm** outside villages								3,629	6,835	17,751			3 4	5 5	13.5
Villages:															
Unincorporated***	65,127	63,617	50,265	43,137		7,599	8,456	7,642	7,646		10 0	9 2	7 2	6 2	
Incorporated†	8,755	11,819	12,503	13,438	13,288	6,194	8,165	8,776	9,181	9,344	8 1	8 9	8 3	7 5	7.1
Total village	73,882	75,436	62,768	56,575		13,793	16,622	16,418	16,827		18 1	18.1	15 5	13 7	
Total Rural						45,614	49,806	51,406	53,820	57,246	60 0	54 2	48 6	43 8	43 5
Cities‡															
2,500–10,000	1,361	1,718	2,041	2,183	2,387	6,324	8,135	9,592	10,615	11,708	8 3	8 8	9 0	8 6	8 9
10,000– 25,000	280	367	459	606	665	4,338	5,524	6,943	9,097	9,967	5 7	6 0	6 6	7 4	7 6
25,000– 100,000	122	178	219	283	320	5,510	8,195	10,340	12,917	14,761	7 3	8 9	9 8	10 6	11 2
100,000– 250,000	23	31	43	56	55	3,272	4,840	6,519	7,541	7,793	4 3	5 3	6 2	6 1	5 9
250,000– 500,000	9	11	13	24	23	2,861	3,950	4,541	7,956	7,827	3 8	4 3	4 3	6 5	5.9
500,000–1,000,000	3	5	9	8	9	1,645	3,011	6,224	5,764	6,457	2 2	3 3	5 9	4 7	4 9
1,000,000 and over	3	3	3	5	5	6,429	8,501	10,146	15,065	15,911	8 5	9.2	9 6	12 3	12.1
Total Urban	1,801	2,313	2,787	3,165	3,464	30,380	42,166	54,305	68,955	74,424	40.0	45 8	51 4	56 2	56 5
Total United States						75,995	91,272	105,711	122,775	131,669	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0

* 1940 from U.S. Bureau of the Census, press releases P-3, 13, May 31, 1941, and P-5, 3, Feb. 20, 1941.

** Estimated by subtracting lines 1, 3, and 4 from Total Rural, not available for 1900, 1910, and 1940.

*** From data of Paul H. Landis, *op. cit.*; including hamlets.

† From data of Paul H. Landis for 1900–1930, *op. cit.*; does not agree with U.S. Census figures in some details.

‡ Data for cities 1900–1930, and for farm and nonfarm, 1920–1930, from U.S. Bureau of the Census, abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the U.S., 1930, Table 6, p. 14.

(22.6 percent) as many as live on farms. In other words, about one person in six living in the open country is not on a farm, as defined by the Census.

By place of residence the rural population is divided, therefore, into four classes: (1) farm population; (2) incorporated villages; (3) unincorporated villages; (4) open-country nonfarm population. The first

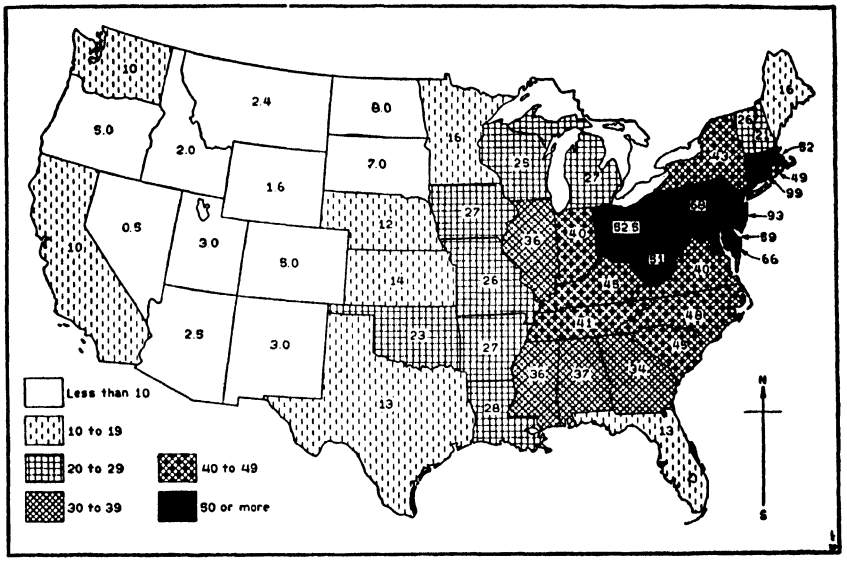


FIG. 4. Density of all rural population per square mile by states, 1930.* (The 1940 does not vary by 1 percent for any state except Idaho which has risen to 3.8.)

* This is computed by dividing the rural population by the area of the state, without deducting the square miles in urban places. The resulting error is too slight to materially affect the rates.

two classes are tabulated by the Census; the last two must be estimated as described.

DENSITY. The density of the rural population, the number of persons per square mile, is also a matter of considerable importance, as the amount of population in a given area directly affects its ability to support various institutions. The density of the rural population, excluding urban areas, is shown in Fig. 4. It reveals that the states with the highest density of rural population are those in the Northeastern States which, with the exception of West Virginia, have the lowest percentages of rural population (see Fig. 3). This is due to the fact that rural-nonfarm population (which includes villages under 2,500) is much more numerous in these states, as shown in Fig. 5. Outside of this area the density of rural population is highest in the Southeastern

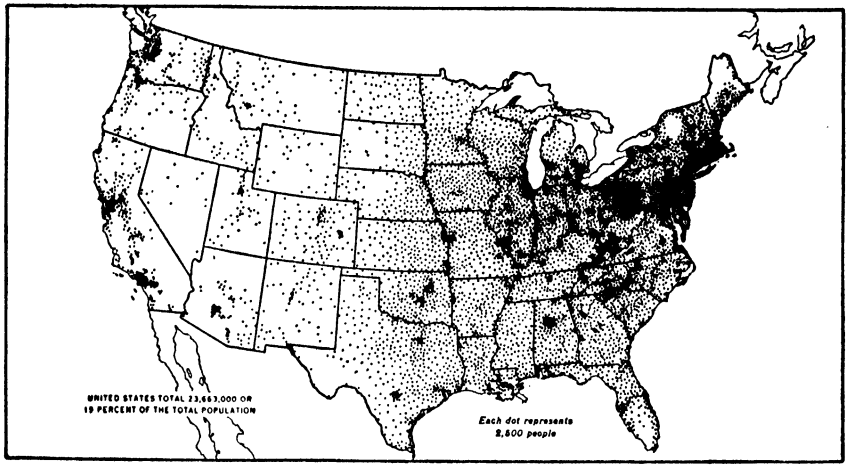


FIG. 5. Rural-nonfarm population, 1930, includes people outside of towns of 2,500 and over, but not living on farms. It is partly suburban (note the concentration around the large cities on the map), partly industrial and mining (note the density in southern New England, the coal-mining districts of Pennsylvania and West Virginia), partly rural village (note the even distribution in the Corn Belt and much of the South). Whereas rural-farm population is densest, in general in the South, rural-nonfarm population is densest north of the Potomac and Ohio rivers and in California. (After Folsom and Baker, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

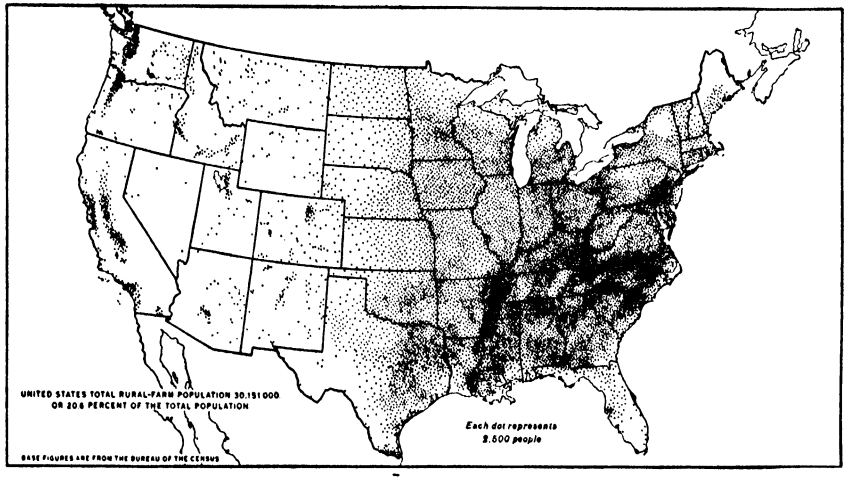


FIG. 6. Rural-farm population, 1940. Slightly over half (54 percent) of the farm population of the United States live in the Southern States; 38 percent live in the Northern States; and only about 8 percent in the far Western States. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

States,[5] because in these states the rural-*farm* population is most numerous (see Fig. 4). The states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina have a high *density* of rural population (40 to 48), a high proportion of the population *rural* (65 to 75 percent), and also the largest concentration of farm population (Fig. 6). We shall note later that this is also the region of the highest fertility, or rate of reproduction.

The density is least in the Rocky Mountain States, Oregon, and the Dakotas, where there are less than 10 rural people per square mile. In these same states there are few urban places and the proportion of the population which is rural is, therefore, high. Care must be taken in considering an average density figure for such areas as the Mountain and Plains States, which have large spaces with practically no population, so that the density of the inhabited areas is much higher than the average. As a result the rural people in these states are at a distinct disadvantage in maintaining the institutions and facilities for rural life, as contrasted with those in the more densley populated eastern states. Even in such a prosperous rural state as Iowa there are only 27 rural people per square mile; this figure includes those in the villages under 2,500. This means that if it were not for the populations of the villages it would be much more difficult for the people of the open country of Iowa to maintain satisfactory rural institutions, such as high schools and churches, for 35 percent of the rural population is nonfarm. If we should consider the township of 6 miles square as about the size of the average rural community, in Iowa it would have an estimated farm population of only 563 persons, with 409 nonfarm population.[6] Evidently the people of the open country must cooperate with those of the villages in order to have a sufficient aggregate of population to support the desired institutions. In the eastern states with a larger rural-*nonfarm* population this will be much easier and will place less of a burden on the farm people, provided the rural-nonfarm population is not one that is dissociated from agriculture, as the population of suburban areas is.

Having considered the spatial distribution of the rural population, let us now examine the characteristics of the different types of rural

[5] *Cf.* F. J. Marschner, Rural Population Density in the Southern Appalachians, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, March, 1940, USDA Misc. Pub. 367.

[6] This estimate is obtained by dividing the total acres in a township (23,040) by the average size of farm (158.3), multiplying by the average number of persons per farm (3.87), and deducting this number (563) from the total rural population estimated by multiplying the number of square miles (36) by the average density of the rural population per square mile (27).

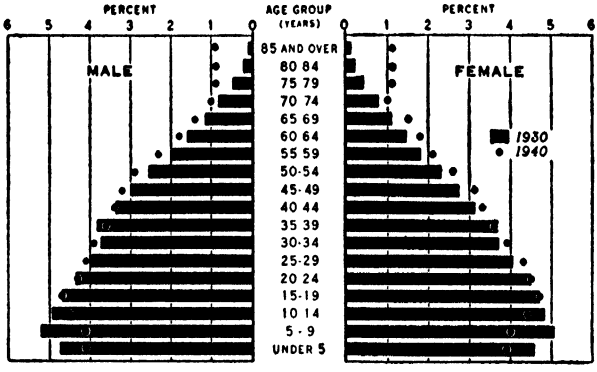


FIG. 7. Proportion of total population in each 5-year age group, United States, 1930 and 1940. In a permanently stationary population the number of children under 5 years of age would be larger than that of 5 to 9 years of age, because of deaths during the first 5 years, unless there is differential migration of the children from or to the region. According to this graph children under 5 were less numerous than those 5 to 9 years of age in 1930, but about the same in 1940. However, the percentage of children from 5 to 9 in 1940 is less than that for 1930, indicating a decrease in the birth rate from 1930 to 1940. This and the following age pyramids show the marked increase in the proportion of persons beyond middle age in the last decade. Solid bars represent 1930, and the black dots 1940. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

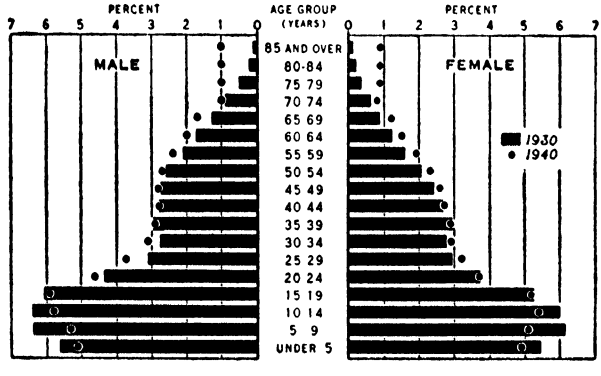


FIG. 8. Proportion of the rural-farm population in each 5-year age group, United States, 1930 and 1940. There is about the same reduction in the proportion of children under 10 as in the total population (Fig. 7). The striking feature of the graph for 1930 is the large reduction in the proportion of the population from 20 to 44 years of age, which was less marked for 1940 because of the smaller rural-urban migration during the 1930's. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

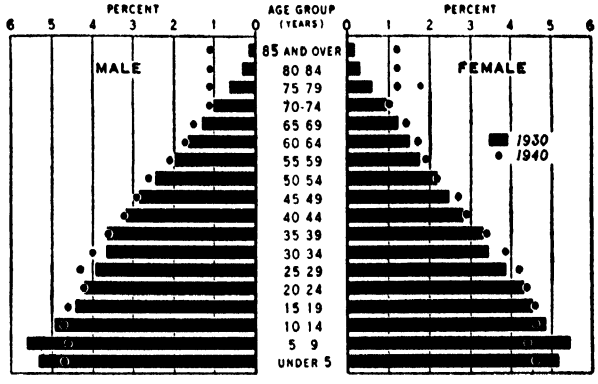


FIG. 9. Proportion of the rural-nonfarm population in each 5-year age group, United States, 1930 and 1940. This age distribution resembles that of the total population (Fig. 7), but with a slight increase in the proportion of children under 5 from 1930 to 1940. There was also an increase in ages 25 to 34, caused by a slackening of rural-urban migration and migration from the country to villages. The proportion of persons over 70 is higher than for either the rural-farm or urban populations. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

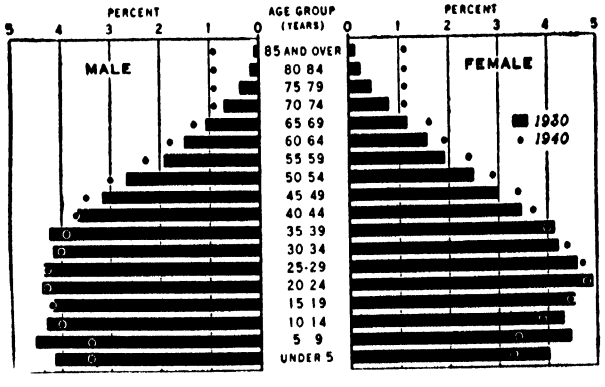


FIG. 10. Proportion of the urban population in each 5-year age group, United States, 1930 and 1940. The urban population in each age group from 5 to 39 varied little in 1930, but in 1940 there was a marked excess of ages 15 to 30, particularly for females, showing the effect of immigration from rural areas. The proportion of children under 10 decreased from 1930 to 1940, indicating a continued declining birth rate for cities. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

population, farm and nonfarm, the latter including rural villages and nonfarm population in the open country.

II. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION

The age distribution of the rural population has marked differences from that of the cities and there are also notable differences between the farm and village populations. These differences are shown in Table 2 and in Figs. 7 to 10.

MORE CHILDREN. First, there are many more children on the farms. Children under 15 years of age form 31.6 percent of the farm population, but only 25.1 percent of the urban. This means that the rural farm population has over 3,000,000 more children under 15 than the same population in urban places. This difference does not obtain in the incorporated villages for, in a sample of 177 villages studied by Lorge, as of 1930 (Table 2), there were only 26.6 percent of the pop-

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION, 1930 AND 1940 *

Age Class	Total U.S.		Rural Farm		Rural Nonfarm		Total Rural		Village†	Urban	
	1930	1940	1930	1940	1930	1940	1930	1940	1930	1930	1940
Under 15	29.3	25.1	36.0	31.6	31.4	27.7	34.0	28.0	26.6	25.8	21.6
15–24	18.2	18.2	19.4	19.4	17.4	17 3	18 5	18 6	17.1	18.1	17.8
25–34	15.5	16.2	11.6	13.0	14.9	16.2	13.0	14 5	13.7	17.3	17.6
35–44	14.0	14.0	11.4	11.3	13 0	13.4	12 0	12 2	12.9	15.5	15.3
45–54	10.6	11.7	9 8	10.4	9.9	10.8	9 8	10 4	12.2	11.2	14.7
55–64	6.9	8.0	6 6	7.8	6.8	7.5	6.7	7.5	8.2	6.9	8 3
65 and over	5.4	6.8	5.2	6.5	6.6	7.2	6.0	6 8	9.3	5 2	6.7
	100.0	100 0	100.0	100 0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* U.S. Census, preliminary estimate based on 5 percent sample, press release P-5, 9, May 9, 1941.
† Based on 177 villages studied by Lorge. Otherwise the table is from the Fifteenth U.S. Census.

ulation under 15, or only 0.8 percent more than the proportion in urban communities. We have no definite statistics on the matter, but it seems probable that the proportion of children among the nonfarm population in the open country outside of all villages is as large or larger than that of the farms, for it is known that farm laborers and miners have a higher birth rate than farm operators. For the native white population the difference between urban and rural-farm for this age group is only 5 percent, but for Negoes it is 15.6 percent (1930). This excess of children throws an undue share of the cost of public

education on the rural districts, when a large share of them migrate to the cities which benefit from their education.

FEWER OF MIDDLE AGE. Second, there is a much lower proportion of the population from 20 to 55 years of age in the country than in

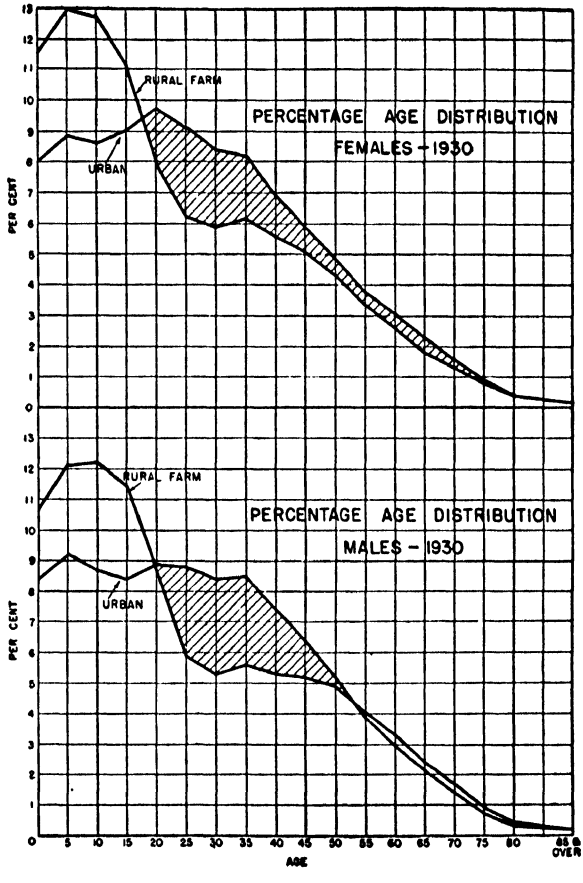


FIG. 11. Percentage of age distribution by sex in the urban and rural-farm population, 1930. (From National Resources Committee.)

the city, and this is especially noticeable for the ages 20 to 45. This may be observed by the bulge in the urban population pyramid for these ages (Fig. 10) and the corresponding constriction, or waistline, in the rural-farm pyramid (Fig. 8), and is more clearly revealed in Fig. 11. This difference is caused by migration from the country to urban places, which occurs at a younger age for the village population than for the farm population.

OLD PEOPLE. Third, the proportion of those 55 years of age and over is about the same for farm and urban populations, but there is a much larger proportion of old people in the villages, 17.5 percent as compared with 12.1 percent of the urban population, or half again as

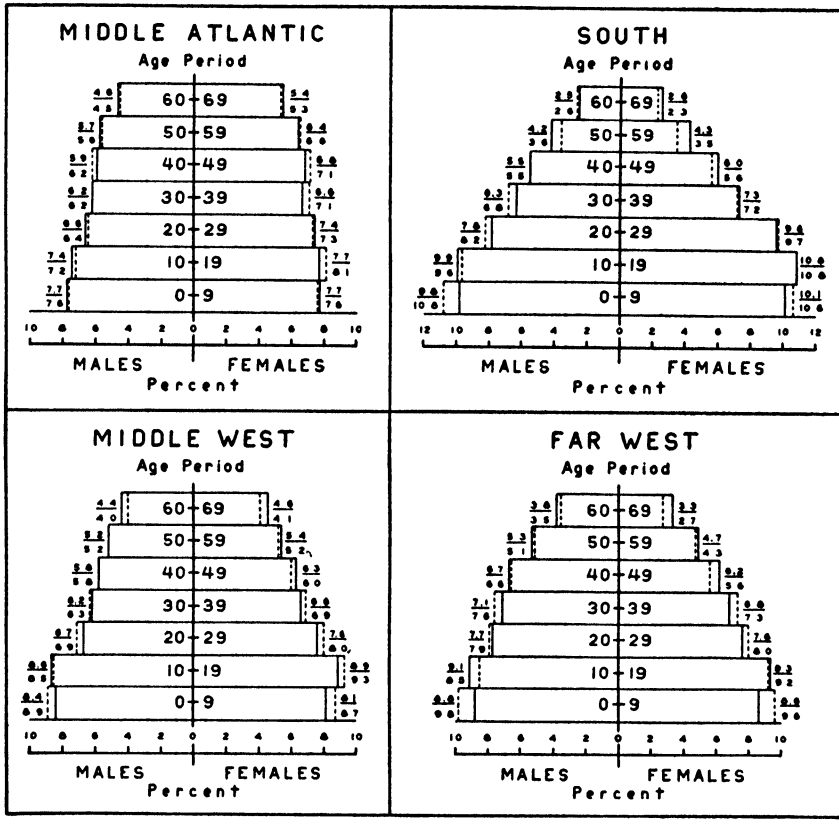


FIG. 12. Age distribution of villagers by regions, 1920 and 1930. Solid lines and underlined figures refer to 1930 percentages; dash lines and figures not underlined refer to 1920 percentages. (After Brunner and Kolb, Rural Social Trends. Redrawn with permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co.)

many. This difference is particularly marked for the villages of the Middle Atlantic and Middle Western states, whereas the villages in the South and Far West have a more normal age distribution. The Middle Atlantic villages show an almost even age distribution of population with only slightly more children than older people (Fig. 12). The age distribution of the village center largely determines the attitudes of the community toward progressive movements. Where the population is composed mostly of old people, they tend to be interested in

maintaining the *status quo* and to cause as little expense as possible. On the other hand, it is the communities with a normal proportion of young married people and children which look toward the future rather than the past.

The age distribution of the total rural-nonfarm population forms a fairly normal pyramid (Fig. 9), which is more like that of the total

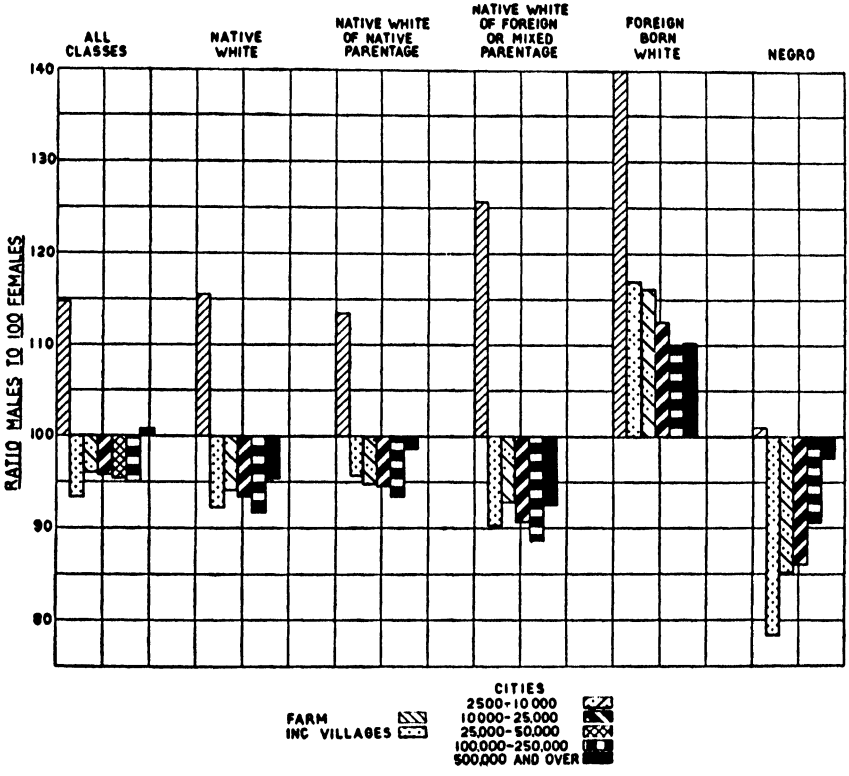


FIG. 13. Sex ratios of population 15 years of age and over, by nativity and race, by size of community, 1930. (Fig. 1 of Cornell Univ. AES, Mem. 200.)

population, but this is undoubtedly due to the fact that it consists of a composite of village and open-country nonfarm (including suburban) populations with quite different age distributions.

SEX DISTRIBUTION. The distribution of the sexes in 1930 was also quite different in farm and city populations. For all classes of the population 15 years of age or over there are 115 males to 100 females on farms whereas there are only 97 in the cities. This difference is particularly marked for the native white of foreign or mixed parentage and the foreign-born white farm population, which classes have ratios

of 128 and 140 respectively, but it is negligible for the Negro farm population which has only 101 males to 100 females. The rural-nonfarm population also has an excess of males, but not so large as on the farms. This is due to the fact that the population of incorporated

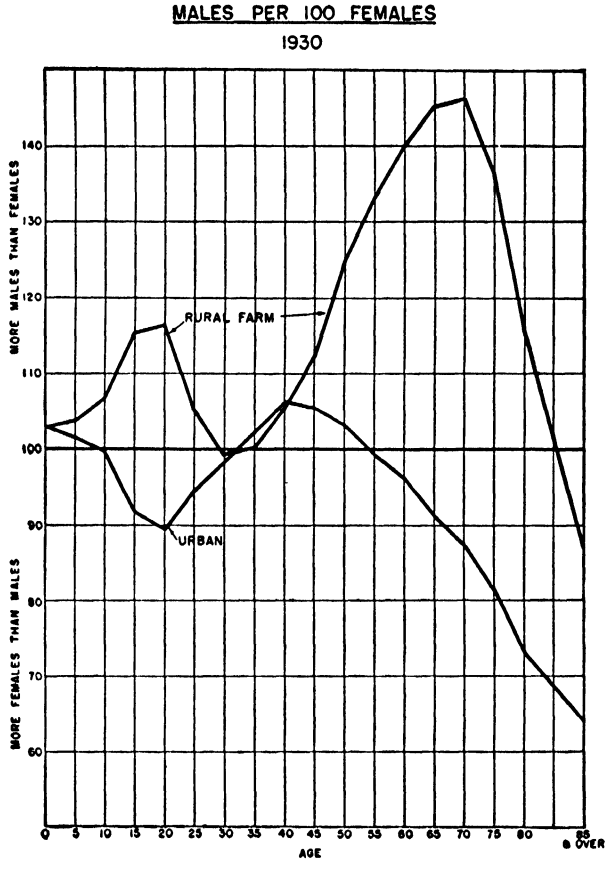


FIG. 14. Number of males per 100 females in the urban and rural-farm population, 1930. (From National Resources Committee.)

villages has a much larger excess of females than do the cities, and this is especially pronounced for Negroes. (See Fig. 13.) It is probable that the smaller unincorporated villages have a sex distribution more similar to that of the open country. We have little accurate information on this, but in a study of two counties in central New York it was found that, whereas the incorporated villages had a ratio of only 90 males to 100 females, the unincorporated villages had a ratio of 105, and the

open-country population, including farm and nonfarm outside of villages, had a ratio of 111.6.[7]

This excess of males in the open country is due to the larger migration of females to the cities, and it varies with age as shown in Fig. 14. "Girls begin to migrate to the city several years earlier than boys, so so that the relative number of males on farms increases in the first few years of life. By the age of 20, males leave the farm in larger numbers than females. This continues until about age 30, when there are actually more women than men on farms. The rapid rise in the proportion of men after the age of 40 is undoubtedly due chiefly to the movement of the single and widowed women to villages and cities, where employment opportunities are better." [8]

This difference in the sex ratio directly affects the proportion of men and women who are married in the country, a smaller proportion of men and more of women being married.

III. MARITAL STATUS

A slightly larger proportion (62 percent) of the rural population 15 years of age or over is married than of the urban population (59.5 percent). If we study the total number ever married, i.e., including those widowed or divorced, the difference is much less, 70.4 percent of the rural and 69.3 percent of the urban having been married at some time. (See Table 3.) The rural-farm population also has a higher percentage married than the urban, but slightly less than the rural-nonfarm. Considering those ever married, including widowed and divorced, the percentage of the rural-*farm* population (68.8) is but slightly lower than the urban (69.3), but the rural-*nonfarm* (72.3) is higher than either the farm or urban. This is due to the higher proportion of males married and the larger proportion of widowed females in the villages.

Fewer males are married on farms (57.9) than in the cities (60.5), and the incorporated villages have the highest proportion (63) of males married. On the other hand, 66 percent of the farm females are married as against 58.5 percent in the cities, and 59 percent in the incorporated villages. In general the proportion of persons married, or ever married, for both sexes, in the incorporated villages is more similar to that of the smaller cities than to that of the farm population.

[7] Computed from Tables 11, 14, and 17, B. L. Melvin, "Rural Population, Tompkins and Schuyler Counties, New York, 1925," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 487, 1929.

[8] National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, pp. 109, 110.

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGES OF PERSONS 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, MARRIED, AND MARRIED, WIDOWED, OR DIVORCED, BY SEX, FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, 1930 *

Community Class	Percent of Persons Married		
	Total	Males	Females
Rural-farm	61.7	57.9	66.0
Rural-nonfarm	62 5	61.1	63.9
Incorporated villages	61 2	63.0	59.0
Total rural	62 0	59.3	65.0
Cities 2,500–10,000	61 4	62 6	60 3
Cities 10,000–25,000	61 0	62 4	59 6
Cities 25,000–50,000	60 5	61 8	59 2
Cities 100,000–250,000	59 1	60 7	57 6
Cities 500,000 and over	57 6	57.7	57 5
Total urban	59 5	60.5	58 5
Total United States	60 5	60 0	61.1
	Percent of Persons Married, Widowed, or Divorced †		
	Total	Males	Females
Rural-farm	68 8	63 5	74 8
Rural-nonfarm	72 3	67.9	77.0
Incorporated villages	72 4	69.8	74.8
Total rural	70.4	65 5	75 8
Cities 2,500–10,000	71 4	68.7	74 0
Cities 10,000–25,000	70 5	68.1	72 8
Cities 25,000–50,000	70 1	67.7	72 4
Cities 100,000–250,000	69 0	66 6	71.3
Cities 500,000 and over	66 7	62 9	70.5
Total urban	69.3	66.3	72.2
Total United States	69.7	65.9	73.6

* The data are from the Fifteenth Census of the U.S., 1930, Vol. III, Chapter 10.
† Obtained by subtracting the percentage single from 100.

There are fewer widows and widowers among the farm population (6.3 percent of those 15 years of age or over) than in the cities (8.2 percent), whereas the incorporated villages have the highest (10.1 percent) proportion of widowed.

There are fewer divorced people living on farms (0.7 percent of those 15 years of age or over) than in villages or cities (1.5 percent), the proportion in the incorporated villages (1.2) being more nearly that of the small cities (1.3) than that of the farm population. Thus there are decidedly fewer broken families on farms than in cities, but the proportion in incorporated villages approaches that of the cities.

As a corollary, the percentage of persons 15 years of age or over who are *single* is slightly larger in the rural-farm population (31.2) than in the cities (30.1), but is decidedly less in the incorporated villages (27.6). There are more single males on the farms (36.5 percent) than in the cities (33.7 percent), but there are fewer single males in the incorporated villages (30.2 percent). On the other hand, there are fewer single females in both the rural-farm and incorporated village populations (25.2 percent) than in the cities (27.8 percent).

Facts with regard to the age of marriage, size of family, and fertility rates are discussed in Chapter 10.

IV. NATIVITY AND RACE

Four-fifths of the rural population of the United States is composed of native whites. Of the rural-farm population only 3.6 percent are foreign-born, 15.5 percent are Negro, and 2 percent belong to other races. The rural-nonfarm population, which is chiefly in villages, has a larger proportion of foreign-born (6.6 percent) but a smaller percentage of Negroes (8.5) as they are largely confined to the South. These proportions are given in Table 4.

The proportion of the rural-farm population which is foreign-born is largest in New England and the Pacific States where it forms 9.4 and 11.3 percent, respectively, and in the Middle Atlantic, North Central, and Mountain states where it forms 5 to 7 percent of the farm population; but in the Southern States there is less than 1 percent foreign-born.[9] (See Fig. 15.) The largest numbers of foreign-born rural-farm population, over half of the total, are to be found in five North Central States, and New York, Texas, and California, as shown in Table 5.

[9] See N. L. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology, 2nd ed., 1934, Table 17, p. 237.

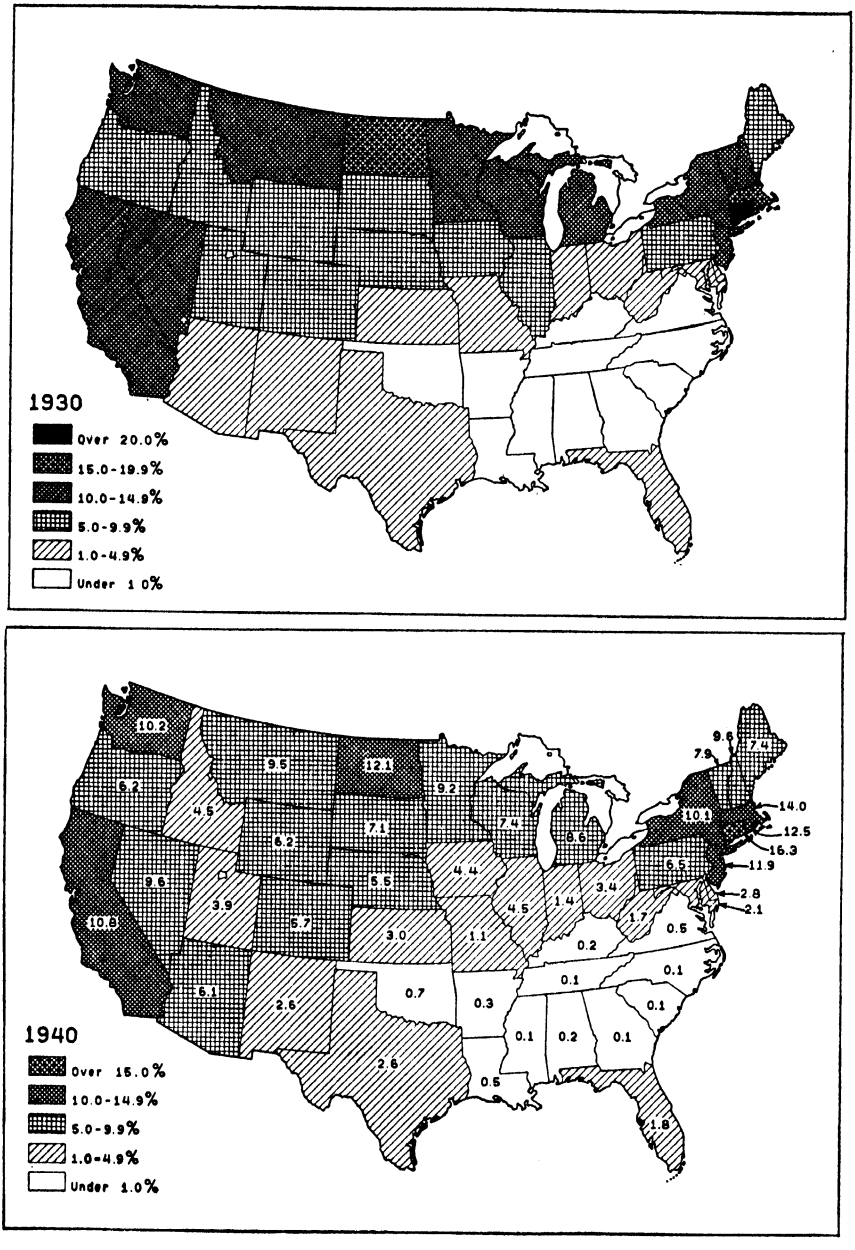


FIG. 15. Percentage of rural population, foreign-born white: above, 1930; below, 1940. (Data from U.S. Census.)

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY NATIVITY AND COLOR FOR RURAL-FARM, RURAL-NONFARM, AND URBAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930 *

Nativity and Color	Rural-Farm	Rural-Nonfarm	Urban	Total
All classes	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0
White	82 5	89 4	91 1	88 7
Native	78 9	82 8	75 6	77 8
Native parentage	68 0	68 2	48 6	57 1
Foreign or mixed parentage	11 0	14 6	27 0	20 7
Foreign parentage	6 5	8 8	18 8	13.8
Mixed parentage	4 5	5 7	8 2	6 8
Foreign-born	3 6	6 6	15 6	10 9
Negro	15 5	8 5	7 5	9 7
Other races	2 0	2 1	1 3	1 6

* From Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the U.S., Table 27, p. 83.

TABLE 5. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE RURAL-FARM POPULATION IN SPECIFIED STATES, 1940

State	Number of Foreign-Born Rural-Farm	Percent
Total U. S.	913,614	100 0
California	84,094	9 2
Minnesota	80,965	8 8
Michigan	78,714	8 6
Wisconsin	65,111	7 1
New York	63,970	7 0
Texas	55,060	6 0
North Dakota	38,951	4 3
Iowa	36,358	4 0
Total	503,223	55 0

The different nationalities of foreign-born farmers are quite definitely concentrated in certain states, as shown in Table 6, which includes the 5 states having most of each nationality and including 50 percent or more of the total.

Not only are the foreign-born farmers concentrated in certain states, but they are quite definitely concentrated in certain counties in many of the states. The local distribution has been mapped for only a few

TABLE 6. STATES SHOWING THE GREATEST CONCENTRATION OF FOREIGN-BORN RURAL-FARM POPULATION OF CERTAIN NATIONALITIES WITH NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1930 *

Country of Birth	State	Number	Percent	Country of Birth	State	Number	Percent
Germany	Wisconsin	27,519	12 8	Russia	No. Dakota	14,809	24 8
	Minnesota	22,250	10 3		Colorado	5,436	9 1
	Iowa	20,324	9 4		So. Dakota	5,077	8 5
	Michigan	14,109	6.5		Kansas	4,356	7 3
	Illinois	13,257	6 1		Michigan	2,776	4 6
	Total	94,459	45 1		Total	32,454	54 3
	U.S.	215,977	100.0		U.S.	59,667	100 0
Canada	Michigan	19,808	19.9	Czecho-slovakia	Texas	8,630	14 6
	New York	10,324	10 3		Wisconsin	6,369	10 8
	Vermont	9,602	9 6		Nebraska	5,225	8 8
	Maine	8,929	9 0		Michigan	4,750	8 1
	Washington	6,626	6 3		Minnesota	4,004	6 8
	Total	55,289	55.1		Total	28,978	49 1
	U.S.	99,767	100 0		U.S.	58,722	100 0
Sweden	Minnesota	26,109	26 4	Denmark	Iowa	5,914	14 2
	Wisconsin	7,617	7 7		Minnesota	5,078	12 2
	Washington	6,419	6 5		Nebraska	3,958	9 5
	Iowa	5,484	5 5		California	3,843	9 2
	Illinois	5,427	5 5		Wisconsin	3,527	8 5
	Total	51,056	51 6		Total	22,320	53 6
	U.S.	98,589	100 0		U.S.	41,555	100 0
Norway	Minnesota	27,367	30 0	Italy	California	15,068	30 5
	No Dakota	19,342	21 1		New York	4,923	10 0
	Wisconsin	13,627	14 9		New Jersey	4,692	9 5
	So. Dakota	7,500	8 2		Louisiana	2,413	4 9
	Washington	5,695	6 2		Colorado	2,257	4 5
	Total	73,531	80 4		Total	29,353	59 4
	U.S.	91,385	100 0		U.S.	49,283	100 0
Poland	New York	10,479	16 8	Finland	Minnesota	10,652	29 8
	Michigan	10,369	16 7		Michigan	9,223	25 8
	Wisconsin	10,063	16.2		Washington	3,253	9 1
	Pennsylvania	7,663	11 7		Wisconsin	3,204	9 0
	Connecticut	3,806	5 8		Connecticut	1,274	3 5
	Total	42,380	67.2		Total	27,606	77.2
	U.S.	65,166	100 0		U.S.	35,717	100.0

* Data from Fifteenth Census, 1930, Population, Vol. II, Table 10, pp. 284–312.

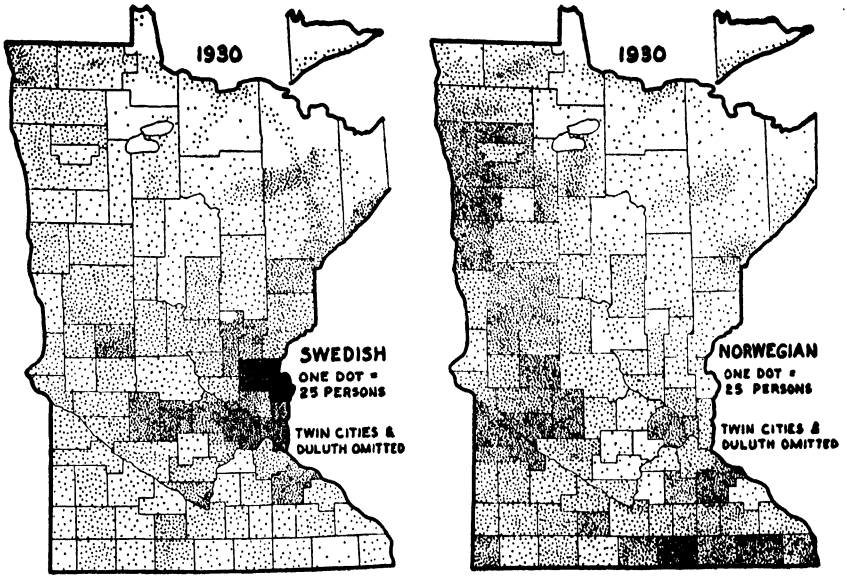


FIG. 16. Distribution of persons of Swedish and Norwegian origin in Minnesota, 1930. (After Murchie and Jarchow, Univ. of Minn. AES, Bul. 327.)

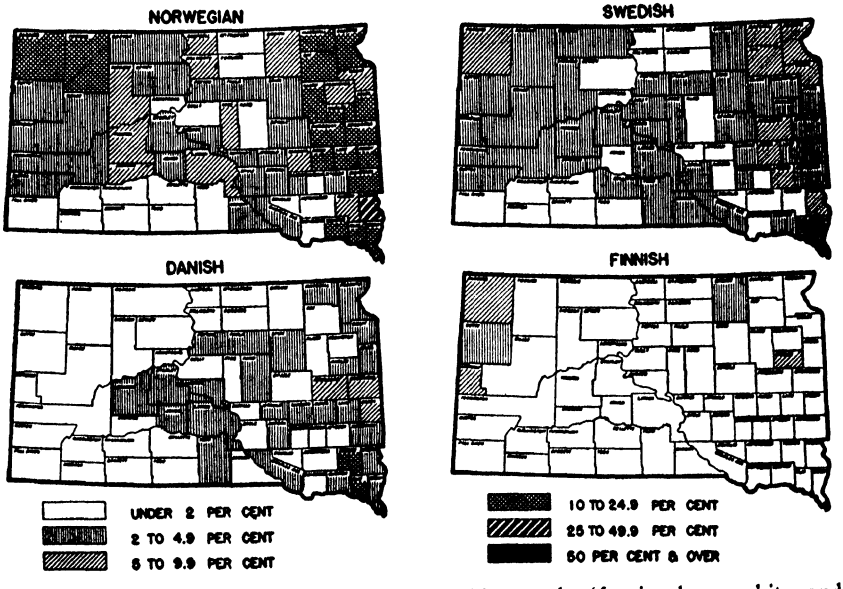


FIG. 17. The distribution of the foreign white stock (foreign-born white and native white of foreign or mixed parentage) of Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Finnish origin in percentages of the total population of each county, South Dakota, 1930. (After Johansen, S. D. St. Coll. AES, Bul. 313.)

states. Illustrations of some of the leading nationalities in Minnesota and South Dakota are shown in Figs. 16 and 17. It is evident that a knowledge of the local concentration of given nationalities will be of considerable importance in understanding class distinctions in individual communities and between communities in given counties, and will affect the whole organizational alignments within these localities. This topic furnishes a fruitful field for research in many states.

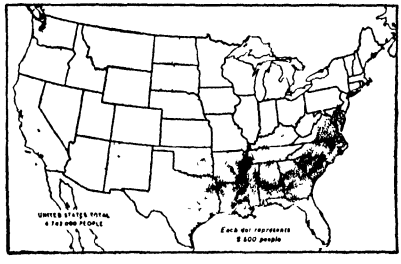


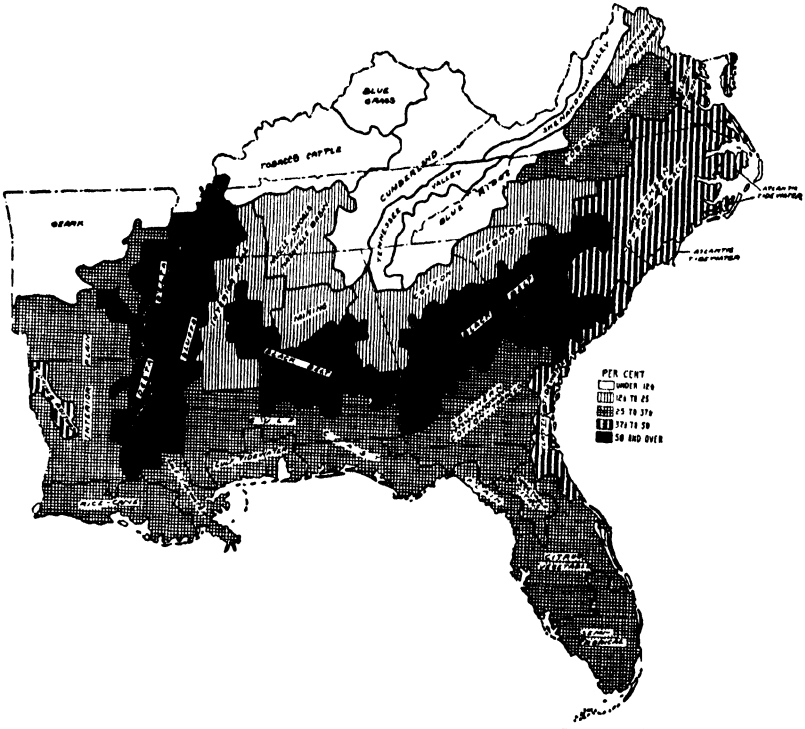
FIG. 18. Colored farm population, January 1, 1935. The colored farm population, mostly Negro, is almost wholly confined to the Cotton Belt. The dots in California represent mostly Orientals. (After Folsom and Baker, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

There is evidence, also, that there have been successive waves of immigration of different nationalities in the rural territory. Thus Johansen[10] has shown that in South Dakota the Germans were the earliest immigrants, followed by the Norwegians and Swedes, and later by Russians, Finns, Poles, and Danes. Kolb has noted similar waves of migration in Wisconsin.

NEGROES. The Negro farm population is practically confined to the Southern States where it forms 28 to 33 percent of the farm population in the three southern census divisions, (See Fig. 18.) The proportions of the Negro rural-nonfarm population in the different states is very similar to that of the farm population. In the states of Mississippi and South Carolina Negroes form over half of the rural-farm population (56.1 and 54.5 percent), whereas in the other South Atlantic and Gulf states the percentage runs from 27.3 in Virginia to 45 in Louisiana. Even in these states the distribution of Negroes by counties is very uneven, as shown in Fig. 19, the "Black Belt" being coterminous with the best cotton counties, and the next largest proportion of Negroes being in the Tobacco Belt. It would require considerable research to make a satisfactory analysis of the characteristics of the Negro population, because of the very considerable differences in the proportion of Negroes in the different areas. It is evident, however, that the presence of so large a proportion of a different race creates peculiar racial problems in the South and affects its whole social organization. This will become apparent in our discussion of different institutions and groups in Part III. We shall see that the economic and social condition of

[10] J. P. Johansen, "Immigrants and Their Children in South Dakota," S. D. St. Col. AES, Bul. 302, Fig. 2, p. 12.

the Negroes affects the poorer whites who must compete with them, and is a definite handicap to social progress in the South.



Courtesy Univ. of N. C. Press

FIG. 19. Percentage of Negroes in the total population of the Southeast by subregions, 1930. (After Woofter.)

V. CHANGES IN THE RURAL POPULATION

Although the total rural population has increased each decade, we have seen that the proportion of the total population which is rural has decreased steadily, as shown in Fig. 20. We know that the farm population actually decreased between 1920 and 1930, whereas the rural-nonfarm population increased, as shown in Table 7. From 1920 to 1930 in two-thirds of the states the net migration from farms exceeded the natural increase, so that the farm population actually decreased in number.

Inasmuch as the Census did not tabulate the farm population separately prior to 1920, it is impossible to determine exactly when the farm population commenced to decline. We know that the number of farms

TABLE 7. RURAL-FARM AND RURAL-NONFARM POPULATION, UNITED STATES, 1920–1940

Year	Rural Population in Thousands			Percent of Rural Population
	Rural-farm	Rural-nonfarm	Total	Rural-farm
1920*	31,359	20,047	51,406	61
1930*	30,157	23,663	53,820	56
1940†	30,151	27,094	57,145	52.7

* From Fifteenth Census, Population, Vol. II, p. 12, Table 8.
† From U.S. Census, press release P-5, No. 3, Feb. 20, 1941.

increased up to 1920, and it seems probable that the total farm population increased accordingly. However, the proportion of the total rural population on farms has been decreasing since 1890 or 1900, and the proportion of rural-nonfarm population has been increasing since then. This is based on the fact that the percentage of the total population in

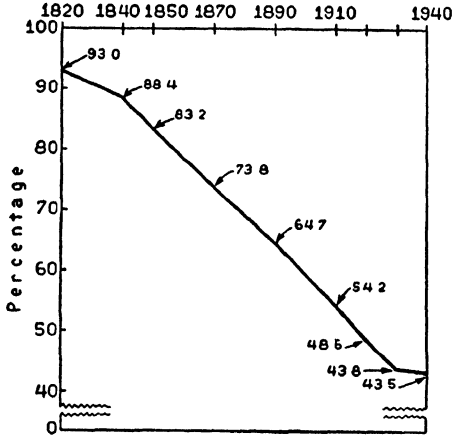


FIG. 20. Percentage of total population rural, 1820–1940. (Data 1820–1930 from Thompson and Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States.)

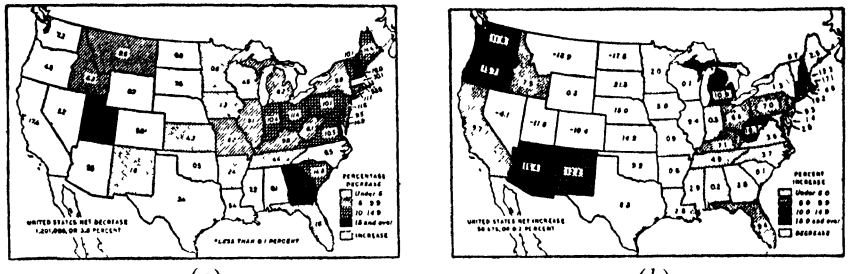
incorporated villages has remained about the same (7.5 to 8.9 percent) since 1890,[11] whereas the percentage which the total rural is of the total population has steadily declined.

The Census does, however, show the decline in the proportion of the nation's labor force engaged in agriculture, which is a good index of

[11] See Fifteenth Census, Population, Vol. II, p. 9, Table 4.

the farm population. This reveals that for the last century there has been a steady decrease in the proportion engaged in agriculture. In 1880 practically half of the working population was in agriculture, whereas in 1940 agriculture occupied only 17.6 percent.[12]

There was a net decrease in the rural-farm population from 1920 to 1930 of 1,201,127, or 3.8 percent. From 1930 to 1940 there was prac-

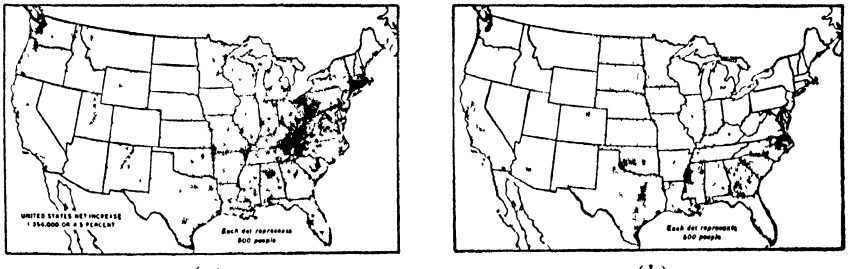


(*a*) (*b*)

FIG. 21. Rural-farm population percentage change: (*a*) 1920 to 1930; (*b*) 1930 to 1940. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

tically no change in the total rural-farm population; but the white rural-farm population showed a very slight increase of about three-fourths of 1 percent, whereas the nonwhite decreased by about 4 percent.

Fig. 21 reveals that the decrease in the rural-farm population from 1920 to 1930 was chiefly in the industrial states of the Northeast, and



(*a*) (*b*)

FIG. 22. Farm population changes in number, 1930 to 1935: (*a*) increase; (*b*) decrease. (After Folsom and Baker, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

Fig. 22 shows that the increase from 1930 to 1935 was greatest in the southern Appalachian Highlands and around cities. The latter is quite largely accounted for by the considerable increase of part-time farming. Although from 1930 to 1940 the total rural-farm population remained stationary there was a considerable shift of population, chiefly due to

[12] U.S. Bureau of the Census, press release, P-9, No. 11, March 28, 1942.

the unusual droughts, as shown in Fig. 21(*b*). The Great Plains region lost heavily and the Pacific Coast gained. North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, and Colorado each lost over 10 percent of its rural-farm population, and the three Pacific Coast states gained 10.5 percent.

This decrease in the relative proportion of rural-farm population has been the result of migration from the farms to urban places, and a slackening of the rate of migration accounts for the increase from 1930 to 1935, as we shall see later. The principal changes in the farm population have been due to migration, first to the farms in the settlement of the West, and then from the farms to the cities.

The changes in the village population are considered in Chapter 12.

Increase of Rural-Nonfarm Population. It should be noted that in the decade 1920-30, while the rural-farm population decreased 3.8 percent, the rural-nonfarm population increased 18 percent, which is two-thirds as large a rate of increase as in the urban population, which was 27 percent. From 1930 to 1940 the rural-nonfarm population increased 14.5 percent, or nearly double the rate of increase in the cities (7.9 percent), whereas the rural-farm population remained stationary. This increase of the rural-nonfarm population has been chiefly in the open country and is probably largely suburban, as may be shown by an analysis of the rural-nonfarm population of the census metropolitan districts. The incorporated village population of the United States increased only 2.5 percent from 1920 to 1930 (1.7 percent from 1930 to 1940), whereas the rural-nonfarm population outside of incorporated villages (i.e., unincorporated villages and open-country nonfarm population) increased 30.6 percent, or a rate of increase higher than that of the cities. From 1930 to 1940 this increase was 22.5 percent as compared with 7.9 percent for the cities. This was notably true in New York State[13] in which the rural-nonfarm population increased 34.3 percent from 1920 to 1930 as against a decline in the farm population of 9.8 percent. But the incorporated villages in New York increased only 4.9 percent, so that the rural-nonfarm population outside of incorporated villages increased 49.6 percent during the decade, as against an increase of only 21.8 percent in the cities. In other words, the rural-nonfarm population of New York State outside of incorporated villages increased over twice as fast as that in the cities during the decade, and throughout the United States it increased faster than the city population. The increase of the rural-nonfarm population during

[13] See W. A. Anderson, Population Trends in New York State from 1900 to 1930, Tables 14 and 18. The figures for the United States are based on the Fifteenth U.S. Census, Population, Vol. II, Tables 2 and 4, pp. 8, 9.

the 1920's was most evident in the Northeastern States, but in the 1930's it was highest on the Pacific Coast, as shown in Fig. 23.

This flow of nonfarming population into rural communities near cities sometimes becomes a distinct burden to these communities in times of unemployment. This has been noticed in many sections around cities during the last 10 years. Studies [14] of the situation in north-

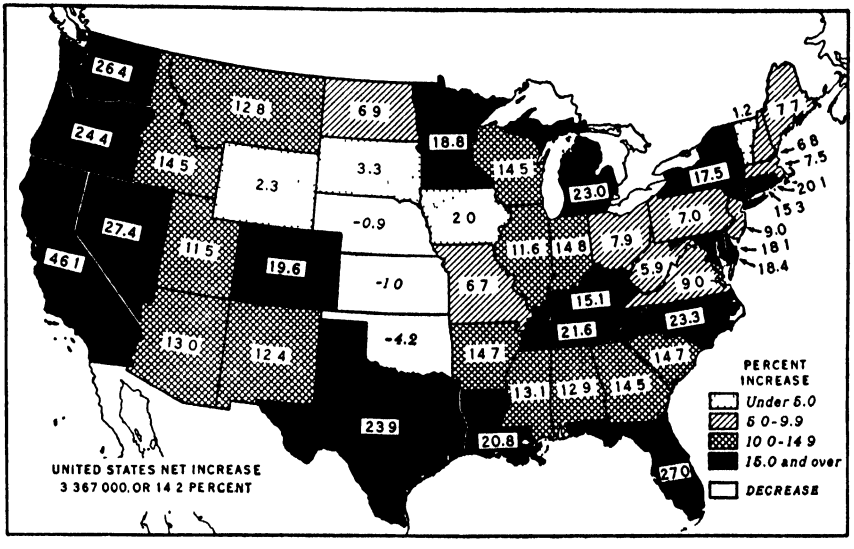


FIG. 23. Rural-nonfarm population percentage change, 1930–1940. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

western Indiana showed the increased tax burden to the farmers for the relief of the nonfarmer rural residents normally employed in nearby industrial cities.

As a result of the rural-urban migration in the decade 1910-20, 35 percent of the counties in the United States lost population, and from 1920 to 1930 this loss involved 41 percent of the counties.[15]

VI. MIGRATION

HISTORY. After the American Revolution settlers streamed into the Middle West and after the Civil War and the passage of the Homestead Act of 1862, they continued west of the Mississippi and occupied the country at an unprecedented rate. By means of maps showing the

[14] Lynn Robertson, "The Economic Significance of the Non-farming Rural Population in Northwestern Indiana," Purdue Univ. AES, Bul. 388, Feb., 1934.

[15] *Cf.* J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, p. 221.

birth-residence index of population movement[16] Carter Goodrich and his staff have pictured the stages of the westward movement. They state: "that by 1850 there was an outward movement of population from all the states that had been in the Union in 1800, and only those admitted since that date were states of immigration surplus. The maps show the steady westward spread of the area of deficit as well as the increasing emigration from most of the older states. By 1860 Ohio had become a state of net emigration, followed by Alabama in 1870, and Mississippi in 1880. In 1890 Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Louisiana were added. By 1910 the area of deficit had extended westward into Iowa and Missouri, and by 1930 included Minnesota, Nebraska and Kansas." They find that "the migration history of the prevailingly agricultural areas seems to follow a uniform pattern. About three decades after the first settlement, the immigration surplus reaches a maximum, and after about three more decades of decreasing surplus, emigration sets in."[17]

Thus between 1900 and 1910 the western frontier had practically disappeared and most of the good agricultural land had been occupied. This westward movement has been well summarized in a recent report of the National Resources Committee:

> From the date of first settlement along the Atlantic seaboard, the population of the United States has been on the move. By the close of the Revolutionary War, a considerable number of hardy individuals had already penetrated the forests of the Appalachian and Allegheny Mountains, and were claiming the territory immediately to the west for the new Nation. The westward trek continued with such rapidity that by 1850 the original colonies had lost more than 2 million people to the States between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River. With the close of the Civil War, the residents of Ohio and the Southern States, except Florida, joined the westward movement in increasing numbers. By 1930, 5 million persons born east of the Mississippi were living somewhere to the west of that river.
>
> The settling of Oklahoma between 1890 and 1910 filled the last vacant space in the Southwest, and the American people began to look about for new places to live. The first wave of migration to the undeveloped lands of the West was over. The frontier was closed. There were no new fields to conquer. Consolidation of farm land in the West continued,

[16] The birth-residence index of population movement is obtained by subtracting the number of persons born within a particular state who are living outside it, from the number of persons born outside of the given state who are living in it, on a given date.

[17] Carter Goodrich, *et al.*, Migration and Economic Opportunity, The Report of the Study of Population Redistribution, p. 678.

but population increase, except in California, now proceeded at a much slower pace.

A temporary resurgence of the agricultural migration occurred during the World War. The cry "Wheat will win the war" sent thousands to the range land of the Great Plains. Hundreds of thousands of acres of grassland were plowed for the first time. Waving heads of wheat sprang up where buffalo and cattle had grazed. The war ended. Soldiers turned from the trenches to the wheat fields, and the foreign demand for American grain declined rapidly. The last agricultural migration ended in disappointment and hardship, as dry seasons parched the soil of the Great Plains no longer protected by grass. The population of Montana, which increased 46 percent between 1910 and 1920, decreased 2 percent between 1920 and 1930. The rate of growth of North Dakota dropped from 12 to 5 percent, that of Wyoming from 33 to 16 percent, that of Colorado from 18 to 10 percent, and that of Nebraska from 9 to 6 percent.[18]

THE TIDE TURNS. But while the West was being settled attraction to the industrial centers of the East was starting.

. . . Industrial attraction of the population had become important in the smaller North Atlantic seaboard states as early as 1850; in the decade following, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey and Delaware were all gaining population through immigration. The areas of population gains due to industrial growth in the interior explain the population gains in Ohio after 1890. Between 1910 and 1920, industrial growth in Michigan brought about a resurgence of population into that state, and in the decade 1920–30 Illinois and Indiana were receiving population because of enlarged industrial activity. . . .

During the decade 1910–20 the six northwestern states formed the largest agricultural area showing net immigration. By 1920 the tide of migration had turned, and during the succeeding decade five of these six states recorded net emigration. During the twenties the only manifestation of the westward movement was the migration into California, which was influenced by several factors not influential in the preceding settlement of the agricultural West.[19]

Except for these movements into the far West,

. . . between 1910 and 1920 westward migration across the Mississippi River was insufficient to balance deaths among those who had previously moved from Eastern to Western States, so that the number of those born in the East but living in the West began to decline. People in the cotton States of the South were going north rather than west. By 1930, the

[18] National Resources Committee, Committee on Population Problems, The Problems of a Changing Population, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, p. 83.

[19] Carter Goodrich, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 679.

States in the northeast quadrant contained more than 3,000,000 persons who were born south of the Mason-Dixon Line and nearly 1,650,000 persons who were born west of the Mississippi River. The general pattern of migration had completely changed. The surge of population westward from the Atlantic seaboard had given way to a general movement from the interior to the States of the Pacific Coast, the Great Lakes, and the North Atlantic seacoast.[20]

ANOTHER WESTWARD MIGRATION. As a result of droughts in 1934 and 1936 and the general depression in agriculture there was a wave of migration from the eastern tier of the Great Plains states between 1935 and 1940 to the Pacific Coast states. The volume of this migra-

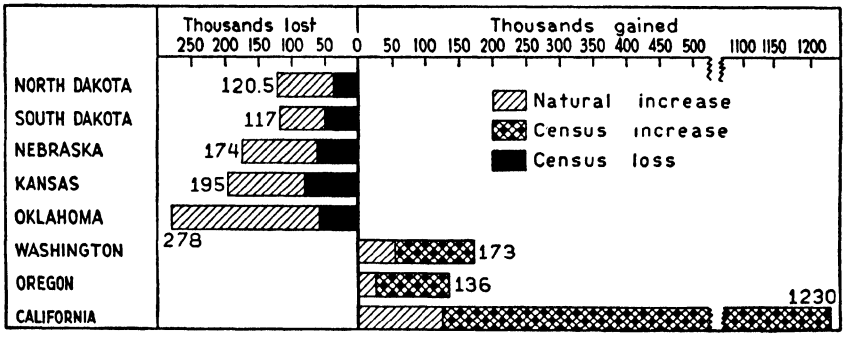


FIG. 24. Interregional shifts of population shown by Census and natural increase losses and gains in specified states, 1930–1940. (After John M. Gillette.)

tion cannot as yet be accurately measured, although it will be possible to do so when the 1940 Census figures become available, but from the losses and gains of these states as compared with those of the Pacific Coast States (as given by Professor Gillette [21] and shown in Fig. 24), it seems probable that at least half a million people were involved in this migration. This aggravated the problem of migratory agricultural labor (see p. 165). Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath" and the investigations of various state agencies on the Pacific Coast resulted in the studies of the Tolan Committee of Congress (see p. 166), which threw new light on the factors involved in this migration. Whereas these migrants were at first given little welcome on the Pacific Coast, the present war has made their arrival most opportune and they are now being absorbed into war industries and agriculture.

[20] National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, p. 83.

[21] J. M. Gillette, "Some Population Shifts in the United States, 1930-1940," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 6, p. 627, Oct., 1941; see also O. D. Duncan, "The Theory and Consequences of Mobility of Farm Population," Stillwater, Okla., Okla. AES, Circ. 88, May, 1940.

MIGRATION DURING THE DEPRESSION. The course of migration from 1930 to 1935 has been so well summarized in the same report of the National Resources Committee that it is quoted in full:

> The economic depression distinctly changed the pattern of internal migration in the United States, at least for a time. But its effects are more complicated than is sometimes supposed.
>
> The actual movement to farms was never large, even during the early years of the depression, and this movement, since 1933, has averaged only one-half to two-thirds of that occurring in the years 1925 to 1929. This is what might be expected. The first impulse of many unemployed was to return to friends or relatives in the country, or to cultivate a small plot of land where a portion of the food necessary for existence could be raised. But the welcome of friends and relatives who were already near the subsistence level was soon exhausted. Life in the country was less enjoyable in reality than in prospect to many who had become accustomed to the electric lights, running water, and movies of the city. Moreover, as the administration of relief was transferred from private to public agencies, distinct disadvantages resulted from moving to the country. Not only was the family relief allowance considerably smaller in rural areas, but it was also more difficult for migrants to obtain. Leaving the city also affected legal residence, one of the primary requirements for obtaining relief. In effect, the administration of public relief placed a premium on length of residence and stability. It is not surprising that the first impulse to move to the country was eventually stifled by the relative advantages of staying in the city, however meager these might be. Moving to the outskirts of the city did not involve all the disadvantages of moving to the country, so that this movement assumed quite large proportions.
>
> *Changes in the farm population, 1930–35.*[22] One out of every 16 persons living on farms, January 1, 1935, reported that he had lived in nonfarm territory 5 years previously. The estimates of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics indicate that this is not an unusually high proportion. One-third of these had settled around the urban centers extending from southern New England westward to Lake Michigan; another third were located in the South, mainly in mining and industrial communities; and the remaining migrants were scattered through northern New England, the Northwest, and Far West. Many of these migrants had settled on small farms seeking to produce at least part of their own food, particularly vegetables, eggs, and milk.
>
> The movement from farms was definitely restricted by the depression, but continued in numbers more than sufficient to counterbalance natural

[22] For the most thorough discussion of this topic see C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, Rural Migration in the United States, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939, WPA, Division of Research, Research Monograph XIX.

increase. [See Table 8.] If there had not been nearly 2 million people living on farms in 1935 who were living in nonfarm territory in 1930, the farm population of the Nation would have decreased by more than 500,000 persons during this 5-year period.

The partial checking of farm-to-city migration reversed the earlier trend toward a gradual decrease in the absolute number of people living on farms. The farm population of 31,800,000 persons on January 1, 1935, was the largest ever recorded. It exceeded that of April 1, 1930, by more

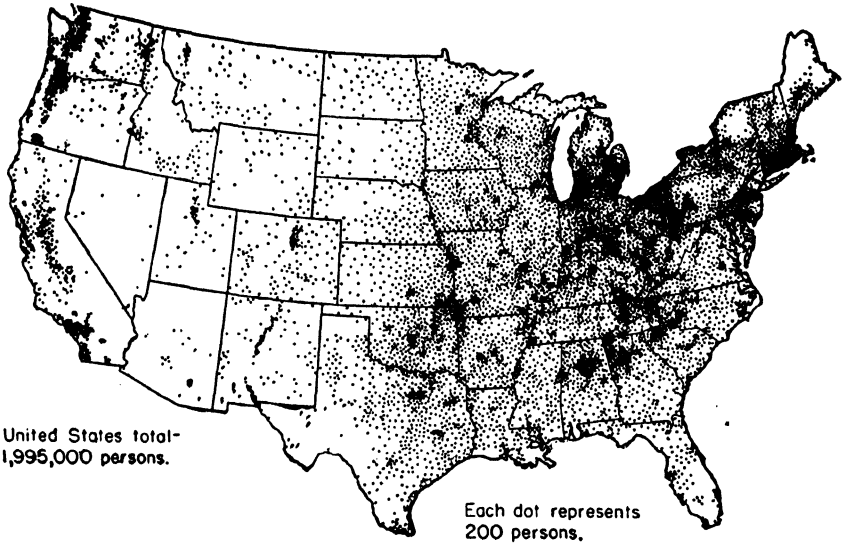


FIG. 25. Number of people living on a farm, January 1, 1935, who were not living on a farm 5 years before. (After Lively and Taeuber, from Works Progress Administration.)

than 1⅓ million. Large increases in the farm population occurred in southern New England, eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania, the southern Appalachians, the Ozarks, northern Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota, and in the Puget Sound and Willamette Valleys. The increase was greatest near industrial centers, in mining counties, and in subsistence farming areas. [See Fig. 25.]

There were decreases during the same period in the number of persons living on farms in the drought area (extending from Montana eastward to western Iowa), in northeastern North Carolina, Georgia, the Yazoo Delta, the Black Belt of Texas, and southwestern Oklahoma. The number of Negro farm residents decreased by nearly 200,000.

Certain reservations must be made in interpreting these data. Although direct evidence is lacking, it is reasonable to suppose that an appreciable proportion of the apparent increase in farm population between 1930 and

1935 was due to differences in the interpretation of a "farm" and in methods of enumeration at these two dates. Reports from all parts of the country indicate that many farms were enumerated in 1935 that were not so classed in 1930. In 1930 many part-time farmers in industrial and mining areas were not producing enough farm products to be classed as farmers by the census. By 1935 many such persons were unemployed and doing enough farming to come within the census definition of a farmer. A considerable part of the increase in farm population near cities, especially in southern New England, and in areas where mining and forestry are predominant industries, may be attributed to this shift in occupation rather than to a change in residence. This thesis is borne out by the decrease in the average size of farm between 1930 and 1935. The average acreage per farm decreased in Connecticut by 23 acres, in Massachusetts by 15 acres, and in West Virginia by 17 acres. Undoubtedly, much of the apparent increase in farm population from nonfarm territory in northern Idaho and in eastern Ohio, western Pennsylvania and West Virginia was due to change in occupation from mining and forestry to subsistence farming. It is quite possible that the decrease in farm population in the South resulted partly from the crop-reduction program. The decrease in cotton acreage led to the displacement of many farm

TABLE 8. ESTIMATED FARM POPULATION, NATURAL INCREASE, AND NUMBER OF PERSONS MOVING TO AND FROM FARMS, UNITED STATES, 1930–1939 *
(In thousands)

Year	Farm Population, Jan. 1	Arrivals from Nonfarm Territory	Departures for Nonfarm Territory	Gain or Loss Due to Migration	Natural Increase	Net Change
1930	30,169	1,611	1,823	−212	398	186(328)†
1931	30,497	1,546	1,566	−20	407	387(474)
1932	30,971	1,777	1,511	266	418	684(722)
1933	31,693	944	1,225	−281	395	114(77)
1934	31,770	700	1,051	−351	405	54(31)
1935	31,801	825	1,211	−386	394	8
1936	31,809	719	1,166	−447	367	−80
1937	31,729	872	1,160	−288	378	90
1938	31,819	823	1,025	−202	442	240
1939	32,059	805	1,063	−258	444	186
1925–29		7,770	10,735	−2,965	2,070	−895
1930–34		6,578	7,176	−598	2,203	1,632
1935–39		4,044	5,625	−1,581	2,025	444

* From U.S. BAE, Farm Population Estimates, Jan. 1, 1940 (mimeographed).
† The figures in parentheses are revised estimates based on the Census of Agriculture of 1935.

laborers and tenants. A number of them occupied dwellings in the country and in villages, but were not classed as farmers by the census in 1935.[23]

This movement to and from farms is shown graphically in Fig. 26. It is evident, therefore, that the rural-urban migration was only slackened during the depression, for only in 1932 was there a net migration to farms from nonfarm territory. Since then there has been a net migration away from farms each year, but to 1940 the rate was only one-half of that during 1925–1929, although over twice that during 1930–

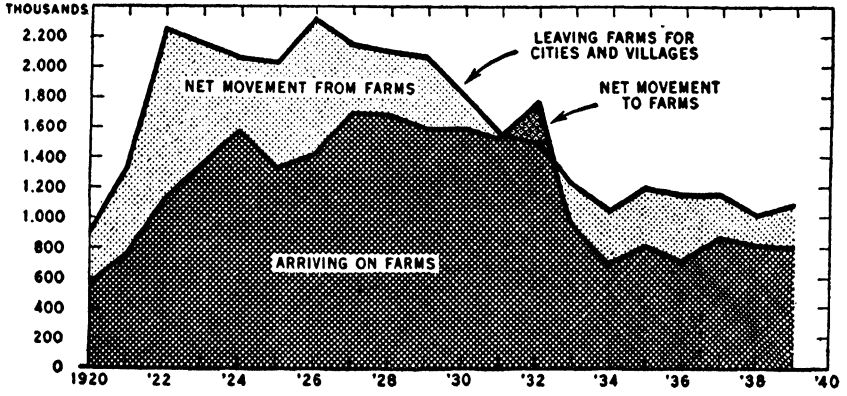


FIG. 26. Movement to and from farms, 1920 to 1939. From 1922 to 1929, inclusive, migration from the farms to the cities exceeded 2,000,000 each year—probably a larger movement than ever before in the nation's history. The net migration from the farms during these 8 years averaged less than 700,000 annually. As the depression developed and jobs became scarce, the movement from farms dropped notably, whereas that to farms remained almost stationary through 1932, exceeding the movement from farms in 1932, but then fell to one-half. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

1934. In 1936 the migration from farms was sufficient to cause a net loss in the farm population for the first year since 1929. The renewed depression in the fall of 1937 reduced the annual migration for 1937–1939 to about what it was in 1933. During 1940–41 the migration from farms was very greatly increased, but no estimates are available. The estimates in Table 8 are now being revised in line with the 1940 Census.

One important feature of the rural-urban migration, which has been previously noted in the discussion of age distribution, is the fact that the bulk of the migrants are young people. Goodrich[24] estimates that, of the total net migration between 1920 and 1930, 50 percent was of

[23] National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–88. These statements are confirmed by P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, "Six Rural Problem Areas," FERA, 1935.

[24] Carter Goodrich, *et al., op. cit.*, p. 690.

persons between 10 and 20 years of age in 1920, and that over 40 percent of those on farms in 1920 who were between 10 and 20 years of age moved into cities during the ensuing decade. With the slackening of this migration came an excess of young people in rural communities in the 1930's which created new problems concerning their satisfactory social adjustment. This has been clearly shown by the surveys reported by Lively and Taeuber [25] who found that 68 percent of the young men 16 to 24 years of age on January 1, 1929, were then living at home, but at the time of the surveys in 1935–36 this had risen to 80 percent. The comparable proportions for young women were 51 and 63 percent. Melvin [26] estimated that there were about 1,000,000 youth on farms in 1936 who would have migrated if the depression of the early 1930's had not intervened.

The 16th Census states: "The high proportion of youth in the ages 20 to 24 years found in urban areas can be accounted for only on the basis of a net migration of some million and a half youth from farms and villages to urban places during the decade 1930 to 1940." [27]

There has been much discussion of the bad effect of migration upon rural life, based upon the assumption that the best young people are leaving the country. Thus Professor E. A. Ross [28] has held that there is a continuous "folk depletion." The opposite point of view is taken by Sorokin and Zimmerman, who conclude that "There is no valid evidence that migration to the cities is selective in the sense that cities attract in a much greater proportion those from the country who are better physically, vitally, mentally, morally, or socially, and leave in the country those who are poorer in all these respects." [29] Recent studies [30] on the differential of the mental ability of the migrants are conflicting,

[25] C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[26] B. L. Melvin, Rural Youth on Relief, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1937, WPA Division of Social Research, Research Monograph XI, p. 61.

[27] U.S. Bureau of the Census, press release P-3, No. 19, Oct. 19, 1941.

[28] E. A. Ross, The Principles of Sociology, New York, The Century Co., 1920, pp. 24–27.

[29] P. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1929, p. 582.

[30] Otto Klineburg, "The Intelligence of Migrants," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 3, pp. 2, 8, 224, April, 1938; N. P. Gist and C. D. Clark, "Intelligence as a Selective Factor in Rural-Urban Migrations," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 36–58, July, 1938; C. F. Reuss, "A Qualitative Study of Depopulation in a Remote Rural District: 1900–1930," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 2, pp. 66–75, March, 1937; N. P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad, and C. L. Gregory, "Selective Aspects of Rural Migrations," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 6, pp. 1–15, March, 1941; A. A. Gessner, "Selective Factors in Migration from a New York Rural Community," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 736, June, 1940.

and it will require much more research before any satisfactory conclusions with regard to the matter can be reached. It is believed, however, that no evidence has been brought forward which indicates any genetic inferiority of those who remain in the country, as has been assumed by some recent writers.[31]

Brunner and Kolb have well summarized the studies which show the classes of persons who migrate:

> Briefly stated, these studies, covering some 5,000 farm families, show that the migration from the home farm begins at the age of eighteen, and has ended by about thirty; that daughters are more likely to leave home than sons, the children of tenant farmers than those of owners, the children of owners with low income than those of owners with a higher income; that first-born sons are more likely to remain on the home farm than others; that from 80 to 90 per cent of those who left home stayed within 100 miles, a majority within 50 miles; and that the further the émigré went, the greater was the likelihood of his or her going to a city. There was a tendency for those who went to the city to enter the professional and the unskilled labor groups. In other words the city seems to attract especially the best and the least qualified of the farm youth.[32]

Regardless of the possibility of selective migration it should not be concluded that rural-urban migration has been harmful to rural life. Without it many sections would have been seriously overpopulated and the standard of living would have necessarily been lower. It is estimated that, if all the natural increase had accumulated in Maine, it would be 40 percent larger than at present, and Vermont would be 65 percent larger. This would undoubtedly mean many smaller and poorer farms. "In the decade before 1930 the pressure of high fertility in rural sections and increasing opportunities in urban areas drew a large proportion of the rural-farm youth to seek city employment. Large migrations may be necessary in the future if a higher level of living is to be established in rural areas where living is now at the subsistence level." [33]

As far as the maintenance of agriculture is concerned, C. E. Lively [34]

[31] *Cf.* Frank Fritts and R. W. Gwinn, Fifth Avenue to Farm, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1938.

[32] E. deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, Rural Social Trends, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, p. 13. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[33] National Resources Committee, Problems of a Changing Population, p. 112.

[34] C. E. Lively, Replacement Requirements of Gainful Workers in Agriculture in Ohio, 1930–1940, Dept. of Rural Economics, Ohio State Univ. and Ohio AES, Mimeo. Bul. 109, p. 15.

has shown that in Ohio it requires only 54.3 percent of the young men on farms who reach the age of 20 years in a given decade to replace those who drop out from death and retirement. In the poorer part of the state this percentage rises to 60.1 and in the best farming section it is only 49.7. Obviously, Ohio farms are producing twice as many young men as they can absorb.

There is, however, one aspect of the rural-urban migration which is distinctly inimical to rural life. This is the constant draining of wealth from farms to towns and cities through inheritance of property in the settlement of estates among the heirs. In a study of two Ohio counties, Tetreau [35] found that about 20 percent of the total net valuation of farm estates went to heirs in the cities. (See p. 667.)

VII. MOBILITY

The mobility of population may be roughly defined as its movement. Migration is, therefore, one form of mobility—that in which there are movements of considerable numbers of people either in space or time relations; but most mobility does not involve what is ordinarily called migration. There is a continuous movement of the rural population, of both farmers and nonfarmers, between farms and villages within nearby areas which constitutes the mobility of this population, but does not involve any general movement or migration. A general movement from the farms to the villages, or vice versa, even within a single community, might be termed a migration; but the ordinary movement, back and forth, of individual families forms the usual aspect of the mobility of a rural population.

Mobility may be considered from either the spatial or temporal aspects, the former measuring the direction and place of movement, and the latter the frequency or time of movement. The term mobility is also applied to changes in occupations and in classes (social mobility), but these are not usually considered under population mobility.[36]

Movement from Birthplace. The Federal Census gives no information on spatial mobility beyond the state of birth and the movement to farms from nonfarm territory, which are of more value for the study of migration. With regard to temporal mobility the only data in the Census is the period of farm occupancy, or how many years the oper-

[35] E. D. Tetreau, Migration of Agricultural Wealth by Inheritance, Two Ohio Counties, Dept. of Rural Economics, Ohio State Univ. and Ohio AES, Mimeo. Bul. 65, Sept., 1933.

[36] For a general discussion of the concept mobility see P. Sorokin, Social Mobility, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1927.

ator has been on the present farm. This gives a useful measure of mobility, whose significance for this purpose has not been fully explored. We are, therefore, dependent upon monographic studies for most of our data on this topic.[37]

One of the simplest measures of spatial mobility is the distance of movement from the place of birth. Table 9 gives the proportion of farm operators and open-country family heads living within the same township and county of birth. It reveals that from 44 to 62 percent of these heads of families lived in the same counties in which they were born.

TABLE 9. BIRTHPLACE OF FARM OPERATORS AND OPEN-COUNTRY FAMILY HEADS LIVING IN SELECTED AREAS OF NEW YORK AND OHIO, BY CIVIL DIVISION *

Birthplace	Farm Operators, Four New York Counties, 1921†		Farm Operators, Eight Ohio Townships, 1927**		Open-Country Family Heads, Genesee County, New York, 1930‡	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Township of residence	517	44 0	465	46 0	631	25 3
Elsewhere county of residence	204	17 0	158	16 0	457	18 3
Bordering county	230	20 0	195	19 0	636	25 5
Other counties in state					165	6 6
Bordering states	59	5 0	83	8 0	66	2 6
Other states in U. S.					125	5 0
Foreign country	164	14 0			407	16 5
Unknown	4					
Total	1,178	100 0	1,012	100 0	2,495	100.0

* From C. E. Lively, "Spatial Mobility of the Rural Population with Respect to Local Areas," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 92, Table 2, July, 1937.

† E. C. Young, "The Movement of Farm Population," Cornell AES, Bul. 426, p. 56.

** C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, "Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio," Ohio AES, Bul. 467, p. 22.

‡ W. A. Anderson, "Mobility of Rural Families," Cornell AES, Bul. 607, p. 6.

Lively points out (*op. cit.*, under Table 9) that "the essential variables necessary for measuring the spatial mobility incident to the change of domicile of the population of an area with respect to other areas are three in number: (1) the origin of the population domiciled in the area, (2) the circulation of the households and families domiciled in

[37] One of the best of these is that of Lively and Taeuber, *op. cit.*

the area, and (3) the dispersion of the adult children produced and reared by the families of the area." With regard to the origin of population he has found that the mileage of the radial distance is a more satisfactory measure than the political subdivision, although the results are very similar. Table 10 shows that in Ohio two-thirds of the heads

TABLE 10. HEADS OF FAMILIES LIVING IN TEN RURAL TOWNSHIPS OF OHIO, CLASSIFIED BY RADIAL DISTANCE OF PLACE WHERE REARED FROM PLACE OF RESIDENCE, JANUARY 1, 1935 *

Radial Distance in Miles	Number	Percentage	Radial Distance by Political Subdivisions	Number	Percentage
Under 10	1,760	65 3	County	1,735	64 3
10–24	324	12 0	Adjacent counties	343	12 7
25–99	213	7 9	Other counties in Ohio	203	7 5
100–299	171	6 3	States adjacent to Ohio	188	7 0
300–2,499	58	2 1	Other States in U. S.	54	2 0
2,500–5,000	135 †	5 0	Foreign country	138	5 1
Unclassified	37	1 4	Unclassified	37	1 4
Total	2,698	100 0	Total	2,698	100 0

*From C. E. Lively, *op. cit.*, Table 3, p. 96.
† Average distance, 4,447 miles.

of rural families were reared [38] less than 10 miles from the present residence, and that three-fourths were reared within less than 25 miles.

> With respect to the territorial circulation of families during a given time period, the writer [C. E. Lively] has recorded that, of 1,275 open-country heads of households in Ohio, 49 percent had lived in the same township since marriage, and 66 percent had not moved beyond the limits of the county of residence. Young found that, of 704 persons who were farm operators in Livingston County, New York, in 1908, 68 percent was still living in the same county. Rankin, in his Nebraska studies, found that, of the families occupying 1,141 farms during the period 1911–20, two-thirds of all moves made by them were from farm to farm in the same community and that only one-third of the moves were from one community to another. The community was defined as the village-trade-basin area known as the "rurban" community. Similarly, Gray and his associates found that, in several sample areas located in Kentucky and Tennessee 56–67 per cent of all moves made by 1,093 farm operators since they began to farm were moves within the same local community.

[38] Place reared means place child lived longest during ages 8 to 16 years.

Considerable data are also available regarding the territorial distribution of persons originating in a given local area. Anderson noted that, of 2,330 living children who had left their parental homes in the open country of Genesee County, New York, 50 percent was living within a radius of 15 miles of their parental homes and that 80 percent was to be found within a radius of 40 miles. In a similar study of the migration of the children of white farmers in North Carolina it was concluded that 30 percent of the migrants was located within 10 miles of the parental home, 65 percent within 25 miles, and 80 percent within 50 miles. Similar studies in Ohio showed that, of 1,583 children who had migrated from their open-country homes, 43 percent was to be found within a radius of 10 miles, 59 percent within a radius of 20 miles, and 82 percent within a radius of 100 miles. Likewise, Young found that, of 2,072 men and 1,588 women reared on the farms of three sample areas in New York, 74 percent of the men and 70 percent of the women were living in the county where reared.[39]

The same facts are brought out by the extensive surveys reported by Lively and Taeuber, who found that from 1929 to 1935–36, of 21,000 heads of households in seven states, 74 percent had maintained continuous residence in the same township; 12 percent had moved outside the township but remained in the same county; 6 percent had lived in adjoining counties; 4 percent had come from other counties in the same states; 3 percent had come from adjoining states, and only 1 percent from other states.[40] Of the children 16 years of age and over who had migrated from open-country homes before January 1, 1929, in 1935–36 50 percent were living in the same county; 14.4 percent in adjoining counties; 11.4 percent in other counties in the same state; 12.2 percent in adjoining states, and 9.8 percent in other states.[41]

Frequency of Moves. With regard to the frequency of movement from one domicile to another there are several studies. One means of measuring the frequency is by the number of moves of a given family. Data from studies in three states are given in Table 11. Connecticut has the highest mobility of farm operators for the three states compared, Ohio has the least, and New York is more like Ohio than Connecticut. Most agricultural states would be more like Ohio. In Connecticut only 24 percent of the farmers had moved twice or less, whereas in Ohio 89 percent of owners and 72 percent of tenants had not made over 2 moves, as against 63 percent in New York. Tenants are always more mobile than owners. This is particularly true

[39] Lively, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 94.

[40] C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, *op. cit.*, p. 90, Table 27.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 101, Table 34.

TABLE 11. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARMERS BY NUMBER OF MOVES BETWEEN DOMICILES DURING TOTAL FARMING EXPERIENCE, IN THREE EASTERN STATES *

Number of Moves	Number of Farms				Percent Distribution			
	Connecticut	New York	Ohio		Connecticut	New York	Ohio	
			Owners	Tenants			Owners	Tenants
0	59	580	190	69	9 6	20	24	27
1	42	725	320	59	6 8	25	40	23
2	52	522	202	57	8 4	18	25	22
3	76	290	66	45	12 3	10	8	17
4	87	261	13	19	14 1	9	2	7
5	92	174	8	7	14 9	6	1	3
6	65	87	2	2	10 6	3	†	1
7 or more	143	261	3	1	23 3	9	†	†
Total	616	2,900	804	259	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0

* Sources: J. L. Hypes, "Population Mobility in Rural Connecticut," Storrs AES, Bul. 196, p. 28, Table 11; W. A. Anderson, "Interfarm Mobility in New York State," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 2, p. 394; C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, "Movement of Open Country Population in Ohio, Ohio AES, Bul. 467, p. 26, Table 20. Ohio figures for owners only.

† Less than 1 percent.

in the South where there is a high proportion of tenancy. Dr. B. O. Williams[42] has developed an index of mobility, which is obtained by dividing the number of moves made by the number of years employed and multiplying by 100. Using this index as a basis for comparing its effect on various socio-economic factors, he comes to the conclusion "that the farmers who had moved most had the lowest socio-economic status and vice-versa."

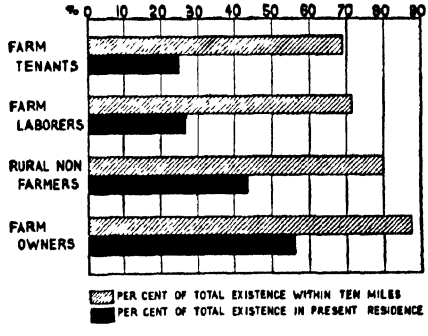


FIG. 27. Proportion of the total time Genesee open-country families have spent in their present residence and within 10 miles thereof, assuming 20 years as the age of marriage of the bride, 1930. (After W. A. Anderson.)

W. A. Anderson has used an index which combines the factors of distance and frequency by determining the number of years which families have lived within 10 miles of the present home; this usually means in the same or a neighboring community. His results are given in Table 12. By this

[42] B. O. Williams, "Occupational Mobility among Farmers, Part I—Mobility Patterns," S. C. AES, Bul. 296, p. 73.

TABLE 12. AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS AND THE RELATIVE AMOUNT OF TIME 2,493 FAMILIES IN GENESEE COUNTY, NEW YORK, HAVE LIVED WITHIN TEN MILES OF THEIR PRESENT RESIDENCE, 1930 *

	Average Time Resident within 10 Miles of Present Home (Years)	Assuming 20 Years as Age of Marriage of Bride	
		Average Time Families Have Existed (Years)	Proportion of Total Family Existence within 10 Miles (Percent)
1,451 farm owners	25	29	87
378 farm tenants	13	19	69
144 farm laborers	12	17	71
520 rural nonfarmers	16	20	80
Total, 2,493	21	25	83

* W. A. Anderson, "Mobility of Rural Families," I, Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 607, p. 18, Table 19

means he has determined the proportion of the total family existence which has been within 10 miles of the present residence, as shown in Fig. 27. His data also show that farm laborers and tenants are much more mobile than farm owners, but that rural nonfarmers are only slightly more mobile than farmers.

It is evident that the mobility of a population will have a considerable effect upon its institutions and the attitudes of local communities. With a very mobile population it is more difficult to maintain successful institutions, whereas with a static population there may be stagnation or decadence in some cases, but in others there may be the finest type of community life, as in the case of Morris, described in the Appendix.

VIII. OCCUPATIONS

Practically the same proportion of males 10 years of age and over are employed in the rural-farm population (76.1 percent) as in the cities (77.6 percent), although the percentage in the rural-nonfarm population is slightly less (72.2). Less than half as many females are employed in the rural-farm population (12.3 percent) as in the cities (27.3 percent) and about two-thirds as many as in the rural-nonfarm (village) population (17.2 percent).

Practically nine-tenths (89.1 percent) of the employed males in the rural-farm population are engaged in agriculture. Manufacturing is next in importance but employs only 4.1 percent. No other occupation employs over 2 percent. Nearly two-thirds of the employed females in the rural-farm population are employed in agriculture, and a large proportion of these are southern Negroes. Domestic and personal service employs about one-seventh of them, and professional service, mostly school teaching, about one-eighth.

The occupations of the rural-nonfarm population (mostly village) presents quite a different picture. In 1930 those in manufacturing industries employ the largest proportion of males (31.0 percent); agriculture employs only an eighth; transportation and trade each employ about one-seventh, and about one-tenth are engaged in extraction of minerals. Over one-third (35.3 percent) of the employed women are engaged in domestic and personal service; professional service and manufacturing each employ about one-fifth, and trade one-eighth.

It is evident from Table 13 that the percentages engaged in different occupations for the rural-nonfarm population are much more similar to those of the United States as a whole and, therefore, more like the urban than they are like those of the farm population.

TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED PERSONS 10 YEARS OLD AND OVER FOR RURAL-FARM AND RURAL-NONFARM POPULATION, 1930 *

Industry group	Total for U.S.		Rural-Farm		Rural-Nonfarm	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
All industries	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0	100 0
Agriculture	25 1	8 5	89 1	62 8	12 1	3.7
Forestry and fishing	0 7		0 5		2.4	0.1
Extraction of minerals	3 0	0 1	0 9		9 8	0.2
Manufacturing	31 3	22.4	4 1	4 8	31.0	20.4
Transportation	10 5	4 2	2.0	0 9	13 8	4.8
Trade	15 3	15 9	1 5	3 1	14 3	12 6
Public service	2 5	1 1	0 2		2 9	0 9
Professional service	4 4	16 4	0 7	12 4	5 1	20.6
Domestic and personnel service	4 4	29 2	0 3	15.1	3 7	35.3
Industry not specified	2 9	2 2	0 7	0 9	4.9	1 4

Source: Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930.

* From Kolb and Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, Table 50, p. 245.

IX. FUTURE CHANGES IN RURAL POPULATION

Having analyzed the composition of the rural population and observed the trend of recent changes in it, what can we predict with regard to it in the future?

REPRODUCTION RATE. Changes in population depend upon the rate of reproduction and migration. The crude reproduction rate is obtained by subtracting the number of deaths from the number of births per 1,000 persons in a given population. If a true, or exact, rate is to be obtained for comparing two populations it must be corrected for differences in the age composition, for we have seen that the cities have a larger proportion of persons in the prime of life (and this would lower the death rate accordingly). Such a corrected rate is usually called the *net reproduction rate* or an *intrinsic rate* of natural increase.

> Under modern conditions, differences in birth rates are far more important than differences in death rates in their influence on net reproduction trends. Thus the ratio of children under 5 years of age to women aged 20–44 years among native whites in North Carolina, West Virginia, New Mexico, and Utah is 98 percent, 103 percent, 96 percent, and 92 percent, respectively, higher than in New York State. In all these states the ratios are well over 100 percent higher than in California. On the other hand, the number of children required to replace a thousand white women of childbearing age, in the States with the highest mortality rates, is only 5 percent greater (using the 1929–31 death rates) than the number required in the States with the lowest mortality rates. Thus the range of fertility among States is about 20 times as great as that of permanent replacement quotas which represent differences in mortality rates.[43]

Birth rates are not available for the United States as a whole prior to 1933 when all of the states finally became part of the registration area. On account of this lack of data for the whole country until very recently, the chief dependence in determining the rate of reproduction has been placed on the fertility ratio, which is the number of children under 5 years of age to 1,000 women of childbearing age (usually computed at ages 15 to 44, but sometimes 20 to 44 or 49) in a given population. We shall give further consideration to the fertility ratio in Chapter 10. At this point it is necessary only to point out that in 1930 the fertility ratio for the rural-farm population, 529, was higher than that of the rural-nonfarm, 463, and nearly twice that of cities of 100,000 or over, which was 262.[44]

[43] National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, p. 119.

[44] Data from W. S. Thompson, Population Problems, 2nd ed., p. 140, Table 40.

With regard to death rates Thompson has shown that the number of males surviving at different ages is uniformly higher for rural states than for urbanized or rural-urban states or cities, as shown graphically in Fig. 28.

On the basis of the fertility and death rates of 1930 the National Resources Committee Report gives the net reproduction rates for that year as shown in Table 14.

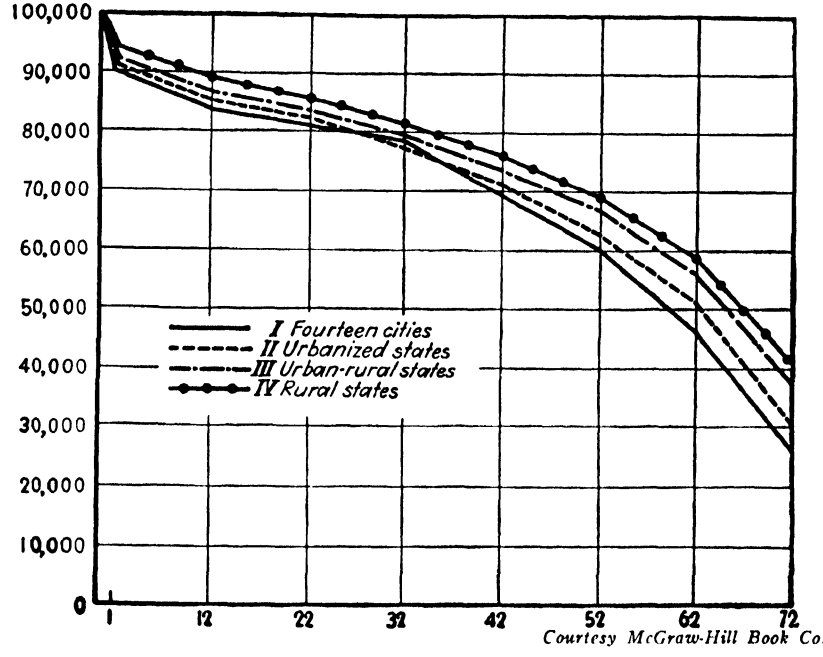


FIG. 28. Number of males living at given ages, of 100,000 born living, in selected areas of the United States, 1920. (After Thompson.)

This shows that the net reproduction rate of the native white rural-farm population (1.69) is practically twice that of the urban population (0.86) and is more than twice as great for the Negroes (1.80 against 0.72); the rural-nonfarm rate for native whites (1.37) is midway between that of the rural-farm and the small cities (1.04).

The differences between rural and urban net reproduction rates were about the same in 1940 as in 1930, as shown in Table 15, although the rural-farm rate had declined about 3 points more than the urban for the white population and had increased 5 points more than the urban for the nonwhite. The rural-farm population as a whole had practically twice as high a net reproductive rate (144) as the urban (74) in 1940, although it had declined 15 points from that of 1930 (159). This de-

TABLE 14. NET REPRODUCTION RATES PER GENERATION AMONG NATIVE WHITE AND NEGRO WOMEN, BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY, 1930 * †

Size of Community	Native White	Negro
United States	1 12	1 13
Rural	1 54	1 61
Urban	86	72
100,000 or more population	76	68
25,000 to 100,000 population	88	72
10,000 to 25,000 population	97	80
2,500 to 10,000 population	1 04	84
Rural-nonfarm	1 37	1 23
Rural-farm	1 69	1 80

* From National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, Table 3, p. 134.
† Number of children aged 0 to 4 years per 1,000 women aged 20 to 44 as a ratio of the corresponding life table value. The life tables were computed by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

cline was largest in the Middle Atlantic, South Atlantic, and East South Central states, where it was 31, 26, and 24 points, respectively, and was least in the East and West North Central states, where it was only 14 points.

The rural-nonfarm rate declined (18 points) more than either the rural-farm or urban from 1930 to 1940, but is still about midway between them. In the North the rate for the white rural-nonfarm population was only 109, having decreased 19 points in the decade, so that if this rate of decrease is maintained, it will not be reproducing itself by 1950.

In other words, the cities lack 26 percent of being able permanently to replace their own population without immigration, whereas the rural-farm population has an excess of 44 percent over that necessary for permanent replacement. The differences in the ability of urban, rural-farm, and rural-nonfarm populations to maintain themselves is shown by states for 1930 in the maps of Fig. 29. When plotted on a county basis the contrasts between the urban counties and the rural counties are even more striking.[45]

These differentials in communities classified by size would change radically the present distribution of population within two or three generations, unless large numbers of people migrated from one community to another. Without migration the population of the large cities would soon begin to decrease. It has been argued that this time is still in the

[45] National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, Part IV, Fig. 4, and pp. 122–123.

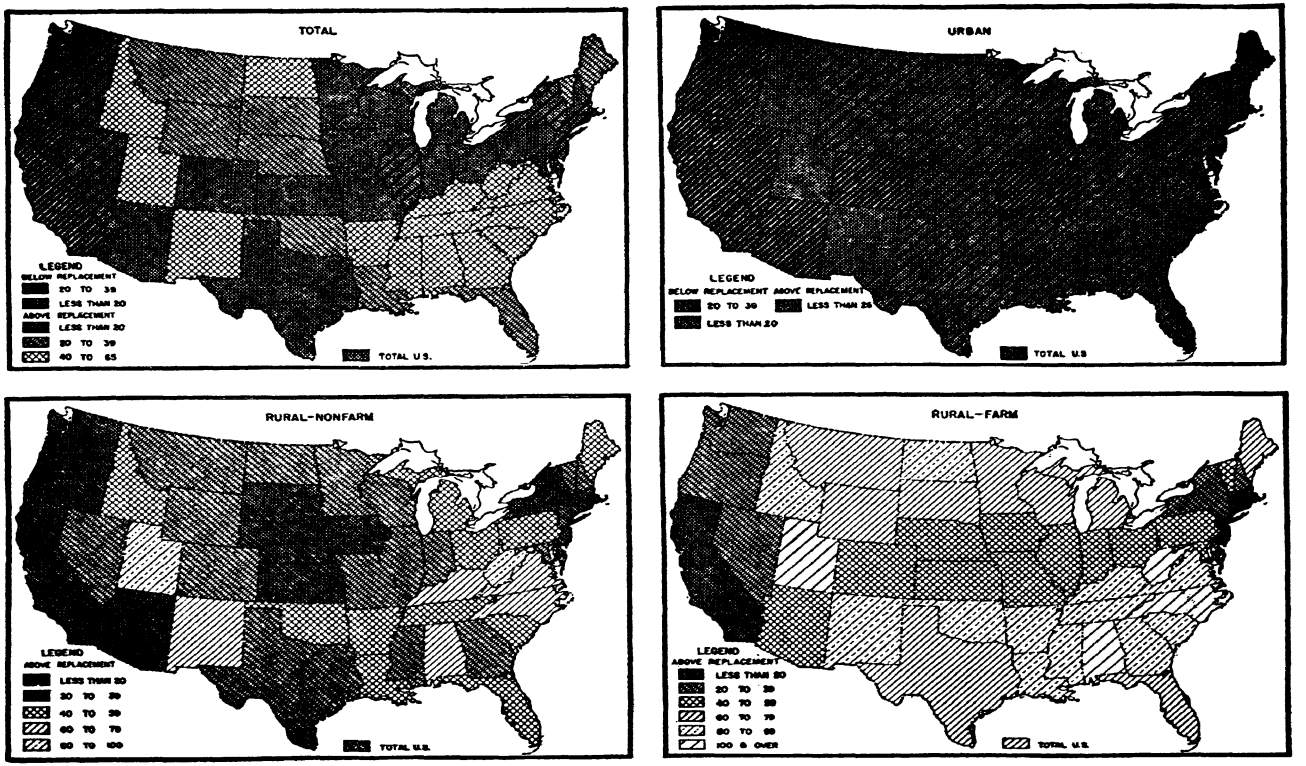


FIG. 29. Net reproduction rates per generation, native white population, by States, 1930 (number of children under 5 per 1,000 women aged 20–44 as a percentage in excess or deficit of that necessary to maintain the population permanently). (From National Resources Committee.)

TABLE 15. NET REPRODUCTION RATES BY COLOR AND URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS, 1940 AND 1930 *

1940 data are estimates based on a preliminary tabulation of a 5 percent cross section of the 1940 Census returns.

Region and Color	1940				1930			
	Total	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm	Total	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm
All classes								
United States	96	74	114	144	111	88	132	159
North	87	74	109	133	103	90	128	150
South	111	75	118	150	127	86	138	165
West	95	75	120	138	101	80	129	155
White								
United States	94	74	114	140	111	90	133	159
North	87	74	109	133	104	91	128	150
South	110	76	120	145	132	92	145	169
West	94	76	119	134	99	79	128	151
Nonwhite								
United States	107	74	114	160	110	75	119	156
North	83	79	†	†	87	82	†	†
South	113	71	112	160	115	71	116	153
West	119	†	†	†	157	†	†	†

* Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 16th Census, press release P-5, 13, August 23, 1941.

† Rates not shown for those population groups which, in 1940, have fewer than 20,000 females under 5 years old.

future and that meanwhile the number of births far exceeds the number of deaths. But this is not entirely true. At the present time the number of recorded white deaths is about equal to the number of recorded white births in California and Nevada. In 1932 and 1933, the only years for which the requisite data are available at present, more deaths than births occurred in one-third of the counties of New York State, when nonresident births and deaths were allocated to place of residence. Even during the next generation a continued increase in the urban population is dependent upon migrants from rural territory.[46]

FUTURE TREND OF RURAL POPULATION. On the basis of the probable fertility rates, Thompson and Whelpton have estimated the probable future trend of population in the United States up to 1960, for the urban, farm, and rural-nonfarm populations, assuming the rate of

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 135–136.

migration of 1920–1929 or with no migration between them taking place, with the results shown in Fig. 30. It will be noted that, with no migration, the farm population would increase rapidly, whereas that of the cities would decline after 1930, and the rural-nonfarm population would continue to increase; whereas with migration at the rate which occurred in the 1920's, the farm population would continue to decrease while the urban and rural-nonfarm would increase. The future proportion of rural and urban population will, therefore, be determined

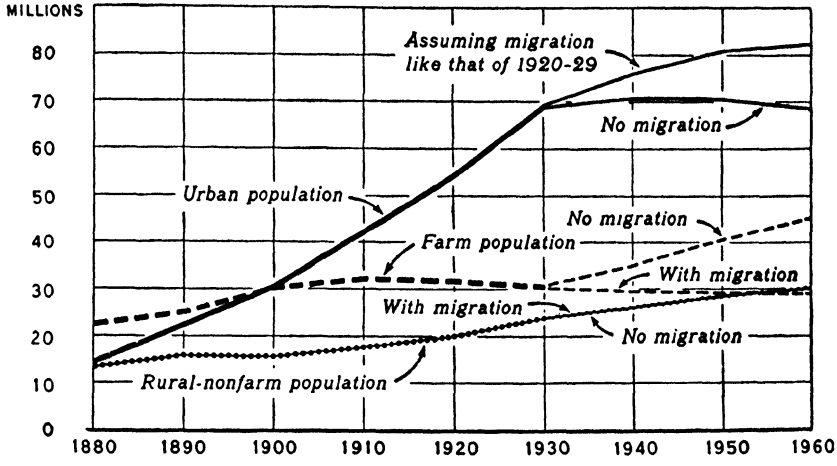


FIG. 30. Urban, farm, and rural-nonfarm population,* United States, 1880 to 1930, and estimates † for 1940, 1950, and 1960. During the half century, 1880–1930, urban population in the United States increased more than fourfold, rural-nonfarm population (estimated prior to 1920) nearly doubled, and rural-farm population increased scarcely a half. Practically all this increase in farm population took place before 1910, little change in number occurring between 1910 and 1930. Looking to the future, it is clear that the size of the urban and of the farm population will depend largely on internal migration. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

* Farm and rural nonfarm population estimated, except for 1920 and 1930.
† Estimates of Thompson and Whelpton.

chiefly by the amount of migration, as it is reasonably certain that the rural fertility rate will continue to provide an excess above that necessary for replacement.

The fact that we face an almost immediate decrease in the size of our large cities if they are not supplied with migrants from the rural territory is one of vast importance to the economic and social life of the whole country, the full significance of which it is difficult to grasp. The psychology of the United States has been one of continuous growth, ever "bigger and better," but particularly "bigger." We now face a

static population. Evidently the cities have a large stake in the welfare of the rural population, to which we shall have occasion to refer repeatedly in considering rural institutions.

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Chapter 6

THE AGRICULTURAL BASIS OF RURAL LIFE

Rural life is dependent primarily upon agriculture. Agriculture is one of our major industries, but it is also a mode of life and the economic basis of a distinctive culture. Like fishing and lumbering, farming determines the whole mode of life of the people engaged in it. Manufacturing concentrates its workers in cities or industrial towns and separates them from the home. Agriculture, on the other hand, scatters the people on the land, and the business of farming is intimately associated with the life of the home and of the community. The whole social organization of rural life is, therefore, directly dependent upon the type of agriculture and its status as an industry in the whole economic complex. In order to understand the environment of rural groups we must, therefore, have a general knowledge of the agricultural situation in which they exist.

Agriculture may also be considered a field of institutional organization, for it involves many institutional agencies, and from the institutional standpoint might be discussed along with the school and the church in Part III, Section C, Chapters 15 to 21; but, inasmuch as the whole pattern of rural life is so dependent upon the one industry, agriculture, it seems better to consider it as one of the major features of the cultural environment. The relation of agriculture to rural life in other countries [1] might teach us much if we had time to study it, but as we are dealing with the sociology of rural life of this country, we shall confine our discussion to the situation here. First, in order to understand the present status of agriculture we must learn how it has come about, we must study its history, and the present size and character of the industry. We shall then consider the outstanding problems of American agriculture (Chapter 7), and finally recent agricultural policies to meet these problems and their social implications (Chapter 8).

[1] Concerning this see Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community; P. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology, Minneapolis, Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1930.

I. A BRIEF ECONOMIC HISTORY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE [2]

For our purposes the development of American agriculture may be divided into four periods: (1) colonial and early national period; (2) period of expansion; (3) period of declining exports; (4) period of war expansion and readjustment.

The first period extends from the early settlement to the Civil War in 1860. During this period the growth of agriculture in this country was intimately related to the industrial growth of England, which was its best market. From the beginning England depended on our southern states for cotton and encouraged its growth, so that by the time of the Civil War cotton formed about two-thirds of our agricultural exports, and the value of cotton exported more than doubled between 1850 and 1860. From the French Revolution onward, and particularly during the Napoleonic Wars, the belligerent countries of Europe were able to obtain their deficit of food from the United States. It was not, however, until the Middle West was connected with the Atlantic seaboard by the Erie Canal in 1825 and later by railroads in the 1840's, that agriculture expanded rapidly in the North and grain exports became the basis of its prosperity. For the five years from 1856 to 1860, 80 percent of our exports were agricultural, but we imported manufactures equal to over 85 percent of their value. This development of our agricultural exports was chiefly associated with "the industrial growth of England, with its resultant neglect of domestic agriculture, its growing need for imported foodstuffs, and particularly its rapidly mounting consumption of American cotton." [3]

The second period of rapid expansion followed the readjustments occasioned by the Civil War.[4] This resulted in such quantities of foodstuffs as to depress prices continually, in spite of the unusual market afforded by the growth of European industrial cities. From 1870 to 1900 the quantity of our exports of wheat, corn, meat, and cotton increased enormously, from threefold for cotton to eightfold for the

[2] The data for this section have been drawn chiefly from E. G. Nourse, American Agriculture and the European Market, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1924, from which I have quoted freely, with the permission of the publishers. See also, E. E. Edwards, "American Agriculture—The First 300 Years," and A. B. Genung, "Agriculture in the World War Period," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940, pp. 171–276, 277–295.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 18.

principal cereals, and about twelvefold for meats.[5] During this period the total value of all agricultural exports increased about fourfold. As Nourse remarks, "The European markets absorbed the quantities of American farm exports that they did largely because we were conducting the most stupendous bargain counter in the history of agriculture." [6]

With the turn of the century came the beginning of the third period which was one of declining agricultural exports. This was most striking for cereal exports, for although they had slightly more than doubled from 1890 to 1900, by 1910 they were only about a third of

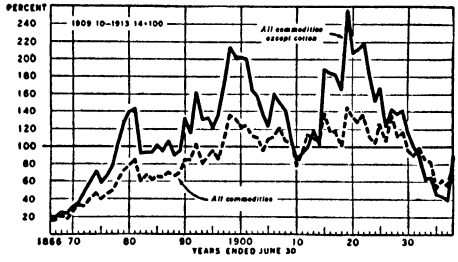


FIG. 31. Volume of agricultural products exported from the United States: index numbers, 1866 to 1938. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

what they had been in 1900.[7] Packing-house products also declined considerably, but cotton increased from about 30 percent of our agricultural exports in 1900 to nearly 55 percent in 1914, again becoming a more important item than grains. Thus the total decline in agricultural exports was by no means as precipitous as for grains and livestock products, as shown in Fig. 31.

Several factors affected this decline in our agricultural exports. First, European countries, notably Germany and France, had felt American competition of cheap exports very keenly and protected their own agriculture by higher tariffs. This was partly for political and military reasons so that these countries could become more self-sufficient. Other sources of supply of foodstuffs, notably Russia and Argentina, competed with the United States, for they furnished markets for Europe's manufactures. Furthermore, as the majority of the population became urban, the growth of the domestic market in this country absorbed much of the agricultural products which had formerly gone to Europe. American manufacturing industry had caught up with that of Europe so that it was able to supply the domestic market with its

[5] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 25–27.
[6] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 28.
[7] *Cf. ibid.*, Figs. 3 and 7, pp. 26–28.

products, and there was consequently a poorer market for European manufactures; this resulted in European countries importing agricultural products from other countries with which they could exchange their manufactures. "The figures of home production and foreign trade in the decade or two preceding the European War suggest that there was coming to be an approach toward more stable adjustment of agriculture, industry, and international trade." [8]

Thus the period from 1909 to 1914 is generally regarded by agricultural economists as the one in which the price level of agricultural products was fairly well adjusted to the cost of commodities. The balance between agriculture and other industries was fairly satisfactory.

The fourth period of agricultural history is that of the expansion caused by World War I and the subsequent readjustment. The war immediately boosted the demand for agricultural products from the United States and Canada. European production fell off by one-fourth to one-half in different years and countries. "Raise food to win the war" was the slogan of American agriculture, and "Save food to win the war" was impressed on every housewife as the means of increasing our agricultural exports to feed the Allies. Our agricultural exports, which had averaged around one billion dollars a year for the decade prior to the war, jumped to over three and one-half billion dollars in 1918 and to nearly four billion in 1919.[9] "Europe under stress of war had returned to a dependence upon the United States for foodstuffs even greater than in the old days of the nineties." [10]

As a result there was a notable increase in the number of acres tilled and in the production of livestock. Pastures were put into crops and new lands were brought into cultivation. The expansion of acreage for the five principal cereals was 11 percent from 1914 to 1918; potatoes increased one-sixth, tobacco one-third, and cattle and swine about one-fifth.[11] This produced a reversion to emphasis upon wheat and cereal production and a dislocation of systems of crop rotation which had been found to be the basis of a stable agriculture. Our farmers "cast aside many policies of permanent farm organization, soil maintenance, or margins of cultivation which had shown indications of becoming somewhat established in the pre-war period." [12]

This artificial stimulation of our agriculture continued for two years after the Armistice. European stocks of food and clothing were ex-

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[9] USDA, Agricultural Statistics, 1938, p. 382, Table 533.
[10] E. G. Nourse, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

hausted. The United States had become a creditor country and continued to make loans to its former allies to enable them to get on their feet. The acreage of our principal crops and the number of livestock increased in 1919 over that of 1918, and declined but little in 1920. As credits to Europe were restricted and agricultural products which had accumulated in distant countries, such as Argentina and Australia, came into the European market as transportation became available, Europe

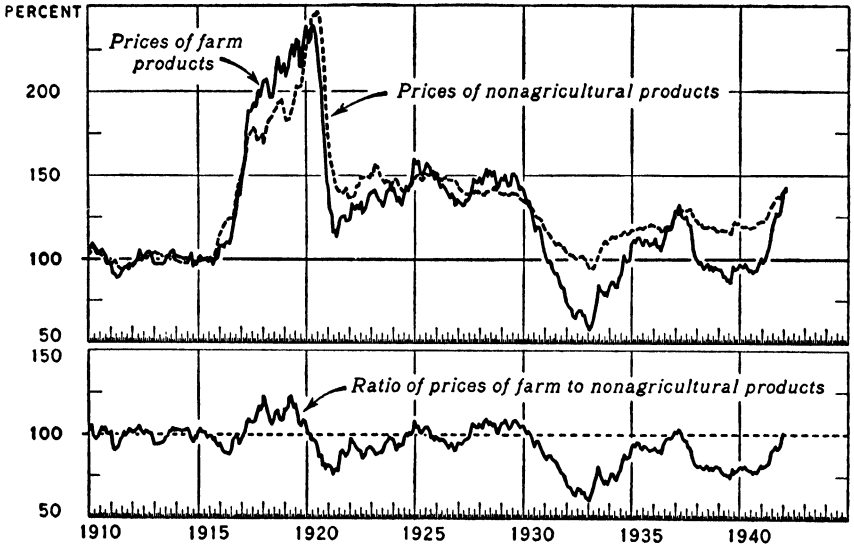


FIG. 32. Wholesale prices and ratio, farm and nonagricultural products, 1910–1942. Index numbers, 1910–1914 = 100. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

was no longer able to buy our products and our domestic market rebelled at the high prices. The result was a precipitous drop in agricultural prices during the latter part of 1920 and the first half of 1921. Farmers had developed their operations on the basis of war demand and they were unable to readjust them suddenly by stopping production as a manufacturer might do. Furthermore, farmers were unorganized to act collectively in such a situation. It was out of this situation that the rapid growth of the Farm Bureau Movement sprang, and the Non-Partisan League was a symptom of the unrest in the Great Plains.

Thus, whereas business and industry enjoyed unusual prosperity during the 1920's agriculture suffered a severe depression starting with 1921, and was slowly recovering when the industrial depression commenced with the stock market collapse of October, 1929. This collapse of farm prices may be understood best by a study of the index numbers of wholesale prices of farm products and of all commodities bought by

farmers for use in production and family maintenance, as compared with those of the five years from 1910 to 1914, as given in Table 16 and Fig. 32.

TABLE 16. INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES OF FARM PRODUCTS, AND OF ALL COMMODITIES BOUGHT BY FARMERS FOR USE IN PRODUCTION AND FAMILY MAINTENANCE, WITH THE RATIO BETWEEN THEM, 1915–1941

(Calendar years 1910–1914 = 100) *

Year	Index Number: Farm Prices Farm Products (1)	Index Number: All Commodities Bought for Use in Production and Family Maintenance (2)	Ratio of Columns (1) and (2)
1915	98	105	93
1916	118	124	95
1917	175	149	117
1918	202	176	115
1919	213	202	105
1920	211	201	105
1921	125	152	82
1922	132	149	89
1923	142	152	93
1924	143	152	94
1925	156	157	99
1926	145	155	94
1927	139	153	91
1928	149	155	96
1929	146	153	95
1930	126	145	87
1931	87	124	70
1932	65	107	61
1933	70	109	64
1934	90	123	73
1935	108	125	86
1936	114	124	92
1937	121	130	90
1938	95	122	78
1939	93	121	77
1940	98	123	80
1941	122	130	94

* From USDA, Agricultural Statistics, 1938, Table 566, p. 444, and Table 565, p. 443, and The Agricultural Situation, Feb., 1942.

American farmers were faced with a contracting market for the principal agricultural staples both abroad and at home. For the same reasons that our agricultural exports declined from 1900 to 1910, they declined still more after World War I. In 1933 they were lower than they had been since 1875. In 1933 the total agricultural exports were but $589,650,000, or slightly over half what they were from 1910 to 1914, and only about one-sixth of what they were in 1918–1919.

> The efforts toward national self-sufficiency which grew out of military ideas, post-war treaties, and national aspirations were greatly intensified by the false economic policies of some of the leading countries. The economic policy of the United States during the post-war decade was a striking example of this tendency. The war had changed our international position from that of a debtor to a creditor country. We had sent abroad tremendous quantities of goods to help carry on the war. If the debts were ever to be repaid we would have to receive in return goods and services in excess of those we were exporting currently. We refused to adjust our national economic policy to this changed situation. Instead, we built our tariff barriers higher and higher, tending to shut out the importation of foreign goods at the same time we attempted to collect the war debts. . . .
>
> These nationalistic policies for sociological, political, or military reasons, on the one hand; and the movement toward self-containment as a result of irrational and uncoordinated economic policies, on the other, both contributed to the continually increasing barriers which were placed in the path of international trade from 1925 on, and to the very serious shrinkage in international commerce during the later depression period.[13]

European production increased and exports from this country decreased as shown in Figs. 33 and 34.

Declining exports of agricultural products have not, however, been entirely due to external causes. In the last 25 years the total population of this country has increased about one-third, but the per capita production of food and feed crops has increased only about one-seventh.[14] In part this represents the response of American agriculture to a restricted foreign market, but it also indicates that exports have declined because we are using more for home consumption to meet the need of the rapid growth of our cities and the larger proportion of our popu-

[13] Mordecai Ezekiel and Louis H. Bean, Economic Bases of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, USDA, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1933, p. 14.

[14] Extension Staff, Department of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management, 1941 Economic Handbook, Ithaca, N. Y., N. Y. State Coll. of Agri., Department of Agricultural Economics and Farm Management, October, 1940, p. 2 (processed).

lation in cities. The relative effect of declining exports and increased home consumption on agricultural prices is a matter on which the agricultural economists are not agreed, but evidently both factors have been major influences.

While our foreign market was shrinking our domestic market was undergoing definite changes. The food habits of our city population demand relatively less cereals and meats and more dairy, fruit, and vegetable products. From 1869 to 1929 "the relative importance of

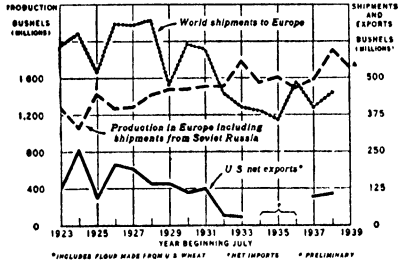


FIG. 33. United States exports of wheat (including flour) to Europe and production in Europe, 1921–1932. (After Ezekiel and Bean, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

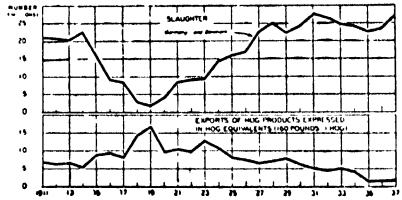


FIG. 34. Inspected hog slaughter in Germany and Denmark, and United States exports of hog products, 1911–1937. (After Ezekiel and Bean, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

staple foodstuffs in the total farm production has decreased . . . from 16 to 11 percent, but this has been chiefly made up for by the increased importance of fruit and truck crops." [15]

> Marked reductions have . . . occurred in the per capita consumption of wheat, corn, rye and potatoes. These are an outgrowth of the changed habits of life brought about by the advent of the automobile, by a greater concentration of the population in apartment homes, and by an occupational shift toward service and professional activities that call for smaller per capita requirements of foodstuffs.[16]
>
> The demand of the city populations for food is still increasing; but not so fast as their incomes. A larger proportion of today's incomes is spent for goods and services produced in the city.[17]
>
> The widespread substitution of automobiles and tractors for horsepower has reduced the number of horses on farms from 21,000,000 in 1920 to

[15] Frederick Strauss and L. H. Bean, Gross Farm Income and Indices of Farm Production and Prices in the United States, 1869–1937, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, USDA, Tech. Bul. 703, p. 6.

[16] Ezekiel and Bean, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[17] J. D. Black, Agricultural Reform in the United States, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1929, p. 481. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

12,000,000 in 1933, thus decreasing the demand for feed grains equivalent to the output of 21,000,000 acres.[18]

It has also destroyed the farmers' city market for hay and for horses.

The reduction in the rate of population growth and the change in the age distribution, as shown in Chapter 5, are also affecting domestic demand. Instead of increasing about 2 percent a year, as it did 15 years ago, our population is now increasing at the rate of 1 percent.

New methods of transportation by refrigerator cars and autotrucks (also sometimes refrigerated), have facilitated marketing for certain sections, but they have injured the market for nearby growers by competition of distant producers.

In addition to changing markets, other factors have had a large influence on the agricultural situation.

MECHANIZATION. The shortage of labor during a war always stimulates the use of more machinery, and mechanization of agriculture has been even more rapid since World War I than before, largely as the result of automotive power.

> In the last hundred years the production per worker engaged in agriculture in the United States has increased threefold. . . . In the post-war decade, 1920-29, the crop production per worker increased less than 10 percent; but the total agricultural production per worker, including livestock and livestock products, increased about 25 percent. Between 1910 and 1930 the increase in agricultural production per worker was about 41 percent.[19]

This increase has been chiefly through the use of more machinery, notably tractors and combine-threshers for small grains. In 1940 23 percent of the farms reported tractors, which was nearly double the proportion reported in 1930 (13.5 percent). In the northern small grain belt and in Illinois more than half the farms reported tractors. This has resulted in saving man power on the farms, with use for less hired labor and for fewer family hands, but it has also meant that the farmer has more capital investment, more debts for equipment, and costs for gasoline and repairs which require cash, whereas he raised his horses and their feed.[20] Much of the insolvency of farmers in the small grain belt of the Western Great Plains during the early 1930's

[18] Ezekiel and Bean, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[19] H. A. Wallace, Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1938, p. 3.

[20] *Cf.* USDA, Interbureau Committee and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Technology on the Farm, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office Aug., 1940.

was due not only to drought, but to unwise indebtedness for agricultural machinery.

TAXES. While his income has been decreasing the farmer's taxes have been increasing. Considering only real estate taxes, in 1936 he paid twice as much as from 1913 to 1915, and in 1932, when his income was lowest, this rose to nearly three times as much, as shown in Fig. 35. The farmer enjoyed the better roads and better schools which were being built, but he was unable to pay for them, and there is little wonder

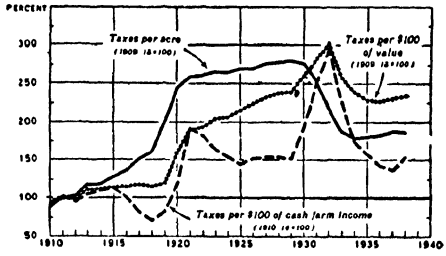


FIG. 35. Farm real estate taxes per acre, per $100 of value, and per $100 of cash farm income, 1910-1938. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

that such movements as the Farmers' Holiday Association of 1933–1935 resulted for obtaining better prices for farm products.

II. THE AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY

INVESTMENT IN AGRICULTURE AND FARM VALUES. If rated by the amount of capital invested, agriculture is the nation's most important industry. According to the latest estimates [21] the wealth invested in agriculture in 1935 was about 39 billion dollars, which was larger than all manufacturing with 31 billion, whereas railroads had about 25½ billion,[22] trade, 13 billion, and mining, 6 billion.

Another measure of the importance of agriculture in our economy is the fact that 24 percent of all employment in 1935 [23] was in agriculture, whereas manufacturing required only 20 percent, and trade and services

[21] National Resources Committee, The Structure of the American Economy: Part I, Basic Characteristics, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939, p. 377, Table VIII.

[22] The above reference includes railroads and transportation under Utilities. However, the Federal Trade Commission's report of 1926 on National Wealth and Income (69th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document 126), p. 137, gives the value of all railroads and electric roads at about 20 billion dollars, and the World Almanac for 1939, p. 366, gives the value of railroads in 1935 at 25.5 billion.

[23] National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 61, Chart II.

to the consumer each used only 16 percent of the total. It is interesting in this connection to note that the value of investment per worker in agriculture was $3,900, which is higher than in any industries except mining and public utilities; it is higher than that in manufacturing, $3,700, and almost twice the per worker investment in trade, $2,000.[24]

In spite of the high investment in agriculture, it produced only 10.4 percent of the national income in 1929, in contrast to 24 percent from manufacturing, which had less investment. Furthermore the percentage of the national income produced by agriculture, which averaged 17.3 during the years 1909–1914 and rose to 20.5 in 1918 and 1919, after

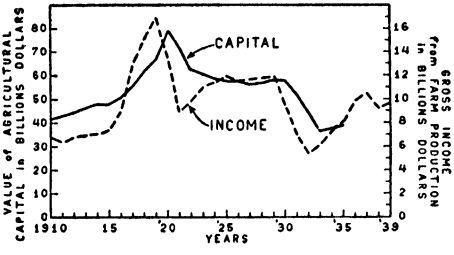


FIG. 36. Current value of agricultural capital and gross agricultural income, United States, 1910–1935. (From Agricultural Statistics, 1938, Table 557.)

that declined to 10.4 percent in 1929, while the income from manufactures and trade advanced.[25]

This decline in the proportion of the national income reveals the plight of agriculture as a result of the prolonged agricultural depression, which is more clearly shown by graphs of the rise and fall of agricultural income and capital as given in Fig. 36. In the prewar years, 1910–1914, the average agricultural income was $6,675,000,000.[26] During the war it more than doubled, rising to about 17 billion dollars in 1919, and suddenly dropping to about 9 billion in 1921. From 1922 to 1929 it remained at over 11 billion dollars, but in the next 3 years dropped to less than one-half of this, or 5⅓ billion, in 1932, which was less than the prewar average. Since then it has gradually increased to 7⅔ billion in 1939 and 11 billion in 1941 not including government benefit payments.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 63, Table I.

[25] From Maurice Leven, H. G. Moulton, and Clark Warburton, America's Capacity to Consume, Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1934, Table 6, p. 154, and chart facing p. 21.

[26] Figures on capital and income are from USDA, Agricultural Statistics, 1938, p. 434, Table 557.

The value of agricultural capital reflected the change of income, lagging behind it a year, and with a less violent fluctuation. From 1910 to the peak at 1920 the capital nearly doubled, rising from 41 to 78 billion dollars, but it then declined to a low point of less than half of this in 1933, when it was only 36¼ billion. Since then it has slowly increased, but is still less than it was in the years before World War I.

The index numbers of the estimated value per acre of farm real estate rose and fell at about the same rate as the total capital invested in agriculture. Using 1910–1912 as a base, this index rose to 170 in 1920, declined to 73 in 1933, and rose to 85 in 1938. This decline in the value of farm real estate was most severe in the best farming sections of the East and West North Central, South Atlantic, and East South Central divisions, where the value in 1933 declined from 60 to 65 percent from that of 1920, whereas in New England and the Middle Atlantic divisions it declined but 25 and 40 percent respectively.[27]

What this decline in land values meant to the individual farmer may be more clearly appreciated from the figures in Table 17 which gives the average value per farm and the average value per acre for the different census divisions since 1900.

TABLE 17. AVERAGE VALUE OF FARMS (LAND AND BUILDINGS) PER FARM AND PER ACRE, BY DIVISIONS, 1900–1935 *

	U.S.	New England	Middle Atlantic	East No. Central	West No. Central	South Atlantic	East So. Central	West So. Central	Mountain	Pacific
					Average Value Per Farm					
1940	$ 5,518	$5,478	$5,858	$ 7,289	$ 8,065	$3,099	$2,272	$4,388	$ 7,623	$11,720
1935	4,823	5,696	5,385	6,087	7,954	2,434	1,684	3,542	6,531	11,099
1930	7,614	7,530	7,880	9,660	13,623	3,639	2,528	5,263	10,188	18,431
1920	10,284	5,860	7,061	13,371	22,307	4,488	3,484	6,316	12,958	19,941
1910	5,471	3,806	5,216	7,899	10,464	2,236	1,668	3,317	7,192	13,050
1900	2,896	2,753	4,013	4,325	4,385	1,254	1,034	1,509	3,342	6,751
					Average Value Per Acre					
1940	$31 71	$55 38	$60 62	$ 64 53	$32 05	$34 14	$30 16	$21 10	$ 9 27	$50 82
1935	31 16	58.28	58 74	56 40	34 37	29 09	24 21	20 04	10 19	53 22
1930	48.52	65 86	80 40	84.20	57 10	44 60	36 88	31 57	15.61	79.70
1920	69.38	54 00	73 99	126 87	95 22	53 20	46 44	36 27	26 96	83 16
1910	39 60	36 45	56 66	75.25	49 92	23 96	21 32	18.50	22.16	48 28
1900	19 81	25.71	43 45	42.23	23 14	11 57	11 49	6.45	7 30	20 17

* Sources: U.S. Census of Agriculture, 1935, Vol. III, Table 12, and 16th Census of the U.S., Agriculture, U.S. Summary First Series, Table V.

[27] Data from Agricultural Statistics, 1938, Table 573, p. 450.

As was shown in Fig. 36 the value of farm land reflects the rise and decline of the total agricultural income, but we need to visualize what decline of income means to the individual farmer. Fig. 37 shows the proportion of the farmers, among several thousand from whom records were obtained, whose net incomes from farming operations were within specified ranges for the years 1930–1938. The incomes given include receipts from benefit payments of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, but do not include value of food produced and used on the farm, the value of family labor, interest or expenditures for farm improvement. As shown in Figs. 32 and 36, the years 1928 and 1929 had a relatively high total agricultural income and the price ratio was at nearly a prewar level. In these years about 24 percent of all farmers received a net income of under $500; 22 percent received from $500 to $999; 15 percent from $1,000 to $1,499; 10 percent from $1,500 to $1,999; 6 percent from $2,000 to $2,499; 4 percent from $2,500 to $2,999; 6 percent from $3,000 to $4,999, and 3 percent, $5,000 or more. On the other hand, 7 percent received a minus income, or lost, from $1 to $499, and 1.6 percent lost $500 or more. At the depth of the industrial depression in 1932, 43 percent had an income of under $500; 10 percent received $500 to $999, and only 4.4 percent had incomes of $1,000 or more in contrast to 46 percent in 1928; whereas one-third of all farmers had a minus income up to $499; and 9 percent lost $500 or more.[28] Forty-two percent of all farmers lost money in 1932 and another 43 percent had an income insufficient to maintain a minimum standard of living. It is no wonder that in 1932 the number of forced sales and related defaults of farms reached a peak of 54 per 1,000. These forced sales were highest in the West North Central, South

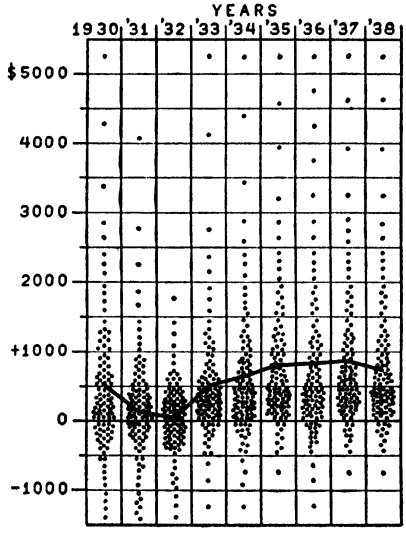


FIG. 37. Farm returns; proportion of farmers obtaining net farm incomes within specified ranges, 1930–1938. (Data from Agricultural Statistics, 1940, Table 689.)

[28] Data from Agricultural Statistics, 1939, Table 562, p. 439. The same relative distribution of labor incomes is shown for New York State by H. S. Tyler in Cornell Ext. Bul. 401, "Factors Affecting Labor Incomes on New York Farms" (see cover figure).

Atlantic, and West South Central states and were least in the New England and Middle Atlantic states.[29]

AREA IN FARMS. Somewhat over half (55.4 percent) of the land area of the United States is in farms. However, in this as in all other statistics concerning agriculture, figures for the whole country are misleading. As shown in Table 18 only three census divisions (New

TABLE 18. PROPORTION OF PERCENTAGES OF LAND IN FARMS BY DIVISIONS, 1900–1940

	U.S.	New England	Middle Atlantic	East No. Central	West No. Central	South Atlantic	East So. Central	West So. Central	Mountain	Pacific
1940	55 7	33 1	53 3	72 5	84 0	53 9	66 7	72.7	35.0	31 1
1935	55 4	39 0	57 0	74 4	83 5	55 7	68 9	73 1	31.6	30 7
1930	51 8	36 0	54 8	70 6	81.2	50 2	63 4	66.9	28 6	29 7
1920	50 2	42 8	63 4	74 9	78 6	56 8	68 7	63 1	21 3	27 6
1910	46 2	49 7	67 5	75 0	71 2	60 3	71 0	61.5	10.8	25 2
1900	44 1	51 8	70 1	74 1	61 5	60 6	70 7	64.2	8.4	23.3

England, Mountain, and Pacific) have less than half of their land in farms. Two of these divisions, Mountain and Pacific, comprise 40 percent of the land area, but have only 31 percent in farms. On the other hand, the four divisions (East and West North Central and East and West South Central) which contain two-thirds of the farms of the United States and comprise 46 percent of its area have 77 percent in farms.

All divisions showed an increase of the proportion in farms from 1930 to 1935, but in 1940 only the newer agricultural sections (West North Central, West South Central, Mountain, and Pacific) had increased the proportion, whereas in all the five other divisions the proportion had decreased since 1900. However, these four divisions include 71 percent of the land area of the country; this accounts for the increase in the proportion for the United States as a whole.

NUMBER OF FARMS. With the exception of the decade 1920–30, the number of farms increased steadily since 1900 (Table 19). From 1930 to 1935 the number increased in all divisions. Until 1930 the number of farms increased in the same four divisions in which the proportion of land in farms had increased and also in the East South Central division (being, in this division, a result of an increase of

[29] Data from Agricultural Statistics, 1939, Table 574, p. 451.

tenancy), but in the other four divisions there was a definite decrease in the number of farms. The four divisions in which the decrease in the number of farms occurred comprise only 23 percent of the land area of the country and 41 percent of its farms, and include the older agricultural sections northeast of the Ohio and Mississippi and the South Atlantic division.

TABLE 19. NUMBER OF FARMS BY DIVISIONS, 1900–1940

(In thousands)

	U.S.	New England	Middle Atlantic	East No. Central	West No. Central	South Atlantic	East So. Central	West So. Central	Mountain	Pacific
1940*	6,097	135	348	1,006	1,090	1,019	1,023	964	233	276
1935	6,812	158	398	1,084	1,180	1,147	1,137	1,138	271	300
1930	6,289	125	358	966	1,113	1,058	1,062	1,103	241	262
1920	6,448	157	425	1,085	1,097	1,159	1,052	996	244	234
1910	6,361	189	468	1,123	1,110	1,112	1,042	943	183	190
1900	5,737	192	486	1,136	1,061	962	903	755	101	142

* Source: Bureau of the Census, 16th Census, Agriculture, U. S. Summary, Table V.

The increase in the number of farms from 1930 to 1935 was most marked in the industrial Northeast, the three northeastern divisions having an increase of 13 percent, with a maximum of 26 percent in New England. A considerable part of this increase was due to differences in methods of enumeration in the two censuses, but the real increase was largely due to the increase of part-time farming in this area.

From 1930 to 1940 the number of farms declined 3.1 percent, but by nearly 15 percent from 1935 to 1940. This is directly associated with the increase in size of farms (Table 20). The number of farms declined in all divisions between 1935 and 1940, but from 1930 to 1940 it increased in the New England, East North Central, and Pacific divisions.

SIZE OF FARMS. The average size of all farms in the United States in 1940 was 174 acres, or over a quarter-section. The average in the different census divisions (Table 20) varied from 75.3 acres in the East South Central division, which was less than half the average, to 821.9 acres in the Mountain division, which was over four times the average. For the country as a whole there has been a steady growth in the size of farms since 1910. Again, however, this total is misleading for,

until 1930, the increase occurred in but five of the divisions, which included 60 percent of the area and 44 percent of the farms of the country, whereas the four divisions in which the average size decreased (South Atlantic, East and West South Central and Pacific) included 56 percent of the farms, although but 40 percent of the area of the country. Until 1930 it was in the Northern and Mountain states that the size of farms increased, whereas in the South and on the Pacific Coast they decreased in size.

TABLE 20. AVERAGE ACREAGE PER FARM BY DIVISIONS, 1900–1940

	U.S.	New England	Middle Atlantic	East No. Central	West No. Central	South Atlantic	East So. Central	West So. Central	Mountain	Pacific
1940*	174.0	98 9	96 6	113 0	251 6	90.8	75.3	207 9	821 9	230 6
1935	154 8	97 7	91 7	107 9	231 4	83 7	69.6	176 8	640 7	208 6
1930	156 9	114 3	98 0	114 7	238 6	81 6	68.6	166 7	652 5	231 2
1920	148 2	108 5	95.4	108 5	234.3	84.4	75.0	174.1	480 7	239 8
1910	138 1	104 4	92 2	105 0	209.6	93 3	78 2	179 3	324 5	270 3
1900	146 2	107.1	92 4	102.4	189.5	108 4	89.9	233 8	457 9	334 8

* Source: Bureau of the Census, 16th Census, Agriculture, U. S. Summary, Table V.

From 1930 to 1935, coincident with the increase in the number of farms, the average size decreased in all divisions except the three southern divisions. In the North this was due to the same factors which accounted for the increase in numbers, namely, differences in enumeration and the increase of part-time farming by workers employed in industry, whereas in the South the increase in acreage was confined to the cotton-growing states and was due to the decline in the proportion of farms operated by share croppers. But from 1935 to 1940 the average size increased in all divisions. The average size in 1940 was 10 percent larger than in 1930. It was slightly smaller in the Middle Atlantic, East North Central, and Pacific divisions, and only in New England was the size considerably smaller than in 1930.

This increase in the proportion of small farms, under 20 acres, has been going on for the past half century, as shown in Table 21. From 1930 to 1940 the proportion of large farms, 500 acres or over, increased nearly 10 percent. Although they form less than 5 percent of the total number, they include nearly half of the total land in farms and over 15 percent of the total valuation.[30] The proportion of farms of 20 to 100

[30] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Agriculture, press release, April 4, 1941.

acres has remained fairly constant, and the proportion of the typical commercial farms from 100 to 500 acres has decreased somewhat in the last 50 years.

TABLE 21. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FARMS BY SIZE, 1890–1940, AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN NUMBER OF FARMS, 1930–1940, UNITED STATES

Size Group	1940*	1935†	1930	1920	1910	1900	1890	Percentage Increase in Number of Farms	
								1930–1935*	1930–1940†
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	+8.3	−3.1
Under 20 acres	17 5	18.4	14 6	12 4	13 2	11 7	9 1	36.6	16 0
Under 3 acres	0 6	0.5	0 7	0 3	0 3	0.7	3.3	−17 3	−16 3
3 to 9 acres	7 7	7 9	5 0	4 2	5.0	3 9		69 7	49.1
10 to 19 acres	9.1	10 0	8 9	7.9	7.9	7.1	5 8	22 1	−0.1
20 to 99 acres									
20 to 49 acres	20 2	21 1	22 9	23 3	22 2	21.9	19.8	**	−15.2
50 to 99 acres	21.1	21 2	21 9	22 9	22 6	23 8	24 6	5 0	−6 1
100 to 449 acres	37 0	35 5	36 8	38 1	39 2	39 9	44 0	4 4	−2.6
100 to 174 acres	21 0	20 6	21.4	22.5	23 8	24 8		4 6	−4 8
175 to 259 acres	8 4	7 9	8 3	8 2	8 4	8 5		3 8	−0 6
260 to 499 acres	7 5	6 9	7 2	7 4	7 0	6 6		4.9	1 7
500 acres and over	4.3	3 8	3 8	3 3	2 8	2 6	2 5	6.5	9.9
500 to 999 acres	2 7	2 5	2 5	2 3	2 0	1 8	1.8	4.9	2 5
1,000 acres and over	1 6	1.3	1 3	1 0	0 8	0 8	0 7	10 0	24 7

* U.S. Census of Agriculture, 1935, Vol. III. Percentage distribution from Table 4, p. 50; percentage increase from Table 6, p. 52.

† 1940, source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Agriculture, press release of April 4, 1941.

** Less than 1/10 of 1 per cent decrease.

Between 1930 and 1940 there was a decrease of one-sixth in the number of farms under 3 acres; this occurred in all divisions except New England and the West South Central States. But in the same period farms from 3 to 9 acres increased practically one-half (49.1 per cent), this increase being most marked in New England, the East North Central and West South Central divisions, where the increase was three-fourths. (See Table 22.)

One of the most notable changes in size of farms in the past decade occurred in the three southern divisions, in all of which there was a

TABLE 22. PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN NUMBER OF FARMS OF DESIGNATED SIZE FROM 1930 TO 1940, BY DIVISIONS *

	Total	Under 20 acres	Under 3 acres	3 to 9 acres	10 to 19 acres	20 to 49 acres	50 to 99 acres	100 to 499 acres	500 acres and over	500 to 999 acres	1,000 acres and over
United States	−3.1	16 0	−16 3	49 1	−0 1	−15 2	−6 1	−2.6	9 9	2 5	24.7
New England	8 2	63 8	18 8	91 9	43.0	11.5	−1 0	−9.9	−12.1	−11.2	−16.7
Middle Atlantic	−2 6	20 1	−15 8	38 0	9 6	−3.3	−8.9	−6.7	10 0	10 8	2.4
East North Central	4 1	50 2	−10 9	75 9	31 5	7 5	−4.3	−0.3	29.6	30 7	26 5
West North Central	−2.0	19 1	−47.9	35.1	12.0	3 2	−2 0	−5.4	5.1	−1.1	24.4
South Atlantic	−3 7	9 2	1 0	35 8	−5.0	−17 5	−3.7	4.4	22.8	18.2	38.0
East South Central	−3.6	8 9	−31 4	47 0	−4.1	−18.7	−1.0	5 7	37.2	31.1	56.4
West South Central	−12 5	2 5	73 3	74 8	−14.1	−31 9	−20 9	−3.3	31.3	30.7	32.2
Mountain	−3 2	6 9	−61 5	32 2	11 5	3 2	1.8	−13.9	1.5	−17.7	25.8
Pacific	5.5	18.0	−25 2	38.2	11 6	3.1	1.8	−5.8	−3.0	−10.6	4 9

* Computed from U.S. Census of Agriculture, 1940, press release, April 4, 1941.

decrease of from 17 to 32 percent in the number of farms of 20 to 49 acres, and an outstanding increase (23 to 37 percent) in the proportion which had 500 or more acres. This is definite evidence of the decrease in the number of share cropper farms in these states and the increased use of wage labor in larger units operated by owners and plantation managers, although in many cases this may not involve any real change in the size of the real operating unit, the plantation.

Although the number of small farms has increased, this is of more importance from the standpoint of the increased population on the land than in its effect on the volume of agricultural production. This may be shown by the acreage involved in farms of various sizes. Thus, nearly two-fifths of all farms are under 50 acres and the same pro-

TABLE 23. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN FARMS, CROP LAND HARVESTED, AND NUMBER OF FARMS, BY SIZE OF FARMS, UNITED STATES, 1935 *

	Per cent of Land in Farms	Per cent of Crop Land Harvested	Per cent of Number of Farms
Total	100	100	100
Under 20 acres	1.2	2 7	18.4
20 to 49 acres	4 4	8 5	21.1
50 to 99 acres	9.9	15.1	21.2
100 to 499 acres	44 1	58.7	35.5
500 acres or more	40.2	14 9	3 8

* U.S. Census of Agriculture, 1935, Vol. III, Table 6, p. 52.

portion are 100 acres or more, but the former class harvests only about one-ninth of the total crop land, whereas the latter harvests nearly three-fourths (Table 23).

The size of farm is directly associated with the type of farm as determined by the major farm products (see p. 127). Thus cotton, self-sufficing, poultry, fruit, and truck farms are mostly small farms, the majority being under 50 acres; general farms, animal specialty, and cash grain farms have a majority over 100 acres, whereas over two-thirds of the stock ranches are 500 acres or more.[31]

TYPES OF FARMING. Not only do farms vary widely in size, but they also include many distinct types, some of which are quite closely correlated with size. From the standpoint of their social significance two main classes and four types of farms may be differentiated: (A) family farms including (1) subsistence or noncommercial family farms, and (2) family farms which are primarily commercial; and (B) large scale farms, including (3) what may be called factory farms, and (4) plantations. Both of the first two types depend chiefly upon the labor of the operator's family.

A. Family Farms. (1) The first, or subsistence, type of farming includes self-sufficing farms and part-time farms. Self-sufficing farms are those which sell products of less value than those consumed by the family, or whose main production is for family subsistence. These are most numerous in the Southern Appalachian and Ozark Highlands, as shown in Fig. 38. In 1930 they numbered nearly a half million, or 8.3 percent of all farms reported by type. Descriptions of families on this type of farm may be found in Zimmerman and Frampton's "The Family and Society." [32]

Another type of subsistence farms are the part-time farms, whose operators obtain a major share of their incomes from work off the farm. In most cases part-time farmers are regularly employed in some industry. Although there is a concentration of part-time farms in the southern Appalachian Mountains, they are widely scattered, and cluster around the cities and in the industrial sections (Fig. 39). In 1935 the census reported 572,000 farms whose owners worked more than 150 days off the farm, which was the basis of the tabulation. This

[31] See O. E. Baker, A Graphic Summary of the Number, Size, and Type of Farm, and Value of Products, Washington, D.C., USDA, Misc. Pub. 266, 1937, Fig. 54, p. 38.

[32] C. C. Zimmerman and M. E. Frampton, Family and Society, New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1935, Chapters XII, XIII. See also F. D. Alexander, "Family Life in a Rural Community" [McNairy Co., Tenn.], *Social Forces,* 18: 392–402, March, 1940.

group form 8.4 percent of all farms. Thus one-sixth of all farms are noncommercial family farms.

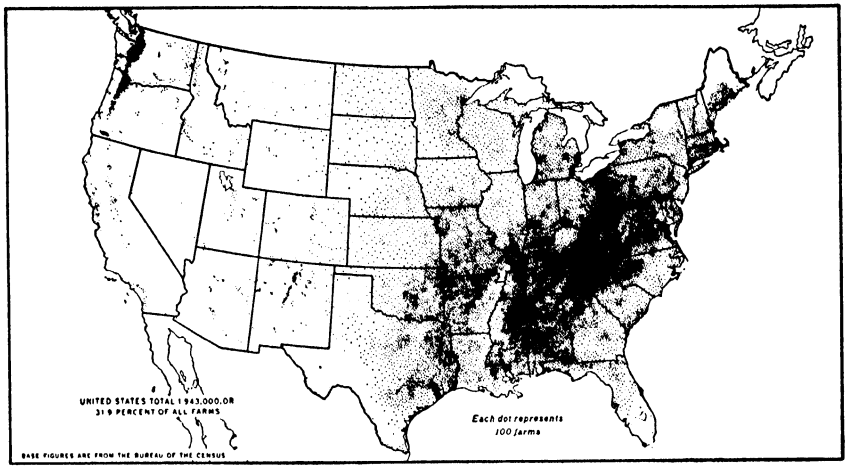


FIG. 38. Self-sufficient farms, i.e., farms reporting farm products used by household as major source of income, 1940. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

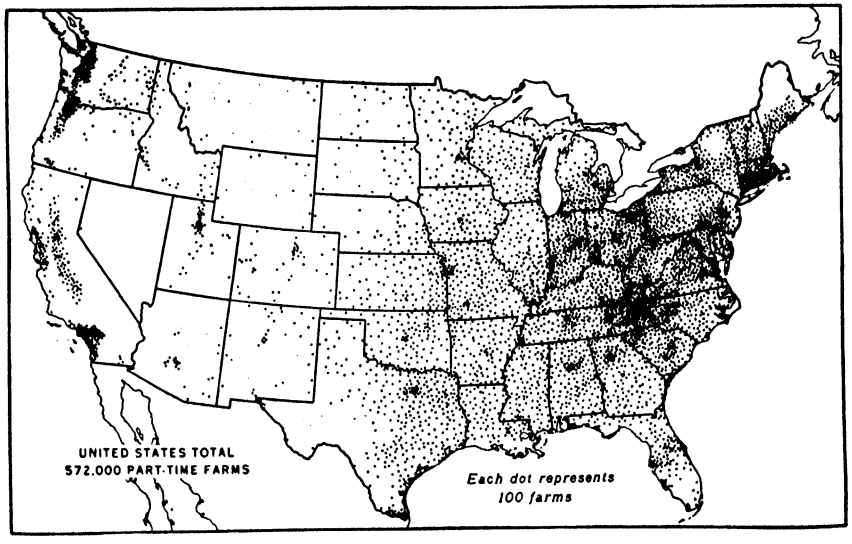


FIG. 39. Part-time farms in the United States, including those producing over $750 of products, January 1, 1935. (After O. E. Baker, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

There was a large increase of part-time farms between 1930 and 1935 in southern New England and also around cities, where industrial workers who were only partially employed resorted to farming to

increase their incomes. Davis [33] states that 63 percent of the farms in Connecticut are operated on a part-time basis. One of the best studies of part-time farming is that made by the Works Progress Administration in the Southeastern States in 1935,[34] which clearly reveals the advantages and limitations of part-time farming in that area. The income received from the part-time farm is insufficient to maintain the family without other employment. Thus Hood found that on 725 part-time farms in New York State the average net farm income was $214, as against $751 net income from work off the farm.[35]

(2) The commercial family farm is the type which includes two-thirds to three-fourths of the farms in this country. The operator lives on the farm and markets most of his products as his chief business and source of income. The operator may have one or two tenants or hired hands, but the bulk of the work is done by himself and his family. This is the dominant type of farming throughout the country, except in the more intensive cotton counties in the South, where the plantation system is prevalent, and in certain areas in California and the West where large scale farming is common, as described below. The family farm is run as a business, but it is a family business rather than one which depends chiefly upon the employment of others, either as wage hands or as tenants.

B. Large Scale Farms. The term large scale farm may be applied to the second class, although it is not entirely descriptive of its characteristics and is used for want of a better one. It includes various types of enterprises, all of which involve either a considerable number of tenant farms operated as one unit or a large amount of hired labor, so that the farm is strictly a commercial proposition, often operated by a paid manager, and is not a one-family enterprise. In some cases, as in the truck farms of the Imperial Valley in California, the large scale farm is operated on practically a factory basis with a high division of labor. The large scale farm is operated almost solely for profits

[33] I. G. Davis and L. A. Salter, Jr., "Part-Time Farming in Connecticut," Bul. 201, Storrs, Conn. AES, March, 1935. Concerning the increase of part-time farming during the depression and for further bibliography, see Dwight Sanderson, "Research Memorandum on Rural Life during the Depression," New York, Social Science Research Council, Bul. 34, 1937, pp. 38–45.

[34] R. H. Allen, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., W. W. Troxell, H. L. Herring, and A. D. Edwards, Part-Time Farming in the Southeast, Washington, D.C., WPA, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph IX, 1937.

[35] Kenneth Hood, "An Economic Study of Part-Time Farming in the Elmira and Albany Areas of New York, 1932 and 1933," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 647, April, 1936, Table 167, p. 129.

and to a very slight extent are its products used for the maintenance of the operator's family or the families of the employees.

(3) The typical large scale farm, or *factory farm*,[36] is best defined by a combination index of acreage, capital invested, and number of employees. D. Curtis Mumford has defined large scale farming as follows:

> . . . A single farm or a group of farms under one closely controlled and supervised management, if the size of the total farm business was at least five to eight times as large as the typical farm business in the same locality producing the same kind of products.[37]

He differentiates large scale farms by an index obtained by combining the three factors of acreage, capital invested, and number of employees.

According to a study made by the Bureau of the Census,[38] in 1929 7,875 large scale farms formed only ⅛ of 1 percent of all farms in the United States, but they included 6.9 percent of the total acres in farms and had 11 percent of the total expenditure for farm labor.

Of the farms tabulated in the Census study, 57 percent were in the Pacific and Mountain states, 37 percent being in California, and 12 percent in the West South Central States.

As defined by Mr. Mumford, they are much more common in the Cotton Belt than elsewhere, about one-half of those studied by him being in the South Atlantic and East and West South Central divisions and one-third of them being cotton farms; there are also a goodly number in California.

Of the 1,116 large scale farms studied by Mr. Mumford, 81 percent were over 1,000 acres, although the Census study showed only 43 percent of this size. If the same ratio obtained for all large scale farms, they would include from 3.8 to 7.2 percent of all farms of 1,000 acres or more. Large scale farms are not, therefore, a major factor in the agriculture of the United States as a whole.

Contrary to popular impression only about one-fourth of the large scale farms are owned by corporations, whereas 54 percent are owned

[36] The term *factory farm* as here used is equivalent to the large scale farm of Mumford and Jennings.

[37] D. C. Mumford, Large-Scale Farming in the United States, Washington, D.C., USDA, BAE, April, 1933, pp. 52, processed. The following facts are drawn from his paper.

[38] R. D. Jennings, Large-scale Farming in the United States, Washington, D.C., Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930 Census of Agriculture, p. 24, 1933. This study defines large scale farms as those with a minimum of $30,000 worth of products.

by individuals. The size of these enterprises may be indicated by the average of those studied by Mumford, which had 13,265 acres, employed 49 men, and had an investment of $348,605. The beef cattle and sheep ranches have the largest investments, averaging over half a million dollars each.

(4) The large cotton plantations of the South are a somewhat similar type of large scale farming, although most of them were specifically

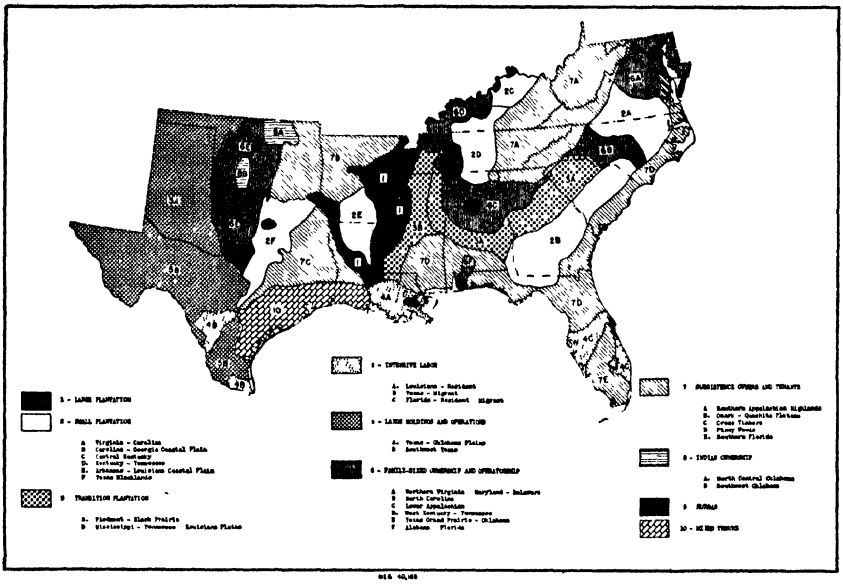


FIG. 40. Tenure areas in the South, by types. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

excluded from the Census study of large scale farms because they usually consist of several farms as defined by the Census.[39] The distribution of the plantation, by types, is shown in Fig. 40. Woofter[40] defines a plantation as a tract with five or more resident families, including the landlord. He gives a concise description of the average cotton plantation, based on a study of 646 of them in the seven states of the Eastern Cotton Belt. They average 907 acres, with an invest-

[39] For a good description of the social aspects of the plantation see, Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, Deep South, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1941, Chapter XIX.

[40] T. J. Woofter, Jr., Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation, Washington, D.C., WPA, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph V, 1936; and W. C. Holley, Ellen Winston, and T. J. Woofter, Jr., The Plantation South, 1934–1937, Research Monograph XXII, 1940.

ment of $28,700, and had a gross income of about $9,500. "The typical plantation was occupied by 14 families, exclusive of the landlord's family, of which 3 were headed by wage hands, 8 by croppers, 2 by other share tenants, and 1 by a renter." [41]

The Census of 1910 made an inquiry into cotton plantations in the South.[42] It found 33,908 in 270 counties which were considered plantation counties, out of a total of 495 counties in the seven states of the Eastern Cotton Belt. Woofter states that at present there are probably not over 30,000 plantations in these counties. In 1910 there were 10.5 tenants per plantation and they formed 54.3 percent of all tenants in the counties studied. Woofter states [43] that "the number and proportion of large holdings in the South have decreased and the number and proportion of small holdings have increased, reflecting the increasing division of land ownership"; but he adds, "At present there is a tendency to hold large tracts together, especially since so much worn-out land has been dropped from cultivation." Plantations are the most numerous along the Delta or Bottomlands of the Mississippi and its tributaries in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, where they make up 17.7 percent of all land tracts.[44] In 1910 the plantations in the seven states of the Eastern Cotton Belt included 40 percent of the farms in those states, and 6.0 percent of all farms in the United States. At present the proportion is smaller, but represents well over 5 percent of the number and about 2.5 percent of the acres of all farms in the country.

It is evident that the cotton plantations are much more numerous than the factory-type large scale farms, and that they are smaller, but they represent much the same type of agriculture from a social point of view, in that they are chiefly operated by tenants and hired workers, and are operated on a basis much more similar to that of the manufacturing industry than to that of the typical family farm.

Farms by Types of Production. The type of farm may also be determined by its major products, which are influenced chiefly by climate, soil, topography, etc. In the 1930 Census of Agriculture farms were classified by type of products which formed 40 percent or more of the total products sold. On this basis the more important types of farms are distributed as shown in Figs. 41 to 46. From these maps it is obvious that certain types of production are concentrated in certain regions, such as the Cotton Belt, the Corn Belt, the Small Grain Belt of the Great Plains, the Tobacco Belts, the Dairy Region, and

[41] *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.
[42] U.S. Census, 1910, Vol. V, Chapter XII.
[43] Woofter, *op. cit.*, p. xxi.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Chapter 7

SOME PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

In our survey of the history of American agriculture and the extent and nature of the industry we have encountered various significant problems. Some of the more important of these it is necessary to examine more closely for, although we cannot attempt a treatise on agricultural economics, the student must have an understanding of the major economic issues of rural life if he is to have an adequate perspective with regard to its problems of social organization. We shall confine ourselves to six of the more important of these issues: (1) land tenure, (2) farm credit, (3) taxes, (4) marketing and buying, (5) agricultural labor, and (6) soil conservation and land use.

I. LAND TENURE

Ownership of the land by the operator has been a characteristic of American agriculture in contrast to that of Europe, where tenancy has been more commonly accepted. Thus in England (as an extreme example) in 1914 90 percent of the farmers were tenants, whereas only 38 percent were tenants in the United States. Indeed, hunger for land was one of the chief causes of the settlement of this country by emigrants from Europe from the time of its colonization until after World War I.

With the occupation of most of the good land at the end of the last century and with the consequent rise in land values, the proportion of tenants increased rapidly. In 1880 a little over one-fourth of our farms were operated by tenants; in 1930 this had risen to 42 percent (see Fig. 48), but declined to 38.7 percent in 1940[1] From 1930 to 1935 the number of farms occupied by tenants increased 7.5 percent, but for the decade 1930–1940 it declined 1.1 percent, and in the southern states it declined 13.6 percent. The percentage of all farms occu-

[1] *Cf.* J. F. Timmons, Tenure Status of Farm People, 1940, U.S. BAE, *Land Policy Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 29–35, August, 1941.

pied by tenants declined 3.3 points from 1930 to 1940, whereas between 1920 and 1930 it had increased 4.4 percent.

The rapid increase of tenancy in the 1920's was followed by the industrial depression of the 30's and unprecedented droughts over large areas of the country. Federal aid for relief was extended to rural people as well as the urban unemployed and it soon became apparent that it was the tenants and farm laborers who most required assistance. Thus in a study of 116,972 families in 300 counties the Works Progress Administration found that in June, 1935, only 5.4 percent of owners were on relief but 12.2 percent of tenants and 14.3 percent of croppers were receiving relief.[2] The relation of tenancy to

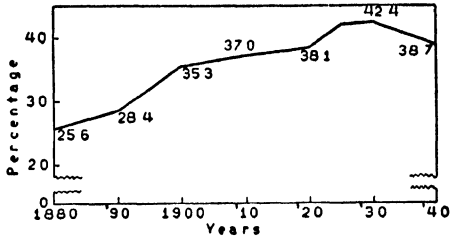


FIG. 48. Percentage of farm tenants, 1880 to 1940. (From U.S. Census.)

rural poverty was so obvious that President Roosevelt appointed a special committee on farm tenancy which prepared a report summarizing the situation,[3] and formed the basis of later legislation.

During the 1932 depression many owners lost their farms through foreclosure and became tenants; at the same time many tenants, particularly share croppers, became farm laborers, so that it is difficult to interpret the long-time trends of tenancy from the Census figures. To reveal the actual conditions detailed regional surveys are needed.

The total tenancy figures for the whole United States mean very little, however, unless we consider the types of tenancy in different parts of the country, for the "share cropper" of the South is quite a different sort of tenant from a cash tenant in the Midwest. The Corn Belt tenant is usually either a *cash* or *share tenant*. A *cash tenant* pays a fixed cash rent for the use of the farm and has full responsibility

[2] Berta Asch and A. R. Mangus, Farmers on Relief and Rehabilitation, Washington, D.C., WPA, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph VIII, 1937, Table 16, p. 51. See also, C. C. Zimmerman and N. L. Whetten, Rural Families on Relief, Washington, D.C., WPA, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph XVII, 1938, Table 2, p. 14.

[3] Committee on Farm Tenancy, H. A. Wallace, Chairman, Farm Tenancy, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1937. Prepared under the auspices of the National Resources Committee.

for it. Only 18 percent of tenant farms were rented for cash in 1930, this form of tenure being most common on the Pacific Coast, in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Iowa, New York, New Jersey, and Florida. *Share tenants,* who pay for the use of the farm by a fixed share of the farm products, are the most common throughout the country. In contrast to share croppers, they have complete control of the land and own their own equipment. Smith [4] recognizes a class of "standing" tenants, who pay a fixed amount of produce (bales of cotton, bushels of wheat, etc.) for the use of the land. This is the least common form of tenure and is quite similar to a cash lease, but both parties assume the risk of changes in the value of the product.

On the other hand, as T. Lynn Smith has shown,[5] the share cropper should more properly be considered a farm laborer. The share cropper of the South usually does not own his work stock or tools and operates a small piece of land under the direct supervision of the landlord as a part of a plantation. As Smith says, "The cropper is a day laborer, works under constant direction, has no exclusive right to the premises or title to the crop he produces." [6] Smith proposes, therefore, that share croppers should be classed as farm laborers,[7] which would very materially change the percentage of tenancy in the South,[8] as given by the U. S. Census which includes them as tenants. His findings reduce the percentage of tenancy for the United States from 42.1 to 34.8 percent, and for the South from 56.4 to 41.1 percent for 1930. The number of croppers in the South declined 24 percent from 1930 to 1940.[9]

Tenancy is most common in the Cotton Belt, in the Corn Belt, and in the eastern or more humid part of the northern Wheat Belt, as shown in Fig. 49. By Census divisions, it is highest in the East and West South Central States, where 50 and 52.5 percent of the farms were occupied by tenants in 1940, and in the East and West North Central states where 27.8 and 42.4 percent were occupied by tenants in 1940.[9] The highest concentration of tenants is in the Mississippi Delta of Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana where tenant farms form over 80 percent.

[4] T. L. Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1940, p. 269.

[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 264–270.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 268.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 269.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 272, summarizing findings of Karl Brandt, "Fallacious Census Terminology and Its Consequences in Agriculture," *Social Research,* V, 1938, pp. 29–30.

[9] Computed from press release of March 18, 1941. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Agriculture.

In general, tenancy is highest on the most fertile land, for only good land can support both landlord and tenant; but this is more true in

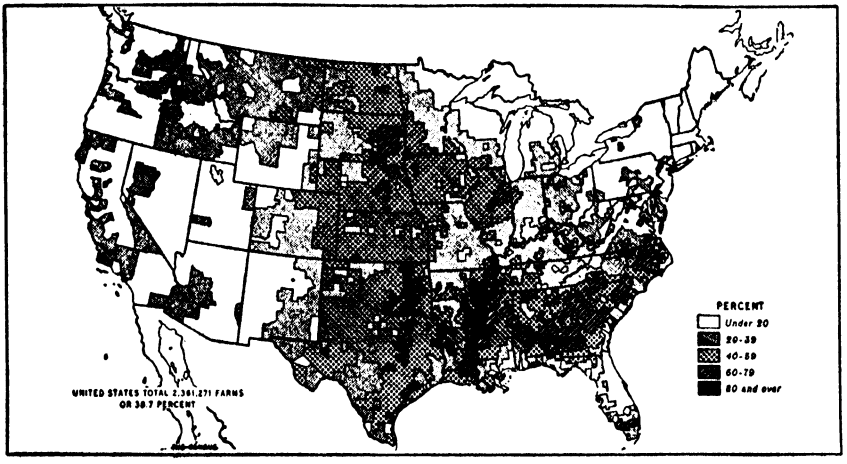


FIG. 49. Tenant and cropper farms, percentage of all farms, 1940. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

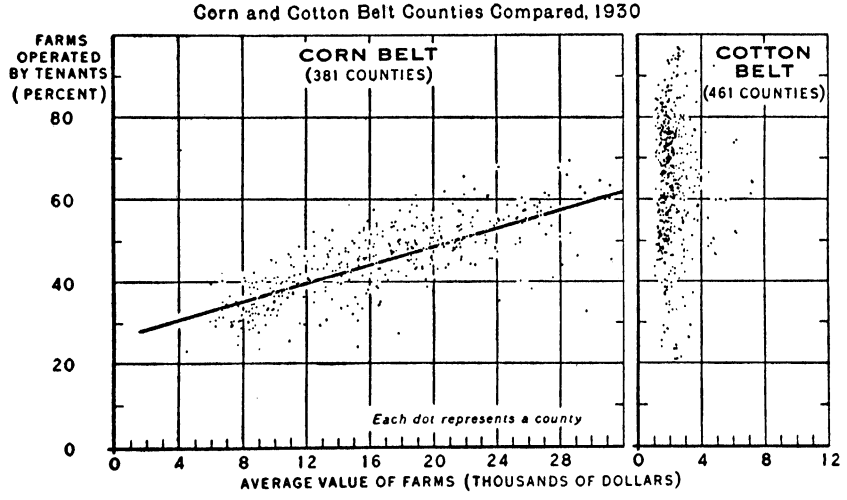


FIG. 50. Average value of farms in relation to percentage of farms operated by tenants, by comparison of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt counties, 1930. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

the North than in the South. This is clearly shown by Fig. 50, which reveals that in the North the percentage of farms operated by tenants increases with the average value of farms, whereas in the South there is no such correlation. It is the rich Mississippi Delta and the most

fertile counties in Illinois which have the highest proportion of tenancy.

The difference in tenancy in the Corn and Cotton Belts is also shown in Fig. 51,[10] which compares the value of the farm dwelling by the tenure of the operator for 9 North Central and 16 Southern states. It reveals that in the North the value of the dwelling of tenants is but slightly lower than that of owners, whereas in the South the proportion of poor dwellings, worth under $500, is twice that of the owners.

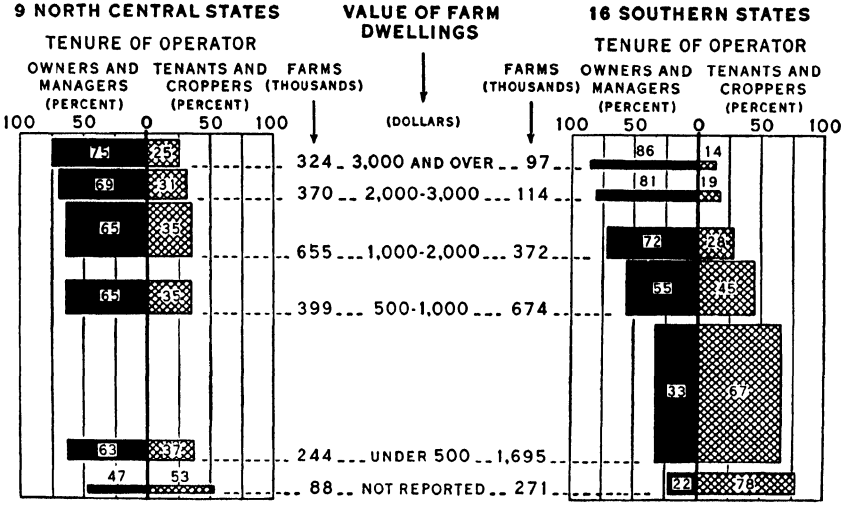


FIG. 51. Value of farm dwellings in relation to tenure of operator, 9 North Central compared with 16 Southern states, 1930. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

Tenancy is also associated with the crops grown, being highest where agriculture is most highly commercialized for the production of cultivated crops, or of grains which can be grown extensively with the help of automotive machinery. Thus, as shown in Fig. 52, in 1924 over two-thirds of the cotton acreage, nearly one-half that of tobacco, and about 45 percent of that of sugar beets, were grown by tenants; nearly half of the corn acreage, 42 percent of the oat acreage for grain, and 38 percent of the wheat acreage were produced by tenants.

According to the Census figures tenancy is associated with small farms in the Cotton Belt, where about three-fourths of the farms under

[10] See also T. J. Woofter, Jr., The Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation, Washington, D.C., WPA, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph V, 1936, Fig. 21, p. 93. Reproduced in P. H. Landis, Rural Life in Process, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940, p. 473.

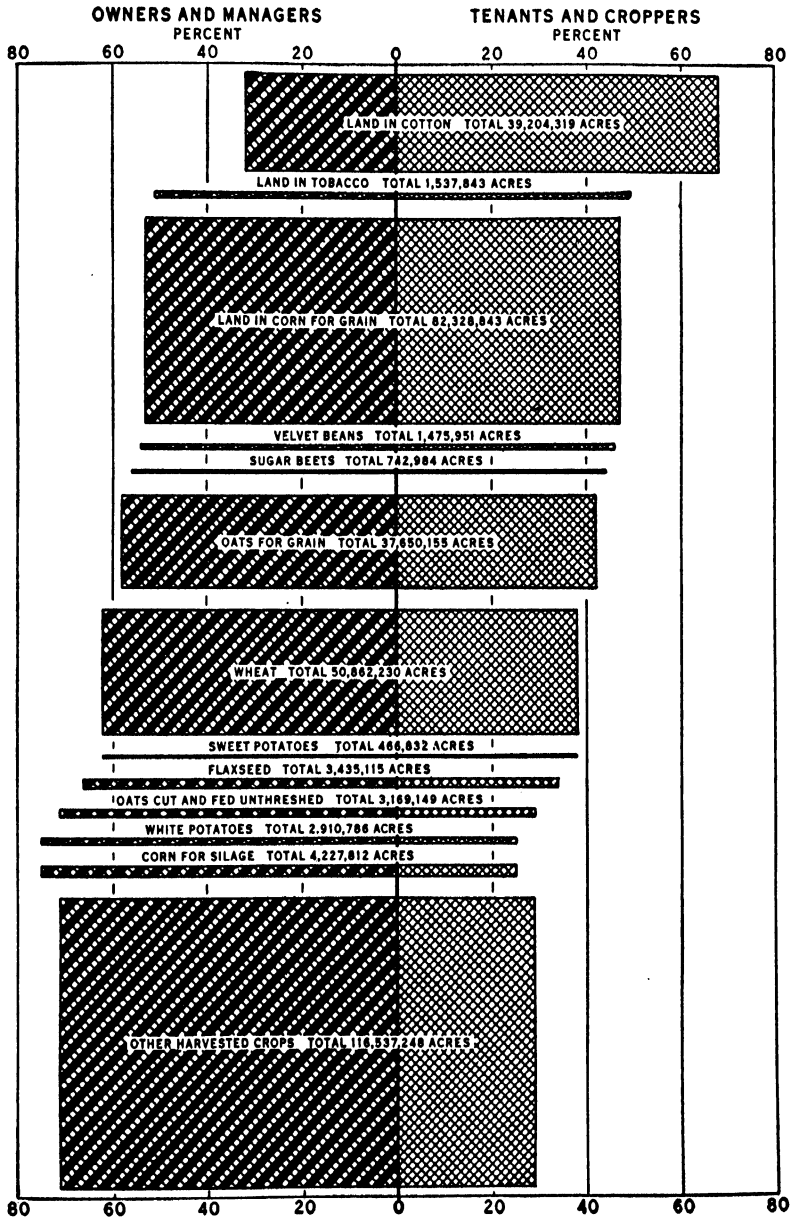


FIG. 52. Acres of selected crops harvested in relation to tenure of farm operator, United States, 1924. (After H. A. Turner, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

50 acres were occupied by tenants in 1930. In the Corn and Grain belts tenant farms are larger, 40 to 50 percent of the farms of 175 acres or over being operated by them, as shown in Fig. 53, and in the Corn Belt they are larger than those of farm owners. However, the farms of the Cotton Belt are shown as small as a result of classifying the share croppers as tenants; if the plantation were taken as a unit, and the share croppers were classed as farm laborers, as suggested above, the differences in size would be much less.

The Corn Belt tenant farm operator has a standard of living comparable to that of an owner, although generally lower in some respects, and he moves in the same society as the owners. Even in the North the term *tenant* is often misused for persons who are really farm laborers. Thus, many a farm has what is called a "tenant house," but which is merely that of a laborer employed by the year.

In the South, on the other hand, half the tenants are share croppers, with very low incomes, and separated from the owners by sharp lines of caste and class.[11] In a study of 600 representative plantations, T. J. Woofter, Jr., found that the average gross income of share croppers was $312, and of tenants $417, but as these figures include the advances for sustenance during the year the former received only $122 and the latter $202 in cash.[12] The position of the southern share cropper can be understood only in the light of the history of the system, which originated as a means of utilizing the labor of former slaves who had no capital or equipment after the Civil War.[13] The position of share croppers has been much aggravated by the "furnish" system of advancing supplies to them by the plantation commissary or by local merchants, with liens on the crops, at high rates of interest which average 35 to 40 percent,[14] so that many of them are rarely out

[11] See John Dollard, Class and Caste in a Southern Town, New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1937; Arthur Raper, A Preface to Peasantry, Chapel Hill, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1936; R. B. Vance, Farmers Without Land, New York, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1938, Public Affairs Pamphlet 12; and E. A. Schuler, Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farming, Social Research Report 4, USDA, Washington, D.C., 1938, processed, which is the most exhaustive analysis of these differences.

[12] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 83–86.

[13] For conditions of share croppers in the South see also: E. J. Holcomb and G. H. Aull, "Sharecroppers and Wage Laborers on Selected Farms in Two Counties in South Carolina," Clemson Agr. Coll. AES, Bul. 328, June, 1940; Dorothy Dickens, "Owner Farm Families in Poor Agricultural Areas and Cropper Farm Families in Rich Agricultural Areas," Mississippi AES, Bul. 359, June, 1941; and especially Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, Deep South, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1941, Part II.

[14] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 63.

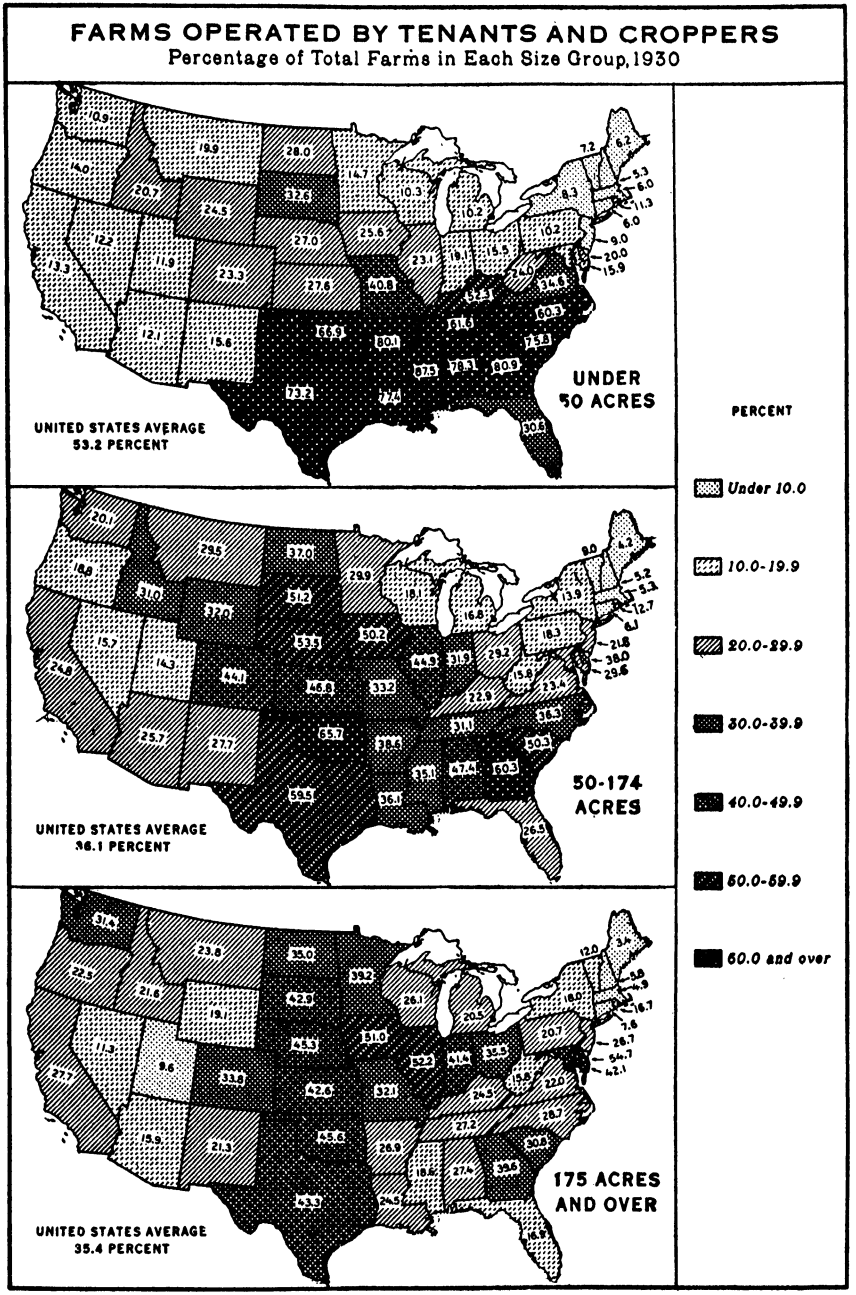


FIG. 53. Percentage of farms operated by tenants and croppers of the total farms of different sizes, 1930. (After H. A. Turner, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

of debt, and exist in almost a state of serfdom. They were, however, able to exist and plantation owners had a patriarchal attitude toward the maintenance of their "hands." With the coming of the depression of the 30's, with the reduction of crop acreage under the AAA, with the use of tractors in the Western Cotton Belt, and with federal aid for local relief, many owners found it more profitable to employ a minimum of share croppers and to depend more largely upon seasonal wage labor. Thus many thousands of share croppers were dispossessed and their position became acute, as evidenced by the rapid growth of the Share Croppers' Union (see p. 167).

An interesting experiment in attempting to raise the standard of living of croppers and poor tenants in the South is that of establishing cooperative plantations under the supervision of a manager employed and supervised by the Farm Security Administration. There are now 31 of these cooperative plantations involving 1,700 families, both Negro and white.[15]

Tenancy raises seriotus economic and social problems, as well as those of soil conservation, because of loss of fertility and erosion, but it should be pointed out that tenancy is not necessarily an evil in and of itself.[16] England has developed a rather permanent system of tenure, and not a few good farmers in this country prefer to rent rather than to tie up their capital in land.[17] Indeed, a large share of farm owners in this country have acquired their land by ascending the so-called "agricultural ladder," starting as farm laborers until they could save enough to buy farm equipment, then becoming tenants, and finally becoming owners by the assistance of a mortgage. In the North a very considerable proportion of tenants rent from near relatives, so that there is no difference in social status.

> Under such conditions tenancy may serve as a desirable working arrangement during the time when the father or father-in-law is retiring from active operation of the farm and the son or son-in-law is assuming full responsibility. The 1930 farm census schedule included the following question: "Do you rent this farm from your or your wife's parent, grandparent, brother, or sister?" Affirmative replies to this question for the 21 States in the North indicate that somewhat less than 30 percent of all tenants are related to their landlords. In the 16 Southern States this per-

[15] R. W. Hudgens, The Plantation South Tries a New Way, *Land Policy Review*, Vol. III, pp. 26–29, Nov., 1940.

[16] *Cf.* "The Committee on Land Tenure in the Corn Belt, Report of the Committee," *J. of Farm Eco.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 628–633, Aug., 1940.

[17] *Cf.* P. H. Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 477. See also E. A. Schuler, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9.

centage was much lower, only 15 percent, and in the 11 Western States it was only 17 percent.[18]

In many northern counties over two-fifths of the farm tenants are related to their landlords. Most of these counties are located in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Utah.[19]

It is frequently claimed that it has become more difficult for young men to climb the agricultural tenure ladder and become owners,[20] but the evidence for this is inconclusive,[21] and it is denied by Black and Allen, who say:

> If this analysis is correct, *there has been no general "retardation" of the rate of climbing the ladder once the young man becomes a tenant.* The real point is that half as many more of them have been obliged to start as tenants, and that part, but not all, of this additional proportion have continued as tenants in the same age classes.[22]

The fact that long-time farm credit has become much easier to obtain through the Farm Credit Administration and the Farm Security Administration (see below, p. 142 *ff.*), would also tend to prevent the retardation of advancement to ownership. This whole problem of ability to climb the agricultural ladder is complicated by the fact that since 1920 an unusual number of owners have been forced back into the tenant class. The mechanization of farming is, however, putting a premium on larger farms and is making it more difficult for young men to rent them. Thus Paul S. Taylor states that "opportunity for the common man is narrowing over the lands of the Corn Belt." Only last August a regional official of the U.S. Department of Agriculture told the House Committee on Interstate Migration that 25,000 Middle Western farmers are not able to find a farm to rent.[23]

Black and Allen have pointed out that care should be taken to distinguish between the bad effects of renting *per se* and those which are incidental to other common causes. Thus, they point out that small farms and lower standards of living of tenants in the South are pri-

[18] President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, Farm Tenancy, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1937, p. 47.

[19] See H. A. Turner, A Graphic Summary of Farm Tenure, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1936, USDA, Misc. Pub. 261, Fig. 71.

[20] *Ibid.*, in legends of Figs. 65 and 66.

[21] See L. C. Gray, *et al.*, Farm Ownership and Farm Tenancy, Yearbook, USDA, 1923, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1924, pp. 556–560.

[22] J. D. Black and R. H. Allen, "The Growth of Farm Tenancy in the United States," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. LI, p. 409, May, 1937.

[23] P. S. Taylor, "Good-Bye to the Homestead Farm," *Harpers Magazine*, Vol. 182, pp. 589–597, May, 1941.

marily due to overpopulation, whatever the system of tenure may be. On the other hand, the excessive mobility of tenants and their tendency to neglect soil conservation are incidental to our present system of renting, although they might be avoided by a better system of leases.[24] The greater mobility of tenants has serious effects on both their economic and social relations.

> In 16 southern states an average of 56 percent of the tenants had been on their farms for less than 2 years on April 1, 1930, as compared with 12 percent of the owners. The parallel percentages for 21 northern states were 39 and 9. Under these circumstances, neither landlord nor tenant, but especially the latter, is sufficiently interested in making needed improvements on farms. The landlord is not confident that the succeeding series of tenants will maintain these improvements once they are made. This partly accounts for the condition of buildings on rented farms. The tenant may not even take the trouble to make needed current repairs, to destroy noxious weeds, or to check gullying, because he does not expect to suffer from the effects of them. Many studies have shown that tenants in the same communities plant large proportions of their land in cultivated and other soil-depleting crops. Careful studies made in Iowa demonstrate —what is commonly recognized—that more erosion is occurring on rented than upon owner-operated farms. It goes without saying that neither landlords nor tenants are as much interested in local schools and roads as are owner operators.[25]

This neglect of soil conservation by tenants is, according to J. A. Baker,[26] who made an exhaustive statistical analysis of over 15,000 farms in the Corn Belt from the schedules of the Agricultural Census of 1935, not so much the effect of mobility as it is of their insecurity and is, therefore, primarily due to the lack of equity given them by the leases.

Wherever agriculture is highly commercialized with a one-crop system, tenancy tends to be high and the value of products consumed from the farm tends to be lower, and therefore the level of living of the farm family is poorer. This is most apparent among the poorer tenants of the South, but is also true in the Corn Belt. In his study of the plantation system Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr.,[27] found that the net income of the tenant family increased with the amount received as in-

[24] For a form of lease see USDA leaflet, "Landlord-Tenant Cooperation, Use of the Flexible Farm Lease," and a copy of its Flexible Farm Lease.

[25] J. D. Black and R. H. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

[26] J. A. Baker, Tenure Status and Land Use Patterns in the Corn Belt, Washington, D.C., BAE, Aug., 1939, Land Economics Report 5, p. 61, mimeographed.

[27] *Op. cit.*, p. 84, and Appendix, Table 40.

come from home use production, and that the latter decreased as the proportion of the acreage of cotton increased.

Turner has also shown a high negative association between tenancy and the proportion of farm products used by the farm family, in 489 counties of the Corn Belt (Fig. 54). Tenancy and a one-crop system both decrease the subsistence values of farming, whereas one of the chief values of living on the land should be the opportunity for the farm family to grow part of its living and thus have greater security.

The lower standard of living of tenants is also shown in the lack of household conveniences. The President's Committee on Farm Ten-

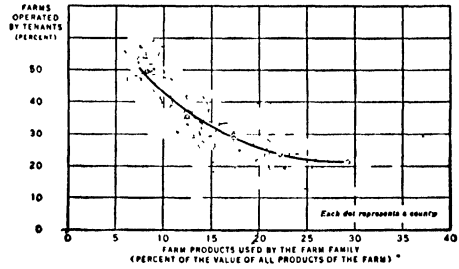


FIG. 54. Percentage of farm products used by the farm family in relation to percentage of farms operated by tenants in 489 counties of the North Central States, 1930.* (After H. A. Turner, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

* In 97 counties the percentage of farm products used by the family was over 20; in 80, between 15 and 20; in 189, between 10 and 15; and in 123 it was less than 10. In these groups of counties the proportion of farms operated by tenants in 1930 was 23, 29, 35, and 49 percent, respectively.

ancy [28] brought together Census data for 1930. This shows that for the whole United States the percentages of owners and tenants having telephones are 43.2 and 21.4; electric lights, 19.4 and 4.8; water piped into dwelling, 21.8 and 7.2; water piped into bath, 12.1 and 3.1. The percentage of owners having the last three items is 3 to 4 times that of the tenants. In some sections, such as the New England, the Middle Atlantic, and the Pacific Coast States, there is little difference between the owners and tenants, but in the South the percentages for owners is 5 to 10 times that for tenants.

It has been repeatedly shown that the cultural phases of the standard of living are much lower for tenant families than for owners. They have less education, take fewer newspapers and magazines, and are members of fewer organizations.[29] These handicaps of the tenant

[28] President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, *op. cit.*, Table IX, p. 102; reproduced in P. H. Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

[29] See L. C. Gray, *et al.*, *op. cit*, pp. 576–582, and many studies too numerous to cite.

family may be largely explained by their lower incomes, but it is also due to their higher mobility. Families who move frequently from one community to another do not become so easily connected with local institutions, the church, the school, and various organizations. Thus, communities with a high proportion of tenants are usually inferior to those where ownership prevails, and the effect of this is cumulative in preventing the best development of institutions and a fine type of community life. Kolb and Brunner state that "studies by the Institute of Social and Religious Research seem to show that such effects begin to appear when the ratio of tenant- to owner-operated farms exceeds one in five." [30]

II. FARM CREDIT [31]

The problem of land tenure is much larger than that of tenancy, for a large share of the so-called owners are saddled with mortgages, and if these are heavy they may not be as well off as the better tenants so far as the family income is concerned. From the standpoint of tenure the proportion of the total value of all farm lands which is operated by the owners free from mortgage is shown in Fig. 55, which reveals that in 1930 58 percent of the value of all farm real estate did not belong free from mortgage, to those operating it. In other words, 58 percent is the investment of others than the immediate farm operator, and this percentage had risen steadily since 1890.[32]

Of the owner-operated farms 41.5 percent were mortgaged in 1935, the proportion mortgaged being shown by states in Fig. 56; but on these farms 50.2 percent of the value was under mortgage, the highest percentage being 65 in the State of Iowa (Fig. 57). Owner-operated farms are more frequently mortgaged than those operated by tenants; 41.5 of the former and only 25.1 percent of the latter were mortgaged in 1935. It is evident from these figures that in the aggregate two-

[30] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940, p. 347.

[31] *Cf.* E. C. Johnson, "Agricultural Credit," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, pp. 740–754.

[32] There is one source of error in this estimate in that all lands of share croppers are considered as not being operated by the owners. As a matter of fact, as we have seen above, most share croppers should be considered as laborers, as their land is actually operated by the owner. If share croppers are considered as laborers, then only the mortgages on such share cropper land should be included as in the investment of others than the operator, but inasmuch as the total value of the land operated by share croppers was only 2.3 percent of the total value of all farms in 1930, this will not materially change the total estimate.

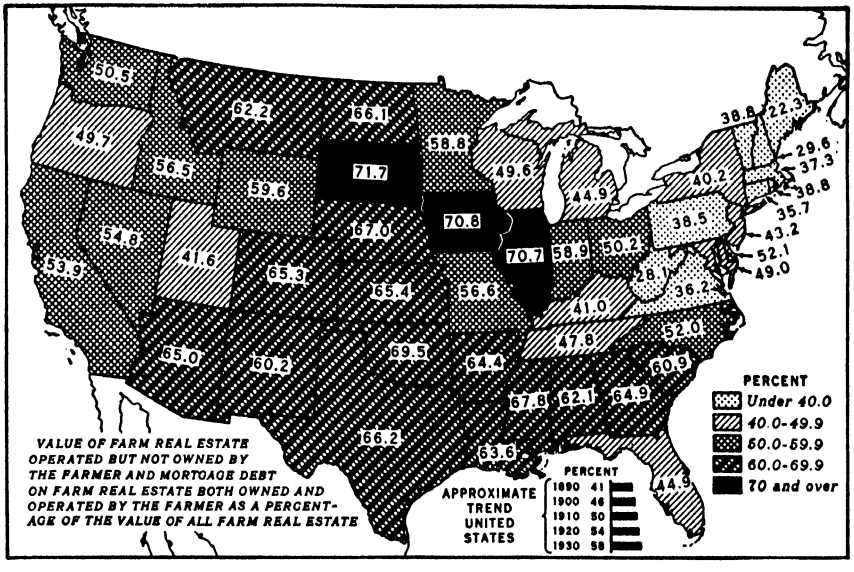


FIG. 55. Percentage of farm real estate not belonging to the farm operator, 1930. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

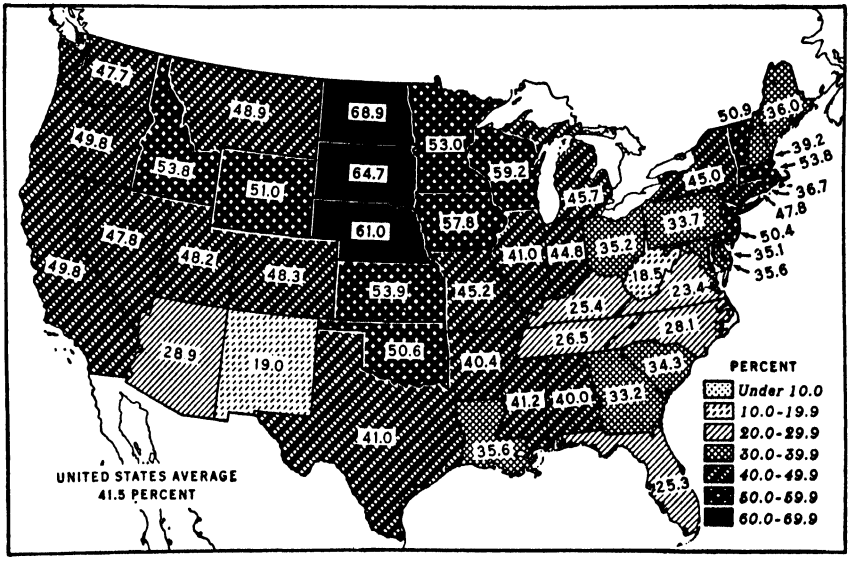


FIG. 56. Owner-operator farms, percentage mortgaged, January 1, 1935. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

fifths of the owner-operators own but about one-half of the equity in their places, so that the matter of farm credit, or how to finance their indebtedness, is one of their chief problems.

THE FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT. Prior to 1916 there was no system of agricultural credit for farmers in this country except mortgages made to banks, life insurance companies, or individuals. Chiefly at the instigation of David Lubin, who had been the United States delegate to the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome for several years

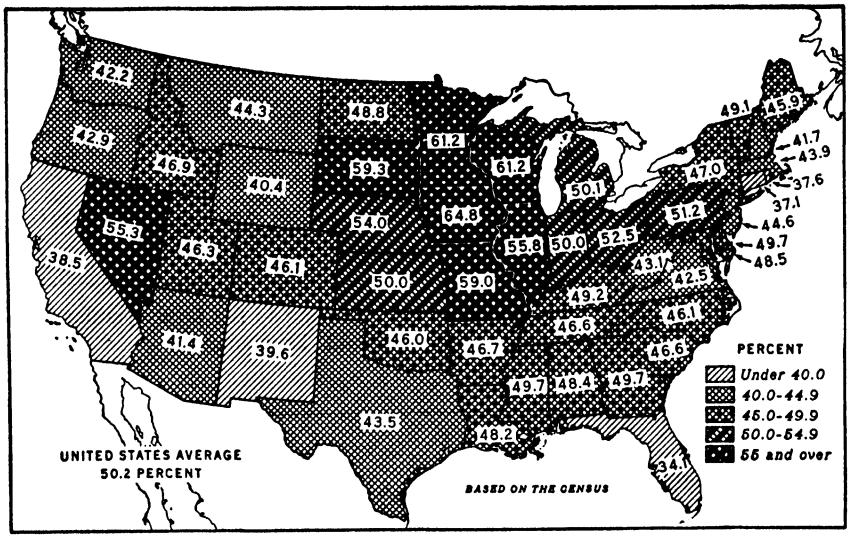


FIG. 57. Ratio of mortgage debt to value of mortgaged farms for full-owner-operated farms, January 1, 1935. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

and who had been the real founder of that institution, in 1913 a representative commission of agricultural leaders was sent to Europe to study the existing systems of agricultural credit which had proved successful. This commission made a full report to the Congress,[33] and after much discussion the Federal Farm Loan Act was passed by it in 1916. This act was based on European experience, but it involved new features.

At that time there was no system of amortization, or long-time payments, and interest rates were high. Most of the loans were made by

[33] The American Commission, Agricultural Cooperation and Credit in Europe, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1914, 63d Congress, 2d Session, Senate Document 261, Parts I, II; and Information and Evidence, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1913, 63d Congress, 1st Session, Senate Document 214, p. 914.

the year, so that a farmer unable to meet his interest payment was subject to foreclosure. Interest rates at banks ranged from 6 to 8 percent as late as 1928.[34] The Farm Loan Act sought to correct these conditions. Its purposes were

> (1) to lower and equalize interest rates on first mortgage farm loans; (2) to provide long-term loans with the privilege of repayment in installments, through a long or short period of years at the borrower's option; (3) to assemble the farm credits of the nation to be used as security for money to be employed in farm development; (4) to stimulate coöperative action among farmers; (5) to make it easier for the landless to get land; and (6) to provide safe and sound long-term investments for the thrifty.[35]

The purposes of the act were carried out by (1) The Federal Farm Loan Board, appointed by the President of the United States, with the Secretary of the Treasury as chairman; (2) twelve Federal Land Banks, one located in a financial center of each of twelve regions, covering the country; and (3) the National Farm Loan Associations, one or more of which were located in most of the counties of the nation. Farmers desiring to negotiate loans became members of the local farm loan associations, in which they became stockholders. They could borrow up to 50 percent of the appraised value of the land and 20 percent of the permanent insured improvements, not to exceed $25,000 on a first mortgage. Loans were made for 5 to 40 years, most averaged 33 years, and were usually paid in semiannual installments not to exceed 6 per cent, which included both the interest and the retirement of the debt during the period of the loan. The applications were passed upon by a committee of the local association and were approved or modified by an appraiser sent by the Federal Farm Land Bank of the region. Against these loans bonds were issued by the regional land banks, which were sold in the open market and which were tax free; thus they formed a very attractive investment. They were not issued by or guaranteed by the Federal Government, but were issued under its close supervision, and the bonds of each bank were a liability of all the twelve regional banks collectively. Two-thirds of the loans made under this act up to the end of 1928 were for the retirement of previous mortgages, and about 10 per cent for the purchase of land.[36]

[34] *Cf.* American Institute of Banking, Farm Credit Administration, New York, American Institute of Banking, 1934, p. 66; and Wall and Engquist, USDA, Misc. Pub. 268, Fig. 36.

[35] From Wilson Gee, The Social Economics of Agriculture, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1932, p. 206. Based on Farm Loan Primer, Circ. 5 (rev.), Federal Farm Loan Board, July, 1923.

[36] For a more detailed account see Gee, *op. cit.*, pp. 207–209.

This was the beginning of the federal agricultural credit system and forms the basic pattern of the present system. From 1917 to 1933 the Federal Land Banks had made loans to farmers of nearly two billion dollars and had issued bonds for one and three-quarter billions.[37]

The act also created Joint Stock Land Banks [38] operated privately, but these were unable to compete with the Federal Land Banks and have been gradually liquidated, as they were prohibited from making further loans by the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act of 1933.

Federal Intermediate Credit Banks. The Federal Land Banks did much to relieve the need for long-time credit, for at the end of the first 5 years they had outstanding bonds for $432,761,315,[39] but with the agricultural depression which started in 1921 there was a demand for short-term credit. To meet this need the Federal Agricultural Credits Act of 1923 created the Federal Intermediate Credit System to make loans for not over 3 years to finance crop production and raising and marketing of livestock and to aid the cooperative marketing of staple agricultural products and the cooperative purchasing of farm supplies. It created twelve Intermediate Credit Banks for the same regions as the Federal Land Banks, whose officers became, *ex officio,* their officers. These Intermediate Credit Banks do not make loans to individuals but to incorporated cooperative marketing and credit associations and state and national banks, for agricultural paper secured by warehouse receipts or shipping documents covering staple agricultural products, to an amount not exceeding 75 percent of their value. The annual volume of loans for these banks rose from $45,000,000 in 1923 to nearly half a billion dollars in 1939, of which practically three-fourths were to production credit associations in the last year.[40] From 1923 to 1932 the interest and discount rates charged by the Intermediate Credit Banks averaged around 5 percent, but at the present time they loan at 1½ percent and the rate of interest charged the farmer by the local institution may not exceed this by more than 3 percent, or a maximum of 4½ percent to the farmer.

Farm Security Administration—Rehabilitation Credit. As will be explained later (see pp. 493 and 496), the FSA is primarily a credit agency for short-time loans to farmers who are too poor a risk for the Farm Credit Administration or other credit institutions,

[37] *Cf.* American Institute of Banking, Farm Credit Administration, Table 58, p. 149; Table 59, p. 156; Table 61, p. 157.

[38] *Ibid.,* pp. 68–75.

[39] *Ibid.,* Table 59, p. 156.

[40] The Seventh Annual Report of the Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, Table 33, p. 172.

but the FSA gives credit for the purposes of rehabilitation in the attempt to make the borrowers self-supporting. It also arranges long-time amortized loans for selected tenants who desire to purchase farms, as provided by the Bankhead-Jones Tenancy Act.

OTHER AGRICULTURAL CREDIT AGENCIES. As the agricultural depression continued during the 1920's other agencies for farm credit were created whose operations are now only of historical interest. The Federal Farm Board [41] was created by the Agricultural Marketing Act of 1929 at the beginning of President Hoover's administration; it created and loaned funds to cooperative marketing associations. Under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation regional agricultural credit corporations were created to give temporary assistance in short-time credit.[42] The Secretary of Agriculture administered crop production and seed loans under special acts of Congress for the relief of farmers in drought areas.[43] These credit agencies were in addition to the Federal Land Banks and Intermediate Credit Banks, already described, under the Treasury Department.

THE FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION. With the unprecedented financial situation resulting from the industrial depression of the early 1930's, there was a necessity for a unification of the farm credit program of the Federal Government and, by an executive order of May 27, 1933, the President created the Farm Credit Administration which took over the functions of all the agencies above mentioned, and "the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act and the Farm Credit Act of 1933 enlarged the resources of existing lending institutions and provided for the establishment of new facilities which now constitute a permanent cooperative credit system to meet the entire range of needs of farmers for mortgage accommodation and for financing their production, marketing and purchasing operations." [44]

The organization of the Farm Credit Administration consists of a governor, two deputy governors, and four commissioners appointed by the President, respectively responsible for the supervision of the Federal Land Banks and national farm loan associations, the Federal Intermediate Credit Banks, the production credit corporations and associations, and the district and central banks for cooperatives. The work of the Farm Credit Administration is organized in the twelve dis-

[41] *Cf.* Gee, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–119.

[42] *Cf.* American Institute of Banking, Farm Credit Administration, p. 106.

[43] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 98.

[44] First Annual Report of the Farm Credit Administration, 1933, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1934, p. 4.

tricts of the Farm Land Banks, each of which has a corresponding set of four credit institutions.[45]

The size of the refinancing task undertaken by the Farm Credit Administration may be indicated by the fact that 905,299 applications for mortgage loans aggregating $4,108,550,795 were received between May 1, 1933, and December 31, 1934. This number of applications is equivalent to about one-seventh of all farms in the United States.[46]

The Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation Act of 1934 created the Federal Farm Mortgage Corporation with a capital of $200,000,000, to be administered by the Land Bank Commissioner. This enabled him to supplement the regular loans from the Federal Land Banks by "Commissioner loans" on second mortgages up to 75 percent of the value of the property, through an authorization to issue two billion dollars of bonds guaranteed by the Government. At the end of 1939, 439,000 farmers had Commissioner loans outstanding to an amount of $691,000,000.[47] The peak of loans by the Federal Land Banks and the Land Bank Commissioner was in 1936, when there were 1,091,067 loans to an amount of $2,900,936,491.[48] Since then the amount has declined somewhat, owing to repayments, foreclosures, and more financing by other agencies. Furthermore, the rate of interest for new loans through national farm loan associations has been reduced to 3½ percent.[49]

Production Credit Corporation and Associations. "The system of production credit associations is designed to make the discount facilities of the Federal intermediate credit banks accessible to farmers and stockmen throughout the country. Previously the lack of financially responsible local institutions, able and willing to endorse and rediscount borrowers' notes, has severely restricted the services of the intermediate credit banks in providing production credit." [50] Under the provisions of the Farm Credit Act, 12 regional Production Credit Corporations were set up under the supervision of the Production

[45] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 4–6.

[46] Second Annual Report of the Farm Credit Administration, 1934, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1935, p. 3.

[47] Farm Credit Administration, Financing Agriculture in 1939, Circ. A-18, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, p. 8.

[48] The Seventh Annual Report of the Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, Appendix, Table 1, p. 138.

[49] The Sixth Annual Report of the Farm Credit Administration, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939, p. 18.

[50] First Annual Report of the Farm Credit Administration, p. 33. See pp 33–36 for the plan of organization.

Credit Commissioner. With these are associated local Production Credit Associations which make direct loans to the member borrowers for general agricultural purposes, including loans for the production and harvesting of crops, the breeding, raising, and fattening of livestock, and poultry production. By the end of 1939 more than 292,000 farmers had become members of 541 Production Credit Associations. The volume of business done by them increased from $107,000,000 loans in 1934 to $321,000,000 in 1939. In 1939 the interest rate to farmers was decreased from 5 to 4½ percent, as against 6 percent in 1934.[51]

THE BANKS FOR COOPERATIVES. There was a rapid growth of farmers' cooperative associations in the 1920's, which was encouraged by the Federal Farm Board. It was estimated that in 1932–33 there were 11,000 cooperative farmers' buying and selling associations, with 3 million members, and doing a business of $1,340,000,000.[52] These associations have special needs for credit and it was the desire of the Federal Government to encourage them. Consequently, under the authority of the Farm Credit Act of 1933, a Central Bank for Cooperatives, at Washington, and twelve regional banks were established in the fall of 1933, the capital for which was subscribed by the Farm Credit Administration; they were under the supervision of the Cooperative Bank Commissioner. "Credit may be extended to a cooperative association to assist in: (1) Effective merchandising of agricultural commodities and food products and the financing of its operations; and (2) construction or acquisition by purchase or lease, or refinancing the cost of such construction or acquisition, of physical marketing facilities for preparing, handling, storing, processing, or merchandising agricultural commodities or their food products."[53] Loans for more than $500,000 are passed upon by the Central Bank, and smaller loans by the regional banks. That this aid to cooperative associations has met a real need is shown by the fact that "During the year 1939 the banks for coperatives made a total of 1,180 loans amounting to $83,400,000, which brought the total number of loans made since the banks were organized in 1933 to 6,868 or a total of $491,000,000. At the end of the year 1,634 cooperative associations were using the financial facilities of the banks for cooperatives and had $76,300,000 outstanding in loans on December 31. Cooperative associations of all

[51] Figures from Seventh Annual Report, Farm Credit Administration.

[52] First Report of the Farm Credit Administration, p. 37.

[53] First Report of the Farm Credit Administration, pp. 39–40. See also Farm Credit Administration, Circ. 6, "Loans to Farmers' Cooperatives."

kinds have repaid a total of $414,000,000 to the banks since 1933." [54]

Under the President's first reorganization plan, which became effective June 24, 1939, the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration is now responsible to the Secretary of Agriculture rather than directly to the President as previously, and some of the policies advocated by the Secretary in proposed legislation concerning the Farm Credit Administration have met with determined opposition from the national farm organizations.

The financial operations of the Farm Credit Administration have been without precedent in this or any other country, and have been chiefly responsible for enabling the farmers of the United States to preserve their equities. "It is estimated that altogether about two million farmers are utilizing directly or indirectly the financing services of institutions operating under the Farm Credit Administration. Credit outstanding at the end of 1939 aggregated more than $3,000,000,000, representing from one-fourth to one-third of the total credit outstanding to agriculture from all sources. The larger part of this credit is extended through institutions which are organized on a cooperative basis." [55] The refinancing of farms was made on the basis of normal values rather than the existing market prices, and in the depths of the depression many creditors, glad to have a cash settlement, agreed to substantial scale-downs of their claims. "Such scale-downs reduced the principal amount of the farmers' debts by more than $200,000,000 in the period beginning in the spring of 1933." [55] Furthermore the reduction of interest rates has saved farmers many millions of dollars and will continue to do so.

III. TAXES [56]

Taxes have been a major problem for farmers ever since stable governments were first established. They have always affected immediately the standard of living of the people, but they gain new significance in our modern culture because we expect more services from government and there has been a notable tendency to transfer the cost of services formerly paid for by private funds to the public tax roll. Our public institutions have an increasingly important role in the standard of life of the average citizen. Thus we now obtain a higher standard of public living through taxes. In the early days education was

[54] Seventh Annual Report of the Farm Credit Administration, p. 12.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[56] *Cf.* Eric Englund, "Rural Taxation," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, pp. 771–789.

paid for privately, but now the burden of the expense is on the public system of education. Health is no longer a purely private affair but is fostered by governmental public health agencies. Relief for the poor was formerly a private charity, but is now financed chiefly from the public treasury.

We have noted the rapid rise in taxes in the present century and particularly in the 1920's, but we should also remember that in the decade 1920–29, when taxes continued to rise, farmers were suffering from much lower incomes and that, at the depth of the industrial depression in 1932, taxes were still as high as in 1920 (Fig. 58). Be-

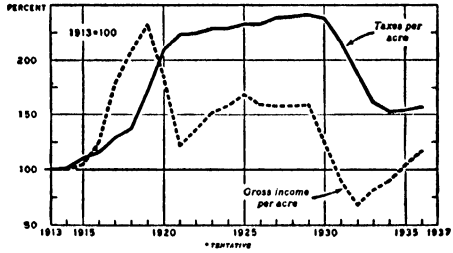


FIG. 58. Taxes and gross farm income per acre, 1913–1936. (After Eric Englund, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

cause of the unprecedented number of foreclosures of mortgages on farms and sales of farms for tax delinquency in the early 1930's, farmers became acutely concerned over the tax situation.

The whole subject of taxation is so intricate and has so many ramifications that we cannot attempt to do more than call attention to some of the major issues affecting farm taxes and some of the proposed remedies.[57] First: We should recognize that of all the direct taxes paid by farmers the great bulk are on general property. In most cases this means on real estate, for those states which include personal property in their tax laws have great difficulty in enforcing them and, in general, taxes on personal property are a very minor factor in the farmer's tax bill. The general property tax accounted for nearly 84 percent of the farmer's tax load in 1927. Next came taxes on automobile licenses and gasoline, which amounted to nearly 13 percent. Income taxes amounted to only 1.7 percent and were of negligible importance for most farmers.[58] Since 1930 many states have enacted

[57] For a brief and suggestive treatment of some of the major issues see M. S. Kendrick, Taxation Issue, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1933.

[58] Percentages are from Whitney Coombs, "Taxation on Farm Property," *Tech. Bul.* 172, USDA, Feb., 1930.

sales taxes, but we have no statistics to indicate their relative importance. It is, however, fairly well established that sales tax collections per capita are larger in urban than in rural communities. Second: Most of the farmer's general property tax is for local government, township and county. There has been a general tendency to raise state revenues from other sources and several states now have practically no state tax on general property. For the United States as a whole it is estimated that in 1922 only 10 percent of the general property tax on farms was for state support, whereas 90 percent [59] was for local government, either town or county, as in many states there is no unit smaller than the county except for school taxation. This is significant because the farmer has most direct control of his local government and its expenditures can be made to respond to his ability to pay, as was done in 1933 and 1934. (See Fig. 35, p. 113.)

This illustrates one of the advantages of the general property tax: It is flexible and the rate can be changed somewhat from year to year according to the expenses of government, thus avoiding deficits or surpluses as far as possible. This would be much more difficult to accomplish with any form of tax whose rate is fixed by statute.

Several factors make taxation upon real estate a relatively heavier burden on the farmer than on the rest of the population. He has a much higher proportion of his capital invested in land than do other classes, and has a smaller income per dollar of capital invested than does the owner of other industries.[60] Although the amount of taxes per capita is no higher for the farm population than for the urban, there seems to be an inequality when the tax rate is related to the net income. Thus, on the basis of the studies of Coombs, Gee [61] states: "While the farmer, in 1922, paid only 67.5 percent as much per individual as did the other classes of the population, his proportionate income per capita has been somewhere between a third and a half. His tax burden viewed from this standpoint has been proportionately a much heavier one than is the case with the remainder of the population." Thus, he states that from 1922 to 1927 taxes took about 30 percent of the net income from rented farms.

Weaver gives an example of this condition in Pennsylvania, as follows:

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[60] *Cf.* F. P. Weaver, "The General Property Tax as a Factor in the Unsatisfactory Agricultural Situation," Annals of the Am. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sc., Vol. CXLII, p. 312, March, 1929.

[61] Wilson Gee, *op. cit.*, p. 570.

"The per capita income of farm people is only 36 percent of the average of all nonfarm people in the state, but the per capita taxes paid by the farmers and their families are 52 percent of the amount paid by the nonfarm population. The percentage of income which goes to the support of all forms of government, federal, state and local, is, therefore, 13.6 in the case of the farmers and only 9.5 in the case of other citizens of the state. The ratio of taxes to wealth is, however, only slightly higher for farmers than for nonfarmers, due to the large amount of capital invested by farmers in low income producing real estate." [62] By an analysis of studies made in eight states, Kendrick concludes that "the evidence indicates that a larger, though not a greatly larger, percentage of the income from rural property is paid in taxes than is paid from the income of urban property." [63]

Furthermore there is a very general inequality in the local tax burden between different sections in the same state, the poorer areas that are least able to pay having much higher tax rates. Thus in Pennsylvania Weaver found that: "In some portions of the State of Pennsylvania as little as 15 percent of the net income from real estate is required to pay all the taxes levied on the properties in those districts, while in other sections the property tax is equal to the entire net returns from investment in farm real estate. (Net returns are returns above the cost of operation, including the value of labor of the farmer and his family.) For the state as a whole, 38 percent of the net returns from investment in farm property is required to pay the taxes on farm real estate." [64]

The same principle applies between different townships with regard to the inequality of the local tax burden. "Studies conducted during 1925 and 1926 show that in some townships in Pennsylvania taxes for local schools and roads equal the entire earning capacity of all the real estate in those townships." [65] This inequality of local tax rates is particularly true of school taxes, as we shall see in the discussion of school taxes (Chapter 16), and is the most obvious reason for the desirability of a larger taxing unit so that there may be an equalization of the tax burden.

Another burden on the poorer farmers is the lack of equity in the assessment of taxes. Studies in several states reveal that small proper-

[62] F. P. Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

[63] M. S. Kendrick, "A Comparison between Urban and Rural Taxation on Real Estate Values," Annals of the Am. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sc., Pub. 2356, March, 1930.

[64] F. P. Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

[65] F. P. Weaver, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

ties and properties of low valuation are assessed at a higher rate than more valuable properties. Thus in Montana Renne and Lord found that "the average ratio of assessed value to sale value for properties of less than $500 was 3.51 (very serious overassessment), while for properties of more than $10,000 the ratio was .62 (underassessment)." [66]

Another factor in the tax situation in which the farmer is at a disadvantage is in the incidence of the property tax. With a sales tax on his products the manufacturer is able to pass along a large share of the tax to the consumer, but this is not possible for the farmer who bears the whole load of the property tax. The shifting of the incidence of a tax can take place through the decrease in the supply of the products offered, with a consequent rise in price. It is practically impossible for the farmer to reduce the supply of agricultural products and so raise the prices of his goods.

REMEDIES. Several means have been proposed and utilized for alleviating the farmer's tax burden.

Inasmuch as the property tax rate is fixed by the costs of local government, the most obvious method of lowering it is to cut down these costs, as was done in 1933 and the following years. Much can be done to reduce expenses without lowering efficiency. In sparsely settled districts it may be profitable to eliminate local government and have the government operated directly by the state, as is done in the unorganized districts in northern Maine. As we shall see in discussing rural government (Chapter 19), its cost is often unnecessarily high when the township government is retained where the population is sparse and the taxable valuations are low, when the same functions might be more economically and efficiently performed by the county. But local government is very dear to the farmer and until he is convinced that township government is in many cases a major factor in his tax bill he will oppose any change in it. As a means of reducing costs of local government county taxpayers' associations have sprung up in many states and have done very effective work for improving its efficiency. Two cautions should be made concerning them. First, their efforts are often directed merely to slashing expenditures without reference to the need or quality of services performed rather than to seeking means of reducing costs while maintaining efficiency. The other is to be sure that they are not made the means of reducing the tax burden of large taxpayers, such as public utilities and manufacturers, to the

[66] R. R. Renne and H. H. Lord, "An Appraisal of Farm Land Assessments," *The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics,* Vol. XIII, 3, p. 365, Aug., 1937.

disadvantage of the farmer, for not infrequently these movements are nurtured by such interests through farmer leadership, which is ignorant that it is being used for this purpose.

Improvement in the administration of taxation may be made by a better selection of assessors and by enlarging their areas so that they would have full-time positions. At present the assessor's position is too often a political plum for a part-time job, and the assessor is influenced accordingly. This is particularly difficult where the township is the unit of local government. Although about two-thirds of the states have county assessors, which make a full-time position more attractive to a competent man, too often his selection is based on politics. Kendrick holds that "the assessor should be appointed by the state tax commission under civil service regulations. He should be under the supervision of that body and his tenure of office should be during proper performance of duty." [67] Such a system would create a body of experts in assessment, who would take pride in their positions, and would give greater equality to the taxpayers.

That such reforms are needed is shown by the experience of one township in Ohio a few years ago. A man who had had large experience in real estate values as secretary of one of the regional land banks was made chairman of the township board of assessors and reassessed the property in the town. As usual, he found many small properties assessed too high and valuable properties assessed too low, whereas some were escaping taxation. As a result he was able to increase the total assessed valuation and thus lower the tax rate, and still give greater equity to all concerned, to the satisfaction of the large majority.

Where the township system exists savings to the taxpayer may also be made by having the collection of taxes made by the county treasurer, who is under salary and who can do it at little additional expense, instead of farming out the collection to a collector upon a percentage basis for merely receiving the taxes.

Various proposals have been made for new forms of taxation for farm property, but none of them seems to promise the surety of income and flexibility which characterizes the general property tax. Income taxes are now used in some thirty states, but as the Federal Government also levies income taxes it is impossible for the states to levy income taxes sufficiently high to make possible the elimination of the general property tax. If an attempt were made to levy local taxes on incomes, it would be exceedingly difficult to compute the farmer's in-

[67] M. S. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 62. See pp. 59 *ff.* on this topic.

come. Sales taxes throw an undue burden on the poorer people. There are, however, modifications of the general property tax which might prove beneficial. Kendrick holds that if the assessment of real property were made on the basis of the net rental of the property rather than on the capital value as at present, it would be much more equitable because it is easier to obtain [68] and it is based on what the property is worth annually for use.

The present system of capital valuation is particularly inimical to forest conservation.

> The forest landowners . . . feel impelled to meet the current tax bill and other necessary carrying charges by selling any products available, regardless of the effect on productivity of the land, and to eliminate current expenses that are essential to protection and improvement. Property taxes thus encourage premature liquidation of timber and sale of cut-over lands to agricultural purposes regardless of suitability.[69]

It is held that this effect might be obviated by "so modifying the property tax that it would impose a tax burden roughly equal to that of a tax on income or net yield at a rate equivalent to a property-tax rate." [70]

Another method of equalizing the tax load is to employ a larger unit for determining the tax rate, as the high school district instead of the one-room school district, the county instead of the town, or, for certain purposes, the state as a whole. This is the principle of equalization, which has already been widely employed with regard to taxes for schools and roads.

State aid to counties or smaller districts may be provided either as grants-in-aid or as shared revenues. "The theory of the grant-in-aid is that those functions that are essential to the general welfare as distinguished from the local welfare and which cannot be paid for locally, or which are paid for locally at sacrifices so great as to be inimical to the general welfare, should be paid for by the state." [71] This involves taxing the rich districts to pay for the advantages of the poor, but it is already in effect in every large city. Obviously grants-in-aid should not go beyond the maintenance of functions essential to the general

[68] M. S. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[69] D. L. Wickens, R. C. Hall, and Donald Jackson, The Causes: Imperfection in Agricultural Finance, USDA, Yearbook of Agriculture 1938, "Soils and Men," p. 165.

[70] Donald Jackson, R. C. Hall, R. M. Green, and D. L. Wickens, The Remedies: Changes in Agricultural Finance, USDA, Yearbook of Agriculture 1938, "Soils and Men," p. 270.

[71] M. S. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

welfare and should not apply to purely local benefits. So far they have been used chiefly for maintaining schools and roads.

The method of shared revenues on the part of the state provides for the state's collecting certain taxes and then prorating them to units of local government to be spent by the local governments for general purposes. This method exists in New York with regard to state income taxes. In this instance it gives the local unit a source of revenue which it would not otherwise have, and gives the poorer taxpayer the benefit of the income tax paid by the wealthier. The merits and limitations of shared revenues should be given more consideration than can be given exposition here.[72]

Federal aid to states has not progressed beyond the grant-in-aid stage. Grants are made for agricultural extension, highways, vocational education, the national guard, the prevention of forest fires, vocational rehabilitation, and the hygiene of maternity and infancy. Usually federal grants are made on the basis of population, subject to three conditions:

1. The state must accept the act awarding the grant and must establish an agency to administer the funds allotted to it.
2. The state agency must submit a detailed plan of operation that meets with federal approval.
3. The state must match the federal grant dollar for dollar.

Useful though federal aid is, its possibilities have not been realized. Population is a matter of persons, not of need. It is a poor basis for distributing grants-in-aid. Moreover federal grants-in-aid should be supplemented by shared revenues.[73]

There is no question that federal grants-in-aid have stimulated the states to do much more than they would otherwise have done in the special fields for which they have been made and with special advantage to the poorer states. There is now a strong movement for federal grants-in-aid to the states for the whole system of public education, to be based more definitely on their relative ability to support adequate school systems and their need rather than merely on population. (See Chapter 16.)

One means of protecting the taxpayer from foreclosure of his property for tax delinquency is the homestead exemption law. This was first enacted by the Texas legislature in 1839.[74] This is now in operation in 10 states and has been widely considered elsewhere.[75]

[72] See *ibid.*, pp. 93–99.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

[74] See W. R. Vance, "Homestead Exemption Laws," in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1932.

[75] See Jackson, Hall, Green and Wickens, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

"Death and taxes are always with us" is an old saying, but whatever changes we may advocate to make taxes more equitable and to equalize their burden, we must realize that we are depending more and more on tax-supported agencies for many of the facilities which we value most. In spite of inefficiency and graft, which are not peculiar to government, we are probably obtaining more value from the services paid for by taxes than ever before. The main question is how to equalize the tax burden so that all may have opportunity to enjoy the institutional services essential for our standards of living.

IV. COOPERATIVE MARKETING AND BUYING[76]

In a self-sufficient type of agriculture such as is characteristic of a new country, most of the farmer's exchange of goods is a rather simple form of barter and there is little dependence on a money economy. With the growth of transportation and the majority of the population in this country residing in cities and dependent on the farms for food and with the larger use of automotive machinery, farms have become, more and more, commercial enterprises. The major costs of the operation of the farm and the farm home require cash. The same factors which have commercialized agriculture have given farmers more contacts with urban culture and their wants have increased so that more cash is required to meet them. The farmer is, therefore, keenly concerned with the market for his products and the prices he receives for them. This is particularly true in times of surplus crops and depressed prices. Thus, with the growth of a commercial type of agriculture, the necessity for a better system of marketing has become imperative.

As an individual seller or buyer the farmer is helpless against the market price of the dealer, but if enough farmers act together they can obtain for themselves some of the profits which go to middlemen, those who carry on the marketing process. Thus there has been a steady growth in the organization of farmers' cooperative associations, both for selling and buying, ever since the Civil War. We shall later (Chapter 22) deal with the characteristics and problems of these cooperative associations, but we are here concerned with the growth of the cooperative method as a means of solving the farmer's major problem of selling and buying to his best advantage. This has been made the more necessary by the growth and increasing control of large corporations which are able to maintain prices for the machinery and supplies which the farmer has to purchase and by the increasing ability

[76] *Cf.* E. A. Stokdyk, "Cooperative Marketing by Farmers," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, pp. 684–705.

of organized labor to maintain wages and thus increase the cost of manufactures. Another factor which stimulated cooperative marketing organizations was the growth of specialized types of agricultural products, such as fruits, vegetables, and poultry products, in regions distant from the major markets, as on the Pacific Coast. This was made possible by the refrigerator car and fast transportation, but it necessitated careful grading, packing, and handling, and wise distribution to avoid an oversupply to any one market, all of which required cooperative organization if the grower was to have any independence from the prices offered by local buyers for these distant markets.

The first major movement toward cooperative organization of farmers was fostered by the Grange (Patrons of Husbandry) [77] in the days of its first rapid growth in the early 1870's, and the Grange has ever since been a powerful force in promoting the cooperative movement. Most of its own enterprises had disappeared by the end of the last century, but the idea of cooperation had taken deep root. The next major movement was on the Pacific Coast; it started in the 1890's and has had a steady growth ever since. The California Fruit Growers' Exchange serves about 13,000 growers and in its best year—1930—it had sales on an f.o.b. basis of $105,000,000.[78]

In the first decade of this century there was a rapid growth of farmers' cooperative grain elevators in the Grain Belt, and the organization of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America actively promoted cooperative marketing associations. President Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission called attention to the need of state and national legislation to facilitate the organization of cooperative associations. In April, 1913, the First National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits was held in Chicago and in the same year the Office of Markets was established in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. It was in this same year that a commission was sent to Europe to study cooperative farm credit and other cooperative associations (see p. 144), and its report did much to encourage the cooperative movement. With the organization of the Cooperative Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics by the passage of the Smith-Lever Act in 1914, a new force for the education of farmers in the principles of cooperation was introduced; it greatly stimulated the organization of cooperatives. This was aided by the organization of the American Farm Bureau Federation in 1919.

[77] See R. H. Elsworth, The Story of Farmers' Cooperatives, Washington, D.C., Farm Credit Administration, Circ. E-23, 1939, pp. 3–8.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

With the agricultural depression which started in 1921 there was a very keen interest in cooperative marketing and the idea of large scale organization of state and national cooperative marketing associations for specific commodities, such as cotton, tobacco, and grain, was spectacularly promoted by a California attorney, Aaron Sapiro, who assisted in organizing a number of these organizations with large memberships with ironclad contracts binding the farmers to the delivery of their crops for a stated period.[79] These organizations were based on the idea of gaining a monopoly control and thus being able to inaugurate a program of "orderly marketing," but most of them were relatively short-lived, owing to the speed with which they were organized and the lack of education of their membership in the principles of cooperation.

However, the cooperative idea had gained strong impetus and as a result in 1929 under the Hoover administration the Federal Farm Board was created with the passage of the Agricultural Marketing Act; it fostered the organization of a number of so-called "national" cooperative commodity marketing associations. These were not very successful and were subsequently liquidated by the Farm Credit Administration, but they committed the Federal Government to the support of farmers' cooperative associations. Indeed, the Capper-Volstead Act of 1922 had already sanctioned such associations, as did the Cooperative Marketing Act of 1926, which established a division of cooperative marketing in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. During the same decade the legislatures of more than half the states adopted the Standard Marketing Act in various slightly modified forms, giving legal status to cooperative marketing associations. All this legislation gave evidence of a change of attitude toward the cooperative movement, which previously had often been violently opposed by private business interests.

As commonly stated, the object of a cooperative marketing association is to reduce the "spread" between the producer and the consumer, giving both a better price by the elimination of unnecessary profits of the "middleman." It must be remembered, however, that there is more than one middleman and that the functions of the various middlemen engaged in the marketing process must be performed if marketing is to be successful. This may be accomplished to a certain extent by a cooperative association if it can develop a sufficient volume of business to enable it to employ efficient business management for this purpose, by reducing costs through eliminating some of the middlemen;

[79] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

by controlling the flow of the product to given markets to prevent an oversupply at a given time and develop more orderly marketing; by creating new and larger markets through advertising, and by improving grading, packing, and standardization, which are essential for maintaining the confidence of the buyers. These functions of the so-called "middlemen" must be performed if the marketing process is to be successful, and only as the membership of the cooperative association is educated to understand the importance of each step in marketing can the management maintain their confidence and cooperation. The more important of these marketing processes are: (1) assembling, (2) grading and standardizing, (3) packaging, (4) processing, (5) transporting, (6) storing, (7) financing and risk taking, and (8) selling and distributing.[80] By obtaining a large volume of the business a cooperative association may simplify the operation of some of these functions and reduce their cost while obtaining greater efficiency, and thus bring better prices to its members.

Cooperative *purchasing* associations [81] involve different problems and processes and offer a more direct competition to the established methods of retail and wholesale business. They are not peculiar to agriculture, although in this country those engaged in distributing agricultural supplies have been the most successful and have handled the largest volume of business. In many instances, cooperative marketing associations also act as purchasing agents for such agricultural supplies as their members need.

In Europe the totalitarian governments have abolished all cooperative societies and their functions have been taken over by state-controlled agencies. Whether the increasing governmental control of agricultural production and distribution in this country will result in weakening the cooperative associations is a problem which has given their leaders great concern. As yet there has been no tendency of this sort in this country and the Government has given every encouragement to cooperative marketing and purchasing.

The history of the cooperative movement in this country, as well as in Europe, seems to indicate that it is the best method of enabling farmers to handle their business in the most efficient manner in competition with the organization of other industries and labor.

[80] For a discussion of these see Gee, *op. cit.*, pp. 235–242.

[81] *Cf.* S. N. Gubin, "The Growth of Farm-City Cooperative Associations," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, pp. 706–719.

V. FARM LABOR [82]

The granting of federal aid to the states for public relief revealed the plight of farm laborers during the depression. In 1935 a study of nearly 63,000 families in 138 counties throughout the United States [83] showed that the usual occupation of the head of the family was farm laborer for 11.3 percent of all families receiving relief. All those usually engaged in agriculture formed 40.6 percent of the relief population in these rural counties, so that the farm laborers on relief were 28 percent of those relief families engaged in agriculture. But this proportion was much higher in the Cotton Belt and the Corn Belt. If we include share croppers as laborers, in the Eastern Cotton Belt two-thirds of all the families on relief which were usually engaged in agriculture were those of laborers, and in the Corn Belt they formed over one-half. It was in these two regions and in California that the problem of relief for farm laborers' families was most serious. As a result, a new consideration of the precarious situation of the farm laborer was brought about.

The importance of wage laborers in agriculture is shown by the fact that in 1930 they formed slightly over one-fourth of all those gainfully employed in agriculture. Dr. Lowry Nelson [84] estimated that in November, 1937, they numbered nearly 4,000,000, at which time 22.5 percent, or nearly a million, were unemployed.

The largest proportion of agricultural wage labor is to be found in the states in which large scale farming is most common (as shown in Fig. 59) in the Pacific and Mountain states and parts of the South. If share croppers are included as laborers, then the whole South would be included in the area having a high percentage of agricultural laborers.[85] (See Fig. 60.)

[82] *Cf.* W. T. Ham, "Farm Labor in an Era of Change," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, pp. 907–921.

[83] C. C. Zimmerman and N. L. Whetten, Rural Families on Relief, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, WPA, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph XVII, Table 2, p. 14.

[84] Lowry Nelson, "Distribution and Extent of Unemployment among Farm Laborers in the U.S.," *Social Forces,* Vol. 18, pp. 180–187, Dec., 1939.

[85] For reports on farm labor conditions in individual states see: Harold Hoffsommer, "The Sugar Cane Farm—A Social Study of Labor and Tenancy," Univ. of La. AES, Bul. 320, June, 1940; S. E. Grigsby and Harold Hoffsommer, "Cotton Plantation Laborers," La. St. Univ. AES, Bul. 328, Feb., 1941; S. C. Menefee, Mexican Migratory Workers in South Texas, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1941, WPA, Division of Research; C. F. Reuss, P. H. Landis,

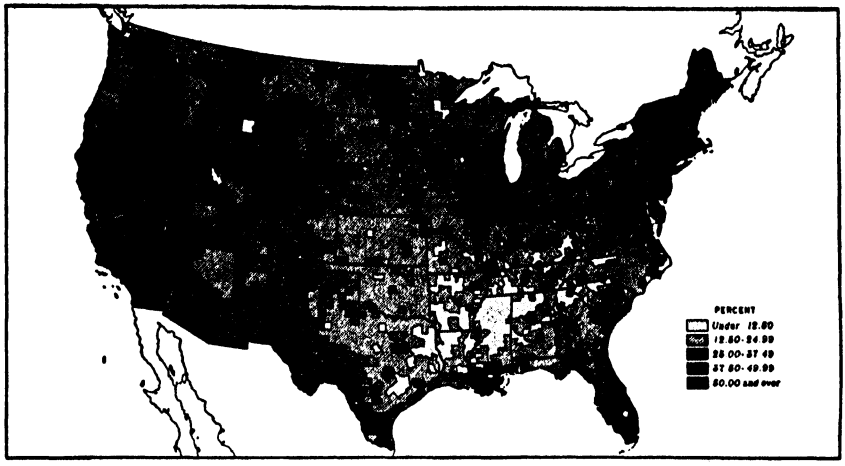
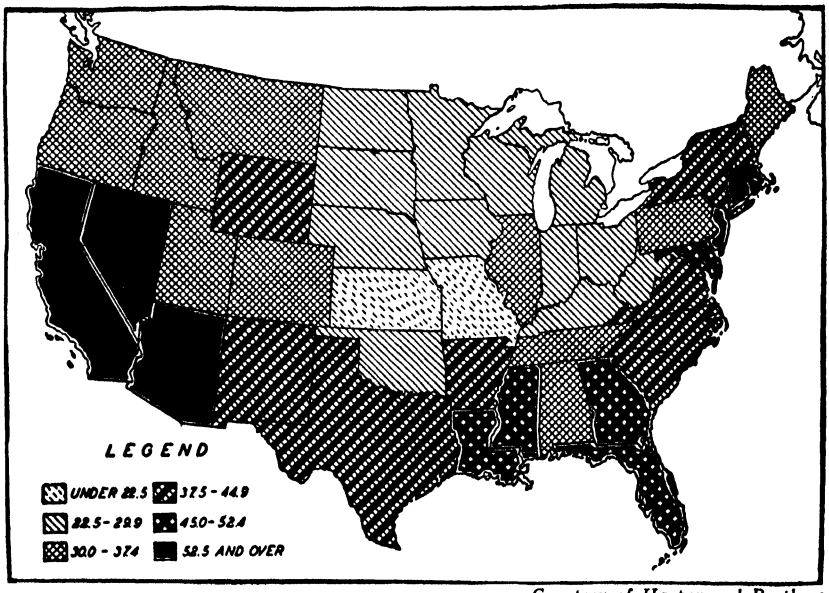


FIG. 59. Hired farm laborers among gainfully employed in agriculture, percent of total, 1930. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)



Courtesy of Harper and Brothers

FIG. 60. Percentage of agricultural laborers (including croppers) of all males 18 years of age and over gainfully employed in agriculture. (After T. Lynn Smith.)

Prior to about 1915 most farm laborers were the sons of neighbors or young men of foreign birth who were getting a start in agriculture and who were taken into the farm family. This has given a traditional notion of the farm laborer in this country. However, Paul H. Landis, who has made studies of farm labor in Washington, has called attention to the fact that this is a misconception of the situation in many sections in which the largest amount of wage labor is employed.[86] He distinguishes the following classes of farm laborers: (1) *the hired man,* usually employed fairly permanently and sharing in the life of the family; (2) *the resident seasonal worker,* who lives in the small town and picks up seasonal work on farms; (3) *the casual farm laborer,* whose usual occupation is outside agriculture and who helps in harvesting seasonal crops; (4) *the hobo or bindle tramp,* the migratory single worker, and (5) *the migratory family worker,* made possible by the use of cheap automobiles, who seeks jobs at which the whole family can work, as picking berries, prunes, cotton, and sugar beets.

Statistics concerning farm laborers are very limited and do not enable us to determine the approximate numbers in the above classes with any accuracy. In the Census of Agriculture of 1935 the enumeration was made as of January, when farm labor was at a minimum. It disclosed that 967,594 farms hired 1 or more laborers, and of these 722,645,[87] or about three-fourths, hired only 1 laborer. Thus probably three-fourths of the farms hiring labor depend on the typical hired man, employed by the year. The same source shows that only 1.2 percent of the farms employed 10 or more men, who formed 14.8 percent of all the laborers employed, whereas 3.1 percent of the farms employing labor hired from 5 to 9 men, who formed 10.5 percent of all men employed, so that at least one-fourth of all farm labor was employed on large farms and did not belong to the typical "hired man" class.

Concerning the "hired man's" condition we have little information, except for the average wage rates and these rates do not distinguish those employed by the year and those employed seasonally by the month. From 1910 to 1914 farm wages averaged $29.17 per month

and Richard Wakefield, "Migratory Farm Labor and the Hop Industry on the Pacific Coast," Pullman, Wash., St. Coll. of Wash. AES, Bul. 363, Aug., 1938; E. D. Tetreau, "Arizona's Farm Laborers," Univ. of Ariz. AES, Bul. 163, May, 1939.

[86] P. H. Landis, Rural Life in Process, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940, p. 487. Chapter 25 is an excellent account of the whole subject. See also, Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field, New York, Little, Brown and Co., 1939.

[87] W. T. Ham and J. C. Folsom, in Hearings before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor (74th Congress), May 8, 1940, mimeographed.

without board and $22.09 with board. Using this as a base of 100, the index for farm wages reached a maximum of 242 in 1920, or $65.40 a month without board; in 1929 it was 180, showing the influence of high wages in the cities during the 1920's. At the low point in the depression (1933) the index dropped to 85, but rose to 124 in 1938 and 1939.[88] In any event, it is evident that farm wages are so much below those in other industries that the farmer cannot expect a very satisfactory class of labor unless living and social conditions are made attractive. "Surveys in 10 counties in different States showed that the average annual earnings of farm workers ranged between $125 and $327 for the crop year 1935–36. These incomes may have been helped out by some perquisites, but at that they were not sufficient for health, comfort and contentment, or saving." [89]

Concerning the living conditions of hired men we have little precise information, but it is known that in many cases they are far from satisfactory. More important is the fact that there is a distinct class barrier against hired men, so that they do not participate to any extent in community social activities, in contrast to the freedom of wage workers in cities to do so.

The three classes of resident seasonal workers, casual farm laborers, and the hobos or bindle tramps, give rise to many social problems, particularly with regard to the large number of youth just out of school who have been wandering over the country seeking work during recent years.[90] This class of labor has been encouraged by the highly seasonal nature of the demand for harvesting certain crops. Thus in the Yakima Valley, Washington, there is a peak demand for 32,000 laborers the second week in September to pick hops, which is over in another two weeks. The apple-picking season starts soon after, but at its peak in mid-October only 12,000 workers are required, and by midwinter only 500 are needed.[91]

"With 200,000 to 350,000 agricultural migrants in the United States, working for limited periods in harvesting intensified crops in certain areas of the country, conditions of gang labor, inherent in the use of large numbers of workers at one time, working more or less against

[88] USDA, Agricultural Statistics, 1939, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, Table 639, p. 506.

[89] H. A. Wallace, The Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1937, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, p. 38.

[90] *Cf.* Nels Anderson, Men on the Move, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1940, Chapter III; B. L. Melvin, Youth—Millions Too Many, New York, Association Press, 1940, Chapter II, pp. 30–44.

[91] *Cf.* P. H. Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 491; see also, W. T. Ham, "The Management of Seasonal Labor," *Land Policy Review,* Vol. IV, pp. 29–34, Sept., 1941.

time and uncertain weather conditions, are bound to exist in American agriculture." [92] Gang labor has reached larger proportions in California than in any other state.[93]

The most serious problem concerning migratory workers is that of migratory families, whose number has increased rapidly in the last decade, and who have aggravated the labor situation on the Pacific Coast. Most of them come from the states which have had severe drought.

> These refugee families are mostly rural people who have been dislodged by years of drought and depression. They stream west in battered cars filled with children, blankets, stoves, and remnants of household furniture. Their destination is generally California, Arizona, Oregon, Washington, or Idaho. Most of them go to California. Between June 15, 1935 and Dec. 31, 1937, the California Department of Agriculture counted entering the state by motor vehicle more than 221,000 persons belonging to parties in need of manual employment. . . . Forty-one percent of the migrants to California have come from the three states of Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas.[94]

This problem of migratory workers became so serious that it was the subject of an investigation by a special Congressional Committee, headed by Hon. John A. Tolan of California, in 1940, which held extensive hearings throughout the country and whose report brings together a large mass of data concerning it.[95]

Not only the droughts and the depression have caused migration, but the rapid mechanization of cotton culture west of the Mississippi. On the basis of studies of the Farm Security Administration it has been stated that "in 1920 there were 9,000 farm tractors in Texas. In 1937 there were 99,000 . . . and each tractor replaced from one to five tenant families." [96]

[92] C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, USDA, The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Cooperating, Social Research Report VIII, Washington, D.C., April, 1938, p. 32, mimeographed.

[93] P. S. Taylor and Tom Vasey, "Contemporary Background of California Farm Labor," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. I, p. 419, Dec., 1936.

[94] P. S. Taylor, Statement before the Special Senate Committee to Investigate Unemployment and Relief, March 14, 1938, mimeographed.

[95] Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, Report of the Interstate Migration, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1941, 77th Congress, 1st Session, House Report 369.

[96] Concerning this process of mechanization and displacement see: P. S. Taylor, "Power Farming and Labor Displacement in the Cotton Belt, 1937," *Monthly Labor Review of the Bureau of Labor Statistics,* U.S. Dept. of Labor, March and April issues, 1938; B. O. Williams, "The Impact of Mechanization of Agriculture on the Farm Population of the South," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 4, pp. 300–311.

> There is one Alabama county that had eight farm tractors a few years ago. Last year there were 260 tractors in that county and each was estimated to have forced one and one-half to two families off the land.[97]

There is also considerable evidence[98] that crop acreage control policies of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration have resulted in a considerable displacement of share croppers who have been forced to become wage workers, and thus drift into the migratory worker class. The standards of living of these migratory workers is exceedingly low,[99] with serious consequences to the health and education of the children, as described in Steinbeck's powerful novel, *Grapes of Wrath.*

A federal commission investigating the pea-pickers' strike in the Imperial Valley in 1934 declared:

> . . . We found filth, squalor and an entire absence of sanitation, and crowding of human beings into totally inadequate tents or crude structures built on boards, weeds, and anything that was found at hand to give a pitiful semblance of a home at its worst. . . . In this environment there is bred a social sullenness that is to be deplored, but which can be understood by those who have viewed the scenes that violate all recognized standards of living.

To meet this situation the Farm Security Administration has established Farm Labor Camps in California. (See Chapter 21.)

As a result of the conditions of these migratory workers there have been many strikes and a definite tendency toward forming trade unions to protect their own interests. Said the Secretary of Agriculture:

> Organized movements of agricultural labor, with many strikes, have developed rapidly of late years. The first year of the agricultural depression brought 10 agricultural strikes involving nearly 14,000 workers. In 1933 there were nearly five times as many with 59,000 agricultural workers involved. During the years 1933–36 the number of agricultural strikes reported averaged about 30 and the number of workers involved about 25,000.[100]

Similarly in the South there has been a rapid growth of the Share Cropper's Union and considerable violence in trying to suppress it.

To anyone familiar with the history of the trade union movement in other industries it must be apparent that, if large scale farming is to

[97] From mimeographed statement issued by Farm Security Administration, Region IX.

[98] See W. T. Ham, "The Impact of Industrial, Labor, and Agricultural Control Policies Upon Farm Labor," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 5, pp. 46–58, March, 1940; Harold Hoffsommer, "The AAA and the Cropper," *Social Forces,* Vol. 13, pp 494–502, May, 1933.

[99] *Cf.* Nels Anderson, *op. cit.,* Chapter IV.

[100] H. A. Wallace, The Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1937, p. 39.

employ labor under conditions of factory management, the workers must organize to bargain collectively for their wages and working conditions and that they will have the support of organized labor in so doing. The experience of England is enlightening in this connection. Speaking of the county wage boards empowered to establish minimum wage rates, Murray R. Benedict says: "This type of wage-determining machinery was established in Britain in 1917, was dropped in 1921, and was reestablished for England and Wales in 1924 and in Scotland in 1937. It has worked reasonably well, and there has been little labor strife under it."[101] It should also be noted that wages have been materially increased under this system.

As means of long-term approaches to the solution of these problems of farm labor Professor Benedict suggests the following:

1. Tenant-purchase with a considerable measure of federal aid.
2. Breakup of large holdings.
3. Reorganization of agriculture to provide more continuous work and stabilization of residence by areas.
4. Garden cottages and small holdings.
5. Cooperative farming.
6. Unionization of labor.
7. Extension of Social Security to agriculture.[102] [This would include unemployment, accident, and old-age insurance for farm laborers.]

He discusses each of these. There is also considerable literature on each topic, so that it is impossible to consider them here. We can only point out the growing seriousness of the problems of agricultural labor and the necessity for an enlightened consideration of them. This is particularly important with regard to labor employed in agricultural processing plants, such as canneries and mills handling perishable farm products, especially where operated by farmers' cooperative associations. Under these conditions farmers feel that such factory labor should be considered as farm labor, whereas from the standpoint of the worker he is merely a factory hand with only seasonal employment, so he must protect his wages. A very definite conflict is brewing between organized labor and organized agriculture over this problem; it can be solved only by a frank facing of the facts on both sides and by mutual concessions, rather than by the traditional method of name-

[101] M. R. Benedict, "Economic Aspects of Remedial Measures Designed to Meet the Problems of Displaced Farm Laborers," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 5, p. 171. See the whole article, pp. 163–182, and "The British Program for Farm Labor," *J. of Farm Eco.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 714–728, Dec., 1940. See also, H. W. Spiegel, "Trade Unions in Agriculture," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 6, pp. 117–125, June, 1941.

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

calling and violence which will never produce a permanent settlement of unfair working conditions.

The relatively low wages of farm laborers is a serious handicap to agriculture in competition with other industries and it would be to the interest of American farmers to stabilize them on a much higher level. The instability of the labor situation is shown by events in the fall of 1940. Whereas for the previous decade the problem had been how to take care of farm boys who could not find jobs in cities, suddenly, with the rapid expansion of industries for national defense, there was a serious shortage of farm labor in the industrial areas of the Northeastern States and on the Pacific Coast. In such a situation agriculture takes what labor it can get, because of its lower wages, and often it is of the poorest type. This is curiously illustrated by the fact that until 1940 the business interests of California were actively discouraging immigration, but with the industrial expansion they are finding that the despised "Okies" are becoming the salvation of their agricultural labor problem.

Farm labor wages do not need to be so high as in other industries because the laborer is usually furnished a house with garden and other privileges, and living is cheaper. Wages are, however, too low to enable the farmer to compete for labor with industry or to enable the laborer to get ahead. The difficulty is that the farmer cannot control his prices or shut down his plant as does the manufacturer. There is every reason why the Federal Minimum Wage Act should apply to farm laborers, providing the farm income can be raised. It may, however, be possible to raise farm wages and let the government subsidize the difference to the farmer under the AAA. There would seem to be no reason why the farm laborer should not receive benefit payments as well as the farm operator. Indeed such a solution was suggested by Secretary Wallace in his able discussion of the farm labor problem.[108]

VI. SOIL CONSERVATION AND LAND USE

The experiences of the past decade, with unprecedented droughts and problems of public relief for farm people, have revealed the tremendous losses caused by soil erosion and have given rise to new attitudes toward soil conservation and land use which have far-reaching social significance. We have already referred to the problem of land erosion in Chapter 4. We are becoming aware that the soil is the nation's most important physical asset and that if we continue to neglect its ero-

[108] H. A. Wallace, Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1937, p. 40.

sion we shall have increasingly difficult problems of human readjustment.[104]

Thus the unprecedented drought on the Great Plains in 1934, with those of the preceding years starting in 1930, produced the dust storms of that year, and when the people on the Atlantic Coast saw the sun dimmed by clouds of dust from the Western Plains, they became aware of the seriousness of the problem. The Dust Bowl areas became a national problem because of the amount of relief necessary for ruined farmers and because of the unprecedented migration from these areas which augmented the problems of migratory labor.[105]

When federal relief became necessary in the Eastern Cotton Belt it at once became apparent that the reason for much of it was that people had been working the soil so constantly that it required large quantities of commercial fertilizer and had become so eroded as to become unprofitable in competition with the better soils of Texas and Oklahoma, where machinery can be used to better advantage. Thus water erosion was one of the factors which had compelled many families to become public charges and which would prevent the possibility of their rehabilitation on the land they occupied unless it could be corrected. The extent and seriousness of the erosion problem may be visualized from the map in Fig. 61.

The unusual floods of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers in February, 1937, with the tremendous losses involved and the costs of levee construction and engineering work to prevent their damage, called attention to the need of soil conservation as a means of flood prevention through better practices in cultivated fields and the better handling of forest land.[106] Thus wind- and water-erosion and flood control, with the resulting relief problems, aroused the nation to the need of a national policy of soil conservation and land use,[107] for until recent years we have

[104] *Cf.* B. W. Allin and E. A. Foster, "The Challenge of Conservation," and H. H. Bennett, "Our Soil Can Be Saved," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, pp. 416–428, 429–440; also H. H. Bennett, Soils and Security, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1941, USDA, Soil Conservation Service.

[105] For social effects of the droughts see WPA, Division of Social Research, Research Bulletins Series V: Francis D. Cronin and Howard W. Beers, "Areas of Intense Drought Distress, 1930–1936," Jan., 1937; Conrad Taeuber and C. C. Taylor, "The People of the Drought States," March, 1937; Irene Link, "Relief and Rehabilitation in the Drought Area," June, 1937; Research Monograph XVI, R. S. Kifer and H. L. Stewart, "Farming Hazards in the Drought Area," 1938.

[106] See USDA, Misc. Pub. 331, The Land in Flood Control, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, p. 38.

[107] For discussion of the extent and problems of erosion see: Russell Lord, To Hold This Soil, USDA, Misc. Pub. 321, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Print-

given little attention to developing a national land policy. Since the Homestead Act of 1861 the only policy of the Federal Government seemed to be that of getting rid of its land by giving it over to private ownership as fast as possible without consideration of the consequences. Not until the administration of Theodore Roosevelt did we commence to develop a policy of the conservation of public lands and forests under the leadership of Gifford Pinchot. Under Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt New York State commenced a policy of buying

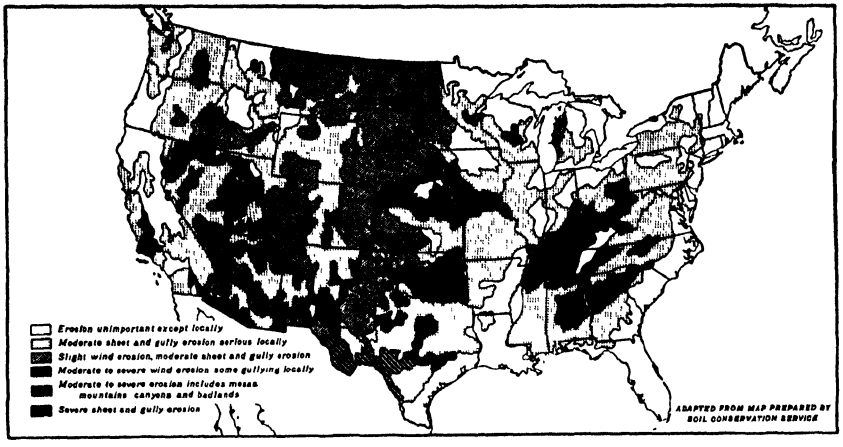


FIG. 61. General distribution of erosion in the United States. Compare with the poor land areas shown in Fig. 62. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

up marginal land unsuited for agriculture and reforesting it,[108] with a program of intensive surveys of land use throughout the state. This program had already become sufficiently successful so that, when he became president, he saw the need of meeting this problem on a national scale and created the National Resources Board (now the National Resources Planning Board) to study this and other problems of our national resources. One of the first undertakings of this board was to enlist the several governmental agencies concerned in a recon-

ing Office, 1938, p. 123; or Behold Our Land, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938; and in the Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture 1938, "Soils and Men," the following articles: E. J. Utz, C. E. Kellogg, E. H. Reed, J. H. Stallings, and E. N. Munns, "The Problem: The Nation as a Whole," pp. 84–110; H. H. Bennett and W. C. Lowdermilk, "General Aspects of the Soil-Erosion Problem," pp. 581–608; C. C. Taylor, B. W. Allin, and O. E. Baker, "Public Purposes in Soil Use," pp. 47–59.

[108] See New York State Planning Board, State Planning for New York, Albany, J. B. Lyon Co., 1935, pp. 31–32.

naissance survey of land use as a basis for developing a national land policy.[109]

As a result of these surveys the National Resources Board estimated that there are probably not less than 450,000 farms, covering about 75,000,000 acres, too poor for people to support themselves on them by crop farming. (See Fig. 62.)

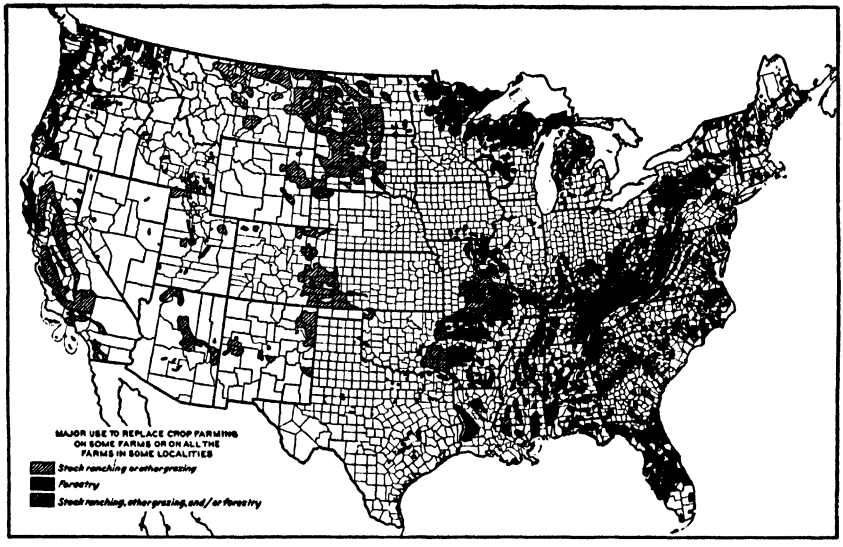


FIG. 62. Areas in which farm problems appear to warrant encouragement of a change from crop farming to stock ranching or to forestry or other conservational use for all the land on some farms or on all the farms in some localities, June 15, 1935. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

In 1933 the Soil Conservation Service was established in the Department of the Interior and two years later was transferred to the Department of Agriculture. With the cooperation of the state agricultural extension services this service inaugurated a far-flung system of cooperative demonstrations in soil conservation and erosion prevention on private lands. On June 30, 1938, there were over 500 watershed demonstration projects involving 61,261 farmers and 11½ million acres of land.[110] As a result of these demonstrations it became evident that all farmers in an area could not protect their interests in soil erosion

[109] National Resources Board, A Report on National Planning and Public Works in Relation to Natural Resources, Part II, Report of the Land Planning Committee, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1935.

[110] H. H. Bennett, Report of the Chief of the Soil Conservation Service, 1938, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, p. 9.

as individuals and that they must have authority to act collectively for their common protection. Consequently a standard law for establishing soil conservation districts has been adopted, with some modifications, by 36 states. As of October 1, 1939, 187 of these districts had been formed in 27 states, covering an aggregate of some 108 million acres.[111]

> Generally, the legislation [for soil conservation districts] authorizes the exercise of two types of powers: (1) The power to establish and administer erosion-control projects and preventive measures, including assistance to farmers in carrying on erosion control work; and (2) the power to prescribe land-use regulations in the interests of the prevention and control of erosion. Such regulations must first be submitted to a local referendum vote. When approved they have the force of law within the district.
>
> This is a democratic approach, which puts the primary responsibility and initiative on those who work the land. It opens the way for closer cooperation between the individual farmers, the State governments, and the Federal Government in land-use practices calculated to advance both the interests of the individual farmer and the interest of society.[112]

Such legislation represents a radical change of attitude with regard to the ownership of the soil from that of the exploitive settler and re-establishes, to meet modern conditions and problems, the principle of collective responsibility and common usage which was characteristic of the village community of medieval Europe.[113]

The control of marginal land has also been accomplished by its purchase by the Federal Government. Commencing in 1935, under the Resettlement Administration and now under the Soil Conservation Service, it has purchased or agreed to buy (as of June 30, 1939) some 10,800,000 acres [114] in about 250 projects scattered over the country, which are being reforested or used for game preserves or recreational purposes. This has involved the resettlement of thousands of families

[111] H. A. Wallace, Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1939, p. 50.

[112] H. A. Wallace, Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1937, p. 35. See also pp. 48–49 for a general discussion of "The Sapping of our Land Resources." For discussion of the legal aspects and methods of establishment see: "Soils and Men," Yearbook of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1938, G. S. Wehrwein, *et al.*, "The Remedies: Policies for Private Lands," section on Soil Conservation District Laws, pp. 248–253; and P. M. Glick, "The Soil and the Law," section on State Soil Conservation District Laws, pp. 299–305.

[113] *Cf.* Wilhelm Anderson, "Land Ownership and the Nation's Life," *Land Pol. Rev.*, Vol. III, pp. 30–35, Nov., 1940.

[114] H. H. Bennett, Report of the Chief of the Soil Conservation Service, 1939, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939, p. 68.

from poor to better land, where they can more easily make a living and have better advantages. It is an expansion of the policy adopted earlier by New York State, where it was shown that the saving to the state in eliminating the costs of schools, roads, and public relief on submarginal lands would pay for the cost of the land in a generation.

The objectives and policies of the federal land purchase program have not been too clear-cut, but have been well stated as follows:

> . . . Three major types of projects are included in the land utilization program: Agricultural adjustment projects, isolated settler projects, and water conservation projects. Designed to convert wasted, misused land to uses that will rebuild the natural and human resources into permanent national assets, the agricultural adjustment projects aim at establishment of a sound rural economy based on agricultural use of the land. Isolated settler projects are undertaken with the objective of enabling widely dispersed farm families, in non-agricultural areas, to relocate; thereby at once enabling local and State governments to reduce costs of public services to these citizens, and providing a means for economically more desirable use of the land. The third group of projects, those devoted to water conservation, are of special prominence in arid and semiarid regions where full and thrifty development of water resources is the dominant factor in establishing an economically healthy system of using the land.[115]

The retirement of submarginal land from farming and the prevention of its settlement by farmers is also accomplished by county zoning ordinances, most extensively employed in northern Wisconsin on poor, cut-over lands; they are also being applied in other states. These county zoning ordinances are made by the people of the county under the general police powers which have made possible the zoning of residence and business areas of cities. They are necessarily based on a land classification to indicate the desirable use of different areas.

> . . . Rural zoning in Wisconsin was started primarily to control future settlement by keeping farmers from selecting land remote from established communities and thereby creating demands for new highways, schools, health services, etc., the cost of which would fall upon the taxpayers in the established portions of the area, upon the county, and, through the system of State aids, upon the taxpayers throughout the State.[116]

[115] A. G. Black, Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, p. 8.

[116] G. S. Wehrwein and C. I. Hendrickson, "Rural Zoning," in "Soils and Men," USDA Yearbook 1938, p. 243. For other descriptions of rural zoning ordinances see: BAE, USDA, Rural Zoning and Your County, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939, p. 14; W. E. Cole and H. C. Crowe, Recent Trends in Rural Planning, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, Chapter IV, pp. 119–140.

Both the government purchase of marginal land and county zoning require careful surveys to obtain a land use classification. Land use classification, in contrast to land classification by types of soils only, is based on the use being made of the land, the kind of soil, the topography, the elevation, the size and condition of farm buildings, the results of farm management research; it is made with reference to the intensity of use to which land is apparently best adapted under present conditions and those probable in the immediate future. The chief purposes are to mark out "those areas that are better adapted to forests and recreational purposes than to farming and to assemble information that will serve as a sound basis for locating hard roads, telephone and electric lines, and health and educational facilities needed for those areas that will stay permanently in farming." [117]

In 1923 the New York State College of Agriculture began studies of abandoned farm areas. These surveys were continued until one-third of the agricultural counties of the State had been mapped by 1940. Similar studies were made by the agricultural experiment stations in other states and by the land specialists of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. This work was given a large impetus by the reconnaissance surveys made for the report of the Land Planning Committee of the National Resources Board in 1934, and in the same year there was created a Land Policy Section of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (now in the Soil Conservation Service), which has conducted many land use surveys and has cooperated with the states in making them a basis for developing a sound land policy for both the Federal and state governments. These land use surveys, with the soil surveys and farm management studies made by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the state agricultural experiment stations, have furnished the data upon which the work of the county land use committees, described below, are basing their efforts to develop long-time agricultural policies, involving the use of different types of land for the purposes for which they are best adapted.

[117] V. B. Hart, "Land Use in New York," Cornell Ext. Bul. 406, N. Y. St. Coll. of Agr., April, 1939, p. 6.

Chapter 8

AGRICULTURAL POLICIES AND THEIR SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

I. AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT LEGISLATION

Following the high prices which they had received during and after World War I, the agricultural depression of 1921 convinced American farmers that legislation was necessary to give them a fair share of the national income and to preserve their standard of living. They had been forced to consider the basic factors in determining agricultural prices and in this they benefited by the researches of agricultural economists as never before. The latter [1] showed them statistics and graphs to prove that when the price level of any country falls prices of farm products go down much faster and farther than prices of manufactured products, wages, taxes, and other things which farmers have to buy for their living and business, and this confirmed the farmers' own experience. They became aware that in every depression agriculture suffers first and recovers last, and that it loses most in its share of the national income. They became, therefore, much more interested in the stability of prices and by the time of the industrial depression of the 30's they became vigorous supporters of a flexible currency, which they have continued to advocate through such agencies as the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Prior to World War I our foreign indebtedness had been largely settled by the export of agricultural products. After the war this country became Europe's creditor; this limited the volume of our exports, as well as the competition of other countries. At the same time we in-

[1] The most notable contribution to this point of view was probably that of G. F. Warren and F. A. Pearson in their book, Prices (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1933). A brief exposition of the same doctrine may be found in G. E. Brandow, The Effect of an Unstable Price Level on Farming, Ithaca, N. Y., N. Y. State Coll. of Agr., Cornell Ext. Bul. 447, November, 1940. This theory of prices has been the subject of the liveliest controversy among agricultural economists and there is a very extensive literature concerning it, the merits of which are beyond our province in this connection.

creased our already high tariffs, and this further impeded international trade. A tariff on farm products of which there is not a sufficient supply to meet the domestic demand will raise their price level in competition with imported goods; but if there is an exportable surplus no matter how high the tariff may be it is ineffective in influencing the price, which is determined by the world market.[2]

Although agricultural prices were lowered, the costs of goods which the farmer had to buy were raised because of the protective tariff and he was thus at an impossible disadvantage in maintaining his share of

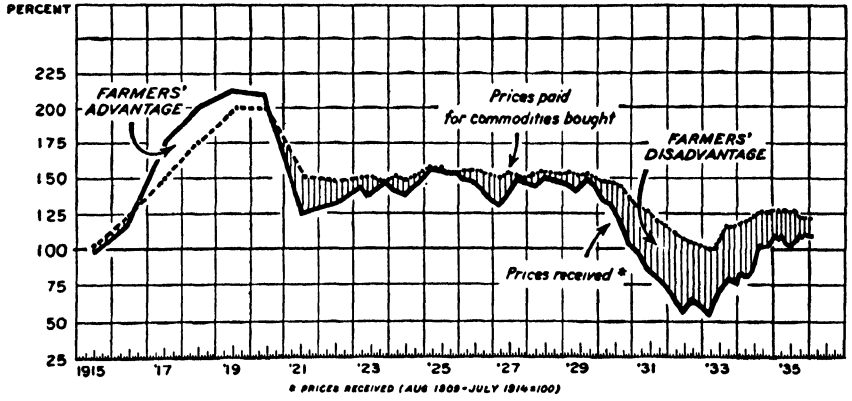


FIG. 63. Index of prices received and paid by farmers, 1916–1936. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

the national income. (See Fig. 63.) This led to a vigorous demand from agricultural organizations for remedial legislation, which was in essence a "search for a farmers' tariff."[3] Three types of legislation were introduced in the Congress during the 1920's, the principles of which foreshadow those finally included in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. These were the equalization-fee plan, the export-debenture plan, and the domestic-allotment plan.

THE McNARY-HAUGEN BILLS. The first McNary-Haugen bill was introduced in 1924 and similar bills, somewhat modified, passed the Congress in 1927 and 1928, but were vetoed by President Coolidge. Their passage, and defeat by a narrow margin, showed the strong sen-

[2] H. R. Tolley, Agricultural Adjustment 1937–38, A Report of the Activities Carried on by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939, p. 7.

[3] *Cf.* C. C. Davis, "The Development of Agricultural Policy Since the End of the World War," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, pp. 297–326.

timent for legislation of this kind. The equalization-fee plan proposed was essentially a means of giving the farmer the major part of the tariff on the principal exportable agricultural products by raising the price to the domestic consumer, like the other tariffs, which affect the farmer's costs.[4]

The other two plans sought the same ends by somewhat different means. The export-debenture plan was first proposed by Professor Charles L. Stewart of the University of Illinois and was actively supported by the National Grange. It was presented to the Congress in the McKinley-Adkins bill of 1926, and received its greatest publicity in the Jones-Ketcham bill of 1928, following the vetoes of the McNary-Haugen bills. "The schemes embodied in these bills were rather complex, but in effect they provided for the use of the tariff revenue to pay export bounties on certain agricultural commodities: wheat, corn, tobacco, cotton, hogs, and cattle. In the final bill the bounties on most commodities were made equal to one-half of their respective tariff rates. Congress did not enact this plan into law." [5]

The domestic-allotment plan was proposed as an alternative to the export-debenture and equalization-fee plans. It was designed primarily to avoid the stimulus to expand production that some farm leaders thought was inherent in the other two plans, particularly the export-debenture. The basic idea was to raise the price of the domestically consumed portion of each crop by the amount of its tariff duty, the surplus above consumption requirements to be sold abroad at the prevailing world price. Farmers were to be given certificates permitting them to sell part of their crop (the domestic allotment) in the domestic market. These certificates of "rights" were to be sold to processors who would be required to have certificates equal to the total of any commodity which they proposed to sell in the domestic market. On production in excess of domestic allotments, farmers were to be given no certificates and were to receive only the world price. A modified plan, in which the transferable certificates were replaced by benefit payments which were to be paid on the domestic allotment out of the proceeds of a processing tax and which were contingent on limitation of output, was embodied in the Hope-Norbeck bills of 1932.[6]

The proposals of the domestic-allotment plan were essentially those enacted subsequently in the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. We have mentioned these unsuccessful proposals for agricultural adjustment to show the very large amount of study and discussion concerning them for nearly a decade before the passage of the Act of 1933.

[4] *Cf.* Tolley, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[5] *Cf. ibid.*, p. 8. See also Gee, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–107.

It is interesting to observe that although organized business was very generally opposed to these bills, it has now largely acquiesced in the view that some measure for equalizing the income of the farmer must have federal support, if we can judge from the platforms of both political parties in 1940.

THE FEDERAL FARM BOARD. The pressure for such legislation, after President Coolidge's vetoes of the McNary-Haugen bills, was shown by the fact that at the beginning of President Hoover's administration a special session of Congress, called April 15, 1929, enacted the Agricultural Marketing Act creating the Federal Farm Board, in order to fulfill campaign promises. At the same time it enacted the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act which tended to make any process of agricultural adjustment more difficult.

The marketing act created a Federal Farm Board, of nine members appointed by the President, which was given a revolving fund of 500 million dollars to unify and stabilize the process of agricultural marketing. This act was primarily directed at marketing, but had no machinery for effectively dealing with prices or the control of production.

> The Board lost heavily upon commodities held through the stabilization corporations and concluded that gains from holding could be realized only if production were in line with marketings. This experience was very influential in making production control a feature of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933.[6]

The Farm Board was abolished and its assets and liabilities were liquidated by the Farm Credit Administration in 1933.

THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION. One of the first acts of the special session of Congress, called by President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the beginning of his administration, was the Agricultural Adjustment Act,[7] designed to meet the nation-wide agricultural emergency, and approved by him on May 12, 1933. This was the first of a series of acts for the benefit of agriculture which may be credited as forming the most comprehensive attempt at a far-reaching national agricultural policy ever undertaken in this country, whether we approve or disapprove their soundness[8] and recognizing that most of them were enacted as "emergency" measures.

[6] Tolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9. See also, Gee, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–119, concerning the Farm Board.

[7] Public, No. 10, 73d Congress.

[8] It is outside our function or competency to consider the merits of the Agricultural Adjustment Act and its administration. For a careful discussion of this topic see E. G. Nourse, J. S. Davis, and J. D. Black, Three Years of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution, 1937, p. 600.

This act created the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) under the Secretary of Agriculture. Its chief purpose was to increase the farmers' buying power by benefit payments to growers who voluntarily reduced their production of specified commodities. The objective was to maintain a "parity price," or a price for farm products which would have the same relative purchasing power as had existed in the years 1909 to 1914.[9] The benefit payments paid the farmers who reduced their production were an adaptation of the principle of the domestic-allotment plan outlined above, and were to be financed through processing taxes levied on the processors of the basic agricultural commodities. The act applied only to cotton, wheat, tobacco, field corn, hogs, rice, and milk and its products.[10]

It is unnecessary to discuss the methods by which the benefit payments were allotted in view of the fact that the act was later declared unconstitutional, but it should be noted that during the first three years, 1933 to 1935, benefit payments amounted to $1,352,000,000, which contributed very largely toward assisting thousands of farmers to remain solvent and to give them a purchasing power which affected the economic recovery of the entire nation.[11] Benefit payments in these years amounted to approximately 7.3 percent of the United States cash income from all farm production.[12]

It should also be noted that participation in the benefits of this act was purely voluntary, in contrast with the mandatory provisions of most similar acts in other countries, and this is likewise true of the present act, so that the charges of "regimentation" are misleading. Furthermore, the determination of quotas for crop reduction was made by county committees of farmers with as democratic a procedure as possible.

The original act was amended by several acts[13] affecting specific crops in 1934 and 1935, but on January 6, 1936, the decision of the Supreme Court in the Hoosac Mills case[14] invalidated its production-

[9] The economic reasons for the act were set forth by Mordecai Ezekiel and L. H. Bean in Economic Bases for the Agricultural Adjustment Act, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Dec., 1933, p. 67.

[10] *Cf.* Tolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12. See also, The Agricultural Adjustment Administration, USDA, The Agricultural Adjustment Act and Its Operation, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, October, 1933, p. 13.

[11] Concerning this, see E. G. Nourse, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIV.

[12] C. C. Davis, Agricultural Adjustment 1933 to 1935: a Report of Administration of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, May 12, 1933, to December 31, 1935, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1936, p. 6.

[13] Concerning these, see Tolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–14.

[14] For the text of the decision, see C. C. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 302–317.

control provisions and necessitated new legislation if benefit payments for agriculture were to be continued.

THE SOIL CONSERVATION AND DOMESTIC ALLOTMENT ACT OF 1936. Within 8 weeks after the Hoosac Mills decision Congress passed an act making possible the continuation of benefit payments to farmers on the basis of making them for the adoption of land uses and farm practices which would conserve and build up soil fertility instead of through the adjustment of production or marketing.[15]

This act very clearly shows the influence of the studies which had been made on soil erosion and the new consciousness of need for soil conservation which had resulted from the unprecedented droughts and the resulting dust storms. It did not attempt to limit crop production directly, but, as the administrator pointed out, "the diversion of 30 million acres of land from the soil-depleting surplus cash crops into soil-building legumes and grasses should work against return of burdensome surpluses and protect farm income to a considerable extent." It was, however, admittedly a temporary measure to meet the emergency caused by the Supreme Court decision.

THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1938. The third stage of the AAA program was entered with the act of February 16, 1938, which took a middle course between the two previous acts while embodying new features. It involved a six-point program stated by the AAA as follows:

1. The A.A.A. soil-conservation program is continued and its objectives established as a part of permanent farm policy in the interests of future abundance of food and fiber.
2. National acreage allotments are set at levels to give production ample for domestic consumption, for exports, and for reserve supplies, and payments are made to encourage farmers to produce up to these allotments.
3. Systematic storage of food and feed surpluses from big crop years for use in years of shortage is assisted by loans. [This is the Ever-Normal Granary provision.]
4. Marketing quotas for commercial producers of cotton, wheat, corn, tobacco, and rice, backed by penalties on sales in excess of the quotas can be used, subject to approval of two-thirds of the producers voting, to obtain general participation of farmers in a program designed to hold surplus supplies of the five listed commodities off the market until they are needed.
5. Release of supplies withheld from market under marketing quotas is provided to meet any shortage.

[15] *Cf.* Tolley, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

6. Crop insurance for wheat, starting with the 1939 crop, will give wheat producers and bread consumers better protection against crop failure. Gradual accumulations of wheat paid in by farmers as insurance premiums will contribute to the Ever-Normal Granary supplies.[16]

It will be seen that the new act preserves the allotments for soil conservation and acreage allotments, but adds the "ever-normal granary" feature for storage of surpluses, the marketing quotas, and introduces the principle of crop insurance. It should be noted that the application of the marketing quotas is made effective only if it is voted by two-thirds of the producers of the given commodity. The act also gives additional protection to tenants.

Under this act the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation was created, as an experiment in using insurance to mitigate the farmer's losses and thus give him greater security.[17] In 1942 it had insurance contracts with 437,633 farms on the wheat crop, and expected to have 500,000 cotton contracts.

THE BANKHEAD-JONES FARM TENANT ACT. As its name indicates this act, passed July 22, 1937, was directed primarily at eliminating the worst forms of tenancy, but it also authorized the whole program of the Farm Security Administration in rural rehabilitation, which will be described in Chapter 21 as a phase of rural public welfare organization. The first title of the act directs the Secretary of Agriculture to conduct a farm-tenancy program in making loans to tenants for the purchase of farms. It appropriated $10,000,000 for this purpose for the year 1937–38, with an increase to $50,000,000 for 1939–40 and subsequent years. This money is allocated by states to the counties having the highest proportion of tenants, and the applications for loans are passed upon by local county committees. Loans may be equal to the full value of the farms and may run over a 40-year period at 3 percent interest. In 1938–39, the rate to include interest and amortization of the principal was 4.326 percent per annum. The terms of the act are exceedingly liberal in that "borrowers may elect to repay their loans under a variable-payment plan, which means that in years of above-normal income the borrower will be expected to pay more, and in years

[16] USDA, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, The New Farm Act, General Information Series, G-83, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Feb., 1938, p. 2. See also Tolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–20 *ff.*

[17] See L. K. Smith, First Annual Report of the Manager of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, 1939, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939; also USDA, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, General Information Series 1, Crop Insurance for Wheat Growers, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, April, 1938.

of below-normal income he will pay less than the annual installment under the fixed-repayment plan. . . ." [18] The act provides that the Secretary shall not be legally obligated to relinquish his interest in any farm purchased under the program for a period of five years from the date on which the loan is made, and he may supervise farming operations on the purchased farm throughout the life of the loan. Specific provision is thus made for giving supervision to the purchasers to assist them in successful management so they can repay the loans.

This act provides only a beginning at a solution of the tenure problem, but as an experiment it may furnish valuable data for expanding the program to the extent that it proves successful.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION. In May, 1935, President Roosevelt created the Rural Electrification Administration, with authority to finance rural electric distribution in areas not already receiving service. Under the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, the administration was given authority to conduct a ten-year program.[19] As a result of President Roosevelt's Reorganization Plan II, it became a part of the Department of Agriculture, July 1, 1939. Nearly 90 percent of its borrowers are organized as electric-service cooperatives. In the four years in which it had operated up to September 15, 1939, REA had lent or allotted $249,708,793 for building practically 235,000 miles of electric lines bringing service within reach of about 600,000 farm families.

This construction program has stimulated private utility companies to extend their lines to more farms, so that as against 700,000 electrified farms at the end of 1934, it is now estimated that there are 1,500,000 in the United States. The REA insists that whole areas be developed; this is in sharp contrast to the former practice of the utility companies of "skimming the cream," and has influenced them to adopt a similar policy. This is particularly valuable in bringing electricity to many farmers of limited means who heretofore have not been able to afford it because of the initial cost to them and the relatively high cost to those in poorer sections.[20] It has also brought the average cost of a mile of line down to less than $1,000 as against $1,500 in the old days.

[18] H. A. Wallace, Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1939, p. 73.

[19] *Cf.* Harry Slattery, Administrator REA, "Electricity Goes to the Farm," *Ext. Serv. Rev.*, Nov., 1939, p. 164; Rural America Lights Up, Washington, D.C., National Home Library Foundation, 1940. See also, W. E. Cole and H. P. Crowe, Recent Trends in Rural Planning, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939, Chapter XVI.

[20] *Cf.* H. A. Wallace, Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1939, p. 164.

The contribution which this program is making toward raising the standard of living of farm people can hardly be overestimated. Electricity not only furnishes power for the farm but for running water and many electrical appliances in the home which reduce the housework, as well as better lighting for home and barn with less fire risk. Electricity takes much of the drudgery from the work of the farm and home and makes it possible to have as modern living conveniences in the country as in the city.[21]

II. SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF RECENT AGRICULTURAL TRENDS AND POLICIES

We have seen the trends of agriculture and we have also seen that, during the past decade, because of the industrial depression and unusual droughts, there have been developed the most extensive and far-reaching changes in national agricultural policies that have ever been made in the history of the country. What, then, is the significance of these changes on the social relations of rural society? We have already noted some of the social effects of tenancy, increasing taxes, the cooperative movement, and the mechanization of agriculture, which need not be repeated.

1. Social Effects of Marginal Land. As a result of the programs for soil conservation and for the rehabilitation of farm families dependent on public relief (see Chapter 21), we have become aware of the very large proportion of our farm population that is on marginal land and distinctly underprivileged. As long as we had unsettled or cheap land in this country there was a movement to the frontier in times of depression, but that opportunity is no longer open. Studies of the U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics show that "there are more than a half-million farms in the United States on land that is so poor that it will literally starve the families living on it if they continue to try to make a living by farming it." [22]

Problems of land policy have revealed the poverty of the people on poor land and that more attention must be given to the needs of the "lower third" in agriculture if we are to have a socially healthful rural

[21] *Cf.* R. T. Beall, "Rural Electrification," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, pp. 790–809.

[22] C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, Washington, D.C., USDA, The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, cooperating, Social Research Report VIII, April, 1938, mimeographed, p. 5.

society. The emphasis of Secretary Wallace on improving their welfare was a notable contribution of his administration.[23]

The realization that we have rural slums as well as city slums and the development of programs for their improvement have already done much to give better living conditions and social opportunities to the disadvantaged classes in American agriculture.

The necessity of soil conservation measures to reclaim marginal land and to prevent damage to good land has resulted in creating a new sense of trusteeship [24] for the land and of joint responsibility for its preservation, as evidenced in the formation of soil conservation districts, mentioned above (p. 173). The general acceptance of the principle of common rights and responsibilities for soil maintenance will undoubtedly have far-reaching effects in changing the strong individualistic attitudes which farmers have inherited from pioneer days to those of social control for the common welfare, which will tend to affect other phases of rural life.

2. Toward Farm Security. Unemployment and the increased proportion of older people, resulting from the declining rate of reproduction and the near approach to a stationary population (see Chapter 5), have resulted in a general desire for greater economic security among all classes. Farmers have not only been influenced by this general desire for security which was stressed by the press of the whole country during the depression, but they have had peculiar reason for supporting measures which will give greater farm security because of the longer period of the agricultural depression.[25]

It is for this reason that farmers have supported legislation and governmental administrative agencies for obtaining stability of farm prices and incomes, physical security of the soil, security against crop losses, security of land tenure, security of farm laborers, and stability of land values.[26]

On the other hand, their experience during the depression, when comparing their position with the greater insecurity of millions of in-

[23] *Cf.* H. A. Wallace, Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1938, p. 63. See also Dwight Sanderson, Disadvantaged Classes in Rural Life, in Proceedings of the Twenty-first American Country Life Conference, Disadvantaged People in Rural Life, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939, pp. 5–26; and C. C. Taylor, *et al., op. cit.*

[24] Which was first given prophetic utterance by L. H. Bailey in The Holy Earth, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.

[25] *Cf.* A. G. Black, Toward Farm Security, USDA, Misc. Pub. 308, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, p. 4.

[26] See *ibid.* for discussion of all these items.

dustrial wage workers, has given them a new sense of the relative security of farm life and the importance of giving more consideration to obtaining more subsistence from the farm and not planning their farm management wholly in terms of cash crops and commercial agriculture. They have become aware that poverty and insecurity in agriculture increase in proportion as it becomes wholly commercial like other industries. More attention has, therefore, been given to obtaining a better living from the farm and to the values of the farm home which may be had without cash outlay.

This notion of the relative security of farm life is evidenced in the rapid increase of part-time farming by those whose chief income is usually from other industries, but who choose to reside on farms as a means of obtaining part of the family income and because it is a place of greater security in periods of unemployment.

Exploitative agriculture [27] has been challenged and the values of agriculture as a way of life have been given new emphasis and appreciation, which have influenced the whole structure of rural society.

3. Mechanized Commercial Farming versus Subsistence Farming. Although the desire for farm security was greatly strengthened by the depression of the 30's, it is very difficult to attain it in an age with such rapid changes and fluctuations in the market demands and in the supply of farm labor. When this book was begun there was a surplus of farm youth and the problem was what could be done with them without lowering the standard of living. Within the last year youth have left the farms by hundreds of thousands and now there is a severe shortage of farm labor in the industrial regions owing to the national defense program. Then we had crop restriction to prevent a surplus; now the Secretary of Agriculture is urging larger crop production so that we may feed Britain—the same situation that we had in World War I. This inevitably means the acceleration of the use of modern farm machinery to replace labor, which will doubtless be a permanent change wherever the investment is made. The same process which has gone on in manufacturing is now being applied to agriculture.

As we have seen, farms have very definitely increased in size during the past decade, owing to the use of machinery, and this has thrown thousands of families out of agricultural employment. The continuance of this process will mean a most serious unrest among the smaller farmers and laborers, as occurred during the early 30's, and will put many of them on public relief, as described by Paul S. Taylor:

[27] See W. H. Wilson, The Evolution of the Country Community, Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 2d ed., 1923, Chapter III.

> . . . Last summer the Director of the North Dakota Public Welfare Board testified before the Tolan Congressional Committee that "A well-to-do farmer in the Red River Valley who has in the past operated 11 quarter sections increased his holdings to 21 quarter sections and forced three families off from the land into town, where they are on relief." *Capper's Farmer* carries news items like one last June, which tells how a "Truck Adds a Farm." The story relates that by loading his tractor on the truck and hitching the rubber-tired combine behind, a farmer travels in five hours between his two farms. This "makes it possible for Charles Neuforth to operate the farm where he lives in Barton County, Kansas, and a 320-acre wheat farm in Scott County, Kansas." Thus mechanization of travel speeds the spread of chain farming.[28]

Accompanying mechanized commercial farming there is a growing tendency for a more central control of production and marketing, either through governmental regulations or through the control of marketing associations, in order to stabilize production within the ability of the market to consume it. Thus agriculture tends to more integration and central control as the other industries do.

But, although large farms are increasing, small farms (3 to 9 acres) are increasing even more rapidly, and there is a notable trend to part-time and subsistence farming. There is no question that the land could furnish a living to many more families if more of it were devoted to producing for home consumption rather than solely for cash crops, and this is notably true in the South. There is a growing opinion among competent students of the place of rural life in our national economy that we would be better off if more people could live on the land and have part-time employment off the farm. So we have the seemingly contradictory trends toward large, mechanized, commercial farms and small subsistence farms; but these trends are not necessarily incompatible.

Larger commercial farms mean fewer people on the best land and more class distinctions in community life because of the larger dependence on temporary wage labor.

The advantages of machine agriculture are indubitable, but the unsolved problem is how to utilize the machine and maintain the medium-sized family farm. This might be accomplished to a certain extent by the cooperative use of farm machinery, which is being encouraged by the Farm Security Administration in the organization of community cooperative associations for this purpose, but this requires good leadership or expert supervision if it is to be generally successful.

[28] P. S. Taylor, "Good-Bye to the Homestead Farm," *Harpers Magazine,* Vol. 182, p. 595, May, 1941. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

It now appears that only a miracle can prevent another serious depression after the present war is settled unless there are radical changes in our whole national economy. Should this occur, we may have a demand for the breaking up of large holdings, as in eastern Europe after World War I, and for legislation to limit the size of holdings. It is as futile to think of trying to retard the use of better machinery in agriculture as it would be in other industries, but it may be possible to prevent the further industrialization of agriculture and to make it possible for more families to remain on the land if the logical results of mechanization are not allowed to proceed without control.

So far none of the outlines of policies put forward by the leaders in federal planning for agriculture [29] has come to grips with this problem and, if the present tendencies persist, it will be a difficult one to meet, for the commercial farmers will be just as much opposed to a national policy which would favor small holders as they have been in various European countries in the past.

4. Interdependence of Rural and Urban Interests. Shrinking foreign markets and the reduction of rural-urban migration have revealed the increasing interdependence of rural and urban interests. With no foreign markets farmers must depend upon expanding city markets, which in turn depend upon industrial activity and high wages. American agriculture cannot absorb all its own youth and, unless it is willing to accept a lower standard of living, it must look to the cities for employment. This interrelation came out in a striking way in the labor situation commencing in the fall of 1940. For nearly a decade the problem had been how to absorb more people on the land who could not find employment in industry. Suddenly, with the speeding up of a program for national defense, in the industrial areas of the Northeast and on the Pacific Coast, the surplus of farm labor was drawn into industry and a serious shortage of farm labor resulted. In such a situation it may be necessary to "shift gears" in the agricultural program and to develop maximum efficiency in order to release men for work in industry. This emphasizes the fact that in a topsy-turvy world with rapid changes in national policies, it is becoming increasingly important to maintain as good a balance as possible between rural and urban interests, and that this can be accomplished only by wise planning on a national scale. Agricultural economists and the farmers on the land are becoming increasingly aware that they cannot solve the problems

[29] *Cf.* H. R. Tolley, "Some Essentials of a Good Agricultural Policy," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, pp. 1159–1183; Interbureau Committee and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1940, Technology on the Farm, Chapter 30, pp. 213–221.

of agriculture except in terms of the economic well-being of the whole country; that if agriculture is to prosper it will do so only through a rise in the national income. The farmer is, therefore, more and more concerned with the stabilization of industry [30] and the problems of organized labor, to which he must give the same intelligent study as he has to the problems of crop production and marketing, for his marketing problems cannot be solved except through the better distribution of the national income.

The rapid increase of part-time farming is one evidence of the increased interdependence of city and country, and if certain industries can be more decentralized to furnish employment to farmers during the winter, as advocated by Henry Ford, or for regular part-time employment, such a system might become an important means of security in times of depression.

5. Collective Action and Dependence on Government. Their experiences in the last 20 years "have broken down the former 'rugged individualism' of farmers to a very considerable extent, and they are much more united in a general conviction that their problems can be met only through collective action, although in many cases they are still far apart as to how this should be effected. In times of crisis the individual presumably turns to some superior authority, either that of an individual leader or the collective authority of an organized group, whereas in better times he cherishes his independence and magnifies the values of individualism. . . . The steady growth of farmers' cooperative associations throughout the whole period of the agricultural depression is also evidence of the gradual but increasing change in the attitude of the farmer from the individualism of the pioneer and of the farmer of prewar days (who could succeed through his own initiative) to a belief that only through organization and united action can he maintain his interests." [31]

On the other hand, it is evident that the depression and the consequent governmental policies have produced an increased dependence on legislation and governmental agencies for improving rural conditions, and that farmers are showing less initiative to work out their own salvation through cooperative effort.

> . . . The effect of federal aid for relief and of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's program has undoubtedly been in this direction.

[30] See O. V. Wells and B. W. Allin, "The Remedies: Economic Stabilization," Soils and Men, USDA Yearbook, 1938, pp. 293–295.

[31] Dwight Sanderson, "Research Memorandum on Rural Life during the Depression," New York, Social Science Research Council, Bul. 34, 1937, p. 145.

In one state the farmers were at first doubtful with regard to the propriety of receiving AAA payments, but soon they were glad to accept them, and their discontinuance upon the suspension of the act [when the Supreme Court invalidated it] produced a very definite resentment. This change seems to have been very general in the states most affected, as evidenced by the willingness of the Congress to enact new legislation to continue benefits payments [and the present attitude of both political parties toward them]. There is some evidence that this attitude is particularly prevalent among the poorer and less educated farmers and in states where they are numerous. One southern observer notes the tendency for this class to vote for "panacea promisors and demagogues . . ." On the other hand, there is a very general feeling that the activities of the federal and state governments during the depression have decidedly strengthened the feeling of farmers that they can improve their condition only through collective action.[32]

Traditionally farmers have felt that the less government the better. . . . The slump in their foreign markets has forced them to a new understanding and attitude toward international relations, and they have realized that only through the federal government can these conditions be ameliorated. Furthermore they have seen, as never before, that their interests are bound up with the whole national economy and that only through the federal government can many of our fundamental economic difficulties be satisfactorily regulated. . . . The whole movement toward a more planned economy has, therefore, been met with a receptive attitude on their part, particularly with regard to those phases which directly affect agriculture, whereas formerly they would have viewed any such tendencies with suspicion. The planning of county programs of agriculture which has been carried on very extensively by the agricultural extension services in recent years, and the determination of county quotas under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, have undoubtedly tended to develop an interest in economic planning and created a mind-set favorable to it, even though farmers may not have been clearly conscious of their influence. It is fairly obvious to them, whatever their theoretical allegiance to states' rights may be, that only through the federal government may legislation or planning be effective to meet many of the most fundamental economic problems which transcend state lines.[33]

6. Toward Agricultural Planning. This tendency for agriculture to look to the Federal Government to solve its problems did not start with the New Deal, as some seem to believe, but goes back to the

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 129.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144.

Farm Bloc of 1921 [84] at the beginning of the agricultural depression. But by 1933 it had become evident that government measures to assist farm operators in adjusting their production were necessary, and the several agencies described above were developed to meet the emergency situation whose problems could not be solved by the old formula of education, research, and extension alone.[85]

To meet this situation a reorganization of the U.S. Department of Agriculture was effected in 1939 to coordinate better the programs and activities of its various agencies both at the national level and in the counties. As a result of the Mount Weather Agreement with the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities a system of state and county planning committees (briefly described on p. 407) was created to provide "a means for the local people to obtain essential broader information and to act upon it democratically in shaping agricultural policies. The objective of the program is fourfold: (1) democratic participation of farm men and women in the planning of action programs, (2) adaptation of national policies and programs to varying local conditions and to local problems, (3) coordination of the many bureau and division activities into one broad, comprehensive program, (4) coordination of Federal, State, county and local action on agricultural problems." [86]

This system of state, county, and local planning committees is being very actively fostered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the extension services of the state agricultural colleges.[87] It is too new to evaluate fairly what its effects may be, but it is safe to say that it will educate the farmers of the country with regard to national and local problems of agriculture as never before, and that it will do much to develop a consensus of opinion on and a democratic control of the policies of state and national governments. It will also do much to redirect and energize the programs of work of the various agencies operating in the agricultural counties.

7. "THE DEMOCRATIC BASIS IN AGRICULTURE." This tendency toward larger dependence upon government and toward a planned agriculture raises fundamental issues with regard to the maintenance of

[84] See Arthur Capper, The Agricultural Bloc, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1922, p. 171.

[85] *Cf.* H. A. Wallace, Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1939, p. 74. See pp. 73–78 for the complete discussion of this movement.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[87] *Cf.* E. A. Foster and H. A. Vogel, "Cooperative Land Use Planning—A New Development in Democracy," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, pp. 1138–1156.

democracy in agriculture. The effort to democratize the planning process is a worthy one, but probably it must be carried much further, with more definite machinery for an expression of the intelligent opposition to governmental policies than now exists, if it is to be successful. The resolution of the National Grange of 1940, demanding that the policies of the AAA be administered by a board with farmer representation, is an indication of the fear of bureaucracy among American farmers.

The issues at stake were stated so well by Liberty Hyde Bailey, former chairman of President Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, a quarter of a century ago, and in such prophetic form, that it seems desirable to quote his statement as an example of the type of thinking which is much needed at the present time:

> Certain phrases and certain sets of ideas gain dominance at certain times. Just now the idea of administrative efficiency is uppermost. It seems necessarily to be the controlling factor in the progress of any business or any people. Certainly, a people should be efficient; but an efficient government may not mean an efficient people,—it may mean quite otherwise or even the reverse. The primary purpose of government in these days, and particularly in this country, is to educate and to develop all the people and to lead them to express themselves freely and to the full, and to partake politically. And this is what governments may not do, and this is where they may fail even when their efficiency in administration is exact. A monarchic form may be executively more efficient than a democratic form; a despotic form may be more efficient than either. The justification of a democratic form of government lies in the fact that it is a means of education.
>
> The final test of government is not executive efficiency. Every movement, every circumstance that takes starting-power and incentive away from the people, even though it makes for exacter administration, is to be challenged. It is especially to be deplored if this loss of starting-power affects the persons who deal first-hand with the surface of the planet and with the products that come directly from it.
>
> There is a broad political significance to all this. Sooner or later the people rebel against intrenched or bureaucratic groups. Many of you know how they resist even strongly centralized departments of public instruction, and how the effectiveness of such departments may be jeopardized and much lessened by the very perfectness of their organization; and if they were to engage in a custom of extraneous forms of news-giving in the public press, the resentment would be even greater. In our rural work we are in danger of developing a piece of machinery founded on our more fundamental industry: and if this ever comes about, we shall find the people organizing to resist it. . . .

In this country we are much criticized for the cost of government and for the supposed control of affairs by monopoly. The cost is undoubtedly too great, but it is the price we pay for the satisfaction of using democratic forms. As to the other disability, let us consider that society lies between two dangers,—the danger of monopoly and the danger of bureaucracy. On the one side is the control of the necessities of life by commercial organization. On the other side is the control of the necessities of life, and even of life itself, by intrenched groups that ostensibly represent the people and which it may be impossible to dislodge. Here are the Scylla and Charybdis between which human society must pick its devious way.

Both are evil. Of the two, monopoly may be the lesser; it may be more easily brought under control; it tends to be more progressive; it extends less far; it may be the less hateful. They are only two expressions of one thing, one possibly worse than the other. Probably there are peoples who pride themselves on more or less complete escape from monopoly who are nevertheless suffering from the most deadening bureaucracy.

Agriculture is in the foundation of the political, economic, and social structure. If we cannot develop starting-power in the background people, we cannot maintain it elsewhere. The greatness of all this rural work is to lie in the results and not in the methods that absorb so much of our energy. If agriculture cannot be democratic, then there is no democracy.[38]

Dr. Bailey could not have foreseen the situation which confronts us today in which we seemed forced to develop a bureaucracy in order that we may meet the control of bureaucracies in the rest of the world, but the challenge he made then is even more timely today and demands the devotion of the ablest leadership if we are to find a way of meeting the problems of American agriculture with efficiency and yet with democratic control.

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[38] L. H. Bailey, The Holy Earth, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, pp. 146–149. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

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Chapter 9

THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

We have seen how physiography, population, and agricultural economy affect the forms and processes of human association. These have to do, for the most part, with phenomena of the physical and biological environments. But there is another environment which is equally important in conditioning the nature of group life, whether in rural or urban communities. This is the social environment, the product of man's own creation. In part this consists of material things which man has invented or adapted to his use, the physico-social and the bio-social environment, but more important is the psycho-social environment, the world of ideas which control human behavior. For the process of human progress is largely one of how man has overcome the natural environment through his ideas, and how he has come to make a more conscious choice of the values which motivate his behavior. Natural conditions may limit what men can do, but they will go through fire and water, they will endure untold hardships, or massacre each other in war, for the sake of abstract ideas, which form their supreme values.

We are indebted to Dr. L. L. Bernard for the first comprehensive analysis of the various environments; his classification clearly shows their relations:

A Scientific Classification of the Environments: A general outline classification of the environments, with representative subdivisions, may be presented as follows:

I. The physical (inorganic) environments

1. Cosmic, 2. Physico-geographic, 3. Soil, 4. Climate, 5. Inorganic resources, 6. Natural physical agencies (falling water, winds, tides, etc.), 7. Natural mechanical processes (combustion, radiation, gravity, etc.)

II. The biological or organic environments

1. Microorganisms, 2. Insects and parasites, 3. Larger plants used for food, clothing, shelter, etc., 4. Larger animals used for food, clothing, etc., 5. Harmful relationships of larger plants and ani-

mals, 6. Ecological and symbiotic relationships of plants and animals acting indirectly upon man, 7. Prenatal environment of man, 8. Natural biological processes (reproduction, growth, decomposition, assimilation, excretion, circulation, etc.)

III. The social environments

1. Physico-social environments

(1) Tools, (2) Weapons, (3) Ornaments, (4) Machines, (5) Transportation systems, (6) Communication systems, (7) Household equipment, (8) Office equipment, (9) Apparatus for scientific research, etc.

2. Bio-social environments

A. Non-human

(1) Domesticated plants, used for food, clothing, shelter, medicines, ornaments, (2) Domestic animals used as a source of food, (3) Domestic animals used as a source of power, (4) Medicines and perfumes of an organic character, (5) Animals used as pets and ornaments, etc.

B. Human

(6) Human beings serving as laborers (slaves, etc.), (7) Human beings serving as ornaments, entertainers, etc., (8) Human beings rendering impersonal voluntary or professional service, (9) Regimented human groups, such as armies, workingmen, etc., (10) Men cooperating voluntarily through the use of language mechanisms

3. Psycho-social environments

(1) The inner behavior (attitudes, ideas, desires, etc.) of individuals with whom we come in contact, (2) The uniformities of inner behavior occurring in collective units and perceived as customs, folkways, conventions, traditions, beliefs, mores, etc., (3) Externalized language symbols used to project the above types of behavior and to condition responses in ourselves and others, (4) Those inventions, primarily physical, which perform a similar service in conditioning psychic responses, but usually with less facility and completeness.

IV. Composite or institutionalized derivative control environments (derivative combinations of the various types of environments organized for purposes of social control).

1. General in character

The economic, political, racial, esthetic, ethical, educational, etc., environments

2. Special in character

The American, Italian, Jewish, Scandinavian, New England, Southern, Argentinean, Republican, Democratic, Catholic,

Buddhist, revolutionary, conservative, feminine, masculine, etc., environment [1]

Without attempting an exhaustive analysis of how the social environments condition association in rural society, we shall consider each of the four types of social environment distinguished by Bernard, and give some examples of their effect on rural life.

The social and the composite (or derivative institutional) environments are the most influential in conditioning man's behavior. For practical purposes these may be combined into the social environment, for both of them include the social aspect, or what man has created in his environment. This social environment is what the anthropologists call *culture,* which forms a major part of the subject matter of anthropology (the branch known as *social anthropology,* in contrast with *physical anthropology,* which deals with the biological characteristics of different races of men). The term culture has been taken over by sociology as a convenient term for connoting the social environment.

I. THE PHYSICO-SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

TOOLS. Tools include all the physical things invented by man, the art of making tools and material goods which is learned by each generation and is thus passed on as the accumulated material culture of the race. Tools of all sorts, from the stone ax and hoe to the combine harvester and printing press are items of the physico-social environment. If we were to trace the history of agriculture it would be possible to show how the invention of the plow and the wheeled cart had changed the whole social organization of the family and of village life. With the plow and domestic draft animals agriculture became man's work, whereas it had previously been chiefly the hoe-culture of women; this enabled women to give more time to the home, and a different type of family life resulted. In our own time one of the most striking effects of new tools is seen in the tractor and the combine. The tractor is throwing thousands of tenants and laborers out of employment in the Western Cotton Belt,[2] and as a result many of them are unable to

[1] L. L. Bernard, An Introduction to Social Psychology, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1926, pp. 75, 76. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[2] P. S. Taylor, "Power Farming and Labor Displacement in the Cotton Belt, 1937," *Monthly Labor Review,* March and April, 1938, or U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Serial R. 737, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938; USDA, Interbureau Committee and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Technology on the Farm, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Aug., 1940.

find employment and drift in to the villages for relief. The tractor and combine make it possible for two or three men to cultivate large acreages of small grains. Thus we have the rise of the farmer who lives in the village and may have another occupation much of the year, but is able to plant and harvest his grain crop with the help of these tools and automobile transportation. This has tended to increase the size of farms, leave fewer people on the land, and hence produce more difficulty for them in maintaining their open-country institutions. Indeed, it is a question whether automotive farming may not make it possible for some types of agriculture to be conducted entirely by people living together in villages instead of on dispersed homesteads. With pneumatic-tired implements and speedy tractors pieces of land at some distance from each other may be profitably farmed, and this is making possible a new type of farm management in some districts.

The art of irrigation and methods of terracing in order to make use of it are not tools, but they are methods of using the physical environment for the purposes of agriculture, and, as we have seen, irrigation has had a marked influence on social organization. Irrigation is essential for paddy rice culture and entails a very high investment of human labor for the construction and maintenance of the irrigation system as well as the growth and harvesting of the crop. Where there is such a huge investment of labor in the land the people cannot afford to move about; they are immobile and pacific.[8]

Inventions in transportation have also had a major role in the physico-social environment and have directly affected forms of association. Thus the first invention, the wheeled cart, made it possible to operate larger areas of land and so form larger village communities, and also afforded a means of bringing farm products to the city markets, as soon as highways were built. The construction of canals afforded means of irrigation and transportation, and villages sprang up along them. A century ago the railroad was introduced. Not only did it make possible the opening up of vast new regions, but the railroad stations became village centers for the surrounding country at the expense of centers that had been built on the old highways. With the recent development of automobile transportation this process has been reversed and many old villages on the through roads have been revived, whereas many railroad villages have declined because of loss of local railway service. Furthermore, automobiles have made possible the creation of larger rural communities and the transportation of chil-

[8] See E. B. Copeland, Rice, London, Macmillan and Company, 1924, pp. 340-342. Quoted in Sanderson, The Rural Community, p. 87.

dren to central schools, and have made it possible for rural people to get together in various associations, which was not feasible with the slow and expensive transportation of the horse-and-buggy days of dirt roads. The automobile has probably done more to revolutionize the social organization of country life than any other single factor.

Communication by telephone and radio has also very radically affected rural life. The telephone makes it possible to conduct all sorts of business without taking time and effort to meet, and has greatly reduced rural isolation. The radio gives the isolated farmer direct contact with the whole world and constantly brings him new ideas and keeps him in touch with current events; it also furnishes the pleasures of music, drama, and interesting lectures.

To realize the effect of man's control of the physico-social environment on rural life, one has only to contrast the life of one of the first colonial settlements in this country[4] or of an isolated village community in eastern Europe or the Orient, with that of a modern rural community in this country to see how the physical facilities have transformed rural living.

II. THE BIO-SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The bio-social environment includes all forms of plant and animal life which have been adapted by man for his uses. The whole art of agriculture is the most important feature of the bio-social environment. The whole pattern of civilization has changed with the advancement of agriculture. In the earliest days of European agriculture farmers were dependent upon the wild meadow grasses for the winter feed of their livestock. Consequently but little livestock could be carried over winter; there was little manure and the fertility of the cultivated soil was depleted. With the growth of cultivated grasses, and later with the introduction of leguminous crops, clover and alfalfa, this was all changed and it was possible to improve the land and to produce a surplus of agricultural products for the town and city markets. The discovery of new plants adapted to particular conditions of climate and soil by agricultural explorers, such as the soybean, and the production of better varieties of agricultural plants by plant breeders, are striking instances of how man is creating his bio-social environment.

Domestication of Animals and Plants. We have already noted how the domestication of animals for draft purposes changed farming

[4] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community, Boston, Ginn and Co., 1932 p. 548.

from hoe-culture to plow-culture, with all its consequences. The improvement of domestic animals for meat, milk, eggs, and wool, is a fascinating story and has resulted in greatly improving the human diet and in furnishing a food supply which has made possible the growth of modern cities. The story of "The Evolution of the Jungle Fowl," as told by D. Spencer Hatch, well illustrates how modern science has changed the productivity of the domestic animals.

> May the little wild fowl always live in the Indian jungles. The sudden startled run and the flying of a wild fowl always thrills us when we walk through Indian jungles. I am impressed with the similarity between the wild hen and her domesticated sister, the tiny little Indian hen who ekes out her meagre existence around so many homes.
>
> There seems no doubt that the credit for being the first to tame the wild fowl is due to the Indian people. They tamed the hen, but they did absolutely nothing to improve her, so that she has remained through centuries of domesticity just like her wild sister—and no better. Like the wild bird her idea is to lay only a nest full of eggs, about nine, then sit on them and hatch them into chicks. She will expect to repeat this process once or twice later in the year. With that she considers her work well done.
>
> Experts tell us that in every one of the wonderfully improved breeds of fowls we are now bringing back to the Indian people, there is this ancient Indian (Asiel) blood. What a difference has been accomplished! Western traders took the Indian hens to various European countries and to America where scientific study and great devotion have been put into the task of improving them by most careful selection and by breeding only from the best in each stage of improvement. The story of what has been done to improve hens, until one called Lady Cornell weighing only 3.2 pounds laid in a year eggs weighing 29.5 pounds, 9.2 times her own weight, is a story of real accomplishment. Another, Lady Macduff, laid in twelve months 303 eggs weighing 42 pounds. I have brought back this improved type and said that they shall be available to every man or woman, or boy or girl—even the very poorest.[5]

With the combination of changes in the physico-social environment through irrigation and transportation and the improvement of plants by plant breeders, we have possible a type of agriculture such as that of the Imperial Valley in southern California, which ships trainloads of lettuce, cantaloupe, and other truck crops to our eastern markets, and which has created social problems with regard to labor conditions, housing, sanitation, etc., which are as acute and difficult of solution as those of the industrial workers in our cities.

[5] D. S. Hatch, Further Upward in Rural India, Madras, Oxford Univ. Press, 1938, pp. 68–69. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Control of the bio-social environment has also made possible the settlement of certain areas through the elimination of endemic diseases. Thus the Roman Campagna has been largely freed from malaria and Panama and other areas have been freed from yellow fever by the control of the disease-carrying mosquitoes. The discovery of the effect of hookworm infestation and the increasing control of this pest in our Southern States is doing much to change the health and happiness of tens of thousands of poor whites in that area. Indeed, almost all measures for modern sanitation may be considered an addition to the bio-social environment in that they control the multiplication and spread of disease-producing organisms. The presence or absence of other men also forms part of the bio-social environment, in which most of the discussion of population in Chapter 5 might be included.

III. THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

When we speak of the social environment we usually are referring to its psycho-social features, the established processes of behavior and the ideologies which condition the behavior of individuals. All this environment is strictly ideational, or in the realm of psychological interaction, but it is none the less real and powerful. Indeed, it is probably the most influential of all the environments in its effects on the immediate motivation of behavior, for people in one community live in quite different ideational worlds.

FOLKWAYS AND MORES. Probably the most general and primitive of the different categories under which we may describe this psycho-social environment are the folkways and mores, elaborated in the classical work of Sumner.[6] For there undoubtedly were folkways and mores even before man was able to communicate by language, inasmuch as we are able to observe them among animals. The mores form the body of most of our ordinary moral code and every organization and institution has some folkways and mores which are more or less peculiar to it. Thus members of the Grange and of fraternal orders and of some churches use the family terms of "brother" and "sister" in speaking of each other. This is a folkway which differentiates their members from those of other groups. The mores are more powerful in that they are specifically sanctioned forms of behavior and their violation is definitely disapproved. Thus members of some churches, such as the Dunkards, have certain forms of dress; certain churches disapprove of dancing. Honesty and fair play are the recognized mores of everyday life, but

[6] W. G. Sumner, Folkways, Boston, Ginn and Co., 1906.

"all is fair in love and war." In the South there are very definite restrictions on the behavior of Negroes with relation to whites, and on the Pacific Coast there are similar restrictions on Orientals. These are the mores with regard to race relations and they very definitely affect social organization in many ways. The term custom is used almost synonymously, but it implies less feeling of rightness or wrongness than the term mores.

LANGUAGE. Spoken language is probably the most important feature of the psycho-social environment, for by it men are able to communicate their ideas and have been able to transmit the accumulated knowledge of the race. Differences of language separate peoples. By means of language man has been able to use words as symbols of ideas and so has developed the whole world of abstract concepts which form the warp and woof of our everyday thought. Indeed, the whole process of thought is dependent upon the use of language, of words as the symbols of ideas.[7]

Writing is the next important invention. By means of writing man was able to accumulate his knowledge and exchange ideas with others at a distance. To make writing more available to all we have had the invention of the printing press, the typewriter, and the mimeograph, items of the physico-social environment which have made possible the development of modern education and science.[8]

IDEOLOGIES AND ATTITUDES. In addition to these more tangible features of the psycho-social environment, there are also more indefinite, but none the less real, ideologies and attitudes which have a direct effect on rural life. Thus Williams [9] shows that thrift and hard work were dominant ideals of the farmers of central New York in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, with the rapid settlement of the Middle West farm lands advanced rapidly in value and there was a considerable amount of buying of farms and improving them and then selling at a good profit. This induced a speculative attitude, or what Warren H. Wilson [10] called the exploitative stage of American agriculture. Such values as liberty and democracy, discussed in Chapter 3, dominate attitudes and are basic in the psycho-social environment.

[7] *Cf.* C. A. Dawson and W. E. Gettys, An Introduction to Sociology, New York, The Ronald Press Co., rev. ed., 1935, pp. 263–270.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 272–275.

[9] J. M. Williams, Our Rural Heritage, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1925, p. 90. "The ultimate aim of the farmer was the accumulation of wealth and this required work and thrift."

[10] W. H. Wilson, The Evolution of the Country Community, Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1923, Chapter III.

Like any new country, the United States has made growth and bigness its chief ideals of progress. Now with immigration largely restricted, with a population not reproducing itself in most of our cities, we are no longer so keen about growth, but stability and security become the watchwords and are the values which shape our social attitudes and mold public opinion.

These and other social attitudes are more or less peculiar to certain areas or cultures or to certain historic periods, but they are aspects of the psycho-social environment which have a dominating influence upon social life.

TRADITION AND HISTORY [11] also form an important element of the psycho-social environment. Among peoples with little or no use of writing tradition played a large part and was perpetuated in the songs and epics of traveling bards and minstrels who recounted the heroic deeds of the past. Even in our own day there are in almost every community or organization certain traditions of notable personages in their past history, of how things were done in former times, which are influential in conditioning current behavior. Thus according to Dr. Charles A. Beard, individual liberty is the Great American Tradition.[12] When former deeds and happenings are reduced to writing and are embodied in histories which all may read, they have an added influence. Through history the past is made a matter of common knowledge and the success or trials of former times become, so to say, a part of the memory of the group and influence its current ideals and policies.

Ogburn [13] has called attention to an important fact concerning the rate of change in the psycho-social environment in his principle of "cultural lag." He holds that various parts of our modern culture, our psycho-social environment, are not changing at the same rate; that, owing to inventions, changes in the physico-social environment are rapid, whereas the immaterial culture, the psycho-social environment, lags behind and is largely influenced or determined by the material culture. In many ways rural people have not adjusted their old habits to modern inventions. Thus, although they will go 10 miles by automobile to see moving pictures, without a thought, these same people cling to the open-country church and one-room school house, and only slowly come to see the advantages of a better church or school in the nearby village.

[11] See Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 571.

[12] C. A. Beard, "The Great American Tradition," *The Nation*, 123: 7–8, 1926; reprinted in Wallis and Willey, Readings in Sociology, pp. 351–356.

[13] W. F. Ogburn, Social Change, New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1923.

IV. COMPOSITE ENVIRONMENTS

Bernard distinguishes a fourth class of social environments, the "composite or institutionalized derivative control environments," which are "derivative combinations of environments organized for purposes of social control."[14] He distinguishes those which are *general* in character, such as the economic or political environment, and those *special* in character, such as the Jewish, Catholic, Democratic, or feminine environment. All these environments are essentially psycho-social, but they are tied up with certain institutions often involving physical or biological features. Thus the agricultural environment, which was discussed in the preceding chapter, might be considered a "composite environment."

Examples of these composite environments are numerous. The clan of the Chinese is associated with the veneration of ancestors and forms a strong composite environment with regard to social control. The same is true of the caste system of India, or even less rigid systems of caste, such as the status of the peasants in most European countries. Feudalism and the Catholic faith formed composite environments which controlled the life of the Medieval Ages in Europe. Today the former democracies of western Europe are enslaved by the ideologies of fascistic capitalism, whereas the ideologies of both democracy and fascism are opposed to the communism of Russia, which in theory is more allied to democracy than to fascism and is now its military ally. In such countries as Denmark and Sweden we see the rapid growth of cooperative enterprises living in competition with private business and indicating the possibility of a more healthy economy with such a system under a democratic government. The cooperative movement has also made steady progress in the United States in the last quarter-century, and has been reluctantly accepted by the business world, as it has had governmental approval, whereas in the early days it was vigorously opposed by private business.

RELIGION. Bernard calls attention to the fact that the composite environments are "institutionalized." One of the most fundamental human institutions is that of religion. Among primitive peoples religion and magic are hardly distinguishable and there are no religious institutions, such as churches or temples. But among all peoples there are some theories of the cosmos and of the unknown forces of Nature, of gods and spirits, good and evil, which very definitely control their behavior and affect their forms of association. These religious beliefs

[14] Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

have been the most powerful social controls. Where they are common to all the people they are probably the most important means of social integration, but where different beliefs occur they are equally divisive and result in competition and conflict.

Our whole educational system from kindergarten to university is another "institutionalized derivative control environment." Where ignorance and illiteracy exist, there is a lack of social organization and of wholesome participation in it. Data gathered in recent years show that lack of education directly affects unemployment and the necessity of obtaining public relief in depression periods. In a study of rural families on relief in 1934 it was found that "one-half of the Negro family heads and one-fifth of the whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt reported no schooling, and four-fifths of the Negroes and about one-half of the whites had less than five years." [15] The school is coming to be the most important institution in the rural community, and the way in which it functions will largely determine the group life of its people.

SCIENCE. With the growth of education has come the development of modern science. Science is not itself an institution, although it has created many institutions for its purposes, such as agricultural experiment stations and scientific institutes and research laboratories of all sorts. It is rather a method of interpreting or explaining all the environments and of seeking a means for their better control. As a method of obtaining valid knowledge and of obtaining better control of the environment, it may be compared with that of religion or magic, which rely on supernatural forces.

Our modern physico-social environment has been made possible by the use of science. The development of the scientific method and the accumulation of scientific knowledge in the last two or three centuries have created an entirely different interpretation of all the phenomena with which we have to deal from that which was held by men in medieval and ancient times. Thus science has transformed the art of agriculture, and it is to science that we are indebted for all the modern inventions which have so changed rural life. But the attitude of rural people toward science has also affected their social organization. Thus we have numerous breeders' associations, horticultural and truck growers' associations, Farm and Home Bureaus, and other organizations, all of which are dependent for their subject matter and point of view on the scientific method. In the mind of the modern farmer

[15] P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, Six Rural Problem Areas, Research Monograph I, Washington, D.C., FERA, Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, 1935, p. 90.

science has taken the place which magic had in the mind of primitive man.

One of the most interesting examples of a composite environment is that of the Mormon culture in Utah, which is possibly the most distinctive of any area in this country. Here the Mormon descendants of the original settlers are organized around the Church of the Latter Day Saints as the central institution, but under its aegis there was developed a system of cooperative stores and other cooperative enterprises, and a unique type of village life in which education and recreation are given large prominence.[16]

CORPORATIONS. We live today in an economic environment which is largely dominated by huge corporations. Fifty years ago our people were suspicious of corporations and made determined efforts to control their growth and activities. Today we accept them as more or less inevitable, but the problem of their control remains unsolved. How they affect rural life may be seen in the invasion of the larger villages by chain grocery stores, which draw the trade from the smaller villages and hamlets and thus aid in building up larger rural centers. The absorption of most of the profitable farmers' telephone companies by the Bell System is another instance which has had various influences on rural society. An example of an effort to maintain the old form of environment is seen in the present attempt to enact legislation which would tax chain stores so heavily as to favor the private merchant.

SOCIAL CONTROL. It should be noted that in Bernard's characterization of composite environments he states that they are "organized for purposes of social control." This does not mean, necessarily, that they were specifically designed or set up as means of social control, but that they inevitably become powerful means of social control and are recognized as such. Social control is also a major function of many of the elements of the psycho-social environments, as in the mores, and the use of tradition and history; but in these cases social control has not been definitely associated with one or more institutions. The psycho-social and the composite environments, the one being but a more or less institutionalized form of the other, include the means whereby man's duties to his fellows are prescribed and enforced through the process we term social control.

GOVERNMENT. Most important in the whole field of social control is government, or the state. At present it seems to be supreme, but in former times the church in Europe and the caliphate in the Mohammedan world held similar power. In the United States we live in a rela-

[16] See F. S. Harris, The Fruits of Mormonism, New York, 1925.

tively free country, where we have grown up in the tradition that government should interfere as little as possible with the freedom of association of its citizens. By contrast with the power of totalitarian states, in which various types of private associations are ruthlessly suppressed, we come to appreciate the potential power of the state in social control. Even under our own relatively democratic form of government, the state probably has a predominant influence on the whole composite environment or culture of our times. To illustrate the field of its influence on the form of rural society we need only consider the effects of the Homestead Act of 1861 versus the present land policies being developed to overcome the results of its mistakes; the extension of rural free delivery; the effect of various forms of taxation and the present effort to equalize the burden of local taxation for schools through federal aid to the states; the change of the attitude of the government regarding farmers' cooperative associations, from one of tolerance to actively promoting their organization, and the present policies of crop control with all the attendant attitudes of dependence on government which may result therefrom. These are but a few of the ways in which government affects rural life and tends to exercise an increasing social control over its free development. This is not asserting that these tendencies are desirable or undesirable, for on that topic there is much to be said on both sides. Certain it is that with a more complex and interdependent society there must be an increasing amount of social control if justice and equality of opportunity are to be maintained. The question is how far can we entrust vast powers either to government or to the invisible government of large business and financial interests.

A Psychological Environment. We are not here concerned with considering the merits of any of these problems, but merely with revealing the fact that the cultural or social environment is the most important of all the environments conditioning the forms of human association, and that it is chiefly a psychological environment, one in which men are controlled by ideas rather than by their reactions to physical or biological forces. How the psycho-social environment conditions collective responses and thus affects the forms of human association and their behavior has been well summarized by Dr. L. L. Bernard:

> . . . The psycho-social environment is everywhere and all-compelling. This environment is not apart from us or external to men, except as it has been objectified and stored in symbols and structures which in turn serve as stimuli to the reproduction of the types of behavior which they symbolize and embody. But the environment is carried within us in

the form of our daily behavior and thinking. Our conduct, when viewed objectively and collectively, is custom and tradition, institution, mores, beliefs. We cannot escape them, first, because they are rooted in our behavior, and second, because they are rooted in the behavior of other persons with whom we come in contact and to whom we adjust ourselves in collective behavior.[17]

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[17] L. L. Bernard, *op. cit,* pp. 517–518. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Part III

Rural Institutions, Groups, and Classes

As has been stated in Chapter 2, the first step in obtaining an understanding of rural society is to describe its structure, which consists of the *forms* of human association, or of human relationship structures.[1]

These forms of association may, for our purposes, be divided into institutions, groups, and classes. It is not possible, because of the present lack of agreement among sociologists as to the precise definition of these three concepts, to distinguish between them clearly, so that in the following chapters it is not possible to separate them definitely. However, Sections A and C (Chapters 10, and 15 to 21) deal in the main with institutions, although groups are also involved; Sections B and D (Chapters 11 to 14 and 22 to 24) deal more definitely with groups; Section E (Chapter 25) considers classes which involve both institutions and groups.

A social institution may be considered a mechanism of collective behavior consisting of an organized pattern of certain attitudes and behaviors of persons in the group or society in which it occurs. It is a means to control and order certain essential human relationships for satisfying generally desired social ends, through socially sanctioned collective activity in established, complementary relationships.[2]

The difficulty in defining an institution lies in the fact that the concept is commonly used in three different senses: first, as a cultural institution, such as marriage, baptism, primogeniture, etc.; second, as a socially approved form of association, such as *the* church, *the* school, *the* hospital, as a form, but not as an individual association; third, as

[1] *Cf.* W. A. Anderson, "A Note on the Phenomena of Sociology, *Am. Soc. Rev.*, 6, pp. 882–884, Dec., 1941.

[2] This eclectic description is based on the following: F. S. Chapin, Contemporary American Institutions, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1935, p. 412; J. O. Hertzler, Social Institutions, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1929; and E. C. Hughes, "Institutions," in Robert E. Park, editor, An Outline of the Principles of Sociology, New York, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1939, p. 287.

an institutional system or complex, as the economic institution, capitalism, communism, etc.[3]

Our definition refers more specifically to the second usage, but it is often difficult to determine when a given form of association is a group (or what MacIver calls an association) and when it is an institution. Thus an individual local church may be considered a group, or a cluster of groups, but *the* church is an institution. MacIver says: "If we are considering something as an organized group, it is an association; if as a mode or means of service, it is an institution."[4] Yet he also says, "Every association has, with respect to its particular interest, its characteristic institutions." Thus the Christian church has the institution of baptism. Here he uses the term more in the first sense, mentioned above. Inasmuch as a given form of association, such as the Boy Scouts, may be considered as a group, it is an institution if it receives general social approval; it would seem that whether or not a given form of association is considered an institution depends on whether it is generally approved as necessary by the society in which it exists. MacIver makes one significant distinction by stating that "we belong to associations, but not to institutions."

Hughes[5] gives the two essential elements of institutions as: "(1) a set of mores or formal rules, or both, which can be fulfilled only by (2) people acting collectively, in established complementary capacities or offices." An institution is an *organized* set of mores, in which there are certain established roles of functionaries, or offices, not in the sense of officers as in a group, but in the sense of an established division of labor which is essential for the conduct of the institution, as a priest or clergyman to perform the wedding ceremony in the institution of marriage.

Groups have already been defined in Chapter 2.

Classes (Chapter 25) cut across and stratify groups and communities, and sometimes have their own institutions; e.g., the trade union is an institution of the working class. One belongs to a class, but he has no specific role in it nor is there any mechanism for the organization of a class as a whole.

The class is what Von Wiese calls an "abstract collectivity" (see p. 318). The term *class* is an indefinite category, which may be conceived in a wide or narrow sense. For our present purpose we shall use it to include all forms of classes, whatever their bonds or differ-

[3] A good example of this usage is Constantine Panunzio's Major Social Institutions, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1939.

[4] R. M. MacIver, Society, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1937, pp. 14–16.

[5] Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

ences may be. Thus we have ethnic classes, as of race, nationality and language; sex and age classes; economic and social classes; and castes. These different types of classes are interdependent and interrelated, according to the societal culture of a given area and to different periods in its development.

Class "is the most general term whereby to designate the existence of a considerable body of folk who, without presence or formal organization, are nevertheless distinguishable in our thinking by reason of some particular center of attention held in common; a center which is relatively permanent, and which tends to fix its members in the society where they dwell. 'The working class,' 'the capitalistic class,' 'the ruling class,' are phrases which call up fairly graphic mental pictures." [6]

Further explanation of the classes in rural society is given in Chapter 26.

[6] E. E. Eubank, The Concepts of Sociology, New York, D. C. Heath and Co., 1932, p. 154. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher.

A. BIOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

Chapter 10

THE RURAL FAMILY

Among the groupings or forms of association existing in rural society there are certain ones which are basic in that individuals usually belong to them by reason of circumstance and not from their own free choice. Such groups include the family, locality groups such as the neighborhood, village, or community, and governmental units such as the township, county, state, and nation. Membership in all other groups is more or less voluntary.

Of all human groups the family is the most primary in that it is the oldest historically and in that all individuals normally enter life and come to maturity within the family group.

The family may be considered a biological form of organization for, although the modern family is initiated by marriage, the family as an institution developed from the care of the children, and their membership in the family is a biological relationship. The blood tie is dominant in family and kinship groups.

Inasmuch as we have all grown up in families, the family has been so intimate a part of our personal lives that we have not stopped to consider it as a form of social organization. It is important, therefore, that we analyze and describe its characteristics so that its essential differences from other rural groups may be understood. In our discussion of the family we shall consider only the natural or individual monogamous family consisting of the parents and children of one generation, as is most common in this country. In former times, and at present in some countries such as China and India, the family includes individual families of two or three generations living together under the common oldest father. These are known as larger, great, or joint families. In pioneer days (and rarely in remote sections today), large families of this sort occurred in this country, but usually a new individual family created by marriage separates itself from the parental family.

The family is distinguished from all other groups in that it is a biological or genetic group, the children being born of the parents

(except when adopted). It is, therefore, a small and exclusive group in that, except for the parents and adopted children, individuals can enter the family only by being born into it.

The family originates in the marriage of husband and wife, and in ordinary parlance they are termed a family. However, from a sociological standpoint, they must be considered an incomplete family or a marriage partnership, for when the history of the family group is studied, it is found that the family originated from the mother and her offspring, so that the children are the essential elements of the family group.

The family differs from all other groups in that the leaders or dominant members, the father and mother, obtain this position by creating the other members of the group, and as a consequence are responsible for their care and nurture during infancy and childhood until they become self-supporting.

Membership in the family is permanent, except for the withdrawal of the adult children or in case of family disorganization by divorce. The members are recognized by bearing the same family name and by living in the same dwelling. The individual family is a definitely autonomous group, for it was to obtain its autonomy that it separated from the larger family, but not infrequently it is considerably influenced by the parental families. The family is the most homogeneous of groups, there being little if any social distance between its members, who have a high degree of physical homogeneity, and who are bound together by family affection. Because the members of the family live together in the activities of the household, their contacts are frequent, continuous, and intimate, and thus form the most personal of all groups, whose privacy is a recognized characteristic. In the best type of family the behavior of the individual members is motivated by the common welfare and familial affection, which is recognized as family loyalty or solidarity. This characteristic relation of paramount loyalty of each member of the family to the others has been termed "domestic interaction";[1] it involves a system of circular response in which the domestic acts, i.e., acts for the welfare of the other member, and appreciation of them by the recipient, motivate similar domestic acts in response. The degree to which domestic interaction exists in a given family in contrast to the individual self-seeking of each member is possibly the best measure of the success of the family as a group. These "domestic" attitudes have been carried over into other groups and form

[1] R. C. and F. W. Binkley, What Is Right With Marriage, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1929, p. 125.

the basis of social altruism, so that ethical codes of all groups very largely reflect the ideals first learned in the life of the family.

The family as a group exercises much control over its members; the parents set norms of behavior, deviation from which results in disapproval or punishment. Not only does the family shape the behavior pattern of its members, but it also takes responsibility in society for their behavior, although not to the same degree as formerly. Each member of the family has an awareness or conception of his role in the family, i.e., the part which the other members expect him to play in its life, as well as a conception of the roles of all the other members of the family, and of the status and relationships of the family as a group in the community.

The members of the family share in the production and consumption of the goods necessary for their maintenance and in the care of the home. At first this devolves wholly upon the parents, but as the children become able they share in these responsibilities. The location and nature of the dwelling, or home, and the occupation of the members of the family condition the family relationships and its behavior patterns.

The family sponsors the rituals and ceremonials connected with the most important life crises, with those of birth, marriage, and death, although the form of these is chiefly controlled by the folkways and mores of the particular culture.

Such are the essential characteristics of the structure of the family, either rural or urban. Its functions have been partially indicated in this description of its structure. The functions of the family for its members differ somewhat for the parents and the children. For the parents marriage and the family afford the socially sanctioned relationship for sexual intercourse, and an advantageous partnership for sharing in the production and consumption of economic goods for their joint maintenance. In our own society the affection and companionship of parents for each other, as well as that gradually developing from their children, are functions of the family relationship which are increasingly important in a society in which other relationships tend to become more impersonal.

For the children the family affords maintenance and the nurture necessary for infancy and childhood, including the means of acquiring the cultural inheritance of the past. Equally important are (1) the development of individual and social responsibility, (2) the sense of emotional security derived from the affection of the family, and (3) the social status given by family membership.

From the standpoint of any given society the family group is the basic means for regulating procreation and responsibility for the offspring, including their training in the existing culture, and for the possession and transmission of property.

The above brief general description of the family as a sociological group is necessary for our understanding of its primary position in the total social structure, whether rural or urban. To understand the place of the family in the sociology of rural life we now seek to ascertain the characteristics and functions of the rural family which are conditioned by and distinctive of its rural environment.

THE FARM FAMILY. When we consider the relationships of individuals within the family group it is difficult to make any valid generalizations with regard to the rural family, for there are as many types of rural families as there are city families, and family relationships differ by geographical regions and social classes. There is one fundamental characteristic of the farm family: Its members have a common interest in the farm as a family occupation and means of support. This binds the family together in a way which does not exist when the occupation is separated from the home. Each member of the family has certain responsibilities connected with the work of the farm, and although there has been a general trend toward a decrease in the work of farm women and children in the field and barn, they still have an active part in the care of garden and poultry and in various chores.[2] The younger boys do minor chores and as they become older they soon do a man's work outside of school hours. Formerly a large family was an economic asset on the farm, and this is still true of the poorer tenants in the South, but where compulsory school attendance is enforced a large family is a liability.

This fact that the farm family lives with and is engaged in the family business tends to affect the whole pattern of family behavior and relationships in various ways which need much more careful and intimate study than has yet been given before we can safely make any generalizations. An interesting and suggestive beginning in this sort of analysis has been made by Nora Miller in her studies of "The Girl in the Rural Family," [3] in which she describes the effect of the type of farming—cotton, tobacco or potato growing—on the life of the family.

[2] *Cf.* H. W. Beers, "The Money Income of Farm Boys in a Southern New York Dairy Region" and "The Income, Savings and Work of Boys and Girls on Farms in New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 512 and Bul. 569.

[3] Univ. of N. C. Press, 1935.

This influence of the farm business on the patterns of family life is the stronger because most farmers have been born on farms. The occupation of farming is probably inherited more commonly than any other, so that it maintains its family traditions as did town and city families in the days of household industry prior to the advent of factories, when most occupations were inherited from one generation to the next. Thus in a study of the rural families in Genesee County, New York, Dr. W. A. Anderson found [4] that four-fifths of the farmers and three-fourths of their wives had been born on farms, and the same has been found to be true in Ohio by Dr. C. E. Lively, and by others elsewhere.

Furthermore, a large proportion of farm owners tend to live near their birthplace, so that the general type of family life tends to be that to which they have been accustomed. Thus in Genesee County Dr. Anderson found (Table 4, *op. cit.*) that 51 percent of the farm owners lived in the same township in which they were born or in one adjoining it.

Although the farm family is not so isolated as formerly, the fact that it ordinarily lives at some little distance from particular friends and community institutions tends to make its life more self-contained. As a consequence farm families undoubtedly tend to participate as a group in activities outside the home more than do city families. Thus in a study of family relationships in farm families in central New York, Beers [5] found that 83 percent of them visited friends and relatives together and 69 percent took automobile trips together. No longer does the farm family grow the fiber, spin and weave the cloth, and construct its own clothing, but it does obtain a considerable part of its living from the farm and its members perform many acts of household production, from canning and curing meat to wallpapering and painting, for which city families pay outsiders. All these activities strengthen the bonds of mutual service which were a chief factor in the historical origin of the family and which are greatly weakened in the city family.

We have little positive information as to the family relationships which are generally more characteristic of rural than urban families, for we are only beginning to develop techniques for accurately describing and enumerating these intimate phases of family life. However, there is reason to believe that the control of the father, charac-

[4] W. A. Anderson, "Mobility of Rural Families I," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 607, Tables 9, 10, 22.

[5] H. W. Beers, "Measurements of Family Relationships in Farm Families of Central New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Memoir 183, Table 12.

teristic of the older system of the paternal family, is more characteristic of the rural family. In a study of student autobiographies Dr. Mildred B. Thurow found that dominance of the father [6] was more common in rural families, whereas dominance of the mother occurred more frequently in city families. She also found that there was less tension between parents in rural families; this is confirmed by the much lower divorce rate in strictly rural counties. On the other hand, in a report made to the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, Professor E. W. Burgess [7] presents evidence to indicate that there is a poorer adjustment between rural adolescents and their parents than in cities. Although this evidence is inconclusive and needs further corroboration, it raises a question as to whether farm families are better than city families as regards parent-child relationships, as has often been presumed, or whether they are not more largely dominated by the older methods of parental control.

Although we cannot be very specific about the distinctive characteristics of the rural family with regard to its internal relationships, the place of the family in the rural community is much better defined. During the early settlement of this country kinship ties were largely responsible for the social organization or disorganization of rural life. Family gatherings and visits to relatives were the most frequent forms of sociability, and social life was primarily with the family relations. Church and politics were dominated by family connections. In some places this strong family control of rural society still exists, as in the Appalachian Highlands and the Ozarks, where it has often led to persistent family feuds. Today, in most of the better types of rural communities, family influence in the control of organized social life is not so dominant as formerly, but the fact that it is not so apparent does not mean that it no longer exists. An intimate study of the social life of almost any rural community would undoubtedly reveal much more control by kinship relations than is suspected.

The extreme form of family control is found in a familistic society such as exists in China [8] and India, in which both individual and civic life are dominated by the family. The most familistic type of rural social organization existing in this country is probably that of the

[6] M. B. Thurow, "A Study of Selected Factors in Family Life as Described in Autobiographies," Cornell Univ. AES, Memoir 171, Tables 2 and 5.

[7] E. W. Burgess, The Adolescent in the Family, Report of the Sub-committee on the Function of Home Activities in the Education of the Child, White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, Vol. III A, 1934.

[8] *Cf.* D. H. Kulp, II, Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism; Nora Waln, The House of Exile; Pearl S. Buck, The House of Earth.

Ozark Highlands as described by Frampton [9] and Randolph.[10] At the other extreme is urban and industrial society in which occupation, social strata, and religious affiliation are much more powerful than kinship in the control of social organization, and individualism replaces familism. Between these two extremes rural life in most of this country might be said to be semifamilistic, i.e., the family is still the most important group in its social organization and social life is largely in terms of the family unit or related to it, yet there is an increasing freedom of individual action and the control of the kinship, in so far as it exists, is more or less surreptitious rather than openly avowed and expected.

This unique position of the family in rural society may be better appreciated if we consider the relation of other leading rural groups to it. Thus the rural church is primarily an institution of families rather than of individuals; it is a family church. Indeed, Roman Catholic parishes usually enumerate the number of their adherents by families rather than by individuals. The whole ethic of both the Hebrew and Christian faiths arose out of the relationships within the family and the strengthening of the ideals of family life is one of their chief objectives.

The school is but the surrogate of the family for the education of its children, and although the state now compels the family to send its children to school, the school reports their progress to the parents and enlists the parents' cooperation in problems of the children's control, guidance, and development. Indeed, one of the marked changes in the relationship of the school and the home in the last decade has been a growing realization that if the school is to build personality and character rather than merely furnish intellectual tools, it must have the intimate cooperation of the family and must understand the family background of the pupil. As a consequence parent-teacher associations and the whole movement for parent education have rapidly developed as a means of coordinating the work of the school with that of the family.

The Grange (Patrons of Husbandry) is one of the oldest and most widespread of farmers' organizations and is professedly a family organization, including husband, wife, and children over 14 in its membership, with a program of interest to all of them and with the improvement of home life as an avowed objective.

[9] C. C. Zimmerman and M. E. Frampton, Family and Society, New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1935, Chapters IX-XV, particularly pp. 275–284.

[10] Vance Randolph, The Ozarks, An American Survival of Primitive Society, New York, Vanguard Press, 1931.

Thus several of the most common rural institutions and organizations are definitely connected with the maintenance and improvement of the family group and are more or less forms of family association. It might well be claimed that the family group forms the warp of the fabric of rural society.

THE VILLAGE FAMILY. The above discussion of the rural family has dealt mostly with the farm family. Concerning the village family we have less precise information, for few exact studies have been made of the village family. In many ways its characteristics are between those of farm and city families. That the village family is dis-

TABLE 24. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGES UNDER 15 AND 45 AND OVER FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZES, 1930

Size of Community	Under 15	45 and Over
Rural-farm	36 0	21 6
Rural-nonfarm	31 4	23 4
Incorporated village	26 6	29 6
Total rural	34.0	22.3
Cities		
2,500– 10,000	29 1	24 0
10,000– 25,000	28 2	23 4
25,000– 50,000	26 4	23 8
100,000–250,000	26.1	23.5
500,000 and over	24 2	22 1
Total urban	25 8	25 3
Total United States	29 3	22.9

tinctly smaller than the farm family, and is nearer the city family in size, is shown by the size of the rural-nonfarm family given in Tables 29 and 31. However, this is probably quite largely due to the unusual number of old people and relatively fewer children in villages, as shown in Table 24. Whether the average village family having children living at home is much smaller than the farm family cannot be determined from available statistics. Certainly children are relatively fewer in incorporated villages than on farms.

Although the family is not usually involved in the business of the villager, it is in closer contact with it than is the case in the city. The village family is more likely to eat all its meals together than is the city family, and it probably engages in more collective activities. The village family has its own house and yard, usually a garden, and often

some poultry, so that it produces some of its food, and probably more domestic services are performed in the village family than in the city family, which would tend to purchase the same services. Obviously the characteristics of the family in the small village will be much more like those of the farm, as it will probably include several farm families; the family in the large village will be more like the city family.

STATISTICAL EVIDENCE OF RURAL FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS. Data from the federal Census bring out important differences between rural and urban families with regard to their formation and composition. A larger proportion of rural people are married, they marry younger, and they have more children per family.

Proportion Married. From the evidence available it seems probable that a larger proportion of the rural population lives in families than is the case in the cities. This cannot be demonstrated conclusively because the federal Census does not publish the number of persons living in families. Although there are more families per unit of population in the cities than in the country, this is due to the fact that the city families are smaller. However, we do have positive evidence that a larger proportion of the persons of marriageable age are married in rural communities than in cities. These differences in the proportion married in rural and urban communities of different size are affected by the sex ratios, the age distribution, and the proportion of different races and classes of nativity, which differ markedly in the different types of communities. If the percentage married is standardized by assuming the distribution with regard to these factors to be the same as for the United States as a whole, the differences in the proportion married are brought out more accurately with regard to the effect of the size of the community by eliminating the other factors as far as possible. The percentage married when the population is so standardized is given in Table 25, which shows the difference between the proportion married in rural areas and in cities. For the total population of all classes, 63.7 percent of all persons 15 years of age and over are married on farms and 55.6 percent in metropolitan cities, or a difference of 8.1 percent more on farms, this difference being but 3.5 percent for males and 13 percent for females. The standardization of the native white population of native parentage shows an even larger difference between farm and metropolitan populations. For both sexes there is a difference of 10.1 percent (63.5 farm and 53.4 metropolitan), the most important being in the increase in the difference in the percentage of males married to 5.9 percent (59.9 farm and 54 metropolitan), with but a slight change in the difference in the percentage of females married, 14.4 percent (67.2 farm and 52.8 metropolitan).

The percentage married does not, however, indicate the exact proportion of those of marriageable age who have ever been married, for some have been widowed or divorced and still maintain their families. Similar tables have been made for the percentages married, widowed, and divorced (i.e., all not single), and the same differences between rural and urban communities of different sizes are found to exist, although only about two-thirds as large.

TABLE 25. PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER MARRIED, ADJUSTED FOR RACE, NATIVITY, AGE, AND SEX TO THE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY AND SEX, 1930*

Community Class	All Classes			Native White of Native Parentage		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Rural-farm	63 7	59 7	67 8	63 5	59 9	67 2
Rural-nonfarm	62 4	60 3	64 6	63 3	61 6	65 1
Incorporated village	60.8	61 3	60 2	60 5	60 8	60.1
Cities						
2,500– 10,000	61 2	62 0	60 4	61 2	62 0	60.4
10,000– 25,000	60 6	61 8	59 4	60 3	61 5	59.1
25,000– 50,000	59 7	60 8	58 6	57 1	58 9	55 3
100,000–250,000	58 5	60 1	56 9	57 7	59 3	56.0
500,000 and over	55 6	56 2	54 8	53 4	54 0	52 8

* From Table 12, Memoir 200, Cornell Univ. AES, "The Relation of Size of Community to Marital Status," by Dwight Sanderson.

From these data it seems evident that for the native white of native parentage population there is probably a difference of about 5 percent between rural and urban communities in the proportion of persons of marriageable age who are married. This difference is chiefly due to differences in the size of the community. Inasmuch as there are more children in rural families, as shown below, this means that an appreciably larger proportion of rural people live in families than is the case in urban communities.

Age at Marriage. A primary characteristic of the rural family is that it starts with younger marriage than does the urban family. The children are, therefore, born while the parents are younger; this has several advantages for family relationships between parents and children. The federal Census has published no statistics concerning age at marriage since 1910, so that no accurate figures are available since

then. On the basis of a special tabulation of a large sample, Notestein has determined the mean and modal age at marriage of women who were under 40 years of age at their marriage and who were living with their husbands in 1910. This sample was from the North Central States and included cities of 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants and rural farm population. The results (see Table 26) show that rural women

TABLE 26. MEAN AND MODAL AGES AT MARRIAGE OF WOMEN OF NATIVE WHITE PARENTAGE WHO WERE UNDER 40 YEARS OF AGE AT THEIR MARRIAGE, MARRIED BETWEEN APRIL 16, 1900, AND APRIL 15, 1905, AND LIVING WITH THEIR HUSBANDS AT THE CENSUS OF 1910 *

Social Class of Husband	Average Age of Women at Marriage	
	Mean	Mode
Total urban	22 4	20 5
Professional	24 8	23.5
Proprietary	23 3	21.7
Clerks	22.9	21.3
Skilled workers	21 8	19 6
Semiskilled workers	21 2	19 5
Unskilled workers	21 4	18 5
Total rural	21 4	19 2
Farm owners	22.3	20 0
Farm renters	20 9	19 0
Farm laborers	20 1	18 1

* Frank W. Notestein, "Differential Age at Marriage according to Social Class," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 40, Table V.

married a year or more younger than urban women, the wives of farm laborers and renters married 1.5 and 2.3 years earlier than the mean average of all urban women, and 0.5 and 1.3 years earlier than the mean average of wives of unskilled city workers, although the modal averages were smaller.

An analysis of a somewhat similar sample from the same region was made from a special tabulation of the 1900 Census for the President's Committee on Social Trends (Table 27). This gives ages of both husbands and wives at marriage, and shows approximately the same differences, although the data in Tables 26 and 27 are not directly comparable, giving a difference of 1.84 years in the mean ages of wives and 1.62 years for husbands, between the rural families and those in Chicago, but less than 1 year between the rural and those of

smaller cities. The data in this table also show that nonfarming rural people and farm laborers marry younger than the farm operators.

The younger age at marriage in rural areas may also be shown by the larger proportion of the population in the age group 15 to 24 years who are married (Table 28) although this does not give the exact age at marriage. It does, however, confirm Table 27 in that it shows that the rural-nonfarm people and those in incorporated villages marry younger than do those on farms, and that the rural population as a whole marries younger than the urban.

TABLE 27. MEAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF NATIVE WHITE HUSBANDS AND WIVES BY OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND AND COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZE AS REPORTED IN CENSUS OF 1900 *

Occupation of Husband	Mean Age† at Marriage							
	Husbands				Wives			
	Chicago	Cities	Towns	Rural	Chicago	Cities	Towns	Rural
City								
Professional	27 16	26 62	26 59		23 58	22.86	22.43	
Proprietary	26 75	25 91	25 66		22 66	21.86	21 89	
Clerical	26 34	25 24	24 80		22 44	21.88	21.65	
Skilled worker	25.65	24.64	24.63		21.79	21 25	20 86	
Semiskilled worker	25 39	24.30	24 10		21.64	20 81	20 39	
Unskilled worker	25 39	24 39	24 41		21 41	20.56	20 22	
Rural								
Farm owner				25.14				20.86
Farm renter				24 29				20 61
Nonfarming rural				24 51				20.30
Farm laborer				24 00				19.86
Total	26 21	24 95	24 89	24 59	22 39	21.36	21 03	20.55

* Compiled from tabulations made for the President's Research Committee on Social Trends.
† The modal age has been computed, but seems to be less significant than the arithmetic mean.

Size of Family. The rural family, particularly the farm family, is much larger than the urban family. Inasmuch as we are here concerned with the family as a household group the data given by the federal Census for the number of children under 21 living at home probably furnishes as good an index of the difference in size of rural and urban families as is available (Table 29). The outstanding difference is that 75 percent of the rural-farm families had children, whereas

TABLE 28. PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15 TO 24 YEARS OF AGE MARRIED, BY SEX AND SIZE OF COMMUNITY, 1930 *

Community Class	Total of All Classes			Native White of Native Parentage		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Rural farm	22.2	13 5	32 2	21.7	13.0	32.1
Rural-nonfarm	28 0	17.6	38.3	29 2	18 6	39 4
Incorporated village	24.2	16 4	31.2	23 8	16 2	30.8
Total rural	24.6	15 1	34 8	25.4	15.2	35.3
Cities						
2,500– 10,000	23.6	15.4	31.1	24 8	16.6	32 2
10,000– 25,000	22 7	14.7	29 8	24.4	16.5	31 5
25,000– 50,000	22.8	14.8	30.0	23.1	15 8	29.6
100,000–250,000	21.2	13 8	28.0	23.7	16 3	30.3
500,000 and over	19 0	10 9	28.7	21.4	13.5	28 9
Total urban	22.0	13 9	29 4	24.3	16 3	31 6
Total United States	23.1	14.4	31 7	24 6	15.7	33 5

* From tabulations made for Memoir 200, Cornell Univ. AES.

TABLE 29. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NORMAL FAMILIES (FAMILIES WITH HUSBAND AND WIFE PRESENT) BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER 21, FOR URBAN AND RURAL AREAS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1930 *

Number of Children under 21 Years Old	United States	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm
Per cent	100.00	100 00	100 0	100.0
No children	31.9	34.8	31 7	25 0
1 or more children	68.1	65.2	68.3	75.0
1 child	22 5	24.1	22 1	19.0
2 children	18 2	18.7	18.0	17.0
3 children	11.4	10.6	11.7	13.0
4 children	16.1	11.9	16.5	26 0

* From Table 4, press release, Aug. 5, 1935, Bureau of the Census.

they occurred in only 65.2 percent of the urban families. Equally significant is the fact that 26 percent of the rural-farm families had 4 or more children whereas only 11.9 percent of the urban families had as many. It will be noted that the number of children under 21 in the rural-nonfarm families more nearly approaches the number in city

families than in farm families. This is partly due to a lower birth rate and probably to the fact that village children migrate to towns and cities earlier.

This difference in the size of farm and city families is even more strikingly shown by a table given by Professor W. F. Ogburn in Recent Social Trends (Table 30). This shows that whereas there were

TABLE 30. THE DISTRIBUTION PER THOUSAND OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF FAMILIES IN CHICAGO AND ON FARMS, 1930 *†

(Where the wife is under 45 years of age, and the husband when listed without a wife is under 50 years, in a sample of native whites of native parents in the East North Central States.)

Type of Family	Metropolis	Farms **
Husband and wife only	398	163
Husband, wife, and 1 child	229	205
Husband, wife, and 2 children	122	202
Husband, wife, and 3 children	42	135
Husband, wife, and 4 children or more	19	214
Husband only	63	25
Husband and 1 child	5	6
Husband and 2 children	2	5
Husband and 3 children or more	1	5
Wife only	72	14
Wife and 1 child	31	12
Wife and 2 children	11	6
Wife and 3 children or more	5	8
Total of all types of families	1,000	1,000

* W. F. Ogburn, Recent Social Trends, Vol. I, p. 684.

† Original schedules of the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

** When the farms have the same age distribution as the metropolis, the frequencies of the different types of families on the farms are affected only very slightly.

only 19 families per thousand with husband and wife which had 4 children or more in Chicago, there were 214 on farms in a sample of the neighboring states.

The gross difference in size of rural and urban families is summarized from the Census in Table 31, which gives the median size (i.e., the number which stands at the mid-point of a series arranged according to size) of the family living at home for 1930. This shows that for native whites of native parentage the rural farm family (4.02 persons) is 28 percent larger than the urban family (3.13 persons).

The difference between rural-farm and urban is not so large for the total of all classes of the population because the urban families of foreign-born white parents are distinctly larger than those of native whites of native parentage, whereas in the rural areas they are of the same size.

In 1940 the *average* population per occupied dwelling unit in urban places (3.6) was significantly smaller than in the rural territory (4.0). The size of urban families had also declined more rapidly since 1930 (9 percent) than the rural families (7 percent).[11]

TABLE 31. MEDIAN SIZE OF FAMILY FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1930 *

Nativity of Head	All Families	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm
All classes	3.40	3.26	3.28	4.02
Native white of native parentage	3.37	3 13	3.33	4 02
Foreign-born white	3.74	3 76	3.22	4 02

* From Table 22, Vol. VI, Population, 15th U.S. Census.

If we are considering only the persons residing together in the home the above statistics give a fair comparison of the size of rural and urban families, but the family group in the home is largely influenced by all the living members who have left it, and the social significance of the

TABLE 32. STANDARDIZED CUMULATIVE BIRTH RATE, OR ALL CHILDREN BORN PER 100 WIVES FOR EACH URBAN AND SOCIAL CLASS *

Urban Sample	160
Professional	129
Business	140
Skilled worker	179
Unskilled worker	223
Rural Sample	260
Farm owner	247
Farm renter	275
Farm laborer	299

* Edgar Sydenstricker and F. W. Notestein, "Differential Fertility According to Social Class," *J. Am. Stat. Assoc.*, March, 1930, p. 25.

[11] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population and Housing, press release PH-3, 2, March 22, 1941. The population per occupied dwelling unit in 1940 is not strictly comparable with the size of private families for 1930, but fairly represents the trend of change.

individual family is affected by the total number of children ever born. When one speaks of the size of his family he refers not merely to those now living in the home, but to all who have been born into the family. Unfortunately no accurate statistics of the number of children ever born to a wife are available since 1910, for that year Sydenstricker and Notestein made a special tabulation from the Census data of the number of children born to married women under 45 years of age, in 33 cities of 100,000 to 500,000 population and in the rural territory adjacent to them, as given in Table 32, which shows that the rural women bore 62 percent more children than the urban women.

TABLE 33. RATIO OF CHILDREN UNDER 5 TO WOMEN 20 TO 44 BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY, BY RACE, 1920 AND 1930 *

Size of Community	Whites		Negroes	
	1920	1930	1920	1930
Rural-farm	802	718	826	794
Rural-nonfarm	669	589	548	543
Total rural	744	653	743	707
Cities				
2,500–25,000	521	442	356	364
25,000–100,000	472	393	294	317
100,000–250,000	449	384	271	322
250,000–500,000	393	335	264	298
500,000 and over	455	347	242	295

* From W. S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States, Table 78 . 279.

Another method of obtaining an index of the higher fertility of rural women is that of the "fertility ratio," or the ratio of children under 5 years of age to women of child-bearing age.

From the tabulations made by Thompson and Whelpton, as given in Table 33, it is seen that the fertility ratio for rural-farm women is over twice that for metropolitan cities. It is evident, therefore, that if all children born are included, the rural family is from 60 to 75 percent larger than the urban family.

This is also confirmed by the net reproduction rates for 1940 (see p. 100), which are practically twice as high for the rural-farm population as for the urban.

The ratio of children under 5 to women of child-bearing age is highest and the families are largest in the most rural states, notably in the South and in the Rocky Mountain States, as shown by Fig. 64.[12]

Unfortunately we have no exact information as to the effect of a larger number of children on the relationships in the family as a group. It is obvious that with more members the internal organization of the family must be more complex and it has been assumed that this results

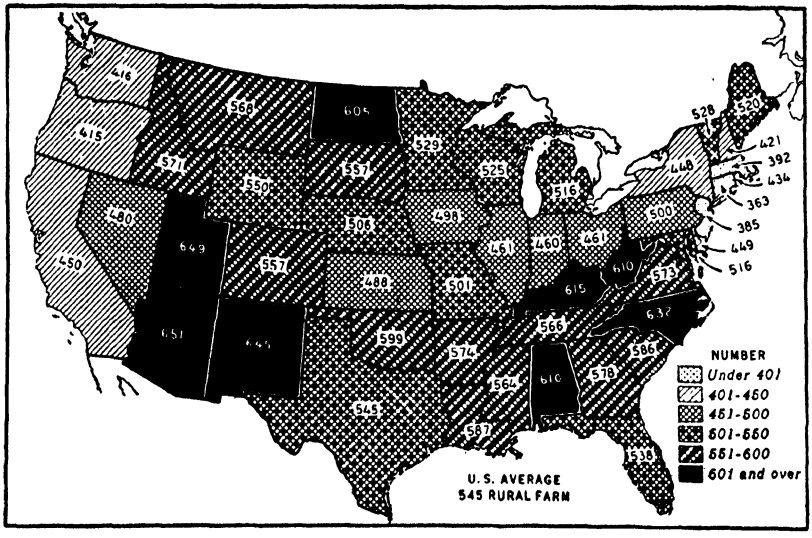


FIG. 64. Rural-farm population, 1930, children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women 15 to 45 years of age. In every state, with the possible exception of Connecticut, the rural-farm population was more than reproducing itself in 1930. In the Southern and the Rocky Mountain states 10 adults were raising 15 to 18 children, but in the Corn Belt only 12 to 14, and on the Pacific coast only 11 or 12. (After Folsom and Baker, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

in a greater degree of socialization of the individual members as an effect of their domestic interaction, but we have no quantitative or other well-established evidence as to whether this is true, and under what circumstances it may or may not be true. The presumption is that there are important differences, but just what they are and how general they are remains to be discovered by research.

However this may be, the larger number of children in rural communities, in connection with the fact that many of them migrate to

[12] When the fertility ratio is mapped by counties, the areas in which it is highest are brought out more clearly than by mapping for state units; see C. E. Lively and Conrad Taeuber, Rural Migration in the United States, Washington, D.C., WPA, Division of Research, Research Monograph XIX, 1939, Fig. 10, p. 52.

cities, gives rise to important problems in connection with the financial support of rural education and with regard to the maintenance of our city populations, which will be further discussed in our consideration of those topics.

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B. SPATIAL ORGANIZATION

Certain groups are distinguished from all others in that they consist of the people in areas which can be limited by fairly definite geographic boundaries. These may be called spatial or locality groups. The neighborhood, hamlet, village, rural community, district, and region are examples of such groups in rural areas. Some of these groups, the hamlet and the village, live in close aggregations and are easily delimited; whereas the others are not so readily recognizable, but their approximate boundaries can be determined by suitable means.

Although these groups may be located geographically they are not determined by the physiographic conditions discussed in Chapter 4. It is true that in some instances physiographic conditions are a very large factor in determining the areas of neighborhoods, communities, districts, or regions, but in others they have indirect or minor influence.

These spatial groups may be studied by various sciences, each from its own interest or point of view. Thus geography will treat of their location and physical relationships. Anthropology is concerned with cultural areas, but from the standpoint of describing their material and nonmaterial culture traits. Ecology deals with communities and regions, and may be considered a phase of sociological analysis, but it has borrowed its concepts from plant and animal ecology. It is concerned with the interdependencies of human beings in an ecological area, their symbiotic relations, and which of these is most characteristic or dominant for the given area; with how the human life of the area is able to maintain an equilibrium in competition with adjacent ecological areas; and with the succession of ecological patterns of life when the equilibrium is disturbed and the area adapts itself to new conditions. Its emphasis tends to be economic, in a broad sense, rather than socio-psychological.

An adequate *sociological* description of any spatial group must include all these aspects of its life, but it must go further and describe the psychological interaction between the individuals and their groups and institutions composing the given spatial group, why they and others regard themselves as an entity, and how they evidence collective behavior as a group. It must also be concerned with the origin, history, tradition, customs, folkways, and mores which characterize an individual group or a group type, although this type of data is also the material of the anthropologist.

The point to be noted is that the sociological analysis of all forms of spatial groups must involve all these approaches, but is inadequate with only any one of them. This will be considered further under our study of regions, in which the overlapping of these different approaches has been most evident, but it is equally true of the rural community.

The simplest types of spatial groups—the hamlet and the village—are the most ancient types of groups, except the family.[1] In former times spatial groups were dominant, for among many peoples the village community dominated the family. The traditions of the neighborhood and of the village therefore have a strong hold on customary human attitudes. In the present century, owing to the increased mobility of the people, the relative importance of the smaller spatial groups has declined. At the same time we are gaining a new vision of the possible functions of larger spatial groups, such as the larger rural community, the district and the region. Indeed, it is through the integration of these that there will emerge new *rurban* groups (see Chapters 28 and 29), which will improve both rural and urban society. As long as men are tied to the land by residence and occupation spatial groups will have fundamental importance in sociology.

[1] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community, Boston, Ginn and Co., 1932, Chapters II, III.

Chapter 11

THE RURAL NEIGHBORHOOD

Outside of the family the nearest persons with whom one may associate are the neighbors. Neighboring is a characteristic of rural society; one who is a good neighbor in the country has the same sort of social approval as the good citizen in the city. A farmer necessarily has some neighbors, i.e., nearby farmers, but whether he associates with them or not now is a matter of choice. In the early settlement of the country it was almost essential for neighbors to cooperate in farm work and in various forms of mutual assistance.[1] Thus the farms in a particular area that were distinguished from those of another locality by distance, topography, or relation to some local institution, as a school or a church, came to be known as a neighborhood, which had a local name, such as Pony Hollow, Smith's Corners, Pleasant Valley, etc.

Neighborhoods may be small or large geographically, depending on the density of population and the general topography. Even in the early settlement not all farms were included in neighborhoods and today an increasingly large proportion of farms in the older parts of the country have no neighborhood designation. What, then, is a neighborhood, how is it defined, and what are its characteristics?

First let us get a picture of a large neighborhood in Otsego County, New York, which, when described in 1920, was in a flourishing condition:

> Plainfield Center is a Welsh settlement which centers around the Welsh Congregational Church and occupies the central part of Plainfield Township. The neighborhood has a much larger area than that which uses the locality name, and includes parts of the locality areas on the south and the west. The church draws attendance from an area extending half a mile to the north and for a radius of three miles east, south,

[1] An excellent account of the origin of a rural neighborhood is to be found in the first American elementary textbook of sociology: A. W. Small and G. E. Vincent, An Introduction to the Study of Society, New York, American Book Co., 1894, Chapter II, pp. 112–125.

and west, including the localities of Spooner's Corners and Huntley's Corners on the east, Plainfield Hills on the south, and Phillips District on the west. But many families in the eastern part of this area attend church in West Exeter, so that the parish boundary does not define the neighborhood. Possibly the area organized by the farm and home bureaus, which includes the area marked Plainfield Center, and the two school districts to the south called Plainfield Hills, more nearly represents the limits of the neighborhood, extending three and a half miles north and south, and two and a half miles east and west, with the church toward the northeastern corner.

The church is about three miles from West Exeter, nearly four miles from Unadilla Forks, and about as far from West Winfield. These community centers draw persons from the three sides of the neighborhood, their boundaries dividing it about equally, so that business, school, and social relations outside of the neighborhood go in three directions. This is due to the fact that the neighborhood lies among the hilltops, and slopes to these centers.

The church area includes about 60 families, but the farm- and home-bureau neighborhood includes not more than 40. The region was settled early in the nineteenth century, as there was a church at Plainfield Center in 1829; but the Welsh settlement commenced about 1860 and the Welsh church was built in 1861. Half a century ago the settlement included a store and a post office, but at present there are only a half-dozen houses, including the church parsonage, at the center.

The church has 109 members (there were 105 in 1878), and has an average attendance of 75 at morning and 30 at evening services. The Sunday School averages about 60 members. The older people speak Welsh, and that language is used at the morning service.

For three or four years the church people have given very successful amateur plays, which have sometimes been repeated in near-by communities. These plays are given in June or early in the fall. The church has senior and junior Christian Endeavor societies, a young men's club and Bible class, and a ladies' aid society. The last-named has about 30 members and usually meets at the homes, but expects to meet in the future in a room which has been reserved for it on the second floor of the parsonage. It often holds church suppers with 75 or 80 persons present, and church socials are frequent. During the war there was an active branch of the Red Cross.

There are two district schools in the neighborhood, the district southwest of the center contracting with that of the center. A number of children have been graduated from, or have attended, the nearest high schools in recent years, and the neighborhood has had some college graduates.

The farm and home bureaus, with a membership of 15 men and 25 women, respectively, have been active, with well-conceived programs of

work which have been effectively carried out, including an automobile tour of successful farms in neighboring townships, and a voting demonstration for the women. The meetings are held at the homes. A number of the people in the neighborhood are members of the West Exeter Grange, but they find it difficult to attend the meetings in winter. There have been no improved roads, but when the new system of township roads was adopted by the county, 30 of the men were called together one morning, and these men appeared before the town board and convinced its members that the mile of stone road to be built by the town that year should be in their neighborhood.

Physical isolation, nationality, the church, the farm and home bureaus, and exceptional leadership, all strengthen the unity of the neighborhood, which has many characteristics of a community since the interests of its people center in it as much as in the near-by community centers. But as time goes on and the roads are improved, more of the interests of the neighborhood will doubtless gravitate to the community centers.[2]

In the South the neighborhood is still the most important social unit in large areas. Sanders and Ensminger have shown that it is the primary grouping of social relationships in Chilton County, Alabama, describing it as "a traditional social relationship among families in an area small enough for face-to-face contacts." [3] John B. Holt, Harold Hoffsommer, and Herbert Pryor have also described and mapped the neighborhoods in southern counties and come to the same conclusions as to their social significance. (See Fig. 65.) [4]

Dr. J. H. Kolb [5] has defined the rural neighborhood as "that first grouping beyond the family which has social significance and which is conscious of some local unity," and thus recognizes the neighborhood as the smallest locality group of families. *To delimit the neighborhood we may define it as consisting of a small number of families in a restricted locality which are recognized as associating more closely together in certain activities than with others.* The neighborhood dif-

[2] Dwight Sanderson and W. S. Thompson, "The Social Areas of Otsego County," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 422, pp. 20–21, which contains descriptions of other neighborhoods.

[3] I. T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, "Alabama Rural Communities: A Study of Chilton County," Montevallo, Ala., Bulletin, Alabama College, Vol. XXXIII, 1A, July, 1940, pp. 20–24 *et passim.*

[4] J. B. Holt, Rural Neighborhoods and Communities of Lee County, Alabama, Washington, D.C., BAE, USDA, Feb., 1941; Report of a Reconnaissance Survey of Neighborhoods and Communities of Caswell County, North Carolina, BAE, Aug., 1940, processed; Harold Hoffsommer and Herbert Pryor, Neighborhoods and Communities in Covington County, Mississippi. Washington, D.C., U.S BAE, July, 1941, processed.

[5] "Rural Primary Groups," Univ. of Wis. AES, Res. Bul. 51, p. 5.

fers from the community in that it includes a minority of the chief interests and institutional services of everyday life. Several distinctive characteristics are involved in this definition. (1) The neighborhood

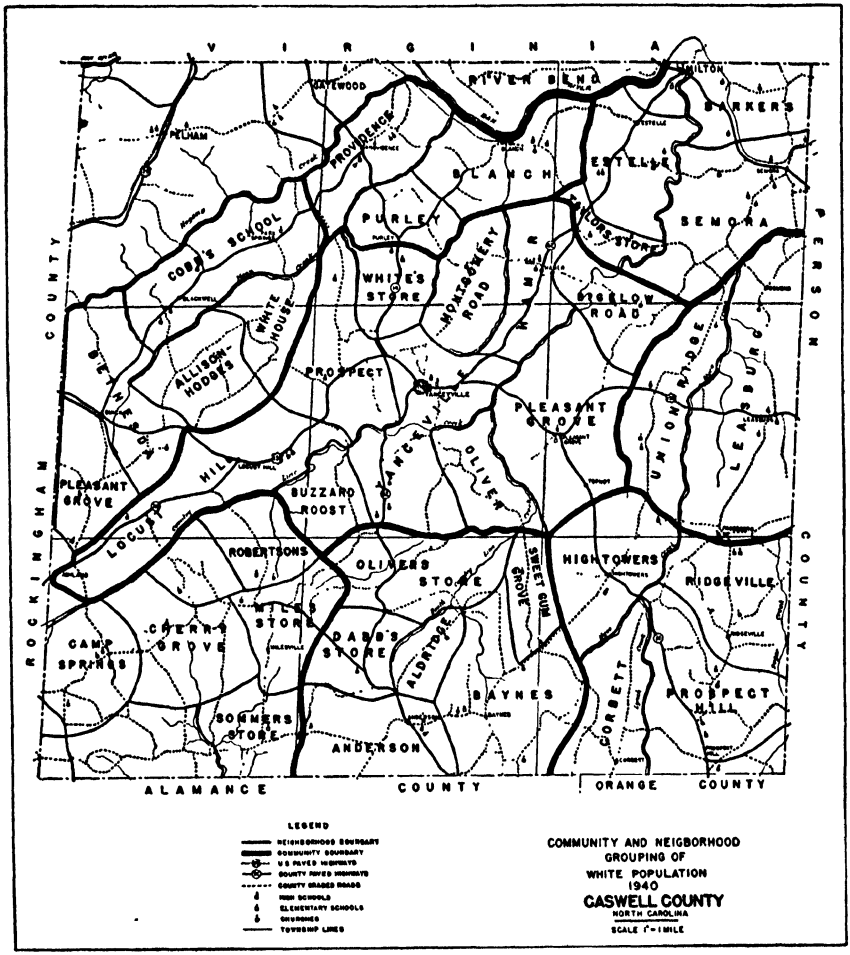


FIG. 65. Community and neighborhood areas of Caswell County, N. C., 1940. (After J. B. Holt, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

is a locality group; it may be given a geographical boundary and its area can be more or less accurately mapped. (2) The neighborhood has but a small number of families, although no exact range can be specified. (3) These families associate in certain activities more closely than they do with others outside the neighborhood. (4) It is recognized, both by the members of the neighborhood and by those

outside it, that the neighborhood carries on certain activities as an entity, that it has a distinctive behavior as a unit and is conscious of its identity. A discussion of these characteristics will clarify the concept of the neighborhood.

1. AREA. The area of a neighborhood is frequently determined very largely by the topography of the land, which produces a certain natural isolation of a given area. Thus the homes in a valley or on a hill form a natural area which is more or less definitely separated from others. In a level country the homes of a neighborhood may cluster around a crossroad, or along a given road, if separated from others or at some distance from a village center. However, geographic location does not in itself make a neighborhood. There are many geographical names of localities, such as Bald Hill or Jackson's Hollow, which may be used to designate the location of certain farms but which do not form neighborhoods. In many cases, such localities may formerly have been real neighborhoods and the names persist, but in others they are mere locality names because the families do not associate with each other more closely than with others. The area of a neighborhood is, therefore, a feature of its structure which is often more or less determined by geographical factors, but the boundary must be determined by a consideration of whether a given family "neighbors" with those adjoining it more than with others outside the defined area. It is obvious, therefore, that, as with all locality groups, the boundary of a neighborhood is more or less a matter of opinion, cannot be exactly drawn, and will change from time to time. It is also to be noted that within such a neighborhood area there may be families whose associations may be chiefly outside the area, and who reside in the neighborhood but are neighbors in only a very limited way.

2. SIZE. With regard to the number of families which commonly constitute a neighborhood no precise distinctions can be made. In some cases three or four, or a half-dozen families whose houses are very close together, as in the *hameau* so typical of Brittany in France, may form a well-recognized neighborhood. On the other hand, in a more sparsely settled country 40 or 50 families scattered over a considerable territory may have neighborhood characteristics. In Otsego County, New York, we[6] found that the well-recognized neighborhoods had an average of 12 to 15 homes in an average area of 2¼ square miles. This is in a hilly country where the importance of neighborhoods is declining. In the nine most outstanding neighborhoods in the county the number of families averaged 37, ranging from 15 to 50. In

[6] Dwight Sanderson and W. S. Thompson, *op. cit.*

Wisconsin, on the other hand, the maps published by Dr. Kolb show that the average area is probably two or three times as large, with a correspondingly large number of families. In Chilton County, Alabama, white neighborhoods averaged 35 families and Negro neighborhoods, 19.[7]

The hamlet may be considered an aggregated neighborhood. A hamlet consists of from a dozen to a score or more of homes close enough together to form a definite aggregation, and usually includes one or more institutions such as a school, church, or store. It is a miniature village, which in a new country may grow into a village, and in older sections of the country may be the remains of what was once a village.

3. NEIGHBORHOOD ACTIVITIES. Unless there is more of certain types of social interaction between families within a given area than with those outside the area it is not possible to distinguish the area as a neighborhood. This does not mean that the total social interaction within the neighborhood is larger than with the area outside it, but only that in certain phases of their social life the families associate more within the neighborhood. In the simplest form of open-country neighborhood, with no institution, this may consist chiefly of more family intervisitation and mutual assistance; in larger and more complex neighborhoods it may involve association in school, church, store, and grange or some form of club. The local one-room school seems to be the most common institutional bond of the rural neighborhood, but although every rural school district tends to have some neighborhood characteristics, very many school districts are merely administrative units and can by no means be considered neighborhoods. The same is true of the rural church parish. In a study, made in 1930, of 140 village-country communities throughout the United States Brunner and

Rank	Activities	Number of Neighborhoods	Percent
1	School, church, and trade service	61	14
2	School and church	57	13
3	School only	51	12
4	Social or economic	48	11
5	Church only	46	11
6	School and social or economic activity	29	7
7	Store	28	7
8	Church and social or economic activity	21	5

[7] Sanders and Ensminger, *op. cit.*

Kolb [8] found 429 neighborhoods in which the leading neighborhood activities were as listed on p. 237.

Thus the school was an important activity in 46 percent of these neighborhoods and the church in 30 percent. In Lee County, Alabama, Holt [9] found that "the local church generally provides the most effective basis for neighborhood consciousness, loyalty, and association," and this seemed to be true of Chilton County.[10]

In Dane County, Wisconsin, Kolb [11] has compared the factors which were primary or secondary neighborhood bonds in 94 neighborhoods in 1921 and 1931 with the following results:

Factors	Primary		Secondary	
	1921	1931	1921	1931
Religious	32	27	5	10
Educational	29	31	9	15
Economic	14	18	6	7
Social	8	17	21	43
Nationality bonds	5	0	27	14
Topography	5	0	10	0
Family ties	2	1	0	0

The most noticeable change in the decade is in the increase of the number of neighborhoods in which social groups formed the chief neighborhood bonds. Granges, local farm or home bureau units, mothers' clubs, parent-teacher associations, 4-H clubs, and farmers' clubs are other local groups often responsible for neighborhood ties. It is obvious that a live neighborhood will have various activities which are not associated with any institution or organization. Thus it may make its influence felt in town and county for better roads or better mail service; it may support a baseball team, or have an annual picnic; home parties may be neighborhood affairs, and it is quite likely to rally around local leaders of party politics.

[8] Rural Social Trends, from Table 25, p. 69. The other 20 percent of the neighborhoods were characterized by various types of activities, each forming less than 5 percent of the total.

[9] J. B. Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[10] Sanders and Ensminger, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[11] J. H. Kolb, "Trend of Country Neighborhoods," Univ. of Wisconsin AES, Res. Bul. 120, Table IX, p. 15.

4. Recognition of Identity. The consciousness of the families composing it that they belong to a neighborhood and its recognition as a social entity by those outside it are essential attributes of a neighborhood, as of any group. The fact that it has a name gives it a certain identity, but, as we have seen, a name may be applied to a mere locality in which there are not sufficient common activities to make it a neighborhood. The neighborhood is not a group which can be seen, as can the family, although the homes constituting a neighborhood may often be seen as a group. Nor does the neighborhood have a definite membership like a club. Rather it consists of an established system of social relationships which have a distinctive form and pattern of behavior of the people within its area. Institutions, such as the school, church, or grange, tend to objectify this identity, but a neighborhood with no institutions may have a very clearly recognized identity because people are known to act together with regard to their neighborhood interests.

We have seen that the rural neighborhood is a locality group; that is, it is delimited as a definite geographic area. This means that if one lives within this area he is automatically a member of the neighborhood. It is true that if one lives on the periphery of the neighborhood he may or may not associate with it and hence may be said to have a voluntary relation to it, but most of the families in the neighborhood are forced to belong to it on account of their geographical position and may only escape it by moving elsewhere. Inasmuch as the sociological group known as the neighborhood consists of the social interaction between its individual members, it is of course possible for a family living within the area of the neighborhood to have no participation in it and therefore not be a part of it. Such a situation is becoming more common with the decadence of the neighborhood group, but in the early days when the neighborhood was in its prime people were much more dependent upon the assistance and goodwill of their neighbors and it was the rare individual or family that withstood its social control.

There is no means of identifying a member of a neighborhood by means of a name, as in the case of the family, except that it is commonly known that he resides in the neighborhood and he is thereby given the social status of the neighborhood by outsiders.

In structure the neighborhood has no form of group organization, it is an informal, personal group. There may be organized groups within the neighborhood, but the neighborhood as such is unorganized. It is what Charles H. Cooley described [12] as a primary group, that is,

[12] C. H. Cooley, Social Organization, Chapter III.

one in which the relations are personal, intimate, and face-to-face. It does not concern itself with certain specific interests but with all phases of life. Probably the form of interaction most characteristic of the neighborhood is "neighborliness," which is a willingness to give mutual aid, quite similar to "domestic interaction" in the family, and which is probably an extension of that attitude to a relation which is not so compulsory or primary as in the family. The means of social control whereby neighborhood standards are maintained consists chiefly of gossip. To be talked about by the neighbors is constantly held up as a preventive of undesirable conduct. The social control of the neighborhood is largely a matter of the degree of isolation or social distance between it and the larger community. This feeling of social distance was well described by Professor J. M. Williams as the "neighborhood configuration." [18]

Although the neighborhood as such has no organized structure it may differ widely in its gross structure, from an open-country neighborhood of a few homes with no institutions to a hamlet of some size with several organizations or institutional services. Between these extremes are open-country neighborhoods which cluster around one or more institutions or organizations, so that no sharp distinctions in types of structure can be made.

With regard to its relation to other groups the neighborhood is most immediately related to the family for it is composed of families rather than of individuals. This is particularly true in the now rare cases of neighborhoods which have received their name and identity by virtue of being composed of a number of nearly related families, the dominant bond of the neighborhood being kinship. In neighborhoods which cluster around one institution the pattern of neighborhood life is very largely determined by that of the institution, the school, church, or grange. As far as its outside relations are concerned the neighborhood may be part of a rural community or it may be divided between two or three rural communities. This arises from the fact that it is sometimes about equally distant from two or three village centers. The neighborhood may be a part of a rural community but is not dominated by it; within the sphere of its own interests it is autonomous. However, in the South the neighborhood is the primary locality group and communities are composed of a clustering of neighborhoods, which are not divided by community lines.[14]

The neighborhood is a group characteristic of rural life whose formation and persistence have been mostly the result of physical iso-

[18] J. M. Williams, The Expansion of Rural Life, p. 33.

[14] *Cf.* Sanders and Ensminger, *op. cit.*, and J. B. Holt, *op. cit.*

lation. Neighborhoods exist in cities [15] but they are relatively fewer in number, are more difficult to distinguish, change rapidly, and tend to disappear. Some of the most obvious urban neighborhoods are formed of nationality groups which in some cases maintain the identity of the village group of their native lands.[16]

RISE AND DECLINE. As we have seen, the rural neighborhood originated to meet the common needs of a group of families arising from their physical isolation. The one-room country school and the open-country church were the characteristic institutions of country life until the present century, for in the days of mud roads and horses people could not travel far. One of the best indications of this is the many neighborhood postoffices which one may find marked on any county map of the 1870's or 80's. These have practically all disappeared, and the rural delivery routes serve even the small villages. Not until after World War I did automobiles come into general use and hard roads become common, and with them began the rapid decline of the country neighborhood, for more and more country people patronized the village schools, churches, and stores. This was also hastened in the older parts of the country by a considerable decline in rural population (see p. 76) which so reduced the amount of patronage of neighborhood institutions as to make their support impossible. The country creamery or milk plant, the local mill, and the blacksmith shop have largely disappeared in the older parts of the country. Consequently the tendency has been for only those neighborhoods which are at some distance from village centers or which are isolated by lack of good roads to maintain their identity. This has also been hastened by the mobility of farm people. As the older families moved out and new families came in they often were of different social status and were not so easily assimilated into the neighborhood life. The consolidation of schools has closed many country school houses; this has been a leading factor in the disruption of the country neighborhood.

Even in parts of the South the neighborhood ties are becoming weaker and the community is assuming a larger place. Thus in Lee County, Alabama, Holt states that "the white neighborhoods, as a group of adjacently located farm families participating together in many forms of intimate and frequent association, are tending to disappear." [17]

[15] *Cf.* R. D. McKenzie, "The Neighborhood," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 344, 486, 588, 780.

[16] *Cf.* R. E. Park and H. A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1921, p. 146.

[17] J. B. Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Their disappearance seems to be associated with the thinning of the farm population, the consequent dismemberment of the local church, the substitution of automobile pleasure rides and distant visits for the earlier type of visiting among adjacent homes. It seems to be associated also with the consolidation of the local schools and the consequent disappearance of a neighborhood meeting place, which acted not only as a means of convenient association but also as a symbol of neighborhood individuality, self-consciousness, and solidarity. In frequent instances, resulting from consolidation, the only public neighborhood meeting hall was abolished, the main business basis for neighborhood meeting and cooperation was eliminated, and the habit of neighborhood meetings was lost. With improved transportation and a decrease in population, local crossroad stores have deteriorated or gone out of business.

As a typical case Plainfield Center, described above as so active in 1920, had ceased to function in 1930. With the advent of hard roads its schools had been absorbed into a central rural school district and its church had been closed.

As a consequence, for the country as a whole, in 1930 Brunner and Kolb[18] found 429 neighborhoods in the areas of 140 village-communities where there had been 513 in 1924. This was a loss of one-sixth in 6 years, the loss being greatest in the South where it was 30 percent. In Dane County, Wisconsin, in 1931, Kolb found but 63 of the 95 neighborhoods existing in 1921 to be active, or a loss of one-third.[19] In Otsego County, New York, the decline was similar.[20]

It is true that the total number of neighborhoods does not show so large a decrease, but this is chiefly accounted for by a considerable number of cases in which places classed as villages in 1920 have so declined that they are now classed as hamlet neighborhoods. In Otsego County, New York, 8 out of 18 hamlet neighborhoods in 1930 were recognized as villages in 1920. In Dane County, Wisconsin, in 1931, Kolb found 7 active neighborhoods which were inactive in 1921 and 24 neighborhoods which were recognized as such for the first time, so that the total number of neighborhoods remained the same. However, in the older countryside of New York there has been little or no revival of former neighborhoods. There has been a formation of neighborhoods within the zone of influence of small cities and large towns of families who do not associate socially with the city, but whose business

[18] Rural Social Trends, Table 25, p. 69.

[19] J. H. Kolb, "Trends of Country Neighborhoods," Univ. of Wis. AES, Res. Bul. 120, p. 3.

[20] *Cf.* Sanderson and Thompson, *op. cit.*, and Dwight Sanderson and H. F. Dorn, "The Rural Neighborhoods of Otsego County, New York, 1931," Cornell Univ. AES, Dept. of Rural Social Organization, Mimeo. Bul. 2.

and other interests are more in the city than in the nearest village. In some instances these suburban clusters form real neighborhoods, particularly if they have a church, but many times they remain a mere locality group, an unorganized suburban fringe.

These general trends of change in country neighborhoods may be summarized as follows:[21]

1. There is a decided tendency for neighborhoods to decrease in number and activity in the older parts of the country.

2. In some sections, as in Wisconsin, there is a tendency for new neighborhoods to appear or old ones to become active again, but these are more the result of deliberate organization of certain specific interests or of voluntary association, and are less dependent upon the old bonds of locality, tradition, nationality, or religion.

3. Neighborhoods in the vicinity of villages and towns tend to disappear first, as their functions are absorbed in those of the rural community centering in the village. Those neighborhoods persist which are somewhat isolated from these centers.

4. The number of hamlet neighborhoods is increasing through the decline of villages, which have not been able to maintain the status of community centers.

5. In the environs of cities and large towns there is a tendency to form new semisuburban neighborhoods mostly as the result of the new settlement of city workers.

6. Neighborhoods are becoming more largely institutional or organizational groups than locality groups bound together by "neighboring," and membership in the local organizations is not confined to people in the former immediate neighborhood but is scattered over a wider area. This is partly due to decrease in population and partly to better means of transportation.

Yet in spite of these tendencies the rural neighborhood must be recognized as a grouping characteristic of rural life. From a numerical standpoint there seem to be about three times as many active neighborhoods as there are village community centers. In spite of competition with villages and towns many a rural neighborhood remains loyal to its school, church, or grange and heroically attempts to maintain it, often with considerable success for a time. But as rural communities become more strongly integrated more of the organizational life of the neighborhoods will be transferred to the villages. The gradual decadence of many a once virile rural neighborhood is one of the tragedies

[21] *Cf.* Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 27, Characteristic Changes, which I have followed in part.

of a changing world. But this does not necessarily mean a poorer type of country life. On the contrary, it may mean superior advantages which are possible because there is a larger unit for their support. However, even although it is apparent that the people of a neighborhood might enjoy better advantages at a village center, it is a mistake in rural organization to attempt to force it to do so. A one-room country school with only a half-dozen pupils may have a school bus running by its door and taking the older children to the village high school, but it would be a mistake to force the consolidation of the primary school until its patrons are convinced of the superior advantages which their children would enjoy at the central school. If these are real, they will become obvious in a few years, and the country district will be seeking consolidation. The same principle applies to the open-country church. No attempt should be made to starve the rural neighborhood and thus hasten its demise. Rather it should be so cultivated by the larger community that the feeling of social distance resulting from physical or social isolation will be broken down and the neighborhood people will themselves see the advantage of associating with the larger group. This principle is now being used in the formation of county land use planning committees.[22]

Even then, however, there may be something to be said for trying to preserve some of the neighborhood feeling and traditions, as there seems to be a satisfaction in the intimate relations of a primary group which is not so easily realized in larger groupings. Whether as rural life becomes more stable country people will again become better neighbors, or whether with easy transportation they will, like city people, tend to select their acquaintances and associate more with those most congenial within convenient distances, is an open question.

The importance of the rural neighborhood was well expressed by Dr. L. H. Bailey in addressing a farmhouse meeting some twenty-five years ago:

> A neighborhood comprises the region of neighboring. It is personal. The community represents commonality of interests rather than friendship of folks. I want the community to develop, and to have a better church and school and grange and library; but within the community there may be several neighborhoods, and it is important that the neighborhood activities be not forgotten or overlooked in our grasp for bigger things. A community cannot accomplish much if the neighborhoods are dead or if they are torn by petty dissensions.[23]

[22] USDA, BAE, in Cooperation with the Extension Service, Communities and Neighborhoods in Land Use Planning, County Planning Series 6, Washington, D.C., 1940.

[23] L. H. Bailey, York State Rural Problems, Vol. 2, p. 27, 1915.

A distinction should, however, be made between the rural neighborhood as a social unit and the neighborliness of farm people. The neighborhood as of yore may disappear, but as long as farmers own their places and are not frequently shifting, the nature of their work compels a certain amount of neighborliness. We may well give consideration to the place of neighborliness in rural life and how it may be encouraged, although we may see a very limited function for the rural neighborhood of the future as a unit of social organization.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE RURAL NEIGHBORHOOD. Inasmuch as the rural neighborhood is either an informal primary locality group or has its bonds in one or two local institutions or organizations, the problems of social organization which arise in connection with the neighborhood are either those of the individual institutions or organizations concerned, or have to do with the recognition of the neighborhood as a social unit within the rural community and the steps necessary for its integration in the community. As far as the rural neighborhood as a locality group is concerned there is little to be said concerning measures for the improvement of its social organization, for its needs are those common to all rural society, and individual neighborhoods are so different that there seem to be no general principles which are generally applicable.

In general it is doubtful whether, in the parts of the country that were settled first, it is desirable to try to build up neighborhoods merely as locality groups, although the neighborhood may persist as a by-product of open-country rural institutions or organizations. In some of the newer parts of the country there is a very distinct need for strengthening the bonds and building up the social life of the neighborhood. Thus Dr. Philip A. Parsons [24] has described neighborhoods in some of the more isolated sections of Oregon (which he calls "natural communities"), which have organized their social life around a school or community building.

There is also a very definite growth of suburban neighborhoods around the fringe of cities. Within five miles or so of city boundaries there are growing up clusters of suburban homes along all the main highways. Most of these people have moved out into the country to obtain cheaper housing, gardens, and other advantages, and although most of them work in the city and may send their children to city schools, they are distinctly not of the city in their social life and prefer

[24] P. A. Parsons, A Study of Natural Communities in Three Oregon Counties, Portland, Ore., Oregon State Planning Board, 1937, mimeographed, see Goldson Community, p. 22.

to form local neighborhood groups. This is seen in the formation of neighborhood institutions and organizations. These groups sometimes go so far as to erect a "community building" or social center in which young and old may get together for social and recreational purposes. Frequently these suburban neighborhoods are nearer to the city than to any village, or their people do not mix so well with the farm people whose interests center in the nearest village. In such cases there seems to be a distinct future for these suburban neighborhoods which, although technically rural, are really more closely related to the city than to the nearest rural communities of which they might form a part. These suburban neighborhoods have grown rapidly in recent years, but as yet little if any intensive study has been given to their problems of social organization and social relationships.

But within established rural communities there are numerous rural neighborhoods, and the chief problem of social organization is in the recognition of their roles and their relative autonomy for certain purposes. This will be considered further in our discussion of Rural Community Organization (Chapter 29). Thus 4-H clubs and home bureaus or farm women's clubs are very commonly organized as neighborhood units, as automobile transportation is not always available for their members when wanted. Likewise when separate elementary schools are maintained their constituency often forms a neighborhood unit and may support a parent-teacher association. The open-country neighborhood church also flourishes in many areas, particularly where there are nationality groups. In all these cases the work of the neighborhood organizations or institutions will be strengthened by making them an integral part of a larger community unit, the community 4-H club, the community school district for purposes of administration and supervision, and the larger parish for church cooperation, as will be discussed later in considering these institutions.

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Chapter 12

THE AGRICULTURAL VILLAGE

An aerial view of the countryside reveals scattered farm homes with the surrounding fields like a huge checkerboard, and at intervals of a few miles are aggregations of homes and business houses, the village service centers of the farms. Both farms and villages are part of the rural landscape and both have distinctive roles in the structure of rural society. The American agricultural village is primarily a business center for the surrounding farms. Other forms of villages occur here and there. Indeed, they are characteristic of some sections, and must be included in any comprehensive analysis of rural society, especially in industrialized regions. Thus there are industrial villages, lumber villages, mining villages, fishing villages, suburban residential villages, etc., which all form a part of rural life if we consider as rural all which is not urban. However, we are most concerned with what is typical of the major areas of rural life in the United States, and these are characterized by the predominance of agriculture as the basic industry, and we shall, therefore, consider only agricultural villages.

The American village differs from the European or Oriental village in that it is primarily a business center whereas the latter is chiefly an aggregation of the homes of farmers, with business of minor importance.[1] The early settlements in New England [2] and the Hudson Valley brought the European type of farm village to this country, but as soon as westward migration commenced farmers settled individually on dispersed homesteads and villages grew up as business centers for the exchange of goods. In New England the old type of farm village soon disappeared and the only place that it has survived in this country is in some of the Mormon villages [3] in Utah (although even there farms

[1] *Cf.* W. A. Terpenning, Village and Open-Country Neighborhoods, and Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community, Chapter XI.

[2] N. L. Sims, Elements of Rural Sociology, Chapter III, and Dwight Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 460.

[3] *Cf.* the description of Salem in the Appendix; also Lowry Nelson, A Social Survey of Escalante, Utah, The Utah Farm Village of Ephraim, and Some Social and Economic Features of American Fork, Brigham Young Univ. Studies, 1, 2, and 4; J. A. Geddes, "Farm versus Village Living in Utah, Plain City," Bul. 249, Utah AES.

tend to become dispersed) and in some Indian villages in the Southwest.

The American village grew up as a trading center. Its location is primarily determined by its means of communication for the transportation of goods. In the earliest times the first villages grew up along waterways. As roads penetrated the wilderness, villages sprang up along the highways. Canals gave rise to new villages. The advent of railroads created many new villages around their stations and meant the death of many a village which the railroad avoided. As the railroads spread over the new country of the Middle West and Far West, villages often sprang up at the opening of the railroad even before the country was well settled. With the development of hard roads for automobile traffic, the road has again assumed importance in village location; decadent villages along main highways have revived and in some cases villages which sprang up around railroad or trolley stations have declined.

An excellent account of the origin of an agricultural village from the rural neighborhood previously cited is to be found in Small and Vincent's An Introduction to the Study of Society; good descriptions of typical villages are given in Brunner's Village Communities (Part II); and some of the best description of village life is in fiction, as in Zona Gale's Friendship Village.[4]

With this introduction to the agricultural village, let us attempt to give it a more precise sociological description. From the standpoint of sociology an agricultural village may be defined as *that form of association resulting from local contiguity of residence of people of various occupations whose homes are aggregated in a small area and whose economic and social organizations and institutions are largely dependent for their support on the farm families in the surrounding area which they serve.* This definition involves five factors: (1) area; (2) size; (3) diversity of occupation; (4) economic and social institutions; (5) relation to farm families.

1. AREA. Like the neighborhood the village is a locality group, a form of association within a definable geographic area. We have described this as a "small area" in the sense that it is compact and relatively small as compared to a city or scattered country neighborhood. Ordinarily the area will vary from one-fourth or one-half a square mile for the smallest villages to one to two square miles for the large villages.[5] The definition of the boundaries of a village is a technical problem which needs further study. In incorporated villages the politi-

[4] See references at end of chapter for citations.

[5] *Cf.* Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, American Agricultural Villages, p. 70.

cal boundary is located by its charter, but this by no means coincides with the boundary of the village proper, as the incorporation often takes in a considerable amount of farm land on each border, for one-fourth to one-half of a mile from the aggregated houses. In the study of maps of scores of New York villages it has been found that the unincorporated village (or the sociological area of the incorporated village) may be determined by including an area within which the maximum distance between adjacent occupied dwellings is less than one-tenth of a mile and in which the average density of occupied dwellings is 30 or more per mile of street. This rule will delimit most agricultural villages, but will not apply to some suburban situations where one village runs into another.

2. SIZE. The United States Census classifies as villages all incorporated places with less than 2,500 inhabitants, and this maximum of population has been generally accepted as the best arbitrary distinction between rural and urban municipalities, although many small towns of 3,000 to 4,000 population in strictly agricultural sections are essentially villages in character. The Census usage places no limit on the minimum size of an incorporated village, which is determined by state laws and which in New York State may include only a score of people. In the extensive studies of villages made by Dr. E. deS. Brunner and his colleagues the minimum size of a village has been fixed at 250 persons, and all smaller aggregations have been termed hamlets or open country.[6] However, as Dr. B. L. Melvin[7] has shown, in New York 64 percent, and in Iowa and Georgia 87 percent, of all unincorporated places commonly called villages have from 50 to 249 persons. Common usage recognizes places of 100 to 150 population as villages. It is obvious, therefore, that the minimum population which may be considered a village is an arbitrary decision. Certainly any place with 100 or more inhabitants is commonly known as a village and will meet any functional criteria of a village.

From the figures given in Tables 1 and 36, the average population of all unincorporated villages in 1920 was 152; for incorporated villages it was 697; and for all villages, 261.[8] The average of all incor-

[6] Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

[7] B. L. Melvin, "Village Service Agencies, New York, 1925," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 493, p. 14.

[8] This estimate of average size of unincorporated villages is probably too low, as Landis included all places listed by Dun and Bradstreet, with no minimum size. On the basis of estimates of Morse and Brunner and of C. Luther Fry it seems that, if 25 inhabitants were used as a minimum, the average size for unincorporated hamlets and villages would have been about 200 in 1920, and would be propor-

porated villages in 1930 was 683, and 71 percent of them had less than 1,000 population.[9] From the data assembled by Landis the average population of the unincorporated village in 1930 was 177, and of all villages, 297.[10] In 1940 the average population of incorporated villages had risen to 703.[11]

3. DIVERSITY OF OCCUPATION. Inasmuch as the agricultural village is a service center it includes various occupations. It is characterized by a diversity of occupations in contrast to the rural neighborhood which is mostly farmers. Because of this specialization of labor, village families are more interdependent. In a study of 177 villages throughout the country made in 1930, Brunner and Kolb found the distribution of occupations shown in Table 34.

TABLE 34. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED MALES AND FEMALES BY PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION IN 177 VILLAGES, 1930 *

Occupation	Total	Males	Females
All occupations	100	100	100
Agriculture	10	13	2
Manufacture †	29	34	13
Transportation	10	13	3
Trade	19	21	9
Profession	11	7	21
Domestic and personal	13	6	39
Clerical	5	4	12
All other	2	2	0 4

* Data from Brunner and Kolb, Rural Social Trends, Table 35, p. 87.

† By Census definition manufacture includes all artisans, carpenters, masons, seamstresses, and the like, as well as those employed in industrial plants.

Two comments should be made on this table. First, as the footnote indicates, the term *manufacture* includes craftsmen, such as carpenters and masons who would undoubtedly form a considerable proportion of this class. Second, the villages studied are larger villages with an average of 1,300 or 1,400 inhabitants so that they would have more

tionately larger in 1930. Were 50 or 100 persons used as the minimum for a village, the number of unincorporated villages would be much smaller and the average population considerably larger.

[9] Brunner and Kolb, Rural Social Trends, p. 77.

[10] P. H. Landis, The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and Their Estimated Populations, Pullman, Wash., Research Studies of the St. Coll. of Wash., Vol. VI, 4, Dec., 1938.

[11] U.S. Census Bureau, press release P–3, 13, May 31, 1941.

manufacturing establishments than the average-sized village. Undoubtedly in the average agricultural village the largest number of individuals are employed in trade. Of the manufacturing establishments in the above villages 35 percent have to do with foods and beverages, 25 percent deal with paper and are mostly newspaper and print shops, and 14 percent manufacture lumber. This accounts for three-fourths of the manufacturing.

4. Economic and Social Institutions. The occupations listed reflect the fact that the life of the village is dependent upon various business establishments and social institutions. Stores of various kinds, craftsmen, dealers in farm produce and supplies, and small manufacturing establishments comprise the bulk of the economic services; schools and churches employ most of those in the professional class. The village is also the meeting place of various organizations, lodges, granges, cooperative associations, parent-teacher associations, and clubs of various sorts, which include both village and farm families in their membership, villagers predominating in some and farm people in others. The number and type of economic and social agencies vary with the size of the village, as will be further discussed, but the important point in a sociological analysis of the village is that its life is organized around these agencies which serve its own people but which could not exist were it not for the patronage of the surrounding farms.

5. Relation to Farm Families. It is this fact, that the agricultural village is primarily a service center for the farm families in the territory tributary to it, which makes the village the functional center of a larger area, the rural community. This relationship is more obvious in the smaller villages which are more dependent on farm patronage for their support. In the larger villages there is sufficient population so that they can support their own high schools and churches without farm patronage, although not to the best advantage, and village life tends to be more self-sufficient. Out of this relationship of village and farm arise some of the most important problems of rural social organization. With this general characterization of the village, we may now undertake a more detailed description of village phenomena.

Structure. Incorporated villages have an identity and a formal governmental structure from their municipal organization, but unincorporated villages have no formal structure unless there is some sort of community council or similar agency which tends to integrate the activities of the various interests and groups which form the social complex of the village. In small villages, a single church often tends to dominate the social situation, but where two or more competing

churches exist their influence is often divisive. Probably the school, particularly the high school, and the parent-teacher association tend to integrate the village as much as any one agency in the average village. In many larger villages, chambers of commerce or commercial clubs speak for the business interests of the village and undertake to promote the general welfare; in other cases service clubs, such as Rotary, may perform a similar function.

The small village has much the same social structure as a hamlet neighborhood, but larger villages are often divided into distinct neighborhoods, such as "over the tracks" and "Quality Hill," so that unity is relative to certain activities.[12]

Thus the physical layout of the village affects its social structure. Whether other differences in the ground plan of the village affect its social life or not has never been shown and would be difficult to demonstrate. Many villages in older parts of the country are strung out along the main highway or along a stream; in the newer sections they are more often of a checkerboard type with the stores radiating from the four corners, but mostly on a "Main Street" and a few on the side streets. Whatever the general plan may be there is a common feeling that a well-kept village square, modeled after the old New England town common, with the churches and school facing it, gives the village a sense of pride and unity. In some places where the square contains a bandstand and is the center of outdoor concerts during the summer, or where the square is used for other public gatherings, it is undoubtedly a factor in village integration; but whether the mere existence of a village square—however esthetically satisfying for the landscape effect—has any appreciable effect on village unity needs demonstration. One constant feature of the village layout is the cemetery, and whether it is neglected or well-kept is a good index of the civic health of the village.

Except for the above considerations the social structure of the village consists of an aggregation of various types of groups, organizations, and institutions, as much or more than of a form of association of individuals. It is a community of associations.[13] In the smaller villages the structure is more like that of a primary group like the neighborhood. As the village increases in size, say above 500 persons, there are fewer face-to-face relations and there is more tendency to social

[12] *Cf.* Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[13] *Cf.* R. A. MacIver, Community, p. 155. "Community is an area of common life; an association is a definite organization pursuing some specific interest or pursuing general interests in a specific way."

stratification and to differences between those who belong and do not belong to certain organizations.

No generalization can be made as to the organizations or institutions which are characteristic of the village, for they vary with the size of the village and will be discussed in relation to types of villages. Almost every village has a store, a school, a church, and a garage; most villages of any size have a postoffice, a dealer in farm produce and supplies, a lodge, and some sort of farmers' organization.

Only in activities in which the village acts collectively does it become self-conscious or is it revealed as a sociological entity. The village band concert, the village or school ball games, the village fair or flower show, the village fire company, the clean-up day, and the old home week are the types of activities which give the village its identity, for in them most of the people participate either personally or through their loyalty and patronage.

Population Composition. The composition of the population of agricultural villages has some notable differences from that of the farms or of the small cities, and this has important relations to village behavior. The following characteristics are revealed by the study by Brunner and Lorge of 177 larger incorporated agricultural villages in 1930.[14] If similar data were available for average and small villages, they would undoubtedly show similar or more striking differences.

The sex ratio of males to females is lower in agricultural villages (93.3) than on farms (114.8) or in small cities (96). This is particularly true of the native white population (92.2) and of Negroes (78.4) in the villages.

There is a deficit of children in the villages. The villages have only 27 percent of the population under 15 years of age, whereas the farms have 36 percent and the small cities 29 percent. This is correlated with an excess of old persons in villages, 29.6 percent of the population of the villages being 45 or over, against 21.6 percent on farms and 24 percent in small cities. Chiefly as a consequence of the sex ratio, villages have a higher proportion of males over 15 married (63 percent) than occurs on farms (57.9 percent) or in small cities (61.4 percent); but there are fewer females married in villages (59 percent) than on farms (66 percent) or in small cities (60.2 percent). Villages have a much higher percentage of persons over 15 of both sexes who

[14] Most of the data are from the writer's paper, "The Relation of Size of Community to Marital Status" (Cornell Univ. AES, Memoir 200) which were obtained by special tabulations made by Dr. Lorge. See also Irving Lorge, American Agricultural Villagers, 1930, American Statistical Association.

are widowed (10.1), than farms (6.3) or small cities (8.5). The village is particularly the home of widows, the percentage of females widowed (14.4) being 2.6 times the number of males widowed (5.8), having the same preponderance of females widowed as occurs in cities, whereas on farms the percentage of females widowed (8.1) is only 1.6 times that of the males widowed (4.8). Evidently farm widowers tend to remarry and farm widows move to the villages, which have the highest percentage of widows.

Agricultural villages also have the highest proportion of native whites, more foreign born and fewer Negroes than farms, but fewer foreign born and more Negroes than small cities, as shown in Table 35. Industrial villages would, of course, show very different proportions.

TABLE 35. PERCENTAGE BY NATIVITY AND RACE FOR COMMUNITIES OF DIFFERENT SIZE, 1930

Community Type	Native White	Foreign Born	Negro
Rural			
Farm	78 9	3 6	15 5
All nonfarm	82 8	6 6	8 5
Incorporated villages	85 6	5 1	7 1
Total rural	80 6	4 9	12 4
Cities			
2,500–10,000	83 2	8 1	6 3
10,000–25,000	80 9	11 2	6 9
25,000–50,000	75 6	17 7	5 9
100,000–250,000	75 4	14 9	7 4
500,000 and over	67 2	25 1	6 6
Total urban	75 6	15 6	7 5
Total United States	77 8	10 9	9 7

These differences in population composition have an important relation to the growth or decline of villages, as shown by Brunner and Kolb, who compared two groups of growing and declining villages:

> The comparison of these two groups shows that the growing villages have a higher ratio of males to females, a larger proportion of children and both men and women twenty to forty years of age; and, conversely, a significantly lower proportion of both sexes in the upper age levels. The ratio of children under ten years of age is also higher in the growing villages than in those that lost population.[15]

[15] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

NUMBER AND POPULATION OF VILLAGES. The U.S. Census for 1940 gives 13,288 incorporated villages of all sizes, a decrease of only 150 from 1930, most of which grew into the urban classification. No data are available for the unincorporated villages for 1940, but the analysis of Dr. Paul H. Landis,[16] gives the best information concerning their number and population for the decades 1900–1930, as found in Table 1, p. 56. In 1930 he found 56,575 villages and hamlets of all sizes, of which 37,208, or 65.8 percent, were places of under 250 population; 14,971, or 26.4 percent, were villages of 250 to 999 population; 4,401, or 7.8 percent, had 1,000 to 2,499 population, of which 8, 49.2, and 70.1 percent, respectively, were incorporated. Thus 46 percent of all villages of over 250 population were unincorporated. The numbers of villages by population class are given in Table 36.

TABLE 36. NUMBER OF VILLAGES BY SIZE OF POPULATION AND INCORPORATION, 1900–1930 *

Year	Total Villages and Hamlets	Unincorporated				Incorporated			
		Total	Hamlets (under 250)	Small Villages (250–999)	Large Villages (1,000–2,499)	Total	Hamlets (under 250)	Small Villages (250–999)	Large Villages (1,000–2,499)
1900	73,882	65,127	56,795	7,073	1,259	8,755	1,608	5,057	2,090
1910	75,436	63,617	54,436	7,925	1,256	11,819	2,401	6,703	2,715
1920	62,768	50,265	41,248	7,755	1,263	12,603	2,436	7,083	2,983
1930	56,575	43,137	34,226	7,601	1,335	13,438	2,982	7,370	3,066

* Data from P. H. Landis, *op. cit.*, Tables 2 and 3, p. 166.

The proportion of the total population living in villages declined from 18.1 percent in 1900 and 1910 to 13.7 percent in 1930 (Table 1, p. 56), and is probably about the same for 1940, or nearly one-third of the rural population is in villages and hamlets.

In view of the important place which the village thus occupies in rural life, we are interested to know whether villages are growing or declining in population; are they holding their own, or are they failing to meet the competition of the towns and cities, as is so frequently asserted? The federal Census reveals the growth or loss of population of incorporated villages, and this has been carefully analyzed by Brunner and Kolb.[17] They conclude that as a whole the incorporated villages are growing at about the same rate as the total population of the country, but that there "is a tendency toward a decreasing rate of

[16] P. H. Landis, *op. cit.*

[17] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, Chapter III.

change or what may be termed a greater relative stability. There is a central core of villages that are not changing significantly." In spite of this general growth their tabulations show that between 1920 and 1930 this growth occurred in but about 58 percent of the incorporated villages and that approximately 42 percent of them declined in population.[18]

This puts a somewhat different light on the situation and gives rise to the question as to whether there is any difference in the growth or decline of large and small villages. Upon this point, their evidence for 1910 to 1930[19] and that of Fry[20] for 1900 to 1920 is quite clear.[21]

The most complete data with regard to association of size of incorporated villages with growth or decline has been presented by Professor John M. Gillette[22] who has assembled data for the fifty-year period 1890 to 1940, which quite clearly show that the probability of decline in population is in inverse proportion to the amount of population, as graphically shown in Fig. 66. This graph also shows the increase in the proportion of declining villages decade by decade from 1890 to 1930, but a definite decrease in the rate of decline in 1940. When the decline from 1930 to 1940 is analyzed by Census divisions (see Fig. 67), it is found that in the Middle Atlantic and East North Central divisions the decline for the villages under 1,000 population was only about 25 percent, and these two divisions contain about 30 percent of the villages of this size. In the West North Central and Southern divisions the decline was 43 percent for the villages under 500 and about 35 percent for those of 500 to 999 population. Thus the slowing up of

[18] Based on Table 29, *loc. cit.* Computed by allocating the number of villages in the "0" column to those showing growth or decline in the proportion of those reported.

[19] *Cf.* Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, Table 27, p. 75.

[20] *Cf.* C. L. Fry, American Agricultural Villagers, Table XV, p. 55.

[21] It should be pointed out that it is not possible to determine whether villages of a certain class interval of population are growing or declining from a mere comparison of the Census figures for the populations of these classes from one decade to another. As pointed out by Melvin, in his analysis of New York Villages, this takes no account of those which shift from one class to another or become urban places. Only by considering the sum of the gain or loss of population for the individual villages in the previous enumeration is it possible to compute the gain or loss for villages of any given population size. See B. L. Melvin, "Rural Population of New York, 1855 to 1925," Cornell Univ. AES, Memoir 116, June, 1928, p. 41.

[22] J. M. Gillette, Rural Sociology, New York, The Macmillan Co., 3d. ed., 1936, p. 580; and "Some Population Shifts in the United States, 1930–1940," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 6, pp. 619–628, Oct., 1941.

the rate of decline was chiefly due to the small rate of decline in the Northeast, while in the West North Central and Southern states the small villages declined only slightly less than did those of the whole country from 1920 to 1930.

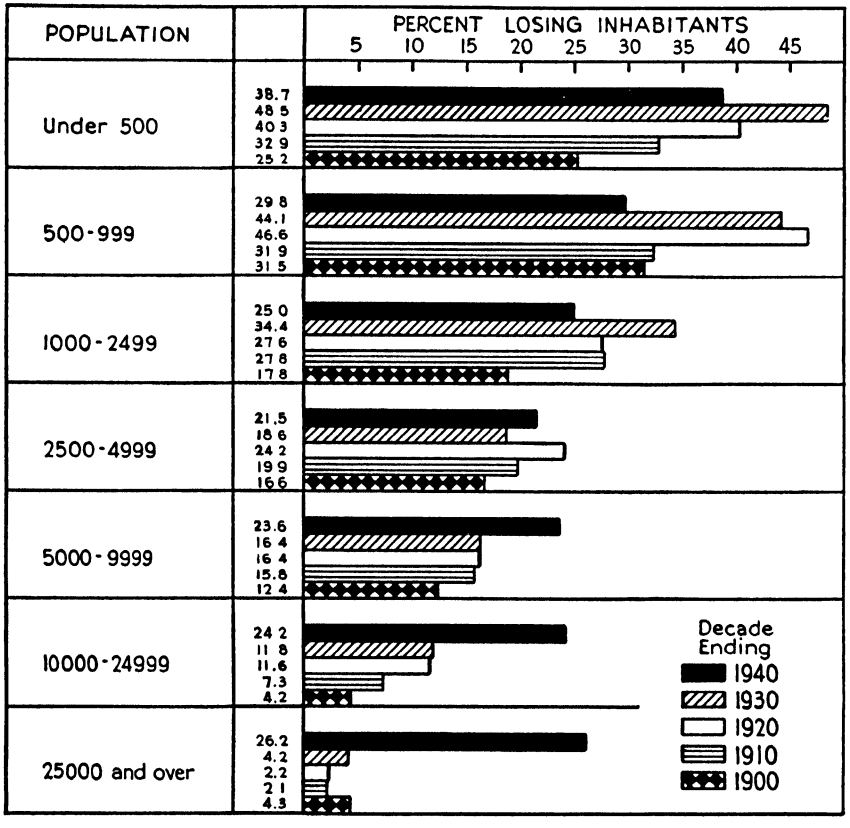


FIG. 66. Percentages of incorporated places in the United States, exclusive of New England, losing population for each decade during the period 1890–1940, by population class of place. (After John M. Gillette.)

If data were available for unincorporated villages, which form the large majority of small villages, this trend would undoubtedly be even more apparent, for it is the more enterprising, progressive, and, therefore, probably growing villages which incorporate. No studies have been made of the population changes of unincorporated villages because they are not tabulated by the Census. The only data available with regard to the relative decline of unincorporated villages is a comparison of Minnesota trade centers in which Dr. C. E. Lively found about 10 percent more unincorporated villages declining than those incorporated,

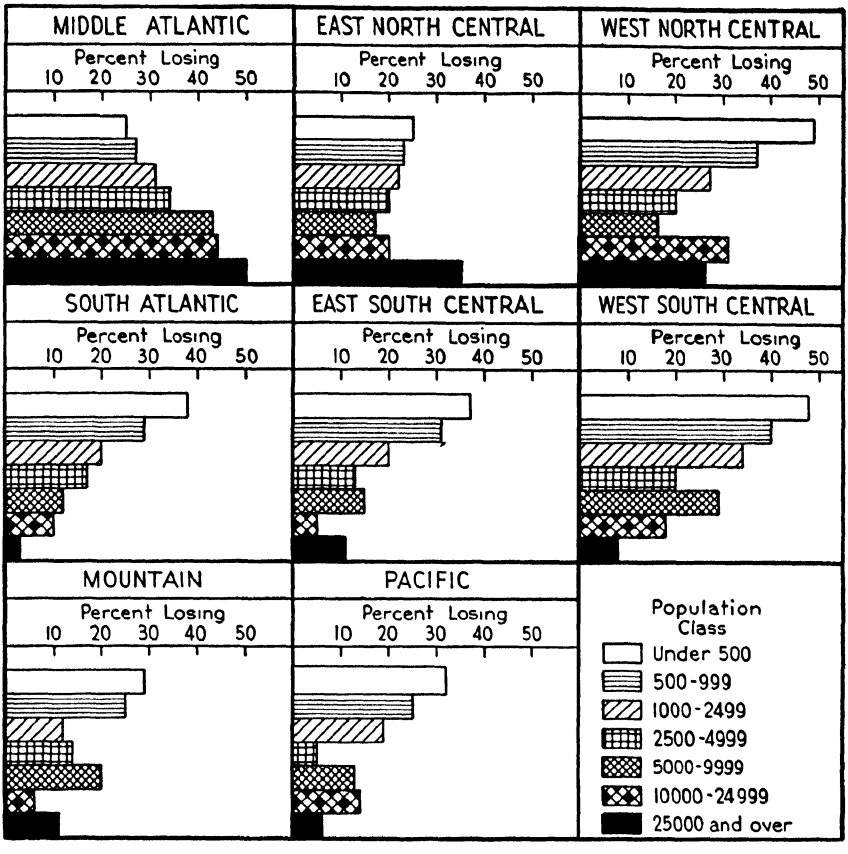


FIG. 67. Percentages of incorporated places of the United States losing population during the decade ending 1940, by population class and Census division. (After John M. Gillette.)

and practically the same difference in fewer unincorporated villages growing (Table 37).

As Lively has shown that a high correlation exists between the number of business units and the population, the relation of difference in size of villages to their growth or decline may also be measured by the number of business units. This has been done for Louisiana by Dr. T. Lynn Smith, as given in Table 38, which shows that decline is in inverse proportion to the size, this including both incorporated and unincorporated places.

TYPES OF VILLAGES. The number and variety of services furnished by a village vary with the size of its population and its farming constituency. This is directly due to the fact that an increase in division

TABLE 37. GROWTH AND DECLINE OF MINNESOTA TRADE CENTERS UNDER 2,500 POPULATION, 1905–1930 *

Nature of Change	Total Villages		Incorporated Villages **		Unincorporated Centers ‡	
	Number †	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Grew	591	50.1	296	55 2	295	45.7
Stationary	305	25.8	142	26 5	163	25.3
Declined	285	24.1	98	18.3	187	29.0
Total	1,181	100 0	536	100 0	645	100.0

* From C. E. Lively, "Growth and Decline of Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1905–1930," Univ. of Minnesota AES. Bul. 287, Table 10, p. 12.

† Includes only trade centers appearing in both 1905 and 1929–1930.

** Growth and decline measured by population changes, 1905–1930.

‡ Growth and decline measured by changes in number of business units, 1905–1930. [Elsewhere the author shows a high correlation between population and business units.]

TABLE 38. NUMBER OF CENTERS DECLINING, PER 100 CENTERS GROWING, BY SIZE OF CENTER, 1901–1931, BY FIVE-YEAR INTERVALS *

Size (Business Units)	1901–06	1906–11	1911–16	1916–21	1921–26	1926–31
Under 10	68	107	97	75	68	145
1–24	48	94	83	59	50	193
25–over	15	92	74	35	17	124
Total	60	104	92	67	56	153

* From T. L. Smith, "Farm Trade Centers in Lousiana, 1901 to 1931," La. St. Univ. AES, Bul. 234, p. 29. Centers which either appeared or disappeared during the period under consideration were not included.

of labor is dependent upon a sufficient volume of business to warrant an income. This means that the smaller villages can maintain only those services which are most commonly used by their people, whereas the larger villages can supply those which are only occasionally used by the people within an area including a number of smaller villages and their constituencies. The relation of the number and variety of service agencies to village population has been very carefully analyzed for New York State by Dr. Bruce L. Melvin,[23] whose data show the number of economic agencies for villages of various size as in Table 39.

[23] B. L. Melvin, "Village Service Agencies, New York, 1925," Cornell Univ. AES. Bul. 493.

TABLE 39. AVERAGE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUAL ECONOMIC AGENCIES PER VILLAGE ACCORDING TO SIZE OF POPULATION, NEW YORK STATE, 1925 *

Population of Villages	Economic Agencies per Village
50–249	3 6
250–499	9.9
500–749	16.8
750–999	27.0
1,000–1,249	32.0
1,250–1,499	45 1
1,500–1,749	45 7
1,750–1,999	59.3
2,000–2,249	65 9
2,250–2,499	57.9
All villages	11 6

* Computed from Table 18, p. 25, Melvin, *loc. cit.* Includes both incorporated and unincorporated villages.

The variety and approximate average number of each of the various agencies found in New York villages are shown graphically in Fig. 68.

It is difficult to establish the characteristic functional differences for different types of villages for the country as a whole, for conditions vary in different regions. However, from many studies made it is



FIG. 68. Average number of economic and social agencies in New York villages of different size, 1925. (After B. L. Melvin.) One square equals one unit per village.

possible to distinguish three major types of villages, although the range of population for each class can be only approximated.

Small villages are primary service centers, with less than 500 inhabitants, furnishing two or three general stores and grocery stores, a garage and gas station, one or two churches, a small school, and probably some farmers' organization, such as a grange, farmers' club, or local farm bureau unit. They are incomplete or limited service centers.

Medium villages range from 500 to about 1,200, and are patronized by most of the open-country families for most of the services which

TABLE 40. NEW YORK: VILLAGES, POPULATION, AND AVERAGE POPULATION PER VILLAGE IN 1925 *

Size of Village	Number of Villages			Village Population			Average Population		
	Total	Incorporated	Unincorporated	Total	Incorporated	Unincorporated	All villages	Incorporated	Unincorporated
50–249	876	11	865	116,171	2,134	114,037	132	194	131
250–499	354	68	286	121,415	26,160	95,255	342	383	333
500–749	175	75	100	100,134	43,987	56,147	572	586	561
750–999	97	57	40	83,143	49,810	33,333	857	873	833
1,000–1,249	59	36	23	65,025	40,231	24,794	1,102	1,117	1,078
1,250–1,499	42	35	7	57,933	48,553	9,380	1,379	1,387	1,340
1,500–1,749	32	22	10	51,320	35,925	15,395	1,603	1,632	1,539
1,750–1,999	15	14	1	27,845	26,045	1,800	1,856	1,860	1,800
2,000–2,249	23	14	9	47,936	29,608	18,328	2,084	2,114	2,036
2,250–2,499	11	10	1	26,330	24,040	2,290	2,393	2,404	2,290
Total	1,684	343	1,342	697,252	326,493	370,759	414	954	276

* From B. L. Melvin, *op. cit.*, Table 6, p. 17. This table includes only the villages for which data are used in the study.

they do not obtain at the small villages. Besides the services of the small villages, they have hardware and drug stores, banks, hotels, high schools, lodges, and doctors. They may be called semicomplete service centers.

Large villages range from about 1,200 to 2,500 inhabitants and furnish practically all the services commonly used by rural people, including clothing and furniture stores and motion pictures. They are complete service centers, and are relatively self-sufficient.

In New York State the small villages, under 500, form 73 percent of all villages; the medium villages, 500 to 1,249, include 20 percent; the large villages of over 1,250 form but 7 percent, as shown in Table 40.

In New York State an important difference in the villages of different sizes is in the number of factories. Few exist in the small vil-

lages; villages of from 500 to 1,249 have one or two; and villages of 1,250 or over have an average of two or three.[24]

FUNCTIONS OF THE VILLAGE. As we have observed, the village is primarily a service center for the farm families in its area; without them agricultural villages could not exist. The services available in villages may be broadly classified as economic and social.

Economic Functions. 1. Trade. The village is chiefly a trading center, where the farmer may buy his supplies and sell or ship his produce. Retail stores and dealers in agricultural produce and supplies form the main core of the village life.

2. Transportation and Communication. As we have seen, the location of most villages has been primarily because of railroad facilities, by which goods are received and farm produce shipped. The village is also the center for communication, for it contains the postoffice, from which extends the rural delivery, as well as the telegraph office and the telephone exchange.

3. Manufacturing. Before the advent of railroads villages had many local factories, because of the cost of transporting manufactured goods by hauling over poor roads;[25] but even today there are many small factories chiefly concerned with agricultural products, such as creameries or milk plants, cotton gins, canning factories, etc., and the decline of many a village in a dairy section has been due to the closing of the milk plant as a result of the centralization of plants. Whether the increase of cheap electric power will make possible the development of small village industries is an open question, but it has possibilities.

4. Banking. The village is the farmer's financial center; he prefers the village bank to that of the city and usually patronizes the one nearest.

5. Professional and Craft Services. Doctors, dentists, oculists, and lawyers are to be found in the larger villages. Craftsmen, such as blacksmiths, carpenters and contractors, plumbers, electricians, and garage mechanics, have their shops in the villages. With the more general use of electricity and a rising standard of living in both farm and village homes, there will undoubtedly be an increasing demand for the services of these craftsmen.

Social Functions. 1. Education. The village is increasingly the rural educational center. The general extension of high school edu-

[24] Melvin, *op. cit.*, Fig. 19, p. 44.

[25] Sanderson and Thompson, "The Social Areas of Otsego County," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 422, p. 25.

cation has brought the farm youth to the village high schools, and the consolidated or centralized school is fast absorbing the one-room country schools. In the future the larger villages will be the school centers.

2. Religion. Although there are still large numbers of churches in small hamlets and the open country, they are on the decline and most of the rural churches are in the villages. In New York State 73 percent of the rural Methodist churches are in villages.

3. Social and Recreational. The village is also the center of social and recreational facilities. One or more lodges are found in all but the small villages. Farmers' organizations tend to center in the villages. In New York State 56 percent of the local granges are in villages, although 40 percent are in hamlets and the open country. The larger social program of the high school attracts the young farm people and will make them more at home in the social life of the village in the future.

Because of modern business organization, easier access by automobile, and the specialization of labor incidental to the larger use of machinery and a better standard of living, the economic functions tend to concentrate in the larger villages and the small villages have increasing difficulty in competing with them. In four counties in central New York[26] the small villages of under 500 population are patronized by only about one-third of the farm families for most of their economic services, the other two-thirds trading mostly in the larger villages, although about 57 percent patronize the local village for those economic services which are obtainable there. On the other hand, these small villages were patronized by one-half of the farm families for all social services, including church and school, and by about 70 percent for all social services available at the local village. The relatively large number of churches and granges in the small villages is evidence that the social life of rural people centers mostly in the local village. It seems probable, therefore, that in the future the social functions of the small village will be of relatively more importance than in the past, and that its economic functions will assume a secondary role as a result of the competition of the larger villages and towns.

The relative position of villages of various sizes and of the city with regard to the services which they furnish open-country families in central New York, is shown in Fig. 69.

The decline of the importance of the small village has been chiefly the result of the automobile and good roads, which have affected even

[26] Dwight Sanderson, "Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 614, Table 53, p. 65.

the medium-sized villages. The changes in the economic services of two medium-sized villages in central New York have been graphed.[27] A study of these graphs shows that with the establishment of garages, several lines of business disappeared or declined, such as shoe stores, drug stores, millinery shops, dry goods and furniture stores, hotels,

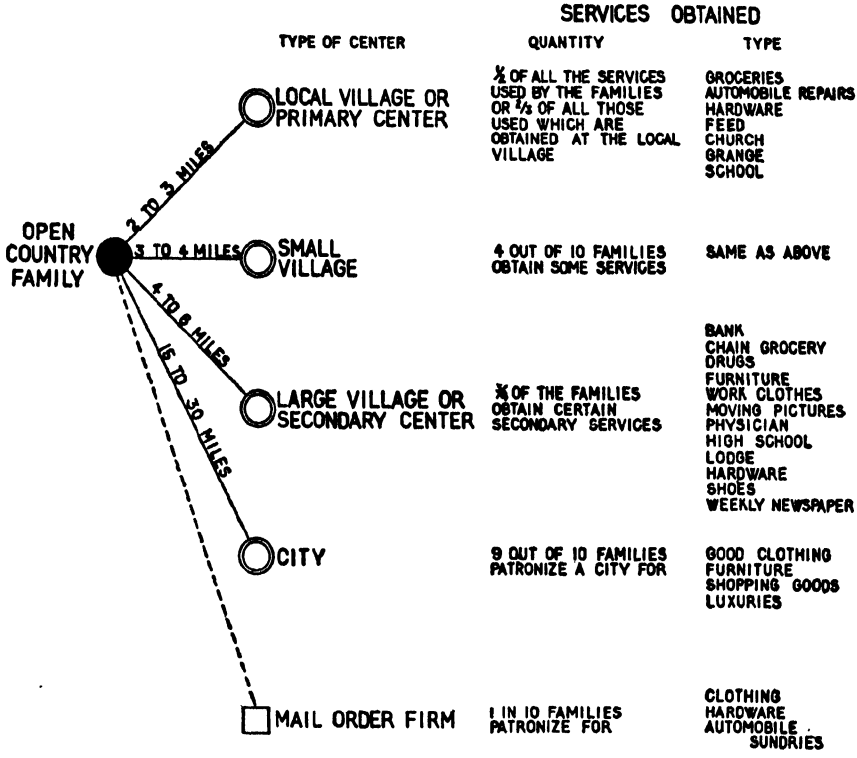


FIG. 69. Diagram of the relations to service centers of an average open-country family living within the service area of a medium-sized village in central New York State, 1930.

and even the number of general and grocery stores decreased. Some of these changes were the result of a decline in the population after 1910, but most of them were the result of the competition of the cities as soon as they were made accessible by automobiles. An interesting sidelight on the effect of the automobile on village trade is that in both of these villages successful furniture stores have now been in operation for several years and that they appeal directly to the trade of nearby small-city customers because of lower prices resulting from

[27] See Fig. 28, Bul. 504, and Fig. 19, Bul. 523, Cornell Univ. AES.

lower overhead costs. Automobile trade has also been the cause of the revival of the village hotel in a few places where this trade is catered to by an enterprising manager.

Relations of the Village to City and Country. Until automobiles became common the local village had relatively a monopoly of the farm business, for most farmers could go to a city only by train, and trips to neighboring villages were seldom made on account of poor roads and the time involved. Furthermore, farmers came in to the village only once or twice a week to make necessary purchases and get the mail, or for church on Sunday, except in fluid milk dairy sections where they had to haul milk to the station daily. Because the village desired certain facilities for its own people, which would not be commonly used by the farm people, larger villages incorporated so as to have their own government, and this tended to separate village and country politically. The business contacts of the village merchant were with the larger towns and cities and he therefore took on many of their attitudes toward the farmer. As a result considerable feeling arose between farmers and villagers in many sections and led to movements for farmer-owned cooperative grain elevators and creameries, and cooperative associations for the marketing of farm produce and the purchase of farm supplies. In the political field this division received its most pronounced expression in the Nonpartisan League movement in the Dakotas early in this century. But after World War I when automobiles became common, the local village no longer had a corner on the farmer's business; he could go to another village or the nearest town or city. Villages then competed with each other and with the cities and their businessmen became aware that their interests were dependent upon the goodwill of their farmer customers. The recent depression has made this dependence even more acute, and the attitude of the village toward its farmer customers has changed materially. Furthermore, farmers came to have more automobiles than villagers and this meant that the farmers came to the village more frequently, daily or oftener, and they became more a part of the village life.

We have stressed the fact that the village is a service center for the surrounding farms. It now becomes apparent that, although for certain purposes and activities the village is a distinct social group, it is also part of a larger area of association which includes the farming area tributary to it and of which it is the social and economic center, somewhat analogous to the nucleus of a living cell. This larger area of farms and villages is the rural community, whose form and life are

dependent upon village-farm relationships, which we shall consider next.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF VILLAGES. It is difficult to discuss the problems of social organization of the village separately from that of the rural community of which it forms a part, for, as we shall see in Chapters 13 and 29, the life of the contiguous rural territory is so intimately bound up with that of the village that they together form a functional social unit. However, there are certain aspects of the present status and probable future of the agricultural village which may well be emphasized, although the detailed consideration of various institutions and agencies will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

The discussion of population has shown that the village population differs radically from the farm population in that it has fewer children, more females than males, and that there is a much larger proportion of older people, retired farmers and their wives. In general the population characteristics of the village are more like those of the small city than of the farm. However, it should be remembered that the statistical data on the village population are derived from the studies of Brunner and his colleagues of 140 villages which were mostly larger villages, and that we have practically no data concerning the population characteristics of small villages of 500 inhabitants or less. It is possible that they might show some differences, although it is more probable that they will have the same population characteristics as the larger villages. However this may be, there are important considerations concerning the effect of the type of village population which have been well stated by Dr. Brunner:

> These facts have important sociological implications. The number of older people, and the preponderance of females, especially the large number of widows, make for conservatism. This may be one of the explanations for the disproportionate number of churches discovered in villages, and for the tenacity with which small groups of worshippers cling to their particular institutions. It undoubtedly largely accounts for the preponderance of females in the church-membership. Furthermore, the presence of these elements in the population of a village means a group with the leisure to discuss local projects and to reach agreement regarding them, a group with vested interests, living largely on rents and interest. In agricultural villages interest is more frequently derived from mortgages than from negotiable securities; and the rate is thus fixed for some years without regard to the fluctuations of the money market. Rent is frequently either wholly or partly on shares, so that the return varies with the price of the crops raised. It is difficult, therefore, for increased taxes to be passed on to the tenant in increased rent.

> The older people have, therefore, a peculiar economic interest in preserving the status quo in the village. In addition, there is the factor of age. These people have lived their lives. They now ask of the world, not opportunity, but peace and quiet. Hence they are out of sympathy with youth. They see no reason for expanding the school curriculum or building an up-to-date high school. They ask from the church assurance and sympathy, not service. They see no reason for booming the home town. Desired improvements cannot be "sold" to this group by the usual promotional methods. Educators and clergymen face a difficult problem of social strategy in dealing with this group. The wonder is not that this is so but that in the face of this condition villages have made as much progress as they have.[28]

Although these facts are still true, the important fact, as pointed out by Brunner in the last sentence of the above quotation, is that the villages have made remarkable progress in the past decade, as shown by his more recent studies of the same villages.[29] Doubtless this has to a large extent been due to the pressure of the farm people for better educational and other facilities and to the increasing competition of larger villages and cities, which have forced villages to study and meet the needs of their constituencies if they are to survive.

As we have seen, there are radical differences in the structure and functions of villages of different size, so that we cannot consider the problems of social organization of villages as a class. The small village, of 500 population or less, has very different functions and problems from those of the large village of from 1,200 to 2,500 population. We shall, therefore, consider the present status and probable future of small and large villages, as being the most obvious extreme types. The position of the village of medium size, from 500 to 1,200 population, will be between that of the small and large villages; it is much more difficult to characterize, as its future will depend very largely upon purely local factors, particularly its distance from larger villages and cities with which it has to compete. If it is sufficiently distant from larger competing centers, it usually has the characteristics of, and its future will be like that of, the larger village, whereas if it has strong competition, it may decline to the status of the small village.

1. The Small Village. The outstanding fact with regard to the structure of the small village is that it depends for its existence on those economic and social services which are required locally from day

[28] Brunner, Village Communities, New York, Geo. H. Doran Co., 1927, p. 24. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[29] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, and Brunner and Lorge, Rural Trends in Depression Years.

to day. It can maintain general stores or grocery stores because certain goods are needed daily by those who cannot easily buy in larger centers, and to the extent that its stores can compete efficiently with the chain stores in the larger villages and cities. The service of these local stores is made better by the frequent deliveries from larger centers of baked goods and other specialties and their ability to order from larger centers for immediate delivery by autotruck; but they also suffer the competition of itinerant grocery trucks if they do not operate them themselves. The local garage and gas station in the small village can hold its own, because distance and time are factors in obtaining repairs, and overhead costs are lower. It takes the place of the old blacksmith shop.

The small village is no longer the center of communication with the outside world and so does not draw farmers as formerly. Its post-office has often been abolished, or serves only the villagers, and mail goes directly to farm homes by rural free delivery. Its railroad service has been seriously curtailed, and it depends more largely on bus service for both passengers and freight. The local farmers' telephone line has largely disappeared and telephone exchanges are in larger centers.

There is little or no manufacturing in the small villages, except for an occasional milk plant, cotton gin, or some similar agricultural processing plant, and milk plants are being concentrated in the larger centers, to which milk is transported by trucks which gather it directly from the farms.

The small village may keep an elementary grade school in spite of the tendency toward the consolidation of schools in larger centers, providing there is a sufficient number of pupils to maintain a satisfactory grade school and transportation can be conveniently arranged. It is still an open question whether it may not be better to keep the elementary grades (1 to 6) in smaller schools than to transport all the children farther to larger schools.

The small village can maintain a church if it can eliminate divisive competition between more churches than it can support, and can agree to support one which will serve as a community church, whatever its denominational connections may be. One church with a resident minister would be far more valuable than two or three with visiting ministers.

Farmers' organizations, such as the Grange and Farmers' Union, find the small village to be their natural meeting place, as it is for various women's organizations, all of which seem to be stronger where they have intimate, local groups.

The small village is usually unincorporated and therefore has no political status. However, if it definitely serves as a rural community center for its territory and comes to be recognized as such by the farm families of its areas, its position will be greatly strengthened. Village-country relations are much better between farmers and the people of the small villages, because they are distinctly farmers' villages and are aware that they depend on farm patronage for their existence. The small village has many of the advantages of the small, primary group and this will do much to maintain it as a primary social center, even if it becomes less important as a business center. Indeed, there is a distinct possibility that with motorized machinery there may be more farmers living in the smaller villages in the future, particularly in small grain sections.

2. The Large Village. The large villages are the chief business centers for their tributary territories, particularly for specialized goods and services which are needed only occasionally. They serve their own primary area for the goods needed daily, but the areas of the smaller villages for special goods. Here are the bank, the drug store and the hardware store. Here professional services of doctors and lawyers, and the services of craftsmen such as plumbers, electricians, etc., may be obtained. It is probable that in the future, because of the larger use of modern conveniences in the farm home and motorized machinery on the farm, there will be a place for more craftsmen in the villages.

The large village is the chief communication center for its territory. It should be the center from which rural free delivery routes radiate, and where the telephone exchange is located, and it is important that these services be located so that they are coincident with community boundaries. It is also the home of the country weekly newspaper, which gives the people of the whole area the local news.

Usually the large village has some small factories and there is a definite opportunity for the growth of small factories for special products, or of small units of large concerns which can handle the assembling and marketing of their products at larger centers. Although there has been a great deal of talk about the decentralization of industry, there has been very little advance in this direction as far as strictly agricultural villages are concerned, most of the decentralization having been made into the suburbs of larger towns and cities. There is a definite need for an intense and intimate study of village industries and their possibilities.

The high school and consolidated school are usually located in the larger village, as well as the library and usually certain health facili-

ties. It forms the natural center for a larger parish into which the churches of the smaller villages may be affiliated, as discussed in Chapter 15. In the larger villages are to be found service or luncheon clubs, such as Rotary and Kiwanis, and an association of businessmen or commercial club, which are coming to include the leading farmers of the community.

Usually the large village is incorporated and thus has a political organization separate from that of the surrounding country. This tends to divide it from its constituency, and its position would undoubtedly tend to be strengthened if the whole territory which it serves could be incorporated as one rural municipality, as is now being done with rural high school districts. This will be discussed further in Chapter 16.

The relations of the large village with the adjacent country form a definite problem, which is dealt with in Chapter 28. Because there are sufficient persons in a large village to give it a seeming independence of the countryside, its relations with country people are largely of a secondary nature in so far as they live in other smaller communities, and the large village has many contacts with the larger towns and cities and tends to take on their attitudes. The tendency, however, is toward closer cooperation between the large village and its tributary territory, and the development of better and more intimate relations is one of the chief problems of village organization. The chief problems of the agricultural village are those which have to do with its being the social and economic center of the rural community, as we shall see in the next and subsequent chapters.

3. Industrial Villages. We have dealt above entirely with agricultural villages, that is, those whose economy rests upon agriculture. In the Northeastern and, increasingly, in the Southern states, there is a large number of industrial villages with quite different characteristics and problems. Brunner [30] estimates that there are probably 4,000 such villages, including both incorporated and unincorporated, with a total population of possibly 4,000,000. It should be remembered that many of these industrial villages are suburban or semisuburban whereas others, such as mining villages, are industrial complexes which have more urban than rural characteristics. Just what proportion of industrial villages are definitely rural, there is no means of knowing.

The best brief summary of the problems of these *industrial villages* is that given by Kolb and Brunner:

[30] Brunner, Industrial Village Churches, p. 7. This book is the best source of information concerning the industrial village, and is based on a field study of 69 industrial villages.

. . . The industrial village is usually overlooked by those interested in the amalgamation of agriculture and industry, yet it is most important. Moreover, its history is valuable to those who would bring a payroll to the support of agriculture. For three-quarters of a century industrial villages have been doing this very thing, evolving a distinctive type of community, in which population is younger, with more males and children and fewer widows than in agricultural villages. There is small contact with the hinterland, partly because of location, as in lumbering centers, and partly because of independent interests. The average trade area is only four square miles, with only half as many stores as in the agricultural village. Farmers do not frequent its churches, farm children do not attend its schools. One eighth of its employees come from farm homes. Life is ordered by the factory whistle and the decision of an often distant and unknown executive. Industry dominates the social organization of the community, in which there is often a high degree of paternalism, never found in agricultural villages. In the South, where textile mills have been imported into agricultural villages, a great gulf usually exists between the old population and the new who live on "the mill hill." Mill-workers and agrarians are served by different churches, although of the same denomination. So far from uniting industry and agriculture, the average case has bred social estrangement.[31]

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[31] Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 506.

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Chapter 13

THE RURAL COMMUNITY

We have seen that the village is a service center for the surrounding farming territory and that increasingly the association of farm people is in the village, but this was not true in the first settlement of the country. In New England where the first colonies settled in village communities the bond between country and village was always strong and the town (township) was both a political and social unit. In many cases this community tradition was carried by New Englanders to their new settlements in the North Central States, but in the general settlement of the territory west of the Alleghenies farmers settled on the land and established their schools and churches in the open country with little thought of the village except as a necessary place for trade and shipping. The social organization of the early period of settlement was a neighborhood organization. Not until better roads became general in the present century and the use of automobiles became common, did they make more use of the village and gradually come to realize that they had a community of interests. Others forces also stimulated the development of the village-country community. In most of the older sections open-country population decreased while cost of maintaining institutions increased so that it was more difficult to maintain satisfactory schools and churches. New standards of living demanded better facilities than were possible in the open country. The general desire for high school education brought the farm youth to the villages and resulted in the movement for consolidated schools. An expanding program of activities was not possible for the open-country church with a nonresident pastor, and farm people came to village churches. The commercialization of agriculture and the decline of a subsistence type of farming resulted in more marketing of farm products at or through the village and in the purchase of more things for use on the farm. The farm and the village become more interdependent with a rising standard of living. But only in the last 25 years has this common interest become apparent and has the community idea received recognition. The indexes of magazine literature show few ref-

erences to the community prior to 1910. Since then articles on various phases of community life have become increasingly common and the idea has become so popular that the word community has been utilized for attracting patronage by "community" groceries, "community" churches, and other enterprises and activities.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT. The first research in rural sociology had to do with the rural community. The first sociological analysis of a typical rural community was J. M. Williams' "An American Town" [1] in 1906 followed the next year by Warren H. Wilson's "Quaker Hill" [2] and by Newell L. Sims's "A Hoosier Village" [3] in 1912. The first systematic study of the rural community in this country was that of Warren H. Wilson in his Evolution of the Country Community in which he pointed out that the determining factor in the rural community is its economic basis.

> The country community is defined by the team haul. People in the country think of the community as that territory, with its people, which lies within the team haul of a given center. Very often at this center is a church, a school and a store, though not always, but always the country community has a character of its own. Social customs do not proceed farther than the team haul. Imitation, which is an accepted mode of social organization, does not go any farther in the country than the customary drive with a horse and wagon. The influence of leading rural personalities does not extend indefinitely in the country, but disappears at the boundary of the next community. Intimate knowledge of personalities is confined to the community and does not pass beyond the team haul radius. Within this radius all the affairs of any individual are known in minute detail; nobody hopes to live a life apart from the knowledge of his neighbors; but beyond the community, so defined, this knowledge quickly disappears. Men's lives are housed and their reputations are encircled by the boundary of the team haul.
>
> The reason for this is economic and social. The life of the countryman is lived within the round of barter and of marketing his products. The team haul which defines the community is the radius within which men buy and sell. . . . It is the radius of social intercourse. Within this radius of the team haul families are accustomed to visit with ten times the frequency with which they pass outside this radius. Indeed,

[1] Published privately, New York, 1906; now out of print. Expanded in his two books, Our Rural Heritage and The Expansion of Rural Life, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1925, 1926. For a summary see Mather, Townsend, and Sanderson, "A Study of Rural Community Development in Waterville, New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 608, June, 1934.

[2] W. H. Wilson, New York, 1907, published privately.

[3] N. L. Sims, "A Hoosier Village," Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, 117, Columbia Univ. Press, New York, 1912.

> for most of them one might say that social intercourse is a hundred times as frequent within the team haul as without it.[4]

This statement of Dr. Wilson's is quoted because it so well describes the attributes of the rural community and was one of the first attempts to define it as a sociological group.

Following Dr. Wilson's concept of the rural community as a trade area, in 1915 Dr. C. J. Galpin invented a method of locating and mapping the rural community around a village center. Dr. Galpin held that the trading area tributary to any village is usually the chief factor in determining the community area. He determined the community area by starting from a business center and marking on a map those farm homes which traded mostly at that center. By drawing a line connecting those farm homes farthest from the center on all roads radiating from it, he described the boundary of the trade area. In the same way he determined and mapped the areas served by the church, the school, the bank, the milk station, the grange, etc. As a result of his studies of these areas in Walworth County, Wisconsin, he said:

> It is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the conclusion that the trade zone about one of these complete agricultural civic centers forms the boundary of an actual, if not legal, community, within which the apparent entanglement of human life is resolved into a fairly unitary system of interrelatedness. The fundamental community is a composite of many expanding and contracting feature communities possessing the characteristic pulsating instability of all real life.[5]

The boundaries of the various areas thus mapped will be found to be by no means coincident, but it will usually be found that most of them center in one village and that the trade area is the most significant in determining the area of this center, although in many villages the area served by a consolidated school or high school tends to become more important than the economic area. When the areas served by the chief institutions of adjacent areas are mapped, it is usually found that a composite line of the different boundary lines separating these centers will approximate the boundaries of the communities. (See Figs. 70 and 71.) A line which divides adjacent community areas so that most of the families either side of this line go most fre-

[4] From W. H. Wilson, The Evolution of the Country Community, 1st ed., copyright, Pilgrim Press, Boston. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission.

[5] C. J. Galpin, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community," Univ. of Wis. AES, Res. Bul. 34, p. 18. A similar description of his method is in his Rural Life.

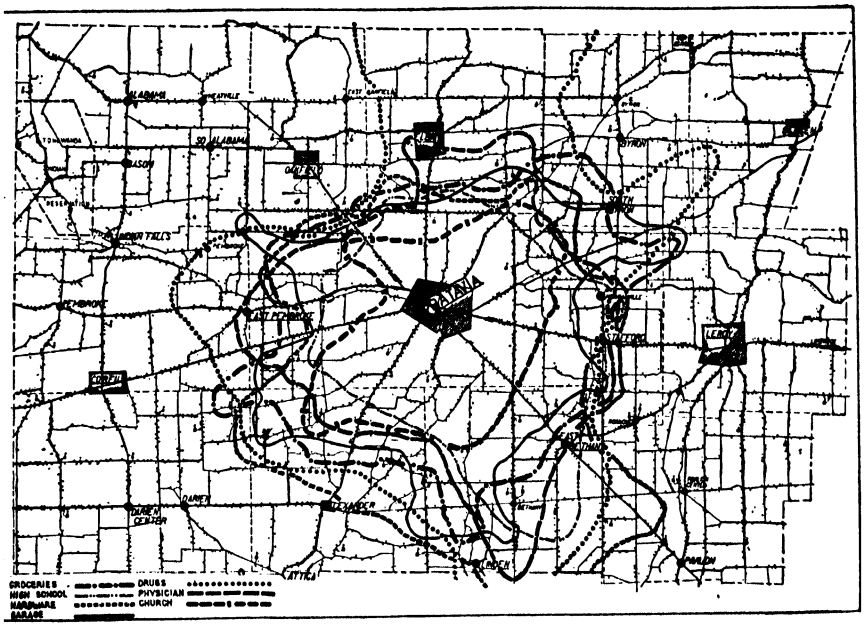


FIG. 70. Seven representative service areas of Batavia, New York.

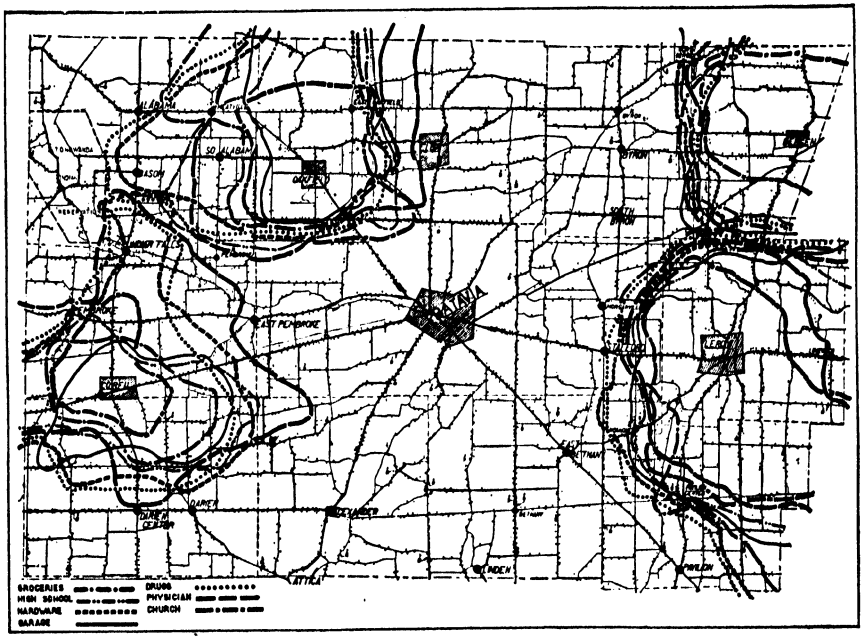


FIG. 71. Seven representative service areas of Leroy, Oakfield, Bergen, and Corfu, Genesee County, New York.

quently to, or their chief interests are at, the center within that boundary, will be the boundary between the adjacent communities. Thus from the standpoint of location a community is the local area tributary to the center of the common interests of its people.

However, the community, like the neighborhood (see p. 236), is not merely an area or the people living in an area. It is rather a pattern of association or common behavior in which the people of the area participate, so that they form a definite system of social interaction. Dr. Robert E. Hieronymus, community adviser of the University of Illinois, expressed this when he said: "A 'community' consists rather of a group or company of people living fairly close together in a more or less compact, contiguous territory, who are coming to act together in the chief concerns of life."[6] Furthermore, the community is not only a system of association between the individual persons and families within a given area but of their organizations and institutions to which the people often have a greater loyalty, a keener sense of belonging, than they do to the community. The real community is the devotion to common interests and purposes, the ability "to act together in the chief concerns of life." It consists of a recognition upon the part of individuals and their organizations of a common obligation to the general welfare. Thus the dynamic basis of the community is a common controlling idea, or ideal. The word *family* represents much more than the individual persons forming the family; the family consists of the relationship which these individuals recognize as commanding their common devotion because of their blood-tie and the bonds of affection which have grown up between them. So the State is much more than the persons composing its population or the land which they control; it is the relation of these people to each other in a form of political control. It is necessary to emphasize this aspect of the rural community in order to make clear that it is not something which exists of itself, not a mere geographic area, but it is a relationship which must be created and maintained. There is, therefore, both a geographical and a psychological aspect of the rural community concept.[7] With both of these factors in mind we arrive at the definition:

A rural community is that form of association maintained between the people and their institutions in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a village which usually forms the center

[6] Balancing Country Life, edited by the County Work Department of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, Association Press, New York, 1917, p. 60.

[7] For a more extended discussion of these two aspects see my The Rural Community, pp. 473–482.

of their common activities. The rural community is composed of both farm and village people, the farm people living on dispersed farmsteads, in contrast to the modern agricultural village of Europe and Asia where they live in the village. The area is defined by a boundary within which the village forms the center of the common activities of most of the families, although it is recognized, as discussed below, that there are open-country communities, particularly in the South, which have no village center. But the real community from a sociological standpoint is the *form* of association between these people and between their institutions in the given area. These essential characteristics of the rural community will be clarified as we proceed with its description.

DISTRIBUTION. The rural community is the most important locality group of rural people over most of the United States; in Europe it occurs in western France, parts of Great Britain, and in the Scandinavian countries, and more or less in the British colonies in various parts of the world. Only in the United States has it been given exact study, where rural sociologists have reported investigations in New York, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Alabama, Maryland, and Arkansas.[8] The most extensive studies of the distribution of rural communities have been those of the Interchurch World Survey[9] and the village studies made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research under the direction of Dr. E. DeS. Brunner[10] which have demonstrated their general occurrence throughout the country. At the present time extensive studies of rural community areas are being made by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, as a basis for agricultural planning.[11] In much of the Appalachian and Ozark highlands and in other more isolated parts of the country rural organization is still largely in the neighborhood stage and communities are difficult to define. Throughout much of the old South, owing largely to the inheritance of the plantation system and social stratification, although many rural communities can be clearly distinguished, there are considerable areas

[8] For a bibliography of the more important studies see Dwight Sanderson, "Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 614, pp. 98–100.

[9] H. N. Morse and E. deS. Brunner, The Town and Country Church in the United States; and H. N. Morse, The Social Survey in Town and Country Areas, New York, George H. Doran Co., 1923, 1924.

[10] Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, American Agricultural Villages, Chapter II.

[11] An example of this is the study made by L. S. Dodson, Douglas Ensminger, and R. N. Woodworth, "Rural Community Organization in Washington and Frederick Counties, Maryland," Univ. of Md. AES, Bul. 437, Oct., 1940.

where the neighborhood type of organization predominates and the village is chiefly a trading center, being a social center to only a limited extent.[12] But even there the tendency is toward the growth of community relations. It is important that in the social analysis of any given area the existing relations be exactly described as they are, rather

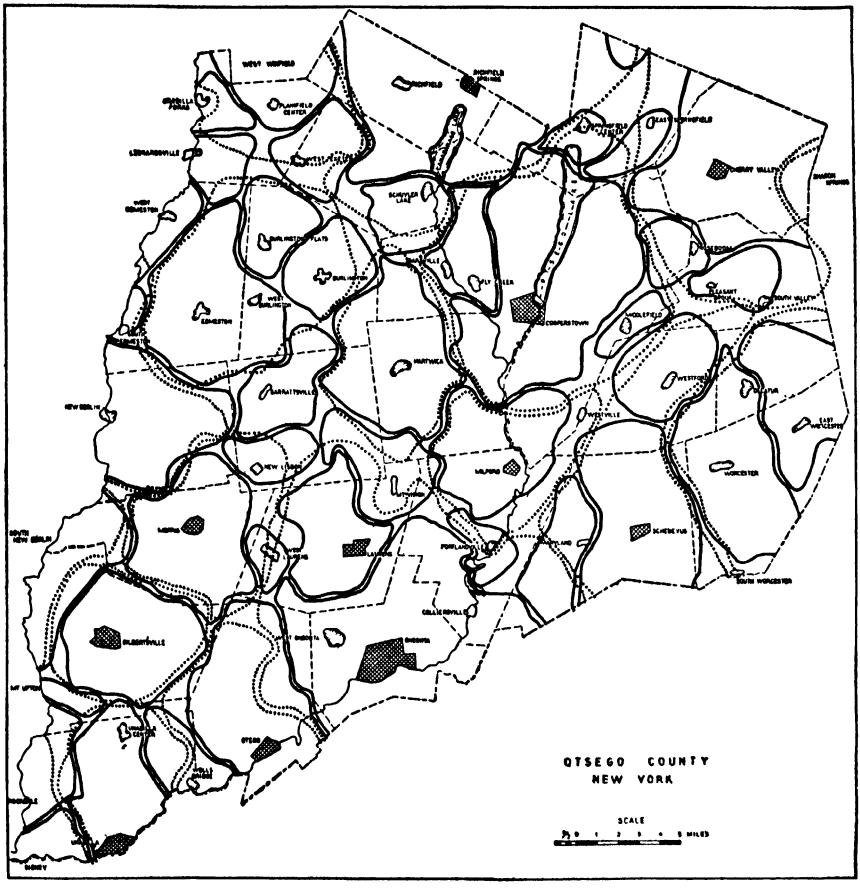


FIG. 72. Primary and secondary areas of Otsego County, New York, 1930.

than to attempt to find a rural community pattern which may not exist there.

TYPES OF RURAL COMMUNITIES. In discussing the rural community it must be remembered that there is no one type, but that rural communities vary in their characteristics according to their size, as do their

[12] For a discussion of the situation in the South see my The Rural Community, pp. 494–503. See also the recent studies of Sanders and Ensminger, Holt, and Hoffsommer and Pryor, cited in Chapter 11, p. 234.

village centers (see p. 262). Small and large rural communities differ as much in structure and function as do the small city and the metropolis, varying with the services and institutions in their village centers (see p. 261). Furthermore, rural people are no longer confined to one community, for although their primary loyalty may be to the local community it often forms part of a larger community for certain purposes. The organization of rural society is coming to be not

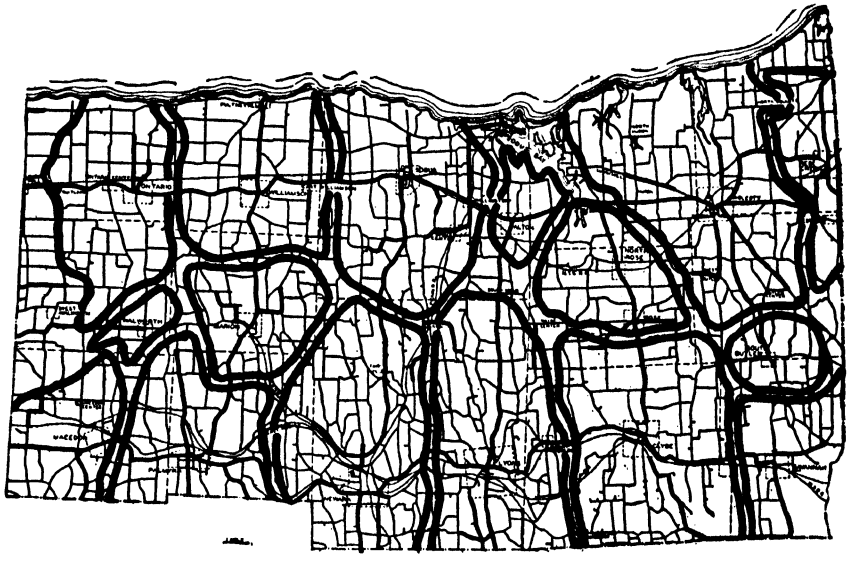


FIG. 73. Composite service areas of Wayne County, New York, 1928.

one of discrete communities, particularly with regard to the small communities, but a system of communities, in which the large community may include several smaller communities, and will unite them in the maintenance of those institutions and services which they cannot support individually. This is most apparent where the location of a high school in a large village tends to draw the small communities into a larger community area. So may we distinguish primary and secondary community areas. The areas of primary communities are determined by the majority of the open-country families obtaining a majority of the available services at the local village center, whereas the secondary communities are defined by the patronage areas of such services as high schools, banks, motion picture theaters, etc., which cannot be maintained in the smaller communities (Fig. 73).[18]

[18] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, "Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 614, June, 1934, pp. 65, 79 *ff.*

OTHER TYPES OF COMMUNITIES. The rural community is usually identified by the name of the village which forms its center. In exceptional cases there may be two or three small villages in one community, the farm people patronizing one village for one service and another for others, but all being bound together by common association within the area tributary to these villages. Such a community may be called a complex community and is roughly analogous to a multinucleated cell in a living tissue. The community of Sherwood, New York, in 1920 was a good example of such a complex community.[14]

Usually the community life centers in the market village, but sometimes a church, a consolidated school, a grange hall, a store, or any two or three of them, near together in the open country and at a distance which makes travel to a village center inconvenient, may form the chief center of the life of a true community. Such communities, which have no village centers but whose institutions satisfy more of the interests of the people than do those of the neighboring communities, may be termed *country communities*. As described below, Holt has shown that they are common in the South, and they occur in the Great Plains region.[15]

COMMUNITY OR NEIGHBORHOOD. It is not always easy to distinguish between a country community and a neighborhood. A small hamlet formerly may have been the center of a very definite community life, but with good roads its business has largely gone to a larger center, its church may have been closed, and its children are now transported to a centralized school. Only a general store, and possibly a grange hall and a garage, remain. Most of its people get a majority of their services at the village center of the larger community. In this case the former community has now become a neighborhood within a larger community. However, if it had retained its church and the social life of its people were chiefly in the church, grange, and other local organizations, it might still be considered a community. The only tenable distinction between a community and a neighborhood is whether the local center serves a majority of the interests of the people in its area and whether they feel that they belong there more than elsewhere. A neighborhood may be held together by definite bonds, such as a school or a church, and yet a majority of its families may obtain most of their services in a larger village center and, if they are more attached

[14] See Sanderson, The Rural Community, pp. 485–487, Fig. 52.

[15] A good example of a strictly country community which has been solidified by the consolidated school is that described by D. G. Jones, "Youth Adjustments in a Rural Culture—Rockville Community, Hanover County, Virginia," Blacksburg, Va., Va. AES, Rural Sociology Report 16, May, 1941, processed.

to it than to the local center, then the latter must be considered a neighborhood. There is no sharp line of distinction between community and neighborhood. The practical consideration is whether the neighborhood can satisfactorily support desired institutions, or whether the larger community area is necessary to give them adequate support and patronage to insure their efficiency. The neighborhood and the small community were necessary and invaluable in the days when mud roads made them more or less isolated. Today, with quick transportation, rural people desire better facilities than formerly, and these can be maintained only with a larger patronage; this means that they must be located at the village center to serve the whole rural community. This tendency for the neighborhood and the country community to be absorbed into the larger community with a village center is evident even in the South where they are most common.

In many rural communities there are one or more neighborhoods, either open-country or hamlet neighborhoods, and the larger the community the more neighborhoods probably occur, particularly toward the periphery of the community. Around each small village is a nearby zone within which the people feel particularly identified with the village, and which may be termed the neighborhood of the village.[16] In any community which has well-developed neighborhoods they play a definite role in the community life which must be considered in an analysis of its social organization.

LOCATING THE RURAL COMMUNITY. The general principles by which the boundary of the community may be determined have been described. The exact mapping of the approximate boundary is a technical matter, but for practical purposes it may be determined by making inquiry of merchants and businessmen as to the farms farthest from the village which habitually trade with them and marking these on a map. In the same way the number of church attendants may be obtained from the ministers, school patrons from the school principal, and members of leading organizations, such as the grange or a lodge, from their officers, and marked on a map. A composite of the areas thus described will approximate the boundary of the community, but very probably will be somewhat larger than may be safely claimed for the community area, for a similar mapping for communities of neighboring villages will probably show some overlapping, owing to the fact that each center will claim the families on the periphery, some of which go to one village and some to another, whereas others patronize both centers. Usually there will be a strip of territory between two com-

[16] Map XIII, p. 95, Brunner *et al.*, American Agricultural Villages.

munities which cannot be claimed for either of them with certainty and which must be recognized as a neutral zone. If it is desired to determine the community area more exactly it may be necessary to visit the families on the outer border of the community and to inquire as to which village they visit most frequently, for it has been found that a boundary mapped from the replies received to this question is practically identical with that obtained by more elaborate procedures. In

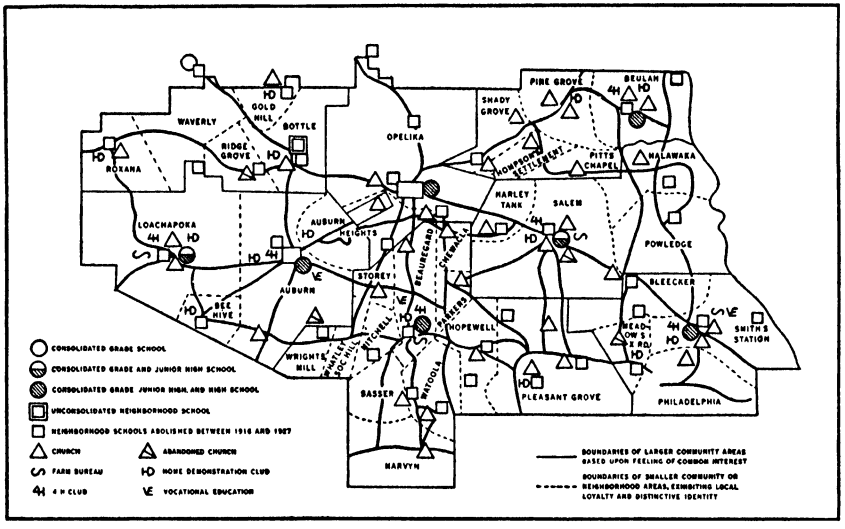


FIG. 74. Neighborhood and community areas of the white population of Lee County, Alabama, 1940. (After John B. Holt, from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

some cases in a hilly country, the community boundaries may be determined by the poor condition and lack of use of dirt roads on the divide between two community areas, and the outline of such communities might be almost seen from an airplane.[17]

However, there are extensive areas throughout the South and in the Great Plains states, where neighborhood loyalties are strong, in which the trade and service areas of the villages are not so important in defining the community boundaries as is the attachment of neighborhood areas to village centers. Thus in their study of Chilton County, Alabama, Sanders and Ensminger say: "Our experience has led us to believe that the 'neighborhood cluster method' [see pp. 60 to 63 of their bulletin] . . . has more advantages than disadvantages when com-

[17] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, "Locating the Rural Community," Cornell Ext Bul. 413, June, 1939.

pared with other methods, especially in predominantly rural sections where neighborhood loyalties have been maintained." [18]

Likewise, in his study of Lee County, Alabama, Holt defines a community "as a cluster of neighborhoods which actually have more interests in common than the same neighborhoods would have if grouped in any other way,"[19] and he used the same procedure in mapping Caswell

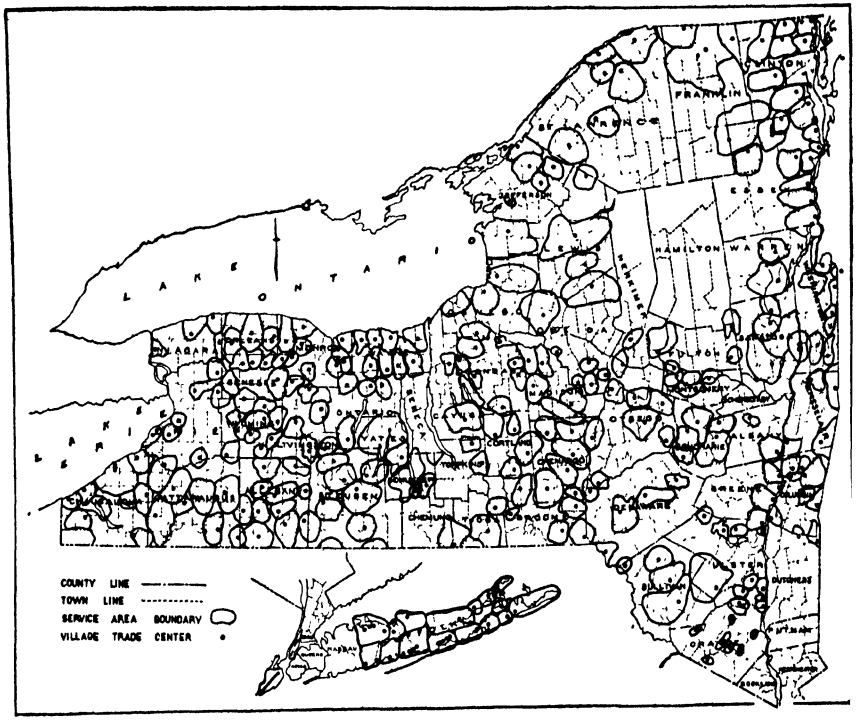


FIG. 75. Service areas of full-service villages in New York State, 1932.

County, North Carolina (see Fig. 65, p. 235). Holt claims that "the consolidated school seems to be the predominant factor in creating a larger-community feeling on the part of the farm families of Lee County." He shows that a majority of the farm families do most of their buying of goods at the county seat town, which is also their center of political interest, but that this does not compete with attend-

[18] Sanders and Ensminger, "Alabama Rural Communities—A Study of Chilton County," Alabama Coll. Bul., Vol. XXXIII, 1A, July, 1940, p. 80. See their whole Note on Methodology, pp. 72–80.

[19] J. B. Holt, Rural Neighborhoods and Communities of Lee County, Alabama, Washington, D.C., U.S. BAE, Feb., 1941, p. 8. See also Hoffsommer and Pryor, cited on p. 234.

ance of farm children at a common consolidated school as a basis for establishing community feeling. "The trade area, therefore, does not seem to be coincident with the community, nor is it likely to displace the community as the second strongest social grouping, outside the family, in influencing and developing attitudes and practices." There is much other evidence that this influence of the consolidated school on community areas is strong throughout the South, and, indeed, in other regions.[20]

As a result of studies of Walworth and Hand Counties, South Dakota, Douglas Ensminger and his colleagues of the U.S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics came to a similar conclusion for that area.

TABLE 41. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION OF SERVICE AREAS RESIDING IN OPEN COUNTRY AND IN AREA CENTERS, IN THREE NEW YORK COUNTIES, 1930

Classes of Areas by Population of Center	Proportion in Open Country (Percent)	Proportion in Centers (Percent)
Town *	28 8	71 2
Villages, 1,000 to 2,499	45 3	55 7
Villages, 500 to 999	64.2	35 8
Villages, 250 to 499	64 4	35 6
Villages, 51 to 249	70 0	30 0
Hamlets, 50 or less	82 9	17 1

* A place of 2,500 to 9,999 persons. Only one town area was completely within the three counties tabulated.

In any event, it should be recognized that the community boundary usually has nothing to do with boundaries of political areas, such as township or county lines. Occasionally, in New York and New England and some of the eastern states where townships were not laid out on straight lines, the community area and the township area are nearly identical on account of topography, but in the Middle West, where townships are practically square, they have little relation to community areas (Fig. 75).

POPULATION COMPOSITION. The composition of the community with regard to the proportion of people in village and open country necessarily varies with the size of the community. By taking an average of the distribution of the population in the areas of all the rural communities in three counties in central New York, the proportion living in the open country and in village centers was obtained (see Table 41).

[20] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, "School Centralization and the Rural Community," Cornell Ext. Bul. 445, Sept., 1940.

In the single town only 28.8 percent of the population lived in the open country; in the villages of 1,000 to 2,499 inhabitants, nearly half, 45.3 percent, and in the villages with less than 1,000 population from 64 to 70 percent lived in the open country.

In the smaller communities approximately two-thirds of the people live outside the village; in the larger communities about one-half or less live in the open country. Thus in the smaller communities the farm people dominate the life of the organizations in the village, whereas in the larger villages the village people predominate, as illustrated by the proportion of church members from the open country for the communities of two counties and two other villages, as shown in Table 42.

TABLE 42. COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGE OF CHURCH MEMBERS AND TOTAL POPULATION IN THE OPEN COUNTRY FOR RURAL COMMUNITIES, BY POPULATION CLASSES, TWO NEW YORK STATE COUNTIES, 1930 *

Population Class	Proportion of Church Members from Open Country (Percent)	Proportion of Total Community Population from Open Country (Percent)
City, 10,000 or more	9 2	
Towns, 2,500 to 9,999	17.0	29
Villages, 1,000 to 2,499	36 0	44
Villages, 500 to 999	30 0	64
Villages 250 to 499	62 0	64
Villages, 50 to 249	67 0	70

* Table 49, from Sanderson, Social and Economic Areas of Central New York, *op. cit.*

In Chilton County, Alabama,[21] there seems to be no definite association between size of village and proportion of open-country population. In the largest community in the county with a county seat town of 4,000, 65 percent of the population were in the open country; in two communities with villages of 400 and 500 inhabitants 79 percent were in the open country; whereas in two other communities, one with a village of 400 persons had 66 percent, and the other with a village of 900 had 48 percent in the country. Extensive studies of this relationship need to be made in various parts of the country.

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS. The relation of members of the rural community group also varies with its size. The small community is a primary, face-to-face group in which the relations are quite personal

[21] Computed from data given by Sanders and Ensminger, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

and every one knows the others. In the large rural communities the membership is not so well acquainted and there tends to be more of a separation by membership in various organizations and associations, so that the problem of developing community solidarity is as much one of obtaining the support of the various organizations as it is of enlisting the participation of individuals. In the large rural community the village people are at an advantage as regards contacts because they meet the farm people from all sides of the community whereas the latter do not see farmers from the other side of the community so frequently unless they happen to meet in the village. In the small community this difference is not so important.

Contacts of the members of the community are much more frequent than formerly. Before the advent of the automobile farm families came to the village on Saturday to shop or on Sunday to church, but otherwise only occasionally. Now they go back and forth daily and can talk with anyone over the telephone. Contacts between members of the community groups are mostly incidental to those involved in other group relationships, but the community is strengthened by definite assemblages of its people for community purposes, such as holiday celebrations, old home weeks, athletic meets, band concerts, or community meetings for various purposes.

One measure of the self-sufficiency or isolation of the rural community is the proportion of contacts within or outside the local community. In three rather isolated communities in central Kentucky [22] 91 percent of all contacts were within the local community and only 9 per cent outside it.

For the same reasons participation in community life is mostly incidental to participation in its various organizations. The best measure of socialization of the community is an index of the degree of membership and participation in its various organizations. (See pp. 28, 29.)

Dr. H. B. Hawthorn [23] has developed a system of rural sociology based on a measurement of the amount of participation as an index of socialization. Participation will depend partly on the number and type of organizations in a community, and these have greatly increased in recent years. However, there is a surprisingly large number of rural families who have no members in any organization and do not partici-

[22] Fred Boyd, Merton Oyler, and W. D. Nicholls, "Rural Organization Contacts in Three Kentucky Communities," Kentucky AES, Bul. 350, p. 125. In this study a contact is defined as attendance at a general meeting of an organization for one hour.

[23] H. B. Hawthorn, The Sociology of Rural Life, New York, The Century Co., 1926. See particularly Chapters III, IV, and VI.

pate in any regularly. In one rural community in central New York,[24] 11 percent of the families in the main village (821 population), 21 percent in a small village (141 population), and 38 percent of the families in the open country had membership in no organizations whatever. In a later study of the whole county, excluding this community, it was found that 14 percent of the *farm* families belonged to no organization; 17 percent belonged to only 1; and 13 percent to only 2. The average number of organizations to which all members of the family belonged was 3.9.[25] In an area in the next county[26] 29 percent of the families in two small villages and 40 percent of those in the open country belonged to no local group. In 12 school districts in Wisconsin it was found that 17 percent of the families in those districts having a high number of organizations belonged to none of them; in the districts with few organizations 43 percent belonged to none.[27]

Participation in community life may be roughly classified as economic and social. In general, the participation in the economic life of the community involves only individual contacts at the village center, but very little group participation. When a farmer belongs to a cooperative marketing or purchasing association or is a director of a bank or other business enterprise, he thereby participates in the economic group life of the community. Participation in the social life of the community, on the other hand, is mostly through attendance at group meetings of various kinds, and the social life tends to become a stronger community bond than the economic life, at least in the smaller communities.

The social control of the rural community is largely determined by the strength of the individual groups composing it, and whether they have common standards and work together for community solidarity or are divisive in their influence. The small community is much like the neighborhood in that gossip and public opinion are more keenly felt than in the large community where there may be various standards of behavior in different groups.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. As the rural community itself has no formal organization, its structural mechanisms vary from almost none

[24] B. L. Melvin, "The Sociology of a Village and the Surrounding Territory, Table 46," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 523, p. 69.

[25] H. H. Plambeck, The Social Participation of Farm Families in Formal Organizations, PhD. thesis (ms.), Cornell Univ. Library, June, 1941.

[26] G. A. Bakkum and B. L. Melvin, "Social Relationships of Slaterville Springs-Brooktondale Area, Tompkins County, New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 501, p. 36.

[27] E. L. Kirkpatrick, *et al.*, "Rural Organizations and the Farm Family," Table 1, p. 4, Univ. of Wis. AES, Res. Bul. 96.

to a definite form of voluntary community organization, such as a community council or community association. In many instances the extension of organized village services, such as the school or the fire department, tend to organize the community area. Thus the formation of consolidated school districts has given many communities a definite educational organization in which both village and farm people participate, and which has tended to define community areas. The creation of a rural fire district covering the area which may be reached from the village center forms another tax-supported community area. Ultimately it may be found desirable to reconstitute the local unit of rural government as a community area, rather than retain the incorporation of villages and the existing artificial township lines, as will be further discussed in considering the problems of government (Chapter 19).

Various associations serve as community organizations, depending upon the size of the community and the degree to which membership in such organizations is well distributed and representative. Thus in many rural communities, particularly in the West and in parts of the South, commercial clubs represent the business interests and often include farmers and extend their program of work to include all matters of community welfare. The same is true of service or luncheon clubs, such as Rotary, where they include both businessmen and farmers, although they do not include the women. A new movement of this sort has recently been started in Virginia, called Ruritan Clubs. The preamble to the statement of objectives of these clubs reads "that the greatest handicap to the American Farmer and the rural communities, is the inability of the rural and village folk to get together regularly where problems affecting the rural life of the community, the State, and the nation, may be systematically and thoroughly considered." One of the main objectives of these clubs is "to unify the efforts of individuals and institutions in the community, in making it a better place in which to live." Here and there community councils, composed of representatives of various organizations, or community associations with a general membership, have been developed for promoting community betterment, and this movement has been definitely promoted by the extension services in Missouri, Virginia, and West Virginia. In many communities the need for better recreational facilities and for a common meeting place for various organizations has resulted in the erection of community buildings, or the remodeling of old structures for such use. All these forms of organization are indicative of the increasing sense of common needs which are to be met only by some form of organization of the interests of the rural community as a

whole. Community organization is, therefore, one of the major problems of rural social organization and will be discussed in more detail later (Chapter 29).

Whatever the form of organization its success depends chiefly on strong leadership. In former days leadership resided chiefly in the village, with the merchant, the tavern or hotel keeper, the banker, and the minister. With better means of communication by road and telephone farmers are now able to get together and to communicate with each other, organizations of farm people have greatly increased in number and strength, and farmers exercise much more leadership than ever before. As a result of the increasing number of women's organizations, in many communities women have come into positions of leadership and women play an increasingly large role in community development, in many instances furnishing the dynamic if not the ostensible leadership in community organization.

COMMUNITY COMPETITION. The competition with town and city resulting from good roads and automobiles has compelled many a rural community to consider the problems of its common welfare, not only for the purpose of maintaining its business interests but to furnish recreation and social life for its young people to nullify the lure of the commercial amusements of the larger places.[28]

Formerly the rural community, except in New England where it had an historic origin and was largely coterminous with the governmental unit of the town, was a weak form of association largely resulting from physical isolation. Today the bonds of physical isolation have largely disappeared and the rural community is threatened by the competition of other communities, but this competition is resulting in a survival of the fittest—those which are becoming increasingly aware of the necessity of working together for the maintenance of the institutions and services necessary for a better standard of living. Thus, although the organized life of the community is more through voluntary association, it may become much stronger through a general appreciation of the common needs.

COMMUNITY CRITERIA. There are, of course, situations in which it is questionable whether weak communities can or should survive. What criteria may guide a wise diagnosis of such a situation? I have elsewhere attempted to state some such criteria.

> Assuming that the rural community will usually, but not necessarily, consist of a village and the tributary open-country, it should have:

[28] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, "Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 614, p. 94.

1. A geographic area in which there may be habitual association of its people in the chief interests of everyday life, and in participation in its institutions and organizations.
2. An area with a sufficient constituency, or "volume of business," to permit a specialization of functions which small communities cannot support.
3. An area with sufficient wealth to support its institutions, or, lacking this, which is a natural unit for commanding the best investment of outside aid, governmental or private.
4. An area in which the common interests or indivisible utilities and resources warrant an equalization of costs so as to afford adequate institutional services to all parts of the area.

These criteria may be summed up in terms of relative self-sufficiency, opportunity for personal association, and pooling of resources for desired institutions.[29]

Types of rural communities change with the techniques of agriculture and with the environmental conditions, but some form of rural community seems essential for any permanent social organization of rural life, and must, therefore, be regarded as an elementary form of rural social life. The vocation of agriculture necessarily attaches farmers to the land and for success requires a relatively permanent residence which makes inevitable an acquaintance and the development of common interests within a local area. In all localities there are certain features of the physical environment which, to a greater or less extent, limit the areas within which human association is frequent and intimate. The rural community is still bound together for purposes of defense, not from military attack, but for maintaining its economic interests against those of the city market, and to give it a satisfying social life which may compete with the lure of the city. The division of labor incident to advances in material culture gives rise to certain services desired by farmers which may be profitably maintained only at the centers of areas which can afford a sufficient volume of patronage, and which thereby create areas of common association. The desire of people for sociability also forms a bond of the rural community, for, even with automobiles, association is easiest and therefore most frequent at the community center and people tend to associate with those with whom they are best acquainted in the local areas. . . . For these reasons the rural community is the most important group for social control. Most rural people are more susceptible to the public opinion of their own community than to that of the outside world, and even though social control is largely through voluntary associations, these associations react to other associations and groups within the community and find that the common welfare commands a community loyalty superior to that for any special interest group. Thus

[29] From my article "Criteria of Rural Community Formation" in *Rural Sociology*, Dec., 1938.

the rural community is the area within which the common interests of the daily life of its people may find expression in institutions and associations which tend to center at the village where they are most accessible. So long as agriculture is a family occupation and is not organized as a strictly factory system, it seems probable that some form of rural community will be the inevitable basis of rural social organization. The type which has been described for the United States is evolving to meet the conditions of rural life in a rapidly changing environment.[80]

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[80] From Dwight Sanderson, "The Rural Community in the United States as an Elementary Group," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. I, pp. 148–150.

Chapter 14

REGIONS AND DISTRICTS

At the close of Chapter 2 we called attention to the fact that it is difficult to make sociological generalizations concerning the rural life of the United States as a whole because of the diversity of conditions in the different regions of so large a country. This forces on our consideration the place of the region and district in sociological analysis. Whether they may be rightly termed sociological groups will depend upon our concept of what constitutes a group. In any event they are forms of association which sociology cannot neglect and are related to the forms of spatial groups discussed in the preceding chapters.

In general, a region is a large area, such as the South, the Southern Appalachian Highlands, the Great Plains, the Southwest, or the Pacific Coast. Smaller social areas composed of only a few counties or parts of counties are commonly called subregions or districts. We prefer the term district [1] because these units, although within larger regional areas, often have characteristics quite different from the region as a whole and in such instances are not subdivisions of the region, but exist in their own right as smaller social areas which are recognized because of their distinguishing characteristics.

There is no criterion of size as between the region and the district, for under some conditions a large, sharply defined district—such as the Ozark area—might be considered a region. In popular usage the two terms are used almost synonymously. Thus we have the Finger Lakes region of central New York, and what the French regionalists would call a region in their country would be only a district in our terminology.

THE DISTRICT OR SUBREGION. The district, like the region, may be delimited by its physiography, agriculture, ethnic origin, culture pattern, or other dominant characteristics. Concrete examples of dis-

[1] We have previously (Sanderson, The Rural Community, pp. 598–599, and elsewhere) used the term *section* for the district or subregion, but as section has been used synonymously with region and Odum has emphasized the differences between sectionalism and regionalism, it seems better to use the more distinctive term, district.

tricts will best illustrate the concept. Thus in the small State of Maryland there are at least four distinct districts which are well recognized in local usage and which have important roles in the political life of the state. These are the Eastern Shore, the counties east of Chesapeake Bay; Southern Maryland, the counties south of the District of Columbia; Northern Maryland, comprising the counties north of these two areas and west to the Blue Ridge; and Western Maryland, including the mountainous counties west of the Shenandoah Valley. So in New York there are the Upper and Lower Hudson Valley, the Mohawk Valley, the Southern Tier—bordering Pennsylvania, the Finger Lakes region, the Western Fruit Belt, the Adirondacks, and the St. Lawrence Valley. In Pennsylvania Kerns [2] has distinguished ten socio-economic areas, including the Northwest Dairy region, the Alleghany Coal and Steel area, the Alleghany Plateau, the Pennsylvania Dutch area, the Philadelphia Hinterland, and others. By more statistical methods Lively and Gregory have mapped five major social areas, including 14 subareas, in the State of Missouri.[3]

The subregions delineated by Woofter [4] and by Mangus,[5] are more definitely subdivisions of a larger region determined chiefly by a given list of culture traits. To what extent these districts or subregions are really cultural or sociological entities, or whether they are merely socio-economic areas useful for administrative and research purposes, is a matter which will be discussed below with regard to the same problem concerning regions. However, there seems to be considerable evidence that, although in some areas it is possible to recognize districts which have a more or less definite cultural and sociological unity, in other areas it is impossible to delineate contiguous districts with homogeneous traits. Thus in their study of social subareas in Ohio, Lively and Almack [6] were unable to obtain contiguous areas with homogeneity

[2] R. W. Kerns, The Ecology of Rural Social Agencies in Pennsylvania, Ph.D. thesis (manuscript), Cornell Univ. Library, 1940, pp. 176–179.

[3] C. E. Lively and C. L. Gregory, "Rural Social Areas in Missouri," Columbia, Mo., Univ. of Mo. AES, Res. Bul. 305, Aug., 1939, p. 5.

[4] T. J. Woofter, Jr., "Subregions of the Southeast," *Social Forces,* Vol. 13, pp. 43–56, Oct., 1934.

[5] A. R. Mangus, Rural Regions of the United States, WPA, Division of Research, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940.

[6] C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, "A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-areas with Application to Ohio," Ohio State Univ. and AES, Department of Rural Economics, Mimeo. Bul. 106, January, 1938. Concerning this problem see also M. J. Hagood, Nadia Danilevsky, and C. A. Beum, "An Examination of the Use of Factor Analysis in the Problem of Subregional Delineation," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 6, pp. 216–233, Sept., 1941.

of multiple traits, and in Wisconsin Hill [7] has met the same difficulty.

THE REGION. The popular use of the word region refers to a larger area such as New England, the Rocky Mountain region, the Corn Belt, or the Cotton Belt. These very names indicate the diverse characters used for defining regions. The first is a politico-economic group of states; the second is a geographical region; the last two are determined by the dominant farm crops. It must be recognized that in different sciences the term region is used in different ways, and that the nature of the region and how its area is determined vary with the interest and point of view of different kinds of scholars. This has been discussed at length by Odum and Moore [8] who have made an exhaustive analysis of the problems involved.

GEOGRAPHIC CONCEPT. First, there is the geographic region, such as the Mississippi or Tennessee valleys, or the Pacific Coast, based primarily on physiographic boundaries, but extended by the human geographers, notably of the French school,[9] to include biological and economic data. This has been the chief basis of defining the agricultural regions of the United States as mapped by O. E. Baker [10] (see Fig. 47, p. 129), who distinguishes twelve major agricultural regions. The agricultural economists have subdivided these regions into some 514 "types of farming areas," which are really agricultural subregions or districts.[11]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONCEPT. The interest of sociologists in regional concepts has come largely from the anthropological concept of the culture area, as developed by Clark Wissler [12] and others. This concept arose from the study of the distribution areas of individual culture traits. A comparison of these areas showed frequent coincidence for

[7] G. W. Hill, "The Use of the Culture-area Concept in Social Research," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 39–47, July, 1941.

[8] Odum and Moore, American Regionalism, 1938, Part II; see also R. B. Vance, Human Geography of the South, Chapter I.

[9] *Cf.* Jean Brunhes, Human Geography, translated by T. C. LeCompte, Chicago, Rand, McNally and Co., 1920, pp. 454–456, 514–517.

[10] O. E. Baker, A Graphic Summary of Physical Features and Land Utilization in the United States, Washington, D.C., USDA, Misc. Pub. 260, May, 1937, Fig. 1; for more detail see his "Agricultural Regions of North America," Economic Geography, Vols. 2–6, 1926–1930.

[11] See map, Type of Farming Areas in the United States, 1930, issued by the Bureau of Census, Dept. of Commerce, with the BAE, USDA.

[12] Clark Wissler, Man and Culture, New York, T. Y. Crowell Co., 1923, pp. 55–61; "The Culture Area Concept in Social Anthropology," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. 32, pp. 888–891; "The Culture Area Concept as a Research Lead," *ibid.*, Vol. 33, pp. 894–900.

traits of the same culture and gave rise to the concept of the culture area based on a number of common culture traits, whose boundaries may not be sharply defined (because traits tend to fade away or blend at the edge of the area unless it is separated by physical barriers) but are dominant and typical at the culture center of the area. Originally this concept was based chiefly on traits of material culture, but it has been enlarged to include nonmaterial culture traits which seem to be associated in a culture complex. Thus the description of a culture area would include typical groups and forms of social organization. Except as a culture area might be coincident with that of an individual tribe or a confederation of tribes, it would not be conceived as a sociological entity recognized by itself and others; it is rather a convenient concept for studying the geographical association of culture traits. It has many points of similarity with the concepts of the ecological area, but does not develop the ideas of competition with other areas or the historical or time factor of succession.

Obviously this concept is adapted to more or less static and isolated societies, but is much more difficult of application to modern society with a high degree of mobility and communication.[13] Thus sociologists have had great difficulty in determining what set of culture traits may be valid for determining a region in contemporary society in which social change is much more rapid, as will be discussed later.

Ecological Concept. The other chief impulse to the sociological study of regions, and minor socio-economic areas, has come from the ecological school of sociology, notably the group from the University of Chicago.[14] The concept of the area—of whatever size—in human ecology has been borrowed from plant and animal ecology which studies plant and animal "communities." "Ecology can be briefly defined as the study of organisms and their life and behavior with reference to the conditioning influence of the physical environment and the struggle

[13] It is interesting in this connection to note that this idea of a culture area was implied, if not explicit, in the work of LePlay (see C. C. Zimmerman and M. E. Frampton, Family and Society, New York, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1935, Chapter V), in his study of family types as a means of determining social structure in a fairly static society.

[14] For a good exposition of their point of view see R. E. Park, "Human Ecology," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 1–15, July, 1936, in which he points out that human society is organized on two levels, the biotic and the cultural. In a later article ("Symbiosis and Socialization," *ibid.*, Vol. XLV, pp. 6, 14, July, 1939) Park goes so far as to consider ecology as a separate social science. See also, Hollingshead, "Human Ecology," Part II of R. E. Park, ed., An Outline of the Principles of Sociology, New York, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1939.

with other organisms for existence and position."[15] Human ecology is an extension of the biotic approach to human society. The determination and delimitation of the ecological area is fundamental, but the emphasis is upon the symbiotic relation of its individuals and institutions, upon the means by which an ecological area maintains itself in competition with others and with changing environmental conditions, and upon the succession of different dominant traits of its structure. In the emphasis on dominance it resembles the culture area concept of the anthropologists, but the ecological emphasis is upon the survival value of the dominant trait or characteristic. According to Park the emphasis of ecology is on the biotic process. "Human ecology is," he says,[16] "fundamentally, an attempt to investigate the processes by which the biotic balance and the social equilibrium (1) are maintained once they are achieved and (2) the processes by which, when the biotic balance and the social equilibrium are disturbed, the transition is made from one relatively stable order to another."

The concept of dominance in ecological areas has led the ecological sociologists to emphasize the importance of the city as the focus of ecological regions in modern society, and this has tended to give undue weight to the influence of the metropolitan city[17] on their delineation of human-ecological regions. Agriculturists and rural sociologists have, on the other hand, tended to neglect the importance of the city in their concepts of the region.

In general the ecological region tends to be quite largely determined by economic factors, and gives little consideration to institutions or nonmaterial cultural traits, except as they have survival value for maintaining its stability.[18]

Economic Concept. Economists are interested in regions and districts such as trade or market areas, freight-rate regions, regions of the Federal Reserve Banks, agricultural and industrial regions, etc. Economics uses the region or district in a popular sense and has made little effort to define these concepts.

Political Science Concept. In the field of political science regionalism has become a sort of doctrine emphasizing the autonomy of the region or district as over against a strongly centralized government, involving the clash of sectional interests as first emphasized by

[15] F. N. House, The Range of Social Theory, p. 65.

[16] Park, *op. cit.*, *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XLII, p. 15.

[17] *Cf.* R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933; and Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, Chapter 12.

[18] *Cf.* Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–70.

Turner,[19] and more recently by Webb.[20] Political science and public administration are also interested in the region as an administrative unit and for purposes of politico-economic planning. The planning movement has now attained the regional stage, and a definite profession of regional planning is being developed, although this term includes not only regions in the larger sense, but also local "regions," such as metropolitan districts. A good example of the implications of the region in national planning is found in the report of the National Resources Committee on this topic.[21]

As a politico-economic doctrine regionalism had a strong following in France during the 1920's [22] as a reaction against a strongly centralized bureaucratic national government and the economic hegemony of Paris, in favor of the older, provincial regions of former times. Also in the Polish republic there was a vigorous discussion between the regionalists and the nationalists, the former advocating considerable provincial local autonomy and the preservation of the distinctive regional cultures as against the nationalist view which would make over these provincial traits into a uniform national Polish culture with a strong central government.

The exhaustive study of regionalism by Odum and Moore centers quite largely around their distinction between the concepts of regionalism and sectionalism, the latter being illustrated by the historic clash between the agrarian South and industrial New England. They hold "that sectionalism sees the nation from the point of view of the differing areas; regionalism the differing areas from the point of view of the nation." [23] They conceive the region as a means of national planning and of the best social organization.

Sociological Concept. The *sociological* concept of the region has not been clearly defined and is in the process of formation. As previously indicated, it has been chiefly influenced by the anthropological concept of the culture area and the ecological concept of human biotic communities. Sociology may profitably use both these concepts, as

[19] F. J. Turner, The Frontier in American History, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1920; The Significance of Sections in American History, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1932.

[20] W. P. Webb, The Great Plains, Boston, Ginn and Co., 1931; Divided We Stand, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1937.

[21] National Resources Committee, Regional Factors in National Planning, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office Dec., 1935, p. 223.

[22] *Cf.* R. K. Gooch, Regionalism in France, New York, The Century Company, 1931. University of Virginia, Institute of Research in the Social Sciences, No. 12.

[23] Odum and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 386. See also Odum, Southern Regions of the United States, pp. 253–259.

well as those of the other social sciences. But, if the region or the district is to be a sociological concept, it must be more than these and it must have the characteristics of a sociological group. It must be demonstrable that it acts collectively as a unit, that it has distinctive nonmaterial culture traits such as traditions, mores and other common norms of behavior, and that its people and their institutions regard it as an entity and are thereby controlled in their behavior. Differences in history and ethnic composition will obviously have a large influence in determining the possible identity of a sociological region or district. These characteristics of a sociological group will apply to some regions and districts, but not to others. In spite of the fact that Odum states "there is no longer in the United States any single entity which may be designated as 'the South,' " [24] he also states that "the eleven Southeastern States correspond more nearly to the 'Old South,' " [25] which he treats as the Southeastern region. However this may be, it is true that the Old South, which in many ways is coming to have conflicting interests with Texas and Oklahoma, does act together as a region in many ways. It is bound together by many regional scientific, agricultural, commercial, educational, and religious associations, through which it acts as a unit. It has a common tradition and history and many common folkways and mores.[26] It has common loyalties; its people think of it and it is regarded by others as an entity. The same is true of New England and to a considerable degree of the Northwest, as evidenced by the work of "such semi-official bodies as the New England Regional Planning Commission, an outgrowth of the older New England Council, and the Pacific Northwest Planning Commission." [27]

Therefore, to what extent the region and the district are usable sociological concepts must be left to the further definition and consensus of the sociologists. It is probable that sociology will continue to use these terms and that they are essential for any sound sociological analysis of the forms of association in so large a country of such diverse cultures, in spite of the fact that communication (by press and radio) and mobility (by automobile) are tending to break down the old identi-

[24] H. W. Odum, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 9–11.

[26] Thus in speaking of the people of the South Odum (*ibid.*, p. 227) says: "Are they not of protestant faith, Sabbath observing, family loving and patriarchal, of religious intensity, 'quarrelling' with government, individualists taking their politics, their honor, and their drinking hard? . . . Their attitudes toward work and play, toward women and property, toward children and their work, toward the dominant leader are still much the same as was the early vintage."

[27] Odum and Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

ties and distinctions between them. The recognition of regions and districts is of special importance for rural sociology, for it is in the rural areas that the characteristics of regions and districts are most in evidence, the cities tending to have more uniformity in their life and culture.

There are two limitations to the sociological concept of the region or district which, House states, apply to all natural areas or territorial groups.

> One is . . . the tendency that appears, in the course of human social evolution, for the smaller territorial groups to dissolve, and for the more direct and intimate social relations of human beings to assume a less and less territorial form. The other limitation to which the ecological method is subject is that which arises from the fact that, out of the natural groupings based on natural areas, there tends more and more to develop a mode of behavior which is collective and social in a very important degree. Out of collective behavior, in turn, there develops an ever-increasing accumulation of culture or tradition, which covers the physical environment as if with a superstructure or scaffolding. But culture is not closely correlated with the variations of the factors of physical environment; it is determined for any particular group by the past experience of that group, *i.e.*, by its history.[28]

It should also be observed that as the area of the spatial group becomes larger, as in a district or region, it is conceptualized as an entity by a smaller number of individuals, by only the better educated and those in administrative, business, or industrial positions which enable them to comprehend it as a unit. For the mass of the people the region is essentially an abstract collectivity. Although their conformity to its cultural traits as folkways and mores forms a fundamental basis of regional differentiation, the folk have little or no awareness of their regional significance.[29]

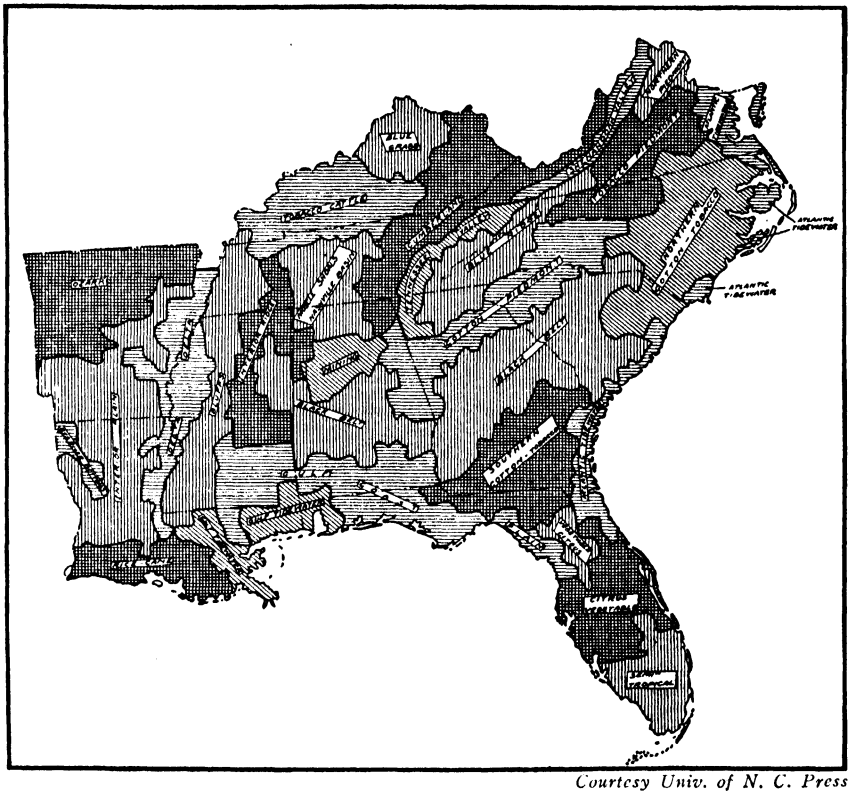
REGIONAL MAPPING. The previous discussion has shown that the regions and districts, or subregions, now used by writers in various fields have been very largely determined by the purposes or interests which they were to serve. The National Resources Committee (now the National Resources Planning Board) brought together the areas in common use for administrative purposes,[30] many of which have little in common and overlap. The agricultural regions outlined by

[28] F. N. House, The Range of Social Theory, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1929, pp. 72–73. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[29] Concerning the folk and the region see Odum and Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 416–417; also R. B. Vance, Human Geography of the South, pp. 490, 508–511.

[30] *Op. cit.*

Baker [31] and others, with various modifications and subdivisions, are fairly well recognized for agricultural purposes. As we have seen, the human ecologists have tended to overemphasize the role of the city and have, therefore, been inclined to outline regions in terms of metropolitan influence and areas of communication. For the purposes of



Courtesy Univ. of N. C. Press

FIG. 76. Subregions of the Southeast. (After Woofter.)

the rural sociologist there is little consensus with regard to the exact areas of regions or districts or the methods for delimiting them.

The most advance has undoubtedly been made by the methods used by Woofter, Lively, Odum, and Mangus, previously cited, by which they seek to establish cultural areas by means of various statistical indexes derived chiefly from the U.S. Census and various statistics of departments of the state and Federal governments. By making a composite of the indexes of a number of factors they obtain a median of

[31] *Op. cit.*

what seem to be the core counties of a given area and then delimit the area by including those counties which are most like those of the central type. Obviously a precise analysis would cut across county lines in many cases, but the county is the smallest unit for which most statistical data are available. The difficulty with this method is that it depends upon the factors which are used as indexes. Thus Woofter [32] used some fourteen factors, but seems to have based his primary differentiation of the subregions on physiographic, agricultural, and industrial factors. (See Fig. 76.) By using much the same method, but using 10 factors with less reference to physiographic factors, Mangus [33] obtained a very different set of subregions, which are much smaller and show much less relation to physiography. (See Fig. 80.) In an analysis of the culture areas of Pennsylvania Kerns [34] has laid out 10 "socio-economic" areas which seem to have much more cultural uniformity than those mapped by Mangus by purely statistical methods. (See Figs. 77 and 78.)

The difficulty seems to be that with any set of factors which depend solely on statistical data from governmental sources it is impossible to sense the cultural traits, such as religion, ethnic origin, folkways, language differences, and other material and nonmaterial cultural traits, which can be appreciated only by a personal and intimate knowledge of the areas.

Furthermore, as we have seen, in certain areas, such as Ohio and Wisconsin, it seems difficult to outline contiguous culture areas, although certain fairly uniform but widely distributed culture types may be distinguished and mapped.[35]

FUNCTIONAL REGIONS. Certainly if regions are to have any practical value to the world of affairs, and particularly as administrative units for planning purposes, they must be delimited on a functional rather than a theoretical or statistical basis. Lindeman [36] has wisely pointed out that one of the chief reasons for interest in regionalism is a nostalgia for the traditional, but that such negative motivation must be transformed into a positive incentive for democratic reconstruction by planning if regionalism is to succeed as a movement. This is the tacit point of view of Odum, whose 6 major regions (see Fig. 79) of the United States are determined chiefly on the basis of their utility

[32] Woofter, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–50.

[33] Mangus, *op. cit.*, Figs. 1, 2, and text.

[34] Kerns, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV, Figs. 71, 72.

[35] See papers of Lively and Almack, and G. W. Hill, *op. cit.*

[36] E. C. Lindeman, "Notes on Psychological Aspects of Regionalism," *Social Forces*, Vol. 19, pp. 301–306, March, 1941.

for administrative and planning purposes, although based on statistical analysis of likenesses and differences of traits. For this reason Odum

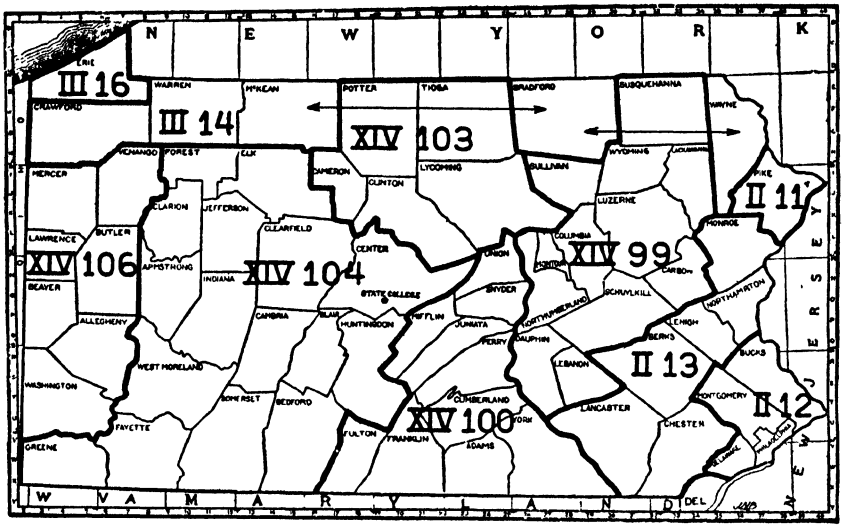


FIG. 77. Rural cultural regions of Pennsylvania. (According to Mangus.)

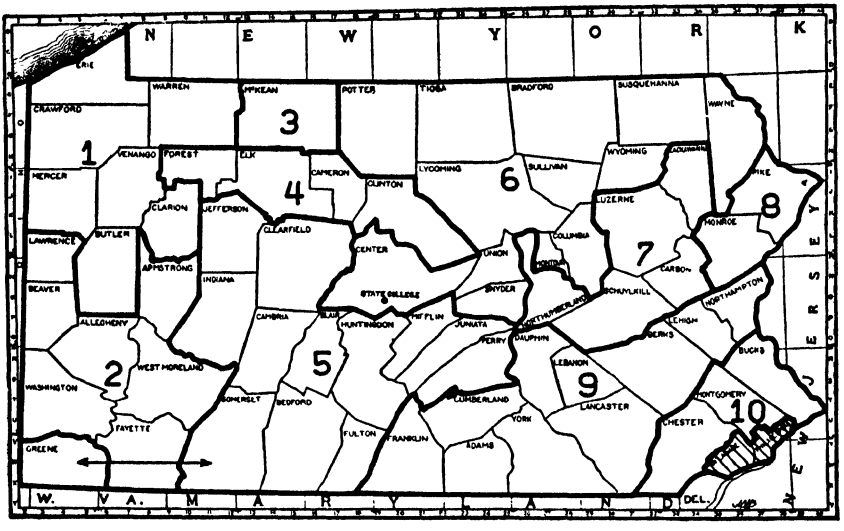
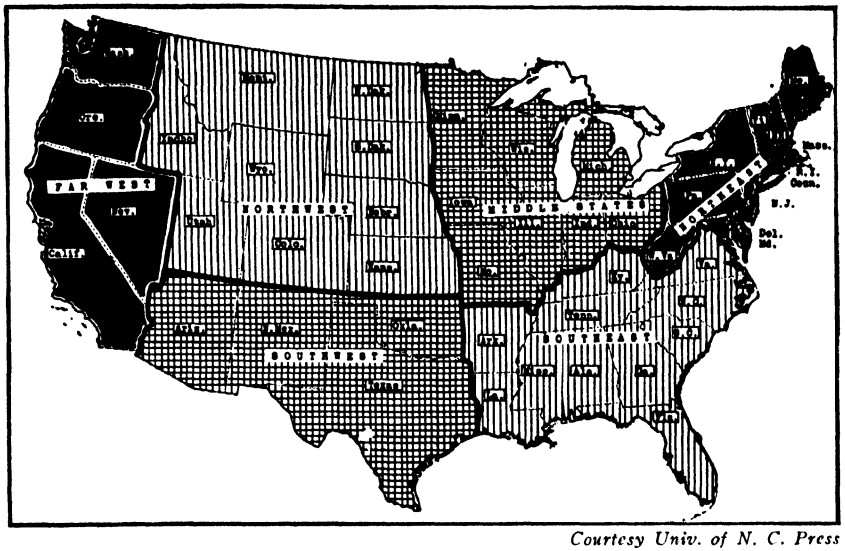


FIG. 78. Rural cultural regions of Pennsylvania. (According to Kerns.)

draws his regions on state lines, as necessary boundaries for administrative purposes. Mangus, on the other hand, disregards state lines and thereby gets 34 major culture areas (see Fig. 80), which is too



Courtesy Univ. of N. C. Press

FIG. 79. Six major regions of the United States. (After Odum.)

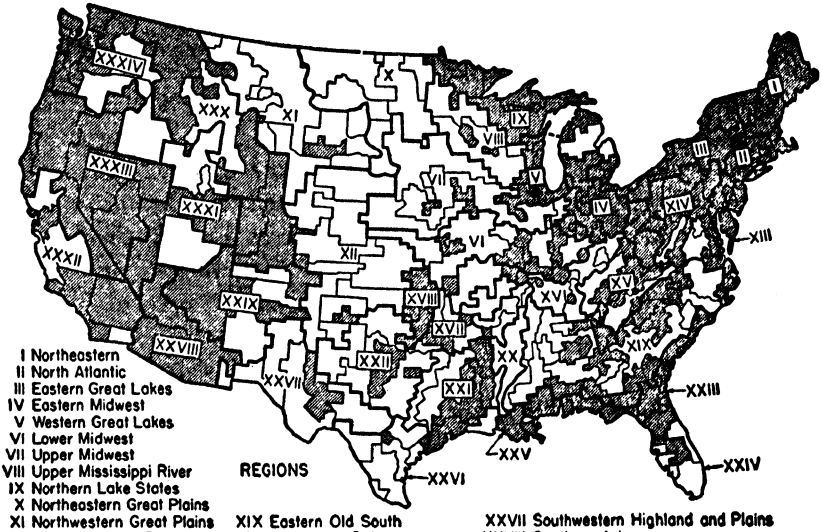


FIG. 80. Rural cultural regions and subregions of the United States. (After Mangus, from *American Sociological Review.*)

large a number for practical purposes. There is a question whether functional regions can be laid out upon theoretical, *a priori* factors, however many may be used, or whether they will not become established and recognized through the process of trial and error in the ecological competition between them. Doubtless if they are to be really functional, they will expand and contract or subdivide, just as we have seen that the rural community is not a static but a changing area. This is shown by the fact that Odum places Texas and Oklahoma in the Southwest, whereas they would have formerly been classed in the South, for the reason that they have different traits and that they now have interests which clash with those of the Old South and are more related to those of the Southwest.

Natural regions do not follow state lines; for example, the Lake States cut-over region (Region IX, Northern Lake States in Fig. 79) includes the northern part of three states. Whether natural regions or regions drawn on state lines can be utilized for administrative and planning purposes must depend on the problems to be dealt with. Certainly for many administrative purposes it will be necessary to recognize state boundaries in their delineation because of differences in state legislation and to obtain relevant statistical data; in other cases to deal with specific problems, such for instance as those of irrigation or mining, a natural area disregarding state lines may be the most useful, for both physiographic and cultural considerations as well as those of convenience are involved.

It is evident that there must be much more detailed study of the characteristics of districts or subregions by those intimately acquainted with their life before any general agreement concerning their validity can be established, and that the identity of both regions and districts may be established more firmly by usage than by theoretical considerations. Certainly a knowledge of cultural likenesses and differences may aid greatly in the establishment of regional and district administrative areas which will function better because of their greater unity.

The inquiry into the culture traits peculiar to different regions and districts is one of the enticing fields of study for the rural sociologist, and its practical application has been well illustrated by Smith's discussion of classes in the South [37] and their significance in its social organization; by such work as Carl Kraenzel [38] is now doing concerning the

[37] T. L. Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1940, pp. 343–349.

[38] C. F. Kraenzel, New Frontiers on the Great Plains, Thirteenth Annual Proceedings of the Western Farm Economics Association, St. Coll. of Wash. and the Univ. of Idaho, 1940, pp. 121–133.

culture characteristics of the Northern Great Plains region, and N. L. Whetten is doing for the highly industrialized areas of Connecticut. An outstanding example of a common attack by representatives of several interests on the problems of one of the most clearly defined regions is a study made by bureaus of the USDA and four state agricultural experiment stations of the Southern Appalachians.[39] Similar cooperative efforts have been made in the study of the drought areas of the Western Great Plains [40] and are being continued by the Northern Great Plains Agricultural Council, composed of representatives of the various federal agricultural agencies and the state agricultural experiment stations.

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[39] USDA, BAE, Bureau of Home Economics and Forest Service in cooperation with the Office of Education, Dept. of the Interior, and the Agricultural Experiment Stations of Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia and Kentucky, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1935, USDA, Misc. Pub. 205.

[40] WPA, Social Problems of the Drought Area, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1937, Division of Social Research, Research Bulletins Series V.

C. INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION

Chapter 15

THE RURAL CHURCH AND ITS PROBLEMS

Next to the family the church probably affects more rural people than any other voluntary organization. It is commonly the first organization to appear in a new settlement and the closing of the church marks the death of many a rural hamlet. The sociology of the rural church is not essentially different from that of the church in the city, but the simpler structure of rural society gives it a larger position in rural life.

I. THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE RURAL CHURCH

WHAT IS A CHURCH? Our use of the word church may have one of three meanings. First, we may refer to the local association with its building and subsidiary groups; second, we may refer to a certain denomination or sect, as the Presbyterian or Catholic church; third, we may refer to the church universal, the historical church, including Christians of all sects. As will be indicated more specifically below, these three concepts designate essentially different sociological structures, and much of the vagueness of sociological description has been due to attempting to generalize with regard to the church universal, or the rural church in general, without giving attention to the analysis of the individual church group.[1] Although recognizing that the individual church cannot be conceived as entirely separate from or uninfluenced by these larger concepts of the church, we shall devote our major attention to attempting an analysis of the individual church, for this

[1] Thus Kimball Young in An Introductory Sociology (p. 288) describes the church as follows: "In a broad sense the *church* is (1) a body of devotees, (2) organized for religious purposes and developing as agencies for this, (3) rituals, (4) a hierarchy of officials and leaders, and (5) a body of doctrine and philosophy which ties the whole together into a more or less systematic unit. In common speech, too, the term *church* is sometimes used to mean a unity of common religious beliefs and practices, as when we speak of the Christian Church. At other times, the *church* refers to a mere limited body of devout believers within this larger grouping, such as the Presbyterian or Methodist church. These, properly speaking, are denominations." But this does not describe the local church group.

is the group with which we have to deal concretely in everyday life. We shall then briefly indicate its relation to the denomination and the church universal. In our description we shall refer chiefly to Protestant churches because in most rural communities in the United States Protestant churches predominate and the Roman Catholic Church is stronger in the cities. However, it is hoped that the general method of description may be found applicable to a rural Catholic church or that of any sect. Indeed, it must be recognized at the outset that it is quite impossible to generalize any type of rural church among the multitude of Protestant sects. There is as much difference between a Quaker church and an Episcopalian church, or between a Methodist church and a Mormon church, or a Full Gospel church or one of various fundamentalist sects, as there is between Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. What we shall attempt is to indicate the sociological structure of a generalized type of rural Protestant church and suggest the categories and relationships which may be applicable to the sociological description of any church. For as yet there have been no careful sociological descriptions of individual church groups, and only by the gradual accumulation of case studies of many individual churches will it be possible to make any valid generalizations with regard to the sociology of the church as a group.[2] Our analysis is, therefore, more of a suggestive outline of how individual churches should be described and studied than an authoritative or comprehensive sociological description of the rural church, for which our present knowledge is inadequate.

Theoretically in this country the rural church is a voluntary group, i.e., one joins it voluntarily, in contrast to countries where there is an established church and one is born in the church as in the community. Practically, however, most people grow up in the church of their parents, and become a part of it just as they do in a political party, although upon leaving the parental home many change their church affiliation. The church is an inclusive group, in that it professes to welcome all who will subscribe to its beliefs and regulations. As a matter of fact most churches exclude Negroes, and many churches are so dominated by people of a certain socio-economic status that others do not feel at home in them and thus automatically exclude themselves. Frequently one church in a large village will be composed mostly of the more socially elite villagers, whereas another will have most of the

[2] Although dealing with city churches and not organized as an abstract description of the church group, there is more realistic description of its structure and functioning in Chapters XXI to XXIII of "Middletown," by R. S. and H. M. Lynd, than in any of the books on the rural church, which deal with the administrative problems of the church rather than its sociology.

farm families. Although women predominate in the church membership, church officers are usually men, and in some denominations women are excluded from official positions.

IDENTIFICATION OF MEMBERS. In most churches there is practically no means of distinguishing members from nonmembers. In a few, such as the older churches of orthodox Quakers and the Dunkards, peculiarities of dress are required to distinguish the membership. In some churches certain forms of behavior, such as dancing or card playing, are prohibited and members may be recognized by their refraining from participation, and Catholics may be recognized by abstaining from meat on Fridays and fast days. However, in most of everyday life there is no means of distinguishing church members, although in a small community it is generally known whether a family or individual belongs to this or that church; this is not so commonly known in urban society.

ADMITTANCE TO MEMBERSHIP. This is a more or less formal affair and the methods and ceremonials involved differ widely in the various denominations. Most of the members are probably admitted as children or adolescents. If the individual has not been baptized as an infant, baptism is usually a prerequisite or part of the ceremony. In many churches children receive a prescribed course of instruction and are confirmed without subsequent formal admission to the church. In most churches the candidate for admission is required to subscribe to the creed or other form of belief of the church and to agree to its discipline, although in some of the more liberal Protestant churches this is reduced to a minimum. The nature and the formality of admission to membership are not infrequently factors which prevent certain individuals from becoming active members. On the other hand, most churches have a considerable number of adherents who may attend the services and participate actively in the life of the church without becoming members formally. In some instances such nonmembers may have a very influential part in the life of the church, particularly in its financial and social policies, so that the number of nonmembers and the degree of their activity in the life of a church are important characteristics of its composition.

HOMOGENEITY. To the extent that the rural church is inclusive in its membership it necessarily becomes less homogeneous, there is more difficulty in obtaining consensus, and more or less stratification may result. In a small community where there is only one church this tendency is less apparent, but even then differences of age, education, and of outside contacts make necessary a considerable amount of accommodation between the different elements in order to obtain harmony

and unity of action. (This is well illustrated by Mather's description of a rural church audience in southern New York.[3]) It is evident, therefore, that an accurate knowledge of the homogeneity, social distance, or stratification among the members of a church is essential if one is to understand its character and behavior.

SIZE OF MEMBERSHIP. As compared with city churches the rural church has a small membership. In 1920 the surveys of the Interchurch World Movement reported: "The town churches have an average membership of 144; the village churches of 84 and the country churches of 46. The general average is 63."[4] The smallness of the membership makes for larger solidarity and responsibility of the group, as has been pointed out by Dr. C. L. Fry, who has shown that the small church commands more frequent attendance of its members than the large church.

> Why should small churches gain an allegiance that large churches do not command? The answer seems clearly to lie in a fundamental psychological fact. The smaller the membership of the church, the more immediate becomes the responsibility of its individual members. If a small church is to keep alive, each member must do "his bit." The very smallness of the group makes each person keenly aware of his or her obligation. A member who does not regularly attend services knows that he will be missed by the pastor and by the rest of the members. Moreover, since the membership is so small, each person capable of assuming leadership can be given something to do that is vital to the life of the church. This in turn helps to increase his faithfulness. Again, the members of small churches will probably make greater efforts to get non-members to attend. These incentives are not present in the same degree in large churches.[5]

This does not necessarily mean that small rural churches are to be preferred, but it does indicate one of the chief reasons for their persistence.

NOT A SINGLE GROUP. So far we have discussed the church as if it were a single group. As a matter of fact, however, most churches are composed of a number of groups, all of which are more or less closely affiliated with or partially controlled by the corporate body of the legal membership of the church group proper. Thus most Protestant churches have Sunday schools, primarily for the religious education of the young, but also including adults, and the Sunday school may be conducted quite independently of any formal action of the church

[3] *Cf.* W. G. Mather, Jr., Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 587, pp. 25, 26.

[4] Morse and Brunner, The Town and Country Church in the United States, p. 43.

[5] C. L. Fry, Diagnosing the Rural Church, p. 169.

proper, although given recognition as a feature of its general program. Likewise most Protestant churches have a women's society, often known as the Ladies' Aid, the functions of which are varied and not always specifically recognized, but which include church suppers and bazaars and other means of raising money for maintaining the physical plant of the church or helping to raise the pastor's salary. A young people's society, such as a Christian Endeavor Society, an Epworth League, or other denominationally designated young people's group is a common adjunct of many rural churches, although not so important as a generation ago. Although devoted chiefly to a religious service for young people, such groups have a varied educational and social program, the latter often forming the dynamic bond of the group. Occasionally a rural church has an organization of the men known as a brotherhood for promoting the work and interests of the church among the men, but these are more common in large villages and cities. Not infrequently the village church will sponsor a troop of Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts, and although they have open membership and are not controlled by the church they are affiliated with it. Organized Sunday school classes which have social programs and through-the-week activities are also important groups in many churches. None of these groups is absolutely essential or characteristic of the life of any particular type of church and yet, if one is to describe the sociology of any individual church, he must include an analysis of all these auxiliary groups, of their membership, structure, leadership, programs, and behavior; their relations to each other and to the official organization of the individual church and the denomination as a whole. A large church is, therefore, more of a community of groups with a common aim than a single group, and the degree of integration of its various groups is a very fundamental aspect of the social organization of the church as a whole, for in the various groups and organizations within the church there are conflicting interests and rivalries among their leaders, as in any other complex organization. Each one of these groups might be analyzed as to its typical form of structure, program, behavior, etc., but this is difficult because they vary as widely as the different sorts of churches. In the study of an individual church or of the church as a rural institution these groups must be adequately described and the role of each in the life of the church as a whole must be defined if the structure of what is commonly called the church is to be understood. Obviously the complexity of this group structure will vary with the size of the church, from that in an open-country church which has nothing but a preaching service to that of the institutional city church with a multiplicity of groups.

THE MINISTER. Whatever the number of subgroups, there are certain features of structure which are common to most rural church groups. Most churches have a minister who is a salaried leader and who has been professionally trained. In poorer districts and in some sects he may be a layman with no professional training, but this is exceptional. The orthodox Quakers, the Amish, and the Mormons are groups which have no paid clergy, and a comparative study of the local group organization of the latter church would be most enlightening as it is probably the most rural-minded of any of the leading Protestant sects, and has been most successful in holding its rural people. In most rural churches all phases of the work of the church are more or less directed and supervised by the minister, his activities in various lines depending upon his ability in them. His outstanding function in the Protestant Church is to preach a sermon at the Sunday service, but he enlists leaders for the various branches of the church work and stands responsible for their supervision. In his pastoral relations he marries the young people, buries the dead, and is the family friend and counselor of his parishioners. In some denominations the minister is appointed solely by the local church; in those with an Episcopalian form of organization he is appointed by the bishop. Obviously his relation to the local church will be somewhat different whether he is responsible only to it or must look to his bishop for approval and future appointments. Not only is he the preacher and pastor, but he is ordained to administer the rites of the church, such as baptism, communion, and in the Catholic Church he hears confessions. Regardless of his ecclesiastical status, his primary function is to interpret to his parishioners their relationship to the Deity, whatever the theological conception and ethical implications of the latter may involve for the particular sect. In most rural churches the success of the group depends almost entirely upon the ability and energy of the minister, and its life rises and falls with the personality of its minister. Although his chief work in the Protestant churches is conceived as preaching, his greatest service is usually accomplished in his pastoral relations. The minister requires some years to gain the confidence of his people and to be a real shepherd of his flock. Hence frequent changes of pastors are unfortunate and the most outstanding rural pastors are those who have remained in one parish for many years, and have become real community leaders. A classic example of such a rural pastorate is that of John Frederick Oberlin,[6] who gave his life to a poor community in the Vosges Mountains in northeastern France in the late eighteenth century, and so regenerated it as to win nation-wide appreciation of his services.

[6] *Cf.* A. F. Beard, The Story of John Frederick Oberlin, Boston, 1909.

A thorough sociological study of the role of the minister in the rural church, comparing it in different denominations and with different types of men, would undoubtedly reveal fundamental principles with regard to his relation to the church group which are too often unknown or ignored. For instance, is the better minister the one who makes an apparently brilliant success by drawing a large attendance to hear him preach and who builds up an attractive program of church work which is largely dependent upon his personal efforts and which collapses upon his resignation, or is he the man who may be a mediocre preacher but who enlists the leadership of his people so that they conduct the work of the church and are so devoted to it that they can carry it on for some time in the absence of a minister?

CHURCH BOARDS. Next to the minister is a small board of deacons or elders who advise him and assist in the pastoral work of the church, their precise duties varying in different denominations. In many denominations there is a separate board of trustees who are the legal custodians of the property and who govern its financial affairs. In some instances the latter are elected by a church society which includes all contributors or regular attendants and is not confined to the membership of the church proper. These two bodies have most of the official control of the affairs of the church, although various matters of importance are referred to meetings of the membership for consideration and determination of policy, the degree of control of its affairs by the local church varying with the denomination.

BUILDING. Usually a church has its own building, which must be regarded as part of the structure of the church group. In it most of the meetings of the church and its organizations are held, so that it is the home of the church. Its structure varies from the boxlike affair of the small open-country church, possibly with a dining room and kitchen in the basement, to the more elaborate building with a hall for social purposes and separate rooms for individual Sunday school classes. Being the place where strong emotional experiences occur and where men together seek their God, the church building has a peculiar sanctity and is the object of devotion of the church group, much of whose effort is directed toward its maintenance.

ECONOMIC ASPECT. The salary of the minister and the upkeep of the church building form the two main items of expense of the church group, whose program of work is very definitely limited by its economic income. The financial problems of the rural church will be discussed later, but here it is important to appreciate that the number of its members and their general economic status are factors which determine

the activities of the church group and that, although its spiritual life is not directly dependent upon its income, the fact that its structure involves a considerable budget makes its economic support one of its primary aims. As a consequence economic power often assumes an undue prominence in the leadership of the church and in determining its policies.

CONTACTS. The usual contact of the church group as a collectivity is at the services on Sunday, at which the interaction is between the members and the minister as leader, rather than among the members. However, the social contacts of the members before and after the services are equally important in maintaining the group life. Some denominations have regular official meetings of the church, as the quarterly meetings of the Methodist Church, whereas individual churches have regular monthly suppers or social evenings. Rural churches with a resident pastor commonly have a mid-week prayer meeting, but this is not so well attended as formerly and includes only the more pious of the members. Contacts between the members of the church group are not confined to the regular services, for the meetings of the various church organizations and of committees for various purposes furnish frequent contacts. Indeed, it seems probable that the real life of the church group depends as much (or more) upon the activities of its members in church work during the week as upon their Sunday attendance.[7] It is what they do together rather than their common participation as auditors or in formal worship which gives solidarity to the church group.

The activities of its members vary with the program of work of the individual church, which differs with the denominational pattern and with the ideals and objectives of both minister and members. In the simplest type of country church the program is almost wholly one of preaching and worship on Sunday, or sometimes only once in two or three weeks and by a nonresident minister. Under such conditions the annual revival services, extending for a week or more, have been the outstanding feature of the program of the church in many a rural community, the primary objective of the church being to "save souls." Much has been written concerning the place of the revival in the life of the church and it is worthy of more extended sociological analysis, but for our present purposes we can merely call attention to the fact that it is a unique item in the pattern of behavior of those church groups in which it is customary.[8]

[7] This is confirmed by statistical evidence by Fry in Diagnosing the Rural Church, p. 168.

[8] *Cf.* F. M. Davenport, Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1905.

In recent years the program of the church has devoted much more attention to the education of its members, particularly of the children and youth in the Sunday school but also of its adult membership. This has given rise to weekday religious education and study classes of various kinds. The social or recreational life of the church and of the community has also become a matter of concern to the church as a means of character building rather than one of enticement into church affiliation, so that in some churches the social program has assumed large emphasis whereas in others it is equally tabooed. The strength and solidarity of the church group are not necessarily associated with the complexity and variety of its organization and program, but the nature of the group life of the church can be described only in terms of the various activities which form its usual and accepted pattern of behavior, so that its objectives and program must be understood if the group life of the individual church is to be clearly described.

CEREMONIES. An important characteristic of the church group is its ritual and ceremonial behavior. This is found in all churches, but it differs widely in amount and form, from the simplicity of the Quakers to the elaborateness of the Catholic Church. The church shares with the family the ceremonies incident to marriage and death, but baptism, confirmation, and holy communion are distinctive ceremonies of the church. Ritual and ceremonial are important bonds of the church group, for participation in them produces a collective emotional experience involving a sacredness which has a subtle but strong influence in maintaining the adherence of its membership. This involves not only the ritual and ceremonial of the group as a collectivity, but that practised by its adherents, either individually or in families or other subgroups, such as family or individual prayers at night or morning, grace at meals, observance of fast days or Lent, etc.

SOLIDARITY. Except for their allegiance to the family the rural church usually commands a more primary allegiance from its members than do other organizations. In some cases this is so strong as to divide families, and not infrequently it has divided communities into opposing religious factions. In smaller and more isolated rural communities more of the social life is connected with the church than with any other organization, and the church has a dominant position. The church held such a position in larger communities a generation or two ago.[9]

[9] Thus in Yates County, New York, which is a distinctly rural area, it was found that the larger proportion of organizations in the smaller communities were connected with churches. See H. F. Dorn, "The Social and Economic Area of Yates County, New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 529, p. 29.

Now it has more competition from other organizations and interests, particularly in the larger places. In the small rural community there are few other organizations and the church has a dominant position, so that the importance of its role in the community varies with the size of the place. For similar reasons and because everyone is better known to others in the small community adherence to a particular church gives more distinctive social status in a rural community than in a city. It should also be observed that not infrequently among groups of foreign birth the church is the one group which represents their whole culture pattern and its solidarity is due, therefore, not so much to a difference in religious belief or practice as to a loyalty to the national culture.[10]

DENOMINATIONAL RELATIONS. In brief outline we have endeavored to give the more important structural characteristics of the local church group. However, as previously indicated, the church group usually cannot be considered apart from the denomination or sect of which it forms a part. There is a growing number of community churches with no outside ecclesiastical affiliations, which have been formed as a protest against an excessive number of local churches maintained by denominational rivalries, but there is a question whether, in the course of time, even these now unattached churches may not federate themselves in some sort of loose organization to promote their common interests. This tendency has already been shown by the history of the origin of one or two denominations. For most churches the general pattern of structure and behavior is determined by the denomination to which it belongs. The degree of this control varies between wide extremes, from the autonomy characteristic of the Congregational and Baptist denominations, which are but loosely federated into associations which have almost no control over the local churches, to the highly centralized authority of the Methodist or Catholic churches, in which the church building is not owned by the local congregation but by the bishopric, and in which the clergy are appointed by the bishops who also have jurisdiction over the actions of the local church. Denominationalism is essentially a product of the Protestant movement, although in some European countries there are Protestant state churches which practically dominate the rural communities.

In a new country it was but natural that various denominations should seek to establish local churches of their faith in newly organized communities. This was incited by the strong theological differences of the various sects which were much more powerful during the past cen-

[10] *Cf.* quotation in Dawson and Gettys, An Introduction to Sociology, p. 424.

tury than at present. Even today, however, new sects are constantly arising which give rise to new, if evanescent, local churches in competition with those already established. As a result there has been a lamentable overchurching of many rural communities which has resulted in interdenominational rivalries which have divided many a rural community and thus prevented the betterment of the common welfare rather than promoted it. This will be discussed later; the point to be emphasized here is that the structure and behavior of the local church group are usually largely determined by the denomination to which it belongs, and the loyalties of its members are as much to the denomination, its beliefs, traditions and objectives, as to that of the local group.

THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL. Beyond its allegiance to a denomination or sect the local church is but an individual unit of the church universal, as far as rural America is concerned, of the historical Christian Church. It is the loyalty to the particular conception of the church universal, however diverse this may be, which gives membership in the local group much of its emotional content to the individual. In this aspect the member of the local church and the local church group are but part of what von Wiese calls an "abstract collectivity," [11] which has a unique power of social control derived from "deep-seated ideologies of super-personal unity and duration" of a "non-material culture complex of tremendous integrating power." Loyalty to this abstract collectivity of the church universal, and to all for which it stands, is similar to the patriotism of the individual to the state, and has similar connotations, but like patriotism it is a purely subjective attitude, the strength of which varies in individuals from almost entire absence to that of the fanatic. It involves not only a loyalty to the abstract collectivity as an institution, but a personal loyalty to the spiritual head of the church who is its representation of divinity—in the Christian Church to Jesus Christ and his teachings, but in other faiths to Mohammed, Buddha, or others.

BONDS. The strongest bonds of the church group are those of shared emotional experience, of praying and singing together, of common participation in ritual and ceremonial, and in spiritual uplift of common worship. These emotional bonds arise within the local church group for its building and hallowed associations, in relation to the denominational history and organization, and in connection with the share of the individual and the local group in the life of the abstract collectivity of the church universal and all for which it stands. Through the latter

[11] *Cf.* Leopold von Wiese, adapted by Howard Becker, Systematic Sociology, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1932, Chapters XLII, XLIV.

divine sanctions are imputed to approved behavior. As a member of the church universal the individual is associated with his God, and through the denominational and local church groups norms of ethical behavior are promulgated which are powerful means of social control because of the divine sanctions imputed to them. The church group is, therefore, unique in that it has a universal relationship transcending even that of the state. The spiritual dynamic of the local church group may be described and understood only as it is oriented in the larger denominational federation and in the unseen life of the church universal.

II. THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND PROBLEMS OF THE RURAL CHURCH

The church is the oldest and, in many cases, the most outstanding rural organization. Although there is a paucity of information on the sociology of the rural church, there is a voluminous literature concerning the problems of its organization as an institution. This commenced with the surveys of the late Dr. Warren H. Wilson,[12] and was continued by the studies of the Interchurch World Movement in 1920, summarized by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, which for 13 years made many studies in this field under the leadership of Dr. E. deS. Brunner (see bibliography at end of chapter). Several studies have also been published by the agricultural experiment stations[13] concerning the status of the rural church in their states, and there is a score or more of books by rural church leaders.

Any discussion of the rural church must be largely confined to the Protestant denominations, for two reasons. First there has been little study of the rural Roman Catholic churches and what information there is has been obtained incidentally and is none too accurate. Second, the great bulk of the rural churches and their membership are Protestant. Thus in 1926, 93 percent of all rural *churches* were Protestant as compared with 80 percent in the cities, and only 16 percent of

[12] W. H. Wilson, *et al.*, a series of sixteen church and community surveys throughout the United States published by the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., from 1910 to 1916 (now out of print).

[13] C. H. Hamilton and W. E. Garnett, "The Role of the Church in Rural Community Life in Virginia," Va. AES, Bul. 267, June, 1929; C. H. Hamilton and J. M. Ellison, "The Negro Church in Rural Virginia," Va. AES, Bul. 273, June, 1930; M. W. Sneed and Douglas Ensminger, "The Rural Church in Missouri," Univ. of Mo. AES, Res. Bul. 225, June, 1935; W. F. Kumlien, "The Social Problem of the Church in South Dakota," S. D. St. Coll. AES, Bul. 294, May, 1935; W. G. Mather, Jr., "The Rural Churches of Allegany County," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 487, March, 1934; C. R. Hoffer, "Activities of Churches in Town-Country Communities," Mich. St. Coll. AES, Spec. Bul. 226, Aug., 1932.

the rural church *membership* was Roman Catholic as compared with 38 percent in the cities.[14]

A. DECLINE OF THE RURAL CHURCH

The problems of the rural church have been brought to the fore by the relative decline in number of churches and in membership and attendance. Let us examine the facts with regard to this decline and then consider the causes and possible remedies.

1. NUMBER OF CHURCHES. Of 232,000 churches in the United States in 1926 practically three-fourths were in rural territory, although this included only one-half of the population. In other words, there was one rural church for about 300 rural people. This excessive number of rural churches is one of the chief reasons for their decline. The best evidence on the decrease in number of rural churches is from the surveys of Dr. E. deS. Brunner and his collaborators, who studied the churches in the communities of 140 villages throughout the country in 1924, 1930, and 1936, and in the whole area of 21 rural counties for 1920 and 1930. In the village communities 1 church in 7 had died between 1924 and 1930. The death rate was higher in the open country than in the villages, being 1 in 5 of the former and but 1 in 15 of the latter. In the 21 counties the decline was 1 church in 8 from 1920 to 1930. In the next six-year period from 1930 to 1936, during the industrial depression, the loss was not quite so rapid, being 1 in 11 for the village churches and 1 in 5 for the open-country churches. These figures represent the total churches closed. However, there were new churches started and old churches which had been closed were reopened, so that the net loss in the number of churches for the communities of the villages was only 2.6 percent, and in the open country 3.4 percent.[15]

The rural churches are decreasing in numbers, but the number of members per church is increasing as a result. Thus there was a gain of 16.5 percent for the number of members in the village churches from 1924 to 1936, and of 18.1 percent for the open-country churches.[16] With this was a decrease in the proportion of small churches of less than 50 members and an increase of larger churches with 200 or more members.

[14] Source: C. L. Fry, The U.S. Looks at Its Churches, New York, Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1930, p. 23 and Appendix, Table XXIV.

[15] E. deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, Rural Social Trends, pp. 211–215; E. deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, Rural Trends in Depression Years, p. 299.

[16] Brunner and Lorge, *loc. cit.*, p. 301.

All of this indicates that the open-country churches are dying more rapidly than the village churches and that an increasing number of farm people are worshipping in village churches.

2. CHURCH MEMBERSHIP. Although the total number of church members increased during the 12 years from 1924 to 1936, this increase was not so rapid as that of the total population, and the proportion of church members in the total population declined from 35.3 percent in 1924 to 32.9 percent in 1930 and 32.8 percent in 1936, for all the churches in the communities of the 140 villages studied.[17] It will be noted that for the whole country there was almost no decline in the proportion of church membership in the last 6 years. This differed, however, for different regions. Thus the Middle Atlantic and Middle Western states showed a steady decrease in the proportion from 1924 to 1936, whereas in the South and the Far West the proportion declined from 1924 to 1930, but showed a definite increase between 1930 and 1936.

The proportion of members from the open country in the village churches increased steadily during the twelve-year period; in 1924 there were 31.6 percent, in 1930 35.5 percent, and in 1936 38.2 percent.[18] In the 21 counties studied the proportion for Protestant churches increased from 22.6 percent in 1920 to 39.3 percent in 1930. This increase was largest in the smaller villages and less in the larger villages, indicating that as open-country churches decrease in membership or are closed, their members prefer the churches in the smaller villages.

3. CHURCH ATTENDANCE. This has also declined. The average monthly attendance of each person in the population of the 140 village communities studied was 1.2 in 1924, 1.1 in 1930, and 0.96 in 1936. The decline in attendance for the whole population was, therefore, 20 percent for the whole twelve-year period and 12.7 percent between 1930 and 1936. If the rate of attendance is computed on the basis of the number of attendants in relation to the church membership, the average monthly attendance per resident church members was 3.9 in 1924, 3.6 in 1930, and 2.8 in 1936. This shows a larger decline in the attendance of church members than in the total population, amounting to a decline of one-fifth in the last period, which was three times as rapid a decline as in the first six-year period. The decline in attendance per church member occurred in all regions, but in the Far West

[17] *Ibid.*, Table 96, p. 304.
[18] *Ibid.*, Table 98, p. 307.

there was an increase in the attendance per person of the total community population between 1930 and 1936.[19]

4. Effect of the Depression. The above data indicate that the decline of the rural churches was checked during the years of the industrial depression, 1930 to 1935. One might think that during this period churches would have combined to reduce expenses, but what actually happened was that many churches were reopened or bolstered up to afford a living to unemployed ministers.[20]

5. Causes of Church Decline. Many factors have contributed to this relative decline of the rural church, and it is difficult to determine which have been the more important for they are all interrelated.

(*a*) *Declining Population.* We have seen that there has been a marked decline in the rural population over considerable areas of the older agricultural sections of the country (p. 77). Between 1910 and 1920 one-third of the counties in the country lost population, and between 1920 and 1930 41 percent of the counties, containing one-fourth of the national population, declined in population. These declining counties were concentrated in certain sections, for three-fifths of them were in one-fourth of the states.[21] This meant that there was less population to support the existing churches, and in many cases the decline was so large as to force some of them to close.

(*b*) *Overchurching.* During the period of rapid settlement of the Midwestern and Far Western states, denominational competition among the Protestant sects was at its height and, as a result, many more churches were established than were actually needed. With a decrease in population in certain areas, their maintenance became difficult or impossible, for the country churches averaged only 77 members in 1930, and the village churches 128 members, in the 21 counties studied by Brunner.

(*c*) *Decline of Sectarianism.* This change was also hastened by the fact that the younger generation is not so keenly interested in the theological differences which divided the various Protestant denominations in the days of their fathers and grandfathers. Marked differences of belief still exist between some of the more conservative and the more liberal denominations, but the differences between the leading Protestant denominations are becoming less and less important. The differences between individual churches in any rural community are now more with regard to the economic and social status of their members than with regard to their denominational differences.

[19] *Ibid.*, Table 97, p. 305.

[20] See Dwight Sanderson, "Research Memorandum on Rural Life During the Depression," New York, Social Science Research Council, Bul. 34, 1937, p. 91.

[21] See Kolb and Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, p. 221.

(*d*) *Competing Interests.* In the small isolated community of the days of mud roads and the horse and buggy, the rural church was the central institution because it had little, if any, competition for the social life of its people. Today there are strong high schools and consolidated schools which are the centers of the life of the young people; there are Scouts and 4-H clubs for the boys and girls; there are numerous organizations of farm men and women, such as the Grange and the Farm and Home Bureaus; there are moving picture theaters and other attractions with which the church has to compete. This necessitates a change in the program of the church, which has not been effected as rapidly as the changing environmental conditions.

(*e*) *Financial Support.* Decreasing population has meant a larger financial cost per member in many sections, but even with the same population the farm income has relatively declined while taxes and the cost of living and of supporting churches have gone up, so that the financial burden of church support has increased very greatly, as we shall see below. In many sections the increase of farm tenancy has cut down the ability of farmers to contribute to the support of the church and has lessened the permanency of their attachment to it.

(*f*) *Other Factors.* The slowness with which the church changes its program of work to meet changing conditions, particularly with regard to the nature of the organizations which it maintains for different ages and sexes, and the type of ministerial leadership which it is able to command are other factors which affect the hold of the church on its constituents.

B. FINANCES

Because of its small membership the financial problem of the rural church has become increasingly acute. We have already observed the increasing taxes and the decreasing income of the farmer during the period following World War I. But with less ability to support it, the cost of maintaining a rural church rose sharply from 1920 to 1930. In the 21 counties studied by Brunner, the average budget of Protestant churches in the villages increased from $1,742 to $2,238, or 28.5 percent, and that of the open-country church increased from $699 to $828, or 18.5 percent.[22]

Mather has shown that in Allegany County, New York, the total financial load per member for the rural churches was practically three times greater in 1930 than in 1900 (Fig. 81), and that, whereas in 1900 the cost of maintaining the rural churches of seven denominations in that county was 1.17 percent of the value of the farm products, in

[22] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

1930 it was 2.05 percent, or an increase of 75 percent in the proportion.[23]

This increase in cost has had a very definite effect in decreasing the proportion of the church budget devoted to benevolences, such as foreign and home missions, maintenance of educational institutions, charities, etc. Contributions for these purposes came to a maximum about 1920, incident to the Interchurch World Movement and various denominational drives for benevolences, and then had a sharp decline.[24] Owing largely to the increased cost of living, salaries and other local expenses formed a corresponding increased proportion of the budget.

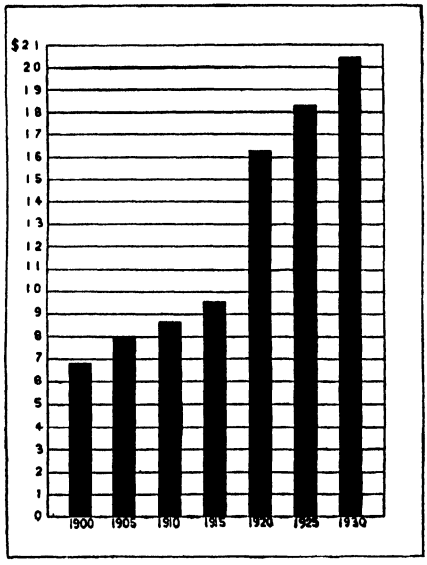


FIG. 81. Average financial load per church member, Allegany County, New York, 1900–1930. (After Mather.)

It must be remembered, however, that during the depression years of 1930 to 1936 the total expenses of the rural Protestant churches declined about one-fifth.[25] This resulted in sharply decreased salaries for rural ministers.

That the financial condition of rural churches is quite largely due to an excessive number of churches is shown by the fact that the expenditures per church decrease with the number of churches per 1,000 population. Churches in villages with 4 or more churches per 1,000 population had average expenditures only 42 percent of those in villages with under 2 churches per 1,000 in villages in 1924; in 1930 they had only 36 percent as much. A considerable part of the larger financial load of a large number of churches per village is due to the cost of improvements in church property, as the average value of church property rose about one-fourth from 1924 to 1930.[26]

[23] W. G. Mather, Jr., "The Rural Churches of Allegany County," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 587, March, 1934, pp. 8, 14.

[24] *Cf. ibid.*, Table 5, p. 8, and Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, Table 100, p. 309; Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, Table 102, p. 232.

[25] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

[26] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

What are the means for improving such a serious situation in the financial condition of rural churches? Obviously, one of the simplest ways would be to reduce the number of competing churches, but this is a slow process. Without resorting to this there are a number of ways in which the rural church may be more successfully financed. The first is to use a carefully prepared budget and an every-member canvass for regular subscriptions. Where such methods have been systematically used over a period of years, a marked improvement in church support has resulted. Far too many rural churches, particularly the smaller churches with nonresident ministers, depend upon collections taken at the services and upon the efforts of their women's organizations for their support. In a survey of the rural churches of Cortland County, New York, in 1936–37, it was found that only 44 percent of the receipts were from subscriptions, 36 percent were from loose offerings, and 20 percent were from fairs and suppers. In these churches the ladies' aid societies contributed about one-eighth of the total expenses.[27]

In sections where farmers are dependent upon a seasonal income from the sale of their products it is obviously more difficult for them to make regular payments of subscriptions, but systematic effort will greatly increase their response in regular giving.[28] "Stewardship" and "tithing" campaigns have greatly increased the income of rural churches in several denominations.

Another method, which has spread rapidly, is that of raising "the Lord's Acre" and contributing the proceeds to the church.[29] To accomplish this, either individuals set aside one or more acres, the crops from which will be contributed to the church, or the church acquires or individuals donate land which is operated collectively by the church members, and the income is given to its support.

When all these devices have been used, the fact remains that in many rural communities it is impossible to pay adequate salaries to competent rural ministers with the present income of their farmers. As we shall see in considering the financial support of rural schools, there is a steady trend toward equalizing the cost of rural schools within the whole area of a county and by state subsidies, so that the cities—to which much of the rural wealth flows—share in the cost of maintaining

[27] H. E. Hammer, The Rural Churches of Cortland County, New York, M. S. thesis. Cornell Univ. Library, 1938, Tables XIV, XV, XXI.

[28] See E. deS. Brunner, Tested Methods in Town and Country Churches, New York, Geo. H. Doran Co., 1923, Chap. VI, pp. 109 ff.

[29] Information concerning this plan may be obtained from Rev. Dumont Clarke, Asheville, N. C., who has been the leader in promoting it.

country schools. There is equal reason for equalizing the cost of supporting the rural church. This has been partially accomplished by so-called home missionary aid from city to rural churches, but in too many instances this has been used chiefly to maintain competing churches. The problem goes much farther and deeper. The city church depends quite largely upon members and clergy who have come from the country, and without them it would lose much of its vitality. If it is just to tax the cities for the support of rural schools, is it not equally fair for them to help in maintaining the rural churches through an equalization of church funds, so that the rural minister may have an adequate standard of living, may be able to purchase the books he needs, and educate his children? Such an equalization of church costs is being seriously considered by some denominations and has already been put into effect by the Free Church of Scotland. There is need for a thorough study of the problem of financing rural churches, with the same thoroughness that has been given the problem of financing the rural schools, and when such a study has been made it will be apparent that there is need of a fundamental revision of the idea of "home mission" aid to rural churches to one of a common support of the whole church enterprise according to the ability of the several churches, city and rural, to contribute to the common budget.

C. THE PROGRAM OF THE RURAL CHURCH

One reason for the decline of many rural churches is the fact that their program of work has not been modified to meet the changing needs of their constituents and the competition of other agencies. The chief function of the rural Protestant Church has always been the Sunday preaching of the minister. In the days of the early circuit riders, church services came at rare intervals and were an important event. As the country became settled, farm people mostly attended small open-country churches which were served by a nonresident pastor from the nearest village. Distance and poor transportation prevented the minister from doing much pastoral work in their neighborhoods, and he was not expected to do much more than meet his regular preaching appointments. His sermons were devoted largely to doctrinal dissertations, to denunciation of sin and worldly amusements, and were directed to the salvation of the individual for a better life in the hereafter. Every year or so "protracted services" or "revival" meetings were held for several days for bringing the wayward into the fold. These meetings served as an emotional outlet for the prosaic life of neighborhoods which were isolated from frequent social contacts. This is still the pattern of church life in some sections of our country.

With the improvement of general education, and particularly with the establishment of high schools and consolidated schools, rural people became less interested in preaching and commenced to see the need of an educational program which would build character rather than try to "convert" the individual. Better education revealed the fact that the character of individuals is shaped by the social environment in which they live, that delinquency may be due to a lack of opportunity for wholesome recreation, that superstition is associated with ignorance and may be combated by better schools. Gradually there has arisen the idea of building the Kingdom of God locally in each rural community, rather than preparing the individuals for a life of bliss hereafter. This means that the church must give relatively more attention to its educational program, to the work of the minister as an educator and pastor rather than merely as a preacher or exhorter, and that the church must consider its relation to other institutions, organizations, and agencies in the community which are working for its improvement. The rural church no longer has a monopoly on being the social center for its people or in being the only organization devoted to their betterment.

Obviously an educational program looking toward the building of character and community improvement cannot be developed by a non-resident pastor who preaches fortnightly. A different type of minister is needed, as well as a different type of building, adapted to the needs of the Sunday school, the young people's organizations, and other church groups, which will make it a church home rather than a meeting house. The new emphasis on education means more effort in training Sunday school teachers and leaders for work with youth in Scout and similar organizations, more pastoral work by the minister and his leadership in civic movements for community improvement. The importance of a resident pastor for this new type of program has been conclusively shown by the late Dr. C. Luther Fry. After a careful analysis of church surveys in 32 typical counties, he says: "As a rule, only the churches with resident pastors have the necessary paid leadership to put on broad socio-religious programs." [30]

Too much of the energy of rural church members has gone into church suppers, socials, fairs, and bazaars for raising funds or for enticing outsiders. These social events have their place and are a desirable feature in the life of any organization, but they should be devoted to promoting sociability, and the energy devoted to their doubtful efficiency for money-raising may be more profitably used in lay leadership of church groups.

[30] C. L. Fry, Diagnosing the Rural Church, p. 181.

On the other hand, there is much evidence that the younger and more progressive rural pastors are awake to the need of relating the program of the church to the social and economic life of the community. Many of them have been active in promoting the cooperative movement, and the recent conferences of rural church leaders on land tenure evidence their appreciation of the need of the church to relate itself to such problems.[31]

Such a change in emphasis of the program of the rural church will not decrease its importance in the life of its people, but will give it a larger place. With the increasing complexity of modern life and the conflicting interests and competing values, there is need as never before for the church to interpret the meaning of life and to uphold the values which the experience of the human race throughout the ages has found most conducive to human welfare, values which have always found their best expression in organized religion, whatever its creed.

D. ORGANIZATION

This changing program of the rural church requires a consideration of its various component organizations and the part they have in its work. The Sunday school is the most important department of the work of the rural church next to its regular Sunday services. Sunday schools are found in about 90 percent of the rural churches and often are held in school houses where no church exists. The village Sunday schools enroll an average of 125; the country churches adjoining them enroll only 75. From 1924 to 1930 the village Sunday schools had an increased enrollment of 14 percent, whereas those in the open country showed no gain; but from 1930 to 1936 the village Sunday schools had a very slight decrease in enrollment, whereas those in the open country gained 13 percent.[32] This probably was due to economizing on transportation during the depression. However, the percent of the total population in Sunday school increased very slightly, from 22.8 to 23.9 percent, from 1924 to 1930, and the ratio of Sunday school enrollment

[31] These conferences were sponsored by the Land Tenure Committee of the Town and Country Committee of the Home Missions Council and the Federal Council of Churches, and the Farm Foundation. The proceedings of the second conference held at Nashville, Tenn., May 9–11, 1941, have been mimeographed by the Farm Foundation (600 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.) under the title, "The People, The Land, and The Church in Rural Life." See also Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, Information Service, Vol. XX, No. 35, Nov. 1, 1941, "The Church and Farm Ownership."

[32] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, Table 102, p. 313.

to church membership remained practically the same, at about three-fourths.[33]

Evidence is very scanty as to the advances in the organization or instruction in rural Sunday schools. Although graded lessons have been available for a number of years, most rural Sunday schools are using the uniform lessons, the same for all ages. In the churches of Cortland County, New York,[34] in 1936 only one-sixth were using the graded lessons. This is partly due to the small size of the schools, which had an average attendance of only 35, and also to the fact that the schools had not been departmentalized by ages, there being an average of only 1.7 departments per school. The church building also affects class organization and program of study, for these rural churches of Cortland County averaged only 2.6 rooms for Sunday school purposes, making it difficult to have separate departments. The rural church may well compare the efficiency of its Sunday schools with that of the consolidated public schools. It will see that its traditional policies will need to be modified to make possible larger Sunday schools where there is a sufficient number of pupils of similar ages and a grading of instruction adapted to their capacity, as is done in the public schools. Here and there school buses are being used for transporting children to Sunday school. This, of course, makes larger units possible. Where the buses are owned by the school district there may be legal difficulties in their use for this purpose, but some means should be found whereby this objection may be equitably adjusted, so that the considerable investment in buses may be utilized to the maximum for the good of the community.

From 10 to 15 percent of the rural churches have training classes for Sunday school teachers, and about one-twelfth of them are engaged in some form of weekday religious education in cooperation with the public schools. There has been a marked gain in the past decade in the number of daily vacation Bible schools, and more than one-fourth of the churches in the villages studied operated them in 1936.[35]

The young people's societies were formerly among the strongest organizations in the rural church, but they have declined in number and membership since World War I. In the 1890's the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor swept the country and aroused great enthusiasm. It was an interdenominational organization of which denominational leaders soon became so afraid that they organized their own sectarian groups, Epworth League, Baptist Young People's

[33] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Table 57, p. 357.
[34] H. E. Hammer, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 63.
[35] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

Union, Luther League, and the like. The result was that in the average rural community there were too few young people in any one church to make a successful group, and the young people's societies rapidly decreased in importance.

In 1920 it was found that only 35 percent of the rural churches throughout the country had young people's societies,[36] and the proportion was about the same in 1930.[37] In Allegany County, New York, the membership in young people's societies of two denominations decreased from 1,844 in 1900 to 317 in 1930, or 83 percent. In 1900 there were 23 societies with an average of 80 members; in 1930 there were only 13 societies with an average of 24 members.[38]

Other factors, such as the growth of high schools and the advent of the automobile, undoubtedly had their effect on the decrease in young people's societies, but the fact remains that, where it has been possible to get the young people together from several churches so as to have a group large enough for successful activities, young people's societies have prospered and have been a source of great strength for the church.

The average rural church has too few young people for a successful society. When the young people combine from all the churches in a community, they can have a satisfactory organization. They associate in high school and social activities and they would work together in church groups, but are held apart by the sectarian zeal of their pastors.

With the present discussion of the problems of rural youth, there would seem to be every reason for rural churches to bestir themselves with regard to their young people's organizations.

The Ladies' Aid Society or the Women's Missionary Society has long been a mainstay of the rural church, yet in 1930 only 55 percent of the village churches [39] had any organization of this kind, which was the same percentage found in 179 counties in 1920.[40] The great majority of these women's groups have as their sole object the raising of money to meet church expenses or make improvements. Most of them have a stereotyped program of suppers and bazaars. But the ladies' aids are commencing to feel the competition of Home Bureaus and farm women's clubs fostered by the extension services, and here and

[36] H. N. Morse and E. deS. Brunner, The Town and Country Church in the United States, p. 161.

[37] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Tables 60, 61.

[38] W. G. Mather, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[39] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Table 60.

[40] Morse and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

there one is undertaking a larger program for its members, such as studying the problems of motherhood and family relations, or using its opportunity for teaching domestic economy.

Men's clubs or brotherhoods are scarce in rural churches, but where they exist they have demonstrated that they can greatly strengthen the work of the church. In 1920 less than 1 percent of the rural churches studied in 179 counties had any men's organization; in 1930 nearly 5 percent of the churches in agricultural village communities reported them.

Organizations for boys and girls, such as Scout and Campfire organizations, are also rare in rural churches. In 1930 but 1.2 percent of the churches in village communities studied reported organizations for boys, other than Sunday school classes, and only 3.1 percent reported any for girls.

One reason for the limited number of organizations and the restricted program of the average rural church is the fact that its building often consists of a single auditorium for Sunday services which has no space or facilities for other meetings or social functions. There has been a considerable advance in this matter by building basement rooms or additions which are used for dining rooms and kitchens, extra Sunday school classrooms, and social purposes. In many cases where competing churches have combined or federated, one of the old buildings has been converted into a parish house for these uses.[41]

One of the chief problems of the rural, as well as the city, church is the integration of the work of its various groups through some sort of church council, rather than merely by the minister.

E. MINISTERIAL LEADERSHIP

We have seen that the success of the church depends very largely upon its employed leader, the minister. It is important, therefore, that he have adequate training for this responsibility. In 1930, 70 percent of the village pastors and 49 percent of the country church pastors in 21 counties were college or seminary graduates or had graduated from both, whereas 29 percent of the village and 51 percent of the country pastors had less than a college education. It is evident, therefore, that the village churches have pastors who have much better training. There is also a difference between those who are resident in their parishes and those who are nonresident. This is particularly true for the country churches, in which 64 percent of the resident pastors had

[41] See E. deS. Brunner, The New Country Church Building, New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1917.

graduated from college or seminary or both, but this was true of only 38 percent of those who were nonresident.[42] It is the small country churches with nonresident ministers which have the poorest leadership, for in 1930 nearly two-thirds, 61.4 percent, of their pastors had not completed college or seminary training, whereas this was true of only 36.2 percent of those with resident pastors. There has, however, been a notable improvement in their professional training in recent years. The survey of agricultural village communities in 1936[43] shows that 43.9 percent had been trained in college and seminary as against 33.2 percent in these areas in 1924, and this increase was larger for the nonresident than for the resident pastors. Contrasting with this condition of the Protestant churches over nine-tenths of the Roman Catholic clergy had college and seminary education.

A major handicap of many rural ministers is their lack of knowledge of agriculture and country life, a knowledge which is essential for them to understand the problems and attitudes of their parishioners. As yet very few theological seminaries give any special training for the rural ministry, although most normal schools have developed special training courses for rural school teachers. A recent recommendation of the Town and Country Committee of the Home Missions Council, says, "It is obvious that ministers who are to work in rural fields should have a specialized training in rural work."[44] To meet this situation there has been established in the last three years a conference of the theological seminaries and the colleges of agriculture, which has aroused considerable interest among both parties and which promises much for ruralizing the point of view of the seminaries and giving new standing to recruiting prospective rural pastors in the agricultural colleges. Many state agricultural colleges also hold summer short courses for town and country ministers, with the cooperation of denominational boards and state councils of churches.

Even with better transportation it is difficult for a nonresident pastor to give adequate leadership, and this is one of the reasons for the decline of the open-country church. In 1930[45] in 21 counties 45 percent of all the white Protestant churches had resident pastors, of whom 26 percent gave full time and 19 percent part time to the local church; 48 percent had nonresident pastors, and 7 percent were vacant. Again, the village churches had the advantage of more full-time resident pas-

[42] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Table 65.

[43] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, Table 104, p. 319.

[44] A National Program for the Rural Church, New York, Home Missions Council, 1938.

[45] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Table 67, p. 362.

tors, 62 percent of them having resident pastors, as against 24 percent for the country churches; only 23 percent of the village churches had nonresident pastors, whereas 68 percent, or three times as many, of the country churches depended on them. Four times as many village churches had full-time resident pastors as did the country churches, and twice as many village churches had part-time resident pastors as did those in the country.

On the average, each rural minister serves 1.7 churches. In 1920, 45 percent of the rural ministers served single churches; 25 percent served two points; 15 percent served three points, and 15 percent had four or more churches.[46]

Considering the training he must have for efficient service, the rural pastor is poorly paid compared to members of other professions. In 1930 the average salary of rural pastors in 21 counties was $1,409, those in village churches being $1,499 and those in country churches $1,125. The salary of resident pastors was larger than that of nonresident pastors, being 40 percent higher in the villages and 22 percent higher in the country churches. This probably reflects the better training of the resident pastors, as described above. In all cases, the salary is exclusive of the use of a parsonage, which is furnished to two-thirds to three-fourths of the village pastors and to slightly over one-fourth of the country pastors. This salary scale was a marked advance over that of 1910. Salaries rose sharply between 1920 and 1925, and remained about the same to 1930, but since then they have declined very seriously, the average of those in the 140 villages studied being only $1,059 in 1936 as against $1,433 in 1930, or a drop of 26 percent.[47] In 1936 village pastors were paid no more than village school teachers, although they need much more preparation. The nonresident pastors felt this reduction most seriously, for their already small salaries were reduced 32 percent, whereas the resident pastors lost only 24 percent. It would seem probable that this might influence the abandonment of some country churches, were it not for the fact that many of these pastors are compelled to serve on small salaries because they have no other opportunity. Because of their meager salaries, in 1930 somewhat over one-third of the country pastors had another occupation from which they derived additional income. Farming was the source of this additional income for half of those in the country and one-fourth of those in the villages.

The small salaries of rural pastors result in the best of them being constantly drained to the towns and cities, for, having enjoyed a college

[46] Morse and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[47] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

education, they wish to be able to help their children to attend college. This is usually impossible on the compensation received, for, although salaries have increased, costs of living are higher and a minister must now keep an automobile, which is probably more expensive than a horse.

Another handicap of the rural pastors is their short tenure. Over half of them stay less than 3 years in a place. This has shown some improvement, for in 1930 the average length of pastorate was 2⅔ years, whereas in 1924 it was only 2 years, in the 140 village communities studied.[48] There seems to be little difference in the length of pastorate between village and country churches. When the main function of the minister was to be a good preacher for Sunday services, the length of his stay in one church was not so important; but if he is to be an educator, a pastor in the best sense of the word, and a leader in community improvement, he needs a year or two to get acquainted with his people and their community before he can do effective work. One important reason for short pastorates is that some of these men are not wanted longer. On the other hand, it has been repeatedly demonstrated that the most successful rural church leader is not the brilliant pulpit speaker, but the man who knows his people and who is a real pastor to whom they go for counsel and leadership because they have confidence in him. Such men have long pastorates and build up strong rural churches, because they are real leaders and they develop leadership among their people. The elimination of useless competition between local churches would do much to reduce the antagonisms which cause many a rural pastor to seek another church.

With all these handicaps the remarkable fact is that there is such a large proportion of rural ministers who are doing as creditable a job as can be expected under the circumstances, and it is encouraging to observe that many of the younger men are preparing themselves specifically for rural work, and are successfully meeting their problems by the use of new methods and programs of work adapted to the current needs of their parishioners.

F. COMPETITION FROM OVERCHURCHING

We have seen that the excessive number of small churches is one of the causes of the decline of the rural church. There is one church for every 300 rural people, whereas denominational leaders have agreed that one church for each 1,000 people would be a much more desirable standard, where the people are fairly homogeneous as to nationality

[48] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

and tradition. Inasmuch as sectarian differences do not mean so much to the present generation as to their forebears, there is a growing discontent with the maintenance of small, struggling churches, which cannot support a full-time minister and an adequate program, and which require an undue expenditure of funds and time of their small membership.

There is abundant evidence that small churches are declining and larger churches are growing, and that it is the larger churches which furnish a program meeting the present needs of their people. Thus the survey of 140 village communities came to the following conclusion concerning the changes from 1924 to 1930:

> . . . that the proportion of communities with fewer than two churches for each 1,000 inhabitants has increased by one-fourth; that churches in these communities showed a greater gain in average membership, in total budget, in per capita contributions to all causes and to benevolent enterprises, than churches in communities in which the number of churches was greater. In fact, in some particulars the churches in this group were the only ones to show gains, while those in the more competitive situations registered losses. These gains were scored despite the fact that denominational policy increased the number of resident ministers in the competitive situations.[49]

The existence of this unprofitable competition can be very largely charged to unwise home mission aid from the various denominational boards. Half of the 140 villages studied by Brunner had some church that was receiving home mission aid. In fifty places there was only one such church, but in a score there were two or three aided churches, and in thirty-seven of them, or one-fourth, this aid was competing against an organization of similar polity.

> It was quite noticeable that the large grants were made to churches in the most competitive situations. . . . Thus in these villages where two or more churches were aided, the average grant was $421 per church, or almost $1,000 per village. In the places where only one church was assisted, the average grant was $374. . . . Furthermore there was a higher proportion, 18.6 percent, of aided churches in small villages, which have been shown to have the most churches per 1,000 population, than in the medium or large villages where 15.0 percent and 13.6 percent, respectively, were receiving aid.[50]

In many places, particularly in the West North Central States, competition of churches is the result of the attachment of nationality groups

[49] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
[50] Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

to the particular churches of their fatherlands. Amalgamation of churches is difficult as long as differences of language and custom persist, and will be effected only as younger generations are assimilated into a common American heritage. In other instances an unnecessary number of churches are maintained because of social and economic distinctions, as between landlords and tenants, the well-to-do and socially elite villagers and the farmers, or farmers and factory people. Where such class distinctions exist each tends to segregate in some one church. A more serious cause of many small, competing churches is the rise of various emotional, fundamentalist sects, largely composed of the poorer type of people who do not fit in with the leading Protestant denominations, and whose members get satisfaction in considering themselves more religious than others. That such class distinctions in the church are unnecessary is shown by the manner in which all classes worship together in Roman Catholic churches.

G. CHURCH COOPERATION

In view of the responsibility of the home mission boards for encouring undue competition in the past, it is encouraging to note that one of the most forward steps has been taken by several of the leading Protestant denominations, under the leadership of the Home Missions Council, in creating a master list of all the communities in which home mission aid is being given to competing churches. This is done by states and the executives of the denominations concerned and representatives of state or county councils of churches work with the local churches concerned to eliminate the unnecessary churches as amicably as possible. This will be a slow process, but the commitment of the leading denominations to such a procedure is an important advance and definite progress has already been made.

The largest progress in reducing the number of competitive churches has, however, been made by the local churches themselves in forming united or community churches, which under various forms effect a combination of churches to serve the whole community. The term *community church* has been widely used to describe this type of church, and there is a national conference of Community Church Workers, which has aided in fostering the movement, and has received recognition from cooperative church bodies. The distinctive features of the community church have been stated by David R. Piper, one of the leaders of the movement, as follows:

> The community church also is organized upon a new principle of cohesion. The denominational group holds its members together in the

unity of a common theological belief or tradition; the community church substitutes for this a united loyalty to a common spiritual purpose expressing itself in a community program.

The two fundamental features, then, of all community churches are, that they substitute the community for the sect as their primary basis of organization, and purpose for dogma as their principle of cohesion.[51]

However, the term community church has been used so loosely and applied to so many forms of churches that it is difficult to define; the term united churches is somewhat more inclusive in that it expresses the movement toward uniting competing churches.

There are three main types of *united churches: the undenominational church, the federated church,* and *the denominational united or community church.* In each type the chief difference is, as indicated by Piper, that the service of the community is put foremost and persons of various denominations are admitted to membership. The movement for this type of church started about 1912, but received its greatest momentum during World War I, when there was a shortage of pastors, coal was scarce, and costs of church maintenance were high. Furthermore, people of competing churches worked together during the war on Red Cross and other war projects and came to like each other better and wonder why they could not unite their religious forces in peace times. As a result there was a considerable increase in this movement up to 1930, which seems to have been checked by the industrial depression of subsequent years. In some areas, however, the depression seems to have acted like World War I to encourage the uniting of churches. Thus in a study of rural churches in Missouri, made in 1934, it is stated that one-half of the 180 churches organized since 1925 were of united types, and the authors say: "The recent 'depression' brought about conditions in many instances under which some form of cooperative endeavor was imperative for the continued existence of some churches. Cooperation was reported in such forms as combinations between denominations for the purpose of using one church building and for the purpose of using one pastor as well as one building." [52]

In 1924, a survey of the Northern States (there are few united churches in the South) revealed 977 churches of this type, of which 312 were federated, 137 undenominational, 491 denominational united, and 37 affiliated.[53] Piper reported that in April, 1927, he found 1,066

[51] D. R. Piper, Community Churches, Chicago, Willett, Clark and Colby, 1928, p. 28. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[52] M. W. Sneed and Douglas Ensminger, "The Rural Church in Missouri," Res. Bul. 225, Univ. of Mo. AES, June, 1935, p. 61.

[53] E. R. Hooker, United Churches, p. 27.

rural united churches. Interesting features of this movement are that it is chiefly rural, more than four-fifths of the community churches being rural, and that they are chiefly in the villages where competition was keenest. The different types of united churches may now be distinguished.

FEDERATED CHURCHES. "A federated church is composed of two or more organized churches differing in denomination, each related to its own denominational body, which have entered into an agreement to act together as regards local affairs. The denominational units retain their own rolls, usually keep in the hands of their own trustees their separate property, and almost always continue to send benevolences to their separate denominational boards. They combine in calling and paying a minister, hold services of worship in common, almost invariably conduct a common Sunday school, and frequently join in other local activities. . . . A federated church differs from united churches of the other types in that although it conducts most of its activities as a single church, it preserves the organic integrity of its denominational elements." [54]

UNDENOMINATIONAL CHURCHES. As their name indicates, these churches have no denominational affiliation and are entirely independent, though with a religious condition for membership. They have often been called "union" or "community" churches, but these terms have been used with such varied meanings that the term undenominational is more definitive.

DENOMINATIONAL UNITED CHURCHES. The denominational united church is one "connected with a single denominational body, that has definitely undertaken or had allocated to it responsibility for the religious needs of a public not confined to one denominational group, and that includes in its membership—whether regular or associate—elements of different denominational origins. Members received from other than the official denomination are not required to surrender creed, form of baptism, or denominational loyalty." [55]

AFFILIATED CHURCHES. There is a fourth type of united church (fewest in number), which combines the characteristics of the undenominational and denominational united churches to an extent. A church of this type has the freedom to form its own constitution and control its own affairs as does the undenominational church, but it connects itself, or nominally affiliates, with a denominational body for cer-

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 36.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

tain specific purposes, usually for assistance in obtaining ministers and for the distribution of benevolences.

All these types of united churches are superior to the strictly denominational competitive church, but each type has its advantages and disadvantages. The undenominational church is handicapped in obtaining new pastors, and many of them have been wrecked by the unwise choice of a new pastor. Where the lay leadership is unusually strong, undenominational churches have been successful. Federated churches are cumbersome arrangements from an administrative standpoint, and it would seem likely that most of them will ultimately become either denominational united churches or affiliated churches. Miss Hooker's study showed that about one-fourth of the federations formed had been dissolved, but that if they lasted for 2 years they were likely to be permanent, and that the average age of those studied was over 5 years.[56] The federated church is, therefore, one of the most important means of uniting competing churches.

The denominational united churches are most favored by denominational executives and seem to have more stability because of their denominational connection. They usually arise where there was no church and where denominations have agreed on one of them establishing a united church; where there was but one church which broadened its program and welcomed into membership persons of other denominations; or where there were two or more churches which the people were unable to support and by agreement they decided upon forming a united church under one denomination, which in some cases was different from either of those existing. Where the spirit of the united church and open membership is maintained, this type has obvious advantages and, even if it reverts to a strictly denominational church, unnecessary competition has been eliminated.

It is desirable that another survey of the progress of united churches be made to show the effect of the industrial depression upon them. It is important to note that this whole movement for united churches arose chiefly from the rural churches themselves, and that it assumed such proportions that the executives of leading denominations are now working together to remove competition by establishing a united denominational church in places where there is not room for more than one church and in new fields where formerly they would have sought to have established competitive churches.[57]

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 59; for another evaluation of the different types of churches see D. R. Piper, Community Churches.

[57] For procedure in forming united churches see E. R. Hooker, How Can Local Churches Come Together? New York, Home Missions Council, 1928, p. 82.

THE LARGER PARISH. Another type of cooperation among rural churches is the larger parish. It does not undertake to change the number of existing churches, but to get them to work together in a larger program for the whole community. This usually results in the ultimate elimination of unnecessary churches. Although the term larger parish was first used to describe this type of organization in 1914,[58] three-fourths or more of the larger parishes have been organized since 1927. The larger parish movement has been unfortunate in that it was going forward rapidly when the depression appeared in 1930, but in spite of that it has continued to grow, so that in 1934 Dr. Brunner[59] found 197 larger parishes throughout the country.

The term larger parish has been used for several very different types of church cooperation, so that it is difficult to give an exact definition which will include the characteristics of all of them. In some cases the larger parish has meant a single central church with a staff of several workers covering the whole community, analogous to a consolidated school. In others, it consists of an association of the existing churches of a whole community in a common program of work which no one of them individually could maintain. Dr. Mark Rich has defined the form of larger parish which he believes to be most promising as follows: "A larger parish is a group of churches in a larger community or a potential religious community, working together through a larger parish council and a larger parish staff to serve the people of the area with a diversified ministry."[60]

This definition includes three essential elements: first, that it is community-wide; second, that it involves bona fide interchurch cooperation; third, that it involves a specialization in training and service of the professional, employed leaders. The churches of a larger parish elect representatives to a council which meets from time to time to pass upon general policies and a program of work for the whole parish. It employs any members of the staff who are employed by the larger parish. The salaried ministers and special workers form a staff which meets frequently to plan the immediate program. The larger parish makes possible a specialization of the ministry through the employment of workers trained in special fields, such as religious education, music, and work with youth, who could not be employed by any one church alone; also by utilizing each of the ministers to work with the other churches of the parish in the field of work for which he has

[58] See H. S. Mills, The Making of a Country Parish, New York, Missionary Education Movement, 1914, which describes his larger parish at Benzonia, Mich.

[59] E. deS. Brunner, The Larger Parish.

[60] Mark Rich, "The Larger Parish," Cornell Ext. Bul. 408.

special aptitude or training. The most frequent example of this specialization is the employment by the larger parish of a woman director of religious education, who conducts weekday classes in religious education in cooperation with the public schools, assists the Sunday schools in their organization and training of teachers, and often organizes a social and recreational program for the young people. This is a work for which most ministers are not prepared and which requires special training.

The churches in a larger parish conduct their own work and raise their own budgets, except as they are assisted by the larger parish staff for whose work they raise a joint budget. This makes possible a much more intensive and diversified program of work than is possible for any one minister or church working alone. As they cooperate in pushing a common program for the whole community, the competition which formerly occurred between individual churches tends to disappear and often some of them combine into some form of united church. The merit of the larger parish is that it focuses attention on the common problem of all the churches of the community and, by getting their people to actively work together, it builds up a cooperative instead of a competitive spirit. By joint effort the young people's organizations can often be combined and they can have such features as summer camps, week-end conferences, dramatics, and social events which would not be possible for an individual church competing with its neighbors for support.

Although there have been many failures of the larger parishes because of inadequate leadership, lack of the support of denominational executives, and financial difficulties, the people who have enjoyed the advantages of a larger parish are well-nigh unanimous in their enthusiasm for it and the ministers involved have a sense of fellowship which greatly increases their morale because they are largely freed from the aggravations of competition and are assisting each other in their common program. The larger parish makes an appeal to younger ministers who are not attracted to working in competitive churches. It develops more lay leadership and creates a new morale in the religious work of the community. There are many points of procedure in establishing and maintaining larger parishes which require careful consideration and involve the education of all concerned about the nature and purposes of the parish. These cannot be dealt with here, but they are discussed in Dr. Rich's bulletin and in the report of the survey of Dr. Brunner, cited above. No method of rural church cooperation has more promise for solving the problems of the rural church situation, providing it has the active support of the denominational executives

concerned and is developed slowly for interdenominational cooperation on a community basis.

FORWARD MOVEMENTS. There are many signs of an awakening interest in the work and importance of the rural church. The considerable growth of the Christian Rural Fellowship in several states is one evidence of this. Its national office [61] issues bulletins which contain some of the most helpful literature on the church and religion in rural life.

There is an increase in the number of national denominational boards employing full-time secretaries to promote rural work and they are united through the Town and Country Committee of the Home Missions Council in a cooperative program.

The Catholic Rural Life Conference (see p. 710) has a very active program of rural work and has done outstanding service in promoting the cooperative movement and in showing the relation of the church to the economic problems of agriculture.

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Chapter 16

THE RURAL SCHOOL

I. THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE RURAL SCHOOL

The large majority of rural schools are one-room, one-teacher schools. In the larger villages graded schools are common. The advantages of graded schools have led to rural school consolidation and a rapidly increasing proportion of rural children are now being transported to consolidated schools in which there is a separate room and teacher for each grade. It is evident that the form of association is quite different in the two types of schools. In the one-room school the pupil may have the same teacher for 8 years, although change of teachers usually prevents this. In the graded school the pupil changes teachers every year, or oftener, and in the upper grades often has several teachers at a time.

THE SCHOOL AS A GROUP. We speak glibly of the school as an institution or a group, but just what do we mean by this term? Is the school a group or is it a series of groups? Certainly the teacher-class relationship is a distinct form of association, but is it a group in the ordinary sense of the word? The teacher has entire control of the class and the relationship is more like that of a foreman and the men under him in a factory or other work gang. If there is no free association can we have a true group? In the one-room school, where the progressive teacher plays with the children at recess and where many of the activities of the school are carried on collectively with the teacher as adviser and leader but with the pupils taking initiative and leadership in group projects, there is evidently a type of complex group life, but in the graded school or high school where a teacher has only one grade and often only an individual class in a particular subject for one term there is almost no group life as that term is ordinarily used. Certainly the teacher-class form of association is common to all the school relationships, but in the graded school or high school the group life of the pupils is chiefly extracurricular, in athletics, musical groups, social groups, and various clubs organized to promote special inter-

ests. From a sociological standpoint the one-room school and the graded school or high school are evidently quite different types of association. The one-room school may be conceived as a sort of complex group, but the multiroom school is more of a community with many classes in which association is limited to a term or two and in which group life in the classroom is at a minimum. It is true that the school as a whole has a certain solidarity when it comes into competition with other schools, as in athletics, or in a school festival or the reunion of the alumni, and in that sense may be considered a group. On the other hand, in multiroom schools there is usually a definite cleavage between the teachers and students, the faculty attempting to operate the school so as to obtain a maximum of instruction and discipline and the students trying to evade the regulations in so far as necessary to meet their own immediate desires; this is much the same relationship that exists between the privates and officers in a military company. The ideal of every true teacher is to develop a true group relationship with the class, but with large and frequently changing classes this is difficult if not impossible of accomplishment for the average teacher.

We are forced to conclude, therefore, that the term school refers to a variety of forms of organization, in which the only common form of association is the teacher-class relationship. It seems strange that, although the principles of psychology have been thoroughly applied to methods of teaching and the formation of the curriculum, little seems to have been done to study the sociology of the school, although, as we shall see, certain progressive schools have made important advances in the reform of school relationships, based chiefly, however, upon a psychological analysis of individual needs and behavior rather than resulting from a sociological analysis of the collective relationships.

With this preliminary orientation let us attempt to describe the school as a form of association. We shall deal primarily with the one-room rural school, but will point out the differences in the multiroom school relationships, whether in village or city.

The public school is an inclusive group including all normal children of specified ages, although in the South separate schools are maintained for Negroes. Indeed, in most of the states school attendance for certain ages is now compulsory. There is no means of recognizing a school pupil, although it is assumed that a child of school age belongs to a school. In certain private schools and in France some of the secondary city schools have distinctive caps, jackets, blazers, or school insignia, which indicate the school to which the pupil belongs,

and which probably have certain values for *esprit de corps* and social control.

The composition of the school varies widely as to numbers, from a half dozen in some isolated country schools to hundreds in village and consolidated schools, and thousands in city high schools. Most public schools in this country are coeducational, although in some cities separate high schools are maintained for boys and girls. In general, rural schools have not been able to afford separate schools for the sexes and coeducation is a matter of economy even if separation of the sexes, at least in secondary schools, were preferred. The school population is as heterogeneous in social and economic backgrounds as the total population of the community. Homogeneity would be at a maximum in the one-room country school, and tends to decrease with the size of the school.

School Groups. In the one-room school children of all ages, from approximately 5 or 6 to 14 or 15, associate together, but even in the one-room school there are various subgroups of recitation classes and grades, as well as play groups based on age. In multiroom schools those of approximately the same age are segregated into one-grade rooms and tend to associate more closely, although all grades meet together occasionally for certain purposes and all members associate freely on the playground. These grade groupings become more marked in the higher grades and are most pronounced in the high school. In consolidated schools and high schools there are numerous extracurricular groups, athletic teams, musical organizations, special interest groups, such as home economics, scientific or literary clubs, and certain organizations such as the 4-H clubs, Future Farmers of America, Scouts, Hi-Y clubs, and Girl Reserves, which are associated with the school, if not directly under its supervision, so that the organized life of the students is more outside of the classroom than within it. In recent years there has been a definite tendency in the larger schools to incorporate the meetings of some of these groups in the daily program, and there is a nice question, involving both sociology and psychology, as to how far the school may control such auxiliary organizations without killing their efficiency. By and large, 4-H clubs have not been so successful under teacher leaders as under lay leadership, and the same is true of Scout troops, but some educational administrators have insisted that all educational activities of the child should be under school control. Membership in the school is relatively permanent for the period involved, because the school serves a certain school district and is the only one available.

INTERGROUP RELATIONS. With regard to its intergroup relations, the school is controlled by a school board or board of education, or a school trustee, either elected by the citizens of a local district, a township, or county, or other school administrative district, according to state laws. In all cases the school is indirectly controlled by the state department of education, and in some states having county boards of education they are appointed by the governor or state department of education, so that the citizens have no means of exercising direct control over the local school. There has been an interesting evolution in the control of the school. The earliest schools in this country were private affairs in which some parent or a group of parents employed a teacher who instructed their children in a private home. The teacher was employed as an instructor and was a surrogate for the parents. In the simplest form of rural school administration the people of a school district employed and discharged the teacher and largely controlled the policies of the school, and sent their children to school or not as they saw fit. With the increasing authority of the state and county, involving financial aid, supervision, and compulsory school attendance, the power of the parent in school control has almost disappeared, and the maintenance and control of schools has become a function of the state, except for parochial schools which are controlled by churches, but whose standards are under state supervision.

DOMINANCE AND COMPETITION IN THE SCHOOL. Within the school the relations of its members are personal and informal so far as the pupils are concerned. In the main the relation of the teacher is with the individuals rather than with groups, and is on a personal basis, although in large schools with specialized classes this relationship tends to become impersonal.

Contacts are daily, for 5 or 6 hours a day for 5 days a week during the school year, so that the pupils have more contacts in the group life of the school than in any other group except the family.

Participation in the life of the school is compulsory in that the chief activity is learning prescribed lessons. As most schools are conducted on the basis of instructing the individual and certifying to his proficiency by means of recitations, tests, and examinations, participation is mostly on a competitive rather than a cooperative basis and the system encourages competition for marks of achievement. In some of the so-called progressive schools a definite effort is made to minimize competition through socialized recitations and group projects, the objectives being to explore and master the given topic of interest rather than merely to master certain facts. This effort at encouraging group participation is

being taken over into public school teaching to the extent that the qualifications of the teachers and the size of classes will permit. In the traditional form of school the pupil's participation consisted chiefly in learning lessons and reciting them to the teacher, but in the better organized schools pupils are now being given a wide range of activities in the conduct of the school as a miniature community.

The solidarity of the school as a whole is evinced mostly in its noncurricular activities, in its games, athletics, and social life. Occasionally the exceptional teacher develops a certain solidarity in a one-room school or in an individual class, but in multiroom schools the frequent changing of teachers prevents the growth of solidarity in the class groups.

The control of behavior is in the hands of the teacher and is governed by definite rules and regulations. As a matter of fact, the standards of behavior are quite largely a matter of the mores of the pupils in a given school or class, as many a country school teacher has learned to her sorrow, and only as these mores can be changed by indirect methods is the teacher able to maintain the desired discipline. In general, the attitude of the pupils to the teacher is that she is a sort of policeman to maintain order and punish the recalcitrant. She is not a member of the group, but placed in authority over it and is therefore treated accordingly. In a certain country school the teacher was worried by several rough older boys who bullied the younger ones and were constantly fighting. Finally she called a few of the worst ones together and told them she was tired of trying to keep order on the playground and was appointing them as school police; that they were to keep order and that whatever they said would go, except that they must be fair and must live up to their own rules. From then on she had practically no trouble and her problem boys were her chief aids.

The folkways and mores of school pupils are handed down from one school generation to another for different age levels, and in the upper grades and high school according to classes.

In most schools the individual pupil has no particular role, but in the better organized schools or school rooms individuals are assigned or elected to certain duties in the conduct of its activities. Thus, although in the old-fashioned school there was little opportunity for social interaction between the pupils, the teacher-pupil relation being dominant, in the better schools a definite effort is now being made to give individual responsibility for carrying on group life.

Spatially the membership of the school is confined to a definite district. In the case of consolidated schools and high schools, if the district is too large it may definitely interfere with the participation of

many of the students in extracurricular activities. On the other hand, one of the chief objections to the one-room school is that the district is so small that there are few pupils of similar ages so that classes are too small to make them interesting and the social life of the pupils is limited and unsatisfactory because of the diversity of ages.

The school has its own abode, the school house, of which its members may be proud or ashamed, according to the type of building and its equipment and to the amount of effort which they exert in making it homelike. A very plain country school may be made most attractive by the pupils and their parents, who acquire a real fondness for it, and an expensive city school may be but a collection of rooms, however well furnished.

As an institution the school is relatively permanent, but in its group life the various groups are relatively short-lived, depending upon the type of school and the complexity of its organization. It is a changing community, with succeeding generations every 8 years for the country school and every 4 years for the high school, or every 6, 3, and 3 years if the junior high school system is used.

TEACHER-PUPIL RELATIONSHIPS. Most of the structure and mechanisms of the school have already been indicated. The most essential part of the school group is the teacher. The teacher may or may not be a leader, but in any event she is an employed leader imposed upon the group, and becomes a real leader only as she wins the pupils to her and they adopt her into their group life. This is much more likely to occur in the one-room school, where the teacher has the same pupils for several years and where the informality of the situation makes it possible for her to play and work with the children as one of the group. If one-room teachers were well trained and remained with the school for several years, as they usually do in European villages, there would be much to be said for the one-room school in so far as teacher leadership is concerned. In larger schools the limited time which the pupils have with an individual teacher, particularly where they recite to different teachers, makes it difficult for the average teacher to attain a true leadership relation.

In the larger schools there is a principal whose chief functions are administrative and supervisory, and who has final authority in school discipline. He represents the school as an institution in its public relations, but whether he is the real leader of the school community depends entirely upon his personality and relations to the students. Sometimes the football coach is more nearly the real leader than the principal.

In one-room schools there is usually little formal organization, but in consolidated schools the upper grades and high school classes usually organize, with officers and committees for carrying on various class activities. As classes they are individual groups within the school community.

Consensus within the school is obtained chiefly by informal discussion, but in some cases teachers hold assemblages of a single room or of all rooms for the discussion of common problems. Discussion is also promoted by school papers, whether printed, mimeographed, or posted on a bulletin board.

The public school tends to become highly institutionalized. Pupils must be in their seats at a certain time and sit in designated positions; their progress is carefully checked by daily and monthly marks or grades. Teachers are likewise required to cover a required curriculum and to conduct their classes in a manner approved by their supervisory officers. The amount of ceremonial in school life varies widely. In many cases the day commences with prayer or devotional exercises. In some schools the raising and lowering of the national flag is a distinct ceremony entrusted to pupils so honored. Graduation from primary school or junior or senior high school is the occasion for formal ceremonies. The types and forms of school ceremonials and the attitudes of the pupils toward them would form an interesting study.

Socialization as an Objective in the School. Whatever the structure of the school may be it will be found to be intimately related to the avowed objectives and functions of the school. Until recently the public school was conceived of mostly as a place where the individual might receive instruction in the necessary intellectual tools which would enable him to make a better living. There was some prating about education being necessary for a successful democracy, but very little was done toward real training in citizenship. More recently educators have come to accept the view that it is the duty of the school to develop the child's character or personality as much as his intellect, and both curriculum and methods of instruction are changing accordingly. If socialization (see p. 28) is one of the primary objectives of the school, then it will be necessary to reconsider the forms of group life in which the school is organized.

One of the first attempts to develop a group basis of school organization was the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago founded by John Dewey in 1896.[1] In the years since then so-called progressive

[1] To gain a clear conception of how radically the methods of this school differed from those of the average school, read: K. C. Mayhew and A. C. Edwards. The Dewey School—The Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896–1903, pp. 32, 309, 376, 426, 428 *ff.*

or experimental schools have done much along this line and slowly the curriculum and methods of the public schools are being modified by their experience.

Regimentation and domination, with the encouragement of competition for the attainment of grades, would seem to be admirably adapted to produce good citizens in a Fascist state, but only by training in a free form of association is it probable that real attitudes of cooperation on the part of a free individual may be inculcated as the essential basis of citizenship in a free democracy.

With this change of emphasis in objectives the relation of the school to the family and the community also have to be better adjusted. If the school is to train personality, the teacher will not be able to do it alone, for personality is developed only through social relationships. Nor will the school be able to accomplish this end without the cooperation of the home, for its efforts may be entirely nullified by undesirable home influences. On the other hand, in most cases if the proper understanding can be developed between teachers and parents the best results will come through teamwork between them, and through the school advising the parents as to how they may improve their methods of child training. Hence the new interest in parent-teacher associations and parent education, which are welcomed and promoted by progressive educators, but only endured by the overinstitutionalized schoolman who thinks that the school's technical knowledge of educational methods is of more importance than unselfish devotion of parents in the character development of the child.

In reconsidering the group organization of the school, it will be necessary to recognize the fact that in the first four or five years of school life the pupils are usually not capable of maintaining organized group life, and associate naturally with rather temporary playmates. The studies now being made of the incipient group life of young children should reveal whether it will be possible or desirable to attempt the formation of organized group life for the younger grades. From our present information it would seem that the relation of teacher and younger pupils should more nearly resemble that of parent and family, for not until 10 or 11 years of age do children evidence any ability to associate together in organized groups, and then the process of learning how to play the game according to the rules established by the group requires several years, and in some instances is not fully acquired in adult life.

If socialization is an objective of the school, then the one-room country school is at a distinct disadvantage in so far as it makes organized group life for the upper grades difficult because of the lack of sufficient numbers of similar age. On the other hand, when the junior

high school system is used and the primary school includes only the first six grades, it may be that, if the primary school were organized on what might be called a family system and the older pupils were encouraged to feel responsibility for helping and playing with the younger ones, the effect on the older pupils might be as beneficial as if they were allowed to segregate in their own age groups. These are hypotheses which require careful study and experimentation for determining the best group relations.

Furthermore, not only the family but the whole community has a definite influence in shaping the personality of the child. Community mores, standards of behavior and general culture have a marked effect on the child and limit or encourage what the school may be able to do for his development.[2] To meet this situation one school of educators favors making the school a community center where all sorts of community activities and organized group life may find a home, so that the school will be a central force in community betterment; another school of thought holds that the school should stick to its job of educating its pupils and that if it becomes entangled in too many community activities, its primary job of instruction will suffer. A sound policy probably lies between the two extremes. Certainly consolidated rural schools and high schools are being more and more used as meeting places in community activities, not only for out-of-school youth, but for adults as well. The present interest in adult education and the probability that in the future the school will have a definite program of adult education point in this direction. May it not be that, as fathers and mothers come to go to school in groups which are voluntary and in which the teacher will hold his or her position only as a result of real leadership and not by domination, this influence may carry over to the group life of the school children? If parents go to school voluntarily and teachers learn the art of group leadership with them, this relationship may carry over to the classroom of the grades. Furthermore, through parent-education classes teachers and parents will become better acquainted with each other's objectives and points of view and there will be more cooperation between them in a common program for the child's development.

Such are some of the problems and possibilities which arise from the analysis of the sociology of the rural school, and which seem to warrant as careful and thorough research as has been given to the methods of instruction and curriculum-building by the psychologists.

[2] For an interesting example of this see B. T. Baldwin, E. A. Fillmore, and Lora Hadley, Farm Children, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1930, Chapters II, III.

This leads us to a consideration of the many problems involved in the maintenance and improvement of the school as an institution, the problems of its social organization.

II. RURAL SCHOOL PROBLEMS

Our analysis of the sociology of the school has revealed several problems concerning its organization and methods which demand consideration. The most pressing problems of the rural school are those which have to do with its relation to the community and the state and with its administration. They are the problems of the school as an established institution of society. Their solution will require an analysis of sociological relationships, but will also involve consideration of economic and political factors, as well as principles of educational theory and practice. The local school is part of a school system, local or county, state, and national. Its problems must be considered part of these educational systems.

The public school is now a permanent institution throughout the United States, and its support and administration are chief concerns of state and local governments. The growth of the school as a community institution is one of the outstanding trends of recent decades. We should remember, however, that it has become generally available in all the states only within the last three-quarters of a century, and that in many sections the present facilities for a common school education are very far from being adequate.[3] Rural schools in most parts of the country are definitely inferior to city schools. This is the result of two factors: the distribution of the people on the land and the consequent distances to schools, and less wealth among rural people for their support. Thus in 1935–36 cities expended an average of $108.25 per pupil in average daily attendance as against $67.40[4] spent by rural school districts. Although 90 percent of the school buildings in the United States are in rural areas, two-thirds of the rural school buildings have only 1 room.[5] Studies of attendance in 5 typical states show that about one-sixth of the rural children of school age are out

[3] On the development and aims of public education in this country see the reports of the Educational Policies Commission: The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy (written by C. A. Beard), and The Purposes of Education in American Democracy, Washington, D.C., Educational Policies Commission, 1937, 1938.

[4] Report of the Advisory Committee on Education, 75th Congress, 3d Session, House Document 529, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, p. 6

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

of school, and that one-fourth of these are between the ages of 5 and 14.[6] In 8 states 24 percent of those pupils who were not transported were obliged to walk over 1.5 miles, and 12 percent over 2 miles to school,[7] distances too great for children of elementary school age.

The importance of better rural schools has also been brought out by recent studies of the relation of education to families on relief. Thus in a careful survey of the families on relief in the rural problem areas of the country in 1934, it was found that "one-half of the Negro family heads and one-fifth of the whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt report *no* schooling, and four-fifths of the Negroes and about one-half of the whites had less than five years."[8] In another study in Colorado it was found that two out of five heads of relief households did not complete any grades beyond the sixth, and the average schooling completed by heads of households who were sugar-beet laborers was only 3.5 grades.[9]

Rural school problems may be divided into those of (1) the elementary schools, (2) the secondary schools, (3) the school and the community, (4) school administration, (5) reorganization of rural school units, and (6) school finance.

A. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

1. Types of Elementary Schools. The elementary schools are those which furnish only primary education, usually consisting of the first eight grades. Where high schools or consolidated schools are available it is increasingly common to find the 6–6 system, consisting of the senior high school (grades 10 to 12), the junior high school (grades 7 to 9), and the primary school (grades 1 to 6). In 1934 about two-thirds (64.9 percent) of the rural schools were one-room, one-teacher schools of the traditional "little red schoolhouse" type; about 11 percent were two-teacher schools; and about 8 percent were reported as consolidated schools but some of them were small schools where one or two district schools had closed and contracted with an-

[6] K. M. Cook and W. H. Gaumnitz, "Availability of Schools in Rural Communities," Chapter III of The Thirtieth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co., 1931, pp. 62, 65.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[8] P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, Six Rural Problem Areas, Washington, D.C., FERA, Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, Research Section, Research Monograph I, 1935, p. 90.

[9] R. W. Roskelley and O. F. Larson, "Educational Foundations for Rural Rehabilitation," Colo. AES, Bul. 457, 1939, p. 3.

other district.[10] Consolidation of rural schools has been going on so rapidly in recent years (they increased 27 percent from 1926 to 1934) that it is impossible to give up-to-date statistics concerning the distribution of the rural school population in the different types of schools. In 1930, 30 percent of the rural pupils were in one-room schools. Probably today this proportion is not much over one-fourth, and probably about one-eighth are in two-teacher schools.

It is also important to note that consolidated schools are usually connected with a high school, either housed in the same building or in an adjoining one and under the same administration.

These distinctions between the different types of elementary rural schools are important because the problems of the one-room school are very different from those of the consolidated school, as we shall see.

It is difficult to make generalizations concerning the problems of the rural school throughout the United States because state legislation, financial resources, distribution of population both as to race and density, and physical topography are so different in the various regions. Our statements, therefore, will tend to contrast the conditions of poorer with better schools wherever they may occur; they will not be so applicable to some of the better states, but even in the best states these contrasts exist far too frequently.

2. TEACHERS. The success of the school depends chiefly upon the efficiency of the teacher. It has often been claimed that a first-class teacher can give a better education to the few children in a one-room school because of the more personal instruction she can give them. This is undoubtedly true in many cases, and many a student has received his inspiration to a subsequent successful career from a devoted and qualified district school teacher. However, if the school is large, the number of classes and recitations makes it impossible for the teacher to give much individual attention, and the results are unsatisfactory.

More important, however, are the facts that one-room teachers usually are not so well trained and that there is a much more rapid change of teachers in the one-room district schools than in village schools or consolidated schools. Thus in 1935 only 42 percent of the one-room teachers had had 2 or more years of normal school education, as compared with 60 percent of those in the two-room schools, and the per-

[10] See K. M. Cook, Review of Conditions and Development in Education in Rural and Other Sparsely Settled Areas, Washington, D.C., U.S. Office of Education, Bul. 2, 1937, p. 4.

centage of teachers who had high school education or less was 46 for the one-room schools and 39 for the two-room schools.[11]

In 22 counties in 5 Northern States 26.6 percent of the teachers in one-teacher schools had had not more than 6 weeks of training beyond high school as against only 6.3 percent for those in schools with 4 or more teachers; whereas only 12.8 percent of the former and 50.7 percent of the latter had had more than 72 weeks of training.[12]

The rate of movement for one-room teachers is also much higher than for those in graded schools or high schools. Thus in a study of the movement of teachers in Pennsylvania from 1923–24 to 1929–30, W. F. Hall found that the annual rate of mobility for one-room teachers was 51.7 percent, for the graded schools 27.4 percent, and for the high schools 38.6 percent.[13]

The average experience of one-room teachers is but 3 years as compared with 5 years for those in village schools.[14] In the elementary schools of New York State in 1935–36, 31 percent of the teachers in cities, 40 percent in villages, and 48 percent in supervisory districts (rural) who were new employees had had no previous teaching experience, i.e., were employed for the first time.[15] Thus practically one-half of the new teachers in rural schools had had no experience as compared with less than one-third in the cities.

Both the poorer training and more rapid movement of one-room teachers are doubtless largely due to the smaller salaries paid them. The better teachers move to graded schools. Thus in 1935 the median salary of one-room teachers was $517, and that of two-room teachers was $620. The average salary of all rural teachers was $787 as compared with $1,735 for city teachers. "Nearly one-half of the teachers in 1-room schools and more than one-third of those in 2-room schools received salaries of less than $500 per year in 1935."[16] Salaries declined sharply during the depression, but much more for rural than for urban schools. Thus as the average salary for all rural teachers

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 8, Table 3.

[12] W. H. Gaumnitz, Availability of Public School Education in Rural Communities, U.S. Office of Education, Bul. 34, 1930, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1931, p. 35, Table 23.

[13] W. F. Hall, "The Professional Movement of Rural School Teachers in Pennsylvania," Pa. St. Coll. AES, Bul. 332, 1934, p. 42, Table 27.

[14] The Outlook for Rural Education, Research Bulletin of the National Education Association, Vol. IX, 4, Sept., 1931, p. 273, Table 5.

[15] C. H. Judd, Preparation of School Personnel, The Regents' Inquiry, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 116, Table XIX.

[16] Katherine M. Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 9, Table 4.

was $979 and of urban teachers it was $1,944 in 1930, there was a decline by 1935 of nearly 20 percent for rural as against 10 percent for urban teachers.[17]

There has been a marked improvement in the educational preparation of teachers during recent years, a result of the oversupply of teachers, the keener competition for better positions because of lower salaries during the depression, and pressure from state departments of education. In one-room schools but 23 percent of the teachers had 2 years or more of normal school education in 1930; in 1935 this had risen to 42 percent, and for two-room teachers the percentage rose from 36 to 60 in the same period.[18]

One of the most serious problems of the one-room rural school, which accompanied the advent of the automobile, is the high proportion of teachers who do not reside in the district, but live in villages or cities and go to and fro each day. Such teachers do not become acquainted with the communities in which they teach nor with the families of the pupils. Many consolidated schools have built teacherages to keep their teachers in the district and to give them satisfactory living conditions.

3. CURRICULUM.[19] Changes in the curriculum of the elementary rural schools have not been as marked as in the high schools, but there has been a steady change of emphasis. Twenty to thirty years ago there was a strong demand for the teaching of agriculture and subjects pertaining to farm life in the elementary schools. With the realization that probably half of the pupils will leave the farm, vocational preparation has been shifted to the secondary schools. In the elementary rural schools educational progress has been through better methods of teaching and the integration of subject matter rather than through any marked change in the subjects studied, although there has been definite advance in the latter. The social studies, safety and health education, physical education, music, and art, are given much more attention. The importance of character objectives is stressed in an increasing number of courses, and the importance of activities of the

[17] See also W. H. Gaumnitz, Economic Status of Rural Teachers, U.S. Office of Education Bul. 13, 1937 (1939).

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 8, Table 3.

[19] See F. W. Dunn, "The Rural Elementary Curriculum," Chapter IV of National Society for the Study of Education, Thirtieth Yearbook, Part I, The Status of Rural Education, Bloomington, Ill., The Public School Publishing Co., 1931; and The National Education Department of Rural Education Yearbook, 1938, Newer Types of Instruction in Rural Schools, Washington, D.C., 1938.

pupils in the development of character, as over against the mere learning of facts, is being given a larger place in the school program.

The one-room school is seriously handicapped in the improvement of its curriculum by the lack of both opportunity for specialization and equipment. One person cannot be expected to be an efficient teacher of music and drawing as well as of the traditional subjects. In some of the more densely settled and relatively wealthier parts of the country itinerant teachers of music, drawing, or health work are employed by several schools, but in most cases such specialization is impossible. The one-room school also lacks equipment. It rarely has a piano, its library is notoriously poor, and both space and equipment are lacking for specialized activities. In all these respects the consolidated school has very obvious advantages for specialization and better equipment.

4. BUILDINGS. Although the teacher is more important than the building in determining the quality of the instruction, yet the building very definitely limits what the teacher can do and often is a deciding factor in determining the quality of teacher who can be obtained. There are many good one-room schools and marked advancement has been made in the better states in recent years with regard to lighting, heating, seating, inside toilets, and other facilities. Yet in thousands of districts where there are very few pupils, the one-room school still has inadequate facilities and equipment. The seats are often of the old rigid type not adaptable to the height of pupils and not movable; blackboards are poor and inadequate; outside toilets prevail and are often in bad condition; books, maps, and other teaching equipment are inadequate or lacking; and the schoolyard is often unkempt, and without any play equipment or facilities. None of these conditions are necessary or inevitable, except as they are determined by the small number of pupils and the poverty of the district, for many one-room schools are well equipped and it is possible for the average district to improve the school facilities greatly, if it desires to do so. The fact remains, however, that far too large a proportion of the one-room school buildings, with their equipment and grounds, are unsatisfactory and inadequate for a modern educational program.

The consolidated school building usually has a room for each grade, a library, possibly workrooms, central heating, indoor toilets, and, in the new buildings, usually an auditorium and gymnasium, or a combination of them. The latter is an important feature, for it makes it possible to use the school as a social and recreational center for the community. The size of the district and its population will determine the size and equipment of the building. In many cases where a high school district has been established and the pupils above the sixth

grade are transported to it, it may be desirable to maintain an elementary consolidated school for the six elementary grades. This may have one large assembly room which can be used for community as well as school purposes, and it may house a community library.

The consolidated school building makes possible better equipment than can be had in the one-room schools, because by pooling the resources of the local districts it is able to furnish special facilities which would be beyond the resources of any one district.

5. COMPARATIVE EFFICIENCY. All the factors discussed above contribute to a lower degree of educational efficiency in the one-room rural school as compared with the larger rural schools or city schools. Numerous studies in many states have shown that the work of children in the one-room schools is definitely inferior to those of larger schools. In a comparison of median scores of pupils in large and small schools in 8 states for reading, arithmetic, and spelling, it was shown that in 76 to 88 percent of the cases the pupils in the larger schools did definitely superior work.[20]

In a study of the one-teacher schools of Texas it was found that the rural schools were definitely inferior to the urban schools. A comparison of the subject-matter quotients (i.e., the average grade of the school studied divided by the average of all pupils for the same grade as given in the test score) for eight subjects gave an average of 88.5 for the rural pupils as against 111.3 for those in cities, or 22.8 percent inferiority for the rural pupils. In silent reading, writing, and spelling, the rural pupils had an average inferiority of 13.5 percent; in letter writing they were 30.6 percent inferior; in geography, 47 percent, and in grammar 56.3 percent inferior.[21] This inferiority cannot be wholly attributed to the quality of the work of the one-teacher school for the author shows that the pupils in the one-teacher school had an intelligence quotient (Binet-Simon test) of 93 as compared with 110 for the city schools,[22] and that their socio-economic status was definitely inferior, as shown by the Sims Score Card in Socio-economic Status which gave the rural pupils a rating of 5 as compared with 7 for the urban group.[23]

[20] Timon Covert, Educational Achievements of One-teacher and of Larger Rural Schools, Washington, D.C., Govt. Printing Office, U.S. Bureau of Education, Bul. 15, 1928, p. 21.

[21] A. W. Blanton, "The Child in the Texas One-teacher School," Univ. of Tex. Bul. 3613, April 1, 1936, p. 165

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

It is obvious that the poorer training of the one-room teachers, their greater mobility, and the inferior equipment of the schools will all affect the quality of instruction, but they are also handicapped by the number of recitations which result in "crumbling the teacher's time." [24] Probably as a result of the short recitation periods most of them are devoted to drill and rehearsal of the material in the textbook, and in only a small percentage do the pupils contribute information from their own experience or does the teacher attempt to relate the classwork to the experience of the pupil.[24]

B. SECONDARY OR HIGH SCHOOLS

1. Development of Rural High Schools. The most outstanding change in the American educational system in the present century has been the rapid growth in the number and attendance of high schools. This has been particularly true of rural high schools, and has had a far-reaching effect on the whole rural school system. Since 1900 the number of high school pupils has doubled in every decade.[25] The percentage of children 14 to 17 years of age attending rural high schools increased from 29.7 in 1926, to 39.5 in 1930, and 60.5 in 1934, or more than doubled in 8 years; whereas the number of schools in rural centers offering high school work increased from 13,751 in 1926 to 16,744 in 1930 and 17,627 in 1934, or an increase of 28.2 percent.[26] In 1936 practically half of the pupils in village high schools and in the small villages a majority (54 percent) were from the open country.[27]

A very important factor in the growth and expansion of rural high schools was the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, which gave federal aid for instruction in agriculture, home economics, and other vocational studies.

2. Size of Rural High Schools. The increase in attendance was much more rapid than the increase in the number of schools during the four-year period, 1930 to 1934, than in the previous 4 years, leading to the conclusion that the trend was toward larger schools. This is encouraging, for one of the chief problems of the rural high school is the proportion of small schools. Thus, after summarizing the statistical evidence, Gaumnitz (in 1934) concluded "that about one-third of

[24] *Cf.* Res. Bul. of the National Education Association, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

[25] R. E. Langfitt, F. W. Cyr, and N. W. Newsom, The Small High School at Work, 1936, Table IV, p. 24.

[26] K. M. Cook, *op. cit.*, Tables 1, 2.

[27] Brunner and Lorge, Rural Trends in Depression Years, p. 146, Table 50.

all American High Schools have an attendance not exceeding 50 pupils each. More than two-thirds have an attendance of fewer than 100 pupils each." [28] In New York State 61 percent of the rural high schools have fewer than 100 pupils [29] (Fig. 82). A study of 11,180 high schools throughout the United States shows that those with

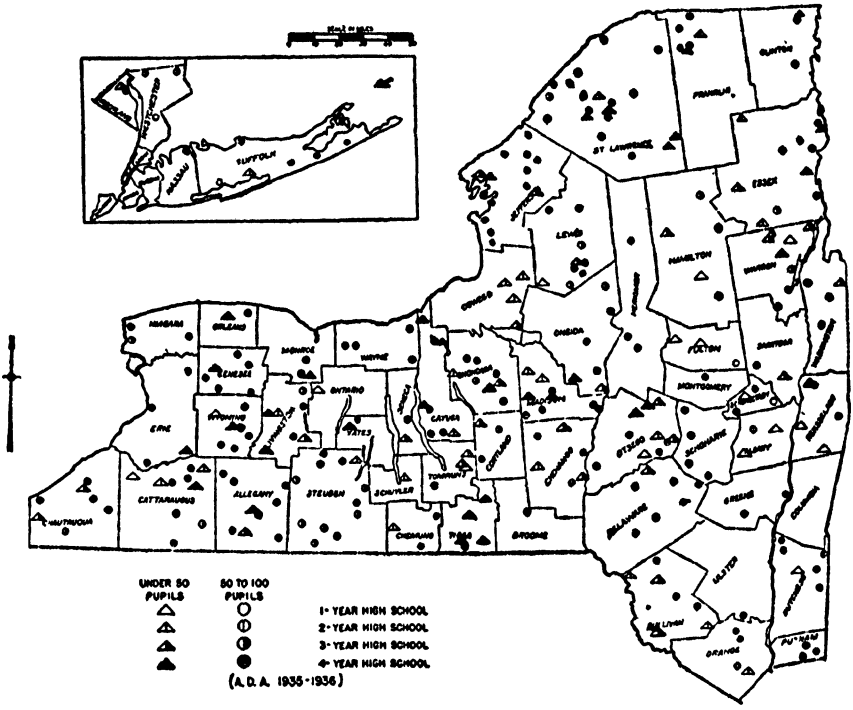


FIG. 82. Location of small high schools with an average daily attendance of less than 50 pupils, and from 50 to 100 pupils, 1935–1936. (From "Education for American Life," Report of the Regents' Inquiry. By permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co.)

fewer than 50 pupils have an average of about 2.5 teachers and about 11 to 12 pupils per teacher and those with 50 to 100 pupils have 4.4 teachers and 16 pupils per teacher, as against 6.7 teachers and 19 pupils per teacher for schools with 100 to 150 pupils.[30] Small schools neces-

[28] W. H. Gaumnitz, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[29] Regents' Inquiry, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[30] E. S. Lawler, "Technical Aspects of the Development of the National Pupil-Teacher Index," in State Support for Public Education, Washington, D.C., The American Council of Education, 1933, pp. 432–433. Quoted by Gaumnitz, *op. cit.*, p. 22, Table 30.

sarily have meager curricula and equipment, few teachers, with poorly balanced teaching loads, and lack opportunity for specialization.[31]

3. CURRICULUM. One of the chief objections to the small high school is the meagerness of the curriculum which it is able to offer. This is due to both the small number of teachers and the lack of suitable equipment. But equally important is the influence of college entrance requirements, and the tendency to stick to the older, more formal subjects for which the textbook is the only indispensable equipment and for which the teachers are prepared. The subjects most frequently taught are English, algebra, plane geometry, history, general science, and Latin.[32]

With the increased number of high school students there has been a notable tendency in recent years to broaden the curriculum and to adapt it to the needs of the vast majority who do not expect to enter college. Although during the depression of the last decade there was a strong tendency toward retrenchment, there has been a decided expansion of the curriculum in the high schools of 140 larger villages studied by Brunner and his colleagues.[33] The period of the depression has been notable in the increased interest in the social sciences, as between 1930 and 1936 over half of the village high schools in this study added courses or departments in this field. The next most common expansion was in commercial studies, which were added in nearly one-fourth of these schools. Instruction in agriculture and home economics also showed a steady gain. The other most notable change in these schools was in the increase of work in vocational guidance from 5 schools in 1930 to 30 schools in 1936. Summarizing the special subjects given in these 140 schools in 1936, it was found that the percentages of the schools giving the specified subjects were as follows: agriculture, 64; domestic science, 82; commercial subjects, 76; music, 86; drama, 47; and art, 40 percent.[34] The advantages of the broader curriculum are made possible by the better equipment of larger schools.

Many of these changes in curricula have been the result of revisions made by state departments of education, as in California, Texas, and Virginia, but throughout the country there has been a very general study and revision of curricula by local school administrations.

[31] *Cf.* E. N. Ferriss, Secondary Education in Country and Village, 1927, p. 322.

[32] W. W. Soper, "The Small High School," Albany, N. Y., Univ. of the St. of N. Y., Bul. 1071, July 1, 1935, p. 22.

[33] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 161–168.

Another notable change in the high school curriculum has been in the increased recognition of so-called extracurricular activities, such as the Future Farmers of America, the 4-H clubs, Boy and Girl Scouts, bands, orchestras, glee clubs, and special interest clubs of all sorts. In many schools definite periods are now set aside for their meetings; this makes it possible for pupils from the farms, who are obliged to take buses, to attend them.

The most complete figures with regard to the proportion of rural high schools which have such organizations were obtained by Brunner

TABLE 43. PERCENTAGE OF VILLAGES WITH SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF SPECIFIED TYPES IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS, 1924 * AND 1936 †

Organization	All Regions		Middle Atlantic	South	Middle West	Far West
Total Number of Villages	140		28	30	60	22
	1924	1936	1924	1924	1924	1924
Glee Club	60	75	43	50	65	81
Orchestra	50	40	57	26	50	73
Band	14	40	18	10	11	23
Literary Club	48	50	50	71	31	59
Debating Club	24		14	13	20	41
Other Clubs	60		54	36	61	95

* Computed from Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, *op. cit.*, Table LXV, p. 168.
† 1936 percentages from Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

and his colleagues in 1924, and the growth of some of them was obtained in 1936, as shown in Table 43. It should be noted that all these organizations, except literary clubs which were most common in the South, were most frequent in the schools in the Far West.

From 1924 to 1936 bands had increased notably whereas orchestras had slightly declined. The high school is taking leadership in the development of music in the rural community. "Mr. John E. Howard, President of the [North Dakota] State Federation of Music Clubs, stated that musical work has become increasingly associated with the schools. The school teacher having technical training and experience in music becomes a leader of the local musical group. There were at least 12 village school teachers in the State who remained in their school localities during the summer of 1936 and directed the local band

or musical group." [35] This practice is becoming increasingly common throughout the country and the people enjoy hearing the high school band in open-air band concerts, which keep the band in practice during the summer.

Organized athletics has also become an important feature of the life of the larger schools, and is often under the supervision of a director of physical education. Baseball, football, basketball, and track teams not only furnish recreation and physical development to many students, but they create a solidarity in the school and a loyalty in the community which is a valuable asset not only to the school but to the *esprit de corps* of the community. Increasingly the high school is becoming the social and recreational center not only of its students, but of the older youth of the community.

The proportion of villages which have organized athletics in the high school is also best shown by the surveys of Brunner and his colleagues in Table 44. In athletics as in school organizations the high schools in the Far West were much better organized, and there was more interest in athletics in the South than in the Middle Atlantic States. Basketball had increased in popularity for both boys and girls.

TABLE 44. PERCENTAGE OF VILLAGE HIGH SCHOOLS WITH ATHLETICS OF SPECIFIED TYPES, 1924 * AND 1936 †

Type of Athletics	All Regions		Middle Atlantic	South	Middle West	Far West
Total Number of Villages	140	140	28	30	60	22
	1924	1936	1924	1924	1924	1924
Football	58	57	32	53	61	86
Baseball	68	57	68	80	53	95
Basketball		90				
Boys	84		64	80	91	95
Girls	59		32	60	65	73
Other Athletics						
Boys	63		46	53	65	91
Girls	15		14	7	16	23
Track		43				

* Computed from Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, *op. cit.*, Table LXIV, p. 168.
† 1936 percentages from Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

[35] D. G. Hay, "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota," N. D. Agr. Coll. AES, Bul. 288, July, 1937.

A closely related feature of the curriculum of the modern school is medical inspection, dental care, and health instruction, with the associated work of school nurses and clinical facilities. Effective health work is organized with difficulty for many individual one-room schools, and is much better developed in the consolidated schools and high schools, where it can be more easily administered.

Another fundamental change in the principles underlying curriculum building, which is receiving general recognition, is that the curriculum should be adapted to the needs of the local community and that it should make use of community resources. A recent statement upon the latter principle emphasizes the following points:

1. Modern education requires that teachers and parents revise their traditional concept of education as separated from life.
2. Recent trends in course-of-study construction require for successful administration the utilization of local resources.
3. The modern school curriculum is not a fusion of subjects or a correlation of subjects but rather an attempt to solve problems and promote school and community enterprises.
4. The degree of pupil participation in community life will vary with the willingness of parents to share social living, with the vision and adaptability of the teaching force, and with the ability of pupils to utilize opportunities available.
5. Various ages and interests may well be invited to share in curriculum planning.
6. Desirable activities lead from community interest to state, national, and international understanding.
7. Both group and individual interests will be considered in planning curriculum activities.
8. A community curriculum provides opportunity for adjustment for the handicapped child and for the gifted child as well.
9. Adequate records of activities would give continuity to endeavors.[36]

This is quite a different attitude toward education from that which has prevailed in the average small rural high school, but such a shift in emphasis is demanded by the present situation. If rural youth are unable to migrate from the country in as large numbers as formerly, and not so many of them are needed on the farms, and if they are to be encouraged to stay in school longer, the work of the school must be such as will appeal to them as giving them a richer life and a larger experience in the present as well as in the future.

[36] American Association of School Administrators, Seventeenth Yearbook, Schools in Small Communities, Washington, D.C., 1939, pp. 121–122. See also one of the first statements of these principles by E. N. Ferriss, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

4. TEACHERS. Another handicap of the small rural high school is the number of subjects which teachers are required to teach, particularly subjects in which they have had no special preparation. Furthermore, as in the rural one-room schools, the teachers in small high schools are paid less and consequently move more frequently. A recent study of the small high schools of Wisconsin [37] shows that 52 percent of the high schools in Wisconsin in 1935–36 had 6 or less teachers and an average of 86 pupils. In these schools about 40 percent of the teachers were in new positions each year, 17.5 percent had had no previous teaching experience, and 12 percent had taught only 1 year. The median yearly salary was between $1,000 and $1,050. More than one-fourth of the teachers had classes in subjects for which they had had no special preparation. Three-fourths of the teachers taught four or more different subjects, and one-half tried to teach five or more subjects. More than half of the teachers engaged in no organized community activities, but most of them had charge of two or three extracurricular activities. Similar conditions have been reported by studies in other states.[38]

5. EXPANDING FUNCTIONS OF THE RURAL HIGH SCHOOL. (*a*) *Adult Education.* A new function of the rural high school, which is destined to have large influence on its future program, is that of adult education. We are coming to see that in a rapidly changing society education of children and youth is not enough, but the educative process must go on through adult life. In spite of the reduction in school expenditures during the depression, there has been a rapid increase in the number of schools giving work in adult education. In the 140 villages studied by Brunner, but 9 high schools were giving work in adult education in 1924. This number rose to 22 in 1930, and in 1936–37 there were 44, or nearly one-third of the communities.[39] This has been largely stimulated by the program of the federal Works Projects Administration, although the most substantial progress has been made by the schools which have initiated and financed this work locally. Here, again, it is the larger high schools which have shown the most advance. In the villages studied only one-sixth of the villages with less than 1,000 inhabitants had work in adult education and there was no increase from 1930 to 1936, whereas one-third of the large villages gave such work and their number increased rapidly.

[37] A Study of Small High Schools: Report of Committee on Small High Schools, Madison, Wis., Department of Public Instruction, Curriculum Bulletins, Vol. 2, 1, 1939, p. 6.

[38] *Cf.* W. W. Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[39] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–220.

As was natural, adult education in rural high schools began with evening classes and short courses in agriculture and home economics given by the teachers; these courses were supported by funds from the federal Smith-Hughes Act, and vocational courses are still the most common. However, in the last few years there has been a considerable increase in other subjects, such as physical education, drama, and forums dealing with economic and political problems. This work has developed most in the Far West, where the enrollment per school has been the largest, whereas the enrollment was smallest in the Middle Atlantic region.

> During the past few years the Federal Government, through the Works Projects Administration, has been spending about 20 to 25 million dollars a year on educational programs which give work to an average of about 40,000 teachers and make it possible for approximately 2,000,000 a year to enroll in classes for formal instruction. Probably an additional million participate in an informal way in programs that are of an educational character. The reports of the WPA show that during the last 3 years [1934 to 1936] at least 4,000,000 of our adult population have raised themselves to higher educational levels through the programs provided by that organization.[40]

No figures are available to show what share of this total was in rural territory, but it was doubtless a proportional part, because Brunner found that more than half of the 140 villages which he studied had been participating in this work.[41] Necessarily, because of the fact that the teachers were those out of employment and being given relief and were, therefore, mostly the poorer teachers, there has been much dissatisfaction with the quality of the work done, the frequent shifting of teachers, poor supervision, and frequent change of regulations. In spite of all these handicaps, the emergency education program of the WPA has done much to stimulate local school administrators to the importance of adult education, and has been particularly successful in stimulating work for adults and older youth in music, recreation, parent education, and drama.[42]

As a result of this, there is a widespread interest among educators in developing definite programs of adult education adapted to meet local needs. The bill recently before Congress for federal aid to the states

[40] M. A. Proffitt, Adult Education, U.S. Office of Education Bul. 2, 1937, p. 22, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938.

[41] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

[42] For a well-considered evaluation of the program, see Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, pp. 228–238.

for education makes specific provision for an appropriation for adult education.

The work of the parent-teacher associations, resulting in widespread interest in parent education, is also one of the major forces stimulating the demand for adult education, as is the realization that if we are to preserve our democracy we must come to grips with the economic and political problems which are facing us today.[43]

Adult education is by no means confined to the work of the school, and the work of the extension service in agriculture and home economics, and of other agencies, is discussed in Chapter 16.

(*b*) *Libraries and Recreation.* The inability of many rural youth to obtain employment after graduating from high school has been a major influence in compelling high schools to inaugurate programs of special education for them. These programs must be broader than the traditional classroom subjects. Much of the best education is obtained through reading, and a high school with a good library which is open to the public may exercise a large influence through it. There is a definite movement, therefore, to increase the use of the high school library and to make it a community library where a public library is not available.

In like manner, the recreational program of the high school is being extended to serve the older youth and other members of the community to the extent to which it can schedule the use of its facilities. Expensive high school buildings with gymnasiums and auditoriums should be used to the maximum for the benefit of the taxpayers who support them, so that the school may become a social center for the community, as indicated on p. 370.

6. Improving the Small High School. In spite of their handicaps with regard to curriculum and teaching staff, in some cases it will not be feasible or desirable to consolidate many of the small high schools, but it is possible to remedy their defects to a considerable extent, providing there is efficient supervision. Among the means which have been used with more or less success are alternation of subjects, supervised correspondence study, circuit and part-time teachers, and combinations of classes. Correspondence courses have been carried on by universities for many years, but only in recent years have they been extensively used in small high schools. The plan has been developed most extensively in Nebraska where the materials are prepared and furnished by the Teachers College of the University of

[43] *Cf.* Am. Assoc. of School Administrators, 17th Yearbook, Schools in Small Communities, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

Nebraska. An essential feature of the Nebraska plan is the form and character of the supervision, both by the teacher and by the university.[44]

Circuit or itinerant teachers have been used in several states, particularly for special subjects such as agriculture, manual arts, music, and homemaking. Supervised radio instruction provided at state expense has also been suggested as a means of assisting the small school.

Whatever means are employed, their success will largely depend upon their use by better trained teachers under superior local educational leadership.

C. THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY[45]

1. THE FUNCTION OF THE SCHOOL. As community life has become integrated and the rural social environment has become more complex, educational objectives have been enlarged and the school is coming to have a new appreciation of its social relationships to the community and to other institutions. The school no longer conceives its job to be merely the teaching of the three R's, and giving the individual intellectual tools for his personal success, but has the social objectives of making good citizens of the state and better members of the family. In short, it seeks to develop personality and character.

2. THE FUNCTION OF THE COMMUNITY. To succeed in these social objectives the school cannot function solely within its own walls, for it learns that the community, the family, the church, and other agencies influence the personality of the child and have their part in his education. The school is, therefore, coming to recognize that it must work with the community and that only through developing his community relations can the best socialization of the child be achieved. Thus the community is essential to the educational process. Without the concrete social environment of the rural community the school loses an important educational influence.

The rural community is peculiarly important to this end because of its relatively strong social control. Within it people are known to each other and public opinion has much more influence on the individual's behavior than in the city. The social control of the rural community makes for a certain conservatism, which may be a healthful in-

[44] *Cf.* W. W. Soper, *op. cit.*, p. 31, and Am. Assoc. of School Administrators, 17th Yearbook, Schools in Small Communities, p. 156.

[45] The following paragraphs are adapted from my paper on "The Relation of the School to the Sociological Status of the Rural Community," *J. of Educ. Soc.*, Vol 14, pp. 401–410.

fluence in this age of rapid change, and its more personal, primary group relationships give a satisfaction and a sense of security.

The importance of the rural community in rural society has already been indicated and is discussed further in Chapter 29.

3. Relationship of the School to the Community. With a new view of the function of education and the role of the school in it, and of the importance of the community in the educational process, the consolidated school or high school is becoming the central institution in the life of the rural community. The interdependence of the school and the community in the educational process is being stressed by many recent writers on rural education, as, for instance, in the following:

> The responsibility of the school in the future should be conceived in terms of the larger needs of the community: (1) the school should understand the community of which it is a part—its strengths, its weaknesses, and its needs; (2) the school should take the leadership in promoting the welfare of the community through other agencies as well as through its own program; (3) this leadership implies that the school should cooperate with other agencies in studying and appraising the community; (4) the school should also cooperate with other agencies in coordinating community activities and life; (5) the school through its staff, pupils, program, and facilities should enrich other community activities immediately and directly.[46]

Such are the ideals of forward-looking leaders in rural education today, and they presage a new role for the school in the life of the rural community which will greatly strengthen the common life.

4. The School as a Community Center.[47]

> A further argument for recognizing the community unit is the fact that rural communities need a social center maintained at public expense for many organizations and activities which are necessary for the common welfare. . . . Increasingly, as new school buildings have been erected with ample auditoriums, gymnasiums, and libraries, there has been a demand that they should be used as community centers so far as this use does not interfere with the regular work of the school. The cost of modern school buildings has been one of the chief factors in the rapid rise of rural taxes, and there seems to be no good reason why

[46] Langfitt, Cyr, and Newsom, *op. cit.*, p. 374. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publishers. See all of Chapters 1 and 18; and J. K. Hart, A Social Interpretation of Education, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1929, pp. 427–28.

[47] The following two paragraphs are adapted from Schools in Small Communities, 17th Yearbook American Association of School Administrators, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

these expensive buildings should not be used to their capacity. Indeed, there is a decided movement to plan new school buildings, either high schools or consolidated primary schools, so that they can be more fully used as social centers without interference with the work of the school. The community library may be located in the school building, if a suitable outside entrance is arranged, and even a room for the use of adult organizations during the day might be possible.

In his recent report to the American Youth Commission, Homer P. Rainey says "The greatest hope for the countrywide establishment of recreation centers lies with the schools," [48] and gives much the same analysis as above. The President's Advisory Committee on Education has also stressed the importance of using the school as a community center: "In many areas the community facilities will not be complete until the high schools become true community centers for educational, recreational, and cultural aspects of community life." [49]

A recent report of the Educational Policies Commission stresses the responsbility of the school system for supervising the recreational program of the community.[50]

An important influence in hastening the use of the school plant as a community center is the growth of interest in adult education. As programs of adult education develop it will be increasingly important that the school be located in the community if it is to fully meet its needs.

If the school is to become the central institution of community life, it is important that it be located at the community center, which is usually in the village (see Chapter 13). Thus a study of 15 central school districts in New York State showed that "distinctive community life and community organization are more evident in those central districts where a single village serves as the center of trade and organizations." [51]

D. THE ADMINISTRATION OF RURAL SCHOOLS

1. The Status of Rural School Administration. One of the weakest points in the rural school systems of most states is in their lack of competent local administration. In 26 states the local district

[48] H. P. Rainey, *et al.*, How Fare American Youth? New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1937, p. 87.

[49] Advisory Committee on Education, Report of the Committee, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, p. 16.

[50] Educational Policies Commission, Social Services and the Schools, Washington, D.C., 1939, Chapter V, pp. 43–66.

[51] E. T. Stromberg, "The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 699, June, 1938, p. 39.

is the only administrative unit below the state. This means that the schools are administered by a local trustee or board of laymen, and there is no professional administration. There may be a certain amount of professional supervision by county or district superintendents of schools, but they usually have rather limited powers and their functions in many states are largely advisory. Ten states, including the 6 New England states, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, and Indiana, have a township unit of administration; 10 states have a county administrative unit; in Delaware administration is mostly in the state department of education.

2. HANDICAPS OF THE SMALL DISTRICT SYSTEM. The small district is badly handicapped by lack of competent administration. This is most apparent in the selection of teachers who are all too frequently employed for personal reasons rather than for their professional qualifications, about which local trustees or boards are quite incompetent to pass an intelligent judgment. The small district is unable to afford or to command the services of special teachers, such as music or art, or health services from a school nurse, because of the difficulty of getting a number of independent districts to cooperate effectively in their employment. The small district is also unable to obtain effective supervision of its teachers; it lacks expert, professionally trained leadership. Its supplies and equipment cannot be purchased as economically or efficiently as those of a larger district. Finally, the small district suffers from the lack of equalization of the tax rate (which is possible in a larger district), as described in the section on financial problems.

The improvement of the administrative unit is discussed below under *E*, 2.

E. REORGANIZATION OF RURAL SCHOOL UNITS

Because of the situation of the rural schools as described above, and because of the radical changes which have occurred in the structure of rural society since World War I, there is now a nation-wide movement for the reorganization of rural school units so as to obtain better facilities, better curricula, and better administration. Rural school consolidation is a live issue throughout the country, and it is one of the chief recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Education.

Much of the controversy over school consolidation is complicated by the desire of professional educational leaders to obtain better school administration. In order to isolate the administrative problem, it is important to distinguish between attendance units and administrative

units in school systems. The attendance unit is the area from which individuals attend a given school. Thus the attendance unit of a high school may include a considerable number of attendance units of one-room schools, but if the latter were consolidated with it and the pupils were all transported to one school, it would then form one attendance unit. On the other hand a central school district, such as occurs in New York State, may be formed with one attendance unit for high school students and still preserve one or several local elementary schools which then form distinct attendance units. In this case the central district is an administrative unit for all the schools, but it is an attendance unit only for the high school.

1. ATTENDANCE UNITS. The question of rural school consolidation, whether of the elementary or secondary grades, is chiefly a matter of obtaining a more efficient attendance unit, although it is intimately related to the problem of a better administrative unit. It is difficult to consider the problem of school consolidation for the elementary grades apart from that of the high school, for in a majority of cases they form one attendance unit. However, we shall consider first the reorganization of the attendance unit of the elementary grades under the usual term, "consolidated schools," and then the attendance unit of the high school.

(*a*) *Consolidated Schools.*[52] Not only because of the disadvantages of the one-room rural school, as shown above, but also because of fundamental changes in the rural situation during the present century, there has been a rapid increase in the number of consolidated schools since World War I. In 1926 there were 13,584 consolidated schools; in 1934 they had increased to 17,248, an increase of 27 percent in 8 years. In the same period there was a decrease of 22,989 one-room schools, or 14.2 percent, and the enrollment in one-room schools decreased 10 percent.[53] Consolidation has been most rapid in the rural South, as in 1931–32 slightly more than half of the consolidated schools were in 14 Southern States.[54]

Four factors have had a major influence in this trend toward consolidation: (1) a declining rural population; (2) automobile transportation and good roads; (3) the increase in rural high schools and the general desire for secondary education; and (4) state aid.

The decline of rural population in large areas of the country has already been described (see pp. 75 to 89). This has caused a small

[52] See C. D. Lewis, The Rural Community and Its Schools, Chapter XI.
[53] K. M. Cook, *op. cit.*, Tables 1, 2.
[54] C. D. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

enrollment in a very large proportion of schools, particularly in the more sparsely settled districts which are least able to support their schools. As a consequence, the cost of maintaining many one-room schools has become prohibitive for the local districts, and unreasonably expensive if state aid is given. In 1936, 35 percent of the com-

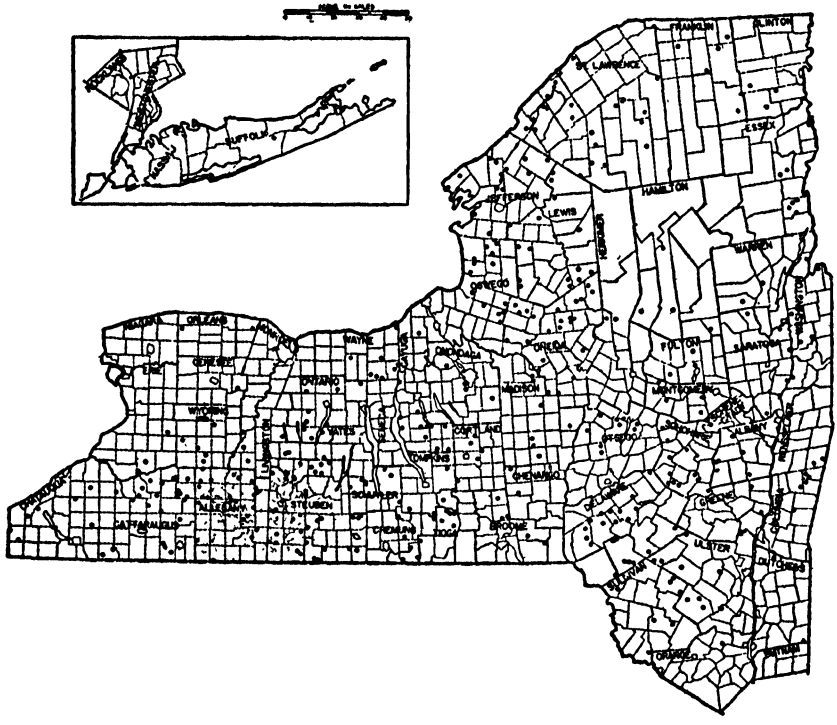


FIG. 83. Districts with one teacher and an average daily attendance of from 0 to 4 pupils, 1934–1935. (From "Education for American Life," Report of the Regents' Inquiry. By permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co.)

mon school districts in New York State had fewer than 10 pupils, and over 300 of them, or about 5 percent, had fewer than 5.[55] (See Figs. 83, 84.) On the basis of data from 10 states, Gaumnitz states that "about 5 percent of all 1-teacher schools of these States show an attendance of 1 to 5 pupils. If this percentage is representative of the size of 1-teacher schools of the entire Nation, there is a total of from 7,500 to 8,000 schools in the United States within these very low

[55] The Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Education in the State of New York, Education for American Life, New York, The McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 79, and map 1.

attendance brackets." [56] The National Survey of School Finance covering 99,575 elementary schools throughout the country showed that 8.2 percent had 3 to 7 pupils. The latter study also shows the high cost of maintaining such small schools and also that the cost per pupil decreases as the attendance, average number of teachers per school,

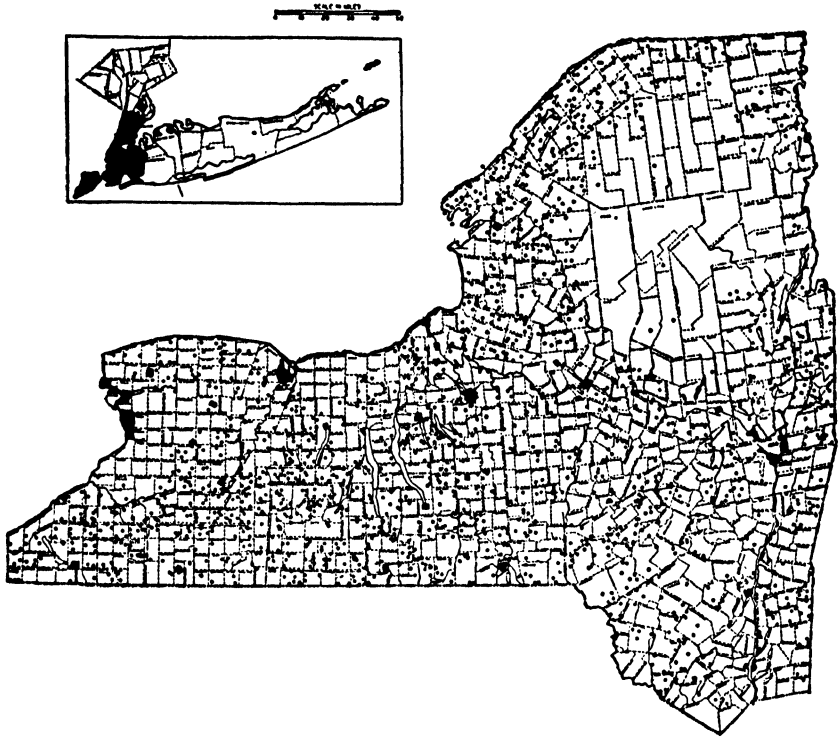


FIG. 84. One-room schools with an average daily attendance of from 5 to 9 pupils, June, 1934, to June, 1935. (From "Education for American Life," Report of the Regents' Inquiry. By permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co.)

and the average number of pupils per teacher increase. Thus a one-teacher school with an average of 6 pupils costs an average of $200 per pupil, whereas a two-teacher school with an average of 24 pupils per teacher costs but $50 per pupil.[57]

Buses and good roads have facilitated the transportation of pupils and thus made consolidation possible. The increase in rural high

[56] W. H. Gaumnitz, Economies Through the Elimination of Very Small Schools, U.S. Office of Education, Bul. 3, 1934, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1934, p. 19.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 18, Table 24.

schools and the higher age of compulsory school attendance has resulted in a much larger attendance at rural high schools. Many high schools are combined with consolidated elementary schools, because buses which transport their students may also carry the elementary school children with little more cost.

Transportation has become one of the major items of the budget of the consolidated school and the merits of bus transportation is one of the chief topics of controversy concerning the consolidated school. In 1937, 84,061 school buses carried 3,225,361 children daily.[58] Transportation has been opposed because of the risk to the safety and health of the children, and its cost. In spite of occasional distressing accidents, which are rare, the children are probably safer in school buses than walking to school, and where suitable shelters are provided at bus stops there is much less danger to their health in buses than in walking from 1 to 3 miles. It is undeniable that in some cases bus routes have been made too long, so that too much of the pupils' time is spent on the road, but this is being corrected and will not be tolerated permanently. In general, no bus route should require any pupil to be over an hour on the road. Long routes are usually due to an attempt to reduce costs. In general, the cost of transportation will be largely met by the savings of salaries and maintenance resulting from the consolidation, but poorer districts will require state aid to maintain satisfactory transportation systems. The cost, operation, and maintenance of the buses has become one of the chief items in school administration, but this is a technical problem which is too large for our consideration. Suffice it to say that numerous studies have recently been made of all aspects of the subject and the operation and financing of school buses are showing rapid improvement.

The general recognition of the fact that a large proportion of rural pupils migrate to towns and cities (see pp. 83 to 89) has brought about a general agreement that local districts should not be solely responsible for the support of schools and has been a powerful argument for state aid to rural schools, which has grown rapidly in recent years. Wherever considerable state aid is given there is a definite incentive for the consolidation of schools, for the state cannot afford to maintain the small schools of less than 10 pupils when superior advantages could be given them in consolidated schools.

The advantages of consolidation are obvious wherever the consolidated districts have been wisely planned so as to be natural units and

[58] Am. Assoc. of School Administrators, 17th Yearbook, Schools in Small Communities, p. 235. This gives a general discussion of the whole problem.

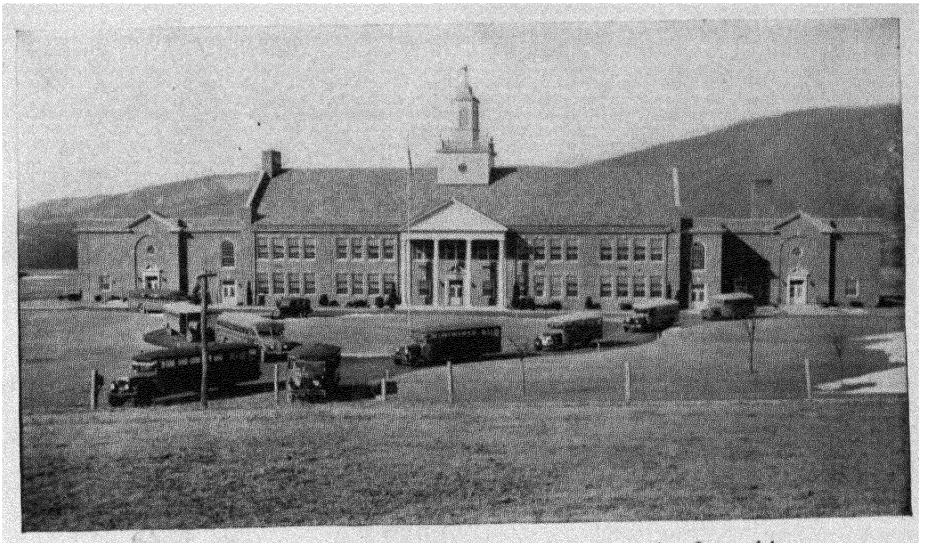


FIG. 85. A modern central rural district school with its fleet of buses.

not too large, and where an excessive expenditure has not been made for new buildings. Among the more important advantages of the consolidated school are:

(1) Equalization of cost between the poorer and wealthier districts.
(2) Better teachers.
(3) Superior curriculum and equipment.
(4) Specialization of instruction and grading of pupils by age groups.
(5) Social advantages to pupils and to the community.
(6) Better administration and supervision.[59]

The equalization of cost is tied up with the size and nature of the district and with systems of state aid and is discussed below on p. 390. The chief opposition to consolidation is on the ground of increased cost. The cost to the locality will depend upon the amount of state aid, but there is evidence to show that without state aid consolidation may be effected at no greatly increased cost to the district as a whole. It is inevitable that wealthier districts will probably pay a higher tax rate, but it is equally certain that the poorer districts will have a lower tax rate, and all will have better educational facilities. Cities long ago adopted the principle of equalization and have one system and tax rate for the whole city. Otherwise the maintenance of adequate schools in the poorer districts would be impossible. There is equal justice in applying the same principle to rural districts.

One of the chief advantages of the consolidated school is its effect on the social life of the community. The school becomes a real social center for the community, as is shown by the calendar of a central rural school in a small rural community, given on p. 378.[60]

The consolidated school increases the area of acquaintance, breaks down the barrier between village and farm people, and socializes the farm children. The central rural school districts of New York State (see p. 383) have distinct advantages for this. Studies of 15 central school districts in New York State brought out the following facts on this point:

> One of the most significant developments in the districts described in this study is the increasing area of acquaintance. The school district has come to define an area within which the people are well acquainted with one another. A new community area, the school district, has combined with the trade area to strengthen the unit that both claim as a

[59] The outstanding advantages of the consolidated school have been well stated by Professor C. D. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[60] E. T. Stromberg, "The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 699, June, 1938, p. 34.

CALENDAR OF THE KING FERRY CENTRAL SCHOOL, 1935–36

		Attendance
September	Firemen's dance	300–400
	4-H exhibit	300
October	Festival, a series of entertainments	150–200 ea
	Music — Lecture	
	Music and entertainment — Play	
November	Young Homemakers' mother-daughter banquet	30
December	Basketball game	150
	P.T.A. dinner and card party	100
	Basketball game	150
	Piano recital	75
	P.T.A. meeting	75
	Alumni dance	150
January	Faculty club entertains Aurora Club	30
	Basketball game	150
	Junior play	200
	P.T.A. meeting	75
	Basketball game	100
	Basketball game	200
February	County homemaking teachers' meeting	10
	Basketball game	150
	P.T.A. meeting	75
	Farm Bureau demonstration	30
	Firemen's basketball game	25
	Sherwood senior play	100
	P.T.A. dinner and card party	100
March	Firemen's basketball game	25
	Adult education classes	110
	Basketball game	150
	Adult education classes	110
	Student council dance	100
	Senior play	150
April	Young Homemakers' party	25
	Presbyterian Ladies' Aid play	150
	P.T.A. meeting	75
	4-H Club party	50
	Public mass meeting, "World Peace"	250
	Presbyterian Sunday School Minstrel Show	200
May	May Day dance	150
	County music festival	900
	P.T.A. home-talent program	200
	Toxoid clinic	40
	Union Springs High School play	150
	Local prize speaking contest	150
	Presbyterian Ladies' Aid play	200
	Operetta	400
June	Baccalaureate	300
	Class night	600
	Commencement	300
	Junior prom	300

supporting area. In every district but one, this was a common evaluation of the influence of the central school. People from one section of the central district meet the people from other sections when they attend programs in the school building and in which pupils are involved. Thus parents come to know each other's children and eventually each other. Children are friendly with others from all parts of the district. . . .

The increased area of acquaintance, discussed above, is seen also in terms of improved village-country relations. . . . The school district becomes more and more the unit within which people visit their friends and associate in groups, with lessening regard for village-country divisions.

An important index of this change in village-country relations is the report, in every district, of the disappearance of the "country kid" with some distinguishing characteristics, however small. Perhaps in the differences in his manners in a group, or in his dress, or in his speech, the "country kid" was distinguished from the boy or girl of the village. Ordinary observation revealed that much of this difference disappeared with the increasing use of the automobile. However, in every instance some observer in the village would advance the opinion that the "country kid" is a thing of the past in the central school district. He cannot be distinguished from his village friend on the playground, in the classroom, on the stage, or at the class dance. Occasionally the same evaluation would come from a farmer, who had watched his boy take his place in the activities of the central school.[61]

Usually the consolidated school is combined with a high school, although in many cases it includes only the first eight grades. Where the six-six plan of organization is used, it may be desirable in some cases to provide a consolidated elementary school of the first six grades in a community which is too small to support a junior high school, but in which there are a sufficient number of elementary pupils to make possible a satisfactory school. As previously indicated (p. 359) this will give the community a place for community events and will segregate the younger children. Transportation problems may make such an arrangement difficult in some cases, but, as will be discussed below, there is a question whether it is better to assemble all the elementary pupils in a large consolidated school if the small community can maintain a satisfactory elementary graded school which will serve as a social center.

(*b*) *The High School Attendance Unit.* The problem of the small high school is largely due to the small size of the district or attendance unit which supports it. The first secondary schools, particularly in the Northeastern States, were academies, often supported privately.

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36.

As they were transformed into public high schools they became village high schools to which country children were obliged to pay tuition. In many states the local school district now pays the high school tuition, but the country patrons have no part in the control of the school. In by far the larger part of our rural area country children still live out-

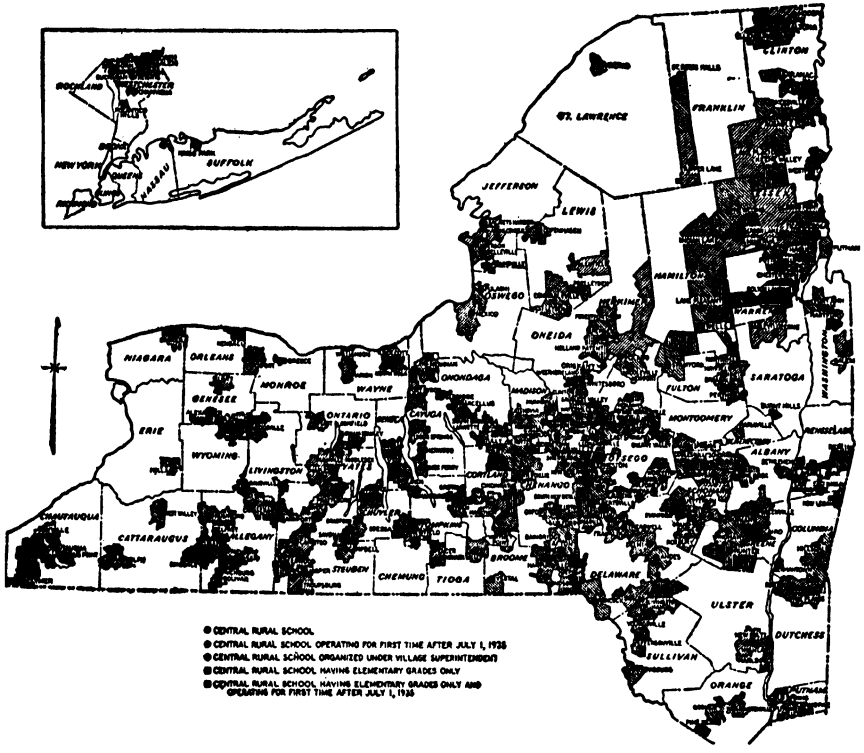


FIG. 86. Central-rural-school districts of New York State, August, 1938. (From "Education for American Life," Report of the Regents' Inquiry. By permission of McGraw-Hill Book Co.)

side of high school districts and attend schools controlled by the villages. Thus only 22 percent of the area of the State of Michigan is within high school districts [62] and about one-third of the rural area of New York State is included in central rural school districts having their own high schools.[63] (Fig. 86.) Thus we have a dual system of elementary and secondary education.

[62] J. F. Thaden and Eben Mumford, "High School Communities in Michigan," Spec. Bul. 289, Mich. St. Coll. AES, Jan., 1938, p. 10.

[63] Regents' Inquiry, *op. cit.*, map 4.

> The situation has often resulted in indifference on the part of high schools to the needs of children in the "sending" districts and in the failure of farm youth to reach high school. Such indifference has meant both that many farm youth were not brought into contact with high school, and also that the high school curriculum was not adapted to their needs. Another vicious result of non-resident tuition has been the overzealous attempts to attract farm youth to high school in order to supplement the local budget with their tuition. This has often resulted in strong competition between districts. . . . Such competition is not only questionable from the standpoint of the pupil's welfare but is uneconomical and a violation of the principle that each high school should serve a natural sociological community.[64]

The only satisfactory solution of this difficulty is to organize the whole area which the high school serves as one school district controlling both elementary and secondary education. Rural educators are fairly agreed that this area should be the rural community (as described in Chapter 13), but this does not solve the problem for, as we have seen, there are communities of various size and the smaller ones are unable to support satisfactory high schools. Undoubtedly there are too many small high schools and some of them will have to be consolidated; this process is already under way in many states. The question resolves itself into what population is necessary to support a high school with satisfactory curriculum, equipment, and teaching staff. There is no general agreement on this matter and it will necessarily vary with the density of population. One of the best students of this subject, Howard A. Dawson, states that a desirable size for a six-year secondary school is 210 to 300 pupils with 7 to 10 teachers.[65] This would be the equivalent of 140 to 200 pupils for a four-year high school. In New York State a village of about 600 inhabitants plus the people of the tributary country area has sufficient population to furnish 100 pupils for a four-year high school. A village of 1,000 to 1,500 population and its rural area would be necessary to support a high school of the size suggested by Dawson. Whether it is desirable to consolidate the high schools in places of less than approximately 1,000 inhabitants, so as to obtain the attendance suggested by Dawson, is a question which cannot be answered categorically. Besides the factors of attendance and cost, which will be discussed below, the importance of the community in the life of the school must also be considered. Cer-

[64] Am. Assoc. of School Administrators, Schools in Small Communities, *op. cit.*, pp. 217–219.

[65] H. A. Dawson, "Satisfactory Local School Units," in Reorganization of School Units, U.S. Office of Education, Bul. 15, 1935, p. 8.

tainly, however, 100 pupils is a minimum for a four-year high school which can furnish a satisfactory type of education.

The small high school, like the small one-room school, is unnecessarily expensive. Thus Lawler reports that in high schools with less than 50 students the average cost per pupil is from $150 to $200, whereas in those with 100 to 150 or 200 pupils the cost is but $100 per pupil.

The small high school is also handicapped in the quality of its teachers, owing to the lower salaries it is able to pay. Thus in 1935–36 60 percent of the newly employed high school teachers in the rural areas were inexperienced, as against one-third in cities and villages having superintendents.[66]

2. The Administrative Unit. It is now generally agreed by rural educators [67] that the minimum administrative unit should be one which can furnish high school education and that all the schools within this area should be under one administration. This does not mean that all the schools within this administrative unit will be consolidated into one building and thus into one attendance unit. As has been previously indicated, there may frequently be cases in which it is desirable to maintain a one-room school, or to have a local consolidated elementary school or a junior high school, in an administrative area served by one senior high school. Such a reorganization of the administrative units is well illustrated by the plan proposed for Boone County, Missouri, shown in Figs. 87, 88. This shows administrative districts, each with a high school; but in one district (Harrisburg) all the schools would be consolidated and form one attendance district, whereas in the others one or two elementary schools or junior high schools are to be maintained separately from the senior high school, and would form independent attendance units.

The primary consideration with regard to the size of the administrative unit is that it be large enough to be able to employ a qualified professional educator for its administration. This has become desirable because of the increased scope and complexity of the educational program, and its broader aims and objectives. "This has reduced the extent to which the untrained layman can actually participate in carrying out the educational process and therefore has increased the necessity for procedures thru which the layman can insure that the educational program is directed toward the ends he desires." [68]

[66] C. H. Judd, *op. cit.*, p. 116, Table XIX.

[67] *Cf.* H. A. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[68] Am. Assoc. of School Administrators, 17th Yearbook, Schools in Small Communities, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

The objectives of an administrative unit large enough for effective organization and the centralization of schools, with democratic local control, have been largely achieved in the Central Rural School District in New York State. This has four distinct advantages: (1) It is an area that provides a senior high school for the whole district with transportation to it. (2) It is a natural community area, that is, the area of a village and the farm territory which is tributary to it. (3) It is operated by one school board, chosen by the citizens of the whole district, which employs the principal and teachers and thus makes possible better administration and supervision. (4) It equalizes the cost by making one tax rate for the whole district and, through state legislation, obtains more financial support for the high school than if it were supported by a village district. So successful has this administrative unit been that about one-third of the rural area of the state has been organized into central districts (Fig. 85) in the last 15 years.[69]

Just what is the best type of administrative unit is a technical question upon which the educational experts are not agreed, and need not concern us here, although it has important sociological implications. Indeed, Professor J. E. Butterworth holds that there is no one administrative unit best for all conditions and that even within one state conditions may well justify different types of local units.[70] In all cases the administrative unit should provide such professional services as business and educational administration, supervision of instruction, health supervision, and census and attendance supervision. However, if some of the newer educational services, such as adult education, supervision, health services, vocational education, educational and vocational guidance, and opportunities for training the various types of handicapped children, are to be provided wholly by the local unit, there is a question whether in many cases the administrative unit which is the same as the high school attendance area, as in the central rural school district of New York State, or in other consolidated school districts, is large enough to make these services possible.[71] There is

[69] From Dwight Sanderson, "School Centralization and the Rural Community," N. Y. State College of Agriculture, Cornell Ext. Bul. 445, Sept., 1940.

[70] J. E. Butterworth, Rural School Administration, *op. cit.*, p. 108. See Chapter V, pp. 81–108, for an excellent discussion of the different "Types of Local School Units." See also L. M. Chamberlain and L. M. Meece, "The Local Unit for School Administration in the United States," Lexington, Ky., Univ. of Ky., Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service, Vol. VIII, Nos. 3, 4, 1936.

[71] *Cf.* J. E. Butterworth, "Organization for Local Administration and Support," in Review of Conditions and Developments in Education in Rural and Other Sparsely Settled Areas, U.S. Office of Education, Bul., 1937, No. 2, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1937, p. 46.

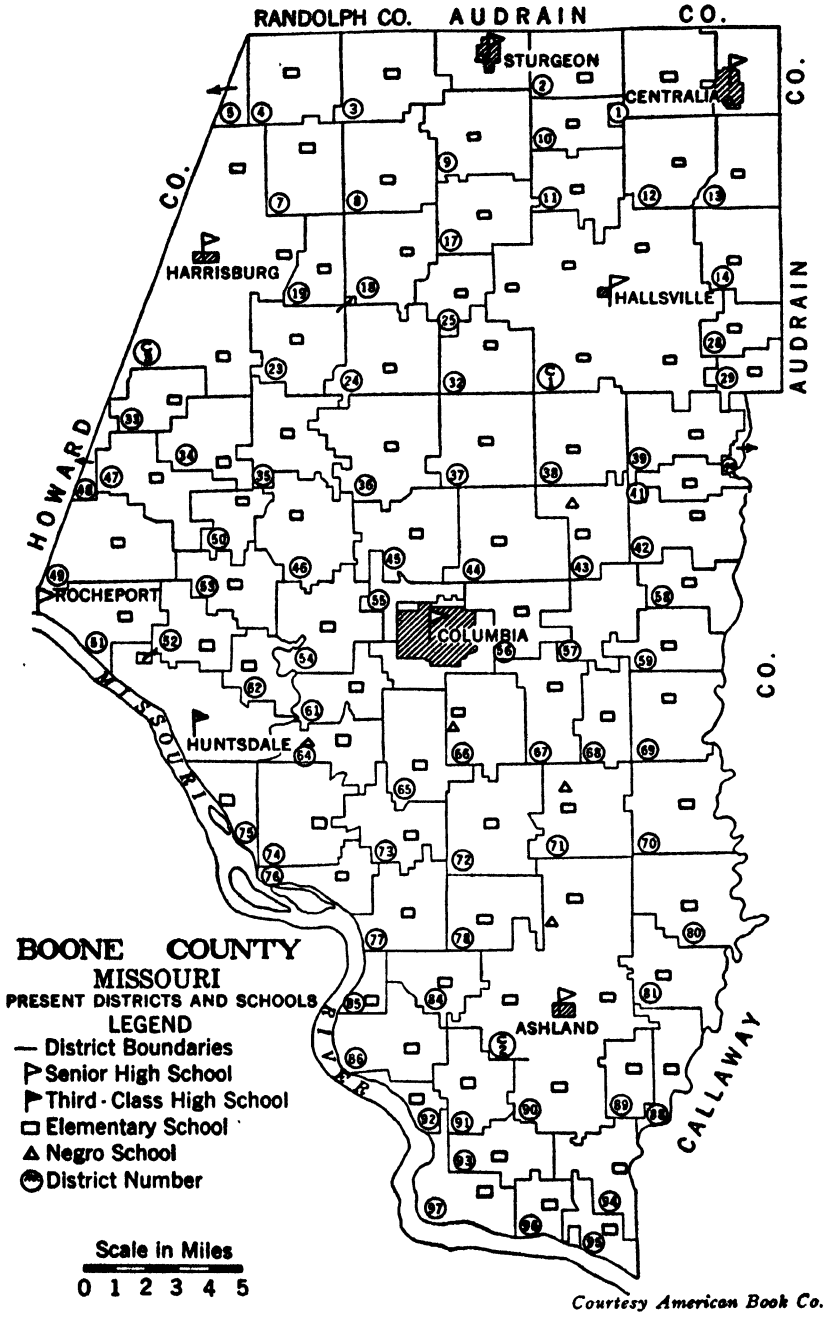


FIG. 87. Present districts and schools of Boone County, Missouri. Note the small, irregular districts which the present communities with modern transportation leave outgrown. (After Langfitt, Cyr, and Newsom.)

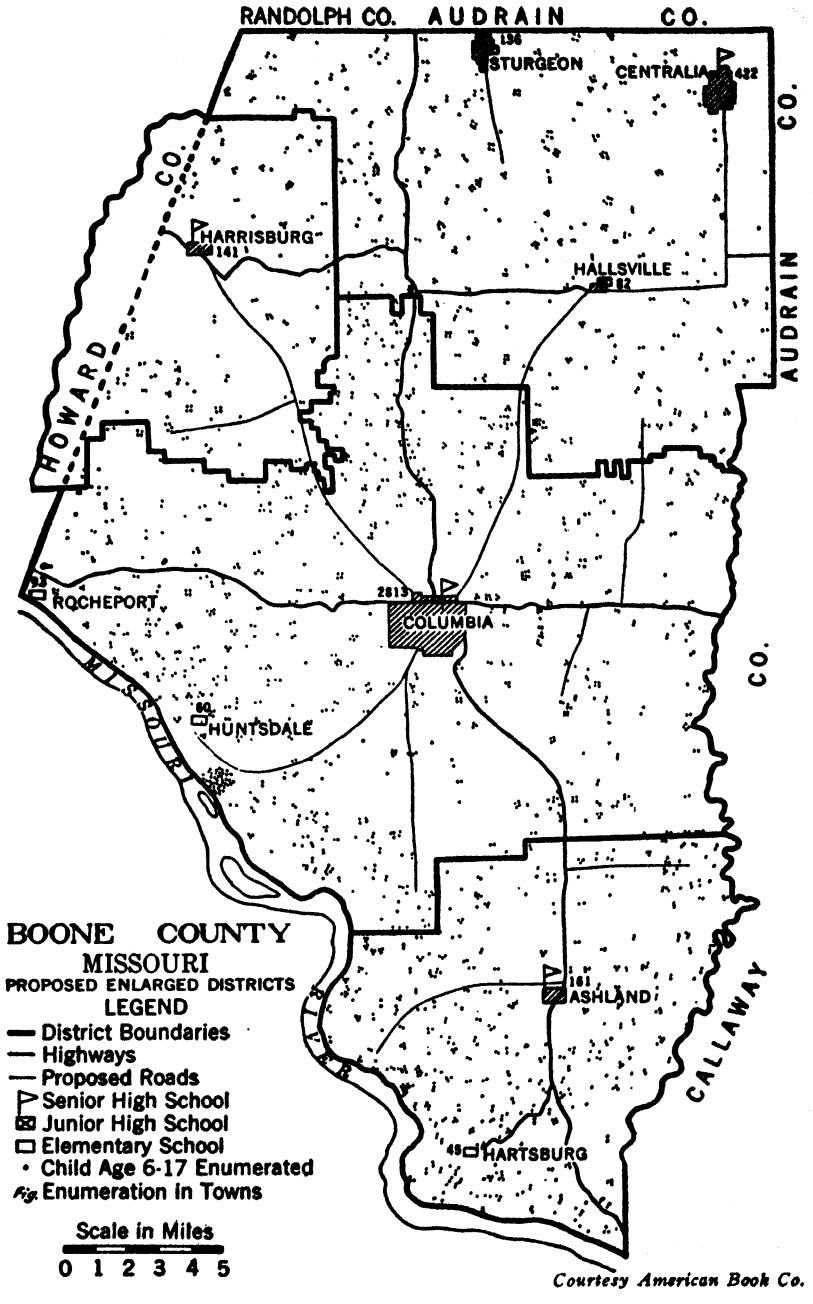


FIG. 88. Proposed redistricting with enlarged districts laid out along community lines of the same county. Based on a cooperative survey by the county and the Missouri State Department of Public Instruction. (After Langfitt, Cyr, and Newsom.)

probably a need for an intermediate unit[72] for administrative purposes, and special functions and courses which a high school district cannot support, functioning between the local unit and the state, but just what its size and functions should be are still being debated by educational leaders.

One of the advantages of the large administrative unit, based on the high school attendance area, is that more farm children are enabled to attend high school. Thus in Arkansas in 115 open-country districts containing 80 percent of the farm population of the county only 11 percent of the potential high school enrollment (children 14 through 17 years of age) were enrolled, but in the 14 central districts more than 60 percent were enrolled.[73]

However, there is definite evidence that in many cases greater efficiency and lower costs might be obtained in the administrative unit by combining small counties into a larger unit. Thus Lewis[74] shows that by combining three counties in Tennessee it would be possible to pay a higher salary for one superintendent, and thus secure better administration, and with the savings employ two well-trained supervisors, who could do much to increase the efficiency of the elementary schools.

One of the chief functions of the administrative unit is to furnish efficient supervision, particularly for the elementary school teachers. It is questionable whether the average high school principal is necessarily a good supervisor of elementary teachers, and this is one reason for questioning whether the administrative unit which depends upon the high school principal for supervision is entirely adequate. Were it a part of a larger intermediate unit which could assume responsibility for supervision, the efficiency of the elementary grades would doubtless be improved.

In any case, whatever the administrative unit may be, it is important that local interest and democratic control be not sacrificed for so-called efficiency. This has been clearly recognized in the findings of the New York Regents' Inquiry quoted below (see p. 389), "Democratic administration may be measured in terms of three criteria: local participation, local initiative, and local control."[75] Where the county is made the administrative unit, there is often a definite loss of control

[72] *Cf.* J. E. Butterworth, Rural School Administration, Chapter XIV, pp. 261–283.

[73] J. L. Charlton, "School Services in Rural Communities in Washington County," Univ. of Ark. AES, Bul. 398, June, 1940.

[74] C. D. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

and local interest and responsibility; local participation is largely lost, except through the advisory functions of a parent-teacher association, or some such body, unless the administrative officers realize the importance of community participation and community relations and actively provide local responsibility. The expert services of a well-trained professional educator as an executive officer under a local board of education are highly desirable. However, when control of the schools is turned over to professional educators for counties or states even with boards of education over them, no matter how competent and honest they may be, there is grave danger of building up an educational bureaucracy which will not be responsive to the wishes of its constituency and which deprives the people of the opportunity of having control of the local situation. This question of democracy in local government versus the assumed efficiency of larger central units is by no means peculiar to the school problem; we shall encounter it again in the discussion of administration of health and public welfare.[76]

3. SCHOOL CONSOLIDATION AND COMMUNITY UNITS. School centralization may weaken or even destroy the rural community if it is not wisely handled, and thus may break down the organization of the child's social environment, for which there is no adequate substitute. Here, again, the issue seems to be between the values of certain standards of efficiency and the values of a well-integrated community as necessary to enable its people to create for themselves a satisfactory social environment. If efficiency is measured only by cost per pupil or proposed standards of curriculum content, then many a small community will be deprived of its school, whether consolidated elementary school or high school, and the value to the school of its community relations may be lost. Placing the school outside the natural community alienates community interest, and the child becomes a nonresident pupil in an alien social environment. Such a school cannot function as a social center for those who do not accept it as a part of their community.

It is obvious that there is no simple formula for solving this problem of competing values. School consolidation is desirable and every little hamlet cannot support a satisfactory high school. What principle may be safely followed in the centralization of schools? As a basic prin-

[75] Adapted from American Association of School Administrators, 17th Yearbook, Schools in Small Communities, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

[76] Consult Langfitt, Cyr, and Newsom, *op. cit.*, pp. 631–632, on this point.

ciple it would seem that the consolidation of institutions of the small community should be effected only when the institutions centralized in the larger community will serve the social and economic needs of the people better and more satisfactorily and will enable them to have a primary community of interests in the larger community because they feel that it does give them better social facilities and a larger association. To preserve a healthy social organization it is better to proceed by evolution than by revolution, and it may be better to wait until the smaller community may be naturally assimilated by the larger community. This does not mean that weak, inefficient high schools should be maintained in small communities, but that the value of the school in the community life, and the preservation of as much of a community as may be possible, should be given consideration as much as efficiency of cost or curriculum.

Much of the difficulty may be resolved by making a clear-cut distinction between the consolidation of attendance districts and the integration of attendance districts into a larger administrative unit. The administrative unit may be greatly enlarged with added efficiency without necessarily interfering with an attendance unit which preserves community identity. In the United States we have long worshipped mere bigness, and this has a subtle influence on school consolidation. There is no merit in bigness for its own sake, however much satisfaction the school principal may have from having a larger fleet of school buses than neighboring schools.

A realistic analysis of this problem is not possible if we consider *the* rural community as a generic type of social organization. Small and large rural communities differ as much in structure and function as do the small city and the metropolis. Furthermore rural people are no longer confined to one community, for although their primary loyalty may be to the local community it often forms part of a larger community for certain purposes. The organization of rural society is not made up of discrete rural communities, but is a system of communities, small and large, each having distinctive functions and values. (See pp. 280, 281.)

In general, the small rural community with a village of less than 500 or 600 inhabitants will not be able to support a high school, but, as previously indicated, circumstances may be such that it may be desirable to maintain an elementary six-grade consolidated school. Most medium-sized communities with villages of 500 or 600 to about 1,200 now have high schools, but, as we have seen, many of them are small and inefficient. Where the attendance is too small to justify a senior

high school, and there is a large enough constituency for a satisfactory junior high school, in many cases it may be better to have a small junior high school than to transport all high school students to a larger center. This may warrant some sacrifice as to cost and efficiency, for if the high school is entirely removed it will seriously weaken the community life. The large rural community with a village of 1,200 or more inhabitants is the best place for a senior high school, which will be the central institution for integrating the larger rural community. This larger community will include several of the smaller communities, and will unite them in the maintenance of those institutions and services which they cannot support individually.

The importance of preserving the rural community has been well recognized by the Regents' Inquiry in New York when it says, with regard to the proper size of school district for New York State, that it should:

> 4. Coincide as far as possible with the natural community boundaries and, where possible, with local government units so that cooperative services may be arranged, particularly in connection with health, traffic control, planning, recreation, the joint use of plant, and proper management of public debt;
>
> 5. Keep the schools and the government of the schools close to the people so that the citizens generally, including the parents and taxpayers, may know what their schools are doing, may have an effective voice in the school program, and may participate in the community use of the school building.
>
> These last two factors, relation of the school to the natural community and closeness of the school to the people, are of first-rate educational significance and are not to be sacrificed in the interest of "efficiency." If such a sacrifice is made to establish economical districts, we will find in a generation that something of deep significance which money cannot buy has been destroyed.[77]

Centralization or consolidation is a process which is necessary and desirable, but in this process the importance of preserving and strengthening community life must be given equal consideration with factors of cost and efficiency. The education of the individual is not the sole objective of the school; it must also aid in creating a fine social environment, for otherwise the school will be unable to achieve its primary function of giving the individual the best sort of education. Furthermore, the responsibility of the school must not be conceived as solely

[77] Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, Education for American Life, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, pp. 89–90. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

for the child. The school is just entering the field of adult education. As adult education becomes a larger phase of its program, the importance of the school as a community center will increase.

The improvement of the rural community and its institutions is the best means of building a rural culture with distinctive values, which will strengthen our whole society, and the school, particularly the high school, has a major responsibility for assisting the process of rural community organization. There are values in integration, but there are also values in the individual differences of communities as well as of individuals. In the process of perfecting a reorganization of the attendance areas and administrative districts of rural schools there is the opportunity for creating a better pattern for rural society. School district reorganization means setting a new pattern for rural organization not only for tomorrow but also for generations to come. It is a turning point in the organization of rural society.

F. FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF RURAL SCHOOLS

1. FARMERS' TAXES FOR SCHOOLS. Rising taxes are one of the chief burdens of the American farmer, as we found in Chapter 7. One of the largest items in the farmer's tax bill is for schools, and his school tax rate has increased rapidly. The per capita cost of public schools, elementary and secondary, for the United States has nearly doubled for each decade since 1900, being $2.84 in 1900, $4.46 in 1910, $9.80 in 1920, and $18.87 in 1930.[78]

Like other expenses of local government, the local school tax is derived mostly from assessments on property. It has been estimated that 73 percent of the funds for public elementary and secondary schools in the United States are raised by property taxes.[79] General property taxes form over four-fifths of the taxes paid by farmers, as shown in Fig. 89. In five northern states the percentage of local expenditures for all governmental purposes devoted to education varied from 47 to 71 percent in the rural townships.[80] Thus about three-fifths of the farmer's local taxes in these states are for schools.

2. OBJECTIONS TO GENERAL PROPERTY TAXES: EQUALIZATION. One of the chief objections to the general property tax as a source of school revenue is that in the one-room school districts the school-tax

[78] U.S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1933, No. 2, Biennial Survey of Education, 1930–32, p. 47, Table I, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1933.

[79] Clarence Heer, Federal Aid and the Tax Problem, Advisory Committee on Education, Study 4, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939, p. 41.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 27, Table 4.

rate is highest because of low property values and the few taxpayers. As we have seen (p. 375), the cost per pupil rises very rapidly as the size of the school decreases, and the small schools are usually in the poorest districts. The districts with the best agricultural land which have a higher valuation and, therefore, a lower tax rate are often also favored by having a larger assessed valuation of public utilities, such as railroads, which further reduces their tax rate.

As a result of these factors there is a very wide variation in the cost of maintaining schools in local districts, and the cost is highest in those districts least able to pay. "In Nebraska, for example, where the educational program is supported almost entirely by the local districts, the tax rates necessary to support the present minimum program are often from forty to fifty times as great in the poorer districts as those required in the abler districts. In the State of Maryland the poorer districts carry more than twice the load of the average districts in supporting the minimum program." [81] In New York State in 1921 it was found that it cost ten or twelve times as much in one district as in another in the same supervisory district to educate a pupil for a year,[82] and in the same state in 1935–36 it was found that "the values back of each child in school in the common school districts vary from $817 to $563,000, while the values in the majority of the central school districts run between $4,000 and $9,000." [83]

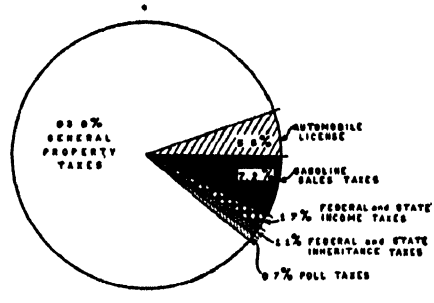


FIG. 89. Taxes paid by farmers in the United States, 1927. (From Research Division, NEA. Data from Whitney Coombs, "Taxation of Farm Property," USDA Tech. Bul. 172.)

This wide variation in the ability to support public schools and the conviction that education is no longer wholly a local responsibility, but is an obligation of the state, has led to the general acceptance among educators of the principle of equalization, which is one of the chief advantages of the consolidated district or any larger administrative unit, whether community, township, or county. By making the administrative district the unit for levying a uniform tax rate the burden is

[81] P. R. Mort, State Support for Public Education, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1935, p. 145.

[82] Harlan Updegraff, Rural School Survey of New York State: Financial Support, Ithaca, N. Y., 1922, p. 54.

[83] The Regents' Inquiry, Education for American Life, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

spread more evenly over the whole area, decreasing the cost to the poorer districts and raising it for the wealthier districts, except as this may be modified by state aid.

3. STATE FINANCING OF SCHOOLS. The principle of equalization applies as well to the larger administrative units. "Thus even in one largely urban state, the assessed valuation per child in the eight most urban counties was well over double the figure in the eight most rural counties," [84] and we have noted above that the valuation of the poorer central districts in New York State is less than half of the wealthier. There has been a general movement on the part of educators, therefore, in favor of state aid as a means of equalizing costs and giving a larger equality of opportunity for education, and there has been notable progress in the amount of state aid given throughout the country, although this has been seriously curtailed in many states on account of their poor financial condition which resulted from the depression.[85]

The depression forced upon us the necessity for a broader base for school support, and a general appreciation of the facts of rural-urban migration, of the concentration of wealth in cities, and of the inadequate share of the national income which goes to agriculture has made it possible to obtain the cooperation of the cities in the support of state aid for rural schools.

4. FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION. The same principle goes even further, and may be applied with equal justice for the equalization of the costs of education between the states through federal aid, which has become a major issue during the past decade. Not only are there striking differences in the taxable wealth of the various states, but the poorer states have the largest number of children, and therefore a heavier burden. During the depression thousands of rural schools would have been closed had it not been for temporary aid from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Partly as a result of this crisis, in 1936 President Franklin D. Roosevelt invited a committee of leading educators to study the whole problem of federal aid to the states for the support of public education and their report was submitted to the Congress on February 23, 1938. This committee showed very clearly, as a result of elaborate statistical research, the unequal ability of the states to support an average standard of education.

> . . . about 20 percent of the children of school age in the United States live in States where with no more than average effort more than $75

[84] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, p. 400.

[85] Consult K. M. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 13.

per child could be provided for education, while another 20 percent live in States where not more than $25 per child could be provided without more than average effort. An expenditure of $50 per child would be deemed low in comparison with the typical urban standards of any region, yet more than 60 percent of the children live in States that on a State-wide basis could not provide $50 per child for public schools without more than average effort.[86]

This is shown graphically by the map in Fig. 90.

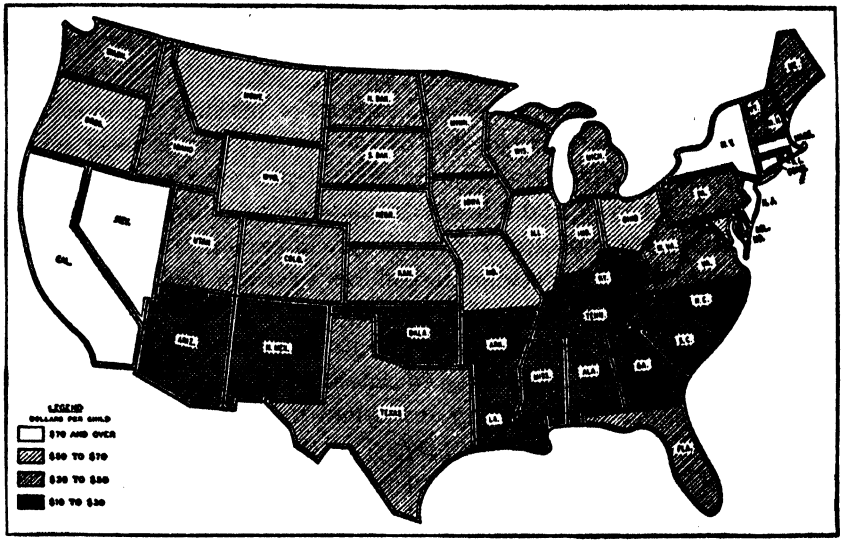


FIG. 90. Current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in the various States, 1935–1936. (From the Advisory Committee on Education, Report of the Committee.)

As a result of this report there was introduced into the first session of the 75th Congress the Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher Bill (S. 419, H. R. 10340; and in the 77th Congress, 1st Session, S. 313) "to promote the general welfare through the appropriation of funds to assist the States and Territories in providing more effective programs of public education." This bill has the active support of the National Education Association and other leading educational organizations, as well as the leading agricultural organizations, such as the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange.[87] The case made

[86] Advisory Committee on Education, Report of the Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[87] See Seventy-fifth Congress, First Session, Assistance to States and Territories in Providing Programs of Public Education, Hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. Senate on S. 419, etc., Washington, D.C., U.S Govt. Printing Office, 1937.

by the advisory committee is so convincing that it is believed some measure of this sort will be passed by the Congress in the near future. The measure has been very carefully drawn so as to give protection to the proper use of federal funds for the purposes designated, but to preclude any control by the Federal Government of their local administration. The bill provides not only for federal aid for elementary and secondary education, but for the improved preparation of teachers, construction of school buildings, adult education, rural libraries, cooperative educational research, and the administration of state departments of education. It also recognizes the principle that more aid should be given to those states which need it most.

This is a far cry from the original support of the first public schools by subscriptions from the patrons, or the support of the local school by land taxes, but education is no longer a local matter and the nation as a whole has a large stake in the training of its citizens, young and old, and if under our present economic system certain areas are unable to furnish an adequate education to children who will replace the population of the wealthier cities, it is not only good public policy for the nation, but it is also good business for the cities to provide that their future citizens shall be adequately educated. The isolated rural neighborhood of former days is being fused into the local community, and the community is unavoidably enmeshed in the national life, to which it gives new blood and which in turn must give it sustenance.

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Chapter 17

THE COOPERATIVE EXTENSION SERVICE IN AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS

In 1939 the cooperative extension work of the land-grant colleges and the U.S. Department of Agriculture celebrated its silver anniversary; it was inaugurated by the Smith-Lever Act in 1914. During this quarter-century it has become the most significant agency for rural betterment under governmental auspices which occurs anywhere in the world, and is second only to the public school system in its educational influence.

I. HISTORY

The beginnings of the extension movement go back a decade or two earlier than 1914 and were due to the development of the extension work of the state agricultural colleges and of the work of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in combating the Mexican cotton boll weevil.

The Morrill Act, passed by the Congress in 1862 at the beginning of the Civil War, made a grant of public lands to each state to establish a college for instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts. Some of these were separate colleges, known as agricultural colleges or A. & M. Colleges, while others were parts of state universities, but collectively they are known as the Land-Grant Colleges. In 1887 Congress passed the Hatch Act which made an annual federal appropriation to each of these colleges for the establishment of an agricultural experiment station. Subsequently the support of the Experiment Stations has been increased by federal aid under the Adams Act (1906) and the Purnell Act (1925). The investigations conducted by these experiment stations and the United States Department of Agriculture have been chiefly responsible for the scientific basis of modern agriculture in this country.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century most of the agricultural colleges and the state boards or departments of agriculture conducted an extensive system of farmers' institutes in which better

methods of agriculture were taught. Soon after the establishment of the agricultural experiment stations it was realized that the results of their investigations would not be extensively used by farmers unless other means were employed than the publication of bulletins and reports and addresses at farmers' institutes and agricultural meetings. The agricultural colleges came to feel that they should have definite departments with men who could devote their time to giving instruction to the people on the land. The first appropriation for agricultural extension work was made to Cornell University by the State of New York in 1894, but it was a decade later before many of the leading agricultural colleges had established departments of extension work.

The chief factor in the establishment of the present extension system was the county agent movement. County agricultural agents were first employed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Texas in 1906 under the direction of Dr. S. A. Knapp, as a means of instructing the growers how to combat the cotton boll weevil. With the help of local businessmen, county governments and the General Education Board, the movement spread rapidly throughout the South. There were 580 county agents in the South when the first one was appointed in the North in Broome County, New York, in 1911. The movement spread so that in 1914, when the Smith-Lever Act was passed, there were agents in 240 counties in 27 northern and western states, "while in 42 of the 48 states approximately 1,350 men and women agents were being employed in the county extension work." [1]

The movement for a nation-wide extension system was inaugurated by the Committee on Extension of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, under the chairmanship of Kenyon L. Butterfield, which first outlined the general features of a law for this purpose in 1908.[2]

In 1909 President Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, led by Liberty Hyde Bailey, and of which Butterfield was a member, recommended the establishment of a national agricultural extension system through the state colleges of agriculture, and a bill for this purpose was first introduced in Congress in 1909 at the instance of the Association of Agricultural Colleges. It took five years of discussion to perfect the Smith-Lever Act which was finally enacted May 8, 1914.

This act made a federal appropriation to each land-grant college through and in cooperation with the U.S. Secretary of Agriculture "to aid in diffusing among the people of the United States useful and

[1] C. B. Smith and M. C. Wilson, The Agricultural Extension System of the United States, p. 40.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

practical information on agriculture and home economics and to encourage the application of the same . . . through field demonstrations,

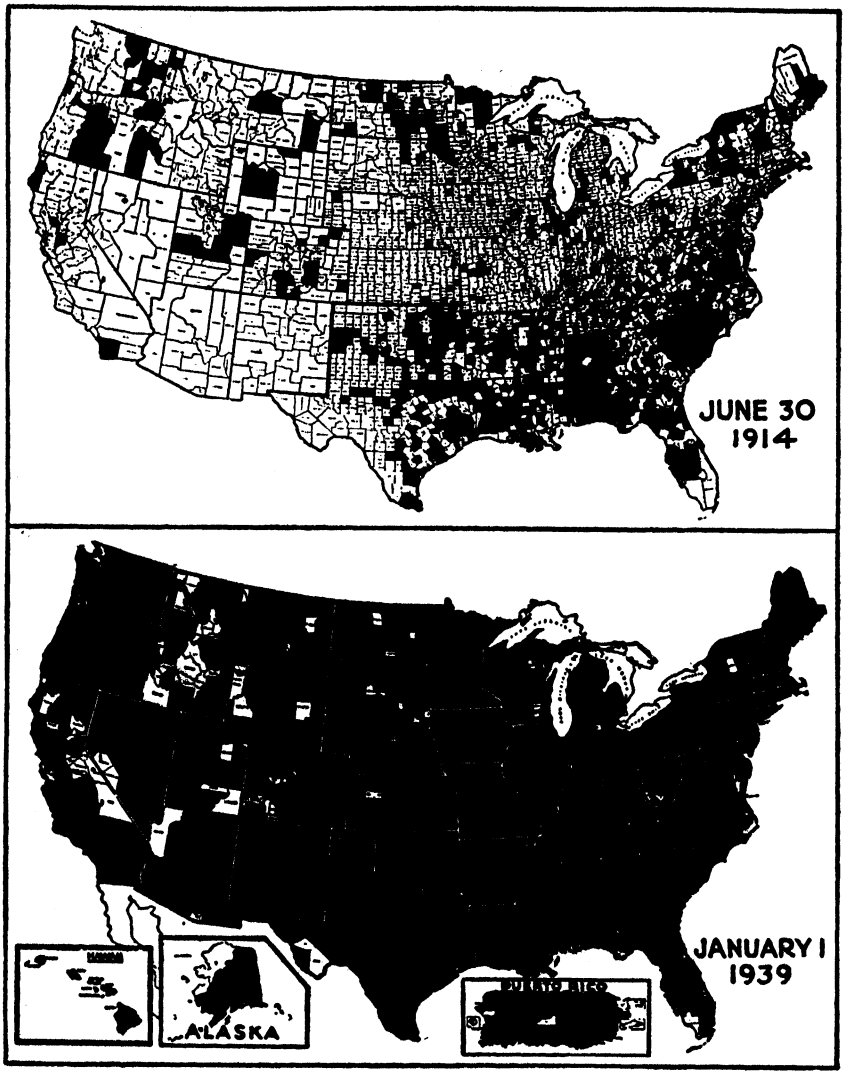


FIG. 91. Growth of number of counties with extension agents from 1914 to 1939. (From *Extension Service Review.*)

publications and otherwise, . . . to persons not resident at said college." The chief purpose of the act was to assist in the provision of county agents in agriculture and home economics throughout the country, and from it has grown the present system of cooperative extension

work, which now covers practically all the farming counties in the country, including Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico, as shown in Fig. 91. In approximately 3,000 counties in the United States there were on January 1, 1939, 4,074 county agricultural agents, 2,136 home demonstration agents, and 278 4-H club agents, under the guidance of 622 administrators and 1,570 subject-matter specialists at the state colleges, making a total extension force of 8,680 extension workers.[3] The extent of the influence of this small army of extension workers may be shown by the annual statistics, which show that in 1935 out of 6,706,542 farms in the counties with extension agents, their work reached 4,694,402 rural families (including duplicates).[4]

II. STRUCTURE

As its name indicates, the extension service is organized as a cooperative system between the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the state land-grant colleges. This cooperative system was established under a "Memorandum of Understanding," [5] between the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the state land-grant colleges, which was entered into immediately following the enactment of the Smith-Lever Law, and which is almost as significant for extension work as the act itself. This memorandum provided that each college receiving its funds must establish a separate extension organization with a director in charge. Under him are administrative leaders of the major divisions of the work carried on by the county agricultural agents and the home demonstration agents, and a staff of extension specialists who are experts in the subject matter of various fields. The administrative staff forms a separate unit of the college. In some states the extension specialists form part of the staff of subject matter departments, such as agronomy, animal husbandry, clothing, etc., in which they are associated, in a common program, with those engaged in teaching and research. In other states the extension staff is entirely separate from the departments concerned with teaching and research. This is particularly true in the South, where the demonstration work was started under the U.S. Department of Agriculture, before the Smith-Lever Act, entirely separate from the agricultural colleges. It is believed that the first type of organization, in which teaching, research, and extension service are

[3] *Extension Service Review,* Washington, D.C., USDA, June, 1939, p. 91.

[4] These and statistics subsequently given for 1935 are from USDA, Ext. Serv., Building Rural Leadership: A Report of Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics in 1935, Washington, Jan., 1939, pp. 2, 36.

[5] For a copy of this see Smith and Wilson, *op. cit.,* p. 374.

integrated in one subject matter department, obtains better integration and superior service.

The extension service is supported in part by federal funds from the Smith-Lever Act and subsequent acts of Congress, in part by state appropriations, and in many states by county appropriations and contributions from organizations of farmers such as the Farm Bureau. The Smith-Lever Act provides for an appropriation of $10,000 to each state and an additional amount based on the proportion which the rural population of a state is of the total rural population of the United States, if the state provides an equal sum. The state's contribution is in part from state appropriations and in part from the contributions of county governments for the support of the county agents.

The county agents usually are appointed jointly by the state colleges and the U.S. Department of Agriculture and are agents of both parties. Their immediate direction is in charge of the state extension director, the control of the U.S. Department of Agriculture being through him and through audits of the expenditures and approval of the extension projects undertaken by the states. This cooperative organization between the federal department, state college, and county is shown graphically in Fig. 92.

In some states the county agents are responsible solely to the state extension service, which gives a highly centralized form of organization. In many others, notably in the South, an advisory committee or council is created in each county. This committee counsels with the agent and gives the work support in obtaining county funds, but has no direct control over the work. In other states, as in New York, Illinois, and New England, the county work is sponsored by a County Farm Bureau or County Farm and Home Bureau Association, which is jointly responsible with the state college for the employment of the agent and for determining the program of work. Under such an arrangement the county agent is the executive of the county association, and the agent of the state college and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, but the responsibility for the program rests primarily with the county organization. The structure of the Farm Bureau is discussed in more detail in Chapter 22, where it is pointed out that in many states the Farm Bureau is a different type of organization and has no direct connection with the extension service.

However the county work may be organized, it has been found that it functions most effectively where there are local groups, such as community clubs or township units, or community committees, which have regular or occasional meetings and which are responsible for the local program of work. Thus in 1935 there were 54,266 localities carrying

on extension programs. Where the county agent works only with individuals he may do an excellent piece of work, but there is no feel-

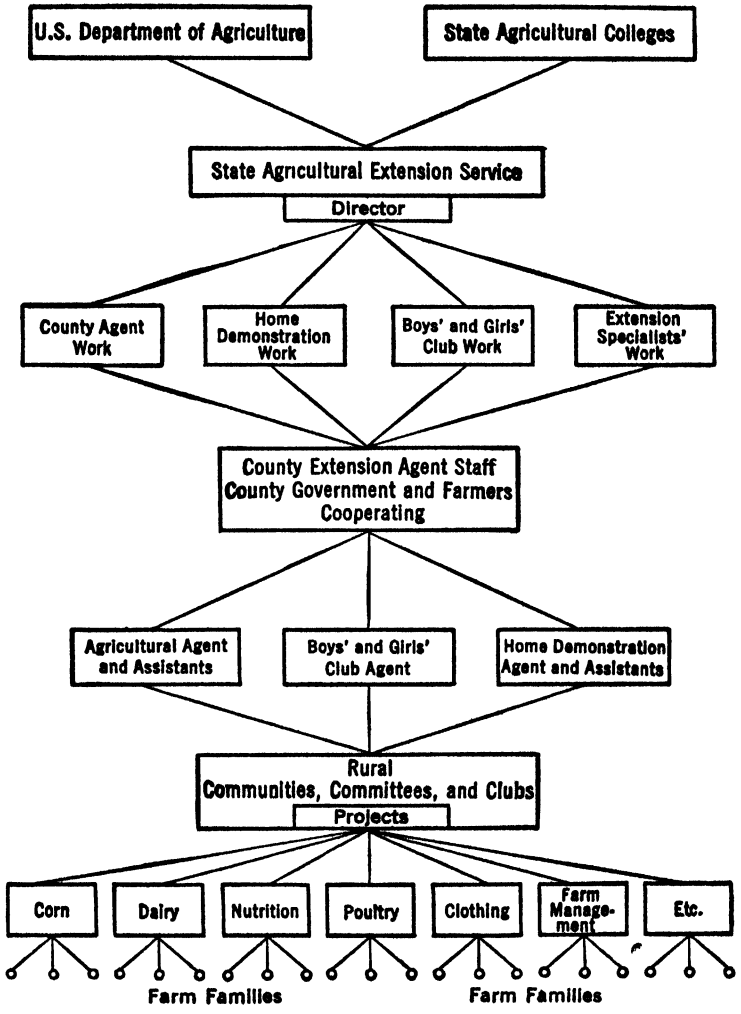


FIG. 92. Organization chart of the cooperative extension system in agriculture and home economics. (After Smith and Wilson.)

ing of local responsibility, and when the agent is changed there is little continuity in the work.

The three phases of the extension work with men, women, and children are organized differently in the various states. In practically all the counties there is an agricultural agent, but there are home demonstration agents in only about two-thirds of the counties. In most cases

these two agents also carry on the 4-H club work for children and youth. About one-tenth of the counties have separate agents for the 4-H club work. Where a Farm Bureau organization exists it usually has a women's department and local homemakers' clubs, but in some states, as in New York and Illinois, the women's work is organized in a system of Home Bureaus, which are associated with the Farm Bureaus in state and national federations. Almost invariably the women's work is organized in local units, either by neighborhoods or communities, which meet regularly and have a definite group solidarity, whereas the work of the men in the Farm Bureau is often more centralized in the county organization and is carried on locally through community committees. In 1935 there were 41,504 local clubs or other groups organized to carry on adult home demonstration work. However, in Iowa, which is one of the best organized states, the men and women meet together in township units and in Illinois some counties have community units which have regular meetings.

The 4-H club work is always organized with local clubs and the school district is frequently used as a local unit. In some states, as in Iowa, the boys and girls meet in separate clubs; in others both sexes are in one club, but with certain projects which are specifically for boys or girls. The 4-H club work is not federated into state and national organizations as are the Farm Bureaus, but there are state 4-H congresses usually meeting at the state colleges; in many states there are state 4-H camps; there is an annual national 4-H camp at Washington, D.C., for delegates selected from the states; and there is an annual National Boys' and Girls' 4-H Club Congress held at Chicago in connection with the National Livestock Show under the auspices of the National Committee on Boys and Girls Club Work, which is a private organization concerned with the promotion of this work. This whole system has built up a very strong *esprit de corps* among the 4-H clubs throughout the country. In 1941 this program enrolled 1,420,297 youth in 79,727 clubs and is by far the strongest organization of rural youth.

The structure of the 4-H clubs is much more definite and uniform than that of the extension organization of men and women. First, the local club is always in charge of some older leader, who is supervised by a county agent. Second, the members join the club to engage in some specified projects in agriculture or homemaking, concerning which they keep records, upon the completion of which their work is rated, and for which they receive recognition. Furthermore the clubs develop demonstration teams for making demonstrations and exhibits at county

and state fairs and at local festivals. There are social and recreational features of the club programs which aim to develop ability to work together and loyalty to the group.

The 4-H clubs form a separate movement within the extension program and merit a thoroughgoing sociological analysis of their group structure and functions. A beginning has already been made.[6]

A recent statement of the aims and objectives of 4-H club work approved by the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities sets forth their purposes:

1. To help rural boys and girls to develop desirable ideals and standards for farming and homemaking, community life, and citizenship, and a sense of responsibility for their attainment.
2. To afford rural boys and girls technical instruction in farming and homemaking, that they may acquire skill and understanding in these fields and a clearer vision of agriculture as a basic industry, and of homemaking as a worthy occupation.
3. To provide rural boys and girls an opportunity to "learn by doing" through conducting certain farm or home enterprises and demonstrating to others what they have learned.
4. To instill in the minds of rural boys and girls an intelligent understanding and an appreciation of nature and of the environment in which they live.
5. To teach rural boys and girls the value of research, and to develop in them a scientific attitude toward the problem of the farm and the home.
6. To train rural boys and girls in cooperative action to the end that they may increase their accomplishments and, through associated efforts, better assist in solving rural problems.
7. To develop in rural boys and girls habits of healthful living, to provide them with information and direction in the intelligent use of leisure, and to arouse in them worthy ambitions and a desire to continue to learn, in order that they may live fuller and richer lives.
8. To teach and to demonstrate to rural boys and girls methods designed to improve practices in agriculture and homemaking, to the end that farm incomes may be increased, standards of living improved, and the satisfactions of farm life enhanced.

[6] M. E. Duthie, 4-H Club Work in the Life of Rural Youth, Chicago, National Committee on Boys and Girls Club Work, 1936, pp. 124 (processed); D. E. Lindstrom and W. M. Dawson, "Selectivity of 4-H Club Work," Urbana, Ill., Univ. of Ill. AES, Bul. 426, July, 1936; "4-H Club Work: Effect on Capability and Personal Quality," Univ. of Ill. AES, Bul. 451, Jan., 1939.

III. TYPES OF WORK OR FUNCTIONS

The work of the county agents with the people on the land is the chief function of the extension service, but this is supported and supplemented by state and local programs of work by the state extension staff.

Thus the administrative staff at the state college supervises the work of the county agents and arranges for their continued training through conferences, correspondence, and publications. The extension specialists prepare bulletins and circulars which give the results of the research work of the experiment stations, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and other research agencies, in concise, readable form; they prepare news articles for the press and news letters for circulation by mail; they broadcast the same information over the radio; they answer innumerable letters referred to them from the county agents and direct from rural people; and they assist the county agents by speaking at local meetings on special topics and by holding training conferences for local leaders of particular projects. The state specialists also help to organize and assist in such services as cow-test associations, spray rings for the cooperative spraying of orchard or truck crops under expert supervision, and cooperative associations for the sale of farm products and the purchase of farm supplies.

The county agents are employed leaders for the development of agriculture and homemaking, much as a chamber of commerce secretary is for business and industry, but they are also itinerant teachers. They study the needs of the county, and are the local educational representatives of the state college and the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

One of the principal methods of work of the county agents is the so-called demonstration method. This was first extensively employed by Dr. S. A. Knapp when he started the county agents in demonstration work[7] in the South. He found that certain cultural methods were effective in mitigating injury to the cotton crop by the boll weevil. He employed practical farmers to get their neighbors to agree to give a fair trial to the cultural methods advocated, i.e., to demonstrate their practicability. Those making the trials were called "demonstrators," and their neighbors who came to follow their example in testing new methods were called "cooperators." This was not a demonstration such as made on a so-called demonstration farm under governmental or institutional auspices, but was a test by a practical farmer to determine the merits of the new methods. When the farmer had grown more

[7] *Cf.* O. B. Martin, The Demonstration Work.

cotton by following the methods advised, he had demonstrated their feasibility to himself and to his neighbors as well, for they were invited in to see the results and were given a full explanation of the costs and profits. The county agents also invited the neighbors to start demonstrations and thus the work spread. Later the same principle was extended to the growth of corn, alfalfa, and other crops, and to the raising of livestock. This method of demonstration work under the supervision of the county agent for testing out the practicability of new methods, not only in agriculture but also in homemaking, has been one of the most important teaching methods of the extension service.

In addition to demonstrations the county agricultural agent spends much time in personal consultation with farmers with regard to problems of farm management, feeding, fertilizers, etc., both at his office and on their farms. His office is an information center on all matters pertaining to agriculture, and if he cannot furnish the desired information the inquiry is referred to specialists at the state college or at the federal department of agriculture.

The agents also address many group meetings, and the home demonstration agents in particular work largely through local groups. In this group work they use local leaders who are trained in the particular subject matter at county or regional training conferences. This use of local leaders has grown rapidly in the last decade and has greatly multiplied the teaching contacts of the county agent. Thus in 1935 there were over 300,000 of these voluntary local leaders assisting in the work with adults, and nearly 75,000 more adults who were leaders of 4-H clubs, with 32,000 older boys and girls also serving as club leaders.[8]

The work of these local groups is largely organized as projects, and the project method has been largely responsible for their success. A project may be in the improvement of livestock, soil improvement, nutrition, child care, canning, or whatnot, but in every case certain definite procedures are taught, definite goals of accomplishment are set up, and those engaged in the project are not merely taught what to do, but they learn by doing under trained supervision. In the field of agriculture the projects are now set up chiefly around the several commodities which are the chief agricultural products of the locality, with the contributions of all the various agricultural specialists being brought to the aid of those engaged in improving the production and marketing of the particular commodity. The chief danger of this organization of the agricultural program has been that in some states it has given

[8] USDA, Ext. Serv., Building Rural Leadership, *op. cit.*, p. 36, Table 1.

very little place to work in home and community improvement, which must enlist the support and interest of the men as well as the women if it is to be successful.[9]

The projects in homemaking for the women commenced with food and nutrition, clothing, and housing, but have broadened out to include health and child care and guidance. Emphasis on child care led to the study of family relations and so into the community conditions which affect family life, so that the homemaking program has extended into one of community homemaking, including the discussion of civic problems, and the promotion of libraries and reading clubs, recreation, drama, and music.

The extension work had a rapid growth in 1917 and 1918 during World War I as a means of promoting food production and food conservation, in which it rendered unprecedented service. Similarly during the depression of the past decade the organization of the extension work, reaching every county and community, gave the state and Federal governments means of obtaining wide cooperation in meeting the needs of rural people. The home demonstration agents and the home economics specialists at the colleges were "the authoritative source of subject matter for use by relief agencies. They set up standards which were used as the basis for food and clothing assistance to meet the needs of rural people." Thus Utah's home demonstration leader stated in her report:

> Many home and community projects which were set up by the Extension Service and were functioning in rural sections were soon recognized by the emergency relief committees as feasible and adaptable for work projects for rural women. Home gardens, family nutrition, canning, school lunch, clothing construction, cleaning and pressing, dyeing, and remodelling, as taught by the Extension Service, afforded the foundation for county and community work centers conducted by State and county emergency relief committees.[10]

In like manner in many states the county agricultural agents were chiefly responsible for setting up the program of the federal Agricultural Adjustment Administration in their counties, and gave invaluable aid to other federal agencies, such as the Farm Credit Administration, the Resettlement Administration (now the Farm Security Administration), the Soil Conservation Service, and the work of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act. Without the extension service organization and the local organizations of farmers which cooperate with it,

[9] *Cf.* Gladys Baker, The County Agent.

[10] USDA, Ext. Serv., Building Rural Leadership, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

the speed with which these federal agencies were able to organize their work would have been impossible. "The emergency period brought a new feature into extension work—the organization of farmers for production adjustment in line with market requirements," [11] and in the present emergency the extension service is the agency through which the Agricultural War Program is being organized.

As a result of the need for coordinating the activities of the local agents of the various administrative agencies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture with that of the county agents of the Extension Service, and as a means of enlisting farmers in an intelligent study of a program for the development of agriculture, there is now being organized a system of county and state Agricultural (or Land Use) Planning Committees. The organization and operation of these committees will become an increasingly important function of the Extension Service. The creation of these committees was provided for in the so-called Mount Weather Agreement,[12] of July 8, 1938, between the officers of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities and the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The objectives of this agreement state:

> The Department feels the need for reasonably uniform procedures whereby farmers may take responsibility for the development of sound land-use plans, programs, and policies for the dual purpose of (a) correlating current action programs to achieve stability of farm income and farm resources, and (b) helping determine and guide the longer-time public efforts toward these ends. In order to function effectively and democratically in the national field, these procedures must provide for the analysis, planning, and program building beginning in the communities and extending then to county, State, and national levels.

The plan provides for the creation of county Agricultural (or Land Use) Planning Committees and State Agricultural Program or Policy Committees. The county committees are composed of farm people and local agents of the administrative services of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, with the county extension agent usually acting as nonvoting secretary. The state committee is composed in a similar manner of farmers representing various regions, the state representatives of the Department's administrative agencies, the Director of the State Agricultural Experiment Station, and the Director of Extension as chairman.

These committees are charged with developing plans and policies not only for the better use of the land, as their original name indicates, but

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[12] So-called because the conference adopting it was held at Mount Weather, Va

their purpose as now conceived is much broader and includes the study of a program for agriculture both as an industry and as a mode of life. If the work of these committees is wisely directed and they function successfully, they will become a powerful force for developing sound agricultural policies and for creating a public opinion supporting them.

IV. PROBLEMS OF EXTENSION WORK

During its quarter-century of experience, and particularly in the tasks which it has had to assume during the past decade, the Extension Service has had to face numerous problems of organization and administrative policy, many of which are still unsolved and are being given earnest study. We can call attention to but a few of the more important of these, particularly those which affect rural social organization.

1. Local versus State Responsibility. We have noted that in some states the extension administration is highly centralized at the state college, whereas in others the county Farm Bureau, or other county extension organization, is chiefly responsible for the program of work. In the early days extension work was conceived chiefly as a means of carrying the results of research to the farmers, in terms of what the specialists at the agricultural colleges conceived to be the best practices for them. It was soon found, however, that to be pedagogically sound a teaching program for independent adult farmers must start with what they themselves felt to be their most pressing needs, and that if they were to give continued support to the work they must have local organizations responsible for it. The tendency has been, therefore, to throw more and more responsibility on the county organizations, and the most efficient service has been rendered where this principle has been used most intelligently. Lately, however, with the rise of problems of marketing and finance which involved the assistance of the Federal Government, there has developed the need for including a national and international outlook upon the problems of agriculture, so that the local plans must be adjusted to the national and international situation and must be made in consultation, direct or indirect, with federal experts. Smith and Wilson have very well stated this evolution of the method of planning the extension program.[18]

This latter phase has increased rapidly in the past decade, but it has also become apparent that only through emphasis on the responsibility of the local county and community groups can an intelligent and demo-

[18] Consult Smith and Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–133.

cratic support for collective action through state and federal agencies be created and maintained.

2. EDUCATIONAL VERSUS ADMINISTRATIVE PROGRAMS. The increased responsibility of the county agricultural agents for carrying out the programs of the federal agencies has brought with it a very real problem of policy which has not, as yet, been satisfactorily solved. The county agent system was created as an educational agency, and the federal Secretary of Agriculture has insisted that the agents shall not actively participate in the work of such organizations as farmers' cooperative associations, beyond giving information and advice as to their operation. Yet a large share of their time (in 1935 it amounted to 36 percent [14]) is now occupied with administrative work in furthering the work of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and other federal agencies. It is true that additional assistants have been provided in many counties to help with this work, but they do not relieve the county agents of the main responsibility. In addition to cutting in on the time which may be devoted to the regular program of work, there is a grave question as to whether in sections where the people are not in sympathy with the work of the so-called "action agencies" of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, an antipathy to the county agent as a representative of the Federal Government may not be developed, so that he will be thought of more as a federal agent than as an employee of the county. Furthermore, some of the agents may be out of sympathy with the federal program, with regard to its economic and political influence, and in that case they will either be compelled to promote a program in which they do not believe or to resign. This, of course, is not conducive to the best type of personnel. It is a grave question whether the present tendencies may not tend to use the extension service to build up economic and political ideologies, concerning which some of our best minds are by no means agreed, and which might result in its having a powerful, if not intentional, influence in creating political opinion.

This problem is frankly recognized by both the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Land-Grant Colleges and a first step in coordinating the administrative policies with the educational program has been made in the so-called "Mount Weather Agreement" on building land-use programs, discussed on p. 407.

3. RELATION TO FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION. Another problem which faces the Extension Service is its relation to the work of the Farm Security Administration. The latter is charged with aiding

[14] USDA, Building Rural Leadership, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

farmers who cannot otherwise maintain their independence, by means of loans for purchase of land and equipment and, when necessary, for current household expenses, until they can become self-supporting. To make this possible the FSA employs a large number of county or district agricultural and homemaking agents who do much the same type of work as the extension agents except that they focus their work on individual families to assist in their "rehabilitation." It has been obvious for some time that the extension agents have necessarily given most of their attention to the better class of farmers, for it is the more progressive class which will call upon them for their services, and this demand is so great as to absorb their time, whereas the poorer class of farmers who most need their help are least inclined to ask for it and are the most difficult to aid. There is, therefore, a very definite need for the work which the agents of the Farm Security Administration are doing, but it is creating a dual system of governmental aid to agriculture which many decry because it is creating a class distinction. Probably this is necessary and inevitable under the existing circumstances, and it is fortunate that the two services are working in close cooperation in most states. However, it is questionable whether eventually the educational phases of the two services should not be more closely organized under one administration, at least on the state and county levels.

4. Relation to High Schools. A similar problem arises in the relation between the work of the Extension Service and that of the teachers of agriculture and home economics in the rural high schools supported, in part, by the federal Smith-Hughes Act. The teachers of agriculture promote the Future Farmers of America, which has become a very effective organization for interesting high school boys in agriculture, and both they and the home economics teachers visit the projects of their students during the summer, and conduct short courses for older youth and adults during the year. There is a tendency for the high school to expand its local services and to become a local extension agency as it becomes the recognized educational and social center of the community. The Report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education has specifically called attention to the need of coordination of these services.[15]

A move in this direction has already been started by monthly or quarterly conferences of the members of the county extension staff and the teachers of vocational agriculture and home economics of the high

[15] The Advisory Committee on Education, Report of the Committee, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, pp. 148, 149.

schools, for the purpose of developing a common program for the improvement of rural life in their territory. The high schools will become the centers of adult education for their communities, but they will need the help of the extension agents in this, and together they can develop a common program for work with boys and girls and older youth.

5. Unifying Objectives of Extension Work. The emphasis on county, state, and national planning for the development of sound and well-considered policies for agriculture and rural life has led to a reconsideration of the objectives of extension work and a discussion of the need of better coordination of the different arms of the service for the common ends. In every large institution or movement in which specialization develops, there is danger of the interests of some particular part becoming more important to its members than the welfare of the whole body. This may be true of certain colleges or fraternities in a university, of certain subsidiary organizations in a church, of certain departments in any unit of government, etc. The extension service has become specialized into work in agriculture for men, in homemaking for women, and in both of these subjects for boys and girls, and the extension specialist devotes himself to one particular subject matter. There has been a rather widespread tendency for the men to forget that a better agriculture is but a means for better homes and communities and, on the other hand, for the women to get so absorbed in their domestic projects as to lose sight of the fact that they are equally concerned with the economic problems with which agriculture is faced. In many states there has been a definite tendency to develop three or more services, rather than a unified extension service working for the common goal of better agriculture, better homes, and better rural life. These are but three aspects of a common goal which cannot be separated without injury to any one of them. There has arisen, therefore, a very general feeling that agricultural, home-demonstration, and 4-H club agents must reconsider their common task and work more closely together for building a better rural life, that farmers need to know more about child care and nutrition, that farm women are vitally concerned with the success of farmers' cooperative associations and with federal economic programs for improving the condition of the agricultural industry, and that both of them must interest themselves in better schools, churches, libraries, and other community institutions if they are to have the sort of rural culture to which they aspire.

6. Local Units of Organization. It has already been noted that in the beginning of extension work the county agents did most of

their work with individual farmers, but they are coming to work more and more with and through groups, neglecting service to individuals as little as possible. Working only with individuals fails to develop any strong organization for developing policies and common action; working only with groups tends to make the county agent a mere executive, who may not have sufficiently intimate contacts with the everyday problems of the farm and the farm home. Both types of work are needed for a well-rounded program, but unless there is some local group which can act together, there is little opportunity for the extension service to promote many projects which are necessary for improving the common welfare. Local groups are essential, but they are not ends in themselves.

On the other hand, in some of the more homogeneous counties which have good roads, there has been a tendency, particularly in the men's work, to centralize the organization at the county seat, to hold county meetings, to work chiefly through county committees, and to make the organization a sort of county chamber of agriculture. For certain purposes this is desirable and means greater efficiency, but it must not be forgotten that the texture and fabric of rural life is woven around rural communities and neighborhoods, and that if active groups are not maintained in them the county organization may come to consist chiefly of the outstanding rural people of the county, but the rank and file may lose personal contact with its program. The extension service is vitally concerned with building the best possible rural social organization, and it is the most influential agency for this purpose.

7. Local Leaders. We have noted the rapid development of work through local voluntary leaders, particularly in the women's work. This greatly multiplies the influence of the county agent, but it has two dangers which need to be watched. One is a tendency to pay the expenses of local leaders to conferences and for their services outside their home communities. To a certain extent this is justified, for a busy person cannot afford to give too much of his or her time and pay transportation expenses. On the other hand, if leaders expect to be paid always there will be a tendency for some to seek the position for the pay, for their service to be limited by the compensation, and for a general feeling to develop that any unusual service should be compensated. The strength of any organization or movement rests upon the amount of voluntary, unpaid leadership which it can enlist. In some states leaders and committeemen receive no pay (not even expenses) except on statewide work. There is no rule of thumb by which this problem may be decided, but it is a tendency which needs constant consideration.

The other problem with regard to local leaders is whether they are really leaders or whether they are picked by the county agents because they are the best teachers, possibly because they are the most willing to teach what and how the agent suggests. There is a place for trained teachers, but they must not be confused with real leaders. Leaders arise from their own groups and cannot be imposed upon them. It is essential, therefore, that if sound principles of leadership are to be utilized that county agents do not confuse the functions of teaching and leadership, and think that, because an individual masters the subject matter and may seem to be a good teacher, he or she is therefore a leader. The local leader who is trusted by the group may have more influence with its members and his leadership should, therefore, be recognized and utilized even though he may not be so apt a pupil or clever a teacher.

8. FARM OR RURAL? The Smith-Lever Act did not limit the Extension Service to farmers, but specified "the people of the United States." Obviously, there will not be any considerable body of people interested in agriculture other than farmers. Village businessmen are frequently members of Farm Bureaus, or other supporting agencies, because of their interest in the local agricultural industry, but they are rarely the most active leaders in its program and never predominate in numbers. On the other hand, all housewives are interested in homemaking, and the extension work in home economics is successfully organized in some of our larger cities under municipal and state support. The facts that village women are as interested as farm women and that there is no good reason why both should not work together in a common program have led to very real difficulties in many cases, which require diplomacy and skill on the part of the county agents for their solution. Village and farm women have a common interest in homemaking, but the village woman is not interested in the problems of farming, of home production of garden stuff, poultry, or canned goods, which are of vital importance to the farm woman who depends on them for part of her income. Furthermore, village women can get together more easily and see each other more frequently, they have more leisure, and in the larger villages various sets or social classes arise among them. Thus in many cases local homemakers' groups come to be dominated by village women or their influence is so strong that the ordinary run of farm women do not feel at home with them and draw out of the group. This problem is not peculiar to extension work, for it occurs in the same manner in the rural church and in such organizations as the Grange. Again, there is no rule by which such situations can be met.

It is desirable that farm and village women work together, but the interests of farm women should have first consideration.

9. What Are Agriculture and Home Economics? Another problem with which the Extension Service is now faced is the definition of the sphere of its subject matter. In the beginning agriculture was conceived chiefly as the technique of agricultural production, but as problems of marketing assumed larger importance they led out into the whole field of the economics of agriculture with all its ramifications, which soon become political issues. Furthermore, agriculture is not merely an industry or a technology, but it is a way of life, and a better agriculture therefore involves everything which goes to promote better rural living. Likewise in the field of home economics, at first the subject matter was largely that of nutrition, clothing, housing, and home management. But it was soon realized that these were but techniques for making better individuals and more satisfying homes and family life. Interest in children and child guidance led to a study of child psychology, and this to a consideration of family relationships. It was soon discovered that the individual and the family do not exist in a social vacuum, but that they are products of the society in which they exist and that for their best development they must concern themselves with community conditions and institutions. Thus arose an interest in civic problems, health, recreation, etc.

Thus, on the one hand, the Extension Service faces the problems of whether its local groups should turn to the discussion of economic and civic problems, which soon lead into politics, and whether the subject matter of its teaching should be concerned wholly with the techniques of agriculture and homemaking in a narrow sense, or whether such subjects as education, health, music and drama, and appreciation of various forms of art are not essential for a finer country life. Secretary Wallace has urged the formation of groups, under whatever auspices, for the free discussion of live public issues, and this is being pushed by the Extension Services in many of the states. At the same time there is a widespread demand that the subject matter of extension teaching be widened along the lines mentioned above, and there is a definite trend in this direction. Both of these trends are but symptoms of the broadening interests of rural life, which must be included in the extension program.

It should be remembered, however, that the success of the extension work in the past and its unique contribution in the field of educational method have been due to the fact that it has stressed the importance of learning to do by doing, of taking active part in the carrying out of

specific projects of work, and not in talking about them in meetings. As now set up, the subordinate Grange and the local Farmers' Union are much better adapted for the purposes of an open forum or discussion group than is the average extension group. If local extension groups enter the field of discussion, whatever the subject matter may be, they may often degenerate into mere meetings for talk not unlike certain women's clubs, which have their place and perform a very useful service for their members, but which are not organized to carry on active projects, such as, for instance, those carried on by a local chapter of the Red Cross. There is always a question as to how far one organization may extend its interests and activities and preserve its efficiency and solidarity. In some cases the solution of the problem is in the creation of separate organizations, as has been the case with farmers' cooperative associations in relation to the Extension Service in many states; in others, it may mean the departmentalization of an organization into various groups with special interests, as has already occurred in some cases in the farm homemakers' clubs or home bureaus and in the 4-H clubs. Whatever the solution may be, it is important that the Extension Service face the demands which are being made upon it to enlarge its areas of teaching and activity and that it give careful consideration to the problems of structure and function of its local groups as they will be affected by such changes.[16]

10. 4-H Club Problems. Being a distinctive type of organization, the 4-H club inevitably has many problems of its own. One of the oldest is its relation to the schools. For some time a number of leaders in rural education felt that the direction of the 4-H clubs should be in charge of the local teachers and their state organization should be under the supervision of the state department of education, on the general ground that all education of youth should be unified in one system. The same logic would equally apply to Scouts and other organizations of youth. Experience and a deeper insight into institutional relationships has shown, as indicated on p. 351, that the school is not and cannot be the only agency engaged in the process of education and that the work of the school is fertilized by creating a live interest among its pupils in work that is essentially educational, but is carried on freely outside the classroom. Indeed, there is a distinct advantage to both school and teacher in having the 4-H club in charge of a lay leader who brings to it a personal, nonprofessional attitude; although in the consolidated schools the teachers of agriculture and home economics

[16] For one of the most thoughtful summaries evaluating the present trends of the extension program, see E. deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, Rural Trends in Depression Years, Chapter VIII, pp. 177–203; 244–248.

often make excellent leaders of the local clubs if they enjoy doing so and do not overformalize the work.

Another question upon which there is, as yet, no general agreement, is whether boys and girls should be organized in separate clubs or in mixed groups. As the county home demonstration agents are usually in charge of the girls' work and the agricultural agents of the boys' projects, it is natural that they should segregate their groups; but where there is no home demonstration agent or where there is a special 4-H club agent there is no reason for this separation unless it is desirable for the good of the members. It is true that most girls are chiefly interested in homemaking projects and that the boys are primarily concerned with agricultural projects. Often, however, this is because no other projects are offered them, and there are many farm girls who are engaged in projects in gardening, raising dairy or beef calves, poultry, and other agricultural enterprises, and both boys and girls are concerned with civic affairs, problems of health, and the social and recreational program of the clubs, which may be the better for including both sexes. As indicated on p. 411, there is a growing feeling that the extension work for the two sexes, whether of adults or youth, should not be so much specialized and segregated as in the past, and this applies with even more force to the work of the 4-H clubs. It is desirable that farm boys and girls should learn to work and play together in free association, for the 4-H clubs are as much concerned with building personality and character as with training youth in techniques. If the clubs are organized separately for specific projects of special interest to the sexes, it will be well to have an overhead organization in which they meet together for those phases of the program which they may best share together.

Another problem, where the local club is associated with a one-room school, is whether it should be a small school neighborhood club or should be enlarged to take in several neighborhoods or a natural community. Often the one-room school neighborhood has too few pupils of teen age to make a successful club and it is necessary to include several districts to get a group large enough to be interesting, for too small a group may make real club association impossible, even though the individuals may carry on their projects successfully. On the other hand, too large a group is undesirable and makes it more difficult for the members to get together. Like the problem of the separation of the sexes, this difficulty may frequently be met by having small clubs, on the basis of a convenient area for attendance, and then combining several of these in a larger unit for monthly or occasional meetings of a more general nature.

One of the most difficult problems with which 4-H leaders have had to deal is that of prizes and contests. The 4-H club work has been greatly aided by the incentive of prizes for the best products of its members, for competition in achievement, etc.; but this has carried with it an undue publicity for the winners, which has not always been helpful to them, and, on the other hand, has often produced a sense of inferiority among those who never win any of the coveted honors. As a result, there seems to be general agreement that it is better to give suitable recognition to achievement by other means than cash prizes or other equivalents of goods, and to place larger emphasis upon the competition of teams for awards for the successful demonstration of club activities. This is also motivated by the idea that young farm people need training in cooperation rather than in competition, if they are to become members of farmers' cooperatives or other associations as adults.

The 4-H clubs also have the problem of adult leadership, in a somewhat different form than the adult groups. As in the Scouts and other youth groups, an adult leader is necessary, but too often this leader conceives his job as that of a teacher rather than that of an adviser and counselor. It is true that the adult leader must be a teacher, but if he understands the role of leadership (see p. 701), he will appreciate that one of the objectives of any worth-while club for young people should be to develop their own leadership, and he will, as far as possible, encourage them to manage their own affairs, with his counsel given not too directly but by way of suggestion.

11. Older Youth Organizations. In the last decade, with the increased number of older youth who have been unable to migrate from rural communities to city jobs (see p. 87), and with thousands of young people finishing the work of the 4-H clubs but too young to feel at home in the adult extension groups, there has arisen a widespread movement for developing some form of organization for older rural youth. This has resulted in widespread experimentation with various forms of older youth groups, senior 4-H clubs, junior farm bureaus,[17] etc. Thus in 1935 agents in nearly 700 counties reported extension work with nearly 2,000 groups of rural young people above club age, with a total membership of 44,790,[18] and this movement has grown rapidly since then. The Land-Grant College Association has a com-

[17] *Cf.* E. L. Kirkpatrick and A. M. Boynton, Rural Youth in Farm Organization and Other National Agency Programs, Washington, D.C., American Youth Commission, 1939, pp. 25–46, Older Youth Activities in the American Farm Bureau Federation, mimeographed.

[18] USDA, Building Rural Leadership, *op. cit.*, Table 1, p. 37.

mittee on Older Rural Youth which has made several reports[19] setting forth the needs and objectives of work for this age group, and in several states the extension service has added a specialist to its staff to supervise the development of this work.

Obviously the age period from 16 or 18 to 25 is a critical one, in which young people face the most important problems of their lives, namely, vocation and marriage. Any program to meet their needs must, therefore, be broader than that of the 4-H club and must give particular recognition to their desire to mix socially with members of the other sex and outside their own community, if it is a small one. For this reason most of these groups of older young people are organized on a county-wide basis or, in larger community areas, include both sexes, and have a program in which social activities are prominent though giving attention to their vocational interests and their desire for information on marriage and homemaking. Whether work with older youth becomes organized in a separate movement like the 4-H clubs or is carried on through a variety of organizations, it seems probable that it will become a larger part of the work of the county agents and an important phase of the Extension Service. It raises some of the most interesting problems in rural social organization, but the recent experience has not, as yet, been sufficiently studied to focus the problems involved.

12. Outlook. Thus the extension work started by the agricultural colleges and the U.S. Department of Agriculture has become a national movement of rural people, men, women, and youth, which has now become of age, but which faces as many difficult problems as does the young adult just reaching his independence. Its strength is largely due to the fact that it has organized rural people in local communities to meet their common needs and has brought them together in county organizations which, with the aid of state and national funds and supervision, employ trained executives to stimulate and supervise the work of the local groups. It is a unique agency for the education and organization of rural life which is giving the American farmer a new position in the life of the nation. Like the youth at twenty-five, it now faces the problems of adulthood and of readjustment to the shifting rural environment.

[19] Proceedings of Assoc. of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, Report of the Committee on Older Rural Youth; 50th convention, 1936, p. 205; 51st convention, 1937, p. 284; 52nd convention, 1938, p. 316.

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Chapter 18

RURAL LIBRARIES AND THE PRESS

I. RURAL LIBRARIES

As an educational institution the public library has possibilities exceeded only by those of the public school and the Extension Service. The public library gives the means of further education to many persons deprived of academic privileges, who may realize the truth of Carlyle's saying, "The true university of these days is a collection of Books." What would the young Abraham Lincoln not have given for a public library? How many people owe more of their education to extensive reading than to their formal schooling? In many cases the library is the intellectual center of the community; in others the caricature of the library in Sinclair Lewis' "Main Street," where one of the chief objects of the librarian of Gopher Prairie was to keep the books from being soiled or worn out, is not much overdrawn.

Although the public library is not peculiar to this country it has had its best development here. It received its chief impetus in New England, where the "Social library" early became common. "In Pease and Niles' 'Gazetteer of Connecticut and Rhode Island' (1819) the social library is almost as regularly mentioned in the description of the various towns as are the sawmills, or the ministers and doctors." [1]

The sociology of the public library is that of an institution, as the only group involved is that of the board of managers, although various types of groups often spring up in connection with the library, but the interrelations of the library with other institutions and groups afford many interesting sociological problems.

In the early history of rural libraries most of them were village libraries supported by private library associations. A large number of these private library associations exist in the Northeastern States. They have very definite limitations with regard to resources for both the purchase of books and the employment of a librarian. As these

[1] P. W. Bidwell, Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Conn., Yale Univ. Press, 1916.

limitations became evident tax support was obtained through systems of grants-in-aid from the states, or through making them tax-supported through the school district, village, or town, and more recently by the county where county library systems have been adopted. New York established school district public libraries by law in 1835, and the first general public library law was enacted by Massachusetts in 1851. Michigan made township libraries obligatory in the state constitution of 1835, and Indiana established township libraries in 1852. County libraries were first established by law in Indiana in 1816, at the time of the adoption of its constitution, but there was no general development of county libraries until the County Free Library Law of California in 1909.[2] Until recently a large proportion of the rural libraries have been village libraries and, although open to circulation among farm people, there were often restrictions as to their use by the latter, either in the form of fees or of a lack of effort to encourage them to use the libraries. Furthermore, until the automobile made access to the village easier there was less opportunity for their use by farm people.

In spite of this development it is estimated that 32,569,745 rural people, well over half of them (57 percent), do not have easy access to permanent public library service,[3] and over one-fifth of all the counties in the United States have no public libraries within their boundaries. The relative percentage of total population without public library service is shown in Fig. 93 by states.[4] The South has been particularly lacking in public libraries, but is now making rapid progress in supplying them. The American Library Association [5] states that in 1935 two-thirds of the population in 13 southern states had no public library service, and that 782 of the 1,284 counties in these states contained no public libraries. This is well illustrated by the State of Kentucky, where 68 percent of the population had no public library service in 1938 and one-half of the counties had no public library,[6] as shown in Fig. 94. Similarly, in 1935, 28 of the 115 counties in Missouri had no public libraries and library service was not available to

[2] H. C. Long, County Library Service, pp. 15–25.

[3] J. C. Settelmayer, "Public Library Service in the United States, 1941," ALA Bulletin, Vol. 36, p. 401, June, 1942. This reveals a rapid advance since 1938, particularly in the South.

[4] See also, L. R. Wilson, The Geography of Reading, Fig. 7, p. 30, percent of rural population of each state residing in local public library districts, 1934.

[5] Books for the South, p. 16.

[6] From statement of State Division of Library Extension, Frankfort, Ky. (But compare this with the percent in Fig. 93, based on 1941 returns.)

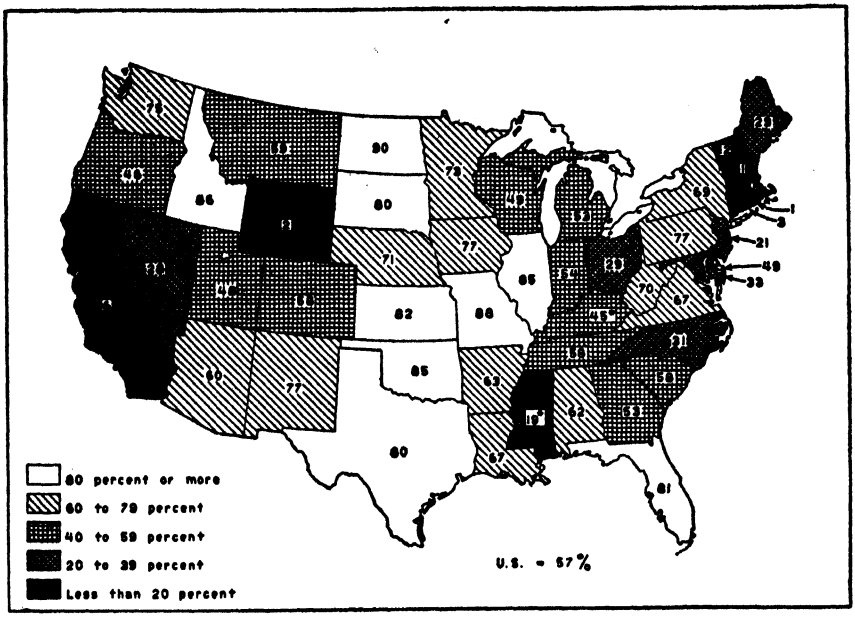


FIG. 93. Percentage of rural population without library service, 1941.* (Data from Settelmayer, ALA Bulletin, June, 1942.)

* In Mississippi and Kentucky, and possibly in other states, the small percentage is due to including county library service under WPA organization.

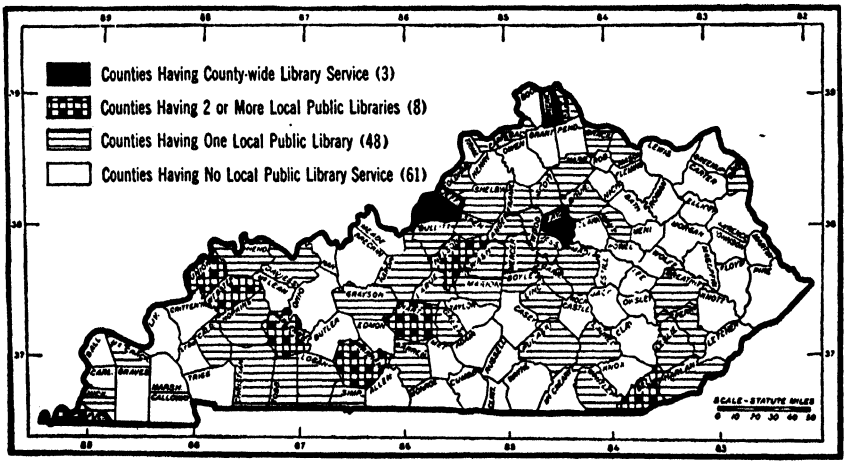


FIG. 94. Public library facilities in Kentucky, 1938 and 1939. (From Kentucky State Division of Library Extension.)

48 percent of the population,[7] but by 1937 only 22 counties lacked libraries,[8] although this meant that one-third of the 63 strictly rural counties were without libraries. As late as 1932 only about 20 percent of the rural population of Ohio was supplied with library service, according to Lively, who states that there were then only 95 public libraries in places with less than 2,500 inhabitants,[9] but today Ohio is one of the leading states in rural library development, thanks to state aid (see p. 428). In North Dakota in 1935 one-half of the large villages (over 1,000 inhabitants), one-sixth of the medium villages (250 to 999 inhabitants), and only one in every 150 small villages (50 to 249 inhabitants) had a public library.[10] Fourteen counties with 15 percent of the population had no public libraries.

The success of a public library depends partly on its board of directors or trustees who are responsible for its financial support and general policies, but most of all on the librarian, whether she be employed or volunteer. It is the librarian who is primarily responsible for the purchase of books and for aiding the borrowers in their selection. A progressive librarian will also use whatever means are available for promoting the larger use of the library, of serving particular groups, and of making it an influence in promoting group discussion and adult education. The work of many rural organizations, the Grange, the Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau, and the youth organizations, may be greatly aided by adequate library facilities and the advice of an enterprising librarian.

Obviously there is a great advantage in having a trained librarian wherever the library is large enough to be able to employ one, for professional library schools now train librarians just as normal schools do teachers, and such training is necessary if the teaching function of the library is to be adequately developed. Here is where the county library system or the library of a consolidated school or high school has an advantage, for the average village library cannot afford a paid librarian unless it is fortunate enough to be liberally endowed.

The library is not merely a collection of books to be loaned but, when wisely guided, it may become an intellectual center for the com-

[7] E. L. Morgan and M. W. Sneed, "The Libraries of Missouri," Univ. of Mo. AES, Res. Bul. 236, April, 1936, pp. 11, 14.

[8] C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, "Some Rural Social Agencies in Missouri," Univ. of Mo. AES, Res. Bul. 307, Nov., 1939, pp. 17, 18.

[9] C. E. Lively, "Some Rural Social Agencies in Ohio," Wooster, Ohio, Ohio AES, Bul. 529, Sept., 1933, p. 11.

[10] Donald G. Hay, "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota," Fargo, N. D., N. D. AES, Bul. 288, July, 1937, p. 26.

munity, this depending somewhat upon the rooms it has available. A children's room with a story-telling hour is one means of stimulating an early love of books, than which there is no more potent influence in a child's education. Review clubs may be formed under the guidance of the librarian or someone who can direct the use of its facilities,[11] and discussion clubs may be stimulated in the same way by the use of the library and of material which it can obtain. Exhibits of new books and magazines whet the appetite for more and better reading, as will articles in the local newspaper giving reviews of new accessions.

THE LIBRARY UNIT. Just as the school has the problem of attendance and administrative units (see p. 372), so good library service has a similar problem of the most efficient administrative unit. Most rural libraries have been village libraries, often built by some former citizen who made a fortune elsewhere; but, unless the libraries are liberally endowed the communities may be unable to support them. Few small villages can afford a really efficient library. They are limited in their funds for the purchase of books, and the small number they have soon become old and worn. The library is necessarily kept open only occasionally, and it is forced to employ some untrained woman or to depend upon volunteer services. In either case there is no one having a wide knowledge and fresh contacts with the best books, so that the selection of the few books purchased is not the wisest, nor are they bought to the best advantage.

In New England, where the public library has always been strongest, most rural libraries are supported by the townships (New England "towns"). In Massachusetts and Rhode Island no town lacks at least one library, and New England has four-fifths of all American *township* libraries.[12]

To obviate these handicaps of the local library a centralized system of county or district libraries has grown rapidly in the last 20 years.[13] Some 500 counties throughout the country now have county or district library systems and most states have enacted legislation making them possible. A district or region, in the library sense, may be one large county, or several adjacent counties, or even a geographic or trade area. The whole State of Vermont is covered by four regional library staffs, each with a book truck or "bookmobile." Most of them are

[11] *Cf.* Marion Humble, Rural America Reads, p. 38.

[12] Data from J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, rev. ed., p. 481.

[13] For a history of the movement see H. C. Long, *op. cit.*



Courtesy American Library Association

FIG. 95. Waiting to exchange books at a branch library, Jefferson County, Texas.



Courtesy American Library Association

FIG. 96. Patrons of Arkansas' first bookmobile.

counties but in some cases the county is too small a unit to maintain efficient library service and two or more counties combine.[14] The county library may include the existing village and school libraries and arrange for the exchange of their resources through the common system,[15] thus increasing the circulation of worth-while books and avoiding excessive duplication between them. In fact it works much as does the library system of a large city with its many branch libraries, and it brings the advantages of such a system to the open country.

In a county or regional library system, books are taken to the remotest parts of the region from a headquarters library, which serves as a main reservoir. Books are distributed through branch libraries in community centers; through service stations at convenient points like crossroads stores, schools, and homes [Fig. 95]; and often by a book automobile[16] or library on wheels [Fig. 96]. The smaller lending collections in farm areas are frequently exchanged—the books that have been read in one station go on to another. Whatever the methods used, the object is to put books and other reading materials within easy reach of every citizen.

Branch libraries in towns and villages have their own reading rooms and reference collections like a separate town library, but unlike the separate town library, they can draw on the resources of the large regional book collection and on the advice and help of the experienced and especially trained regional librarian. The existing town libraries in a section where county or regional service is established, find that they do well to affiliate with it, to get access to its larger resources and specialized services.

The good county or regional library can afford to have a trained and experienced librarian to organize and administer the service. In the many communities throughout the section where there are book-lending stations, however, local workers serve as custodians, and in this way a close touch with the interests and needs of the local borrowers is possible. The regional librarian makes frequent visits to branches and stations and travels with the book automobile if one is used. He or she gives the local workers any help they need and talks directly with rural readers, fitting the reading materials into the programs and projects of rural organizations.[17]

[14] *Cf.* American Library Association, Regional or District Libraries, Chicago, 1936, mimeographed.

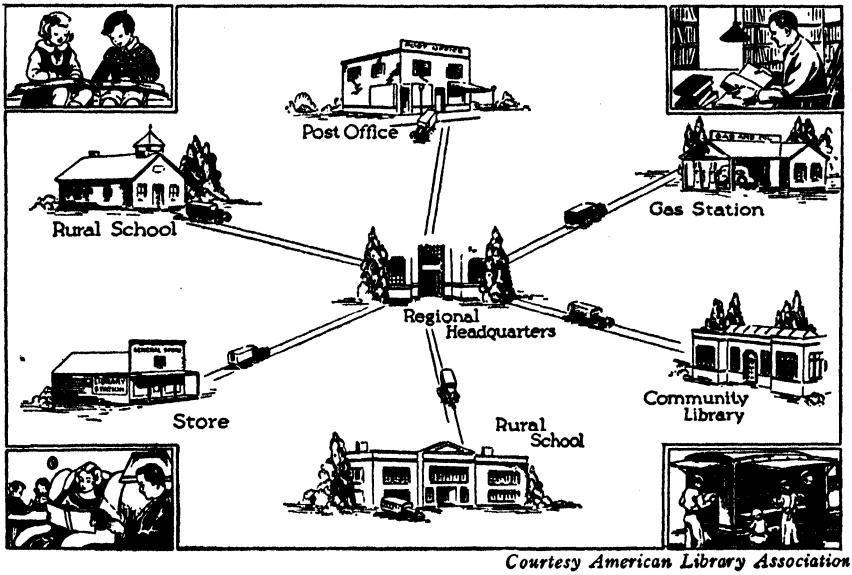
[15] *Cf.* R. A. Felton and Marjorie Beal, "The Library of the Open Road," Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Ext. Bul. 188, Nov., 1929.

[16] It has been found in Ohio that the cost of book circulation by bookmobile (5.5 cents) is less than half of the average for the state (14.2 cents). P. A. T Noon, Five Years of State Aid in Ohio, ALA Bul., Feb., 1940, p. 74.

[17] From USDA, "Rural Library Service," Farmers' Bul. 1847, p. 13.

The book truck or bookmobile makes it possible to establish branch libraries in all the country schools where one-room schools predominate, and in 1929, before many of its schools were consolidated, the county library of Tompkins County, New York, had 160 branch stations, each of which was visited several times a year.[18]

The county library also affords specialized services to the branch libraries and to any individual borrower in the county. If a book is not



Courtesy American Library Association

FIG. 97. How books can be made available throughout a large area from a district or county library system.

available in the branch library it may be obtained directly from the county library or, if needed for study, may be obtained by it from the state library. This system of direct loans has been greatly aided by the low postage rates on books made by executive order of the President during the past 2 years.

The fact that the county library can employ a professionally trained librarian is one of its most important assets, making possible a better selection and purchase of books and, of more importance, personal guidance to groups and individuals in their reading or study.

> More personal and informal guidance is given by the county or regional librarian who visits branch libraries and stations or travels with the bookmobile. Just glimpse for a minute a stop made by a bookmobile

[18] *Cf.* Felton and Beal, *op. cit.*, Fig. 5, p. 7.

in the territory of the Tri-Parish Library of northern Louisiana on a warm spring day.

A farm woman stood shading her eyes as she watched the bookmobile coming out of a whirl of dust down the road. When it swung into her farmyard she hurried up to the open shelves at the side of the library on wheels and looked over the titles: All Quiet on the Western Front, David Copperfield, Texas, the Lone Star State, books on orcharding and tomato growing, fiction, biographies. Finally, with sparkling eyes she reached for a thin volume and turned to the librarian.

"I'd like this one on gardening," she said, "I'm going to put in my seed next week, and this may give me some ideas."

"Of course," answered the librarian who always goes with the bookmobile driver on these trips through the cut-over pine country back in the red-clay hills where farmers live far apart. "How did you like the book on furniture repairing you checked out 2 weeks ago?"

"Oh, it was just the thing. I got some good hints on fixing the chair backs and repairing the couch, too!"

This woman never misses the visit of the bookmobile. She has talked over with the librarian her chicken raising, bringing up her children, her flower gardening, and other questions. There was always a book for each problem. This personal contact with the librarians who can give enough time and thought to a particular question is worth more than the book itself, some of the rural folks claim.[19]

Most of the states have extension divisions of their state libraries or state library commissions [20] which give assistance in developing local library service, and most of them have a system of lending collections of books—often called traveling libraries—to communities and schools where local library service is not available, or even special collections to local libraries, or a few books at a time directly to individuals, at cost of transportation. This system was first established by an act of the New York Legislature in 1892, under the leadership of Melvil Dewey.[21]

In Ohio the state library has a traveling library division, which makes shipments only to borrowers in places of less than 2,000 population, and whose patronage has continued to grow in spite of the rapid spread of county libraries.

The consolidated rural schools, particularly those with high schools, are able to develop very sizable libraries, which are often superior to the local village library, and some of them are able to employ a librarian or give a teacher part time for library work. There has been

[19] From USDA, Farmers' Bul. 1847, p. 10.

[20] For a list of these see p. 26, Farmers' Bul. 1847.

[21] H. C. Long, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

a good deal of discussion as to whether, in the average rural community, the school library might not also function as a public library, and this is done in many places where buildings have been constructed so that it is accessible without interfering with school work. President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education[22] recommended that school libraries should be open to public use wherever feasible and that buildings should be so constructed as to make possible the housing of community libraries. The Educational Policies Commission[23] has made a careful analysis of the relation of the school to the public library, pointing out that some public libraries are under boards of education, and public library control of school libraries is a possibility. It recommends a contractual arrangement between public school and public library authorities and "foresees the ultimate unification of all public educational activities, in communities or areas of appropriate size, under the leadership of a *public education authority,*" which would be "charged with the administration of a community educational program embodying the activities now carried on by school, library and recreation boards." [24]

School architects are now definitely planning for the school to house the community library, particularly in rural areas.[25]

The same arguments for equalization of opportunity and of taxes through state aid for schools (see p. 392) is now being advocated for state aid to a state-wide library system. New York recognized its responsibility for aid to the school districts for libraries in the law of 1835 and this was later extended to village libraries. Recently several states have adopted the principle of state-wide library systems, as in the Public Library Act of 1935 of the State of Washington. The American Library Association and the state library associations have been vigorously promoting state legislation of this type, particularly for grants-in-aid to county or district libraries, and for aid to poorer sections of the state.[26] In the last 2 years 3 states have voted state aid for libraries for the first time. In Michigan this amounts to $500,000 for the biennium. The value of state aid is shown by the rapid advance in rural library facilities in Ohio from 1935, when it was

[22] The Advisory Committee on Education, Report of the Committee, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, p. 139.

[23] Educational Policies Commission, Social Services and the Schools, Washington, D.C., NEA, 1939, pp. 27–42.

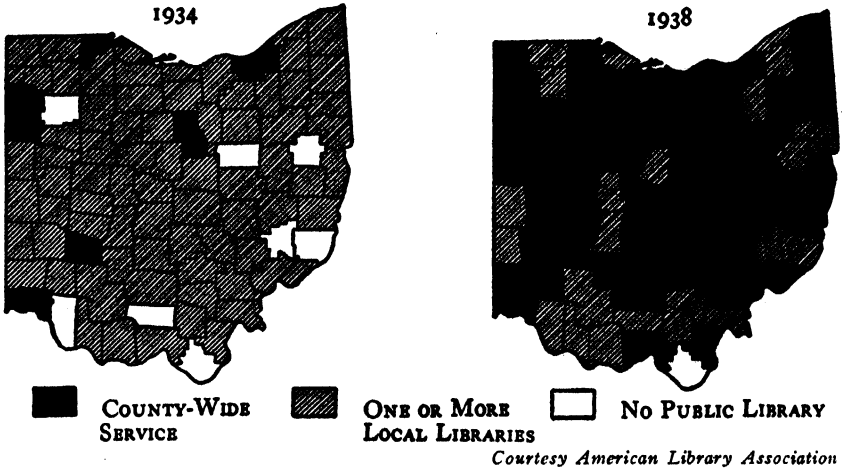
[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

[25] *Cf.* N. L. Engelhardt and N. L. Engelhardt, Jr., Planning the Community School, New York, The American Book Co., 1940, Chapter VIII, pp. 89–97.

[26] *Cf.* Judson T. Jennings, State Aid for Libraries, Bul. of the ALA, Feb, 1936; and ALA, Libraries Need State Aid, Chicago, 1937, 6 pp. (folder).

started, to 1940. In 1934 there were 8 counties in which there were no tax-supported libraries, only 7 had county-wide service, and but 5 had bookmobiles. In 1938 only 1 county was without such a library, 50 counties had county-wide service, and 17 had bookmobiles. (See Fig. 98.) [27]

The same principles have led to a demand for national aid to the states for creating and maintaining libraries, particularly in rural territory, and this is included in the bill for federal aid for public edu-



Courtesy American Library Association

FIG. 98. Changes in county library service in Ohio, as a result of State aid, from 1934 to 1938.

cation (see p. 392), which is based upon the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Education. A study of this need was made for the committee by Carleton B. Joeckel, who has assembled data showing the tax-paying ability per capita of the various states with their public library expenditures per capita. These data reveal the same need of aid for library service as for education in general.[28]

Improved library service in rural communities has already been greatly aided by the Federal Government through the Works Projects Administration, the Public Works Administration, and the National Youth Administration. During the years 1934 to 1936, 51 library buildings were erected with the aid of Public Works Administration

[27] P. A. T. Noon, Five Years of State Aid in Ohio, ALA Bul., Feb., 1940, pp. 73-77.

[28] C. B. Joeckel, Library Service, prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study 11, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, pp. 74, 90. The economic base for library support has been most thoroughly analyzed by L. R. Wilson, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIV.

grants, and up to February 15, 1937, 551 buildings had been erected or repaired through grants from the Works Projects Administration or its predecessors.[29]

More important has been the extension of library service in rural areas through the WPA and NYA workers.

> . . . The most striking achievement of the Works Progress Administration program in the library field has been the extension of library

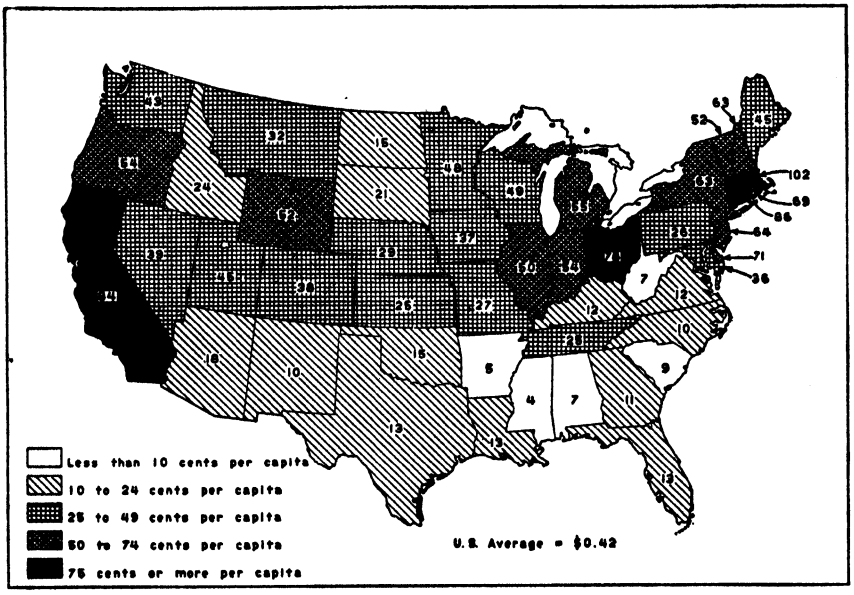


FIG. 99. Expenditures per capita for public library service, 1941. (From data of Settelmayer, ALA Bulletin, June, 1942.) Compare this map with Fig. 93.

> service to some 2,000,000 persons in areas which have hitherto been without libraries. Approximately one-half of these people are in the Southern States, where the need for library service is greatest.[30]

One of the most picturesque of these WPA projects is that of the pack-horse libraries in Kentucky:

> . . . In Kentucky the secretary of the State Library Extension Division reports that, in the W.P.A. projects of that state, there are nearly one hundred pack-horse librarians carrying books and periodicals to remote mountain cabins. Picture and story magazines, many of them gifts from mission schools, are always in demand. Frequently the library messenger

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 59.

leaves books for the children to read aloud to their parents who cannot read; often he himself stops to read aloud to a group and to talk with them about books. Some of these "pack-horse librarians" travel on foot or by bus or car; some of them ride borrowed horses.[81]

Certainly these projects have aroused a desire for better library facilities in many regions, which will give support to programs of state and federal aid for libraries. So a national plan for libraries, as for schools, is developing which will involve federal, state, and local cooperation in building an adequate library system for rural folk.[82]

Through the work of the Extension Divisions of the state libraries or state library commissions, under the leadership of the American Library Association and state library associations, with the help of the federal agencies above outlined and with the cooperation of extension rural sociologists in several states and of county extension agents and organizations in most of them, there is developing a very definite demand among rural people for better library service. Until recently the growth of rural libraries has been largely sporadic. We are now developing state library systems which will make the library as much a part of the state educational system as the school. For large areas of the country the rural public library is practically a new institution, but in others it is in the process of being more definitely standardized. In this process of institutionalization the problems of the size of the administrative and service units and the auspices for their control are fundamental problems upon which sociological research would be able to make as definite a contribution as with the similar problems of the school system. Furthermore the role of the library in the individual community and its adjustment to other institutions and organizations offers an intriguing problem in rural community organization.

II. THE RURAL PRESS

A. THE COUNTRY WEEKLY

The country weekly is still one of the most important educational agencies of the rural community, and is particularly valuable as a means of developing the morale and *esprit de corps* of the community it serves.

The history of the country weekly as a rural institution is an interesting one and has not been adequately portrayed. In the early days of

[81] Marion Humble, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

[82] *Cf.* ALA, A National Plan for Libraries, reprinted from the ALA Bul., Feb., 1939, p. 16.

this country it was largely devoted to national and international news, as rural folk did not have access to city newspapers. From the time of the Civil War to World War I it became increasingly devoted to local affairs and was largely dominated by political partisanship, a county seat or small town often having two papers of rival parties. With the advent of rural free delivery and particularly with the coming of the automobile, it suffered the competition of city dailies. Its circulation suffered and it was forced to become less partisan and to confine itself mostly to community news, so that most country weeklies now survive only as they become nonpartisan community institutions.

This new concept of the country weekly came into general acceptance soon after World War I and was well expressed by W. P. Kirkwood of the University of Minnesota:

> Community building was a concept unknown to the editor of thirty or forty years ago. To-day it is an accepted concept of dynamic force, full of significance in most of the country towns of America.
>
> Community service, as such a concept, is fast finding its way into the country press—in the Middle West, at least. As this ideal gains acceptance, giving definite direction to newspaper effort for the upbuilding of communities, the press gains an enlarged constituency with a truer conception of the power and usefulness of the newspaper. . . .
>
> Community service, community building, then, as a master motive, establishes the country weekly newspaper publisher securely in his position of leadership. It assures added community prosperity and the local development of the finer satisfactions of life in which he must share, and no other agency can take this from him, neither the city daily, coming in from a distance and concerned with the larger affairs of the larger community, nor the school, nor the church, nor any other.[83]

This point of view has been consistently advocated by the agricultural editors of the land-grant colleges, many of whom have institutes and regular service letters for country editors.

The number of country weeklies has steadily declined during the present century, but it seems probable that it is now becoming fairly well stabilized. There were about 16,000 weekly newspapers[84] in the United States from 1900 until World War I. The number then dropped to about 13,000 until 1929, and then further decreased to

[83] W. P. Kirkwood, in *The Inland Printer,* Feb., 1920.

[84] This includes all weekly newspapers, but the bulk of them are country weeklies as both Bing and Atwood estimate them at around two-thirds of the total. Data as to weeklies from N. W. Ayer and Son, American Newspaper Annual and Directory, Philadelphia, issued annually.

10,860 in 1940. However, there was no more decline during the period of the depression of the 1930's than during the previous decade, and there was a slight increase in 1940 over 1939, so that the number is now fairly stable.

Bing[85] states that in 1917 almost one-half of the country weeklies were in the twelve North Central States. These states had 45 percent of the weeklies in 1917 and 44 percent in 1940, although they have less than one-third (30.5 percent) of the total population and 31.4 percent of the farm population in 1940. In these states there is now an average of 4.6 weeklies per county as against 7 in 1917.

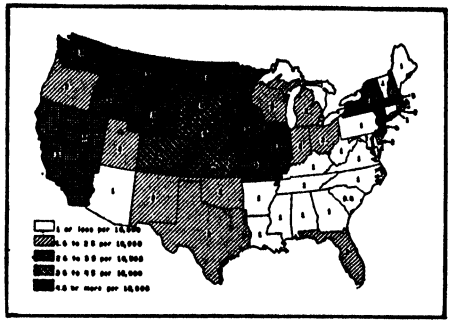


FIG. 100. Number of country weeklies per 10,000 rural population, 1940. (Newspaper data from American Newspaper Annual Directory, 1940, of N. W. Ayer and Son.)

The relative distribution of weeklies by states is shown in Fig. 100 by the number per 10,000 rural population. It will be seen that they are most numerous in the northern states west of the Mississippi, and in Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and New York. The proportion of the total number of weeklies which are strictly rural may be indicated by the studies made of them in individual states. Thus in Ohio, in 1932, 381 weeklies were published in the state, of which 239, or 63 percent, were in places with less than 2,500 inhabitants. These were published in 219 villages, so that only 20 villages had more than one weekly, and these villages formed about one-third of the total number of incorporated villages. Only 1 county in the state had no weekly. The average circulation was 1,263 copies.[86] In Missouri more than three-fourths of the 483 weeklies were published in rural places, and no county in the state was without one (Fig. 101). The average circulation was 1,700.[87] In North Dakota 92 percent of the 175 weeklies were published in rural places. The large villages (over 1,000 inhabitants) had an average of 6 weeklies for 5 villages; there was 1 weekly for 2 out of 3 of the medium villages (250 to 999 inhabitants); and only 1 in 50 of the small villages (50 to 249 inhabitants) had a newspaper. The average circulation of the weeklies

[85] P. C. Bing, The Country Weekly, p. 9.
[86] C. E. Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[87] C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–20.

was 1,207, and their circulation had increased during the decade before 1936.[88]

The decline in the number of country weeklies has undoubtedly been the result of the increased circulation of city dailies. In Cortland County, New York, in 1939, three-fourths of the farm families subscribed to a daily and only 12 percent subscribed to a weekly only.

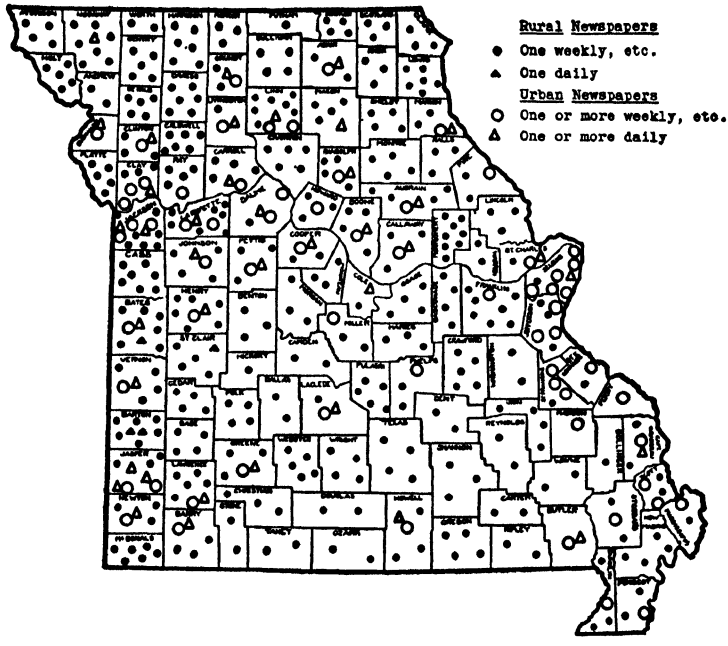


FIG. 101. Location by counties of 560 newspapers in Missouri, 1938, including 499 weekly, semiweekly, or triweekly, and 61 daily newspapers. (After Lively and Almack.)

Of the farm owners 84 percent subscribed to dailies; of the tenants, 57 percent; and of the farm laborers, only 39 percent. Of the farm owners only 9 percent subscribed to weeklies, as against 17 percent of the tenants, and 24 percent of the farm laborers. Only 7 percent of the owners subscribed to no newspaper, as against 26 percent of the tenants and 37 percent of the farm laborers.[89]

In Broome County, New York, in 1928, 79 percent of the country families took a daily newspaper, but only 42 percent took a weekly,

[88] Donald Hay, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–33.

[89] H. H. Plambeck, The Social Participation of Farm Families in Formal Organizations, Ph.D. thesis, Cornell Univ. Library (manuscript), 1941, Table 57, p. 136.

and 13 percent reported having no newspaper. Of those taking a weekly 80 percent also took a daily, but only 54 percent of those taking a daily also took a weekly. Forty-five percent subscribed to a daily only, and 8 percent had only a weekly.[40]

In a study made of families of the Corn Belt and Cotton Belt in 1936[41] it was found that 89 percent of the farm owners in the North and 62 percent of the whites in the South, but only 29 percent of the southern Negroes, received dailies regularly; these proportions were 97, 44, and 8, respectively for the tenants, and 79, 0, and 16 for the laborers. Weekly newspapers were regularly received by 79 percent of the farm owners in the North, 28 percent of the whites in the South, and 18 percent of the Negroes. For the tenants the percentages were, respectively, 66, 35, and 2; for the laborers only 29 percent of those in the North received them and none of either race in the South. In the South, as in Cortland County, New York, a larger percentage of tenants than of owners subscribed to the weeklies; but in the Corn Belt a larger proportion of tenants than of owners received a daily and a smaller percentage received a weekly.

It is evident, therefore, that most farm families are now depending upon city dailies for the world's news outside the local community, and that the relative support of the country weeklies varies widely in different areas.

THE CONTENT OF COUNTRY WEEKLIES. There are few strictly comparable studies of the content of the country weekly, but from what we have it would seem that the amount of space given to advertising has decreased and that given to news and informational features has increased in the last 20 years. In 1919 Dr. Carl C. Taylor[42] made a study of 243 Missouri and 73 North Carolina weeklies in which he found 61 and 60 percent devoted to advertising, 37 and 35 percent devoted to news, and 2 and 5 percent devoted to editorials. Recently Dr. Carl F. Reuss[43] has made similar studies in Washington and Virginia, in which he found 41 and 49 percent devoted to advertising; 53

[40] Dwight Sanderson, "Social and Economic Areas of Broome County, New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 559, May, 1933, p. 16.

[41] E. A. Schuler, Social Status and Farm Tenure, Washington, D.C., USDA, BAE, Social Research Report IV, April, 1938, Table 121, p. 225.

[42] C. C. Taylor, "The Country Newspaper as a Town-Country Agency," in Town and Country Relations, Proceedings of the Fourth National Country Life Conference, New York, Association Press for the American Country Life Assoc., 1923, pp. 36–46; also a summary in his Rural Sociology, pp. 264–268.

[43] C. F. Reuss, "Content of Washington Weekly Newspapers," Pullman, Wash., St. Coll. of Wash. AES, Bul. 387, Feb., 1940, p. 48; "Content of the Country Weekly," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 4, pp. 328–336, Sept., 1939.

and 45 percent devoted to news and magazine features; and 6 and 5 percent devoted to "opinion," including editorials.

In 1919 Dr. Taylor found that 59 percent of the news was local, of which over four-fifths was town news and less than one-fifth was from the country; in Washington in 1937 Dr. Reuss found 76 percent of the news local with 42 percent concerning the town and 34 percent from the country.

Advertising furnishes the financial support of the country weekly. Taylor found that 78 percent of the advertising space was local; Reuss found in Washington that 68 percent of the display advertising was local, as was 65 percent in Virginia, with 15 and 18 percent of national advertising, and 9 and 7 percent of legal advertising.

Reuss made a comparison of seven weeklies in Washington with regard to their content in 1915–16 and 1937. He notes that they averaged three pages larger in the latter year, and the major portion of the increase was in "magazine" material.[44]

Of the space devoted to news, Reuss found that the largest category was that of personal items, which formed 42 percent of the total news in Virginia and 33 percent in Washington. Magazine features, such as fiction and comics, occupied 21 percent of the total space in Washington and 11 percent in Virginia, and in the latter 71 percent of this was non-shop-set.

The history of material not set in the local shop, whether "boilerplate" or "mats,"[45] would form an interesting study in the development of the country weekly.[46] Unfortunately we have no data as to the amount of its present use relative to earlier years. It is still used extensively, but much less than formerly because the country weeklies can survive only as they are more largely devoted to local news. Formerly large amounts of plate matter were used and this was subject to considerable abuse for propaganda purposes, political and economic.

Agricultural information now forms a minor item of the country weekly, owing to the competition of the agricultural press. On the other hand, increasing space is being given to local institutions and organizations, school, press, and local farm organizations. In Washington news of institutions and organizations formed about one-third

[44] C. F. Reuss, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[45] *Cf.* Millard V. Atwood, The Country Newspaper, pp. 15–22.

[46] E. S. Watson has published (privately, Chicago, 1936) A History of Newspaper Syndicates in the United States, 1865–1935, giving an account of the rise of the Western Newspaper Union which has practically controlled the distribution of plate matter since 1917.

of the news space. In their study of villages Brunner and Lorge found many weeklies devoting from one-half of a page to a page to school news from once a week to once a month.[47] In Virginia about twice as much space was given to school news as to church news. Reuss notes that papers published in Washington villages of 1,000 or more population contain a considerably larger amount of local material and are more likely to be better social agencies than those in smaller places.

He also found that "opinion material," including editorials, was of greater volume than formerly, but was "less local, generally more non-controversial in nature, and far less heated in presentation." In Virginia he noted that one-fourth of the opinion matter was editorials reprinted from other papers, and that many of the editorials were of the sort furnished by an editorial-writing syndicate. It has been thought by some that the local editor should use his editorials to mold public opinion. Atwood[48] holds that the weekly is not and should not be a molder of opinion, but should rather express and interpret the sentiment of its constituency and form a forum for public discussion of important local issues and interests.

A rural editor who skillfully instigates discussion of local topics is often a power in community development and has more influence than if he became partisan.

THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY WEEKLY. Present indications are that the country weekly has so established itself as a rural institution that it will survive the competition of city dailies, but will be successful only when published in the larger villages where it has an adequate economic base. Reuss concludes from his Washington study:

> The future of the weekly newspaper appears closely bound up with the fortunes of its town as a trade center. The town serving in a vital way as a trade center for a larger territory needs some medium of indirect communication such as the newspaper to carry both its business and social messages to its supporting population. Conversely, however, only a vitally functioning trade center can afford to support a newspaper with advertising and thereby insure its continued operation.[49]

In concluding his Virginia study, Reuss says:

> Too often the rural newspaper, like many other rural institutions, has an inadequate base, both financially and in population, to justify its con-

[47] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[48] M. V. Atwood, The Country Weekly in New York State, The Cornell Reading Course for the Farm, Lesson 155, March, 1920, pp. 306–307. This is also emphasized by C. L. Allen, Country Journalism, New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1928, pp. 257–275.

[49] C. F. Reuss, Washington bulletin cited, p. 46

tinued existence. When this is the case the community might be better off if it ceased supporting by advertising, legal printing, and subscriptions an enterprise of marginal value.[50]

Here again, we see the tendency for rural institutions to survive in the larger community centers.

B. THE AGRICULTURAL PRESS

Even more influential in the thinking of the farmer than the city daily or the country weekly is the agricultural press, for through it he learns of the most successful producers and of the research of the state agricultural experiment stations and the U.S. Department of Agriculture.[51]

The total circulation of 86 general agricultural papers in 1940 amounted to 16,047,053 or 2.63 per farm, not counting the special interest agricultural papers in dairying, livestock, horticulture, poultry, etc. There are four national agricultural papers whose circulation averages 1,700,000; 15 regional papers average 350,000 circulation, and 21 state agricultural papers average 84,000 subscribers each.

In Missouri the circulation of the 9 farm papers most representative in that state was obtained for 1937–38. Their combined circulation in that state was 625,000 copies, or 2.3 copies for each farm family, and 1.4 copies for each rural family.[52]

The circulation of 42 leading farm publications ranges from 1 to every 3 persons in Iowa and North Dakota to 1 for about 30 persons in Massachusetts and New Jersey.[53]

In his study of the Corn Belt and Southern States Schuler found that 75 percent of the farm owners, 88 percent of the tenants, and 64 percent of the farm laborers in the North received farm periodicals regularly. Among the Whites in the South these proportions were 69, 43, and 12, respectively; among the Negroes they were 47, 17, and 5, respectively.[54]

In a rural community in central New York which is not above average Melvin found that the open-country families averaged 1.9 farm papers per family,[55] and for farm homes in New York State as a whole the average is probably higher.

[50] C. F. Reuss, *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 4, p. 335.

[51] *Cf.* C. C. Taylor, Rural Sociology, pp. 259–264.

[52] C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[53] L. B. Wilson, The Geography of Reading, Chicago, ALA and Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. 233–236.

[54] E. A. Schuler, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

[55] B. L. Melvin, "The Sociology of a Village and the Surrounding Territory," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 523, May, 1931, p. 55, Table 37.

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Chapter 19

RURAL GOVERNMENT

I. THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

Rural government consists of those forms of government which exist for the control and public service of rural areas. These are the county, the township, the incorporated village, and various types of special districts, such as school, fire, and water districts. The structure and function of rural government may be analyzed from several different viewpoints. First, there is the legal, juristic, or constitutional aspect, which deals with the origin and authority of these units as derived from the law. Second, there is the business or economic approach of business efficiency, whether the structure and operation of rural government are such as to accomplish its objectives efficiently with economy. Third, there is the political nature of local government, the relation to state and national political parties and movements, and the relation to local power groups. Lastly, we may study rural government by the sociological method, seeking to ascertain what an analysis of the different forms of association and of their characteristic behavior patterns will contribute to new insights concerning the problems involved. The sociological approach deals with the forms of rural government considered as groups and institutions, with the nature of rural political movements and parties, and with the problems of centralization in terms of intergroup relationships. As yet studies based on sociological analysis are very meager. Most of the rural sociology textbooks deal with government chiefly from the standpoint of political science, with regard to its structure and function and how these may be improved. It is our conviction that if sociology is to make any contribution to the problems of rural government or, indeed, if it has any warrant for discussing them, it should be because it has a distinct method of analysis of the phenomena which may contribute pertinent knowledge not obtainable by the methods of the political science approaches or by the common-sense method of the average citizen. Few of the students of rural government have given consideration to

its sociological aspects, but a good beginning in pointing out its significance has been made by Professor Lancaster.[1]

We shall, therefore, seek to outline a type of sociological analysis of rural government, which will require a considerable body of research before it can be adequately perfected so as to yield its full significance; and we shall then consider briefly the chief problems of rural government from the standpoint of better rural social organization.

Government is one of the oldest and strongest human institutions, in fact its evolution forms the major part of human history as history has been written in the past. From a historical standpoint the growth of government as an institution, or as a system of governmental institutions, has been mostly what Sumner called "crescive," that is, through accretion rather than by enactment. The forms of rural government in this country have had this historical crescive growth so far as their authority over men is concerned, but from the legal aspect they have been the result of enactment by the state.

As Shepard has said, "The functions of government are social control and public service." [2] The oldest concept of government, that which has given it authority over men, is their acceptance of it as an established means of social control. The notion of government as a mechanism for public service is of recent origin. This function has arisen chiefly by enactment and, as it is being gradually accepted, is transforming the function and structure of our governmental institutions.

A sociological analysis of rural government must, therefore, consider it chiefly in terms of its attributes as an institution, or system of institutions. The various forms of rural government may, however, also be studied from the standpoint of their group structure. Thus the county, township, and village may be considered as spatial groups, just as we study the city as a spatial or locality group, in so far as these units may have the characteristics of group relationships. We shall, therefore, consider each of the forms of rural government as to its characteristics as a group; then as to its characteristics as an institution; and finally as to its structure resulting from its legally defined functions.

A. THE COUNTY

The county is not an exclusively rural form of government, as many counties include cities, but the great bulk of our counties are chiefly

[1] L. W. Lancaster, Government in Rural America, particularly Chapter V.

[2] W. J. Shepard, "Government—History and Theory," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VII, p. 9.

rural, and the county is commonly considered as a form of rural rather than of urban government.

1. THE COUNTY AS A GROUP. The degree to which the county forms a locality group depends upon its size and upon the centers of association within and contiguous to it. Thus the county-seat town or city may be the natural trade and social center for most of the area within a county, particularly in a small county. On the other hand, there may be other villages in the county with equal or larger populations and trade areas, or there may be villages outside the county which are the natural trade and social centers for outlying parts of the county. In either case the county-seat town is the center of only that part of the county of which it is the natural rural community center. Where the counties are small, as in parts of the South, the county tends to be a large rural community and most of the business and social life centers in the county seat. A large proportion of the counties in the Middle Western and Western states were laid out in a rectangular shape from survey lines, and with the growth of railroads the villages and cities sprang up and became the socio-economic centers irrespective of county lines.

Size is also a factor in determining the solidarity of a county area, although this is related to density of population. Thus Lancaster [3] tells us that a typical county contains about 600 square miles and about 20,000 people with no incorporated municipality of as many as 10,000 people; but the average county in Arizona has about 8,000 square miles and the largest county is San Bernardino, California, with an area of 20,175 square miles—as large as all the New England States together excluding Maine; but the average areas of the smaller counties of Kentucky and Georgia have but 334 and 364 square miles, respectively. Thus in most counties the group relations tend to be those of a secondary group in which the associations are those of representative leading citizens, whereas in the smaller counties of the South there is a more general acquaintance and they have more of the characteristics of large primary groups. These primary relations in the small southern county were most apparent on the quarterly court day, which was a major event in ante-bellum days, and still survives in some of the mountain counties. It has been described in early Virginia as follows:

> Even though Virginia had not the town meeting, it had its familiar court day which was a holiday for all the countryside, especially in the fall and spring. From all directions came in the people on horseback, in wagons, and afoot. On the courthouse green assembled in indiscrimi-

[3] Lancaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–56.

> nate confusion people of all classes,—the hunter from the back woods, the owner of a few acres, the grand proprietor, and the grinning, heedless negro. Old debts were settled, and new ones made; there were auctions, transfers of property, and if election time were near, stump speaking.[4]

In general the contacts between individual members of the county are infrequent and their chief participation in county affairs is in voting and paying taxes.

In the four northern states (New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, and parts of Illinois) in which the county has a board of supervisors elected by the townships, these boards form a representative group of their respective constituencies, so that their constituents feel that they have a direct representation in the county government, but it is doubtful whether this contributes to a feeling of county solidarity.

2. The County as an Institution. From a legal standpoint the county as an institution is a creature and an arm of the state. Historically the county goes back to the shire which was the unit of local government established at the formation of the kingdom of England out of the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the ninth century.[5] The office of sheriff goes back to that of the shire reeve of those early days.

Although legally the state has very wide powers in determining the functions and administration of the county, yet it is usually restrained by the constitution from interfering with the local election of county officials, so that—in the main—county policies are determined by the voters when they so desire.[6]

Professor Chapin[7] has distinguished certain "type parts" of institutions, that together form a culture configuration. These are listed in the first column of Table 45, in which the other columns reveal the institutional differences between the county, the township, and the village.

Originally the county was an institution of the state for maintaining order and for collecting taxes. It is still the smallest form of rural government to have police powers. The sheriff is its police officer and the county courts, of one sort or another, have jurisdiction over major infringements of the law. Although the township and

[4] Edward Ingle, Virginia Local Institutions, Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science, Vol. III, p. 192. Reference through the courtesy of P. W. Wager.

[5] J. A. Fairlie and C. M. Kneier, County Government and Administration, 1930, p. 3.

[6] *Cf.* Lancaster, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

[7] F. S. Chapin, Contemporary American Institutions, pp. 15–16.

TABLE 45. CHARACTERISTIC TYPE PARTS OF INSTITUTIONS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Four Type Parts	County	Township	Incorporated Village
I Attitudes and Behavior patterns	Fear	Town meeting in New England	Formed voluntarily
	Obedience	Personal relationships	Neighborly relationships
	Impersonal relationships	Paying taxes	Paying taxes
	Paying taxes	Voting	Voting
	Voting		
II Symbolic culture traits—"symbols"	Seal	Seal	Seal
			(Colors of high school)
III Utilitarian culture traits (real property)	Court house	Town hall	Village school
	County jail	Township roads	Village library
	County farm		Village fire house
	County roads		Lighting, water, or sewage systems
IV Code of oral or written specifications	Charter	Township law	Incorporation papers
	Ordinances	Ordinances	Ordinances
	Deeds		

village often have police officers and justices of the peace, their functions are of minor importance, and it is toward the officers of the county that there are attitudes of fear and obedience as officers of the state. The relationship of the individual to county officials is a more impersonal one than with township or village officials. Otherwise the behavior of voting and paying taxes is common to all three forms of local government.

With regard to the "symbolic culture traits," such as the national flag or anthem, local governments are notably weak, the seal being almost the only symbol of their authority. The fact that local governments have such a paucity of collective representations might well be considered as a means of improving loyalty to them. Thus in certain areas European villages may have distinctions of dress, but in this country about the only symbol of this sort is the high school colors.

Among the utilitarian culture traits the county possesses the county buildings, and the village has its buildings, but the township has only a town hall in the older parts of the country.

The code of oral or written specifications involves the charter of the county or incorporation papers of the village, and the ordinances of county, township, or village, but the county has charge of deeds, wills, and similar documents controlling property.

The county is much more an institution of the state, whereas the township, where it occurs, although likewise legally a state institution, is felt by the people to be more of their own affair. The village, on the other hand, is incorporated at the wish of the people and thus has more of the characteristics of a voluntary association.

3. COUNTY STRUCTURE. We are accustomed in this country to think of the structure of government in terms of the divisions of the Federal Government into the legislative, executive, and judicial branches. In county government there is no sharp distinction between these functions, and therein is one of its chief weaknesses. In some states the county board has both legislative and executive functions; in others it, or members of it, also have judicial functions. In no state is it wholly legislative, nor is there a separate executive arm of the county government—except in the very few cases where the county manager system has been adopted—for the executive functions are divided between the county board and elective county officials who are responsible to the state and electorate only. The structure of county government varies so widely in different states that it is impossible to make many generalizations concerning it, and to do so would take us into the field of political science or the science of government. In all cases, however, there is some form of county board, variously known as the county supervisors, county commissioners, county court, or county board. In the four states in which the townships elect the supervisors as members of the county board, it is a large body averaging about 22 members, but in a majority of the states it is a small board of 3 to 5 members elected at large, for a period of 2 to 4 years. This board is wholly responsible for all strictly legislative functions and is also the authority on fiscal policies and the establishment of the county budget, although some items of the latter are required by state law and are not wholly optional with the county. In many cases it also appoints minor county officials.

The county board also has the major responsibility for the executive functions of the county government, but in addition to it there are a number of county officers, such as the sheriff, the county clerk, the prosecuting attorney, and others, who are usually elected by the people and have no responsibility to the county board. Thus there is no final executive authority, as in the state or Federal government, and this often makes it difficult to fix responsibility or to make possible an effective control of the county finances.

In most states the judiciary forms a separate arm of the county government, created by state law and coordinated with the state judicial

system; but in some of the southern states the county board or certain members of it also have judicial functions.[8]

In addition to the above there are an increasing number of county boards which are responsible for certain services, such as county boards of health, public welfare, education, etc. Logically these might be classed as part of the executive branch of the county government, but as a matter of fact they are responsible to no executive, they are created by state law, they may have certain legislative functions by decreeing regulations with the force of law, and they are controlled by the county board only to the extent that in most cases it must approve the budget for their support. Usually these county boards form the county unit of a state system and are more or less directed or guided by the state departments concerned, which often give them grants-in-aid for specific purposes. With an advancing standard of living and with a new concept of government as a means for performing services for the general welfare which it would not be feasible to support privately, these public service agencies of the county government are assuming increasing importance in contrast with the old concept of government as solely a means of preserving order and administering justice.

B. THE TOWN AND THE TOWNSHIP

The town is the original and smallest unit of rural government in the six New England states, where the county has much less importance. It differs from the township only in that it is smaller and irregular in shape and that it is more directly controlled by the voters.

The township is a modification of the New England town and occurs in 16 states, wholly or in part, from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Missouri, and Oklahoma on the south, westward to the Dakotas and Minnesota, these being mostly in the northeastern quarter of the country which has been subject to the New England influence.

The New England town in colonial days arose from the village community transplanted from England, but the township of the Midwestern States was derived partly from the Congressional township created as a unit of land surveys (6 miles square), whose boundaries have been variously modified to meet local exigencies of government, and partly from the New England town.

1. THE TOWN OR TOWNSHIP AS A GROUP. The origin of the New England town in the village community, of which the chief institution

[8] *Cf.* Fairlie and Kneier, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

was the church, made it a very definite community or locality group, in which the voters felt that they had a definite membership and over which they had control, although its ultimate authority came from a royal charter or a charter from the colonial government. Its government resided in a small board of selectmen chosen by the voters assembled in the annual town meeting. The town meeting adopted the budget and served as the legislative body of the town.

In the township there is usually no annual meeting of the voters, but they elect the township board at regular elections for township and county officials, and it is given sole control of the township government save for certain other elected officials, such as tax assessors, a highway commissioner, or a public welfare officer, who are more or less independent of it except for financial support.

At present the township government is chiefly concerned with local highways and public welfare or poor relief, although in many cases it is supporting fire protection, libraries, or other public services. In a few states (Indiana and the Dakotas) the township is also the unit of school administration, but with a separate organization. There has been a very general tendency for the county to take over the control and support of highways, poor relief, and education, so that but little is left for the township government to do, but so strongly is it entrenched by custom that all efforts to eliminate it by state commissions appointed to study and improve rural government have met with failure.

As a group the township is characterized by much more personal relationships between the citizens and its officials than is the county, and it is this feeling of closer local control which makes them averse to abandoning it. The fact that 25 states never had townships and that 11 others never gave them any important powers is evidence that they are not indispensable units of government.[9] The number of township officials, who are often organized in state associations, constitutes a powerful vested interest for maintaining their prestige and emoluments.

2. The Town or Township as an Institution. Thus the town or township must be regarded chiefly as an institution. In New England the loyalty to the town as an institution is so strong that it would be impossible to change it suddenly, although various devices have been created for modifying its methods of functioning in the more densely populated towns (some of which are really cities) and for cooperation

[9] From Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

between towns in the maintenance of certain services, such as education and health.

As an institution the town or township is legally an arm of the state, as is the county, but the people regard it as their own local institution and feel that state regulations are imposed upon them.

C. THE INCORPORATED VILLAGE

We have seen (Table 1, p. 56) that the 13,288 incorporated villages contained 7 percent of the total population and about one-sixth of the rural population in 1940, so that they form very important units of rural government. Villages have become incorporated chiefly so that they might tax themselves for the maintenance of public improvements such as pavements, light, water and sewage systems. Only in New England are there few incorporated villages, and in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island there are practically none under 2,500 inhabitants, for there the town ties are so strong as to make separate village government unnecessary. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey incorporated villages are called boroughs.

1. THE VILLAGE AS A GROUP. Because the village consists of an aggregation of residences and is in the nature of a voluntary association which incorporates for certain purposes, the group ties are much more definite than in any other units of rural government except the New England town. The attitudes of its citizens toward each other and toward the village government are those of cooperating neighbors and there is little of the attitude of fear or obedience which characterizes their attitudes toward the county as an arm of the state. Their relations are essentially those of a primary group, although in larger villages they may not all be personally acquainted. This tendency for the incorporated village to have a very definite "in-group" feeling makes it a distinct handicap to the formation of a strong rural community, as we shall see in discussing rural community organization in Chapter 29.

2. THE VILLAGE AS AN INSTITUTION. As an institution the village is considered a municipal corporation, although of the lowest grade.[10] Most states have general laws for the incorporation of villages, boroughs, or towns (i.e., large villages). The village is primarily a local government for the support of certain services, and its function as a means of social control is of very minor importance, although there

[10] *Cf.* Fairlie and Kneier, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXIII, for a full discussion of its legal status.

may be a local constable and justice of the peace to enforce ordinances against automobile speeding and the like.

The village has few symbols, except for the colors of the local high school, but the village name itself has much more meaning as a symbol to its inhabitants than is the case with most townships or counties. The village has many more utilitarian culture traits than has the township and they are used by its people much more intimately than are the county buildings. Indeed the village square, where it occurs, with possibly a band stand or a memorial to war heroes, has somewhat the same relation to the feelings of the people as the common lands had for those in the medieval village community.

The governmental structure of the village need not concern us here as it varies widely according to the population of the village and the functions necessary, but it ordinarily consists of a mayor and village board, with minor executive officials appointed by them.

D. SPECIAL DISTRICTS

In addition to the county, township, and incorporated village there are many types of special districts for particular services. The only one of these that occurs generally is the school district, whatever its form may be. The school is definitely an institution, as we have discussed in Chapter 16, but the other special districts, such as water, electricity, fire and sewage districts, are rather corporations for specific purposes, although they are governmental in that they can collect taxes and involve only certain areas.

E. PARTY POLITICS

We have outlined the legal structure of rural government, but there is in addition what Chapin [11] has called the "quasi-legal party system," which very largely determines how the government actually functions.

One of the chief handicaps of local government of all sorts in this country is that its officials are elected because of the national party to which they belong rather than for their qualifications for the job or for representing some policy or program of local government. The programs and objectives of the national political parties have practically nothing to do with local government. The result, therefore, is an effective local political machine that is maintained for the support of the national parties, and these local machines line up against each

[11] Chapin, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

other to obtain the offices of local government, although there are no local issues which distinguish them. It is merely a case of both parties fighting for the offices and patronage over issues that have nothing to do with them. Occasionally some local issue arises which becomes so serious as to transcend party lines, or some individual is so popular as to be able to capture the vote even if he is of the minority party. Generally, however, the mass of the people vote for the party and not for the man and the party organizations encourage them to vote a "straight ticket." Quite commonly in village government there may be a nonpartisan citizens' ticket, elected independently of political parties, but this is rare in township and county elections. Thus independence of the vote for local officers from tickets of national parties is a good index of civic intelligence and loyalty to local welfare.

It is obvious that under such a system it is to the interest of the local managers of the national parties to minimize local issues and to keep the attention of the voters centered on the slogans and shibboleths of national politics. This means a lack of critical consideration of local issues and, where one party is continuously in control, it makes it easy to build up a "courthouse gang" of county officials who work together for their own protection and reelection.

It must be admitted, however, that, with the strong tendency to nationalize many social services, it will be increasingly difficult to break down the ties which bind local politics to national party organizations. The financial relationships which bind the national government to the states and counties tend to force local units to maintain friendly relations with state and national party machines if they wish to obtain their share of grants-in-aid and to maintain control of local administration. This involves one of the major problems in the relations of Federal, state, and local governments, the solution of which demands the best statesmanship if the autonomy of local government is to be preserved.

This loyalty to a national party is somewhat analogous to the loyalty to a religious denomination irrespective of its relation to the needs of the local community; in both instances it interferes with the best functioning of the local institutions. Obviously it would be better if issues of local government could be determined by local parties, but progress in this direction is very slow. Where one party is thoroughly entrenched, as is the Democratic party in the southern states, a faction may arise, which tends to act as a local opposition party, but too often these differences are controlled by opposing factions seeking control of the state organization for the control of national politics.

As far as national political parties are concerned the most important political action of farmers as a class was the granger movement of the 1870's.[12] There has been no agrarian party of any significance since the Populist movement of the 1890's, although the Non-Partisan League flourished in the Dakotas 20 years ago and later the same issues gave rise to the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota. This is in direct contrast to the situation in Europe, where agrarian parties developed considerable strength in central and eastern Europe after World War I,[13] but were soon displaced by the parties representing large landholders and the industrial and banking interests. Although there has been no national agrarian party, it is true that the chief strength of the present national Democratic Party has been with the farmer vote of the South and West and with the labor vote of the large cities, so that in a way it represents their interests.

Whatever the party situation may be, it is important to recognize that this quasi-legal system of political organization is as important a phase of local government as is the legally established governmental structure, and that the sociology of local government should give more attention to the group formation and the institutional loyalties of political parties if it is to contribute to a knowledge of the political system as it actually operates.

II. PROBLEMS OF RURAL GOVERNMENT

We have previously shown (Chapter 7) that the rapid rise in taxes has formed one of the chief burdens of agriculture in recent years and that this is chiefly due to the cost of local government, so that the efficiency and economy of rural government form a major problem of rural life about which farmers have not, as yet, become effectively aroused.

Some of the problems of local government have already been revealed in our discussion of its structure and functions, and we shall merely attempt to outline the major issues concerning improvement of local government, for any thorough discussion is the province of political science.

[12] *Cf.* S. J. Buck, The Granger Movement, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1913.

[13] Concerning these agrarian movements see Sorokin, Galpin, and Zimmerman, Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology, Minneapolis, Univ. of Minn. Press, 1931, Vol. II, Chapter XVI.

A. COUNTY PROBLEMS

1. COUNTY CONSOLIDATION. The question most debated concerning county government is whether it is an effective unit for the functions it now performs or should perform under modern conditions. Quoting Millspaugh,[14] Lancaster [15] uses the criteria of efficient and economical administration, sufficient financial resources, and convenience in rendering services and maintaining contacts between government and citizens, for answering this question. The county should be large enough to warrant an efficient staff and to keep it continuously occupied. This usually does not occur with a population of less than 25,000, but 70 percent of the counties have less than this. The county should have sufficient wealth to be able to pay the costs of county government. Various studies show that the cost of government becomes disproportionately high when the population in a county is much less than 20,000, yet nearly 70 percent of the counties have less than this. With regard to the third criterion, it is evident that counties were laid out before the days of automobiles and good roads and are therefore much smaller than now necessary for reasonable convenience in travel to and from the county seat. Again summarizing Millspaugh,[16] Lancaster [17] states that

> . . . it may be concluded that the maximum area of a county may vary from 900 to 6,400 square miles, the figure taken depending upon the location of the county seat, the distribution of the population to be served and the rate of driving speed. If we take the lower figure we find it only a little smaller than the average county and half again as large as the typical county. If the larger figure be taken it is ten times as great as the typical county and nearly seven times the average county. In either case we may conclude that under modern conditions of travel counties generally could be much larger than they are.

In spite of these facts it is the judgment of an able investigator that "consolidation is probably not theoretically applicable to more than a quarter of the counties of the United States" and that "in most regions, an effort to consolidate would merely waste time and energy." [18] This is substantiated by the fact that there are only two or three instances of county consolidation, in spite of the fact that several counties in the cut-over regions of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota

[14] A. C. Millspaugh, Local Democracy and Crime Control, Chapter IV.
[15] Lancaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–61.
[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 96.
[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 62.
[18] Millspaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 141, quoted by Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

have become practically bankrupt. Lancaster holds that "it is by no means clear that large economies would follow county consolidation," [19] and it is obvious that any move in this direction will always arouse the antagonism of the local political machines because it would reduce the number of jobs and their present control of them. Furthermore, inasmuch as many county functions are arms of the state government, it is doubtful whether consolidations effected by the local people would

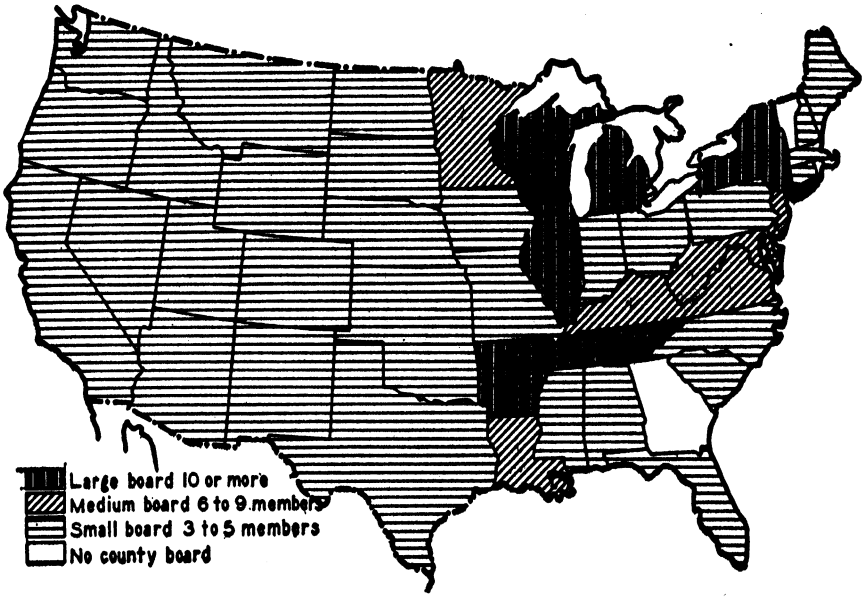


FIG. 102. Sizes of county boards in the various states. (After Kendrick.)

best serve their interests or those of the state as a whole. Probably, therefore, any reorganization of counties should be made by the legislature after a study by a state commission, and this offers almost insuperable political difficulties. We may conclude, therefore, that at present there is little hope of much being done concerning the consolidation of county units until rural people become much more thoroughly convinced of the necessity for doing so than they are at present.

There are, however, several practicable methods by which county government might be greatly improved.

2. SMALL COUNTY BOARDS. In the four northern states (see p. 443) having boards of supervisors elected by the towns, the cost and efficiency of the county government could probably be improved by chang-

[19] Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

ing to a smaller board of members elected at large, as is the practice in most of the other states.

After a careful study of the costs of county boards of different size in a number of states, Professor M. Slade Kendrick [20] concluded that in so far as cost of maintenance is concerned small boards are decidedly more economical, and have decided advantages.[21] A large board may be more representative as a legislative body, but is ill-adapted to administrative functions, which must inevitably be handled by committees, with consequent log-rolling among them.

3. AUDITING. One of the weaknesses of county government in many states is that there is no effective audit of expenditures. In many states the county board, or its committees, audit the expenditures which they themselves have authorized, so that there is no effective check on their legality or correctness. Fairlie [22] states that county auditors have been established as regular county officers in about one-third of the states, although in many states the county clerk or the clerk of the county board acts in this capacity. He holds that the qualifications of an auditor cannot be determined by a popular election and that he should be appointed by the county board subject to the approval of a state authority.[24]

In many cases the county board has no control over the expenditures of elective county officials beyond that of making appropriations for them, and in these cases there is no effective audit of their accounts. Efficient auditing is not only a means of obtaining economical and honest expenditure of public funds for the benefit of the taxpayers, but it is also a means of protection to public officials as to the correctness of their accounts.

Several states have provided for state supervision and periodic audits of county accounts, which have been effective in improving the county accounting. "There is need for a regular system of auditing county accounts under state supervision; but this will not do away with the need for a county officer charged with a preliminary examination of claims against the county before payment." [25]

4. SHORT BALLOT. Students of local government are agreed that one of the most important means of improving county government

[20] M. S. Kendrick, "A Comparison of the Cost of Maintenance of Large and of Small County Boards in the United States," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 484, June, 1929, pp. 40–41.

[21] *Cf.* Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–41.

[22] Fairlie, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

would be the adoption of the short ballot. This means that most of the minor officers now elected should be appointed. Many of these positions are of such minor importance that the voters take little interest in their election, and there are so many that it is impossible for the voters to make an intelligent choice. As most of these positions are administrative rather than policy-determining, the special qualifications needed for them might better be determined by appointment than by election. Most of them are elected because of their being on the party ticket rather than from any real choice on the part of the voters. However, Lancaster is doubtless correct in saying that "the introduction of the short ballot would involve nothing short of a revolution in rural political mores." [26] All forms of local government in this country suffer from a spurious democracy which is the product of pioneer days, in that the voters are much more interested in maintaining their prerogative of controlling who shall have an office than of insuring the qualifications of the candidate for the office. This is not true of state and national government, for in them it is obvious that the voter cannot know the minor officials and he entrusts their appointment to an elected executive.

5. EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY. The short ballot thus involves the acceptance of the principle of a concentration of executive authority.[27] At present there is no central authority or control over the administrative officers, so that it is easy for each county official to evade responsibility by blaming inefficiency on the lack of cooperation of some other officer. "Passing the buck" is the usual method of evading responsibility, and so the county officials hang together in "the courthouse gang" until discontent becomes so general that most of them are thrown out, and the same process starts over again. It is true that centralized authority, such as prevails in the executive powers of the mayor of a city, may not necessarily mean better government if it is inefficient or corrupt, but it gives the possibility of better administration and definitely fixes responsibility so that the voters can change the administration.

The county manager plan, modeled after the city manager plan, has been very generally advocated, and has been made possible by permissive laws in some states, but as yet has made but little progress except in a very few of the more urban counties. Much more education of the voters will be required before strong and responsible leadership will

[26] Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, D. Van Nostrand Co.

[27] *Cf.* Fairlie and Kneier, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

be trusted by them, for good leadership depends upon good followership.

6. TAXPAYERS' ASSOCIATIONS. This educational process may be best accomplished through nonpartisan taxpayers' associations (see p. 154), and also through farmers' organizations. The League of Women Voters is doing an admirable piece of educational work in the cities, but unfortunately has few local units in the rural districts. The chief danger of taxpayers' associations is that they often focus their reform efforts on merely reducing the amount of the budget, without giving attention to what is more important, namely, determining the efficiency of county government. What is needed is not less government, which is a survival of the old attitude of the less government the better, but a more economical and efficient government, which would result in the reduction of taxes or in obtaining value received for the taxes spent.

7. OTHER MEANS OF IMPROVEMENT. Even where the changes indicated above are not made it is possible to effect considerable improvement in county government through gradual changes. The better training of local officials by schools and conferences and the strengthening of state supervision and control will gradually create new standards of better fiscal and personnel practices. These can be hastened by the demands of civil agencies, and by leadership on the part of state officials, who may be of great help in building up effective county government if by friendly assistance they seek to educate county officials rather than to dominate them arbitrarily.

B. TOWNSHIP PROBLEMS

The major difficulty of the township unit is that it is too small for efficiency under modern conditions. Before automobiles the six-mile-square township was a convenient size, for if the village were in the center this meant a drive of not over three or four miles from the edge of the township to the village, which was as far as people wished to drive in bad weather on mud roads. Furthermore the functions of the township government were then more limited than they are at present and in most sections the population was larger. Today in New York State 29 percent of the townships have less than 500 people and 50 percent have less than 1,000,[28] which is too few to give a taxable valuation to support township government economically. In Michigan the proportion of small townships is about the same, with 29 percent hav-

[28] C. R. Wasson and Dwight Sanderson, "Relation of Community Areas to Town Government in the State of New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 555, p. 13, April, 1933.

ing less than 500 population, and 69 percent with less than 1,000, exclusive of incorporated villages.[29]

The small taxable valuation of a majority of townships means that they cannot afford to own satisfactory machinery for road maintenance, which is too expensive to be operated economically for so small a unit, and roads form the chief cost of township government.

Furthermore, in a small unit most, if not all, of the officials are employed only part time and do not have a sufficient volume of business or a long enough tenure of office to become expert with regard to their duties.[30]

There are, therefore, the same arguments for township consolidation as we have noted for county consolidation, only they are much more applicable to the township. In spite of this there has been very little progress in township consolidation, in spite of permissive laws.

One of the chief weaknesses of the township is that it is an unnatural area for a governmental unit. The old New England town was a natural unit for it was formed by the area which used the village as its center. But the township arose from a survey system for locating land without reference to the location of business and social centers which determine the areas of association. For this reason townships without village trading centers often lack certain services which are had by those containing villages, both because the village is necessary for their support and is the natural place to locate them. Thus a study[31] of fire and library service in the townships in New York State showed that for the small townships with less than 1,000 population, those in which the local trade center is in an adjoining township do not have as good fire and library service as those which trade mostly at a village within the township.

The progress of a rural community is often prevented if it cannot command a majority of the votes in its township. A nearby village has a town hall which might be used as a social center for the whole community, but the people in the borders of the township do not come to this village, so they take the position that if the village and neighboring people wish to use the town hall they should rent it rather than tax those who do not use it for its support. The same principle applies

[29] A. W. Bromage and T. H. Reed, Organization and Cost of County and Township Government, Michigan Commission of Inquiry into County, Township, and School District Government, Detroit, Mich., Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Jan., 1933, Table 40, p. 132.

[30] *Cf.* Lancaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 112–114.

[31] *Cf.* Wasson and Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 43; see also, on relation of township lines to trade areas, W. F. Kumlien, reference cited on p. 464, p. 12.

to the location of schools and libraries, or the creation of a fire district. That township boundaries have no relation to community areas is shown in the diagram in Fig. 103, and in the map of service areas of villages (Fig. 75, p. 285).

In many states the township is being rapidly stripped of its functions by turning them over to the county. Thus its most important function has been that of road construction and repair, but this is more and more

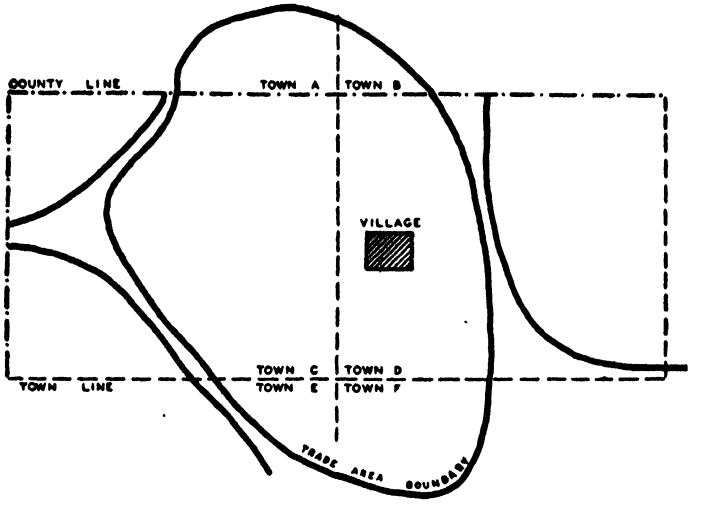


FIG. 103. Diagram of relation of a village trade area to town (township) and county boundaries.

being delegated to the county, as are poor relief and health work. For these reasons it is held by competent authorities on rural government that "the township has become an unnecessary and hence a costly and wasteful unit of government all of whose functions can be as well or better performed on a county basis or by assessment districts established under county authority." [82]

But if this is done some new form of local government, such as the rural municipality (p. 459), is needed, for otherwise there would be no local government, other than the incorporated village or special districts. Some form of local government smaller than the county is needed for various purposes (see p. 463). The large rural community would seem to be the logical unit for local government as it is for school administration (see p. 382).

[82] Bromage and Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

C. VILLAGE PROBLEMS

We have seen that villages have been incorporated so that they might have certain services which the townships were unwilling to support. In the past this was necessary, but today incorporation is often not worth the additional taxes. Thus state roads often provide the paving of the main street, so that the village does not need to be incorporated for that purpose. The fact that few villages in New England are incorporated shows they can be maintained without incorporation.

In the case of fire protection the village commonly allows its fire company to serve the farms in the surrounding area, but its equipment is often not adapted to this and there are legal difficulties with regard to damages to equipment or injury to firemen which must be met. This has led to the creation of fire districts to include the village and the area which its fire department can serve.

We have already seen that the high school which formerly belonged solely to the village district is so extending its area as to form a central or consolidated school district including the whole area which it serves, because the village and the surrounding area can support a type of school which neither could maintain alone.

The question arises, therefore, whether under modern conditions there is a sufficient advantage in the separate incorporation of the village and whether an incorporation of the village and the territory tributary to it, the rural community, would not furnish a better unit for local rural government.

D. THE RURAL MUNICIPALITY

To meet the above considerations the late Dr. T. B. Manny proposed a plan of a rural municipality[88] which would include the village and the area tributary to it, or the rural community. He advocated that such a municipality be zoned "by the uses to which the real estate is put and the tax rate adjusted in line with the number and cost of municipal services rendered in that zone. Thus, the cost of street lighting, sewers, water, sidewalks, trash collection, etc., would not be levied against farm lands but only in the zones where these services are provided." This plan has received much favorable comment, and is actually in existence in some New England towns, but it has been held to

[88] T. B. Manny, Rural Municipalities; or for a brief résumé see his article, "Government Structure, Powers and Problems in the New Rural Municipality," in Rural Government, Proceedings of the Fourteenth American Country Life Conference, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1932, pp. 154–157.

be too revolutionary to be adopted by the voters even if permissive legislation were enacted. North Carolina has had a law [84] permitting such municipalities for some years, but little use has been made of it. Probably such a change must come by an evolutionary process. If all rural territory were laid out in central or consolidated school districts corresponding to larger community areas, the advantages of such a unit of rural government might become apparent. If the increasing decline of the township by virtue of the county taking over more and more of its functions results in the township government becoming more or less vestigial, rural people may conclude some such type of rural municipality to be the best solution of maintaining a functional form of local government for a unit smaller than the county.

E. CENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT

One of the chief problems of rural government is the achievement of a satisfactory balance between local control and administrative efficiency. As the functions of government have become more specialized and have required more expert service there has been a steady tendency to centralize them in larger units. The county takes over functions formerly performed by the township or village, and the state takes more and more control of the county. Even the Federal Government has recently taken on responsibilities formerly resting with the states, such as public relief and social insurance, and administers these directly through its own staff rather than through that of the states.[85]

In colonial and early days local government was a necessity, for communication was slow and expensive. Furthermore the functions of government were much more limited. Today we demand many more services of government which require for their administration trained or expert officials, who can be supported only by a larger unit with sufficient volume of business to justify their employment. Today communication is much easier from the state capital to a county than it was from a county seat to the edge of the county a century ago, for anyone with a telephone can be reached in a few minutes.

Centralization is not peculiar to government, for the same process has been going on in business through the amalgamation of corporations, the growth of chain stores, the consolidation of public utilities, and even in the centralization of administration of farmers' cooperative associations (see p. 529). The tendency to centralize government is,

[84] 1919 North Carolina P. L., Chapter 202.

[85] *Cf.* W. B. Graves, American State Government, New York, D. C. Heath and Co., 1936, pp. 29–39, 713–742.

therefore, but a response to forces which are affecting all phases of modern life, as our society becomes more highly organized and interdependent.

The problem arises in the conflict of interest between local control and liberty of action with greater specialization and efficiency of a larger unit. Rural folk have a strong feeling that local control and participation in government are essential for the maintenance of democracy, although the large cities have long since accepted the principle of centralized control, with one board of education rather than a board for each school, as was the practice a century ago, and so with other services. This attitude of rural people has a definite historical origin in the fact that in Europe the village community was largely autonomous for centuries, and in the pioneer days of this country local government was directly controlled by the people and had but little interference from state or national government because of difficulties of communication. There also survives the old-time distrust of a government which is not directly responsible to the people, which has come down from colonial days.

Today the people of any rural locality are no longer independent of others, but their interests are interdependent. Disease spreads without reference to governmental boundaries and requires a larger jurisdiction than that of the country physician for its control. Good highways are needed by all and they are built and maintained by the state, with advantage to the rural communities; and so on with other governmental services, which were unknown in the days of our grandfathers.

That local control is essential for democracy has been stoutly maintained and is an accepted dogma of rural folk, but that it can be empirically justified is ably challenged by some students of government and certainly has not been proved.

There is also the fear of the people in the smaller units that supposed greater efficiency in county, state, or Federal government may inevitably result in higher costs and that it may build up a bureaucracy which they will be unable to control when it becomes entrenched. There is much historical and contemporary evidence to support this point of view. An organization of more expert officials easily becomes institutionalized and resistant to new ideas which affect its status. It is relatively easier to try out new methods in smaller than in larger units of government, and without experiment government tends to ossify.[86]

On this conflict between control and efficiency Professor Lancaster wisely remarks:

[86] *Cf.* C. C. Zimmerman, The Changing Community, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1938, pp. 645–653.

> In a society which values liberty, the ultimate justification of local self-government is that it affords a direct and easy channel through which public opinion can function. The larger the increment of power the greater the temptation to abuse it, and the greater the distance between those who rule and those who obey, the easier it will be to evade responsibility. . . .
>
> Free government, if it is to be maintained at all under the conditions of the future, must solve the paradox of preserving on the one hand the conditions favoring intimate human cooperation in public affairs, and on the other, of creating organs of government capable of acting upon problems long since grown beyond the limits of the petty areas within which popular political processes were first developed.[87]

This is not the place for any thorough analysis of the problem of centralization versus decentralization of government, about which many volumes have been written, although it has many phases upon which careful sociological analysis might throw much light. It may be suggested, however, that progress in its solution may be looked for in the analysis of the functions of the various services of government and how efficient administration may be obtained with the best support of the public, rather than by any *a priori* logical or legal argument.

Thus in the last two decades state police systems have grown very rapidly because local authorities are no longer able to cope with crime successfully. If there are large areas of forest and destructive fires are to be controlled, authority must be lodged in a state forest service because fires do not stop at county boundaries and county officials are unable to cope with them. On the other hand, there is no reason why the state need exercise any control over local fire departments, except to give them encouragement and educational help, which have been conspicuously absent in this country in contrast to some European countries. The state must assume control of sanitary matters which involve the health of all the people, but it need not interfere with the work of a local health department further than to give it guidance and assistance and assure its competency if it receives state aid.

Much may be done to strengthen the services of local government by the cooperation and supervision of the state government without vesting in it direct administration or absolute control. A suggestive example of this is found in the administration of the extension service in agriculture and home economics, as described in Chapter 17. In its administration the Federal, state (through the state college of agriculture), and county governments cooperate in the support of county

[87] Lancaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 375–377. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, D. Van Nostrand Co.

agents who are under their general supervision, but whose program of work and local policies are determined by a county association of farmers, which is often given legal status by state legislation. These county agents have the assistance of specialists of the state college of agriculture and of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, if and when necessary, and thus have the most expert help at their disposal, yet the control of policy is chiefly in the hands of their local constituency.

The same principle is being increasingly applied to county health services. Formerly only a state could maintain a laboratory for chemical, bacteriological or pathological analyses for the service of physicians and sanitary officers. Now many counties are able to support such laboratories to the great advantage of local physicians and the betterment of health conditions, with the aid and supervision of state authorities.

Thus, cooperation between the different units of government may be much more important in obtaining efficient administration than attempting to centralize control as is necessary in military or police administration.

In those states having townships there has been a determined resistance against the centralization of functions in the county and yet the process is going on because of the need of more efficient and expert administration to obtain the services desired. The county unit is a better unit for administration than the township or community whenever it is necessary to obtain the services of a full-time executive, whether it be in private or public organizations. In general there are six fields in which county administration seems superior to that of smaller units, namely, (1) education, including schools and libraries, (2) agricultural extension work and zoning for land use, (3) public health work, (4) public welfare work, (5) public works—roads, bridges, parks, etc., and (6) political—elections, tax levy and collections, protection, and justice.[88]

But this does not mean that town or community units for these services should be wholly dispensed with. We have seen that the local high school district forms a desirable unit for local administration, whether there be a larger county administrative unit or not. For similar reasons the local fire district is an effective unit. If there be a county library system (see Chapter 18), it will be desirable to have branches in the larger community centers, and public health work may find it advantageous to have public health nurses assigned to definite community districts with which they may become intimately acquainted.

[88] Adapted from J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, p. 629.

Wherever strong local support is necessary for a public agency, a local unit will be found advantageous in its administration. To the extent that the local unit can maintain and administer certain functions of government effectively, it should be as autonomous as possible and determine its own policies, but for those services which demand more expert service or better equipment or facilities than it can afford it will necessarily depend upon cooperating with other local units in the support of a larger unit which can furnish them, whether this be county or state.

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Chapter 20

RURAL HEALTH ORGANIZATION

The superior healthfulness of the open country has long been hailed as one of the outstanding advantages of country life. This is true whether measured by the mortality or morbidity rates, both of which are higher for urban than for rural areas. Dorn[1] has shown that when deaths are allocated to the usual place of residence of the deceased and are standardized for differences in age distribution, the rural mortality rate was definitely lower than the urban rate in both New York and Ohio in the years 1929 to 1931. He also shows that in the most reliable data concerning sickness rates, the lowest rate was 787 cases of illness per 1,000 persons observed during 12 months in the open country, and the highest rate was 937 for villages and towns of less than 5,000 inhabitants. On the other hand, it is true that both mortality and sickness rates have declined much more rapidly in cities than in the open country during the past generation. "Infant mortality decreased 44 percent in urban areas and 34 percent in rural areas from 1915 to 1934."[2] Life expectancy increased much more for urban than for rural areas from 1900 to 1930, although it is still greater in the rural areas.[3] Obviously the relatively greater advance in health in cities has been due to their better organization of health facilities and sanitation as compared with the country, for the relative healthfulness of country or city depends not only upon the natural environment, but on the adequacy of medical care and sanitary measures.

The study of rural versus urban health rates and their causes is not properly the subject matter of rural sociology, but rather of the sciences of public health and demography, although there are sociological factors affecting them. The maintenance of health relative to the standards of living and culture of a given area is, however, a fundamental concern of any program of rural welfare and is, therefore, a problem

[1] H. F. Dorn, The Relative Amount of Ill-health in Rural and Urban Communities, U. S. Public Health Service, Public Health Reports, Vol. 53, pp. 1181-1195, July 15, 1938.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, Figs. 2 and 3, p. 5.

of rural social organization, for its improvement is largely a matter of institutional organization to meet health needs.

If we are to understand the sociological aspects of rural health problems we must consider the traditional attitudes of rural people toward health and sickness and the groups and institutions which are concerned with them.

Traditionally rural people have taken health for granted. Health measures were largely negative in that they were directed toward the curing of sickness, but relatively little thought was given to the promotion of health and the prevention of disease. This was due chiefly to ignorance concerning the causes of sickness and sanitary measures necessary for its prevention. It was appreciated that education had to be acquired through instruction in the home or at school, but it was not understood that health preservation must also be learned as it does not "just happen."

In so far as there was a code of folkways for the preservation of health it was taught in the home. The family took care of its own sick, with the possible help of neighbors, and if recovery did not yield to home remedies, a doctor was consulted or called in as a last resort. The responsibility for health was, and is, that of the family; the doctor is an expert for curing sickness.

Prior to the present century the country doctor was about the only health institution of the countryside. In most cases but one doctor was available in a given rural area. He usually had a fine sense of professional responsibility and his interest was more in saving life than in his fees.[4] He was, therefore, a most respected citizen and much loved by his patients.

In the present century private and public health nurses and hospitals have become quite generally available in rural territory, and will be discussed later.

There are, however, no groups or associations in rural communities which are chiefly concerned with health, as the parent-teacher associations are with education, and others with social and religious objectives. Existing rural health organizations are on the county level, such as county tuberculosis associations or county public health associations, and county professional organizations of doctors and nurses. Health is included in the programs of several organizations common in rural territory. Probably the most active in this field has been the American Red Cross, which has sponsored classes in first aid, bedside nursing, and nutrition, and has promoted many demonstrations in public health

[4] *Cf.* J. M. Williams, Our Rural Heritage, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1925, pp. 105–108.

nursing which have been gradually taken over by local governments as a part of a tax-supported public health program. Usually the Red Cross has a county chapter with local community units as branches. The parent-teacher association often is quite active in studying the health needs of school children and in promoting means for their improvement. Farmers' organizations such as the Grange and the Farmers' Union give some consideration to health, but only incidentally. The Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics (see Chapter 17) has developed a very active program of health education in many states. In all the states it has had strong programs for education in nutrition, and health specialists have been employed in several states to cooperate with state departments of health and other organizations in programs of health education. In the 4-H clubs, one of the four H's stands for health, and it has been one of the chief objectives of their program.

It is doubtful whether in the average rural community there would be sufficient interest to warrant a separate organization with health improvement as a chief objective. The county is probably a better unit for such an organization. There is, however, a need in every rural community for a health committee actively to study its health needs, to promote health education and health projects, and to coordinate the work of existing organizations and agencies in this field. Such a health committee might be the means through which the county public health organization could maintain contacts with each community, and by which the community could obtain the help and services of outside agencies.

The problem of social organization of rural health is one of groups and organizations only with regard to their coordination for an educational program. It is rather one of the creation and support of various groups and institutions which carry on health activities, such as physicians, schools, hospitals, and public health officials.

I. PHYSICIANS

The most important rural health institution is still the country doctor. There are two main problems concerning rural physicians: first, that there are too few of them, and, second, that the cost for many families is almost prohibitive.

There is definite evidence that the number of rural physicians in proportion to the population has declined in the present century. The report of the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care [5] showed that

[5] I. S. Falk, C. R. Rorem, and M. D. Ring, The Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1933, pp. 197–198.

the population of rural areas declined from 53 percent of the total in 1906 to 48 percent in 1929, or a decline of 5 percent, and the proportion of physicians declined from 41 percent in 1906 to 31 percent in 1929, a loss of 10 percent or twice that of the population. On the other hand, during the same period the cities with 100,000 or more population increased from 22 percent of the population in 1906 to 30 percent in 1929, or 8 percent, and the proportion of physicians increased from 30 to 44 percent, a gain of 14 percent. In 1929 there were 126 physicians for each 100,000 population in the United States, but in places of 5,000 or less there were only 78 per 100,000; in places of 100,000 or over there were 185, or two and one-third times as many in the large cities as in the small places.

This has been due to the fact that rural physicians are older and that their places are not being filled by younger physicians. Several factors have influenced this result, such as the increased cost of medical education, which country boys cannot afford, the increased cost of medical equipment which the physician now regards as necessary for his practice, the lack of laboratory and hospital facilities in many rural sections, and the cultural disadvantages and lower economic returns involved in a rural practice. There is some evidence that there was a tendency for more graduates of medical schools to settle in rural communities in the early 1930's. Thus Dr. H. G. Weiskotten, dean of the College of Medicine of Syracuse University, who has been making studies of the graduates of medical colleges for the past 20 years, writes that 25 percent of the 1930 graduates were located in communities of less than 5,000 in 1936 as compared with 18 percent of the 1925 graduates located in such communities in 1931. Dr. Brunner in his surveys of 140 villages found an increase of 7 percent in the number of physicians in 1936 as compared with 1930.[6] Whether this change will be permanent or whether it is the result of conditions during the depression, only time will tell.

In many rural communities there is not sufficient volume of business to support a physician and there is a very definite lack of prompt medical service at a price which the people can afford.[7] This raises the whole question of cost of medical care for rural people.

In the country the cost of a home call by a physician is based on the mileage he has to travel, at a rate of from 50 cents to $1 a round-trip mile. "A survey made by *The Farmer's Wife* among 860 typical

[6] E. deS. Brunner and Irving S. Lorge, Rural Trends in Depression Years, p. 293.

[7] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, "A Survey of Sickness in Rural Areas in Cortland County, New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Memoir 112, March, 1928, pp. 19–25.

farm families showed that the average cost of a home call was $7.63, while 15 percent of these families paid $15 or more."[8] In one area studied in central New York in 1924[9] the rates were but about half those quoted above, but the same principle obtained, and it cost $6 for a call 10 miles distant from the city. As the farms farthest from the doctor's residence are usually the poorer ones, this means that the farmers with least income have to pay the highest prices. Consequently they do not call a doctor unless it is a matter of life and death, although it is known that there is more sickness among poorer families. No fault can be found with the physicians for this rate system, providing it is a reasonable mileage rate, but it would seem possible to equalize the cost by requiring a fixed rate within a certain area and for the township or county to reimburse the physician for mileage. If it is just to equalize the cost of education to outlying districts by means of bus transportation of pupils, it is just as important to equalize the cost of care of the sick.

There are many rural areas where a physician is needed and is not readily obtainable. In such areas a guarantee paid through taxation should be made so as to induce a young doctor to locate there. New York State has legislation authorizing such appropriations by the townships, but it has been used in only a few places. If a township or group of townships with a sufficient volume of business is unable to support a physician, it might be well to have a system of state aid exactly as we do for rural schools, for health is certainly as important as education, and disease spreads regardless of political boundary lines.

Formerly it was held that if only good roads were available city and town physicians would be able to cover most of the countryside, but as hard roads have become more common this has not occurred. Most city physicians do not care for a rural practice and there is definite evidence that the farmer prefers a village physician even if his home is nearer to one in the city. This may be partly a matter of price, but it is probably also due to the fact that he feels a more intimate personal relation with the country doctor.

There have been several experiments in the employment of physicians by rural communities through a voluntary cooperative association, but there is little evidence to show how they have succeeded over a period of years. One exception is that of the Stewart's Creek Community Association, at Mount Airy, North Carolina, which had been in

[8] C. P. Streeter, "Reorganizing Rural Health Facilities," in Country Life Programs, Proceedings of the Eighteenth American Country Life Conference, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1936, p. 51.

[9] Dwight Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

operation for 10 years in 1932, and then gave medical service to each family at $15 a year.[10]

The most radical form of rural medical service is that furnished by the rural municipalities in the province of Saskatchewan, where a physician is employed on salary and his services are paid through the tax rate, thus eliminating the mileage differential in costs. This system has now been in effect for some years and seems to be giving satisfaction under the conditions there existing. Carroll Streeter has described one of these at Brock, where the physician was receiving a salary of $4,975 a year, which resulted in a cost of $3.33 per capita or $9 to $10 a family per year, which was paid by taxes.[11]

A very significant experiment in pooling the cost of medical care to poorer farmers is being carried on by the Farm Security Administration and has been growing steadily since it was started in 1936 until, in 1940, it was operating in 634 counties, including 80,000 families. Most of these were in the South and Southwest, but the experiment is spreading in the North and completely covers the State of Vermont. The plan has been worked out with the state and county medical societies, many of which first opposed the movement, but as they have found that they have been able to collect a larger proportion of their bills through this plan than previously it is winning their support.

> The mechanics are simple. The farmers agree to pay a fixed annual amount into a pooled trust fund, according to their ability to pay. Since their cash income for an entire year runs from about $50 to $300, their payments will vary from $15 to $30 a year. On their side, the physicians who volunteer to join the plan agree to provide all necessary medical services. The pooled fund is divided into 12 monthly portions. At the end of each month the doctors submit their bills to the trustee in charge of this pooled fund. The bills are then reviewed by a committee of the county medical society. If the total of the bills approved for payment is less than the sum set aside, bills are paid in full; if more, the fund is prorated. Any monthly surpluses are applied to deficit months. The schedule of fees is determined by the county medical society.[12]

[10] "Where the Doctor's Bill Is $15 a Year," *Literary Digest,* Sept. 19, 1931, p. 20. See also Streeter, *op. cit.,* p. 58.

[11] Streeter, *op. cit.,* p. 55, and in more detail "Ten Dollars a Year Pays the Doctor" in *The Farmer's Wife,* Feb., 1929, p. 5. See also, C. R. Rorem, The Municipal Doctor System in Rural Saskatchewan, Pub. 11, The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, and W. W. Wheeler, "Where Doctors Send No Bills," *The Reader's Digest,* July, 1935, pp. 75–77.

[12] From Richard Hellman, "The Farmers Try Group Medicine," *Harpers Magazine,* Vol. 182, Dec., 1940, p. 74. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

Although this plan affects only the clients of the Farm Security Administration, if it continues to grow it will undoubtedly affect other farmers and will also influence the attitude of physicians toward some plan of group payment for medical care, as developed by many industries and by urban groups.

II. PUBLIC HEALTH OFFICIALS

The private physician may be considered a social institution to aid the family. That the community requires institutions for the control of disease and the maintenance of health was not appreciated until the rapid growth of modern cities made it imperative and scientific knowledge of the causes and spread of disease made better sanitation possible. It is hard to realize that until after the Civil War New York City had no department of health. The sanitary conditions of the city were unspeakable, as ably described in a book, "The City That Was," by its first health commissioner, Dr. Stephen Smith.[13] When he assumed his position the annual death rate in New York was 38 per thousand; today it is around 10, in spite of the immense growth of the city. Indeed, one factor which has made possible the rapid growth of great modern cities has been the improved sanitary and health measures.

Rural areas were not so aware of the need of public health officers. Late in the nineteenth century township health officials became common, but they were usually the local physicians who supervised the quarantine of contagious diseases and did little other public health work. Not until 1911 were there any full-time professional health officers in charge of a county-wide program of public health service similar to that found in cities, when such work was started in Yakima County, Washington, and Guilford County, North Carolina.[14] By 1920 there were only 83 counties in the United States with full-time public health officials. In the 1920's the organization of county health was vigorously promoted by the U.S. Public Health Service and by the Rockefeller Foundation with the assistance of grants-in-aid. The number of counties so organized grew rapidly, and although there was a decline during the depression of the early 30's the federal Social Security Act of 1935 gave additional federal assistance, so that by 1940 there were 655 county health units and 356 counties in 122 local health district units, with an additional 566 counties in 106 state health districts, so that

[13] Stephen Smith, The City That Was, New York, Frank Allaben, 1911.

[14] J. W. Mountin, E. H. Pennell, and E. E. Flook, Experience of the Health Department in 811 Counties, 1908–34, U.S. Public Health Service, Bul. 230, Oct., 1936, p. 1.

1,577 counties in the United States had some form of professional public health service.[15] A much higher proportion of counties in the South have county health units than in the North, because of the financial aid given in their establishment by the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1940 only 5 states had no rural health service of this sort.

The staff of these county health units varies widely. There is always a full-time public health officer, who is a physician with professional training in public health, and usually a sanitary officer and two or more nurses. Sometimes there is a county laboratory for biological and chemical analyses, serving both physicians and sanitary officers. One of the most complete demonstrations of the value of such a county health service was instituted in Cattaraugus County, New York, with the assistance of the Milbank Memorial Fund in 1923, and was later wholly supported by the county. It has been fully described by Dr. C.-E. A. Winslow in his book, "Health on the Farm and in the Village," [16] which has had a wide influence in showing the value of an adequate rural health service.

In the states having township government one of the chief obstacles to the establishment of county-wide public health services has been the opposition of the town health officers, who are usually the local physicians, and who fear the loss of income now coming to them. It is obvious that these local health officers cannot be as disinterested or efficient in handling local health situations as a county officer professionally trained in public health, but in many cases they have blocked an effective county health department through their county medical societies, although it is exactly the sort of organization which is supported by the medical profession in all cities with populations comparable to a county.

Thus in 1932 a special state health commission [17] made a study of public health in New York State and reported in favor of substituting the county for the town and village as the unit of local health administration, so as to provide a county health department in every county with a full-time trained health commissioner and an adequate staff, but this was blocked by the opposition of local health officers.

The tendency toward centralization of public health organization has gone farther and tends to be concentrated in the state health department in some states. Thus New York and several other states have established state sanitary or health districts with from 2 or 3 to 10 or

[15] Data from U.S. Public Health Service, as of June 30, 1940.

[16] New York, The Macmillan Co., 1931.

[17] New York State Health Commission, Public Health in New York State, Albany, State of New York, The Department of Health, 1932, pp. 114, 489. An excellent analysis of rural health organization.

12 counties in a district in charge of one health officer appointed by the state department and responsible to it. The proponents of this plan claim [18] that in many cases the county is too small a unit to maintain a competent staff and facilities (which is true for many small counties), and that local apathy and political interference prevent the development of an efficient health organization. This is doubtless true in many cases, but the same argument could be advanced against the local or county administration of schools, and in some cases has led to the control of education by the state. There is no one answer to this problem, but it is questionable whether there is any more reason for the state operating the health organization of rural counties than of small cities, and whether possible temporary greater efficiency of state control is of more value than local responsibility and consequent greater local interest and the support of public opinion. Furthermore, is there any guarantee that a large state organization will not become bureaucratic with a possible unwillingness to adopt new methods (in which case the total situation in a state might not be as good as where local initiative and diversity of procedures were encouraged)? It is the same problem which occurs in the administration of education (see p. 387) and public welfare (see p. 497). It would seem that if local control of democratic government is to be preserved state departments should exercise leadership rather than domination and should maintain the same relation to the rural counties as they do to the cities, encouraging them and giving them assistance in developing their own facilities, but not attempting to act for them.

III. HOSPITALS

Because of the rapid advances in medical science in recent years and the decreasing number of country doctors, and because the younger doctors are trained to depend upon hospital facilities, there has been a very considerable increase in the use of hospitals by rural people and a growing demand that they be available in rural counties. Thus a study of the use of the only public hospital in a central New York county [19] showed that the use by patients outside the city increased by 44 percent in the 5 years from 1925 to 1929, as against an increase of 23 percent by residents of the city, and that the larger part of this increase was for obstetrical cases.

[18] *Cf.* E. S. Godfrey, Jr., "Comparative Value of State Districts and County Districts as the Basis of Local Health Organization," *Am. J. of Pub. Health*, 26:465–70, May, 1936.

[19] C. G. Bennett, Ithaca Memorial Hospital Service to Patients Outside the City of Ithaca, New York, M.A. thesis in Cornell Univ. Library, 1932, p. 77.

Several states have enacted legislation making possible the erection and maintenance of hospitals by the county governments, and most marked progress in this has been made in North Carolina under the leadership and patronage of the Duke Foundation. However, in 1935 there were only 448 general hospitals operated by county, city, and city-county arrangement, which afforded facilities to only a fraction of the 3,073 counties.[20]

> In 1934 only about 1,700 of the 3,073 counties had any general hospital —operated by governmental, voluntary, or profit agencies. . . . This means that 1,300 counties had no hospitals. The families in these counties may have no hospital facilities within a safe distance, or they may have a good hospital located just over the border of the county. But by allowing 2 beds per 1,000 population, and a distance of 50 miles from the hospital center, the study showed a need for 22,000 new hospital beds for the entire country in 1934. This hospital need according to the Mills study is greatest in the South, where more than 1,000,000 persons living in 8 states had less than 1 hospital bed for every 2,000 persons.[21]

Two beds for each 1,000 persons have been recommended as a minimum for rural sections, although 1 bed per 1,000 persons is suggested for those areas where the people are unaccustomed to hospital use. This disparity in the number of hospital beds available was shown by the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, which found [22] that in the North Atlantic and the Far Western states there were 245 and 232 persons per bed, 317 or 318 in the North Central States, and 539 in the Southern States. This included both city and country.

One of the difficulties in establishing adequate rural hospital service arises from disagreement with regard to the minimum size of hospital which can be operated efficiently with adequate equipment and a competent staff, without an undue overhead, and which can be supported in a given area. The American Hospital Association and the American Medical Association hold that at least 30 beds are necessary to give dependable and adequate service.[23] On this basis a population of 15,000 to 30,000 would be required to support a minimum-sized hospital; this is about the population of the average rural county for the country as a whole.

The most radical program of rural hospitalization is that of the rural municipalities of Saskatchewan, where the hospitals are supported by

[20] From Blanche Halbert, "Hospitals for Rural Communities," USDA, Farmers' Bul. 1792, 1937, p. 3.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[22] Falk, Rorem, and Ring, *op. cit.*, 1933, Fig. 44, p. 318.

[23] Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 605.

taxation and all persons sent to hospitals by recognized physicians are paid for by the municipality.[24] At Elk City, Oklahoma, there is a co-operative hospital which was established in 1931 with the help of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, under the leadership of a fighting physician, a native of Syria, who has described its origin and growth, and the obstacles it had to meet from the medical profession, in a very interesting book.[25] This is supported by annual dues from the member families at a rate of $25 to $30 per year.

Another method of financing the cost of hospitalization is that of group hospital insurance. This has grown very rapidly in cities in recent years and is now being taken up by groups of farmers. There are now many of these group hospital associations scattered over the country. The name arises from the fact that a group of at least 10 (the number varying with the association) from some organization or business concern must join the association, so that it will represent an average risk. Each family pays annual dues of about $18 a year and for this receives from 2 to 3 weeks' free hospitalization and reduced rates for a longer time. The association contracts with existing approved hospitals for this service. As yet this method has not been pushed by rural groups, but it is commencing to gain their support. Without any concerted drive, 21 county farm bureau associations in the State of Missouri have availed themselves of this service, and have enrolled 942 families with a total of 2,360 persons, including dependents. In Missouri 20 percent of the Farm Bureau members in a given county must subscribe before the service can become operative in that county.[26]

Although state and Federal governments have made large appropriations for hospitals for tuberculosis and mental cases, few states have given any aid to general hospitals. At the last session of Congress the Hospital Act of 1940 (S-3230) passed the Senate but was not reported from committee in the House. It provided for federal aid to build and maintain a limited number of hospitals for rural districts which were in special need of them, but lacked the means to finance them locally. It is designed as an experiment in developing a policy of federal aid and has been reintroduced in the present Congress (H. R. 584, 77th Congress, 1st Session, by Mr. Fulmer).

In the past hospitals were financed chiefly as a philanthropy. We have now come to regard them as a necessity, and many cities support

[24] *Cf.* Rorem, *op. cit.*

[25] M. A. Shadid, A Doctor for the People, New York, Vanguard Press, 1939.

[26] Information from a letter of the secretary of the Missouri Farm Bureau Federation, Feb. 13, 1941.

general hospitals, in whole or in part. There would seem to be as much reason for grants-in-aid by state and Federal governments for the partial support of rural hospitals as for their financial aid to rural schools, and this will doubtless be provided as rural people become more habituated to the use of hospitals so that they will favor their public support.

IV. THE HEALTH WORK OF THE SCHOOL

As programs of public health work have developed the school has acquired a role of increasing importance as a health agency. In a recent report of the Educational Policies Commission [27] an excellent outline is given of the administration of the school health program and its relations to the public health authorities. It outlines the following services, all of which have the common element of health education:

Health Instruction (including Health Guidance)
Health Examinations
Medical Attention
Communicable Disease Control
Promotion of Mental Health
Provision of Healthful Environment and Regime
Health Supervision of Teachers and Employees

> . . . All school health service, whether it be administration of the Schick Test [for scarlet fever] or specific health instruction, is included in the school program primarily because of its educational value. The philosophy of the program demands that every service be rendered in such a way as to capitalize those educational values. This obligation involves the education of teachers and parents, the careful selection and training of school physicians, nurses, dentists, dental hygienists and the like. It involves, further, the development, through education, of desirable habits, attitudes and knowledge on the part of the child so that he may understand his personal responsibilities and view them as an integral part of the community responsibility for maintaining good health.[28]

The mere recital of the objectives and persons involved indicate the scope and methods involved in a good school health program, such as is now found in the best city schools and is increasingly common in the best rural consolidated schools.

[27] Educational Policies Commission, Social Services and the Schools, Washington, D.C., NEA, 1939, Chapter VI, pp. 67–86.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

In the field of health instruction very radical changes have been made. In the past courses were required in physiology and hygiene, but they consisted too largely of learning the anatomy and physiology of the body and made very little impression on the child's health habits. Today much more attention is given to methods of forming desirable health habits and creating attitudes favorable to their maintenance, and enlisting the cooperation of parents to this end. Some very interesting demonstrations have been made by the Commonwealth Fund of what can be accomplished with special teachers or teachers given special training. The first paragraph of the story of one of these demonstrations indicates the methods pursued. The report should be read in full for a better appreciation of them.

> "Gee, Mother! I wish my teacher could cook for us!" Mother took it standing. Upon inquiry she discovered that teacher would provide spinach, lamb chop, baked potato, brown bread, sponge cake and apple sauce, and milk to drink—a very good dinner indeed, and, it transpired, one that Rolfe himself had chosen that day at a cafeteria game at school. Mother suggested having the very same things next day, being among those fortunate ones to whom the difference in cost between lamb chops and pot roast is negligible. She did not remind her son, as he ate it with enthusiasm, of her long struggle to get that same spinach cooked that same way down that same boy. Being a good sport, she told Miss Gay about it at the next Parent Teachers Association meeting, and thus began a league offensive and defensive against which Rolfe had not a chance.[29]

Not only did "Miss Gay" redirect the eating habits of her children, but she also discovered cases of eyestrain from too much reading or defective eyes; she found the cases where children were allowed to stay up too late attending movies, and in numerous other ways enlisted the help of parents and other agencies in improving the children's health habits. The right kind of health instruction in the school thus involves not only the child but the parent as well. This instruction is not the task of only one teacher, but becomes a major objective of instruction in such subjects as home economics and biology.

Health examinations of school children are required by law in most states, but in far too many cases they are largely perfunctory and are not followed up to insure remedial treatment of defects. To obtain action by parents is one of the valuable functions of the school nurse or public health nurse working with the school. Where there are a school physician and a dentist who make examinations at regular inter-

[29] M. A. Brown, "Fargo and the Health Habits," *Hygeia,* May and June, 1928 Reprinted by The Commonwealth Division of Publications, New York, 1928.

vals as an inventory of the child's health status, much may be accomplished of a preventive nature and the cooperation of the family physician in making medical diagnosis for remedial treatment may be encouraged. A reasonably thorough examination by the school physician every 2 or 3 years, with his being available for more frequent examinations upon the recommendation of the teacher or school nurse, is now recommended as much more satisfactory than the annual cursory examination of all pupils. This applies equally to dental examinations.

It is important to notice that in the school health program outlined above educators recognize the responsibility of the school for mental health. This is an area of health work that is of increasing importance in the complexities and strains of modern life. Rural children may suffer less from nervous troubles than those of the city, because of a simpler and more wholesome life, but very frequently there is need for establishing the child in good mental habits and aiding him to make adjustments to difficult relationships. Good mental health of the child depends chiefly upon normal and happy home relationships, but the school should be in a position to aid the parents to understand better the elements of good mental hygiene and to cooperate with them in promoting the best personality adjustment of the child.

The school is probably the best agency through which to promote a program of public health education, for most parents, whose interest might not be enlisted otherwise, will give consideration to health measures which will affect their children.

V. THE SOCIOLOGY OF RURAL HEALTH PROBLEMS

The recent notable advances in the prevention and cure of disease are due to the discoveries of medical science and their application through better means of social control. Witness the remarkable reduction in the toll of typhoid fever and diphtheria which formerly exacted a terrific toll of human life, but which are now rare in many cities, though still too common in rural districts because of poorer health organization. The application of these discoveries to improve health conditions is chiefly a matter of education and organization. It is in the study of the relations of agencies and organizations, of the physician and his professional organizations with the public health organization, and of their interrelation with the school, of the relations of the parent-teacher association and the home, and with all other agencies promoting health programs that sociology has its peculiar contribution to make to the problem of how to organize rural health facilities better, how to make people health-conscious, and how to build

up attitudes and mores which will be the result of public sentiment and a feeling of obligation for maintaining the common welfare not only in the prevention and cure of disease but also in fostering the best physical and mental health as basic for better social life.

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Chapter 21

RURAL PUBLIC WELFARE ORGANIZATION

Rural public welfare is a new phase of rural social organization. Prior to 1930 welfare work in rural areas consisted of the temporary relief given by local poor officials and of scattered cases of poor relief carried on by private individuals or agencies, with the exception of public county child welfare programs in a few states. But with the advent of the depression of the early 30's, with the appropriation of funds by the Federal Government to aid the states in giving unemployment relief, and with the unprecedented droughts of 1934 and 1936 over large regions, rural public welfare problems assumed a new phase and developed new forms of organization. Outside of special loans and benefits for agriculture the total amount spent for relief in rural areas during the seven years between January, 1931, and December, 1937, amounted to over three and one-half billion dollars, and at the peak early in 1935 there were about two and one-half million rural families on relief.[1] From being a very minor item in the rural tax bill, public welfare expenditures rivaled those for schools and roads during the depths of the depression.

I. CHANGES IN RURAL SOCIETY

One may well question, however, whether the industrial depression was the sole or chief cause of this large increase in the amount of rural relief or whether it did not, like a war, bring to public attention conditions and forces which had been gradually developing but had not been given general recognition. When depressions occurred in the nineteenth century the people migrated to new lands which were relatively cheap under the homestead policy of the Federal Government. After 1900 there was little new land available and the "frontier" days had gone.

As we have seen in Chapter 6, after the boom years of World War I agriculture suffered a severe depression during the 20's and was barely

[1] T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Ellen Winston, Seven Lean Years, pp. 15, 151. Statistics to date are not available.

commencing to recover when it was overwhelmed by the industrial depression of the early 30's. As a result of that war, the mechanization of agriculture was speeded up and much new land in the Western Great Plains which was ill-adapted to tillage was put under the plow for small grains. Even in the older Cotton and Corn Belts the use of the tractor and other motorized farm tools had thrown hundreds of thousands out of work. Furthermore, we had not become aware of the extent of soil depletion due to erosion and the mining of its fertility, which resulted in more thousands of farms producing a bare existence for their operators. In other large areas the natural resources, such as timber and mines, had been exhausted and the people in these areas had been trying to eke out an existence in farming with occasional outside labor, but when the latter was cut off they were unable to maintain themselves.

Several of these factors were brought out by the first comprehensive study of rural relief in 1934, Six Rural Problem Areas.[2] This revealed that rural relief was highest in the Southern Appalachians and Ozarks, the Lake States cut-over region in northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, the Spring and Winter Wheat areas of the Western Great Plains, and the Eastern and Western Cotton Belts. In the first two the primary difficulty was the exhaustion of natural resources and the attempt to maintain subsistence farming on relatively poor land. In the Short Grass Wheat Areas there had been an overexpansion of tillage which succumbed to droughts. In the Eastern Cotton Belt the soil had been depleted, tenancy was very high, and this area was unable to compete with the increasing mechanization of cotton growing in the Western Cotton Belt, where this process of mechanization had thrown many tenants and agricultural laborers out of employment.

That this situation was merely made more acute by the depression was clearly shown by a study made by Dr. Carl C. Taylor [3] and others of the Disadvantaged Classes in American agriculture showing their condition in 1929, which was a fairly prosperous year. These disadvantaged classes were studied from the standpoints of low income, farm laborers and farm tenants, families on poor lands, and the migration

[2] P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, Six Rural Problem Areas, Washington, D.C., 1935, FERA, Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, Research Monograph I.

[3] Consult C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, Washington, D.C., USDA, The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics cooperating, April, 1938, Social Research Report VIII, processed.

of farm families. As a result Taylor states that "at least 3½ million, or more than one out of four rural families, had received public assistance at some time" during the depression and, as of 1938, that "it is a conservative estimate that one-third of the farm families of the Nation are living on standards so low as to make them slum families." [4]

This analysis does not overlook the fact that there has always been a large proportion of the people in agriculture who have led a precarious existence, but indicates that, owing to the factors mentioned, their situation had become more difficult during the 1920's and that the industrial depression merely made more acute a general situation of rural poverty which had not been generally recognized before then.

That this condition still exists is shown by the testimony of Dr. Conrad Taeuber before the U.S. Senate Committee Investigating National Defense Migration (February 13, 1942). He states that 769, or about one-fourth, of the counties are classified as problem counties; that they occur mostly in the Southern and Southeastern states and include 39 percent of the farms and approximately one-third of all the farm people in the country and one-third of the farm land. In 1937 the Census of Unemployment found 41 percent of all men in rural farm areas were unemployed or working on emergency projects in these counties. The Census of 1940 shows that these counties produce a deficit of foodstuffs, but they produce 62 percent of the cotton and 25 percent of the tobacco.

Owing to the relief situation created by the depression there has resulted an organization for rural public welfare work, involving Federal, state, and county governments, which did not exist in most of the states before then, so that rural public welfare work as we now have it is practically a new institution of the last decade.

II. SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF RURAL WELFARE WORK

It is evident from the discussion above that the fundamental causes of the development of rural public welfare work are chiefly economic factors which are not within the province of sociology. It is also evident that we are not here concerned with problems of association in group life, which we have stated as the chief subject matter of sociology. The sociology of rural welfare work is rather a study of the rise and relationships of new public institutions for the care of the disad-

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 5. See also, Woofter and Winston, *op. cit.*, Chapter 7; and U.S. 77th Congress, 1st Session, House Report 369, Interstate Migration: Report of the Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1941.

vantaged classes and of the relation of the programs of these institutions to other rural institutions and organizations. Rural sociologists have, however, done a notable service in the analysis of the social characteristics of rural families on relief which has thrown considerable light upon the reasons for their situation and what is necessary for their rehabilitation.[5] They have also shown the influence of various non-economic factors on the incidence of relief.

Overpopulation always produces poverty. By mapping the index of fertility [6] by counties, it has been found that the areas with highest fertility are often coincident with poor land and low farm incomes. This is particularly true of the Appalachian-Ozark Highlands, which have a very high fertility rate, and is also true of much of the Cotton Belt. In these areas a reduction of the birth rate would do much to reduce poverty.

It is well known that ignorance is a concomitant of poverty, and studies of the families on relief have shown that they have little chance of maintaining their independence in a highly competitive economy with practically no education. Thus the first survey of the families on relief in the rural problem areas showed that "one-half of the Negro family heads and one-fifth of the whites in the Eastern Cotton Belt reported *no* schooling, and four-fifths of the Negroes and about one-half of the whites had less than five years." [7] Similar studies throughout the country have shown a high correlation between families on relief and lack of schooling.

Studies of relief families have also shown that sickness and lack of health facilities form one of the segments of the vicious circle which encompasses the life of the disadvantaged classes, and in the preceding chapter we have already noted the lack of health facilities in many rural communities. The Social Security Board [8] has published statistics showing that the number of days of disability per person in a year (from illness disability of one week or longer) was about 17 for those on relief; for those not on relief with incomes of under $1,000 the number of days was about 12; and for those with incomes between $1,000 and $2,000 it was only 7½ days, or less than half the time of those on relief.

[5] For a good summary of this see P. H. Landis, Rural Life in Process, pp. 537-540.

[6] See p. 227 for explanation of this term.

[7] Beck and Forster, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[8] U.S. Social Security Board, Social Security Bul. 8, Vol. I, Aug., 1938, p. 11, Chart II.

They are further handicapped by the fact that some diseases are particularly prevalent in some of the problem areas previously mentioned, and by the high cost of medical care for those least able to pay for it. Hookworm disease has had an important role in the poverty of the rural South, and though there has been a steady advance in its treatment it still levies an unnecessary toll. Pellagra is peculiar to parts of the South and is directly related to low income and malnutrition. Malaria continues to be a scourge in the same area. Venereal disease is particularly prevalent in Negro communities as shown by Dr. C. S. Johnson in his "The Shadow of the Plantation." The death rate from syphilis among Negroes in 10 southern states is over 8 times that of the whites.[9]

The difficulty and cost of obtaining medical care are also serious disadvantages for the low income classes in these areas. A recent study in Arkansas [10] showed that the mountain families spent only half as much for physicians' services as the village families, but that 53 percent of the mountain families were in debt for medical care as against 21 percent of the village families, and the average indebtedness of the former was three times that of the latter, in spite of the fact that the mountain people had less illness.

It is evident, therefore, that there are important factors contributing to rural poverty other than those which are purely economic, so that there is a problem of rural social organization in the development of better environmental conditions.

Thus, although there are definite sociological problems in the structure and relationships of these new relief institutions, which are, however, too technical for consideration in an elementary text, our chief concern in rural public welfare is from the standpoint of rural social organization, of how these new agencies may best promote a better rural life.

III. HISTORY OF RURAL PUBLIC WELFARE WORK

Prior to World War I there was very little public welfare work in rural districts in the current sense of that term.[11] It is true that in

[9] Mary Gover, Mortality among Southern Negroes since 1920, Washington, D.C., U.S. Public Health Service, Public Health Bul. 235, 1937, Appendix, Table 7, p. 38.

[10] I. C. Wilson and W. H. Metzlar, "Sickness and Medical Care in an Ozark Area in Arkansas," Fayetteville, Ark., Univ. of Ark. AES, Bul. 353, April, 1938.

[11] This is evidenced by the fact that a section on Rural Social Work was organized in the National Conference on Social Work for the first time in 1917. See Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1917, pp. 611–648;

most of the Northeastern States with township governments there were town poor officers and in some other states there were county poor officials, but in some states these were entirely lacking in rural areas, although very generally county commissioners doled out some relief. These local poor officers doled out sufficient food, clothing, or fuel to the unfortunate to prevent starvation or freezing, but they had no idea of attempting to rehabilitate the family; their chief concern was to keep down the cost of poor relief as much as possible so as not to raise taxes.[12] Most rural relief was a neighborly affair. When a farmer's house burned the neighbors took care of the family and helped him erect a new one. Families in poverty were aided by gifts from neighbors or by church organizations or lodges. In the South the old plantations had developed the "furnishing" system which kept their workers supplied with the necessary food and clothing, even though it kept them in debt to the owners.

It is true that in New York State the State Charities Aid Association started organizing county children's agencies in cooperation with the county governments as early as 1907, and in 1917 Minnesota established county child welfare boards to supervise the placing of foster children and give aid to neglected and dependent children. North Carolina and a few other states were experimenting in this field, but in most states there was no public agency attempting to deal constructively with dependent families in rural territory as was being done in the larger cities.

The establishment of the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912 was an important factor in making public opinion aware of the need of public agencies for the care of dependent and neglected rural children, for it made a series of research studies in rural counties in the South and West which showed some of the deplorable conditions of child life. One outgrowth of these studies was the growth of state legislation for pensions to widowed mothers to enable them to keep their families intact and the development of county boards or agencies for its administration.

The first rural social workers were, therefore, almost exclusively in the field of child welfare, and from 1917 on child welfare programs were developed by state and county agencies in several states, of which New York, Minnesota, North Carolina, and Alabama were

also see H. I. Curry, The Status of Social Work in Rural Communities, Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1918, pp. 83–91.

[12] *Cf.* J. C. Brown, Public Relief 1929–1939, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1940, p. 15.

outstanding. In Maryland and Pennsylvania the state children's aid societies tried a combination of private and public administration.

It was the disruption of family life caused by the enlistment of millions of men in World War I which brought modern social work methods to most of the rural sections of this country through the Home Service sections of the local Red Cross chapters. These were committees of local people organized to be of service to the families of men in military service, which were advised and supervised by social workers on the regional staffs of the Red Cross. In 1919, just after the close of the war, it was reported that there were 4,000 Home Service sections with 10,000 branches in smaller communities, with 50,000 volunteer workers.[18] At the close of the war this service was extended to civilian families, particularly in rural counties, and in many cases the volume of work was so great that a considerable number of county chapters employed trained social workers. Thus the Red Cross began a demonstration in the field of rural social work just as it had so successfully in the allied field of rural public health nursing. The unfortunate part of this movement was that just as it was well under way there was a change of administration of the national Red Cross and a shift of policy. After this, although the local chapters were permitted to continue their Home Service work, the national organization no longer attempted to promote or develop it. Had the Red Cross demonstrated the need of a program of Home Service work as it had in public health nursing, with a view to stimulating its being taken over by the county governments, there would have been a much larger number of rural counties with trained workers in charge of publicly supported social welfare work when the need for their services arose with the depression of the early 30's. In spite of this change of policy the work had so commended itself that many counties continued the work or used it as a means for establishing county public welfare agencies, so that this must be recognized as one of the first general movements for rural social welfare work. The Red Cross also initiated work in rural organization in many counties.

To understand rural public welfare work as we conceive it today it is necessary to know something of its origins, for the very term public welfare work has come into general use only in the last two decades. Essentially the patterns and methods of rural welfare work of today have been modeled on those which developed in the cities. They have their origins in the development of public and private charities in

[18] J. F. Steiner, Home Service of the Red Cross, Proceedings of the First National Country Life Conference, pp. 30–35.

cities which arose chiefly as a result of the industrial revolution and the massing of large numbers of people in factory populations. On the one hand, public relief had its origins in the English poor laws,[14] whose main features, including the public almshouse or poorhouse and "outdoor relief" at home, were inherited by the American colonies. With the unprecedented immigration of aliens into this country in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and their concentration in cities, they were the victims of unemployment in periodic economic depressions and of many difficulties of adjustment in the new land. As all the poor could not be crowded into almshouses, more "outdoor relief" or public assistance in the home became necessary. There arose the necessity for the organization of departments of charities in municipal governments, but the history of their growth has not yet been written and there is little to be learned concerning them in the textbooks on social welfare. At the same time there arose numerous private charity organizations to care for families which needed assistance. It soon became evident that uncoordinated charity resulted in pauperizing its recipients, that, if this was to be avoided, there must be more cooperation among agencies, and that competent advice and supervision of dependent families were as essential for reestablishing their independence as temporary economic assistance. As a consequence Charity Organization Societies were formed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in most of the larger cities.[15] The need for such work was particularly acute after the panic of 1873 and the first of these societies was formed in Buffalo, New York, in 1877. Similar organizations gradually spread to the smaller cities about the time of World War I, and later became known as Family Welfare Societies.

In their work they found that there were numerous families which required assistance because of sickness, accidents, the desertion of the father, or marital difficulties, or which required help in coping with juvenile delinquency. It became apparent that to be of real assistance to such families the social worker must have a broad experience and a definite training for such work. As a consequence the New York School of Social Work was established in 1904 and since then about 40 recognized graduate schools of this sort have been established in this country. Social work became a definite profession, with its own

[14] *Cf.* S. A. Queen, Social Work in the Light of History, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1922, Part III; Josephine Strode, Introduction to Social Case Work, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1940, Chapter I.

[15] Concerning this movement see A. G. Warner, S. A. Queen, and E. B. Harper, American Charities and Social Work, pp. 203–214; Strode, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–24.

techniques and procedures, and it became recognized that effective aid in the reconstruction of dependent families required as much ability and knowledge of many branches of learning as does the practice of medicine or law. Gradually municipal departments of charities broadened their functions and employed trained social workers, at first as administrators and later as case workers. Thus, at the time of World War I, when the Red Cross established its Home Service, many rural counties were able to obtain the guidance of trained social welfare workers, just as they were able to employ public health nurses.

Subsequent to World War I the amount of public relief and social work increased enormously and there came to be a feeling that the old terms charity and charities gave an unnecessary stigma to those who, often through no fault of their own, required public aid. Consequently the terms social welfare and public welfare came into more general use, as was evidenced by the revision of the New York State poor law in 1929, which was termed the Public Welfare Act and which created county departments of public welfare.

Then came the industrial depression of the early 30's with unprecedented millions of unemployed and the necessity of the Federal Government's giving aid to the states to care for the dependent. What was formerly charity now became clearly a matter of public welfare, for it was evident that the majority of the dependent were not so because of any fault of their own but because of economic conditions. This change of public attitude toward the dependent and unfortunate was peculiarly difficult in rural areas for rural folk had long looked upon those who were "on relief" or "on the town" as being for the most part indigents and "ne'er do wells." This attitude still prevails very largely in rural communities. This is not the place to discuss the validity of this point of view, but merely to recognize that in the cities the attitude toward public welfare work had rapidly broadened concerning its necessity and functions, and that, with the entrance of various federal agencies into the field of rural relief, the patterns and methods of city welfare work were suddenly brought into the open country, many times by city-trained workers who knew little of farm conditions.[16]

IV. FEDERAL-STATE-COUNTY SYSTEM OF WELFARE AGENCIES

Until 1930 welfare work had been almost wholly a responsibility of the county or town. West Virginia was the only state in which legis-

[16] *Cf.* P. H. Landis. Rural Life in Process, Chapter 26.

lation had been passed expressly authorizing state aid in support of the local welfare program,[17] although two or three other states had sought to stimulate county programs through aid from state boards. Furthermore, in only 8 states did the counties employ paid workers, mostly in child welfare work,[18] so that competent staffs were rare. But, with the coming of federal aid to the states, it was imperative that there be supervision of the counties by the states. The principle of state aid to the counties was put into effect and also there was the necessity for paid county workers. Within a year or two after the passage of the Federal Emergency Relief Act of May, 1933, there was set up a comprehensive system of federal-state-county administration of welfare work, which has become more complicated with subsequent federal legislation since then.[19] Thus the present organization of public welfare work in most of our rural territory has grown during the past decade.

We cannot here give any comprehensive account of the various federal welfare agencies created under the present administration,[20] but it is necessary to describe briefly those which are directly concerned with rural counties.

1. The Works Projects Administration. Under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration created by the act of 1933, the Federal Government made grants to the states for direct relief up until the end of 1935. During 1933 it experimented with work relief under the CWA (Civil Works Administration), as it was apparent that continuous direct relief tended to become demoralizing. Furthermore the Federal Government was aiding in the support of approximately one and one-half millions of unemployables whose condition was not the result of unemployment and who, it felt, should be cared for by the states and localities. Thus under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935[21] at the direction of the President there was established the Works Progress Administration (now the Works *Projects* Administration under the Federal Works Agency) for furnishing employment to the unemployed upon public works, a portion or all of the cost of materials being paid by the local public agencies sponsoring the

[17] M. R. Colby, The County as an Administrative Unit for Social Work, Washington, D.C., U.S. Children's Bureau, 1933, Bureau Pub. 224, p. 13.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[19] *Cf.* A. A. Smick, Recent Trends in Rural Social Work, *Sociology and Social Research*, Vol. 23, pp. 466–473, May-June, 1939.

[20] For a summary account of these agencies see Strode, *op. cit.*, Chapters 6 and 7.

[21] *Cf.* Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–167.

projects. Lists of eligible workers are referred to the WPA by public welfare agencies and those most in need of employment are selected for WPA jobs. Only one worker, usually the head or chief wage earner, is employed from one family.

There is no means of determining just what proportion of these workers are rural or urban, but this type of work relief has formed a very large part of the aid given to the rural unemployed, and the projects which they have completed have remade the rural road systems and built thousands of bridges, rural schools, hospitals, and other public works. At the beginning of 1936, when the WPA was well established, it employed two and three-quarter million persons; at its peak in November, 1938, this rose to three and one-third millions; and in June, 1940, the number had declined to one and two-thirds millions.[22] Since the beginning, 7,800,000 individuals have been employed on WPA projects. The projects have included 412,000 miles of rural roads, and have constructed or improved almost 90,000 public buildings, including schools, libraries, etc. They have modernized 1,500 hospital buildings and built 132 new hospitals, largely in rural sections. WPA has also aided with classes in adult education (see p. 367) and in library and health work in thousands of rural communities.[23]

The WPA is administered directly by the Federal Government through state and district officials employed by it and is not related to the state or county welfare agencies except as the latter certify employees to it. It is but a means of giving temporary employment to those out of work, who are required to accept offers of private employment or lose their eligibility if they refuse such offers.

2. THE SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD. With the experience of the FERA as a basis the President appointed the Committee on Economic Security, which made a study of needed social legislation which was finally embodied in the Social Security Act, approved August 14, 1935, and which established the Social Security Board (now under the Federal Security Agency) for its administration. Two of the main features of the act, namely, unemployment compensation and old-age benefits, or insurance, do not apply to workers in agriculture, although they do apply to other industries in rural communities. These two features are administered directly through the Social Security Board and its local offices, but the remaining features of the act are administered through state departments of welfare, health, and education (and ulti-

[22] WPA, Report on Progress of the WPA Program, Washington, D.C., June 30, 1940, Appendix, table I, p. 115.

[23] Source *ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

mately by county departments), as grants-in-aid for programs of work submitted by the states and approved by the Social Security Board. The latter apply to farm and rural as well as urban populations.

(*a*) *Old-Age Assistance.*[24] Prior to 1935 many of the states had recently passed old-age pension legislation. At first farmers were somewhat skeptical of this, but where it was accompanied by state appropriations to match those of the county they soon became convinced that, in view of the large number of dependent old people in rural districts, it would be to their advantage. The Social Security Act provides that if the states will establish approved systems of old-age assistance it will reimburse them for one-half the cost if the total does not exceed $40 per month and if the eligible age is not over 65 years. All the states are now participating in old-age assistance. Old-age assistance is a great advantage to many aged couples living on small farms and in villages, who may have their own homes but must have some assistance. They are thus enabled to maintain their independence without having to apply continuously for relief or be sent to the county farm or almshouse.

(*b*) *Security for Children.*[25] We have noted the growth of mothers' pension laws for the care of dependent children of widows. The Social Security Act provides that the Federal Government will reimburse the states for one-half the cost of such aid which may not exceed a total of $18 a month for the first child and $12 a month for each additional child under 16 years of age in the same family, providing the system is state-wide and the state assumes part of the cost on a state-wide basis. This has greatly increased the scope of this type of aid and in February, 1940, was aiding 315,000 families.

The Act also includes appropriations for aid to the states in maternal and child health services, services to crippled children, and child welfare services for the protection of homeless, neglected, and dependent children and those in danger of becoming delinquent, especially in rural areas and areas of special need. Funds for these three services are appropriated through and supervised by the U.S. Children's Bureau, but their immediate administration is in charge of state and county welfare departments.

(*c*) *Other Features.* The Act also carries appropriations for aiding the states in the care of the blind who are not in institutions, for the vocational rehabilitation of the physically disabled, and for the exten-

[24] *Cf.* R. H. Kurtz, ed., Social Work Year Book, 1941, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, p. 387.

[25] *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 49–57.

sion of public health services, the latter mostly in rural counties (see p. 472).

This Act established a new stage in public welfare work, for it assumed the responsibility of the Federal and state governments to aid localities in providing safeguards against some of the major misfortunes of life, thus furnishing larger social security. This term social security was relatively new in the American vocabulary, but it has made a notable change in the whole point of view of social welfare work and has met public approval because of the rapidly increasing proportion of the aged (see p. 61) and the problems of unemployment caused by technological improvements and recurring economic depressions.

3. FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION. In 1934 the FERA established a Rural Rehabilitation Division to assist farm families by temporary relief and by loans for equipment and farm supplies which would enable them to become self-supporting again. By June, 1935, it was assisting two to three hundred thousand rural families. It was evident, however, that this work required supervision by agricultural advisers and it was, therefore, reorganized as the Resettlement Administration in connection with the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In 1937 this was renamed the Farm Security Administration under authority of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act (see p. 182) and was given enlarged functions, including a tenant-purchase program and homestead projects, with which we are not here concerned. Its largest service has been in the work of its Rehabilitation Division, whose function was tersely stated by H. A. Wallace as Secretary of Agriculture as follows:

> . . . Low-income farm families, unable to get adequate credit elsewhere, are provided with small loans based on guidance of the borrower and a sound system of farm and home management. Rehabilitation borrowers also are helped to negotiate voluntary debt adjustments with their creditors; to form cooperatives providing necessary equipment and services, such as group medical care [see p. 471], which no single family could obtain. In cases of extreme distress, usually in drought and flood areas, small grants are made to tide farmers over until they can make a crop.[26]

The reasons and methods for this work have been well put by the Administrator:

> The rehabilitation program is based upon three fundamental facts:
> 1. Many of these families had failed largely because they did not

[26] H. A. Wallace, Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1940, p. 101.

know how to be good farmers. Many of them were raising one cash crop—wheat, cotton or tobacco—with the same tools and methods their grandfathers had used. They could make some kind of living this way, so long as farm prices were high, credit was plentiful, and land was cheap and abundant. But when markets shrank, credit dried up, and the land got overcrowded, they were bound to fail—unless they changed over to a better system of farming.

2. This change had to be from one-crop commercial farming to diversified subsistence farming. The first aim of this new kind of farming is to feed the family with what it raises on its own land—not to produce a single cash crop for a dwindling and uncertain commercial market. For this reason many people have called it "live-at-home" farming.

3. Most needy farm families could not make the change-over without help. They had no training in this new kind of farming; and they could not buy the tools, seed, and livestock needed to get a start.[27]

For these reasons there are three basic points in the farm plan made out with every borrower. "The plan calls for: (1) home production of most of the families' food supply and livestock feed; (2) the development of two or more farm enterprises that will produce goods for the market; (3) and the adoption of methods that will build up soil fertility." [28]

The secret of the success of this work is not simply in the financial aid made by loans, which are on an amortized basis covering several years, but in the advice and supervision given by the local FSA supervisors, both agricultural and homemaking supervisors, who assist the borrowers with farm management plans and with home budgets and expenditures, and give each family personal expert service as frequently as possible. Several thousand of these local supervisors are now employed by the Farm Security Administration. There is one for each county where the load is heaviest. They are supervised by state and regional directors, and have no direct relation to any state or county welfare agencies.

Since the beginning of the program in 1935, $507,368,664 in rehabilitation loans of all types has been advanced to 856,024 needy families. Although much of this money has not yet fallen due, $152,386,930 had been collected on principal due up to June 30, 1940. . . . It is conservatively estimated that at least 80 per cent of all the money loaned eventually will be repaid, in spite of the fact that all rehabilitation borrowers are "bad credit risks" according to normal business standards.[29]

[27] C. B. Baldwin, Report of the Administrator of the Farm Security Administration, 1940, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, p. 3.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

One hundred and twenty thousand of these families had already repaid their loans in full at this time. During the year 1939–40 rehabilitation loans totaling $93,000,000 were made to 286,000 families, of which 73,000 received loans for the first time; the rest had been on the program in previous years.

That this program has greatly increased the living standards of its families is shown by the following:

> . . . Since they first received help, the annual value of goods produced for home consumption by the average rehabilitation family has risen from $150 to $247. The annual amount of milk produced for home consumption has risen from 99 gallons to 448 gallons. Fruit and vegetables canned for home consumption have increased from 51 quarts per year to 242 quarts. The annual production of meat for family consumption has risen from 85 to 447 pounds.[80]

The effect of this program in the aggregate is noteworthy:

> Some 360,015 standard rehabilitation borrowers from the F.S.A. had an average net income in 1939 of $538.40 per family, as compared with $375.42 in the year before they came to F.S.A. for help. This was an increase of 43 percent. In this period they increased their average net worth—over and above all debts—from $884.49 before they came into the F.S.A. program to $1,114.91 at the end of the crop year, a gain of 26 percent. They added $82,954,656 to the wealth of their communities, and increased their annual incomes by a total of $58,673,562. . . .
>
> In "live-at-home" efforts 360,015 borrower families produced $89,038,910 worth of goods for home consumption last year, as compared with only $54,160,657 worth before they came into the F.S.A.[81]

That this is a much more economical and effective program than either direct or work relief is shown by the testimony of Secretary Wallace before the Senate Appropriations Committee on May 27, 1940:

> It is, of course, far cheaper for the Government to help these families get reestablished in farming than it is to provide relief for them in the cities or on the highways. From a social standpoint there is no comparison between the two methods. Work relief in the cities costs about $800 per year per family. Even rural work relief costs from $350 per year upward. Rehabilitation—counting all losses on loans, the cost of supervision, and every other item of expense—costs only about $72 per year per family.[82]

Here is a welfare program, a social case work credit agency, adapted to rural needs, the success of which will depend chiefly upon the wis-

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[81] Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
[82] Baldwin, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

dom of the local supervisors in making loans and in advising their clients. Their task is similar in an educational way to that of the extension agents (see p. 405) except that they deal directly with individual families, but they also require the skills of the trained social worker to understand the personality, family relation, and social relation problems with which they have to deal, as well as in group work.

Although the main lines of policy of the FSA are fairly well determined and seem likely to be permanent, many of its policies are still in a formative stage and it has many difficult problems to meet. On the one hand, is it wise to make loans to families on lands where there is no probability of their being able to become self-supporting? On the other hand, granting that they may not be able to become entirely self-supporting, is it not often better to continue aid of this sort which will keep them relatively independent and encourage their own initiative than to withhold such aid and force them to go on direct relief? Should not the FSA supervisors give guidance to the poorer classes of farm families who may not need loans, but who do need their help? These are but samples of the problems which it faces.

The Farm Security Administration has also done notable work in alleviating the condition of migratory farm families through the establishment of migratory-labor camps. Fifty-six of these camps have now been completed or are under construction, in the Pacific Coast States, Arizona, Texas, and Florida, where the need is greatest. These will accommodate a total of 13,025 families, and will greatly stimulate the provision of better quarters on private places.

It has also assisted its borrowers with the organization and financing of more than 16,000 small cooperatives. "With FSA loans they have bought purebred sires, tractors, veterinary services, combine harvesters, cotton gins, fertilizer and lime spreaders, hay balers, mowers and other kinds of equipment" which are used cooperatively. Its service in the establishment of cooperative medical service has been previously described (p. 471).

Looking toward the future, with the prospect of increasing unemployment of farm labor on account of mechanization (see p. 166) and of a possible depression after the present war is over, the U.S. Department of Agriculture is now suggesting the desirability of a rural-conservation works program, which would aid in its soil conservation program and furnish work for unemployed or underemployed farm people.[88]

[88] Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 108: and testimony of R. C. Smith, A Statement of Two Suggested Solutions for the Problem of Farm Unemployment and Underemployment, before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, May 24, 1940.

Other federal agencies might be mentioned which affect the rural public welfare program, but we have described the principal ones. It is evident that during the past decade there has developed an entirely new system of institutions for public welfare work, both urban and rural.

V. LOCAL ORGANIZATION VERSUS CENTRALIZATION

The administration of direct relief remains with the counties, townships, and cities, but in most states the cost is shared by the state. However, because of the numerous federal agencies engaged in rural relief, many of which are administered directly by the Federal Government rather than through the states, and because of the increasing control by the states of local welfare organization and administration, there has arisen a situation which is at best confusing to the average farm taxpayer. Two main problems merit attention.

First, what is the best form of local administration of rural public welfare work? We have here the same problem that was discussed under education (p. 387) and public health (p. 473) with regard to county versus township administration in the 16 states which have township governments. The federal welfare programs of the Social Security Board, which are administered through the states, have resulted in greatly strengthening the county as the local administrative unit. Traditionally, poor relief was the function of the township in the states having townships, but several studies in New York, Michigan, and elsewhere have shown that township administration is relatively inefficient and expensive, in spite of notable occasional exceptions. This arises from the fact that a part-time township official who has a small number of cases to handle cannot attain the proficiency of a county worker who has a larger volume of business and is giving full time to such work, even though neither has had professional training. It is possible, however, and increasingly common, for the county to employ professionally trained workers. It is claimed that the township official has the advantage of a personal knowledge of cases and cannot be so readily imposed upon, but it has been found that in many instances this is largely illusory, as in many sections the rural population is becoming more migratory, and the township officer does not have the knowledge of techniques for the rehabilitation of families requiring aid. Thus, in spite of laws permitting the centralization of relief work in the county, in most of the states having townships relief is still a function of township officials. This is partly due to the feelings of taxpayers that local officials will keep the relief bills

at a minimum (this may be warranted from a short-time point of view but it is undesirable from the longer viewpoint); it is also due to statewide organizations of local welfare officials who bring political pressure against any movement to abolish their jobs.

Involved in this question is that of whether the county welfare administrator[34] should be a political appointee or elected by the people because of his political party, or whether he should be appointed by a county welfare board which also has responsibility for determining general policies. Control by nonpartisan boards of persons peculiarly qualified for their duties has proved the best means of administration of county and city schools and health departments, and county boards of public welfare have increased rapidly in many states in recent years. There are now statutory provisions for them in 25 states,[35] and in 3 others there is legislation making them permissive, whereas in 1933 only 9 states had county welfare boards. In most states these boards appoint the county welfare administrator and he nominates his staff for their approval, just as in all well-administered boards of education or in private businesses.

The second problem is that of relating the federal agencies more directly to the state and county welfare administrations. The multiplicity of federal welfare agents now working in any given county bewilders the average taxpayer and seems to him to be unnecessarily extravagant. Thus at the present time a rural family may obtain aid from at least four federal agencies (the Works Projects Administration, the Farm Security Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the National Youth Administration), through county or regional agents, and none of these federal agencies has any direct or organic relation to the county welfare administration, which should have the best knowledge of the needs of its clients. During the depths of the depression, when it was necessary to furnish employment and aid through these agencies immediately and the counties were not organized to handle their programs, there was reason for such a complex and unarticulated system of agencies; but as it has become apparent that the "emergency" institutions are becoming permanent, there is little excuse for this situation. Many difficult problems are involved in developing a better system of administration of these agencies through state and county welfare organizations, but they are not insuperable, and unless the voters insist on better coordination and simplification

[34] The same question arises with the township officer, who sometimes caters to relief clients, where the relief "load" is large.

[35] Data from Marietta Stevenson, Public Welfare Administration, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1938, pp. 305–320.

they will be the victims of institutions which are unnecessarily costly and each of which tends to perpetuate its present organization because of its natural interest in the work it is doing. The system of grants-in-aid by the Federal Government to the states and by them to the counties, with approved plans of procedure and minimum standards of efficiency, with all its difficulties and possibilities of local inefficiency, has proved the best means of providing any system of cooperation between local and national governments and is essential to the maintenance of our system of local responsibility in government. Furthermore, huge national agencies of this sort will find that they are compelled to decentralize their administrations, for it is beyond human ability to formulate national policies and procedures for this sort of administration which are equally applicable to all states in so large a country with such varied conditions and cultures.

VI. PERSONNEL PROBLEMS

Prior to 1930 there were a few hundred trained social workers engaged in rural social welfare work, both public and private. Since the depression there are thousands of employed workers, but few of them have had special training for their work. This was inevitable, as trained workers were not to be had and the job had to be done with the help available. The higher administrative and supervisory positions are usually held by trained case workers whose experience has been mostly with private social agencies. The chief characteristic of private as contrasted with public welfare work has been the insistence of the former on what is known as "case work." No satisfactory concise definition or description of social case work is available which enables the layman to get a clear understanding of its distinctive methods and objectives.[86] Josephine Strode summarizes a review of the definitions since 1874 by saying that there is apparent agreement that social case work is a service which seeks to aid in the social adjustment of individuals.[87]

The essential feature of social case work is that it involves a careful diagnosis of the family or individual with regard to the nature and causes of maladjustment or misfortune and then the working out with them of a well-considered plan for the most feasible process of readjustment to a more normal status. This is as difficult a process, re-

[86] *Cf.* Warner, Queen and Harper, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–273; F. R. Day, "Social Case Work," in Social Work Year Book, 1941, pp. 517–522; Strode, *op. cit.*, Chapter 4.

[87] Strode, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

quiring as many skills as does a physical diagnosis by a physician, and is necessarily time-consuming, however important it may be as a basis for the best treatment.

With the vast number of cases to be handled during the depression it would have been impossible to do adequate case work even if the workers had been qualified. The emphasis was rather on eligibility than on diagnosis, for most of these new clients were perfectly capable of managing their own affairs if they could obtain employment. However, most of the supervisory officials who have received training in schools of social work strive to have their workers use case-work methods as much as possible and ultimately this will be the accepted practice.

Obviously, during the depression the sudden increase of thousands of workers, who had had no specific training for their jobs, greatly lowered the personnel standards, but the Social Security Board and state welfare departments are now insisting on minimum qualifications and the positions are being placed under merit systems or civil service, so that there will be a gradual improvement. Furthermore, any body of normal persons engaged in such work will naturally seek to increase their efficiency because of their realization of the importance and difficulty of their task. So there is now a rapid growth of social workers' clubs for the professional improvement of their members; these are composed of public welfare workers who are not eligible for membership in the American Association of Social Workers. Furthermore, schools of social work and universities and colleges are furnishing short courses, and itinerant classes or institutes for the training of employed social workers are being held by state departments of public welfare.

Without better trained workers public welfare work will be inefficient and unnecessarily expensive, but there are two dangers with regard to personnel which should be noted: those of professionalization and commercialization. It is true that professional training is desirable and necessary, but it alone will not make a good social worker, any more than professional education will make a good teacher, minister, or doctor. The pioneer social workers were inspired with high ideals of humanitarian service, and without such motivation and a sound personal character and emotional poise no social worker can achieve real success. The personality factor is peculiarly important in social work for the worker must be objective and judicious in diagnosis, but must be empathic, i.e., have the ability to put herself in the place of the client, if she is to be successful. Professionalization is desirable, but overprofessionalization is fatal.

On the other hand, there is an equal danger of commercialization, which has occurred in law and medicine. With the thousands of social workers now needed large numbers have entered the field not as a profession, but as a job, and lack the motivation of service which is essential for the best type of work or their permanent success.

These problems of personnel are particularly serious in rural social welfare work, whether public or private, because a rural social worker must understand rural life, the local problems and methods of agriculture, of home management, of the attitudes and institutions of the people, as well as the techniques of the profession in order to be successful. Lack of these qualifications by many city-trained workers who have endeavored to fill rural positions has dicredited social work in many rural communities even with those who are sympathetic with its aims. Persons with a rural background will, other things being equal, be the most successful social workers in rural territory. There tends to be an oversophistication of those who have received their training only in the large cities, and professional schools of social work have not, in the main, been able to meet this difficulty. There are hardly half a dozen of these schools throughout the country which are training effectively for rural social work, and many of them are unwilling to acknowledge that a somewhat different content of training is needed for rural work. This has been equally true of theological seminaries and teachers colleges. There is need for a new approach to the training of social workers for rural territory.

The importance of this knowledge of farm and home management for the rural social worker has been well shown by the work of the Farm Security Administration supervisors. Here is a body of men and women trained, more or less, in agriculture and home economics but with practically no knowledge of the techniques of case work, who are doing a notably successful job, considering the conditions under which they work. That so large a body of men and women, assembled hurriedly, and plunged into an overwhelming job, with all the details of governmental red tape to contend with, have been able to achieve the success they have, shows that in the type of rural social work now needed a knowledge of the best methods of agriculture and homemaking is essential.[88] This is what the average professionally trained social worker has lacked, but it does not mean that FSA and other rural social workers do not need a sound training in the techniques of case work and particularly a knowledge of family relations, for without them they will be unable to counsel their clients most wisely. For the

[88] Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

training of such workers the state universities and larger agricultural colleges have a peculiar opportunity [39] and a few of them have already inaugurated curricula for this purpose.

VII. RELATIONS TO OTHER INSTITUTIONS AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

Our discussion has dealt almost wholly with the organization of public welfare work, especially as a relief agency. We must remember, however, that there are other important fields of public welfare work and that private agencies and other institutions have an important role to play. To point out these relations and to make the workers in the various institutions and agencies aware of them is one of the objectives of the study of rural social organization.

Relief problems have been emphasized because they have been the most important ones of the last decade on account of unemployment, but rural social work also has to deal with child welfare problems—the neglected or abused child, the placing and supervision of foster children, and the care of physically handicapped children; with problems of delinquency or delinquent tendencies; with problems of desertion, divorce, and marital relations, which wreck many a family; with aid to the physically handicapped, the blind, and the aged, as well as with the detection and care of those mentally deficient or diseased, and bringing to the attention of public health nurses and health authorities cases of sickness in families needing aid, and cooperating with them. To undertake any adequate discussion of all these fields of social work is beyond our province, and may be found in texts on social work.[40]

We have given little attention to private agencies engaged in rural social work, beyond mention of the work of the Red Cross Home Service, because in general there have been very few of them in the rural territory as a whole. This does not mean, however, that there may not be a very real need for private agencies in this field. One of the handicaps of public welfare work is that sometimes because of statutory requirements, but more often because of the heavy load of cases with which public welfare departments are burdened, they deal in the main only with families or individuals who apply to them for assistance. It is well known that there are very many families who are barely self-

[39] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, "Land-Grant Institutions and Rural Social Welfare," *J. of Home Eco.*, Vol. 27, p. 143, March, 1935.

[40] *Cf.* Warner, Queen and Harper, *op. cit.*; Strode, *op. cit.*; etc.

supporting and that there are neglected or abused children who do not come to the attention of the public authorities and who could be prevented from becoming public charges if given wise and sympathetic counsel and assistance. This is the field of family welfare societies and similar agencies in the cities, and there is need for some such organization in rural areas. Furthermore, there is need for a body of citizens who are awake to the needs of social work and who are interested in maintaining high standards of public service to uphold and cooperate with the public agencies, just as there is need of parent-teacher associations, and of public health associations in the fields of education and health. Just how this may best be accomplished is a local matter which will differ with each state, but there is a possibility that the Home Service of the Red Cross might well again enter this field of usefulness with advantage to all, because of its prestige and the fact that it is a semipublic yet private institution, which can adapt its program to the needs of local situations.

Since the earliest times the Christian Church dispensed charity as one of its obligations. It is no longer possible for the church to give relief in more than exceptional cases, but it may still be a powerful agency for social welfare work. Thus clergymen are becoming better acquainted with the principles and methods of social work and are learning how to use them in a new type of pastoral work, in which they do not assume the role of social workers, but supplement them and obtain their cooperation when necessary. But the church has a more important function in aiding in the rehabilitation of maladjusted families, for their problem is not only one of material aid or expert services but of social adjustment. It is unfortunate that too often the church is an institution of the middle and upper classes and the lower classes do not feel at home in its services or organizations. In so far as the church can embody its ideal of human brotherhood and furnish spiritual comradeship to the unfortunate, it will be a vital agency in maintaining their morale. Many unfortunate families and individuals are suffering from social isolation. To get them into any sort of congenial group life is one means of their regeneration, and to incite the group members to show them a personal friendship through the group is a peculiar obligation of the church.

The school also has many contacts with social welfare work and performs certain functions in this field. Thus the attendance officer who has a proper understanding of his job may be a most effectual social worker, and some day we shall have rural visiting teachers whose primary function is to aid in the home adjustment of the child to his

school work.[41] Meanwhile the home visits of teachers, particularly of home economics teachers in the supervision of home projects, may have an important influence as a by-product. The new stress which is being placed on vocational and personal guidance by the school may well be an important asset in rural social work, as the school health clinics and aid to indigent children are. The work of the National Youth Administration has given the schools a new realization of their opportunity to be of larger service to their more unfortunate pupils. There is, however, no sound reason for the school to undertake a general program of furnishing necessities, such as shoes, clothing, or glasses, to needy children. The Educational Policies Commission has made a very wise comment on this matter:

> . . . Such a practice merely provides a palliative and generally fails to get at the root of the problem. The practice may indeed delay recognition and treatment of the real heart of the difficulty. The provision of a lunch at school may be a life-saver to the child, but the fact of that provision does not ensure that he has a breakfast or supper, or that the hunger of his small brother or sister is appeased. *Except on a temporary and emergency basis while the community is preparing to meet the need this method cannot be defended.*[42]

Finally, the school may, through its social science classes and through adult education classes, do much to educate its constituents as to the causes of dependence of all sorts and to give them an understanding of our changing economy and of the fact that, until we are able to adjust it so that all able-bodied citizens have opportunity to make a living, we shall continue to be faced with an increasing burden of public welfare work.

In this process of education concerning the causes and needs of public welfare work not only the school, but also the church, the grange, and other civic organizations may give important aid. Furthermore, as we shall see under the topic of community organization, there is great need in even a small rural community for the closest cooperation and understanding among all agencies concerned with aiding the social adjustment of individuals.

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[41] For an example of such work see A. E. Benedict, Children at the Cross Roads, New York, The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1930.

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D. INTEREST GROUPS OR ASSOCIATIONS

Chapter 22

FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

I. THE GRANGE [1]

The Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, is the oldest and largest farmers' organization in this country. Organized in 1867, the order grew rapidly to a maximum of three-quarters of a million members in 1874–

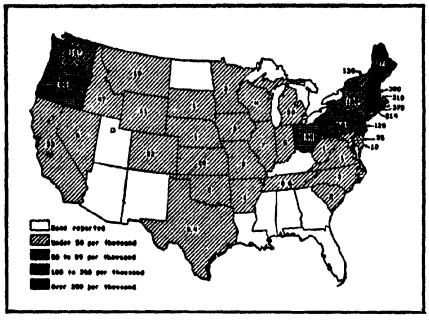


FIG. 104. Distribution of the number of members of the Grange (Patrons of Husbandry) per 1,000 of total farm population, by states, 1940.

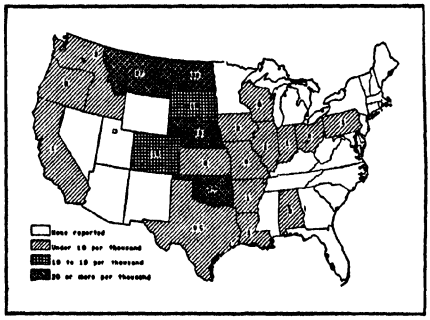


FIG. 105. Distribution of the number of members of the Farmers' Union per 1,000 farm population, by states, 1939. (The actual membership is two or three times more as wives and children do not pay dues if paid by male head of family.)

1875 in 43 states. Since then it first declined and then gained in membership. In 1940 it had 635,000 members in 37 states, being strongest in New York (130,367), Ohio (87,862), and Pennsylvania (62,418). Over two-thirds of the membership (462,707) is in New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Fig. 104 shows the relative strength of the order in different states by the percentage of the total farm population. It is evident that in New England a very considerable proportion of the members are probably nonfarmers. This map may be compared with Figs. 105 and 106 to show the strength of the Grange in comparison with that of the Farmers' Union and the

[1] For history and development of the grange see references at end of chapter by Atkeson, Buck, Buell, Wiest, and Wing.

Farm Bureau throughout the country. It is evident that, except for Ohio, New York, California, Kansas, and New England, where both the Grange and the Farm Bureau are strong, the strength of the Grange, the Farmers' Union and the Farm Bureau is in states where they are predominant.

The Grange is a fraternal order of men and women. The local organizations are known as subordinate granges. The masters and matrons of the subordinate granges are the voting delegates in the state grange which meets annually. The national grange is composed of the masters and matrons of the state granges and meets annually. There are also Pomona granges, whose jurisdiction is usually a county, membership in which is open to any fourth-degree member of a subordinate grange in its territory. It holds quarterly meetings and is influential in

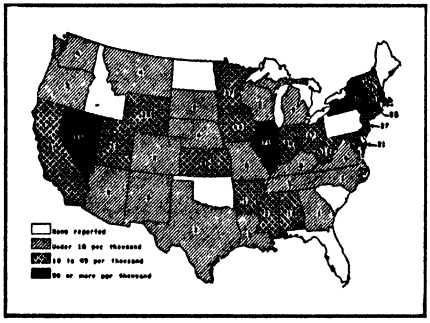


FIG. 106. Distribution of number of members of the American Farm Bureau Federation per 1,000 of total farm population, by states, 1940.

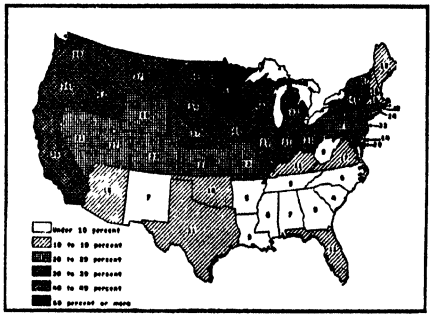


FIG. 107. Percentage of farmers doing business with or through cooperatives in 1939. (From U.S. Bureau of the Census, 16th Census of the United States, press release, Agr.-U.S. 2, No. 8, Oct. 3, 1941.)

promoting fellowship among the local granges, but has no jurisdiction over them. Pomona, state, and national granges have distinctive degrees, which may be taken successively by fourth-degree members, and which admit them to attendance.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Grange embarked on many cooperative enterprises. Local granges organized cooperative stores, which were at their height in the 70's and 80's, but most of which were short-lived; state granges organized cooperative purchasing agencies for farm supplies; and both state and national granges formed cooperative companies for the manufacture of farm machinery (these soon died). The failure of many of these cooperative enterprises led to serious divisions of opinion in state and national granges until the early years of this century, when the national grange

abandoned all attempts at direct support of national cooperative enterprises.[2] Various state granges continued their purchasing agencies, and out of some of them have grown large, independent cooperative societies, such as the Grange-League-Federation Exchange in New York State. The grange cooperative movement also gave rise to a system of cooperative fire insurance companies,[3] most of which are independent county associations doing business only with grange members. Furthermore, although its own experience with cooperation had not been successful, the Grange continued to advocate cooperation and, with the Farm Bureau, has had a major influence in promoting the many cooperative marketing and purchasing associations which have grown up since World War I.

Since its organization the Grange has taken an active part in promoting legislation in the interest of agriculture and was largely responsible for the control of railroad rates through state railroad commissions and the federal Interstate Commerce Commission. There is a considerable list of federal legislation for which the Grange claims major responsibility. The National Grange maintains a legislative representative in Washington and the state granges closely follow state legislation affecting agriculture, all of which is made a matter of discussion in the subordinate state and national granges.

The purposes and objectives of the Grange are broad. They include the economic and technical improvement of agriculture through organization, education, and legislation; the education of its members on all matters relating to farming and home life; and the social enjoyment of its members. The Grange never enters politics to endorse parties or candidates, although it does endorse and oppose legislation. However, grange leaders have not infrequently attained political preferment through their grange influence. Politics and religion, as such, are not discussed by the Grange. In some states, particularly in the Northeast where membership is largest, owing to the considerable proportion of members who are nonfarmers, the educational program of the Grange has tended to decline in importance in proportion to the social and fraternal features, and in such cases the subordinate grange is often more of a fraternal order.

[2] S. J. Buck, The Granger Movement, Chapter VII, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Univ. Press, 1913.

[3] *Cf.* Valgren, Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance in the United States, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1924; R. W. Bartlett, The Organization and Development of Cooperative Fire Insurance Companies in New York, Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 435.

With this background let us consider the structure of the local or subordinate grange. A subordinate grange is the local unit of a fraternal order composed of rural people of both sexes devoted to the advancement of agriculture, the home, and rural life. Its identity is quite definite for it is a secret order and only members may attend meetings, except when nonmembers are invited to open meetings. Membership is restricted to those over 14 years of age, but is open to both sexes. Entrance is voluntary upon invitation, approval of a membership committee, and election by the members, which is secret, so that three blackballs may exclude a nominee. New members are subject to initiation and must go through the ritual of the first four degrees before they are members in full standing. There is no means of recognizing members, except that they often wear a pin or lapel button as a symbol of membership.

The number of members varies widely from a score to several hundred. The membership is quite homogeneous, being composed mostly of farm families, although it includes a considerable number of villagers and nonfarmers. This latter element sometimes creates a division of interest when it becomes too numerous, as sometimes occurs in the Middle Atlantic and New England states, and as a consequence some subordinate granges have an unwritten rule keeping the nonfarmers to a specified percentage well in the minority. Otherwise the solidarity of the group as based on the class-consciousness of farmers would be disrupted. In general, it is the better class of farm families who belong to the grange and there is little social distance between them. The membership is relatively stable, but members are dropped for nonpayment of dues.

The subordinate grange receives its charter from the national grange upon approval of the officers of the state grange. It is responsible to the state grange for payment of state and national dues and for reports on membership, and the state grange keeps in touch with it through county or regional deputies who visit the locals. The local granges are represented in the county or regional Pomona grange which binds them together, but has no jurisdiction over them. Except for the payment of dues and the observation of general policies and procedures established by the national and state granges, the subordinate grange is practically autonomous. The grange has no established or approved relationships with any other organizations, these relationships depending wholly upon the local situation. The only exceptions are the mutual fire and life insurance associations, previously mentioned, which are creatures of the grange. In some instances the grange tends to become self-centered, assumes that it can represent the farmer's

interests in all phases of life, and discourages the formation of other associations, such as the parent-teacher association or farm bureau; in other cases it is active in promoting these and similar civic associations.

Within the group the members' relationships are personal, and one is impressed with the close personal friendships which often result among those long associated in grange work. Most of the contacts are at the regular meetings which are usually held every two weeks. The degree of participation varies widely, from rare attendance to a regular and active part in all grange activities. Grange meetings encourage the participation of the whole membership. There are many officers, some with minor duties, and they are advanced as they show ability. All the members take part in the degree work. The roll call is sometimes answered by quotations and during the lecturer's hour all members are invited to take part in the program from time to time. The meetings open and close with a formal ritual. The business meeting is conducted with parliamentary procedure. The lecturer's hour consists of a program of talks, discussions, or debates on various topics, recitations, and music, and is the means of most of the educational work of the grange. It gives opportunity for encouraging participation, for training, and for the development of self-confidence, so that a skillful lecturer is probably the most important leader for building up the group. Amateur drama is frequently a feature of the lecturer's hour and plays put on by one grange are often exchanged with neighboring granges. Grange orchestras, quartettes, and choruses have also been developed in many states, notably in Michigan. Grange degree teams which have become particularly proficient in the degree work often demonstrate the work to neighboring granges. All these activities promote intergrange fellowship and strengthen the *esprit de corps* of the order.

The solidarity of the group is also quite variable, but there is a definite tendency to try to develop solidarity by an emphasis on class-consciousness of farmers. Solidarity is aided by the use of the annual password and the signs of the order used in the ritual. There is no attempt to control the behavior of members outside the meetings, but during a meeting one must follow the prescribed ceremonial forms for entrance and exit, as well as during the ceremonial exercises. If there are any folkways, they are peculiar to the local group unless one may consider grange suppers or "feasts" as a grange folkway. There are no distinctive mores, although the way in which the devotional exercises are conducted and the elaborateness with which degree ritual is performed are often mores of the local group. The custom of calling members "brother" and "sister" occurs as in other fraternal orders.

Each of the officers has a definite role and there are many positions which offer opportunity for participation and for distinction. In order of importance they are: master, overseer, lecturer, treasurer, secretary, chaplain, steward, assistant steward, lady-assistant steward, Pomona, Ceres, Flora, and gatekeeper.

Each subordinate grange has a more or less definite spatial jurisdiction, although a member may belong to the local of his choice. In New York 56 percent of the granges were in villages in 1925, but 40 percent were in hamlets or the open country, and there is a strong tendency to maintain the neighborhood type of grange, in which there is intimate personal acquaintance. As with the country church this is partly a survival from days before the automobile when it was difficult to go far and granges were established by neighborhoods. Almost all granges meet in halls or buildings, although a few meet in the homes of their members. The ambition of every grange is to own its hall, which may consist of a single large room, with a kitchen, over a store which may be rented for income, or there may be a separate building with a dining room and kitchen on the first floor and assembly hall and cloak rooms on the upper floor. But little attention has been given to architecture, and most of these halls are plain and bare, although now and then a homelike hall shows what might be done at no great expense. Rarely are grange halls used as club rooms for daily use, as is the case with the halls of other fraternal orders. Usually the grange is a continuous group whose history covers a number of years. There is a certain mortality, but its causes have not been systematically studied.

Nominally the master is presumed to be leader of the grange, but often the lecturer is the more active leader, and sometimes the secretary, because of longer tenure of office and his duty to check attendance, may be a more important leader. These officials are elected annually. Teamwork among them is essential for the success of the group, which is sometimes prevented by personal politics and rivalries, as in other groups of this sort. Each grange has several standing committees which furnish opportunities for work for a number of members and are the means of developing leadership. Indeed, one of the most important contributions of the grange has been its development of leadership among farmers. The aims and purposes of the grange are broad and general, as already described; this, of course, may be either a source of strength or weakness. The granges make a wide appeal to various interests, but the social bond tends to become the more important, especially since the economic side of agriculture is promoted by cooperative associations and the technical aspects of farming and

homemaking are the field of the farm and home bureaus. Consensus is obtained by discussion at the meetings, particularly with regard to the endorsement of legislation, and by reports of similar discussions and resolutions of Pomona, state, and national grange meetings, as well as by the newspaper of the order, the *National Grange Monthly.*

The organization of the grange is quite highly institutionalized through the importance attached to its ceremonial procedures, its degree ritual, and the common custom of advancing officers from one post to another. There are four degrees given in the local grange, the fifth is given by the Pomona grange, the sixth by the state grange, and the seventh by the National Grange, these being open to all members of the order successively. The amount of time spent upon the degree ritual and the frequency with which degrees are administered have been perennial topics of discussion in the grange. Some individuals, particularly some who are active in other fraternal orders, enjoy the degree work, and in some granges a large proportion of the time, every few meetings, is occupied with degree work. Other individuals are not so much impressed with the symbolism of the degree ritual and favor minimizing it. There seems to be a general tendency to limit the administering of degrees to stated occasions, say once a quarter. In the history of the Grange some states have tended to minimize the degree work, but in an address given during Farmers' Week at the New York State College of Agriculture some years ago, Mr. Charles M. Gardner, the editor of the *National Grange Monthly,* stated that the Grange was strongest in those states which had given the most attention to developing the ritual and had become weak in the states where it had been neglected. This seems to be substantiated by the facts, and would indicate that the strength of the Grange is in its organization as a fraternal order. The continuity of the group is maintained by records of the meetings, of attendance, and of degrees completed. The secrecy of the order is doubtless an element in preserving its integrity, although the obligation of secrecy is not very strictly maintained with regard to matters under discussion in the local granges.

As previously mentioned, the grange has developed many local fire insurance companies, which although not a part of the grange are often open only to grange members. In many cases this has resulted in farmers maintaining grange membership merely to be able to enjoy the advantages of fire insurance and attending meetings only occasionally, so that, like the church, the nominal membership is often much greater than the active membership. Mutual life insurance companies and a national automobile liability insurance company have also been devel-

oped for grange members and are controlled by grange officials, although they are not part of the organization.

In recent years juvenile granges for children have had a steady growth, but have not become sufficiently numerous to warrant separate discussion.

In some states there has been more or less antagonism between the Grange and the Farm Bureau movement, but in more instances, particularly in the states where both organizations are strongest, grange leaders have been active in farm bureau work and the membership of one organization tends to predominate in that of the other. Attempts were made in one or two northwestern states to carry on the agricultural extension work of the agricultural colleges through the granges, but these were not successful, and although the extension services cooperate with the granges and furnish them speakers and subject-matter material, any definite system of organized cooperation is exceptional.

The lecturer's hour of the local grange furnishes a good opportunity for an open forum or discussion group and, with the present emphasis on the value of discussion groups in adult education, the Grange has a peculiar opportunity for developing this phase of its work, and undoubtedly in the states where it is strong it is the farmers' organization best adapted to promoting discussion and the formation of intelligent public opinion on state and national issues.

II. THE FARMERS' UNION [4]

The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America (the official title) is commonly called the Farmers' Union, but it has little in common with labor trade-unionism. On the contrary, as its name indicates, it seeks to obtain control of the farmers' business through cooperative enterprises and by educational means.

It was first organized in Texas in 1902, as a reaction to the panic of 1897, and through its founders was definitely linked with the then defunct Farmers' Alliance.[5] It spread rapidly through the South and reached its maximum membership in 1907 when it had nearly a million members [6] in 13 chartered states with 17,938 locals. By 1921 it had

[4] The best account of the history and present organization of the Farmers' Union is The Farmers' Union Triangle, by Gladys Talbott Edwards, Jamestown, N. D., Farmers' Union Education Service, rev. ed., 1941.

[5] For its history see *ibid.* and Edward Wiest, Agricultural Organizations of the United States, Lexington, Ky., Univ. of Ky., April, 1923, pp. 475–502.

[6] In view of the discrepancy in the membership given by Mrs. Edwards and that given by Wiest and Fisher (see footnote 7), I wrote Mrs. Edwards and she kindly sent me a digest of the report of the secretary at the third national con-

declined in membership in the Southern States and had grown in the North Central States and particularly in the Western States, which then had about half the membership,[7] and both membership and leadership definitely shifted from the Cotton Belt to the Grain Belt. In February, 1939, figures furnished by the national secretary showed 85,000 dues-paying members in 21 states which had state organizations, each having 1,000 or more members, but there were many locals in unorganized states. One-fourth of the membership was then in Oklahoma; Nebraska and North Dakota each had over 10,000 members; and Wisconsin, Kansas, Montana, and South Dakota each had nearly 5,000 members. The actual number of individual members is two or three times as large, for wives and children do not pay dues. In these states it takes the place of the Grange as a farmers' organization. The cooperative associations sponsored by the Union have a much larger membership, estimated at 300,000 in 1940, which more nearly represents the strength of the movement. It has gradually absorbed the membership of the American Society of Equity, which in 1923 had a membership of more than 40,000 in Wisconsin alone, according to Wiest.[8]

The Farmers' Union is a family organization, all members of the family over the age of 16 being eligible to membership; when the head of the family joins and pays his dues other members are exempt. It has an especially strong program for youth, with Juniors 16 to 21 years of age, and Junior Reserves 12 to 16. Training camps and institutes are organized for juniors, as well as adult members, with leadership, cooperation economics, and recreation as the leading topics,

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vention in 1907, furnished her by the present national secretary, Mr. J. M. Graves, from the records in the national office, as follows: "The Secretary reported that at this time we have thirteen chartered state Unions, with 17,938 chartered locals and ten other states with 736 chartered locals, a total membership of 935,837 active Union workers, an increase during the year of four State Unions, 673 Local Unions and 339,260 members."

She also cites the book of C. S. Barrett, national president at that time, and subsequently for 22 years, "The Mission, History and Times of the Farmers' Union," and writes that she had heard him say that the peak membership was in 1907–1908.

[7] Wiest, *op. cit.*, p. 478, and Commodore B. Fisher, "The Farmers' Union," Lexington, Ky., Univ. of Ky., Studies in Economics and Sociology, No. 2, March, 1920, pp. 12–17, and Table I.

[8] Wiest, *op. cit.*, p. 531. This should be distinguished from the Farmers' Equity Union, with headquarters at Greenville, Ill., which has been in existence for 31 years.

and the junior members seem to have a larger part in local leadership than in the Grange.

The chief emphasis of the Farmers' Union has been on its cooperative enterprises and its legislative program.[9] In 1938–39 the Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association at St. Paul handled 40,000,000 bushels of grain and has become the largest grain-marketing cooperative in the world.[10] The Farmers' Union Central Exchange of St. Paul has a business, through its local cooperatives, of about $5,000,000 a year, and there are other large cooperatives in Nebraska and elsewhere. "On the basis of 25 years of successful experience with crop insurance, the Colorado Farmers' Union is developing a broad program of life, health, accident and property insurance coverage for farm families. Cooperating in this program are Farmers' Unions in Texas, Montana, and North Dakota."[11] Its success in cooperation has been chiefly due to a strong educational program in the local unions, with special emphasis on educating farm youth in cooperative principles. The Farmers' Union Triangle stands for education (the base), cooperation, and legislation. The first cooperative hospital was the Farmers' Union Cooperative Hospital of Elk City, Oklahoma, organized under the leadership of Dr. Michael Shadid (see p. 476).

Like the Grange, the Union is a secret organization, but it has little ritual (this varies within state jurisdictions), and no degrees. It is also organized in county and state unions. A strong social and recreational program has been developed, and the meetings of local unions are much like those of subordinate granges except that more emphasis is placed on problems of cooperation and economics, and there is less tendency to become a mere social order.

The membership is kept in touch with the activities and policies of the National Union through the *National Union Farmer* (published at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, where the office of the national secretary is located), which has a special National Junior Section, and in 12 states there are local Farmers' Union papers.[12]

The Farmers' Union has made a particular appeal to farm tenants and, in general, represents the small and middle-class farmers.

[9] Concerning the latter see D. C. Wing, "Trends in National Farm Organizations," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, pp. 957–959; and the National Legislative Program and Resolutions of the Annual Convention, published as a leaflet by the National Secretary, J. M. Graves, Oklahoma City, Okla.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 955, 957.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 957, quoting the president, John Vesecky.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 974.

III. THE FARM BUREAU

The county farm bureau association is a product of the agricultural extension system of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the state colleges of agriculture for the support of the work of the county agricultural and home demonstration agents. County agricultural agents were first appointed in the South in 1906 by Dr. S. Knapp, who had charge of the work of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in an effort to teach the people how to combat the ravages of the cotton boll weevil. The employment of county agricultural agents spread rapidly through the South in the next five years; the first county agent in the North was employed in Broome County, New York, in 1911.[13] In 1913 the farmers of Broome County felt that they should have a hand in directing the work of the county agent and formed the first Farm Bureau Association. In the next year or two Illinois, Iowa, and West Virginia had also formed county associations of this sort under different names, but it was not until the passage of the federal Smith-Lever Act of 1914, which made federal funds available for the employment of agricultural and home demonstration agents, that the movement commenced to grow apace.

The organization of farm bureau associations was greatly stimulated by the federal and state extension services during World War I as a means of organizing and supporting the work of the agricultural agents for increasing agricultural production. In 1915 state federations of farm bureaus were organized in Missouri and Massachusetts and a year or two later in Illinois and New York, and, by 1918, ten or twelve states had state federations of county farm bureau units. A preliminary meeting for organizing a national federation was held at Ithaca, New York, in February, 1919, and in December of that year a national federation of the state federations was formally organized at Chicago, Illinois, which 28 states ratified.[14] At the annual meeting in December, 1920, 37 states participated with 826,816 members and the following year 39 states, with nearly a million members. The membership paying dues to the national federation reached its maximum in 1921, declined until 1927, had a slight increase in 1930, reached a minimum in 1933, and increased to 444,000 members in 40 state farm bureaus in 1940, a majority of whom live in the Corn Belt. In addition the As-

[13] *Cf.* M. C. Burritt, The County Agent and The Farm Bureau, Chapter VIII; also C. B. Smith and M. C. Wilson, The Agricultural Extension System of the United States, pp. 36 *ff.*

[14] Burritt, *op. cit.*, Chapter XII.

sociated Women of the Farm Bureau Federation numbered about 475,000 members, probably in the main representing the same families as the men.[15] From 1939 to 1940 there was a gain in membership of 45,653, or 11.5 percent. Gains occurred in 24 states and losses in 15. The Southern States gained 16 percent, but this was almost all in the single State of Mississippi.[16]

The county farm bureau is typically an association of farm families which cooperates with the extension services of the state agricultural colleges and the U.S. Department of Agriculture in the employment and support of county agents in agriculture, homemaking, and boys' and girls' club work and in carrying on an educational program under their leadership. However, the state and national federations have no organic connection with the extension services and were organized to deal with public problems affecting the interests of agriculture and farm life and to promote economic organization. With the agricultural depression of 1921 both the state and national federations became actively concerned with legislation affecting agriculture. As the state federations became strong several of them went into cooperative buying of farm supplies and selling of farm produce, so that they became largely business associations. In several states formal relations between the county associations and the state extension services were severed and the farm bureau became an independent farmers' organization, the extension work being carried on directly by the state agricultural colleges. At the present time, therefore, the county farm bureaus are essentially different organizations in various states, although bearing the same name and being affiliated through the states with the national federation. In those states which have severed connection with the extension services the county farm bureau is practically a general farmers' cooperative association with a state federation for promoting legislation and joint business enterprises, and should be studied as such. For our purposes we shall confine our description to the type found in New York, New England, Iowa, and other states, where the original purpose of the farm bureau as primarily an educational organization for cooperation with the extension services has been maintained.

The county farm bureau is an inclusive organization, as membership is open to anyone who will pay the dues and is interested in its work. Membership usually covers the family, although where the women have a separate Home Bureau, as in New York, they maintain what is practically a separate organization. Most of the members are farmers al-

[15] D. C. Wing, *op. cit.*, pp. 963–964.

[16] Annual Report of the American Farm Bureau Federation for 1940.

though many village businessmen belong to show their goodwill. There is no means of identifying the membership except that in many counties a farm bureau membership sign is tacked on the barn of a member. Otherwise it is a loose group, more like a commercial club or chamber of commerce than a closely knit group like the Grange. The county farm bureau usually includes several hundred members, mostly middle- and better-class farmers. There is no stratification in membership, but practically all the work of the organization is done by the officers and committeemen and the rank-and-file members participate only occasionally. Where the women are not separately organized in a home bureau, they usually form a distinct department or auxiliary of the county organization, with local Homemakers' clubs. The 4-H club work is also a separate department of the farm bureau in most of the states, and has its own organization, which varies widely by states. Membership is renewed annually by the payment of dues, and shifts somewhat with the popularity of the agent and the efficiency of the membership drive.

With regard to intergroup relationships, the county farm bureau is usually associated with the extension service in the employment of its agents and in the conduct of its program, depending on the state agricultural college for the itinerant service of various specialists. Its agents are dependent for support on county, state, and Federal governments. The federal aid comes through the state college, but the county funds must be obtained annually from the county government. Very frequently the farm bureau has been instrumental in developing cooperative associations of various kinds which are independent organizations, but which are greatly aided by the endorsement and educational work of the farm bureau. The county farm bureau pays dues and elects delegates to the state federation, and through it is affiliated with the American Farm Bureau Federation, but these bodies exercise no control or supervision over the county organizations.

The intragroup relationships of the farm bureau are quite impersonal and are chiefly determined by the common special interests of its members. The number of contacts of members depends on the frequency and place of meetings. In some counties with easy communication and a central county seat most of the meetings are held there, two or three times a year, with occasional meetings on specials topics in various communities for the people in those localities. Many of these local meetings are addressed by specialists of the state extension service on topics connected with the various projects of their programs. In some states, as in Iowa, township or community units are organized

and have regular semimonthly or monthly meetings, so that contacts are more frequent.

Participation for most of the members is often quite nominal and consists in attending the meetings. Many of them, however, participate in the work of the organization by carrying on demonstrations with improved methods of farming and homekeeping, and by utilizing the services of the county agents as advisers on such matters. The officers and directors of the organization meet more frequently. The county agents are assisted in planning and carrying on the educational program by several project committees, whose members take an active part in promoting their particular project in their own communities and throughout the county. These projects cover the principal topics of current interest and effort and are changed more or less annually. They include such projects as soil improvement, herd improvement, animal feeding, and poultry culling for the men, and nutrition, clothing, household furnishing, and child guidance for the women. These project committees endeavor to obtain the interest of members who will make a demonstration of the particular project. This demonstration is in a sense an experiment for the individual carrying it on, to determine whether it is practicable and whether it is an improvement upon his former methods, but it is a demonstration in the sense that he merely agrees to abide by the instructions of the county agent in trying out methods which have already been proved successful, the practicability of which he "demonstrates" to himself and to his neighbors, who are invited to observe the results. Thus the general pattern of participation in the farm bureau group is one of cooperation in attempting to find better methods of farm and home work by sharing experience with each other, in contrast with the individualist who takes satisfaction in keeping to himself the methods which he has found to be profitable.

The solidarity of the farm bureau is usually rather weak, but varies with the number of contacts in meetings, the type of leadership, and the immediate importance of the projects which are being pushed. A campaign for the eradication of tuberculosis or hog cholera may result in strong solidarity, or it may lead to antagonism and division, depending upon the leadership and the educational groundwork which have preceded the campaign.

There is no effort at direct control of the behavior of the members of the group, although every effort is made to get them to accept improved practices through educational methods. Outside of the usual roles of the officers, the roles characteristic of the group are those of community or township committeeman, project leader, and demon-

strator, whose duties have already been indicated. Through training farmers in these activities the Farm Bureau, like the Grange, has had a large influence in developing a much larger and more capable farmer leadership.

Spatially the group is limited to the county, but in many states there are community or township subgroups, and the women's meetings and 4-H club activities are organized by communities or often by neighborhoods. There are no fixed places of meeting, although county meetings are frequently held in the courthouse, where the agents often have their offices. The headquarters is the county agent's office, which is to the farmers of a county much what the chamber of commerce is to the businessmen of a city, a place where information on almost any subject pertaining to farm life may be obtained, where committee meetings are held, and where the active work of the organization is directed.

In its structure the farm bureau is much like a chamber of commerce in that its work is directed by one or more employed leaders (the county agricultural and home demonstration agents), and its general structure and efficiency depend chiefly upon their efficiency and the direction of the state extension service which supervises their work. The project committees, already described, are rather characteristic of the group. In many states community or township units are well organized and have regular meetings, usually monthly, with well-arranged programs dealing not only with methods of agriculture and home life, but also with community improvement. Such a form of local organization is more common in those states, such as Iowa and West Virginia, where the Grange is relatively weak. However, in many states where there are separate home bureaus or the women's work is organized in local groups, they have regular meetings, sometimes for the whole local group and sometimes for those engaged in particular projects. This is the more necessary in the women's work, as the meetings are largely devoted to definite instruction in homemaking, often involving demonstrations or the actual practice of sewing, furniture refinishing, basketry, etc. In states where there are local groups, whether of both sexes or only of women, there tends to be more solidarity because of the more frequent meetings, and the heightened consciousness of belonging to a definite group, rather than merely being a member of a supporting organization.

The purposes and aims of the county farm bureau are broad and in many instances not too clearly defined. The American Farm Bureau Federation states its purpose to be "to promote, protect and represent the business, economic, social and educational interests of the farmers

of the nation; and to develop agriculture," which in a general way covers the field of the county associations, although most of them are more immediately concerned with the educational program, whereas matters of larger agricultural policy are handled by their representatives in the state and national federations. As has been noted, in most of the country the agricultural, home demonstration, and 4-H club work are all organized under the county farm bureau. The women's work is naturally concerned chiefly with the home, and its objectives have been well stated in the Home Bureau Creed written by Dr. Ruby Green Smith, state leader of home demonstration agents in New York, which has received wide acceptance.

THE HOME BUREAU CREED

To maintain the highest ideals of home life; to count children the most important of crops; to so mother them that their bodies may be sound, their minds clear, their spirits happy, and their characters generous;

To place service above comfort; to let loyalty to high purposes silence discordant note; to let neighborliness supplant hatreds; to be discouraged never;

To lose self in generous enthusiasms; to extend to the less fortunate a helping hand; to believe one's community may become the best of communities; and to cooperate with others for the common ends of a more abundant home and community life;

This is the offer of the Home Bureau to the homemaker of today.

The 4-H club work for boys and girls is really a separate movement, the group life of which should have separate study, but it forms part of the farm bureau program of work and is in charge of the agricultural and home demonstration agents in most of the counties which do not have junior extension agents. It has been discussed on p. 402.

Consensus is obtained by discussion at the meetings and through the contacts of the agents with the members. *Esprit de corps* is fostered in some counties by means of a monthly *County Farm Bureau News;* in some states by a monthly state paper, and by the organ of the national federation, *The Nation's Agriculture.*

The group is maintained by an annual membership drive during which the entire county is canvassed. The assistance and supervision of the state extension service are also important factors in maintaining the organization in the states in which they are affiliated.

Since its organization the American Farm Bureau Federation has been active in its support of legislation affecting agriculture and maintains a legislative representative at Washington. During the present administration it has probably been the most powerful organization

affecting agricultural legislation, and during the past year or two many leaders and thoughtful students of agriculture have questioned some of its policies. In 1921 it formed the first farm bloc in Congress. The Farm Bureau Federation was the only national farm organization to support the McNary-Haugen bills (see p. 177) of 1926 and 1928.

> After 1929 the condition of agriculture became worse. Circumstances were forcing farmers toward a united front. President Edward A. O'Neal of the Farm Bureau Federation called a conference of leading national farm organizations to meet in Washington, D.C., January 9, 1932. Out of this meeting grew the National Farm Conference, composed of the Farm Bureau Federation, The National Grange, the National Farmer's Union, The National Cooperative Council, the Farmers' National Grain Corporation, and representatives of the farm press. Meeting at frequent intervals during the succeeding 2 years, this group presented a fairly united farm front. On December 12, 1932, a price-parity, production-control, processing-tax bill was prepared, similar in its essential features to the Agricultural Adjustment Act [p. 179] which was passed in the following summer.[17]

Although the national farm organizations have differed on important legislation since then, there is much more cooperation between them than prior to 1932.

The Farm Bureau has become a national movement of rural people, men, women and children, whose strength is largely due to the fact that it has been the means of organizing the local communities and bringing them together in county organizations, which form state and national federations, and because the county organizations with the aid of state and federal funds and supervision employ trained executives to stimulate and direct the work of the local groups. It is a unique agency for the education and organization of rural life which is giving the American farmer a new position in the life of the nation.

IV. COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

Another type of farmers' organization which has grown rapidly in the last twenty-five years is the cooperative association, which has come to take a leading part in the economic organization of the agricultural industry (see pp. 158 to 161). Cooperative societies really form a movement for a different system of economic distribution and control rather than a definite form of group, for, as we shall see, the group

[17] Wing, *op. cit.*, p. 963.

structure is exceedingly variable. Agricultural cooperative associations are organized for many purposes, the principal types being those for marketing farm products (e.g., the Dairymen's League), for purchasing farm supplies (e.g., the G.L.F.—Grange-League-Federation Exchange), for farm credit (see p. 145), for fire insurance, and for the manufacture of farm products (e.g., a cooperative creamery). All these different types are alike in certain fundamental features of their organization and practice, and are usually organized under state legislation for the incorporation of cooperative associations. The dividends on the capital, most of which is held by the members, are limited to a fixed rate; each member stockholder has but one vote (except as noted below) rather than a number of votes in proportion to number of shares owned, as in most corporations. The earnings are divided among the members, and sometimes shared with nonmember patrons, according to the volume of the business which they do with the association. There are many variations and exceptions to these fundamental principles of a cooperative association, but in general they distinguish it from other corporations.

STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES. Cooperative associations also differ in their structure. The simplest type is an independent local association which transacts its own business (e.g., a local fruit-marketing association or cooperative creamery). The federated type consists of a number of local associations which collectively own a state or regional organization which sells or buys for all of them (e.g., The Land O'Lakes Creameries, Inc., which sells for the local creameries forming the federation, or some of the state Farm Bureau Associations which operate wholesale purchasing agencies for their county units). In other instances the cooperative is a state or regional association with highly centralized management which operates the local units. Centralized cooperatives sometimes have local branches which may have some control over the local business or may be organized merely for educational or advisory purposes and for the election of the directors of the central organization (e.g., the Dairymen's League or the G.L.F. Exchange). Obviously these types are very different sorts of sociological groups, although they have common economic principles. For our purposes, we shall describe the simplest form of independent local marketing or purchasing association, because it is historically the original type and is more uniform in its general structure, whereas an analysis of the federated or centralized types of associations would require an examination of many different examples involving a wide variety of structures.

GROWTH. In 1900 there were slightly under 1,000 cooperative marketing associations and only about 60 purchasing associations in the United States; in 1915 there were over 5,000 of the former and nearly 600 of the latter; in 1938 the former numbered nearly 8,300 and the latter about 2,600. The cooperative marketing associations were most numerous in the 1920's and declined during the depression of the 30's until 1937–38, whereas the purchasing associations had a steady growth, with the exception of 1923 to 1925. In 1935 there were a total of about

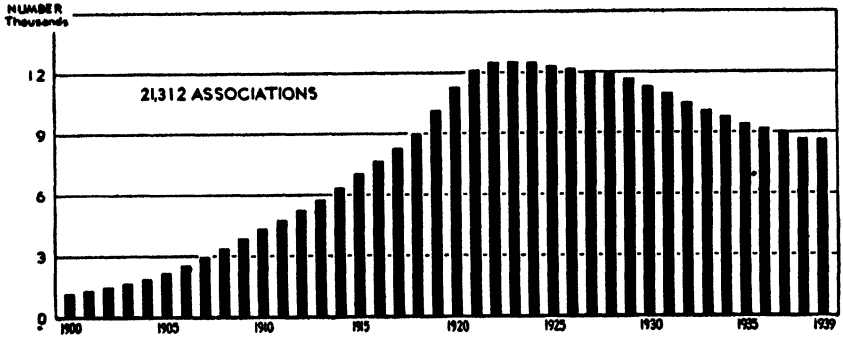


FIG. 108. Growth of active farmers' marketing associations 1900–1919. (From Cooperative Research and Service Division, Farm Credit Administration.)

10,900 of both types with about 3,500,000 memberships, including duplicates.[18]

At the present time the farmers of the United States are probably doing over three and one-half billion dollars of business a year through cooperative associations, for in 1937–38 the business of the marketing associations amounted to two billion dollars,[19] and in 1938–39 the buying associations had a business of $340,000,000, which had doubled in volume in the previous five years.[20] Thus approximately 12 percent of the total cooperative business of agriculture was in buying, although it had gained most rapidly, and about 88 percent was in selling. Sales of more than a million dollars each were reported by 295 associations in 1936, and 34 associations had sales in excess of ten million each.

[18] Data from R. H. Elsworth, Statistics of Farmers' Cooperative Business Organizations, 1920–1935, Bul. 6, Farm Credit Administration, Washington, May, 1936; E. A. Stokdyk, "Cooperative Marketing by Farmers," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, Washington, D.C., U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, p. 684; S. N. Gubin, "The Growth of Farm-City Cooperative Associations," in Farmers in a Changing World, pp. 711–712.

[19] Stokdyk, *op. cit.*

[20] Gubin, *op. cit.*

In 1919 only 9.7 percent of all farms reported to the Census as selling or purchasing through cooperative associations, whereas in 1939 there were 17.1 percent. The U.S. Census [21] reports that in 1939 22.4 percent of all farmers did business through some form of cooperative associations; 13.6 percent through selling associations as against 11 percent in 1929, and 12.2 percent through buying associations as against 6.5 percent in 1929, showing that the latter had nearly doubled in number during the decade. Fig. 107 gives the proportion of farms

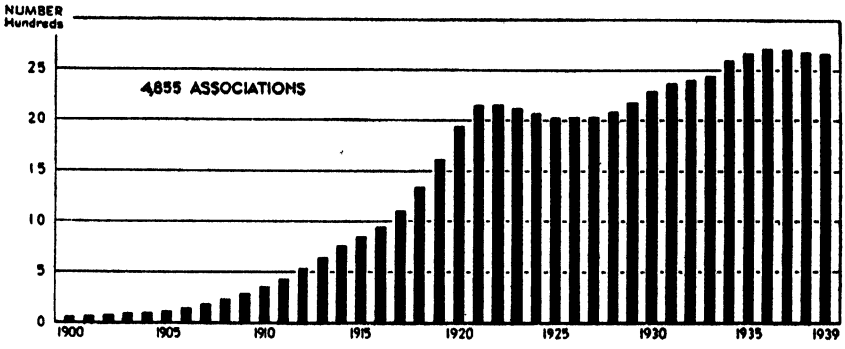


FIG. 109. Growth of active farmers' purchasing associations, 1885–1919. (From Cooperative Research and Service Division, Farm Credit Administration.)

reporting any business through cooperatives in 1939 by states, and reveals that Minnesota (66 percent) is by far the leading cooperative stronghold, with Wisconsin, Iowa, Idaho, North Dakota, and New York ranking next with over 40 percent. The Cotton Belt is least organized, with less than 10 percent.

DISTRIBUTION. Cooperative selling and buying associations are most common in the North Central States, which contain 70 percent of the associations and 64 percent of the membership, and do 51 percent of the cooperative business of the entire country. Next come the Pacific States with 16 percent and the Middle Atlantic States with 11 percent, whereas all the Southern States have only 13.8 percent of the business. From 1913 to 1935 the rate of growth in the volume of cooperative buying and selling was most rapid in the Middle Atlantic States. In 1913, 42 percent of the business of cooperative buying and selling associations was in grain marketing; in 1935 this formed only 20.6 percent, whereas the percentage comprising dairy products rose from 19.2 in 1913 to 28.8 in 1935.[22]

[21] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 16th Census of the United States, press release Agr. U.S.—2, No. 8, Oct. 3, 1941.

[22] Elsworth, *op. cit.*, Tables 1, 2, 45, 46.

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS. A cooperative marketing or purchasing association is a group, usually incorporated, in which the members act collectively in marketing their farm products or in buying farm supplies. It usually differs from the ordinary corporation in the equal voting power of the members and in the method of distributing the earnings as patronage dividends rather than stock dividends, but in some associations the number of votes a member may cast is determined by the amount of his business.

The cooperative is usually an inclusive group in that it usually desires to secure as many members as possible, but membership is restricted to those marketing a given type of product in marketing associations, and frequently in them membership is limited by specific qualifications and proposed members must be approved by a membership committee. Purchasing cooperatives are usually quite inclusive. Entrance into a cooperative is voluntary, but usually requires that the applicant contribute capital. In many marketing associations the members are bound by a contract to market their produce through the association, which permits their withdrawal only after due notice.

The membership of a cooperative is composed of individuals or sometimes of marketing associations or corporations, such as an orchard company. The number of members may vary from a score or more to thousands. The membership is as heterogeneous as the population served and there are no classes or strata of members.

Within the cooperative association the relationships of its members are impersonal. Contacts as members of the group occur only at regular business meetings, which usually are held only annually, although meetings for educational purposes are sometimes held more frequently. However, contacts of individual members with each other and with the management occur frequently in the everyday operation of the business.

Participation in the meetings is usually optional, and in purchasing cooperative associations participation in the business is optional, but in marketing associations the member is usually bound by a contract to give the association exclusive sale of the products which it handles. Participation in the business of the association involves the willingness to cooperate in a joint risk for earnings or losses, and to this extent requires a certain degree of socialization in the attitudes of its members which automatically excludes those who are not so minded; but this does not mean that members cooperate in their relations in the management of the association any better than in any other group, as one cause of the mortality of many cooperative associations is the factions and jealousies arising in them.

The solidarity of a cooperative group arises chiefly from the grievances against existing business which prompted its organization and from the competition that it meets. It is also encouraged by meetings for educating its members with regard to the principles and methods of business involved in cooperative management. To a certain extent solidarity is obtained by developing a feeling of loyalty to the principles of cooperation as an economic system and of being part of a movement which has the nature of an "abstract collectivity," just as the union man develops loyalty to the principles of trade-unionism and the voter has a loyalty to his conception of government, whether it be democracy, Fascism, or socialism. L. H. Bailey says:

> A really cooperating association is one in which all members take active part in government and control, and share in their just proportions in the results. It is properly a society rather than a company. Many so-called cooperative units are really stock companies, in which a few persons control and the remainder become patrons; and others are mere share-holding organizations.[23]

The importance of educating the membership concerning cooperative principles is being increasingly recognized by the successful cooperatives and they are developing various programs for this purpose. One of the most remarkable cooperative movements in America, in both buying and selling, has been that among the fishermen and small farmers in Nova Scotia under the leadership of Father J. J. Tompkins and Father M. M. Coady of the Extension Division of St. Xavier University, at Antigonish. They attribute the success of their program chiefly to founding it upon adult education through small discussion groups.[24]

In the cooperative purchasing association there is no control of the behavior of the members, but marketing associations, in addition to requiring members to sell through them, have various regulations, which are essential for successful collective marketing, with regard to standardization and packing of the products, to the care of the crop or the sanitary conditions of a dairy herd. Here, again, the independent cooperative has greater difficulty in enforcing these regulations than it would if it were a part of a large federation which could compel it to enforce them or disbar it from the advantages of the marketing facilities of the larger association.

The areas covered by cooperative associations differ widely, but they are determined by the distance within which goods may be bought or

[23] L. H. Bailey, The Country-Life Movement, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1915, p. 125 *ff.*

[24] M. M. Coady, Masters of Their Destinies, 1939.

marketed conveniently. Usually it is fairly coterminous with a rural community and does its business at the village center, but in many instances a marketing association may have its headquarters at, and be organized around, a convenient shipping station outside a village, and many purchasing associations are organized on a county basis. The office and plant of the association give the group a physical center of its activities, but the meetings are often held in various places, according to the size of the group. Investments in buildings and equipment obviously form a bond which increases the strength of the group in so far as they are on a sound financial basis. Theoretically the cooperative association, like other corporations, is chartered for a permanent existence, but there is a considerable mortality and frequently there are periods of decline and of subsequent reorganization.

The structure of a cooperative association does not differ materially from that of any corporation. The leaders are the officers and directors and they are elected annually. Usually the membership elects the directors in the manner already described, and the directors elect the officers and business manager. The real leader upon whom the success of the association depends is the employed manager. Where the president is made manager or where a local man is employed because he is popular and members have confidence in him, difficulty often arises because of his lack of technical knowledge of the business, although this is sometimes obtained by trial and error through experience. Here, again, the association which belongs to a federation has an advantage in obtaining its help and experience in employing a trained manager.

The aim of the cooperative association is fairly definite in that it attempts to conduct its business so as to obtain earnings or savings for distribution to its member patrons rather than divide them wholly among the stockholders. There is no code of behavior for the members of the association, except as involved in contracts for marketing, and the regulations for packing, grading, etc., previously mentioned. Consensus is obtained in the group by discussions at the regular meetings and by informal discussion between members. There is little or no institutionalization in the independent cooperative association of the sort that occurs in such a group as the church or the grange, but in federations and large centralized cooperatives it develops to a degree.

There are no distinctive methods for the preservation of the group, although the amount of patronage dividends influences the maintenance of membership, and the accumulation of reserve funds and investment in buildings and equipment are means of tiding the group over unsuccessful years or unusual situations.

COMPETITION WITH PRIVATE BUSINESS. The cooperative association is in competition with existing business concerns—individuals and corporations. Occasionally the cooperative is recognized as a competitor, but usually it is bitterly opposed until it has become successful and has proved its merits. Then it may be ostensibly approved by organized business, but at heart businessmen only tolerate it, for they know that to the extent that cooperative associations become successful, business operated for the profit of an individual or corporation will decrease, and that the principle of cooperation is in opposition to the ordinary business practice of making as much profit as possible. Cooperation is a method of socializing business which, to the extent that it competes with or supersedes ordinary business concerns, is as inimical to the latter as is socialism, only cooperation proceeds upon an entirely different plan of economic organization. It places the ownership and control of the cooperative in the hands of those whom it serves and its success depends upon the efficiency of its management.

The independent cooperative association has difficulty in competing with private business on account of the necessity of employing superior managerial ability for a remuneration which is usually less than that which such a manager could obtain for his services elsewhere, but more important is its difficulty to market or buy in sufficient quantity to be able to command the best advantages. It is for this reason that sooner or later most independent cooperatives are forced to federate and that the trend of successful cooperatives is toward the large federation or centralized organization.

CENTRALIZATION. As previously indicated, although historically most cooperative movements in the past have started with independent local units, there is a very definite tendency at present for them to form state or regional federations, or to organize as a central organization with local branches. The sociological structure of these larger cooperative associations would form a complex study because of the wide variety of the arrangements involved. The simplest type is the federation of local associations into a state or regional association which buys or sells for all of them, such as a cooperative wholesale association (e.g., those maintained by some of the state farm bureau federations), or a selling association (e.g., the Land O' Lakes Creameries, Inc.), in which the locals maintain their complete autonomy as to management. At the other extreme is the centralized cooperative (e.g., the Dairymen's League) in which membership is directly in the central association, which operates the local plants directly without local control, and which maintains local branch organizations chiefly as

a means of electing the directors and as a means of keeping the membership informed about the business and maintaining an *esprit de corps.* Between these two extremes there are many combinations of the two principles of federation or centralized management (as is found in the G.L.F. Exchange) which are too varied to describe.[25]

Whatever the form of the larger cooperative association the necessity for it seems to be due to the increasing complexity of the market, whether in buying or selling. The management of many lines of business is becoming more and more centralized and if farmers' cooperatives are to compete in buying or selling they must have a sufficient volume of business and a management expert enough to compete with other business concerns. The independent local cooperative association finds it increasingly difficult to meet these conditions. Indeed, it is questionable whether in many lines of cooperative effort it will be possible to start independent local cooperative associations with any probability of success unless they can be immediately affiliated with larger buying or selling cooperative associations which can handle their outside business. A nice example of this has been in the cooperatives handling gasoline, oil, and automobile tires and accessories, which has had a remarkable development chiefly through the Farm Bureau associations in the Middle West. They now have their own oil-blending plants; in 1940 they started the first oil refinery owned by cooperatives; and they combine their purchases of tires so as to have their own brand manufactured to their specifications.[26]

The extent to which the local association should or may maintain its autonomy with regard to the management of the local business, the degree of responsibility of the local association for the management of a local unit of a centralized cooperative, is the heart of a lively current discussion as to the best type of cooperative organization and involves many problems still to be solved by research and experimentation.

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[25] For detailed description of these arrangements see A. W. McKay and C. H. Lane, Practical Cooperative Marketing, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1928; and N. H. Comish, Cooperative Marketing of Agricultural Products, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1929.

[26] *Cf.* Gubin, *op. cit.*, p. 718.

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Chapter 23

OTHER RURAL GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS

In the previous chapters we have discussed the principal organizations and institutions of rural life in this country, but there are a score or more of other types of organizations and groups which must be given consideration if we are to understand the forms of association which occur in the medium- and large-sized communities. Very rarely will all of them occur in any one community, but they are sufficiently common that they must be recognized as characteristic of rural life. The number and kind of organizations present in any given community are a measure of its social organization and culture. In small, isolated communities there will be almost no organizations beyond the school, the church, and possibly a lodge or farmers' club. In the larger communities and those in the older parts of the country there is quite a variety. We include in this discussion organizations and groups of both farm and village people, for although some are composed chiefly of villagers there is no line of division and the tendency is for the number of farm and open-country people to take a larger part in these groups, particularly in the larger communities and in the more cultured areas.

It is obvious that it is not feasible to attempt a detailed description of the sociological characteristics of each of these types of groups; moreover, the information and knowledge concerning them are not available for this purpose. Ultimately each type should be studied in detail [1] if sociology is to furnish an adequate analysis of them which will be of practical use in social organization. Meanwhile we will but briefly characterize them and indicate their roles in the rural community.

The different types of groups and organizations to be discussed are sometimes called *voluntary organizations,* because the members join

[1] As, for example, the study of the Parent-Teacher Association by Butterworth, cited below.

them voluntarily for their special interests in them, in contrast to such institutions as the family, the school, and spatial or locality groups in which the individual cannot avoid membership. For the same reason they are also more frequently termed *special interest groups,* emphasizing the special interest or purpose to which each is devoted. However, in many instances the purposes or interests of a given organization often broaden out so that they represent a complex of related interests rather than a single one.

For this reason it is difficult to arrange these organizations in any formal classification, but they may be roughly classed as educational, farmers' or agricultural, fraternal, social, economic, civic, youth, athletic or sports, musical, and patriotic. This is essentially the classification used by Brunner and Kolb in their studies.[2] It should be noted that this is a classification by purposes or interests, and is one of convenience rather than one which gives any insight as to the sociological organization of the various types of groups. Many of them have a quite similar formal organization, whereas others are radically different in their basic sociological structure.[3]

In addition to these types of formal organizations we must also give brief consideration to *informal groups,* such as loafing groups, gangs, and cliques, which play an important part in rural society.

Information concerning the distribution of the various types of organizations is scanty for most of the country. In a few states statewide surveys [4] of the distribution of the principal ones have been made, and the repeated studies of Brunner [5] and his colleagues, of 140 village communities throughout the country and of all communities in 21 counties, give a fairly good sampling of their distribution throughout the country.

[2] E. deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, Rural Social Trends, p. 242; J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., rev. ed., 1940, p. 564; E. deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, Rural Trends in Depression Years, p. 249.

[3] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, "Group Description," *Social Forces,* Vol. 16, pp. 309–316, March, 1938; "A Preliminary Group Classification Based on Structure," *ibid.,* Vol. 17, pp. 196–201, Dec., 1938.

[4] C. E. Lively, "Some Rural Social Agencies in Ohio—A Study of Trends, 1921–1931," Wooster, Ohio, Ohio AES, Bul. 529, Sept., 1933; C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, "Some Rural Social Agencies in Missouri," Columbia, Mo., Univ. of Mo. AES, Res. Bul. 307, Nov., 1939; D. G. Hay, "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota," Fargo, N. D., N. D. Agr. Coll. AES, Bul. 288, July, 1937; B. L. Melvin, "Village Service Agencies, New York, 1925." Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 493, Aug., 1929.

[5] *Op. cit.*

I. TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

A. EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Outside the student organizations connected with the school (see p. 363), by all odds the most important educational organization is the parent-teacher association. The local unit of organization is the school district which receives its charter from the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. There are state congresses and county and city councils. In general, the parent-teacher association has been more successful in the larger villages and cities, and has been less so in one-room rural school districts. This is probably due to the fact that the latter is too small a unit for a successful organization of this kind under average conditions, although there are many mothers' clubs in one-room districts. With the growth of consolidated rural schools there has been a considerable increase in the number of rural associations, but no statistics on this point are available. Thus in 1925 Butterworth [6] found that out of 598 rural associations in 9 states, there were only about one-fifth in one- or two-room schools, another fifth in three- to five-room schools, and about 60 percent in schools with six or more rooms.

In a study of organizations in New York State villages in 1925 Melvin [7] found only 131 associations in 1,684 villages, but the number has doubtless increased since then. They were more numerous in the urban counties and in the incorporated villages. The same tendency is present in other states. Thus in Ohio [8] there were only 362 associations in 1932, an increase from 145 in 1922, and these were more largely in counties near larger cities. In Missouri [9] there were 402 rural associations in 1938, forming 40 percent of the total in the state. On the other hand, in North Dakota,[10] which is almost wholly rural, 88 percent of the associations were in rural territory in 1936, although only one-third were in the open country and 50 percent were in villages. The number of associations in North Dakota had declined by a fifth in the previous decade because of the depression.

For the country as a whole Brunner [11] found that in 1930 about half of the villages studied, which had an average of 1,300 to 1,400 population, had parent-teacher associations (this was an increase of 20 per-

[6] J. E. Butterworth, The Parent-Teacher Association and Its Work, Table IX. This study furnishes a sociological analysis of this organization.

[7] Melvin, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[8] Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[9] Lively and Almack, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[10] Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[11] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

cent from 1924); that the average membership had increased 40 percent and the percentage of membership of men had jumped 50 percent. Usually these associations are composed more largely of mothers, but the percentage of men has been increasing.

The objectives of these associations have been stated by the Ohio Congress of Parents and Teachers as follows:

> (1) To promote child welfare in the home, the school, the church, and the community; to raise the standards of home life; to secure more adequate laws for the care and protection of children.
>
> (2) To bring into closer relation the home and the school, that parents and teachers may cooperate intelligently in the training of the child; and to develop between educators and the general public such united efforts as will secure for every child the highest advantages in physical, mental, moral and spiritual education.[12]

This is a fairly wide program and very naturally, through the interest in the child, has led to the organization sometimes becoming a general improvement association. Thus, Professor J. E. Butterworth[13] found that in rural communities about 6 percent of the associations performed the purpose of a general community club, but that this was much more prevalent in the one- or two-room school districts. It is obvious that, as the association seeks to advance child welfare, it will be interested in all matters affecting their health and will also be concerned with any deleterious influences. Thus its work and program naturally broaden out. In recent years it has given large emphasis to parent education and has been one of the leading forces in this field. This association gives an interesting example of the tendency of an organization with varied interests to broaden its program and thereby sometimes change its function; this is discussed later.

To ascertain the current program of the local associations and to establish the objectives of the organization better, Butterworth made a study of 797 local associations in 9 states in 1925. As a result he formulated the following six objectives as most important:

> 1. Giving members an understanding of objectives and methods of the school.
>
> 2. Learning to apply accepted educational objectives and methods to the out-of-school environment.
>
> 3. Under certain conditions giving school officials judgment as to where the school fails or succeeds.

[12] From "By-laws of the Ohio Congress," *Ohio Parent Teacher*, Vol. XI, p. 102. Quoted from Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[13] Butterworth, *op. cit.*, Table IV, p. 71.

4. Aiding in educating the community as to desirable aspects of the school's program.

5. Facilitating acquaintance among parents and teachers.

6. Raising funds [for school purposes] under special conditions.[14]

He emphasizes the first two objectives and raises limitations to the third and sixth.

The growth or failure of this organization depends very largely upon the cooperation and leadership of the school teachers and principals. In some cases the latter have been apathetic, if not antagonistic, to it because they have feared it would attempt to interfere with the management of the schools. This is, however, a shortsighted policy evidencing poor leadership on their part. This has been shown by the excellent work the associations have done where given wise and sympathetic leadership by educators.

The national and state congresses of parents and teachers have come to have considerable influence on legislation affecting education and child welfare; with over two million members throughout the country they represent the largest body of lay opinion in this field.

There are other similar organizations in some states with much the same purposes. Thus in 1926 there were 800 School Improvement associations in South Carolina, and 700 School Improvement leagues in Maine. The largest of these movements was the Cooperative Education Association of Virginia, which at that time had a membership of about 65,000 in about 1,200 local School Improvement leagues, which carried on a broad program.[15]

Outside the P.-T. A., the Grange, the Farm Bureau, the Farmers' Union and the Extension organizations, there are few educational organizations in rural communities. Here and there is to be found a so-called literary club, composed either of women or of both men and women. These are found in the larger villages and in the older parts of the country but there is no information as to their numbers.

B. FARMERS' OR AGRICULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

The leading farmers' organizations were discussed in the preceding chapter. There are numerous local technical associations of farmers where agriculture is highly specialized, such as horticultural societies or vegetable growers' associations, breeders' associations (Holstein or Guernsey clubs), cow-test associations, and similar groups. Most of

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 57–69. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, The Macmillan Co.

[15] Butterworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 4–5.

these are county-wide or district organizations and include only the better farmers. There are no data regarding their number or distribution. The so-called farmers' clubs are more social or community organizations and will be mentioned later.

C. FRATERNAL ORDERS

Lodges of some fraternal order are to be found in almost every rural community of any size and among the Negroes of the South they rank next to the church in numbers and social significance. All of them make some provision for the aid of the sick and for burial assistance, but some are more purely social, such as the Masons and Eastern Star, whereas others are chiefly mutual insurance groups, such as the Modern Woodmen and most of the Negro orders. Frequently there are also definite class distinctions in the membership of lodges, the Masons getting the more elite, whereas others seem to segregate the middle class.

The Grange is the distinctive farmers' order (p. 506), but it is much more than a fraternal organization and has a much wider program. Fraternal orders differ from all other groups in that they are secret, have elaborate rituals and a series of degrees which give status to the members.

In New York State Melvin[16] found that there was an average of one lodge to a village. They were found chiefly in the larger villages, for in the villages of under 250 inhabitants there was an average of only 1 to 10 villages. There were fewer in the unincorporated villages and more in the incorporated villages, regardless of the size of the population. Lively[17] noted a definite decline of interest in the four leading orders in Ohio from 1920 to 1930. Only one gained in number of chapters and membership, whereas the other three declined in chapters from 11 to 22 percent and in membership from 38 to 54 percent. He states that the farmer membership decreases as the size of the village increases. In Missouri 77 percent of the Masonic lodges are in rural areas and 59 percent in places of less than 1,000 population, and 80 percent of the Odd Fellows organizations were in rural areas and 60 percent in villages of under 1,000.[18] In North Dakota 85 percent of the lodges are in rural territory, 28 percent being in open country or villages of under 250 population, and 56 percent in medium-sized and larger villages. Hay states that in hamlets these orders emphasize chiefly the insurance feature. "In the great majority of these cases only a semblance of a local organization is maintained primarily for the forwarding of the insurance premiums to the lodge headquarters and little

[16] Melvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 82–85.
[17] Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[18] Lively and Almack, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–53.

if any social and fraternal activities are ever held."[19] From 1926 to 1936 there was a decrease of 22 percent in the number of lodges in rural territory, with the largest decrease in the smaller places. The noninsurance lodges had a loss of only 1.8 percent in the number of chapters; those with insurance features lost 30 percent. The larger proportion of the membership in North Dakota is composed of villagers, 12 western townships showing only 13 percent of the farm families being affiliated, but 45 per cent of the village families.

For the country as a whole Brunner[20] and his colleagues found a definite decline in the number and interest in lodges in the 140 larger villages from 1924 to 1936. In 1924 there were 6.8 lodges per village, which dropped to 6 in 1930, and 5.4 in 1936, or a net loss of about 30 per hundred lodges in the 12 years. They found about one-third of the membership from the open country and this proportion did not change. They state that attendance is poor and that young people decline to join. "In many cases the organizations are held together only by the desire of their members to preserve the insurance equities which they hold." However, they show that the number of fraternal organizations is still approximately triple that of any other class of organizations in these villages.

In general it may be stated that lodges are primarily village organizations, particularly those with no insurance features. Most of the noninsurance lodges have buildings or halls of their own, and many of them have game rooms and other club facilities which are open to their members at all times, thus making a social center for them and attracting the villagers who have time and who can easily take advantage of them; few farmers can make use of such privileges. Furthermore, in many cases the social affairs of the lodges, particularly the noninsurance lodges, such as card parties and dances, form a very large part of the social life of the more convivial set in the community, but mostly of the villagers. There is a very definite need for a careful study of the social role of the lodge in the rural community, of its influence on villager-farmer relations, and of the difference between insurance and noninsurance lodges, which are quite different in constituency and program.

D. SOCIAL CLUBS

There is a variety of organizations whose main function is social in the narrow sense, that is, *sociability*. Such are card clubs, dancing

[19] Hay, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–56.

[20] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, pp. 242–250; Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, pp. 259–262.

clubs, social clubs, luncheon or service clubs, women's clubs, and the farmers' clubs so common in Minnesota and Dakota.

There is no general information concerning the number and distribution of card and social clubs in rural areas, but it is safe to assert that they are more common in the larger villages, and are very few in the smaller villages and open country. Thus in one New York county three of the larger villages had 11 card and social clubs, but only two of the smaller villages had 1 each:[21]

There is no question that there has been a considerable increase of *men's luncheon or service clubs,* such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Exchange, etc., in the larger villages in the last two decades, but there is no exact information concerning their numbers. Most of them are chiefly social in nature and include a few of the leading farmers, but many of them have become the chief civic organizations of their communities and promote a variety of community projects.[22] They have done much to promote better village-country relations.[23] An interesting example of a new villager-farmer movement in this field is the growth of Ruritan Clubs [24] in Virginia and North Carolina, which are specifically designed to bring village businessmen and farmers together and to promote community interests.

Women's clubs, whose functions vary from literary papers to civic projects and bridge, are also found in the larger villages and include a few of the more elite farm women as members. The most numerous organizations of farm women are the Home Bureaus or Homemakers' Clubs organized under the extension services (see pp. 402, 521), but their program is only incidentally social. In North Dakota in 1936 there were 212 local women's clubs and their number had declined very slightly during the previous decade; 5 for each city, 3 for every two large villages, nearly 1 for every 2 medium-sized villages, and 1 for every 14 small villages.[25]

[21] Dwight Sanderson, "The Social and Economic Areas of Broome County, New York, 1928," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 559, May, 1933, p. 28.

[22] *Cf.* Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.,* pp. 258–259.

[23] *Cf.* C. C. Taylor and N. T. Frame, Urban-Rural Relations, Chicago, Kiwanis International, 1928, p. 168.

[24] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson and R. A. Polson, Rural Community Organization, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1939, pp. 178–179, 200–202.

[25] Hay, *op. cit.,* pp. 63–66. It should be noted that these included Business and Professional Women's Clubs, University Women's Clubs, Leagues of Women Voters, and Federated Women's Clubs, but the first three types were confined almost wholly to the cities, whereas the latter formed the great bulk and were widely distributed throughout the state.

The *Farmers' Clubs*, most common in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, but also found in many other states, are really family affairs and often are known as community clubs. In a study of these clubs in North Dakota [26] it was found that "in giving the reasons for their organization, two-thirds of them mentioned the provision of social life, recreation and entertainment; somewhat over one-third of them gave the improvement of agricultural practices; about a fifth stated that they were organized to promote community spirit and friendship; and 18 percent to promote the welfare of the community. Broadly classified, about four-fifths of them were maintained for social and educational purposes, whereas one-fifth were purely social." [27]
Two-thirds of those in North Dakota met in the open country, and the others met in villages of under 1,000 population.[28] Recently many of them in the states mentioned have been reorganized as locals of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union. Like the luncheon clubs, many of them are as much civic and community organizations as purely social groups, but sociability seems to be the binding interest of most of them.

E. ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

The farmers' economic organizations are chiefly the cooperative associations (see p. 522), but in most larger villages there is a chamber of commerce or commercial club, composed mostly of businessmen and devoted to their interests, which often includes leading farmers and engages in a broad civic program of community improvement. These organizations are particularly important and useful in the Far West and here and there in the South where some agricultural specialty, such as fruit, is the economic basis of community prosperity, or where appeal is being made to the tourist trade.[29] Very frequently in strictly agricultural regions these are *county* commercial clubs or boards of trade, or the business organization of the county-seat town.

Hay [30] found 106 men's clubs in North Dakota in 1936. This included both commercial clubs and service clubs, which were about equal in numbers and distribution. There were 1 in 60 of the villages with under 250 population; 1 in 3 of the medium villages (250 to 999 population); and almost 1 for every village of over 1,000 population. Inas-

[26] E. A. Willson, "Rural Community Clubs in North Dakota," Fargo, N. D., N. D. Agr. Coll. AES, Bul. 251, Aug., 1931.

[27] Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[28] Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[29] *Cf.* E. deS. Brunner, G. S. Hughes, and Marjorie Patten, American Agricultural Villages, New York, Geo. H. Doran Co., 1927, pp. 108–110.

[30] Hay, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–63.

much as this is a strictly rural state and had suffered most severely from the depression, it may be taken as a conservative example of the distribution of these types of organizations. (See Fig. 110.)

F. CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

For the country as a whole the *American Red Cross* is undoubtedly the most widespread civic organization, as it has chapters in almost every county with numerous branches or committees in the various

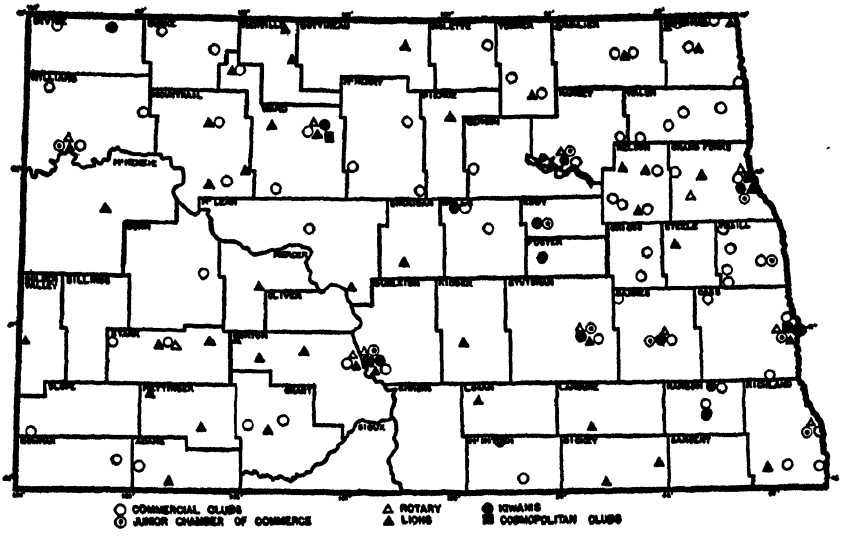


FIG. 110. Location of commercial and service clubs in North Dakota, 1936. (After Hay.)

communities. We have previously noted (pp. 467 and 487) its role in promoting rural public nursing and social welfare programs. During World War I it enlisted millions of rural people in its production of hospital supplies and clothing, and at the present time groups of rural women throughout the country are turning out millions of garments for Britain and other countries suffering from war. Unfortunately it is impossible to indicate the proportion of rural membership, but there are thousands of chapters in strictly rural counties, and it is one organization which binds farm, village, and town women together in a common loyalty. The peacetime program of the Red Cross may be summarized under the heads of service to war veterans, disaster relief, public health nursing, home hygiene and care of the sick, nutrition, life saving, first aid, and Junior Red Cross promotion, the latter chiefly through the schools. A recent important activity of the Red Cross is

the establishment of Highway Emergency First Aid Stations, located in stores, filling stations, or other roadside places, equipped for first aid by the local chapters and operated by people trained in first aid methods.

The village fire company[81] is an institution which as been curiously neglected by students of rural life, for it is one of the most important village organizations. It is now becoming more common for young men from the farms to have associate membership so as to enjoy its social advantages, even if they cannot get to the fires. The fire company appeals to the heroic in young men and challenges their manhood. In order to equip and maintain the company there is usually a women's auxiliary which puts on various entertainments for raising money, and which forms an important feature of the social life of the community. Sometimes this is handled by a community association or committee of some sort,[82] and the fire company becomes a symbol of community activity. Formerly fire companies were strictly village affairs and confined their services to the villages and nearby residences, but with motorized equipment they are now able to cover a radius of half a dozen miles, and usually respond to calls from farms. Indeed, many states now have legislation permitting the formation of local fire districts, irrespective of village, township, or political boundaries, for the maintenance of fire protection. In 1930 it was found that 59 percent of the townships in New York State[83] had fire protection for the whole township and that 95 percent of the fire companies gave service to the surrounding countryside on request. In the country as a whole in 1924, Brunner found no village companies giving rural service in the 140 villages he studied, but in 1930 there were 6 and in 1936 6 more had placed the fire service on a tax-supported basis.[84]

In North Dakota in 1936, 1 in 5 of the small villages (50 to 249 population), over 4 in 5 of the medium villages (250 to 499), and all the large villages (1,000 to 2,499) had fire departments, and the number had increased 10 percent in the last decade in spite of drought and depression.[85]

In addition to the entertainments for raising funds, the fire company is an important social organization. Very often it has a club room

[81] The best summary of this subject is that of W. C. Nason, "Rural Community Fire Departments," USDA, Farmers' Bul. 1667, July, 1931, pp. 46.

[82] *Cf.* Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–306.

[83] C. R. Wasson and Dwight Sanderson, "Relation of Community Areas to Town Government in New York State," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 555, April, 1933, Tables 11, 12, p. 21, and Fig. 4.

[84] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[85] Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

in the fire house and a dormitory for those on duty, which becomes a social center for the membership. This attracts the membership of the farm young men. Furthermore there is a peculiar *camaraderie* among the membership of a fire company, which includes men from all classes and which cuts across class lines in facing danger together, much as in the army, so that local fire companies often have a very fine tradition and membership gives status.

In this country very little has been done by the states to assist in the training of fire companies and they have been mostly voluntary associations dependent on themselves for their techniques. However, there are state and district organizations of firemen's associations and their conventions and competitions serve to foster morale. In the Republic of Czechoslovakia the state had a bureau which gave systematic instruction and training to local fire companies, for there fire insurance on farm buildings was controlled by the state and it was to its interest to keep down losses. There is a fine opportunity for similar leadership of state authorities in this country, and several of the state colleges hold short courses for fire companies.

Cemetery associations are often important civic organizations in rural communities. Even though they meet infrequently, interest in their work is a good index of the morale of the community. When people neglect the resting place of their dead, they are not likely to do much for the living.[86] The "Friendship Village Married Ladies' Cemetery Improvement Society," made famous by Zona Gale [87] in her delightful stories of village life, gives a good example of this influence.

The improvement of the cemetery has often been the first step in a program of village and community improvement, for it makes a peculiar appeal to the older people and rouses any spark of civic pride.[88]

The Women's Christian Temperance Association is one of the most widespread women's organizations and is particularly strong in rural territory. Its membership cuts across all class lines, but is particularly strong among the middle and lower classes which have suffered most severely from the effects of alcoholism. Although not as popular as in prohibition days, before the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, it is still a powerful force supporting local option campaigns. Local option has been particularly successful in rural territory and it was through

[86] *Cf.* C. P. Halligan and H. K. Henhinick, "The Rural Cemetery," Mich. St. Coll. AES, Spec. Bul. 175, May, 1928.

[87] Zona Gale, Friendship Village; Friendship Village Love Stories; Peace in Friendship Village, New York, The Macmillan Co.

[88] For an example of this see Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

the strength of the local option movement, by townships, counties, and states, that national prohibition was made possible.

In 1941 there were over 11,000 local unions throughout the country with about a half million members. Data are not available to show the proportion in rural territory, but the national corresponding secretary [39] has made an analysis of the State of Ohio which shows that 60 percent of the local unions are in rural territory in that state. In North Dakota 85 percent of the locals are rural.[40] It seems probable, therefore, that there are over 6,000 local unions and over a quarter of a million members in rural territory. In Missouri in 1938, two-thirds of the local unions were in rural territory.[41]

G. YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS [42]

The 4-H clubs (see p. 402) have the largest membership of any organization of rural youth, particularly of farm youth. Next come the young peoples' societies connected with the churches and the Future Farmers of America associated with the vocational agricultural departments of the high schools.

The Future Farmers of America had its first national convention in 1928. In 1940 it had 6,954 chartered chapters which had 231,724 members and 22,000 associate members in organizations in every state.[43] The largest membership is in Texas with over 27,000 in 1940; Illinois, North Carolina, and Ohio have over 10,000 members each. This organization has three degrees, most of the members having the first two degrees, with a ritual for inducting members into each degree. The local teacher of vocational agriculture acts as the local adviser. The purposes, as set forth in the manual are:

1. To develop competent, aggressive rural and agricultural leadership; 2. To strengthen the confidence of the farm boy in himself and his work; 3. To create more interest in the intelligent choice of farming occupations; 4. To create and nurture a love of country life; 5. To improve the rural home and its surroundings; 6. To encourage cooperative effort among

[39] In a letter from Mrs. Anna Marden DeYo, corresponding secretary of the National W.C.T.U.

[40] Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[41] Lively and Almack, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[42] *Cf.* E. L. Kirkpatrick and A. M. Boynton, Rural Youth in Farm Organizations and other National Agency Programs, Washington, D.C., American Youth Commission, 1939, processed.

[43] 1940 Proceedings of the Thirteenth National Convention, Future Farmers of America, Washington, D.C., prepared and published by the Future Farmers of America in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education, Nov., 1940, p. 69.

students of vocational agriculture; 7. To promote thrift among students of vocational agriculture; 8. To promote and improve scholarship; 9. To encourage organized recreational activities among the students of vocational agriculture; 10. To supplement the regular systematic instruction offered to students of vocational education in agriculture; and 11. To advance the cause of vocational education in agriculture in the public schools.[44]

It has a wide program of activities, including the organization of school fairs and exhibits, tours, father-and-son banquets, social and athletic events, and is developing a fine morale among rural high school students interested in farming, who had an actual investment of over $11,000,000 in farming enterprises in 1940.

The *Boy Scouts of America* was organized in 1910 and was chartered by Congress in 1916. The Boy Scout program stresses character building and citizenship training, and the achievements of the boys are recognized by merit badges or ranks. The activities include vocational guidance, hobbies, camping, trail building, tree planting, conservation of wild life, swimming, health and safety, first aid, etc. Boys are eligible to membership at the age of 12 years, but those 9 to 12 are admitted into a junior organization known as packs of Cubs.

The "fundamental principle of the organization is the close association of a small group of boys, preferably not more than 32, with an adult volunteer leader or scoutmaster who gives his time, thought, and influence to the troop for which he is responsible." [45]

The national office states that no statistics of the distribution of membership have been prepared for the past two years but if the same proportion in communities of under 2,500 population held for December 31, 1940, as for the end of 1938, there would be 10,322 rural troops with 229,464 members.

In 1932 there were 262 troops in rural places in Ohio. Forty-seven of these were in unincorporated villages, but most of them were concentrated in counties contiguous to metropolitan cities. Seventeen counties, scattered over the state, had no troops in rural territory. It was estimated that there were approximately 4,200 rural boys enrolled in 1932.[46] In Missouri in 1938 there were 235 rural troops in 97 counties, and 17 counties had no troops in rural areas. In New York State there were 271 troops in villages in 1925. These were most numerous in the large villages and there were few in the small villages.[47]

[44] From Revised Manual for Future Farmers of America, Baltimore, Md., The French-Bray Printing Co., 1938, pp. 4–6.

[45] From Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[46] Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[47] Melvin, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

The *Girl Scouts* had over half a million (508,631) members in 1940, organized in 27,340 troops. Of these 17.6 percent of the troops, or 4,765, were in rural territory, probably having nearly 90,000 rural girls.[48]

Girl Scouts was organized in 1912 and has had a rapid growth.

> The purposes of the Girls Scouts are to provide for girls a kind of group experience which can grow, change, and evolve as the needs and desires of its members do, and which is democratic and pervaded by the ideals of womanhood and citizenship. The program is planned to give girls a practical knowledge of various fields, such as home-making, the arts, outdoor life, nature and citizenship.[49]

There is little definite information concerning the proportion of members who are in villages or in the open country, but most of it is undoubtedly in the villages. Thus in Ohio in 1932 there were only 82 rural communities having troops, and of these 27 were inactive. The 55 active troops enrolled 616 girls. The number of troops in villages had increased during the previous decade, but it seemed doubtful if the farm girl membership had increased.[50] In Missouri in 1938 there were less than 1,000 members in the 53 rural troops in the state, only 40 counties had rural troops, and they represented less than 10 percent of the total number of troops in the state.[51]

The *Camp Fire Girls* was established in 1911 and its activities fall under the so-called "seven crafts": home, health, hand, nature, camp, business, and citizenship. It has more ceremonial than the Girl Scouts. The national office was unable to give any definite statistics as to the membership in rural territory, but stated that there were few Camp Fire groups in strictly farm territory. In Missouri in 1938 there were only 14 local units in villages, which had less than 200 members,[52] and in Ohio in 1933 there were only 29 villages with 48 groups having 574 members.[53]

Commencing in 1906 the National Council of the *Young Men's Christian Association—Y.M.C.A.*—had a separate secretary in charge of rural work, and county councils with employed secretaries for rural work were organized and a monthly publication *Rural Manhood* (Vol-

[48] Data furnished by the Statistical Bureau of the national office of Girl Scouts, Inc.

[49] Adapted from statement in Social Work Yearbook, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1941, p. 667.

[50] Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[51] Lively and Almack, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–50.

[52] Lively and Almack, *op. cit.*

[53] Lively, *op. cit.*

umes I–XI, 1910–1920) had a large influence in developing programs of work for rural boys.[54] Just after World War I there were 208 counties in 31 states, with 195 county secretaries.[55] In 1922 the separate organization of rural work was changed, and it was made an extension of the organizations existing in the cities, although a secretary for town and country work is still maintained by the National Council. In 1940 there were 83 town and country associations (many of them including more than 1 county, as they served 144 counties), reporting about 70,000 regular members.[56]

The Town and Country Associations

> . . . are largely concentrated in two areas: the Northeast, including New England, New York, and New Jersey; and California, containing about half of the total members. There is also a small concentration in Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin accounting for about one-fourth of the total. The great Corn Belt is only scantily dotted with one or two rural associations per state. The wheat region of the Northwest and the cotton and tobacco states of the South are practically untouched.[57]
>
> Another division of the Y.M.C.A. program is the Hi-Y clubs in high schools of which there are more than 6,500. One-half are in villages and towns of less than 10,000 population. These are fairly well distributed throughout the United States with heaviest concentration in the Southern region. Purpose of the Hi-Y is to foster high standards of Christian character throughout the school and community. The procedure is democratic action with emphasis on helpfulness in solving personal problems, sense of responsibility for promotion of international understanding, and good times for fellowship and personality development.[58]

The *Young Women's Christian Association—Y.W.C.A.*—has maintained rural work in some areas for many years, but chiefly from city centers. Its most important rural activity is in the organization of high school girls' clubs called Girl Reserves, of which there are between 2,000 and 2,500 throughout the United States.[59] About one-tenth of these

[54] For a statement of the early history and organization of the rural work see A. E. Roberts and Henry Israel, Rural Work of the Y.M.C.A., Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, No. 129. March, 1912, pp. 140–148.

[55] *Rural Manhood,* Vol. XI, p. 324, Oct., 1920. For an account of the organization in Ohio see Lively, *op. cit.,* p. 28.

[56] From Y.M.C.A. Yearbook 1940, and letter from Ray Johns, rural secretary.

[57] Kirkpatrick and Boynton, *op. cit.,* p. 68.

[58] *Ibid.,* p. 70.

[59] From a letter of E. B. Herring, Secretary for Rural Interests, National Board, Y.W.C.A., Sept. 10, 1941.

are in rural territory. In Ohio only 2 counties had a county form of organization in 1932.[60]

H. ATHLETIC OR SPORTS ORGANIZATIONS

Athletic teams in baseball, basketball, and football form an important part of the social life of most rural communities. As the high schools have become more numerous their athletic teams (see p. 364) have tended to absorb the local support, but local teams of those beyond school age are very common, although no figures are available as to their frequency. The role of these organizations is discussed in Chapter 24.

I. MUSICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Orchestras, bands, and choruses are a form of recreation and are also considered in Chapter 24. Church choirs, on the other hand, are usually not considered a form of recreation, but they are often the only form of organized music in a small village. Membership in the choir gives social status, and its management requires the finest social diplomacy. A fine monograph in rural sociology might be written on the church choir, but it is rarely mentioned in texts of this sort. Often, under unskilled leadership, the choir is a hotbed of gossip and jealousy; but under skillful leadership it may become one of the community's finest social assets and the foundation upon which a program of musical participation may be built. Here, again, the value of training for local choir leaders not only in music, but in the art of leadership, is of great value. This was demonstrated some years ago when the Westminster Choir School was located in Ithaca for 3 years. It sent its students out to train rural choirs and choir leaders as part of their practice work. The effect of this was phenomenal, for the choirs and their leaders recognized the technical authority of these leaders as well as the fact that no personal relations of social status were involved. As a result of this and through the leadership of a music-loving Welsh pastor there was organized a county musical festival of church choirs and Sunday school classes, which has continued to the present time. Its recitals have proved an attraction on Rural Church Day of Farm and Home Week at Cornell University. A member of the extension staff of that institution is now engaged in giving itinerant training to groups of choir leaders and other local musical leaders.

The importance of music in the life of the rural community cannot be overemphasized as a means of maintaining morale and building cultural values, as well as of recreational enjoyment. One of the most

[60] Lively, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

important contributions of World War I was the general increase of community singing, which has continued to be popular. Ultimately this country may develop a folk music of its own which will have the spiritual power of that of European countries. Curiously enough, our Negro spirituals and cowboy songs are the most distinctive of what folk music we have. We have not as yet developed a technique for making an index of the enjoyment and participation in music in a given community or area, but if we had one it would be an important indicator of one of the most important dynamic forces in its social life.

In the 140 villages studied by Brunner [61] he found only 1 musical organization in every 2 villages in 1936, as the number had decreased by about one-fifth in the previous decade. In 1925 Melvin [62] found 1 band and 2 orchestras for every 10 villages in New York State; but in the villages of 1,250 or more population there was an average of 1 band or orchestra per village. In North Dakota in 1936 there was about 1 musical organization for every 2 medium-sized villages, and 1.3 for each large village of over 1,000 population.[63]

J. PATRIOTIC ORGANIZATIONS

The patriotic organizations are always the sponsors of celebrations on national holidays such as Memorial Day and Independence Day. The American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars are powerful civic organizations; they bind together the men who have been in active military service regardless of class lines. The VFW is found chiefly in cities, whereas the American Legion and its women's auxiliaries are common in rural territory.

In Missouri 44 percent of the local posts were in rural territory and 22 percent were in places of under 1,000 population.[64] In North Dakota 81 percent of the war veterans' organizations were in rural territory and in medium-sized villages (250 to 999 population). They had gained 10 percent in numbers in the decade preceding 1936, with about 1 for every village of this size and larger; there was 1 post for every 8 villages of less than 250 population. The American Legion and its auxiliaries made up 82 percent of these organizations.[65] For the country as a whole Brunner found 1.8 patriotic organizations per village in the larger villages.[66] As an example of the civic activity of the American Legion, Hay mentioned that in North Dakota "Junior baseball leagues are an outstanding community contribution which the American Legion provided for the development of boys."

[61] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
[62] Melvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–63.
[63] Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
[64] Lively and Almack, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
[65] Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
[66] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

The Daughters of the American Revolution may be included as a patriotic organization, although its purposes are quite largely historical and social. Membership is a mark of social status and it is found only in the larger villages. In Missouri [67] 42 percent of the chapters are in rural territory. No data are available for other states.

K. INFORMAL GROUPS

In addition to the formal organizations described above there are at least three types of informal, unorganized groups which have been curiously neglected by rural sociologists and are best known through rural fiction. These are (1) the traditional loafing groups, the cracker-barrel philosophers of the old country store, or of the barber shop, pool room, or garage or filling station; (2) gangs; (3) cliques. There is not much to be learned from sociological reports concerning these informal groups, because they do not lend themselves to enumeration or quantitative description, although they are the stock in trade of the novelist and furnish much of the color of most rural communities, as they are responsible for much of the gossip and are important factors in molding public opinion.

A careful description of the loafing groups of any average village, and of how they interlock, would give an insight into its life not otherwise obtainable. One of the modern forms of this type of group consists of the young people who assemble at the village drug store or soft-drink parlor. These loafing groups have no other organization than frequency of contact. There are certain individuals who are more commonly present and who may assume a sort of tacit leadership because of some sort of prestige or conversational ability, but most of the members come and go and are recognized as members of the group only because of their frequent attendance.

GANGS. Gangs are not so characteristic of rural life as they are of city life, but occasionally there is found a village gang, and there have been criminal gangs of horse and cattle thieves in many of the newer parts of the country. Usually, however, they are soon brought to trial. Rural criminal gangs were probably at their worst during the days of illicit stills in the prohibition era of the 20's. Thrasher [68] tells us that "even in rural areas the gang tends to appear when community life breaks down and opportunities are present for boys to congregate." Gang life in the country has doubtless been prevented by the restless youth migrating to the cities. It is interesting to specu-

[67] Lively and Almack, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[68] F. M. Thrasher, The Gang, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1927, p. 367.

late on what might have happened had the normal rural-urban migration continued to be stopped as it was in the early 30's.[69]

CLIQUES. Cliques[70] are by no means peculiar to rural life, but they form an important part of the social structure of any rural community, and if one is to understand its social relationships he must know the clique connections. Cliques seem to be especially common among younger married couples. After marriage young couples acquire interests different from those of their former associates, but they are not accepted as full participants by the groups of older people, nor do they feel at home in them. Then there are usually babies and home duties, so that it is not so easy for the young couples to attend formal organizations regularly. However, there are others of their old friends or new acquaintances who are in a similar situation and if they have similar tastes they are likely to "gang up," not in a gang, but to form a small, rather exclusive, personal clique. A new couple in the community enters a clique voluntarily, but only gradually, and by unanimous consent of the members. They first get acquainted with the old members of the clique in any number of ways—at church, at some social event, or through being near neighbors, etc. Then they are invited to dinner, to play cards, to go to a show, or "to come over for the evening." They meet the other members of the clique and these visits continue individually and collectively. In most cases the members of a clique recognize it as a "we-group" and others recognize their membership in it. It is essentially a friendship group. The number of members varies from 2 to 5 or 6 couples, and there is little social distance between them or they do not remain in the clique. With rare exceptions, they are usually of the same social status and usually have about the same income, dress, and other marks of status. They are usually concerned only with recreational or leisure-time activities, but on occasion may support certain factions in the organized social life of the community.

> Interaction in the clique is of an intimate face-to-face type. Contacts of clique members are usually quite frequent, and they usually have frequent contacts from chance meetings on the street or as members in one or more formal organizations. . . . The clique is characterized by cooperative and accommodative behavior. Overt conflict is at a minimum for the very existence of this type of group depends upon mutually enjoyable association. Persons are often very careful to observe that the other

[69] *Cf.* Melvin, Youth—Millions Too Many, New York, Association Press, 1940, Chapter II.

[70] The term *clique* is not used in the sense of its being a faction as is commonly done. *Cf.* J. F. Steiner, The American Community in Action, p. 33.

clique members pay more attention to them than to outsiders. It is most important that all members be invited to each other's houses on all special occasions, such as birthday parties, weddings, etc. Members usually have considerable control over each other's behavior, especially with regard to the social amenities and dress. One is always concerned with what his friends will say.

Cliques have no elected leaders nor formal social structure. The leadership is supplied by the host and hostess and is a rotating procedure, that is, each couple usually takes a turn in inviting the other members to their home and providing the entertainment. Often a clique has a dominant member who makes more than his or her share of the decisions, but for the most part these groups have about as democratic procedure as any group can have.[71]

Cliques are probably more characteristic of the village than of the open country, and they are often brought together by association in business or politics. Cliques may also be formed because of age, sex, or prestige differentials.

The clique is not unsimilar to the sociometric "constellation" of friendship relationships described by Moreno,[72] and used by Loomis [73] in his studies of certain communities, although the latter are not regarded by their members and by others as groups.

Davis and Dollard consider cliques and families as the primary units of class formation, considering class (see Chapter 26) as those "who have intimate social access to one another." "The forms of participation of the social clique and class are of an intimate type which implies that the individuals included have *equal status in the sense that they may visit one another, have interfamily rituals such as meals or tea together, and may intermarry.* . . . The intimate social clique relationships are the class unit, therefore." [74]

[71] The quotations and general discussion are from a term paper by Harold Kaufman, who is making a study of cliques in one community.

[72] J. L. Moreno, Who Shall Survive, Washington, D.C., Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934.

[73] C. P. Loomis, Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities, Washington, D.C., The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics cooperating, Jan., 1940, Social Research Report XVIII, processed; also Loomis and Davidson, "Sociometrics and the Study of New Rural Communities," *Sociometry*, Vol. II, No. 1, Jan., 1939; and G. A. Lundberg and Mary Steele, "Social Attraction-Patterns in a Village," *Sociometry*, Vol. I, pp. 375–419, January-April, 1938.

[74] Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1940, p. 13. See also Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, Deep South, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1941, Chapters VII and IX.

Thus the clique is a form of group life which needs more study as an important unit of rural society, particularly for understanding the basis of social organization in any given community.

II. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

A. TYPES OF ACTIVITIES

In 1927 Kolb and Wileden [75] studied 351 organizations in 5 Wisconsin counties. This is the most thorough study yet made of rural special interest groups, and it should be repeated in other states. It should be noted that these seem to be strictly rural, open-country or hamlet groups, for they say: "Such organizations as centered in villages or towns or such as were obviously associated with fraternal or religious institutions as well as purely informal organizations were deliberately omitted simply because of the limitations of time and money." [76] It should be

TABLE 46. VARIOUS INTERESTS IN THE ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE. WISCONSIN, 1926 *

Interest Classes	Organizations	
	Number	Percent
All organizations †	351	100.0
Social enjoyment	252	71.8
Better farming	115	32.8
Help school and teacher	84	24.0
Better business	59	16.8
Young people's interests	59	16.8
Health and social welfare	41	11.7
Home improvement	40	11.4
Public and civic affairs	15	4.3
General community betterment	13	3.7
Unite locals	5	1.4
Mutual improvement	5	1.4
Help church and preacher **	5	1.4

* Source: Kolb and Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

† Obviously the sum of the organizations in the various interest classes greatly exceeds the total number of organizations studied, because any one organization may fall into more than one of the classes.

** This study did not include a study of religious organizations as such or this number would have been much higher.

[75] J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, "Special Interest Groups in Rural Society," Madison, Wis., Univ. of Wis. AES, Res. Bul. 84, Dec., 1927.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

noted that lodges were omitted, and it is difficult to ascertain what organizations meeting in villages were included. In view of the fact that we have seen that social life is centering more and more in the villages, it is questionable whether their data represent the current social situation. However that may be, by using a somewhat different classification from that given above, they found that the various organizations were dominated by the interests shown in Table 46. This

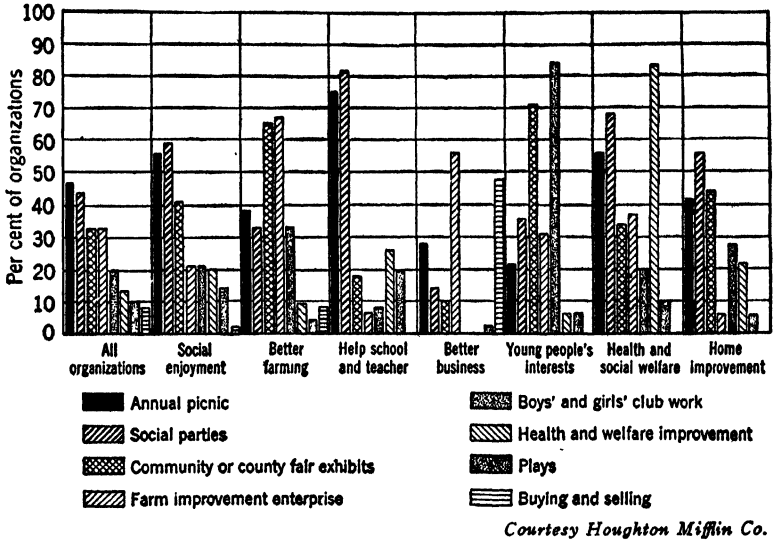


FIG. 111. Principal projects of 351 rural organizations in five Wisconsin counties. (After Kolb and Brunner.)

indicates a great preponderance of organizations whose chief interest was social enjoyment, with better farming and school interests coming next.

One of the most interesting features of their analysis is the frequency with which different types of projects or activities were carried on by the various types of organizations, as shown in Fig. 111. Thus an annual picnic was held by some of all types of organizations, and was the most common project for all of them, but was most frequent for the school organizations; whereas plays were the most characteristic project of organizations devoted to young people's interests, and farm improvement enterprises were most characteristic of those devoted to better business (inasmuch as this excluded village businessmen's organizations). The interesting point is that, whatever the chief interest of the organization, it engages in many activities or projects which are incidental to its main purpose. Thus, those devoted to social enjoy-

ment have certain projects for health and welfare improvement, and those whose chief interest is health and welfare improvement have social parties, and so on. It is also important to note that the name of an organization does not always reveal its real purpose or major activities; a grange may become a dancing club, and a farmers' club may be a civic organization.

B. NARROW OR BROAD PROGRAM

This brings up a point of considerable importance in planning the program and maintaining the life of rural organizations, namely, should the program and activities of an organization be confined to those of its special interest, or should they be broadened out to meet whatever may seem to be for the good of the members? Should there be many organizations with specific programs, or should there be fewer organizations with broad programs? This is a question which cannot be answered categorically, and which must be determined by the local situation, particularly by the size of the community, by the number of existing organizations, and by the amount and qualifications of the leadership available. It must be remembered that in a small rural community there are only so many people and to maintain a successful organization most of them will have to participate, but they have only so much time and energy and there is only a limited number of leaders. Thus in a small community it may be best for a grange, church, or farmers' club to have a rather broad program covering a variety of activities, whereas in a larger community, or where there is a special interest in a particular cause and active leadership for it, more specialized organizations may be desirable. On the one hand, organizations tend to broaden their programs so as to interest more people and obtain a larger membership, but in doing so they include a wider variety of interests and so have more difficulty in maintaining solidarity of purpose in the group. On the other hand, almost any organization must have some sociability features in its program if it is to maintain acquaintance and good spirit. If its program is too narrow it may not be able to obtain a membership sufficiently large to achieve its purposes.

There is, therefore, a nice balance with regard to the size of the membership in a given organization to achieve its purposes. A 4-H club or mothers' club will not be as successful with a very large membership as with one of moderate size, and if such a group gets too large it tends to split into separate groups or subgroups. On the other hand, a farmers' cooperative association usually desires all the members it can obtain, the more the better for its purposes.

Furthermore, too broad a program may bring a division of interests in an organization and potential elements of conflict. If it tries to be all things to all men, some will be dissatisfied. Thus, as we saw in Chapter 22, the Grange had an unfortunate experience in attempting to maintain cooperative business under its own auspices, but when it abandoned its own control and promoted separate cooperatives it was the most powerful agency for their promotion and support. Likewise, we have noted the question whether the parent-teacher association should allow itself to become an organization for general community improvement, or restrict itself to its primary purpose of better relations between parents and teachers in their common task and to the promotion of child welfare.

There is a tendency for every live organization which has a fairly broad program to try to maintain the exclusive interests of its members in it and to discourage the development of new organizations which may compete with their loyalty. Thus when organization of a community club or community council is proposed, staunch grangers may object that the grange includes all the farmer's needs in its program and that it can do everything necessary for the community, and sometimes in small communities this is true. So the church has often been jealous of other organizations which compete for the interests and time of its members, and so with other organizations which are not restricted to a specific and definite interest. There is no one answer for these problems, but progress has been made by multiplying special interest groups in so far as they are needed and can be supported without over-organization. On the other hand, in a small community it may be better for the Red Cross program of first aid and nutrition classes to be made a part of the work of an existing Home Bureau or Homemakers' Club than to set up a separate organization for these specific projects in which the interest and leadership might be somewhat temporary. Herein lie some of the most difficult problems of organizational relationships which bring out the need of community organization (see Chapter 29) so that there may be a better understanding between them of their respective programs of work, of their strengths and their limitations.

C. RELATION OF SPECIAL INTEREST AND LOCALITY GROUPS

One of the most important points brought out by the study of Kolb and Wileden [77] was the relative decline of the influence of locality groups, particularly the neighborhood, and the growing tendency for the social life of rural communities to become organized in special in-

[77] *Op. cit.*

terest groups rather than by spatial contiguity. This has been partly due to the breaking down of isolated neighborhoods and small rural communities by better means of communication, and partly by the injection of organization movements which had their origin in cities, whose growth was also made possible by betters means of communication. Originally the country church and the one-room country school were about the only institutions outside of family. But as conditions changed farmers found that it was necessary to organize for business purposes, and as the pioneer stage receded and country people attained a higher standard of living they sought more social contacts and saw the necessity for other organizations to meet special interests. Furthermore, with a more mobile population the old kinship, nationality, and religious ties were not so strongly localized, and to associate with those of like mind for special purposes a larger unit than that of the neighborhood or the small rural community was necessary. Thus, as we have seen (Chapter 13), the larger rural community has come into existence with a variety of organizations which are not dependent upon all the people for their support. Indeed those with particular special interests may even affiliate with county-wide associations, which have increased rapidly in the last two decades.

Kolb and Brunner have well stated this tendency:

> . . . Local interest groups may become the axis about which the life of the family group turns, provided there is sufficient identity of interest. If not, then the members of the family seek their satisfactions in more scattered groups, non-localized or non-neighborhood in character. In this event the older locality influence wanes and the newer, special interest waxes stronger. In some cases, therefore, locality as represented in neighborhood and interest as represented in activity or organization are coordinate. In other cases they are divergent. This accounts for the rise and the fall, the little more or the little less, as well as the interplay of these two main influences.[78]

Special interest groups are undoubtedly assuming a larger role in country life with a resulting enrichment, for they could not have existed in a rural society in which the neighborhood and small community were dominant. They require the larger area which exists in the larger rural community now developing from which to draw their membership but, though more organized by special interests, rural society will still be organized on a locality basis, except that the local unit will be larger.

[78] Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 163. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, Houghton Mifflin Co.

D. RELATION TO VILLAGES

Like the school and the church, more special interest groups are coming to meet in the villages and there is a larger country membership in organizations meeting in the villages. As a result of their study of 140 larger villages, Brunner and Kolb remark:

> . . . The increase of country interest in village athletic, musical, patriotic and youth-serving groups shows that the open-country people are sharing in special interests with the villages and coming into more intimate and friendly contact with them. . . . The increased country enrollment in educational organizations, largely Parent-Teachers' Associations, is a natural corollary of the increased use of the village schools by country people.[79]

The number of special interest groups varies with the size of place, for the reasons noted above. Thus Brunner and Kolb found that in the 21 counties studied in 1930 the smallest places (under 250 population) averaged 1 organization, the smaller places (250 to 500 population) averaged 2, and the places with 500 to 1,000 population averaged 3 organizations per center.[80] In the 140 villages which they studied (average 1,300 to 1,400 population) there was an average of about 20 organizations of this type,[81] and they point out that the mortality rates increase as the number increases above this figure.

In New York State Melvin found that the correlation between the population and the number of "socio-educational" organizations was highest in the dairy and fruit-farming counties,[82] where it was +0.68. Hay[83] gives no total numbers of organizations per village in North Dakota, but by adding his figures together we find that, excluding churches, schools, extension and farmers' organizations, there were 2 organizations for each small village (under 250 population); 8 for each medium-sized village (250 to 999 population), and 17 for each large village of 1,000 population or more. Only 7 percent met in the open country and these were mostly parent-teacher associations or community clubs, there being a total of more of these two organizations meeting in the open country than in any class of the villages. Evidently the medium-sized villages in North Dakota are much more highly organized than those in the 21 counties studied by Brunner and Kolb. Indeed, the comparisons made for different types of organizations in the preceding pages confirm the impression that rural North Dakota is highly

[79] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 250. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, McGraw-Hill Book Co.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

[82] Melvin, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[83] Hay, *op. cit., passim.*

organized compared with other states and that its organizations center very largely in the villages. Thus in one county in southern New York there were 2⅔ organizations of this type in villages of under 250; 8 in villages of 250 to 700; and 11 in the only large village of 1,887 inhabitants.[84]

E. FEDERATIONS

Almost all these special interest groups tend to form federations, by counties or districts and by states, whenever they become so numerous as to have common problems and to desire an exchange of experience and the heightened morale which comes from the feeling of belonging to a larger movement. Such federations may arise between local farmers' or community clubs, as has happened in Michigan, Montana,[85] Wisconsin,[86] and elsewhere, or other autonomous groups such as volunteer firemen's associations; or they may be superimposed by the state or national organization from which they obtain a charter.

There seem to be three motives for federation:[87] (1) the achievement of common desires; (2) the necessity for joint action in common defense or aggression; and (3) the need of the social control of a larger unit than the local unit for strengthening the latter through supervision and the contacts of its representatives with those of other organizations. As a product of federations come conventions, in which the local leaders get a strengthened morale and in which they acquire a feeling of solidarity with a larger movement and a renewed enthusiasm for it.

One difficulty with federations or overhead district or state organizations is that they sometimes unduly interfere with the autonomy of the local group or tend to make it more loyal to its particular organizational interests than to the needs and welfare of its own local community. Out of this arises one reason for community organization (see Chapter 29).[88]

F. THE LIFE CYCLE OF INTEREST GROUPS

Kolb and Wileden[89] found that there was a definite life cycle in the groups they studied, for the mortality in these groups is fairly high.

[84] Sanderson, Social and Economic Areas of Broome County, p. 29.

[85] *Cf.* J. W. Barger, "The Rural Community Club in Montana," Univ. of Mont. AES, Bul. 224, Jan., 1930, p. 43.

[86] C. J. Galpin and D. W. Sawtelle, "Rural Clubs in Wisconsin," Univ. of Wis. AES, Bul. 271, p. 50.

[87] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community, Boston, Ginn and Co., 1932, pp. 356, 539.

[88] *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 539.

[89] Kolb and Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 74; see also, Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–156.

Thus they found that the modal length of life of all the 351 organizations studied was 2 years or less, although the mean was 6.8 years. This was lowered by the fact that organizations devoted to young peoples' interests had been rather recently organized, with a mean of only 2.9 years, which was also true of those devoted to home improvement and those to "help school and teacher." [90]

They distinguish four stages in this cycle: stimulation, rise, carrying-on, and decline. Under "stimulation" they state that certain prerequisites must be fulfilled, such as a sufficient number of members; that purposes come first; and that promoters are evident and active, i.e., the development of a new organization depends on leadership, local or outside. During the "rise" of the organization there tend to be frequent meetings and large crowds; the organization takes on a form; a pace is set for the future; and the inner circle begins to function. During the "carrying-on" stage a shift in leadership responsibility takes places; there is the discovery of conflicts with other groups; there is an attempt to help or reform the community; difficulties arise within the group; the organization tends to grow up with people; and adaptations are attempted. In the period of "decline" it becomes difficult to keep the membership in line; leadership seems inadequate for the situation; it becomes more difficult to meet or to transact business, and finally the organization becomes "inactive." This analysis of the life cycle of an organization is valuable for rural leaders in showing them how to determine the stage which their group is in and consequently what steps should be taken to adapt its program to meet the situation. Sometimes organizations which have outlived their usefulness ought to be given a decent burial. This may be almost as important as to start new ones.

G. LEADERSHIP

It is evident that in all the processes involved in the life cycle the growth and maintenance of the group will depend very largely upon able and devoted leadership. This is almost equally true of the other organizations and institutions discussed in previous chapters, but leadership is particularly important for special interest groups which attract only certain members of the community and which are not so essential as to be regarded as institutions which must be maintained. We cannot here go into a discussion of the nature of leadership and how it may be incited and trained. This is discussed in Chapter 29.[91]

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

[91] See Dwight Sanderson, Leadership for Rural Life, New York, Association Press, 1940; abridged in Chapter XII of Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*

The development of leadership may be encouraged by limiting the term of office. An increasing number of organizations are developing training schools for officers, and these are being fostered by some of the state universities and agricultural colleges, which hold training schools for Parent-Teacher Association, Grange, Farm and Home Bureau, and other leaders.

The strength of an organization is in the number of its leaders, and potential leaders. An organization which depends upon the leadership of any one individual over a series of years, however capable he may be, is usually headed for disaster when he retires. One of the surest ways to develop a crop of oncoming leaders is to give the young people in an organization all the responsibility they can shoulder and let them take over the offices as rapidly as they show ability to do so.

Lastly, it should be emphasized that leadership is not something which is inborn, or which depends upon certain personality traits; most people have the capacity to assume leadership in some situation if they are rightly incited to desire to be of service and to become willing to assume responsibility. The importance of an understanding of leadership in the whole process of rural social organization cannot be overemphasized (see p. 701).

H. ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Lastly, we must note that as special interest groups multiply and individuals belong to several of them, their interests and programs may conflict, and the members are subject to conflicting loyalties. Each of these organizations is good for its own purposes and has its place in the social fabric, but when purposes conflict or there is personal jealousy as antagonism between their leaders, the fabric is weakened and may become disrupted. The sublimation of the special interests of all these various groups, so that they will constantly realize that they have an obligation to contribute to the common welfare of the community rather than merely to the special interests of their members, and how they may be integrated to this end, is, therefore, one of the major problems of rural social organization. It is dealt with in Chapter 29.

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Chapter 24

PLAY AND RECREATION ORGANIZATION

Whenever a group of young people discusses rural conditions the one subject on which their interest usually focuses is the securing of better recreational facilities. Play and recreation have come to have a new place in rural life.

We usually think that children *play* whereas adults need *recreation* from their work. There is no sharp distinction between the two terms and they are commonly used synonymously. Adults play as well as children, but ordinarily young children do not need recreation, for play is their chief end in life and one of their chief means of education. There are many definitions of *play* by those holding different theories about it, but there are four essentials which have been pointed out by Mitchell and Mason:

> (1) Play is activity; it is not idleness, but is in contrast with it. Loafing and dawdling are not play . . . ; (2) Play is not limited to any form of activity; it may be neuromuscular, sensory, mental, or a combination of all three; (3) The value of play in education is due to its power to interest the player, absorb his attention, and arouse him to enthusiastic and persistent activity; (4) Whether an activity is play or not depends on the attitude of mind of the doer toward the thing he is doing . . . upon the motive that impels him to action.[1]

It follows from the above that what is play for one person may not be so for another or for the same person under different circumstances. Drumming a popular song on the piano is play, but practicing for a music lesson is work. Work may be play; Thomas Edison is quoted as saying that he never worked a day in his life. On the other hand, however much one's work may be play for him there may come a time when he needs recreation, a different kind of activity for his physical or mental well-being. Thus, gardening may be play or recreation for the office worker, or even for the farmer if he has the play attitude toward it.

[1] From Elmer D. Mitchell and Bernard S. Mason, The Theory of Play, p. 88. This and the subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher.

RECREATION. This is primarily a pleasurable activity. In its broadest usage it includes play and amusements.

> . . . Recreation, in contrast with work, has its own drive and is enjoyable. The chief drive in recreation is the pleasure it affords. A person engages in a recreational activity for its own sake without any thought of reward beyond itself, although an ulterior value may be a part of it also, especially if we indulge in recreation for the sake of health.[2]
>
> Play, though frequently regarded as synonymous with recreation, is now generally considered as primarily childhood activity, although the playful spirit is an integral part of recreation and manifests itself throughout life. Play is a phase of recreation, is motivated more or less directly by immediate interests, wishes and satisfactions. It is frequently the more active and creative phase of recreation. Recreation, as the word implies, is largely re-creative, renewing, and refreshing tired bodies and minds and exhausted resources, yet, in its larger aspects it is creative also.[3]

AMUSEMENTS. Amusements have still a different connotation, in that the chief purpose is to occupy attention or distract, as we seek to amuse a child or the sophisticated person seeks amusement to avoid ennui. The pleasure motive is dominant and, though some amusements require active participation, many of them are passive entertainments for the amusement of the spectator. This is true of many commercial amusements.

LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES. This term has also recently come into use with the shorter working day of wage earners. If leisure is used for activities, they may be play or recreation; but leisure may be used for mere idleness or loafing. Leisure is more applicable to adulthood, as a freedom from compulsory work or duties and as an opportunity to engage in activities which are not required by the necessities of life.[4] Leisure is not a problem with most farm people, except at certain rare seasons, but the farmer may have much more leisure than formerly and villagers and suburban residents[5] have much more than farm people. Leisure makes possible more play and recreation.

We cannot here go into the psychology of play and its implications for education and personality development, although the newer interpretation of its function has had a most profound influence on pedagogical methods and the theory of educational curricula[6] in the schools,

[2] From M. H. Neumeyer and E. S. Neumeyer, Leisure and Recreation, 1936, p. 147. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 158–159.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–15.

[5] *Cf.* G. A. Lundberg, *et al.*, Leisure: A Suburban Study, 1934.

[6] *Cf.* Franklin Bobbitt, The Curriculum, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928; Mitchell and Mason, *op. cit.*, Chapter X.

as fostered by the progressive education movement. Nor can we adequately explore the sociological analysis of play[7] and recreation, although we shall discuss incidentally some of its more important implications. The play group is the first form of association which the child experiences outside of the family and was the characteristic form of Cooley's primary group;[8] associations in various play and recreational groups give rise to some of the strongest human ties and have a fundamental role in the socialization of the personality (see p. 28) and in the structure of society. Indeed, the theory of play and recreation lies chiefly in the realm of social psychology and the application of its findings have the widest social significance.[9]

I. HISTORICAL

In colonial and pioneer days rural play was mostly either individualistic or in crowds. Wrestling and feats of strength were among the favorite pastimes, as were hunting and fishing, which might be work or play according to the needs of the larder. These all involved individual prowess.[10] Recreation, as such, was largely a matter of events in which the people assembled on festival occasions, such as the camp meeting, celebrations of national holidays, and in Europe, the celebrations of saints' days, or the rare circus or traveling show; or at work-gatherings, such as barn-raisings, husking-bees or log-rollings. At the latter events a big dinner was a chief feature and at all of them there was much drinking as a means of releasing the imbibers from the humdrum of everyday life. Later, as better homes and country schools and churches became common, box-socials, social parties, and singing schools became common forms of play.

Only in the present century did rural play take the form of organized groups or teams for sports; before then it was informal and occasional because of lack of time and the difficulties of transportation. Indeed, the development of organized play groups and teams for sports has appeared chiefly since the advent of the automobile, which has made it possible to gather together from a considerable area for an hour or two.

[7] M. H. Neumeyer and E. S. Neumeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 155 *ff.* and Chapter XI.

[8] C. H. Cooley, Social Organization, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914.

[9] *Cf.* Kimball Young, Social Psychology, New York, F. S. Crofts and Co., 1935, pp. 255–261.

[10] *Cf.* J. M. Williams, Our Rural Heritage, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1925, p. 115.

Another shift in rural recreation is that it now occurs away from the family and home. Formerly with larger families both children and young people had much more play in their own homes, and within the kinship group in the neighborhood. Now with smaller families and smaller houses when a party is to be held it is more likely to be at the school or some lodge hall, although home parties are still common in many rural communities.

It must be recognized that the tradition toward recreation has been very different in various sections of the country with different religious, social, and ethnic backgrounds. In the North the New England puritanical tradition dominated attitudes toward play. Children might be allowed to play if they had finished all their tasks, but the latter were many and there was little time for play. For adults to while away their time in play, if not absolutely sinful, was a waste of good time, for it was the man who could do the most work who had the highest status among farmers. In the South, on the contrary, at least among the plantation owners with more leisure, recreation was one of the chief goods of life; dancing and parties were common and a major interest. As German and Scandinavian colonies settled the Middle West they had their own recreational usages, including folk dances. Probably nowhere has rural recreation been so much valued or so well organized as among the Mormons of Utah, where it forms one of the central features of their culture, as seen in the village recreation halls established by the church.

In a general way the role of recreation in rural life has changed with the mechanization of agriculture and transportation. In the pre-automobile era farm life was characterized by isolation, long hours of work, the family as the main social unit, and by satisfactions offered by craftsmanship both in the home and on the farm. With the coming of the automobile and particularly with the rapid mechanization of farm implements in the last two decades, there has come a very different situation with different needs for recreation and new attitudes toward it. First, the automobile enabled the farmer to get around and associate with others in a way which had previously been impossible. He found that he could take time or make time to enjoy the pleasures which the automobile made possible, and this changed his whole attitude toward recreation. With the auto came better mail service and increased stimulation from cities through city newspapers and magazines which brought rural people city attitudes toward recreation. The automobile also made it possible to enjoy commercial amusements such as the motion picture theater, and the radio brought to everyone a flood of new forms of recreation. There was a marked increase in social groups

of all sorts, as we saw in Chapter 23, and a development of agencies which had recreation as one of their chief purposes. Furthermore the mechanization of farm and home work, and the larger use of factory and purchased goods, made possible more leisure for those who wished to use it for recreation, although with others it simply resulted in their doing more work in the same time.

As a result the purely social gatherings are not so much needed as formerly, but with an attitude of desiring recreation there is need of better programs for recreational activities, and for planning recreational programs through various rural agencies to meet the needs of the different age and sex groups. There has resulted, therefore, a definite movement toward the organization of recreational programs to meet the needs of rural folk, just as in the fields of public health and education. Indeed, recreation is now conceived as a phase of a broadly conceived educational program.

In this change to a new appreciation of rural recreation there are two points of view concerning its relation to various rural organizations and the process of social organization. One of these emphasizes play as a means of strengthening existing organizations and attracting membership. It has been a working hypothesis that if people learn to play together they will be able to work better together for other ends, and there is considerable evidence to justify this view. In the past the rural church and the grange used recreational activities to attract participation in their organizations, and to a very considerable extent this has been the motivation of the work which the state extension services have done in promoting recreation.

Those who are leading the recreational movement hold, however, that play and recreation should be undertaken not simply as means to ends, but for the values in the immediate enjoyment, for personality development through new forms of self-expression, for the values of group experience, and for the appreciation of cultural values; in short, for the social values of recreation in and of themselves.[11] They are stressing the *function* of play, rather than its use merely as an activity for making an organization attractive. A recreation program should be undertaken not merely as a lure to participation in an organization, but because it has values of its own which should be recognized and planned for just as are the other objectives of any organization in which recreation forms one of the legitimate interests.

[11] Neumeyer and Neumeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–124.

The opinion of rural leaders from all parts of the country was uniform that, during the depression of the early 1930's there was a notable increase of interest in noncommercial recreation in which the people themselves participate. This was due to lack of funds, to the presence of more people in the rural communities, and to a desire to maintain morale through recreational activities.[12] The same tendency will doubtless occur during the present war period.

One of the notable effects of the newer trends in recreation, chiefly due to the automobile and the radio, is that the social control of recreation has been very largely taken out of the home and the local community and the mores concerning it tend to approximate those of the city. Thus there has been a notable increase in Sunday baseball in rural communities and public opinion is much more tolerant toward it. Similarly Brunner and Kolb note the increase in the number of villages which permit Sunday evening shows at the motion picture theaters, this being most common in the Far West and not found in the South.[13] The automobile has made possible social contacts more like those which occur in the city. Thus Kolb and Brunner point out the need for new forms of social control:

> . . . The points of the old romance triangle—the boy, the girl, the place —can now be shifted from the neighborhood with its personal and primary controls to three far-flung points. The farm boy may seek his companion in another community where he is little known and take her for an evening of entertainment to a distant, impersonalized and commercialized amusement hall. This shifting emphasis requires newer forms of social control, lest the triangle become one of tragedy instead of romance.[14]

Rural recreation is, therefore, one of the major problems of rural social organization, at least in the mind of rural youth, and our chief interest is in the problem of developing adequate recreational facilities and programs and means of relating them to existing organizations and institutions, although interesting excursions might be made into the sociological structure and significance of many forms of rural recreation, which furnishes an enticing field for socio-psychological research.

[12] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, "Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression," New York, Social Science Research Council, 1937, Bul. 34, pp. 106–108.

[13] E. deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[14] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., rev. ed., 1940, p. 554. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher.

II. FORMS OR TYPES OF PLAY AND RECREATION IN RURAL SOCIETY

Let us now make a brief survey of the different forms or types of play and recreation common in rural society, examining their function and the means by which they are conducted.

A. SPORTS

Baseball is the traditional American game, but in the winter season basketball is becoming equally or more popular, and in the fall most rural high schools have a football team, although some of the schools discourage football as too strenuous for high school boys. All these are team games and have the socializing values of compelling the players to play a role for the success of the team and to submit to chosen leadership. But all these sports are enjoyed by scrub teams wherever space is available. Most of these teams are high school teams (see p. 364) but many villages and rural communities have baseball [15] and basketball teams of older youth not in school, and softball leagues have become common in recent years. Ball teams do much to create community *esprit de corps* and when leagues of them are well managed they develop a healthy intercommunity competition. Indeed such a baseball league became one of the central features of a county-wide organization of community clubs in an Ohio county just after World War I.[16] The rapid development of high schools in the last two decades has greatly increased participation and interest in these sports and many rural communities in the Middle West have been reported as basketball "crazy."

Bowling is not so common in the country, for few villages can support a modern bowling alley, but in Canada, as throughout southern Europe, some form of bowls is played on whatever open level space is available. It requires little equipment and is particularly enjoyed by men who can play at odd times.

Tennis is limited in the number which can play at a given time, but many high schools now have tennis courts and here and there is a village which provides public courts, and many a better farm home boasts one.

[15] In 1925 Melvin reported baseball teams in three-fourths of the villages of 750 or more inhabitants (*op. cit.*, pp. 92–94).

[16] *Cf.* R. C. Agne, The Clarke County Plan of Community Organization, Proceedings of the Third National Country Life Conference, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921, pp. 101–102.

One of the interesting developments in rural recreation in recent years is the growth of golf clubs. This shows that rural folk are taking over city patterns, for golf is a game which requires leisure and is particularly adapted to adults. Brunner and Kolb report that ir 1930 in one-fourth of the 93 villages with over 1,000 population which they studied golf was a part of the recreational program, whereas in 1924 they found it in only 6 places.[17]

B. INDOOR GAMES FOR THE HOME AND SOCIAL GATHERINGS

There are scores of indoor games for use in the home or in social gatherings, under whatever auspices, which have attained new popularity in recent years owing to the work of recreation specialists of such agencies as the extension services, the National Recreation Association, and private agencies.[18] These may be classified in numerous ways for different purposes. There are table and board games, for 2 to 4 people, such as dominoes, chess, crokinole, and card games of all sorts. Ping-pong is a more active game, which requires some equipment and might almost be called a sport, as there are ping-pong leagues. It has become increasingly popular and is well adapted to club rooms and social halls. What are sometimes called parlor games have an infinite variety. They have been classed as socializers, active games, quiet games, and skill games.[19] Among the more active games for social gatherings are the singing or rhythmic games, some of which are simple forms of folk dances. The more quiet games include mental games, often involving guessing, pencil-and-paper games, dramatic games, such as charades, and others; the skill games involve simple homemade equipment. The art of conducting a social gathering is in the knowledge of the leader concerning the use of various types of games, their adaptability to different ages, sexes, and interests, and in going from one type to another so as to avoid monotony and maintain a keen enjoyment.

Incidentally, we should note the general prevalence of so-called "kissing" games, such as "Post Office," in most rural districts a generation ago, which are even now far too common in many isolated sections where other games are unknown.

[17] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*

[18] The best of these is the Cooperative Recreation Service, Delaware, Ohio, managed by Lynn Rohrbough, publishing the Kit, a quarterly, and Handy 1 and Handy 2, recreational handbooks.

[19] *Cf.* W. M. Smith, Jr., "Games for 4-H Clubs, Home Bureaus and Groups in the Home," Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Ext. Bul. 369, Feb., 1937.

C. DANCING

Dancing is one of the most ancient forms of play; it also has ceremonial uses among primitive peoples. The most indigenous form of dancing in rural communities was the folk dance or square dance. Until recently so-called social dancing (although it is not nearly so social as square dances) or round dancing was much more popular in the older parts of the country under the influence of city society ways. However, in recent years there has been a marked revival of folk dances and square dances among the rural young people and this has even spread to the cities. 4-H Clubs have taken to folk dancing with enthusiasm (Fig. 112). These old-time dances are much more active and can mix up a crowd of old and young much better than round dances. The folk dances of foreign countries are particularly timely for festival occasions during the present war, as a means of appreciating foreign cultures.

Through considerable areas of the country there has been much objection to round dancing by some of the Protestant churches. Ministers railed against dancing and cards as works of the devil, but without much success. In recent years a much better understanding of the use and conduct of the dance has arisen and many rural churches now have parish houses or community buildings where dances are attended by the whole family, as has been the practice of the Mormon church for many years. Wherever dances are conducted as family affairs or by invitation there is usually little trouble due to undesirable conduct; but when granges or other organizations throw their dances open to the public to raise funds they often have difficulty with undesirable persons, drinking, etc. As a result the dances come into disrepute and the organization suffers more than it gains.

The most objectionable dancing is that done in public road houses and dance halls which the automobile has brought into the open country. In some cases they are supervised by local authorities, but in too many cases they are permitted to go their own way unless they become a public nuisance. No studies have been made to show to what extent road houses are patronized by rural youth, and there is need for investigations of this sort.

School dances are now common in many rural communities, and dancing classes have been held by WPA leaders in rural high schools as a phase of adult education. Interpretive or aesthetic dancing is also to be found in some rural high schools, particularly for festival occasions.

D. THE ARTS AS PLAY AND RECREATION [20]

Interpretive dancing may be considered one of the arts, but ordinarily we think of music, drama, painting, drawing and sculpture, and more recently amateur photography, as in this category. All of them may be considered forms of recreation if their chief aim is the enjoyment of the activity for its own sake.

1. MUSIC. Music is native to the countryside, as the folk songs of many lands testify. Country folk may sing as they work, and when a group are working together, particularly if the activity is rhythmic, they often lighten their labor by song, as may be seen most typically in a gang of southern Negroes chopping or plowing cotton. Music has always had a prominent place in religious services, and we have already noted the role of the village choir as the chief musical organization of many a small rural community. Recently the schools have introduced special teachers of music, not only of singing, but for directing choruses, glee clubs, orchestras, and bands. This has given a great stimulus to rural music. It has been most marked in the consolidated schools and high schools, where there are facilities for musical instruction and larger numbers of children make possible forms of music which were impossible in the one-room school. In 1930 music instruction was given in 130 of the high schools in the 140 villages studied by Brunner; two-thirds had glee clubs or orchestras.[21]

The old singing school held at the school house or church was one of the most important recreational institutions of a century ago, and recently this has been revived in New Hampshire.[22] In the South "county sings" have been major festival occasions in some counties, drawing crowds of people from far and near.[23]

With better transportation those with musical interests are not confined to their own community. County choruses, bands, and orchestras have been developed in many states; the county Farm Bureau bands in Indiana and the county women's choruses in the same state are notable examples, and throughout the country there are many county 4-H club bands. Before the days of the automobile these would have been almost impossible.

[20] *Cf.* Marjorie Patten, The Arts Workshop of Rural America, 1937.

[21] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, pp. 194, 201.

[22] Dwight Sanderson and R. A. Polson, Rural Community Organization, New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1939, p. 287.

[23] *Cf.* Willem Van DeWall, The Music of the People, pp. 78–79.

Probably the largest use of music as recreation is that of individuals and of family groups for their own enjoyment. The farm home with an organ or piano has always been a popular place for young people to gather, and some of the fondest recollections of it are of family sings. To be able to play any musical instrument so that one enjoys doing it for his own satisfaction is one of the commonest and purest forms of play, and one which is a valuable asset for maintaining emotional hygiene. It is to be hoped that mechanical music, the radio and the phonograph, will not discourage personal musical accomplishment. In the long run it will probably increase the desire for it by creating more and better taste for music.

2. Drama and Pageantry. These are among the oldest forms of rural recreation and have become increasingly popular in recent years. The "little country theater" idea has taken firm root in the last two decades. Drama is not only good fun for the players, in spite of the hard work it involves, but it has a unique socializing value in that each player must—for the time—live the role which he is playing. His horizon of life is thereby expanded, and he has opportunity to play a part which is not open to him in real life. The following incident is an interesting example of this social influence of dramatics, as related by an extension worker:[24]

> The story of Miss White was an interesting one. Her Home Bureau undertook to participate in the county dramatics contest at the County Fair. They selected a play with three women in the cast, a modest enough undertaking, but two weeks before the final contest was to be held, the actor in the leading role decided she was too busy and would have to withdraw. This left the group in a difficult situation, for the last two weeks in August is a busy time to ask a woman to take on a job of learning the leading role of a play. However, Miss White, a quiet, unassuming little person, with a tremendous sense of responsibility, volunteered to undertake the job. It happened that the role she assumed was that of an aggressive, strident individual, exactly the opposite of Miss White's real personality. So, although the Home Bureau was thankful that Miss White was willing to substitute and do what she could, they had no hope that she would be successful, since, as they said, "She isn't that kind of a person." When the time for the contest came, interest in the other plays throughout the county was rather keen, but the members of Miss White's Home Bureau, with more frankness than tact, expressed their doubts that their play would be at all satisfactory. They had confidence in the other two members of the cast, but they were quite sure

[24] Dr. Mary Eva Duthie, who has been training local leaders in rural drama throughout New York State since 1924.



FIG. 112. 4-H Club children of foreign parentage present the folk dances of their ancestors at a county festival.

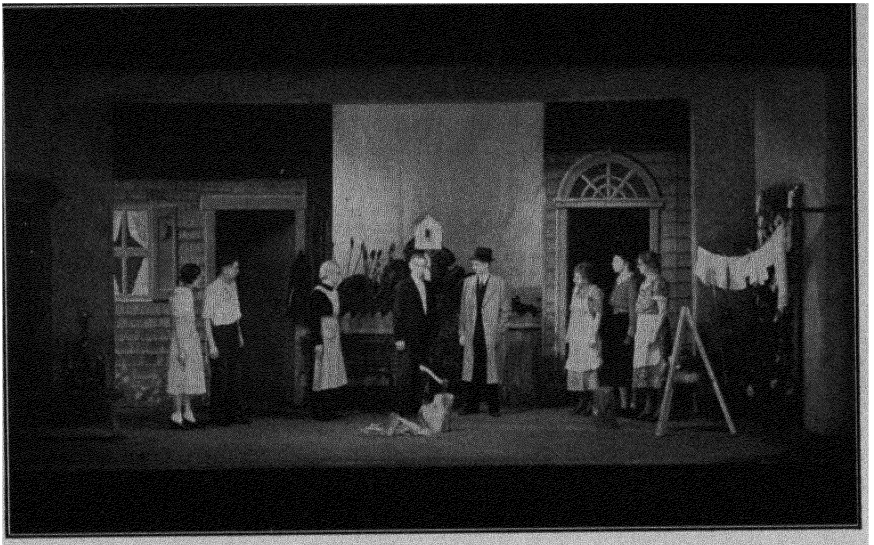


FIG. 113. *Uncle Jimmy,* presented by the Orwell Community Dramatic Club of Oswego County, at the Community Dramatic Festival during Farm and Home Week, Cornell University, February 15, 1939.

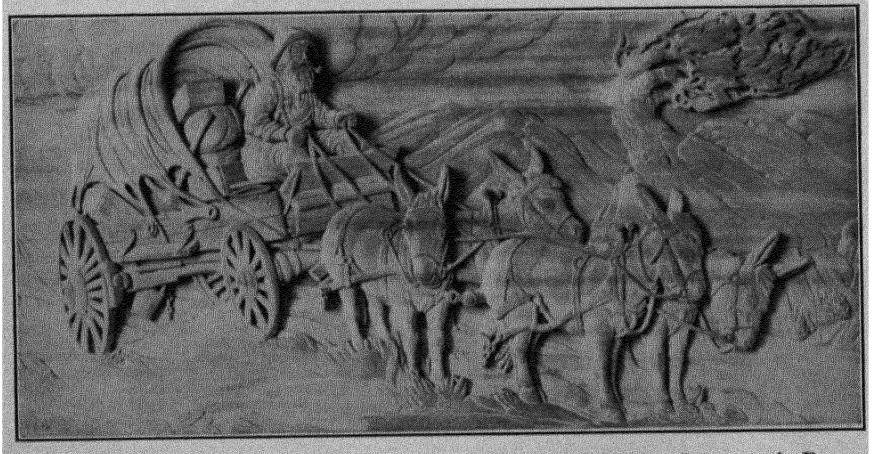


FIG. 114. "The Old Prospector," a wood carving by Vernon Lemerond, Brown County, Wisconsin. (From John Barton.)

Miss White's interpretation of the aggressive leading character would be weak and ineffectual. When the play came on however, they were amazed. Miss White had entire control of the situation from the moment the curtain went up until it went down, and her interpretation of the character, so different from her own, held them breathless. It was, by all odds, the best bit of acting in the entire contest, and Miss White's play took first place in the county by a unanimous decision of the judges. Apparently, this woman who had devoted much of her life to serving others, with little reward or recognition, found in this role which she was able to take for a few weeks, the satisfaction of expressing some of the pent-up emotions of years. One very interesting result of her success was a change in her status in the group. From this time on, she was an important member of her unit, the recipient of deference to a degree comparable to the neglect which had been hers before the play contest.

The audience enters into the play because it includes their friends and relatives. The importance of drama as an educational force and a teaching device has come to be appreciated by both school and church. In many high schools instruction is now given in drama by teachers of English, and many of the school subjects, such as history, are dramatized by all grades. In 1936 Brunner found that instruction in drama was given in practically half the village high schools studied.[25] In New York State about one-fifth of the high schools in places of 1,100 or more inhabitants give drama courses.[26] In the churches Sunday school classes relive the Bible stories through their dramatization, and get their meaning much more clearly because they are *playing* the parts and it is play for them. The Grange has long made use of drama as a means of entertainment; state lecturers actively encourage it, sometimes with loan libraries of plays. Drama has become popular with 4-H clubs, and in New York State in 1941 4,251 members of 331 clubs in 32 counties participated in a state-wide drama program. "Little theater groups," independent of other organizations, are springing up. Many of them have long existed in North Dakota under the leadership of Professor Alfred G. Arvold, the father of this movement.[27] In a survey of drama in small New York communities (under 5,000) Dr. C. Darkes Albright found about 1,450 groups putting on plays (Fig. 113). Of these 800 were church groups, 380 were grange groups, 200 were 4-H clubs, 40 were community dramatic clubs, and 24 were little theater groups. Ninety of the church and grange groups

[25] E. deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, Rural Trends in Depression Years, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1937, p. 166.

[26] H. D. Albright, "A Survey of Small Community Drama in New York State, 1936–39," Ithaca, N. Y., Ms. in Cornell Univ. Library.

[27] A. G. Arvold, The Little Country Theater.

were dramatic clubs sponsored by them, so that there were 154 dramatic clubs in small communities. This does not include 600 high schools, of which all put on one or more plays and one-third have organized dramatic clubs.[28]

For special occasions the historical pageant [29] is not only a fine entertainment but is one of the best means of arousing community spirit. The pageant grips both actors and audience with a common appreciation of their inheritance from the struggles of their forefathers. All sorts and conditions of people will work together in a pageant, each finding it possible to take a part and to enjoy the association. Beware of itinerant professional pageant directors who will get most of the receipts and whose interest is in putting on a show, and who often so overwork the participants that they want no more pageants. When the play spirit is lost from pageantry or drama, it loses its chief value.

Frequently music and drama or pageantry are combined in play festivals, which have been particularly popular with 4-H clubs as county festivals.

3. The Fine Arts—Painting, Drawing, and Sculpture. Until recently we had not thought of the fine arts as a form of play for rural people, but they are fast taking their place as an enjoyable form of leisure-time activity, thanks to the instruction given in the new consolidated schools and high schools. In 1936 practically 40 percent of the village high schools studied by Brunner [30] were giving art instruction. Some twenty years ago my friend Professor E. C. Lindeman told a story of a cousin of his who was a farmer in Denmark who astonished him with his fine oil paintings and I wondered how long it would be before American farmers would come to that stage of culture. But the day is already here, as attested by the first rural-farm art exhibit held during Farm and Home Week at the University of Wisconsin in 1940, in which 30 farm men and women exhibited some 60 pieces of their work [31] (Fig. 114). Two universities have established prominent artists in studios on their campuses to encourage the development of rural art.

A striking demonstration of the fact that rural children find pleasure in art when given suitable instruction and inspiration was made

[28] Albright, *op. cit.*

[29] *Cf.* A. F. Halsey, "The Historical Pageant in the Rural Community," Cornell Ext. Bul. 54, June, 1922; H. H. Hudson and M. E. Duthie, "A Pageant of Agriculture," Cornell Ext. Bul. 123, June, 1925.

[30] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

[31] *Cf.* J. R. Barton, "Rural Cultural Arts in Wisconsin," Madison, Wis., Univ. of Wis., Coll. of Agr., Ext. Serv. Spec. Bul., June, 1940, p. 12.

by David Donoho, the art teacher of the Breathitt High School, at the Twenty-first National Country Life Conference at the University of Kentucky in 1938. He exhibited charcoal drawings, made with charcoal which the children had burnt themselves, paintings, water colors, clay sculpture, and pottery fired in an earthen pit which the students had constructed.[82] All of these dealt with homely scenes of the everyday life around them and showed a fine appreciation of form and color. This had been done by pupils in a high school which had been in operation only some six years, and was the only one in a county which has been noted for its lawlessness. With such instruction there will be a folk art in rural America like that which one could see exhibited in the National Museum at Copenhagen in Denmark. The folk arts, such as pottery and carving, have a long history in European peasant life, and are being reborn in this country by its descendants. These forms of art form a particularly suitable form of recreation for rural folk who may be more or less isolated, by distance or season, and who can enjoy them as a pastime when they are unable to get together in group activities.

We should not omit the mention of amateur photography, which, although merely a hobby with many, may become a real form of art when art values are sought and depicted. The camera has come to be an important adjunct of every outing and gives a record of recreation which can be relived in the photographs.

E. READING

Reading is by all odds the chief leisure-time activity of most rural young people.[83] In the main it is probably mostly recreational in nature. The increase of rural libraries (see Chapter 18) and the larger circulation of magazines, particularly of women's magazines, has

[82] David Donoho, "A Story in Clay," *Rural America,* Dec., 1940, p. 3.

[83] *Cf.* the following bulletins of Cornell Univ. AES: M. B. Thurow, "Interests, Activities and Problems of Rural Young Folk: I. Women 15 to 29 Years of Age," Bul. 617, Dec., 1934, pp. 22–28; W. A. Anderson and Willis Kerns, "Interests, Activities and Problems of Rural Young Folk: II. Men 15 to 29 Years of Age," Bul. 631, May, 1935, pp. 30–32; W. A. Anderson, "Rural Youth: Activities, Interests and Problems: I. Married Young Men and Women, 15 to 29 Years of Age," Bul. 649, May, 1936, pp. 30–35; "II. Unmarried Young Men and Women, 15 to 29 Years of Age," Bul. 661, Jan., 1937, pp. 24–27. Numerous similar studies, such as H. M. Bell, Youth Tell Their Story, p. 164; C. E. Lively and L. J. Miller, "Rural Young People, 16 to 24 Years of Age," Mimeo. Bul. 73, Dept. of Rural Economics, Ohio St. Univ. and Ohio AES, July, 1934, p. 16, have revealed the same thing, although the amount of time spent in reading and preference for it vary from state to state.

brought much more reading matter into the farm home. Book clubs have also become common. More schooling and the contact with books through the school has also had an influence in cultivating reading habits.

F. RADIO

Although the radio is a passive form of recreation it has brought to rural people a new world of music, drama, and literature, as well as politics and religion and news from the ends of the earth. Although much of the music and drama is very poor, yet one may also listen to the best, which was formerly available only to city people who could afford it. Furthermore the radio, with the phonograph, furnishes music for dancing at no cost. Undoubtedly the radio has done as much as the auto to change the attitudes of rural people toward recreation.

G. HOBBIES

Hobbies are activity interests to which an individual may devote considerable time, but usually at irregular intervals. Avocations, such as gardening or carpentry, are similar to hobbies, but are pursued more regularly. There is an almost infinite number of hobbies,[84] including all sorts of collections, from stamps to match packet covers and china dogs, and crafts of all sorts from weaving to pottery. People with certain types of hobbies often organize informal clubs for the exchange of ideas and the exhibition of their accomplishments. Thus there are garden clubs and flower shows, and philatelic clubs with their exhibitions. Recently hobby shows, at which the products of all sorts of hobbies are exhibited, have had a considerable vogue,[85] and there are magazines devoted to hobbies.[86]

H. PICNICS AND FIELD DAYS

The annual picnic of the Sunday school, the grange, or the fireman's association has long been an important event in many a rural community, and frequently these have been combined into a community picnic. The automobile has made it possible for city people to get out into the country for picnics, and this has also been taken up by country folk, so that family picnics with an auto ride have become a favorite diversion, although very rare in the horse-and-buggy days. In-

[84] Neumeyer and Neumeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–101.

[85] *Cf.* Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

[86] *Hobbies, The Magazine for Collectors,* published by the Lightner Publishing Corporation, 2810 So. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.; *Leisure, The Magazine of a Thousand Diversions,* 683 Atlantic Ave., Boston, Mass.

deed, rural folk have taken to the custom of suburban and village families of having a family picnic in the orchard, or whatever scenic spot is near the home, and even erecting outdoor fireplaces for picnic suppers.

The more formal organizational picnics are often accompanied by games, sports, and dancing. Field days for contests in athletic sports have also become common in connection with school and youth organizations.

I. CAMPS AND CAMPING

The last 25 years have seen a rapid growth in the enjoyment of camping by rural people. This has been developed most by the 4-H clubs which have hundreds of county and district camps, some of them rented for a fortnight and others owned by the county or the county organization. This movement has extended to farm women, who find relaxation and enjoyment in camping. In several states there is a state camp. The first of these was organized at Jackson's Mills, West Virginia; it was founded in 1921 by William H. Kendrick, and is owned by the state.[87] This is not only a recreational but an educational institution, where 13 counties have erected cottages, and there is a series of camps and training schools for 4-H clubs, Future Farmers of America, farm women, the men of the Farm Bureau, youth organizations of churches, and others.

There is a new appreciation of the values of camping not only for recreation, but as a means of education, character building, and leadership training.[88] In the camp youth lead a simpler life with regular duties for which they are responsible, but with all sorts of games and diversions, which are all play. Each must do his part and assume responsibility, and in the conduct of hikes, putting on campfires, training the new campers, and in many other ways obligations are thrown upon all who are capable of assuming them, so that it is an unusual setting for leadership training. Furthermore, in the camp the adult leaders and counselors get a more personal contact with the members than in almost any other situation and mores are established by the group which carry over into the rest of the year. The songs around the campfire, the hikes, the games, and the stunts together give some of the finest memories of the joyous *camaraderie* of youth.

[87] *Cf.* West Virginia's Leaders' Training School: The State 4-H Camp at Jackson's Mills, leaflet issued by the Ext. Serv., W. Va. Univ., Morgantown, W. Va., 1940.

[88] *Cf.* Mitchell and Mason, *op. cit.*, Chapter XVII and bibliography on pp. 424–425.

J. COMMERCIAL AMUSEMENTS

The only feature which so-called commercial amusements have in common is that one has to pay to enjoy them. By far the most common are motion picture theaters, pool rooms, and public dance halls. Road houses where patrons may dine, drink, and dance are closely akin to the latter and it is hard to separate them from the ordinary saloon, or tavern, which is certainly one of the most widespread recreational institutions for the more convivial, and has a long history as a rural institution.[39]

Motion Picture Theaters. Motion picture theaters are common in the larger villages and have brought to rural people an opportunity to enjoy all forms of drama, which formerly they rarely were able to attend in the cities. The news reels and travelogues also give them a picture of current events and of distant lands and bring them into contact with the whole world. The movie and the radio have practically abolished rural isolation for most of the country. In 1925 Melvin found motion picture theaters in two-thirds of the New York villages with from 750 to 1,500 inhabitants, and about 1 for each village over that size.[40] In North Dakota in 1936 there was 1 motion picture theater for every 10 villages of under 250 population, 1 for every 2 medium-sized villages (250 to 999 population) and 1 for every village of 1,000 or more inhabitants,[41] but there had been a considerable decline in the number during the previous decade, owing to the depression. Brunner found 4 out of 5 of the 140 larger villages throughout the country had motion picture theaters in 1930, but the number had declined since 1924.[42] This decline was largest in the Middle Atlantic States, and was in part due to the introduction of talkies. These require a more expensive equipment and tend to shift attendance to the larger places which can support them.

Pool Halls. Pool halls are common in even small villages and often are a gathering place for men and youth. In some states they are limited to soft drinks, though private drinking of liquor is too often tolerated; in other states beer may be served. Thus of North Dakota Hay writes: "Pool halls usually have a beer parlor in connection and serve as a common meeting place for boys and men especially in the rural areas. In many cases the village pool hall is the only

[39] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community, pp. 533–534.

[40] Melvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–93.

[41] D. G. Hay, "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota," N. D. Agr. Coll. AES, Bul. 288, July, 1937, p. 77.

[42] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

place that is available for the country and village men and boys to congregate especially during the long winter evenings." [43] He found an average of 2 pool halls for each large village, slightly more than 1 for each medium-sized village (250 to 999 population), and 1 for every 2 smaller villages, but the number had declined 35 percent in the previous decade.

PUBLIC DANCE HALLS. Public dance halls are becoming more common in rural territory, but there is little information concerning them for the country as a whole. In North Dakota in 1936 there was 1 for each large village, 1 for 3 out of 4 of the medium-sized villages, and 1 for nearly every 2 small villages (under 250 population).[44] The most interesting fact is that, although the number in villages had decreased 43 percent in the previous decade, it had increased by threefold in the open country, doubtless as a result of the prevalence of road houses and the automobile. Quite probably this is the situation in other parts of the country. Hays states:

> There were some indications that many of the social and recreational agencies including lodges, war veteran organizations and others were sponsoring more dances for their members and friends in 1936 than in former years. The less favorable environmental influence of the commercial public dance is usually given as the primary reason for these organizations sponsoring more dances.[45]

There has been considerable discussion of the influence on rural youth of attending commercial amusements in the cities. Although this occurs and has an important influence, there is reason to believe that it may have been exaggerated. Thus in 5 counties in central New York it was found that only 22 percent of the open-country families in the service areas of villages which had motion picture theaters went mostly to cities to attend them, an average of 18.5 miles; but 70 percent of the families usually attended motion pictures in the nearest village offering them, at a distance of 3.6 miles.[46]

III. ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

We have seen the tendency for rural recreation to become more organized by groups and less informal and also that there is definite con-

[43] Hay, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76.
[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76.
[46] Dwight Sanderson, "Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 614, June, 1934, p. 21.

sideration of community recreation programs, i.e., to make available suitable forms of recreation to all elements in the community. Let us see what are the chief agencies promoting organized rural recreation and helping to train leadership for it.

First come the public schools, particularly the consolidated and high schools which may employ a supervisor of physical education who can also be a recreation leader. The schools are fast coming to realize their responsibility for planning a recreation program. The Educational Policies Commission holds that sound educational policy requires that public school properties be opened to public use outside of school hours and that boards of education promote, as part of their educational responsibility,[47] community recreation through such means as are within their power. Indeed, it looks forward to the day when there will be a *public education authority* whose functions will include the provision of a broad educational and leisure-time program for persons of all ages.[48]

At present the consolidated school or high school has gymnasium, shop, and music facilities which are not available elsewhere in the community, and which should be used to the maximum both by those in school and those out of school. The school is certainly the chief institution as far as the recreation of youth is concerned, but too often it has neglected the out-of-school youth and others in the community.

The church has assumed an important role in rural recreation in recent years, though its service in this capacity goes back for centuries in European village life. Various forms of sociables, parties, dramatics, picnics, etc., are sponsored by rural churches, individually or cooperatively. Many rural ministers are now concerned because the church cannot compete with the school for the time of the children and young people for social affairs. They must remember that institutions are made for man and that men will and should give their allegiance to the institution which gives them the best service for particular purposes. If all the churches in a community were united in one program for their youth, they might be better able to enlist their interest, but as long as each struggling church insists on maintaining its identity and therefore has little equipment or leadership and a weak program for only a few young people they will not be able to compete with the school. Nor need it do so, for if the school is furnishing a wholesome program of play and recreation, that is the end to be accomplished and it matters not what institution does it. The chief

[47] Educational Policies Commission, Social Services and the Schools, Washington, D.C., NEA, 1939, pp. 46, 61, 63.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

function of the church should be to see that the recreational activities are kept wholesome and open to all. But where larger parishes have been formed the director of religious education or a recreation specialist may bind the young people of the whole parish together through an active program. Wherever the church can furnish capable and sympathetic recreational leadership it will find ample opportunity for it and will obtain a goodly participation.

Granges and other farmers' organizations, such as the Farm and Home Bureaus, the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union, and fraternal lodges, have furnished a large part of the leadership in rural recreation. The most powerful force in promoting recreational programs for rural youth is the 4-H club movement, which recognizes recreation and social activities as one of the leading features of its program.[49] Furthermore it has the instruction of recreation specialists connected with the extension services of the state land-grant colleges. Recreation specialists are now found in half of the state extension services and there is a national leader in the extension staff of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. They are probably the most active agents for promoting rural recreation outside the schools. Through itinerant schools they have trained thousands of local leaders in games and drama. They have been helped and their work has been promoted by the cooperation of the National Recreation Association.

The Works Projects Administration is another agency which has done much to promote the organization of rural recreation.[50] As a part of its adult education program in the schools it has supported recreation teachers, and in some states it has assisted the extension service with trained leaders. Thus in New Hampshire there was developed an excellent system of county recreation agents, supported by the WPA but associated with the extension service. As a result of these and similar services rural people have acquired the notion of a county recreation leader, and here and there a county school system has gone far in this direction. At a National Congress of Farm Women held at Washington, D.C., in 1934, a farm woman from northern Minnesota got up and vigorously advocated the need of a recreation agent on the county extension staff as one of the greatest needs of country life, and this was later seconded by another farm woman from the Middle West.

[49] See Blanche Brobeil, A Planned Recreation Program for 4-H Clubs, Washington, D.C., USDA, Ext. Serv., Circ. 338, Aug., 1940, processed.

[50] *Cf.* WPA, Community Recreation Programs: A Study of WPA Recreation Projects, Washington, D.C., Feb., 1940; and Report on Progress of the WPA Program, June 30, 1940, pp. 72–74.

Another institution which has done much to organize rural recreation is the community building or hall. There has been a considerable increase in community buildings in the past twenty-five years. Many were built during the decade after World War I as war memorials, as the result of a campaign made by War Camp Community Service. They have served as social centers in many rural communities and have usually developed some sort of organization for conducting a program of recreational activities. At one time it seemed possible that the community building might become a permanent rural institution in many places. The present tendency, however, is to plan the construction of the school so that it can serve as a social and recreational center for the community, as it is tax-supported and has a responsible board with trained employees to supervise a social program, whereas the average rural community cannot afford to employ a trained person as executive of a community building operated by a private association. However, in Wisconsin it is possible to form a special tax district for building and maintaining a community building; and there are various ways of arranging their management. Democratic control, adequate financial support, capable management, and a comprehensive program for all are essentials for the success of a community building. The community building is a new institution for the housing and organization of recreational activities.[51]

The development of national, state, county, and local parks in the open country has had a large influence on the recreation habits of rural as well as of urban people. They induce more frequent picnics and the use of the camping facilities. In some places in the Middle West the county park system maintains a chain of open-air swimming pools, with adjacent sport facilities, which are greatly appreciated by farm people after a hot day's work. Indeed, the preservation of scenic spots and strips along streams for picnic and recreational purposes is coming to be an accepted feature of county and state planning programs.[52]

[51] *Cf.* W. C. Nason, "The Organization of Rural Community Buildings," USDA, Farmers' Bul. 1192, June, 1921; "The Uses of Rural Community Buildings," Farmers' Bul. 1274, July, 1922; Blanche Halbert, "Community Buildings for Farm Families," Farmers' Bul. 1804, Sept., 1938; D. E. Lindstrom, W. A. Foster, and M. G. Fuller, "Rural Community Buildings," Univ. of Ill. Coll. of Agr., Ext. Circ. 470, March, 1937; D. G. Carter, "Rural Community Building Plans," Univ. of Ark. AES, Bul. *322*, June, 1935; Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–278, 306–314.

[52] *Cf.* W. C. Nason, "Rural Planning: The Social Aspects of Recreation Places," USDA, Farmers' Bul. 1388, March, 1924; "Rural Planning: The Village," Farmers' Bul. 1441, March, 1925.

Thus there is a definite trend toward better organization of rural recreation so as to insure that facilities may be available to all elements and that there may be adequate leadership to stimulate their general participation in suitable forms of recreation. This is shown by the organization of county recreational councils of lay leaders,[58] and in some states there is legislation permitting the establishment of county recreation commissions as part of the county government (e.g., Westchester County, New York). Furthermore with easy communication there is a definite tendency to take over city forms of recreation and corresponding attitudes toward them. Recreation is a new force in rural society which will have a far-reaching influence in stimulating higher standards of living. The most important consideration should be to maintain and develop those forms of recreation which are native to the country, the home party, the folk dance, the picnic, the fair, the festival, in which the people can themselves participate at small cost and which give them distinctive cultural values and tend to bind them together in rural communities and in their organizations. After all, the essence of play is in the enjoyment of the activity itself and if play becomes too highly organized it loses its spontaneity and thereby may lose its charm for the player.

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[58] These were originally promoted by the National Recreation Association. About a dozen counties have had them in New York State for three or four years, and they have proved most helpful for stimulating programs in backward communities and for leadership training. See Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, pp. 388–389.

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E. RURAL CLASSES

Chapter 25

CLASS AND CASTE IN RURAL SOCIETY

As was pointed out on p. 210, the term *class,* as commonly used, is an indefinite category, whereas *caste* is the extreme fixation of class differences, as described below (p. 604).

I. CLASSES DEFINED

The significance of the term class varies from that of a mere category or statistical class, such as the old and the young, or men and women, to one of strong loyalties and a sense of exclusiveness, which finds its extreme form in caste. There may be a minimum feeling of allegiance to the collectivity or there may be a strong social consciousness. As a sociological concept class involves differences of status, and a social class is separated from the rest of the community by its social status.[1]

> . . . The concept of class loses its sociological significance if it is *defined* by any purely objective criterion, such as income level or occupational function. Class does not unite people and separate them from others unless they *feel* their unity or separation. Unless class-consciousness is present, then no matter what criterion we take, we have not a social class but a mere logical category or type.[2]

Class-consciousness depends very largely upon the competitive, conflictive, or cooperative relations of the different classes. The nature of the social interaction largely determines the class distinction. In general, class distinctions are sharpest where there is competition or conflict. Classes may be maintained when there is accommodation between them, but only when there is potential competition or conflict. Complete accommodation or assimilation between classes means their disappearance. Only as the members of a class become aware of their

[1] *Cf.* Robert M. MacIver, Society, pp. 166–167.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 167. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publishers. This point of view has been disputed by George Simpson ("Class Analysis: What It Is Not," *Am. Soc. Rev.,* Vol. 4, pp. 827–835), but he has not given an alternative concept.

common interests, as opposed to those of others, does the class as a collectivity have significance as a sociological collectivity, although it may be of importance as a statistical or ecological category for purposes of sociological analysis.

Classes always involve the possession of or debarment from certain rights and privileges by those who belong to them.[3] They also imply a certain social distance [4] between classes and a relative equality within the class. Classes always involve *stratification* of a society. Thus classes have been defined as

> . . . the inclusive, loosely organized groupings whose members behave toward each other as social equals and toward outsiders as social superiors or inferiors, and who as individuals either stay in the group to which they were born, or rise or fall to different levels depending on the way their social attributes correspond to the values around which their particular class system is organized.[5]
>
> . . . People are of the same class when they normally (1) eat or drink together as a social ritual, (2) freely visit one another's families, (3) talk together intimately in a social clique, or (4) have cross-sexual access to one another, outside of the kinship group. . . . These intimate relationships are made concrete and attainable for the individual by his social clique, which is the smallest class unit.[6] [See p. 552.]

The concepts class and group should be distinguished for, unfortunately, the terms are commonly used synonymously, even by sociologists. When we referred to age distribution in Chapter 5 we were concerned with the age *classes* in the sense of their being statistical categories, although they are often wrongly spoken of as age *groups*. Boy Scouts and old ladies' homes are real age *groups*, i.e., they are groups whose membership is limited to certain ages. The same distinction applies to occupational groups—and classes.

Classes always occur within areas, whether the local community or the district or region, but cannot be distinguished as areas. Thus the Southern Highlanders are not a class but are distinguished by having a definite culture associated with locality. On the other hand, we may

[3] *Cf.* C. C. North, Social Differentiation, Chapel Hill, N. C., Univ. of N. C. Press, 1926, p. 25.

[4] Social distance has been defined as "the degree to which interaction and cooperation do or do not obtain between individuals, groups, nations or cultures," Constantine Panunzio, Major Social Institutions, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1939, p. 559. See also Pitirim Sorokin, Social Mobility, pp. 173–174.

[5] R. L. Sutherland and J. L. Woodward, Introductory Sociology, pp. 363–364.

[6] Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1940, p. 261; see also Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, Deep South, pp. 9–13 *et passim*.

have a class peculiar to a locality, as, for example, when the share croppers and poor tenants of the South become class-conscious and follow certain political or agricultural leaders.

In many cases a class may become institutionalized so that it has a definite sanction and status, as in the case of slavery, serfdom, the priesthood or clergy. In this event it acquires the characteristics of a caste, which will be considered later.

In some instances what ordinarily are mere statistical categories may assume class significance. Two of these are age and sex. Ordinarily when we deal with the composition of the population we refer to age and sex classes in merely a statistical sense, but they may assume true class significance.

II. TYPES OF CLASSES

AGE CLASSES. In all groups, such as the family, the school, or the church, there are obvious conflicts of interest between youth and their elders, but only when this becomes general and, through communication, youth have opportunity to exchange views and question the established relationships does a youth movement develop so that youth have class-consciousness. In our own society during the past decade the frustration of many youth who were unable to obtain employment has been a potent cause of their class-consciousness; as a result the schools and the agricultural extension services are organizing programs for older youth (see p. 417).

The most important alignment of an age class is that of the elderly people seeking old-age pensions. This crystallizes into groups, such as the Townsend Clubs, but a definite class feeling has arisen as a result of the throwing of older workers out of employment with the rapid shifts of technological development.

SEX CLASSES. Probably there has always been a certain class-consciousness between the sexes, as is shown by the men's houses among primitive tribes, and in patriarchal or matriarchal forms of government. It has been only in the last century, however, owing to better means of communication and to opportunity for women to become self-supporting in industry and business, that a definite feminist movement has arisen. Women have become class-conscious in this country in the economic field, in education, politics, religion, and morals. In olden times the role of the woman in the home and in her other relations was a matter of the mores concerning the individual woman; only in modern times have women thought of themselves as a class. As a

consequence this class feeling cuts across all forms of association and creates many new problems in social organization. An interesting example is the separation of the farm women in several states from the Farm Bureaus into Home Bureaus and the problem of getting the two to team up in work on family and community problems (see p. 411).

RACE CLASSES. Wherever there is a sufficient number of different races residing in a community or area the minority races form classes. This is usually accompanied by more or less segregation of the minority races and potential conflict if their economic interests compete. The dominant race usually regards itself as superior to the minority race. Whether this superiority actually exists or not, the dominant race believes it does, and this is strengthened by the fear that the inferior race may compete with it for a higher status, both economic and social. If racial superiority becomes a dogma of the dominant race and the minority race accommodates itself to it, then the institution of caste arises, but caste is not necessarily dependent upon racial differences.

The strength of the class feeling between races varies with the races and with the economic situation. Thus the situation between Negroes and whites in the South involves a caste relationship, but in Oklahoma (the former Indian Territory) there is a class distinction between whites and Indians but little caste, and what caste distinction exists is on the part of the Indians. (Prominent politicians have used their Indian blood as an asset.)

Race classes also exist on the Pacific Coast between the native whites and the orientals, but the caste system is less strong than with the Negroes in the South. One of the most interesting cases of racial classes is that which exists in Hawaii, where, because of historical and economic conditions, there is little racial conflict or caste.[7] The Jews form a distinct class in our society, but not so much because they are of the Semitic race as for economic reasons. In most American rural communities there are too few of them to form a distinct class.

The caste and class relationships of the southern Negroes will be discussed further under caste.

NATIONALITY AND LANGUAGE CLASSES. In some sections nationality and language classes are almost as distinct as racial classes, but prejudice against them is not so deep-seated and accommodation and assimilation are easier. Nations frequently have different languages which form barriers to communication and hence tend to make class distinctions when they intermingle in a common area as do the immigrants in this country. It should be observed, however, that simi-

[7] *Cf.* Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage in Hawaii, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1937.

larities of culture and physical likeness tend to outweigh differences of language, so that the Scandinavians of the North Central States are readily assimilated, whereas the southern Italians are much more segregated because of their standard of living and their swarthy complexions.

Wherever there are strong nationality or language classes, either in city or country, their class loyalties inject themselves into the political, religious, educational, and social life of the community. One of the chief evils of Nazism is that it foments nationality (wrongly called racial) class-consciousness for the purpose of creating strife in other nations so as to promote its own political ideology, just as Communism has done in the economic sphere.

One of the chief means of preserving nationality classes is by the use of their language. Consequently there was a violent reaction in the Middle West against the use of the German language in the public schools during World War I and legislation was enacted to prevent it. For the same reason one of the most important features of the Americanization program has been to teach immigrants English, for inability to communicate means social isolation. There has been a reaction, however, from the idea that nationality groups should be wholly assimilated as soon as possible, and we now perceive that there are traits in foreign cultures which it is desirable to preserve and that it is possible for immigrants to maintain a sincere loyalty to their native culture and also to that of their adopted country with a distinct enrichment of the latter.

RELIGIOUS CLASSES. In many rural communities Protestants and Catholics form distinct classes and, indeed, Protestant sects often represent class interests more than theological differences.[8] In Utah and neighboring states Mormons and gentiles form distinct classes. Only where one religion is strongly predominant does status give rise to class-consciousness. Evidence of the strength of religious classes exists in the fact that only a generation or two ago the marriage of members of one Protestant denomination into another was frowned upon. This is still true as between Protestants and Catholics.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CLASSES. In political and economic discussions of the cities the term *social class* describes "the complex of ideas, sentiments, common interests and similar traditions which differentiate the behavior of some persons in economic competition with that of others."[9] This is the use of the term in the sense employed by Marx

[8] T. A. Tripp, "Rural Poverty and Rural Morale," New York (156 Fifth Avenue), The Christian Rural Fellowship, Bul. 44, Sept., 1939, processed.

[9] R. M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

and Engels and other socialistic writers, and embodied in the distinction between bourgeois and proletariat classes. It is in this sense that we commonly speak of the "class struggle," as between employers and employees, which formed the basis of Marx's analysis of society and his theories of economic determinism.

But social classes are not wholly the result of economic status; there are classes which are derived chiefly from *social status,* although economic differences enter more or less. Thus most societies have the military, professional, and priestly classes, irrespective of their economic status. In Sparta the military class had the highest status, as it does in Germany today; in China its status was much lower than that of the scholars. Social status and economic status are definitely interrelated in most class structures, and social status may be conceived as including economic status, for rank and prestige form the basis of class distinctions.[10]

It is this feeling of *status* which is more powerful in creating class differences in rural society than purely economic distinctions, although the latter play an important part in it and are more commonly recognized. It is important to grasp this point of view, for in almost every rural community there are class distinctions which are fundamental controls in its social organization and which are only in part determined by economic status. Far too little attention has been given to the social rank in the sociological analysis of rural society.

In our analysis of rural classes we must distinguish between the classes of the rural community as a whole and those which are peculiar to the agricultural population. In general, discussion of rural classes has been largely confined to that of farmers, but their status is in a community and not merely among themselves. Furthermore, we must distinguish the use of the term *class* as a category from that of *social class.* Thus when Taylor describes the "disadvantaged classes in American agriculture"[11] he refers to statistical classes and not to a class

[10] *"We shall then mean by a social class any portion of a community which is marked off from the rest, not by the limitations arising out of language, locality, function or specialization, but primarily by social status.* Such a subjective factor involves also, as a rule, objective differences, income levels, occupational distinctions, distinctions of birth, race, culture, and so forth, within the society.

But these differences, apart from a recognized order of superiority and inferiority, would not establish cohesive groups. It is the sense of status, sustained by economic, political, or ecclesiastical power and by the distinctive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them which draws class apart from class, gives cohesion to each, and stratifies a whole society." R. M. MacIver, *op. cit.,* pp. 166–167.

[11] C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, Washington, D.C., USDA, The Farm Security Admin-

structure. Within a given area, however, what is usually merely a statistical category may become a self-conscious class. This is the tendency of the share croppers in the South as shown by the organization of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union [12] and by the power of certain politicians who have claimed to represent their interests. In the same way, when carried to the national level, we may have an agricultural class as against the working class (represented by trade-unionism), and the manufacturing and business classes.

III. FACTORS CAUSING AND AFFECTING RURAL STRATIFICATION

It is not possible to distinguish sharply the factors which are causal in creating classes and those which merely affect their strength, for the two are interrelated and the degree of importance depends very largely on the culture in which they exist. In a general way, however, we may distinguish the causal factors as: (1) economic differences, involving value of holding, tenure, amount of income, poor or good land, being on relief, etc.; (2) racial or nationality composition of the population; (3) mobility and length of residence of families; and (4) the organizations in which members of the class participate. The factors which strongly affect the existence and strength of rural classes are: (1) the culture of the locality, be it community or region; (2) the age of the community or region; (3) the importance ascribed to family tradition and status; (4) education; (5) occupation and vertical occupational mobility; and (6) character and morals.

A. FACTORS CAUSING RURAL STRATIFICATION

1. Economic Factors. (*a*) *Size and Value of Holding.* Classes occur wherever there is a concentration of land ownership. This is evident in the South and on the Pacific Coast (see pp. 124 to 127); we have also seen that it is tending to develop in the Corn Belt (see p. 139). Just as the loss of control of their tools with the development of the factory system in the Industrial Revolution created a class-consciousness among the workers in manufacturing, so the loss of ability to obtain sufficient land for profitable farming is creating agricul-

istration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics cooperating, Social Research Report VIII, April, 1938.

[12] *Cf.* Howard Kester, Revolt Among the Sharecroppers, New York, Covici Fried, Inc., 1936; and Oren Stephens, "Revolt in the Delta—What Happened to the Sharecroppers' Union," *Harpers Magazine*, Vol. 183, pp. 656-664, Nov., 1941.

tural classes in this country. Whether he is owner or tenant, one engaged in general farming cannot obtain a satisfactory income on too small an acreage. Heretofore in the Middle West it has been possible for a renter to obtain a farm large enough to yield a fair income for both himself and the owner, but with the increasing mechanization of agriculture this is becoming more difficult, and many are being gradually forced off the land. In the South this has always been true of the share croppers and small tenants who have formed a majority of the farm operators.

In certain types of agriculture, as in truck gardening, fruit culture, or greenhouse crops, the mere size of holding is obviously not so important as the value of the land, so that under some conditions the value of the holding is more important than the size. In both cases it is the size of the income from the farm which is the final criterion of its adequacy for a decent standard of living.

(*b*) *Low Income.* Low income is, therefore, the critical factor with regard to the economic distinctions among farmers. Taylor has shown that in 1929 there were 1,700,000 farms, or 27 percent, which yielded a gross income of less than $600; 900,000, or 14 percent, less than $400; and 400,000, or 6 percent, less than $250.[13] In the main, the areas where these conditions are most prevalent are those of greatest class distinctions. The chief exception is in the Southern Appalachian and Ozark Highlands where the farms are all small and of the self-sufficient type so that there is little general class distinction due to economic differences. Low income may be associated with poor land, as in much of the South, which suffers from soil erosion and the exhaustion of fertility by constant tillage under a one-crop system so that the small owners are but little better off than the tenants; but it may also occur on rich land operated by tenants or share croppers under an unfavorable system of tenancy.[14]

(*c*) *Land Tenure.* As discussed on pp. 130 to 142, land tenure is very definitely associated with class in some areas and not in others; it depends on the nature of the tenure, the type of farm operated, and the local attitudes.

Schuler [15] has summarized the results of some 50 studies made since 1922 for 21 individual states. These showed very different tenure class differences in the North and the South. The social status of white

[13] Taylor, Wheeler, and Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 7–36.

[14] *Cf.* M. R. White, Douglas Ensminger, and C. C. Gregory, Rich Land—Poor People, Indianapolis, Farm Security Administration Region III, Jan., 1938.

[15] E. A. Schuler, "The Present Social Status of American Farm Tenants" *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 3, pp. 20–33, March, 1938.

tenants is decidedly below that of owners in the South, but this has not been demonstrated for the North. The differences due to tenure of Negroes in the South is similar to that of the whites in the South, but to a lesser degree. "Regional and racial diversities in the implications of tenure status seem to outweigh in significance those similarities of implication which do exist."

Differences between attitudes of owners and renters in the North and in the South were shown by a study made by Schuler in which farm families were interviewed. "In the North less than half of the owners think they receive more respect than they would if they were renters, while in the South more than three out of four say they receive more respect as owners than they would if they were renters." [16] Practically the same difference was evident in the answers of renters with regard to their attitude toward ownership in the two regions, the Northern renters feeling less certainty that owners feel better off than renters, but nine out of ten of the Southern Negroes thought that owners generally feel better off than renters.

A considerable literature concerning the handicaps and social status of renters and share croppers in the South has appeared in the last few years. Of these Raper's books are among the best.[17]

In a community in Central New York [18] where only 13 percent were renters there was found definite association between feeling of superiority or inferiority on their part as related to that of owners. In families of owners 8.3 percent felt superior as against 5.3 percent of those in tenants' families; 24 percent of the former, but 42 percent of the latter, had a feeling of inferiority. This gives a coefficient of association of +0.46, which is significant.

The same study showed a positive correlation between increase of income and feeling of superiority, and a negative correlation between increase of income and feeling of inferiority for the nonfarm population. Although the same general trend existed among the farm families it was irregular.[19]

Many studies, including those summarized by Schuler, have shown the superior standard of living of owners as compared with tenants.

[16] E. A. Schuler, Social Status and Farm Tenure, Washington, D.C., USDA, The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics cooperating, April, 1938, Social Research Report IV.

[17] Arthur Raper, Preface to Peasantry; Arthur Raper and Ira de A. Reid, Share Croppers All.

[18] L. S. Bee, "Attitude Differentials in a New York Rural Community," Cornell Univ. Library, 1939, Ph.D. thesis (ms.), p. 142.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

The relation of tenure to mobility and participation in organizations as affecting class distinctions will be noted under those topics.

(*d*) *Farm Laborers.* (See pp. 162 to 169.) Farm laborers are at the bottom of the rural social scale, migratory laborers being at the very bottom and resident laborers somewhat higher. Class differences between owners and laborers have been most marked on the Pacific Coast where large commercial farms are most numerous. In California and Arizona the migratory labor class has been tremendously augmented by the "Oakies" and "Arkies" moving westward from the cotton states; in Texas the Mexicans furnish an even lower class. With the emergence of trade-unions among the laborers of the Pacific Coast their class-consciousness will be heightened.

Even in the older parts of the country the families of permanent farm laborers usually feel their inferior status, as shown by the fact that few of them belong to or attend the same churches, or belong to the same organizations, as do the owners. Only occasionally are those who are old residents of a community and who are known to be of high character accepted in the same organizations as farm owners. Little study has been given to the handicaps which the permanent laborers' families suffer from their social status, but rural social workers find it a problem.

(*e*) *Relief Families.* Relief families form a very distinct class in most communities, although this has broken down in some communities where a large proportion of the people have been on relief. Landis states that "In many areas the 'reliefers' associate almost entirely with other 'reliefers,' sometimes going so far as to form their own clubs and organizations."[20] Even those who are not receiving direct relief but are receiving loans from the Farm Security Administration feel a class distinction, and are also developing their own group life in some localities. Employment by the WPA tends to give more status than direct relief, but all who receive public aid, from whatever source, are usually regarded as in a lower class.

Most of the relief families are those of farm laborers or of villagers, for relief families tend to drift into the villages and towns, and only a small proportion are families of farm owners.

The main point with regard to relief families is that, as Lowry Nelson says,[21] "Something new has happened in the process of social strati-

[20] Many studies have been made of rural relief so far as the characteristics of the relief population and methods of organization are concerned, but practically no research has been done with regard to the effect on the recipients in given communities with regard to their social isolation and the increase of class feeling.

[21] Lowry Nelson, "National Policies and Rural Social Organization," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. I, p. 87, 1936.

fication in the rural community," because for the first time large numbers have been on relief in many communities.

2. RACIAL OR NATIONALITY FACTORS. In this country racial classes are mostly drawn on caste lines and will be discussed later under the topic of caste.

The "melting pot" of this country has been in its cities, but the same process has been going on in the open country, and has caused very definite class distinctions between natives and immigrants. There has been a gradual accommodation, which will probably result in assimilation in a few generations, although there are cases, for example the Pennsylvania Dutch, where class differences have been maintained for several generations.

The best study of class among rural immigrants of foreign nativity is that of Dr. E. deS. Brunner and his collaborators.[22] He describes the difference between the participation of different nationalities in such organizations as the Farm Bureau and farmers' cooperative associations according to whether they live in segregated colonies or are distributed among the native population, by nationality type and by regions. He shows that the segregated colonies participate much less; that the Scandinavian and Teutonic stocks participate more than the Slavic or Latin peoples; and that participation in the Middle West is greater than in the Northern Colonial or Far Western areas, there being practically no foreign born in the South. Four interesting case studies of individual communities composed largely of foreign stock are given. One of these, describing a Polish colony in New England, reveals how class lines have gradually broken down between the Poles and the natives, but at the same time class lines have arisen between the older and wealthier Poles and the newcomers and between the Poles and other Slavic nationals.[23] Elsewhere in New England class lines have been drawn between the Poles and later Italian immigrants.[24]

Other interesting studies of nationality and language classes have been made by rural sociologists in Louisiana[25] and South Dakota,[26] but only a beginning has been made in this important field.

[22] E. deS. Brunner, Immigrant Farmers and Their Children, Chapter V.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 224, 229–237.

[24] An interesting account of class feeling against an Italian colony in Arkansas is given by N. L. Sims in The Rural Community, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. 170, 177.

[25] T. L. Smith and V. J. Parenton, "Acculturation Among the Louisiana French," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 355–364, Nov., 1938; and V. J. Parenton, "Notes on the Social Organization of a French Village in South Louisiana," *Social Forces*, Vol. 17, pp. 73–82, Oct., 1938.

[26] J. P. Johansen, "Immigrant Settlements and Social Organization in South Dakota," S. D. Coll. AES, Bul. 313, June, 1937.

3. Mobility and Length of Residence. In most older communities newcomers are not accepted socially by the natives and have a definitely lower status. In the South they are "furriners" for many years, but this attitude is almost equally strong in many a New England or New York community.[27]

We have already seen (p. 142) that mobility is related to tenure status. Fig. 115 shows the percentage of farmers residing on the same farm for less than 1 year in 1935, and is a fair indication of where mobility is largest. The class feeling against newcomers is most clearly revealed in their lack of participation in organizations.

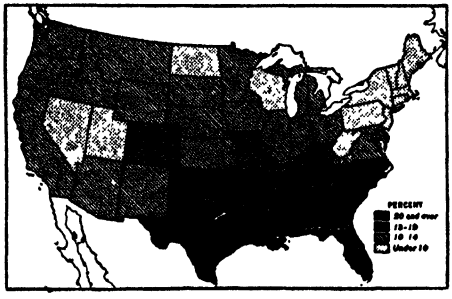


Fig. 115. Farmers residing on the same farm less than one year. Percentage of total number of farms. (From Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

4. Participation in Organizations. Membership and position in organizations form an index of social status, and are associated with other factors measuring social stratification, such as land tenure among farmers, education, length of residence, and income. This is true with regard to the number of organizations and the specific organizations in which an individual or a family participates, so that the index of participation as related to other class differentia gives evidence of the degree of class segregation in a given community.

Thus among the farm families of a Central New York county only 1 in 14 (7 percent) of owner families were without representation in any organization, as against 1 in 5 tenant families (19 percent) and nearly one-half (46 percent) of the families of farm laborers.[28] The average number of organizations attended by one or more members of farm families was 3.7 for owners, 2.1 for tenants, and 0.9 for farm laborers. Among the owners 25 percent of the husbands had held some office in an organization during the previous five years, whereas

[27] An illustration of the latter may be found in *Rural Community Organization*, by Dwight Sanderson and R. A. Polson, New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1939, p. 40; and in L. S. Dodson, Social Relations and Institutions in an Established Rural Community, South Holland, Ill., Washington, D.C., USDA, Farm Security Administration and Bureau of Agricultural Economics cooperating, Social Research Report XVI, p. 18, Feb., 1939.

[28] This and the following data are taken from H. H. Plambeck, "The Social Participation of Farm Families in Formal Organizations," Ph.D. thesis in Cornell Univ. Library, 1941 manuscript.

only 10 percent of the tenants and 6 percent of the laborers had done so; the percentages for wives being 30, 16, and 7, respectively. When membership, attendance, and position as a committeeman or officer were brought together in a family participation score, the owner families had an average score of 14.2, those of tenants 7.7, and those of laborers 3.8.

Length of residence in the community is also associated with degree of participation. In Cortland County 54 percent of the farm owners had resided in the present community for more than 15 years, whereas 56 percent of the tenants and 69 percent of the laborers had resided there less than 5 years. As the length of residence increases from less than 5 to 15 or more years, the participation score of the owners' families rises slowly from 11 to 15; that of the tenants rises from 5 to 14; and that of the laborers from 2 to 8.

Kolb and Brunner [29] state that "in the Middle-Western counties where 50 percent or more of the farms are tenant-operated, there are only one-third as many tenants as owners listed as active church members," and that the same trend is true for other types of organizations. Evidence from numerous other studies goes to show that participation in organizations is intimately associated with land-tenure status.[30]

In another study of a Central New York community [31] a definite relation was found between the number of organizations to which an individual belonged and his feeling of inferiority or superiority toward others. There was little difference in these attitudes between those who belonged to no organizations and those who belonged to only one or two; but between these and those who belonged to three or four, and five or more, there was a clear, positive association for the superiority attitude and inverse association for a feeling of inferiority. This association was stronger for the nonfarm than for the farm families.

The same study showed that there were certain organizations among whose members were included the highest proportion feeling superior, whereas others had a relatively high proportion feeling inferior. Proportionately more farm members of organizations felt inferior compared with nonfarmers in the same organizations, and this was particu-

[29] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., rev. ed., 1940, p. 347.

[30] The only exception to this are figures given by E. A. Schuler, Social Research Report IV, *op. cit.*, pp. 206–212, in which he finds that the participation of renters in both North and South is higher than that of owners, but his sample is so scattered that it needs further analysis before his conclusions can be accepted in view of the contradictory evidence of other studies.

[31] Bee, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

TABLE 47. DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS WHO FELT SUPERIOR OR FELT INFERIOR, ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH EACH WAS A MEMBER, AND FARM-NONFARM STATUS *

Membership in Number of Organizations	All Persons			Farm			Nonfarm		
	Total Number	Percent who Felt Superior	Percent who Felt Inferior	Total Number	Percent who Felt Superior	Percent who Felt Inferior	Total Number	Percent who Felt Superior	Percent who Felt Inferior
Total	1,097	8.7	23.3	412	6.6	27.9	685	9.9	20.6
None	290	5.2	28.3	100	4.0	27.0	190	5.8	29.0
One or two	453	8.8	25.0	154	7.1	31.8	299	9.7	21.4
Three or four	261	10.0	20.3	111	5.4	29.7	150	13.3	13.3
Five or more	93	15.1	8.6	47	12.8	12.8	46	17.4	4.3

* Bee, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

larly notable between different churches. Thus in the Baptist and Catholic churches, in which there was a low proportion feeling superior, there was no difference in feeling of inferiority between farmers and nonfarmers; but in the Episcopalian and Presbyterian churches, which had a high proportion feeling superior, the farmers felt markedly inferior compared with the nonfarmers.[82] Here is clear evidence of class distinction between different churches, which is most evident in some of the newer small sects which Dr. Tripp calls the "proletarian sects." [83] This class difference between churches has been noted in many communities, and the denomination which includes the higher class in one may represent the lower class in another community, but throughout a given culture area the same denominations will generally represent the same classes.

This tendency for groups to segregate different social strata even affects farmers' organizations. In a representative sample of about 1,000 farm families in two Central New York counties, 60 percent of the farms owners were members of the Farm Bureau, but only 6 percent of the tenants were members, and there were practically no farm laborers.[84]

Likewise, if the index of family participation (see p. 598) is taken as a good indicator of class standing, the Farm Bureau membership is found to be in the upper class.[85]

[82] *Ibid.*, pp. 154, 158.

[83] Tripp, *op. cit.*

[84] W. A. Anderson, "Farmers in the Farm Bureau in Cortland and Otsego Counties, New York," Cornell Univ. AES, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Mimeo. Bul. 4, 1941. The coefficient of association between ownership or tenancy and membership is +0.47.

[85] *Cf. Ibid.*

The same trend occurs in the Home Bureau. In Cortland County 21 percent of the families of owners had membership, as against 14 percent of the renters and 9 percent of the farm laborers.[86] The association of the family participation index with Home Bureau membership resembles that for the Farm Bureau.

Inasmuch as the Farm and Home Bureaus in states like New York are the organized constituency of the extension service in agriculture and home economics, the fact that these organizations are formed chiefly of owners and the upper agricultural class is giving the extension service some concern to find better means of serving the "lower third," as it is obvious that their programs of work have been largely planned to meet the needs and interests of the upper class.

This relationship between tenure and membership was not so striking in the Grange, for in Cortland County 58 percent of the owners' families had one or more persons belonging to the Grange, as against 30 percent of the tenants' and 10 percent of the laborers' families.[87]

B. FACTORS AFFECTING RURAL STRATIFICATION

1. THE CULTURE OF THE LOCALITY. Various factors in the pattern of culture approved by the mores affect the weakness or strength of class differences, whether in the local community or the region. We have already noted the difference in land-tenure classes between the North and the South. Classes are much more sharply divided in the South owing to the ante-bellum pattern of social organization, with Negro slaves as the lowest class and a rich and cultured planter aristocracy at the apex of the social pyramid.[88] To a large extent this pattern still survives, but the old planter aristocracy has to a large degree lost its economic hegemony and exists because of family and social status, whereas economic control has increasingly passed into the hands of

[86] W. A. Anderson, "Farm Women in the Home Bureau, Cortland County, New York, 1939," Cornell Univ. AES, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Mimeo. Bul. 3, Oct., 1941. If the women from renters' and laborers' families are thrown together the coefficient of association between tenure status and membership is +0.61.

[87] Plambeck, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[88] This has been well characterized by H. W. Odum in Southern Regions of United States, pp. 23–25, Chapel Hill, N. C., Univ. of N. C. Press, 1936, quoted by Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 296; and by L. C. Gray in his History of Agriculture in the Southern States, Washington, D.C., Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1933, which is summarized by T. L. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 343–345. See also, E. T. Thompson, Race Relations and the Race Problem, Durham, N. C., Duke Univ. Press, 1939, Chapter VII, pp. 180–218.

former "poor whites."[39] In general, it is true that the South lacks a strong agricultural middle class, whereas in the North it consists of the large majority of farmers.

We can see the extremes of class differentiation due to the mores of the locality in the almost entire lack of class distinctions in such communities as Rockville community in Virginia,[40] the New Mexican Indian village described by Loomis,[41] and the curbing of class distinctions in the Mormon culture, in contrast with the strong class lines in the South or in California. To a large extent the strength or absence of class is due to historical factors and tradition, as in the first two communities and the South, or to economic factors, as on the Pacific Coast, but in other instances it is due to definite mores against class distinctions, as among the Mormons.

2. Age of the Community or Region. It is well known that there is an almost total lack of class distinction in any frontier community. In this country class distinctions are much more common in New England and the South because tradition is stronger and there has been time to develop them.

3. Family Tradition and Status. This is the most important basis of class distinction in some cultures. Its most extreme form is in the familistic social organization of China, but it survives in many places in this country. Thus in the New Mexican Indian village what stratification there is exists between families and, in a Dutch community near Chicago, Dodson found kinship patterns to be basic in the social organization.[42]

Kinship groupings have been most striking in the Southern Appalachian Highlands, where family feuds have been notorious, but there are more class distinctions due to family ties in almost every older rural

[39] While writing this chapter I happened to see the Carolina Playmakers give Paul Green's "The House of Connelly" (in Out of the South, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1939), which vividly portrays the class feeling between the old white aristocracy, the poor whites, and the Negroes, and is a good example of the fact that fiction and drama often portray a culture pattern much more realistically than can the best scientific analysis.

[40] D. G. Jones, "Youth Adjustments in a Rural Culture: Rockville Community, Hanover County, Virginia," Blacksburg, Va., Va. AES, *Rural Sociology,* Report 16, May, 1941, processed.

[41] C. P. Loomis, Informal Groupings in a Spanish-American Village, Washington, D.C., BAE, 1941, processed; also Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community—El Cerrito, New Mexico, Washington, D.C., BAE, Rural Life Studies I, Nov., 1941.

[42] Dodson, *op. cit.*

community than is apparent to the outsider. This is particularly true in the South where family ties are strong.[43]

4. EDUCATION. Education is an important factor in giving status, but is not a primary cause of class distinctions. In the community he studied Bee [44] found little difference in feeling of superiority or inferiority between those who attended high school and those who had only an elementary school education; but over twice as many of those who had attended college felt superior and only two-thirds as many felt inferior as compared with those having high school education. Plambeck [45] found a direct association between amount of schooling of the male head and the family participation score of owners, tenants, and laborers, those with 8 grades or less having an average score of 9, those attending high school scoring 17, and those having schooling beyond high school averaging 24. The elite who comprise the membership of literary clubs usually have the best educations.

5. OCCUPATION AND VERTICAL OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY. Occupation is closely associated with size of income, which we have seen affects participation in organizations and attitudes of superiority or inferiority, and we have noted the class differences between farm operators and farm laborers. The association between occupation and feeling of superiority or inferiority obtained in Bee's study is shown in Table 48.

TABLE 48. DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS WHO FELT SUPERIOR OR FELT INFERIOR, ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION *

Occupation	Total Number All Persons	Percent who Felt Superior	Percent who Felt Inferior
Total	521 †	9.8	19.4
Professional and proprietors	105	11.4	12.4
Clerks, skilled workers and foremen	106	14.1	15.1
Semiskilled laborers	59	8.5	20.3
Unskilled laborers	53	5.7	22.6
Farm owners—operators	121	8 3	24.0
Farm renters	19	5.3	42.1
Farm laborers	58	8.6	19.0

* *Bee, op. cit.*, p. 142.
† WPA workers excluded.

[43] *Cf.* Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*; Blackwell, pp. 87–103; Jesse F. Steiner, The American Community in Action, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1928; Wagram, pp. 80–81.

[44] Bee, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[45] Plambeck, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

This is confirmed by various studies of individual communities, such as that of an Iowa community by Bell,[46] in which he found the rank of distinction to be first the bankers and those who work in banks; second, business and professional men; third, land owners; fourth, land renters; and lowest, the laborers. He remarks, however, that these lines of distinction are somewhat superficial as the children of all of these may play together and individuals of any occupation may rise into others through personal qualities. Landis[47] gives an interesting account by one of his students concerning the stratification in a western community largely due to occupation.

The opportunity for vertical vocational mobility and the homogeneity of occupation in a community are most important factors affecting class distinctions. As far as those engaged in agriculture are concerned the question of whether the process of ascending the "agricultural ladder"[48] (see p. 139) is kept free or whether it is becoming more difficult, is basic to the question whether classes are becoming more clear-cut in rural life. As we have previously indicated, there is considerable evidence that the mechanization of agriculture is making it increasingly difficult for farm laborers to advance to ownership, and vocational opportunity in the average village is limited, although quite free.

6. CHARACTER AND MORALS. Finally, character and morals must be given weight as important factors affecting entry into a higher class status than would be otherwise accessible. The farm laborer who has lived in a community for many years and who is known to be industrious and of good character is often a respected member of the local church or grange, where others are not so welcome; whereas the well-to-do ne'er-do-well has little class standing in the small rural community where people know each other fairly intimately. This is a factor which needs attention in the study of class phenomena in rural communities, where it is much more significant than in larger places.

IV. CASTE IN RURAL SOCIETY

When a class becomes fixed in its relations so that the individual born into it cannot enter another class, it becomes a caste. The distinction has been well stated by Warner:

[46] E. H. Bell, "Social Stratification in a Small Community," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 38, pp. 157–164, Feb., 1934.

[47] Landis, *op. cit.*, pp. 285–286.

[48] On this see also E. A. Schuler, Social Research Report IV, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV; T. L. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 510–523; and B. O. Williams, "Occupational Mobility Among Farmers," Clemson, S. C., S. C. AES, Bul. 296, 1934.

> Caste as used here describes a theoretical arrangement of the people of the given group in an order in which the privileges, duties, obligations, opportunities, etc., are unequally distributed between the groups which are considered to be higher and lower. There are social sanctions which tend to maintain this unequal distribution. Such a definition also describes class. A caste organization, however, can be further defined as one where marriage between two or more groups is not sanctioned and where there is no opportunity for members of the lower groups to rise into the upper groups or of the members of the upper to fall into the lower ones. In class, on the other hand, there is a certain proportion of interclass marriage between lower and higher groups, and there are, in the very nature of the class organization, mechanisms established by which people move up and down the vertical extensions of society.[49]

He then goes on to show that a high class Negro may be superior to a low-class white and still be in an inferior caste.[50]

Slavery and serfdom were both caste systems. Where caste is highly developed, as in India, it forms the basis of economic and social life, just as feudalism did in Medieval Europe. In a single Indian village there may be as many as 24 different castes, each of which has certain obligations to the others, so that it forms an interdependent economic and social system, as described by Wiser.[51] So in our own South today, the economic and social life is very largely controlled, for the Negroes at least, and for the whites to a considerable extent, by the caste system between the races, as it is to less extent on the Pacific Coast between orientals and natives.[52]

Although not generally sanctioned by public opinion, as in strict caste distinctions, caste relations often tend to arise between nationality, racial, or religious classes. Thus the prejudice against intermarriage between Jews and gentiles has been raised by the Nazis to a complete and cruel caste system. There is also a constant tendency for the upper classes to attempt to make caste distinctions between themselves and the lower classes, imputing to themselves superior inherited abilities (as supported by some of the more radical eugenists), although, as a matter of fact, they may have arisen from a lower class within a few generations. Thus the Southern white upper class has

[49] W. L. Warner, "American Caste and Class," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XLII, p. 234, Sept., 1936; see also W. L. Warner and Allison Davis, "A Comparative Study of American Caste," in E. T. Thompson, editor, Race Relations and the Race Problem, Durham, N. C., Duke Univ. Press, 1939, pp. 219–245; and W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, pp. 81–126.

[50] Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

[51] W. H. Wiser, The Hindu Jajmani System, Lucknow, U. P., India, Lucknow Publishing House, 1936.

[52] *Cf.* B. Schrieke, Alien Americans, New York, Viking Press, 1936.

attempted to maintain a caste relationship with the poor whites, but this is becoming more and more difficult because of public education and freedom of mobility.

It is not possible here to describe all the ins and outs of the Negro-white caste system, for that is a problem on which many volumes have been written. Three of the most recent pictures of caste relations between the Negroes and whites in the South are those of Dollard,[53] Powdermaker,[54] and Davis and Dollard.[55]

Caste relations are irrational and are based on the maintenance of the prestige of the higher in the eyes of the inferior caste or castes. As soon as this is seriously questioned or is not maintained by some form of force, caste lines commence to break. Caste conflict thrives on prejudice and hate and rests on fear. The arousal of class prejudice has, therefore, always been the tool of the political demagogue to maintain his power. It will inevitably collapse as the lower caste is able to obtain education and economic opportunity. The increasing willingness of southern whites to support a practical type of Negro education is, therefore, an encouraging sign of promise toward gradually working out caste relations in the South.

V. ANALYSIS OF STRATIFICATION

The process by which social classes and castes develop is known as stratification, and is a form of social differentiation. The condition or state of stratification is the result of accommodation. In both classes and castes the extent to which individuals are bound by their distinctions is determined by their having a common definition of the social situation.

We have seen that several classes may exist in a given society, but that all of them involve a recognition of status. Ordinarily status carries with it the idea of *rank* in the social scale, that is, the difference in social distance between individuals which controls the type of social interaction which is possible between them. But, as pointed out by Warner,[56] status does not necessarily involve rank.

[53] John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town.

[54] Hortense Powdermaker, After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South; also see Thompson, *op. cit.*

[55] Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1940; and Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, Deep South, *op. cit.*

[56] W. L. Warner, "Social Anthropology and the Modern Community," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XLVI, p. 786, footnote, May, 1941.

What we ordinarily think of as status really involves the question of rank and when we speak of *the* social classes in a given society we usually refer to their rank position. It is evident that an individual may belong to more than one social class, as he may be a farm owner and also belong to a foreign nationality class. Multiple factors rather than a single element therefore determine an individual's place in the rank order, or the position in any social group. Among the statuses which are the more important in such a multiple-factor analysis are: family, clique, voluntary associations, income, education, ethnic group, occupation, length of residence, personal appearance, and artistic accomplishments. To determine the different class levels or rank order of individuals or groups in a given society it is, therefore, necessary to construct a system which will represent the social relations possible between them. This has been done in our ordinary common-sense distinction of the upper, middle, and lower classes. Warner and his colleagues [57] have worked out a method for determining class levels inductively by considering the groups to which an individual belongs and their relationship to rank order class levels. This method has great promise for the analysis of stratification in any community.

Somewhat the same method, but based on a more subjective classification and a less inductive statistical analysis, has been used by Reuss [58] and Gee [59] in studies of the relation of depopulation to class structure in rural communities. This involved placing each individual in an upper, middle, or lower class, and the subjectivity of the method is defended by Reuss.[60]

Sewell has developed a scale, based on that of Chapin, for measuring the socio-economic status of farm families.[61] His scale does not attempt to indicate status in the sense of rank order, yet if it were associated with the number and type of organizations or groups to which an individual or family belongs, and possibly with the length of residence in the community, it might be possible to use the combined index as an

[57] Warner and Lunt, *op. cit.*

[58] C. F. Reuss, "A Qualitative Study of Depopulation in a Remote Rural District: 1900–1930," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 2, pp. 66–75, March, 1937.

[59] Wilson Gee and Dewees Runk, "Qualitative Selection in Cityward Migration," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 254–265, 1931; Wilson Gee, "A Qualitative Study of Rural Repopulation in a Single Township: 1900–1930," *Am. J. of Soc.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 210–221, 1933.

[60] Reuss, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[61] W. H. Sewell, "The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families," Stillwater, Okla., Okla. A. & M. Coll. AES, Tech. Bul. 9, April, 1940.

objective means of determining the rank order class to which the individual or family belongs, where caste lines are not involved.

VI. INCREASE OF STRATIFICATION

The tradition of rural life in this country, with the exception of the planter aristocracy in the South, has been strongly against class distinctions, particularly in the newer parts of the country.

At present various forces seem to be strengthening class distinctions in rural society, through the same influences that have caused a greater stratification of urban society. T. Lynn Smith holds to this view and states that "Principally this is being accomplished through the reduction of the number of middle class members and the increased numbers of those belonging to the lower, or farm labor, classes."[62] He gives as some of the most important evidences of this:

(1) the mechanization of agriculture which in the South is rapidly bringing about a debasing of the cropper population to the status of casual agricultural laborers;
(2) the growth of farm tenancy, especially in the Middle West;
(3) the rapid increase of farm mortgage indebtedness, another evidence that family farmers are losing their equity in the land;
(4) the increase in size of farms, which even outside the South is accompanied by a rapid rise in the number of farm laborers;
(5) the growing army of migratory agricultural laborers, persons who follow the crop as a way of life.[63]

To these factors may be added the effects of the automobile, the commercialization of agriculture, and the increasing size of the rural community. Whether a family possesses an automobile, and its ability to use it freely or not, is now a major factor in making class distinctions, because it controls the degree of participation in group life and the distances which the family can go for specialized types of group association. Indeed, the type and year of the automobile owned is one of the best indexes of class, and is so regarded by rural people themselves.

This has resulted in the decay of many smaller communities and the general tendency to associate in larger communities, as described in Chapter 13. It is a matter of common observation that class lines increase with the size of the population of communities.

Zimmerman holds that the centralization of government with the weakening of local government, and the decline of "realistic" com-

[62] T. L. Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life, p. 348.
[63] *Ibid.*, p. 349. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harper and Brothers.

munity life, result in the weakening of the middle class, the increased power of the upper class, and increased numbers in the lower class.[64]

Landis points out the effect of the commercialization of agriculture:

> As agriculture enters the urban market and becomes increasingly commercialized, the accumulation of wealth becomes the basis of a consciousness of superiority in the farm community as in the city. Indications of milder forms of stratification are appearing; for example, in areas where agriculture is most commercialized social differences between farm operators are becoming marked. [He cites the West Coast where commercial farms are most numerous.] [65]

He points out that this is associated with the rising standard of living of the farmer and the general urbanization of rural life, which is intimately connected with the use of the automobile, better communication through mail, news and radio service, and better education, and agrees that "lines of stratification will be somewhat more rigidly drawn." [66]

This trend toward the sharper differentiation of classes in rural society has serious implications for democracy, and for community organization, which, we shall see in Chapter 29, is a means toward democracy, both local and national. Class and caste are antithetical to democracy and community solidarity, for the strength of the former depends on the increase of social distance, whereas the latter require the minimization of social distance.[67] MacIver has very clearly pointed out this disintegrating effect of class: ". . . *class sentiment and community sentiment operate to limit and restrain one another. The one divides whom the other integrates.*" [68] (Italics mine.)

Thus the adjustment of class stratification forms one of the major problems in the social organization of rural society.

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[64] C. C. Zimmerman, The Changing Community, pp. 645–653.

[65] Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 289. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, McGraw-Hill Book Co.

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Part IV

Rural Social Organization in Relation to the Great Society

In the previous chapters we have considered the forms of association in rural society (its sociology) and how they may be improved so as to function more successfully (its social organization). We were not in a position to discuss the broader problems of social organization until we had become acquainted with the various phases of the structure of rural society. To obtain the best rural social organization we must know not only the established framework of rural society, but also how its structure functions.

We have not attempted to deal with the causal sequences of behavior in any given social structure, as this is the field of social psychology, which, as explained in Chapter 2, requires more knowledge of the behavior processes of rural groups and institutions than we now possess. These, in general, are not peculiar to any one type of group or institution.

There are, however, certain forms of social interaction (sometimes called social processes) in and between groups which recur and are more or less characteristic of certain of them. A knowledge of these qualitative aspects of the forms of human association is essential for understanding rural society as a dynamic, living movement; for the established forms of association are not dead, inert things, but are a living system of relationships which are ever-changing.

On the one hand, we need some knowledge of how social order is maintained and, on the other hand, of social change—how social institutions adapt themselves to a changing environment, and what the social trends are. This is essential for determining the best means for integrating rural society through community organization and its better social organization in relation to the total social milieu, often called The Great Society.

Because large sections of this country have become dominantly urban and, through communication, all sections are dominated by urban ideologies and values, special consideration must be given to rural-

urban relations, to the interplay of city and country, and to their interdependence. The recognition of rural-urban relations leads to a consideration of the conscious effort of rural folk to maintain and create values and satisfactions which are peculiar to a rural mode of life, as evidenced in the Country Life Movement. Finally, we shall consider national policies for rural life and the contribution which rural society may make to the life of the cities and that of the nation as a whole.

Such are the topics and problems to be considered as the means and ends of rural social organization.

Chapter 26

SOCIAL INTERACTION IN RURAL SOCIETY

We have had a view of the *structure* of rural society, but if we are to be able to aid its better social organization, we must understand just how its structure functions, for the phenomena of our study are not dead materials like those of the historian or archeologist, but the social relationships of live folks, of *how* they react in social situations. We must know the dynamic aspect of society as well as its structure and, as we saw in Chapter 3, we must perceive the attitudes and values of individuals and groups if we are to understand the quality with which social structures function.

All social structure consists of social interaction. According to Park and Burgess, "Society stated in mechanistic terms reduces to interaction . . . the limits of society are coterminous with the limits of interaction, that is, of the participation of persons in the life of society." [1]

Social interaction consists of social acts, i.e., those acts that have meaning to each party involved with regard to their implication as to the intent of the actor and the interpretation and probable reaction of the other party. Znaniecki defines social actions as "actions bearing upon men as their objects and intending to provide definite reactions on their part." [2]

Social interaction may occur between individuals as social acts. There are about as many forms of social acts [3] as there are verbs in the language. The explanation of any act as such is a problem of psychology, but when a certain type of social act is repeated so that it has a recognized form, we can study this *form of interaction, per se,* independently of the particular circumstances. Thus, the causes of a particular duel

[1] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p. 341. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher, Univ. of Chicago Press.

[2] Florian Znaniecki, The Method of Sociology, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1924, p. 107.

[3] These are the "common-human relations," of Leopold von Wiese and Howard Becker, Systematic Sociology, New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932. See index and pp. 717–723.

or a particular marriage, as a social act, are the subject matter of psychology, but when dueling and marriage are considered as forms of social interaction they are phenomena which concern sociology. Sociology does not deal with a particular social act either of the individual or of the group, but with those social acts which recur with such frequency that they form an established pattern of behavior. Sociology studies the established forms of social interaction. Social interaction as defined by Sutherland and Woodward is *"that dynamic interplay of forces in which contact between persons and groups results in a modification of the behavior of the participants."* [4]

The forms of *association,* discussed in Part III, have to do with *positional* relationship or structure of society. The forms of social *interaction* have to do with the *qualitative* aspect of association, or with the *functional* phase of the relationship. Thus in the family the parent-child relation is one of structure, but maternal care is a distinctive *form of interaction.* The one depends on the other and they cannot be separated any more than the anatomy and physiology of the human body can. Structure arises out of function.

We shall first consider the different types of social interaction and then the means whereby they are controlled to maintain social order, commonly called social control.

I. TYPES OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

The definition of interaction quoted above involves, first of all, *social contact* of individuals or groups, before interaction can be possible. Eubank states that this "occurs whenever and wherever two or more persons are simultaneously aware of each other, and are conscious of each other's awareness." [5]

Contact is the opposite of isolation, which has been an important factor in affecting the social organization of rural society in this country in the past. Contacts have greatly increased with the automobile, telephone, and radio, so that much more social interaction is taking place.

To establish interaction there must also be active *communication,*[6] either by gesture, speech, or writing, for these are the only means

[4] Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, Introductory Sociology, rev. ed., pp. 623–624.

[5] E. E. Eubank, The Concepts of Sociology, New York, D. C. Heath and Co., 1932, p. 316. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher. See also Sutherland and Woodward, *op. cit.,* p. 625.

[6] *Cf.* Sutherland and Woodward, *op. cit.,* pp. 629–633; and Park and Burgess, *op. cit.,* p. 341.

through which "the behavior of the participants" can be modified except through brute force. The inability to understand the language of foreigners makes communication impossible, and there is lack of social interaction, or it is carried on by gesture on an emotional plane of like or dislike which gives little aid to mutual understanding and is more likely to result in dissociation than otherwise. Communication has been increased by the inventions mentioned above. Communication is the medium of social interaction.

Sutherland and Woodward [7] point out that attitudes and values (see pp. 35 to 40) are the *forces* which determine the nature and quality of the interaction. These will vary with the situation so that the determination of the causes or motivation of a particular instance or of the sequence of social interactions is a problem of social psychology. Therefore, if we wish to improve the social organization of any group or community, we must use psychological methods to obtain an understanding of attitudes and values as the motivation of the existing social interaction. This is now being done in the study of rural communities by the collaboration of social psychologists with sociologists, or by either of them acting in a dual capacity.

Three main types of social interaction may be distinguished: (1) specific forms of intragroup and intergroup social interaction; (2) more general forms of social interaction; and (3) what are commonly called social processes.

A. SPECIFIC FORMS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

1. INTRAGROUP INTERACTION. What are the forms of interaction which are characteristic of different types or kinds of groups, and particularly of rural groups? Here we have a problem of analysis similar to that in the study of the personality of individuals. There is no one form which describes adequately the characteristic interaction among the members of a group. We say that a person is humorous or selfish or impulsive, but that describes only an important phase of his personality. Furthermore, he may have any one of these characteristics or others much of the time and quite the opposite in certain situations, or at certain periods of his life. So with groups, there is no one form of interaction which is entirely dominant or uniformly distinctive at all times. Nevertheless there are forms of social interaction that are fairly characteristic of different groups and which we may regard as distinctive of them. One of the major tasks of sociology is to make adequate

[7] Sutherland and Woodward, *op. cit.*, pp. 634–636. They define attitudes as "predispositions to act in a certain way with reference to specific values."

descriptions of the forms of interaction which are characteristic of different types of groups, as we have attempted in a tentative fashion in previous chapters.

On p. 213 we saw that what the Binkleys called "domestic interaction" is characteristic of family relations in our society. This type of social interaction is expected of members of the family in our society, to instill it in the children is one of the chief objectives of the parents, and the degree to which it obtains forms a rating of the success of the family as a family. A family in which there is little or no domestic interaction is a pretty poor family. Domestic interaction is, therefore, a form which is characteristic of the family, even if it does not occur uniformly at all times. Whether this occurs more unifomly in rural or farm families than in urban families cannot be established with the data available.

Domestic interaction has been carried over into other groups with some modifications, so that the characteristic of college fraternities and fraternal orders is called fraternal, derived from the brother-brother relation in the family, and has also been the basis of the ideal of brotherhood in the Christian Church and has been upheld by it as the ideal for all human relationships.

Obedience is also a characteristic form of interaction between children and parents in the family, however much this may be abrogated by some modern parents with their *enfants terribles.* The extreme examples of obedience as a group characteristic are found in the army and in some religious orders.

The typical interaction of members of a neighborhood is neighborliness, which is simply taking over the domestic interaction of the family into the neighborhood, which often originated as a group of kinfolk or an enlarged family. Another neighborhood interaction has been the exchange of work and mutual aid in an isolated situation, which is where the neighborhood is strong. This has made neighborliness much more characteristic of the country than of the city.

The opposite of domestic interaction is that which occurs when competition (see p. 619) is the characteristic of a group. This must be a friendly competition, governed by the rules of the sport, as in a card club or a shooting club, for it is difficult to conceive of a group in which free or unrestricted competition could exist without wrecking the group. On the other hand, some groups are formed for the suppression of unregulated competition, as in manufacturers' trade associations and similar regulatory associations. In rural life such organizations as breed associations, irrigation associations, and others have as one phase

of their activities the making of rules for regulating unfair competition between their members.

One important rural institution is the fair or exhibit, in which farm people exhibit their products in competition for prizes, and horse races or athletic events are held as competitive sports. It should be noted, however, that, as in competitive clubs, this is all done under codes of rules and every effort is made to prevent unfair competition and encourage a friendly spirit among the competitors. When unfair competition arises it must be controlled, or it will either wreck the institution or compel a revolution in management. Other competitive farmer organizations are poultrymen's egg-laying contests, conducted by associations or state officials, and cow-test associations.

We have seen (p. 349) that in the school the characteristic form of interaction between teacher and pupil is that of instructor and learner. This is often supplemented by what is called "apple polishing," a type of interaction in which the subordinate curries favor with the superior, which occurs in many other groups under various names.

A form of interaction which is one of the chief activities of loafing groups, and is reputed to be among certain women's groups, is gossip. It is most evident in the small, isolated villages which have an undue number of elderly spinsters and widows.

In bands, choruses, and orchestras, the interaction may be characterized as being coordinate participation, for all are acting together, simultaneously or in sequence, to produce the ensemble, under the direction of a leader. Each has an assigned form of activity. Dramatic troups have a somewhat similar form of interaction, but the differentiation of parts is more pronounced and the dramatic effect is produced by the sequence of the participation. In all these groups the interaction must be synchronized to produce the desired artistic effect. Athletic teams have a similar form of controlled interaction.

Another form of social interaction which is common to most formal organizations is the method of parliamentary procedure. This is but a form of interaction which has become formalized so that it is a sort of mechanism or institution of the groups using it.

All forms of social interaction are socially inherited and are largely determined, therefore, by the culture in which the group exists. Thus dueling was formerly a form of social interaction which was necessary to maintain the honor of one who would have status in a select society, but now it is practically confined to German students' societies.

New modes of social interaction are rare and come about slowly. For example, in the so-called Oxford groups of the Buchmanite movement a characteristic form of social interaction is the recounting of

personal mistakes and shortcomings, a sort of confession, before the group. This has a certain value as a form of mental catharsis and fixes the attention of the group on the individual and may give him status in the group. It is a new form of social interaction, but is allied to similar procedures in the prayer meeting and revival services of Protestant churches, and is related to the confession of the Roman Catholic Church, which is an institutionalized form of social interaction.

2. INTERGROUP SOCIAL INTERACTION. Social interaction between groups may be as varied in form as that among the members of a group, but it is less likely to be restricted to specific patterns. Our interest is in interaction which is characteristic between different types of groups.

Thus a trade-union is primarily a conflict group for collective bargaining between the workers and the employers concerning wages and working conditions, using the strike as a weapon. In rural life the Farmers' Holiday Association of the middle 1930's was a rather evanescent form of group in which conflict between farm tenants and farm mortgagees and owners and mortgage holders was the characteristic form of intergroup interaction.

Secrecy, or noninteraction with outsiders on certain matters, is a negative form of social interaction observed by some groups, such as fraternities and fraternal orders, including the Grange and Farmers' Union. It is really a taboo on communication with outsiders which prevents social interaction, but intrigues the curiosity of the outsiders and so gives rise to rumors and gossip.

In general, intergroup interaction consists of general forms of social relations, discussed in the next section, rather than of specific forms characteristic of certain groups. Thus the interaction between the Farm Bureaus and the Extension Service of the land-grant colleges in certain states (see p. 400) involves a contractual relationship with common attitudes and values, and there must be cooperation between them, but this is a general social relation based on a form of association rather than a specific form of interaction. When their attitudes and values differ the association between them breaks down, as it has in some states.

All forms of social interaction may be conceived in terms of whether they tend to build up or break down association; they are associative or dissociative.[8]

Thus competition and conflict are forms of interaction which tend to break down association within a group, but to strengthen one or

[8] *Cf.* von Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 123 *ff.*

the other of the groups between which they occur, whereas cooperation builds up association. The first are forms of opposition and are dissociative; the latter is associative.

The tempering of competition and the elimination of conflict, with the promotion of cooperation, among groups is one of the chief objectives of social organization, whether within an individual group or between groups in the community.

B. GENERAL FORMS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

There are several more general forms of social interaction which are useful categories or concepts for sociological analysis, but which occur in all groups and in their collective interaction with others. These are commonly called social processes, which term we believe to apply more correctly to only certain of them as discussed in Section *C*. Eubank [9] divides all interaction into two main types: oppositional action, including that which is conflicting or competing, and accommodational action, including that which is combining or fusing. We shall deal first with the two oppositional types of competition and conflict and with one of the accommodational types, cooperation. None of these involves the element of sequence or development in time which is essential to the concept of process.

1. COMPETITION. Competition may occur between individuals or between groups. Competition is distinguished from conflict by Kimball Young:

> Competition is an indirect form of opposition: conflict is direct. In the latter persons or groups thwart, injure, or destroy their rivals in order to secure the wanted object or goal. The former is really a conjoint bidding for an object but differs from conflict in being primarily directed to securing the desired object and not necessarily in impeding or destroying the rival.[10]

Competition necessarily involves a certain amount of association, or interaction, for competitors are seeking the same objective. Hence, it is not so dissociative as conflict. "Strictly speaking," say Park and Burgess, "competition is interaction without social contact."[11] This is true in the sense that there is not necessarily any direct contact between competitors. When competition is between only two competitors it is liable to degenerate into conflict, but generally competitive

[9] Eubank, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

[10] Kimball Young, An Introductory Sociology, rev. ed., pp. 349 *ff*. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publisher, American Book Co.

[11] Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 507.

acts are directed against all competitors, in an impersonal manner, and they react in different ways. Competition is impersonal.

Unless competition is rather direct there is little social interaction, although it may be an important force in influencing the situation. Thus the indirect competition of the city upon village business may involve little social interaction, but when the village businessmen organize to combat it, to enter the competition collectively, definite social interaction takes place.

A difference should be recognized between uncontrolled or free competition, and that which is controlled. Whenever definite rules of competition are established within a group which is maintained to encourage competition (as in those mentioned on p. 616), the latter takes on the nature of a sport. On the other hand, where competition is free it may develop into conflict.

In business and economic life the principle of competition has been made the basis of a whole system of economic doctrine known as *laissez faire*. This theory involves the idea that, although each individual pursues his own self-interest, in doing so he inevitably contributes through the mutual exchange of services to the common welfare. The impasse which the doctrine of *laissez faire* has encountered is due to the fact that it was conceived as applying to individuals in a free society, but today competition is chiefly between large corporations whose chief motive is profit and which are unrestricted by the social conventions, customs, traditions, etc., which have a certain control over the competition of individuals.

Competition in retail business in rural communities has changed greatly with the growth of chain stores and mail order houses, which are good examples of the influence of large corporations on competition. The chain store has compelled local merchants to become members of associated groups who buy through one wholesaler and have the advantages of aid in sales methods, such as the Independent Grocers Association (I.G.A. stores), the Red and White stores, and other associations in different regions. Thus competition has compelled organization and better service.

The chain store has also heightened competition between trade centers and intercommunity rivalry. In small villages the buyer does not have as much advantage from competition of stores and there is little opportunity to "shop around" as there is in the larger village. So with the use of the automobile trade has gone to the larger villages. The same difference occurs between the larger villages and the cities with regard to many goods, such as furniture and good clothing, in which greater variety and more competitors are available in the city,

so that many farmers buy these goods, and most luxuries, such as jewelry, in the cities. This competition between small and large village and city applies not only to trade but affects the recreational life (see p. 569), so that the rural community has been forced to give attention to better means of recreation in order to compete with the commercial amusements of the larger places for holding the interest of its young people.

Between individuals competition is universal, as, for instance, the competition between students for grades, between young and old for jobs in industry, the competition for professional standing, etc.

Competition between groups is also inevitable. Thus we have observed the competition between Protestant sects, which has resulted in overchurching rural communities and the decline of the church (p. 334); there is competition between rural high schools for students (p. 381); competition between institutions, as between the church and the school (p. 582) and the school and the family (p. 351); competition between farmers' organizations and lodges for members, etc.

Competition of northern industries for Negro labor from the South has had a marked influence on forcing a better attitude toward race relations in the South and mitigating race conflict. So the competition for labor by industry in the defense program has forced northern farmers to give more consideration to farm laborers and will affect the whole national policy toward agriculture.

In our society competition has become one of the mores, so that we now have heated arguments by those who would maintain the *status quo* as to the benign effects of competition as against any effort at planning or regulation. Even many leaders of cooperative associations claim that they do not desire to see all business conducted cooperatively because the competition of private business is the only means of insuring efficiency in cooperative management in the long run.

Kimball Young has given an excellent summary of the effect of the free play of competition on the personality of the individual in our present society. After pointing out the gains made by society through competition since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, he points out that the strain of unsatisfied competition may result in conflict or personal demoralization.[12]

Unrestrained competition in marketing has been the fundamental reason for the rise of farmers' cooperative marketing associations, and, in general, one may say that whenever competition becomes so keen as

[12] Consult Kimball Young, *op. cit.*, p. 364.

to be inimical to the interests of the competitors it results in organization to maintain their common interests.

2. CONFLICT. Direct struggle for a desired object or value, whether between individuals or groups, is called conflict. Competition and conflict are closely related, conflict often arising where competition becomes acute or narrowed down to two opponents. Competition tolerates the competitor, but conflict seeks to eliminate him or to obtain complete control of the desired value.

Conflict occurs within almost all groups, but it tends to disrupt them, so that conflict is not a characteristic form of interaction within any group, unless it might be some type of group which usually exists under high tensions or frustrations, such as a mutinous group on a vessel, or a prison group. Group conflict is usually intergroup conflict, and groups which are chiefly conflict groups often dissolve because they are made up of members who have come together solely on a conflict basis and have no common loyalties to a constructive program, and also because conflict arises among their leaders. Thus the Ku Klux Klan is a typical conflict group and has had its vicissitudes, and the Fascist and Nazi parties are conflict groups and have the inherent weakness of being founded chiefly on opposition to the existing order.

A distinction should be made between absolute and restricted conflict. In absolute conflict the opponents attempt to destroy each other or to obtain exclusive possession of the value desired by both of them. In restricted conflict there is strong opposition, but it is controlled by a loyalty to common interests of the opponents, whether individuals or factions in a group. Restricted conflict may be either strife or rivalry.[13] Thus we speak of village-country or rural-urban conflict (see Chapter 28), but in neither case is there any thought of one destroying the other, for they realize that they have interdependent functions. The same thing is true of factions within an organization; there may be strife for control, but each is restrained in its treatment of the other by fear that the organization may be disrupted. When carried to the extreme factional conflict inevitably results in a schism and the establishment of competitive groups.

Competition may be unconscious; conflict is always conscious.

Conflict occurs in all areas of life. We have already referred to class and race conflict in Chapter 25. Smith[14] gives an interesting account of the class conflict between the peons and large landholders in

[13] Concerning rivalry see Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 577.

[14] T. L. Smith, Sociology of Rural Life, pp. 452–454.

Mexico. The extreme form of class conflict is social revolution, which necessarily assumes a political form, as in the French and Russian revolutions and the revolution in Mexico. Revolution is not, however, confined to classes or political parties; it may occur in any institution or organization, whenever those in control become so inefficient or corrupt that a new management is necessary. Revolution is a method of social change and will be considered as such in Chapter 27.

Political conflict is ever present in our society, and the chief asset of the democratic system is that it recognizes and permits political conflict and a regular means of changing political control through elections rather than through revolution, as is so common in Central America.

One of the most common conflicts in our own rural society in recent years has been that over school consolidation (see p. 660),[15] and factional conflict in rural churches is recurrent.

The supreme form of conflict is in war, particularly international wars. The mythical values of war are now extinct in the minds of the masses, but survive in the minds of some and are played up by the militarists. When a nation aspires to supreme control, as in the present instance of Germany or of Rome in ancient times, war is inevitable; but in most cases war is what Norman Angell called The Grand Illusion. Agriculturists always stand to lose in war and as a class have always been pacifists. A great agricultural people are always the most unwarlike; witness China in the past.[16] There has been a doctrine that war is the inevitable result of an instinct of pugnacity in man, but this theory has been exploded by both social psychologists, who have disproved the concept of instincts,[17] and by anthropologists, who have shown that war does not uniformly exist among primitive tribes.[18] Modern war is the result of an excessive nationalism and a desire for political and economic power among national leaders. Prior to the present world catastrophe the chief fear of the European peasants was of war, for they know that only as the tolls of militarism are eliminated can agriculture prosper.

[15] For an example see Dwight Sanderson and R. A. Polson, Rural Community Organization, pp. 332–337.

[16] See Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community, Boston, Ginn and Co., 1932, pp. 111–114, concerning village wars and agriculture; and pp. 413–414, concerning the rise of militarism and the pacifism of agriculture.

[17] *Cf.* L. L. Bernard, Instinct, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1924, pp. 342, 344, 352, *et passim.*

[18] *Cf.* B. Malinowski, "The Deadly Issue," *Atlantic Monthly,* Vol. 158, pp. 659–669. Dec., 1936.

Instances of conflict in rural society are to be found in every community and in every rural organization.[19] To describe and illustrate them is interesting, but this gives little help in controlling them for better rural social organization. Only as the social psychologists are able to analyze the processes of conflict, its genesis, the factors which precipitate and strengthen it, how the issues are defined, how realignments are made, how steps are taken toward accommodation or compromise, and how conflict is resolved or allayed, will we be able to generalize concerning the methods whereby conflict in society, whether it be rural or urban, may be controlled.[20] From this point of view conflict may be conceived as a social process in the sense in which that concept is explained in Section *C*. Furthermore, it should be observed that conflict can be settled only by *accommodation* or *assimilation* (see pp. 627, 629).

3. Cooperation. Whereas competition and conflict are forms of opposition and are dissociative, cooperation is a form of composition, or placing together, and is associative. Literally, cooperation is working together. It occurs among individuals and groups. The individual who will not cooperate in a group cannot be an efficient member and will tend to dissociate himself from it. Cooperation is, therefore, essential for any permanent social organization, and it is a *sine qua non* for organized society. It is as widespread throughout different realms of life as are competition and conflict. It is, however, a very broad term which includes many specific forms of social interaction.

Some form of cooperation is to be found in all types of groups, for without it the group could not hold together. Men first learned to work together in the family, and several families associated themselves in a hamlet or village for cooperating in clearing the forest or in building irrigation works, and for the common defense against wild animals and other men. Cooperation is particularly notable among settlers in a new colony or on the frontier,[21] and cooperation in the exchange of work is one of the chief bonds of the neighborhood.

In the economic world we see the rise of the cooperative movement as the antithesis of the doctrine of *laissez faire* and free competition. We have already discussed its rapid rise among farmers during the last 25 years (see p. 158 and p. 522). Besides cooperative buying and selling associations and agricultural credit cooperatives, there are many

[19] For a good account of some of them see T. L. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 440–456.
[20] *Cf.* Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, Chapter X.
[21] See T. L. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 459–460 *ff.*

other forms of local cooperative organizations such as spray rings, threshing rings, mutual telephone companies and electric power and light associations. Indeed, cooperation may become so general that it forms the basis of a distinct culture pattern, as in rural Denmark [22] and Czechoslovakia, in the recent Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia,[23] and in the Mormon settlement of Utah.

Cooperation among churches is seen in the larger parish movement (p. 340) and in the work of the interdenominational Council of Home Missions in eliminating competing churches (p. 336).

Cooperation in the world of science is seen in the various scientific societies and in the fact that most important scientific discoveries are made public and are subject to the verification of other scientists, so that the whole method of science is, in a way, a cooperative procedure. This carries into rural life in the numerous agricultural and horticultural societies, national, state, district, and local, whose use of scientific methods has so revolutionized agricultural practices.

As with other forms of interaction, if we are to know how to encourage cooperation in social organization, it is important to have some understanding of the psychology of cooperation if we are to understand how it functions in society in the various groups and in their interrelations. It is the psychological principles affecting cooperation which are of most importance for the improvement of rural society, rather than the mere techniques and methods of organization of sound cooperative associations. Indeed, organization is difficult without a knowledge of the psychology of cooperation, whether it be obtained from science or from common-sense experience. Kimball Young has well summarized the psychology of cooperation and shows that the cooperating individual must inhibit some of his desires so as to make those of others his own; this gives rise to moral strength and self-control.[24]

Cooperation involves two types of social interaction: first, *consensus*, or the development of common opinion, which is derived from common values and attitudes toward them; and second, *socialization* (see p. 28), which is a concept covering the process of identifying the interest of the individual with the group, or of a group with that of other groups, as described by Young. Ross has defined socialization

[22] See F. C. Howe, Denmark, A Cooperative Commonwealth, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921.

[23] M. M. Coady, Masters of Their Destinies, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1939.

[24] Consult Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 411, 412.

as "the development of the we-feeling in associates and their growth in capacity and will to act together." [25]

C. SOCIAL PROCESSES

The three categories of social interaction just described are commonly called social processes in many of the textbooks. They may be so considered from certain aspects, in that they are generalized forms of interaction involved in social change or social adjustment. They are usually, however, temporary in their effect, with no significance in any on-going process. They are not specific enough to be useful as descriptive of forms of interaction characteristic of particular forms of association. Thus the domestic interaction of the family (p. 213) is a form of cooperation, but to say that the family is characterized by cooperation does not give any distinctive description of its specific form of interaction. So a strike is a form of conflict in a trade-union, but it is a much more descriptive term for a form of interaction peculiar to trade-unions than is the general term *conflict.* Competition for grades in a school class describes the general situation, but "apple polishing" describes a definite form of social interaction incidental to competition which is characteristic of some members of the class. Nevertheless these categories do describe broad, generalized types of social interaction that are useful concepts in diagnosing a social situation.

The term *social process,* on the other hand, involves a sequence of action in time, and may be defined as a series of social acts forming a sequence toward certain ends, or accomplishing a particular function. A social process always involves a time series of social acts.[26] "So-

[25] E. A. Ross, Principles of Sociology, New York, The Century Co., 1920, p. 575.

[26] Consult the definition in Webster's International Dictionary. Concerning the use of the term social process see Read Bain, The Concept of Social Process, Publications of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, pp. 10–18, Aug., 1932. I incline to agree with Bain that the category has been very much overworked and misused, and that it is vague, yet it has a certain value if its relation to social change is made clear. The emphasis on competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation as forms of social interaction was one of the chief features of Park and Burgess' scheme of sociology, but only incidentally did they speak of process, as in "Competition a Process of Interaction," and nowhere do they clearly define it. In the recent textbook of Sutherland and Woodward they are discussed as forms of social interaction, but only incidentally is accommodation mentioned as a process, and there is no consideration of social process as such. For a good exposition of the place of the concept process in sociological thought, see Max Lerner's article, "Social Process" in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.

ciety," writes MacIver,[27] "exists only as a time sequence. It is a becoming, not a being; a process, not a product."

As a sociological concept social process is always concerned with generalizations concerning recurrent processes. The study of the *process* (?) of how *a* boy, one boy, became delinquent is an historical and socio-psychological analysis. If we discover a sequence of types of association and social interaction which usually produces delinquency, we can then make generalizations concerning various types of processes giving rise to delinquency. So personality development can be considered as a process only as we make generalizations concerning it, as Mead did in his description of the origin of the social self,[28] or as may be done in considering the process of socialization.

From this point of view there are two of the main concepts of social interaction which seem to be properly called social processes, namely, accommodation and assimilation. Both concepts carry with them the connotation of a process that is going on. There are also other forms of social interaction which are definitely processes, several of which are intimately related to social change, which we shall mention.

1. ACCOMMODATION. This is a result of conflict. Conflict cannot go on indefinitely. Either one party will exterminate the other or they will come to some sort of adjustment or accommodation, so that they both may exist, although this may be a temporary accommodation until the weaker party can obtain sufficient strength or take advantage of changed conditions so as to renew the conflict.

The term *accommodation* is applied, therefore, either to a *state* of being in which a certain equilibrium has been established between groups or individuals by which they are able to exist together, or to the *process* in which they develop an adjustment of their relationships so that they can exist together without open conflict.

If one party in a conflict is strong enough to defeat the other, but recognizes that it is disadvantageous to exterminate or suppress him, the result will be the subordination of the latter to the former. This is accommodation by coercion or domination. Such types of accommodation occur whenever one party is able to control the other. Slavery is a form of accommodation by coercion; so is the position of the people under a dictatorship. Such types of accommodation always depend upon the power or force of the dominant party.

When two groups or individuals are of equal power, or the conflict between them has resulted in a stalemate, then accommodation takes

[27] MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 394.

[28] G. H. Mead, Mind, Self, and Society, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1934

place through compromise, arbitration, or conciliation, and results in toleration or tolerant participation.

Accommodation occurs between employers and laborers when neither can win a strike. As a result of conciliation an agreement or contract is drawn up in which each promises what is necessary to obtain an adjustment, and under which they proceed until one or the other party becomes dissatisfied and feels power enough to resume the conflict.

Because it is impossible for either to extinguish the other, and because they are dependent on each other, the white and Negro races in the South come to an accommodation which may be termed tolerant participation, involving more or less coercion and domination on the part of the whites who have superior political and economic power.[29]

Wherever class lines exist there must be accommodation or there will be open conflict. In any group a sort of accommodation is constantly going on, for whenever there is a sharp issue with regard to any policy or to choice of leaders, those defeated must accommodate themselves to the will of the majority, unless they secede from the group. Thus political control is an acceptance of the majority, and forms an institutionalized form of accommodation. This was the great issue at stake in the Civil War and established that majority rule must obtain in a federal democracy. Every group has to maintain an accommodation between the radical and the conservative members.

Accommodation occurs between all individuals who must work together, as among partners or employees of a store. The art of successful marriage is in the accommodation of husband and wife to each other's ways and to their cultural and family backgrounds.

We most frequently think of the accommodation between classes living in the same communities, as between nationality classes or religious classes. Accommodation between groups is also necessary where they have similar objectives. Thus in the Northeast the Grange and the Farm Bureau accommodate to each other, but in some other states, where they have conflicted, a satisfactory accommodation has been more difficult. Accommodation exists among churches of a community, where there is neither active competition nor definite cooperation.

Migration and mobility give rise to the necessity of accommodation between the immigrants and the natives in any community or culture.[30] Thus an accommodation arises between the French Canadians who migrate into the communities of northern New England and New York, or between the Mexicans and the natives in Texas.

[29] This has been well described by T. L. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 482–494.

[30] These two factors as affecting accommodation in rural life have been well discussed by Landis, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-187, and Chapter 14.

Temporary accommodation is most rapid where mobility is freest, as on the frontier or in a mining camp, where status has not been established; but accommodation is slower where new elements are introduced into an old established culture, as in the case of foreign immigrants in New England, or of northern immigrants in the South.

The number of the immigrants and their function in the community also affect the ease of accommodation. Thus a single Jewish merchant or doctor in a rural village may accommodate himself easily, for he performs a useful function in the community and he is so small a minority that class lines are not so sharply drawn; whereas in a town or city, if there be a considerable number of Jews, class lines are more sharp and accommodation is more difficult. This principle would apply to any other minority class.

An understanding of how accommodation occurs involves a study of the social psychology of the process, the generalizations from which may be applied to particular cases, for each will have individual differences. Such a knowledge of the social psychology of accommodation is important as a means of implementing adjustments of conflict which are constantly occurring in all phases of group life and between groups and classes in communities.

2. ASSIMILATION. Assimilation is a more or less complete fusion of the social traits of one group or culture with that of another. It may occur between individuals or groups, but more commonly occurs between groups, classes, or cultures. Between individuals we have the assimilation of personality traits and attitudes which goes on between husband and wife or between intimate friends, but otherwise it is rare, except as the individual is assimilated into a group. Thus the freshman may be assimilated into his fraternity or other college group, or the individual immigrant into the culture of the community. Usually, however, we apply the term to the fusion of one group or culture into another so that they have common values and attitudes. Amalgamation is a very similar term which is more commonly applied to a biological fusion, as the amalgamation of races or of divergent cultures through intermarriage, so that the individuals become alike physically.

Assimilation is a slow process and, for the most part, goes on unconsciously. It involves the adoption of the folkways, mores, and customs of the culture of the established group or culture by the new elements introduced into it, or the fusion of those of two elements which come into juxtaposition, as in the case of the settlement of a new community by people of diverse nationalities. Obviously, the less difference there is between the culture of the two groups, the more

rapid will be the assimilation. For this reason immigrants from Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries have been more rapidly assimilated in the United States than those from southern and eastern Europe, whereas Orientals are assimilated with great difficulty.

Segregation and isolation prevent assimilation, as may be seen in the way rural colonies of foreign nationalities [31] cling to their old ways, in contrast with groups of the same nationalities in large cities. But even in a large city the "Little Italy" and the ghettoes retard assimilation.[32] Assimilation is retarded by the preservation of social distance and social isolation. Witness the survival of the distinctive cultures of the Amish and various Pennsylvania Dutch sects in Pennsylvania, in close contact with cities.

The urbanization of our rural territory may be thought of as an assimilation of urban with rural culture.

In final analysis, the rate of assimilation depends upon the willingness to adopt common values and attitudes. In this country the common desires for freedom and education have been powerful influences toward assimilation. The public school, the opportunity to work together in stores and factories, and the freedom of living where they can afford to are powerful factors in producing assimilation. In some European countries, as in Transylvania, different nationality groups have lived side by side in segregated quarters of the same village for generations, with accommodation, but with little or no assimilation.

Assimilation involves the problem of uniformity. One of the weaknesses of the Czechoslovakian republic was that it was unable to assimilate its diverse cultures with sufficient rapidity to insure national unity. One of the chief issues in that country and also in the Polish republic was whether diverse cultures were to be transformed into one national pattern, or whether different cultural areas were to be allowed to retain their language and customs in so far as they desired, and also whether the latter policy would make possible a united nation. This was even more acute in Yugoslavia between the Serbs and the Croats. In this country we have proceeded mostly on the idea of the desirability of rapid Americanization, so-called, but latterly we have commenced to appreciate the values in the cultures of other nationalities and to try to preserve the best in them.

[31] *Cf.* E. deS. Brunner, Immigrant Farmers and Their Children, New York, Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1929.

[32] *Cf.* R. E. Park and H. A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1921.

The process of assimilation gives rise to many of the most important problems of social disorganization and for the need of social control. The second generation of immigrants tends to reject the native culture of their parents, yet they have not acquired the best of the culture into which they have been introduced, because they usually live in the poorer sections of our large cities. Hence they lack the social control of the mores of their parents and have no substitute for it. As a consequence there is a high proportion of delinquency in the second and third generations of immigrants.[83] This effect has not been so noticeable in rural life because of less social isolation and less contrast between their own situation and that of the natives.

Accommodation usually precedes assimilation and the latter depends quite largely upon the spirit of tolerance of the group or community. This difference depends to a considerable extent upon whether the immigrants are so numerous that the natives fear for their own economic security and social prestige; but much can be done to develop attitudes of tolerance by encouraging means of better acquaintance with culture traits and background of the newcomers and of their role in the common life of the community. This is one of the major challenges of community organization, whether it involves foreign nationals in the East or the natives who have migrated from the Great Plains to seek a living on the Pacific Coast.

3. Other Social Processes. There are several other social processes which merit our consideration.

Acculturation[84] is very closely related to assimilation. It has been introduced into sociology from the field of social anthropology, and refers to the process by which cultural traits are transferred from one group to another. More attention has been given to the results or product of acculturation than to the process itself, but it is a phase of assimilation which is now receiving attention from rural sociologists in some regions.[85]

Stratification has already been referred to in the preceding chapter. It is a process which seems more or less inevitable, but which should be minimized as much as possible and should result in a satisfactory accommodation.

[83] Interesting examples of this are found in W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1918; and in Louis Adamic's Laughing in the Jungle, and My America, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1932 and 1938 respectively.

[84] *Cf.* M. J. Herskovits, Acculturation, New York, J. J. Augustin, 1938.

[85] *Cf.* T. L. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 480, 500–503.

Institutionalization is a process which goes on in all groups and cultures, and is used in different senses. In the sense that it refers to the process of forming institutions, it is a necessary means of social organization. In another sense it refers to the formalization and standardization of a new type of association or movement, so that it becomes mechanical, develops vested interests, lacks flexibility and spontaneity, and becomes an end unto itself rather than a means. In this sense, it is a process which endangers the life of all strong organizations, and which requires a periodical infusion of new blood and ideals or the institution becomes decadent.[86]

Professionalization is a somewhat similar process, to which we have referred with regard to rural social workers, but which also concerns rural clergy and rural educators. Professional standards and a professional attitude and devotion are desirable, but when professional standards interfere with efficiency and become an end rather than a means, we have overprofessionalization and the advance of the profession is checked. This often occurs in the process of *commercialization* of a profession, as in medicine or law, or even in extension work.

Centralization is a social process which we have noted in rural government, rural education, rural welfare work, and even in rural churches. It may consist either of the centralization of the equipment or personnel of an institution at a central point in space, with the abolition or subordination of minor units, or it may consist of the centralization of authority, as in the taking over of the functions of the township by the county, those of the county by the state, or those of the state by the Federal Government. As we have seen, it has both its advantages and disadvantages, but it is a tendency which needs to be watched if the values of local autonomy are to be preserved. This tendency exists in all large organizations where strong control is important for their success, as in large corporations, and even in cooperative associations (see p. 529).

Other social processes, such as revolution and cultural lag, will be considered in Chapter 27.

The modes of social interaction that give identification with the group, produce consensus, and promote socialization, all tend to strengthen group life and social order. The ways in which groups influence their members to conform to approved forms of association and social interaction, so as to obtain uniformity and consistency of group action and to establish and maintain social order, are called *social*

[86] *Cf.* E. A. Ross, Principles of Sociology, Chapter XL, p. 489.

control. This was briefly considered as a feature of the psycho-social environment (p. 206), and now demands further discussion.

II. SOCIAL CONTROL [37]

Having examined the composition of society and its modes of social interaction, the question arises, What makes persons act collectively?

1. SOCIAL CONTROL DEFINED. Since man is a social animal his personal security can be obtained only through maintaining the support of his fellow men. He also desires social approval, involving favorable responses from his fellows and a recognition by them of his social status. He thus develops values and attitudes which are derived from his social relations. The means whereby these social values and attitudes are instilled into the individual man so that he will act collectively with his fellows are included under the general concept of *social control.* In order that there may be established forms of association, so that men may act together collectively because the behavior of each member is predictable, the behavior of the individual must be made to conform to a common pattern. This is the function of social control.

Social control is the very heart of the whole theory of sociology, for social control is the means of establishing social order, without which society could not exist. Any form of association which is established, i.e., which behaves in a predictable manner, must have a certain degree of organization or order. The component elements of the collectivity must behave in a manner expected of them to enable it to act purposively as a unit. Furthermore, in order to avoid perpetual conflict it is necessary for the different groups to come to some form of accommodation and a certain degree of cooperation in order that each may obtain its desires. It is this intragroup and intergroup adjustment which forms society, and which creates a changing but nevertheless somewhat stable degree of *social order.* Thus Park and Burgess hold that "All social problems turn out finally to be problems of social control." [38]

Social control is, therefore, the means whereby social order is established and maintained. Social order is the essential datum or hypothesis of a science of sociology. If there is no social order, there can be no science of human relations because the phenomena would lack any uniformity and would be unpredictable. If there is social order,

[37] *Cf.* L. L. Bernard, Social Control, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1939; P. H. Landis, Social Control: Social Organization and Disorganization in Process, Chicago, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1939, and Chapter 17 of his Rural Life in Process.

[38] Park and Burgess, *op. cit.,* p. 785.

the recurrent phenomena can be described and certain general principles concerning them can be discovered, which will enable men to control better their collective behavior to desired ends. This is basic in determining whether there can be a science of sociology. In so far as social order exists or may be created, science may become one of the major means of social control in the sphere of social relations (see p. 205) as it has in the material world through the physical and biological sciences.

Social control has been defined by Eubank as "whatever way any person or group exercises influence or constraint which modifies the behavior, thought, or feeling of any other person or group." [39] More briefly, Zeleny says: "Social control is the change in behavior of a person or group caused by another person or group." [40]

Social control of one individual over another, as the banker-borrower, doctor-patient, parent-child, or teacher-pupil relationship, is not a concern of sociology in so far as the individual incident is concerned. The explanation of their behavior to each other is the subject matter of psychology. But as soon as these relations become so well established that we think of them as a form of association, then the form of interaction through which one maintains control over the other is a datum of sociology. Thus the relation of the leader and the led involves the form of social control which we call leadership, and is an important subject of sociological study.

2. Forms of Social Control. The forms or means of social control include several of the most important sociological concepts.

Mores (singular *mos*), as discussed on p. 201, are folkways which are socially sanctioned and considered necessary for the group welfare, so that their violation meets with social disapproval and correction. A southerner greets a Negro, but he may not call him Mister, nor may he ride with him in the same car, unless in the relation of master and servant. These are mores. In this country we drive on the righthand side of the road, but in Great Britain they drive on the left. This is one of the mores whose violation not only brings disapproval but is punishable, for it has been adopted into the traffic law. Class and caste lines are maintained by the mores, and give rise to many. Thus for an upper class woman to do any physical work was formerly against the mores in the South, because work was performed by Negroes or poor whites; whereas in the North a woman who was a good worker was esteemed, although formerly it was against the mores for her to work outside the home, except in school teaching.

[39] Eubank, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
[40] Zeleny, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

The mores are more strictly enforced and have more sanction in the rural community than in the city, because people are better known to each other and there is more fear of offending local public opinion and being "talked about." Sinclair Lewis's "Main Street" and most novels dealing with rural community life make much of this theme.[41]

An interesting exercise is to describe the recognized mores of different rural communities and to compare them with each other and with those of nearby towns and cities.

Institutions (see introduction to Part III, p. 209), such as the family, the school, the church, and the government, are the most powerful agencies of social control because each forms a system of *organized sanctions,* so that we speak of *institutional control.*[42]

Like the mores, rural institutions have much more control than those of the city, because of a more intimate public opinion. The most formal institution of social control is that of the law, supported by government, interpreted by the courts, and executed by the police and prisons. Relatively, however, the law is less important as a means of social control than the mores and public opinion in the country as contrasted with the city.

Public opinion is an important means of social control, but it is difficult to define.[43] It is not institutionalized in the country except to the extent that the country weekly forms a voice for public opinion (see p. 437).

Among the means of crystallizing public opinion which have grown out of the adult education movement are the public forum and local discussion groups. The audience of the forum has been greatly enlarged through the radio, as shown by the popularity of "The Town Meeting of the Air" and the round table discussions broadcast by members of the University of Chicago faculty. When these are combined with local discussion groups, they are powerful means of forming public opinion. Indeed, the radio has greatly speeded up the formation of public opinion and is an invaluable asset for this purpose in a country as large as ours and composed of such heterogeneous elements and interests. The small discussion group is also being fostered by various institutions and agencies as a means of encouraging collective thinking and of developing more tolerance for divergent points of

[41] See the instance concerning a city girl teaching a rural school quoted by Landis, *op. cit.,* p. 317.

[42] Consult E. C. Hughes, in R. E. Park, editor, An Outline of the Principles of Sociology, New York, Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1939, p. 332.

[43] Consult Young, *op. cit.,* p. 527; also see Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion, New York, Harcourt Brace and Co., 1922.

view. The organization of discussion is an important method in the formation of public opinion, and is especially timely at the present time, when we are forced to reconsider fundamental values and we come to see how essential free discussion is to a democracy.

Gossip is a powerful means of forming public opinion, and "whispering campaigns" now form a definite technique of propaganda. The press and the radio are among the chief means of creating public opinion, but both are used so definitely for propaganda that one of the most important phases of education is teaching how to recognize, evaluate, and resist propaganda. On the other hand, a press which will seek to gauge and accurately represent public opinion performs a valuable function in building up social control. The farm press and the country weekly (see Chapter 18) have a large influence in this way because of their more personal relation to their constituency.

Freedom in the expression of public opinion is one of the chief values of democracy, whereas Fascism controls public opinion by propaganda, and by cutting off communication to create social isolation and uniformity of thought.

Tradition and history are influential in social control. This is particularly true in older communities which have existed long enough to have a history which is interpreted to embody certain values and ideals. This is most evident in an old country like China, where ancestor veneration has put a premium on the ways of the past, so that history and tradition have governed behavior more than the western idea of progress. Landis [44] points out that rural areas do not have as rapid changes as certain city areas, and that they are more uniformly conscious of their past.

Science as Social Control. In contrast with the undirected control of public opinion which works through suggestion and imitation, the method of science—trying to ascertain the facts—is assuming an increasingly important function in social control. We have already noted its influence in changing rural life (p. 205). With a better knowledge of man's behavior through psychology and social psychology, and a knowledge of the principles of group life as discovered by sociology, it will become increasingly possible to use scientific methods of social control more effectively.

All social control is but a process of conditioning. In the totalitarian states direct use is being made of scientific principles in redirecting the methods and aims of the educational system so that children are conditioned in every way possible to accept the ideals and values

[44] Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

necessary to make them good members of an omnipotent state. This but indicates the possibilities of the application of science to social control, although it wholly abrogates the fundamental principle of science to seek the truth, and raises one of the most difficult and crucial problems in ethics which the school faces today.

The application of science to social control also occurs in advertising and propaganda. Indeed public relations is now becoming one of the most lucrative professions. We shall consider the scientific method further in connection with planning as a means of social control.

3. MEANS OF SOCIAL CONTROL. In contrast to the sociological concepts of agencies of control, we may briefly consider the means or methods of social control, which are mostly psychological categories. Fundamentally all these categories may be thought of as aspects of the teaching-learning process, but some are more formally directed at teaching whereas others go on quite unconsciously. In the broadest sense social control may be conceived as social conditioning.

Suggestion and imitation are the chief means of social control of individuals in crowds. In a crowd the higher nervous system seems to be inhibited by the social pressure of the mass of individuals; feeling and emotion are dominant, and the individuals are easily influenced by suggestion and imitation. It is for this reason that Hitler assembles vast crowds, whose emotions are stirred with massed bands, so that he can hypnotize them with his harangues. Suggestion and imitation are also the chief mechanisms of psychical epidemics, such as occur at revival meetings, in such movements as the Ku Klux Klan, and in the sway of fads and fashions. They are also employed effectively in advertising and propaganda, by the repeated use of slogans, pictures, and symbols, which are collective representations of values having general social approval.

Teaching-learning. Obviously, all the behaviors changed by social control must be learned in some way. Many of them are taught directly, as in the home and school. The folkways and mores are taught the child by his family and by his play groups. Schools are institutions for inculcating patterns of behavior approved by society, although we have seen that in an age of rapid changes the best form of control can be obtained only by training their pupils to evaluate and discriminate concerning the established social values and to be able to judge and willing to try new social inventions. The church is also a powerful teaching agency in the realm of social values.

Approval and disapproval are important means for obtaining social control, or, as Zeleny puts it, are methods of control accompanied by

attitudes of like and dislike. Among the means of approval are praise, flattery, prestige, and persuasion. Among the means of disapproval are calling names, laughter, ridicule, satire, and gossip. These are among the most powerful stimuli for conformity, for they appeal to the emotional nature. The desire for positive affective response and for recognition are basic motives of human behavior. Disapproval is an indirect threat to one's security; approval enhances it. Thus public recognition of Master Farmers, the awards to Scouts and 4-H Club members, and newspaper commendation are all forms of approval which influence the behavior of others, and are thus means of social control.

Compulsion and coercion rest on the use of force in social control. Thus the law is a form of coercion, but usually obedience is obtained by presenting, through language, a statement of what will happen if the law is violated, and physical force is necessary only when it is flagrantly broken.

The whole ordering-forbidding technique, which is probably the most common form of social control used between individuals, is a form of coercion. Threats and punishment, which is often nonphysical, are forms of coercion. By and large, compulsion and coercion are the least satisfactory means of social control, for unless the values and attitudes of the individual or group are changed, there will be no permanency of control.

Impression. Much of the most effective social control is accomplished not through any direct teaching or appeal to reason or conscious motives, but through the indirect influence of building up emotional attitudes. Thus the strongest control of the family is through familial affection. The control of the Catholic Church is possibly not so much through theological belief as through the emotional experience of the mass and the attendant ceremonials. Music has a strong controlling influence, and may be used by the band to develop martial fervor, or by the church organ to obtain attitudes of worship. The songs of a people are among their strongest bonds, and a bit of song may sway a recalcitrant crowd or a blasé audience. Participation in all sorts of ceremonials and rituals is a means of social control. In all of these cases control is obtained by the sharing of pleasurable emotional experience, which is one of the most powerful bonds of human relations.

4. Strength of Social Control in Rural Life. Social control is strongest in the primary group, such as the family, the play group, or the neighborhood, where persons are intimately known to each other;

because they have to live together intimately they must value each other's approval. We have seen that the family, the neighborhood, and the community are stronger in rural than in urban society. A small rural community has stronger social control than a large one, other things being equal. Within the rural community people are better known to each other and public opinion has much more influence on the individual's behavior than in the city, where he may remain unknown to his neighbors. The social control of the rural community makes for a certain conservatism, which may be a healthful influence in this age of rapid change, and its more personal, primary-group relationships give an emotional satisfaction and a sense of security.

The relatively strong social control of the rural community is due to several factors: (1) the greater stability and solidarity of the farm family (see Chapter 10), and the fact that its members are all engaged in a common enterprise; (2) the greater strength of the kinship group, for we have seen that most farmers do not move far and they are more under the influence of their kinfolk; (3) the greater stability of community relations owing to more permanency of residence; (4) knowing a larger proportion of the people in the whole community. One is more susceptible to public opinion where he is known by all; it is desirable to maintain the esteem of others because he is forced to associate with them to maintain local institutions. These differences have been noted by students of city life, as by the Urbanism Committee of the National Resources Committee.[45]

In cities social control, in so far as it is not legal control, is largely confined to membership in certain organizations, as in the control by trade-unions of their members and by manufacturers' or businessmen's trade associations. In the country, on the other hand, social control still rests in the locality group to a very considerable extent.

> For example, wheat allotment control under the Agricultural Adjustment Act has been placed in the hands of committees of local farmers, whose business it is to see that all conform to their agreements as to acreage. Supervisors report that the farmers who violate their contracts often are made to feel the resentment of the entire community. One migrant interviewed in the state of Washington stated that he left Colorado because he had failed to keep his agreement and could not face humiliation among his neighbors.[46]

This strength of the social control of the community may sometimes be too strong, particularly where gossip is rife, and may influence some

[45] *Cf.* National Resources Committee, Our Cities, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1937, p. 24.

[46] Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

of the more independent and more nonconforming youth to migrate to escape it, but this is not an inevitable or necessary corollary of the rural situation.

As Landis has clearly shown [47] the primary-group controls of rural life are now in a state of transition. Freer communication and the tendency toward urbanization have introduced new values and attitudes into rural life, and the old hold of the locality group is breaking down as far as its compulsory nature is concerned. The automobile has permitted youth to escape the critical eyes of their neighbors. Even their elders have a wider and freer area of association and may find their satisfactions in the contacts made outside the local community and be more or less indifferent to its approval.

When one studies the history of social control in the rural community of ancient and modern Europe and from the colonial days to the present time in this country, he becomes aware that the whole trend has been toward a larger freedom of the individual and toward the control of the locality group being placed on a basis of voluntary loyalty to the common welfare.[48]

In spite of the fact that the rural community will have to adjust its former rigid controls to a freer social life, Landis is undoubtedly correct when he says:

> Probably the more progressive rural community, which has facilities for the enrichment of experience but at the same time maintains fairly rigid codes, represents, from many viewpoints, a near ideal situation for social control.[49]

This is an asset of rural society which may have increasing significance in the national life.

5. Planned Social Control. In an age of rapid changes in the physico-social environment social control suffers sadly from cultural lag (see p. 652); it is not adjusted to the new situation rapidly enough to be effective. Thus there were about as many persons killed by automobiles in this country in the last year as there were British killed by air raids in the present war, but only here and there have effective means of social control of auto accidents been developed.

In the main, social control develops unconsciously through the gradual change of values and attitudes. Like the mores, which form so large a part of social control, its origin is crescive rather than enacted.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

[48] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, The Rural Community, Boston, Ginn and Co., 1932 pp. 608–616.

[49] Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

This works fairly well in a more or less static society, but in an age in which science so rapidly revolutionizes our ways of living we need better means of redefining our social values and of devising means of social control for maintaining them. It is for this reason that there has been such an increase in statutory law, but we have learned to our sorrow that law which is not supported by public opinion does not give effective social control. We need, therefore, to give earnest consideration to how effective social control may be developed more consciously and rapidly than in the past. One means is to speed up the formation of public opinion, which is the object of propaganda and discussion groups, as described above. But public opinion may go astray if it does not have all the facts and they have not been carefully interpreted. This gives rise to the need of social planning, of planned social controls, which at best must be more or less experimental in nature. Thus there is fundamental need to change our attitudes toward social change from one of desire for absolutes to a willingness to regard life as an adventure and to be willing to try social inventions with the experimental attitude of science. This problem will be discussed in Chapter 27. Here we shall only call attention to some of the methods of planned social control now being used in rural areas.

First, we have those methods of planned control set up by laws, whether federal, state, or local. Among these some of the more significant are regulations for crop control (see pp. 179, 181), for the creation of soil conservation districts (p. 173), and for the control of the liquor traffic. Control of the liquor traffic has always been stronger in rural communities than in the cities, and it was the gradual spread of local option which made national prohibition possible. The local option movement is again gaining ground in some states and it remains to be seen whether it will be able to control whole states. From past experience it would seem that it might be better not to attempt the enforcement of rural values with regard to the sale of liquor on cities which do not share in them.

A second means of planned social control is the devising of means for advancing accommodation between groups and interests in a local community. This may be done by means of community calendars and community councils, which develop a better understanding between groups and aid in the formation of local public opinion, as is set forth in Chapter 29.

A third means is the creation of definite planning bodies, such as the county agricultural (or land-use) planning committees (p. 407). These planning committees are concerned primarily with the problems of a better use of the land and a long-time program of agricultural

improvement but, as they consider the problems of rural institutions, such as the school, public welfare work, health facilities, etc., they inevitably enlarge the scope of their planning and must consider means of social control. When they become strongly established community councils act as planning bodies for the community (p. 692).

The advantage of all these new types of planning bodies is that they attempt to use a rational method of procedure by assembling the available facts, gathering data concerning unknown or disputed facts, establishing goals or values, considering means for their achievement, and then planning programs of procedure. It is the rational or scientific method of attempting to improve local conditions for the common good, as opposed to the *laissez faire* philosophy of the past of allowing them to be shaped by individuals and special interests.

In the long run, however, the effectiveness of any plan of social control will lie not in the mechanism or method by which it is created, but in the nature of the values which it seeks to establish and the intensity and loyalty with which they are held. Thus we get back to the question of values as the ultimate basis of social organization, as discussed in Chapter 3. It is in this realm that rural people need to be on their guard lest, in the process of urbanization, they may sell their birthright—the values which are unique in rural life—for a mess of pottage. They must be cautious lest, in trying to achieve their own values, they are manipulated to oppose new social controls in other areas of national life which are necessary for the general welfare of the Great Society. This problem of the control of controls has been well stated by Kimball Young:

> There remains the question of how to control the controls. Behind the law and behind the business and professional codes of the special interest groups there remains always the wider community. Education and religion are two powerful agencies setting the standards of formal and especially of informal controls. Education may foster group prejudices, may throw its weight on the side of special interest groups, producing rationalizations for exploitation, or it may free the individual from too great attachment to any given special group, so that he can see the relation of the economic or other narrow organization to the wider good of the entire community. The problem of indoctrination *versus* freedom of intellectual growth . . . is implied here. . . . If we indoctrinate the individual with narrow class interests, we may lay the foundation for a very different sort of control than if we try to free him to see the whole society in an ethical framework.
>
> Religion gives a sanction to various social practices and opposes others. In our capitalistic society it has tended for the most part to support

private business and the economic competitive system, and business men's clubs often hear the remark that Jesus was the first Rotarian, or that God would approve of the purposes of this business organization or that. On the other hand, some more divergent Christian sects have opposed exploitation and have stood out against the special interests of economic groups.

In the end, social control itself is affected by various groups and institutions within the larger social framework. It is especially susceptible to education, formal and informal, to religious ideology, and today to the growing use of press, radio, and motion picture by the dominant business interests or by the political state, which, as in communist Russia or fascist countries, may foster the view of the dominant party in power. In the light of this latent power over public opinion one may raise some doubts as to how effective the control of the wider community may be unless the latter sees to it—by legal or informal means—that the media of public opinion be untrammeled by special interest groups, be they economic, political, or religious in character.[50]

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[50] Young, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

Chapter 27

SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL TRENDS IN RURAL SOCIETY

1. WHAT IS SOCIAL CHANGE? Throughout the previous chapters we have seen that the problems which confront all phases of rural society are largely the result of changes in the environment and the necessity of making adjustments to them. Indeed, if we were to trace the origins of the growth of sociology, we would be able to show that it arose very largely as a response to accelerated changes demanding social adjustments.[1]

We have been constantly confronted with the fact that we are not dealing with phenomena which are more or less permanent in their reactions to each other, as is the case in the physical and biological world, but that social phenomena are constantly changing; that the chief reason for our being interested in them is that they are changing; and that the stimulus for social organization is the need for adjustments to meet new situations arising from changed environment. In our discussion of the various institutions, family, church, school, and government, we have observed how problems concerning each of them have arisen as a result of changes from the conditions under which they were established, so that we are compelled to rethink their functions and objectives and to modify their structure if they are to function satisfactorily under modern conditions.

Thus if a knowledge of sociology is to be of any value for purposes of social organization by enabling us to know how to predict collective behavior and thus to better direct or control it for the common welfare, it must include not only a knowledge of the structure and functioning of human society as it is at present and has been in the past, but we must know why and how changes in the social structure occur and how they may be controlled to the best advantage.

[1] Such a book as H. E. Barnes' Society in Transition gives a vivid picture of how social problems arise from a changed environment, as does J. H. S. Bossard's Social Change and Social Problems (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1934), and others of this type.

The discovery of the principle of organic evolution by Darwin and Wallace in the middle of the nineteenth century introduced the concept of evolution as applied to human affairs and was the principal factor in giving us the modern idea of progress. As a result, in the later years of the last century and in the present century until World War I there was current a rather naive belief in the inevitability of progress. Subsequent events have rudely shaken this simple faith and we have come to see that, although progress may occur, it will do so only through human effort to learn how to adjust social relationships to rapidly changing environmental conditions. The problems of social change have become increasingly acute, and form the chief incentive for sociological study.

Change, in general, has been defined as any alteration in the position or the condition of anything from a state previously existent.[2] Social change, therefore, is any alteration of the previous position or condition of social phenomena, which are the forms of association and of social interaction.

2. Sociology and Social Change. Before going farther it is necessary to distinguish the role and objectives of sociology in the study of social change from those of history and psychology. Those events in time which are more or less unique are the subject matter of history. It is true that history seeks to discover the factors underlying the sequence of events and to make generalizations concerning them. This has been the aim of a philosophy of history, which has been attempted by many historians and social theorists, and is closely related to the objectives of sociology, but the emphasis in history is on interpretation.

> Both history and sociology are concerned with the life of man as man. History, however, seeks to reproduce and interpret concrete events as they actually occurred in time and space. Sociology, on the other hand, seeks to arrive at natural laws and generalizations in regard to human nature and society, irrespective of time and of place.[3]

The description of the invasion of a given primitive people by the white man is a matter of history; but generalizations concerning the process of colonization are the results of sociological research. Thomas[4]

[2] E. E. Eubank, Concepts of Sociology, New York, D. C. Heath and Co., 1932, pp. 261 *ff.*

[3] R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921, p. 11. See pp. 1–12, 16–24 on this topic.

[4] W. I. Thomas, Source Book of Social Origins, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press (now Richard G. Badger, Boston), 1909, pp. 17–19. See also Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 793.

has pointed out the place which crises have had in human affairs, as, for example, the present crisis in world affairs, and as such they are a matter for historical interpretation; but he has also indicated that the significance of crises may form a phase of sociological study of the processes of social change. History is concerned with the interpretation of the sequence of events.

Nor does sociology attempt to ascertain the *why* of particular events, which is the sphere of psychology. On the other hand, it should be made clear that in the problems of social organization a knowledge of both the history and psychology of a particular social situation is essential for knowing how to deal with it effectively. As we have repeatedly insisted, sociology, as such, is concerned with the recurrent phenomena of social relations in so far as generalizations applicable to given conditions can be made about them.

The concept of social change is, therefore, intimately related to the topics of social interaction and social control discussed in the preceding chapter, and particularly with those forms of social interaction which are called social processes involving sequences of interaction. Some social processes are peculiarly those of social change and will be discussed below.

Indeed, the idea of process in social change has so intrigued many sociologists that they have felt it should form the central core of sociological analysis.[5] In so far as the study of social processes may be a most important contribution of sociology to a *program* of social organization, which is undoubtedly the incentive for sociological study, this view is correct, but that is not to say that the *how* of social situations is the objective of sociological analysis. If we study social change to discover generalizations concerning recurrent social processes, we have sociology. If we study social change to ascertain *how* or *why* society is as it is, we are dealing with history and social psychology. The latter are of the greatest practical importance for a *program* of social organization, but social organization as a technology is more than applied sociology for, although it must use scientific method, it must use the techniques of all sciences and knowledges bearing on its problems (see Chapter 2).

Overemphasis on the *How* of social processes inevitably leads back to the will-o'-the-wisp of earlier sociologists to discover *the* social proc-

[5] *Cf.* P. H. Landis, "The Concept, Social Processes: Its Meaning and Usefulness in the Study of Rural Society," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 6, pp. 59–62; and his Rural Life in Process, preface *et passim.*

ess, which is more a problem of the philosophy of history and has been largely abandoned for the study of individual processes.[6]

On the other hand, Lundberg wisely points out concerning this problem that

> . . . we may perhaps draw the most pertinent lesson from scientists in other fields. They confine themselves first to intensive study of proximate and readily available data with careful descriptions of the conditions under which events occur, with due attention to observable influences of time. Most of the effort of these scientists is directed at the *accurate measurement of the variables, including time, that appear to influence currently observable phenomena* rather than in attempting to find remote historical parallels, contradictions, or confirmations. . . .
>
> *As our observations and measurements of small influences, both of time and of other factors, on contemporary culture increase in reliability, we shall be increasingly able to reconstruct the course of societal evolution and formulate its laws.*[7]

The emphasis in sociology should, therefore, be on perfecting our knowledge of individual social processes, which will make possible its contribution to the problems of social organization.

Social change is often discussed as if synonymous with *cultural change,*[8] but the latter is a much broader term dealing with the entire extent of human culture, including its material culture. Social change is dependent on and is a part of cultural change, but is restricted to the nonmaterial culture (included in what Bernard calls psycho-social and composite-institutional environments; see p. 197), the changes in the forms of human association and how they function and in the forms of interaction that occur among them. What is *social* is the meaningful interaction between men.

3. CAUSES OF SOCIAL CHANGE. When we seek to understand the factors which produce social change, we find that practically all of them arise from changes in the environment, using the term in the broadest sense, as described by Bernard (see pp. 195 *ff.*). The chief factors in the environment affecting social changes may be included under

[6] For a discussion of *the* social process see: Eubank, *op. cit.,* pp. 274–275; Max Lerner, "Social Process," in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934. The latter says: "A change in any part of the social process is to be accounted for only in terms of changes (which are both cause and effect) in a multiplicity of factors in the rest of the social process and, by ultimate logic, in the whole of it."

[7] G. A. Lundberg, Foundations of Sociology, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1939, pp. 517–518. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[8] *Cf.* Landis, *op. cit.,* Chapter 16; F. S. Chapin, Cultural Change, 1928.

four categories: (*a*) physiographical changes; (*b*) population changes; (*c*) inventions, both physical and social; and (*d*) new ideologies (phases of the psycho-social environment).

(*a*) *Changes in the Physiographic Environment.* Whether physical or biological, these changes very definitely start social change. Thus the severe droughts in the Western Great Plains during the 1930's caused an unprecedented migration to the Pacific Coast, which made the already difficult transient labor problem more acute, as described in Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath." In his book, "The Pulse of Asia," Ellsworth Huntington has described how the successive cycles of desiccation of the grasslands of Central Asia led to the migrations to what Breasted called "The Fertile Crescent," extending from the valley of the Euphrates to that of the Nile, of which the Turkish invasion was an example, and to migrations into Europe. Thus, temporary, cyclical, or long-time changes in climate have had a very direct effect on social change. We have seen that soil erosion and soil depletion have been responsible for definite social changes in our southern states.

(*b*) *Population Changes.*[9] Population changes, such as migrations, give rise to new social relations, as they tend to free those in a new country from the established customs and mores of the older country from which they migrated. For this reason many of our social inventions, such as the initiative, the referendum, and the recall in government, have arisen in the Far West, which, in general, is much more progressive or radical than the East.

As we have seen in our discussion of population (Chapter 5), the growth of cities and rural-urban migration have given cities a dominant position in our modern culture and have very greatly altered the social relations of rural communities, as well as creating a host of social problems peculiar to city life. On the one hand, the excessive reproduction of such rural areas as the Southern Appalachian Highlands has created definite social changes as they obtain contacts with modern culture; on the other hand, the loss of rural population in large areas of the country has led to school consolidation, the abandonment of open-country churches, and the general tendency for the village to rise in importance as a rural center. So the lack of reproduction in cities is partly responsible for migration from the rural areas.

(*c*) *Invention.* This has probably been responsible for more social changes than any one factor in modern society, i.e., primarily inven-

[9] *Cf.* National Resources Committee, The Problems of a Changing Population, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938.

tion of physical tools, machines and processes, but social inventions, although they have been far less rapid, must also be included. The rapidity with which modern inventions have occurred has been very largely due to the discoveries of modern science. Students of cultural change [10] have pointed out that the process of invention depends upon the *accumulation* of culture traits, and that as traits or inventions accumulate others are made possible and the process of invention *accelerates,* so that invention becomes a process rather than an act. This acceleration of invention is also promoted by the diffusion or spread of inventions, which is increased by better means of communication. The isolated culture has a narrow or restricted base of accumulated culture traits, which is rapidly increased as its isolation is abolished by better means of communication. Thus the printing press, mail service, the telegraph and telephone (Fig. 116), railroads, automobiles, airplanes, and radio, have all increased the speed and possibility of communication, so that no culture, however remote, is now outside their influence. The result is that we have so increased the speed of cultural change that we are now unable to keep up with it. We become aware of the condition of *cultural lag,* to be discussed shortly, and we are bewildered by the effort to adapt our social life to the constantly shifting scene. We have a nostalgia for the good old days when there was more stability and consequently more security, even if on a lower level. Yet we believe in progress, whatever we conceive it to be, and cannot escape the necessity of adapting to the accelerating tempo of change.

Thus we have already observed the profound effect which the mechanization of agriculture is having upon rural life, the way in which the automobile is realigning the spatial pattern of rural society, and the way in which the press and the radio are effecting its urbanization. These are all phases of social change.

We should not forget, however, that there have also been *social* inventions which are producing far-reaching effects on human relationships too, and which have a cumulative effect, just as do physical inventions. Thus the cooperative association is a social invention which has had a widespread and almost revolutionary effect on rural society. In

[10] *Cf.* W. F. Ogburn, article on "Change, Social," in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1930; National Resources Committee, Technological Trends and National Policy, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1937; USDA, Interbureau Committee and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Technology on the Farm, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940; Landis, *op. cit.,* Chapter 16; W. F. Ogburn, Social Change, pp. 73–79; Lundberg, *op. cit.,* pp. 507–511.

Europe, prior to the rise of the totalitarian governments, the cooperative movement had made such rapid progress that it had very definitely affected the social organization of hosts of rural as well as urban communities.[11] So the *trade-union* was a social invention, now become an accepted institution, which was created to enable wage earners to bargain collectively with their employers. It is a new form of social

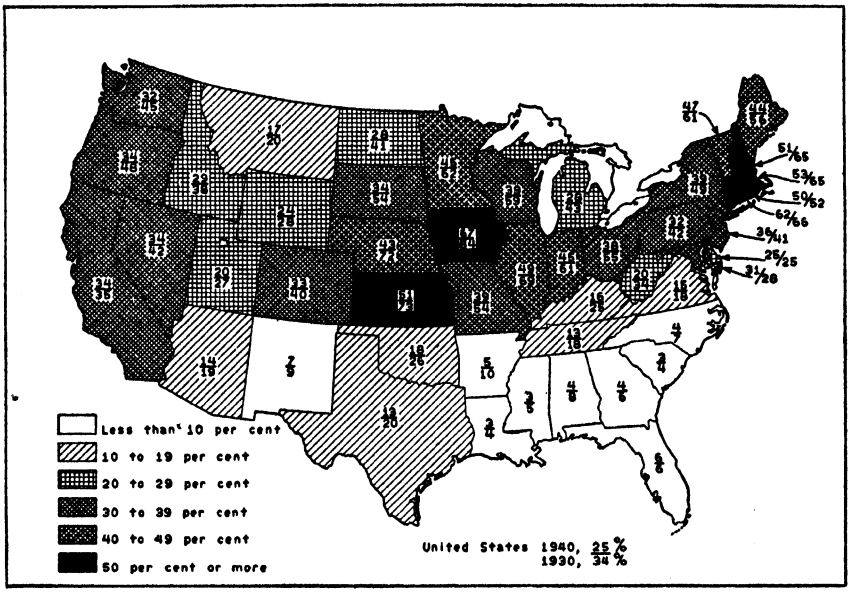


FIG. 116. Percentage of farms reporting telephones, by states, 1940 (upper figure and hatching) and 1930 (lower figure). Every state lost telephones during the decade.

organization which has come to stay and which has already had far-reaching influence on social changes in the field of education and social legislation, as well as in the organization of industry. All forms of social insurance, the consolidated school, the larger parish, the 4-H club movement, and a host of others, are examples of recent social inventions. Resistance to social inventions is a large factor in retarding adjustment to social change.[12]

(*d*) *New Ideologies.* Many of our social inventions are the product of new ideologies, new fundamental values which have captured

[11] *Cf.* F. C. Howe, Denmark, A Cooperative Commonwealth, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921; M. W. Childs, Sweden—The Middle Way, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1936.

[12] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, "What Prevents Social Progress?" *The Scientific Monthly,* Vol. XL, pp. 349–359, April, 1935.

attention and have commanded allegiance. Thus the ideas of liberty and democracy were responsible for a new form of state, and subsequently had a major influence in creating our system of public education, as well as the recent advances in social welfare legislation and institutions. So the ideas of religious liberty and the freedom of the individual to worship in his own manner were started by the Protestant Reformation, and have given rise to repeated schisms and the present dilemma of Protestant denominations to deal with the religious needs of modern society.[18]

On the other hand, we witness the effect of the dominance of the opposite ideology of the supreme worth of the state in the sudden rise of the totalitarian state, with all its consequent effects on social changes in the most fundamental human institutions—the church, the school, the trade-union, the cooperative association.

In this connection we must not neglect the influence of the thinker, the philosopher, and the scientist as creators of new ideologies promoting social change. The work of such men as Sigmund Freud in psychology and of John Dewey in educational philosophy, to mention only two contemporary examples, has had a profound influence in reshaping our current ideologies in ways of which many are unaware, but which are potent for directing the course of social change. Thus it is claimed that many of the ideas of Nazism expounded by Hitler and his followers hark back to the philosophy of Hegel and Nietzsche, with which many of them are probably unfamiliar, but which have had a cumulative effect on the thought of various leaders and have been the means of rationalizing the present Nazi regime, of enabling it to make spurious values seem essential.

4. ADJUSTMENT AND VALUES. It becomes evident from the above analysis that the practical problem arising from social change is how man may adjust his established forms of association, his groups, institutions, mores, etc., to a changing environment, both physical and social. In the biological world plants and animals adjust by adaptation, for they have no alternative. But man differs from other organisms in that he has certain conscious desires, or *values,* which largely shape his ideologies or philosophy of life. Because he has definite values, certain desires which are for him the basic satisfactions of life, man has sought to control his environment (see p. 50), and the degree to which he has accomplished this is a measure of human progress. In modern society we have developed certain values with regard to our family relations, our desire for knowledge and skill through education,

[18] See the editorial in *Fortune,* Jan., 1940.

our freedom to worship as we think best, our desire for economic justice and political democracy, to mention only a few of the most important, which are to us of even more permanent worth than electric refrigerators or automobiles. The fundamental and ultimate question in determining what we shall do with regard to any given social change is how we evaluate it in terms of its relation to these ultimate values. Having determined this we may adjust to the new environment—for adjust we must—by adapting our institutions and social organization to the changed conditions as much as may be necessary or inevitable, *but* we will seek to *control* the environment as far as it is possible, or as we may invent means which will enable us to do so, in order to preserve those values which we deem essential. Thus we may adapt our life to automobiles by teaching young and old to look each way before crossing a street and by all the other rules for safety which have been discovered, but we will not remain content with the present slaughter by reckless or careless drivers, and we will seek to reduec the hazard of accident by whatever legislation may be necessary, whether it be by the construction of the car so as to limit its speed, compulsory liability insurance, frequent inspection of mechanical efficiency, chemical tests of drivers suspected of being under the influence of liquor, or whatever means may be found efficacious. Our difficulty lies in the fact that in all environmental changes it is easier to adapt to them than to control them. Indeed, it is only as we are forced by necessity, when our established values are threatened, that we earnestly seek to discover how to control the new environment so as to maintain the general welfare.

5. Processes of Social Change. In the preceding chapter we considered some of the social processes and pointed out that all processes involve change, but there are two others in which the element of change is so dominant that they require further exposition.

(*a*) *Cultural Lag.* One of the most important and disconcerting phenomena of social change is that of cultural lag. Ogburn's description of cultural lag[14] is one of the best examples of sociological analysis of a social process, and is a valuable tool for understanding many of the problems which confront us in this age of rapid social change. He holds that changes in the material culture precede and shape those of the nonmaterial culture (see Chapter 9). The result is a very definite lag in the nonmaterial culture, the world of values, attitudes, ideas, and institutions, which tends to remain as it was in an environment that is being transformed by new physical inventions. This is due in part

[14] Ogburn, *op. cit.*, Part IV.

to the conservative influence of habits, customs, and traditions, and in part to the resistance to change by vested interests.[15] As was previously remarked, this factor of cultural lag is one of the most important problems with which we have to deal in modern civilization. The problem is to make *social* inventions or to adapt existing institutions to cope with the advances of physical inventions, a need which becomes more acute as the rate of physical inventions is accelerated. Social invention will not, however, be able to meet the situation alone, for, however meritorious and practicable the social invention may be, it will not be adopted and receive public sanction unless attitudes favorable to it are created and there is developed a willingness to face the facts of a new situation and the ability to make decisions concerning the proposed social invention, and to choose the chief values that are to be conserved. As we have seen in the discussion of problems of the school, this raises one of the most challenging issues concerning the objectives of education, i.e., whether it should be content to prepare the pupil for adaptation to existing conditions, or whether it should train him to be able to make decisions, so that the rapidly changing environment may be better controlled for the preservation and betterment of the basic human values. We have encountered this cultural lag in all the institutions which we have studied, as, for instance, in the opposition to rural school consolidation and to the absorption of functions of the township by the county when the former has become relatively inefficient and unnecessary. This opposition to change and the consequent cultural lag are probably inevitable, and have certain values as a conservative force against too rapid changes, but how to reduce them to a minimum is one of the chief problems of social science, and particularly for any program of rural social organization.

(*b*) *Revolution.* If cultural lag becomes too great, it may result in revolution. This is an acute form of social conflict (see p. 623) which results in radical forms of social change. We commonly think of revolution in terms of political revolutions, such as the revolution of the American Colonies and the French Revolution, which are sudden and violent;[16] but the concept is far broader in its significance. Revo-

[15] Even physical inventions meet considerable resistance from established ways and interests. Thus the introduction of the steel plow was strenuously opposed on the ground that it poisoned the soil. See B. J. Stern, Resistance to the Adoption of Technological Innovations, in National Resources Committee, Technological Trends and National Policy, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–66.

[16] *Cf.* Kimball Young, Introductory Sociology, pp. 44–50; and Alfred Meusel, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences; and Paul Meadows, "Sequence in Revolution," *Am. Soc. Rev.*, Vol. 6, pp. 702–709, Oct., 1941.

lutions occur in all phases of life, in all our leading institutions and organizations. They may be sudden and violent or they may be spread over a longer period and, although necessarily causing suffering for some, they may be without violence. If the process is long and gradual, we call it evolution, but if it is relatively of short duration, it may be properly called revolution. Thus the Protestant Reformation started as a reform but became a revolution in the established church. The recent transformation of customs and institutions in Turkey and in China have formed a revolution in their cultures, quite aside from political implications. Every organization, at one time or another, when an unsuccessful or decadent management is thrown out, undergoes a sort of revolution. Experience has shown that sudden and violent revolutions, in whatever sphere of life, are unfortunate as they cause unnecessary suffering and usually result in a reaction which impedes permanent adjustment. It is for this reason that in democracies there are periodic elections which permit a change of control in an orderly manner, and that some organizations not only have annual elections, but require that officers and directors cannot be reelected for longer than a prescribed term, so as to insure change of management.

Revolutions usually occur in times of crisis, when some unusual change in the environment compels action, but the existing institutions and modes of behavior are unable to cope with the situation. Had the Federal Government not extended its credit to the states and furnished relief during the depression of the early 1930's, with thousands upon thousands of families destitute of food and unable to work to obtain it, we might very well have had incipient revolution in this country.

Moreover we should recognize, whatever our political and economic beliefs may be, that all the Western World is in a process of revolution, comparable to that of the Industrial Revolution or the Decline of Feudalism. We are in an era when the ultimate effects of the factory system and centralized financial control of the corporation-controlled capitalist system are being understood, and the inability of millions of people to obtain employment during cyclical periods of economic depression, when it is well understood that there is a superabundance of goods and the means for producing enough for everyone are available, produces a situation which is increasingly intolerable and which is effecting a revolution in our political and economic institutions, even though in this country it has been, and we hope may continue to be, a gradual revolution. Thus the whole financial basis of our agriculture is undergoing a profound revolution as the result of government subsidies and control, the ultimate effect of which we cannot foresee.

6. Social Trends. If we are to deal with social change intelligently and are not to permit cultural lag to go on until revolution is inevitable, we need to take stock of the trends of social change from time to time, to become aware of what changes are going on and how they are affecting our culture. This is one of the real motives of our decennial census in this country. As indicated at the beginning of this chapter, until World War I we had a rather naive faith in the inevitability of human progress, and although this was shaken by the war it continued during the 1920's with the industrial prosperity of our cities, although the farmers were becoming doubtful about it. But with the unprecedented economic debacle of 1929–1930 we became aware that social changes had been mostly fortuitous and unguided. It was then that President Hoover had the foresight to invite a committee of leading social scientists to make a thorough study of what social changes were occurring and to ascertain their significance for the future. This resulted in the well-known report on "Recent Social Trends in the United States," [17] which will long remain a landmark as an application of social science toward giving a factual basis for determining public policies. Such a study enables us to see what social changes are occurring, to evaluate them, and thus forms a basis for ascertaining what may be done for controlling them in desired directions.[18]

The first step in an intelligent solution of any social problem is to get a common definition of the situation, or, in other words, to agree on the facts, for, as Park and Burgess have shown, a redefinition of the situation may change the character of the action:

> Actually common participation in common activities implies a common "definition of the situation." In fact, every single act, and eventually all moral life, is dependent upon the definition of the situation. A definition of the situation precedes and limits any possible action, and a redefinition of the situation changes the character of the action. An abusive person, for example, provokes anger and possible violence, but if we realize that the man is insane the redefinition of the situation results in a totally different behavior.[19]

[17] Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, Recent Social Trends in the United States, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, 2 vols. See particularly pp. lxx–lxxv.

[18] A corollary of this report is a series of Thirteen Studies in the Social Aspects of the Depression, prepared under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council and published by it in 1937. See Dwight Sanderson, "Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression," New York, Social Science Research Council, 1937, Bul. 34.

[19] Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 764.

If we are to have a common definition of the situation, we must first get the facts, and this is what the President's Committee did in "Social Trends" with regard to what social changes had occurred and are occurring. This work has been continued by the National Resources Planning Board (formerly the National Resources Committee), which has issued a series of notable reports, to which we have frequently referred, giving basic facts with regard to the natural and human resources and the economic structure of the United States. Similar studies have been and are being made by state, city, and county planning boards, and this is recognized as a basic procedure in all attempts at control by planning (see p. 642). The research in agricultural economics and rural sociology of the state agricultural experiment stations and the U.S. Department of Agriculture is very largely devoted to various types of social change. During the past decade the youth of this country have had difficulty in obtaining employment[20] and have been somewhat baffled by a topsy-turvy world. Studies by such bodies as The American Youth Commission have done much to redefine the situation with regard to youth and to create a more intelligent public opinion concerning their difficulties.

In this way we are slowly learning how to use the scientific method in dealing with the problems of *social change* by first getting all pertinent facts as accurately as possible so that we may get a common definition of the issues involved, may develop hypotheses as to how we may attempt to deal with the situation, and may be able, in so far as possible, to control it for the desired ends rather than merely be forced to adapt our life to it.

7. Control of Social Change. Planning for the future, in so far as possible, is one means of mitigating and directing the effects of social change. The work of the county agricultural planning committees is particularly valuable for this purpose. Equally important is the education of people to understand the facts with regard to social trends and their significance. Here is one of the chief opportunities for adult education (see p. 366), as carried on by rural high schools, farm and home bureaus, granges and other organizations, for unless the mass of the people understand the facts of the situation and are aware of the essential values of rural life, any plans for rural social organization will be difficult to achieve.[21]

[20] In March, 1940, 23 percent of the boys and 26 percent of the girls 14 to 19 years old, and 20 percent of the males and 15 percent of the female workers 20 to 24 years of age were without work or looking for a job. Sixteenth Census of the United States, press release, Population P-3, no. 19, Oct. 19, 1941.

[21] *Cf.* Dwight Sanderson, "What Prevents Social Progress?" *The Scientific Monthly,* Vol. XL, pp. 355–358, April, 1935.

Uncontrolled social change may produce serious social disorganization, as is evident in many declining villages, or equally in villages which have had a sudden overpopulation through workers in the defense program. Indeed, it may produce personal disorganization, as we have noted with the second generation immigrants, or as may be seen in many cases of rural youth who have migrated to the city and have failed to make a satisfactory adjustment to the sudden change in environment. We cannot enter into all the problems of social disorganization in rural life, but we have already touched on many of them in the previous chapters. This tendency of social change to give rise to social disorganization, unless steps are taken to secure a better adjustment, gives rise to the need of an active program of social organization, which we have discussed for many of the rural institutions and organizations in the previous pages, and which give rise to the need for community organization, as we shall see in Chapter 29.

We have already noted the influence of sudden urbanization on rural life, and this phase of the problem of adjustment to social change will form the topic of our next chapter.

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Chapter 28

VILLAGE-COUNTRY AND RURAL-URBAN RELATIONS

In our introductory chapter we noted that an aerial observer could distinguish the farm, the village, and the city as the chief elements in the spatial pattern of human habitation. The highways he would see connecting them are, as Kolb and Brunner [1] point out, not simply for the transportation of goods and people, but are open channels for the interplay of ideas and attitudes. In Chapters 12 and 13 we discussed the village and saw its position in the rural community, but we did not consider the social interaction between villagers and farmers—a basic problem in developing the unity of the rural community. Their fundamental interests involve both opposition and cooperation, but their common interests unite them against the city and give rise to the problems of rural-urban relations. These are chiefly due to the difference of interests between the agricultural classes and those of both capital and labor concentrated in the cities. But with the automobile, telephone, and radio, rural folk are in constant touch with the cities and there is growing up a larger city community which includes not only the metropolitan district but the rural hinterland. Rural-urban relations are, therefore, taking on a new character and are of increasing importance because of the larger social interaction.

I. VILLAGE-COUNTRY RELATIONS [2]

1 Increasing Social Interaction. We have seen (Chapter 13) that the village is becoming the center of activities of the rural community. Formerly the farmer was bound to the local village for his ordinary needs and activities, but now the automobile frees him to patronize any nearby village or city.[3] This has created competition

[1] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society, rev. ed., p. 167.

[2] This section is taken largely from Dwight Sanderson and R. A. Polson, Rural Community Organization, Chapter IV.

[3] Concerning the influence of the automobile on village trade, see the following bulletins of the Univ. of Ill., Bureau of Business Research: "The Automobile

among the villages for his support and has made them realize that only through the common support of village and country can both have the institutions which they desire. The former dominance of the village is being rapidly shifted to an attitude of catering to the farmers' needs, for in many cases they are the dominant element in community life.[4] Yet, in spite of their relative freedom, we have seen that farmers increasingly patronize the school and church in the local village, and that it is becoming their social center, because it is most convenient and the neighborhood institutions are declining in the older parts of the country. The farmers' loyalties may be transferred from the small village to the large village which is the center of a larger community, but the common interests and the social interaction between village and country have been increasing.

Formerly the village businessman, and his family, took on the attitudes of the city and often felt themselves superior to the farmers. Now they must compete with the larger towns and cities for the farmers' trade and they are anxious to cultivate their goodwill. So the village and country are growing together, but each has its own interests and there is a class-consciousness which still tends to separate them in many communities, although it is declining as they become more involved in common interests and enterprises. Let us examine briefly the causes of conflict and cooperation between them as a means of understanding the social change toward their more intimate social interaction.

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and the Village Merchant," Bul. 41, Vol. XXV, June 12, 1928; F. M. Jones, "A Survey of a Retail Trading Area," Bul. 10, Vol. XXX, Nov. 8, 1932; R. V. Mitchell, "Trends in Retail Trading in Illinois," Bul. 100, Vol. XXXVI, Aug. 11, 1939. See also Dwight Sanderson, "Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 614, June, 1934.

[4] A statement made by Dr. L. H. Bailey nearly 25 years ago is quite apropos on this point: "For many years I have insisted in public speech and in writing that the corporation-lines of villages and small cities set up artificial barriers and tend to divide interests that really should be held in common. We must be careful not to make agricultural affairs a class interest, and equally must we remove the class-limitations of the village.

"Several years ago I wrote, in continuation of previous efforts, that 'the next step in the country-life progress is to make the country town a real part of country life. This is the other half of the country-life movement. [York State Problems, II, 146.] The development of the rural town should be as much a part of the country-life movement as the development of the farms themselves. . . . The rural village must have a turnabout: it must face conscientiously and hopefully outward to the surrounding country rather than inward to the big city. It must be a part of American country life rather than a part of American city life.'"—L. H. Bailey, What is Democracy, Ithaca, N. Y., Comstock Publishing Co., agents, 1918.

2. CAUSES OF VILLAGE-COUNTRY CONFLICT. (*a*) *Business and Economic Interests.* From the standpoint of buyer and seller the interests of the village merchant or businessman and the farmer are those of competitive cooperation,[5] for each is seeking his own advantage, but neither can do business without the other. When the farmer was largely limited to dealing with the businessman of his local village, the latter had the whip hand and tended to take his cue from his city business connections. Thus there was a continual conflict over prices. This became most acute in the days of the Non-Partisan League in the Dakotas and Minnesota right after World War I. Although this was a political movement it was primarily "a protest against long-standing grievances on the part of the farmers of the Northwest"[6] in the marketing of grain, and it became a farmer-villager conflict. For years village businessmen fought the rising cooperative movement among farmers most vigorously, but as it obtained governmental support and became established they have withdrawn their active opposition, although it is still latent and often crops up locally. The cooperative movement has given the farmer the upper hand in his local trading relations for he no longer trades as much of his produce with local merchants. Equally important has been the growth of city-controlled chain stores, which are found competing with each other in all the large villages, and have forced the independent stores, particularly in the smaller villages, into cooperative wholesale associations of their own (see p. 620). The mail order house, a product of rural free delivery of mail, has also freed the farmer from the domination of local merchants and forced them to cater to his trade.[7] Incidentally this whole process has greatly diminished the dependence on local credit accounts, to the advantage of both merchant and farmer.

(*b*) *School Consolidation.* (See Chapter 16.) This has caused the most bitter conflicts between village and country. These have been largely due to the farmers' fear of village domination of the school and of village influences on their children. In other cases the conflict has involved the preference for maintaining the local school rather than consolidating it in a larger district, or the location of a new school.[8]

[5] *Cf.* R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921, p. 508, and see index.

[6] *Cf.* J. M. Gillette, Rural Sociology, New York, The Macmillan Co., 3rd ed., 1940, p. 699.

[7] For a good discussion of rural merchandising see Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.* Chapter 21.

[8] See Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, pp. 332–337, for a good example.

The enlargement of high school districts has sometimes been initiated by the villages which have been maintaining village high schools and sometimes by their country patrons. Sometimes the village has found that the tuition it charged country children was not meeting the costs; in other cases a new building was needed but would be too large a burden on the village unless the district could be enlarged to include its patronage area. On the other hand, the country people sometimes thought that the tuition of the village high school was too high, or they wanted a hand in its management so that their children might have instruction in agriculture, home economics, and other vocational subjects, and they could make the school a community center.

The surprising thing is that in most instances, as soon as the merits of the new school have been demonstrated, there has been general agreement that it is an improvement and its former opponents have usually become its advocates.

(*c*) *Superiority Attitudes of Villagers and Ignoring the Farmers.* Often there has been a snobbish attitude on the part of the villagers toward the country folk, which has assumed that they are not their social equals, although in parts of the South the reverse was true, the old plantation families looking down on the villagers and having their own social set.

This attitude on the part of the villagers was formerly due to their closer contacts with cities and a consequent tendency to ape city society, particularly on the part of the village elite. On the other hand, the farmer was rated by his ability to work and he looked down on those who spent their time in social frivolity. This is well described for central New York by J. M. Williams,[9] who shows how this social rivalry was gradually broken down as the villages courted the farmers' business.

The automobile and telephone have given the farmer a new social status in the village, for more farmers than villagers have automobiles and frequently the farmer has a better car, which is a new badge of social distinction.

What Brunner[10] has called "inadvertent acts" on the part of vil-

[9] J. M. Williams, Our Rural Heritage, New York, F. S. Crofts and Co., 1925, p. 117. See Chapter XIII; and The Expansion of Rural Life, New York, F. S. Crofts and Co., 1926, p. 27, and Chapters II and IV. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[10] E. deS. Brunner, G. S. Hughes, and Marjorie Patten, American Agricultural Villages, New York, Harper and Brothers (Geo. H. Doran Co.), 1927, Chapter III, Village and Country Relations, which is one of the best discussions of this topic.

lagers have often caused the antagonism of farmers. Such acts have usually consisted in ignoring them in making community plans.

(*d*) *Village Incorporation.* (See Chapter 19.) The general effect of village incorporation has been to draw a sharper line between village and country and has often aroused the antagonism of farmers because villages were unwilling to extend fire protection or electric lines to nearby farms. Today there is less reason for village incorporation than there was at the beginning of the century, for farmers use the village pavements and lighting as much as the villagers. That incorporation is not necessary to obtain the special advantages desired by villages is shown by the fact that in New England their functions are carried on by the town (township).

(*e*) *Decreasing Conflict.* It is encouraging to note that, in his resurvey of 140 villages in 1936, Dr. Brunner found only 13 in which there was definite conflict between village and country, as against 24 in 1924, and he reports that village-country relations had definitely improved in over one-third of the communities studied.[11] This is the result of the more frequent contacts between farmers and villagers and the loss by the local village of its former social and economic hegemony because the farmer is no longer bound to it.

3. Factors Affecting Village-Country Cooperation. (*a*) *Schools.* As schools have been the cause of some of the bitterest conflicts, so the consolidated schools and high schools are now becoming the chief factor in integrating village and country. In Chapter 16 we saw the value of the consolidated school for increasing acquaintance among both school children and their parents from country and village, and this effect is most striking in making the former "country kid" indistinguishable from his village schoolmates. It was also shown that where the districts were properly organized a strengthening of community spirit and cooperation usually resulted.

(*b*) *Men's Organizations.* In many villages the local commercial club includes leading farmers as well as businessmen, and where a specialized agriculture is the chief industry, as on the Pacific Coast and in sections of the South, the commercial club represents the whole community and binds village and country together.[12]

Luncheon or service clubs, such as Rotary, Kiwanis, and others, are often including both farmers and village businessmen, and developing

[11] E. deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, Rural Trends in Depression Years, New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1937, Table 29, p. 87.

[12] See Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–109; and Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–67.

their cooperation in community affairs. The new movement of Ruritan Clubs in Virginia and North Carolina, mentioned in Chapter 29, is specifically designed to bring village and country together.

(*c*) *Church Cooperation.* The decline of the country church and the increasing attendance of farm people at village churches have already been described in Chapter 15. In addition, the village churches are assuming a more definite responsibility for pooling their resources in a cooperative effort to furnish a program adapted to the needs of the whole community, as shown by the widespread experimentation with the larger parish (p. 340) or similar plans of cooperative effort.

(*d*) *Fire Protection.* Fire protection for the farms has been made possible by the motor truck and in many places the township is subsidizing the village fire company to cover the nearby farms, or a special fire district, including the village, is being formed for this purpose.

In his studies of 140 villages Dr. Brunner found that whereas in 1924 none of the village fire departments were giving rural service, in 1936 12 of them were doing so.[18] A study in New York State in 1930 showed that 59 percent of the townships had fire protection for the whole township and that 95 percent of the 446 village fire companies reporting gave service to the surrounding country. This not only makes a common tie between village and country, but young men from the farms become associate members of the village fire company for its social advantages (see p. 543). So village and country cooperate in another institution essential to both.

(*e*) *Community Events.* These also bring village and country together. In some cases this is their objective and in others it is a by-product. Thus summer band concerts in the village, supported by the businessmen or increasingly put on by the high school bands, draw farmers to the village for trade and create good feeling between village and country. Community fairs and festivals serve the same ends, as do ball teams and similar sports in which village and country youth compete with those of other communities.

(*f*) *The Country Weekly.* (See p. 431.) The country weekly is also an important asset in welding village and country together and interpreting their interests to each other. A good weekly may be the most powerful means of community integration, whereas a contentious one may quickly disrupt it.

So we see, as has been brought out in many of the previous chapters, that the problem of village-country relations becomes one of community organization, which is the topic of our next chapter, but that

[18] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

village and country have interaction in common with the city in rural-urban relations.

II. RURAL-URBAN RELATIONS

In considering rural-urban relations it should be made clear that we are concerned solely with the social interaction which goes on between rural and urban society and not with contrasting the differences or likenesses in their characteristics, however important they may be.[14] Indeed it would be profitable, if space permitted, to sketch the characteristic features of city culture as a background, but we have already indicated some of the contrasts in previous chapters and urban culture has been characterized in various books on urban sociology.[15]

1. TYPES OF CITIES. As there is no one rural society (see p. 21) in so large a country as this, so that we cannot safely generalize concerning it, we must remember that when we speak of *the* city we are dealing only with a generic concept. Cities vary in size and function from the small city which is the service center for an agricultural area to the international metropolis, such as New York. The U.S. Census defines all places with 2,500 or more inhabitants as urban, but for practical purposes places from 2,500 to 5,000, or even more, may be classed as towns, and only those of 10,000 or more population have the typical urban characteristics.[16]

Thus cities which have a national or international market for their products may have relatively little interaction with the immediate hinterland, and are quite independent of it, whereas a small city in the Great Plains may be wholly dependent upon its rural territory. There is needed a much more detailed analysis of rural-urban relations for dif-

[14] The best study of this sort is Pitirim Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1929. See also, Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., rev. ed., 1940, Chapter VII.

[15] *Cf.* Nels Anderson and E. C. Lindeman, Urban Society, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1928; Niles Carpenter, The Sociology of City Life, New York, Longmans Green and Co., 1931; N. P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, Urban Society, New York, T. Y. Crowell and Co., 1933; Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities; H. B. Woolston, Metropolis, A Study of Urban Communities, New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938; National Resources Committee, Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1937.

[16] On this consult National Resources Committee, Our Cities, *op. cit.*, p. 8 See also pp. 37–38.

ferent functional types and sizes of cities than is now possible from available data.

Furthermore, we must define what we mean by rural. Are we thinking of merely agricultural territory and its village and town centers, or do we include in the term the complexes of suburban life which surround our metropolitan cities? Both are classed as rural territory by the Census, but they are very different in their characteristics and in their interaction with city life. We shall discuss the suburban problem briefly later, but in the main our discussion of rural-urban relations will be concerning situations in which the city has more or less of a sense of dependency upon the surrounding territory.[17]

The U.S. Census Bureau has recognized 96 (1930) metropolitan areas of cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants, which include the territory immediately adjacent to the city corporation and which really represent the city community, although they include territory otherwise tabulated as rural. Population data of these areas should, for many purposes, be considered essentially urban rather than rural.[18]

2. Population Shifts. Population shifts are having a very definite influence on rural-urban relations. We have seen in Chapter 5 that the rate of growth of cities declined very decidedly during the past decade, being only 7.9 percent as compared with 27.3 percent from 1920 to 1930, and the cities of 100,000 and over increased by only 4.2 percent from 1930 to 1940. Indeed, about 25 percent of cities of all sizes had a decrease in population between 1930 and 1940, and 28 of 92 cities of 100,000 or more population lost population from 1930 to 1940, as against 4 in the decade 1920–30. Furthermore we have seen that the large cities are not reproducing themselves if immigration is excluded. Cities are, therefore, very definitely dependent upon the rural areas for maintaining their population and for manning their industries; this gives them a new interest in the rural situation. Although there has been a sudden rise in city populations during the past year owing to the defense program, it is highly improbable that we shall see any such permanent growth of cities as has occurred in the past. Indeed Mumford claims that "one may say definitely that beyond a certain point, which varies with regional conditions and culture, urban growth

[17] An illustration may make this clear. Buffalo, N. Y., is a lake port and manufacturing city, whose hinterland is chiefly a suburban residential area. One hundred miles or more to the east is Rochester, which is also a well-known manufacturing center, but its Chamber of Commerce has promoted a definite program of developing relations with its hinterland in the Genesee Country, termed the Rochester Larger Community.

[18] *Cf.* National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–35.

penalizes itself," [19] and he predicts the downfall of "megalopolis" because of its economic and social inefficiency,[20] whereas there is considerable evidence to show that the small city furnishes the finest cultural environment.

Furthermore, there has been a very definite shift toward the decentralization of residence of city workers, not only by moving to the suburbs, but by taking up part-time farming (see p. 122), and these city-employed part-time farmers bring a new element into rural-urban relations.[21]

3. Centers of Communication. It is well known that the cities are the centers of communication as far as the press and the radio are concerned. The cities are the thought centers of the nation and public opinion is largely shaped through these media, which are used for all sorts of propaganda. We have seen (p. 434) that more city than country newspapers are now taken by farmers.

> There are a number of metropolitan dailies which circulate in every State of the Union and 1 out of 12 metropolitan dailies is read by nearly one out of every five men, women and children in the United States.[22]

Practically all the national magazines, except a few of the farm press, are published in three or four metropolitan cities, and most of them in New York City.

Although there are many radio broadcasting stations in small cities they are mostly tied together in national chains and receive most of their material from two or three major radio systems.

Statistics could be cited to support these assertions, but the facts are so well known as to be trite. The city controls the chief means of communication of thought and this is probably the chief cause of the rapid urbanization of rural life in the last quarter-century.

4. Fields of Rural-Urban Interaction. With this background let us examine briefly the relations between city and country in the chief areas of social interaction.

(*a*) *Business and Economics.* The greatly enlarged distribution of merchandise by city stores to adjacent rural territory, the growth of city-controlled chain stores, including those of the mail order houses, and the mail order business, have created a growing antagonism between the village businessmen and the cities, which even extends to the small cities as against the large cities. In this contest the control of

[19] Mumford, *op. cit.*, p. 281.
[20] *Ibid.*, Chapter IV.
[21] *Cf.* P. H. Landis, Rural Life in Process, Chapter 13.
[22] National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

city corporations steadily widens, for the farmer will trade where he can buy to best advantage and the use of installment payments is cutting the advantage of the local merchant as far as credit is concerned.

Thus there is a constant drainage of wealth from the rural areas to the cities, where it is frozen in costly buildings and expensive public works to make city life possible and tolerable. There is also a continual transfer of wealth from the country to the city through the division of estates by city children sharing with those who have stayed on the farm. Few studies have been made of the actual total amount of wealth so transferred, but enough has been done to show that it is considerable (see p. 89), being estimated at one-fifth of the farm estates.[23]

Furthermore, wealth goes to the cities through the migration of rural youth, the cost of whose rearing has been borne by the farmers, but whose abilities are an asset to the cities. With only 9 percent of the nation's income, farmers educate 31 percent of its children. O. E. Baker has estimated that the rural contribution to cities through this source amounted to $14,000,000,000 during the decade 1920–30.[24]

A more serious clash of interests is between the regions of the country whose dominant industry is farming, i.e., the South and West, with the concentration of capital and economic control in the cities of the Northeastern States. In his dynamic book "Divided We Stand," [25] Walter Prescott Webb has shown the great concentration of the control of wealth in the Northeastern States as over against the South and West. Although he does not so state, the most of this wealth is in the cities, and we have seen that the cities are concentrated in the Northeast. He states that the North controls 80 or 90 percent of the wealth of the United States, although

[23] This is based on the study of two Ohio counties by E. D. Tetreau in 1932. *Cf.* E. D. Tetreau, Migration of Agricultural Wealth by Inheritance, Two Ohio Counties, Columbus, Ohio, Department of Rural Economics, Ohio St. Univ., Mimeo. Bul. 65, Sept., 1933 (out of print); and also his paper "The Location of Heirs and the Value of Their Inheritances: Farm and City Estates," *Journal of Land and Public Utilities Economics,* Vol. 16, No. 4, Nov., 1940. Also see F. R. Yoder and A. A. Smick, "Migration of Farm Population and Flow of Wealth," Pullman, Wash., St. Coll. of Wash. AES, Bul. 315, Sept., 1935; and Chapter IV of Baker, Borsodi and Wilson, cited on p. 683.

[24] O. E. Baker, Rural-Urban Migration and the National Welfare, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, June, 1933.

[25] New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1937. Webb includes all states north of Mason and Dixon's line west to and including Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, with Maryland and Delaware, in the North; all south of this west to and including Texas in the South; and all the rest, including Oklahoma, in the West.

> . . . the South and the West have within their boundaries most of the natural wealth of America. Leaving aside the fact that they comprise nearly 80 percent of the area [according to his estimates], the South and West produce all the gold and silver, 95 percent of the oil, 45 percent of the coal, 90 percent of the lumber, and 63 percent of the agricultural dollars.[26]

These forces which have produced sectionalism have also been responsible for the antipathy of the countryman toward the metropolitan city —not his nearby small city, but the metropolitan centers of wealth— for the suspicion of the farmers of the Great Plains of "Wall Street" and all that it implies, whether in New York, Chicago, or the Twin Cities.

In spite of all these factors a better understanding between the business and agricultural worlds is gradually developing. Important conferences of their representatives have recently become much more frequent. Farmers are learning through their experience with cooperative associations that if they are to conduct extensive business operations, they must know the mechanisms and processes of the business and financial world. Furthermore, as discussed previously (p. 188), farmers are becoming aware that their economic problems cannot be solved in isolation from those of the country as a whole, and that they must know more about the whole economic system if they are to spot the points which need adjustment for their benefit.

On the other hand, city interests, although damning the New Deal, are convinced that agriculture deserves a larger share of the national income and are acquiescent to any sane policies to this end, although they were violently opposed to the McNary-Haugen bills of the late 1920's. One reason for this is the increasing sense of interdependence between agriculture and industry, as they have faced the new problems of national foreign policy which affect them both and which will require a readjustment of many phases of our economic system.

This better understanding between the farm and the city is most advantageous and is the only path for permanent progress. There is danger, however, that farmer leaders may be misled by a subtle manipulation of their own class interests to "pull the chestnuts out of the fire" for the manufacturing and financial interests of the cities. A good example of this was the way in which farmer prejudices were manipulated to defeat the child labor amendment to the federal constitution submitted to the states by Congress in 1924. This tendency has recently

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 49. This book is a drastic indictment of the concentration of wealth and its control in the North. Unfortunately it is out of print, in spite of a widespread interest in it (and thereby hangs a tale).

been in evidence in the fanning of farmer sentiment against the strikes of trade-unions, and farmers are led to believe that the chief reason they do not receive a larger share of the national income is the increased wages demanded and absorbed by organized labor. There is undoubtedly an element of truth in this, but it would be well to have a much closer analysis of the facts than is usually made. Thus in the price of agricultural machinery, one of the most significant items of cost to the farmer, it is doubtful whether the increased costs of labor are anywhere near as important as the increased costs of manufacturing and retail overhead and profits. An investigation of the International Harvester Company conducted by the Federal Trade Commission shows that in the decade 1927–1936 the cost of "productive labor" in manufacturing amounted to only 9.82 percent of the value of net sales.[27] As the manufacturer receives only 76.2 percent of the retail selling price, this means that productive labor [28] represented only 7.5 percent of the farmer's purchase price. Therefore, if the cost of labor in manufacture had been increased by two-thirds it would have increased the factory cost by only 5 cents of the farmer's dollar. As against the 10 percent of the retail price of a farm machine which went to factory labor, the retailer got about 20 percent for his costs and profits, and the manufacturer got over 14 percent in profits. In a later report on the whole agricultural implement industry the Commission found that the productive labor cost was 20.5 cents of every dollar of sales. Productive labor, in this instance, was defined as the labor directly concerned with the manufacture of the goods, which does not represent the total labor cost of either the factory or of the total operations. Although this later study more than doubles the proportion of the sale price due to factory labor, it does not change the fundamental principle involved. These facts put an entirely different aspect on the role which labor plays in increasing prices to the farmer. Similar studies should be made of other chief items of farm costs.

This matter of the farmers' relation to organized labor is stressed because it is one of the chief means of creating class conflict between farm and city, and is very subtly and continuously distorted by the manufacturing and business interests and by the urban press which reflects their point of view.

[27] U.S. Federal Trade Commission, Report on the Agricultural Implement and Machinery Industry, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1938, 75th Congress, 3d Session, House Document 702, pp. 410, 459.

[28] "Productive labor" does not include labor employed in the overhead of factory management.

(*b*) *Politics and Government.* In the field of politics and government there is a long history of conflict between rural and urban interests which is beyond the scope of this book. There is, however, a necessity for pointing out the need for a more thorough reconsideration of the relations of rural and urban interests in both state and national governments than is obtained by the ordinary play of politics. Rural interests are now asking for an equalization of costs in maintaining their institutions through state and national grants-in-aid for their support but, although a majority of the population and wealth is in the cities, rural voters are unwilling to give them their fair share of representation in government. The cities have, on the whole, been exceedingly generous in their attitude toward financial aid to rural districts, but the latter will not be able to have this support if they continue to ignore the just claims of the cities to their fair share in the control of government.

As has been pointed out by many of our leading students of government, "The ability of the rural population to maintain an influence in national politics greatly disproportionate to its numbers is one of the anomalies of the American political system," [29] and in state politics "The most important influences, within the states, which affect the calculations of the party leaders are those which result from the division of population between city and country." [30]

In both state and national governments the rural territory has undue representation according to the constitutional basis of representation being proportional to population. In Congress this is chiefly in evidence in the Senate because of the majority of states with a predominantly rural population (see p. 53), but it occurs also in the House through the gerrymandering of congressional districts by state legislatures. Thus Holcombe shows that 56 percent of the U.S. Senators represent rural areas, of whom 74 percent come from the South and West; and 58 percent of the congressional districts are rural, of which 58 percent are in the South and West; whereas only 42 percent of the electoral votes represent rural areas, of which 76 percent are from the South and West.[31] Thus the cities are able to elect a president, but the rural areas can control Congress, in so far as mere votes are concerned.[32]

[29] A. N. Holcombe, "Present-day Characteristics of American Political Parties," in E. B. Logan, editor, The American Political Scene, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1936, p. 31. See pp. 28–52 for his whole analysis.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35. He also analyzes party control of these regions by rural and urban districts.

[32] Upon this point the Urbanism Committee has an interesting statement: "With the growth of the Nation, a preponderant share of which has been urban growth,

In state legislatures the same situation prevails, with a decided underrepresentation of cities.[33] "The members from the rural districts always have constituted a majority in the legislatures of all or practically all the states," says Graves.[34] The state constitutions in 31 states recognize territory as the basis of representation in their legislatures, sometimes providing that, regardless of population, each county shall have one seat in the Senate, as in New Jersey, or that each township shall have one representative in the House, as in New Hampshire and Vermont.[35] In 21 state senates "The requirement of equality is subordinated to other constitutional provisions which favor the less populous areas";[36] and in the lower houses this is true in 26 states. Furthermore, inasmuch as the legislature is almost always the agency for redistricting and reapportionment and the courts refuse to interfere with its prerogatives, it often ignores the constitutional provisions for reapportioning after each Census. "Less than half the states have redistricted and reapportioned since the 1930 census; and there are six states in which one or both houses have remained unchanged for 35 years."[37] As a result, "although in 21 states the urban population is

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the cities are underrepresented in Congress, on the basis of population, to the extent of 13 representatives. A candidate could win a Presidential election by getting the bulk of the votes in only 65 of the 3,053 counties in the United States. A majority of the State's votes was cast in Illinois (in 1932) in four counties; in New York in five; in Maryland in two; in Utah and Washington in three. Nevertheless, in every Congress from the Sixty-Sixth to the Seventy-Fourth more than half of the important chairmanships (73 out of 108) were held by rural members. Rural Congressional representatives as a rule have a longer tenure than urban ones. This is true of both Senate and House. It does not seem likely that the urban States will ever attain a majority in the Senate. The Senate is thus now the haven of the rural States instead of the small States, which it originally was. It does not appear, however, that the great rural Congressional majorities have pursued a policy calculated to foster a rural as opposed to an urban set of goals. The Congressional votes on the McNary-Haugen bill showed that sectional interests still take precedence over the rural-urban division in national legislative activities."—National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 51.

[33] *Cf.* D. O. Walter, Legislative Reapportionment and Redistricting, abstract of Ph.D. thesis, in Harvard Univ., Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Summaries of Theses Accepted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1937, Cambridge, Mass., published by the University, 1938, pp. 200–201.

[34] W. B. Graves, American State Government, New York, D. C. Heath and Co., 1936, p. 182. See pp. 182–187.

[35] *Cf.* A. F. Macdonald, American State Government and Administration, New York, T. Y. Crowell Co., 1934, p. 191.

[36] Walter, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 201.

[37] Walter, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 201.

in a majority, in only 11 of them does that majority control both houses of the legislature; . . . in half the states the rural population is overrepresented in one or both houses"; and there is a consequent underrepresentation of the metropolitan cities.[38]

This underrepresentation of the cities [39] is one of the causes of the increase of pressure politics in both the state and national capitals. The evidence of this for New York State has been well assembled by Professor Zeller who shows that in a state in which 83 percent of the population is urban the "agricultural bloc possesses political power out of all proportion to its numerical strength." [40] The farmers of New York and most of the upstate cities usually support the Republican party. The labor interests of the cities, on the other hand, have found that upstate Republican legislators were not so friendly to their interests and have more commonly supported candidates of the Democratic party.[41] So the public utilities, representing city interests, have developed their own pressure techniques [42] to advance their interests, although they have "played ball" with both parties. Similar situations might be described for most states with large metropolitan populations.

This excessive influence of rural areas on state and national legislation has resulted in slowing up home rule for cities,[43] and has caused endless irritation to city interests, owing to the fact "that rural members [44] must vote upon many complicated urban problems about which

[38] Walter, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 202.

[39] Thus Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 184, shows that, in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have only 68 out of 208 members in the lower house, although half of the state's population lives in their metropolitan areas. Likewise Macdonald (*op. cit.*, p. 192) states: "One rural vote in Illinois carries as much weight as three Chicago votes."

[40] Belle Zeller, Pressure Politics in New York. This is largely due to the New York State Conference Board of Farm Organizations; see pp. 123–128.

[41] "But the Federation's [N. Y. St. Federation of Labor] repeated support of Democratic candidates has its foundation in the realization that such Republican friendliness to the Federation's labor program is most unusual," *ibid.*, p. 23. This is demonstrated by Miss Zeller.

[42] ". . . the public utilities have resorted to all forms of large scale pressure techniques to exert some control over state legislation. In cooperation with banks, insurance companies, and other business groups, they have attempted, first, to build up favorable public opinion through the press, the school, the radio, and their own employees and stockholders. Upon this foundation of favorable public opinion they have proceeded to build a cooperating element within the legislature. To this end, legislators are carefully circularized with utility literature, . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[43] *Cf.* National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[44] Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 183, gives illustrations of this.

they know little and care less," and consequently follow the advice of party leaders and trade their influence to obtain what they desire.

Enough has probably been said to show the undesirability of such a clash between rural and urban political alignments, but it is particularly unfortunate in creating opposition between farmers and city workers who probably have more interests in common than is evident to them, and who are both manipulated by political parties by appealing to their prejudices by slogans and what Walter Lippmann calls "stereotypes," which arouse their class-consciousness. The best study of this was that made by Stuart A. Rice[45] who carefully analyzed the votes of both farmers and workers for candidates and of the votes of farmer and labor representatives in Congress and in certain legislatures.

There is good reason for rural voters to try to maintain their interests and there is justification for a reasonable provision for territorial representation independent of population,[46] but the present disregard of constitutional provisions by legislatures will inevitably breed contempt for established law and is dangerous for the permanency of democracy. Real issues cannot be settled to the advantage of both parties by political chicanery.

(*c*) *Education.* The remaining spheres of rural-urban interaction we can touch upon but lightly, as they have been indicated in previous chapters. In education the cities are constantly drawing the best teachers from rural territory because they pay higher salaries, and rural districts are demanding equalization of costs with the cities through state grants-in-aid because of the fact that they have a larger proportion of children, many of whom later migrate to the cities, which are benefited by their education (see p. 392). On the other hand, many cities offer educational advantages to their hinterlands which would not otherwise be available to many rural youth. On the whole the rural-urban interaction as regards education is cooperative, except that rural education has been unduly influenced by city patterns of curricula, textbooks, and school organization, and is often subject to the direction of state departments of education which are too largely city-minded. This has led to a strong rural school movement, outlined in Chapter 30.

[45] S. A. Rice, Farmers and Workers in American Politics, New York, Columbia University, 1924, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. CXIII, No. 2, Whole Number 253. He found agreement between the two classes and their representatives is unlikely upon issues founded in prejudice or tradition and is possible upon those involving rational calculation of interests; pp. 218–219. See also summaries on pp. 142, 182, and 215. See also his Quantitative Methods in Politics, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1928.

[46] See Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 193, quoting a strong statement on this by Elihu Root.

(*d*) *Recreation.* The commercial recreation of the cities has proved alluring to country youth, and has been the means of strengthening recreation programs in rural communities as a means of holding their youth at home. In this field, as in others, a sharp distinction must be made between the influence of the small city on its hinterland and that of the metropolitan city. Only rural people from its immediate environs are probably much addicted to frequent enjoyment of city amusements, and others patronize them only occasionally when going to the large cities for other purposes.

On the other hand, the pattern of city recreational life has spread to the country through radio and magazines, with some advantages, and with the effect of stimulating a homemade program of rural recreation involving more participation and less dependence on paid entertainment (see Chapter 24).

The automobile has brought about a much larger use of the open country for recreational purposes by city people. City, county, state, and national parks lure them, and merely to explore the open country by car is a popular form of recreation. Unfortunately a certain type of city folk form the bulk of the patronage of rural road houses and dance halls which are usually moral liabilities, although when rightly conducted they might be beneficial to both city and country.

(*e*) *Health.* Necessarily the city is the health center for its hinterland, for modern medical facilities are expensive and must have a certain amount of business for their support. Thus the small city is the seat of the general hospital which serves the countryside and from it the country doctor obtains the aid of consultants and specialists, whereas the large city has the hospitals equipped for specialized treatment and has the most expert surgeons and other specialists. It is true that the Mayo brothers made the rural town of Rochester, Minnesota, one of the outstanding medical centers of the world, but this is a unique exception due to their genius. Thus the city is becoming the health center for the countryside.

On the other hand, the sanitary regulations necessary to protect the health of the densely aggregated cities are often irritating to the farmer, both as regards their necessity and the method of their administration. This is particularly true of the foibles of the inspection of dairy barns and herds by representatives of city boards of health within their respective milk sheds. These inspections have often been the cause of unnecessary friction and antipathy, owing to the lack of understanding of city health authorities and their use of inspectors with little or no knowledge of the farm business and rural attitudes. In general, how-

ever, this work has made dairy farmers more aware of health problems and has probably aided in improving health conditions in the country.

(*f*) *Church Interaction.* As in all the professions, the city draws the ablest clergy from the country because of higher salaries and so dominates the policies and administration of state and national church boards by men who, because they had their first charge in the country or were reared on a farm, think they know rural conditions and needs, but in fact are quite out of touch with them. On the other hand, city churches furnish the funds with which much rural church work is subsidized; this will probably have to be increased in the future (see p. 326). As in the field of labor for city industry the city church is dependent upon immigrants from rural churches for the strength of its membership, for by and large the rural church has a stronger grip on its constituency and has more control over their whole pattern of life than does the city church. Thus one of the problems of the city church is to try to duplicate the home-like atmosphere of the rural church and yet not be dominated by a rural pattern not adapted to the city environment. The strength of the Protestant denominations is in their rural parishes, but their money and leadership come from the cities. The Roman Catholic Church, on the other hand, is strongest in the cities but is making a vigorous campaign to build more parishes in rural areas.

(*g*) *Fine Arts.* As in health facilities, the city is necessarily the center for the fine arts, and stimulates their development within its area of influence. The large cities are the home of the professional theater and the opera, of philharmonic orchestras, of art museums and schools. The city is extending its influence to the country through traveling art exhibits and through the infiltration of artists who prefer country residences. Also, through the help of motor transportation an increasing number of parties of rural folk, both school children and adults, are patronizing city art museums and musical and theatrical entertainments. In the field of art the interaction between city and country is cooperative, and many of the city leaders are becoming interested in stimulating the indigenous artistic expression of the countryside.

Thus we see that in all rural-urban interaction the city dominates in population, wealth, specialization, and expert services. It is necessarily the center of most highly specialized forms of labor and service, for these can exist only at the centers of areas large enough to support them. The city is, and always has been, the center of the arts which make possible modern civilization. It has also been the center of culture, in the aesthetic sense of the word, but with modern communication there is a possibility of the country producing a fine native culture

which will complement that of the city and do much to enrich it, although the city will always be the common meeting place of leaders in all movements.

5. PROCESSES OF INTERACTION. We have examined the areas of social action between country and city, all of which involve the processes of urbanization of the country and ruralization of the city. Together these two processes tend toward what Galpin and others have called the rurbanization [47] of our whole society. These processes depend upon the diffusion of their characteristic culture traits between city and country.

Sims [48] has pointed out that the primary traits of the organization of city life are commercialism, specialization, capitalization, and organization, whereas the primary group and the community form of life are more characteristic of the country.

The diffusion of urban cultural traits has been interestingly studied by Kolb and Brunner, who claim that there is a direct association between distance from urban centers and urban attitudes and rural conditions.[49] In a recent study of diffusion of urban traits with relation to distance Hiller [50] points out the differences in the influence of small and large cities, and his other conclusions are worthy of study.

The process of urbanization goes steadily forward owing to increasing communication between city and country and, in general, is welcomed by the country. Only occasionally, as in their opposition to daylight-saving time, do the rural people rebel at this influence, although they seek to curb it when it tends to undermine their established mores. On the other hand the automobile excursions of city people into the countryside, and to state and national parks, the spread of gentlemen farmers from the city, and the increase of part-time farming by city workers are tending to ruralize city attitudes toward the country.

Thus the process of rurbanization is going on to the advantage of both and in it is the hope of better rural-urban interaction in the future. This has been well described by Kolb and Brunner:

> To rurbanize means to bring town and country together *en rapport.* This intermediary process is suggested as an explanation of a present trend. It is not merely a figure of speech to say that midway between

[47] C. J. Galpin, Rural Life, Chapter II, *et passim;* Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.,* p. 611; Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.,* p. 179.

[48] Sims, *op. cit.,* pp. 655–658.

[49] Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.,* pp. 179–196, and previous pages of Chapter VII.

[50] E. T. Hiller, "Extension of Urban Characteristics into Rural Areas," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 6, pp. 242–257, Sept., 1941.

country and city stands the village or small town, one hand extending toward the country and the other toward the city. It is rather a description of an actual situation. Likewise, the rurban community of town and country manifests many features of a reconciliation between extreme ruralism and extreme urbanism. And finally, the designation of the village or small town as the mid-point toward which the changing characteristics of both country and city populations are approaching, is a representation of present and probable future trends. Rural and urban societies already tend to resemble each other in many respects, a resemblance which may continue as the expression of modern relationships, and this without undue sacrifice of those unique qualities which have characterized their past and which are needed for their future.[51]

6. THE SUBURBAN PROBLEM. The nature of the suburban problem as affecting rural-urban relations depends on how the term *suburban* is defined. The suburbs of a small city are very different from those of a large metropolis. What is considered as strictly suburban extends for only a mile or two for the former, although villages and open country within a radius of 10 miles become more or less suburban in character; whereas around the metropolis the suburban area may extend for 30 or 40 miles and may include many towns and small cities—sometimes even large cities, as in the environs of New York.[52] This area which is neither city nor country furnishes some of the most difficult political and social problems of our time, and we cannot attempt any general discussion of it, though there is a large amount of literature on the subject. For our purposes we must restrict ourselves to the relations of those who make their living from the land or in villages which form their service centers, to the process of suburbanization by the infiltration of those who are employed in the city and to the growth of city-controlled manufacturing in the rural areas. When a suburb ceases to have a controlling proportion of rural people, as above defined, and is chiefly composed of those whose business and social connections are mostly in the city, the problem is primarily one of suburban-urban relations rather than of relations between country and city.

The most thorough studies of this problem have been made by Whetten[53] in Connecticut, where it is most acute. The first of his

[51] Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

[52] *Cf.* H. P. Douglass, article "Suburbs" in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1934; also see his The Suburban Trend.

[53] "Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut," N. L. Whetten and F. C. Devereux, Jr., 1. Windsor: A highly developed agricultural area; N. L. Whetten and R. F. Field, 2. Norwich: An industrial part-time farming area; N. L. Whetten, 3. Wilton: A rural town near metropolitan New York, Storrs, Conn., Storrs AES, Bulletins 212, 226, and 230, 1936, 1938, 1939.

studies, on Windsor, is the most typical of the problem as defined above, although the second, on Norwich, shows the situation in a part-time farming area. In Windsor he found three main issues between the natives and the suburbanites, and between both of them and the city. The natives desired the preservation of the old ways of rural life, and the suburbanites desired increased suburbanization and the accompanying modern improvements in public facilities; both were opposed to the encroachment of the city, particularly as regards factories and cheap housing. Thus we have a system of social interaction somewhat similar to that of farm and village people, who together interact as a rural community with the city. With regard to the first type of interaction Whetten says:

> The suburban families have quite a different point of view toward civic affairs than do the natives. They are not so much interested in preserving the charm of antiquity as they are in having all the familiar sewers, sidewalks, water and roads. They want modern schools and modern homes. They want progress and growth. In short, they are interested in developing Windsor as a modern residential suburb. . . .[54]

Here is the problem of relations between native and suburbanite in a nutshell, but when it comes to the possible encroachment of the city they join hands:

> . . .. Needless to say, those who have the residential interests of the community at heart are very much alarmed at the threatened encroachment of the city. On this issue the older residents and the suburbanites find themselves fighting arm in arm.[55]

In the industrial township of Norwich, where the people were dependent on the factories located there, the situation was quite different. Most of the migrants to rural Norwich were from the unskilled and semiskilled occupational groups, who moved there to obtain employment in the local industries, to do part-time farming, and obtain cheaper rent or taxes. About half of them were found to be doing a little farming. "About five out of every six householders farming gave some non-farming occupational activity as their principal job; and of all those whose principal occupation was not farming, more than two out of five, were doing some farming on the side."[56] Here the newcomers, although different from the old residents, have much more in common with them. As a result:

> Most of the problems and conflicts peculiar to residential suburban communities are conspicuously absent from Norwich. Local industries

[54] *Op. cit.*, Bul. 212, p. 135.
[55] *Op. cit.*, p. 139.
[56] Whetten, *op. cit.*, Bul. 226, p. 120.

play an important part in the economy of this area and there is considerable alarm lest industrial activity decline. Several industries have either ceased operations or moved away recently and the future of others is uncertain.

Although the city of Norwich and the rural areas of the town are closely integrated in most respects, the most noticeable source of social conflict grows out of the city and town [political] relationships and is deeply imbedded in tradition.[57]

In both of these cases the rural areas opposed the cities, but for very different reasons. In one the old residents opposed the desires of the newcomers; in the other, they accommodated to them because of their common interests in farming. Evidently it will require many such studies before generalizations can be made concerning the social interaction involved in suburbanization, but these studies are typological of what may be looked for elsewhere.

In Wilton, the third community studied, nearly half of the employed householders were commuters to New York, most of them being in the business or professional classes. Slightly less than half of the households did a little farming, but aside from a few good fruit farms most of it was "hobby" or recreational farming. Even among the commercial farmers nearly one-third were operated by persons whose principal occupation was not farming. Here we see some of the same conflicts as in Windsor, but two different attitudes of the newcomers toward participating in community life. On the one hand, the natives opposed zoning ordinances;[58] on the other, many of the newcomers remained "completely aloof from participating in local organizations."[59]

In a similar study of the city workers who had moved into the country and villages in Monroe County, around Rochester, New York, Tate[60] found that most of the families were soon assimilated into the local community life, and he points out the social problems which have arisen between city and country as a result of this situation.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[58] Author's note: This opposition of the natives to zoning may be found to be a general characteristic of rural-suburban townships, and thus be a good index of their suburbanization. In the Town of Ithaca, surrounding the city of Ithaca, N. Y., the farmer voters defeated a zoning ordinance with the result that one of the main entrances to the city, which might have been made a beautiful roadway, is now lined by garages, automobile morgues, and billboards.

[59] Whetten, *op. cit.*, Bulletin 230, pp. 128, 129.

[60] L. B. Tate, "The Rural Homes of City Workers and the Urban-Rural Migration," Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 595, April, 1934, pp. 40, 47–49; see also on this point National Resources Committee, Our Cities, *op. cit.*, and R. D. McKenzie, The Metropolitan Community.

Thus within the immediate environs of the city the increased population employed in the city but living outside its limits gives rise to problems of giving them access to utilities such as water, sewers, gas and electric service, and problems of their use of the city school systems or coordination with them, as well as many others. "This failure of the political structure of the metropolitan community to become adjusted to the physical and social structure of the larger community constitutes one of the major problems in local government at the present time." [61]

The immediate environs of the city are really a part of the city community although not within its legal limits. This is now recognized by the U.S. Census, which enumerates and analyzes population and other data by what it calls metropolitan districts, for cities of 100,000 or more.[62] The public service aspect of government for these metropolitan districts has in many metropolitan cities been taken over by special metropolitan districts given specific powers by the legislatures. Thus the environs of Boston now have one Metropolitan District controlling water, sewers, and parks and acting as a planning board for the whole area; and Chicago has a metropolitan Sanitary District.[63] The smaller cities have not, however, worked out any satisfactory means of adjusting their governmental relations to the suburban area, except by the contractual relations with incorporated villages or the establishment of special districts. As a result city planning boards are often unable to obtain the cooperation of neighboring townships and villages and there is a chaotic condition of suburban growth.

One solution of these suburban problems is in the enactment of legislation permitting zoning and the creation of urban-district or county planning boards. The unit for both purposes should be larger than the township, for, as we have seen above, it is an ineffective unit, and even if it functions well for internal adjustment, the problem remains of coordinating it with others. Both of these are now authorized in many states and city planning boards are often making studies of their suburban and even regional areas, even though they may have no statutory authority for it.[64] The other is the creation of metropolitan dis-

[61] McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 214. Reprinted by permission of the publisher, McGraw-Hill Book Co.

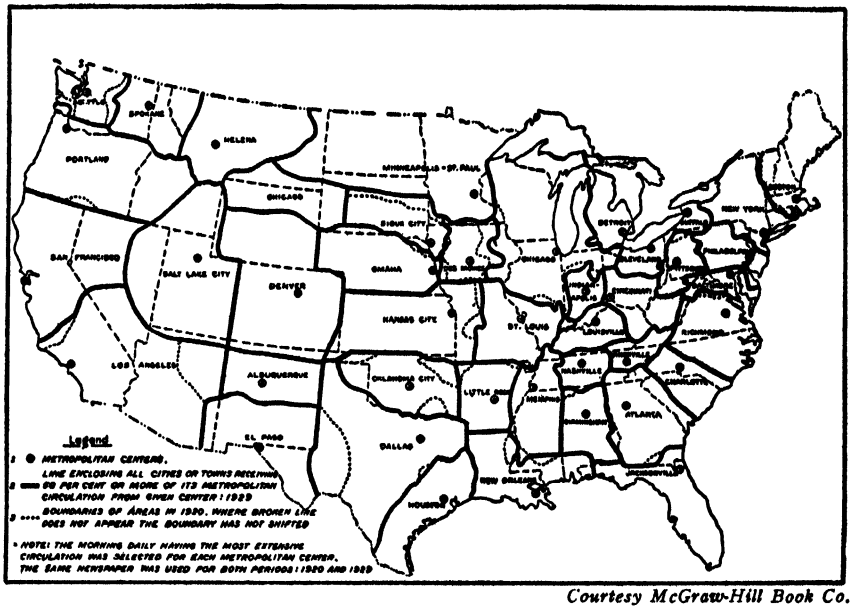
[62] *Cf.* McKenzie, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

[63] *Cf.* William Anderson, American City Government, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1925, p. 100; see also pp. 96–102, 106.

[64] *Cf.* McKenzie, *op. cit.*, Chapter XXI; and National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

tricts [65] for special purposes or for the combining of several functions, as in the case cited of Boston.

The metropolitan districts requiring such integration are not necessarily those outlined by the U.S. Census for its purposes, but include the territory which depends upon the city more or less for its everyday services of many kinds and within which the economic and social interests of the people are directly affected by their relation to the city.[66]



Courtesy McGraw-Hill Book Co.

FIG. 117. Metropolitan regions in the United States as defined by daily newspaper circulation, 1920 and 1929. (After McKenzie.)

In most cases this will be approximately the retail trade area of the city (not the marketing area mentioned below).

7. METROPOLITAN REGIONS. Beyond the immediate metropolitan district the same problem of integrating and planning governmental services has a very definite effect on rural-urban interaction. We have already referred to the metropolitan region in Chapter 13; it may be roughly defined as the city's hinterland, "an area bound to the city by certain economic and social ties but having little [immediate] contact

[65] *Cf.* McKenzie, *loc. cit.*, p. 316.

[66] The difference between the metropolitan district of the Census and the local trade areas may be seen in maps of two cities in Dwight Sanderson, "Social and Economic Areas of Central New York," Ithaca, N. Y., Cornell Univ. AES, Bul. 614, June, 1934, Figs. 6 and 7.

with the local institutions and life of the city." [67] In a rough way this will approximate the marketing area or trade area [68] (in the sense of wholesale and luxury trade) of the city, of which the circulation area [69] of the city daily newspapers is one of the best indexes. Fig. 117 outlines the latter, but should be supplemented by some of the smaller metropolitan regions, as, for instance, that of Rochester, New York.

Within these areas there are many problems of regional planning similar to those of the immediate metropolitan districts, in which both rural and urban communities are involved, as, for instance, in the matters of road, mail, and telephone service, as well as the administrative overhead of various organizations and agencies. Within these areas there tends to be a centralization of certain economic and social functions in the metropolitan city somewhat analogous to that which we have described between the open country and its village center. These metropolitan regions are ecological entities [70] which have their own problems and require regional planning.[71]

The importance of the problems of metropolitan regionalism is evident when we realize that in 1930 within 20 to 50 miles of the cities of over 100,000 inhabitants there was 74 percent of the total national population.[72]

It is also interesting to note that, contrary to the situation in the country as a whole, the smaller places within the metropolitan *districts* are increasing in population much more rapidly than the larger suburban cities, and that the rural areas (in the usage of the Census) within them are increasing in population almost as much as the smallest cities and about 15 times as fast as in the country as a whole (see Table 49).

Regional planning is, therefore, one of the means of obtaining a larger integration within the region and thus of facilitating rural-urban interaction in the process of rurbanization.[73]

Thus the rural community and rural life are in the process of rurbanization, from which there is no escape, and if in the integration of rural with urban interests rural life is to preserve its own intrinsic values it will be able to do so only through a better understanding on the part

[67] McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 70. See also National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–35.

[68] McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[69] *Ibid.*, Chapter VIII.

[70] *Cf.* A. B. Hollingshead in R. E. Park, editor, An Outline of the Principles of Sociology, New York, Barnes and Noble, Inc., pp. 96, 98.

[71] McKenzie, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI; Mumford, *op. cit.*, pp. 310, 367, *et passim;* and National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[72] National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[73] Consult McKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

TABLE 49. RATIO OF POPULATION INCREASE IN CENTRAL CITIES AND IN SMALL CITIES AND RURAL TERRITORY WITHIN AND WITHOUT METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS, BY SIZE OF CITIES, 1920–1930 * †

Type and Size of Place	Rate of Increase	
	Within metropolitan districts	Without metropolitan districts
Rural area	54.8	3.7
2,500 to 5,000 population	69.8	16.9
5,000 to 10,000 population	47.7	19.6
10,000 to 15,000 population	39.6	20.3
15,000 to 25,000 population	26 6	23.0
25,000 to 50,000 population	32.8	20.7
50,000 to 100,000 population	20.5	11.0
Central cities	19.4	

* The metropolitan districts used are those of 1930 (see U.S. Census, 1930, Metropolitan Districts), but the cities and rural areas are classed according to their population in 1920. Territory rural in 1920 is counted rural in 1930, although it may have contained one or more incorporated places in 1930. Abridged from Table 10 in Population Trends in the U. S. 1933, by W. S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, except item for central cities which was taken from 1930 Census, volume on Metropolitan Districts, Table 1, A, p. 7.

† From O. E. Baker, Ralph Borsodi, and M. L. Wilson, Agriculture in Modern Life, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1939, Table IX, p. 156.

of its leaders of all the factors in this intricate process and through being organized to be able to maintain its interests with justice and advantage to all.

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Chapter 29

RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION[1]

I. SCOPE

We have found that the rural community is the best unit for the social organization of rural society (Chapter 13) and that it usually centers in a village (Chapter 12), although in some cases the village is of minor importance and the community is a mere combination of neighborhoods (Chapter 11). Thus the problem of improving village-country relations, discussed in the preceding chapter, is one of the chief objectives of rural community organization, and the assimilation of the neighborhoods into its life is another, but there are also the problems of obtaining adjustment and integration among the different institutions and organizations within the community so that conflict may be avoided and a maximum of teamwork and consensus of public opinion may be obtained. As we saw in Chapter 28, the need for accommodation between rural areas and the growing influence of the cities is one reason for rural community organization. Indeed with the dominance of cities, unless rural life is organized it has little chance of maintaining its present status, let alone improving it. On the other hand, as we shall indicate, if rural folk are better organized so that they may act collectively, not according to special interests but for the common welfare, community organization may become an important factor not only in conserving and advancing their interests but also in making an essential contribution to the life and thought and the social well-being of the whole nation.

Community organization is increasingly important in rural society because of the decline of the neighborhood and the small community. There was no problem of community organization in the neighborhood stage of rural society and it was of minor importance while the small village was the chief center of community life, for the small rural com-

[1] This chapter is mostly a condensation of Rural Community Organization by the writer and Robert A. Polson, by permission of the co-author and the publisher, John Wiley and Sons, Inc. Consult it for a more detailed discussion and for case studies and illustrative material.

munity is practically a primary group and adjustments are made on a personal basis. Even there, however, much can be done to improve the common welfare by community organization techniques. But with the rapid reorganization of rural life into larger communities centering in the large villages, as affected by the high school and the farmers' desire for better facilities for his rising standard of living, the social changes involved have made community organization of increasing importance in recent years and its need will probably be more apparent in the future, both for the internal adjustment of the community and to make possible its better adjustment to the rapid changes in its environment.

Rural community organization is, therefore, the heart of the process of rural social organization, although the latter involves also the means for the improvement of all rural institutions and organizations.

II. DEFINITION

In considering the criteria of social organization (Chapter 3) we found that social organization implies the integration of various groups and institutions to form part of a smoothly working, well-adjusted system directed toward a common end. Organization, whether in a social group or in a typewriter, consists of the adjustment of the parts of a system so that they function together so as to produce a collective result not obtainable otherwise. The typewriter, the human body, or a social group is organized when its parts interact so as to enable the whole mechanism to act as a unit. When the parts are maladjusted we say that they are disorganized. *Disorganization* implies a previous state of organization, and in a community it involves a "serious breakdown in the customary modes of control."

On the other hand, an *unorganized* community is one which lacks organization. An adjustment of relationships may not have been achieved because of newness, as in a frontier community that still lacks integration. We say that a community is *underorganized* when it does not have enough organizations to meet the needs of its people, with regard to the size and supporting power of the community; whereas *overorganized* communities are those with too many organizations, which give rise to duplication of effort, competition and conflict, and require better integration. These antonyms of organizatfon, as related to communities, tend to delimit the concept of community organization, which may be defined as *a continuing process for obtaining the best integrated social interaction of individuals, groups, and institutions within a community so as to enable it to act collectively and advance the*

common welfare. It is concerned with the processes of accommodation and social adjustment within the community and with their integration and coordination so that the community may act with efficiency and unity with regard to its external relations. Indeed, the very concept of community implies a certain degree of social organization. All communities, if they are communities, must have a certain degree of organization, and the problem is how to improve it. Community organization is not, therefore, concerned with setting up an entirely new plan for a community, but rather with helping the community to readjust so that it may function more effectively. Community organization does not imply "social engineering," in the sense that an expert technician can make a blueprint of the parts and how they should function, but requires social leadership and guidance to enable the community to evolve its own pattern of adjustments to meet its peculiar situation.

III. AIM AND OBJECTIVES

1. AIM. Community organization thus involves both the integration of the parts of the community, its individuals, groups, and institutions, and the development of these parts. *The aim of community organization is to develop relationships between groups and individuals that will enable them to act together in creating and maintaining facilities and agencies through which they may realize their highest values in the common welfare of all members of the community.* This will apply to a community of any size, whether rural, urban, or rurban.

This states the criteria by which the general intention or purpose of community organization is directed, but in order to achieve this aim more definite objectives are desirable as a more specific statement of the means to these ends. What, then, are these specific objectives?

2. OBJECTIVES. (*a*) *To Obtain Conciousness of Community Identity.* Unless the individuals and groups within a community think of it as being a spatial group apart from adjacent areas and unless they feel a sense of belonging to it, the community has no identity and the foundation of community organization is lacking. Thus the importance of mapping the community, as described in Chapter 13, and of building up community spirit.

(*b*) *To Satisfy Unmet Needs.* The recognition of common needs, such as better roads, a new school, or the need of fire protection, which can be satisfied only through collective effort, forms the only firm basis for achieving the first objective of community consciousness. Unless there are common needs which individuals and groups are unable

to satisfy by themselves and for which they require common action, there will be no dynamic force for their action together as a community. The need for collective action is the basis of all community integration, and the definition of community needs is therefore the first step in community organization.

(*c*) *To Obtain Participation as a Means of Socialization.* We have already noted the relation of participation to the process of socialization of the individual (p. 28), and that, unless individuals are members of organized groups, they are not likely to be interested in the common welfare of the community. One of the objects of community organization is to promote groups or activities in which those who lack group association may be persuaded to participate.

(*d*) *To Obtain Social Control.* We have already seen the importance of social control in the process of social organization (Chapter 26), and that social control is obtained through definite groups and institutions, as well as through the folkways and mores. The mores are enforced most effectively within the local community, for it is the area of acquaintance in which status and desire for approval are strongest. One of the primary objects of community organization, therefore, is to exercise such social control over its individuals and groups as will enable them to act collectively for their common good. To this end the creation of *esprit de corps* [2] or pride in the community and *morale*,[3] which may be defined as the collective will, are of fundamental importance. These may be enhanced by the use of what Durkheim called *collective representations,* such as the flag of a country, high school colors, or slogans and mottoes, which symbolize or embody common feelings and aspirations.

(*e*) *To Coordinate Groups and Activities.* This will prevent conflict and promote efficiency and cooperation—two of the chief objectives of community organization. Indeed, this integration of the group life of the community is the very heart of the process of organization. To eliminate unnecessary conflict is often an immediate motive for community organization, and is particularly important in the small community. Thus if the grange and the church both schedule a supper or other entertainment on the same night, trouble is immediate as neither can succeed without the support of the whole community. Such friction might be easily avoided by a community calendar, whose inauguration may be the means for further cooperation. Not only coordina-

[2] *Cf.* R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Society, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1921, p. 164.

[3] *Cf.* W. E. Hocking, Morale and Its Enemies. New Haven, Conn., Yale Univ. Press, 1918, p. 14, *et passim.*

tion but also active cooperation should be included in this objective. Thus, in the average rural community no one church can maintain a training course for its Sunday school teachers, but if all the churches get together and cooperate with those of nearby communities, they can do so.

(*f*) *To Preserve the Community from the Introduction of Undesirable Influences or Conditions.* This is often a fundamental need which will bring together all elements of the community. Whenever a community is hit by a fire or disaster it at once organizes to meet the situation; the organization of rural fire districts has been the means of integrating many rural communities. The preservation of the community from undesirable road houses, or the development of a recreation program which can compete with the nearby towns and cities so as to keep the young people at home, are types of needs which incite community action.

(*g*) *To Cooperate with Other Communities and Agencies to Obtain Common Needs.* To obtain a road, a bus line, or the extension of electric service, it may be necessary for nearby communities to cooperate, but they cannot act effectively unless each of them has some sort of organization which can act for it. Also, for the maintenance of desirable competitive activities, such as baseball or basketball leagues, cooperation of several communities is necessary.

(*h*) *To Establish a Means of Obtaining Consensus.* This is necessary if several of the above objectives are to be realized. It is usually accomplished in the small community by just "talking around." Unfortunately hearsay and gossip often distort the facts and promote disagreement rather than consensus. The newspaper, when wisely edited, is one of the most important agencies for developing consensus. Some sort of joint meeting of groups or their representatives is desirable for discussing community problems, and in some places the democratic process of calling a community meeting for discussing important projects or problems has been used for this, even though there is no formal organization for this purpose. The old New England town meeting is a classic example of a device for obtaining community consensus, even though it often involved many bitter conflicts. Whatever the devices used for obtaining it a community cannot act effectively or have a strong morale unless a consensus of public opinion is created.

(*i*) *To Develop Leadership under which the Community Can Act.* No group can act effectively without a leader, even though consensus may be unanimous. If the community is to act as a unit, it must have leaders who are recognized and who have its confidence. Community leaders, who represent the whole community and not particular groups

or interests, are necessary to direct community activities and to speak for the community in all its relationships. If there is no leader, no one can speak for the community and its effective action is aborted.

IV. MEASURING COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

In the process of realizing these objectives it is desirable to have some yardstick by which to measure the degree of success achieved. It is important to emphasize that community organization is a continuing process, not simply a relationship or structure which can be set up and is then completed. It is like the process of education. Indeed, community organization is very largely one of community education and is, therefore, never completely accomplished. The community is always in a state of becoming, of adjusting itself to changing conditions, analogous to the growth of personality or character in an individual.

One means of measuring community accomplishments is the use of a score card, as mentioned later.

One measure of community organization is the degree to which organizations and interests are willing to cooperate for the betterment of the common welfare in activities for which they are not primarily responsible and in which others will take the lead.

This is but another way of saying that the degree of socialization of the community is the best measure of its organization.[4] To measure socialization is not easy, but the amount and spread of participation in its organized social life is one good index. Others are the ability to discuss matters upon which there is a division of opinion with mutual tolerance, and the degree of competition in business or politics without conflict. In the latter area the use of a citizens' ticket, rather than those of national political parties, is a good measure of socialization.

Community organization may result in some sort of formal organization, which will be considered next, but its essence is not in any mechanism—it is rather an attitude of its people, individually and in groups, toward the supreme worth of their common welfare. It is a form of patriotism for the local community, and if it is to be effective in its social control it must come about through a gradual, democratic process of achieving consensus about the common aim and objectives and of developing willingness to act together loyally under chosen leadership.

[4] *Cf.* R. M. MacIver, Community, London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 2nd ed., 1920, p. 230.

It is necessary, therefore, to realize that many rural communities may be fairly well organized even though they have no formal community organization, for the term *community organization* is used to describe both a process and a condition, or state, which may be confusing. It signifies the process of organizing, which is continuous; it also denotes the state of structural integration of the community, whether this is entirely informal or embodied in a formal organization, such as a community council. To illustrate these points it may be well to reexamine the accounts of the communities described in the Appendix, and the analysis made of them.[5] Buckeyeburg and Laneville were both fairly well organized for they had repeatedly carried out community projects effectively, but they had no formal community organization. Morris had always had the advantage of being one political unit, with its New England town meeting, but it had also developed a formal Neighborhood Club and its community building was a social center for all. Salem is an atypical American community in that it was founded on the European village-community plan of the farmers living in the village and is incorporated as a community, but its community organization is chiefly carried on through the channels of the Mormon Church which includes practically all families. Morris and Salem thus had a formal community organization through their political incorporation, but supplemented it with other agencies for community betterment.

V. TYPES OF RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Some rural communities are fairly well organized in that they are able to obtain a consensus of opinion and to act as a body, but a larger proportion are not well organized in this sense. Some mechanism is needed for focusing public opinion and choosing projects and leaders if the community is to achieve the objectives listed. This does not mean that a mere mechanism of a formal community organization will automatically insure that the *process* of community organization will proceed apace, any more than the use of parliamentary rules of order will prevent conflict in a meeting, although it does facilitate better procedure.

Three types of community organization, using the word to describe the social structure, may be distinguished: (1) direct, (2) indirect, and (3) special interest community organizations.

[5] See also those described in Chapters II and VI of Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*

1. DIRECT COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. In the direct type all adult citizens are members to the extent to which they participate. It is like the old New England town meeting only it is an unofficial organization of the community. The citizens participate in it directly. The simplest type is the Farmers' Club which has been common in the West North Central States and Missouri. Sometimes they are called Community Clubs, but they are composed almost exclusively of farmers' families and are usually confined to small communities or large country neighborhoods. Their primary objective is the provision of social life and recreation, but educational work and community projects loom large in their programs.[6]

In the second type are community councils or community associations; they include all citizens who desire to attend the meetings, and the council or executive committee is the directing body chosen by the membership. The actual work of the organization is done by a series of committees in such broad areas as agriculture, homemaking, education, civic improvement, and social life, or committees on definite projects, such as road improvement, health projects, etc.

. The direct type of community organization is best adapted to small communities where conditions are intimately known by all and most of them belong to the same organizations.

2. INDIRECT COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION BY A REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL. The indirect type of community organization is built upon the organized groups and institutions of the community through a community council composed of representatives from them and some members elected at large. Whereas the direct type of organization is pure democracy, this type is a *representative* democracy. In larger communities and in those with many special interest groups, the direct type of organization would only duplicate what existing organizations were doing. The loyalties of the people are usually stronger to the organizations to which they belong than to the community as a whole, so that a council composed of representatives of these groups is more effective for coordinating their work and enlisting their cooperation in community projects. The latter may be delegated by the council to existing organizations, or special project committees may be set up for them. The council may or may not have standing committees for certain purposes. This type of council takes on more of the character of a planning or guiding body, although it holds meetings, to which the whole community is invited, to enlist public interest by hearing

[6] *Cf.* E. A. Willson, "Rural Community Clubs in North Dakota," Fargo, N. D., N. D. Agr. Coll. AES, Bul. 251, Aug., 1931; D. G. Hay, "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota," same, Bul. 288, July, 1937.

reports of accomplishments and to express approval or disapproval of the plans and policies proposed by the council.[7]

Both direct and indirect types of community organization promote various types of community activities, some of which are mentioned later.

3. SPECIAL INTEREST COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS. There are various organizations which are devoted to special interests, or to a combination of interests, whose membership is open to practically all elements in the community and whose chief aims are community betterment. These may be called special interest community organizations.

Thus, village improvement societies are chiefly concerned with beautifying the village, having "clean-up days," and planting trees and shrubbery, but this often expands into village planning and the promotion of parks and playgrounds or other recreational facilities.

Community house associations are a type of community organization inasmuch as their programs are designed to give the community a social center or home for community activities.

Parent-teacher associations[8] and similar school improvement leagues are community organizations for the improvement of education and child welfare. Often they branch out into broader civic programs and become more general community organizations.[9]

The local units of the Farm Bureau in some states, such as Iowa and New York, are very definitely community organizations for promoting agriculture and homemaking, with considerable attention to health, recreation, and many civic problems, whereas in other states they are largely cooperative organizations (see p. 517).

As previously noted, in many places the local commercial club functions as a community organization where its program includes the welfare of the whole community, but usually it is devoted chiefly to the business interests.

Service or luncheon clubs, such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Exchange, Lions, etc., very frequently are the chief sponsors of community activities in rural communities where there is no other organization which brings together all elements. In Virginia and North Carolina a promising new movement of Ruritan Clubs has sprung up in the last 10 years. Community organization is one of its chief aims, as stated in the following from a leaflet of its public relations committee:

[7] *Cf.* Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, pp. 166–171.

[8] *Cf.* J. E. Butterworth, The Parent-Teacher Association and Its Work, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1929.

[9] As in the case of the Cooperative Educational Associations in Virginia.

> A Ruritan Club is composed of business and professional men and farmers. . . .
>
> Realizing that every community is equally dependent upon its merchants, business men, professional men, and institutions on the one hand, and its producers of agricultural products on the other, Ruritan is striving to see that these citizens work in continual harmony, striving to bring them together in daily business, social and civic contacts; to create in them the desire to serve others, lessen the idea of selfish profit and magnify the importance of fair play.
>
> Ruritan promotes and encourages civic, community, and home pride and interest, and cooperates with other civic organizations which endeavor to make the community a better place in which to live.

This is one of the most promising movements in rural community organization.

The Larger Parish (see p. 340) is a community organization in the field of religion to promote the better cooperation and integration of the work of the Protestant churches, and has accomplished much for community organization as a whole where it has been successfully developed. The community church serves the same purpose where it is the result of a consolidation of churches, but does not where it is merely a federation of two or more churches and other churches are competing with it.

The consolidated school, and particularly the community high school, is in many instances the most important institution for advancing the process of community organization, and it is being encouraged by educational leaders to assume a very definite responsibility for this as one of its objectives. This is not to say that the teachers should assume leadership in community organization, but that they have a peculiar opportunity and responsibility for the development of community attitudes in children which will make them available as future leaders, and for "the education of adults to the point of ability to assume leadership." [10]

Finally such organizations as the Grange and the Farmers' Union often function as community organizations in that they are concerned with all phases of community welfare and their membership is fairly representative, though chiefly farm families. In many a rural community the Grange is by all odds the strongest factor in strengthening community life; in others it is but one of many competing organizations.

[10] K. V. Wofford, Modern Education in the Small Rural School, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1938, p. 352. A good discussion of the school and the community.

Thus community organization may be accomplished through various agencies and there is no one pattern which is best for all situations. Ultimately most larger rural communities will probably need some sort of community council, or similar body, devoted to the coordination and integration of the organized group life of the community and planning a program for obtaining the needed facilities for community improvement; but this can come only when and where there is a need felt for it and where loyal and competent leadership is available.

VI. PROCEDURE IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

We have seen that community organization is a process. For the success of this process the diplomacy and strategy of real leadership in motivating and introducing the right steps at the right time are more important than any preconceived plan. It is the procedure by which the process is accelerated or retarded, or may even be destroyed. Community organization is like growing a plant. It is well to know the sort of end product that is desired and to know the principles of soil and plant growth, but after all it is the skill of the gardener in the timing of its culture, in doing the right thing at the right time, which enables the plant to unfold the glorious flower, or it is his neglect which allows it to be so choked by weeds or stunted by drought that it is a scrub. Methods of procedure are therefore as important as plans and mechanisms, for in community organization we are dealing with human beings whose desires and purposes, likes and dislikes, motivate their behavior, and their decisions will determine the nature and speed of the organizing process. The methods by which the process of community organization is initiated, through stimulating the emergence of objectives which will incite community action, are of more importance than any preconceived plan of organization, although tentative plans are of value. We cannot here undertake any thorough analysis of the best methods of procedure, but will merely outline the primary or essential elements necessarily involved.

First, those planning for community improvement must know the community. Even those who have lived in a community all their lives often do not know many facts essential for its improvement. Facts concerning the social structure and population composition are basic. A knowledge of the different groups and classes, of the social status of their members, and of the outstanding leaders is essential. It is necessary to know what friendly relations or social distances exist between groups and individuals and what are the conflicting forces in community control. All these facts, and others, such as the tradi-

tions, mores, and attitudes, will make possible an appreciation, a sensing, of the individuality of the community, for every community has a distinct personality, analogous to that of an individual. It is this community personality which determines what social interaction will occur in the process of community organization. Out of such an analysis or diagnosis [11] of the community, showing its present state of organization, will come conclusions as to the apparent needs for its better organization, and as to how it may be incited to action for their attainment.

Whatever the needs may be, the important thing is to get the people to want them badly enough to be willing to work for their accomplishment, for without a keen consciousness of need throughout the community nothing permanent will be accomplished. How to arouse this involves a study of motivation which will differ with the community and with the few individuals who must start the process of spreading the desire for certain needs to others, until there is a general consensus concerning their importance. In order to reveal clearly the community needs and start the process of self-examination or social inventory, community score cards have been used with success in some states, notably West Virginia and Iowa.[12] In some cases extension workers have presented to a community meeting a simple check-list of community needs that are most common [13] and asked the people to check those which they think most important for their own community, as a means of starting discussion and interest.

Thus a first step in community organization is to determine the needs of the community, how it needs to readjust its structure or behavior so as to meet the existing situation better, for if it has no needs or sense of inadequacy, there is no motive for change in its existing organization.

Whether certain needs are agreed upon as most important or there is disagreement concerning their relative importance, in either case there will be need of defining the situation (see p. 655) to obtain better agreement. Argument is resolved by obtaining a common definition of the situation, which means, in brief, to determine and present

[11] For methods of making such an analysis see Douglas Ensminger, "Diagnosing Rural-Community Organization," Ithaca, N. Y., N. Y. St. Coll. of Agr., Cornell Ext. Bul. 444, Sept., 1940; Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, Appendix B.

[12] *Cf.* A. H. Rapking, "Education through Organized Community Activities," Morgantown, W. Va., W. Va. Univ., Coll. of Agr., Ext. Circ. 307, June, 1934; and W. H. Stacy, "Tomorrow's Community," Ames, Iowa, Iowa St. Coll. Ext. Serv., Ext. Circ. 351, Sept., 1938.

[13] *Cf.* Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

the facts in such a way that members of the community will be fairly well agreed as to what they are and their significance in the existing situation. The score card is one means of defining the situation, but more research may be necessary to establish the facts, or certain aspects of them, so that a goodly majority will be convinced that action concerning them is necessary. Even when the necessity of action has been agreed upon, some will wish to proceed quickly, incited by emotional drives, whereas others will question the best mode of procedure, and more facts for further defining the situation may be necessary to obtain a common point of view.

It is at this stage of redefining the situation that a survey of the matters involved may be helpful. There is a general opinion that the first step in community organization should be a complete social survey to bring out the facts. In so far as a sort of reconnaissance survey necessary for community diagnosis is concerned this is true; but the opinion that a detailed survey to bring out a complete picture of the community situation in all its aspects is desirable as a basis for diagnosing the most essential community needs is based on a lack of understanding of the possibilities of procedure in community organization. This notion is based upon the idea of developing a long-time plan of procedure; but although tentative long-time plans are helpful for a few leaders, they have to be very tentative for conditions are constantly changing, and what seems of primary importance today may be much less important in a year or two. Meanwhile the facts gathered in a comprehensive social survey have changed and will have to be restudied. A community should not attempt to attack more than one or two projects at a time, with possibly a third in incipient stages of development. Surveys may be very helpful to get essential facts concerning the projects in hand, but surveys concerning other phases of community welfare may better be left until action concerning them is desired.

Although the above preliminaries are essential, the important thing in starting the process of community organization is to get to work on some project in whose accomplishment people will find satisfaction not only in the ends attained but in the experience of working together to attain them. Integration comes in the give-and-take of working together in a common cause, for in this way individuals and groups find that they can work together. Thus it is important to start with projects which command the most interest, will afford the most enjoyment in doing, with the least conflict, and which are most likely to succeed so that a sense of pride in common achievement may be anticipated.

We have seen that the simplest type of community or neighborhood organization is the farmers' club, which originates chiefly for purposes of social enjoyment. Thus in many places the first step in community organization should be getting the people together for social and recreational events. It is for this reason that so much stress has been placed on recreation and drama by the extension workers in rural social organization. Another point in choosing projects which are likely to enlist general support is that those which affect children and give immediate evidence of their enjoyment or benefit will make the widest appeal. This is one reason for the success of the parent-teacher association as a community organization.

In beginning community organization it is also wise to start with activities which engage all elements in the community, such as an Old Home Day or a Community Christmas Tree. Such community events, which involve joint activity and produce a satisfying shared emotional experience, have a large influence in building community *esprit de corps* and morale, which are essential for common action in projects which are more difficult of accomplishment.

Finally, one of the important elements in procedure is to discover and create an increasing number of community leaders, for without the widespread development of a willingness to accept leadership and of a willingness to follow leaders chosen for particular jobs, any program of community improvement will be aborted.

VII. COMMUNITY PROJECTS

With these essentials of procedure in mind, let us survey briefly the different types of community projects for which there is most frequent demand, in the order of their difficulty and, consequently, of their availability at different stages of the process as community morale develops.

Upon the principle that in community organization projects involving least effort and cost with most immediate satisfaction and probable success should be started first, and those involving more effort, more liability of conflict, and less immediate satisfactions should be attempted at later stages, we may distinguish three types of community projects in order of their availability for meeting these desiderata, namely, (1) community events, (2) community enterprises, and (3) community institutions.

1. COMMUNITY EVENTS. These occur only occasionally or periodically. They require no permanent organization and may be sponsored by any existing organization or, preferably, by several of them acting together through a joint committee. They are easier to promote than projects requiring more protracted effort, and yield an immediate satisfaction. Among them may be mentioned the celebration of national holidays, community picnics, community sings, Hallowe'en celebrations, community Christmas trees, old home days or weeks, community fairs or harvest festivals—often put on by the 4-H clubs or Future Farmers of America (see p. 545)—field days or play festivals, dramas, and pageants.[14] These have been listed roughly in their order as regards effort and cost involved as related to immediate satisfactions and emotional values.

2. COMMUNITY ENTERPRISES. These extend over some length of time and involve more continued effort, but do not necessarily require any permanent organization for their management. They may be carried through by special committees of individual organizations or of cooperating organizations, which have no further obligation than the completion of the job. Among such enterprises are: clean-up and tree-planting campaigns, cemetery improvement, preparing a community history (a good school project), water supply inspection, inaugurating music teaching in the schools, or establishing health and dental clinics.

3. COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS. These are of a permanent character and their establishment involves more effort and some means for their continued maintenance, or some sort of permanent organization. As they are more difficult to achieve, they should be attempted only when the members of the community have learned how to work together in simpler community enterprises, although in some cases where there is an immediate demand for one of them, as, for instance, a community band or baseball team, they may be the means of starting community activity and thus lead on to other community projects. Again, the establishment of institutions or facilities for which there is most demand and which give most promise of united support and immediate realization should be undertaken first.

On this principle athletic teams, such as baseball and basketball, would undoubtedly head the list as institutions to command the general support of the whole community. Next might come musical organizations, bands, orchestras, glee clubs, and choruses. The establish-

[14] For comments and examples of these and other community projects see Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, Chapter IX, pp. 261–314.

ment of playgrounds, baseball and football fields, basketball and tennis courts, are projects which make a general appeal, as do the creation of picnic grounds and swimming pools. The development of fire companies is a popular community project (see p. 543), particularly since trucks have been motorized and can serve farms. The formation of electric service districts has been greatly stimulated by the Rural Electrification Administration (Fig. 118) and tends to tie farm and vil-

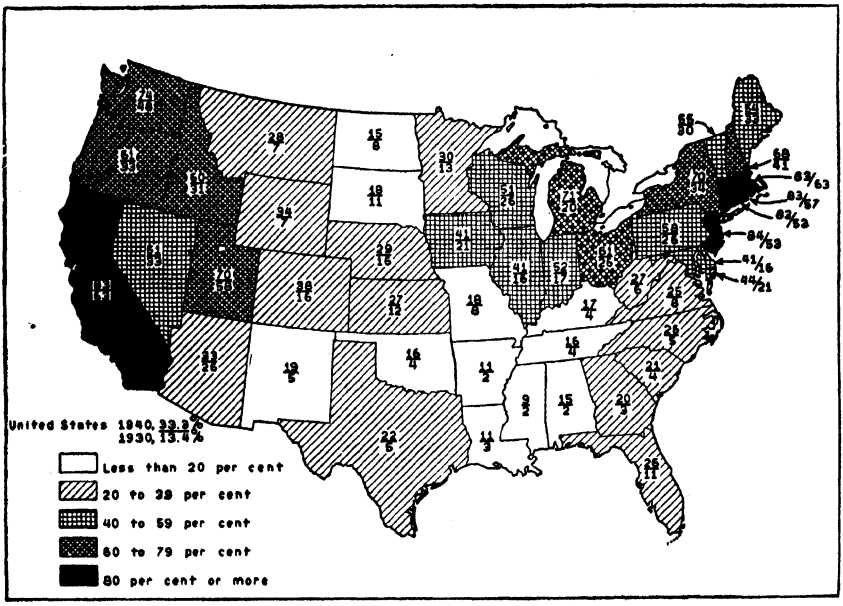


FIG. 118. Percentage of farms reporting dwelling lighted with electricity, by states, 1940 (upper figure and hatching) and 1930 (lower figure).

lage together so as to get a sufficient volume of business to justify construction costs. The establishment of public libraries, community buildings, and consolidated schools or high schools are more ambitious projects but, even though they have far-reaching influence, they should not be tackled at the beginning of a program of community development unless circumstances compel. School consolidation or the creation of a high school district is particularly important as a community project, because it will usually be the chief factor in defining the community limits and, as we have indicated, the school is fast becoming the institutional center of the community.

VIII. COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP[15]

As previously suggested, the nature of the projects to be undertaken and the speed of the organization process will depend upon the efficiency and spread of the community leadership. If the community is to function as a group it must have leaders, and the degree of its organization will depend upon their vision, efficiency, and devotion.

There are many definitions of a leader, but for purposes of community organization he is one who sees the need of its aim and objective ahead of the rest and who can plan and enlist others in its program. This involves two essential elements of all true leadership: a common goal or purpose of leader and led, and the ability to influence others to cooperate.

From the standpoint of sociology one of the most important points to grasp about leadership is that the leader is always a member of a group and that the leader is an essential mechanism of effective group organization. The very existence of any group, whether it be a community or a small club, depends upon the ability of its members to exchange ideas and obtain a consensus of opinion, and upon some means of determining what action will best meet the needs and wishes of the group. It is one of the functions of the leader to facilitate these processes so that the group can act more efficiently. The leader is either a product of group life or he creates it. In either case he does not exist independently of a group. There is no such thing as leadership in the abstract or as an innate trait of an individual. Leadership is always *ad hoc,* i.e., for some particular purpose and in a certain social situation. A man may have all the traits which are attributed to the so-called "natural leader," he may be assertive, self-confident, able, and genial, but if he is not accepted by a group he has no leadership. Enumeration of some of the chief functions of the leader in the group will show how important a group mechanism he is:

1. He is the group spokesman. If the group is to have outside relations it must be able to speak as a unit and the leader is its voice.

2. He is the group harmonizer. The leader is successful in so far as he is able to magnify the common interests of the group so that each member represses his differences on other subjects in allegiance to

[15] In my Leadership for Rural Life (New York, Association Press, 1940) I have discussed this topic in detail and given some suggestions for creating and training leaders. The present section touches on only the essential points of that book.

the accepted policies and activities of the group. The leader must be able to see the common interests of the group so clearly that he can get the members to feel that the group objectives should have precedence over their individual repressed desires. The leader's function as harmonizer and planner are thus interdependent.

3. He is a group planner. He is leader because he can see ahead better than other members and can devise ways of meeting its needs. Any democratic group should take part in and control the planning process, but it looks to the leader for initiative in planning. On the other hand, the best leader is the one who encourages the group to do its own planning and not to depend on him, so that he *represents* their purposes rather than dominates them.

4. He is the group executive, or the one who directs the carrying out of its plans and policies. In this capacity one of his chief functions is to develop and train other leaders, so that the group is not dependent on him.

5. He is the group educator, for as group planner he must get the members to see the solution of its problems. If his vision is ahead of that of the group he must educate its members until there is a consensus as to the goals and action desired. As educator the leader must have a vast amount of patience and tolerance of divergent views, for rural groups like plenty of time to think things over and object to being hurried in their decisions. The leader who tries to "put things over," as is so commonly done in urban groups, is not so acceptable.

6. He is the symbol of the group ideals and purposes. He must, therefore, have a primary loyalty to the interests of the group. As soon as the group feels that its leader is really more interested in himself or in some other group, its confidence is shaken and his leadership wanes. The importance of this relationship is better understood when the socio-psychological interaction between the leader and the members of the group is analyzed.[16]

The leader must make the members of his group feel that he needs them and depends upon them for accomplishing what they desire him to do.

Men are not "born" leaders; they are made leaders or make themselves leaders by their devotion to the interests of a group or by their peculiar capacity and willingness to serve its interests. It is true that there are certain traits of personality, whether inherited or acquired, which make for larger capacity for leadership, but unless such a person has the willingness to assume the responsibilities of service to a

[16] *Cf.* Sanderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–39.

group he will not be chosen as its leader. On the other hand, persons of seemingly ordinary ability often become outstanding leaders because of their devotion to a certain cause or because they are peculiarly adapted for leadership in a certain situation. The leader that is effective in one organization may be helpless in another, or one who is successful at one period in the life of an organization may be unable to cope with the situation later. Leadership is a relationship and a process; it arises out of a given situation and is not a quality which enables one to become a leader in any situation. Herein lies the frequent disappointment in the choice of leaders who, because they have done well in one situation, are felt to have a peculiar "capacity" for leadership.

It is not possible here to enter into the methods of stimulating and motivating leadership or how leaders may be trained and helped to become more efficient.[17] It is, however, necessary to point out that community leaders may often be materially aided by the help of outside professional leaders or specialists. The county superintendent of schools, the county agricultural agent, the home demonstration agent, or the county executive of such organizations as the Scouts and the Red Cross, where they occur, will be found helpful in many ways. In several states the extension services of the agricultural colleges have specialists in rural social organization who are glad to be consulted and to give any assistance possible.

Outside leaders of this sort can bring to the local community a knowledge of the successes and failures of others with comments on their methods and results. They can help the local leaders to analyze their situation and problems through their wider experience. They may also assist by putting the local leaders in touch with specialists, organizations, and agencies which can help with technical problems.

In this connection a word may not be out of place with regard to the role of the professional or employed leader within the community in his relation to community organization. The so-called professional leader in his capacity as an employee is not a true leader, as described above, for he is not, with rare exceptions, a member of the local community group. The function of the professional leader is to act as stimulator and educator of the group which employs him, but it is not his function to act as group leader, even if the job is thrust upon him. In so far as he does so he prevents the best social organization of the group with which he is entrusted. The success of the professional leader is measured by the degree to which he can inspire, stimulate,

[17] On this see Sanderson, *op. cit.*, Chapters VI and VII.

discover, develop, and train primary group leaders. He should be a leader, educator, and adviser of leaders. The employed professional leader, such as a minister or school principal, may become a real community leader in so far as he is accepted as a more or less permanent member of the community, but he should be careful to work as much as possible through other leaders and make his chief contribution by helping them to function more effectively.

Lindeman has brought out the danger of the dependence on professional leaders and of their desire to make a showing, and his caution will apply to lay as well as professional community leaders:

> The Community leader's greatest temptation is to "do" things for the community, rather than create means whereby the community may do things for itself. There are two objections to this type of leadership: in the first place, it devitalizes the leader, and, in the second place, it undermines the community. *Each time that the leader does something for the community that the community might have done for itself, he prevents the community from developing its own resources.* This process in time becomes so devitalizing that whole communities appear to be without leadership. . . . In a Democracy, the group must be permitted the right to makes its own mistakes. Eventually, this process leads to the proper utilization of specialized leadership.[18]

IX. RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN THE NATIONAL LIFE

Finally, we need to consider the relation of rural community organization to the national situation.

Community organization, in its various aspects, has been a major objective of the American country life movement since its inception, as we shall see in the following chapter, not only for the benefit of the rural folk but because of the firm conviction that rural life has a larger contribution to make to the culture of the whole nation.

Furthermore, rural community organization is intimately related to the question of the balance of power between urban and rural life and the tendency toward rurbanization discussed in the preceding chapter. In it we noted the rapid rise of cities and that they are dependent on rural-urban migration to maintain their populations. We observed that the cities are the centers of communication and that from them come all sorts of propaganda and movements which tend to inflict urban patterns on rural communities. Often these urban patterns are of dis-

[18] E. C. Lindeman, The Community, New York, Association Press, 1921, p. 190 Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

tinct advantage to rural life, as in the spread of the idea of better recreational and health facilities; but at other times the attempt of city folk to extend urban methods of organization to rural communities results in an overorganization which causes duplication of effort and competition between more groups than they can support. The objectives of some of these city-initiated movements may be worthy and desirable, but often they must be incorporated into the existing social structure of the rural community if they are to succeed. Kolb and Brunner stated this issue clearly, when they said:

> The issue is squarely before rural people today, farmers and villagers alike, as to whether they will organize a community of sufficient size and solidarity to give them the social utilities and institutions they feel they need, and at the same time develop a point of view which will be recognized in larger political, educational, and religious spheres. National and state politics, as well as urban educational and religious interests, have used disorganized rural society too long as a pawn in games in which local rural interests mean little, if anything. If democracy is to be preserved in government as well as in other great functions of life, local opinion and action must be made more effective.[19]

Rural community organization is the only means whereby this challenge can be effectively met and whereby the process of rurbanization between country and city can proceed with the preservation of the essential rural values.

One of the chief values of the rural community in national life is that it unites both the attitudes of the farmers of the open country and those of the villagers, who have a more urban point of view, into a small rurban community which is not too large to be intimately known by all its members. In it people are generally known to each other and therefore there is a stronger social control (see Chapter 26), which is a needed element in our national culture. The city tends to be individualistic or controlled by class interests, but what is needed today is a devotion to the common welfare if we are to maintain the basic values of a satisfying culture. This is difficult to accomplish in the large city because it is too large for the average citizen to comprehend. It is for this reason that community areas are being delineated in the larger cities and that those interested in their better social organization have set up community or neighborhood associations within them.[20] On the

[19] Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 592.

[20] For an extreme example of this, but one containing much worthwhile philosophy of the movement, see W. C. Phillips, Adventuring for Democracy, New York, Social Unit Press, 1940. For the most fundamental statement of the philosophy of this movement, see M. P. Follett, The New State, New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1918.

other hand, as pointed out in the preceding chapter, community life and strong primary groups are characteristic of rural life. The rural community which has sufficient size to maintain the necessary institutions and to adapt them to modern needs, but which is not too large to prevent personal acquaintance and participation in the common life, has the best conditions for inspiring devotion to community welfare, for developing a fine type of culture and thus becoming a stabilizing influence in modern society. The process of adjustment between village and farm which goes on in rural community organization is a definitely socializing process and has a very real value in building up a new sort of culture in the national life, one which is not wholly agrarian or wholly urban, but is *rurban.*

The fact that within the rural community people are acquainted and can grasp the total situation has large significance for its socialization and as a basic element in democracy. The process of learning how to work together for the common good is the basis of any democratic system of society. It is more attainable in the rural community than elsewhere and consequently rural community organization has a unique function in the process of building a democratic society. If we cannot develop a local patriotism for the community, how can we expect to have an intelligent patriotism in national affairs about which the individual knows much less and is swayed by class interests?

Furthermore, community organization makes it possible for the community to make use of state and national agencies and for them to carry out their programs with greater efficiency than if they attempt to deal with an unorganized rural society. This is possible because the organized community creates what Kolb and Brunner [21] call "an open channel to specialized services" through its ability to contact them through professional leaders. As they point out:

> This involves a principle of wide application. George Russell (AE), the great Irish statesman and rural leader, puts down one of the four fundamentals in a rural civilization that local associations must be linked with larger federations so that each locality may become conscious of the larger problems and life of the state and nation.[22]

In the general trend toward social and economic planning, which is exemplified in the rural field by the present movement for county agricultural planning committees being fostered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the extension services of the state agricultural colleges (see p. 407), the importance of rural community organization

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 635.

[22] Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 638.

is being appreciated as never before. In this work it has been found that it is difficult to analyze the needs of a county unless it is broken down into communities which represent the natural social and economic areas. As a result the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare of the U.S. Department of Agriculture is unable to meet the demand for assistance in this field, and during the past two years has helped the county committees and state extension specialists to map some 1,800 communities and 11,000 neighborhoods in 163 counties in 29 states.[23]

Even state and national planning boards are commencing to realize that, unless the idea of planning can be exemplified in the work of the local community, it will be difficult to obtain the support of the people for the execution of plans for larger areas. Without organized local communities which can evaluate and utilize their plans the studies of state and national planning boards will fail to accomplish the desired results, as has been clearly pointed out by Lewis Mumford.[24]

Finally, the organization of the rural community will prove necessary for the whole national defense program, as it did in the last war. This is already being appreciated, but the danger is that a program of organization may be foisted on rural folk by well-meaning state and national committees which are composed of urban leaders who are unfamiliar with the structure and attitudes of rural society. This was avoided during World War I by the clear-sighted action of the National Council of Defense, which through its state and county councils of defense urged the creation of local community councils, using the natural community, and not political subdivisions, such as the township or election districts, of whatever name, as the unit for real community organization. The movement for organizing community councils in rural communities was just well under way when the Armistice was signed and it then died "a-borning" because the immediate war needs no longer gave it a *raison d'être*. The importance of this movement was attested by the letter approving it which President Woodrow Wilson sent to the states through the National Council of Defense:

> Your State, in extending the national defense organization by the creation of community councils, is in my opinion making an advance of vital significance. It will, I believe, result when thoroughly carried out in welding the Nation together as no nation of great size has been welded

[23] C. C. Taylor, Annual Report Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, June 30, 1941, in Farm Population and Rural Life Activities, Vol. XV, No. 4, Oct., 1941, Washington, D.C., U.S. BAE, p. 8.

[24] Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938, p. 380. Quoted in Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

before. It will build up from the bottom an understanding and sympathy and unity of purpose and effort which will no doubt have an immediate and decisive effect upon our great undertaking. You will find it, I think, not so much a new task as a unification of existing efforts, a fusion of energies now too much scattered and at times somewhat confused into one harmonious and effective power. It is only by extending your organization to small communities that every citizen of the State can be reached and touched with the inspiration of the common cause.[25]

It is to be hoped that the present program of national defense will be guided by the same clear-sighted policy, but that it may also look toward the future and make it clear that we need such local community organization not only for defense purposes but also for creating that "unity of purpose" which is so essential for solving the internal problems with which our country is faced not only now, but with which it will continue to be faced whenever the present world conflict is brought under control. We live in an age of fundamental revolution in which all our national plans and policies will prove futile unless they are grounded in intelligent understanding by the local leaders of the masses of the people and by the creation of attitudes of devotion to the common welfare through participation in local community affairs. As the needs of the local community are seen in relation to those of the state and nation we shall develop this "unity of purpose" which will be the new ideology of Democracy for which we are striving and of which the world is in so sad need today.

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[25] *Cf.* Elliot Dunlap Smith in Proceedings First National Country Life Conference, pp. 36–46 and Appendix C.

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Chapter 30

THE COUNTRY LIFE MOVEMENT AND ITS FUTURE

Rural sociology had its birth in the country life movement and rural social organization is merely the application of the scientific method to its objectives. "The country-life movement," says Liberty Hyde Bailey in his classic volume on that topic, "is the working out of the desire to make rural civilization as effective and satisfying as other civilization." [1] It is fitting, therefore, that we take stock of what the American country life movement has accomplished and of its present status, consider the problems which it faces in the future, and see the relation of rural sociology and rural social organization to it.

I. HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY LIFE MOVEMENT [2]

1. The Country Life Commission. For our purposes the beginning of the country life movement in this country may be dated at the appointment of the Commission on Country Life by President Theodore Roosevelt on August 10, 1908, although its roots may be traced back through the history of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations and their development of programs of extension work, through the farmers' institute systems of the states, the history of national farmers' organizations, and the demonstration work which Seaman A. Knapp had developed in the South.

The original commission was composed of L. H. Bailey, Director of the New York State College of Agriculture, Ithaca, New York;

[1] L. H. Bailey, The Country-Life Movement, New York, The Macmillan Co., p. 1.

[2] For brief reviews of various phases of the country life movement, see *Rural America,* Vol. XIV, No. 2, Feb., 1936; and for a good account of its early stages, see Mabel Carney's Country Life and the Country School, Chapter XIII. (Chicago, Row, Peterson and Co., 1912.) Also see L. H. Bailey's Cyclopedia of Agriculture (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1909), Vol. IV, for various articles. Because of the lack of any concise history of the country life movement and of the importance of getting a better perspective—too often lacking in our present situation—its history is deliberately stressed in the following pages.

Henry Wallace, Editor of *Wallace's Farmer,* Des Moines, Iowa; Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, Massachusetts; Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the U.S. Forest Service; and Walter H. Page, Editor of *World's Work,* New York City. Later Charles S. Barrett of Georgia and William A. Beard of California were added. This was a commission of unusual ability for the task in hand.[3] Professor Bailey was the acknowledged leader of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations of the country and through his own writings and as editor of a notable series of textbooks had been chiefly responsible for creating a scientific agricultural literature. Henry Wallace, the father and grandfather of two subsequent secretaries of agriculture in the Federal Government, probably sensed the pulse of the farmers of the Corn Belt as well as any man of his day and was much beloved by his host of readers. Kenyon L. Butterfield was a pioneer in the extension movement of the agricultural colleges and in the teaching of rural sociology. He was probably the most influential member next to the chairman. Gifford Pinchot was the father of the conservation movement in this country, and has since served two terms as governor of Pennsylvania. Walter H. Page was an influential figure in programs for the improvement of the South and in the publishing world. Later he was ambassador to the Court of St. James under President Wilson and was influential with him in the appointment of David F. Houston as Secretary of Agriculture. Charles S. Barrett was president of the Farmers' Cooperative and Educational Association, then at the peak of its influence throughout the South. Here was a commission composed of "giants of old," whose equal it would be hard to assemble today, and to which is due the remarkable prescience of their report.

The Commission held 30 hearings throughout the country in November and December, 1908, and circulated over half a million questionnaires to farmers and leaders in rural life, from which over 100,000 replies were received and partially tabulated. The result was a small report[4] which has probably had more influence on rural life in this

[3] For photographs of members of the commission see the frontispiece of P. H. Landis, Rural Life in Process, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940.

[4] L. H. Bailey, editor, Report of the Commission on Country Life, with an Introduction by Theodore Roosevelt, New York, Sturgis and Walton, 1911 (out of print). The report was published as Senate Document 705, 60th Congress, 2d Session, for the use of Congress, but Congress refused to reprint it through the feeling that the President had exceeded his prerogative in appointing the commission. The Spokane Chamber of Commerce reprinted it for use in the country life movement of the Northwest and gave it wide circulation. It is now out of print and should be reprinted as a historic public document. The Presi-

country than any other document, one which should be required reading for every student of rural sociology or of rural life.

As stated by the Commission, it conceived the underlying problem of country life as follows:

> . . . The underlying problem is to develop and maintain on our farms a civilization in full harmony with the best American ideals. To build up and retain this civilization means, first of all, that the business of agriculture must be made to yield a reasonable return to those who follow it intelligently; and life on the farm must be made permanently satisfying to intelligent, progressive people.[5]

The recommendations of the commission fell under three heads:

1. *Taking stock of country life.* There should be organized . . . under government leadership, a comprehensive plan for an exhaustive study or survey of all the conditions that surround the business of farming and the people who live in the country, in order to take stock of resources and to supply the farmer with local knowledge. [Here is the charter for research in agricultural economics and rural sociology, which then had hardly begun, and for the research of national, state, and county planning boards.]

2. *Nationalized extension work.* Each state college of agriculture should be empowered to organize as soon as practicable, a complete department of college extension, so managed as to reach every person on the land in its state, with both information and inspiration. [This led ultimately to the enactment of the Smith-Lever Act and the development of the extension system in agriculture and home economics (see Chapter 17).]

3. *A campaign for rural progress.* We urge the holding of local, state and even national conferences on rural progress, designed to unite the interests of education, organization and religion into one forward movement for the rebuilding of rural life.[6] [Here was the charter for state country life conferences and the program of the American Country Life Association (see below).]

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dent's letter of transmittal and the Summary Report were reprinted in *Rural America,* Jan., 1929.

[5] In view of the present consideration of the needs of the "lower third" in agriculture, the emphasis of the commission on "intelligent, progressive people" Bailey, ed., *op. cit.,* p. 24, may well require reconsideration, as it has undoubtedly been the keynote of the policies of the federal and state extension services to date; it is not wrong, but it needs new interpretation.

[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 28–30. The phrase "rural progress" had been previously used by Butterfield in his Chapters of Rural Progress, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1907. The inclusion of consideration of religion and the rural church was largely the work of Butterfield. (See Butterfield's The Country Church and The Rural Problem, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1911.)

For the first time there was a call for a national policy on country life to be based on a scientific procedure. The stock-taking of country life was conceived as the "scientific rather than the doctrinaire, political, and oracular method of approaching the subject."[7] Prior to this there had been various farmers' movements and organizations which had done much for the improvement of country life, with chief attention to its economic problems, but from a class-conscious standpoint. Now, for the first time the Country Life Commission made clear that this was a problem of concern to the nation as a whole, and that national policies for improving rural life should be undertaken. Furthermore it broadened the conception and objectives of country life. Its report considers rural health, education, recreation, woman's work, and the country church. It emphasizes the need for a national policy on conservation and for the development of farmers' cooperatives and an agricultural credit system. Bailey's own ideals of a "satisfying rural civilization" are epitomized in his definition of a good farmer:

> The ability to make a full and comfortable living from the land; to rear a family carefully and well; to be of good service to the community; to leave the farm more productive than it was when he took it.[8]

Here are the ideals which recently we have tried to make more explicit in our national program, but which have many implicit challenges for its future.

The report of the Commission gave a national hearing to measures already proposed by the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Experiment Stations. This ultimately resulted in the passage of the Smith-Lever Act, which established the national system of extension work in agriculture and home economics, in 1914, and the Smith-Hughes Act, establishing federal aid for vocational education in high schools, including agriculture and home economics, in 1917, two of the most important milestones in the history of the country life move-

[7] Bailey, The Country Life Movement, p. 9. This book of Bailey's forms a commentary on the report of the Country Life Commission and should be read with it. He says, "It is of the first importance that we do not set out on this new work with only general opinions and superficial and fragmentary knowledge. Every rural community needs to have a program of its own carefully worked out, and this program should rest on a physical valuation." This has been the keynote of the problem approach of the extension service and of the present program of county land use planning committees. Another interesting commentary on the work of the Commission is in Sir Horace Plunkett's The Rural Life Problem of the United States, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1910. Sir Horace was influential with President Roosevelt in creating the Commission, and in this book he states his famous formula "Better farming, better business, better living."

[8] Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

ment. The first made possible the reaching out of the agricultural colleges and the U.S. Department of Agriculture to the people on the land through the Extension Service; the latter made possible the growth of rural high schools adapted to the needs of country life, which have increasingly become community centers (see Chapter 16).

The Commission pointed out the needs for legislation making farmers' cooperatives and credit associations possible, but it remained for a California merchant, David Lubin,[9] to stir up interest in them and to obtain a commission for studying them in Europe, of which Kenyon L. Butterfield was chairman and which finally resulted in national legislation to this end (see p. 144).

The call for state and national conferences on rural progress had already been anticipated by Butterfield, who organized such a conference in Michigan in 1902 and another in Rhode Island in 1904, and who was the leader in organizing the New England Conference on Rural Progress in 1907, which continued for several years.[10] This recommendation of the Country Life Commission resulted in state country life conferences, the first of which was held at the University of Wisconsin in February, 1911. The same year one was held at the University of Virginia and within the next three or four years others were held in West Virginia (1912), Pennsylvania (1912), Michigan (1913), Iowa, Montana, and Ohio (1914), and Missouri (1915), and later in other states. So far as known, none of these developed into any permanent organization and most of them were absorbed into the Farm and Home Weeks of the state colleges of agriculture, which function as country life conferences.

The only instance in which a state undertook an inventory of its rural life, prior to the state planning boards of the late 1930's, was that of the Vermont Commission on Country Life, organized in 1928. Under the direction of Henry C. Taylor it had a series of committees studying all phases of agriculture and rural life, and in 1931 issued a valuable report,[11] but its work has not been continued as a unit.

2. The American Country Life Association. Then came World War I—which gave a decided impetus to thinking along all lines of national reconstruction, including country life. Under the chairmanship

[9] Also the father of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome.

[10] See K. L. Butterfield, "Leagues for Rural Progress," in L. H. Bailey's Cyclopedia of American Agriculture, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1909, Vol. IV, pp. 310–311, in which he points out the need for a national league.

[11] The Vermont Commission on Country Life, Burlington, Vt., 1931, Rural Vermont, A Program for the Future, by Two Hundred Vermonters.

of Kenyon L. Butterfield, a committee of nine [13] met in Washington in November, 1917, and laid plans for a national country life conference which was held in Baltimore, January 6 and 7, 1919. The first conference adopted a statement of the objectives of country life, which is still worthy of study,[18] and in the preamble to the constitution of the A.C.L.A. its purposes are stated:

> The American Country Life Association is maintained to facilitate discussion of the problems and objectives in country life and the means of their solution and attainment; to further the efforts and increase the efficiency of persons, agencies, and institutions engaged in this field; and to disseminate information calculated to promote a better understanding of country life and to aid in rural improvement.

Rural health was the theme of the second conference, which was the first national conference on this topic. A list of the conference themes [14] during subsequent years shows that the A.C.L.A. led public discussion on such important topics as religion in country life (Columbus, Ohio, 1924), farm youth (Washington, D.C., 1926), standards of living (Madison, Wisconsin, 1930), rural government (Ithaca, New York, 1931), and disadvantaged people in rural life (Lexington, Kentucky, 1938). In 1933 the conference discussed national policies affecting rural life; this resulted in making the next session a national rural forum on the topic "national planning and rural life," dealing with the problems mentioned in the last part of this chapter in a broad way. This idea of making the annual conferences a national forum on rural life has continued as one of the chief objectives of the association. Three of its conferences have been devoted to problems of rural organization or community organization, and the same number to rural education.

The first conception of this association was that it should be a clearing house between representatives of national agencies engaged in the country life movement, and this has ever been an important phase of its work. In later years it has made its annual conferences, although national in scope, contribute to the stimulation of interest in the social

[13] See Proceedings of the First National Country Life Conference, Baltimore, 1919, Ithaca, N.Y., National Country Life Association, 1919, Foreword, pp. 1–3, and Appendix A, pp. 167–175. The writer was organizing secretary of the first conference, and was elected secretary and organized the second conference. At the twenty-first meeting at Lexington, Ky., he was president.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–24.

[14] See Proceedings of the Twenty-third American Country Life Conference, Building Rural Communities, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, for the American Country Life Association, 1941, p. 171.

aspects of country life for specific regions within driving distance. Inasmuch as the Farm and Home Weeks, or similar events, of the state agricultural colleges serve as country life conferences for the states, as do the annual state meetings of the leading farmers' organizations, few state branches of the A.C.L.A. have developed, but these state organizations and the extension services cooperate with it through their leaders attending the annual conferences.

In recent years the Youth Section (which grew out of the Collegiate Country Life Clubs, first founded by A. W. Nolan at the University of Illinois in 1913) has been one of the liveliest features of the annual conference, assembling 200 to 300 representatives of college and university country life clubs, 4-H clubs, and similar groups of older youth, who conduct their own discussions and carry the *esprit de corps* of the national meeting back to their local groups.[15]

The A.C.L.A. has published a monthly journal, *Rural America,* which contains articles on country life activities and a rather complete bibliography of current literature on country life. The list of the presidents of the A.C.L.A. during the past 23 years includes many of the recognized leaders of the country life movement during that period. Its consistent aim has been to carry forward the ideals outlined in the report of the Country Life Commission, and to this end it has had a large influence.

One of the reasons for such an organization is the fact that the country life movement is not a single movement, but on its institutional side is composed of several movements each devoted to a special interest, and there is need of bringing about understanding and cooperation among them. Thus there are separate movements for the rural church, the rural school, rural health, extension work, etc., each of which has had its part in what may be termed the country life movement.

3. The Rural Church Movement. One of the first of these was the rural church movement. This had its origin in the work of Warren H. Wilson. He was one of the first to receive a doctorate in sociology under Franklin H. Giddings at Columbia University who encouraged him to study his first parish, Quaker Hill, a small Quaker community in the southeast corner of Dutchess County, New York, on

[15] See E. L. Kirkpatrick and Agnes Boynton, "Country Life Clubs Among College Students," *Rural America,* Vol. XIV, p. 11., Feb., 1936, and the Annual Proceedings of the A.C.L.A. Dr. Kirkpatrick has been the guiding spirit in this movement for the last 15 years.

the Connecticut line. This formed his doctor's dissertation,[16] one of two to come from students of Giddings in 1906 which were the first research studies in the sociology of rural life in this country. This brought him an appointment as superintendent of the department of church and country life of the Presbyterian Board of Home (now National) Missions in 1908, a position which he held until his death in 1937. True to his training, Wilson saw the need for facts concerning the place of the country church in rural life. He gathered a group of younger clergy and graduate students[17] and sent them forth to make a series of social surveys in a dozen states in every major region of the United States. These form the first comprehensive sociological surveys of rural life in this country, and gave rise to the later studies under the Interchurch World Movement of 1920 and those of the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

Wilson's appointment by the Presbyterian Board led to the appointment of secretaries for rural work by other leading Protestant denominations, who are now organized in a committee on Town and Country Church Work of the Home Missions Council, which encourages short courses for rural pastors and serves as a clearing house for common action on problems of the rural church.[18]

Another outstanding figure in the rural church movement was Kenyon L. Butterfield,[19] who through his writings and lectures was champion of the country church as a basic institution of rural life.[20] He

[16] W. H. Wilson, Quaker Hill, New York, 1907 (privately pulished and out of print, but summarized by N. L. Sims in The Rural Community, Ancient and Modern, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919, pp. 198–223). For a biography of Wilson see E. deS. Brunner, Rural Sociology, Vol. 2, pp. 204–206, from which I have drawn my facts. The other thesis was that of J. M. Williams (see p. 275).

[17] Most of these men have achieved prominence in the country life movement. Among them are Herman N. Morse, now executive secretary of the Presbyterian Board of National Missions; Ralph A. Felton, Professor of Rural Sociology at Drew Theological Seminary; E. deS. Brunner, Professor of Rural Sociology at Columbia University and author of many books on Rural Sociology; Paul L. Vogt, author of one of the first textbooks on rural sociology; and others.

[18] *Cf.* W. H. Wilson, "National Protestant Rural Life Departments," *Rural America,* Vol. XIV, pp. 40–41, Feb., 1936.

[19] For a biography and tributes see *Rural America,* Vol. XIV, No. 2, Feb., 1936, dedicated to his memory.

[20] K. L. Butterfield, The Country Church and the Rural Problem, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1911; The Christian Enterprise among Rural People, Nashville, Tenn., The Cokesbury Press, 1933, and many articles in periodicals and in reports of various organizations.

also had been influenced by a study of sociology; indeed, the rural church leaders of this generation are very generally men with sociological training and point of view.

The Roman Catholic Church has also developed a strong rural life movement. Commencing with the work of Reverend (now Bishop) Edwin V. O'Hara[21] in the early 1920's, it has now developed into the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, under the leadership of Monsignor Ligutti.[22] Its annual conference has become an influential public forum; it publishes a monthly journal, *Catholic Rural Life,* and has recently issued a challenging manifesto on rural life.[23] It is associated with the Rural Life Bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. An outstanding example of country life work by Catholic clergy is the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia. (See p. 527.)

4. The Rural School Movement. The rural school has been a major factor in the country life movement. The Country Life Commission reported: "The subject of paramount importance in our correspondence and in the hearings is education." They found everyone agreed on the importance of redirecting rural education. The commission indicated the lines of this development, but advocated a nation-wide extension service as the means of educating the public to the type of schools needed. In this it was probably wise, for the ferment for better rural schools was already working and the work of the extension service, particularly through the 4-H clubs, has been a potent force in changing the attitudes of rural people on the type of education needed.

At the beginning of the century rural school buildings were poor, unsanitary, and ill-equipped; the teachers were immature and had little training. Less than a fourth of the rural children were completing the grades. There was a general feeling that the old-time teaching of the three R's was inadequate to meet the needs of the changing agricultural situation. The movement for better rural schools had several roots, but they grew into one stem. Both educational and agricultural interests were involved. Possibly the most important stimulus was the demand from certain agricultural organizations that agricul-

[21] *Cf.* E. V. O'Hara, The Church and the Country Community, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1927.

[22] L. G. Ligutti and J. C. Rawe, Rural Roads to Security, Milwaukee, Wis., Bruce Publishing Co., 1940. For an authoritative statement concerning it, see Rev. James Byrnes, "The National Catholic Rural Life Conference," *Rural America,* Vol. XIV, p. 37, Feb., 1936.

[23] National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Manifesto on Rural Life, Milwaukee, Wis., Bruce Publishing Co., 1939.

ture [24] be taught in the common schools. As a result of this a special committee of the American Association of Agricultural Colleges reported in 1903 on the teaching of agriculture in the common schools, showing what had been done in this field and what the agricultural colleges might do to encourage the work.[25]

Nature study had already been introduced into the rural school curriculum, having been stimulated by the Nature Study Leaflets started by L. H. Bailey at Cornell University in 1896.[26]

In 1903 the school garden movement was becoming popular and had a considerable influence on rural school objectives.

In 1902 two schoolmen, O. J. Kern in Illinois and A. B. Graham in Ohio, started boys' agricultural clubs. Two years later they were started in Iowa and in 1907 in Mississippi. Out of these beginnings came the 4-H club movement which has had a profound influence on the rural school movement (see p. 402).[27]

About the same time several state departments of education commenced to issue manuals or syllabuses on agriculture for the common schools.[28]

Meanwhile in 1901 the Office of Experiment Stations of the U.S. Department of Agriculture had employed a specialist in agricultural education, D. J. Crosby, who "undertook an active propaganda in different parts of the country for the introduction of agriculture into the secondary schools." [29]

The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education (now National Society for Vocational Education), including all phases of vocational education in city or country, was founded in 1906 and

[24] For a history of the development of agricultural education in the elementary and secondary schools, see A. C. True, A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785–1925, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, July, 1929, USDA, Misc. Pub. 36.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 390.

[26] Under the Nixon Act of 1894, which was the first state appropriation for agricultural extension work, one of the first lines of work was that of promoting nature study, and Junior Naturalists Clubs were developed by "Uncle" John W. Spencer. From 1903 on the nature study work at Cornell was developed by Anna Botsford Comstock, who became an authority in this field. The nature study leaflets developed into the Cornell Rural School Leaflet, which has been under the editorship of Dr. E. L. Palmer for over 20 years. This movement grew so that the *Nature Study Review* was established in 1905, and the American Nature Study Society was organized in 1908. For the spirit of the movement see L. H. Bailey, The Nature Study Idea, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1909.

[27] *Cf.* True, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 390.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

was a powerful ally of the agricultural forces in obtaining the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act.[30]

The history of rural education in the National Education Association shows the rapid development of interest in rural schools. As early as 1897 there was a Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools,[31] which indicated the needs of their redirection but in the main represented the point of view of school administrators and lacked the insight of the Committee on Industrial Education in Schools for Rural Communities made 8 years later in 1905.[32]

At the 1904 meeting of the National Education Association, O. J. Kern gave an address on "The Education Possibilities for the Country Child in the United States," [33] and in 1907 there was a Round Table of State and County Superintendents on The Country School and Its

[30] *Cf.* True, *op. cit.*, pp. 358–362.

[31] NEA, Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools, Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1897. Professor B. A. Hinsdale of the University of Michigan was chairman of this committee and seems to have been its leading spirit. It included W. T. Harris, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, but no rural educators. Even at that time the committee advocated the transportation of pupils from small rural schools to central schools; it pointed out the need of connecting studies with the home and everyday life of the community, but it advocated that the curriculum should be the same as that in city schools, with some enrichment in terms of geography and nature study. The most important contribution was that of Francis W. Parker, of the Chicago Normal School, who made a plea for "The Farm as the Center of Interest" (Appendix H, pp. 152–161).

[32] The chairman of this committee was L. D. Harvey, Superintendent of Public Schools and of the Stout Training Schools, Menomonie, Wis., and included L. H. Bailey of Cornell University, Professor Willet M. Hays of the University of Minnesota, Alfred Bayliss, State Superintendent of Illinois, and W. T. Carrington, State Superintendent of Missouri. It held that the introduction of nature study, agriculture, and domestic science in the curriculum of the country schools should be designed to meet the needs of the children and not as a preparation for higher education; it encouraged the promotion of boys' and girls' clubs; indicated the need of training teachers with the new point of view; and was opposed to the popular demand for legislation making the teaching of agriculture compulsory in the common schools.

This was supplemented by a report of L. D. Harvey and L. H. Bailey at the 1907 meeting (Journal of Proceedings, 45th Annual Meeting, 1907, p. 409) and by a second report of the committee, then composed of L. D. Harvey, Elmer Ellsworth Brown, and O. J. Kern, at the Cleveland meeting in 1908 (Journal of Proceedings of the 46th Annual Meeting, 1908, pp. 385–447). From many standpoints the reports of this committee are the most significant in the redirection of the thinking of professional educators in this period.

[33] NEA, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the 43rd Annual Meeting, Winona, Wis., 1904, pp. 89–94.

Betterment, with a Conference of a National Committee on Agricultural Education. As a result of the work of the latter, at the meeting in February, 1908, at Washington,[84] there was formed a Department of Rural and Agricultural Education, which was succeeded by the Department of Rural Education in 1919. This became one of the strong departments of the NEA, and from 1921 to 1926 it published *The Journal of Rural Education.*

As early as 1903 elementary textbooks on agriculture for use in the common schools began to appear,[85] and soon there were books by schoolmen on a new type of rural education. The first of these, "Among Country Schools," [86] was by O. J. Kern, for 15 years superintendent of schools in Winnebago County, Illinois, and later for many years professor of rural education in the University of California. Upon the basis of several years' experimentation, he advocated a new orientation of the job of the country school, of "the spiritualization of country life through the medium of the country school," and of interesting the farm child through farm topics. He pleaded for the enrichment of the life of the country child and as good an educational opportunity for him as for a child in the city. Another pioneer work of this sort, coming after the report of the Country Life Commission, was Mabel Carney's "Country Life and The Country School," [87] which represented the best thinking on the role of the country school in the country life movement, and showed the possibility of reorienting its program so that it might become a social force in its neighborhood. Although the success of the consolidated school has largely outmoded the point of view of these two volumes, they are still applicable to tens of thousands of country schools and they voiced a new outlook on the function of rural education.

[84] At this meeting the principal address was by Willet M. Hays, then Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, on "Agriculture, Industries, and Home Economics in Our Public Schools," in which he outlined a rural school system based on consolidated units and programs of agricultural, industrial, and home economics teaching. This address focused the issues, and in his official position Mr. Hays played an important role in the discussion of the various bills which finally evolved into the Smith-Hughes Act.

[85] True, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

[86] Boston, Ginn and & Co., 1906.

[87] Chicago, Row, Peterson and Co., 1912. Miss Carney was then Director of the Country School Department of the Illinois State Normal University; has for many years been Professor of Rural Education in Columbia University; was one of the founders of the American Country Life Association; and is still a leader in rural education.

Several books of this sort followed, of which those of Eggleston and Bruère and Ellwood P. Cubberley [38] were outstanding in representing the point of view of the period just prior to World War I and reflecting the discussion aroused by the Country Life Commission.

As we have seen, the report of the Country Life Commission brought to a focus the discussion concerning better rural schools. That the rural school was now a matter of national concern was shown by the creation of a new division in the U.S. Bureau of Education in 1912 to advance its interests.

The enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917 was the most important milestone in the history of the rural high school in this country, and indirectly affected the elementary schools as well. We have already described the effects of this act in Chapter 16. But with 6,000 rural high schools without agriculture in their curricula there is still much to be done.

Since then the development of rural high schools and consolidated schools has been so rapid and the literature on the subject has become so specialized, that it is impossible to follow the movement in detail. Such books as those of Brim, Ferriss, Langfitt, Cyr, and Newsom, Lewis, Clapp, and Wofford,[39] with the *Thirtieth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education,*[40] reveal the tremendous advances which have been made and the way in which modern educators conceive the school as the center of community life.

The annual proceedings of the NEA Department of Rural Education, and in recent years their bulletins and yearbooks, show the present role of the rural school in the country life movement.[41]

[38] J. D. Eggleston and R. W. Bruère, The Work of the Rural School, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1913; E. P. Cubberley, Rural Life and Education: A Study of the Rural-School Problem as a Phase of the Rural-Life Problem, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914. The latter was probably the most comprehensive statement of its time, bringing out the historical development of the rural school, pointing out the fundamental rural needs and the role which the school may have in making a better rural community.

[39] See list of references on pp. 394 and 395.

[40] National Society for the Study of Education, The Status of Rural Education, Thirtieth Yearbook, Part I, Bloomington, Ill., Public School Publishing Co., 1931.

[41] See particularly: NEA, Department of Rural Education Bulletin, Adjustments in Rural Education, Washington, D.C., Feb., 1937; same, Newer Types of Instruction in Small Rural Schools, Yearbook, 1938; Community Resources in Rural Schools, Yearbook, 1939; and A Policy for Rural Education in the United States, 1940, A Report of the Committee on Program and Policy, the most important recent statement on this topic. See also, American Association of School Administrators, Schools in Small Communities, Seventeenth Yearbook, Wash-

They do not, however, bring out two of the most important products of the rural school, as far as the future is concerned, namely, the 4-H clubs (see p. 402) and the Future Farmers of America (see p. 545), which are creating more loyalty to country life among its youth.

The Committee on Rural Education [42] is now promoting a definite campaign for the improvement of rural schools in the Mississippi Valley States.

5. THE EXTENSION SERVICE. We have already described the extension service in agriculture and home economics (Chapter 17) and have given something of its history and development,[43] including that of the 4-H club movement. Probably no one recommendation of the Country Life Commission has had more far-reaching consequences than the establishment of the extension service, for it brought expert help to the whole movement for improving all phases of rural life. Without the work it did in the first 20 years of its existence the present program of the Federal Government for agriculture and rural life would have been impossible. From it sprang the Farm Bureau movement and through it the cooperative movement was given its chief stimulus and educational direction. In recent years, as pointed out in Chapter 17, it has greatly broadened its program to include health, recreation, library facilities, drama, and music and, through its extension rural sociologists, has become the most important agency in promoting and guiding community organization and in assisting various rural organizations in their problems of social organization. Through its home demonstration agents farm women have been organized as never before and have become the chief power in planning the program for better rural living. The 4-H clubs have given country boys and girls a new outlook on country life and are giving a training which is making them, as they become adults, a superior force of rural leadership. The organizations which have been created by the extension service have given an entirely new *esprit de corps* to the people of the open country, a change which is hard for those who have not seen its whole development to realize and appreciate.

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ington, D.C., Feb., 1939; and Educational Policies Commission, Educational Policies for Rural America, Washington, D.C., NEA, July, 1939.

[42] An independent committee affiliated with the American Country Life Association and sponsored by the Farm Foundation (see p. 724). See The First Annual Report of the Committee on Rural Education, Chicago (600 So. Michigan Ave.), 1940.

[43] *Cf.* A. C. True, A History of Agricultural Extension Work in the United States, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Oct., 1928, USDA, Misc. Pub. 15.

6. FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS. The national farmers' organizations such as the Grange, the Farmers' Union, the Farm Bureau, and others have had a large share in the country life movement; indeed they are at the center of it, but it is difficult to point out their specific roles any more than has been done in Chapter 22. Their chief attention has been on the economic problems of agriculture and on legislation for meeting them. As far as country life is concerned their greatest influence has been as educational agencies, in which capacity they have been the chief means of shaping an intelligent public opinion and of training rural leaders, but they have been not less important for their social features in enabling farm folk to get together and have a good time through various forms of entertainment. They have been most influential in shaping state and national legislation for agriculture, but possibly their greatest contribution has been in their influence on the whole standard of living and in socializing their members in their own local communities.

7. THE FARM FOUNDATION.[44] A new agency for the improvement of "the general welfare of the rural population of the United States" is the Farm Foundation, created by a trust agreement in 1933, in which the late Alexander Legge (once president of the International Harvester Company and chairman of the Farm Board appointed by President Hoover) had the leading part. This is the only foundation devoted exclusively to agriculture and rural life, and, although its resources are very limited, under the wise leadership of Dr. Henry C. Taylor it is having a notable influence, both by the work it is stimulating and as a consulting agency in other movements affecting country life. It endeavors to act as a stimulus to action in fields of rural life in which research has made possible definite improvement programs. Its major undertakings have been in the fields of land tenure,[45] rural education (see p. 723), and the medical care of rural people. In the field of land tenure it has arranged two conferences with rural church leaders which have revealed the potential service of the church in this problem, which is most serious in the Middle West and the South.[46] No published statement has yet been made concerning the project in medical care which it is sponsoring in Nebraska but its director, Miss Elin L. Anderson, has written a vigorous challenge (see p. 480) setting forth the need for such a program.

[44] 600 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

[45] "The Committee on Land Tenure in the Corn Belt, Report of the Committee," *J. of Farm Eco.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 628–633, Aug., 1940.

[46] The People, The Land, and The Church, Chicago, The Farm Foundation, 1941, processed.

8. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. Until David F. Houston became Secretary of Agriculture under President Woodrow Wilson in 1912, the U.S. Department of Agriculture had concerned itself chiefly with scientific research concerning the technology of agricultural production, in which it had made an outstanding record. Houston came from Texas where he had had intimate contact with the work which Seaman A. Knapp started there and which grew into the Cooperative Demonstration Work and County Agent System throughout the South (see p. 397). Knapp found that his problem was not only to fight the cotton boll weevil, but to raise the standard of living of the people. To this end he introduced home demonstration agents, boys' corn clubs, and girls' canning clubs. When his work was taken over wholly by the U.S. Department of Agriculture a new point of view was introduced into the Department with regard to its objectives. It was forced to consider the human life on the farm as well as agricultural production. Houston was an economist and his largest contribution to agriculture was in strengthening the work of the Department in that field, but he should be credited with having the vision to introduce rural life studies into its program, in which he was doubtless influenced by Knapp's experience with the low standards of living in the South.[47]

I have elsewhere[48] traced the beginnings of rural social studies in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, beginning with the work of Thomas Nixon Carver in the Rural Organization Service of 1912, which continued under various names until the reorganization of the Office of Farm Management and Farm Economics, in 1918, which soon after became the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, under Henry C. Taylor, who brought in Charles J. Galpin and established a Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. Dr. Galpin did a magnificent job of pioneer work in this field and stimulated its development in the state colleges of agriculture and their agricultural experiment stations, but the time was not yet ripe for a larger development of this work in the Department.

[47] Concerning Houston's administration see J. M. Gauss, and L. O. Wolcott, Public Administration and the United States Department of Agriculture, Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1940, pp. 33–38. This work seems to have missed the significance of the work of Knapp in the South on the program of the Department.

[48] Dwight Sanderson, "The Beginnings of Rural Social Studies in the United States Department of Agriculture," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 4, pp. 217–219, June, 1939. See also C. J. Galpin, My Drift Into Rural Sociology, La. St. Univ. Press, 1938, pp. 36–63.

Houston not only started the work in rural organization, but he also appreciated the need for help to farm women, and one of his first acts was to make an extended inquiry on the needs of farm women,[49] which ultimately led to the creation of the Bureau of Home Economics in the Department of Agriculture.

After World War I talk of "reconstruction" policies was rife and agriculture shared in this. The most notable demand for a more definite agricultural policy was that made by Dean Eugene Davenport as president of the Land-Grant College Association in 1919.[50] In this address Davenport gave 14 points as essential for a national policy and called for the appointment of another country life commission to consider them:

> . . . Another country life commission should be at once appointed jointly by Congress and the President, and composed not solely of farmers but of representatives of many other classes, particularly business men and representatives of labor.

But although this was sadly needed, as the agricultural depression of the 1920's showed, the federal administration was definitely conservative and the secretaries of agriculture were unable to resist the control of the business and manufacturing interests.

We have sketched the efforts of the Federal Government to deal with the economic problems of agriculture during the 1920's in Chapter 8. Nothing very constructive was done, but the tide of agricultural discontent was rising and with the industrial depression of the early 1930's it broke and new policies were inevitable. It was fortunate for country life that Henry A. Wallace was chosen as Secretary of Agriculture by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, for, whatever one may think of his economic policies, he was without doubt the best

[49] USDA, Office of the Secretary, Reports 103–106, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1915, No. 103, "Social and Labor Needs of Farm Women"; No. 104, "Domestic Needs of Farm Women"; No. 105, "Educational Needs of Farm Women"; No. 106, "Economic Needs of Farm Women" (out of print, but of historical interest). These were followed by studies of the same topic by Florence E. Ward, published as "The Farm Woman's Problems," USDA. Circ. 148, Nov., 1920. See also, L. H. Bailey, The Country-Life Movement, pp. 85–96, "Woman's Contribution to the Country Life Movement."

[50] Eugene Davenport, "Wanted: A National Policy in Agriculture," Proceedings of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, 1919; reprinted in Proceedings of the First National Country Life Conference, 1919, pp. 176–200. That Davenport's proposal reflected the feeling of most agricultural leaders was shown by the statement of A. E. Cance in K. L. Butterfield's The Farmer and the New Day, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1919, Appendix IV, pp. 291–311, on "An American Agricultural Policy."

equipped man who has ever held the position and in his annual reports and in books [51] and pamphlets he vigorously set forth the need for a strong national policy for agriculture, viewing it not only as a business but also as a way of life. Furthermore, he created a strong program and put it into effect. Thus since 1933 the formulation of national policies for agriculture has been one of the chief issues in national politics. The measures taken have already been described in Chapter 8.

The depression brought to the fore the plight of the "lower third" in agriculture, and the work of the Farm Security Administration has radically broadened the objectives of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Owing to the situation, the agricultural economists were soon at the head of the various action agencies of the Department and more recently, under the reorganization of 1939, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has been made the planning body of the Department with regard to policies and program. It was soon apparent that research in rural sociology was necessary for the work of the Farm Security Administration as well as of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, so that the work of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, under the leadership of Carl C. Taylor since 1935, very greatly expanded [52] and took the leadership in its field.

With the many new administrative agencies of the U.S. Department of Agriculture placing agents in the counties it became apparent that some coordination was necessary between them and the extension service agents, and that there was need of enlisting the local farm leaders in determining local agricultural policies. Out of this arose the county and state agricultural (or land use) planning committees and the Mount Weather Agreement (see p. 407) between the Department of Agriculture and the land-grant colleges, which outlines a system of democratic agricultural planning and the general participation of local and state leaders in shaping agricultural policies.

[51] H. A. Wallace, New Frontiers, New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1934; America Must Choose, New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1934; Paths to Plenty, Washington, D.C., National Home Library Foundation, 1938.

[52] See C. C. Taylor, "The Work of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life," *Rural Sociology,* Vol. 4, pp. 221–228, June, 1939; and "Farm Population and Rural Life Activities," Vol. XV, No. 4, Oct., 1941 (U.S. BAE, processed). The expansion of this work had been urged on the Department by the rural sociologists for several years, but it was not until the depression showed the need of its work that it was possible to obtain support for it. This was made possible by the interest of Secretary Wallace in the human side of farm life, but was most actively supported by his under-secretary, M. L. Wilson, and Howard R. Tolley, formerly Agricultural Adjustment Administrator and now chief of the BAE.

We have dwelt on the leadership of the Department of Agriculture for it is the chief agency of the Federal Government affecting rural life, but it should be pointed out that the work of the U.S. Public Health Service in rural counties has greatly expanded since the enactment of the Social Security Act (see p. 472), and the Works Projects Administration and the Social Security Board have had a profound influence on the public welfare program in rural counties (see p. 491).

II. THE PRESENT SITUATION

Having sketched the history of the country life movement in this country, let us examine briefly some of the outstanding problems which it faces today.

1. POPULATION. (See Chapter 5.) In the last quarter-century the rural population has become a minority, whereas the farm population has shrunk to less than one-fourth (23.1 percent) of the total population. Yet in the states and in the nation the representatives of the rural territory maintain a dominance of political power, under which urban interests are growing more and more restive. This has an advantage for rural interests, but the political relation of city and country will soon have to be placed on a more stable basis than that of political expediency.

The depression produced unusual migrations to the West by farmers seeking work rather than land, slowed up the process of rural-urban migration, and accelerated the growth of part-time farming by city workers. We have had to face the problem of whether it is desirable for the national welfare to maintain more people on the land. At the same time our cities have awakened to the fact that they are not reproducing their own population and must depend upon migration from the country to man their industries. To what extent are subsistence farming and part-time farming desirable? To what extent is it desirable to encourage the movement of people from poor land unadapted to agriculture, and how can it be done? In the 1930's we had a piling up of population on the farms, but with the present demand for labor in defense industries, there has been a sudden reverse and an acceleration of migration to the cities, with a shortage of farm labor. With the end of the war we shall probably face another depression with a return of the situation we had in the 1930's. Can a satisfactory country life be developed with a population in excess of the means of support, as in the Southern Appalachian Highlands and other problem areas? To what extent will birth control clinics, as now developing in

two or three southern states, solve this problem? Such are some of the questions which face us concerning the distribution of population, for which as yet we have no conclusive answers, but we have the satisfaction of knowing that for the first time they are being studied by competent students with the best means available, and that their findings are being given a hearing by both legislators and leaders of public opinion.

2. A Possible Age of Plenty. Fundamental to all considerations of economic and social policy is the fact that technological advances have, except as disrupted by the devastation of war, made it possible for us to advance from the previous ages of want into an age of plenty if we can satisfactorily solve the problems of distribution. The literature of public thought today is dominated by this theme, the solution of which cannot be stopped and which will be basic for all future social policies. Our farmers have accepted the subsidies of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration as the only means of survival, but in their hearts they have no sympathy with an economy which restricts their production when millions of people in cities are underfed and are out of work because farmers cannot buy the products of their industry. The present campaign for better nutrition as a defense measure and the health condition of army recruits are both an indictment of a restricted food supply, when farmers are able and eager to produce more food.

3. The Decline of Individualism. Farmers are becoming converted to the fact that they must act collectively if they are to be able to obtain a fair share of the national income and maintain a satisfactory standard of living. The individualism of the pioneer period is rapidly passing. Elsewhere, I have commented on their changed attitudes toward governmental assistance.[58]

The farmer still maintains his desire to manage his own business, but he realizes that it must be done within a scheme of some sort of collective controls. This has far-reaching implications for any future program of country life.

4. Equalization of Costs and Centralized Control. After a vain attempt to obtain a larger share of the national income through something approaching a monopoly control by cooperatives in the 1920's (see p. 160), farmers have reluctantly accepted the principle of equalization of costs in maintaining public institutions and facilities by fed-

[58] Dwight Sanderson, "Research Memorandum on Rural Life in the Depression," New York, Social Science Research Council, Bul. 34, 1937, p. 145.

eral and state grants-in-aid. We have seen this tendency in the support of institutions of education, health, and public welfare, as well as in roads and mail service. The justice of equalization between city and country has been definitely recognized by the Urbanism Committee of the National Resources Committee, which says:

> Better to equip the future urban citizen reared in the country and to satisfy the just claims of rural areas, the Committee recommends the equalization between country and city of all possible material and cultural opportunities. This can be accomplished through the equitable distribution of public revenues as is being advocated and to some extent already practiced in the field of education.[54]

But with it goes the problem of limiting centralization of control and the maintenance of local autonomy, whether of community, county, or state.

In the economic sphere the Federal Government has subsidized agriculture through the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, through the control of marketing of some commodities, as in certain milk-sheds, through the purchase of surpluses of agricultural products by the Surplus Marketing Administration and their distribution to those on relief and by the stamp plan, through loans and grants to Farm Security Administration borrowers and the purchase of farms for tenants, through grants for roads and rural electrification, and by other means. Most of these have been conceived as emergency measures and have been more or less justified as such; but it is becoming apparent that the supposed emergency is a continuing one and that there must be a permanent policy. With all these measures there has come a centralization of control of the economics of agriculture which needs reconsideration. Both the policy and the administration of these agencies is in the hands of the Federal Government. It deals, through its agents, directly with the farmers, except as it is advised and assisted by the state extension services.

The principle of equalization of support of public institutions and of the equalization of income as between agriculture and other industries is sound, but the shaping of policies and the means of administration cannot be left entirely to the national government without destroying the whole principle of federation upon which it was founded. Indeed, from a merely opportunistic standpoint, it will probably break down from its own weight and administrative inefficiency. As we have pointed out in considering the financial aspects of education, health,

[54] National Resources Committee, Our Cities, p. 74.

and public welfare, the whole trend in the method of administering federal aid should be reversed and should follow the lines proposed in the bill for federal aid to the states for public education (see p. 393). Federal aid, in general, should be the means of equalizing costs and distributing the national income, through grants-in-aid to the states, reserving the right to set minimum standards of efficiency and adequate accounting, and aiding the states through the leadership of consultant experts, but the administration of such aid should be in the hands of the states, so as to adapt it to their needs and to obtain, in the long run, more efficient administration and a less centralized bureaucracy. The same principle applies as between state and county equalization of costs through grants-in-aid. The whole history of federal and state grants-in-aid supports this policy.[55] In spite of the fact that federal and state grants-in-aid have in some instances been misspent or wasted, there is no other method which so well adapts itself to meet local conditions, or which develops initiative and responsibility for getting results. If we are to maintain a democracy, the closer the control of their local institutions is kept to the people, the better.[56]

5. SHIFTING CONDITIONS. Finally, we are confronted with a world in which wars and economic cycles (in large part due to wars) make plans and permanent policies extremely difficult. Yesterday we were plowing under crops and wondering what we could do with the excess of youth on the farms; today there is a drive for increased agricultural production of certain commodities and farmers are in despair for labor. But plan we must, for if we are ever to have greater stability and security for farm life it will come only through well-considered public policies. Otherwise agriculture will continue to bear the brunt of economic depressions, as it has in the past and as the nature of the agricultural business makes inevitable unless circumvented by human ingenuity. With such a baffling situation confronting us, what of the future for the country life movement?

[55] *Cf.* Russell John Hinckley, State Grants-in-Aid, Albany, N. Y., Special Report of the N. Y. St. Tax Commission, No. 9, 1935; P. E. Malone, The Fiscal Aspects of State and Local Relationships in New York, Albany, N. Y., Special Report of the State Tax Commission, No. 13, 1937, Chapter XV; V. O. Key, Jr., The Administration of Federal Grants to the States, Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1937 (see particularly pp. 380–383).

[56] *Cf.* L. H. Bailey, The Holy Earth, p. 142: "It is very important in our great experiment in democracy that we do not lose sight of the first principle in democracy which is to let the control of policies and affairs rest directly back on the people."

III. WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

In the present world situation any attempt to prophesy the future of country life in this country is impossible. Assuming that Democracy survives the present war and that the world is not enslaved and plunged into an era of decline in civilization (which is hardly conceivable with the present enlightenment of humanity providing its spirit and ideals can be maintained), there are certain problems, in addition to those outlined above, which must be faced, and we are challenged as never before for the development of a more well-considered national policy for rural life.

1. SOME OF THE PROBLEMS. (*a*) *Integration with Independence.* We have noted the changing attitude from individualism to collectivism in American agriculture. We face the problem of developing a necessary integration of the business of agriculture while maintaining the independence of the family farm, as over against the tendencies toward regimentation carried to the logical extreme in the totalitarian states. Organization and concentration of authority are obviously necessary in industries requiring a large investment of capital. It is equally necessary in farmers' buying and selling if they are to have their fair share of the national income. How to do this and resist the processes of industrialization which will reduce farming to a factory system (as in some large California agricultural enterprises and as found in extreme form in the Russian collectives) so as to maintain the family farm is one of the chief problems of a national agricultural policy involving many subsidiary factors. Possibly the development of an independent cooperative advisory service of experts on farm and business management, to give individual farmers the advantages now realized in the operation of chain farming under one management, may be one possibility. The cooperative plantation, with which the Farm Security Administration is experimenting in the South, is a similar possibility. Such methods would doubtless need governmental subsidy, but they should be entirely independent of the control of the government while cooperating with it.

(*b*) *A Higher Standard of Living.* The process of urbanization is inevitably creating a demand for a higher standard of living among farmers, and particularly among the "lower third." This must be faced in a broad way. The Federal Government is spending many millions of dollars on housing projects to wipe out city slums, but as yet has done practically nothing—except the limited FSA housing projects —to meet the needs of millions of farm operators and laborers, particu-

larly in the South where much of the housing is primitive. Any betterment in the standard of living must, however, be based upon the necessity of individual effort, for a mere redistribution of wealth in the form of governmental subsidies for agriculture and rural institutions will not in and of themselves insure a better standard of living.

In developing a policy to better the farmer's plane of living, due consideration must be given to avoiding the assumption that a mere increase of things will give him a satisfying life and that they will not change his values to those of the city. Some of the philosophy outlined by Professor Hocking [57] as to the ultimate values and satisfaction of farm life must be injected into any program for better rural living, and it is significant that a philosopher of his standing has, for the first time, been solicited to contribute an article to the *Yearbook of Agriculture*. Hocking warns against urbanization, although he welcomes it. "No civilization survives," he says, "when the urbanite becomes the model for all groups." After listing the new instruments of communication, which have hastened urbanization and which have been welcomed by farmers, he concludes, "It is hard to believe that anyone would want these changes undone. The question remains whether, taken together this urbanization has changed the character of the farmer in any way that should give us concern." He holds that a superficial urbanization produces shallowness, whereas it ought to be the means of bringing a larger culture to the farm through literature, the arts, the sciences, and philosophy, which, he maintains, are the natural birthright of the farmer. He closes with an appeal for the intellectual maturity of the farmer as an antidote for too rapid urbanization.[58]

(*c*) *Agriculture a Unique Part of the National Economy.* In the discussion of the economic problems of agriculture it has become increasingly apparent that it is bound up with the whole national economy and that the problems of agricultural economics cannot be solved in isolation. This conviction is growing both among intelligent farmers and their leaders and among the leaders of the business world, as has been evidenced by regional conferences between farmers and representatives of the National Manufacturers Association, the round table discussions of national problems held by the magazine *Fortune*, and by numerous conferences under various auspices.

[57] *Cf.* W. E. Hocking, "A Philosophy of Life for the American Farmer (and Others)," in Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture 1940, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1940, pp. 1056–1071, particularly pp. 1066, 1071. See also many passages in Bailey's Holy Earth.

[58] *Cf.* Hocking, *op. cit.*, p. 1071.

Yet although this development of consensus between agriculture and other industries (particularly between agriculture and labor) must be carried much farther, it must be recognized that the problems of agriculture are "beyond economics," [59] and that they must be considered in the cultural setting of American farm life, for, as has always been maintained by the keenest thinkers on farm life,[60] agriculture is a culture, a way of life, besides being a business.

There is needed, therefore, as M. L. Wilson has so well pointed out, a new and "distinctly indigenous philosophy of social reform that is applicable to the industrial situation that dominates so much of our modern social problems," and for "stripping our minds of those misconceptions that prevent us from seeing things in the way that in our present circumstances would be most useful to us." [61]

2. The Formation of National Policies. At no time in our history has there been such an effort to form national policies for agriculture as during the past decade, and yet, although important gains have been made (as in the general agreement that the farmer is entitled to a fair share of the national income), we are still far from any agreement on the fundamentals of a national policy. The exigencies of the situation have compelled the concentration of the policy-forming function in the experts of the national administration at Washington, and the acceptance or rejection of their proposals by the representatives of the people in Congress without opportunity for mature consideration by Congress or by the people. This is inevitable in a period of crisis and does not impugn the ability or integrity of the experts who have conscientiously devoted themselves to the responsibility thrust upon them by the turn of events. One of the best attempts at outlining a national policy is that of Howard R. Tolley,[62] who has been given the chief responsibility for this in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. There is a question, however, whether human wisdom, no matter how expert and faithful to its trust, can develop policies of enduring value without adequate time for their consideration and public discussion. It took practically a decade to frame the legislation finally embodied in the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes acts, than which there has been no more important advance in the country life movement. Our present

[59] M. L. Wilson, Beyond Economics, pp. 922–937. See also his Chapter XIV in Baker, Borsodi, and Wilson, cited on p. 102.

[60] *Cf.* Bailey, The Country Life Movement, p. 63: "Agriculture is not a technical profession or merely an industry, but a civilization."

[61] Wilson, *op. cit.*, 936–937.

[62] H. R. Tolley, "Some Essentials of a Good Agricultural Policy," Farmers in a Changing World, *op. cit.*, pp. 1159–1183.

difficulty is that circumstances compel action to meet the immediate situation, and that we then tend to continue policies and agencies which may have been necessary to meet the emergency, but whose structure and functions have not been given adequate consideration for a long-time program. In this is the danger of building up what is essentially a Fascist process toward centralization of control and the increasing dependence upon expert leaders who are not subject to the check of a well-considered public opinion, but whose acts tend to determine it.

Nor are our national leaders unaware of this danger, for, as clearly stated by them,[63] one of the purposes of establishing the state and county agricultural (or land use) planning committees was to develop an organized system whereby agricultural policies might be developed in a democratic manner.[64] As yet, however, these committees have functioned chiefly in developing local programs; this is an essential step in the process of their education for considering larger policies, and their chief value from the standpoint of formulating national policies has been in bringing back to Washington their attitudes and views in an informal manner, although some of the state committees have made very definite recommendations on matters of immediate administrative policy. The ideal of this plan is well conceived, but it will take many years of educational work before it can function efficiently. One difficulty is that there is no national policy-forming body analogous to the state committees made up of farmers as well as officials, through which they may have representation and bring their collective judgment to the national administration and to Congress. It is for such a national policy-planning board, composed of representative farmers and officials that the national farmers' organizations are now asking.[65]

There would seem to be need, therefore, of giving effect to Dean Davenport's proposal of 1919 (see above) for another national Coun-

[63] *Cf.* the quotation from Secretary Wallace on p. 407, and many statements in his annual reports.

[64] *Cf.* E. A. Foster and H. A. Vogel, "Cooperative Land Use Planning—A New Development in Democracy," in Farmers in a Changing World, *op. cit.*, pp. 1138–1156.

[65] Just after this was written came the announcement that Secretary Wickard was forming "a nation-wide organization of farmers and Department of Agriculture workers to make plans for a three-point program for agriculture in the post-war period." (*New York Times,* Nov. 19, 1941.) This is a move in the right direction which will be watched with interest. The Department has a committee on postwar planning which is collaborating with the National Resources Planning Board which has been charged with that responsibility (see its pamphlet "After Defense—What?", Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Aug., 1941). The Association of Land-Grant Colleges has also established a committee on postwar planning.

try Life Commission, to include representatives of all interests in national life and of men of the caliber of those in the first commission, for a deliberate consideration of the essentials of a national policy for agriculture and rural [66] life in view of our experience of the last quarter-century. Such a commission would be forced to face the fact that our national policies tend to be increasingly the result of organized pressure groups [67] and that any policies of enduring value must be shaped by consensus rather than be inflicted by power.

3. THE OPPORTUNITY OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. "But what does Rural Sociology have to do with this?" the reader may say. Well, these problems of future adjustment have to do with social change, concerning which sociology should be able to throw some light (see Chapter 27); and the county agricultural planning committees are one method of rural social organization in which sociologists are already making a significant contribution.

If the answer to such a question regarding the roles of rural sociology and rural social organization in the future of the country life movement is not clear to the reader of the previous chapters, the author has failed in his effort; but in brief we may say that the contribution of rural sociology will be to ascertain the *facts* concerning social relations and to be able to predict what procedures may produce specific results under given conditions. It is not the function of the sociologist as a scientist to say *what* should be done, but to be able, from the results of his research, to advise how what is desired may be achieved. The contribution of sociology to agriculture has been well summarized by Dr. Carl C. Taylor.[68]

Such is the field of rural sociology as a science,[69] but when we ask the role of Rural Social Organization in the future of the country life

[66] I say *rural* rather than country life, for in the past 30 years the life of the farmer has become so bound up with that of the village that we can no longer consider his problems as merely those of the open country and of agriculture alone.

[67] On this consult H. C. Taylor, "Economic Groupism and the Church," in W. E. Garrison, editor, Faith of the Free, Chicago, Willet, Clark and Co., 1940, pp. 47–59. For a good study of the interaction of pressure groups in state affairs, see Belle Zeller, Pressure Politics in New York, New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937.

[68] Consult C. C. Taylor, "The Contribution of Sociology to Agriculture," in Farmers in a Changing World, *op. cit.*, pp. 1042–1055.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 1055. For a more detailed statement of the research work of rural sociology see, A Committee of the Rural Sociological Society (C. C. Taylor, Dwight Sanderson, and C. E. Lively) and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D.C., U.S. BAE, Oct., 1938, processed.

movement, we get quite a different answer, for the *extension* rural sociologist must be one of a team whose main function is to aid in the advancement of a better country life in every way possible. His function is to help organize social relations, keeping to the fore the interrelatedness of rural institutions and all phases of rural life in a better rural culture. This will involve the promotion of better means of education, health, church life, recreation, and the organization of community life, in which he will cooperate with experts in these various fields to aid rural folk in building their own institutions and developing their own social organization. The field of rural social organization is as broad as rural life itself, but it is only a technology for bringing together and obtaining effective teamwork between various specialists and agencies for advancing toward their common goal, in which sociology will make its contribution, and in which the extension worker in rural social organization may have to take the lead in the direction of the work of other specialists so as to obtain the best integration and timing of their programs in a given community.

4. THE UNITY OF THE COUNTRY LIFE MOVEMENT. The opportunity and need for social organization is peculiarly apparent in the rural community and forms the heart of the whole country life movement, for in no other area of national life do we deal with life as a whole. In the city the home and the business are entirely separate; the economic life of the city has its various groups striving for their own interests, but these have little if any relation to the social life or social institutions of the city. So the problems of the city tend to become discrete and the life of its people is fragmentized into different unrelated forms of association.

Not so in the country; for there home and farm life are intimately associated; the one depends upon the other; the economic life of the community depends upon its farms; community institutions are more significant because they require loyalty for their support. Country folk still approach life as a whole, for they recognize agriculture, which is its basis, not as a mere craft or a business, but as a form of culture. At first agriculture was merely a means of making a living from the land. Then came Sir Horace Plunkett's slogan, "better farming, better business, better living," which introduced the last two elements in response to the modern environment. And now Clarence Poe[70] ad-

[70] Publisher of *The Progressive Farmer* and a recognized leader of agriculture in the South for many years, in his address "Education for the Enrichment of Country Life," Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, What's Ahead For Rural America? Proceedings of the 22d American Country Life Conference, p. 54.

vances Edwin Markham's ideal of "Bread, Beauty, and Brotherhood," as life's supreme needs, subsuming better farming and better business under the idea of bread, or a better standard of rural living, and seeing the ultimate values of rural life in beauty and brotherhood. The outlook of country life is expanding from that of the "hoe-farmer" and the "machine-farmer" of Galpin,[71] to that of the social farmer, that is, the farmer whose relations with his fellows, whether in cooperative organizations or in social groups, and whose appreciation of the beauty in life, whether of art or in growing things, are his chief satisfactions. "Bread" is a means to these ends.

Finally, when we come to the question of to what extent these ideals can be achieved, we can do no better than to recognize, as Cooley points out, that all progress is a matter of faith, and that a better country life will come about only as brave hearts live in loyalty to their faith by making their contributions to the future of the common welfare.

> In short, the reality of progress is a matter of faith, not of demonstration. We find ourselves in the midst of an onward movement of which our own spirits are a part, and most of us are glad to be in it, and to ascribe to it all the good we can conceive or divine. This seems the brave thing to do, the hopeful, animating thing, the only one that makes life worth while, but it is an act rather of faith than of mere intelligence. . . .
>
> The thing for us is to believe in the reality of this larger life, seen or unseen, to cling to all persons and activities that help to draw us into it, to trust that though our individual hold upon it relax with age and be lost, yet the great Whole, from which we are in some way inseparable, lives on in growing splendor. *I* may perish, but *We* are immortal.[72]

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Appendix

CASE STUDIES OF RURAL COMMUNITIES[1]

MORRIS, CONNECTICUT[2]

To the present generation studying geography, the State of Connecticut appears small in size and of industrial importance. Brass mills, typewriter factories, lock factories, and clock makers are the outstanding businesses which the average person thinks of when mention of the state is made.

It must not be forgotten that this state was one of the first to be settled and that the early settlers were mainly interested in agriculture. With this fact in mind, it is not surprising to find many rural communities surrounded by an industrial element. There is more actual rural heritage left in Litchfield County than elsewhere in the state and here it will stay until the city folk from New York City completely turn the foothills of the Berkshires into both a summer and winter playground.

Thus we find the township of Morris located in the central part of Litchfield County, a typical rural community. It is, however, only 15 miles to Waterbury, a city of 60,000, and 10 miles to Torrington, a city of 30,000. Yet, in spite of its nearness to these urban areas, there is a definite remoteness from the humdrum existence of city life; a quietness of solitude and understanding which exists only in a typical rural community and between rural folk.

HISTORICAL FACTS. Morris was first a part of the township of Litchfield and was settled early in 1700. What is now Morris was called South Farms and apparently was a community apart from Litchfield. History reveals that the South Farms Ecclesiastical Society was yearly given certain monies for its disposal. Thus, we realize that the usual Congregational Church was a part of the early organization of this community. It is interesting to note that the term *ecclesiastical* was long ago used as a name for a group which governed and controlled an area or surrounding territory. It is quite possible that this term was adopted for use in the Congregational Church as that part of the entire group which had control of the financial situations in the area. This would be especially true inasmuch as the early church was the governing institution.

[1] The first three of these were written as term papers by students of the writer. The one on Buckeyeburg won first prize, and the one on Salem second prize, in a national contest conducted by the author in 1940.

[2] By R. P. Atherton, 1937.

Further records reveal that the first school house in the entire township was erected in 1747 at South Farms with the cost of building and maintenance being cared for by the town.

In 1758 and 1759 a general uprising took place on the part of the members of the South Farms Society. They felt that they were not "a part" of the town of Litchfield. The village was from 4 to 8 miles distant and the town meetings were hard to attend. The people were thus deprived of their usual town advantages. So they petitioned the General Assembly for a charter to become the Town of Morris, with the usual privileges and franchises to which all towns were entitled. The area included was to be "that which was constituted in the Ecclesiastical South Farms Society."

This petition was granted by the General Assembly and the first town meeting was held in the Congregational Church in 1759 to elect "three selectmen and transact any other necessary business." Thus we have the birth of a new town, and with the traditions of all New England towns, the town government, town school control, town meetings, and worship by all in one church.

PHYSICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL INFLUENCES. Morris embraces an area of approximately 10,447 acres. The topography is generally termed rolling; the best farming land is found on the ridges. The township is laid out in the form of a rectangle. The northern side borders on the township of Litchfield, the west on Washington, the south on Bethlehem, and the east on Thomaston. On the northwest is Bantam Lake, the largest natural lake in the state.

At the time Morris was made a separate township, an island located in the southern part of the lake was "thrown in" for "good measure" by Litchfield. Thus Morris owns and controls a part of Bantam Lake and an island which any town today would envy to have within its jurisdiction.

Definite neighborhoods early established themselves in Morris: East Morris was the original site of the town; Morris Center, which is the present community center; and West Morris which was at one time considered the "coming place" because the railroad passed through there.

The chief industry has always been agriculture. The only other industry of note was a sawmill and brick kiln. Agriculture has prospered in this community. Early beef and sheep raising gradually changed to dairying. Today, dairy and poultry, with cash crops of potatoes, cabbage, and fruit, are the established businesses. In a recent land survey of the state, most of Morris was included under "the best farming land." The soil is of a heavy consistency with great water-holding capacity, late in the spring but also late in the fall. This insures the crops against both drought and frost.

The original settlers were English. In the early part of 1900 a few Swedish farmers settled here. Later there came a group of Lithuanians, and still later a few Russian Jews. All these foreign born people have

been of high caliber and today they are taking their place in all community affairs.

Roads in the community, although cared for by the town, originally were poor. The heavy soil, with no gravel to be obtained, made travel on these roads practically impossible much of the year. Thus the three neighborhoods before mentioned were not united by communication and came to regard each other as competitors. Each had its own school supported by the town government. Each hoped to place a man in office at the annual town meeting. Though they all worshipped together, each neighborhood hoped to be represented through a deacon or trustee on the church board.

Trading Areas. Like most New England villages, Morris never became a generalized trading center. In its early history, a store was found in each neighborhood. Later, the store in Morris Center became the most centralized. This store was owned and operated by one of the leading citizens and is still operated by a son. It carried all kinds of merchandise from thread and food to grain and farm implements. The owner operated a large delivery business and each day found his two-horse wagon full of merchandise on some road in the town and in adjoining towns. The store came to the people instead of the usual manner of people coming to the store and using it as a community gathering place.

Because the railroad did not pass through the center, all freight was hauled by teams. Present inhabitants tell of seeing three two-horse wagons pass through town en route to the store, loaded with 150-gallon hogsheads of molasses. Usually each farmer bought one of these hogsheads, which was a year's supply.

As years passed on and better roads were built, the people tended to trade elsewhere. The delivery wagon passed on and became but a remembrance along with the proverbial "tin peddler" and "essence peddler."

Today we find a small store at East Morris which supplies a few groceries and gasoline. Another at Morris Center depends largely on the fees from the Post Office and the proverbial gas tank. People drive 12 miles to Watertown for groceries, feed, and hardware, or perhaps to Waterbury, which is 15 miles away. Litchfield, 4 miles away, is the shire town of the county and once boasted of being a main trading center. Recent years have turned it into a summer resort whose inhabitants revel in the ancestry they possess, or at least feel that they must possess. Torrington, 10 miles from Morris, is a good trading center for all necessities and vies with Watertown and Waterbury. Bantam, which is a part of Litchfield, has been a factory town. Today it serves farmers, mainly for feed and supplies. A car-door service is operated by the Eastern States Farmers' Exchange. In addition, a locally owned feed and implement supply store serves the farms and is a real competitor to the Exchange.

Practically all trading is today accomplished outside of the community proper. The nearness to these outside trading centers causes many farmers to sell their eggs and cash crops direct to the consumer. The dairymen

sell milk on the wholesale market. This milk is carried by trucks to the city and is usually picked up at the farmer's door.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT. The heritage given to all New England towns, that of the usual town government, has always tended to make for solidarity. The fact that one church has served the people has also tended to make for solidarity in the community. As was noted before, education was early set as a goal for all to obtain. In 1803 the Morris Academy was erected at the center. This was in addition to the schools located in the separate parts of the township, all supported by town taxation.

The Academy served for many years as a school for higher learning. The district schools served only as far as the eighth grade. The Academy served more like a high school. It burned in 1892; after this a school building was erected in the Center. The high school system was inaugurated through the first two years, the last two years being taken at the Watertown High School. Morris paid the tuition of all those students wishing to attend there.

The fact that the three sections of the town were separated because of poor roads and store delivery service tended to cause considerable antagonism. The general feeling of community spirit was brought about through the town meetings, the church worship, and the support of the schools.

One of the main unifying organizations was the church. Unlike most New England towns, there was but the one church and it served the entire community as the place of worship. The present church was built in 1844. Late in the 1890's an Adventist chapel was built at Lakeside, which is part of West Morris. This new sect functioned for only a short period and never became a real competitor to the Congregational denomination.

Many men of noteworthy character and ability were born and raised in this community. Here was made the first wheel horse rake, which helped to revolutionize the job of haying. Men left this town to seek their fortunes elsewhere and in many cases they proved successful. Their remembrance of their home community was ever present as was demonstrated some seven years ago when approximately $50,000 was left by a one-time member of the town for the building of a community hall and a new school.

The gradual increase of good roads, the installation of the telephone system and the development of the property by the Lake, all tended to draw the people into a more closely knit community. Around 1910, Columbia University purchased a large tract of land in the town, near the Lake Shore, and established a summer school. Some 200 students came each summer for a period of six weeks. Naturally, such an influx of outsiders caused considerable "stir" and increased the general responsibility of the community.

The Lake shores gradually became inhabited by summer folks. The Island, "thrown in" by Litchfield, became an exclusive summer residential place. Morris people became aware of its development possibilities. These

summer folks were good business. They paid cash and bought lavishly. A new road was next built by the town around one corner of the Lake which opened up a new development. The members of the community were working together. They established ordinances and they kept out the "trash" and undesirables.

Leadership in this community has been above the average. Young men have been educated and returned to the farms. These people recognize the old traditions which should be preserved, but they also have a perspective for new and advanced ideas toward modern trends. The shrewdness and competency of leaders were demonstrated when the money was left for the new community building. Instead of building at once when prices were high, the leaders said, "Wait. Building materials will drop, and in the meantime the money can command good interest." These leaders are not paid for their services in money, but in gratitude by the people and in the consciousness that they themselves have served their community.

Though the population of the town stays about the same (500 inhabitants), conditions in the area and in surrounding areas have changed. The problem of how to interest the young folks was taken up as a community project. Partially, as a result of this, when the Community Hall was built in 1932, in it was included an auditorium, a selectmen's office and town clerk's office, library and reading room, court room, lecture room for the grange, banquet hall and kitchen, and a game room for the young folks. No one was left out, for this is a Community Hall open to the community and is for the welfare of all the people in the community.

A new school building was erected the same year opposite the community building. This was built to accommodate all the pupils in the town. The other schools were closed and the scholars transported free of charge to the center school. This change was not made without effort. Meetings, discussions, and more discussions were held before final agreement was reached. The building was built in such a manner that an additional story could be added at small expense should the future demand.

In 1934, Robert Morris, whose ancestor founded the town, gave a museum and reading room costing about $20,000, which was attached to the Community Hall. This now accommodates the library which is open to the public each day and evening. In this library are included magazines with special reference to youth as well as daily papers and adult reading material.

ORGANIZATIONS. The first organization was the Church, which has always been a leading institution in the community. The ministers of Morris have been selected for leadership as well as for their ability to "sermonize." The Sunday School and Young People's Society have functioned intermittently, rising and falling, depending mainly on their leaders and the degree of other interests outside to attract the young people. In recent years, a summer school of religious education has been sponsored which has proved an advancement in the right direction.

The Ladies' Aid, though often made fun of, has been a moving spirit in the church and community. It has been the group which kept the church together during trying times. It has kept the community working together, both for the church and for the welfare of the community as a whole.

The Morris church is a sort of "community church." Almost everyone supports it, whether he attends or not. It bids everyone "Welcome"; nationality holds no exclusion.

The Morris Grange is one of the oldest organizations in the community. Its early establishment and meetings held twice a month in the Center greatly aided in drawing the outside areas of the community together. Most farmers and their families belong. Practically everyone in the Center belongs. It has a majority of farmer members.

In 1915 the Farmer's Cooperative Association was organized. It was composed of a few men interested in cooperative buying and enlarged too fast. This functioned as a buying and selling enterprise. Owing to mismanagement, it found itself in "strained" circumstances. Instead of "going bankrupt" and placing the manager in jail for his poor business management, the members refinanced the enterprise and are slowly paying off the debt. The situation is not talked about unless one is a member and friend of the community.

Organizations established later are the Neighborhood Club, the Dramatic Club, the Republican Club, and the Women's Democratic Club (which was recently organized to offset the Republican Club), and the Juvenile Grange.

Little stratification between the members of various organizations is found. The Grange takes in all; the Ladies' Aid takes any of the women who are willing to work for the cause. The partisan clubs denote their own boundaries. The Dramatic Club is mainly made up of older young people and young married people. The Neighborhood Club is different. Since the first influx of summer people, many have built large residences near the Center. These people are interested in the community in which they live and own property. The leaders of the community realized the need of drawing these folks into their midst. The Neighborhood Club was formed for this purpose and it holds a large percentage of its membership among the summer residents. It also conducts special meetings with eminent speakers to which the public is invited. They are for the welfare of the community and they have been of a decided aid in the development of the community.

An example of the pride they take in sponsoring such development was shown a few years ago. The two stores, one at Morris and one at East Morris, had the appearance of "fallen-down shacks." Very casually, word was passed around that the stores were not in keeping with the rest of the buildings in town. In a short time, most people were talking of their

condition. The store owners gradually began to hear the comments and were becoming both anxious and a bit "grouchy." At the proper time, the Neighborhood Club offered a prize of $25 to the store that cleaned up, painted up, and showed the greatest improvement by fall. Action followed, and both stores vied with one another while the people of the community appraised first one job and then the other. By fall, both stores were proud of their looks and, although only one obtained the prize, both benefited through added trade and publicity. The appearance of the community was increased 100 percent.

COMMUNITY CONSCIOUSNESS. The small population of the community in comparison to the number of organizations means (1) that many of the same people belong to different groups; (2) that there is a tendency for leadership in one group to become the same in another. This does not happen as often as one might expect, probably because the organizations are of enough difference in structure. There is a constant interaction between the groups which tends to promote a concentrated action toward the community as a whole.

The old feeling of antagonism between various sections of the community has practically disappeared. The new centralized school has not only brought the present generation together but also the parents. Everyone takes pride in this new school development; in fact, enthusiasm has run a bit too high. Last year, at a much discussed meeting, a majority vote established a four-year high school course. It is very questionable if the size of the school population warrants this set-up. The minority, though beaten, accepted the decision in good grace.

The new Community Hall and Library are further developments which cause the people to have a definite objective in common. The Hall is in use constantly and is free to all community organizations and most public service agencies. After the completion of these buildings, much grading was needed. A local man was placed in charge of the grounds. A Community Bee was next organized. When the day came, trucks, carts, teams, tractors, and man labor from the entire community were assembled. At noon the ladies prepared a dinner. The grading was thus accomplished and everyone helped in the process.

The attitude of the community toward "newcomers" is valuable toward furthering individual conduct. The people in the community are interested in making new inhabitants welcome. This was demonstrated in the treatment afforded the Swedish, Jewish, and Lithuanian people. They were first made neighbors and then asked to take their part in the process of continuing community development. New inhabitants are asked to abide by the moral code already established. If they do not, the degree of punishment depends upon the nature and magnitude of the misdemeanor.

Leaders of the Farm Bureau who reside in this community are constantly sending in names of new people who wish aid or who should receive

information. The interest of the groups toward a community need was illustrated a few years ago when 4-H club work, conducted by the Farm Bureau, had sporadically functioned. These groups, upon request of the club agent, sent representatives to a meeting where the needs of the young people in the community were discussed. The result was that a group was elected to sponsor club work and do all possible to further its establishment. This also included supplying necessary leaders for the cause if need demanded. The last Town Report lists club work as a major activity in which the school board is interested as a need of the young people.

The needs of the community are far from being wholly met, yet the consciousness of these needs is evident. Before money was left for the new community building and part for the new school, plans had been made for a number of years to finance a new school. This was being accomplished by an increase in the tax rate over a period of time.

The lack of a community hall was also felt. The Grange Hall, which was owned by that organization and used for town purposes, was also offered to various groups of both young and old people for their use.

The Grange Fair, held annually in the fall, grew out of a feeling that something was needed which would "bring everyone together." The prizes which were financed by the Grange were small but were an incentive to everyone, especially since anyone could compete, whether a Grange member or not.

The ability of the community to act as a body is noteworthy. For many years the Farm Bureau has operated a County-Wide Old Home Day. One of the important activities is the athletic contest. Each town enters its contestants under certain rules and each winner is awarded a score. At the end of the events, the town with the highest score wins a banner. Morris, as a community, has proved exceptional in obtaining a large number of people to enter these events. A meeting is usually held some three weeks in advance in the Community Hall. A chairman is elected for each event, and he or she is in charge of obtaining the contestants.

The economic element of the town business is interesting. The tax rate is 10 mills, which is third lowest in the State of Connecticut. They expect to reduce it to 8 mills next year, which will make them next to the lowest. Their roads are in fine condition and what bridges they have are cement. The community is financially "on top." We must remember that much of the Lake property has aided in keeping taxes low; also, their assessment rate is much fairer to farms than in most localities.

This community may seem too ideal. I believe it is unusual. Yet, what this community has accomplished and does, others could imitate and improve. They have no formal community organization. The people do have a sense of loyalty to each other and to their community which one can "feel" when in contact with them. I believe they come the nearest to being a well-organized community of any I have observed.

LANEVILLE [8]

LOCATION. The community of Laneville is located in central New York State, and comprises an area of about nine square miles. The village itself lies in a small valley, made by a creek flowing generally north and south, with gradual hills rising in all directions. The nearest city, a place of 15,000 inhabitants, is 6 miles east. There are two neighboring small villages, south and west. Six miles northwest is a large village of about 2,000 inhabitants, with a large manufacturing plant. All the above places are easily accessible at any season of the year.

HISTORY. The village established its first post office in 1824, and its first church (the Baptist) in 1828. Four years later a Methodist Church was erected, followed in 5 years by a Universalist Church. Sometime later a small Episcopal Church was built, and later still a Roman Catholic Church.

Most of the families were English and Scotch, with a few Irish and French Huguenots. The community has been fortunate in having a good class of people. Many sons of families in the community have become prominent. One man is dean of agriculture in a leading university, another is associate justice of the state court of appeals, and many others hold positions in various colleges and state organizations. The community is proud of its men, and their example provides an incentive to the young people of today.

POPULATION. The village population never was more than 400 people. At present it is about 150, and the whole community area, including the village and farmsteads, has about 300 people. In the early days there were many occupations, which accounted for more people living in the village. Today farming is the chief local vocation of a total list including storekeepers, physician, station agent, hotel proprietor, cobbler, garage men, saw and cider mill owner, teachers, feed mill operator, and minister. Several commuters work in offices and factories in nearby, larger centers.

There are two class distinctions in the village: the poorer class, who generally come from large families and are not graduates from high school, and the social class, who are not wealthy but have the usual necessities and are generally high school graduates. At present, that is, within the last year, there are cliques among the older young people. It is noticeable at parties and social gatherings. I think this is partly because some have chosen different fields of work and their interests are entirely different. Also there is the younger group who have grown up and joined the older group. The older group still think of them as too young to associate with. However, all members of the community are polite and thoughtful toward each other. Everyone gets along very well; in fact, much better than in some villages I have lived in.

[8] By Gertrude Dutcher, 1937. The name Laneville is fictitious.

The population is changing some, but most of the old families have descendants still owning their homes and farms. About five families have moved into the village recently and bought homes because taxes are low. Some of these families do not care to trade or join any organizations in the village, and are people who earn their living working in shops in a nearby city. Some of the residents are slightly alarmed over it and are trying to encourage residents who will support the community.

COMMUNICATION. The village has five good county roads leading into the town square. There is one railroad. A few years ago there was good passenger service. Now practically everyone goes to the city in his own or a neighbor's car. The passenger business for the railroad was poor, so about four or five years ago the railroad took off one morning train and one evening train. At present we have two mail trains a day and freight service. There never has been a bus service through the village. I really don't think it is needed, as everyone is very good about letting his neighbors ride with him to and from the city.

About five years ago Laneville had its own telephone exchange but, owing to the cost of repairing lines, etc., could not keep it going. So the local telephone company sold its property to a nearby company, which has since been taken over by the New York Telephone Company. This company gives the village night service and a wider radius to call friends without toll charges.

The village has a post office. About fifty or sixty years ago it wanted a couple of rural free delivery routes, but the postmaster was a very conservative man, and opposed these. So a neighboring village has the routes.

There are many contacts with other communities. The men have a seven-town men's brotherhood which meets in the various towns in turn every two months. This is a social and intellectual get-together sponsored by several rural churches. The young people of the church often ask other groups from a nearby community to join them in a social hour. There is a very fine spirit in helping neighboring communities put over their church suppers, bazaars, or Old Home Days. That is, if one community attends our functions, the people in our village make an effort to attend theirs.

BUSINESS AND AGRICULTURE. Laneville is in a very good farming district. The soil is gravelly loam, especially adapted for potatoes. Every farmer has his own wood lot. Recently the farmers have been having their woods thinned out and selling the larger timber. There used to be two dams in the creek used for water power to operate various mills. Now the dams are gone, and electricity has taken their place. In 1850 the village industries comprised a foundry and machine shop, a firkin and butter-tub factory, a creamery, a large grist mill, a number of small shops, two general stores, one drug store, and a cheese factory. Times have changed and now the village has three general stores, a post office, two garages, a hotel, a cider and saw mill, a feed mill, a railroad station and a pea

vinery which is open during the canning season. The country here is a dairy section, but the farmers also raise many potatoes; one man in particular often raises 8,000 to 10,000 bushels a year. Much cabbage is raised; some farmers raise as much as 200 tons. Corn, wheat, barley, and some buckwheat are grown. Trucks come and take cabbage and potatoes to New York and other cities. A few individuals store their cabbage and potatoes, and sell when prices are higher. Since freight rates have been reduced much of the produce is being shipped by railroad again.

Generally speaking, most of the farmers own their farms. A few farms are large enough to have two or three tenant houses. Many of the farms have been in the families for years.

The village has no manufacturing. Two of the merchants in town are very prosperous, the third one is about to close his store. The first two are members of the Independent Grocers Alliance; the third is trying to operate his business independently. The majority of people in the village own their homes and maintain them in good condition. The last new home was built 16 years ago, although many houses have been redecorated or remodeled. Taxes are fair as compared to other villages of this size. In general, I believe most village people save their money, so they are able to improve their homes and drive good cars.

CHURCHES. The four Protestant churches were organized about the same time, as previously stated. Later on the Catholic church was added. It is a comparatively new church. About 1850 the Baptist membership was 91, the Methodist membership 150, the Universalist 31, and the Episcopal 20. Twenty years ago the membership had declined, as the village changed. I believe the Methodists had the largest membership. Probably an estimated membership of all the churches combined would have been 50 to 100 people. The buildings have been kept up well. It may be interesting to know that most of the churches cost about $1,500 when they were built, but the Universalist cost $3,000. Their membership was small, but their members were well-to-do. In 1932 the majority of the members from the Baptist, Methodist, and Universalist groups federated. Although the Episcopalian group did not officially join the federation, the few remaining communicants attend the services of the federated church and participate in the other activities of the federation. About ten years before federating we all worshipped together. We called it a community church and hired a Methodist minister to come in from a neighboring town to preach the sermon. We would meet for four months in the Methodist Church, then in the Universalist, and then in the Baptist. This made it possible to keep all three buildings in use. Now the church is called Laneville Federated Church. Each unit church is recognized, and there is also an undenominational unit. Unfortunately, the Methodist superintendent did not wish to give up his village church so he sent a former pastor back to the neighboring village and to serve Laneville also. There were about ten Methodists who were loyal to their denomination, and I

believe they now have an average of 15 people attending services. The Federated Church was organized and after a year the Methodist Conference granted us a Methodist unit. The Baptist Church is used during the summer months and the Universalist is used during the winter months. The average church attendance is about 50.

The Ladies' Aid was abandoned and the Community Guild took its place. It was organized to better the community in any way it might see fit and to work for a resident pastor. In 1933 a resident pastor was obtained—a well-educated person who understood the community. The membership of the church increased to over 100. Since then the church has had two other ministers with very good educational preparation. Our present minister just received his doctor's degree. This fine type of man would not have been available if the churches hadn't federated. The Community Guild built a "parish house" by enlarging the dining room and adding a kitchen at the Universalist Church. The cost of $800 was paid off in 3 years through money made from bazaars and suppers.

The Men's Bible Class of the Sunday School is an active organization. The women have a Missionary Society which meets once a month. They are educating a girl in India and also do work for the good of the community.

The Christian Endeavor Society organized in 1930. The summer before that there was an organization called "United-For-Service." It was a thriving young people's organization under the leadership of a Y.M.C.A. secretary from a nearby city. The evening services were splendid and many older people attended that did not come to church in the morning. The young people felt almost apart from the church, as their minister lived out of town and could not attend their meetings. However, it was through this organization that the people of the village began to organize a federated church. After the village had its first resident pastor the society was at its height. For the last couple of years it hasn't been very active, except for a few successful parties. I believe this is due to the cliques mentioned previously. Also, the older young people resent the younger group joining them. I think they are glad to have them but feel they are rather young. Just today some of the group expressed the desire to have a Junior League. I wish I might help them see it through. I know the minister would be willing to push it.

For the last two years the church has held a very successful Vacation Bible School. There was an average attendance of 40 children, ranging in age from 6 to 12.

The church had a religious education director living in the village to assist the minister during the school year 1935–6. She did a great deal of work in the Sunday School and in outside district schools, called on the women in their homes, and helped with young people's activities. I believe there is plenty of work for a leader of that kind.

SCHOOL. The town built a one-room school years ago. Then came the need for a larger building. There was argument as to whether it should

be built on level land near the village or upon a high hill in the village. A certain man wanted to sell his land and was successful in putting the three-room school upon the steep hill. However, it was lots of fun in the winter for the children. From what I gather, this school matter somewhat divided the community. The school was called a union school and some of the time 4 years of high school work was taught. It had a good many prominent teachers; in fact one became the governor of our state. There was one teacher who had his first experience teaching in this school, and was noted for making the pupils mind. All the pupils loved him. I believe his influence in the community had a great deal to do with the character of his pupils. A good many of them are teaching or are heads of departments in colleges, and others have stayed here in the village, but speak often of him. At present he is principal of a school in Syracuse.

In 1929 the village and surrounding area centralized their schools and built a new brick school. Only four districts came into the central district, so the school is small, having about 115 pupils at present, 45 being in high school. The equipment is fairly good. The citizens voted to erect an extra building for the agriculture department this year. However, the boys do not seem as interested as they should be in agriculture.

The central school has pulled the community together. When there is a concert, a play, or graduation exercises there are probably 250 people present.

There was a Parent-Teachers' Association after the new building was completed, but it was discontinued two years ago. It didn't seem to meet the community needs. Perhaps, for one thing, there are so many other separate organizations that the people didn't have time enough to devote to it and make it a lively organization.

The school library is being better equipped each year. About three years ago there were not many children's books for the grades; now they have more. Also our county has the advantage of a county traveling library; the children like to select books from it.

ORGANIZATIONS. The town seems to have many organizations. There are three social, one musical, one literary, and two occupational groups. All of them definitely work for the betterment of the community. If any person is in need through sickness, or fire, they generally contribute money, food, or clothing—whatever may be needed.

The Grange owned its own hall years ago and finally bought one of the general stores so as to have a larger dance hall. At that time they had plays, dances, parties, including cakewalks, to pay for the building. After 4 years, interest began to drop. The central school was built, so that the hall was not needed for plays and dances. The Grange let the hall go back to its former owner. They now pay rent, which includes heat, light, and janitor service, for the use of the parish house. During the last couple of years the Grange has taken in many new members, mostly young people. They plan to have a drill team this fall composed of young people.

The Dairymen's League meets a few times each year to transact business.

Once a year a big dinner is served to its members and the rest of the community. All the townspeople are welcomed. The League pays for the dinner and a program that is enjoyed in the afternoon.

The Ugo-I-Go is a social club, first organized for women living on a certain street. Now any woman may belong. It gives money to community enterprises, such as the Scouts and Red Cross.

The Rural Neighbors is a club which was organized for women who had lived or were living on farms. They aid the community enterprises by giving money when needed.

The Order of the Eastern Star is active in helping the Scouts, Red Cross, and families in need of clothing. I think all three of the social organizations are a benefit to the community.

The town is very fortunate in having a Choral Club. This club has an exceptional director who happens to be a member of the community and is willing to work free. The proceeds from the annual spring concert were donated to the Senior Class. It is not a money-making club. However, when they go out of town they do expect a little money for expenses and to help pay for their music. The club was organized for the purpose of promoting good music and joy in singing.

There is a Book Club that meets every two weeks, at which time someone reviews a book; then a social hour of games and music is enjoyed. Each member buys new books and circulates them in the club. Membership in the club is by selection. Some feel it is an exclusive group; however, I believe everyone belongs to it that cares to.

There is a card club of eight couples, which meets to play cards and have a good time. They are a congenial bunch and enjoy each other's company. However, these same people are active in all other community organizations.

RECREATION. The central school and the parish house are the chief centers for organized recreation. Since the central school was built, it has provided a good baseball diamond which is used for the school and the town teams. There are tennis courts in the making. The gym provides a basketball court for the school and town teams.

The central school and church sponsor Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. Teachers in the school are the leaders. The community and its organizations support the two groups. The people feel they are worthwhile organizations.

Practically everyone plays cards and dances. Our minister and his wife do not object; they believe in good clean parties. The few townspeople who don't believe in playing cards themselves think it is all right for the young people. About four years ago there was one minister who had many parties for the young people, and substituted many games for them to play. They all enjoyed it, but I think they had more card parties that year because he was against playing cards. Even the Young People's Church

Choir meets every two weeks to practice, and then plays cards for the remainder of the evening.

The community needs a swimming pool in summer.

HEALTH. The community has a very fine doctor in the village. The people are proud of him and are grateful for his residence in the community.

The county employs a health nurse for this district. She does the follow-up work after the children have been examined in school by the doctor. She also tends to the welfare cases and people who are not able to afford medical care. The county nurse holds a health clinic at the school house for children under school age three or four times a year

POLITICS. This community is an unincorporated village and is governed by the township officers. It's a strictly Republican town. Every office in the township at present is held by a Republican. I haven't been able to find any political factions. The township recently bought voting machines and redistricted the town. This village will have a neighboring village, smaller in size, come in for voting next fall. The people in the neighboring district are a little bitter toward this village, as they believe it is taking money from their village, for they used to have an election dinner. Whether this new voting arrangement will in time unite the two communities into one, I cannot say; at present it will not.

OLD HOME DAY. A big community event is the Old Home Day held every year the first Saturday in August. Fifteen years ago the Camp Fire Girls started Old Home Day. The people that came back liked it so well that they elected officers to make plans for the next year. It grew better each year. Now the surrounding towns have copied the idea. It has never been a money-making affair. The program generally consists of a well-known speaker, home town music, remarks from village boys who live away, and generally an outside band. This year the committee in charge is having a parade, a baseball game between married and single men, a program under the historic elm, a play at the school written by one of the villagers, choral club music, tea and dance in the late afternoon. The Community Guild is serving dinner; this never has been done before. The program looks attractive. It will be interesting to see whether a small village can put across so large a program.

LEADERSHIP. The community has had many outstanding leaders in the church and outside the church. One leader who has done a great deal for the community is not a church worker. He has been a member of the township board, and that has made it possible for him to see that this community has good roads and bridges. Also he has seen that the village has a well-kept cemetery. It is one of the most attractive rural cemeteries in central New York.

There are several outstanding men and women who work with the young people and children's groups in Sunday School. There are at least three or four men who work with the boys in Sunday School and Scout work.

The older ones in the village have accepted the idea that new leaders must take their places. I believe this was realized more when the churches federated. The older persons saw that the younger persons must act in their places if the church was to continue. They were willing for them to try new ideas.

The village is a fairly prosperous community. During the past ten to fifteen years it has done much toward further unity through the central school and federated church, and has acquired additional leadership from among persons who have moved into the community.

The village people like to work together and cooperate with the different social, occupational, and religious organizations when called upon to do so. There are very few people living in the community who are not active in some organization. However, these people show definite community spirit in helping an unfortunate family whose house has burned or who are suffering sickness or other misfortune.

The village justice of the peace tries to discourage renting to people who would not be helpful to the community. With his influence the community has maintained its traditions and has not found the class of problems that some other communities have.

BUCKEYEBURG

1. HERITAGE. The first pioneer in Buckeyeburg was one John Southard, who established his rights in 1816 on a spot now one-half mile from the village. Other pioneers came, mostly of English and Irish descent, and settled in this fertile lowland. Southard became the most influential man and named the small village nearby Southardtown. The village at that time consisted of a few houses, a general store, and a smithy. As there was already a Southardtown in Ohio, the name was changed to Buckeyeburg.

The first frame house of the community was built at the springs about a mile from town in 1832. As increasing numbers of settlers came in more and more land was cleared; roads were laid out; fields were fenced in; new houses sprang up; and a harness shop, a Methodist Church, a grocery store, a one-room school, and a dry goods store were added to the village. A doctor came to practice, and a livery stable, a grist mill, and a saloon came in quick succession.

By 1850, Buckeyeburg had assumed some size and importance in the area. Because of slow transportation, its effects did not reach far into the outlying country districts. But for the people who lived within 3 or 4 miles, the village meant everything—clothing, tobacco, sugar, salt, coffee, religion, and social contacts.

[4] By R. W. Kerns, 1940.

Nearby swamps contained good land, if it could only be drained. But no tile could be obtained within 30 miles. So, with outside money they built a tile factory. Then came the tiling fervor; ditch-diggers were at a premium. The small plant could not manufacture the earthen products rapidly enough and the factory was expanded, and also made to include bricks. The once irreclaimable land was thus mastered; and from its black bosom flowed an intermittent stream of agricultural products.

The first train pulled into Buckeyeburg in 1876. With it came closer contact with the world, easier transportation, and a heavy flow of freight. Machinery and goods came to town; livestock and grain left. A large elevator was built. A sawmill was set up and a handle factory employing a score of laborers was established. With the new freight service the tile factory could furnish means of drainage to outlying communities. Its volume of output doubled. In 1880 Buckeyeburg was booming.

Then came the crowning achievement—a community fair. It was on a purely local basis and featured horse racing and agricultural exhibits. It was the principal enthusiasm and social highlight of men and women alike. The women exhibited their prowess as cooks and seamstresses by displaying cakes, canned fruit, and fancy work. The men vied with each other in the excellence of their livestock and crops. The rural community was at its zenith. Two churches were added, a hotel, a bank, then another, dry goods stores, a high school, an opera house.

Since 1910, all the good land has been cleared and farming has settled down to corn and hogs. Occasionally someone tries the milk game. But milk for cheese pays poorly. With the farms drained and the houses built, tile and bricks were not needed. The tile mill suffered a consequent decline. The timber in the vicinity became depleted; the sawmill was removed; and the handle factory moved out. The community fair, once a thriving institution, dwindled, flickered, and died.

Thus throughout the history of the area there has been a constant struggle—struggle against nature, against Indians, against competing economic forces. It was hard work, this breaking up of a wilderness, but out of it all has come an unusual man, the farmer—independent, defiant, religious, conservative, hard working. Such is the heritage of the community.

2. STRUCTURE. (*a*) *Location and Topography.* Buckeyeburg is located in West Central Ohio, 70 miles from the Indiana line, and equidistant from the Michigan line and the Ohio River. It is located in the eastern part of Cornstalk County. The area has a variety of soil types, ranging from sandy soil to onion soil or muck. In the main the community has a good physical basis for its existence as an agricultural community.

(*b*) *Roads.* Buckeyeburg is by no means isolated, for there is a paved road leading to every point of any size in all directions (Fig. 119). A state route passes through the village east and west. A paved road running through Buckeyeburg from north to south connects with roads

leading to Lima and Toledo on the north and Columbus and Dayton to the south. Local roads are gravel, but good. The last mud road disappeared two years ago.

(*c*) *Community and Neighborhoods.* The irregularity of the community area is caused by the pull of neighboring villages on the farm population. The community is about 10 miles in diameter and embraces an area of approximately 75 square miles. As seen in Fig. 119, the community boundary is no respecter of political boundaries. It passes right over them

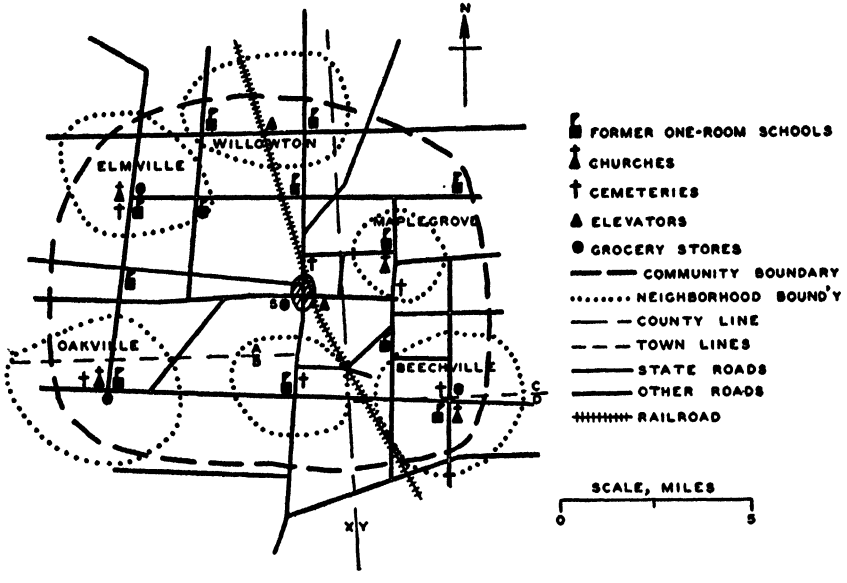


FIG. 119. Buckeyeburg community, neighborhoods, and institutions.

and includes parts of counties *X* (Cornstalk) and *Y* and parts of townships *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*.

Within the community area are five distinct neighborhood groups. These are shown by dotted lines. At one time there were more neighborhoods, but with the passing of the one-room schools, they, too, ceased to persist. Of those remaining, Elmville, Oakville, and Beachville are the strongest. These neighborhoods are centered about a church and a country store. Maplegrove neighborhood is characterized by its church; Willowton by a grain elevator; the dotted area south of town has no institutions at all since the country school has gone. But neighborhood solidarity here is still fairly strong. All these neighborhoods are less self-contained than 15 years ago, owing to the unifying influence of the centralized school, built in 1930. However, the people exchange work among themselves and belong to the same threshing rings. A strong neighborhood once persisted about three miles west of the village. This group was known far and wide for its ox roasts following the silo-filling season, but with the

moving out of two of the leading families the solidarity and spirit were disrupted and the neighborhood died.

(*d*) *Village Center.* The village lies on a level plain. It has two major streets, Center and Main. There are three minor streets and three cross streets which serve to mark off the residential area. The main streets are paved with brick; the smaller ones are macadam. One of the beautifying features of the village is the shade. Trees line all the streets.

The business district (Fig. 120) lies along the two thoroughfares. The bank on the corner occupies the key position in the village. In front is the town pump. Other facilities are: five grocery stores, one hardware store, a bank, two restaurants, three filling stations, three garages, a print shop, a dry goods and novelty store, a tinner, a blacksmith, a well driller, a pool room, two small produce companies, two barber shops, a shoe repair shop, a drug store, a theater, an elevator, two beauty shops, combination funeral parlor and furniture store, post office, library, depot, three doctors, one dentist, an insurance office, and a veterinarian. The entire business district is composed of brick structures.

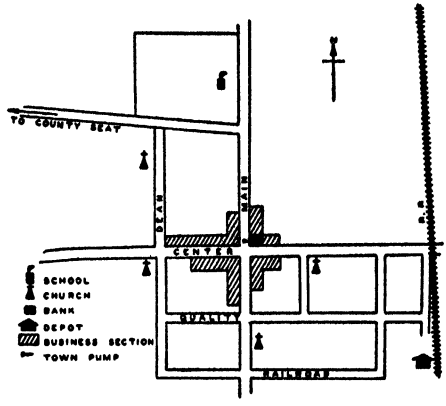


FIG. 120. Village plan of Buckeyeburg.

There are four church buildings and a large school house in the village. The lodges occupy rooms on the second floor of the business blocks. The houses of the people are wooden structures—all but one. The homes are not pretentious, but painted. The better ones are clustered on Quality Street. Here the "upper crust" dwells, and the other extreme of the population lives on the east side across the tracks or on the south side by the tile factory. There are about 175 residences in all in the village, and about 200 farm homes in the community.

3. PEOPLE. In 1940 there were 742 people in the village and the farm population was approximately 950. The open-country population has been more stable in its numbers and the size of the village has gone up and down and up.

The village population of Buckeyeburg since 1880[5] is as follows:

Year	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Number	333	431	875	913	737	675	742

The town has experienced a recent rise in population due to the establishing of a Conservation Corps near Zane Caverns, the local natural beauty spot

[5] U.S. Census.

The families of the men have come to Buckeyeburg, and houses for rent are at a premium.

The average size of village families is four; farm families have an extra child. The population is homogeneous—English and Anglo-Saxon. The only exception is the small and declining settlement of Negroes near Willowton. These Negroes attend a colored church in Rushylvania and attend school in Buckeyeburg. There is little discrimination against Negro children in the school. Last year's graduating class had a Negro president; and they are active in sports, plays, and operettas. Two Negro families attend the white Baptist Church in the village. There are no Catholics, no Jews, and no foreigners in the community.

4. COMMUNICATION. In the days of the carriage and mud roads the isolation of Buckeyeburg was a very real thing. Then the folk were clearly conscious of the important role of the village. Now automobiles and good roads enable the farmer to get to the village quickly and easily. Indeed, he often does not stop at the village but goes on to Countyseat. Fifteen miles is not far—nor 50. Practically every farmer in the community has an automobile. Only three farmers in the area still drive horses; and but one, an old bachelor, walks to town for his groceries. Not so many of the villagers have cars. Good roads have had another significant and far-reaching effect: that of making practicable and easy the transportation of school children in buses. This led to the consolidation of schools at the village center. The county keeps the roads cleared and repaired.

The New York Central maintains freight, express, telegraph, and passenger service for Buckeyeburg. Many freight trains do not stop at Buckeyeburg; and now one of the four daily passenger trains "goes through."

The mail comes in four times daily. "Mail time" to the villager is an important social event. Many of the townsmen gather in the post office while the mail is being sorted and talk things over. Mail time for the farm woman is just as important. Scarcely has the carrier left before the housewife or one of her children races out to the road to see what has been left. And scarcely has the farmer entered the house for his noon-day meal before he reaches for the daily paper. It is a chief means of local and regional news. Besides the unenterprising *Enterprise,* the weekly village organ containing advertising, legal proceedings, and obituaries, most farmers of the community take either a Columbus or a Countyseat daily paper. One of the rural routes is called the "Sears, Roebuck Route"; for this carrier frequently has his car piled high with mail order tires, children's clothes, and household equipment.

The radio is another means which facilitates communication. By its use the ruralist's contacts with the outside world are increased. He can hear in his own living room the best lectures, orchestras, and wisecracks in the world. Some farmers are more likely to come in to dinner on time than formerly because of livestock reports, the National Farm and Home Hour, or the latest war news. Stock and grain buyers find these farmers

more shrewd to deal with than when they were uninformed on market quotations.

Next to the automobile, the telephone is the most important form of communication. More farmers than villagers have telephones; farmers need them more. When hay is down and a rain is coming up, one needs a neighbor's help in a hurry. Telephones aid the womenfolks in quickly and conveniently arranging social affairs; they aid the farmer in arranging for threshing, marketing, and other cooperative enterprises. They remove *from* the life of the community many desirable face-to-face contacts but they bring *to* rural life an increasing number of relationships which tend to offset the loss.

5. LIVELIHOOD. (*a*) *The Farmers.* Everyone is dependent on the farmer; without him the community would not exist. The average size of the farms in the community is about 100 acres. Ninety of these acres are cleared and are cultivable. General farming is commonly practiced.

Thirty percent of the farm operators are tenants. There is no real reason, other than for classification, for dividing farmers on the basis of tenure. Tenants stay on the same farm a long time. They belong to organizations. Socially they are the same; and economically one is about as bad off as the other. At one time it was an honor to own a farm. Now ownership is frequently considered disadvantageous. Owners have periodic demands for interest and taxes made upon them. And the banks and tax collector want *money,* not produce. Most farm owners have their farms mortgaged and some of them are being sold out by their creditors. But times are not so bad as a few years ago when on one Saturday afternoon alone 36 farms were sold at sheriff's sale in the county. Today the Federal Land Bank is interested in 15 percent of the farms.

The farmer has two places to market his livestock. Either it is sold to the "old line" village buyer or it is sold cooperatively at Countyseat. Some of the wool is sold to local buyers; some through "the Pool." Only a small percentage of the livestock is purebred or registered. Most of the breeding sires are, but the bulk is grade stuff. Fluid milk goes to Bigtown and Columbus. Milk collection routes go past every farmstead.

Farmers kick because the elevators pay Chicago prices for grain, less transportation charges, and then ship it *east* to a higher market. "When *hogs* are sold in Buffalo you get Buffalo prices less transportation," they say. But the grain men stick together.

The small orchards and gardens of the farmer furnish fruits and vegetables for himself, his family, his village friends, and his city cousins. The same is true with respect to meat. Cooperative threshing, silo filling, and shredding are commonly practiced. Farmers often exchange work with the neighbors and borrow machinery back and forth.

(*b*) *The Villagers.* The villagers of Buckeyeburg may be divided into three classes. The first group, comprised of the professionals and businessmen, includes doctors, the veterinarian, four ministers, school teachers,

grocers, smithy, garagemen, banker, filling station attendants, restaurant owners, and other mercantile interests. These villagers make their living by serving each other and the farmers.

There is but little economic basis for choosing one grocery over another. Price of merchandise does not enter into the situation greatly, as all merchants charge about the same for their goods. Each of the five grocers has a group of regular customers who prefer to come to him for supplies. The basis for this preference is usually one or more of the following reasons: (1) like the grocer; (2) religious affiliation; (3) relative; (4) habit, or "close to where I always park"; (5) lodge affiliation; (6) better price for butter and eggs; (7) cleaner and fresher merchandise; (8) lower prices; (9) more credit. Credit is hard to get now. I.G.A. and Red and White alliances have seen to that.

The second group of villagers is made up of the retired farmers—the conservative element in the population. This class is not large. They serve as deacons, elders, or board members in the churches. They talk over the political and economic situation in the rear of the hardware store and, in general, succeed well in accomplishing little. Some of them have rented their farms, or are letting the children run them.

The third and largest class of village people is composed of laborers and loafers. No sharp line can be drawn. Some of them work for farmers, unload coal cars, work on the road or on the railroad as section hands. Some of them drive trucks and get what local hauling they can; others cut cord wood, husk corn, or go hunting in the winter time. These people are not "drifters." They are a permanent part of the population. They are available for work when they are "sent for," but they seldom take the initiative to look for a job elsewhere. Their wives and children do odd jobs about the town, helping out during a sick spell and during harvest time. Most of them work only a part of the year. Work relief has been more general during the past few years, and the WPA employs a dozen or more.

The villagers are but a step removed from the farm. Most of them have gardens or truck patches.

6. Religion. The people around Buckeyeburg are Protestant—or nothing. Catholics and Jews are strange phenomena in Buckeyeburg.

The Methodist Church employs a full-time pastor at a decreased salary of $700. The building, constructed of brick, is the largest in the village and is the only one housing a pipe organ. The church has 242 members and had an average attendance of 90 for the past year. Most of the community's elite attend here. It boasts of a choir and has the only active young people's organization, the Epworth League.

The pastor of the Church of Christ received $954 last year. He also preached at Richland, 14 miles away; for this he got an additional $200. He left town in April, 1940, and has not been replaced. The membership includes 142 names but the average attendance in 1939 was 70. Many of the "near elite" go here.

The United Brethren Church has a part-time minister. Last year he was paid $450 for half-time work, and he received $200 in addition for his services at Square Center, 6 miles away. The roll book shows the membership to be 94, with an average attendance of 30.

The Baptist Church has a minister for the first time in four years. He receives $700 for full-time work. The average attendance last year was 45 although the church membership totals 90. Two Negro families (light mulattoes) belong to this church. The young people's organization, the B.Y.P.U., recently died.

A new church was organized in October, 1939; it draws the variables from the community. The meetings are held in an empty storeroom and attract considerable attention by the "mourner's bench" activities. Their minister is a devout young woman. The attendance in their new zeal is around 40. This is a Quaker church, but it is not typical. It is more like a Pilgrim Holiness group.

Maplegrove Church, of the shouting Methodist type, is 2 miles from the village. The average attendance is about 70, with a membership of 96. The preacher has four charges and besides his small salary gets meat, potatoes, cord wood, and the like. It is the only church in the community that has increased its salary and attendance in 10 years.

The sixth church, at Elmville, 5 miles from the village, is just within the community boundary. It draws its members from two community areas. The preacher has another charge at Poorland, which is 5 miles north of Elmville. The membership and attendance are about the same as that of the Baptist Church in Buckeyeburg. The Elmville church is still Methodist Protestant even if their denomination did join with the Methodist Episcopal Church. Beechville and Oakville neighborhood churches hold only Sunday School services.

The total church membership of 800 means little, for many of the church records are obsolete and inaccurate. Some of the members on the rolls have been dead for years. Others have moved away. A liberal estimate of the active church members in the community is 525.

These nine churches are struggling along, their decreased memberships staggering under the financial load of ministers' salaries and bills. Reorganization is needed. The $3,500 in salaries would be adequate to hire one good pastor and an assistant to take care of recreation, music, and young people's work. Six of the churches could well be abandoned. The Methodist Church is amply large to accommodate the entire community; the Baptist Church would make a good library; the United Brethren building would be best suited for changing into a meeting place for small and medium groups. But church union would be hard to effect. Religious prejudices run too deeply; orthodox denominationalism is too predominant; religious creeds are too firmly entrenched. Maybe the next generation will be different.

7. EDUCATION. Buckeyeburg has one formal educational agency, the community school. Previous to 1920, one-room schoolhouses dotted the

landscape. The community was vaccinated against consolidation by a half-dozen important land owners, but it didn't take.

Twelve years ago a one-legged man came to town. He was the new superintendent. "Only half a man," said some; "$2,500 is more money than all three of us make," echoed a trio of neighbors; "He won't last out the year," others prophesied. But he did, and Buckeyeburg was lucky; for in a decade he has transformed a school house into an *educational institution.*

The present school building is a fine structure and houses all 12 grades. People are proud of it. The 6–6 plan is used, with four teachers for the lower 6 grades and five for the junior and senior high school. Each class has about 20 students. Pupils stay in school better than they used to; almost everyone is graduated. Salaries of the teachers range from $900 to $2,500. The subject matter is well taught and the school as a whole ranks high for its size. But the high school curriculum is narrow, following the traditional college preparatory pattern. Guidance and training for jobs and living are needed. This means more teachers, and teachers cost money. School buses take the farm children to and from the village each day. These children buy many of the groceries. Three farmers and two villagers are on the school board.

A village library was established in May, 1939. It is a branch of the excellent Countyseat library, and has been patronized beyond all expectations. The radio and the papers are important means of education, too.

8. Health and Sanitation. Buckeyeburg does not maintain a health department and has few health ordinances. It isn't big enough and doesn't need them. There are three doctors in the village. One of these, the least competent, has charge of all charity cases of the township (the last remaining function of the township) for which he receives the lump sum of $500 a year. There is a trained nurse in the village; also three or four practical nurses.

The county health officers, a doctor and a nurse, make frequent visits to the community. They work a great deal through the schools, examining annually all students and making recommendations. Frequently, little is done about these. Quarantines are administered by the county doctor. There is a local dentist and a circuit dentist comes every Wednesday afternoon.

Some of the up-and-coming folk in town had long campaigned for a water system. It, like the new school house, was voted down several times. But the local government had some "cash in hand," and with the help of the Public Works Administration a water system was built.

9. Welfare. For years the three circles of the King's Daughters and the Red Cross took care of Buckeyeburg's needy. The children, particularly, were supplied with milk, fitted with shoes, coats, or glasses. The chairmen of these organizations maintained a "do unto others" attitude, and the giving was not publicized. Excess produce was distributed at harvest

time or Thanksgiving; Christmas boxes were prepared and smuggled in.

For six or eight years, this warm-hearted help has largely been replaced by WPA money and by blunt relief methods. Occasionally, a loaded truck from county headquarters parks on the main street. The "reliefers" gather round to claim their staples, and straggle off home laden with beans, lard, grapefruit, and corn meal. They are open about it, as the method compels, but a little defiant. But it's an ill wind that blows nobody good, for now the King's Daughters have more money for glasses and operations, and for their new library project.

10. Pastime and Pleasure. Buckeyeburg's recreation is related principally to the church and the school. Parties and socials are the common forms of group fun. Occasionally a church has a supper, to which most of its membership goes. These are attended also by other village families who can afford it. Picnics are common. Ladies' aids, missionary societies, Bible classes, the M. E. Choir and Brotherhood provide social contacts.

Much of the recreation for youth centers in the school with plays, orchestras, glee club, operetta, table tennis, as well as track and ball teams. School plays and operettas are well-attended by the public, as are also the athletic events. There is a softball league within the community during the summer.

The younger children use the school playground equipment, and do much roller skating and cycling. The annual Halloween celebration and the community Christmas tree are great fun for them too. Boy and Girl Scout troops are active, and there is boys' 4-H club work.

A Youth Club has been very active since 1938. Since most of the young people over 18 leave the community for school or work, its membership is small. The monthly meetings are largely social and recreational. A volley ball court and a tennis court are well patronized by the village youth; the men spend much of their time playing horseshoes or at the pool room. Card parties are becoming more common and are increasingly accepted as permissive pastimes. Family reunions are as much enjoyed by the adults and despised by the young folks as ever. Dancing is taboo in the community. At one time a weekly public dance was held, but letters to the sponsor became so threatening that he was forced to close. Even folk dancing and square dancing are frowned upon. But Indian Lake, with its elaborate commercial recreation, is only 25 miles away, and "Ohio's Only Million Dollar Playground" gets many of Buckeyeburg's nickels.

The "talkies" of larger centers drove the "silents" from Buckeyeburg. After ten years the old Opera House was fixed over and modern movie equipment installed. Good pictures are shown (eventually) at 15 and 25 cents, and they attract many people, even from outside the community.

11. Sociability. Visiting and neighboring with friends and relatives has declined but it is still the most important form of association in Buckeyeburg. A group of about thirty women calls itself the "Pastime Club" and holds monthly "covered-dish" dinners. It has no purpose except

sociability. Sometimes they give a fish fry or an oyster supper for their husbands. The only lodges now active are the Masons, with 132 members, and the Eastern Star, with 78 members. The Knights of Pythias and the Odd Fellows Lodges still hold their charters but have not met for a long time, and the first is trying to sell its building.

The only "cultural" club in town is the active, earnest music club. It meets twice monthly; members contribute the programs. Occasionally there is a book review. The membership is rather exclusive, but there is a wide diversity of ages. During the stress of building, equipping, and landscaping the new school house, the Parent-Teachers' Association was a strong organization. Since 1938, interest died down and it is no longer active. It had served its purpose.

There are three circles of King's Daughters in the community. The Hope Circle is composed of young women; the Faith Circle, of middle-aged women; and the Charity Circle, of old ladies. The purpose of these organizations is primarily one of study, charity, and social contact. Actually, however, the meat of the programs is strongly spiced with gossip. Membership is restricted to 20 women each. Other voluntary associations include two bridge clubs, an athletic club, and a fire company.

12. Law and Order. The local government of Buckeyeburg is vested in four elected officials: (1) the mayor, who sees that town ordinances are fulfilled; (2) the marshal, who maintains law and order in the village; (3) the constable, who maintains peace in the country districts; and (4) the justice of the peace before whom all minor offenses are tried. The justice of the peace, a bearded man 80 years old and five times wedded (the first four are lying side by side in the cemetery with all of their names on the same tombstone) does not get as many fees for marrying people as do most justices of the peace. Preachers are too plentiful. The justice of the peace and the constable each get a yearly salary of $250; the mayor and marshal each get $500.

Besides these officials there is a town council of 6 members. It meets monthly to transact local business pertaining to public health, lights, riding bicycles on sidewalks, disposal of trash and ashes, cutting weeds, and the like. Members are paid $5 for every meeting they attend, and they attend them all.

The village has good fire-fighting apparatus. It is against an ordinance to take it out of the corporation limits to a farm fire, but they do it sometimes.

13. Politics. Almost everyone belongs to a party. Even small children on the playground taunt each other with such quips as "Dead cats and roasted rats are good enough for Democrats." But the people who can really talk politics are the men who sit around in the hardware store and pool room. Their lack of information is compensated for by their enthusiasm for their own ideas. Republicans and Democrats run neck and neck. One year someone voted for Norman Thomas; consternation reigned.

In national and state elections they vote "down the line." With county officials their political fervor is frequently mitigated by the knowledge that the other side has the better man. But when it comes to local elections politics plays no part. The voters know all candidates and they elect the best man.

14. LEADERSHIP. Leadership in church and school affairs comes largely from the better farmers, whereas the clubs and lodges find their leadership more among the villagers. With but few exceptions the leaders of the community are middle-aged or older. The voice of a young man is not often heard by his more conservative elders. Offices are passed around so that everyone may share in the activity. Personality is probably the greatest factor in determining leadership and the fact that a person is generally well liked is the basis for his election. Other factors are economic and amount of education. Special ability does not gain its full recognition in the community.

Since the new postmistress and her assistant, the insurance agent, a notary public, and a grocer are all women, the gentler sex is becoming more of a leading force in the community. Church organizations are usually led by women. The librarian has a wide and subtle influence through her position, and also leads the Girl Scouts and heads the Youth Council. Above all, it should be said that leadership is distributed. There is no one person who stands head and shoulders above the rest. Instead there are a number of strong leaders in their respective spheres. There is little formal training for leadership. It is developed through school and church activities. They learn to do by doing.

15. STRATIFICATION. Despite the fact that everyone knows and mingles with almost everyone else, social classes appear. These are not marked stratifications. They are subtle; but nevertheless they exist. There are four classes. The first class has but one member. She is a doctor's wife. Having been reared and educated in an urban environment she has assumed a superior culture which even the most aspiring members of the "upper crust" cannot cultivate. The doctor's wife, with all her prestige, is in isolation. The second group includes the "upper crust." They are *the* people. Most of this group are village folk and attend the Methodist Church. This rural aristocracy finds its chief expression in card parties at the homes of its members.

The next group is composed of the "better" farmers and businessmen. This group is the real backbone of the community. In it are the leaders. This is the group in which are found the members of the church and school boards and town council. The last class is "what is left." It includes poor renters, laborers, and people in bad repute. Its members have a social life of their own and belong to a minimum of community-wide formal associations, except church and Sunday School. The males of this group are those who patronize the pool room the most often, and

the children of this group, at eligible ages, find "boy friends" and "girl friends" from other villages.

16. IDENTITY. The railroad station with its bold lettering "Buckeyeburg" on either end tells the world that here is a village with an identity and a name. Here is the local stockyard, the setting of much Saturday morning marketing activity. At the elevator nearby the farmers buy feed and fertilizer, get their coal, and sell their surplus grain. And here it is that the village boys spend lazy afternoons shooting rats and playing basketball in an empty floor space. The elevator is of the community. It is a means of identification.

Another is the annual free Chautauqua. One of the first free Chautauquas in the country, made possible by donations of businessmen and farmers, was held at Buckeyeburg. Since they were the ones who inaugurated the idea of a "free" Chautauqua, they are unwilling to see it discontinued. Thus each year the Chautauqua comes and each year it becomes more difficult to raise the necessary $400. The effect of the Chautauqua on the people cannot be overemphasized. It makes the residents of the community proud of their village. It makes the businessmen who "put it over" proud of themselves. It makes the people from other villages mindful of the presence of a village other than their own. It makes them mindful, too, of the shortcomings of their own village. And it creates a kind of community consciousness.

The *Buckeyeburg Enterprise,* commonly known to the natives as the "Scandalizer," is the weekly voice of the community. All the news that is fit to print enters its columns each Friday. Its circulation embraces practically every home in the community. The personal items are best.

Buckeyeburg is the trade center. Farmers come in about twice a week for tobacco and groceries, or to get a clevis welded. It is their home town. It has a post office; and every outgoing letter tells your correspondent that you live there. The school is a strong means of identity. It's where one's children go when they come six. Plays and athletic events are held there. It is the community center. Sometimes identification with the community symbol is *too* strong. Enthusiasm at athletic meets gets out of bounds about once a year.

Again, the picture show identifies Buckeyeburg. Not only the local folk but people from neighboring communities patronize it. All telephones in the area are on the Buckeyeburg exchange. And the local veterinarian is often used many miles outside the community boundary.

17. RESTRAINT. Buckeyeburg is neither a hamlet nor a metropolis. It, therefore, lacks the stern ethics and morals of the open-country neighborhood and lacks the laws, police regulation, and constructive social agencies of the city. Children are expected to work, to be obedient, and to get their lessons. They are expected not to fail in school, and few do. The place of woman is still generally regarded to be in the home. But in certain clubs and social organizations the housewife is using her initiative.

If she is once in bad repute, she has a difficult time to regain her social status. Misconduct in males is more easily forgotten. Illegitimacy is a rare occurrence. Evidently far more rare than it once was for at least six of the leading citizens were conceived out of wedlock.

Public opinion is the most effective social control. A person in Buckeyeburg is what people think he is. He does what people expect him to do. A reproachful glance or a cautioning word does more toward effecting conformity than official billies and legal tools. The local press does little to create or mold public opinion. More often the *Enterprise* is opposed to public opinion and acts as a retarding agent to progress. Public opinion is usually formed in informal circles and receives its momentum and expression through the agencies of the church and school.

Community-wide public discussions are infrequent. Only a few problems have demanded public conference. A question before the community was the construction of a new school building. There were opposing sides—the childless well-to-do versus the prolific poor. Discussion and debate followed. But the issue could not be resolved by conference. A bond issue was voted upon three times at successive elections. The third time it passed by a small margin. It caused a split in the community, but the lesion was not badly infected—it healed nicely. Now Mr. Clay takes keen delight in two grandchildren who soon will enter the school he fought against. Time levels all things.

Although Buckeyeburg is along the tracks, vagrancy is not an important problem. The jail and food that the village offers are too uninviting to have much appeal for the tramp or hobo. There is a general like-mindedness in the community as regards what should be included in the standards and ideals of the family, the home, and the community. For example, one may not work on Sunday. The people know what is right and wrong in the public eye and know just how far they can safely go. Unmarried school teachers are watched from curtained windows. No liquor or beer is sold in the village. And recently the place just outside the corporation limits closed.

The merchants do not like the chain stores. The *Enterprise's* bold-faced slogans, "Patronize Your Home Town" and "Buy in Buckeyeburg," serve to remind the community of its obligation. An A & P store came to the village a few years ago, and although its introductory prices were much lower than those of the competing merchants, it received little patronage. Local ties were too strong. After three months the store moved.

Nor do the townspeople like the mail order houses. Mr. Lemon, who made most of his purchases by catalogue, took his horses to the village blacksmith to be shod. The smithy was busy, but Mr. Lemon insisted on having it done right away. Whereupon the irritated blacksmith threw down his hammer and shouted, "Why in the —— don't you send them to Montgomery Ward!" Some of the other forms of propaganda and social control used are more subtle.

18. INTEGRATION. What holds the community together? There is no community council. But the community machinery does not often get out of gear. And usually the various interests can get together, perhaps not so quickly as they might with "the good offices of a community council," but perhaps more permanently. There is always a certain amount of "thrashing out" to be done anyhow. During the past decade Buckeyeburg has had a series of community projects to occupy the minds and strengthen the loyalty of its people. Foremost was the new school which was consolidated and built. It was a unifying influence on the entire countryside. The annual "last-day-of-school picnic," to which all families of the community are to come with well-filled baskets and enjoy the food and fellowship, is looked forward to, and the community gains integration through its athletic teams. People who attend no other public event come out for basketball games and root for the home team. Many follow the high school team to its neighboring encounters and to the county tournament, especially if there is a good chance to win. Enthusiasm runs high and the people cheer for a common cause.

In unhurried succession the people considered and carried out the remodeling of the obsolete opera house into a presentable theater, the establishment of rural electrification, the installation of the village water system, and the commendable community free library. Buckeyeburg is a clean town, for the people take seriously their weeds, dead limbs, and refuse. These things have given the folk an awareness and a civic pride. Just now the possibility of a public swimming pool is uppermost in the minds of the leaders. This working together has created a common bond.

The business of the town and the tilling of the farmland are interdependent. This and the stability of the community as a whole are factors which knit the diverse threads of interest into a strong, lasting fabric.

19. CHANGE. Throughout this saga of century-old Buckeyeburg, we have noted that the most constant thing about the community is change, both physical and nonmaterial. We have seen how the filling stations have replaced the livery stables, how the clothing stores have folded under the competition of cities nearby, how the new fire truck has replaced the old hand hose. The tile factory is but a shadow on the landscape; the country schools have given way to the centralized school. Mud roads have been graded and graveled; parking lines have been painted on the village streets and the hitching racks removed. The community fair is history, and the old residents point with palsied hands to the field where the race track was.

Homes are more livable, better painted, and sometimes landscaped. Farm homes are electrified; and the radio occupies the corner where the old victrola stood. The *Enterprise* has been cut from eight to four pages; its quality has declined in proportion. Groceries are cleaner and better organized. The community area has increased, whereas the outlying neighborhoods are disintegrating.

Changes in attitudes, ideas, sentiments, and beliefs, although not so visible as material transformations, have nevertheless been marked. The church is weaker. Orthodoxy is still strong but it does not keep people in awe. Good sermons over the radio and poor village preachers have made folk more content to stay at home on Sundays. Revivals *were* events looked forward to; now this technique for saving souls has generally been abandoned. So, too, has family worship fallen by the way.

The farmer no longer feels inferior to village folk; nor is there the old antagonism. The villager has learned that the best interests of the farmer are *his* best interests, that it is to the advantage of both to cooperate. The farmer is passing from an agrarian to a businessman. There is a higher respect for education. Good school facilities are demanded and received for all children. School activities have tended to take the place of church activities. With the decline of neighborhood feeling, a growing community-consciousness has appeared.

The family is less integrated than formerly. Children go to school to prepare themselves for a life work that is frequently not farming. Too many chores interfere with studies. The children associate more with school friends and less with their families; and thus the family becomes less of a unit, both in work and in social life. Attitudes toward women have changed. They are "in things" more; leadership is vested in them. They do not work in the fields at harvest time as they used to. Money matters and other problems are more likely to be talked over in the family circle today.

Cultural standards are higher. People read good books; they hear good radio programs. Just *any* school class play won't do any more. Farmers are more prone to dress up when they go to town Saturday night. School children now notice the manners and bad grammar of their parents. Parents are more tolerant of recreation and leisure; and card playing and dancing are not nearly the "curses on humanity" they once were. The village grocer does not open his store at six in the morning, wait for a chance customer until ten at night, and then close. He values his time too highly.

Thus throughout its hundred-year course, Buckeyeburg has seen constant, though sometimes imperceptible, change. From agricultural pursuits it turned to industry and business, and then learned again the reliability of the soil. In this transition a new farmer has developed: hard-working, yet giving thought to leisure; independent, yet cooperative; religious, yet rarely narrow; centered in his own home, yet conscious of the world.

SALEM, UTAH[6]

This paper seeks to analyze, describe, and interpret the social organization of a typical Mormon village community. The writer lived the first 20

[6] By Reed H. Bradford, 1940. (This is an atypical American rural community in that it is organized on the pattern of the European village-community.)

years of his life in a settlement about 3 miles from Salem and had ample opportunity to acquaint himself with many aspects of its life. In addition, in 1938 he conducted a study of the village, personally interviewing each of the 215 households in the community. County records, manuscripts, church records, and personal observations were additional sources from which the data for this paper were supplied.

The village form of settlement, as adopted by the Mormons, grew out of the attempt of the church to establish the "New Jerusalem" on the American continent. Early church officials drew up a "Plat of the City of Zion" which served as a guide in the laying out of most of the Mormon communities in the Great Basin.[7] This plan, with certain modifications, was also followed in the laying out of Salem. (See Fig. 121.) There is a series of blocks, 28 rods square, each divided into a number of lots, upon which are found the settler's home, usually his stables and other farm buildings, and a small garden. All streets are 6 rods wide and intersect at right angles. The cultivated fields are to be found in the area surrounding this village nucleus.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT. Salem, with a population of 888, is located in the south central part of Utah Valley, one of several valleys lying to the west of the Wasatch range of mountains in Utah. With an altitude of some 4,600 feet, Salem is situated in a small "nook" at the base of these towering mountains, which in some places rise to a height of 12,000 feet. It is, however, only one of several communities located in this valley, which is roughly coextensive with Utah County. Two miles to the west of the village is Payson, a community of 3,458 inhabitants; 3 miles to the north lies Spanish Fork, with a population of 3,727. Provo, the county seat, is 15 miles to the north and in 1930 had 14,766 inhabitants.

Climate. According to the U. S. Weather Bureau reports,[8] the mean annual precipitation for Payson (2 miles from Salem) for the past 27 years (1904–1930) was 17.51 inches. The mean annual temperature at Spanish Fork over a 21-year period (1918–1939) was 51.2, varying from a mean maximum of 64.9 to a mean minimum of 38.5. The highest temperature recorded during the period was 106, and the lowest was 19 below zero.

[7] This plan, among other things, called for a rectangle 1 mile square divided into blocks of 10 acres each. These blocks, in turn, were to be cut into half-acre lots, allowing 20 houses to the block; streets were 8 rods wide and intersected each other at right angles. *Cf.* Joseph Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. by B. H. Roberts, Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 357–358; Lowry Nelson, "The Mormon Village: A Study in Social Origins," Brigham Young Univ. Studies 3, Provo, Utah, 1930, pp. 18–19; and T. L. Smith, The Sociology of Rural Life, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1940, p. 206. See also Nelson, "Some Social and Economic Features of American Fork, Utah," Brigham Young Univ. Studies 4, Provo, Utah, 1933, p. 9.

[8] Taken from "Climatic Summary of the United States" published by the U.S. Weather Bureau.

The average growing season (last killing frost to first killing frost) for the period 1898 to 1930 was 121 days.

Water Resources. In company with other communities throughout Utah Valley, Salem must depend upon irrigation for the raising of crops. For maintaining the economic life of the community it therefore becomes imperative that the annual precipitation be sufficient to keep the sources of water supply well provided, else the community must suffer. In the case

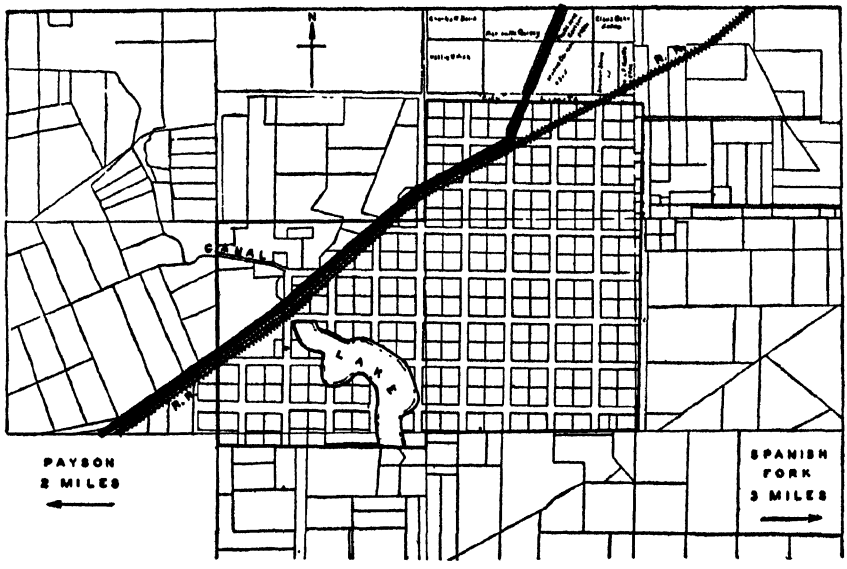


FIG. 121. Salem, Utah, and environs showing the village center and the surrounding farms. (*Note:* Since Salem is a compact village community, such service areas as those of the church, the elementary school, etc., are found within the boundaries shown by this map.)

of Salem, these sources are two: the Spanish Fork River and the Strawberry Reservoir, some 45 miles up Spanish Fork Canyon. A canal supplies water from both the river and the reservoir. The reservoir largely prevents a variation in the flow of water supplied to the village for irrigation purposes, although a small rainfall over an extended period may bring about a water shortage for the farmers.

Soil. The soil in this area is sandy and loamy. It consists of alluvial material, that is, material from the river bottoms as well as materials washed down from the mountains. It warms easily and drains well, is easy to work, and is sufficiently rich to mature crops readily; in fact, there is no better soil in all of Utah Valley.[9] Thus farmers are able to raise a wide variety of crops, including sugar beets, grains (chiefly wheat, oats, and

[9] From a report furnished the author by T. L. Martin, agronomist, Brigham Young Univ.

barley), alfalfa, peas, beans, tomatoes, potatoes, corn, and various fruits and vegetables.

EARLY PERIOD OF SETTLEMENT. Upon arriving in Salt Lake Valley in 1847, Brigham Young soon set about establishing communities throughout the new territories. "A more or less definite program for colonizing was devised. After an exploring party had decided favorably upon the merits of a particular section, a group of families was 'called' by the President of the Church to go there and settle." [10]

Salem was first settled in 1851 when David Fairbanks, who had been "called" to locate in Payson moved from there with David Crockett to the little "nook" in the mountains, since there was no longer any land available in Payson. Fairbanks found some springs, made a dam, and thereby obtained enough water for irrigation purposes. Because of the presence of the springs, the town was first named Pond Town, but this was later changed to the more pretentious name of Salem, this name being chosen by the community's oldest resident whose original home had been Salem, Massachusetts. In 1856 several additional families arrived, and in a short time a thriving community was established, which numbered, according to church records, 100 families by 1874.[11]

As a useful tool in understanding the character of the community during this early period, we may refer to Sorokin's concepts of "cumulative community" and "functional association"—two quite distinct types of rural social organization.[12] According to Sorokin, the cumulative community is characterized by the presence of two or more social ties or bonds such as: kinship, marriage, similarity in religious beliefs, territorial proximity, community of occupational interests, attachment to the same social institutions, common defense, mutual aid, and general living, experiencing, and acting together.

The other type of rural grouping, the functional association, is a "mere network of overlapping and fancifully overcrossing elementary groupings." (An elementary grouping is one in which the members are bound together by only *one* social tie.) For example, perhaps the only bond which *all* members of a given community have in common is that of territorial proximity. On the other hand, some individuals may belong to one church, some to another; some may speak English, some French, some German, etc.

Salem during its early period of settlement [13] was, to a considerable degree, a cumulative community. Many of the bonds enumerated above were to be found operating. All the inhabitants, with possibly one or

[10] Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[11] Files of the *Deseret News* of Jan. 10, 1874.

[12] P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology, Minneapolis, Minn., Univ. of Minn. Press, 1930, Vol. I, pp. 307–312.

[13] The term "early settlement" as used here refers to the period beginning with the settlement of the village in the 1850's and extending approximately through the next three or four decades.

two exceptions, were members of the Mormon Church. This religious tie was and is one of the most significant forces in the lives of the residents of the community. The authority of the church in this period was accepted in carrying out many of the affairs of life. All disputes were decided by a "bishop's court." In these courts the church authorities sat and adjudicated cases in a manner very similar to that prevailing in regular judicial practice, the principal difference being that the court had no power except that of kindly persuasion to enforce its decrees.[14]

One of the chief concerns of the settlers during this early period was that of protection. Indians were relatively numerous about the region and threatened the inhabitants from time to time. Accordingly, in 1860, on the advice of Brigham Young, the settlers built a large fort for protection. This was accomplished by constructing a series of houses, each adjoining the other, until a fort 150 by 160 feet had been formed. Portholes were left for purposes of firing in the event of an attack.

But the Indians were not the only foe against which the settlers had to fight. Grasshoppers, on occasion, made the growing of most crops particularly difficult. As a result, famine often seemed to be staring the inhabitants in the face; "however, the consideration and brotherly love the people manifested toward each other [was sufficient to ward off the disaster]. Following the counsel of Brigham Young, the settlers who had flour, potatoes, or other eatables shared them with those who had none, and many put their families on half rations to perform this generous duty." [15]

A further outstanding example of community cooperation was the building of the canal. Seeing that there was insufficient water for irrigation for all the families in the village, the settlers undertook a community enterprise of constructing a canal which would convey water to Salem from the Spanish Fork River. This canal, which required 5 years to complete, was ready for use in 1869, having cost $40,000.[16]

There were other important social bonds, a full discussion of which is prevented by lack of space. Of primary significance was the form of settlement, already referred to, which provided close territorial proximity. Important also was the occupational tie, for practically all the inhabitants looked to farming for their livelihood. Similarly, attachment to the same educational and recreational institutions was a further bond.

Thus Salem, its inhabitants united by numerous social ties, was an example of the cumulative type of rural social organization. There was a common living, experiencing, and acting together; and a spirit of oneness pervaded the community. This is well illustrated by a quotation from one of the diaries of the period: "There was real enjoyment [among us]. We

[14] Elisha Warner, History of Spanish Fork, Spanish Fork, Utah, Press Publishing Company, 1929, p. 3.

[15] Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[16] See the manuscript History of Salem by E. S. Hatch and L. D. Ottesen.

were all so-called common people, all socially equal, all striving for the same end." [17]

In the following sections we shall analyze several aspects of present-day Salem. In essence, it will be found that there has been a trend away from the cumulative-community type of social organization toward that of the functional association. Our conclusion will attempt to indicate significant reasons for this trend.

POPULATION. *Nativity.* Among those characteristics that distinguish and set off one population from another, the nativity and origin are among the most important. Several diverse elements constitute Salem's population, but the British and Scandinavian greatly predominate. Of 210 male heads of households and 156 wives of male heads reporting, 59 percent gave English as their line of descent, and 14.3 percent, Danish. Other groups represented include Scotch (5.3 percent), German (5.1 percent), Welsh (3.9 percent), Swedish (3.9 percent), Irish (2.8 percent), Norwegian (2.5 percent), Dutch (2.0 percent), and French and others (1.2 percent).

Of the total population of the village of 888 [18] inhabitants, 539 (60.7 percent) were born in Salem, 146 (16.4 percent) elsewhere in Utah County, 118 (13.3 percent) in other counties in Utah, 56 (6.3 percent) in other states, and 29 (3.3 percent) in other countries.

Growth of Population. The earliest census data relative to the population of Salem are given for the year 1880, at which time the population was listed at 510. However, a statement made in the church records reveals that there were some twenty families in Salem as early as 1862. From that figure the population increased steadily until 1900; since that time it has remained practically stable. (See Fig. 122.)

Age and Sex Composition. Fig. 123 portrays the age and sex composition; the age groupings are plotted on the vertical scale and the percentage of the total population in each age group on the horizontal scale. It is apparent from this figure that there is a scarcity of children under 5 in the population of Salem and Utah County, but this scarcity is more marked in Salem. The population of the latter also shows much larger percentages concentrated in the age groups above 65 (especially females). Both pyramids would indicate a loss of population by migration in the 25–35 year age group.

Salem's Population Is Highly Concentrated in the Dependent Ages. In general, persons under 15 and over 65 within a population may be thought of as being dependent on those 15 to 65, inclusive. Thus by taking the ratio of the former to the latter an important and useful index is obtained.

[17] This information was taken from a manuscript history of Salem compiled by Andrew Jenson, historian of the Mormon Church.

[18] The total of 888 does not include 24 individuals who lived only part time in Salem. Some of these people owned a home in Salem, but resided elsewhere most of the year.

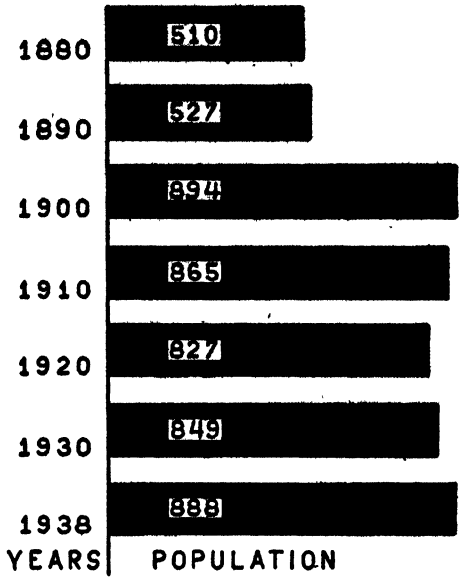


FIG. 122. Population growth of Salem, Utah, 1880 to 1938.

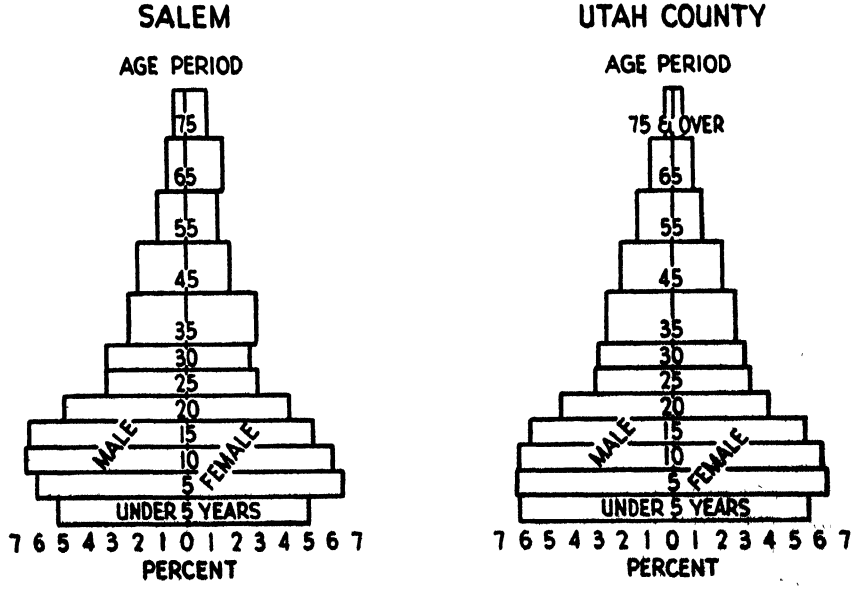


FIG. 123. Age pyramids of Salem and Utah County, Utah, showing distribution of population by age classes, 1938.

In Salem there are 75.8 persons under 15 and over 65 to every 100 persons aged 15 to 65, inclusive. This ratio was slightly higher than that for Utah County (73.8), and considerably higher than that for either the state (66.9) or the nation (53.4); the last three figures, however, were based on 1930 data. The presence of so many people above the age of 65 in Salem's population creates, of course, the problem here as elsewhere of furnishing many of them with economic support.

Sex and Fertility Ratios. For the total population of Salem, males slightly outnumbered females in 1938, the ratio being 100.5. It is characteristic of rural farming areas that males outnumber females, and this is true in Salem for every age group (with one exception) up to 35. There are 55 widows and 10 widowers residing in the village, and thus above the age of 55 the sex ratio is low; that is, there are more females than males.

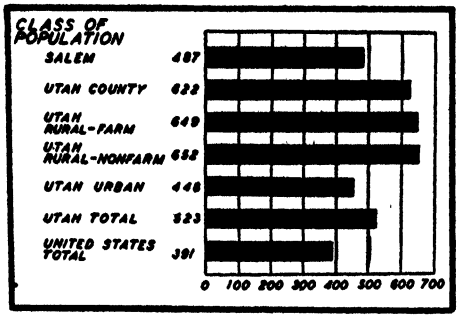


FIG. 124. Comparison of fertility ratios for Salem, Utah County, Utah, and the United States (Salem, 1938; others, 1930).

For measuring the fertility of the population in Salem, as well as for comparative purposes, the fertility ratio, (number of children under 5 ÷ number of women 15 to 45 × 1,000), for the populations of Salem, Utah County, Utah, and the United States was computed. (See Fig. 124.) One should keep in mind that the data for Salem are for 1938, the data for the others for 1930. During this time, the birth rate undoubtedly dropped, and this unquestionably accounts, in part at least, for the fact that the ratio for Salem (487) is much lower than that for the county (632) and the state (523), although it is considerably higher than that for the United States (391).

According to a recent estimate, the number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 16 to 44, inclusive, necessary to maintain the population stationary is placed at 360.[19] Thus, though Salem's fertility ratio is below that of the county and state, it is nevertheless still more than sufficient to maintain the population at its present level.

Migration. Since it is no longer possible for oncoming generations in Salem to go out and take additional farm land in the community, and since employment in other occupations is decidedly limited, it is only to be expected that many youths will have to go elsewhere to find employment as long as a relatively high birth rate is maintained. Individuals in the age group 25–35, especially, have left the community. In connection with

[19] See the Report of the National Resources Board, Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Dec., 1934, p. 94.

this study, information was also obtained showing the place of birth and present residence of children away from home who were born of parents now living in Salem. Whereas 71.8 percent of these children were born in Salem, only 31.2 percent were now living there. This shows that there has been considerable migration out of the village.

Marital Status. The most significant point to be mentioned in connection with Figs. 125 and 126, which show the marital status of the heads of households and the total population of Salem, is the high percentage of those widowed. The percentage of females widowed (19.2) was over five times as high in Salem as that of the males (3.5), and was nearly twice as high as the rate for the state (9.7). Thus Salem is seen to be a "home for widows."

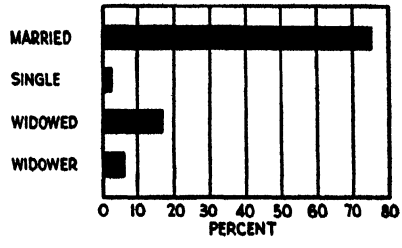


FIG. 125. Percentage distribution, showing marital status of heads of households in Salem, 1938.

COMMUNITY INTEGRATION. Since Mormonism is the force around which the lives of the inhabitants of Salem are molded, it is important that we examine certain of its aspects and features as they exist in the village. In general, it may be said that the church, through its organizations, its doctrines and ordinances, and its authority, exerts a strong coalescing, stabilizing, and integrating force throughout the community. The Mormon Church maintains no professional clergy,[20] but rather seeks to have each member participate actively in some organization. In Salem there are six different priesthood organizations (deacons, teachers, priests, elders, seventies, and high priests), and seven "auxiliary" organizations, including the Sunday School, Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association, Primary (a children's organization), Relief Society (a women's organization), and two genealogical societies. Space will not permit a description of the functions of all these organizations; suffice it to say that they are important channels through which the church contacts and unites its members.

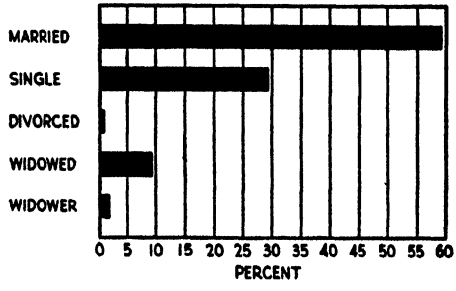


FIG. 126. Percentage distribution, showing marital status of the population 15 years and over in Salem, 1938.

[20] Some individuals, such as the highest officials in the Church, do, however, receive a regular salary.

Several of its ordinances also play a significant role in this respect. Among the most important from the standpoint of their stabilizing effect on the members may be mentioned: (1) bestowing the "Gift of the Holy Ghost" on each baptized member, which is supposed to serve as a guide to the individual throughout his life;[21] (2) administering to the sick; (3) marrying couples in the Mormon Temple for time and eternity; and (4) giving a "patriarchal" blessing which serves as a comfort to the individual in times of suffering and distress.[22]

The "bishop" and his two councilors, who stand at the head of the Mormon Church in Salem, are the leaders in many of the village's activities, and their authority is in the main respected. One of their most recent projects, which required the cooperation of the whole community, was the building of a new chapel. This structure, begun in 1936 and completed a year later, cost $34,701. The community raised $9,261 of this total, the remainder coming from the church headquarters in Salt Lake City. One hundred sixty-seven households, comprising a total of 319 individuals, contributed with either money or labor to the construction of the building.

However, though the village community is conducive to the establishing and carrying out of cooperative enterprises, it is not free from friction and dissension among its inhabitants.[23] Such friction in Salem usually arises over such things as quarrels over irrigation water, trespassing, and petty neighborhood disagreements. However, these do not account for all the disorganizing tendencies. The habit of the villagers to gossip about everything and everyone resulted in a serious crisis in the building of the chapel. The bishop finally had to discharge his two councilors before the project could be resumed.

A further example of discord in the community is to be found in the mining project known as the "Dream Mine," located just east of Salem. Its founder contended that he was shown the mine in a vision and that proceeds therefrom were to be used in the interests of the church. So successful was he in convincing others, that an estimated quarter of a million dollars have been spent on the project, which has now been going on nearly 48 years, although as yet no returns have been realized. The recent construction of a $40,000 mill, however, has raised the hopes of its backers that the mine will soon produce. The church has been against the project from the first, and this antagonism has produced friction among church members who own stock and those who oppose the mine. Both types exist in Salem, although the actual backers are few in number.

[21] Whether or not this "Gift" actually exists is not our concern; the point is that orthodox Mormons believe that it does.

[22] For a discussion of the role of these factors as integrating forces see Nelson, "The Mormon Settlements in Alberta," in Canadian Frontiers of Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Toronto, 1936, Vol. VII.

[23] For a discussion of the social and economic advantages and disadvantages of the village form of settlement, see Nelson's study, "A Social Survey of Escalante, Utah," Brigham Young Univ. Studies 1, Provo, Utah, 1925.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION. In considering the economic situation in its relation to social organization, one must make an analysis of the occupational structure in the community. Of the 175 male household heads, 101 (57.7 percent) reported farming as their present occupation. In addition 39 (22.3 percent) reported themselves as common laborers; this meant a large number of them did farm work. Other occupational groups included 6 miners, 5 school teachers, 4 carpenters, 3 salesmen, 3 mechanics, and 2 truckers. Nine additional groups were represented with one each.

The study also revealed that a much larger percentage of the fathers of the heads of households followed the farming occupation than the present heads of households (77.4 percent compared to 57.7 percent for the males).

Agriculture. As noted, the majority of the inhabitants of the village look to agriculture for their livelihood. Two factories, a sugar-beet and a canning factory, which are both located within a radius of 2 miles of Salem, have been the principal factors determining the success or failure of the farming enterprise for the inhabitants. The coming of the Del Monte canning factory in 1925 was a great boon to the area and permitted an improved type of crop rotation, as well as increased returns to the farmers. Recent years have also seen the rapid rise of the poultry industry in the community.

Salem farmers, however, suffer from two evils common to most Mormon village communities. One is the fragmentation of land, and the other is the relatively small size of the holdings. A total of nearly 25 percent of all farmers had three or more tracts of land located in various parts of the village. Over 75 percent of the holdings were under 50 acres, 57 percent being less than 25 acres.

Business. Turning aside from agriculture, we find the professional and business classes meagerly represented in Salem. There is one merchant in the town who efficiently operates a general merchandise store. Aside from this there are no other business houses. Neither are there any banks nor credit associations of any sort. A total of 5 teachers represents the professional classes, there being no doctors or lawyers in the community. This absence of business and professional classes, however, is not a handicap in the case of Salem, for the reason that easy access to neighboring communities fulfills this need.

Housing and Modern Conveniences. Homes in the community range in size from 1 to 11 rooms, the average being 4.4 rooms. The number of persons per household averaged 4.1. This means that there are nearly 1.1 rooms per person.

With respect to modern conveniences, it may be indicated that a high percentage of the homes have electricity (94.9 percent), radios (84.7 percent), washing machines (82.8 percent), sewing machines (81.9 percent), and running water (71.2 percent). On the other hand a relatively small percentage of the homes had telephones (4.7 percent) or refrigeration (20.5 percent).

Health Expenditures. Salem inhabitants paid a high figure for medical assistance during 1937, reporting that they were charged $15,857 for medical fees for the year. It is unlikely that all of this fee will ever be paid, but it is certainly indicative that the residents are paying a price for medical assistance all out of proportion to their economic resources.

Religious Expenditures. One of the principles of the Mormon religion is that each individual shall pay one-tenth of "his annual increase," or a tithing. Members are also asked to contribute "fast offerings" for the support of the poor and unfortunate. For the year 1937 a total of $4,695.64 was paid by the members for tithing and $400.53 as fast offerings; $2,929.92 of the total amount of tithing was remitted to the church headquarters in Salt Lake City. However, inasmuch as Salem was building a new church, the main office gave Salem $15,224.80 during the year. The average tithing per capita was $6; the average fast offering, 54 cents. Some 379 members were listed as able to pay tithing and 230 actually paid—a percentage of 60.7.[24]

Value of Property in the Community. According to the records of Utah County, all assessed property in Salem district had a total value of $351,555 in 1937. In the whole district there were 1,712.38 acres of dry land valued at $21,776 and 3,622 acres of irrigated land valued at $235,368.

Taxes collected from the "city" (area within the town limits) amounted to $5,497.85; the total for the state, county, city, and school taxes was $8,904.89 for the whole district.

POLITICAL SITUATION. As early as 1886, Salem was incorporated as a town, so that the community might bond itself to acquire various public utilities. In 1912 it bonded itself for $6,000 in order to acquire an electric lighting system. Eight years later citizens signed a petition to the county commissioners asking that Salem be made a third-class city, so that they might bond themselves for sufficient money to install a city water system. The petition was granted. In May, 1920, the village began operating as a third-class city. The following year bonds to the amount of $21,000 were issued for the construction of a water works system. At present (1938) all these bonds are paid off with the exception of $2,000.[25]

The political officers of the village, such as the mayor and city councilmen, have functions chiefly of a financial nature; in other respects their offices are subordinate to those of the leading church officials.

[24] Another item of no small size with respect to expenditures for religious purposes is the missionary system. Forty-four individuals now living in the community have spent an average of 2 years in 27 states of the United States and 3 foreign countries at a cost of, roughly, $32,000. If we place the total amount the missionary might earn if he were working at $900 per year, this would add another $80,000, making a grand total of $112,000 spent by the community for missionary service.

[25] Taken from a manuscript history of Salem written by P. N. Christensen, City Recorder.

EDUCATION. Certainly no better example of the social advantages offered by the village-community type of settlement can be had than that of the schools. Salem is especially well provided for in this respect. It has a fine elementary school with 209 students enrolled (1938) and 9 teachers. After students reach the senior high school age, they commute 3 miles to Spanish Fork where they attend a modern high school. Those desiring to go beyond the senior high school have the opportunity of attending the Brigham Young University in Provo, only 15 miles from Salem. Fig. 127 shows the educational status of the heads of households.

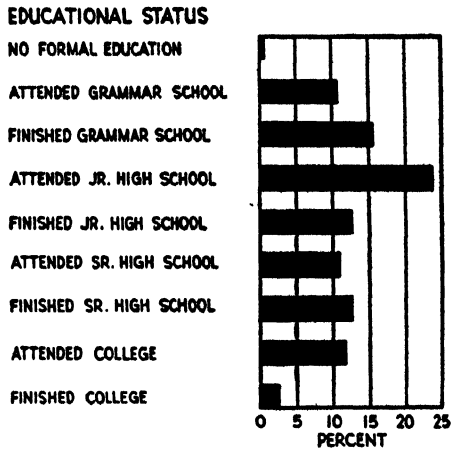


FIG. 127. Percentage distribution of heads of households of Salem, Utah, by amount of schooling, 1938.

Both Payson and Spanish Fork have free public libraries, which are easily accessible to Salem residents. In addition, in 1933, through the assistance of the Works Progress Administration, Salem was able to have a library of its own.

If a criticism might be given of the schools in Salem, it would be that their educational program is adjusted to the needs of an urban center to a much greater degree than to those of a rural farming community. An adjustment in this respect would be a great benefit to Salem.[26]

RECREATION. In the early days, residents of the community looked solely to the village itself for their recreation. From a diary of the period we read, "We had some of the most sociable and enjoyable gatherings, enjoying picnic parties, amateur theatricals, and all kinds of entertainments."[27] Even today the village has been successful in providing its residents with many forms of recreation. In this endeavor the church has played a prominent role. A fine amusement hall in the new chapel is a splendid addition, making possible many types of recreation, especially during the wintertime. In the summer, several auxiliary organizations are constantly planning picnics and outings to the nearby canyons.

The "pond" near the center of the village is an excellent place to swim and draws youth not only from Salem during the summer months, but also from the surrounding communities as well. For several years also Salem has maintained an open-air dance hall. Once each week in the

[26] For a discussion of an adequate rural educational program see T. L. Smith, *op. cit.*, Chapter XVII.

[27] Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

summertime scores of rural young people congregate here and spend a most pleasant evening.

However, Salem is no longer the sole source of recreation for its residents. The automobile has affected that. It is now only a few minutes' drive to the picture shows (Salem has no cinema) or larger amusement centers in nearby cities, and many people avail themselves of these forms of recreation.

SOCIAL WELFARE. Various agencies combine to perform the function of social welfare in Salem. First of all, there were 50 individuals in 1938 who reported having received relief of some kind, 47 of whom were heads of households. The largest percentage (64.0) of these were receiving old-age assistance. There were 42 persons in Salem 65 years of age and over in 1938, and 32 (76.2 percent) of these were receiving old-age relief. This compares with 63.5 percent for Utah County and 57.3 percent for the state of Utah.[28]

The Mormon Church was also an important agency in furnishing social welfare. A major role in its program was played by the Relief Society organization. They canned 600 cans of vegetables which were distributed to the poor in the village. They also financed the treatment of three individuals with bad eyes and paid for nine tonsil cases. Their total cash expenditures for social welfare during 1937 was $166.28. In addition, the Bishopric (the chief governing body of the church in the village) expended $383.41 for the poor in the community. In all, 25 families, totaling 111 persons, were assisted by the church during the year.

Salem priesthood quorums also participated in the much-advertised Mormon security program, devised with the objective of removing as many individuals as possible from the public relief rolls. As to specific projects, in Salem the success attained was somewhat disappointing. The three higher priesthood quorums were given 24 acres of ground (15 to the Elders, 4 to the Seventies, and 5 to the High Priests) to cultivate. The Seventies raised beets on their ground and turned in some 48 tons to the project. The data for the others were not forthcoming, chiefly because nothing much was done. The attitude of the leaders of the project was "that there was no help from the ones who needed the work." This year (1938) the Seventies were given the assignment of each raising 15 bushels of potatoes. They unanimously decided rather than to be bothered with the project to assess themselves the equivalent in money and be done with it.

CONCLUSION. Recent years have seen significant changes brought about in the rural sections of America. Among the factors responsible for these changes has been the introduction of improved means of transportation and communication which have broken down the isolation of many rural areas, bringing new ideas, new influences, and new innovations to their doors. As Professors Sanderson and Polson indicate, there has been an

[28] Files of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 26, 1938.

increase in the number of "special interest groupings," whereas old neighborhood groupings have waned and smaller rural communities have found difficulty in competing with the larger village centers. "The integration of the older neighborhood and smaller community groups into the life of the larger emerging rural community is a real problem in many parts of the country." [29]

Salem, with excellent transportation and communication facilities, has felt the impact of increased contact with the outside world. The coast-to-coast Lincoln highway and an electric railroad pass right through the village. As was noted earlier, nearly 85 percent of the households own a radio, and over 70 percent take a daily newspaper. All this has meant that some of the common bonds which previously united the inhabitants have vanished; others have been weakened. There is no longer the need for common protection against a common enemy, the number of occupational groupings has increased, and economic equality is no longer present to the extent it once was. In addition, a number of associations of various kinds have extended their membership to the village. These include the farmers' Canning Crops Association, the Farm Bureau, and the Beet Growers' Association.

In some respects, the authority of the church itself would seem to have been challenged. Recently the farmers of Salem and of surrounding districts joined together and refused to grow sugar beets for the church-owned sugar company for the price offered them. Not even the pleas of the president of the church himself could persuade them from their decision. As a result, the sugar factory near Salem was forced to close down, and the following year the sugar company was forced to meet the demands of the farmers.

All this would indicate a trend away from the "cumulative" type of grouping characterized by the existence of many social bonds toward that of the "functional association," where the common ties are few and the special interest groupings are many. In spite of these trends, however, there is no reason to believe that Salem has lost its significance as a basic unit of social organization. Already it has made many adequate adjustments to the new situation. It does not attempt to compete with larger centers in such matters as trade, medical services, or secondary and higher education. But community organization, chiefly carried on through the channels of the Mormon Church, provides Salem, as we have seen, with numerous social advantages.

Further adjustments, which would provide the community with a type of education better suited to its needs as an agricultural village, would change the property tax system, provide medical facilities at reduced costs, and make farming generally a more profitable enterprise—these are some of Salem's present needs.

[29] Dwight Sanderson and R. A. Polson, Rural Community Organization, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1939, pp. v–vi.

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