RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

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PREFACE

Prior to the World War, the Community Center Movement was well under way and during our participation in the conflict communities throughout the country were organized for war activities. So important had this become that at the close of the war the Council of National Defense was carrying on a nation-wide campaign for community councils. During the "reconstruction" days of the early 1920's there was a lively interest in community organization and the new Agricultural Extension Service gave it considerable attention. During this decade several books on this subject were published. The industrial depression of the 1930's put a brake upon the movement as attention was necessarily focused upon the economic situation. Yet out of this has come a new interest in the rural community as a unit for better social organization. In setting up its county Land Use Committees, the U. S. Department of Agriculture has emphasized the importance of developing local community units, and its program looks forward to considering their social as well as their economic problems. The planning movement has had a rapid growth, and state and county planning boards are coming to see that all planning is ultimately directed to human welfare and that this involves planning for and by rural communities. Thus it seems that in times of crisis people naturally come together to solve the problems of the common welfare in the area in which they habitually associate, which in rural districts tends to be the rural community.

Other forces in rural life, too, have brought out the need for better integration of the rural community. With the advent of automobiles and good roads during the past quarter century there has been a rapid increase in the number and growth of various "special interest groups" or organizations. The old neighborhood associations have waned and the smaller rural communities have had difficulty in competing with the larger village centers having

many services, such as high school, motion picture theater, bank, and specialized stores. Farm families can now go more easily to these larger villages than they could to the smaller centers in the days of mud roads. This increasing number of rural organizations, Farm and Home Bureaus, 4-H Clubs, Boy and Girl Scouts, Granges, Farmers' Unions, Parent-Teacher Associations, etc., has sometimes led to overorganization in light of the available resources of support and leadership, and there has inevitably resulted a certain amount of competition and sometimes conflict among them. These groups have done much to improve rural life, but the problems of cooperation they have raised indicate the need for coordination of effort in working toward the common welfare. The integration of the old neighborhood and smaller community groups into the life of the larger emerging rural community is a real problem in many parts of the country.

In spite of the fact that there are hundreds of examples of rural community development, most people probably still look upon the idea of rural community organization as a more or less utopian notion. "How can the desires and ambitions of individuals or strong groups be controlled by any sort of community organization?" they say. This comes back to the old question of whether man by taking thought can control his social relations as he does the world of things; to the validity of Lester F. Ward's doctrine of "telesis." If we think of rural community organization as a means of controlling or organizing the community in a mechanical sense, such as is implied in the much-abused term "social engineering," then it is apparent that it is a vain hope. But this does not mean that we subscribe to a doctrine of *laissez faire,* and that nothing can be done for community improvement. Every community in which there is any ambition strives to improve its condition. Indeed, as we have seen, communities are forced to consider their problems and to act together in times of crisis. It is possible for a community through discussion and the creation of consensus to ascertain and determine how it may adapt its life to changing conditions, and it is the rapid changes in modern rural life which are stimulating such cooperation. By a study of its situation a community can make better use of the resources at hand and can greatly improve its social control so as to advance the interests and values

which it holds to be desirable, and to retard those which it deems undesirable. A rational, realistic approach to the social problems which affect its people in common is the essential idea of community organization, whatever its methods or mechanisms may be.

Although there has been continuous advance and a lively interest in rural community organization, there has been no book which has brought together the experience and knowledge of the last twenty years or more. Many of our agricultural colleges are giving courses on rural community organization, based on the scattered material available. The authors have been giving such a course for several years, and have used most of the following pages in mimeographed form with their classes. The book has been prepared primarily for use as a textbook, but it is believed that it will be found useful to extension workers in agriculture and home economics, to planning officials, and to rural professional leaders, such as school superintendents and principals, rural pastors and church executives, social workers, and organization executives.

We have made no attempt to trace the historical development of the community movement or community organization, as this has been well done by Dr. J. F. Steiner in his *Community Organization*.

The book presupposes that the student will have had a course in general sociology or rural sociology, but, although desirable, this is not a necessary prerequisite for mature students who have had personal experience in rural life, as we have found in our teaching of the subject.

The teacher should be cautioned, in the use of the Topics for Discussion, that some of them have no specific answers, but are purposefully framed to stimulate discussion and to bring out both sides of a problem. The discussion topics and the exercises are given only as suggestions of the sort of student work which may form the basis of class sessions, which we prefer to conduct as conferences rather than as recitations. Teachers will do well to use only those discussion topics and exercises which are adapted to the experience and environment of their students, to supplement them with others of local significance, and to invite the students to add others which seem important to them. We have found it desirable to have the exercises carefully written out and handed in for cor-

rection, and to require students to have written notes on which to base their discussion in the class conferences.

We are greatly indebted to the many publishers who have permitted us to make quotations from copyrighted books and magazines, as noted in the footnotes. We are especially indebted to Julius M. Elrod, Viola Hunt, Harvey E. Jacobs, Emmajane Kleinhans, William G. Mather, Jr., and Leslie C. Nicholls, who prepared the community studies in Chapter III, to A. D. Dotter, and to Mrs. Mary Bostwick for her work with the manuscript.

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RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE OF RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

In recent years, extension workers, sociologists, and social workers have given increasing attention to community organization, and many civic groups and planning boards have come to appreciate its importance. Furthermore, local leaders, as well as these professional people, have recognized the need to coordinate the efforts of the various existing institutions and agencies if all are to work effectively toward the common objective of a richer community life.

To understand the concept of rural community organization, it is necessary to appreciate both the nature of the rural community and the meaning of the term "community organization." The rural community as it exists in this country today is a new form of social grouping, without legal status and dependent wholly on the association of country people and villagers in their common interests. In such indexes to the popular magazines as the "Readers' Guide," almost no reference to the community as a topic will be found prior to 1910. By 1915, however, there was a good deal of discussion of community problems, and since the World War such articles have become steadily more numerous. It is apparent, therefore, that the term "rural community" represents a relatively new concept: it is an emergent form of association whose development must be watched and fostered. Some of the processes involved in the creation of a rural community are illustrated in the account of the development of Waterville in the next chapter.

There is inevitably much confusion in the current use of this term. It is frequently applied to the small rural neighborhood clustering around an open-country school or church; or, at the other extreme, it may refer to a small city, perhaps a county seat, which

dominates a rural area. Obviously, rural communities differ not only in relative size but in their structure and functions, as well. Inasmuch as the term has no legal status and has not been defined by custom, it needs clarification if we are to understand its exact meaning. This will be discussed in Chapter III.

Most of the rural communities in this country are small, centering in villages of 100 to 300 inhabitants. Before the advent of the automobile, these small places formed the centers of whatever social organization there was, for with dirt roads the distance the farmer could drive was very limited, and he went only infrequently to the local trading center. There was no problem of organization in the small village because it had only a few well-recognized institutions: the school, the church, and possibly a farmer's association, together with one or two general stores, maybe an elevator or feed mill, and a blacksmith's shop. With the quick and easy transportation of today, however, the farmer is no longer dependent on the local village center, and many villages, of which twenty years ago only one was readily accessible, now compete for his trade and attention.

Naturally enough, the larger villages have been growing at the expense of the smaller ones, and their areas of influence have steadily expanded. Furthermore, available activities have multiplied as a result of improved communication so that many interests compete for the individual's time and energies. This rivalry among organizations may be entirely friendly, but there arises an evident need for some means of obtaining consensus and united action on community matters.

The decline in population in a large proportion of the rural counties in this country and the consequent decline of neighborhoods, as well as the improvement in transportation, have influenced farm people to center their social activities increasingly in the village. The competition with the city has brought villagers and farmers together to meet their common needs. Thus change in the social environment is a major factor in creating a need for community organization in rural as well as in urban life. No longer satisfied with the institutions which served their fathers and grandfathers, farmers and villagers find they must cooperate if they are to have what they desire in the way of schools, churches, community build-

ings, etc. But farmers and villagers have not always seen eye to eye on these matters and there has often been considerable friction between them. A basic problem in the formation of a rural community, and thus of its organization, is that of the relationships between the village and the open country, which will be considered in Chapter IV.

There is much confusion as to the exact meaning of the term "community organization." Some light may be thrown on the question by considering what we mean when we speak of a community as unorganized or disorganized. The word *unorganized,* in this connection, usually implies the absence of certain facilities or agencies which seem desirable and which we might reasonably expect to find. When we speak of a *disorganized* community, however, we usually refer to one which is decadent, or in which have arisen conflicts so sharp that its normal community life has been disrupted. It is not merely the multiplicity of institutions, interest groups, or available activities, then, which marks the organized community, for it may be overburdened in this respect and still lack organization as a community. The determining factor is rather the integration and coordination of whatever agencies do exist in order that a consensus of opinion and unity of action on matters of general interest may be secured. There is evident need for an analysis of the aims and objectives of community organization, which will be made in Chapter V.

Community organization may or may not involve some type of formal setup such as a community council or committee. In many instances very satisfactory organization has been developed with no formal mechanism. To illustrate just what is involved in this process, several case histories are presented for study (Chapter VI), and various types of formal community organization are then considered (Chapter VII).

Whether or not any formal mechanism exists, the test of community organization is whether the local institutions, agencies, and individuals are able to work together collectively for the common welfare. This cooperation comes from free discussion and the development of a real consensus, and also from experience in handling community enterprises which require collective action. It is necessary, therefore, to study the techniques of community organization

and means by which such enterprises may be stimulated and carried on (Chapters VIII and IX).

In any process of organization more or less conflict inevitably arises, and often the need for community organization is the result of conflicts which have led to a state of disorganization. Insight into their nature and origin and an ability to deal with them make up, therefore, an important part of the technique of community organization (Chapter X).

Rural community organization, like every other social movement, will advance only as it enlists competent and devoted leaders, for on their vision and drive it must depend. One of the chief difficulties is to secure the interest of many people in the cause of community improvement and their loyalty to leaders of their choice. We need, therefore, to examine this aspect of the problem in some detail (Chapter XII).

The rural community exists, not by itself, but as part of our whole social and administrative structure. Its relations to neighboring areas, rural and urban, and to the county and state governments must be considered as part of our problem (Chapter XIII). Community organization in cities has grown to a considerable extent from the city-planning movement, and this idea has been extended to include county, state, and national planning boards. Their studies have shown that the effectiveness of social planning for larger units must depend on the degree of organization present in the rural areas. Thus rural community organization is an integral part of the whole social planning movement.

The inquisitive student may question the relation of rural community organization to the whole subject of rural sociology and to other bodies of knowledge which must be employed if the process of community organization is to be realistic and effective. It is evident to the student of sociology that the process of community organization must be based largely on the knowledge of groups or forms of association gained from sociological analysis. However, the process requires not only a knowledge of the social structure of the community but also an understanding of the underlying motivation and an ability to manipulate motives toward desired ends. Evidently, then, it is equally important to apply effectively the principles of social psychology. Still further knowledge will be

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necessary to plan for community improvement, for the life of any community depends also on its physical situation and assets, its economic system, its political organization and relationships, and the influence of its history, traditions, and ideals. In short, rural community organization is but a part of the larger subject of rural social organization as applied to the problems of the community. Rural social organization is a technology, or art, and as such it must utilize not only rural sociology but all the other sciences and disciplines which affect its problems. Rural social organization is the art of planning social relationships in the rural environment by use of the methods of science.[1]

To understand better the relation of social organization to improving 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."[2] His definition commences with "a set of differentiated activities." These are the different groups and institutions which may contribute to community welfare, and which form the subject matter of rural sociology. Whether or not they do contribute, 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. Are the "differentiated activities," the various groups and associations, so correlated as to increase their effectiveness? This involves the matter of relationships. Is there cooperation or undue competition or conflict among the various groups? 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 functioning system directed toward a common end. Thus the coordination of group activities is the heart of social organization in so far as it is related to community welfare, and the importance of

[1] Cf. Dwight Sanderson, "Scientific Research in Rural Sociology," *American Jour. Sociol.* XXXIII, pp. 190 ff., September 1927.

[2] E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*. New York, D. Appleton Co., 1915, p. 409.

community organization in the everyday life of its people is apparent.

But the process of community organization is never completed. Were it assumed to be perfect, a static condition would result which would not provide for adaptation of community life to changes in the social environment. Social organization will be adequate only in the degree that it creates attitudes which recognize and tolerate differences of opinion. It must provide for what sociologists call "accommodation" and "assimilation" of different elements and points of view, so that they may contribute to the second essential part of Professor Hayes' definition, "serving a common purpose." There can be no integration of social forces unless there be general agreement as to what constitutes community welfare. Such a common purpose, or consensus with regard to the common values, is produced through various processes of "social control." Without attempting an analysis of the nature or processes of social control, it may be stated that it is the instrument by which individuals and groups are given a common set of values and by which their behavior is made to conform to the accepted values or purposes of the society in which they live. "Social control signifies the social definition of the wishes of the individual and their incorporation in the common culture of the group."[3] 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.

Community organization is a technique for obtaining a consensus concerning both the values that are most important for the common welfare and the best means of obtaining them. The most fundamental of these values have become so much a part of the culture that they are assumed as desirable; they belong to the established mores. It is the new values which arise out of the changing social environment and about which there are diverse attitudes that test the strength of community organization and give rise to the need for integration. When the young people flock to the neighboring city to attend the movies, the rural community awakes to

[3] Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York, The Ronald Press, 1935. Rev. Ed., p. 372.

the fact that it needs to build an adequate recreational program for them.

It is evident from the above discussion that community organization is but the means for creating the best type of rural community. There is, however, a larger sociological question as to the significance of the rural community as a means for building a better rural civilization, and the contribution it makes to the social organization of the whole nation. Is it worth while to attempt such an integration in the life of rural communities, or will rural social life be increasingly swayed by special interest groups whose purposes will be largely controlled from urban centers? This question of the value of the rural community as a basic unit of social organization and its function in a democratic society forms an ultimate test of the validity of the aims and objectives of rural community organization. The discussion of this question (Chapter XIV) reveals the sociological significance of rural community organization.

To illustrate the forces which have affected community organization and some of the processes by which it occurs, the next chapter presents an account of an old rural community in central New York, in whose history some of the problems of rural community organization will be revealed.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A RURAL COMMUNITY [1]

I. The Waterville Area Before 1900:

The Period of Neighborhood Association

The term *rural community* has come to be used by sociologists to indicate the relationships existing between people and institutions in the area composed of a village and its surrounding farms. Such rural communities are typical in American agriculture, in which farm families are dispersed upon their lands about a village or town which serves as a center for their buying, marketing, church-going, recreational, and other common activities. The farmer needs the village, and the village, in turn, existing because of the farmer's needs, needs him. The two, farm and village, form parts of a whole.

But how does this relationship come about? Just what are the forces that make the community? And how perfect a job do they perform?

This study of the Waterville community is a step toward the answer to these questions. Waterville is not set forth as an ideal, nor as a bad example, but as an illustration of community-building influences at work.

[1] This chapter reproduces "A Study of Rural Community Development in Waterville, New York," *Bulletin 608* of Cornell University Agricultural Station, June 1934, by W. G. Mather, Jr., T. H. Townsend, and Dwight Sanderson, with some omissions and minor changes, and with the addition of data gathered in 1938 by Margery Townsend. This is the community described by Dr. James Mickle Williams in his doctoral dissertation *An American Town,* published privately in 1906 and now out of print. This was the first sociological study of a rural community in this country. Mr. Sanderson made the survey of Waterville in 1928; Mr. Townsend, as editor of the local newspaper, made further studies of the community and wrote its history; and Mr. Mather resurveyed the community in 1933 and wrote the bulletin.

The Waterville community lies in a great hollow in the hills between the Sauquoit and Chenango Valleys, just south of the Mohawk River. A great swamp has long cut it off from the territory to the south; on the southwest, east, and north, it is surrounded by hills. The soils of the hills are, in general, inferior to those of the valley as a whole; in 1932 an area some four miles long on the ridge to the east was withdrawn from cultivation by the State and constituted a forest preserve. The valley soils are fertile.

Waterville Village, with a population of 1,298 in 1930, lies at the approximate center and is 12 miles southwest of Utica, a city of more than 100,000. Sangerfield Center, a hamlet of 100 inhabitants, is a mile to the south, where the Cherry Valley Turnpike (U. S. 20) and the Chenango Turnpike (N. Y. 12) intersect. Stockwell, another hamlet of 30 or 40 persons, lies 3½ miles to the south on the edge of the swamp. On the edge of the area to the northeast, 6 miles away, is Paris Hill, of some 50 inhabitants; Deansboro, 233, 4 miles to the northwest; Oriskany Falls, a village of 800, 4 miles to the west; North Brookfield, of perhaps 200 inhabitants, 5 miles to the south.

The community embraces the most of two townships of Oneida County, Sangerfield and Marshall; the village lies mainly in Sangerfield.

In March of 1792 there were four feet of snow in the hills southwest of Utica. Two men and their wives, one of them with a small baby, fought their way through the storm with oxen and sleds. The snow was so deep that the oxen could not pull when yoked side by side in the usual way, so the men unspanned them, made an individual yoke for each ox, and hitched them up tandem, using the cords from their beds to lengthen the traces. At last they reached a broad, sheltered hollow by a waterfall, and here they stopped and hewed out their cabins.

The village of Waterville had begun.

Those were the years of America's breeding. From the narrow streets of New England villages, from the crowded farms of Manhattan, even from the hills of Wales and the meadows of Ireland, sturdy men and women surged up the Mohawk, up the Susquehanna, to settle in rolling, lake-jewelled central New York.

Fed by the steady immigrant stream, Waterville grew. Other

hollows in the hills round about received their share of pioneers, who cleared the slopes and sowed their corn, dammed their creeks, and built their grist mills.

It was a struggle for the land. These settlers were jealous of the land which they had bought for as much as thirty dollars an acre from speculators who had purchased it from the government for three shillings an acre. The fence lines had to be clear and plain, or there were blows and lawsuits.

The traditions and customs they brought with them were stern disciplines. The edge between right and wrong was clean and sure. Soberness, industry, persistence at labor, conformance to custom, adherence to church doctrines, these characterized the people.

The broad valley sweeping south from Waterville into the long swamp was crossed in 1811 by a state road, the Cherry Valley Turnpike; at the corner where this intersected the road running up the valley from the south to Utica, through Waterville, taverns, stores, and a postoffice were established. This settlement was Sangerfield Center, one mile from Waterville itself.

Two and one-half miles south of the Center, on a swell of ground at the edge of the swamp, where the roads from the hills ran down, the hamlet of Stockwell grew.

Two and one-half miles to the west of the Center, in a hollow of the main valley, was Pleasant Valley.

Perhaps three miles to the north of Waterville, where the broad valley begins to rise into the hills, two more roads crossed, and here the green square of Hanover was flanked by a church, a school, and a store.

Travel was slow in those days, when the ox and the horse were the burden bearers. A man and his family had to have the necessities of life close by; the school and the store had to be within walking distance for the children; the grist mill near enough so a man could throw a sack of grain on a horse's back, lead him over, have the grain ground, and get back again with time left for plowing; the church near enough so that one could reach it in a half hour or so, over a muddy road in a lumber wagon.

And so distinct neighborhoods developed, each with its name—a Corner or a Hill or a Road or a Valley—by which it was known to those who lived in it and to those who passed by. Eleven such

were in the township of Sangerfield, to the south of Waterville, and also several in the township of Marshall to the north.

The people lived mostly within these neighborhoods. Neighbors helped one another at logging or mowing; the women, in the days before matches, ran to each other's hearths for fire; the children went to school; the neighborhood singing school met in the winter evenings; at the store potatoes were bartered for salt, and eggs for coffee.

But although there was cooperation within the neighborhood, between the neighborhoods there was competition. This neighborhood was proud of its religious enthusiasms; this one of the strength of its young men; another of the fertility of its land. The past was short, and the future long; almost any of these neighborhoods might grow into a city. In 1808 the postoffice was removed from Waterville and taken to the Center, which seemed at the time to be the likeliest place to prosper, and was not brought back again for fifteen years.

And yet Waterville, on the falls of Big Creek, where a flume could be sent along the side of the narrow valley running northwest to Deansboro, and foundries, breweries, sawmills, gristmills, and tanneries run from its power, began to forge steadily ahead. By 1806, the year in which it assumed its present name, it had 300 inhabitants. The completion of the Erie Canal in 1819 from Utica to the Seneca River gave its growth an added impetus, for now the canal became the main route of traffic, and Waterville was connected with the canal at Utica by stage. In 1830, a railroad was run up the Mohawk Valley, and Waterville's stage line connected with both of these important transportation facilities. The overland route of the Cherry Valley Turnpike, slower and more costly than travel by rail or water, declined; and with it, Sangerfield Center.

It was evident from then on that Waterville was to be the largest neighborhood of them all.

Within thirty years it had fulfilled its promise, for it had become a village of 1014 inhabitants, with a bank, which no other had, three church buildings, five dry-goods stores, a large grocery, a drug store, two taverns, three foundries, two gristmills, two machine shops, a sheet-iron factory, a woolen mill, an organ factory, a distillery, and a school.

But even yet, in 1845, the other neighborhoods were still independent, with individualities of their own. Most of them could satisfy about all the needs of man, except for banking. In fact, they began to be a little suspicious of Waterville, so many people there, not farming, but making things and selling things.

And then a vine that grew luxuriantly in the sandy soil began to cast its influence, both good and evil, over the area.

This was the hop vine that climbs counter-clockwise up a pole and bears a little yellow blossom which, when picked and bleached, gives to beer its flavor.

In 1821 an Englishman had set out a small yard of hops, and made a good yield, but little money, for the price was low. Thirteen years later it was tried again, on the good soil to the north of Waterville; and this time the price and the yield were both good. The news of the money-making crop spread at once, and farmer after farmer began to nurse the roots, thrust in the poles for the vines to climb, and burn sulfur in the kiln to bleach the blossom.

It did not cost much, relatively, to raise hops; the federal census of 1900 estimates the average cost at ten cents a pound for New York State, while some private sources put it at eighteen. But when they were sold at thirty, forty, fifty, or more, cents a pound, when they soared to a dollar a pound, as they did in 1882, and when they could yield, on good land, a ton to the acre, the cost of growing was forgotten in the speculative profit.

On the hills and in the valleys, on deep land and thin land, in one-acre and fifty-acre yards, the hop vine grew. Everybody raised hops, everybody talked of hops. From 1875 to 1895, hop raising was the chief occupation of at least ninety-two per cent of the farmers.

The old diversity of farming, and with it the old independence of the farmer, had gone. No longer were each farmer and his household a self-contained unit, growing their own grain and grinding it in the neighborhood mill, churning their butter in their own kitchen, smoking great slabs of bacon, and salting down huge lumps of pork. These old habits of thrift and self-sufficiency were forgotten by most farmers as they turned to the growing of hops, which were of no value until turned into money. The amount of money received was independent of the size of the Waterville crop, for in 1886 the local crop was a failure, but the price was only 12 cents a

pound, and in 1892, when the local crop was large, the price was 26 cents.

Waterville was, by virtue of its size and location, the main shipping point for the hops. Hop buyers and dealers established themselves there, and their offices became the center of interest; fourteen such dealers are listed in Beers' Atlas of Oneida County for 1874.

The new type of farming brought a new type of man into favor, the man with money. The price of hops fluctuated wildly, sometimes ten per cent in a day; one dealer paid a dollar a pound on December 15, 1882, and 23 cents a pound on January 1. Success depended not upon hard, persistent labor, but upon shrewdness or luck in selling at the right time; consequently there was everything to encourage the speculator. A man was judged not by his frugality and industry, but by the amount of money he had made and saved.

Farmers who had made their fortunes moved into Waterville to rest and enjoy their money; farmers' daughters went to town as maids and cooks; and in 1892 the village reached its apex of population, 2,055.

The old scene had completely changed. Everything was dependent upon hops; when the price went up, more people made trips to Florida, went to a nearby summer resort, moved to Waterville, gave money to the poor; when the price went down, these activities declined. Accustomed to money, the people began to love the pleasures of money—comfortable houses, soft beds, good food, good wine, fine horses. A laxity of custom and morals succeeded the old strictness, and preachers did not fulminate against cards and dancing and immorality as of old. Pleasures were taken more gracefully and less exuberantly.

These effects were most noticeable in the village, where the persons of wealth congregated; and hence there came a social division. In the early days, all had been relatively equal financially, but at this time, with the acquisition of wealth by some, there came a division into rich and poor, which cut across the old neighborhood lines in a horizontal cleavage. A family might be more friendly with another family of its social class in another neighborhood, than with the family across the road. In consequence, the neighborhood differences began to disappear, and the boundaries to grow indistinct; common interest in the one main crop accentuated the change;

and town association rather than neighborhood association became the principal form of social organization. A man came from Sangerfield Township, center of the hop industry, not from Pleasant Valley, just beyond Conger's Corners.

In Sangerfield Township, Waterville became the commercial center, and the center of all town interests, political, juristic, economic, social, and religious.

It was no longer the neighborhood that dominated, but the town; and, in the town, the village of Waterville.

II. Waterville in the Early Twentieth Century:

The Period of Centralization in the Village

Changes in Agriculture. At the turn of the century a change had begun in the area; it was felt that the prosperity of the hop harvest was on the wane. Prices had fallen to 6 cents in 1895, had risen to 14 in 1898, and closed the period at 13. Farmers and hop dealers were already beginning to look wistfully back at the fat years of 1879-1884. With the characteristic plunging in and out of the speculator, hop growers began to plow up their yards, tear down their kilns, and sow hay and build silos in their places. The percentage of farmers who made hop-raising their chief occupation declined from the high point of 92 in the years 1875-95 to about 85 in the year 1900. In 1875 approximately 81 per cent of the total income was from the hop industry and 16 per cent from the dairy industry; in 1900 the figures were 57 per cent for hops and 37 per cent for the dairy.

The causes for this were several. Among them was the exhaustion of the land, for hops seem to need fresh, new soil. With the soil exhaustion came increased cost due to the necessity of fertilization; and with this increased cost to the New York grower there came severe competition from the grower on the West Coast, who was just then opening up rich valleys into production. According to the 1900 Census, Pacific-Coast hops could be grown for 7 cents a pound, while New York hops cost 10.

Although the price of hops came back, averaging about 30 cents for two decades, the hop growers of the area, still thinking in terms of dollar prices, kept on plowing up their yards. In 1933 there were

but 25 acres in the entire county, an increase of 8 from 1930. (Table 1.)

TABLE 1

AGRICULTURAL CHANGES IN ONEIDA COUNTY, BY DECADES, 1850 TO 1930

	Hops		Potatoes		Milk	Green peas	Sweet corn	String beans
	Acres	*Pounds*	*Acres*	*Bushels*	*Gallons*	*Acres*	*Acres*	*Acres*
1850	....	294,944	.....	539,985	.....	....	....	....
1860	....	838,460	.....	958,147	.....	....	....	....
1870	....	3,152,403	.....	878,434	.....	....	....	....
1880	5,937	4,075,651	11,847	1,237,213	.....	....	....	....
1890	6,002	3,704,341	10,569	707,828	31,144,684	....	....	....
1900	4,110	2,919,900	9,579	908,412	30,543,375	....	....	....
1910	2,504	1,804,878	8,721	1,192,575	28,316,062	....	....	....
1920	....	.....	7,121	819,881	27,520,640	1	72	13
1930	17	7,920	5,112	589,673	36,726,530	2,599	1,983	1,255

Agriculture in general declined in the county for a few years; but dairying became, especially for the part of the county under consideration, the main industry. Potato raising also became important in the rolling sandy soil to the north of Waterville. Allied with these were cash crops such as cabbage, green beans, and green peas. (Table 1.)

Dairying had been slowly strengthening as the hill land went out of hop culture, for soils that could no longer grow hops could still be used for pasturage and hay. The value of the land for this use was much less than it had been; one farm of 130 acres in the hills was held by its owner in 1880 in spite of an offer of $14,000 for it, and was sold in 1911 for $2,000. The transfer from hops to dairying and cash crops involved many such painful readjustments as this.

Formal recognition of the change to dairying came in 1907, when a plant was established at Waterville for the bottling of milk to be consumed in Newark, New Jersey. At that time, 159 dairymen hauled their milk to the plant.

A cannery for green peas was built on the edge of the village in 1900, almost before hops had well started on their decline, and many hop yards were turned into pea fields or green-bean acreages as the change in agriculture, amounting almost to a revolution, took place.

And yet these adjustments to the changing agricultural situation

failed to hold the farmer; the profits were not high enough, or came too hard, or demanded, especially dairying, a more steady, patient, persistent type of farmer than did hop culture. Farmers slowly drifted out of the area, villagers moved on, and the population declined. (Table 2.)

TABLE 2

POPULATION CHANGES IN THE WATERVILLE COMMUNITY, 1880–1930

Year	Waterville	Open country*
1880	2,100	3,347
1890	2,024	3,138
1900	1,571	2,658
1905	1,510	2,498
1910	1,410	2,420
1915	1,504	2,282
1920	1,255	2,030
1925	1,327	2,160
1930	1,298	1,995

* Population of Sangerfield and Marshall townships less that of Waterville village.

Consolidation of Economic Resources. Coincident with these changes in agriculture, with their resultant effect upon the numbers of the population, came a change in manufacturing methods. Or rather, a continuation of an older change. For the little neighborhood cooper shop and grist mill had already given way to the larger lumber yard and flour mill of the village, but now these in turn were to give way before the centralized factories of the cities. One by one, the manufacturing establishments—grist mills, saw mills, foundries, tanneries, breweries—scattered along the banks of Big Creek ceased to operate. What Waterville had done to Hanover, to Sangerfield Center, to Stockwell, Utica and Syracuse began to do to Waterville. (Table 3.)

TABLE 3

CHANGE IN NUMBER OF MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS, 1825–1930*

Neighborhood	1825	1845	1875	1900	1930
Waterville	18	15	15	13	8
Sangerfield Center	6	6	2	1	0
Stockwell	4	3	1	1	0
Pleasant Valley	3	1	1	0	0
Sanger Hollow	1	0	0	0	0

* Data for 1825–1900 from *An American Town*, by J. M. Williams, 1906.

The location and number of retail stores and taverns underwent a similar change. (Table 4.)

TABLE 4

CHANGE IN NUMBER OF RETAIL STORES AND TAVERNS, 1825–1930*

Neighborhood	1825	1845	1875	1900	1930
Waterville	5	10	16	32	29
Sangerfield Center	4	2	3	4	1
Stockwell	2	1	0	1	1
Chittening Road	1	1	1	0	0
Pleasant Valley	2	1	0	0	0
Conger's Corners	1	1	0	0	0
Sanger Hollow	1	0	0	0	0
East Hill	1	0	0	0	0

* Data for 1825–1900 from *An American Town*, by J. M. Williams, 1906.

The new type of agriculture and the abandonment of manufacturing called for another new type of man. There was no place for the plunger, nor for the lucky speculator who could see his careless investments increase rapidly in value just because the population was growing. The new man that was needed was the conservator, who could wisely husband dwindling resources, and who could get the most out of his best land.

It is tremendously trying to go through the changes that these men and women of the Waterville community, and of hundreds of similar communities, were experiencing.

In the cities, business men can, in times of depression, hope for the "long run" to help them out of their difficulties. Sooner or later the population will increase, the city will grow, and the suburban lots will increase in value or the residential section on the edge of the business district will see its brownstone fronts go down and stocky apartment houses or tall office buildings take their place, at an increase of so much per front foot. The business district of Waterville, on the contrary, has changed in the sixty years since 1874 only by growing smaller as fires swept it, leaving empty spaces. Changes in the residential section have been equally slight.

Consolidation of Religious Resources. Waterville and its adjacent rural communities may have discovered a truth that the cities, content to let biologic growth solve their problems, have

missed. That truth is that reorganization within the area may take the place of territorial expansion.

In the Waterville area the economic life centered more and more completely in the village (Tables 3 and 4); stores, artisans, and factories closed down in the surrounding neighborhoods and, to a certain extent, proportionately increased in the village. The movement began in the hop period, and has been rapidly accelerated in the present period.

It had its counterpart in the religious and recreational life of the area; Sangerfield Center, Hanover, and Stockwell all had their own churches, but in the latter half of the first period and the beginning of the second, they closed their buildings and the congregations merged with those of the village. They conserved their resources in this way, required fewer ministers, fewer buildings, and pooled the best voices in fewer choirs. The result is that while the population has declined, the church membership has remained comparatively stable so far as the number of names on the rolls is concerned. In 1878 there were five Protestant churches in the village, with a total membership of 620; in 1933 there were but four, with a membership of 713, and the three outlying neighborhood churches were closed.

In the past 18 years their costs have increased 46.6 per cent (Table 5); yet, were they trying to maintain the four buildings now closed

TABLE 5

WATERVILLE'S FOUR PROTESTANT CHURCHES, 1915–1933

Year	Members	Local expenditures	Benevolences	Total cost
	Number	*Dollars*	*Dollars*	*Dollars*
1915	669	9,186	2,002	11,188
1920	645	10,505	4,431	14,936
1925	712	13,679	4,739	18,418
1930	676	15,257	4,044	19,301
1933	713	14,299	2,106	16,405

and four ministers not now employed, the burden would be much greater per member than it now is. In fact, there is a rising sentiment among the larger contributors for still further consolidation.

The concentration of church attendance in the village has caused a freer intermingling of country and village folk, hard for some of the more puritanical of the country folk, accustomed from the hop days to think of the villagers as careless of religious standards, to accept. Yet, though each neighborhood does not have its own church, a substitute is provided in the grading of the churches as to the social status of their members; the poorer people feel more at home in one of the churches than in any other, another church has a large proportion of the older families of the village in its membership, a third has farm folk for half its members. Thus class consciousness has replaced neighborhood consciousness.

Formerly, recreation, like religion, was a neighborhood affair; there were neighborhood gatherings such as sewing bees, huskings, square dances, socials. Once a year the two townships comprising the area broke across the neighborhood boundaries with a fair. To this the people from the entire region came in their lumber wagons, to see the prize pumpkins, drink pink lemonade, bet on the horses, and meet folks from the other side of the valley. The fair was discontinued some thirty years ago, and the frequency of neighborhood dances has declined, while "bees" are almost unknown. Paris Hill maintains a Home Bureau unit although its neighborhood fair is discontinued, and Pleasant Valley a Grange, but other neighborhoods, except Deansboro, have little distinctively local recreation.

More frequent visits to the village, where both neighbors and more remote friends may be encountered on the streets, satisfy the older people's desire for companionship; the soda fountains, billiard tables, and the movies (until three years ago, when the building was condemned) satisfy the younger folks.

Consolidation of Educational Resources. A great influence in this centering of life in the village has been, in the past five years, the new central school.

Each neighborhood, in the past, had its own district school, with its own teacher—underworked or overworked, depending upon the size of the local families—its own building and equipment, its own school board, its own political clique. Sangerfield Township alone had eleven, their boundaries corresponding closely with those of the eleven neighborhoods. In these district schools instruction was rarely extended beyond the sixth grade; the pupils were then "con-

tracted for" with the Union Free School District of Waterville Village, where a full course was offered, including high school.

The costs of operating the district schools varied from place to place; one district had a tax of $14, another a tax of $8. The differences in assessed valuation and in the number of pupils enrolled were the main causes of this lack of uniformity; and caused, as time went on, considerable dissatisfaction among the districts that were more heavily taxed. Too, the old school buildings began to need repair and replacement at the time when agricultural returns were steadily falling.

As a means of avoiding reconstruction expense and costs of maintaining a complete school for a mere handful of pupils, pupils from the districts were more and more frequently sent in to the Waterville school; tuition was paid by the districts from which they came. In 1923, 160 pupils were so contracted for; in 1929, 175. The tuition money was a help to Waterville Village taxes, but the overcrowding of the school building presented a serious problem, especially when the State Department of Education began to register repeated criticism.

Accordingly, the formation of a central district and the erection of a new building with modern equipment began to be seriously considered about 1926. To some, the idea appealed as a means of levelling off the unequal school taxes, since there was one district in Sangerfield with an assessed valuation of $150,000 that had no taxes at all because it had no children of school age, while another, with a value of but $50,000, had 12 children to educate. To others, the opportunity of a more modern building and of more varied educational opportunities appealed. Against these advantages was set fear of added costs and of loss of local prestige by district-school-board members.

However, on December 17, 1928, eleven districts voted to centralize (figure 1). Authority was vested in a board of five members, serving without pay, elected at large. Plans were at once begun for a new building, which was erected at Waterville at a cost of approximately $275,000, of which $50,000 was given by George Eastman as a memorial to his parents, Waterville residents. In 1938 a $100,000 addition was built to accommodate the increased attendance. The school building includes an auditorium, gymnasium, cafeteria,

homemaking suite, agricultural shop, and library, in addition to the usual classrooms and offices. A six-acre playground lies behind the building.

Before centralization, the only courses varying the usual classic routine of education were business and physical education, introduced in 1914 and 1927; since centralization, special teachers have

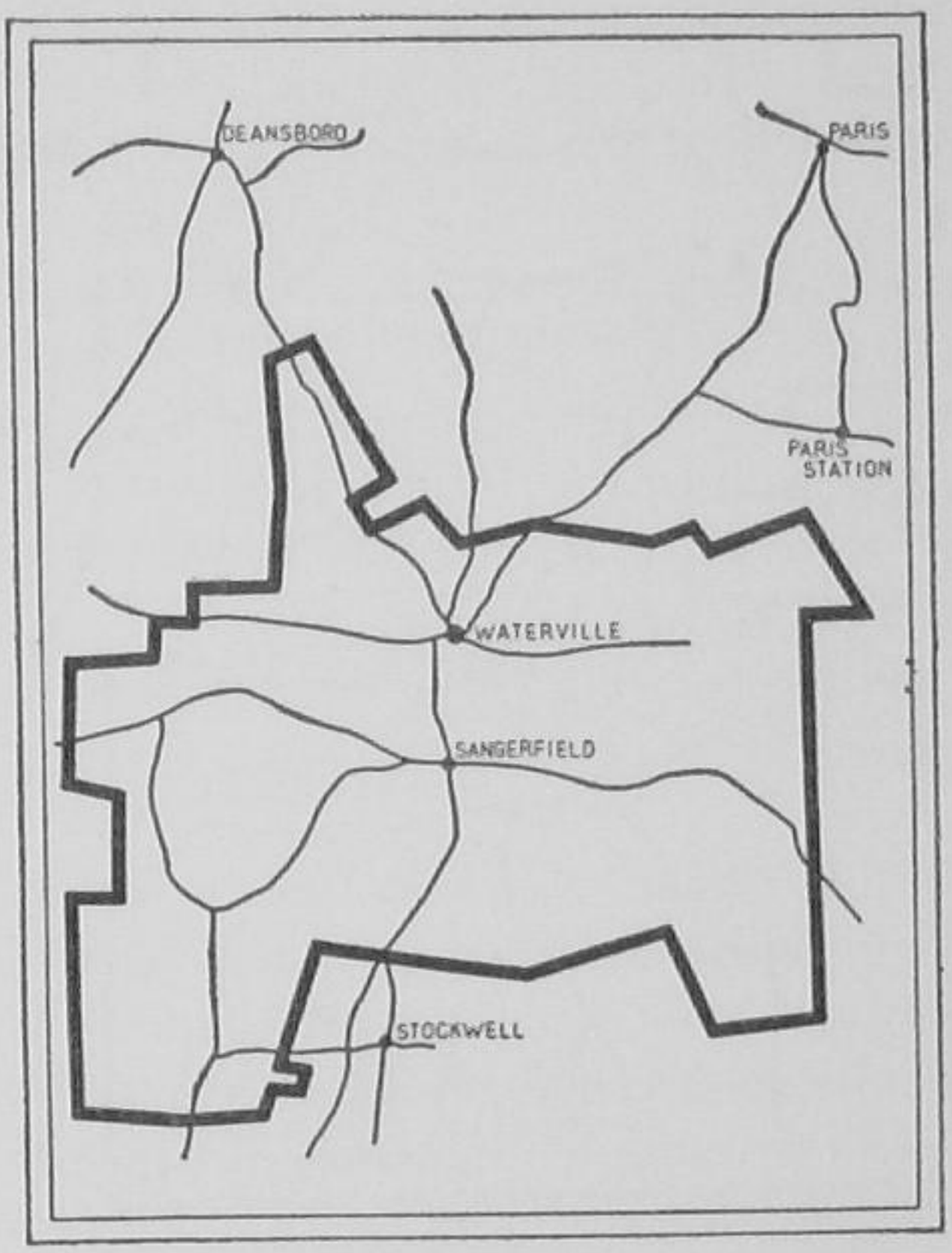


FIG. 1. Waterville Central School District, 1928.

been added for drawing, music, home economics, agriculture, orchestra, and piano, and a full-time nurse has been engaged. Fifty high school students were taking vocational agriculture or home economics in 1933. The playground is constantly supervised, and in the summer, swimming classes are held at a nearby lake; the pupils are transported free in the school buses, of which there were, in 1938, ten regularly employed in transporting the open-country pupils to the school.

Other school districts have applied for admission; in 1930 three; in 1932 five; and since then three; so that there were 22 in 1938 (figure 2).

This has meant a constantly increasing enrollment in all departments of the school (Table 6) and an increase in the number of teachers employed (Table 7), together with the construction of a new building for six grades at Deansboro; and yet such is the effect

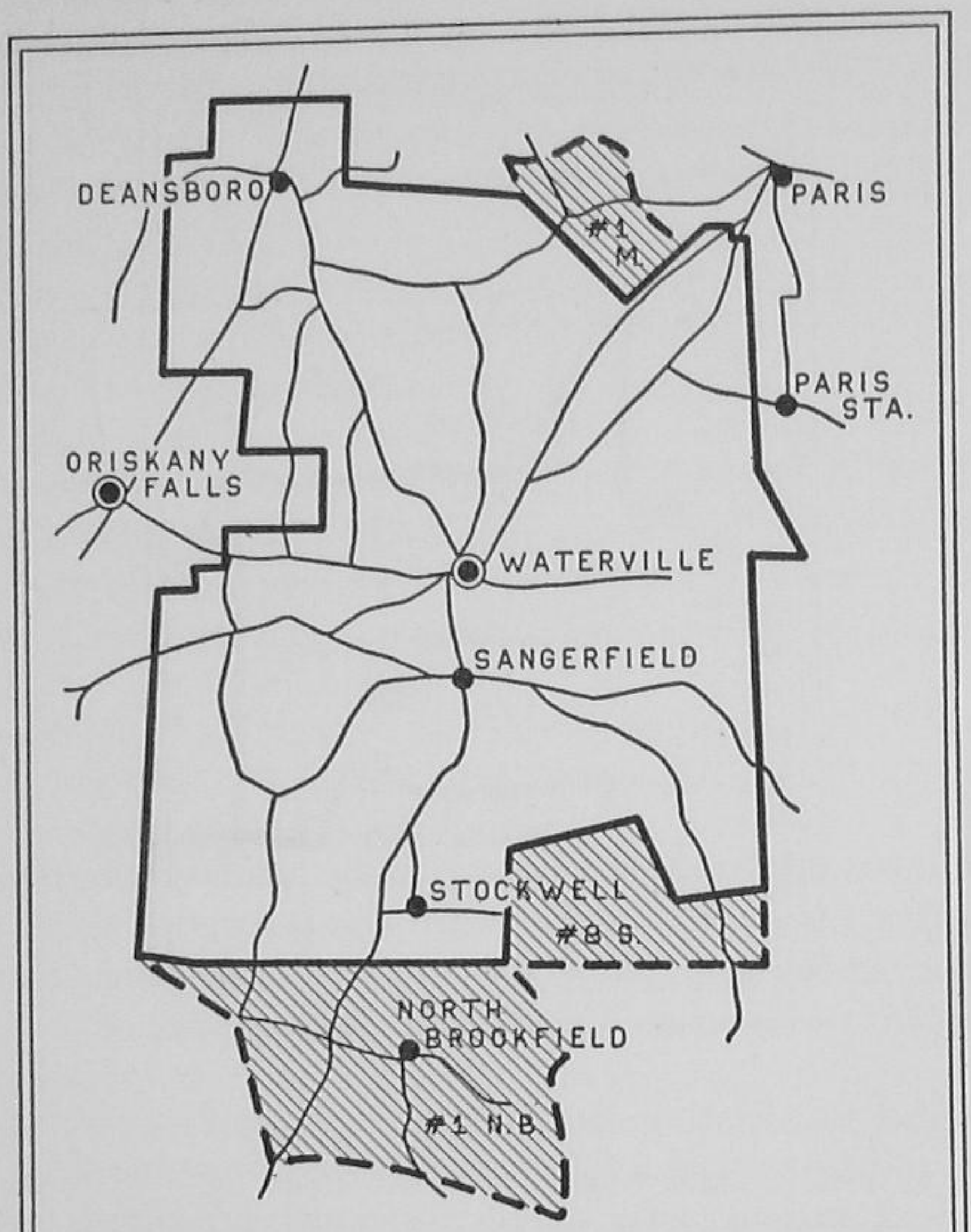


FIG. 2. Waterville Central School District, 1938. Shaded areas represent districts added since 1933.

of the united action that the greatly enlarged program has been accomplished with a distinctly declining tax rate (Table 8).

The sociological result of this reorganization of educational procedure has been the centering of interest more and more in Waterville, and a minimizing of the importance of the old neighborhoods

and the two townships themselves. This has come about in several ways.

TABLE 6

ENROLLMENT OF WATERVILLE CENTRAL SCHOOL, 1929–1933

Year	Kindergarten	Elementary	Secondary	Total
1929*	0	283	129	412
1930	0	333	153	486
1931	29	358	166	553
1932	30	347	180	557
1933	30	510	225	765

* From records of Waterville Union Free School.

TABLE 7

TEACHERS EMPLOYED, WATERVILLE CENTRAL SCHOOL, 1929–1934

	1929*	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Regular	16	18	23	25	33	31
Special	1	1	7	8	8	8
Total	17	19	30	33	41	39

* From records of Waterville Union Free School.

First, it has drawn toward Waterville the natural concern which parents have for their children; when the parents think of their children at school, they "think toward" the village rather than toward the crossroads where the district schoolhouse stood.

TABLE 8

TAX RATE, WATERVILLE CENTRAL SCHOOL DISTRICT, 1929–1934, 1938

Year	Assessed value*	Tax per $1000
1929	$1,051,979	$13.31
1930	1,631,795	11.68
1931	1,711,129	11.00
1932	1,704,260	11.00
1933	2,455,715	10.00
1934	2,455,715	9.00
1938	2,595,705	9.00

*Increase of assessed value is due to the addition of new districts.

Again, the Parent-Teacher Association, consisting in 1930 of 135 village parents and 67 farm parents, has played an important part. Organized around the central school as the common concern of farmer and villager, it has brought these two into a common organization. Its meetings are held in the school building in the village—meetings at which the parents see their children, from farm and village alike, playing in the orchestra, taking part in dramas, presenting model class sessions, using the equipment of the gymnasium, the shop, and the home economics rooms. Before, the farmer paid to have his children go to the village school; this new school is his school as much as it is that of the village; his taxes helped build it, his taxes help pay the teachers. Had it not been for him, there could never have been such a school. At the meetings of the Association, the pride of interested ownership is on every face.

OPEN-COUNTRY PUPILS IN WATERVILLE SCHOOL, 1929–1932, 1938

Year	Children	Year	Children
1929	175	1932	320
1930	223	1938	448
1931	232		

Further, the daily intermingling of children from all parts of the area, increasing as new districts are added, has an important effect. Formerly, most of the children knew only the immediate companions of their neighborhood until they were of an age to enter high school; neighborhood peculiarities thus developed. Dr. Williams mentions the insult of his childhood, when one child would say of another, "He is a ————er," using the name of a particularly backward neighborhood. It is not possible, today, to distinguish the children of one neighborhood from those of another as they go about the activities of their common school; such early and constant association with one another does much to eradicate the old boundaries.

III. WATERVILLE TODAY:

The Emergence of Community Association

On the basis of these economic, religious, recreational, and educational trends, all centering in the village, we can definitely conclude that a third form of association is now in process in the area,

community association, replacing town association as that replaced neighborhood association. Community association is the consciousness, in the people of village and farm, of the oneness of their needs, their problems, and their hopes. It results in their functioning as a unit in their geographical area, with a minimum of regard for neighborhood and political boundaries within it. Almost an organism, it may be likened to the human body in which separate cells exist but function together, each finding the success of its own life dependent upon the success of the larger life of the body as a whole.

The perfect rural community does not exist in Waterville as yet; it exists nowhere; but the joys and pangs of its growth are clearly evident in the Waterville area.

Communication within the Community. As in the human body a system of nerves is necessary to apprise each cell of the activities of the others, and for the coordination of all, so facilities for rapid communication and transportation are prerequisite for the formation and functioning of the rural community. These have been steadily growing in the Waterville area.

At first, there were simply the dirt roads, slow and difficult of travel, leading down from the hills to center in Waterville in the valley. In 1855, *The Waterville Times* was begun as a weekly newspaper, at first concerned mainly with the village; by 1885 it listed news items under the heads of 12 neighborhoods as well, thus acknowledging their identity and its own recognition of a community area wider than that of the village. In 1900, more than 55 per cent of the families of Sangerfield township, including Waterville village, were regular subscribers. At that time almost the whole front page was given over to general news, but now, when city dailies are read by nearly 75 per cent of the farm families, its emphasis is upon happenings within the community.

As the recorder and moulder of community opinion, it plays a large part; the greatest publicity was given by it to the needs of the old school and the building of the new, with free interchange of views in its "letters to the editor" column. The publication of the history of the community, run as a serial in 1932, increased community self-consciousness. Its news items and editorials did much to build the enlarged, more representative, Parent-Teacher Associa-

tion. *The Times* has been a rather exceptional example of a country weekly which has been truly a community institution and has been a potent factor in the integration of the community.

In later years the automobile, radio, and telephone have supplemented the press; in 1928, 59 per cent of the village families and 75 per cent of the farm families had cars, 64 per cent of the village families and 69 per cent of the farm families had telephones, and 41 per cent of the village families and 40 per cent of the farm families had radios.

One of the most important factors in this development of communication and transportation has been the paving of the roads, which was begun in 1915 when the road from Waterville to Deansboro was paved, connecting with a paved road running through that village to Utica. Paving has steadily progressed since (figure 3). The network of paved roads leading into the village from the countryside has brought the farmer and the merchant, the Hanover and Stockwell resident, much nearer to each other; and has made the efficient centering of life in the village possible.

The Threat of Urban Domination. When the east-west route of the Cherry Valley Turnpike was paved across the Waterville area in 1925 (figure 3, B), the Utica Chamber of Commerce erected attractive signs along it calling people to Utica, a dozen or more miles to the north. Business men of the small towns along the Turnpike, which was taking on new life as cars began to wheel over its hard pavement at the rate of 2,500 a day, countered by organizing themselves into the Cherry Valley Turnpike Association, and produced counter-propaganda; the signs were removed. This association has continued as a source of information and advertising.

Waterville, near the center of the Pike, was strongly active in the Association and thus acquired an east-west contact which it had not had before. Items from well along the Turnpike in each direction began to appear in its newspaper; a sense of unity with similar communities, and of hostility toward the cities developed.

The following year, 1926, a group of Waterville business men, apparently inspired by the success of the Turnpike Association, formed themselves into a local chapter of the Exchange Club. The need of an active organization to foster and preserve local community consciousness was felt as the cities began to reach out along

the new highways; the Waterville Chamber of Commerce was a purely formal and inactive group.

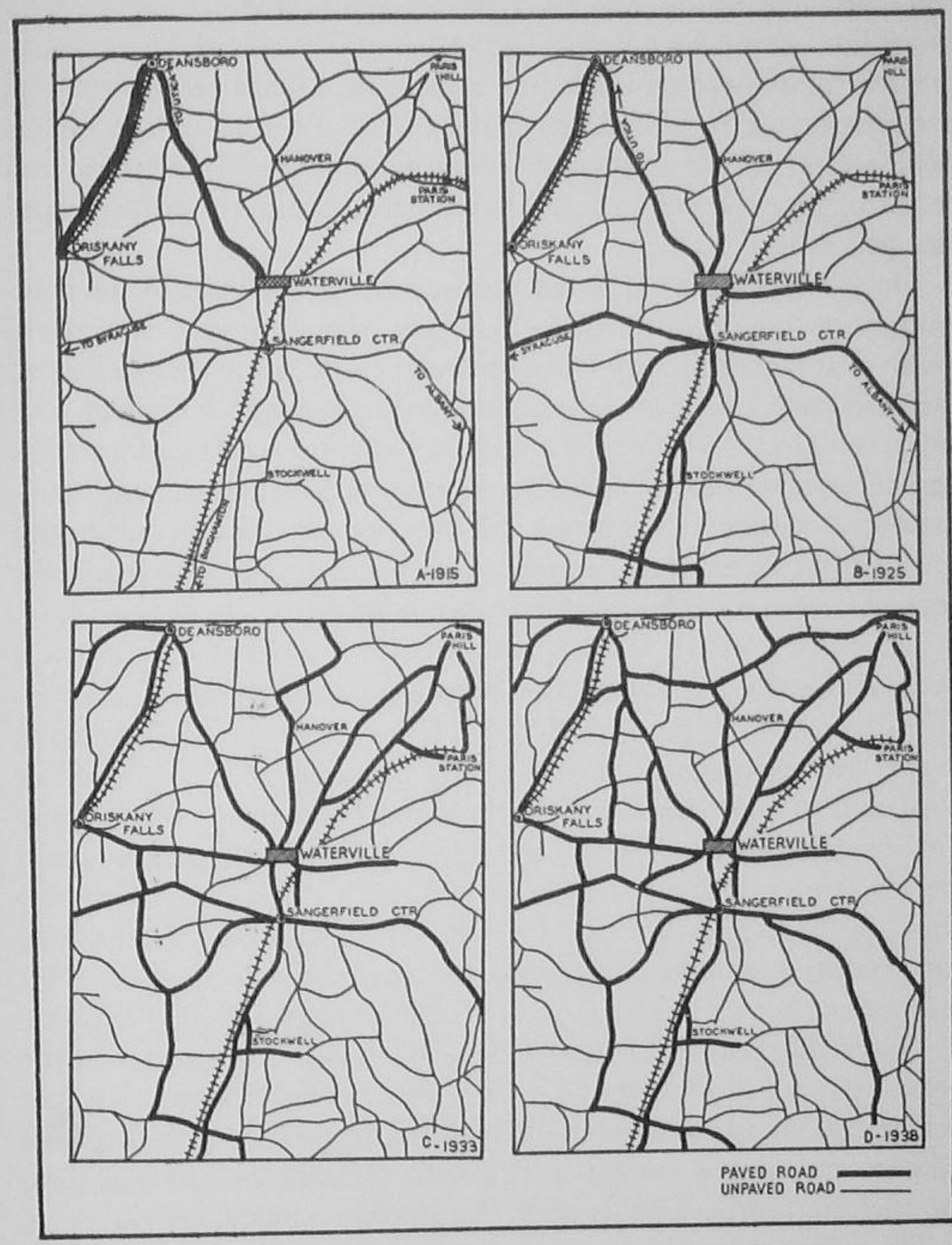


FIG. 3. Roads of the Waterville area, 1915-1938.

Two Surveys and Their Results. In 1927 the Exchange Club asked the Department of Rural Social Organization, at Cornell University, to supervise a survey of the community, that it might

see itself, its size, its composition, its resources. This survey was made in 1928, the same year that the road through Paris Hill to Utica was paved (figure 3, C) bringing the influence of the city twenty minutes nearer to Waterville.

The survey was conducted by the use of a questionnaire and by a study of 1925 State Census reports. Replies to the questionnaires were obtained from 109 village residents and 146 open-country residents of the townships of Sangerfield and Marshall, 50 to 60 per cent of the householders.

More than half of the people of the community lived in the open country, as shown in tabular form below, indicating that the welfare of the farmer was the major factor in the welfare of the community. The population was remarkably stable; the average length of residence in the present home was 22 years for Waterville and 21 years for the open country. Thirty per cent were born in the two townships, 51 per cent in the county, 81 per cent in the state, and only 12 per cent in foreign countries. In 1900, so far as Sangerfield Township was concerned, the percentage of foreign-born was 14.14.

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN THE WATERVILLE COMMUNITY, 1925

Town of Sangerfield	1,957	
Town of Marshall	1,530	
Total	3,487	100 per cent
Village of Waterville	1,327	
Village of Sangerfield Center	98	
Village of Deansboro	233	
Total village	1,658	48 per cent
Open country	1,829	52 per cent

The open-country population had far the greater percentage of children and young people, and Waterville Village had relatively few children and a high proportion of older people (figures 4, 5, and 6). Of the school-age population, 58.5 per cent was in the open country and 41.5 per cent in the villages; of those of high school age, 15-19, 62 per cent of the total were in the open country and only 38 per cent in the villages. The open country furnishes the youth of the community.

More than that, the open country of the northern part of the area seems the most appreciative of education for the young people. In 1925, 60 per cent of those of high school age in Marshall Township were in school, as compared to 40 per cent of those in Sangerfield.

TABLE 9

ECONOMIC SERVICES OF WATERVILLE VILLAGE, 1928

Business	Average for incorporated villages in New York of 1000 to 1500 *(average 1250 population)	Waterville	Business	Average for incorporated villages in New York of 1000 to 1500 *(average 1250 population)	Waterville
General store	2.0	1	Plumber	0.7	2
Grocery	5.1	6	Florist	0.1	0
Coal and ice	1.1	2	Stationery	1.1	0
Garage	5.0	4	Cigars	0.8	1
Mill and feed	1.4	3	Leather goods	0.4	1
Blacksmith	1.8	1	Shoes	1.2	2
Hardware	2.0	2	Furniture	1.0	1
Hotel	2.7	3	Paint	0.7	1
Produce	0.9	2	Bakery	0.5	1
Confectionery	1.6	2			
Milk plant	1.3	1	Total	45.0	50
Bank	2.2	1	Meat market		2
Lumber	1.1	2	Movie		1
Factory	2.6	2	Printer		1
Men's furnishings	1.2	1	Lunch room		1
Dry goods	1.1	2	Second-hand store		1
Drugs	1.2	1	Laundry		1
Electrical supplies	1.4	1	Barber		2
Millinery	0.9	1	Automobile supplies		1
Jewelry	0.7	1	Savings and loan		1
Contractor and carpenter	1.0	2	Real estate		1

* B. L. Melvin, "Village service agencies, New York, 1925," *Bulletin 493*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1929.

Waterville Village, where the high school is, with Sangerfield Center, had 62 per cent of its eligible young people in school; and for the whole area, the proportion in high school was large as compared to that for the entire State. In 1925, 56 per cent of the children 15 to 19

years of age were in school, and this figure rose to 86 per cent in 1938.

In 1925 over two-thirds of the high school students were from Waterville; in 1938 only one-third came from the village.

A college education was better appreciated by the open-country families than by those in the village; 16.6 per cent of the young

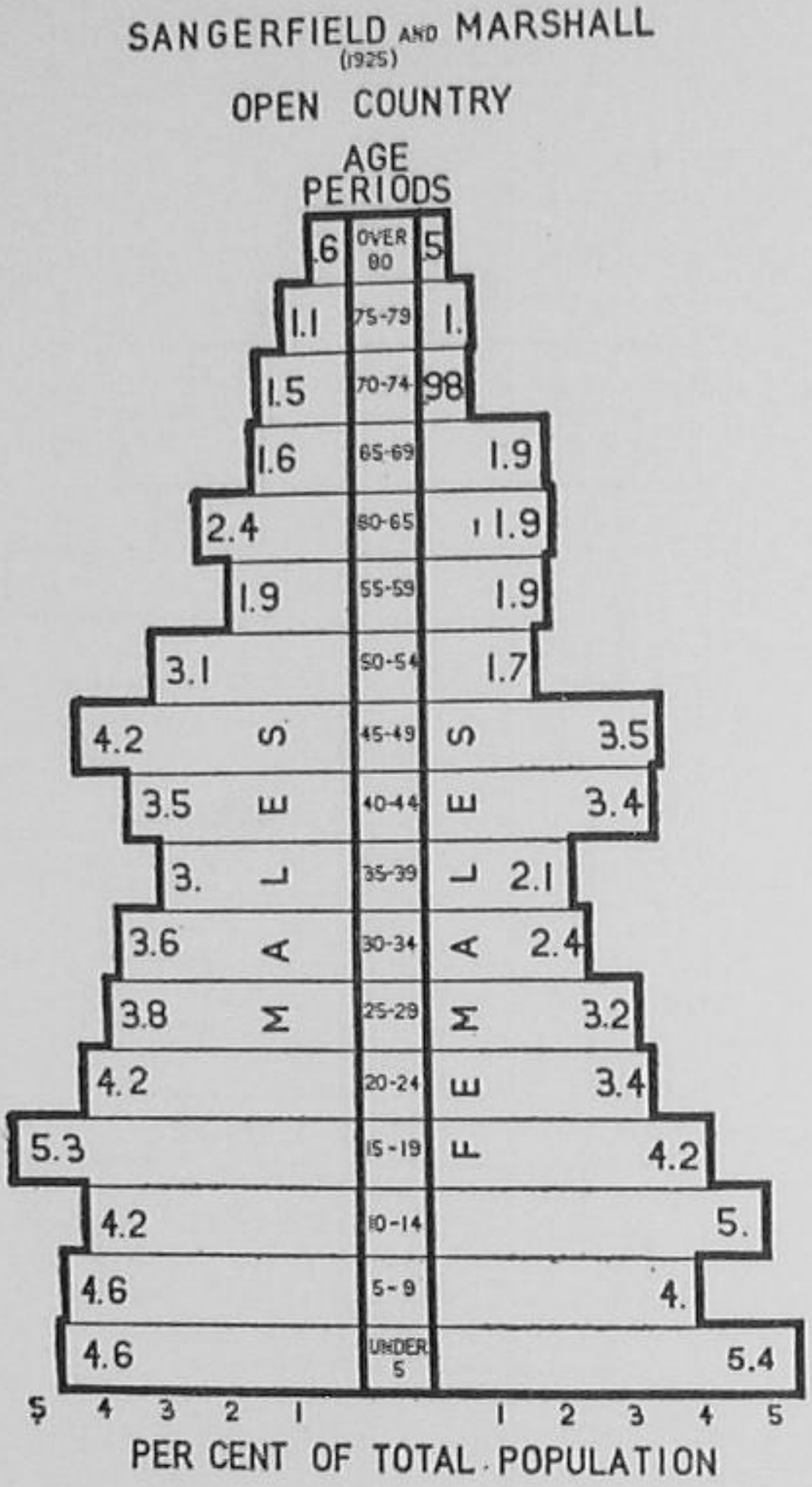


FIG. 4. Population pyramid of Open-Country Population of Sangerfield and Marshall Townships.

people of college age in the open country were in college or normal school, and 9.4 per cent of those in the villages. An unusually large proportion were women.

Inasmuch as the larger proportion of the school population was from the open country, the school facilities, curriculum, and control should have been adapted to their needs. At that time no agricul-

tural course was offered, nor was there a course in home economics, and transportation to the school was a problem for the individual parents and school districts to settle. The school board was composed of village residents. Centralization and reorganization were carefully considered, and, as the survey showed, much needed.

As to economic services offered by the village to the area, Waterville was adequately supplied, its stores, hotels, garages, bank, etc.,

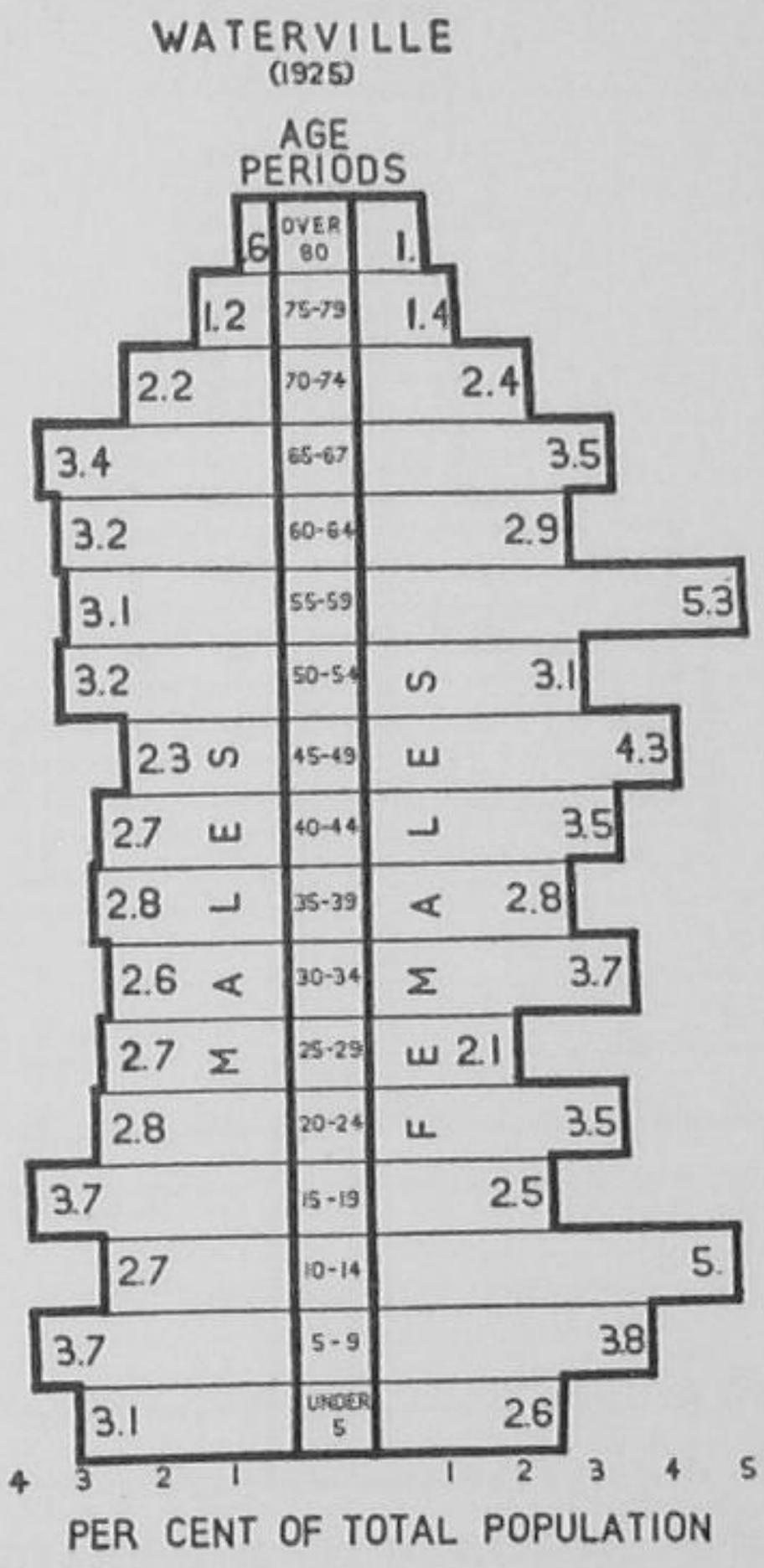


FIG. 5. Population pyramid of Waterville Village.

were, in number, slightly above the state average for villages of its size (Table 9).

The area which these agencies served and which, with the area served by the churches and other non-economic agencies, can be said to comprise the community area, included the major part of the two townships Sangerfield and Marshall with parts of adjoining townships; it corresponded roughly with the geographic basin formed

by the hills (figure 7). The area for each agency was determined by asking each resident where he went for the satisfaction of that particular need. The areas for grocery trade, church, and village most often visited were almost identical; the banking and hardware

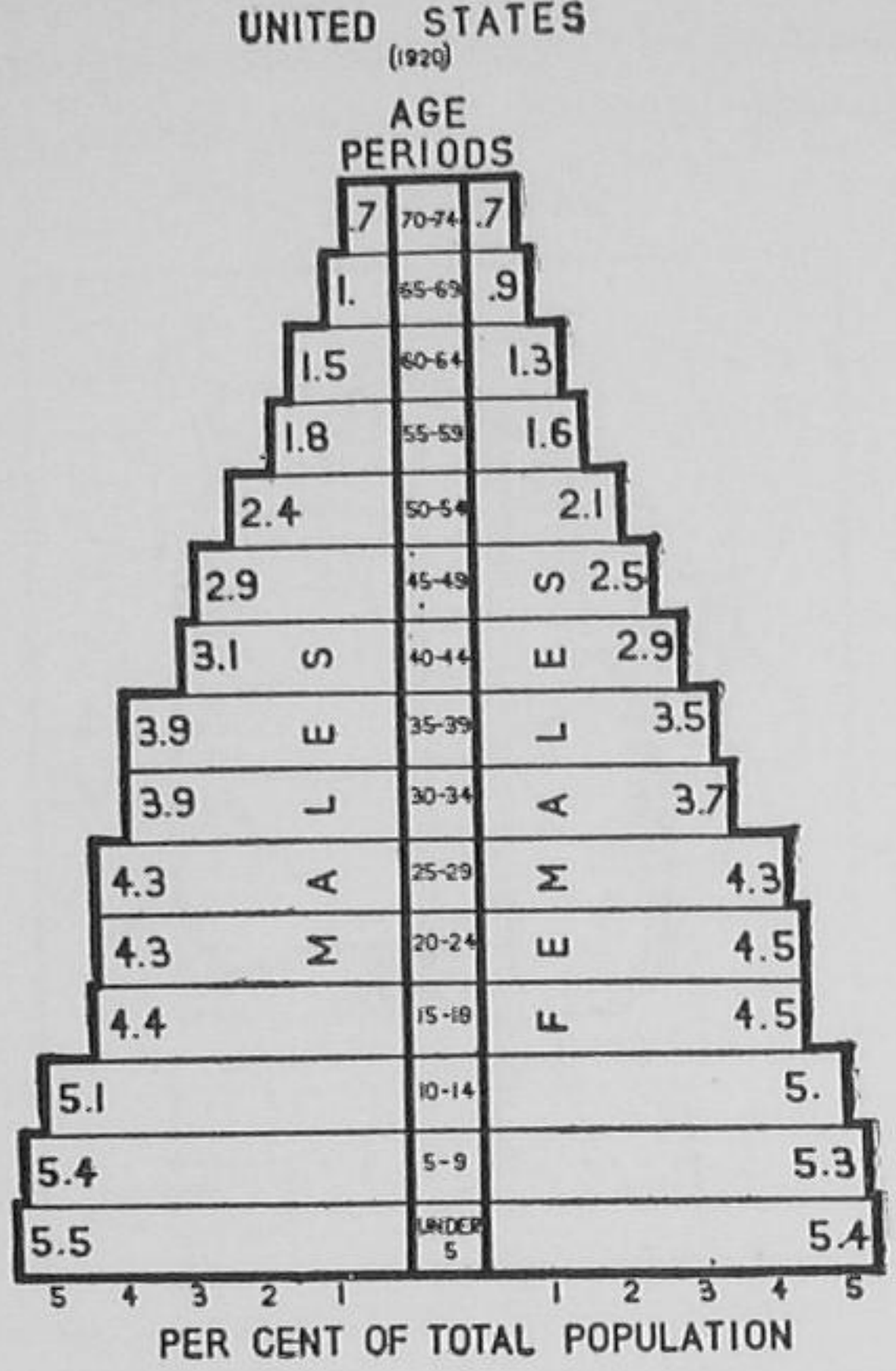


FIG. 6. Population pyramid of the United States.

areas were somewhat larger. Usually in New York the banking and hardware areas are very much larger.

Apparently Waterville was meeting competition from other villages and the city, that restricted its area of influence.

That this was so, and that even within its area the village was not unchallenged, was shown by the fact that while 99 per cent of the villagers bought their groceries in Waterville, only 54 per cent of the open-country people purchased there; and that but 23 per cent of the villagers and 15 per cent of the country people bought suits and dresses in Waterville (Table 10).

A similar situation was revealed by the points to which milk was hauled by the farmers; of 119 farms which sold milk, but 60

MILK PLANTS WHICH RECEIVED MILK FROM THE WATERVILLE AREA, 1928

Waterville	60 farms
Solsville	22 farms
Marshall	19 farms
Bridgewater	10 farms
Deansboro	7 farms
Oriskany Falls	1 farm
Total	119 farms

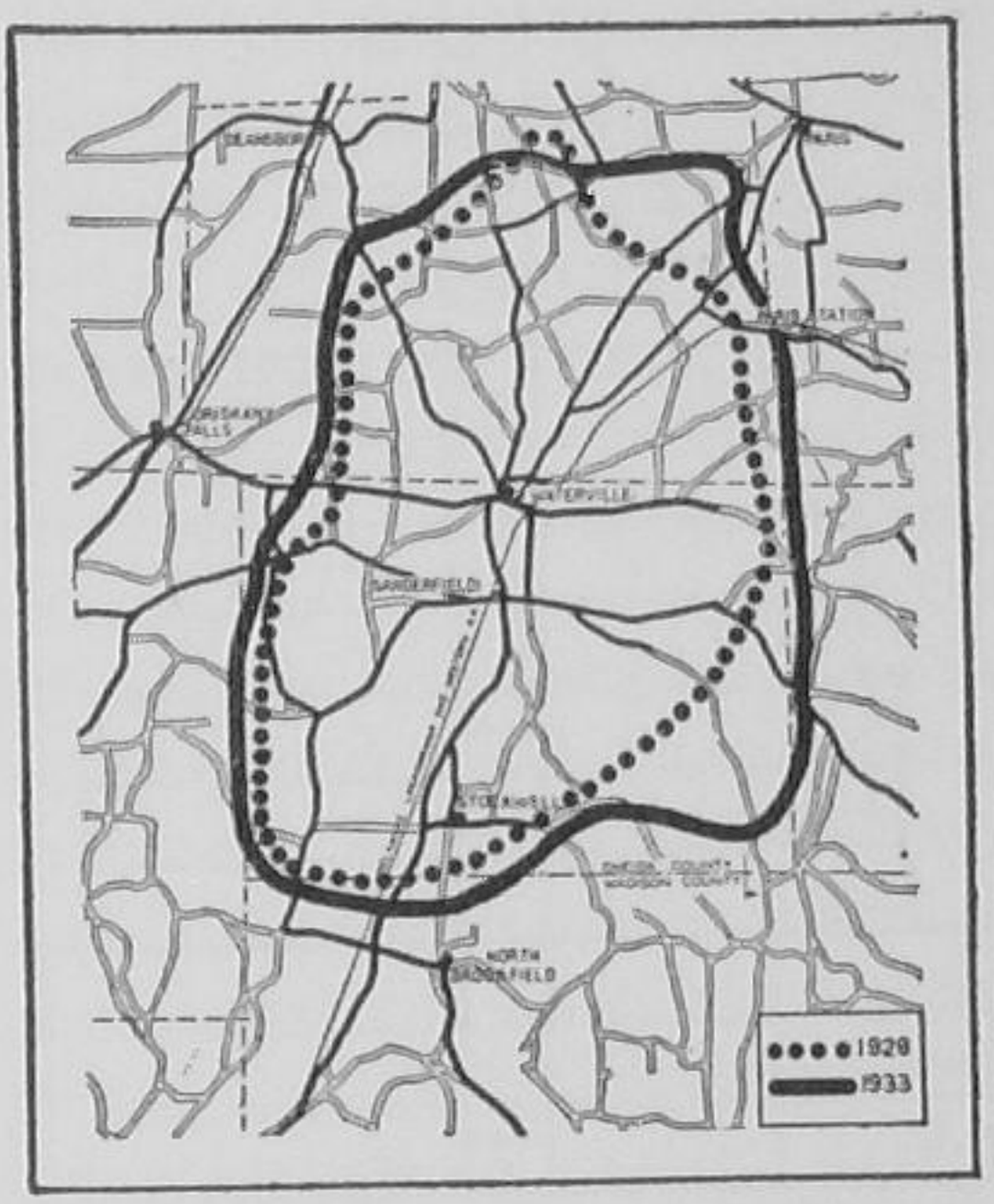


FIG. 7. Village-most-visited area of Waterville community.

TABLE 10

PLACE OF PURCHASE OF MERCHANDISE BY FAMILIES OF WATERVILLE AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY, 1928

Merchandise	Village (107 schedules)						Country (146 schedules)					
	Total replies	Buy most in:					Total replies	Buy most in:				
		Waterville	Per cent of total	Utica	Mail-order houses	Other places		Waterville	Per cent of total	Utica	Mail-order houses	Other places
Hardware	71	70	98	0	1	0	120	86	71	9	5	20
Furniture	55	35	63	19	1	0	77	32	41	30	9	6
Suits and dresses	75	17	23	55	0	3	112	17	15	81	9	5
Work clothes	54	51	95	2	1	0	112	44	40	15	12	41*
Groceries	97	96	99	1	0	0	134	73	54	2	0	59*

* Deansboro, Paris Hill, Stockwell, North Brookfield, Sangerfield, etc.

sold through the Waterville plant. Harry M. Fuess, local officer of the Dairymen's League, had estimated (*Waterville Times*, February 10, 1927) that the resultant overlapping of milk routes cost $20,000 a year in haulage charges.

In the non-economic services a similar spirit of independence was evidenced; 44 per cent of the farm families had no connection with lodge, Grange, farm or home bureau; 85 per cent claimed church affiliations, but, of these, only 50 per cent with Waterville churches. The library in the village was patronized by 60 per cent of the village families but by only 18 per cent of the farm families, despite their greater appreciation of education as indicated in their higher proportion of young people in college.

These facts made it plain that the organization of the community was imperfect; it was not a unit; there was much yet to be done in bringing farm and village into an integrated whole.

The conclusions of the survey, and the facts revealed, were published in the local paper, and formed the topic of discussion in the community for some weeks. The more favorable parts were embodied in advertising. When the schools were centralized, recognition was given the farm children by the establishment of motor-bus lines for their transportation, and the inclusion of agriculture and home economics courses in the curriculum, but no member of the new school board was a farmer. When the Parent-Teacher Association was expanded with the expansion of the school district, farm parents were welcomed into membership, but the leadership was village. Among the younger merchants, active efforts were made, for a time, to meet the competition of neighboring communities and cities, with "buy at home" campaigns in which prizes were offered, dollar days, redecoration of the stores, and some lowering of prices. But no coordinated program was launched, truly representative of the community as a whole.

Perhaps the nearest approach to this came early in the spring of 1933. Milk was being shipped through the Waterville plant, which in 1928 had ceased pasteurizing and bottling and was now merely receiving milk and shipping it on to the metropolitan bottling plant, at the rate of only 140 cans a day. There was some danger of its being closed, since small plants are costly to operate and the organi-

zation owning it, like others, was seeking ways of economy. However, if the quantity shipped could be raised to 250 cans a day, because of the economy in handling the larger quantity, a premium of 6 cents a hundred pounds would be received by the dairymen. That meant an increase in income of $6,300 a year to the Waterville community.

A joint committee of farmers and business men was formed, the Exchange Club and the Dairymen's League cooperating; the situation was studied by the high school agricultural-course students, who canvassed the region to determine where the milk was being sent; and farmers and business men together went out to interview the men who were sending their milk elsewhere.

The Waterville plant had higher inspection standards than did some of the others, and its price was lower than most. The attempt failed; but farm and village had worked together, at least.

Gains and losses in five years. By the summer of 1933, five years had elapsed since the 1928 survey; five years in which, through paved roads and city newspapers and chain stores and traveling bakery, meat, and produce trucks, the Waterville community had been exposed to competition with the outside world; its surrounding hills and swamps were no longer efficacious barriers.

Again the Department of Rural Social Organization surveyed the boundaries of the trade area.

The church area had not changed appreciably in the half-decade except for the transfer of Stockwell members to Waterville. The hardware area had shrunk definitely at the west and south. The grocery area had lost at the north, but gained a little at the southeast, from people who had been attracted to Waterville by the three chain groceries now functioning there. The "village most visited" area * had gained at the north and the east slightly; the bank area had extended farther south. (Figures 7-11.)

This very confusion of trade-area shifting brings out the casual nature of the modern community dweller's relations to his community. He does not trade at its center as a matter of course; he trades there for the things he thinks he can get there most easily, most

*I.e., the area within which the majority of open-country families stated that Waterville was the "village most visited."

quickly, and most cheaply. If he sees advantage elsewhere, he does not hesitate to go there. In the early days of the community, going even to the nearest village was often quite a chore, especially in bad weather; going to a village farther away was a matter for long thought; and going to the city, an event. Although the railroad made a contact with Utica for folk of the Waterville community as far back as 1867, it was nothing like that the paved roads make now. One cannot bring back from the city a linoleum rug, a lawn mower, a bedspring, and two dozen fruit jars in the passenger coach of a railway train, but it is easy enough in the half-ton truck owned by most New York State farmers today.

In the past, and among the older merchants even today, "loyalty to the old home town" was counted upon to keep customers at home. Even in 1928, when the Waterville merchants made their concerted bid for home trade, their arguments for it were not so much quality, cheapness, and service, but, rather, "keeping the money at home" and the chances of drawing a lucky number with a prize. The probability is that, in the past, the resident of a small town was loyal to it because it was the only town he knew much about or had access to, rather than because, having compared many with it, he found it to surpass them all.

Of the farm families around the border of the Waterville area, 76 per cent read daily papers carrying the advertisements of city merchants and of theaters, in 1933. They had information about prices, quality, and assortments of merchants other than those nearest to them, and the added distance no longer seemed far. In fact, some of the most regular traders at city stores lived on the side of Waterville farther from the city. Today, a town has to earn the loyalty of its residents. Only 4 of 86 families interviewed traded at Waterville "because I believe in patronizing the home town"; the others had a reason—convenience, economy, friendliness.

Also, because one buys groceries in a village it is no indication that one buys hardware, or feed, or goes to church there, as the different areas for the different services show. People patronize one village for this, another for that; it was difficult for many to answer the question, "Which place would you say you go to most often?" The most frequent answer was a shrug, then the hesitant naming of a village, quickly followed with, "But I go other places a lot, too."

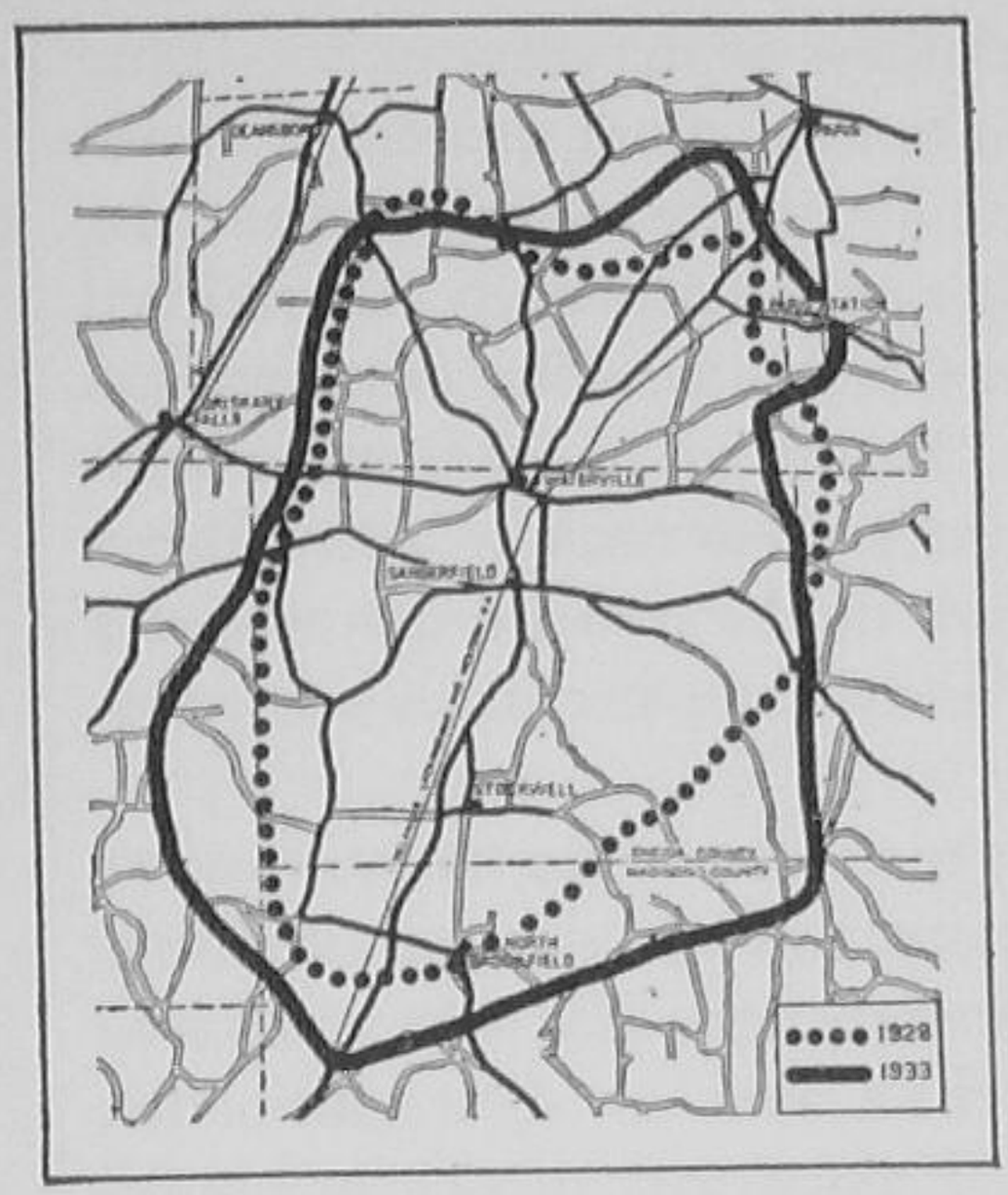


FIG. 8. Banking area of the Waterville community.

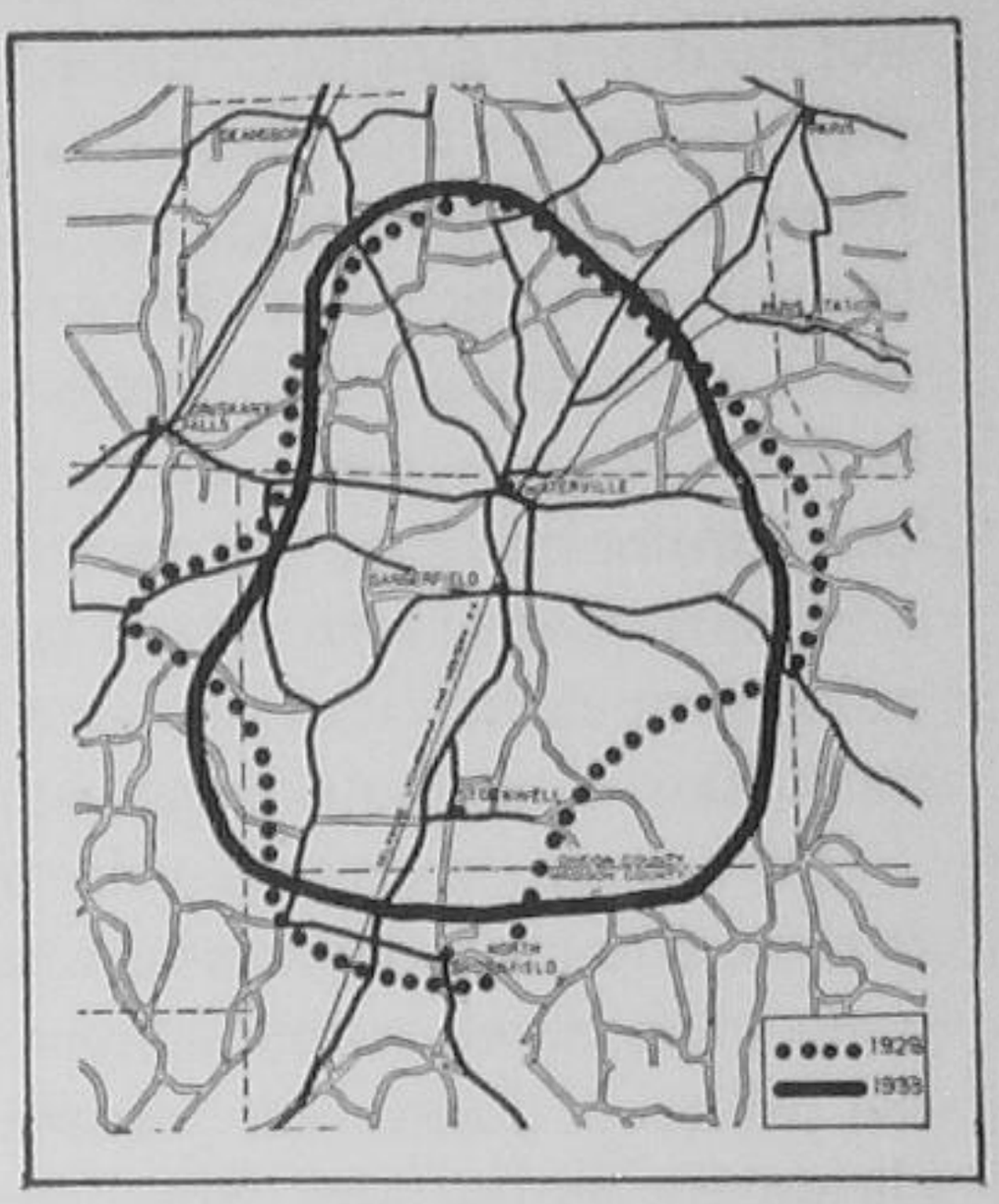


FIG. 9. Hardware area of the Waterville community.

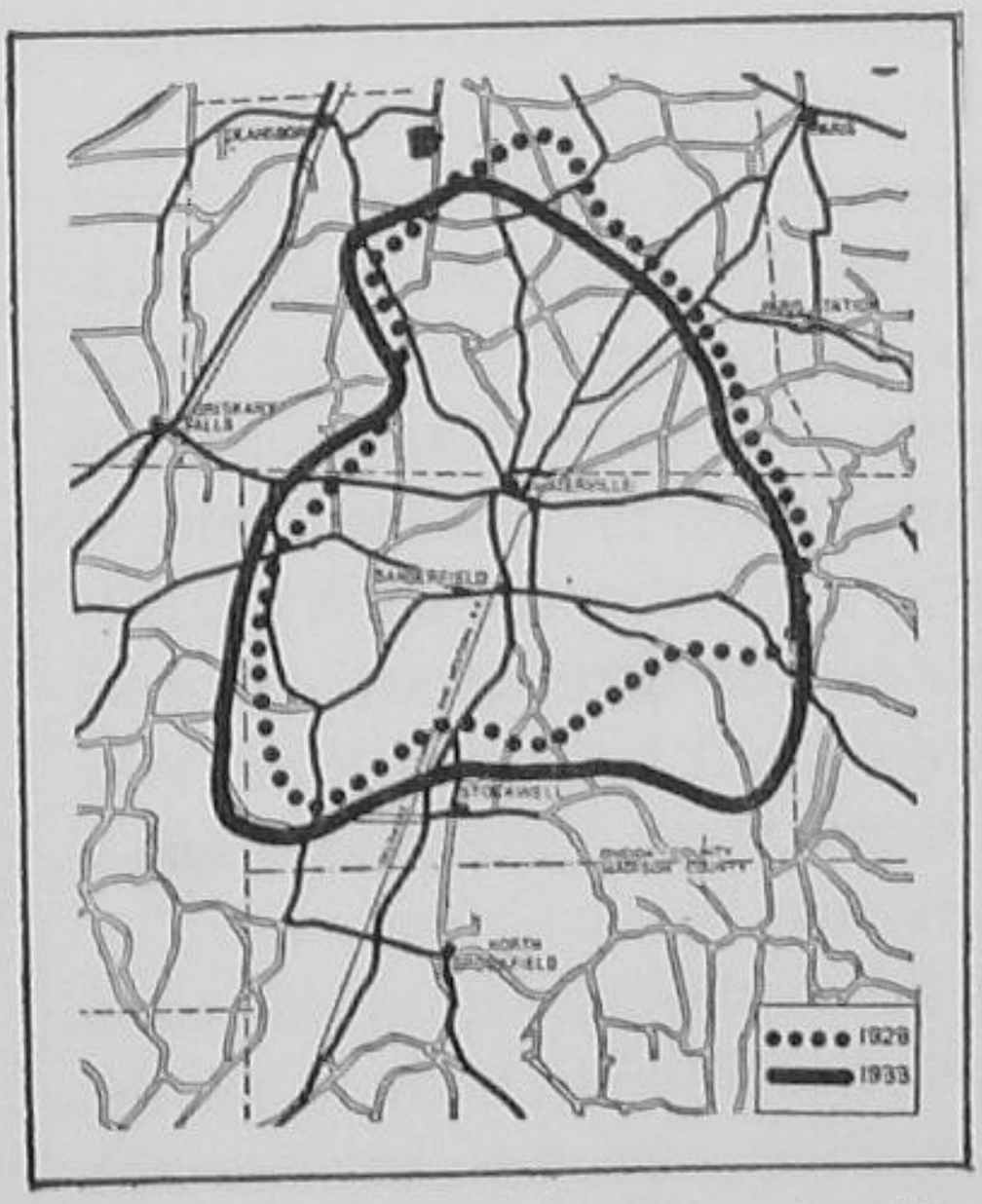


FIG. 10. Grocery area of the Waterville community.

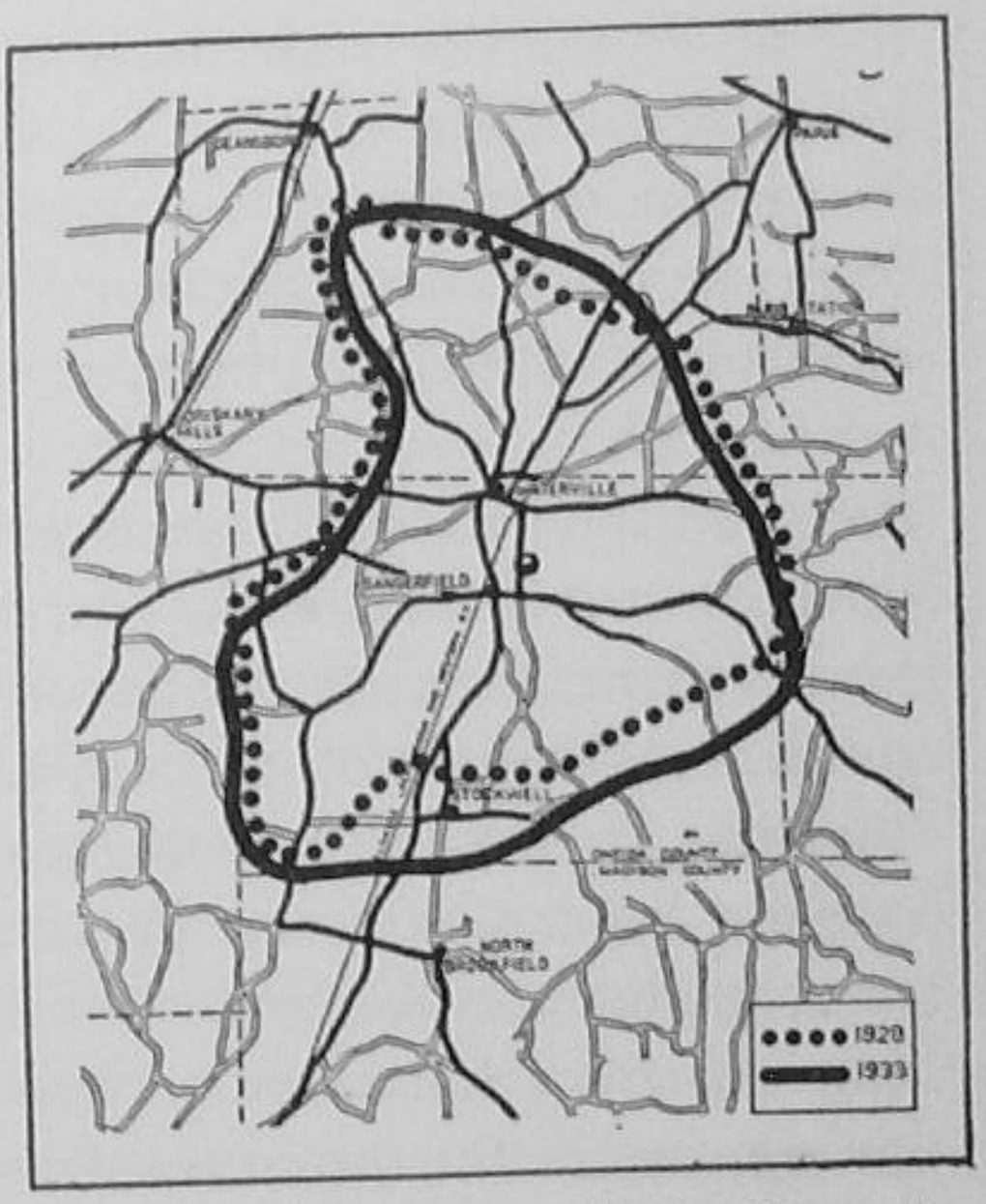


FIG. 11. Church area of the Waterville community.

In the last five years certain services have ceased being offered in Waterville; the people must go out of the community now to buy women's dresses and men's suits, and to go to the movies.

Not only do people go out of the community at will, but outside agencies come in. The city daily competes with the rural weekly; five bakery trucks from three cities and from one other village enter the area for trade, although there is a bakery on Main Street; it is a dairying community, yet two city dairies sell milk in the village on regular routes; one meat truck rivals the local market; a produce truck from the city sells fresh vegetables three times a week; and three chain groceries are operating in the village.

It is not all a matter of price competition. One local chain manager was transferred by his company to another village, and the store he had left experienced a sharp decline in trade; he was returned, and the trade improved. Another chain manager is a local boy, who took over the store when its trade was poor and has since built it up. The village storekeeper must learn modern merchandising methods if he is to succeed, since he is now in competition with every store within fifty miles.

The Waterville community today stands, in its relations to neighboring communities both rural and metropolitan, in much the same situation that Stockwell did to it a few years ago.

In 1900, Stockwell, a neighborhood three and one-half miles south of Waterville Village, was strongly independent. It had its own church, its own school, its own store, its own postoffice, its own saw mill; it had had a tavern and a grist mill and a potash works. It had its own skating rink. In the past thirty-three years it has felt the growing strength of North Brookfield and Hamilton on the one side and of Waterville on the other, and, in the past five years, it has lost every one of those institutions save the saw mill, which is equipped only for light jobs now. Waterville won. Stores, school, church, and postoffice are all in Waterville; better stores than Stockwell had, better school, better church; Stockwell has gained in many ways by the loss, but it has ceased to be a community itself, and has become a part of a larger community.

And now Waterville, like many other communities in the shadow of the city, must fight the same battle on a larger scale.

Community Stresses and Strains. The old, small com-

munities, or neighborhoods, were very strong, for they were very old; Stockwell was almost static for a century, gathering tradition and prestige and unity and self-consciousness. When their struggle for existence comes, such locality groups put up a tremendous battle.

The new rural community, as Waterville, has no such advantage. It is still in the process of being formed, and, one might say, of being formed in spite of itself.

The lack of cohesion between villager and farmer, indicated by the non-representation of farmers on the central school board, by their tendency to segregate in the two churches least "aristocratic," by the tendency of village merchants to assume a "take it or leave it" attitude in their transactions with farmers, and by the farmers' alacrity in trading elsewhere if prices are better, has been suggested. It should also be pointed out that there is no farmer-villager organization, except the Parent-Teacher Association. Here, farmers and villagers meet and develop their common interest in the centralized school; attendance at the meetings runs as high as 500. This organization should have, in consequence, large possibilities as a unifying agent in community life. The Dairymen's League and the Exchange Club did cooperate once in a joint enterprise previously mentioned, but the very fact that the Club is of business men and the League is of farmers sets them apart from each other; there is no organization in which they stand on equal footing and plan and work together not as merchants and dairymen, but as members of the Waterville community.

It is extremely hard to think in community terms. The minister of one of the churches, hearing his church referred to as a *village church*, demurred; seven of his families, he said, were farm families. But there was no farmer on his official board of church government. When the attention of one of the leading school men was called to the fact that there were no farmers on the new school board, he replied, "No. Purposely we leave the election at large so that the best men, regardless of their occupation, may be chosen." He did not mean to be cynical. The library in the village received aid from the State Department of Education; farmers could patronize it, but its board and policies were village. When the central school district was formed, it continued as a matter of course on its old policies. It was not until the State Department of Education,

hearing of this and other elements of the situation, threatened to withdraw its support, that the library announced that its boundaries would henceforth coincide with those of the new school district, and that it established branch libraries at Stockwell and Deansboro for the greater convenience of its open-country patrons.

Within the village itself, although it is not readily admitted, the newcomer is treated with reserve. A slight resentment can be seen, too, when a newcomer makes good in a financial way; the old families used to have the money of the town. In social affairs, the lists of names at dinner parties, card games, and dances, and in book and magazine clubs, rarely coincide; the newcomers tend to have their "set," the old families theirs.

There is nothing purposeful about this reserve toward newcomers; it is caused by tradition, habit, and is difficult of proof. That it has existed is proved by its present decline.

In 1929, twenty-two positions were selected as indications of leadership: officership in a lodge, political office, school-board membership, church-board membership, bank directorship, etc.; of these 22 positions, 19 men each held two or more and, of the 19 men, only 5 were either not members of the community by birth or had not lived in it at least thirty-five years. Four years later, in 1933, those same posts were checked in the same way; at this time 22 men each held 2 or more of the 22 positions and of these 22 men, 10 were neither members by birth nor residents for more than thirty-five years.

There is lack of cohesion, again, in the relations between the churches. The grading of the churches as to social standing of their constituents leads to complications, and is perhaps a greater barrier to future union than their theological differences. Yet none of the churches is large enough, nor has sufficient competent leadership within its ranks, to carry on a complete program adequately. The best illustration of this is their attempt to conduct week-day religious education, permission for which was obtained in 1928 from the school board, on released time; each church endeavored to teach "its own" children, with the result that the five schools ranged in size from 94 to 7, making proper class division impossible, especially when the difficulty of obtaining five adequate teachers for each grade was

confronted. It was tried but once. However, in spite of this obvious defect of over-denominationalism, church loyalty is strong.

In the open country among the farmers, there is a lack of unity as to where they sell their milk; but 47 per cent of the dairymen in the area sell their milk at Waterville. The sale of milk at different points involves membership in opposing organizations, and results at times in extreme friction between neighbors.

Again, such a community-in-the-making as Waterville is handicapped in attaining cohesion and unity by the resistance of the neighborhoods within it, which are being forced into the community whether they will or no, by circumstances beyond their control.

Sangerfield Center, for instance, lost to Waterville a century ago; it has had almost no life of its own since. Yet, when consideration of the central school district arose, that and the neighboring district voted it down. They had combined in building a neat little two-room school of their own which was in very good repair, and their taxes were extremely low, $8. Only a mile from Waterville, transportation of their high school pupils to that place was no problem. And yet the state law concerning centralization provides that if other districts beyond a refusing district vote to centralize, that district is automatically included; by this process, the Sangerfield school became unwillingly a part of the larger whole. However, few would now wish to withdraw, having once experienced the enormous educational advantages of the new school.

Perhaps the most apt illustration is Deansboro, which is by no means yet a true part of the community, but is feeling the pressures which would bring it in.

Deansboro is a small village of 233 persons a little more than four miles from Waterville, to the northwest in the Chenango valley. It is geographically quite distinct. The road from Waterville to Deansboro runs down the narrow, twisting gorge of Big Creek and emerges on a gently rolling, open delta plain on the edge of which Deansboro stands. Since Deansboro is 500 feet lower than the Waterville valley, its crops are sometimes two weeks ahead of Waterville's.

Deansboro is as old as Waterville. It has its own history and its own traditions. Like Waterville, it has experienced distinct losses

of population and trade as the poorer hill lands around it have been progressively abandoned. Yet three years ago it still had two general stores, a hardware store, a feed mill, a milk condensery, postoffice, two churches, fire department, two lodges, a high school; and garden, card, and literary clubs, men's community club, and the like. Save for a bank and a movie, it was practically self sufficient.

Two years ago the schoolhouse burned. Replacement, along modern plans, was beyond the reach of Deansboro alone. It conceived the idea of centralizing as Waterville had done; but the State Department of Education forbade it on grounds of insufficient pupil population. There was left the choice of centralizing with the schools of Waterville or Clinton, a few miles to the north, and at the meeting for the purpose it was voted to join with Waterville. The central-school district promptly issued bonds and erected at Deansboro a beautiful little modern brick school for the first six grades; the older pupils are transported by bus to the main school at Waterville.

Deansboro has a better plant than before; but it has lost control of its school, which is administered by the central-district board, all Waterville men. True, the old Deansboro school board has been continued as a sort of advisory committee to the central board; but it complains that meetings are held without its notification, and feels keenly its lack of power.

In the spring of 1933, after the Waterville dairymen tried to obtain a larger volume of milk at their plant, the Deansboro men made the same attempt to increase theirs, and they also failed. But only a few months later their milk plant was closed by the company that operated it, and a part of the dairymen were thus forced to send their milk to Waterville, raising the volume there to the required amount so that a higher price was received, but also raising the cost of haulage for the Deansboro men so that little financial advantage was obtained for them as compared with that gained by the Waterville men.

As a result of this and of the recent discharge of their teachers, some Deansboro dairymen refused to send their milk to Waterville, against which they felt a positive antagonism.

Waterville is not, as a matter of fact, scheming to absorb Deansboro. But circumstances are forcing the two to cooperate; circum-

stances beyond the control of either are molding them, controlling them, harnessing them together.

That is the great lesson that the story of the Waterville community has to tell. Men came to the great hollow in the hills looking for homes, and clustered in the best sites that nature had provided for them; intermarriage reinforced proximity; they became self-conscious neighborhoods. Then hop culture came into the area, dominated the lives of all, reached across the neighborhood boundaries, and tied them together in town association. When the hop industry failed, dairying and cash crops took its place; the automobile and the hard road at once brought them together in a community with Waterville Village as its center, and exposed the new community to the influences of the modern world.

All of these factors were, in large measure, beyond control; world forces influenced them, resistance was vain, and they adjusted themselves as best they could, like iron under the blows of a blind blacksmith. The cumulative effect has been to create a common hope, a common need, a common center of interest—unsought, and for that very reason all the stronger—known as the Waterville community.

IV. Interpretation

In such a history of community development as has been given above it is impossible to bring out all the factors involved, particularly the very important influence of the personalities of leaders and their relation to the process of community development. There are, however, certain general trends which are illustrative of what has happened and is happening in the formation of many rural communities, which will throw light on the discussion of various aspects of community organization in the following chapters. The more important of these trends and factors in community development brought out in the description of Waterville are the following:

1. How the village center of a community arises; how the early neighborhoods are gradually absorbed into the larger community; and how the village becomes its meeting place.

2. How the agricultural economy affects the life of the commun-

ity and how it is controlled by competition with other regions and is affected by changes in market demands.

3. The movement of church and school to the village and the bringing together of country and village people in their support, thus creating a community of interest.

4. The increase of high school attendance by country children and the rise of the Parent-Teacher Association as a community organization.

5. The influence of good roads in the whole process of change and their effect in giving rise to competition by the city, thus arousing the community to self-defense.

6. The possibilities of a survey as a means of community self-analysis and as a basis for building a community program.

7. The difficulties in obtaining accommodation and assimilation because of the differences of social classes and the dominance of the elite, but the gradual increase of democracy in community control.

8. The continuous enlargement of the community area and the partial absorption of smaller communities, such as Deansboro.

9. The fact that the integration of the community was not purposely planned, but has been the result of various changes in the economic and social environment, of new desires and ideals among its people, and of intelligent guidance to facilitate adjustment to these changes.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What were the factors which influenced the integration of the Waterville community and brought out the common interests of its people?

2. To what degree can the citizens of the Waterville area control the changing character of their community?

3. Is there any fundamental difference between the ultimate objectives of programs of interest groups and those of community welfare groups?

4. How did the social survey of Waterville affect the movement toward community organization?

5. How has the behavior of Waterville changed toward the leadership of newcomers in community affairs?

6. By what means can communities be brought to assimilate new-

comers more readily and to make use of their abilities? Is this a function of community organization?

7. When horse transportation was most common, the idea of the "radius of the team haul" was one means of locating the rural community. Is this equally applicable to a community in which automobiles are used?

EXERCISES

1. List the important social and economic changes that were responsible for the growth of the Waterville community area.

2. Select four of these changes, and describe specifically how they affected the organization of the community and its neighborhoods.

3. Name the original communities and neighborhoods that are now included in the modern Waterville community area.

4. List the services the neighborhoods performed for rural people in the Waterville area in the years 1800, 1900, and 1938.

CHAPTER III

THE RURAL COMMUNITY

History. Before we can study what is involved in the organization of the rural community, we must have a definite idea of just what the rural community is, its structure, and its nature. In this country the rural community has no legal status, nor has it any established boundaries or corporate structure. We have seen that it is composed of farms and their village center. In parts of Europe and most of the Orient, rural people live in villages and go out to work on their land which is in scattered plots or strips within a boundary that definitely divides the territory of one village from that of another. This form of village community was characteristic of the settlements of the early New England colonies and of those of the lower Hudson valley, but, as the general westward migration went forward, the people settled on the land, made available to them by congressional land acts with no reference to village or community life, save in some exceptional cases such as the Mormon settlements in Utah. The agricultural village in the middle west was merely a business center at which the farmer traded and where he marketed his produce. The farmers' schools and churches were mostly in the open country, and their social life centered in them or in a loosely defined neighborhood. Although the village business man depended upon the farmer for patronage, his business affiliations were with the town and city, and considerable antipathy existed between the farmers and villagers in many sections because of the buyer-seller relations involved.

Not until better roads became general in the present century and the use of automobiles became common, so that farm people could get to the village more easily, did they make more use of it and gradually come to realize that they had a community of interests. Better transportation made this possible, but other forces stimulated the development of the village-country community. In most of the

older sections, open-country population decreased while the cost of maintaining institutions increased, so that it was more difficult to maintain satisfactory schools and churches in the open country. New standards of living demanded better facilities for the open country. The general desire for high school education brought the farm youth to the villages and hastened the movement for consolidated schools. An expanding program of activities was not possible for the open-country church with a non-resident pastor, and farm people came more 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. As the standard of living rose, the farm and village became more interdependent. But only in the last twenty-five years has this common interest become apparent and has the community idea received recognition.

It must be frankly recognized that in most parts of this country the rural community is an emergent sociological group; it is in the process of becoming. It is not a legal unit, as is the village community in Europe, or the incorporated village or city municipality in this country. Only in New England has it been institutionalized in the "town" (township) government, which evolved from the village community of colonial days. There is, however, every prospect that the new high school and consolidated school districts, where the schools are located in villages, may give an institutional form to their areas, which may ultimately become rural municipalities for other purposes of local government. This process has been observed in the case of Waterville, and may be seen in the Blackwell community (p. 97). In hilly sections there is a geographical basis for the development of the rural community as a unit of association, although this is less evident with the use of the automobile; while in other cases rivers, lakes or mountains form natural boundaries. However, in fairly level country these natural boundaries do not occur, and the community area depends chiefly upon the service areas of the village centers. Accordingly the community idea is more general in the North, which has inherited it from New England, whereas in the South historical, economic, and social reasons have prevented the small villages from becoming important social centers and the county seat town is often the community

center for the whole county. Yet in spite of these facts there seems to be a steady trend toward the adoption of the community as an ideal of rural social organization throughout the country. As the neighborhood, with its open country church and one room school, was the local unit of social organization of rural life in the past, the rural community, centering around a village with a high school or consolidated school, promises to be the social unit of the future.[1]

The fundamental fact with regard to the structure of the rural community in relation to its problems of organization is that it is composed of two elements, the village, and the farmers and others living in the surrounding open country. It is true that there are some rural communities which, having no village centers, may be called open-country communities, but they are relatively few and their importance tends to decline as does that of the rural neighborhood.

Locating the Rural Community. Although there had been several important sociological studies of rural communities before then, it was not until 1915 that Dr. C. J. Galpin[2] invented a method of locating and mapping the rural community, and so made the concept more definitive. 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 mapped the areas served by the church, the school, the bank, the milk station, the Grange, etc. Although Dr. Galpin did not give any precise definition of the rural community, his studies in Walworth County, Wisconsin, led him to the conclusion:

> It is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the conclusion that the trade zone about one of these agricultural civic centers forms the boundary of an actual, if not legal, community, within which the ap-

[1] See Dwight Sanderson, "Criteria of Rural Community Formation." *Rural Sociology,* vol. III, pp. 373-384, December 1938.

[2] Charles J. Galpin, "The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community." *Research Bulletin 34,* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station. Also given in his *Rural Life.*. New York, Century Co., 1920.

parent 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.[3]

The boundaries of the areas thus mapped will be found by no means coincident. Most of them, however, are shown to center in one village, and usually the trade area is the most significant in determining the service area of this center, although, in the case of smaller villages, the area served by a consolidated school or high school tends to become most important. When the areas served by the chief institutions of adjacent village centers are mapped, it is usually found that a composite line of the different boundaries separating the service areas of these centers will approximate the boundaries of the communities.[4] A line which divides adjacent community areas so that most of the families either side of this line go most frequently to, or their chief interests are at, the village center within that boundary, will be the boundary between the adjacent communities. Thus, from the standpoint of location only, a community is the local area tributary to the center of the common interests of its people.

Definitions. The community is not, however, merely an area or the people living in an area. It is rather a pattern of association or of common behavior in which the people of the area participate to form a definite system of social interaction in which they play a part and by which they are more or less controlled. 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."[5] Another recent definition of the community expresses the same idea: "A community is a

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[4] See Dwight Sanderson, "Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," *Bulletin 614,* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Figures 8, 9, and 13.

[5] *Balancing Country Life.* Edited by Country Work Department of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association. New York, Association Press, 1917, p. 60.

population aggregate, inhabiting a contiguous territory, integrated through common experience, possessing a number of basic service institutions, conscious of its local unity, and able to act in a corporate capacity." [6]

The last definition brings out the fact that a community is composed not only of people, but of organizations and institutions. Often there is a keener loyalty to these groups than to the community. There are, therefore, both geographical and psychological aspects of the rural community concept.[7] With both of these factors in mind we may formulate the following definition of the rural community:

A rural community is that form of association maintained between the people, and between their institutions, in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a village which is the center of their common activities.

The essential points of this definition are: (1) that the rural community is composed of both farm and village people, the farm people living on dispersed homesteads (in contrast to the modern agricultural village of Europe and Asia, where they live in the village), and also of their institutions; (2) that the community area is defined by a boundary within which the village forms the center of the common activities of most of the families; and (3) that the real community, from a sociological standpoint, is the *form of association* between these people and between their institutions in the given area. The rural community is a locality group. It is composed of the people and their institutions which are located in a given geographical area; but, as is true of any group, the real community consists of the established relationships which are recognized by them as more or less controlling their behavior, it is a *form* of association, a pattern of behavior, of psychic interaction between the people and between their institutions within a local area.

This is not the place for a thorough discussion of the structure and functions of the rural community as a sociological group, but the student who has not already done so should familiarize himself

[6] Lloyd Allen Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 27. Reprinted by permission.

[7] For a more detailed discussion of these two aspects, see Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community*, pp. 473-82.

with the literature on the subject.[8] There are, however, certain differences in rural communities which need emphasis as a basis for a study of their organization.

Community Structure. We have emphasized that a rural community consists of a form of association between the people *and* between their institutions or organizations. In the small rural community with only a half dozen or so organized groups, the problems of interrelationship between them will usually not be important because most of the people will belong to all of them, or to all for which they are eligible because of age or sex characteristics. In larger communities with numerous organizations, there is a difference in the problem of community organization because of the competition and sometimes the conflict between groups. The establishment of right relationships between the institutions and groups becomes the chief problem of community organization in such instances. In the small community, therefore, community organization will be concerned more with the relationships of the individuals, while in larger communities it will have to deal more with the relationships of the organized groups to the common welfare. For it must be remembered that the American type of rural community is largely a voluntary relationship which is in a process of becoming or emergence, in contrast to the European village community into which one is born as into a family and to which the individual has a very definite loyalty because of its definite geographical boundaries and historical identity.[9] In the American rural communities, especially those more newly established, the loyalty of the individual tends to be given to the various groups to which he belongs rather than to the community as a whole. The feeling of obligation to the community itself, however, is stronger in the older, more established communities, as may be seen in New England and the longer-settled parts of the country, where local tradition has always been strong.

It is obvious, therefore, that the problems of community organization will differ with the size of the community, for there are essential differences in the structure and functions of communities as

[8] See *ibid.* and the bibliography in "Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," *Bulletin 614,* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.

[9] Cf. Walter A. Terpenning, *Village and Open-Country Neighborhoods.* New York, The Century Co., 1931. Chapters V-XII.

they become larger and their social organization becomes more complex. The number and variety of services furnished by a village vary with the size of its population and that of its farming constituency. This is directly due to the fact that an increase in division of labor is dependent upon a sufficient volume of business to afford an income. This means that the smaller villages can maintain only those services which are most commonly used by their people while the larger villages can supply those services which are only occasionally used by the people within an area including a number of smaller villages and their constituencies. The number and variety of service agencies to village population has been very carefully analyzed for New York State by Dr. Bruce L. Melvin, whose data show the number of economic and social agencies for villages of various sizes.[10] A small village will have only a grocery or general store, a garage, possibly a hardware store or feed store, a church, a Grange, and a small school; while a large village will also have a bank, chain groceries, a drug store, a furniture store, a good hardware store, a shoe store or department store, a moving picture theater, one or more lodges, a high school, a physician, and possibly a newspaper.

Not only do communities differ in size but they differ radically in their composition and individuality. Thus some communities have a homogeneous population, while others are divided into two or more nationality or racial classes, and some are divided by economic and social status of industrial workers and farmers. Furthermore, communities have a history and a tradition which in some cases have a very large influence on the process of community integration. All of these factors have to be considered in determining the best procedure for community organization, as will be discussed later. (See Chapter VIII.)

Indeed, after one has studied several rural communities, he becomes aware that each has as distinct an individuality as do various persons (see p. 219), and probably this is due to causes similar to those which influence the development of personality in an individual. To understand the character and attitudes of a community and the factors which have produced and are affecting them is as im-

[10] See Bruce L. Melvin, "Village Service Agencies," *Bulletin 493*, 1925. Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.

portant in attempting to influence a community as in the process of educating an individual.

The Rural Neighborhood. We have noted that, in the early settlement of this country and until the concept of the community became current, the rural neighborhood was the principal unit of social organization of those living in the open country. Although the neighborhood is still the most important local unit in many isolated sections, it has had a noticeable decline in the older parts of the country since the World War. It is true that some new neighborhoods have arisen around gas stations and consolidated schools, particularly in semisuburban areas, but there have not been enough to offset the general decline of the unit [11] as a vital rural group. It is important, therefore, to distinguish between the rural community and the rural neighborhood.

The rural neighborhood as a social unit may be defined as a restricted locality whose few families are known to associate more closely with each other than with families or groups outside the area. Often the neighborhood centers around an open-country school, church, store, mill, or other institution. A hamlet of a dozen or a score of houses, too small to be considered a village, is one type of neighborhood. Many rural neighborhoods began as groups of kinfolk living on adjacent farms around the first ancestral home, and so we have such neighborhood names as Smith's Corners or Jones' Hill. In any case, both the restricted geographical area and the closeness of association among its families are characteristic of this social unit, and furthermore the association within the area is closer and more intimate than is usual in a larger community.

The neighborhood differs from the community, too, in relative self-sufficiency. A community, even the smallest, furnishes the services and institutions most commonly used by its inhabitants, but the neighborhood supplies only one, or at most a few, of such needs to its people, who must patronize a community center to obtain the others. The neighborhood is a form of social organization adapted to a state of relative isolation, as occurred when mud roads and horse transportation made travel difficult. Neighborhoods may exist within a community and be a part of it, or a given neighborhood

[11] E. deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 92-96.

may be divided so that its members may form parts of two or more communities. Where definite neighborhoods exist, and a few of them exist in most sections, their interests and attachments must be considered in attempting any form of community organization. In some cases, it may be wise to plan to improve individual neighborhoods and then to draw them into the larger life of the community, rather than to ignore them.

The basic peculiarity of the American rural community is that it is divided between the village and the open country, and this gives rise to one of the chief objectives of rural community organization, that is, to make farmers and villagers realize their interdependence for achieving their common welfare. Village-country relations, therefore, demand our attention next.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In what ways has a rising standard of living for farm people made them and village people more interdependent?
2. To what extent has the accessibility of cities affected the importance of the rural community as a social unit?
3. What service-area boundaries most nearly coincide with the community boundaries for small village centers? For large village centers?
4. Which organizations cooperate best in your community and which are most competitive or have conflicts?
5. Just what is meant in the definition of the rural community by saying that it is a "form of association"?
6. Is the rural community a *primary* group or a *secondary* group? Can this question be answered for rural communities as a class, or do they differ in this regard?

EXERCISES

1. Draw a map of your * rural community showing the main roads, railroads, and streams, and the boundaries of the most important service areas, such as: groceries, bank, church, and high school or consolidated

* "Your" refers to your own home community or one in which you have lived and with which you are intimately acquainted. This will be referred to as "your community" in subsequent exercises, and should be used wherever possible for preparing classwork. If you do not know a rural community, answer the questions in this and the following sets of exercises by illustrations from one or more communities described in Chapters II or VI, in Part II of E. deS. Brunner's *Village Communities,* or J. F. Steiner's *The American Community in Action.*

school. Then draw the boundaries of villages, and the boundary of what you consider to be the community area. Also draw the boundaries of townships or other local governmental units. At the edge of the map, indicate the distance to each of the adjacent village centers. Indicate location of hamlets, open-country neighborhoods, churches, schools, etc. Draw map, on scale of one mile to the inch if possible.

2. What active neighborhoods exist in your community? What common activities do the people of these neighborhoods have which distinguish them from those outside their neighborhoods?

3. List all the organizations and institutions in the rural community best known to you. Indicate those which are primarily special interest groups and those which are primarily community welfare groups.

4. Make a list of twenty-five people well known to you in your rural community. Name the organization to which each one would give his primary loyalty and state whether he would be more interested in this organization than in the welfare of the community as a whole.

5. List the tangible evidences that the "people are coming to act together in the chief concerns of life" in the rural community best known to you.

6. Think of two rural communities well known to you and describe the chief differences in their "personalities," i.e., their distinctive attitudes and characteristic behaviors.

READINGS

1. Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community.* Boston, Ginn and Co., 1932, pp. 469-494.

2. John H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, Chapter V, "The Rural Community," pp. 109-137.

3. Warren H. Wilson, *The Evolution of the Rural Community.* Boston, Pilgrim Press, 1923.

4. Dwight Sanderson, "Rural Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," *Bulletin 614,* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, June 1934. See Bibliography.

5. Newell L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology.* New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1934, Chapter IV, pp. 68-101.

6. Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community.* New York, Harper and Bros., 1938, Chapters I, II, and XXV.

7. American Association of School Administrators, *Schools in Small Communities.* Seventeenth Yearbook, Chapter I, "The Community Setting," Washington, D. C., February 1939.

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE-COUNTRY RELATIONS

The basic problem of rural community organization arises from the presence of two geographical elements, the village and the open country. The village is an aggregation of homes, business houses, and institutions, in which the people have frequent contacts and many common interests. Because it is the place where the people of the open country come together more than elsewhere, the village business and professional men have more contacts with them than country people do with each other. The consequent advantage to the village in maintaining leadership, however, has decreased with the advent of automobiles and telephones which have made it possible for farmers to get in touch with each other easily without going to the village. Formerly the village merchant, banker, or tavern-keeper was apt to be the outstanding leader; today farmer leaders are much more common. Because the farms were scattered and roads were poor, the farmers' institutions, the church, the school, and the Grange hall, were usually in the open country and were neighborhood institutions. The village was a trading center, but the farmer's loyalty was to his neighborhood, as was seen in Waterville (p. 11). Here and there, where communities had been settled by those of some particular nationality or religious faith and had located their institutions in the village, this division was not so pronounced, but, as time went on and other elements moved in, differences arose even in these cases.

This basic geographical division created a social situation in which differences between village and country were fostered, and in which numerous causes of conflict arose. But with better communication conflict has decreased, and the necessity for cooperation to meet common needs, once realized, has increasingly characterized village-country relations. Let us examine first the chief causes of

conflict, then the influences which have made for cooperation, and finally the chief factors which have affected these changes.

I. Causes of Conflict

1. Economic Differences. Among the most frequent causes of conflict in the past have been those which arise from the natural differences of interest between buyer and seller. The village business man sells consumer's goods and buys or trades in farm products, while the farmer is buyer or seller. Until recently, the villager has been in the more advantageous position because it was difficult for the farmer to go elsewhere. But, now that the farmer can go to competing villages and cities, the attitude of the village business man has changed markedly. He realizes that he can retain the farmer's business only as he gives better service than is obtainable elsewhere. When Dr. Brunner made his first survey of 140 agricultural villages in 1924, he found that prices were one of the most frequent causes of conflict. In many cases the merchants had felt that they had a monopoly of the local business and so had either let their stocks run down or were overcharging some because of the losses from unwise extension of credit to others. He concluded that "in a large majority of the cases in which store prices were an active cause of poor relationship between village and country, it was the opinion of the field workers that the village stores were below par." [1] As farmers got automobiles and went to the larger villages and cities to trade, the local merchants complained that the farmers purchased for cash where they could buy more cheaply, but expected credit locally when needed. This was changed to a considerable extent by the growth of chain stores which got the farmers into the idea of paying cash and which compelled the local merchants to improve their stocks of goods, to learn better merchandising methods, and to cater to their farmer trade. In the resurvey of these same villages in 1930 there was much less complaint about prices, and in the third survey in 1936 it was an infrequent cause of conflict.

While the farmer complained of prices charged him for goods, he was equally disgruntled over the prices paid him for his products.

[1] E. deS. Brunner, Gwendolyn S. Hughes, and Marjorie Patten, *American Agricultural Villages*. New York, Harper and Bros. (Geo. H. Doran Co.), 1927, p. 101. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publishers.

This led to the organization of cooperative marketing associations which at first were bitterly opposed by village business men and often by local banks. But, with state and federal legislation encouraging their organization and with a consequent general change of attitude in the business world toward them, the village merchants have come to see that, although a few dealers in farm produce may be forced out of business, they will benefit from any increase in the farmer's income. Furthermore, his increased ability to market at other points at least some types of farm products has forced a greater uniformity in prices offered him, so the marketing of the village business man has been forced onto a more functional basis. This has been true for farm products having other than local markets, but is not true for those products, such as milk, cannery crops, etc., which have to be manufactured or processed locally. Where such plants are locally controlled, they have often been the source of conflict.

2. **School Consolidation.** Some of the most bitter conflicts between village and country have been over the consolidation of schools or the enlargement of the high school district.[2] In some cases this has occurred over the attempt to centralize the elementary grades in a village graded school, while in others it has sprung from the attempt to enlarge the high school district. More often these two problems have arisen together through the desire to establish a new high school and to consolidate the lower grades in the same building, using one bus service for all and thus reducing the transportation cost per pupil.

Many factors have stimulated school consolidation, all of which need not be considered here and which vary in different states. Two or three should be noticed, for they directly affect our problem of community organization. First, there has been a considerable loss of rural and, particularly, farm population in the older sections of the country. From 1910 to 1920, one-third of the counties in the United States lost population, and from 1920 to 1930, forty-one per cent of all the counties (including one-fourth of the national population) lost population. Many a rural school district has too few pupils to make it feasible to maintain a school or to have the best social situation for the pupils, even if taxes are not prohibitive. Two

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

or three districts are often combined, but this makes a long walk for many children.

A second factor is the rapid growth of rural high schools. Prior to 1900, there were relatively few high schools outside of cities, and country boys and girls did not expect to obtain a high school education unless they could board in the village. As early as 1902, the National Education Association passed a resolution "that high school opportunities should be as ample and free to the country children as they are fast coming to be to the children of every progressive urban community," and this was reaffirmed in subsequent years. About 1910, this idea was developed into a sort of slogan that every rural child should have the opportunity to attend high school while living at home. Obviously, this would have been almost impossible before automobile transportation. The result was a rapid growth of rural high schools, which was stimulated by the Smith-Hughes Act of 1916 for federal aid for vocational education in agriculture and home economics. In 1900, there were only 6,005 public secondary schools in the United States, but in 1932 there were 26,409, or four times as many, and the number of pupils in these schools increased from 519,251 to 5,140,021, or about ten times. Most of the increase was in rural communities. This brought large numbers of country children into the villages, where most of the high schools were located. To make it possible for the country children to attend high school, bus transportation was necessary, and when this proved feasible it was evidently equally practicable to transport the lower grades to a consolidated school where it was desirable.

The consolidated schools can furnish much better curricula and other facilities, as well as make possible better supervision and administration, while the cost is better equalized when it is spread over a larger district. The merits of consolidation have been so apparent as to result in a steady reduction in the number of one-room country schools. In some states, this has been stimulated by state legislation and state aid, as in New York with its legislation for Central Rural School Districts, while in other states which have county systems the movement has been furthered by county school administrations.

The enlargement of high school districts has sometimes been initiated by the villages which have been maintaining high schools and sometimes by their rural patrons. The village has often found

that the tuition it was charging country children was not paying the costs; in other cases a new building was desired, but would make too great a financial burden unless the village district could be enlarged to include the country area patronizing it. Sometimes, too, the country people felt that the tuition in the village high school was too high, or they desired a part in its management so that they might have instruction in agriculture, home economics, and other vocational subjects, adapting the curriculum to the needs of the large majority of students who did not expect to go to college.

These changes have not occurred without many bitter contests. The surprising fact is that in most cases, after three or four years in which the merits of the new school have been demonstrated, there has been general agreement that it is a great improvement and most of the former opponents have become its advocates. Furthermore, there has been a decrease in the conflict over school consolidation and enlargement of districts as school administrators have learned how to educate their people to the desirability of such changes, rather than forcing this upon them. Where wisely administered, the demand for such changes is coming more from the people themselves. The movement is voluntary and is not pushed until the patrons are fully convinced of its desirability.

These conflicts over changes in the schools have been largely due to the farmers' fear of village domination in the school. The country school was their own institution which they could control as they pleased. It was true that the neighborhood fights in the district school meeting were often as fierce as those with the village and that they did not always result in obtaining the best school administration, but the patrons got a satisfaction out of feeling that they were in control. Furthermore, there was a fear of the moral influence of the village and of village ways on country children. Whether this was warranted or not is beyond the point; the important fact is that it existed and was deep seated. As a result, in some states, many consolidated schools have been located in the open country, although this tendency has declined in recent years. This whole process is but a phase in the transfer of the loyalties of the open-country people from the old neighborhood to the new community centered in the village, and such transfers always produce emotional tensions.

3. Inadvertent Acts. Another cause of friction between village and country, as between individuals and between groups, is inadvertent acts which have been done thoughtlessly, but which affect adversely the interests of the other group or seem to impugn its status. Often there is a sort of tacit assumption on the part of the village that it can speak for the community as a whole which irritates the farmers. Brunner gives one instance of a local telephone company whose stock was largely owned in the village:

> This company operated several lines into the country. Originally, there was no toll charge for any subscriber who desired to talk to any point in the system. Later, a regulation was put into effect whereby a small charge was made if a country subscriber desired to call any one on another rural line. Thus, the farmer could call only villagers or those on his own line free of charge, but the villager could reach any point in the system without charge. The farmers organized their own company as a result and boycotted the village stores for months.[3]

Frequently, incipient conflict arises from failure of villagers to consult farmer leaders in planning community affairs or in failing to elect them as officers or to appoint them to important committees in leading organizations.

4. Superiority Attitudes. These inadvertent acts have often been the result of a rather snobbish attitude on the part of villagers, who have assumed that farm families are not their social equals. It is interesting that in parts of the South exactly the reverse is true. The old plantation families look down on the villagers and have their own social set.

Before the days of the automobile, the village had much more social life than the open country because it was easier for villagers to get together, they had more time, and they were not, on the whole, engaged in as hard physical labor. The farmer made hard work a fetish and rather looked down on those who gave much attention to social life. Thus, in his account of rural life in Central New York prior to 1900, Williams says:

> There was in this early period a pronounced feeling of difference between the country and the village. The life of the farmer was a

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

life of action, as compared with the sedentary occupations of the village. His habits of action unfitted him for village life and most farmers were inclined to keep out of the village and to continue to live on the farm to the last. The farmer judged villagers from the point of view of his own attitudes which were so different from those of village people that misunderstanding was inevitable.[4]

The same author has given a good account of the beginnings of more active social relations between village and country in the present century and of the basis of the village's attitude of superiority:[5]

> The isolated farm population responded slowly to the new materialism and social stimuli of rivalry, for the families lived too widely distant from neighbors for rivalry to get a constant stimulus, and there were comparatively few ways in which farmers could display superiority. It was among the farmers' families on the choicer farms near the villages that rivalry developed. . . . The acquaintance of prosperous farmers' wives was cultivated by village women. The village banker wanted the farmer's money deposited in his bank, the village merchant wanted his trade, and the banker's wife and the merchant's wife were good business agents. The social rivalry of the village thus came to involve prosperous farmers' families. But on the whole, it served to distinguish village from country people. This appeared sometimes to be a source of satisfaction to village people, for, in order to compensate for inferiority to the city, their aim was to appear superior to the country.[6]

Fortunately, this feeling of social superiority on the part of the villager has largely passed, because of more frequent contacts with farm families since automobiles have become common and because the automobile has given the farmer a new status. More farmers than villagers have automobiles and frequently the farmer has a better car, which is the present badge of social distinction. The farmer, on the other hand, no longer feels himself an outsider in

[4] James M. Williams, *Our Rural Heritage*. New York, 1925, p. 117. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, F. S. Crofts and Co. See Chapter XIII, "Attitudes on Social Intercourse."

[5] J. M. Williams, *The Expansion of Rural Life*. New York, 1926. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, F. S. Crofts and Co. See Chapter II, "The Reaction of City and Village on Rural Life," and Chapter IV, "The Increasing Importance of the Village in the Rural Community."

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

the village, and his children in the consolidated school or high school feel that it is their school as much as do the village children and are indistinguishable from them.

5. Village Incorporation. Certainly, the incorporation of villages as separate political units has emphasized the division between village and country and, in some cases, has resulted in conflict, because villages were unwilling to extend electric lines to farm homes or for some such reason. However, incorporation took place so that the village might proceed with various improvements, such as paving, water supply, lighting, sanitation, etc., for which its people wished to tax themselves, but whose cost would not be borne by the rest of the township or county. Thus incorporation may have prevented conflict which would otherwise have occurred. Today there is less reason for village incorporation than there was at the beginning of this century, for farmers use the village pavements and lighting as much as the townspeople. Some of the functions of village government are being taken over by the county. It is possible, therefore, that there may be a decline in village incorporation on account of the additional taxes involved. In many cases, villages have been incorporated because they were on or near township or county boundaries and it was difficult for their people to obtain local improvements without separate incorporation.[7] On the other hand, where the village is the natural center of a township, as in the old New England town, there is little reason for its incorporation, and New England villages have not found such a step necessary. We shall consider later the possible advantages of a new form of local government which would make the village the center of a rural municipality which would form a true community.

6. Decreasing Conflict. It is encouraging to note that, in his resurvey of 140 villages in 1936, Dr. Brunner found only thirteen in which there was definite conflict between village and country, as against twenty-four in 1924, and he reports that village-country relations had definitely improved in over one-third of the communities studied.[8] This is a corollary of the increased cooperation between

[7] Cf. C. R. Wasson and Dwight Sanderson, "Relation of Community Areas to Town Government in New York State," *Bulletin 555*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station. April 1933.

[8] E. deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, Table 29, p. 87.

village and country which has resulted from their more frequent contacts, which will now be considered.

II. Factors Affecting Cooperation

1. Schools. While schools have been a chief cause of community conflicts, they have also been the chief factor in promoting better cooperation and in the integration of the community. In his study of 140 village communities in 1924, Dr. Brunner found that "among institutions, the high school was by far the most potent in building and sustaining good relations between village and country, while business men's organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce came second." [9] This has been confirmed by two subsequent surveys of the same communities.

In a study of fifteen Central Rural School Districts in New York State made in 1937 to determine their effect on community organization, the following were among the conclusions:

> The movement for centralization did not increase antagonism in the area. In no instance has any permanent antagonism remained. Where the best methods of educating the voters with regard to the advantages of the central district were used during the formation of the district, there was a definite gain in community consciousness. Strengthening of community spirit was more directly the effect of the successful operation of the new central school than of the efforts to procure such a school system.
>
> A significant change that can be attributed to the central school is the increase in the area of acquaintance of the people within the district. This general conclusion of the leaders in the districts studied also indicates that the boundaries of the school districts have been carefully chosen, and that the central district may easily become an integrated community area.
>
> The Parent-Teacher Association was organized after the centralization or was given new life at that time. Since it extends its influence over the entire district by its direct contact with the parents of pupils, it has in many places served as the most important organization in creating a cooperative spirit among the people of the community.

[9] Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

Village-country relations are also improved in the central school districts. The interaction between country and village people has increased, much as the area of acquaintance has increased, and the lines of demarcation between country and village people are disappearing more rapidly with the impetus given by the common participation in the school which serves the larger area.[10]

This general effect of the consolidated school is well illustrated by the growth of community association in Waterville, New York, which was studied in 1928, 1933, and 1937, as given above in Chapter II.

> The sociological result of this reorganization of educational procedure has been the centering of interest more and more in Waterville, and a minimizing of the importance of the old neighborhoods and the two townships themselves. This has come about in several ways.
>
> First, it has drawn the natural concern which parents have for their children, toward Waterville; when the parents think of their children at school, they "think toward" the village rather than toward the cross-roads where the district school stood.
>
> Again, the Parent-Teacher Association, consisting in 1930 of 135 village parents and 67 farm parents, has played an important part. Organized around the central school as the common concern of farmer and villager, it has brought these two into a common organization. Its meetings are held in the school building in the village; meetings at which the parents see their children, from farm and village alike, playing in the orchestra, taking part in dramas, presenting model class sessions, using the equipment of the gymnasium, the shop, and the home-economics rooms. Before, the farmer paid to have his children go to the village school; this new school is his school as much as it is that of the village; his taxes helped build it, his taxes help pay the teachers. Had it not been for him, there could never have been such a school. At the meetings of the Association, the pride of interested ownership is on every face.

The growth of appreciation of this school in Waterville is shown by the enlargement of the district and by the increase in country

[10] Eugene T. Stromberg, "The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization," *Bulletin 699,* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, pp. 38-39, 1938.

pupils. In 1929, there were 412 pupils in the elementary and secondary grades, of whom 175, or 42 per cent, came from the open country. In 1932, there were 557 pupils, of whom 320, or 60 per cent, came from the country, and in 1936, there were 738 pupils with about the same proportion from the country. Membership in the Parent-Teacher Association has also increased to 175 and includes more members from the open country.

2. **Business Men's and Farmers' Organizations.** Better relations have also been promoted by joint organizations of village business men and farmers. In his 1924 survey of village communities, Brunner recorded the following instances:

> In a Georgia village, the business men decided that no industry they could import held as much promise for their prosperity as agriculture, but their chances for prosperity were small unless the farmer could be persuaded to diversify his products. Many interviews were held with the farmers and finally a board of trade was organized on whose directorate of thirteen were nine farmers and four villagers. . . . This move convinced all the countrymen of the sincerity of the village and won a hearty response to the board's efforts.
>
> . . . a greater proportion of Pacific Coast communities had solved the problem of town-and-country relationships than in any other region. In the citrus fruit sections, this was because all distinctions between farmer and villager had disappeared. In a few communities an approach to the system prevalent in parts of Europe was found, the farmer or rancher, as the Californian would say, living in town and going out to his holdings. Here, too, business men were frequently found owning ranches. This situation, coupled with the intensive cultivation and small farms that usually go with irrigation, the greater prosperity of the farmer, and the closer contact between the two groups, brought about a greater recognition of the interdependence of the two elements of the community and afforded less opportunity for misunderstanding and conflict. Especially in California, farmers are given their due place in chambers of commerce and similar organizations, and instead of booming the village as a favorable place for locating some infant industry, the majority of these chambers spent their efforts and funds in promoting the agricultural products and possibilities of their communities.[11]

[11] Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

Luncheon or service clubs, such as Rotary, Kiwanis, and others, are coming to include both the village business men and farmers in many rural areas and serve as community organizations. The new movement of Ruritan Clubs in Virginia, which is specifically designed to bring village and country together, will be noted later. Membership of villagers in the Farm Bureau has also served the same end. In the resurvey of villages in 1936, Brunner and Lorge record:

> Farm Bureaus and such luncheon clubs as the Kiwanis and Rotary were also important in this connection. In a number of places, these were carrying on many joint activities. In several, the joint activities culminated in an annual dinner on the closing day of the annual meeting of the County Farm Bureau or Grange.[12]

A good example of such cooperation occurred in Waterville (see p. 35), when there was danger of closing the local milk plant. "A joint committee of farmers and business men was formed, the Exchange Club and the Dairymen's League cooperating; the situation was studied by the high school agricultural-course students, who canvassed the region to determine where the milk was being sent; and farmers and business men together went out to interview the men who were sending their milk elsewhere." Such a joint effort would have been impossible a few years previously, because of the distrust of business men in the Dairymen's League, resulting from their general opposition to cooperatives.

3. **Church Cooperation.** The decline of the open-country church and the increasing attendance of farm people at village churches have already been noted (see p. 18), and have been revealed by the repeated surveys made by Dr. Brunner and his collaborators.

> The trend toward an increasing proportion of country people in village church-membership has been most decided in the twenty-one counties covering the period from 1920 to 1930. The increase in this decade for the Protestant churches was from 22.6 per cent to 39.3 per cent. In the Middle West and the Far West half the members of the village churches were country people in the latter year. . . .
>
> A further indication of the villageward trend was the positive relationships that existed between the increase of country members in

[12] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

village churches and the abandonment of country churches in their areas.[13]

The same trend was observed in the resurvey of 140 village communities, but was not so marked as in the whole counties, for it is most pronounced in the small villages, where there was an increase in open-country members from 34.1 per cent in 1930 to 45.4 per cent in 1936, or 11.3 per cent, although for all the villages studied the increase was but 2.7 per cent. [14]

Not only are the country people going more to the village churches, but the latter 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, which will be discussed later.

4. Fire Protection. Motor trucks have made possible the extension of the services of village fire departments to the surrounding farms, and they have been exceedingly generous in responding to such calls although usually they are remunerated only by the individual served. In many places, special fire districts covering the community served have been formed to equalize the cost and obtain equipment specially adapted to farm fires, or the township has cooperated with the village in support of the fire department. In 1930, Brunner found that six of the 140 villages studied had departments giving rural service, although none had them in 1924; in 1936, six more had placed the fire service on a tax-supported basis.[15] In New York State in 1930, questionnaires answered by town officials showed that 59 per cent of 677 townships reporting had fire protection for the whole township and 7.2 per cent had partial protection, and that 95 per cent of 446 fire companies reporting gave service to the surrounding country.[16] As with the schools, some conflict has developed over the fire service, but it has usually produced better cooperation and good feeling between village and country.

[13] E. deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, pp. 209-210. This and subsequent quotations reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[14] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, Table 98, p. 307.

[15] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[16] Cf. Wasson and Sanderson, *op. cit.*, Tables 11, 12, p. 21. See Figure 4.

5. Community Fairs and Festivals. There has been a notable increase of local community fairs and festivals. Often these have been inaugurated by the 4-H Clubs for the display of their exhibits. Kolb and Brunner state:

> They were credited by the local leaders with bringing village and country people together on a mutual basis, and of eliminating divisions between factions, creeds, and classes in both sections of the larger community. . . .
>
> In such places, farmers could not at first understand the departure from the earlier and more usual trade-catching devices; but, after several reassuring experiences, they gladly attended and soon assumed their proportionate share of responsibility for the whole enterprise.[17]

As a result of these various cooperative enterprises, Brunner and Lorge show that, in 1936, 85 out of 140 villages were rated as cooperative with regard to village-country relations, as against only 27 in 1924 and 100 in 1930,[18] showing a definite trend toward better community relations.

III. Factors Affecting Changes in Village-Country Relations

Having noted the decline of conflict and the increase of cooperation between village and country, it may be well to summarize briefly some of the more important factors which have affected this change.

1. **Automobiles.** Increased contacts resulting from the general use of automobiles are evidently one of the chief causes. Farmers get to the village more frequently and are, therefore, no longer regarded as outsiders.

2. **Telephones.** The more general use of the telephone connecting the farmer and his village center has also increased communication and ability to work together. Easy communication makes it simpler to clear up misunderstandings and tends to prevent them.

3. **Roads.** Farm-to-market roads have made it possible for the farmer to get to the village more easily and have tended to cen-

[17] Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

[18] Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, Table 29, p. 87. The decrease in 1936 was mostly due to more villages being classed as "neutral," although there were six more "conflicting" than in 1930.

ter his travel in the nearest market town. Thus, the decline of neighborhoods from 1930 to 1936 was observed to be particularly marked in Pennsylvania, where many farm-to-market roads had been built during the period.[19]

4. **Chain Stores.** Chain groceries have forced the village merchants to improve their stocks and merchandising methods and have compelled them to meet competition by cultivating the rural trade. There is less complaint by farmers of unfair prices.

5. **Schools.** High schools and consolidated schools have increased attendance from the open country, have widened the area of acquaintance, and have made the country young people feel that the village is theirs. Parent-Teacher Associations have brought village and country patrons together in support of the school.

6. **Depression.** The agricultural depression of the 1920's and the industrial depression of the early '30's brought village business men to realize that their income came from the farmers. They rallied to the farmers' support, they were keenly aware of the effect of the farmers' AAA checks on village business, and business men and farmers alike worked to keep the local bank solvent.

7. **Neighborhood Decline.** The decline of open-country neighborhoods has brought more business and social relations to the village, as described for Waterville (p. 14).

8. **Recreation.** The fear of the attraction of commercial amusements in the cities and larger towns has forced rural people of village and country to work together for better local recreation facilities for their young people.

9. **Newspapers.** With the competition of the city press, country weeklies have found it impossible to maintain themselves as partisan political organs and have changed to community newspapers, so that they give major attention to community news and are active in promoting community enterprises rather than in stirring up political conflict as in former days.

10. **Banker-Farmer Movement.** The American Bankers' Association, through its state and regional organizations, has consistently promoted better relations between village bankers and farmers for a score of years.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

11. Outside Control. The tendency toward centralized control of local agencies in larger administrative units, as may be observed in chain stores, cooperative marketing associations, banks, and various functions of local government, has aroused a desire for preserving local autonomy and has tended to bring villagers and farm folk together for this purpose.[20]

All of these factors have been influential in bettering village-country relations and in bringing about a desire for better community integration.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What relation do rural free delivery routes or local telephone exchanges have to village-country relations?
2. What effect has the consolidated school or high school on village-country relations?
3. What interests and attitudes of villagers and farmers need to be understood in order to obtain better community relations between them?
4. What were the chief factors which affected community conflict or cooperation in the Waterville community?
5. What can the village church do to improve village-country relations?
6. How has the 4-H Club movement affected village-country relations?
7. What does the bulletin, "Social and Economic Areas in Central New York" (No. 614), show concerning the services obtained by rural people in cities and larger villages? What is the situation on this point in your community?

EXERCISES

1. List and locate the churches and schools in the open country in your community which have been closed during the present century. Where do the people now go for these services?
2. Determine the population gains or losses in your community during the present century. How has this affected local village-country relations?
3. List the factors which create conflict between town and country people, and those which coordinate activities and promote good will between them.

[20] Cf. Brunner and Kolb, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

4. Describe the social and economic relations of open-country people and villagers in your own community. In what do they cooperate and concerning what do they disagree?

5. Describe any outstanding conflicts between farmers and villagers in the history of your community. How were they settled and what permanent effects, if any, have there been?

6. Study the history of school consolidation in some district where there was conflict over it. Show how the conflict was resolved and what the results have been to community organization.

READINGS

1. E. deS. Brunner, Gwendolyn S. Hughes, and Marjorie Patten, *American Agricultural Villages.* New York, George H. Doran Co., 1927, Chapter III.

2. E. deS. Brunner and J. H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends.* New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, pp. 104-110.

3. E. deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, Chapter IV, pp. 83-92.

4. Dwight Sanderson, "Social and Economic Areas in Central New York," *Bulletin 614,* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, June, 1934.

5. Walter Burr, "Town-Country Conflict: A Case Study." Publication of Am. Sociol. Soc. XXIV, No. 4 (1930), pp. 41-49. Yearbook Section on Rural Sociology.

CHAPTER V

WHAT IS COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION?

ITS AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Having considered the nature and structure of the rural community, we must now determine what is meant by community organization, and what are the circumstances or conditions which give rise to a sense of need for a better organization of the community.

In the first place, we should recognize that every community must have some sort of organization if it is a real community. If our analysis of the community concept is valid (see definition on p. 50) it is a "form of association," which implies that there is a more or less established pattern of behavior or interaction among individuals and organizations or institutions within the community, so that, if we have an adequate understanding of this "form of interaction" or pattern of behavior, we may be able to predict how the community will react under ordinary circumstances. In other words, the very idea of community implies certain established relationships, and this is equivalent to saying that there is a certain degree of organization.

Thus *Webster's International Dictionary* defines the verb *to organize* as: "To arrange or constitute in interdependent parts, each having a special function, act, office, or relation with respect to the whole; to systematize; to get into working order; as to *organize* an army; to *organize* recruits," and under its definition of the noun *organization* it quotes Coleridge: "What is *organization* but the connection of parts in and for a whole, so that each part is, at once, end and means?" Community organization is, therefore, merely an improvement or perfecting of the relationships which make a community. The very idea of community carries with it the correla-

tive concept of organization. The community is itself a form of organization.

What, then, gives rise to the feeling of need for community organization? So long as the community is working satisfactorily, there is no such problem. As with any other system of organization, in whatever sphere, only when some of the parts fail to function with respect to the whole, or the whole fails to meet the needs of its constituent parts, does the need for better organization arise. The failure of the community to function satisfactorily may result from a breakdown or disruption of the established relationships or from the inability of the existing form of organization to adapt itself to a changed environment. Thus, to illustrate the first case, a rural community may have lost so much population that it can hardly support several churches. This heightens the competition among the churches. It may also have depended upon the leadership of certain individuals whose death leaves it without leadership. In both cases, the established forms of association have been weakened. Or, to illustrate the second case, automobiles become common and a new state road is built which connects the community with a larger village or city, whose competition is feared, as was the case with Waterville, (see p. 26), or a railroad is taken up, or a manufacturing plant is closed, which vitally affects the life of the community. The problems of community organization arise from social change within and without the community, and its need for a better mechanism in order to make the desired adjustments.[1]

What are the conditions of a community which might be called well organized? Do they involve the necessity of any formal sort of community organization or may organization consist merely of the ability of the community to function effectively as a unit? Possibly we may clarify the concept of community organization by considering its antonyms. What are the characteristics of a *disorganized* or of an *unorganized* community? A community can be disorganized only upon the presumption that a previous state of organization has existed. Thus, Steiner holds that "a community may be said to be disorganized when there is any serious breakdown

[1] Cf. J. F. Steiner, *The American Community in Action*, Chapter I, "Social Change and Community Development"; and Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community*, p. 646.

in the customary modes of control."[2] He goes on to say that this is usually associated with a large amount of individual demoralization and that it is often a protest against traditionalism or conservatism. Indeed, he advances the thesis that a certain amount of disorganization usually precedes an advance in organization and is a phase of the process of adjustment.[3] "The apparently inevitable tendency for our established agencies of control to become bound up with the past makes it necessary for their methods and policies to be called into question."[4] Disorganization may also be due to factionalism or conflict between groups or classes within the community. There is always more or less of a conflict of forces for the control of the community, whether it be between the business interests and the churches, between the churches and the school, or between any two of the groups which have or seek a position of dominance. Obviously, therefore, in diagnosing the social situation in any community, it will be necessary to determine what conflict for control exists and what groups or classes it involves. This will require a thorough knowledge of the community structure and of the existing relationships, and will be discussed further in the consideration of procedure in community organization (see Chapter VIII).

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 lacks integration as a whole, or a community may be *underorganized,* without enough different organizations to meet the needs of its people. Thus, a community that has no church, or one in which there are no organizations for youth or for men, may be considered unorganized in the sense that it is underorganized. In contrast, we find *overorganized* communities, where there seem to be too many organizations, or where there are so many as to cause duplication of effort, competition and conflict, which give rise to the need for better integration.

Thus, community organization may be conceived either as a process of integration of existing groups or organizations, or as the devel-

[2] J. F. Steiner, *Community Organization.* New York, The Century Co., 1925, Chapter III, "Community Disorganization," p. 30. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[3] J. F. Steiner, *The American Community in Action,* pp. 39-41.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 41.

opment of more of them to satisfy unmet social needs. In either case, organization means finding ways to meet community needs either through the better integration of its parts or in adding needed parts to its structure.

A good definition of community organization based upon the first of these views is one given by a former student: "Community organization is a continuous process for the interrelation and co-operation of individuals and groups working for the common interests and good of the people." [5] And from the same point of view, Steiner says: "Fundamentally, community organization has to do with problems of accommodation and social adjustment. More specifically, it is concerned with the interrelationships of groups within communities, their integration and coordination in the interest of efficiency and unity of action." [6]

I. Aim

If we take both views of the integration of parts of the community as well as a development of these structural parts, we may arrive at the following:

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.

In considering the aims and objectives of community organization, we need to remember constantly that they may be accomplished only through a better adjustment of existing parts or the creation of new parts; that we deal with the groups and individuals of the community by improving their relationships; and that only on special occasions is it possible to deal with the community as a whole. This emphasis, which is particularly important in considering the objectives of community organization, as contrasted with its more general aim, has been stressed by Steiner, as follows:

> The technique of community organization then must be found in connection with the manipulation and control of individuals and

[5] R. A. Dyer, now Junior Extension Agent in Columbia County, New York.

[6] J. F. Steiner, *Community Organization,* New York, The Century Co., 1925, p. 323.

groups instead of in some wholesale means of influencing and directing the community itself.[7]

It is a mistake to regard the community as a simple social unit that lends itself readily to manipulation and organization. On the contrary, community organization consists, for the most part, in dealing with groups or combinations of groups within a community, and in adjusting their differences so that all may exist side by side with a minimum of friction.[8]

The aim of community organization states the criteria by which we direct our general intention or purpose, but, in order to achieve this aim, we need to determine just what definite objectives must be attained. Organization or integration as a means to certain ends may be desirable, but it is only a means to certain ends, and has content and meaning only as we make it more specific in terms of the ends desired. What, then, are some of the specific objectives of community organization?

II. Specific Objectives

1. To Obtain Consciousness of Community Identity. Unless the individuals and organizations within a community area are able to think of it as being a spatial group apart from adjacent areas and unless they feel that they belong to it, the community has no identity and the foundation of community organization is lacking. The process of integration rests primarily upon a definite self-consciousness of the community, that is, the recognition of their interrelatedness by its individuals and groups, so that they feel themselves to be a unit as distinct from other communities, just as self-consciousness is essential for the individual.

> Individual minds become more completely integrated in proportion as they achieve a full self-consciousness, in proportion as the idea of the self becomes rich in content and the nucleus of a strong sentiment generating impulses that control and override impulses of all other sources.[9]

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 325.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 327.
[9] William McDougall, *The Group Mind*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926, p. 206. Reprinted by permission.

Obviously, a community name, which will usually be that of the village center, is the first essential of identity, and the determination of the general area included within the community naturally follows.

2. To Satisfy Unmet Needs. Unless there are common needs which individuals and groups are unable to satisfy for themselves and for which they require common action, there will be no dynamic for their action together as a community, as collective action is the basis of all community integration. The recognition of common needs, such as better roads, a new school, the suppression or prevention of delinquency, or the need of fire protection, which can be satisfied only through collective effort, forms the only firm basis for the first objective of community consciousness.[10] The determination of the needs of the community is, therefore, one of the first steps.

3. To Obtain Social Participation as a Means of Socialization. The ultimate goal of all human association is the development of better personalities by the individuals concerned. We have seen that a community is composed of the various groups in which its people associate. One of the chief handicaps to community action is the number of families and individuals who do not belong to any formal organizations, who live a relatively isolated social life, associating only with their own families or neighbors.

Of one rural community in Central New York,[11] 11 per cent of the families in the main village (821 population), 21 per cent in a small village (141 population), and 38 per cent in the open country had membership in no organization whatever. In 12 school districts in Wisconsin, it was found that 17 per cent of the families in those districts having a high number of organizations belonged to none of them, while in the districts with few organizations, 43 per cent belonged to none.[12]

Personality develops through association, and one of the objects of community organization is to promote groups or activities in

[10] Cf. Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community,* p. 554.

[11] Bruce L. Melvin, "The Sociology of a Village and the Surrounding Territory," *Bulletin 523,* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, p. 69, Table 46.

[12] E. L. Kirkpatrick, *et al.,* "Rural Organizations and the Farm Family." *Research Bulletin 96,* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, p. 4, Table 1.

which those who lack group association may be persuaded to participate. One of the best indexes of the socialization of the members of a community is the degree of their participation in its organizations. Just what is involved in this process of socialization is well described 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.[13]

4. **To Obtain Social Control,** through community spirit and loyalty. We have seen that the breakdown of social control is one of the signs of community disorganization. This implies the positive corollary that community organization involves social control. This 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."[14] Obviously, one of the primary objects of community organization is to exercise such social control over the various groups and individuals which compose it as to enable them to act collectively for their common good.

Social control becomes possible by the development of community spirit, by loyalty to the community, and by symbols which express the common objectives of community activity. Sociologists

[13] Ernest W. Burgess, *The Function of Socialization in Social Evolution.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1916, pp. 236-237. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[14] Earle E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology.* Boston, D. C. Heath and Co., 1932, p. 219. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

have called these three factors *esprit de corps,* morale, and collective representations.

Esprit de corps is the common spirit pervading the group, as in the *esprit* of one fraternity as against another, of the rivalry of two regiments in an army, or of a team in any form of athletics. Community *esprit de corps* is in evidence when the home team is playing that of another community, at Old Home Days and other community celebrations.

"*Morale* may be defined as the collective will. Like the will of the individual it represents an organization of behavior tendencies. The discipline of the individual, his subordination to the group, lies in his participation and reglementation in social activities." [15] Professor Hocking says: "Perhaps the simplest way of explaining the meaning of morale is to say that what 'condition' is to the athlete's body, morale is to the mind. Morale is condition; good morale is good condition of the inner man; it is the state of will in which you can get most from the machinery, deliver blows with the greatest effect, take blows with the least depression, and hold out for the longest time. It is both fighting-power and staying-power and strength to resist the mental infections which fear, discouragement, and fatigue bring with them. . . ." [16]

The morale of a community is its steadiness of purpose, its staying power, and is much more than the enthusiasm of *esprit de corps.* Morale rests upon beliefs and understanding and is essential in the effort to obtain community objectives which are not immediately attainable. It is an expression of community loyalty.

Collective representations, to use Durkheim's term, are the concepts or symbols which embody the objectives of group activity. The flag of a nation, the distinctive dress of a European peasant village, the colors of a high school, or the slogans or mottoes which express the aims or ideals of a group, are all forms of collective representations, in that they embody and symbolize common feelings and aspirations. The community which places a sign at its entrance on the main road reading "Welcome to ————, the neighborly com-

[15] Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1921, p. 164. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[16] William E. Hocking, *Morale and Its Enemies.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918, p. 14. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

munity," or some such slogan, has thereby created a collective representation which aids in the social control of the community to the extent that it voices common aspirations and is approved by its members.

The social control of the community may become too strong and, thus, become irksome and lead to revolt and disorganization, but a reasonable degree of social control is essential if common action is to be continuous and consistent.

5. **To Coordinate Groups and Activities,** so as to prevent conflict and promote efficiency and cooperation. This objective is particularly important in the small rural community. In larger communities, there is a sufficient constituency so that various groups may compete in events inviting public support without endangering their success. In the small rural community, however, if the Grange has an entertainment, the church should not have a supper on the same night, for both must have the support of the whole community. Events of this sort are constantly making for friction in the rural community which is unorganized, and we shall see that the coordination of such activities may be easily accomplished by a community calendar.

In many cases, efficiency may be promoted and ends attained which would not be otherwise possible, if coordination can be carried to the point of active cooperation. 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 or cooperate with those in near-by communities, they can do so.

6. **To Preserve the Community from the Introduction of Undesirable Influences or Conditions.** It is not enough to promote community betterment from within, for the community must be able to defend itself from the aggression of undesirable influences. Many a community is disfigured with unsightly billboards, which might be abolished if community sentiment were sufficiently strong and there were active cooperation between interested groups. It is interesting to note that whenever a community is hit by some disaster, such as a fire or flood, it at once organizes to meet the situation, as has been interestingly described by Zona Gale in her stories of "Friendship Village." Many a community has found that it can work together for the elimination of a saloon or drinking place, and

much more could be done in the control of undesirable road houses. Or it may be that only by community action can the common water supply be protected from pollution, or an unsightly factory be prevented from being erected near a desirable residence section. The zoning of land is a protective device which rural communities are taking up to prevent the undesirable location of gas stations, factories, and other businesses which injure the value and attractiveness of neighboring residential property. For all these purposes, some method of community organization is essential, even though the actual control may be the function of a local governmental unit. The competition of commercial amusements in cities has forced some communities to improve the recreational facilities for their young people, which may be considered a protective measure.

7. **To Cooperate with Other Communities and Agencies to Obtain Common Needs.** Frequently the community is too small a unit to make possible the independent support of desired facilities. To obtain them, it is necessary to cooperate with neighboring communities. Thus, to obtain a bus line, or a rural free delivery route, or the extension of electric lines, it may be necessary for several communities to work together. Even in desirable competition, as in the maintenance of an amateur baseball or basketball league, the cooperation of several communities is necessary.

8. **To Establish a Means of Obtaining Consensus.** To accomplish objectives 2, 6, and 7 listed above, it is necessary that the people and their groups have some means whereby they may exchange views and come to a common understanding. This is usually accomplished in the small rural community by a gradual crystallization of public opinion through casual conversation at the store, the garage, the milk station, at various group meetings, etc., wherever people congregate. Unfortunately, however, hearsay and gossip often distort the facts and promote disagreement rather than consensus. Many a village has been incorporated so that its citizens might have a legal means of consensus whereby they could obtain those facilities which they desired, and which they could not obtain as long as the village was unorganized. Various means of promoting consensus may be devised, such as joint meetings of groups concerned with the same common interests, by the exchange of views between different groups through members who belong to both of

them, or through some joint committee or council. Or, if the community is not too large, the old New England town meeting method may be used and a community meeting may be held, to discuss community problems. Obviously, parliamentary procedure is but a method of obtaining consensus in an orderly manner.

9. **To Develop Leadership** under which the community can act. It is not enough to attain consensus, for all may agree that certain things are desirable and yet nothing is done about it. If the community is to be able to act as a unit, it must have leadership which is recognized and has community confidence. Community leaders are necessary to make decisions, to direct community activities, and to speak for the community both in relation to its internal organization and its outside relationships. If there is no leader, no one can speak for the community and effective community action is aborted. We shall give further consideration to the significance of leadership in Chapter XII.

III. A Measure of Community Organization

Such are some of the more important objectives of community organization which will be given more content and meaning as we proceed with our analysis of its various forms and of procedures for its development. The question may well be raised as to how we may evaluate the success or degree of community organization, in view of the inclusive range of its objectives and its seemingly utopian aims. It should first be noted that community organization should not be conceived as a relationship which can be set up and which can be accomplished; it is rather a process, a process of establishing relationships which will always be in a state of becoming, analogous to the growth of personality or character in the individual. It is true that we may have comparatively well-organized communities and those which are obviously unorganized, but even the best will need to be reorganized to adapt themselves to changing conditions. How, then, may we measure the status of community organization?

One measure of community organization is the degree to which organizations and interests are willing to cooperate in activities or objectives for the betterment of the common welfare, for which they are not primarily responsible and in which others will take the lead.

Another measure is the ability to have competition in politics or

business without conflict and the ability to discuss matters with a division of opinion, but with tolerance, and with united support of the objectives sought.

Professor R. M. MacIver holds that the degree of socialization of the community is the best measure of its organization:

> 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.[17]

John Daniels has very well summarized the goal of community organization as "enlisting everyone in the community activities so that each individual shall register effectively," [18] that is, shall achieve self-expression and status in community service. This is equivalent to saying that participation in those organizations of the community which contribute to community welfare is a measure of community organization.

From a behavioristic standpoint the measure of community organization is the degree to which the members, individuals, or groups of the community act collectively for common welfare. Methods of determining the degree of community organization will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

Community organization may result in some sort of formal organization, such as a community council to act as an integrating and directive agency, but its essence is not in any mechanism, nor can it be produced by the plans of any expert "social engineer." It is rather an attitude of the people and of their groups toward the supreme worth of the 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

[17] R. M. MacIver, *Community*. London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1920 (2nd ed.), p. 230. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

[18] In *Proceedings* of New York State Conference of Charities and Correction, 1921.

achieving consensus about the common aims and objectives, and of developing willingness to act together under chosen leadership.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. If a community is *underorganized* and there is no organization to meet certain interests, what factors can reveal whether the need can best be met by a new organization or by the broadened program of an existing one? Could extension work in home economics be carried on through the Grange or Parent-Teacher Association, or does it require a separate organization? Why?

2. Do national organizations tend to overorganize rural communities?

3. What determines the maximum number of organizations feasible in a rural community?

4. What means can you suggest for increasing the "consciousness of community identity"?

5. Professor George H. Mead once said that "every organization or institution tries to organize the universe in terms of its own interests." Is this true, and if so what bearing does it have on community organization?

6. Do groups and organizations need socialization as well as individuals? If so, what is the measure of their socialization?

7. Why strive for an integrated community? Why not let each organization and individual go its own way and pursue its own interests?

8. What is the chief aim of community organization?

EXERCISES

1. Do you know a community which you consider *disorganized*? If so, describe the nature of the disorganization and the factors which caused it.

The following exercises are concerned with your community:

2. List the principal causes of friction among groups.

3. List the most important "unmet needs."

4. List any groups which are "unsocialized," i.e., which feel they are self-sufficient and do not cooperate with others; illustrate by examples of their behavior.

5. In what areas or phases of behavior is social control strongest? Is this chiefly due to the influence of any particular groups or organizations?

6. How strong is *esprit de corps* and morale? Give examples of both.

7. List examples of cooperation of groups. How did they affect community organization?

8. What are the chief means or processes of obtaining *consensus*? Are any individuals chiefly responsible for it?

READINGS

1. J. F. Steiner, *The American Community in Action.* New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1928, Chapter I, "Social Change in Community Development."

2. J. F. Steiner, *Community Organization,* Rev. Ed. New York, The Century Co., 1930, Chapters II, VI.

3. J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, pp. 591-599.

4. Newell L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology,* Rev. Ed. New York, Thos. Y. Crowell Co., 1934, pp. 169-180.

CHAPTER VI

CASE STUDIES OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Having gained an idea of what is involved in community organization, it will now be profitable to study several communities to determine the degree of community organization present in each and how it has come about. We are interested in the process of community organization—its historical aspect, and its present status—or the pattern of community integration.

We have already observed the development of the Waterville community (Chapter II). The first three of the following case studies have been written by students in the author's classes. Similar descriptions have been given by Dr. J. F. Steiner in his *The American Community in Action,* those of Wagram, Mount Gilead, and Albany (Chapters III, VIII, and IX) being particularly good for purposes of comparison. Others may be found in Part II of Edmund deS. Brunner's *Village Communities.*

In reading each case the student should consider in what way it illustrates the objectives of community organization discussed in the last chapter. He should first read the Exercises at the end of this chapter and have their questions in mind as he reads the accounts. Through discussion of the exercises a clearer understanding of just what is involved in community organization will be obtained.

BLACKWELL:* *A Cotton Belt Community* (1937)

Location. The Blackwell community occupies the northeastern quarter of Walsh County in northern Georgia. The boundaries of the community are rather definitely determined on three sides by rivers and creeks. The southern boundary is marked only by the comparative drawing power of the town of Jefferson, ten miles south, and Blackwell, the community center.

* All names of places and persons are fictitious.

The area is about ten by fifteen miles, the most distant points being twelve miles from Blackwell, which is equidistant from the east and west boundaries and only three miles from the southern boundary. The topography is rolling, with smooth undulating divides which become steeper and more broken near the valleys of the larger streams. The slopes are long and gentle, falling gradually from the crests of the ridges,

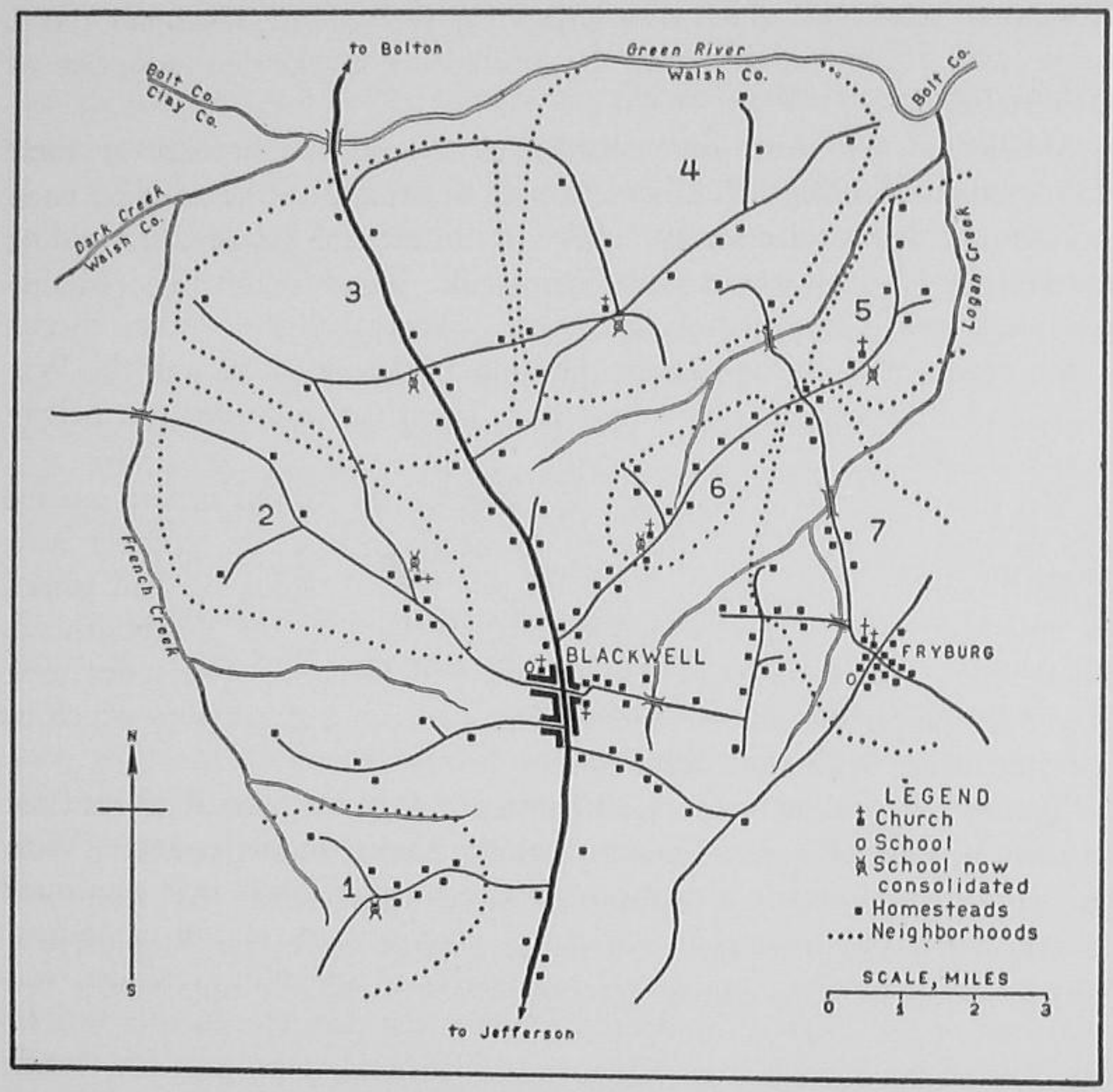


FIG. 12. Blackwell community area.

which are about five hundred feet above sea level, to the beds of the streams, which are fifty to one hundred feet lower.

An improved highway connects Blackwell with Jefferson, ten miles to the south, and with Belton, twenty miles to the north. The population of Belton is about six thousand; that of Jefferson is about thirty-three hundred. There was a branch-line railroad between these two towns, which served Blackwell from 1910 until 1932, when it was abandoned.

There is no outlet from the area except the north and south highway, through either Belton or Jefferson, which are connected with various sections of the state and nation by railroads and highways.

History. Blackwell had its origin around the neighboring plantation homes of Blackwell More, Edward Williams, Henry Frost, and George Bolt. These pioneers came into the area from Virginia and North Carolina and established their cotton plantations on the fertile plateaulike tableland which overlooked the Green and Savannah rivers, down which the cotton could be floated to market in Augusta or Savannah.

Smaller farms were soon established around the borders of these plantations, and Blackwell More assumed leadership in the neighborhood by opening his plantation commissary to the general public and building a church house on his land at the crossroads. Mr. More, being a Methodist, employed a minister of that belief. There being no other church in the neighborhood, the converts became Methodists, although the Williams and Bolt families were Baptists. The Frost men did not belong to any church.

Mr. Frost built a cotton gin, and a Mr. Carter moved in and opened a blacksmith shop. Thus, the neighborhood grew in its leisurely way, without conflict, until about 1890. By this time the pioneers had passed on and their sons were in charge of the affairs of the neighborhood. There were two Frost boys, Henry, Jr., and George. The latter took charge of the plantation, and Henry, Jr., opened a general store which he operated along with the cotton gin.

Young Bolt, whom his father had named Edward because of his close friendship with Edward Williams, became sheriff of the county. With the help of his close friend, Edward Williams, Jr., Sheriff Bolt continued to live at the old homeplace and carry on the work of the plantation. Edward Williams, Jr., being actively interested in political affairs, was chairman of the Democratic Committee for the district. In this way he was able to render valuable assistance to his friend in his race for sheriff.

Frank More, like his father, showed his interest in human welfare by building a schoolhouse beside the church which his father built. In fact, he was showing more interest in community welfare—the crossroads neighborhood was becoming a community by this time—than in his store and farming interests.

By 1900 there were three groups of interests in the community: the political interests, dominated by Bolt and Williams; the school and church interests, dominated by Frank More; and the business interests dominated by the Frost brothers. Competition between More and the Frosts for

the community trade was beginning to be in evidence. The Methodists continued to trade with More.

The wives of the Frost brothers, both Baptists, set out to organize a church of that faith in the community. They were unable to enlist the aid of their husbands financially, so funds for a building were raised by general subscription. The Baptists were not able to build as fine a house as Mr. More had built for the Methodists many years before; therefore the Baptists never felt quite as good as their Methodist friends.

Other plantation owners became interested in moving to the village because of its school and churches and opportunity to establish a business. Mr. More sold lots for homes and stores around the crossroads, as his plantation included this strategic location.

About this time (1905) the Southern Railroad decided to tap the fertile cotton- and timber-producing area of Walsh County. In order to finance the project, stock was offered to the people along the proposed right-of-way. As the building of the road depended on the sale of a certain amount of stock, Mr. More engaged in selling these shares. He also conceived the idea of incorporating the crossroads community in order to get a post office and certain other facilities.

In 1907, the place was incorporated and named Blackwell by Mr. More in honor of his father. Mr. More was elected mayor. He was also chairman of the trustees of the school and a member of the county board of education. He was popular with the majority of the farmers of the community because he showed an interest in their welfare. He sold them fertilizer for their cotton, feed for their mules, sugar, flour, and meat for their families, and he bought their cotton. He showed his interest in the negroes of the community by helping them secure an appropriation from the Rosenwald Fund to build a school for negro children.

The Frosts offered credit liberally and expanded their business rapidly. They established a bank, a planing mill, and several sawmills, and grew richer apace. Henry Frost built a fine house and lived in town. His three sons had the finest and fastest saddle horses in the country, his wife and four daughters rode in the finest carriage, wore the latest fashion creations, and were envied by the other women of the community. George Frost lived on the plantation and, although a full partner in the businesses, he did not make the display of riches that his brother did. His daughter and two sons were likable children and popular with the younger set.

Williams' son was a ne'er-do-well. He got into some difficulty in the community and left home. His daughter married a young business man of another locality. Mr. Williams set his son-in-law up in business, in a

general store. This young man, Mr. Garvin, soon made inroads on the Frosts' business. Mr. More was not so active in business now and Mr. Garvin attracted much of the More trade.

The younger Mores had been sent away to college. The girls married and settled elsewhere, the boys entered business away from home. Mr. More retired from business and farming and devoted his time to promoting school interests.

About 1915 he began working for a community high school. In order to get funds, an election was called to vote on the establishment of a town school district with an extra tax levy. The Frosts opposed this move. The Williamses and Garvins threw their strength to the More side and carried the election. This town school district, by excluding the country pupils, caused some antagonism. Three country schools were built within four miles of Blackwell. There were already three others in the Blackwell community in the more distant neighborhoods.

Wartime prosperity was being enjoyed, and people did not hold seriously to their differences. Mr. More led a movement to pave the streets of the town. He secured the cooperation of all parties and the paving was accomplished. The Frosts built a four-story, thirty-room hotel. The Baptist preacher made a campaign for a new church building, but everybody was so happy in material wealth that they gave little thought to spiritual welfare. The campaign was a failure. The Frosts, the richest folks in town, refused to make a contribution; the other Baptists were unwilling to burden themselves with the entire responsibility. The minister preached a "hot" sermon condemning, without calling names, those who placed more trust in the dollar than they did in God. This split the Frost wives and children from the other Baptists. The remaining members could not adequately support the church, the preacher resigned, and a fight ensued over naming a new minister. It continued month after month, stretched on for a year, then two years.

The Harrison brothers, sons of a plantation owner, came to Blackwell in 1917 and opened a store and a bank. They refrained from taking sides with any group or faction. They catered to the trade of the modest housewife, with her few cents to spend, as well as to the desires of the well-to-do. Many of the Frosts' customers were attracted to their store and bank. The McElroys, employed by the Frosts to operate the hotel, had two grown sons who came to Blackwell and established a meat market.

About this time, 1920, twin calamities, the cotton boll weevil and the depression of 1920, struck the Blackwell community. Prices tumbled and cotton production, which was normally 10,000 bales annually, dropped to

1,000 bales in the community area. The Frosts, being the heaviest investors and traders, were the heaviest losers. They were able to salvage their homes and most of the farm land. Henry Frost died under the strain.

In the midst of the depression, as in the time of prosperity, the people forgot their grievances and combined forces for the purpose of saving what they could from the disaster. The two older Frost boys married school teachers, became supporters of the Baptist Church, and helped select a preacher. Mr. Garvin bought their banking interests and healed a breech of long standing between the Frosts and the Garvin-Williams interests. Mr. Garvin's bank cashier married one of the Frost girls, and one of the Harrison brothers married George Frost's only daughter. One of Henry Frost's daughters became a teacher in the Blackwell school, which was still controlled by Mr. More.

In adversity, the business men of Blackwell became more considerate of their farmer creditors. They all joined forces in seeking for some means of restoring business activity to the community. Their first move was to help Ed Frost re-establish credit and re-open the planing mill and sawmills so that the farmers could market their timber.

The farmers, seeking aid from any quarter, joined the Cotton Growers Cooperative Association, through which they sold their cotton and bought fertilizer. The merchants did not think so well of this move because it reduced business at a time when they were carrying many old debts of these same farmers on their books. Ed Frost and a few of his followers opposed the "Co-ops" vigorously.

In 1924, Mr. More opened a campaign for the consolidation of the schools of the Blackwell community. Many of the villagers, including Ed Frost, joined forces with Mr. More. The farmers, especially those in the poorer school districts who had heavy local school taxes, joined in the movement. The election for consolidation carried without difficulty. Ed Frost was named chairman of the new school board; and the secretary of the Cooperative Association was made secretary of the school board.

After this victory, Mr. More retired from active participation in civic affairs, and Mr. Garvin was elected mayor of Blackwell. In this way, three men who had been in opposition for many years were brought together in school and civic affairs. Mr. Frost and Mr. Garvin had been business rivals, and Mr. Frost had opposed the "Co-ops."

Population. The group of neighborhoods and the open country comprising the Blackwell community area had a population of about 4,500 in 1890, which was a density of 30 to the square mile. Seventy per cent of these people were negroes, which indicates that there were only

about 75 white families in the whole area. These were practically all owners of large farms, and each owner maintained several negro families on his plantation. The negroes performed all the labor while the white folk lived lives of leisure, with fox hunts, house parties, and neighborly visits for diversion. At this time there were no class distinctions among the whites.

In 1910, three years after the village of Blackwell was incorporated, the community had a population of 5,830, and 320 of these lived within the corporate limits of Blackwell. About the same proportion of white and colored population still prevailed. By 1920 there were 653 people living in the village and about 5,500 in the surrounding community area.

The boll weevil and the depression, coupled with Coolidge prosperity, caused many negroes and a few whites to leave the Blackwell community and in 1930 the total population of the area was 3,800 with 505 of these living in the village. Blackwell lost many negroes and gained a few white families.

Two classes of white people were noticeable. The village business families and the farm owners did not mingle socially with the sawmill workers and tenant farmers. The farm owners and village folk showed no tendency to become separated socially. They associated freely in all social affairs, they visited back and forth, and their sons and daughters intermarried.

Communication. The Belton and Southern Railroad which made connection with the Southern Railroad at Belton and the Georgia Railroad at Jefferson served Blackwell from 1910 until 1932, at which time it was discontinued. Trucks now haul the freight and express. There is no passenger service for the community nearer than Jefferson or Belton. A branch of the Jefferson Telephone Company serves Blackwell. Practically all the places of business and half the homes in the village have telephones. There are many farm families that are five miles or more from the nearest telephone, although each neighborhood has one or two. Only about 10 per cent of the farmers have telephones.

There is a county newspaper published in Jefferson which goes to practically every home in the community. It carries local items from each neighborhood, and a page of news from "The City of Blackwell." About 80 per cent of the white families subscribe to a daily paper, either of Atlanta or of Macon, Georgia.

Mail arrives in the village twice daily by way of a "Star Route Carrier" who makes a round trip between Belton and Jefferson. The people of the open country are served by rural free delivery routes which reach every home.

Practically every white family of the community has an automobile, and at least one shopping trip to Jefferson is made each month. Fancy and fresh groceries, drugs, ready-made clothing, and furniture cannot be obtained in Blackwell. Court week and sheriff's sales attract the men to Jefferson several times each year. The young people go there to the movies frequently. During the school term, inter-school contests afford opportunities for contacts with people of the neighboring communities. There is also an interchange of plays, and Blackwell is the scene of the annual county school contests in literary and athletic events.

Agriculture and Business. The soil is the chief natural resource of the community. It is a fertile sandy loam that is easily cultivated. These factors, coupled with an abundance of cheap labor, made cotton the only cash crop. It occupied 75 to 85 per cent of the crop land each year. Other crops, corn, hay, wheat, and oats, were grown for use on the farm. Cotton production was profitable to the village people as well as to the farmers. The merchants furnished commercial fertilizer, mules, mule feed, farm tools and equipment, farm supplies, credit, and other services to the farmers at a considerable margin of profit. In 1920, the cotton trade was supporting the following businesses and services in Blackwell:

BUSINESS IN 1920 AND 1930

	1920	1930		1920	1930
General farm supplies stores	8	2	Farmers' warehouses	3	1
Dry-goods and shoe stores	3	1	Cotton gins	3	2
Drug stores	2	1	Blacksmith shops	3	1
Groceries and meat markets	2	..	Mule dealers	2	..
Meat market	..	1	Hotel	1	..
Banks	3	1	Medical doctors	3	2
Automobile agency	1	..	Dentist	1	..
Automobile repair shops	3	1	Lawyers	2	..
Gasoline stations	6	2	Barbers	6	2

As has been indicated above, falling prices of farm products and the boll weevil brought chaos to the cotton economy of the community in the fall of 1920. Fortunately the farmers had an abundance of timber, to which they turned in the emergency. Fifty-four sawmills and four planing mills prepared the timber for market. This business provided employment for village and farm folks until 1930 when the timber was exhausted. The farmer had got enough out of marketing his timber to pay his debts, taxes, and living expenses, and he had had time to reorganize his system of farming to include other sources of cash income; namely, dairy products, poultry, hogs, and beef cattle. The village suf-

fered severely during this decade as may be seen by comparing the list of business establishments in Blackwell in 1930 with that of 1920.

Churches. The two churches in Blackwell and the five in the open country suffered membership losses, a reduction in financial support, a lowering of quality of ministers, a reduction of activities—Sunday schools, young people's organizations, etc.—and a few of them were without ministers for a time. At present there are five active churches in the community, four Baptist and one Methodist. One of each denomination died during the depression.

The Methodist church and one Baptist church are located in Blackwell. The former is the one established by Mr. More. The building is of the box type having one large room which is used for Sunday school and preaching services. There is a steeple or bell tower and a colonial type porch entrance with four large columns. The equipment is very simple—plain benches, a piano, a choir alcove behind the pulpit, and the ordinary country store type of heater. Heavy cloth curtains divide the church into rooms for Sunday-school classes. The building is painted white and is kept in good condition. Near the church there is a parsonage which is maintained by the membership and furnished to the minister rent free.

There is no men's organization of the church. The Woman's Missionary Union is active, meeting monthly for the purpose of discussing some missionary topic and, incidentally, the social affairs of the community. A certain amount of charity work is done and in a few cases financial aid has been provided for worthy girls who wished to attend college or normal school. The Epworth League, a young people's organization of the church, flourishes for a short time and dies. A few months later it may be revived only to die again. The Sunday school meets weekly. The total enrollment is two or three hundred but the average attendance is only eighty or one hundred. Preaching services are held only twice monthly, the minister serving a church in another community on the other two Sundays. The pastorates are two to four years, the shorter terms occurring more frequently. There are about three hundred members of this church. Some have moved away and others are inactive. The average attendance at the preaching service is about one hundred, one-third to one-half being Baptists who have preaching services on alternate Sundays, when about the same number of Methodists will attend the Baptist services. About one-fifth of the membership of each church is made up of farmers who live within three or four miles of the village.

There was another Methodist church in the community, about ten

miles away, but it died during the twenties because the leading members had moved to the village or nearer the village during the good times of the previous decade.

The Baptist church building in the village is strictly a box type structure, without any trimmings. It is in poor condition, but nothing is ever done about it because the members live with constant hope of being able to provide a new building. At the present time, the organizations and activities of the Baptists are very similar to those of the Methodists. From 1921 to 1929 the Baptists had a minister who was an excellent organizer and community leader although he was a poor preacher. Under his direction the Sunday school maintained an average attendance of three hundred or more. The Baptist Young People's Union flourished. Each summer a Daily Vacation Bible School was conducted. The aid of the Methodist leaders, the school teachers, and college students home for vacation was enlisted. An effort was made to enroll all the young people of the community, regardless of church affiliations. Classes were held in all the churches and school buildings of the community simultaneously. Pupils attended the school nearest their homes.

The program was built around Bible study, handicraft, singing, and games. After two weeks of school a community picnic was held on Friday to which every family of the community was invited. Each family provided a basket lunch. Transportation was furnished for those who had none. The business men of the village contributed funds for ice cream and lemonade.

On the big day, everybody assembled at the shoals on Green River, where there were broad shady meadows, deep water for swimming, shallow water for the smaller children, boating and fishing for those who enjoyed these sports. There was ample space for baseball and other games. Leaders under the direction of the Baptist minister saw that everyone was kept engaged in some enjoyable activity. The climax of the day was the spread dinner.

These occasions built up a feeling of solidarity between the villagers and the country people which was largely responsible for the favorable vote for school consolidation. Unfortunately for the community, the minister was called to another field and the Baptist church reverted to the usual routine activities.

The three open-country churches of the community are barely keeping alive, mainly on traditions. Each has a preaching service once a month, usually on Sunday afternoon, conducted by a minister of another community who fills this pulpit in addition to full-time regular work elsewhere. Each summer, Sunday schools are organized which do

not survive through the winter. These churches are supported mainly by small land owners and tenants who do not feel at home in the village church. They are located in the poorer, outlying sections from which the more prosperous families have moved to Blackwell or near by on the highway.

Schools. As mentioned above, the six schools of the community were consolidated with the Blackwell school in 1924. As the two-story brick building which was erected in 1917, soon after the creation of the village school district and the exclusion of the country pupils, was inadequate, a tax was voted on the entire community and a six-room addition was erected. Departments for teaching agriculture and home economics, under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes Act, were added. The teacher of agriculture, being principal of the school as well, found it easy to emphasize the rural viewpoint throughout the school curriculum. He made the usual community survey to determine local conditions and discover the most pressing needs of the community. He found that, with a fast-disappearing timber supply and a greatly reduced cotton acreage, the community was faced with the problem of finding other sources of cash income.

A meeting of representative farmers and business men was called and the question, "What sources of cash income can be developed in the community?" was put to them. Many suggestions were made, and committees were appointed to investigate the possibilities of each. Reports were made at a mass meeting to which everyone in the community was invited. The county agent and several state extension specialists were present to furnish specific information. After hearing discussions of the various proposals, the farmers voted to develop a "One-Variety Cotton Community," dairying, and poultry. The next logical step was for the teacher of agriculture to establish evening classes for the farmers who needed to learn how to carry on these new enterprises.

This method of working together to solve their economic problems was something new for the community and it met with many difficulties, yet it resulted in the establishment of a cooperative marketing agency for cream and poultry products, a farmer-owned cooperative cotton gin, and a community cannery, all developed under the leadership of the teacher of agriculture.

The Parent-Teacher Association was organized under the leadership of the Baptist minister and had established a school library with a paid librarian before the consolidation movement in 1924. After that date it took in the country women and undertook the tasks of equipping the home economics laboratory, installing electricity in the school building,

and providing a system of running water. Funds for these purposes were raised by giving plays and barbecues and by publishing a cook book which included the prize recipe of each lady in the community. The P.T.A. barbecue has become an annual event in the community. It is conducted in much the same manner as the community picnic, the difference being that each adult buys a ticket for fifty cents which provides for the barbecue instead of bringing basket lunches, and the place of meeting is on the school grounds. Much of the success of the P.T.A. is due to capable leadership. Many of the women of the community are college trained and a large proportion of them former teachers.

The school library, which is essentially a community library, was established by the P.T.A., but its maintenance has been taken over by the school board. It contains over five thousand well-selected volumes that are available to the whole community.

In 1936 the P.T.A. led a movement to build a school auditorium and community house with the aid of W.P.A. There was strong competition with a neighboring community for this aid, but Blackwell finally won out. The school plant now consists of the two-story high school building, which houses the laboratories, library, department of home economics, and the junior and senior high school rooms, a six-room grammar school building, a shop and agriculture building, the cooperative cannery, and the auditorium community house.

The county board of education has recently designated the Blackwell school as the Walsh County High School and all senior high school pupils of the county are provided transportation to the school. There is one other high school in the county, in the town of Jefferson, but it is not available to country pupils without the payment of a high tuition fee. There are four junior high schools which are "feeders" for the senior high school.

Organizations. Men's organizations have short lives in Blackwell. The Masons, Woodmen of the World, Odd Fellows, The Cotton Growers' Cooperative Association, and a golf club each had its day but none survived more than a year or two. This is probably due to a carry-over of the individualistic attitude of the plantation owners.

In 1924 the farmers who were interested in dairying formed a cooperative association for the purpose of marketing cream, which later became affiliated with the Walsh County Creamery and lost its identity as a community organization. The One-Variety Cotton Association did not survive long. The cooperative gin is operated on the plan of a stock-share company, managed by a board of directors. By buying a share of stock for ten dollars, a farmer can have his cotton ginned cheaper by

getting patronage dividends. They may buy cooperatively through this organization also. The cooperative cannery is a project of the Future Farmers Club. This organization is sponsored by the Department of Vocational Agriculture and is affiliated with the state and national organizations. It works to promote the interests of agricultural education.

There may be one or two small bridge clubs in the community, but there is no inclusive social club, nor any musical or literary society.

Mr. Williams, affectionately known as "Marse Ed," is the political leader of the community. The people usually vote for Blackwell against the world. Yet, when it comes to local issues the individualistic attitude is in evidence. There are frequent shiftings and regroupings. At one time it was the More faction against the Frost faction, at another time the Frosts were opposed by a group led by Mr. Garvin, then all groups joined forces to bring about the consolidation of the school. This movement was opposed by two neighborhood groups, the Harmons in one neighborhood and the McLeans in another, and after consolidation these two family groups had an annual fight over the selection of a bus driver because one bus served both neighborhoods. During recent years, however, the people of the community have been working together with less conflict.

Recreation. The annual picnic at The Shoals may be thought of as a traditional form of recreation for the community. It originated several years ago as a sort of celebration of "laying-by"—the completion of cotton cultivation—after which there would be a slack season on the farm. Many families still hold to these picnics as family reunions. Barbecues are more or less traditional also. They originated back in the "good old days" as a form of plantation entertainment. Several carcasses, pork, mutton, and beef, would be prepared and roasted over a slow fire, and the neighbors would be invited in for a feast. Now barbecues are joint affairs. Each participant contributes fifty cents or a dollar, and the food is prepared and served by "experts."

As stated previously, the school provides a baseball field and the school team plays many games during the spring and summer. Basketball is a favorite sport also and there are both boys' and girls' teams.

The community building is new and its full possibilities have not been discovered yet. It is used for general meetings, school entertainments, and in it a few square dances have been tried. There was very strong opposition against dancing in any form but more recently this has shown signs of weakening.

The recreation of the community has been more or less "hit or miss." There are no conflicts of dates because everybody in the community

knows what everybody else is doing, but there are times when four or five social events will come in one month, to be followed by two or three months with no entertainments. There is a definite need for planned recreation which will utilize the talent and facilities available to provide a continuous flow of varied activities with some balance between the different types so as not to over-do the play, music, athletics, or any one line.

There are two physicians in the community, both capable but of the country doctor type. The nearest hospital is at Jefferson. The county board of health employs a county nurse, whose work is mostly with the poorer class of people, both white and colored. She tries to visit the schools regularly when they are in session. The Blackwell school, with the help of the P.T.A. and the local doctors, has carried on a health program for several years. All children are immunized against the common diseases and regular inspections are made. The dentists of Jefferson visit the school twice each year and make inspections. The P.T.A. provides funds for the treatment of those children whose parents are unable to pay the cost. The general physical and mental health of the community is good.

The Future Farmers Club sponsors a community fair each year at which products of the home and farm are exhibited, plays, pageants, or other forms of entertainment are offered, and some type of educational program is provided. This last is usually in the form of a demonstration or lecture given by some member of the State Extension Service. The Home Economics Club, the P.T.A., the churches, and other organizations of the community participate in the fair.

The Parent-Teacher Association sponsors a clean-up day annually, on which each family is urged to clean up the yards, lawns, and sidewalks adjacent to the property. The business men arrange for a clean-up of the business section, and the town council provides for the removal of the collected rubbish. This organization also sponsors a home beautification program.

Leadership. At present there is a scarcity of native male leadership in the Blackwell community. The institutional leaders—the two ministers, the principal of the school, and the teacher of agriculture—are doing their jobs well, but no one of them is doing more than is expected of him. Mr. Frank More was the most outstanding leader, and it was through his efforts that the community made its progress. The story of his leadership has been recounted already in connection with the account of the incorporation of the town, the building and growth of the school. A few years before Mr. More retired from civic leadership, Mr.

Garvin became associated with him on the local school board, and when he retired Mr. Garvin became mayor of the town. Mr. Garvin was showing excellent qualities as a community leader. The farmers had confidence in him, in fact he was a director of the cooperative gin and chairman of the community meetings when the new farm program was adopted. Mr. More was a domineering leader and was inclined to ride rough-shod over any who opposed him. Mr. Garvin, on the other hand, was a quiet, easygoing man who was willing to reason things out with any who disagreed with him. Unfortunately, an accident made it necessary for him to retire from community leadership. . .

At present the mantle of leadership rests on the shoulders of Ed Frost, oldest son in the third generation of Frosts. He has the reputation of driving a hard bargain and pressing every advantage in a business deal. He is opposed to the farmers' cooperative associations. Yet he has sufficient following to elect him to the chairmanship of the board of trustees of the Blackwell Community School. His leadership is inclined to be of the political type. It is perhaps significant that the leaders of the Parent-Teacher Association are related to Mr. Frost as follows: a sister, a sister-in-law, and a first cousin.

One may conclude then that the outstanding leaders of the Blackwell community at the present time are the women leaders of the Parent-Teacher Association. Many of the women have had college or normal school education, but the young men who went to college have left the community, and the local men have not had this advantage. A recapitulation of the activities of this organization will show such a conclusion is justified. During recent years they have sponsored the annual community barbecue, secured the appropriation of funds for the community house, petitioned for and secured the location of a C.C.C. Camp in the community, sponsored the annual clean-up day, the community improvement program, and the school health program.

Community Integration. In the early days, practically all the white families were plantation owners and socially equal. Economic independence developed an individualistic attitude which was retained until the depression and to some extent afterwards. The common ancestral background tended to cause social solidarity in regard to church, school, and social relationships.

Urbanization, which occurred between 1910 and 1920, was due to the general idea that families who could afford it should live in town. The plantation owners entered some type of business in the village and continued to operate their farms on a cropper or share tenant basis. In this way the villager kept "one foot on the land," which tended to pre-

vent the development of urban-rural antagonisms. However, between 1920 and 1930 there developed a class distinction between the upper classes on the one hand and the sawmill laborers and tenant farmers on the other.

The first families of the community belonged to the Methodist church; if one did not belong he did not rate quite so well. The Methodists were opposed strongly to card playing, drinking, and dancing. The leading Baptists, at least those who contributed most to the support of the church, engaged in drinking and card playing. The minister realized that these older people were set in their ways and therefore devoted his time to the leadership of the younger people. The Baptists believe in freedom of thought and action, which accounts for the number of churches of this denomination in the community.

A strong belief in education was evident in the community from the beginning. The school has been an important factor in that it is the only point of common interest. Whenever school matters were considered, the people of the community acted together regardless of politics, church affiliation, or social class.

The people, especially the men and boys, have a great love for athletic contests, principally baseball and basketball. The entire population would attend the inter-school games. This was one of the greatest factors in creating school loyalty.

Neighborhood loyalty was a disorganizing influence in the community. Each neighborhood had its church and school and was dependent on the village for economic and professional services only. With the consolidation of the school, the development of a system of good roads, and the general use of the automobile, the village became the center of nearly all interests.

The outstanding factors conducive to community organization have been: The leadership of Mr. More in school affairs, of the Baptist minister in the Daily Vacation Bible School, of the P.T.A. in community activities, of the agriculture teacher in organizing the farmers; the consolidation of the schools; the improvement of the roads; the common use of the automobile; and the economic effects of the depression.

Disorganizing factors are: business competition, individualistic attitudes, the large number of Baptist churches, the two factions in the Blackwell Baptist Church, the two factions struggling for community leadership, and the lack of complete economic and professional services within the community.

The outstanding social movement in this community is centered around the school. Many plantation owners moved near or to the vil-

lage on account of its school. Very few men of the community have any training beyond the high school, but many women have normal school diplomas or college degrees. The local young men married school teachers and in this way increased the educational status of the community. A few of the young women who obtained college training returned. Thus we may assume that these college-trained women, who became the mothers in the community, were greatly interested in having their children secure the best schooling possible. It is through their leadership that the P.T.A. is an important factor in community life.

The Baptist minister, in organizing the Daily Vacation Bible School, disregarded church affiliations, group followings, and classes. He and his workers visited every white family in the community annually and invited the young people to attend the school and the older people to attend the picnic. He emphasized the educational value of the school. At present the school is the biggest business in the community as well as the most potent socializing force.

Community Needs. The community needs an organization for the men. A luncheon club or a forum might solve the problem. It should include villagers and farmers. Perhaps the need for recreational outlets for young folks during the summer months is even greater. There are no tennis courts, swimming pools, picture shows, or amusement parks. There are no young peoples' organizations, either in the churches or schools, other than the Future Farmers Club. This is probably due to lack of effective leadership.

There is need for a community council made up of representatives from all interests, whether organized or not. This council should handle several activities now sponsored by the P.T.A. as well as others not being sponsored by any group at present.

The four Baptist churches need consolidation, coordination, or federation. At present each has a different minister, and very often he lives too far away to visit the neighborhood at any time other than on preaching day.

TINDALL: * *A Northeastern New York Dairy Community* (1937)

The Tindall community is located in northeastern New York, bordering on Vermont, in the Hudson River Valley. Tindall village lies in the center of the township in the valley of a creek which empties into the Hudson River. In 1930, the population of the village was 245, and that of the rest of the township was 1,207, making a total of 1,452.

* Names of places and persons are fictitious.

Tindall is an agricultural community, dairying being the most important industry. The climate and soil are favorable to the growth of

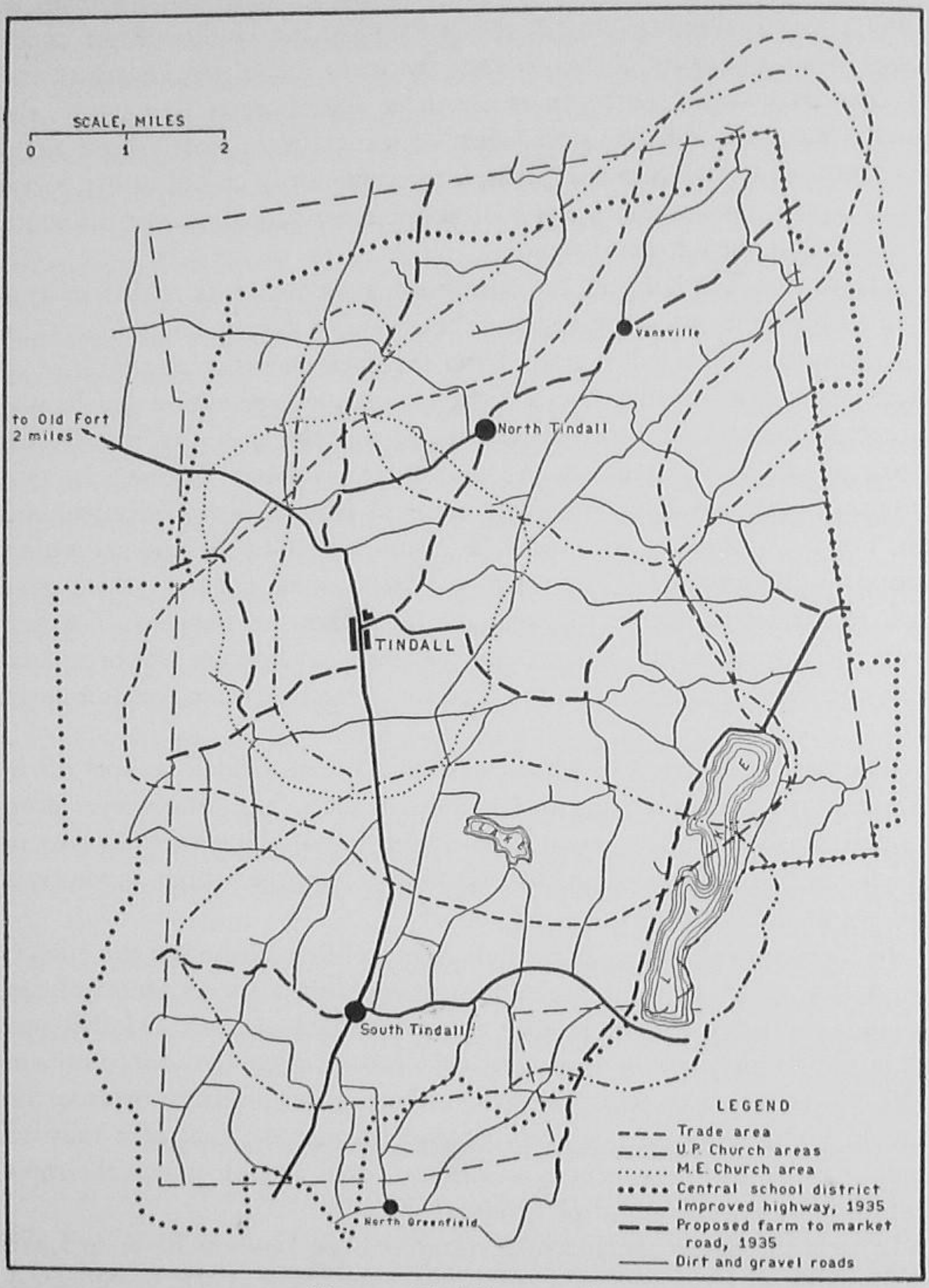


FIG. 13. Tindall community area.

forage and silage corn. Plenty of pasture land is available, and most of the milk is sent to Old Fort where it is shipped to New York City. A

market for both Grade A and Grade B milk is available to the dairymen of this section.

Tindall village is about 7 miles from Old Fort, which is a town of some 4,000 inhabitants lying at the junction of the Hudson River and a barge canal, and through which runs the main line of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad. Three miles north of Old Fort is Centerville, the county seat, which has a population of some 6,500 people. Four miles northwest of Centerville is Dayton, a manufacturing city of nearly 20,000 inhabitants. Greenfield, a town of about 2,500 people, lies to the south of Tindall about 8 miles distant.

History. Tindall and the surrounding vicinity was settled in 1738 by a group of Scottish immigrants headed by Captain Laughlin. Captain Laughlin expected a grant from the then governor of the State of New York, but as there was a fight between the governor and legislature at the time the grant was not made, and the group of immigrants broke up, many of them settling in the region about Tindall. In 1764 the grant of 47,700 acres, including some of what is now Greenfield and Old Fort, was made to Alexander McNabb and 106 of the original settlers and their descendants. The town was laid out in 133 lots, which gave each settler a town lot in the village and a farm lot outside. The first town meeting was held in 1771, and the town government was organized after the New England system. The town received state recognition in 1786.

The part of Greenfield which was included in Tindall was set off in 1803, and the part belonging to Old Fort in 1818. The village was incorporated in 1838. The present area of the town, about three-fourths of which can be called the Tindall community, comprises about 35,000 acres and lies in the central part of the county.

In 1800, a hotel and stage headquarters were established in the village, for at that time the main stagecoach from New York to Montreal ran through the town. A post office was established in 1807. Tindall was made the county seat in 1806, and held this position 100 years until, in 1906, the county seat was changed to Centerville, probably because the Tindall buildings were not fireproof and because the lack of a railroad made it unhandy for attorneys and others, even though it was the most centrally located village in the county.

In 1822 the barge canal, which connected the Hudson River to Lake Champlain, was opened, making travel from New York to Montreal possible by boat. The canal joined the Hudson at Old Fort, which is at the side of the first falls in the Hudson. Old Fort was formerly called "The Great Carrying Place" by the Indians because it was as far north

as they could go by canoe on the river, and they had to carry their canoes thence to Lake George or Lake Champlain. This had its effect upon Tindall because now freight moved directly by boat rather than following the route of the stagecoach. In 1848 the railroad was extended north to Old Fort, and in about 1860 to Hallville, the regular stagecoach route through Tindall being discontinued shortly thereafter.

POPULATION

Year	*Village*	*Township*	*Year*	*Village*	*Township*
1790	...	2,341	1860	...	3,139
1800	...	4,597	1865	450	....
1810	...	3,813	1870	351	2,850
1815	210	3,962	1880	316	2,775
1820	...	2,811	1890	158	2,313
1830	...	3,450	1900	264	1,995
1840	...	3,111	1910	231	1,806
1850	...	3,274	1920	198	1,535
1855	373	....	1930	245	1,452

The drops in the township population in 1810 and 1820 were due to the setting off of the areas which are now included in Greenfield and Old Fort. In short, the population grew until about 1830 and then began to fall off, and this decline is still continuing. The rapid drop in both village and total population from 1860 to 1870 may be attributed to the advent of the canal and railroad in Old Fort. 1860 was the first date when Old Fort had a larger township population than Tindall and since then Old Fort has grown while Tindall has declined.

Agriculture. Agriculture is the main means of sustenance in Tindall, and dairying has always reigned supreme. The advancement of the fluid milk market shows itself in this community. In 1874 and 1875 two dairy associations were established in the southern and northern sections of the community. These institutions played quite an important role in the agricultural population of the two neighborhoods in the early days. Both established cheese factories, and they were real farmers' organizations, for they were owned, not by any individual, but by the associations, and were managed and controlled by elected members. These associations, though directly concerned with agriculture and its problems, did take up some of the community duties, the main one being to see that roads were kept open in the winter and spring so that the farmers could bring their milk to the factories. Another large cheese factory was estab-

lished in Tindall village somewhat later, but this was not owned co-operatively.

These cheese factories continued much longer than they economically should have, the one in North Tindall still operating until 1924. They had long lost their important place, however, and were patronized only by those few farmers who were unable to meet the requirements for the production of fluid milk for New York City. It was not until 1910 or thereabouts that the shipping of milk to New York was of any great importance. The early part of this period of the production of market milk had its unifying influence upon the farmers, though it was more on the neighborhood basis than on the community basis. It was a long, slow trip over poor roads to Old Fort or Centerville to get the milk to the railroad, and in every neighborhood some sort of cooperation grew up among the local farmers, each taking his turn in carrying the milk to town, and thus relieving every individual of making that long trip daily.

In recent times milk has remained the most important factor in the agriculture of this section. A Dairymen's League receiving plant was established in Old Fort in 1926. Most of the Tindall milk went to this plant prior to the depression, and though other milk plants attempted to establish a trade in this region, their life was short. In 1932 milk had fallen far below its regular price and farmers were discontented. A local Dairymen's League was established in Tindall comprised of those dairymen who shipped milk to the plant in Old Fort. They had monthly meetings which were filled with conflict between those farmers who felt that they were receiving less for their milk than they should and those who thought that the League was doing the best it could. Representatives from the League who met with the farmers to talk over the situation were often hissed from the platform. This tension was very strong, and when, in the fall of 1932 just before the time of lowest milk prices, an independent firm established a milk plant in Old Fort taking grade B milk at higher prices than the League paid for grade A milk, a large percentage of the dairymen switched to the independent firm, including many who had been staunch supporters of the League. So great was the change that the League plant in Old Fort came close to having to shut down because it did not have enough milk. There was what some economists call an overproduction of milk during this period, and since this switch from the League occurred over much of the state, it had less surplus to take care of and it began to pay higher prices for their milk. In late 1935 it was paying more than the independent plant, and has continued to do so ever since. However, the feeling has not died. The

farmers who left the League want to get back in, and the farmers who stayed in want to keep them out in order to "teach them a lesson."

This situation at a time of crisis has had both organizing and disorganizing effects. It has split farmers who previously belonged to the same organization, and a strong feeling has arisen between the two factions. Because milk is such a vital thing in this community, this feeling has carried over into the churches, school, Grange, lodges, and local clubs. Many members resigned from or were politely shut out of these organizations because of their stand on the milk question. On the other hand, those few farmers who stuck by the League, and nearly lost their market as a result, became knitted into the strongest and closest organization that has been found in Tindall in a long time. They are still closely organized, even though some of the "outsiders and dissenters" have gained entrance to the group in one way or another. Too, those farmers who left so quickly and who are now attempting to get back in are realizing that cooperation is a very important thing in the dairy industry. When the feeling has died down and the farmers are united again, there will perhaps be a stronger organization among them than there has ever been before.

A local unit of the County Farm Bureau in Tindall has never been very successful. The 4-H Clubs, with twenty-five boys and twenty-eight girls, and the two recently established Home Bureau units have been working out very well, however.

Industry. The first grist mill and sawmill in Tindall was established before the Revolution. Two more were established in 1789 and 1808. In 1815 the first woolen factory was established. These mills all received their power from the falls and dams in the creek. A tannery was established in 1822. In 1833 grist, plaster, and flour mills were established in the northern part of the community. About 1838 a carriage factory was started which was maintained for close to thirty years.

Many of these mills have been remodeled and continued. At present there is but one sawmill still in operation. It was sold in the spring of 1937, and whether it will be continued or not remains to be seen.

The most recent attempt at manufacturing in this community was the establishment of a card-table factory in the building which used to be the cheese factory. This lasted for about one and one-half years before it was moved to Troy. It was established in 1928, and whether it was the community or the depresssion that drove it out no one knows, but it was probably a combination. The prospective establishment of this factory in Tindall aroused much spirit and excitement in the village. Merchants began enlarging their businesses, residents began to fix over

their houses so that they could accommodate roomers, and everyone had high hopes that Tindall would soon be "on the map." When the business folded up, at just about the time of the failure of the bank and other manifestations of the depression, everyone seemed to lose faith in Tindall, and community spirit has been at a low ebb ever since. The slight rise in population shown by the 1930 census report was probably partially caused by this temporary boom due to the factory, and the 1940 census will probably show a drop in village population to a point as low or lower than that of 1920.

Business. In 1878 there were eight to ten stores in the village, a hotel, and an inn. The hotels and inn disappeared after the county seat was changed. Before the depression, Tindall was well supplied with stores. There were two furniture stores, two undertakers, three groceries, two restaurants, two hardware stores, one garage, and one filling station. At present there are two groceries, one restaurant, one hardware store, one garage, and two filling stations.

In 1930-1931 there was much trouble with one of the merchants. The Masons had decided to buy a place where they might hold their meetings, and began to look about town for a suitable one. This merchant, Chapman by name, who was also an undertaker, owned a building which he tried very hard to sell to them. The Masons decided, however, that they did not want his place, and they bought another building in town. This act caused much resentment and a few disagreeable remarks from the hardware and furniture merchant, whose trade continued to fall off. The Masons spent the winter repairing the purchased building. After it was completed and they had held one or two meetings in it, it caught fire during the night from some unknown reason and burned to the ground. We might add at this point that the chairman of the committee to buy for the Masons was the other undertaker and furniture merchant, who was rapidly taking over the trade of this nature. He had established his business in the new building purchased by the Masons. His furniture, coffins, and equipment were destroyed by the fire. The Masons and others in town suspected Chapman of having started the fire. There was no evidence, however, and though the Ku Klux Klan burned several crosses and there was much talk, nothing serious happened. Four months after the first fire Chapman's store burned from just as mysterious causes. Chapman confessed to the state troopers that he had set the fire. The town was immediately in arms, and it was only through the help of the Methodist minister and a few others that Chapman was able to escape from the town unharmed. The Methodist minister testified for Chapman that the confession had been forced upon him, and he was allowed to go

free. He never returned to Tindall. The attitude taken by the Methodist minister was severely criticized by many, and, perhaps, had something to do with the decline of that church. The community was pretty badly split after that experience, and, though the thing has died down considerably now, there is still some feeling between the two factions which took sides in this incident.

A bank was established in Tindall in 1908, taking the old county court house building for its headquarters. It did a large business for a bank in such a small community. It appeared to be running quite smoothly until the 1929 crash in the stock market. The respected president of the bank shot himself, whereupon it was found that he had been using depositors' money for his private speculations. Nearly everyone in the community had money in the bank. This catastrophe showed how well the people of this community could work together if the need was strong enough. They set out to re-establish the bank. Everyone who could spare the money, offered it, and the rest spent their time in soliciting for funds. So complete was their cooperation in this situation that they were able to raise enough funds so that the bank re-opened and everyone who had deposits in the old bank received 100 cents on the dollar. They were able to re-establish the bank within six months. The community is proud of its bank. It is the largest and best bank in any town of its size for miles around, a unifying influence in the community.

Fraternal Orders. A lodge of Masons was started in Tindall in 1800, but it died out for some reason. The Tindall Lodge, F. & A. M., was chartered in 1865, and still exists. From 1920 to 1929 the membership increased, but since that date it has fallen off quite a bit, especially the number of active members. With this decrease in membership, the community activities of the Masons have likewise decreased, especially since the burning of their new building. The Masons were formerly quite active in support of schools, roads, and other community projects, but they have declined in this respect to a very large degree.

The Tindall Lodge, I. O. O. F., was instituted in 1848. They never were so strong as the Masons, and in late years their membership and activities have declined like the Masons. Both these organizations used to have local-talent plays, dances, and the like, but they have done little in recent years. Last year the Masons had one dance; the Odd Fellows had nothing of this nature.

The Tindall Order of Eastern Star was started during the World War for the purpose of sewing and doing such things to help the Allied cause. This organization was also quite strong until 7 or 8 years ago. It was

very active in community affairs during the 1920's, but now it has less than 15 active members.

The Tindall Grange was chartered in 1906 with 32 members. For many years it was the most active Grange in the county, and of all the organizations in Tindall this was the largest and busiest. In 1928 it had as many as 500 members listed on its books. The building used is the old First Presbyterian Church, which was remodeled to accommodate the Grange. The Grange, too, has declined in recent years. It has about 200 members on its register now, but a very large percentage of them attend only once or twice a year on special occasions, and carry their membership only for the insurance privileges offered. It seems probable that this organization does not have more than 50 active members at present. Up until three or four years ago it was quite active. It would invite outside speakers to talk on agriculture and related topics, and it would open the meeting to all in the community. It did, and still does, give prizes for scholastic work in the high school. It used to have dances every two or three weeks. The Grange Fair, held every year in November, used to be a three-night affair, but now lasts only for two nights. Two years ago the Grange was temporarily revived with the idea of adding to its building a stage and a room for the Juvenile Grange. There was quite a bit of enthusiasm for a time. Some of the members got out logs for the rough lumber, and the men met a couple of times to dig the foundation for the addition, but that was all that was ever done. It appeared that there were only a few members who were interested enough really to work, and they grew tired of doing it all. Some of these members wanted to employ someone to come in to help them with the plans and work. When this was suggested to the Grange, there was so much opposition that the motion was lost; and nothing has been done about it since. The Grange seems to be losing its influence.

Clubs and Societies. Four or five years ago there was quite a growth of neighborhood clubs. Most of them were social in nature, named after their various functions, as card-playing, literary, missionary clubs, etc. Most of them have dropped out one by one, and the ones which do remain are pretty weak.

Five years ago a Village Improvement Society was started in Tindall. At first it received a lot of publicity. The society had a float in the Fourth of July parade and ran regular columns in the local newspaper. Evidently there was too much publicity too early in the game. People began to look around to see what it had done, and, when they found that about all it had done was to put a few grass seeds on the school lawns, they did not support the movement. Instead the V.I.A. became the vil-

lage joke. It has never been able to accomplish much of importance, though it still holds meetings.

Community Activities. In 1865 a town hall was constructed in the village to accommodate all community activities and other social, educational, and athletic events which were accepted by the town board as legitimate activities for a town hall. Fees were charged to individuals and associations when the place was used for a commercial purpose, and thus some of the expenses of the building were defrayed. In 1930 the town sold the hall to a group of village men who attempted to make it over into a paying business. They charged such exorbitant prices, however, that the people began to use the Grange hall instead, which, though smaller, is a much cleaner and nicer place, and the cost is less. The only good stage in the town, however, is in this community hall, and the decline in drama in the town can be largely attributed to the change in management of this hall. In recent years there has been no stage production of any kind in the community, whereas there used to be a play put on with local talent every month or so and greatly enjoyed by the majority of the community. Practically the same situation existed with the basketball activities. Before the hall became privately owned, there were both a town team and a high school team in the community. However, when the hall was bought and a charge was made for every practice, the teams were unable to earn enough to pay for their support. They had to disband as that was the only court in the village. In the winter of 1937 the owners of the hall permitted free practice in return for keeping the hall clean, and charged only for games. This system enabled the town to support two teams once more.

There used to be regular "Old Home Days" in Tindall, but these were discontinued some twenty-five years ago.

For a period of years, from 1920 to 1929, a combination field day and track meet was held each spring for the school children. On this day all the children from the outlying sections of the township came into the village to compete in track events. These events were well attended. They meant a lot to the children who did not get away from their local neighborhoods very often, and they developed quite a community spirit in both the children and the older generation. It was hard to ascertain why these were discontinued, but probably the decline in the contributing organizations at about this time had much to do with it.

The Fourth of July has not been celebrated in Tindall for the past four years. This too was an event well attended, and it contributed much to community spirit. There was always a parade, in which nearly every organization had its float.

Tindall always has a Memorial Day celebration—one event which is still being continued, though on a much smaller scale than previously. They used to have bands, speakers, parades, ball games, and the like. Last year there were only a small parade and a couple of ball games.

Schools. The first complete record of schools in Tindall was kept in 1815, when there were 23 school districts with 1,238 pupils between the ages of 5 and 15 years; and $700.00 was paid for their education. In 1875 there were 16 whole and some fraction districts, with 800 pupils; and $1,735.26 was spent for their education. In the school year of 1935-1936, there were 386 school pupils registered in the schools in Tindall; and $35,371.97 was spent on their education.

The Tindall Academy was opened in 1841 for those who wanted more than a grade school education. In 1878 there were 90 students in the school. The two-story brick building was the pride of the town for some time. In 1897 the Academy became the Tindall High School. In 1922 a new and larger building was erected. This building, although larger than the old one, is still much too small. It has no auditorium or gymnasium, and the classrooms are small. Because there are no facilities for recreation for the children in the winter, they spend most of their free time in the stores and filling stations about the village. There are two tennis courts and a baseball diamond which are available to the students in the spring and fall months. For the school year of 1935-1936 there were 97 students registered in the elementary grades and 79 students registered in the high school.

The school has never been consolidated though the people of the community want it to be consolidated very much. The State Department of Education desires to discontinue the school and send the school children to Greenfield and Old Fort where larger schools are already established. The people of the community feel that if the children are sent out of the community for their education, the community will lose much of the organization which it still has. The school is quite a binding factor in the community. The school has a good baseball team of which the whole town is proud, and the annual commencement is one of the best ways to get the whole community together at one time. The community is united on this thing, if it is united on anything. The outlying school districts are sending their seventh and eighth grades to Tindall, and they are employing buses to carry the children to and from school in an attempt to show the State Department that they can support a consolidated school.*

* Since the above was written twelve school districts formed a centralized school

Churches. Of all the factors which might help to hold this community together, religion is probably the most important. Religion has been strong in Tindall from the time of the early settlers up to the present. In the town there are many records of old laws regarding observance of the Sabbath.

The first United Presbyterian Church was built in 1792, and in 1793 the Reverend George Meeker was engaged as pastor. In 1800 a new, larger church was erected in the center of the village. In 1823 the Reverend Mr. Meeker called his son to take his place. In 1845 a new church was erected which would seat nearly 700 people. Mr. Meeker asked to be relieved in 1851, and thus the Messrs. Meeker, father and son, held the congregation for 58 years. In 1876 a new church, which now stands, was built. It is a very beautiful building with a seating capacity of somewhat over 600. In 1878 there was a flourishing congregation of 500 members. In 1937 there were 250 in the congregation.

Besides this church in the center of the township, there was another United Presbyterian church erected in the southern part of the community in 1787 which is still being used. There was also a United Presbyterian church built in the northern part of the township in 1830 which was remodeled and enlarged in 1846.

Other congregations, such as the Dutch Reformed Church, the Reformed Presbyterian, the Presbyterian, and the Methodist, attempted to establish themselves in Tindall. The Methodists were the only ones who succeeded. The others had their churches, but they were short lived. The Methodist congregation built a church in 1877 which is still in use. In late years, however, the Methodist congregation has suffered heavily, and there are many rumors that they will have to give up their church. There are only about twenty active members left, and these are so hard-worked in their attempt to hold their church that they are becoming discouraged. Everything points to a discontinuation of that church in the near future.

There are, connected with each of the United Presbyterian Churches, active young people's organizations which are carrying on the community spirit quite well. They have their regular meetings with good attendance. There are thirty-five active members in the Tindall Church Young People's Association. In addition to their regular activities, they sponsor a father-and-son banquet every year which always has a good attendance of both members and non-members. The church has been, and still is, a binding factor in Tindall.

district in 1938 and five more were added in 1939, and a new building has been erected. The present central district is shown in figure 13.

Melba, New York (1932)

Melba is a village in the southwestern part of New York, close to the watershed between the Genesee and the Allegheny rivers, near the Pennsylvania line. Reedsport, a city of some twenty thousand people, is fourteen miles to the west on a good paved road; Wells, a town of nearly six thousand, is twenty-eight miles to the east. The nearest large cities are Buffalo, seventy-five miles to the northwest, and Rochester, ninety-four miles to the north.

Melba nestles in a hollow of the hills that characterize the rough, eroded plateau region of southern New York. Its own four-corners are 1,400 feet above sea level, and the hills rise about it for some hundreds more. The only flat land is found in the valleys, and in but small patches there; in one summer alone, three men tilling the rolling slopes were hurt by the overturning of tractors. The land has been farmed for a century and a third, but it is untamed yet!

An ancient glacial lake lay to the north of Melba long before the foot of a Seneca had stirred the deep grass of the pastures of the deer, and left behind it, with its shoreline and outlet banks, a level but tortuous passage through the hills to the more gently rolling valley of the Genesee. Along this path wound the old cart road to the cities of the North in the early days of settlement in the 1790's; and when Clinton's Ditch traversed the state from east to west, down the same gentle path wound the narrow canal that joined Rochester, with her port on Ontario, to the Allegheny River. It was possible in those days to move slowly up the Genesee Canal, through Melba and across to Reedsport, where one turned down the Allegheny to the Ohio, thence to the Mississippi, and down to the Gulf. The canal is gone now, but the banks still stand, and, now and then, a gaunt skeleton of a lock gate crumbles between them. There are men in Melba who will tell you of unloading salt boats at the Port of Melba in those days, and women who remember the Sunday school outings when heavily loaded, bunting-draped barges moved off for a day in some grove a few miles away. Now the Pennsylvania Railroad runs its trains the length of the old tow path, and the Erie Railroad sends mile-long freights over the same glacier-carved highway and passenger trains over a shorter route, but one that makes the engines puff and snort, over the hills.

And such is the careless way of time, that the rails themselves are now showing rust from the infrequent passing of the trains and may soon join the old lock gates rusting along the right-of-way, as the auto-

mobiles rush over the highways that parallel the old post road, the old canal bed, and the race track of the iron horse.

It was nearly a century and a half ago that a group of men pushed over the low ridge to the east, and found the valley in which Melba lies. Because it seemed a good place for a town, this flat little patch with passes through the hills to all four points of the compass, they took up land rights. One group wanted the village at the north end of the hollow; the other, at the south, close against the hills. Each group set up a store and a tavern; but the liquor must have been better in the south, for there the village grew, and North Melba is just a crossroads with a gift shop in the old store and a tourist house over the way.

The village grew slowly, but was regarded as a coming town. A new post road from Buffalo to Pennsylvania was surveyed about 1870, and two routes were selected, one of which went through Melba. The village was astir; two post roads, a canal—what more could one ask to insure prosperity? And then the road went through Reedsport, a little village of the same size almost a day's journey to the west. Old-timers shake their heads and date that city's rise from that changing of the road. "When I was a boy, Reedsport wasn't as big as we are now," they say, and sigh the sigh of men who have guessed wrong.

But the pastures were there, and the cows were there, going about the business of the cud unmindful of the fate of village empires down below them. In 1879 the milk from 2,150 cows went to the many cheese factories tucked away in the folds of the hills, and more than three-quarters of a million pounds of cheese with the rich, mild flavor of the hills proved the worth of the patient processes of nature. As the forest mantling the slopes was cut down, made into rafts, and sent up to frame the mills of Rochester, the dairymen moved into the clearings until almost all the land even in the remotest hills was in pasture and grain.

The little cheese factories are almost all closed now, for grain can be grown cheaper in Wisconsin and Minnesota; but a chain store and a meat-packing plant of national reputation still pack their warehouses in Melba with Melba cheese. During the World War the pastures of Melba dairymen supplied the condenseries that sent canned milk to the war front, and the larger of them still operates near the village, the milk being hauled in by trucks that rumble through when the sleepy storekeepers are "sweeping out" in the morning. But Wisconsin and Minnesota are responsible for the brush and second-growth timber in many an acre of hill land and the tumbling down of many an abandoned house set amid idle acres. Dairying is a serious, corner-cutting, belt-tightening business now.

There was another time when fortune seemed to smile on Melba. Back

in the early days a bow-legged man called Seneca Pete used to drive an old gray mule down from Buffalo with two empty kegs strapped on its back. A mile or so from the village in a swampy hollow was a spring that formed a thin scum of rainbow-hued substance over its surface. When flint and steel were struck close to its edge, it would catch fire and burn. The Senecas guarded it as a treasure, dipping their blankets into it and straining out the precious oil from the rock. The oil was good for snake-bite, good for wounds, good on general principles; and Seneca Pete would load up his mule and plod back to Buffalo, there to sell the famous "Seneca Oil" to the doctors. The first petroleum discovered in America, that was. When Drake proved the worth of drilling a shaft for oil, Melba heard the news with joy. When oil runs out of its own accord, how much more there must be below the surface waiting for the drill-bit to free it and send it spouting into the sun!

A well was drilled close to the edge of the old spring. The top of the casing still stands in the weeds, ragged, rusty, ashamed. But over the hills only eight miles away begins the rich oil field from which the world's best crude is pumped; and though fortune missed Melba by only that narrow margin, the men whom oil had made rich came over the hills one day and built a monument in tribute to the spring that led the way. Melba is proud of that boulder with its bronze slab, and motors visitors out to see it. But it would rather have a derrick.

In the first decades of the present century, Melba made its bid as a manufacturing town. A knife factory, a pulley works, and a novelty concern erected buildings and began operations. Perhaps a hundred men were employed, with two dozen others in the two mills that had long been established, one for the grinding of feed and flour, the other for planing lumber and making cheese boxes. An enterprising citizen with no taste erected a street of somber houses, all alternately alike, on the edge of town. Melba had its factories and its slums. It was on the way to being a big town.

The knife factory died first, and the bank took it over. The pulley works went under two years ago.

The buildings still stand there, empty, and the chamber of commerce is busy dangling bait before the eyes of small companies, hoping to entice new businesses there. Two years ago they raised two thousand dollars among some of the younger business men who, disgusted with the slowness of the chamber's procedure, formed a Business Men's Club; they gave it, with an old barn, to a man with an airplane idea. The plane almost flew, at that.

Melba cannot help itself. It doesn't want to be rural, but it is. On

the hillsides the cows still graze, the milk trucks roll through town early in the morning, and the only mill that has stood the test of time is the feed and flour mill, grinding out food for the cows. Even the planing mill is owned by the same group of men that owns the feed mill—and it makes cheese boxes.

Although Melba is a small town, it does not lack facilities for trade. There are three chain grocery stores in town, hated like poison by the proprietors of the locally owned groceries, of which there are also three. The local stores urge the people to keep their dollars at home, to support home industries, to remember their old friends; but so far only one of them has cleaned up his place of business, painted the front an attractive color, enameled the shelves, and removed the cat from the show window. He gets some of the business that the bright, clean chains get, but the other two local stores have their troubles.

It had two bakeries. One of them was only a bakery, the other was half a grocery. The bakery has gone bankrupt, but the half-and-half hangs on. Bread trucks come in daily from Reedsport with fresh rolls and bread and a little pastry, attractively done up in transparent paper with no flies inside.

If you wish to buy a pair of shoes in Melba, you have many opportunities. There are only two thousand, eight hundred and forty-four feet in the village, but there are six places to buy shoes. There are two men's clothing stores, one pool room, one men's and women's clothing store, and two dry-goods stores—all selling shoes. If you are persistent, you will find your size and style somewhere.

There is a meat market, clean and neat, run by an enterprising young couple. But because two of the chains also carry meat, the meat market puts in a line of bread and rolls, cakes, canned goods, and a little fruit. The proprietor says that if the competition extends to the other stores, he will put in dresses and cameras and a soda fountain too. And there is a meat market in the other block from the four corners, run as a side line by the proprietor of the motion-picture theater.

There is the ubiquitous ice-cream parlor, whose owner, in partnership with his brother, also runs an ice-cream factory. They make good ice-cream, because they put real cream into it; but it is more costly to make than the cheap stuff turned out in the Buffalo factories, and business is none too good. The drug store on the opposite corner carries the Buffalo brand. There are two drug stores, and they both sell drugs in addition to watches, alarm clocks, radios, candles, paper, wall paper, candy, mirrors, pictures, greeting cards, and what'd'ye lack?

And there are two pool rooms; two hardware stores; two electric

stores, one of them operated by the undertaker; four garages; three restaurants; two gift shops with jeweler's annexes; and two hotels.

Yes, Melba has the facilities for doing business. Two of everything, at least; including two banks to handle the inevitable bankruptcies that occur more frequently in recent years. There were three suicides last winter.

They tell me that business used to be there, too. The farmers' teams crowded the streets, and their children the stores, and everyone was happy. They used to give you a bag of candy when you paid your bill. But now business is drifting to Reedsport, with its ten-cent stores and its larger stocks of suits and dresses and furniture, only twenty-five minutes away over a good paved road. Even the storekeepers themselves, for all their agitation for home trading, do not buy extensively from one another, but drive to Reedsport or Wells for all except little things.

There is another factor that makes business none too good, and that is the fact that there just aren't as many people to buy things as there used to be. At the 1930 census, the village had 1,422 inhabitants, a decline of 11.7 per cent from its mark of 1,611 in 1920. As for the countryside round about, a drive over the dirt roads in any direction will indicate what is happening there, as house after house stands empty with its shutters flapping in the wind. Modern methods of agriculture have made it possible for one farmer to handle more stock and more land than several could in the old days—and the surplus farmers have moved on. The poorer land is going out of cultivation, as not being worth a man's time, and the better land is being tilled cheaper and better. The population of the old days of the canal and post road isn't needed any more. Men do not go down the meadows four abreast, swinging their scythes at harvest time; one man rides around on a mower and whistles "The Old Gray Mare." Men turn two furrows at once, riding on a tractor. They milk two cows at once, while leaning against the post and watching the machine. Farming is a business now, and the man who can't stand the gaff moves on.

And that is as it should be. Anyone who has tramped over a stump field with the handles of a double shovel giving his ribs a Dutch rub will not ask for those good old days to come again. And the women in the farm homes do not long for the days when the dining room was full of sweating threshers and the kitchen of the fumes of hell. The new ways are better.

But it means fewer feet for the village stores to shoe, fewer legs to be overalled, fewer freckled-faced, sun-browned misses to wear the slinky new dresses. Ask any storekeeper on Main Street.

The people that live in and around Melba are native folks. Very few

foreign-born families—you could count them on one hand—and even fewer colored families. Two of the colored families are members of the Baptist Church, sing in the choir, and take part in all activities. There are the usual number of faithful spinsters, waiting to join ma and dad, who died and left them without the job that was husband and children to them; the usual number of widows and widowers, living alone in their rambling, solitary houses; the usual number of retired farmers, sniffing the wind restlessly in the mornings; the children, mostly in the yards of the little houses on the side streets. There aren't very many young men and young women, though; the population takes a running jump over the twenties, and what few are left keep asking: "What's doing in the city? Any chance of a job?"

This absence of young men and young women is rather hard on the young folks in high school. They just won't be like mother and dad, but there isn't anyone in between to copy after. So they read the magazines and go to the movies, and try to find their models there. A little too much lipstick, dresses just a bit flashy, talk rather coarse and loud, and a far-away look of cities over the horizon when the school bell has rung for the last time, these tell their story.

A questionnaire was submitted to the students of the high school. Among the questions was one about their future vocation, where they would follow it, and whether they were going to college. One hundred and fifteen answered the question about their vocations, but only 19, or 16.5 per cent, intended to follow work like that of their fathers or mothers; the other 106, or 83.5 per cent, were planning to do something different. One hundred and thirty-four replied to the question as to where they were going to live; again, but 18, or 13.4 per cent, planned to stay in the locality—116, 86.6 per cent, were going to go away. Seventy-six, or 47.5 per cent of the whole number turning in questionnaires, were going on to college or business school.

These young people will doubtless change their minds many times before the school doors swing open and they become alumni of the yellow brick building on the hill, so we must not take their replies as certainties. We are justified, however, in saying that the young folks of Melba want to get away and do new things. Their thoughts are on the horizon.

Yes, the people of Melba are nice people. The county judge lives there, and the prosecuting attorney; but the county seat with its court-house and jail and hangers-on is fourteen miles away in Bellville. Melba is not a political or economic center, just a pleasant little residential town. It has a hospital on one edge, erected by the community with county aid, and a local girl is the head nurse. The undertaker, carrying

out the promise of his father who was undertaker before him at the time the hospital was built, makes all accident calls in the village free in his big old Cadillac ambulance car. There are three doctors in town, a part-time public school nurse, the high school principal and the district superintendent of schools, two other lawyers, four ministers, and the priest—quite a little professional group, adequate for most needs.

On Sunday mornings the bells in five steeples ring the call to worship, and the doors of five churches open for the crowds of worshipers who do not come. The largest building is possessed by the Presbyterians, and it is beautiful and attractive; but it has poor Sunday school facilities and a poor Sunday school organization, and, although its congregation belongs to the upper social strata, the minister's voice echoes over many empty pews. The Baptist building is next in size, with a very good Sunday school wing and a good organization. The building seats 190 with ease, more if necessary, and the congregation of about 120 is the largest morning group in the town; but even it has room for more. The Methodists come next with a small, compact building and cramped Sunday school quarters, smaller membership, and much smaller congregations. But they are very faithful folk, this little flock, and the same faces are there Sunday after Sunday, ready to hear the minister discuss the devil and the deficit. The Episcopal church shares the upper social strata with the Presbyterian, and meets by the handful in a large, bare, echoing church that is linked up with several others in the surrounding localities in a Mission chain. The rector, however, lives in Melba. The Catholic church a block down the street is the newest structure in town; a small, neat, attractive little building with a rectory adjoining. Its membership is smaller than any other religious group in town, but they are a hard-working organization and attendance is good.

In 1930 a community committee was selected from all the churches except the Catholic, and a canvass was made of the town to determine the religious affiliations of all families. Four hundred and forty-six homes were visited by calling committees of mixed denomination in one hour, with the following results ascertained:

Unlocated	2 per cent
No preference	2 per cent
Catholic	9 per cent
Episcopal	10 per cent
Methodist	21 per cent
Presbyterian	22 per cent
Baptist	34 per cent

The Baptist church, apparently, is the most influential of the churches of the town; it is also the only growing church, having increased its membership by nearly 23 per cent in the last two years. It picks its ministers from the graduating classes of a seminary in Rochester, and hence gets them young and fresh and well trained. The other ministers of the town are as a rule older men, more doubtful of the morals of the rising generation, and more filled with the spirit. But the young folks and children hang around the Baptist church whenever the doors are open.

The same study showed that 42 per cent of the village population is not connected by membership with a church. In the United States as a whole, 53.4 per cent was not connected by membership in 1926, according to the religious census of that year; so the little town is 11.4 per cent more religious than the average.

It is not, however, very generous with its religion. The questionnaire submitted to the high school students, previously mentioned, showed that the village keeps its religion pretty much to itself. It doesn't invite the country in. Anyway, the country does not come in. For 78.2 per cent of the young folks who live in the village and go to high school are church members, whereas only 61.3 per cent of those who live on the paved roads round about the village are members, and only 38.3 per cent of those who live on the dirt roads. The reason is not alone their failure to come in to town, but partly the failure of the town to go out to them; for ministers had called at 72.4 per cent of the village homes represented, in the last year, and at but 56.8 per cent of the paved-road homes, and at only 46.8 per cent of the dirt-road homes. The village could be more zealous in making the rural dwellers feel at home in town, and in knitting the farm and village folk together. But Melba still wants to be a city, and shuts its ears to the rumble of the milk trucks in the early morning hours.

The young folks of the Baptist and Presbyterian churches have a union Christian Endeavor Society, but the Methodist young people remain by themselves in their Epworth League. A union men's class also reflects the growing intimacy between the Presbyterian and Baptist churches; the same two organizations take the lead in the union vacation Bible School held annually in recent years. The ministers of these two churches remain for longer pastorates than do the others; the Methodist pastors regularly move on after three years, but these stay five or seven years as a rule, and knit themselves into the lives of their congregations.

There is good cooperation between the churches, as evidenced by their joint effort. This last year the Baptists and Presbyterians worshiped together for a few weeks during the change of pastorates in the Presby-

terian church, and talk of union was free. Committees were appointed to discuss the matter, but one of the older women made a few regrettable comments and the matter was dropped. Some day, after a few more funerals in the beautiful green cemetery at the edge of town, the younger element may have its way.

Certainly, it seems very certain that some such solution will be the inevitable working out of Melba's church problems. Already one church, the Methodist, has for years been sharing its minister with another church in a hamlet five miles away, and the Episcopal church maintains a resident rector solely because it happens to be the seat of the Mission. It cannot afford to keep him by itself. The following figures of church and Sunday school membership changes indicate the situation:

	Church		Sunday school	
	1900	1930	1900	1930
Episcopal	76	70	44	29
Methodist	159	94	189	75
Presbyterian	226	208	225	103
Baptist	301	236	188	164

The decline of population is affecting not only the stores and the factories; it is affecting the membership of the religious organizations too. There are fewer people to go to church in Melba than there once were.

Not only are there fewer people, but church membership costs them more than it used to. Church membership is an expensive thing in Melba, as the next table shows.

	Budget		Average per member	
	1900	1930	1900	1930
Episcopal	$1,619	$2,446	$21.30	$34.94
Methodist	1,074	2,586	6.75	27.52
Presbyterian	3,106	6,852	13.74	32.94
Baptist	1,290	5,623	4.28	23.82

The significance of these figures is not alone in the increase which they show to have occurred in the expenses, both total and per capita, in each of Melba's churches, but even more in the fact that the expenses per

capita of every one of them is much higher than the national average in 1926, about $15. It costs more to be a church member in Melba now than it used to, and it costs more to be a member in Melba than in many other places. Eventually economic necessity will force union.

The children in Melba go to the village school, a frame structure with a spacious lawn, staffed for the most part by young teachers, on the whole keen and alert. After the sixth grade they carry their books higher up the hill to the high school building, where an aggressive young man is the principal, with a smoothly working organization of young women. The buildings of the school system are not very good; they are small and cramped and unsatisfactory from every standpoint. There is considerable agitation for new buildings and a consolidated school, but the open-country districts are not quite ready for that yet, although two or three already send their children into the town by bus. The nearest thing to a community conflict came over the question of enlargement of the high school building, when the local editor, short-tempered and with a flair for having his way, blocked proceedings in a crowded community meeting called for discussion of the plan.

In the hot, packed auditorium of the high school one June night he unmercifully heckled the speaker of the occasion, a member of the state department of education. A bloc vociferously applauded. Very wisely, the committee in charge, rather than submit the question to a vote, adjourned the meeting for further consideration. The editor and his supporters saw victory in the move, but they did not look far enough. The tide of opinion is setting in slowly; the young people play basketball on the fine courts of consolidated schools round about, and practice on their own meager floor; they see the neat classrooms, the good laboratories, and their fingers itch to try the equipment of manual training and domestic science rooms. They ask questions at home. The editor has sold his business to a younger man. Soon the question will come up again, to be carried into execution with smoothness and good feeling.

The new principal has begun a Parent-Teacher Association, that, while not wholly successful, is bringing together the interests of the home and the school. It is a slow process, for Melba folk are not in the habit of thinking together about such things. One of the ministers had previously held a short series of mothers' meetings, in the nature of conferences conducted by physicians and teachers, with the hope that a mothers' club of some sort would evolve; but the conferences failed, not for lack of enthusiasm and approval on the part of the physicians and teachers assisting, but for lack of interest on the part of the mothers. Even with the meetings well advertised, timed conveniently in the day,

only a half-dozen mothers responded, and the final conference was never held. The leading doctor was disgusted. "Six or eight card clubs in this town," he groaned, "and not one mothers' club!" The Parent-Teacher Association, calling into itself a larger group, although sparsely attended, may eventuate into something well worth while. At present, the musical programs, when the glee clubs sing, are the only sessions that draw a decent number to the hall.

A beautiful little brick building in the English cottage manner houses the books of the town library. It was erected by the bequest of a former citizen. The school children use it for the most part, a few of the townswomen draw fiction from it, and now and then a minister consults some of the standard works. Were it not for state support, which supplements the local appropriations, it would be in a bad way. Use of the library will probably increase as more of the children go to high school and college and their parents become interested in the things of the world in which their children live. Just now, Melba is satisfied to rest in the shade of its beautiful trees and wish.

When evening comes, there are many things to do. The most customary is to sit at home and listen to the radio, in the summer through an open window on the front porch. If there is something extra on at the lodge, some of the men will attend.

There are two lodges in town, the Odd Fellows and the Masons. The former has a large rural membership, and takes in the lower half of the social and financial level of the town; the latter is more a village affair, among the upper strata. Neither one, however, is well attended. "You just can't get 'em out to lodge any more," the leaders complain. Enthusiasm is at a low ebb. Lodge rooms are open in the afternoon, and old men sit around a checker table or play pinochle and talk of the gay doings of the old days.

The women have their Rebekahs and the Eastern Star, and they too have meetings sparsely attended except at dances, card parties, and suppers.

The Grange has a local chapter and shares its hall with the American Legion post. The Grange is in the same boat with the rest—a membership of over one hundred, but an average attendance of less than a third of that. The Legion is composed mainly of village young men who several years ago gave up the idea of getting their uniform tunics buttoned over the post-war expansion and show interest at Memorial Day and the annual Legion Ball.

The women have many other organizations, national and local. There is a new chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, a chapter

of the Daughters of Union Veterans, and three literary clubs—the Current Topic, which does not discuss current topics, the Shakespeare Club, which studies astronomy and art, and the Twentieth Century Club, which is a sort of mutual admiration society. There are six or eight card clubs of the "deal, gossip, and guzzle" type, as one card widower called them, and on each street a "Sunshine" society that meets once a month and sends baskets and flowers to the sick. The interesting thing about these Sunshines is that, even if you move over to Maple Street from Keller Hill, you still belong to the Keller Hill Sunshine, not that on Maple Street. Melba's women folk are pretty well divided up among all of these, the activities of which are not greatly dissimilar; they are either historical minded, or mere circles of gossip. In none of them are the genuine problems of getting a living, making a home, rearing children, and making a better community discussed.

In addition to the lodges for the men, there is the Chamber of Commerce, the Booster's Club of young business men who do not owe money to the bank that dominates the Chamber, and the Exchange Club. These are all of a civic nature, with their attention focused mainly upon the bringing of "new business" to the village. Farmers have no part in them, although the milk trucks bring the only new business that ever comes to town, every morning.

For sport, the men have organized a soft-ball league that fights noisy battles in the summer twilights on the sand-lot park in the edge of town. The barbers have a team, and so have the railroad men, the feed-mill men, and so on; "Lucky Tigers," "Keystones," "Barney Googles," they name them, and they get real sport out of the games. Baseball loosens up the muscles that have been fighting rust on the railroad or waiting behind the counter for business to come back, and it takes the mind off the scolding women who wait for their men folk to come home at sundown and sit on the porch while they retail the gossip of the day.

Last year the farmers took a step that has disappointed the village men. They organized a branch of the Grange League Federation in one of the empty buildings of the town, to handle feed and flour and seeds and the like, and a little shipping of farm produce as well. The village men regard their action as very ungrateful, especially coming at the time of the present business recession. If the farmers had only taken stock in the knife factory that went under, or in the airplane industry, now, they would have been showing real cooperation. But this G.L.F. demonstrates that the farmers do not understand civic needs.

The young people have organizations in three of the churches, but only village young people belong for the most part. They have their

school orchestras, glee clubs, astronomy club, Hi-Y, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and the like. Every year the senior class raises money for its trip to Washington by an endless string of food sales, candy and card sales, benefit movies, dances, plays, card parties, anything; and with it all, some of the young folks hardly have time to come home at all. And yet many of the young folks take little or no part in these things, but stand on the street corners and giggle at those who stroll slowly by.

There really isn't much for those who are not caught up in the busy round to do. They can go to the movies—where the voices sometimes lag behind the movement of the lips, owing to difficulties in adjusting sound equipment in the narrow, stuffy little hall—or they can shoot pool. One winter they could play indoor golf. Or they can go home.

But when they get home and the lessons are done, what then? They want to get out and be with other young people rather than with Dad, who is tired, and Mother, who is dull. And so the promenade results—from the Library down to the filling station on the north side of the street, cross over, and back to the Presbyterian church on the south side, then across to the Library again. Now and then, when properly paired off, down a side street where the lights are dimmer.

One minister broached the subject of opening up the very good Sunday school rooms of the church on week nights, especially Friday and Saturday, with ping-pong tables, checkers, a piano, and the like; but the elders of the church received it with utter passivity. Said one of them, "What for? We spend a lot of money on our young folks now, and then they get through school and go away to the city. What good would it do? And anyway, it isn't right to use the church property that way."

So the card tables gossip about the goings-on among the young people, one of the ministers fulminates weekly about the drinking, necking, and auto-riding proclivities of youth, and the business men complain, "We don't seem to keep the young people here after they graduate. They should start into business, marry, settle down in the old home town." But while Duty whispers, "Lo, thou must!" the youth replies, "Oh, yeah?"

Melba is a Republican town, and has been from days long gone. There are a few Democrats, generally regarded as interesting and quaint, and they do little damage. Politically the town is dry, but flasks are passed about in the coat rooms at dances now and then. About the same people are elected to office year after year, with the honors distributed now and then for the sake of passing them around. Elections are mild, with little excitement over local issues, of which there are few. The most interest comes in presidential years, or on rare occasions such as the year that the present district attorney got his office by running against the regular or-

ganization that had nothing against him except that it did not want to have the county attorney come from the same locality as the county judge. As for its own local matters, Melba has none.

In days gone by, there was a fair held at Melba. A great fair, with halls for exhibits, a race track, a grandstand where the crowd swallowed its popcorn unchewed as La Paloma paced around the oval to win by a nose from Gelter's Pride, a midway where Zanzibar the Snake-eater could be viewed for one dime, where the Princess Satsuma sagged and shook upon a flimsy platform in the hot sun. The sleek cattle and the fat pumpkins, the jars of pickles and the glossy jelly, the hand-worked spread and the signature quilt, were stared at in turn, to the accompaniment of "Buy me b'loon, maw, buy me b'loon!"

But the fair stopped long ago for lack of entries, and patrons, and enthusiasm, and cash; last year the old buildings that still stood were condemned and sold to satisfy a printing bill that had stood for several years unpaid.

The grove just south of town, a clean place of hard maples lifting round bare trunks above the grass, used to be the scene of camp meetings, chautauquas, political rallies. Tents were pitched amid the trees, water brought from the spring, horses tethered, and the whole family settled down to enjoy religion or what there was, while one of the boys ran the farm between hayings. Jolly, informal, full of fist-fights and love-making, of prayer and mud-slinging, mid-summer camp meetings were the balm of sultry days. Brush grows up in the old grove now, and the cows scratch their lean necks against well-nigh obliterated hearts with arrows stuck through and letters, "H.C. and V.T."

Here it lies, the little village in the lap of the hills, about it the marks of its former glory, and before it the shadows seen only by itself and the old men who sit on the bench before the pool room on calm afternoons. They, too, have lived. And the storekeepers agitate home trade, and the business men's clubs dangle decaying buildings before bankrupt businesses in the hope that they will come to Melba to die. Just on the edge of the oil field, just between the main highways of travel, not big enough to be a town, not small enough to be a hamlet—wanting things, almost getting things, a little dazed by the turn of events, what will become of Melba?

Certainly, the process of consolidation and shrinking will go on, until the village is the size that is needed to serve the economic and social needs of the farmers who follow the sleek cattle through the hill pastures. If the decentralization of industry occurs, it will seek out first the villages that are near the great cities; those that are betwixt and between,

like ours, must be content to serve the countryside round about and forego the fleshpots of factory chimneys and soup kitchens. The stores will go bankrupt, one by one, until just enough are left; the churches will consolidate, two by two, until enough are left to give the modern rural community dweller the kind of faith and worship that he wants and can afford; the schools will draw together, until the youth of the village find in the minimum number of good schools the maximum preparation for life.

Our little village will not die. It will merely start all over again, this time with its eyes open, with its goal a more natural one. The meeting of the socially disorganizing influences, demotic and economic, that it faces now may teach its members the art of organization for common needs. One with the countryside, with the false barrier between village and field forgotten, with the common interest and destiny of storekeeper and dairyman at last known and understood, the renascent Melba may be a better place than before.

For life goes on. Lovers marry and are given in marriage; children play in the front yards; men sweat in the fields; women peel potatoes in the kitchen; and the cows come home at evening in a long thin line, trailing down from the upper pastures.

And wherever you find life, you find the needs of life that cannot be met by one man alone.

Postscript

The foregoing commentary upon Melba and its problems was written in 1932. It is now early spring of 1939. Seven years have passed.

One prophecy has been fulfilled. The schools of Melba and the surrounding countryside consolidated into a central district in 1938; not smoothly, however, but with considerable bickering that for a time divided families, father being set against son, husband against wife. Now a great and beautiful new building is being completed in the village, and bus routes are being laid out among the hills to bring the children in. Most of those that opposed it are already beginning to boast that no neighboring village has as modern a school as Melba.

Another prophecy is on the way to fulfillment. The first editorial to encourage union of the churches appeared in the local paper in 1938, commenting upon the pleasing appearance of a churchful of people at a union service. It will be a long time before the matter is solved, but at last the problem of too many churches has become publicly recognized.

A third prophecy, and an important one, has had its fulfillment rather indefinitely postponed. In 1937 a factory came to Melba from Cleveland.

A group of business men raised fifty thousand dollars and built a modern glass and brick structure to house it, according to the company's specifications. When the payroll of the company has reached a certain total sum, calculated to take about ten years, the building will become the property of the company. There are certain concessions regarding taxes also. The company has been operating ever since its arrival; at varying rates of capacity, and with a rate of pay no higher than that of the mill long established in town. It has given employment to around a hundred people at a time, from the village and the country. It makes transformers and parts for advertising signs and radio sets.

Some of the people believe again, as of old, that the tide has turned for Melba. They refer to the factory as a "basic industry," and believe it is depression-proof. It has, however, yet to face a depression; and economists would refer to it as something other than basic. It may yet go the way of the pulley works and the knife factory. Again, it may succeed permanently. Such things have happened elsewhere.

But if it does succeed, Melba will be in for some surprises. At present, it sees only the modest payroll and its increase in purchasing power at the grocery and drygoods counters. Labor troubles, soup kitchens, radical orators and that mysterious thing known as the business cycle have not entered its head. Melba will not understand them; it will resent them. For New York State farmers are not sympathetic toward labor and labor's troubles; and Melba is still essentially an agricultural village.

Williamsville (1938)

About twenty-five miles south of Big City, population 370,000, is the small town of Williamsville. This town is typical of thousands of others all over Indiana. What is true of Williamsville must be true of innumerable other small country towns all over the middle western area. This village of about four hundred people is particularly interesting in that its type is rapidly changing. The increase in the number of state-maintained roads, the use of the automobile and bus, and the consequent accessibility of large cities are spelling change for the country village.

Williamsville began its existence about 1866 as a small, self-contained, independent hamlet. Its two or three grocery stores, grist-mill, blacksmith shop, doctor, church, and school made it almost self-sufficient. Its people were unified through intimate individual contact, common interest—agriculture—and, in general, a common plane of living. They were all beginning "at the stump."

About 1860 the present site of Williamsville was occupied by two

towns, Freedom and Williamsville. Freedom was on the east; Williamsville just forty rods west, with scattered homes between. About 1865, when community spirit was running high, the citizens proposed to unite the two by incorporating them into the village of Williamsville. This was done. The charter ran for a few years, expired, and was never renewed. So Williamsville lived on, a rather peculiar sort of existence. It had very few organizations for attaining specific goals and no method for achieving political unity. It needed none. The reason was that the town was conveniently located for the near-by industrious farmers. Williamsville had a railroad. The railroad brought an elevator and a hardware store. These brought farmers with grain to sell and money to spend. A bank was established. The town was thriving; it supported its members.

This situation existed up until a few years ago. As roads and other transportation and communication facilities improved, farmers who had formerly depended solely upon Williamsville merchants began to go to markets and merchants in larger towns. The depression merely gave impetus to this movement of forsaking the local community center. Small-town merchants could not compete with the chain stores in neighboring cities, so farmers were forced to go to other places. Gradually there came a community disintegration. It may seem that this discussion is Marxian in its emphasis on economic forces; but it happens that, in this case, the bond of unity for the surrounding community and in the village of Williamsville was almost wholly an economic one. Of course there were forces working simultaneously with the economic disintegration that might be interesting and important to our study. They are, however, so scattered and so insidious in their manifestations that the above serves as an adequate background for a study of Williamsville as it exists today.

As the little town made an effort to recuperate from the effects of the depression—which had taken its bank, its lumber yard, one of its two blacksmith shops, one of its two garages, and one of its three churches—it seemed to be gradually awakening to the reality of a new day.

The first evidence of this awakening process was the formation of a community-wide organization. A group of the business men, the professional men of the town, and the foremost farmers formed a club which they called the Williamsville Community Civic Club. This group made no effort to incorporate the town; they instituted no city government, no mayor, no boss, no committees of any kind. They merely organized for the purpose of initiating civic undertakings in which everybody could take part. They recognized Williamsville as a natural social group

having a village center and a small surrounding hinterland—the simplest type of rural community. The purpose of the club was originally stated as: "We do hereby form this civic organization for the purpose of making Williamsville a better place in which to live." The activities of the club are very democratic; everyone takes part. The community leaders are the members of this club; yet the responsibility for civic betterment is felt by the most lowly in the town. In reality, then, this organization, called the Civic Club, is the town government and, in addition, its members are the ones who formulate the proposals which represent the majority opinion.

"Goods-box chatter," "drug-store talk," and "back-fence gossip" abound in Williamsville. The post office is the favorite meeting place. Just before "mail time" the village wits and philosophers may gather for a heated discussion of the New Deal or John Smith's wayward son or the prospects for a new filling station. Many such discussions last for hours.

Besides this gossipy, purposeless sort of personal contact in the community there is another type, of which the Farm Bureau and Parent-Teacher Association are good examples. These organizations serve to create a cooperative atmosphere. That the whole community feels this is evidenced by the fact that practically all the townspeople attend the Farm Bureau meetings. In many instances this can be explained only by the fact that they realize their nearness to the farmers of the community and are interested in their welfare.

Perhaps the greatest social intercourse takes place in Williamsville on Saturday night. To begin with, the people of the community—through the Civic Club—began agitation for a community house to be built by the township with the aid of the Public Works Administration. This was refused. The result was that the club bought the town's abandoned Baptist church, redecorated it, and finally purchased a comparatively inexpensive talking-picture machine. In the winter current films are shown in the abandoned church; and in the summer open-air shows are held in the roped-off streets. The finest example of intimate, friendly association plus the utilization and loyalty to a community center can be seen when scores of tired but happy farmers squat along the sidewalk swapping tales and talking about their crops while their wives are in the stores buying the week's supply of groceries.

Of course the facilities of the small town are not altogether sufficient. The farmers, and the townspeople, lured back to their village by a free show and the increased services on the part of merchants, are beginning to feel the pull of the community center. They feel the need for mem-

bership in a primary group. They know that Williamsville is still a trade center, and yet they realize that they are in the service areas of Littleton, Big City, and Morganville.

There is another characteristic of these people that pertains directly to this village and community. It is homogeneity. The above-mentioned characteristics of the farmers desiring fellowship and participation in a primary group are an example of homogeneous traits. But, in addition, they have a certain like-mindedness—they think in terms of agriculture, in terms of incomes less than three thousand dollars, and in terms of rain, snow, and "early fall."

They know little of strikes, capitalistic exploiters, and industrial problems. Nor do they wish to. When work was begun on an annex to the school building, three representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization came to town to protest to the contractors because they were hiring Williamsville labor, which, of course, was unorganized. The contractors ordered them from the school grounds, and the men departed after threatening to return shortly. The Civic Club members, after hearing the story from the contractors, went to work. They notified farmers, merchants, farm hands, the two preachers, the doctor, and anyone else who might be interested, to "stand by" for return of the union men—an event which would necessitate immediate and concerted action.

The union men returned. And the Club lost no time. Its president stepped to the telephone and called his "key men" chosen in advance to spread the news among the farmers around the town. One party-line eavesdropper reported his conversation with his "south" subordinate thus: "Bill, they're here. You know what to do. Get the word to all south of town as quick as you can. Better use your car, as I'll be using the phone to get word to the other men. Besides, a lot of 'em south don't have phones." Bill snapped an O.K. and hung up. In about thirty minutes a crowd, variously estimated between 150 and 200, of tense and angry farmers, laborers, and townspeople was assembled on the school grounds. Their tense anticipation was heightened—and probably motivated—by newspaper accounts of sit-down strikes, picketing, and the like taking place in the industrial areas. But those fellows, they told themselves, hadn't encountered anything like this. The Civic Club spokesmen made it plain to the union men that they intended to use Williamsville labor on their school annex, and that they had no use for union "agitators." The union men, still cordial but undoubtedly bluffed, left town. Some of the local group, however, quoted them as saying as they left, "You'll hear from us again. We'll return with enough men to do the job." It is extremely doubtful if they had any such intentions or if such a state-

ment was made, since the union had not enough to gain to risk a pitched battle. Anyway, they never returned.

The interaction between members of a country village is quite well demonstrated in Williamsville. Most of the citizens—when not subjected to unusual and "foreign" stimuli—are sociable, peace-loving folk. When the Civic Club undertook to promote the idea of having a small park in the town, it was heartily received by most people. First it was talked over on the corner, on the benches in front of the hardware store, and in gatherings on Saturday night. The result was that without appointing committees or without making any "to-do," as they would say, the park was completed in a short time. Farmers donated their teams for use-business men sent hired-hands, and the high-brow school teacher and preacher rolled up their sleeves and worked alongside the Kentuckian who had just come to town.

About the only conflict in Williamsville, besides the usual petty conflicts between individuals, is the opposition to the canning factory because it works on Sunday. An interesting sidelight to this story is that the Civic Club donated the location for the factory. Many of the members are active in the churches. Now they are between two fires, so to speak. They like the renewed industry and money that the factory has brought to the community; but loyalty to the church, in some cases, is quite binding. This situation may, however, pass like another that formerly caused a bit of conflict.

There was a time when the number of filling stations was rapidly increasing. Two were constructed at the west end where the state road to Black County crossed the town. Many church members were quite ruffled to think that these stations would remain open on Sunday. Today the same members who protested the most vigorously buy their gasoline on Sunday and think nothing of it. Such a process of accommodation may ensue in the canning factory controversy.

Williamsville's inter-organization relations are quite active and varied. The Civic Club has guest speakers and entertainers who, in an unofficial sort of way, represent other local groups. The local Farm Bureau organization swaps talent with other township organizations. In summer, open-air union church services are held. The program for these impressive events is nearly always in the hands of a group or of a speaker from outside the community.

There is bitter rivalry between Williamsville and Warren, a neighboring town some six miles distant. Warren has free shows, too. This town, which is a bit larger than Williamsville, has the advantage of being incorporated and of being organized to the *n*th degree. This is in direct

contrast to our town, which possesses only a loose organization, voluntarily administered and supported. It is interesting, however, to observe the effectiveness with which necessity for defense of the home town brings about a spirited cooperation in most civic affairs.

The small town must realize that its life and its inherent benefits will be lost unless it makes some effort at adjustment to new social trends. That such is possible and practical is evidenced in Williamsville. The community has found that there is no substitute for the primary group in the matter of forming public opinion. The talking-over process in Williamsville has resulted in many worth-while things. It draws the people into a tighter, more compact group. It stimulates leadership. There is a certain benefit coming from intimate, collective experience and the people of Williamsville realize this fact.

Dodgeville

The portion of Wilson County that is now Dodgeville, Michigan, was once the hunting ground of the Ottawa and the Pottawattomie Indians. Today there remain of them a few names, an occasional arrowhead, and some graves in a cemetery several miles northeast of the village.

The major portion of the land was purchased from the government between 1836 and 1837 for purposes of speculation. The first acres were bought by Ichabod Clark of Genesee County, New York, April, 1836. Many other purchasers soon followed to take up the land that was rich and heavily forested.

In 1864 the first store, with a small stock of general goods, was opened on the south side of the river. A settlement was growing up there as is indicated by the following statement from an old book: "John Webster has moved his blacksmith shop (which he opened in 1864 on the north side of the river) to the more populous southside."

The Grand River Valley Railroad (later the Michigan Central, and now the New York Central) was projected, and a preliminary survey made by a Mr. Dodge. Mr. Dodge had approached the citizens of Brandon, already established about thirty years, with the promise to chart the railroad through their town in return for naming it for him. The hardy New Englanders refused, and Mr. Dodge brought his proposition to "Dodgeville," where it was readily accepted. Mr. Dodge was never otherwise identified with the town. The first train passed over the newly laid rails in January, 1869.

Then followed an era of progress. Grocers, merchants, mechanics, blacksmiths, millers, even a doctor and a lawyer located in the village. Three years earlier a one-room school house, which also served as a

church and a Sunday school room, had been built. In 1869 the legislature granted a village charter to Dodgeville. This was a complete surprise because no one had requested that such a step be taken.

Prosperity was checked in 1874, when a severe fire swept away property valued at $20,000. This must have included all the business district as the stores were wooden frame buildings. However, the villagers kept faith in their community; prosperity returned; buildings better than the former ones soon sprang up. When the village was ten years old it was listed as the second ranking commercial and manufacturing center in Wilson County.

Mudge's Directory (1878) states that Dodgeville had then a population of 1,120 persons, and it lists two flour mills, a steam planing mill, several sawmills, one carding mill, one stave mill, one foundry and machine shop, one brickyard, three churches, one bank, two hotels, and an American Express office. New businesses replaced older ones occasionally, but the economic life remained fairly constant. Dodgeville experienced the ups and downs of the various phases of business cycles, much as did other towns of comparable size.

Agriculture, as a part of the economic base, was increasingly important, and this fact helped to stabilize the community. The present trade and school areas of Dodgeville are nearly identical. They have a radius of approximately five miles, as measured from the center of the village. This is a relatively small area, but Dodgeville is near many other towns, and not very far from several large cities.

Dodgeville boomed during the World War. The town was caught up in the wave of patriotism which swept the country. Dodgeville subscribed readily for bonds, supplied its quota of men, observed the "meatless," "wheatless," and "sweetless" days, and did its bit to "save the world for democracy." Prices were high. Everyone had something to do. The women were busy knitting, rolling bandages, and sewing. Dodgeville had hit its stride, and attained its peak of development.

After the War the community muddled along until the depression. Of course times were hard—perhaps the town was dying anyway. The railroads were decreasing in importance, the automobile, the truck, and the bus were gaining. But there was another factor contributing to Dodgeville's disintegration.

In 1929 a group of village citizens wanted to consolidate the school to serve the township unit. Almost everyone seemed to favor the plan. A special election was called which favored the consolidation. However, a short time later certain rural districts voiced their dissatisfaction. A group of farmers and townspeople feared that taxes would increase while

their influence over their children would decrease. A certain man was reported to have stirred up the difficulty because the school board had refused to consider his property for a school site. Whether this was the real cause or just a surface ripple is hard to say. Possibly better reasons exist. The plan for consolidation may have been "talked up" too quickly to have convinced everyone. Nearly one-eighth of the village population consisted of retired farmers living on specific incomes and having no children in school. The "embattled farmers" hired a lawyer and sued the school board on technical grounds. The case finally reached the Supreme Court, which awarded the decision to the "farmers."

This school fight of 1931 and 1932 proved rather disastrous. Many people refused to come to Dodgeville to buy their goods. Many depositors withdrew their money from the bank, which was already in a poor financial condition. Overexpansion of credit, the depression, and rumored dishonesty had undermined the bank's stability. It closed long before the "holiday" of the following year. Various businesses that had existed for nearly a half-century quickly went into bankruptcy.

The population in 1878 was 1,120. It increased rather rapidly and then decreased (if the number of empty houses is a valid index). According to the 1930 census the inhabitants numbered only 1,249. The average age of the population must be increasing, for few of the young people who "escape" ever return home to live. The older part of the population is fairly stable; they have absorbed the economic opportunities that exist. The active farming population, however. is younger than the population of the village.

There are three ways of making a living in Dodgeville: farming, business, and industry. These opportunities are very inadequate. Two industries employ only thirty men. The creamery works steadily, but the furniture factory is becoming almost seasonal in nature. The industries haven't sufficient business to arrange for payroll insurance, physical examinations, or recreational programs. Other people run gasoline stations, grocery stores, etc., which serve the immediate needs of the community. There are many retired farmers living in the village—11.6 per cent of the population is sixty to seventy years of age. Average incomes are low; only a few families have two thousand dollars per year, or over.

General, grain, and dairy farming are practiced, but most of the equipment is worn and out of date. There are few herds of registered cattle; and few farmers grow registered or certified crops. The truck gardeners use the most modern techniques of any of the farmers. There is one poultry farm that is up to date. However, the farmers do work together. Grange organizations are located in the near countryside. In

the village are the cooperative elevator, the cooperative creamery, and a cooperative service station which provides fuel and oil for tractors and automobiles. The first two are marketing cooperatives; the third is for consumption purposes. Membership is confined chiefly to farmers outside the village.

The local government is characteristic of the country in general—village officers whose duties overlap those of township and county officials. Each election is based not on the merit of the individual candidate, but rather on his political affiliation. Properly qualified men receive no support in the community; consequently they do not try to gain offices. A man becomes street commissioner because he is a "good fellow" and the job will keep him off the welfare list.

There are many special interest groups, most of which are centered around the school and the churches. Each church sponsors a Young People's Association and Sunday school classes. The Methodist and Evangelical Churches have Ladies' Aid Societies. There is one Woman's Missionary Society and one W.C.T.U. organization. Both are small, having ten to twenty members. A third inter-denominational group is the Brotherhood, composed of men who meet from six to nine times during the year for supper and discussion. There is usually an outside speaker.

Most of the activities for the younger people are centered in the school. There are football, baseball, and track teams for boys, and a baseball team for girls. The Campfire Girls and Bluebirds have about twenty-five members each; Boy Scouts, seventy members; Hi-Y, fifteen members; Future Farmers of America, twenty-two members; Home Economics Club, twenty-two; Orchestra and Band, eleven; Glee Club, twenty-seven; Debating, seven; Dramatics, twenty-five members. These organizations absorb approximately 30 per cent of the children eligible for membership. The school also sponsors a Parent-Teacher Association which is sadly inactive.

The Chamber of Commerce is a rather active group of the business and professional men in the community. However, it is chiefly a "booster" club. The Literary Club has about fifty women members and is in charge of the Public Library. There are three fraternal orders: the Masons, the Knights of Pythias (these first two overlap considerably), and the Odd Fellows, which is a group of thirty persons representing a different type and class. Each of these lodges has its auxiliary: Eastern Star, Pythian Sisters, and Rebekahs, respectively, which have from thirty to fifty members. In addition to the above, there are a newly organized Garden Club, a Hospital Guild, and several "intimate" bridge clubs.

The present school plant is a mixture of the old and the new. The older part was built more than thirty years ago. It is dark and dingy and compares quite unfavorably with the addition built in 1937. The school is rated as "Class C" and is on the state university list.

In 1931 the legislature dissolved the consolidated school district that it had previously created by special act. In 1934 a school building was sponsored by the village with the aid of the Public Works Administration. The town bonded itself for $19,000.00 and, with 50 per cent of the cost donated by a foundation working in the area, the building became a reality. An auditorium, gymnasium, dressing rooms, seven classrooms, four toilet rooms, office, and storeroom were added to the old building. Complete new heating and ventilating plants were installed, and the entire structure fireproofed. In 1937 there were four hundred pupils enrolled in the school; one hundred twenty-five of them constitute the high school. Attendance is very good and the younger children have to be reminded to go home. Modern methods of teaching have been adopted in the grammar school. Desks have been replaced by tables and chairs. The children sit together to work, and are allowed a normal amount of conversation. The high school offers a course in each of the following: (1) Smith-Hughes Agriculture, (2) Smith-Hughes Home Economics, (3) commercial work; and (4) college preparatory.

There are fifteen teachers in the school, which is organized on a nine-four plan (kindergarten, eight grades, four high school grades). There is a full-time music teacher and a half-time art teacher. Recreation rooms are open after school and during the evening.

A vocational guidance program has been set up, and individualized records are kept. Only those students who are regarded as capable are encouraged to go to college. From 1931 to 1935 graduates attended ten different universities, colleges, normal schools, and various business schools. Of these graduates, only one has failed so far.

Interest in parental education is just beginning. A Parents' Institute is being organized as this is written. It is to be held at the school house for two days. Junior and high school students will be excused to take their parents' places at home. Two speakers have been scheduled. The Parent-Teacher Association, as previously stated, is very inactive. Members complain that the students' desks are uncomfortable. The Ladies' Literary Club does more for the school than does the Parent-Teacher Association.

Delinquency is not a very great problem. It is confined chiefly to stealing among the grade school children. However, a peculiar problem does exist. During the last seven years the girls have tended to marry

before they are graduated from high school. Usually the men are from out of town, but there have been some town boys who married town girls. The couples elope to Indiana for the ceremony. Several of the marriages have been "forced," one of which has been annulled. The married couples frequently continue in school, and they tend to create a poor atmosphere for the other students. This problem is possibly related to recreational facilities. There is some smoking and drinking among the high school students, but the extent is unknown. The teachers feel that it is rare, but the parents accuse every student but their own.

There are few commercial forms of recreation in the community. The theater changes hands frequently because business is so poor. There are weekly dances at a lake resort in the summertime, and in the winter at the local I.O.O.F. hall. These are public affairs, attended by many undesirables. Often groups who are not accepted in any of the "joints" in the city twenty-two miles away are admitted in Dodgeville. There are two poolrooms and beer parlors, and one bowling alley. The Chamber of Commerce sponsors an annual Harvest Festival, but it is monopolized by the concessions. Most people keep their doors locked at such times (it is the only time). Harvest Festivals have something in common with the ancient Roman Circus Maximus. They are blatant booster schemes to please the rabble!

Opportunities for voluntary recreation are more numerous. In addition to the previously mentioned activities sponsored by the school, there are "Amateur Nites," the annual Junior-Senior Hunt (a traditional game of hiding and seeking) followed by the Junior-Senior Banquet-Ball. There are judging contests, an annual Agricultural-Home Economics Fair, class plays and parties, a senior trip, project tours, and visits to the state agricultural college during Farmers' Week. This sounds like a well-balanced recreational setup, but it isn't patronized as well as it should be. The village children compose only one-half the school population, yet they are the chief participants in the various activities. Many of the farmers object to the athletic program because it takes time, money, and energy. Since the best athletic material comes from the country, this attitude works a hardship for the athletic teams. The casts of class plays are always villagers. School dances are a semi-success. Many of the country boys can't dance, and, if they attend, they stand around to watch their more fortunate classmates.

The most active lodge, the Knights of Pythias, has a family night each month and an invitational dance every two weeks. They maintain club rooms where a group of men meet every evening to play billiards and cards.

The Chamber of Commerce sponsors an all-village-country Hallowe'en party. This is held at night on the athletic field. Organized games are played, bonfires are built, and hot dogs and pop are served. This affair has been a great success and has served to keep the children from "tearing up the town" on that night.

The school house has a playground, but there isn't much equipment. Half way down "Main Street" is a park large enough for a bandstand, where summer concerts are given occasionally. The P.W.A. has rebuilt the old baseball diamond into a public park and athletic field for the school. Soft-ball teams are organized for summer play. On the north side of the river is a park which serves as a tourist camp and picnic ground. The two pools and the permanent bandstand are not used.

About fifteen years ago a prominent citizen and his wife bequeathed their home for a public library, with a trust fund for its upkeep. This fund is handled by the Literary Club, the members of which keep the library open two afternoons and evenings each week. Both country and village people use it. Some attempt has been made to accommodate children, but, at present, it is better suited for adult entertainment.

Church activities occupy much of the children's time. The Methodist and Evangelical churches have community rooms, but their use is usually restricted to the members of the church.

Health conditions in Dodgeville are fair. The community is served by two doctors (one of whom is the health officer), one dentist, and one osteopath. The osteopath operates an osteopathic hospital. The nearest good hospital is at another town twelve miles away. Emergency cases are taken there in the undertaker's ambulance. A philanthropic foundation provides a nurse to work with two local doctors in the school. These doctors and the dentist are paid to give physical examinations and treatment to the pupils. Pre-school clinics are held rather frequently. Vaccination and immunization were provided gratis until recently.

Last year Dodgeville abandoned its old water works and drove new wells to supply the village. Its water and sewage systems were obsolete; sewage disposal still is. The sewage is dumped into the river, from which city water was pumped. This system was condemned by the state department of health. A suit is pending, and the village authorities will eventually be forced to build a sewage-disposal plant. The former drinking-water supply came from private wells, some of which were only thirty to forty feet deep.

Today there are five churches in the village: Methodist Episcopal, Evangelical, Nazarene, Baptist, and Catholic. Originally there were only three churches. The Methodist Episcopal church was a part of a circuit

until 1868, when it was set apart. After organization in 1866, services were held in a grist mill. In 1869 a church was built. About 1900 a community house was projected. Many people of all denominations contributed. Unfortunately it was built adjoining the Methodist church, and it became a community house in name only. No functions contrary to the strict Methodist ideal are allowed there.

The Baptist Society was organized in 1868 and shared the schoolhouse with the Methodists as a meeting place. Eight years later a church was built at a cost of $3,300.00 for building and lot. This put the Baptists heavily in debt.

In 1878 the First-Day Adventists held their first service at the school house. Later they too built a church. The society disappeared about 1925.

An Evangelical church was organized about 1893 by a group of German farmers.

A Catholic church was organized prior to 1900. In 1900 a brick building was erected near Main Street.

About 1918 an emotional group calling themselves "The Nazarenes" organized and took over a building on Main Street for a church.

Today the Methodist, the Evangelical, and the Nazarene churches are the only active ones. The Baptist Society has dwindled until it hardly can be said to exist. There is no resident pastor and the church is heavily in debt. Services are conducted by out-of-town pastors. The Catholic church also lacks a resident priest. Meetings are held occasionally, but they are held by a branch of the Catholic church in a near-by town.

The churches cooperate on occasion. Armistice Day, Day of Prayer, and Lenten season are celebrated by union services. The various pastors and members take part. The congregations of each church are rather small, and the community is hard-pressed to support five churches. No attempt to form an inter-denominational church has ever been made. There are too many conservatives in the village for such an innovation even to be suggested. Sunday school parties are frequently held in homes, but a dance or card party sponsored by the church would be unthinkable!

Dodgeville's churches lag behind the times. Each church is struggling to keep going. Their appeal is to the very young and to the very old. The idea of a church's serving the everyday needs of its people has not yet reached Dodgeville.

The attitudes and opinions of the people are a strange mixture of optimism and pessimism. The older people are content to exist from day to day, to argue politics and weather, to shake their heads over "what the younger generation is coming to." The younger groups get along

fairly well in their cliques, but they spend as much time as possible away from the town. The students get along fairly well while they are in high school. After graduation those who can go away to college and to work, do, and never return to live in Dodgeville. The progressive people are unable to get the cooperation of the conservatives. There are many cliques and groups who continually disagree on minor matters. Politics is a matter of electioneering and muckraking. "Over-the-fence" gossip is the main diversion. Everyone spies on his neighbors. The person who does things differently is "putting on airs."

Many people thought that Dodgeville's recreational difficulties were due to lack of a center large enough to accommodate everyone. After the new school was built, however, the situation remained unchanged.

Results of a questionnaire sent by the school to the parents reflect a group of lazy thinkers. The question was: "What do you consider are needed improvements in our school?" The answers were: "More and better discipline," "impartiality—teachers should treat the children alike no matter what home conditions or troubles may be," "teachers shouldn't use slang," "no comments to make." Of course, these are only part of the answers, but they indicate some of the attitudes of those people who should be most interested in the school.

Dodgeville lacks good leaders. Those men who are intelligent and progressive thinkers cannot get cooperation. The "good" men, ministers and school teachers, are in the community too short a time to become leaders. Dodgeville resents interference from "outsiders."

There is a lack of good leisure opportunities for those who have graduated from high school but remain in the village. Some of the men who are twenty-five to thirty years of age and unmarried have been refused the use of the school gymnasium.

Dodgeville grew rapidly from a small lumber and milling town to a good-sized agricultural community. Until after the World War it was progressive and active. The depression hit it hard, and conflict arose over the question of school consolidation. Seven years of controversy left the village disorganized, suspicious, and uncooperative, and the economic situation caused a general decline in population. Dodgeville's institutions are trying to meet the traditional needs of the people, but to do so is difficult. The new school hasn't had a good chance yet to prove whether or not it can be the unifying factor.

Here is a rural community located near several large cities, buffeted about by the changes in modern society, bewildered by its new problems, vaguely recognizing its shortcomings, but uncertain how it can make the necessary adjustment.

The Community of Wellsville (1931)

General Background Information

Wellsville was among the first villages to be settled in Iowa. The early settlers moved west from Dubuque and established the little town * about 1852. It was first called Liverpool, but when the postal service was installed it was found that there were two Liverpools in Iowa. So in October, 1857, the name was changed to Wellsville, because the Wells owned most of the land.

The early settlers were vitally interested in education, and the schoolhouse was one of the first community buildings. A small frame structure erected in 1853 was used for several years.

Two churches, Methodist and Congregational, were established in the early days. Services were conducted in box cars until the churches could be built. There were no resident pastors the first few years.

A railroad was started in 1857 and on December 10, 1857, the first train passed through the town. The railroad was then called the Dubuque and Sioux City, but later it was taken over by the Illinois Central System.

The first mercantile business, a general store, was established in 1857. The town was incorporated June 12, 1882.

The town of Wellsville is located in eastern Iowa, ten miles from London, the county seat. There is good communication with near-by cities. One of the main federal east-west highways along the northern edge of the town furnishes easy communication with Dubuque. There is also a partially completed paved road to Cedar Rapids. A large percentage of the people go to these cities to buy their clothing, and the younger folks go there for recreation. The town now has bus service between Dubuque and Waterloo. This bus, owned by the Illinois Central Railroad, makes a round trip each day. There is a small post office in town and the farmers are served by two rural free delivery routes. Wellsville is on the main line of the Illinois Central Railroad. There are several through trains to Chicago each day, so that the marketing problem, as far as communication is concerned, is fairly simple.

The community has had a telephone system for about twenty years. There are two systems in the county, however, and they overlap in the community west of the town. One family will choose one of the telephones so that they may do business at Wellsville; their neighbors at the

* The term *town* is often used as synonymous with *village*. In New England and New York *town* applies to what is elsewhere called a township.

next farm, caring nothing about this town, will have the other telephone system that they may talk to their relatives in some other town. This is a bad situation for the farmers, especially. Several attempts have been made to combine the two systems, but neither group will give in.

Most of the farmers of the community do general farming, but some of them specialize in hog raising and dairying. A very few beef cattle are kept at present, but this was more important in the past. Whatever type of farming is done, the farmers plan to raise enough grain on their farms for feeding. The grains are usually corn and oats or occasionally small quantities of wheat, rye, and barley. Farmers are now raising considerable alfalfa for hay. The average size of the farms is about 160 acres with a few larger and a few smaller.

In the past many of the farmers owned their farms, but since the depression there are a great many tenants. Now, about fifty per cent of the farmers are tenants. The predominating nationalities represented are English and German, with a few Swedes and Austrians.

The population of Wellsville is about six hundred. The town has remained practically the same for many years; if there is a change, it is probably on the decline. The population of the community ranges from 1,000 to 1,200. It is hard to determine the boundary line of the community because there are some neighborhood groups who may enter into the social life of the area but who have nothing to do with the town. There are others who live within the boundary line who have no part in either community or town activities.

There are few good leaders in the community who are willing to accept responsibility. Each organization has its leaders, but many of them are not especially fitted for the work and only do it for the sake of the organization. They think that if no one else will accept office they will, just to keep the organization together.

There is little cooperative spirit within the community. The several nationalities and neighborhood groups do not care to enter into the organizations with the other people. They have got along without organizations in the past, and their own little group or church is all they seem to care about. There is also a Catholic-Protestant conflict in this community. In the early history of the village there were no Catholics, and now the older people will not tolerate a different sect. The quarrel shows itself in the schools, in business, and in the social organizations. The two groups are competing in a sense, to see which will get the controlling positions in the town. What one sect favors, the other opposes. With this conflict present it is hard to have any cooperative activity.

SERVICES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Business Houses. There are three general stores in Wellsville. They have groceries, yard goods, notions, shoes, and men's work clothing. These stores are all locally owned. Besides these three stores there are also two combination grocery and meat markets. One of these is locally owned, the other one is an R Grocer. These R stores are owned by local men, but they buy their goods collectively. There was one Corn Belt chain store in town, but it lasted only a few months. Some of the people would go to other towns to buy cash groceries, but they didn't care to patronize a chain store in Wellsville. They were afraid some of their neighbors would say something about their not helping their home-town merchants.

The community has two banks. One of them has been doing business for many years; the other one is comparatively new. There are several garages and oil stations in town, as well as a blacksmith shop. The other business houses include a hardware, drugstore, restaurant, furniture store, and a produce and feed store.

The town has two doctors who serve the town and the surrounding community. There is also a dentist and a lawyer.

Churches. The community has five churches, Congregational, Methodist, Episcopal, German Lutheran, and Catholic. This is probably too many for the size of the area. The three Protestant churches are all struggling to keep going. The Congregational and Methodist churches have about equal membership, probably about two hundred. There used to be a neighborhood Congregational church a few miles out in the country but its membership combined with the church in town. The Lutheran church has a small membership and at present does not have a resident pastor. The Catholic church has quite a large membership, most of which is in the country. There are the usual church organizations, Ladies' Aid, Missionary Society, Young People's Society, etc. A great deal of the social life centers around the churches.

Schools. There are both a public school and a parochial school in Wellsville. The public school has been consolidated for about sixteen years, the children from the country being transported in buses. The parochial school, organized for three years, teaches the first nine grades. The Catholic school and church sponsor card parties and dances in their auditorium for their people, although anyone in the community is invited to attend.

Athletic contests are sponsored by the public school. The boys have baseball in the fall and spring, and both boys and girls have basketball in the winter. Other school activities include boys' and girls' glee club,

declamatory contests, and school orchestra. The school did have a band. A trained musician came from Dubuque and spent one day a week in town, but since he has stopped coming the band has ceased to play. The social life of the younger folk must to a great extent center around the school and church. These centers, however, do not afford adequate recreation.

Lodges. The Masons established a lodge in Wellsville in 1869, and the Eastern Star in 1871. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Queen Rebekah, and the Modern Woodmen of America have small chapters. A small percentage of the people in the community are affiliated with these organizations, generally just the more educated and the professional groups.

Clubs. The business men have a local commercial club which is supposed to unite the efforts of all in making a better community. The club has no organized program; it may study such topics as cooperative buying or it may help some other group on their project. The women have a similar organization called the Civic Club. Through their efforts the town has boulevard lights, a skating pond, and a swimming pool. This organization does not finance any of these projects; they just create the sentiment for them. This club does not have an organized program; they work on one thing for awhile, then another, not always succeeding. The social feature is the predominant reason for the organization. There are many other women's clubs, most of them for social purposes. However, there are one or two that have educational features in addition to the social.

Farmers' Cooperative Shipping Association. A farmer's shipping association was organized about fifteen years ago. There was a great deal of enthusiasm over the project and it did a successful business for several years. Not only did it help the farmers with their marketing problem, but it also maintained a feed store and produce station. During the World War the manager bought a larger supply of feed at a high price; depression followed, and all the material had to be sold at a loss. The farmers began to be dissatisfied with the cooperative shipping association and, instead of carrying on during the decline, they sold out to the manager. Their only concern was that they should come out without losing any money; the cooperative spirit was entirely lacking.

Cooperative Creamery. Until the last two years, there has been a creamery in Wellsville. The building was condemned and the manager was compelled to sell out. Several attempts have been made to start a new one, but each time the business has failed, and the farmers have lost money. They now have their cream trucked to near-by towns.

A few of the farmers still want to establish a cooperative creamery. In order to do this a certain number of farmers must sign notes on which they can borrow money to build a building and to buy equipment. They have invited speakers to come from the College of Agriculture at Ames to try to create enthusiasm, but all attempts have thus far been unsuccessful. The farmers in general are well satisfied with the present system, and, because of so many previous failures, they will not cooperate. As long as so few farmers really want a creamery the community will probably not be able to have one.

Cooperative Oil Company. The County Farm Bureau has just organized a cooperative oil company. Through this organization the farmers are allowed a few cents rebate on each gallon of gasoline they buy. In order to join, the farmer must be a member of the Farm Bureau. This stipulation helps the membership situation of the organization as well as aids the farmer. All farmers who join the company are also required to buy stock. Shares of common and preferred stock are sold; and each member must have at least one share of each kind.

The president of the Farm Bureau was also president of a private oil company in Wellsville. He sold his interests to the cooperative concern so that they now have a station, trucks, and an established line of business. They have hired a business manager and are now doing very well. If the organization succeeds, they intend to buy other farm goods cooperatively.

Farm Bureau. The Farm Bureau was organized in the county during the World War. When it was a new organization most of the farmers joined, although no special program was carried out. Now the situation is just reversed; they have fair programs and projects but the farmers in the community can see no good in it. Only twenty per cent of them are members. Non-members say they get as many benefits from the Farm Bureau as those who belong. They can attend the meetings, their wives attend the Home Bureau, and some of their children belong to the 4-H clubs. The Farm Bureau leaders dislike to tell the women and children that they cannot come, but still they need the memberships to keep the organization running. Many of these farmers wish to see just how many services they can get without paying for them. There are some farmers, however, who will have absolutely nothing to do with any phase of the work. With the establishment of the Cooperative Oil Company, more will probably join. They will now get a direct money return, which, to them, amounts to something.

Home Bureau. The Home Bureau, which is the women's work of the Farm Bureau, has been quite successful. The women of the com-

munity are anxious for the work and take an active interest in it. Since this county does not have a home demonstration agent, the extension specialists from Iowa State College at Ames give the lessons at a training school to leaders who take them back to their groups. The main difficulty is in getting leaders; no one likes to take the responsibility, but there is generally some one who will do it. There are five local clubs in the community with an average of fifteen women in a club.

4-H Clubs. A girls' 4-H Club was organized in the community six years ago. It was quite active for about four years. The girls had two years of studying clothing and one year each of foods and home furnishing. The club had special programs and projects and won prizes at the county fair; several of the girls won trips. After two years a new leader took over the work. She kept it just one year and was replaced by a third leader. About this time the girls seemed to lose interest, the older ones eventually dropped out, and the organization died. No new group has been formed.

The boys of the community have had a 4-H Club for several years. They do not have a definite program or regular meetings. Each boy raises a pig or calf and then takes it to the county fair. As yet, none of the boys in the club has been successful enough to attend a club convention or a club congress.

Needed Improvements

One of the things that is needed in this community is a more cooperative spirit. The people seem to be self-centered and care only about their own immediate interests. In order for a community to be a success all the people must work together. This is especially hard, however, when there is a religious conflict in the town.

Lack of leadership accounts for the failure of many of the organizations; more people can follow than can lead. There are not many capable of leadership. Over half the people have a high school education, but they are satisfied to follow. There are a few professional men in town, but they do not know the exact needs of the farmer. Many of the rural people are satisfied to live as they are. It will take a good leader, interested in his work and in them, to get them aroused to bettering themselves and the community.

The people of this locality, especially those in the village, must recognize that they live in a rural section. The good roads make it easy to go to near-by cities. Folk then compare their small town with the cities, and it is too easy to say the town is dead. The local citizens will have

to make their little town a good rural community instead of just being dissatisfied with it.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

(The questions concern the communities described in this chapter and in Chapter II.)

1. Which of the above communities are best organized? Which are least organized? Would you call any of them disorganized? Which? Why?

2. In which of the communities is social control strongest? What was most responsible for this social control?

3. Are large communities necessarily better organized than small communities because they have more organizations and services?

4. What are the characteristics of a well-organized community?

5. What were the chief factors in the integration of each of the communities? What factors stimulated disintegration?

6. How have changes in economic conditions affected the organization of these communities? How has it been affected by changes of land use, or exhaustion of natural resources?

7. How have changes in means of communication affected the life and social organization of these communities? Has the effect been similar in all cases? Why, or why not?

EXERCISES

1. Make a list of all the chief types of groups found in any of these communities, arranging them in a general classification, according to their chief objectives or interests, in the left-hand column of a table. Group all similar organizations together under such headings as: churches, lodges, farmers' cooperative associations, etc. Include family or kinship groups. Then make columns to the right, heading each with the name of one community. In each column place the number of organizations or groups named in the left-hand column which occur in that community, or a (0) if it, or some similar organization or group, does not occur.

2. Can you discover from this table any association between the number or type of groups existing in these communities and the degree of community organization as rated in Discussion Topic 1?

3. Are there any changes in the history of all these communities, or in several of them, which are similar? If so, what?

4. What organizations have affected the relations of villagers and farmers in these communities? How have they affected them?

5. What differences are there in the social stratification of the communities?

READINGS

Douglas Ensminger, "Diagnosing Rural Community Organization," *Rural Sociology,* vol. 3, pp. 410-420, December 1938.

CHAPTER VII

TYPES OF RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

I. General Considerations

It is true that some of the communities studied in the last chapter are fairly well organized in that they are able to obtain a consensus of opinion and to act together for the common good, but a larger proportion of all communities is not well organized in this sense. Were a disaster, such as a flood, a large fire, some threat to the welfare of the community, or the removal of a railroad to occur, some sort of formal committee would probably be formed to represent the community, to ascertain its sentiment, and to act for it.

Most rural communities lack a means of accomplishing satisfactorily the objective of obtaining consensus, and, therefore, find difficulty in being able to act together with greatest efficiency, particularly in times of crisis. It is possible in a meeting of any group to proceed by the ancient method of random discussion and the gradual crystallization of opinion, but it is much more expeditious and causes less friction to proceed by means of parliamentary rules of order, which are but a device for the better direction and procedure of discussion. So, in the rural community, some mechanism is needed whereby the community as a group may be able to obtain consensus and act together more effectively.

Most of the objectives listed in Chapter V, particularly numbers 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, may be achieved more readily, if there is some sort of formal organization of the community which will form a mechanism through which it can focus public opinion, designate chosen leadership, and act as a unit. This does not mean that the mere mechanism of a formal plan will automatically insure community organization, any more than the use of parliamentary rules will

prevent conflict in a meeting, but it does facilitate it. If any sort of formal community club is to succeed, it must arise out of a genuine feeling for its need as a means toward accomplishing objectives not otherwise attainable on the part of community leaders. The realization of the desirability of these objectives must be the first step in the process. It is for this reason that formal community organizations which are created too rapidly, or which are launched before the community leaders appreciate the need for them, often do not succeed. Concerning this we shall have more to say in the next chapter, "Procedure in Community Organization."

In considering the types of formal community organization, whether it be a community club or association, or community council, we must also bear in mind that the form of the organization must depend upon the type of community; that, as shown in Chapter III (pp. 51, 52), small rural communities are essentially different in their structure from larger communities. Hence, a community club or association may be practicable in a small community, whereas it would hardly be feasible in a large community of many groups, to which a council formed of representatives would be better suited. It is necessary, therefore, that the type of community organization be adapted to the organizational structure of the community, which will be discussed further in the next chapter. It is chiefly on account of this difference in the needs of communities of different size and complexity of interests that we may distinguish two major types of community organizations: first, the *direct* type, in which all members of the community are eligible to membership; and, second, the *indirect* type, which is composed of representatives of different groups in some sort of community council.

II. Direct Community Organization

In the direct type of organization, all citizens are members to the extent that they participate in it. It is the old New England town meeting idea for an unofficial organization of the community. There are three forms of direct organizations which have been extensively used.

1. **Farmers' Clubs.** By all means the most numerous are the Farmers' Clubs, each of which usually bears some local community

or neighborhood name. We call them Farmers' Clubs because they are usually composed mostly of farm families. Although in many sections a majority of them go by the name of Community Clubs, the communities are often neighborhoods or townships and do not usually include many of the village people, so that they do not truly represent the whole community. They are more similar to the Grange in their function; but their membership is more open, and they usually have a definite program of community activities.

Although Farmers' Clubs of this type are to be found in all parts of the country, particularly where the Grange and the Farmers' Union are not strong, they are most numerous in the west north central states, from Wisconsin west to Montana. Probably they are as numerous and as well established in North Dakota as anywhere, in which state they have been carefully studied by E. A. Willson.[1] The number in North Dakota decreased from 136 in 1926 to 103 in 1936, or 24 per cent, as many of them had reorganized as locals of the Farmers' Union or as Parent-Teacher Associations. In 1931, the average age of these clubs was seven years, although a few had existed for fifteen or sixteen years. In giving the reasons for their organization, two-thirds of them mentioned the provisions of social life, recreation, and entertainment; somewhat over one-third gave the improvement of agricultural practices; about a fifth stated that they were organized to promote community spirit and friendship; and 18 per cent, 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. About half of these clubs confined their membership to farm people. In some cases, the village folk attended as guests or visitors. Most of the clubs are of the family type, and in practically all of them the young people attended the meetings. About half of them held their meetings in halls, two-fifths in school houses, and about one-tenth in homes. Half of them met every two weeks, and 38 per cent met monthly. A number of case studies of these clubs are given by

[1] E. A. Willson, "Rural Community Clubs in North Dakota," *Bulletin 251,* North Dakota Agricultural College, Agricultural Experiment Station, August 1931. See also his "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota," *Bulletin 221,* August 1928, and Donald Hay, "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota, A Study of Trends, 1926 to 1936," *Bulletin 288,* July 1937.

Willson and in similar bulletins from Montana [2] and Wisconsin.[3] Three such studies are reproduced at the close of this chapter.

Mr. Willson [4] has concluded that "Rural social organizations centering in towns of 500 population or more are less stable than those centering in small towns, or those located in the open country. The data would also seem to indicate that open country clubs are less stable than those centering in small towns." The small village thus seems to be the best location for these clubs. The larger village probably still has the antipathy of many farmers, a carry-over from the days of the Non-partisan League.

An interesting aspect of the farmers' club movement is the tendency to form county federations. In some instances, as in Fergus County, Montana,[5] these seem to have been encouraged by county agricultural extension agents as a means of developing common programs of work throughout the county, and thus facilitating their work. In other instances, however, banding together, chiefly for social and recreational purposes, but also for the promotion of common civic interests, has been a purely spontaneous and indigenous movement of the local clubs with common interests. A good example of the latter is found in Sauk County, Wisconsin.[6]

2. **The West Virginia Community Council** is another form of direct community organization, in that the council is chosen by the people in community meeting. The community council in West Virginia is but another name for a board of directors of the community organization, and does not differ essentially from the Missouri Standard Community Association to be described next. However, there is considerable difference in the way the two forms of organization function and in the method of procedure. Both of them have been fostered by the agricultural extension services of the respective states. No standard form of constitution has been sug-

[2] J. Wheeler Barger, "The Rural Community Cluo in Montana," *Bulletin 224.* University of Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, January 1930.

[3] J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, "Special Interest Groups in Rural Society," *Research Bulletin 84,* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, p. 80, December 1927; C. J. Galpin and D. W. Sawtelle, "Rural Clubs in Wisconsin," *Bulletin 271,* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, August 1916.

[4] E. A. Willson, *op. cit.,* p. 31. He speaks of villages as "towns."

[5] J. Wheeler Barger, *op. cit.,* p. 43.

[6] Galpin and Sawtelle, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

gested for the West Virginia community councils, and there is considerable variation in the way they are organized and the way they function. The only general statements concerning them are:

> The Community Council, elected each year at a special annual meeting, acts as a Board of Directors for the community. Council members are elected to represent the different interests in the life of the community, corresponding to the main divisions of the score card as indicated on the preceding page, such as Organization, Community Spirit, Citizenship, etc. In many communities, it will be advisable to elect two or possibly three persons for each division. In some communities, one person may be elected to represent each phase, who, in turn, will select two to four others to serve with him as a committee.
>
> Council Members are responsible for: (1) making plans and holding monthly community meetings; (2) selecting and presenting projects to the community for adoption, and the supervising and directing activities leading to their achievement; (3) keeping in touch with and helping to promote county, regional, and state programs, such as farm bureau, farm women's bureau, 4-H club, county school unit, county health unit, county council of religious education, regional production credit association, country life jubilees, etc.; and (4) promoting a spirit of cooperation and understanding between the homes, churches, schools, and other institutions or agencies that have as their purpose the achievement of the best physical, mental, social, moral, and spiritual growth and development of the community.[7]

The key to the West Virginia procedure in community organization is to be found in the use of the score card. For twenty years the West Virginia extension staff has been scoring rural communities and, in that time, they have scored some 350 one to fifteen times. At present it recommends that a council be formed before the score card is used,[8] but, in the historic development of their procedure, the score card was used first and the community council was the result of a need for some sort of organization to carry on and supervise community projects which resulted from the use of the score card. Indeed, one can hardly understand the method of rural community organization in West Virginia without knowing

[7] A. H. Rapking, "Education through Organized Community Activities," *Extension Circular 307*, West Virginia University, College of Agriculture, p. 9, June 1934.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

something of its history and of the ideals which have motivated it. The first community score card, drawn up with the cooperation of the State Department of Schools, the State Department of Health, the State Sunday School Association, and the Extension Division of the College of Agriculture, was issued in June, 1919.[9] It had ten major headings, each including 100 points for various sub-divisions, thus totaling 1,000 points as a possible community score. The score card was but a device to get the people of a community to examine its social organization, and it was used in a rather unique manner at what were called Country Life Conferences or institutes. These were evolved by Nat T. Frame, director of the Extension Service, and Rev. A. H. Rapking, who had been a member of the staff of West Virginia Wesleyan College, doing extension work with the rural churches, and who became a member of the staff of the State Extension Service. These country-life conferences were usually held in a church, commencing Friday evening and ending Sunday evening. During the conference there were a series of meetings at which Mr. Rapking gave addresses and he preached at the regular Sunday morning service. His addresses form a unique religious approach to "building the Kingdom" in the local community by means of civic improvements. A sample program of such a conference follows:

COUNTRY-LIFE CONFERENCE [10]

Berlin, West Virginia, October 14, 15, 16, 1921

Through Cooperation between

Dept. Rural Leadership	Berlin	Agr. Extension Division
West Virginia Wesleyan	Community	West Virginia University

PROGRAM

Friday, 7:30 P. M.—Devotionals ..... Rev. Z. B. Bowen
Music ..... Four-H Club
Purposes of the Conference ..... Dir. Nat T. Frame
History of the Berlin Community ..... Dr. A. B. Collins
Building the Kingdom ..... Rev. A. H. Rapking

[9] Nat T. Frame, "Country Community Score Card," *Circular 240*, West Virginia University, College of Agriculture, Extension Division.

[10] From Nat T. Frame, "Lifting the Country Community," *Circular 255*, West Virginia University, College of Agriculture, Extension Division, p. 4, October 1921.

Saturday, 9:30 A. M.
Country Community Score Card ..... Dir. Nat T. Frame

2:30 P. M.—Presiding ..... John I. Allman
Four-H Club Work ..... Grace Mays and Harold Reger
An Ideal Rural School ..... Wade Linger
Women's Work in the Farm Bureau ..... May E. Pritchard

7:30 P. M.—Devotionals ..... Rev. Z. B. Bowen
Vitalizing a Rural Community ..... Nat T. Frame
Preaching ..... Rev. A. H. Rapking

Sunday Morning: Sunday School at Regular Time.
Preaching ..... Rev. A. H. Rapking

2:30 P. M.—Presiding ..... W. B. Lawson
Why I Believe in the Sunday School ..... Dr. D. P. Kessler
The Community Council ..... Nat T. Frame

7:30 P. M.—Devotionals ..... Rev. Z. B. Bowen
How Berlin Ranks with Other Communities Nat T. Frame
Community Plan of Work—Reported by Sec'y of Community Council
Building the Kingdom ..... Rev. A. H. Rapking

A description of one of these conferences as seen by an outsider ("The Why of the Country Life Conference") and an account by Mr. Rapking, "Greenwood Raises Her Score," are given later in this chapter (pp. 192, 197).

Each of these conferences was visited by a team of leaders from the State Departments of Health and Schools, the Department of Rural Leadership of West Virginia Wesleyan College or the State Sunday School Association, and the Extension Division of the State College of Agriculture. On Friday evening the purposes of the conference were explained and ten committees were appointed to score the community upon the ten headings of the score card. These committees met on Saturday morning, when each committee rated the community on the sub-divisions of its section of the score card, partly on the basis of the judgment of the local members and partly on the advice of the outside experts, who explained the standards

suggested and compared the conditions reported as existing in this community with conditions in other communities. The actual score received was not of so much importance as the fact that it was a means whereby the local people gave a rating to their own conditions as compared with their own ideals. Between sessions the work of these committees was completed, their reports were assembled and annotated, and on Sunday evening the total score of the community was announced. Then it was indicated what deficiencies needed attention in order to raise the score. As a result, a number of projects were usually started for community improvement. They were supervised by the county extension agents, but it was soon found that, without some local organization and fairly regular community meetings, interest and effort might lag. The community council was the device for meeting this need, and today it is suggested that the council be formed first as the agency for making the community inventory by means of the score card.

During the years that it has been used, the score card has been changed as a result of experience. The last one published contains twelve headings, each given 100 possible points: Organization, Community Spirit, Citizenship, Health, Homes, Churches, Education, Recreation, Music, Nature, Farms, and Business. It should be noted that all phases of community life are included, and that the churches have an active or leading part in giving spiritual dynamics to the movement. No individual groups in the community are organically related to the council, but its members work with all of them. Usually the members of the council are chosen so that all important institutions and organizations are, in a way, represented by them, although unofficially.

The council usually arranges monthly community meetings and an annual meeting. The following suggestions concerning the program of the monthly meeting show that the council serves much the same purpose as the Farmers' Clubs, except that all members of the community are welcome and there are no individual memberships.

> The program should be developed around a central theme; should have some educational value; should, to a certain extent, be entertaining; should provide for participation on the part of several people in the community through the presentation of one-act plays, debates, or

a discussion of the theme; should include some music or group singing; and may often, to good advantage, include some definitely planned recreational activities.[11]

3. **The Missouri Standard Community Association** was developed by Mr. B. L. Hummel from 1923 to 1928 and from then until 1931 by Mr. Fred Boyd, both of the Extension Service of the College of Agriculture of the University of Missouri. The same plan has since been used by Mr. Hummel in his work in Virginia, but no summary of it is available. About 110 of these community associations were organized during the above-mentioned period, in 30-odd counties. Since 1931 there has been no systematic supervision of these associations by the extension service.

This community association is very similar in its structure to the West Virginia Community Council, except in name, that it has fewer standing committees, and that it definitely excludes religion as a phase of community organization. At the time these associations were organized, the Farm Bureau was weak in Missouri, and it has never obtained a large membership in that state. It is evident from the names of the standing committees and from the programs of work described that the chief objective of these associations was to furnish a means for advancing the extension program in agriculture and homemaking by creating greater community solidarity and furthering a general program of community improvement.

The general plan of this form of community association may be seen from the following suggested constitution:[12]

[11] Rapking, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[12] B. L. Hummel, "Community Organization in Missouri," *Extension Circular 183*, University of Missouri College of Agriculture, September 1926.

Suggested Constitution for a Missouri Standard Community Association

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE.....COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION

Article I—Name

Section 1—The name of this organization shall be the..... Community Association.

Article II—Object and Capital

Section 1—Object. The object of this association shall be to encourage a spirit of mutual helpfulness and friendly cooperation among all the people of this community and to carry on a program of work which will result in the adoption of improved farm practices and a continued development of home and community life.

Section 2—Capital. This association shall have no capital stock. The funds for its maintenance shall be raised by cooperative enterprises such as home-talent plays and entertainments, sales, dinners, etc.

Article III—Membership

Section 1—The membership of this association shall consist of every citizen of the community over fourteen years of age who shall become sufficiently interested to cooperate in any way. There shall be no membership fee. Every member has one vote, no proxy.

Article IV—Officers

Section 1—The officers of this association shall consist of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer.

Section 2—The *executive and program* committee shall consist of the president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, and the chairman of each standing committee.

Section 3—The chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary of the association shall also be chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary of the executive committee.

Section 4—Duties of Officers. The duties of the officers shall be those usually assigned to such offices.

Section 5—Duties of Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall audit all accounts, receive reports from each standing committee, arrange for programs for regular and special meetings of the association,

with the help of any whom they may select, and report matters of importance to the association at its regular meetings.

Section 6—All officers shall be elected for a period of one year ending at the time of the annual meeting in November, or until their successors shall be elected and accept the position.

Article V—Standing Committees

Section 1—There shall be five standing committees.

(a) Committee on Agriculture.
(b) Committee on Home Making.
(c) Committee on Educational Affairs.
(d) Committee on Civic Improvement.
(e) Committee on Social Life.

Section 2—Duties of Committees.

(a) It shall be the duty of the Agricultural Committee to select projects of work in cooperation with the county extension agent, which will improve the farm practices of the community. This work shall be carried out under the direction of this committee and in cooperation with the State Agricultural Extension Service and all other cooperative agencies.

(b) It shall be the duty of the committee on Home Making to select projects of interest to the home makers of the community and to secure the cooperation of the women of the community in carrying out such work with the help of the Agricultural Extension Service and similar agencies.

(c) It shall be the duty of the committee on Education to select practical projects for the improvement of the educational affairs of the community and to cooperate in the furtherance of all worthy educational work.

(d) The Civics Committee shall develop community consciousness and pride by furthering such projects as the improvement of highways, better care of public buildings, and grounds, and the establishment of picnic grounds or parks, the erection of community sign boards, etc.

(e) The committee on Social Life shall be responsible for furthering such work as will meet the social and recreational needs of the entire community, especially those groups which are not now being reached in a satisfactory manner.

Article VI—Meetings

Section 1—Time and Place.

The regular meetings of this association shall be held in the..... on the..... evening of each month during the year, unless otherwise provided for.

Section 2—Objects. The objects of the regular meetings of this association shall be to keep as nearly all the people of the community as possible in close touch with all the work being done, to gain their cooperative interest, and to aid in the development of community consciousness.

Section 3—Annual meeting. The annual meeting of this association shall be held at the time of the regular monthly meeting in November unless otherwise provided for. At this time the officers and standing committees for the ensuing year shall be elected.

Article VII—Community Achievement Day

Each fall a general community gathering shall be arranged and a program provided which will bring before the people of the community the achievements of the association for the year. It is highly desirable that a community fair be held at this time with a distinctly educational purpose. This day shall be known as "Community Achievement Day" and shall be followed by the election of officers and committee-men and the selection of a program of work for the ensuing year.

Article VIII--Revision of Constitution

This constitution may be amended at any regular meeting, provided the proposed amendment has been presented in writing at a regular meeting preceding the one at which the amendment is voted upon.

Under this constitution, the governing body is the executive and program committee instead of the community council, as in West Virginia, but otherwise the form of organization is similar. In West Virginia but little emphasis is given to any formal constitution.

In 1936, five years after active field supervision of these community associations had ceased, a study was made to determine their present status and to evaluate this type of organization.[13] Out of the 110 known to have been organized, only 26 were reported as active. Of 94 clubs from which records were obtained, those which met in

[13] E. L. Morgan and Annabel Fountain Howard, *Community Organization in Missouri*, 1936. A manuscript report from which we are permitted to quote through the courtesy of Dean F. B. Mumford.

the open country were somewhat shorter lived than those which met in villages. Of the clubs active in 1936, the 8 in the open country had an average life of 8.4 years, whereas the average life of the 18 village clubs was 9 years. Of the inactive clubs, those in the country averaged but 3 years of existence; those in the villages averaged 3.7 years. The average life of all inactive clubs was 3.5 years as against an average of 9.4 years for the active clubs; the average for all was 5.1 years. This average may be compared with the average for farmers' clubs. In North Dakota, this was 6.6 years for all, the active clubs averaging 7 years, the non-active clubs, 4.9 years, and reorganized clubs, 8 years.[14] In Montana, the average age of the 50 existing farmers' clubs reporting in 1930 was 6.8 years.[15] In Wisconsin, the average age of existing "special interest groups" of all sorts, which are not analogous, was 5 years for those which had made no changes in their form of organization, and 9.2 years for those which had made changes.[16] The length of life of the Missouri community associations, therefore, compares very well with that of somewhat similar organizations in other states, particularly when the rapidity with which some of them were organized is considered.

It was also concluded that the active clubs had survived best in villages of less than 400 population, and that the plan was not feasible for villages of over 1,000, as the only four established in such villages lasted less than one year. The analysis showed that the two chief difficulties in maintaining the associations were obtaining a satisfactory meeting place and finding and holding qualified leadership. Other findings of this report will be considered in the next chapter.

It should be noted that, in using the standard community association plan in Virginia, the scope of the standing committees has been broadened by adding committees on business, public welfare, health, and religious life.

Here and there are found local community associations which have much the same plan of organization, using features of both the plans described above. Thus, the Stonycreek Valley Community Association of Shanksville, Pennsylvania, has had a vigorous pro-

[14] E. A. Willson, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
[15] J. Wheeler Barger, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[16] Kolb and Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

gram for the past seven years. The officers and chairmen of the ten standing committees form the "Community Council or Executive Committee," which holds a Community Achievement Day each fall.

The last two forms of direct community organizations have succeeded best in small communities which have relatively few clubs outside of church and school. In communities which have established organizations, such as the Parent-Teacher Association or the Grange, there is difficulty in obtaining the allegiance of their members to the standard community association, if it attempts to establish committees for the same purposes and does not work through the existing organizations. In such a case, it is conceived as but a competing group. This is illustrated by the conflict, indicated, but not fully described, which developed in Barboursville, Virginia.

Organizational History—A local of the Parent-Teacher Association was formed in Barboursville in 1922, when the people of the community were trying to get their high school on the accredited list. Under the leadership of the county agent, a local of the Standard Community Association was formed in 1928. The Parent-Teacher Association was invited to join as part of the Standard Community Association, but it refused to do so and continued to function until 1930, when its membership voted to discontinue the organization and transfer its program of activities to the educational committee of the Standard Community Asssociation. With the exception of the religious programs and the lodges of the Odd Fellows and Masons, the latter organization now sponsors all the voluntary community enterprises, including a boys' and girls' 4-H club, a woman's home demonstration club, and a book club.

The Standard Community Association officers report an average attendance of about one hundred people at the monthly meetings. Most of the farm owners and town business families take an active part in the organization. Some of the tenant and laborer families also attend the community meetings. There is a feeling, however, on the part of the officers that it is almost useless to try to induce this element to attend the meetings. The officers of the organization are recruited from the outstanding families of the community. The greatest difficulty reported by the present officers is the problem of educating the local people to see the value of cooperation in community problems. The community has good resident leadership as well as the assistance of active county and home agents and the county superintendent of

schools. The high school does not have agricultural or home economics departments.[17]

This description also shows the difficulty of developing a community association which includes all elements, when there are definite social or economic class distinctions. Encouragement of participation in existing organizations or the creation of new ones to meet special needs may be an essential phase of community organization in such a situation.

III. Indirect Community Organization: Community Council

The forms of direct organization described above involve pure democracy—all the members of the community assembling in community meetings. The *indirect* form of community organization is a *representative* democracy, in which a community council is composed of representatives of all groups concerned with community welfare and a certain number of members selected at large. In larger communities and in those with several special interest groups, a community club which attempted to carry on similar lines of work through its committees would only duplicate what individual groups were already attempting. In such a situation, it is better to work through individual organizations or by developing cooperation between them for common causes.

Probably the first attempt at the systematic encouragement of rural community organization was that of the Massachusetts Agricultural College from 1912 to 1919, under the leadership of Dr. E. L. Morgan, who was a pioneer in this field. In 1918, Dr. Morgan wrote the first bulletin on this subject in which he said:

> In Massachusetts, where most towns have a number of local organizations, a form of joint committee or community council is being used. It has seemed better to unite existing groups for work than to bring about something entirely new which would be an additional burden to an already overloaded community. The council leads community committees in a thorough study of the town and in the working out of a three to five years' plan or program of town development, made

[17] Wm. E. Garnett and A. C. Seymour, "Membership Relations in Community Organizations," *Bulletin 287*, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, p. 16, June 1922.

up of specific projects in farm production, farm business, conservation, boys' and girls' interests, and community life; i.e., education, the home, public health, civic affairs, recreation, transportation, etc. The carrying out of this program is done by local organizations cooperating through the council.[18]

The structure of this type of organization is outlined as follows:[19]

MODEL AGREEMENT FOR A COMMUNITY COUNCIL

Article I

Name and Object

There is hereby created the.....Community Council to serve as a medium through which the organizations of.....(town *) can cooperate more fully in their work for community progress.

Article II

Membership

Membership shall consist of one representative from each general organization or group of the community and three (five to seven in large towns) selected at large. Those selected by organizations or groups shall be from their own membership and shall be chosen as soon as possible after October 1st of each year.

Article III

Officers

The officers shall comprise chairman and secretary who shall be chosen at the annual community meeting.

Article IV

Meetings

The council shall meet every three months, viz.: The first Monday evening in March, June, September, and December. Meetings of special groups of citizens may be called when necessary to carry out special lines of work. Special meetings may be called by the chairman or by any five members.

[18] E. L. Morgan, "Mobilizing the Rural Community," *Bulletin 23*, Massachusetts Agricultural College, Extension Service, p. 14, September 1918.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

* ["Town" in this and the following paragraphs refers to the New England town, equivalent to the township.]

Article V

Annual Community Meeting

The council shall arrange for an annual community meeting to be held on or near the first Monday of December, at which time reports shall be made on the progress of the town. At this time, projects for the ensuing year shall be presented and voted upon. Such projects as are adopted shall become a part of the working program.

Article VI

Amendments

This agreement may be altered or amended by a two-thirds vote of the residents of the town of .....present at the annual community meeting.

The plan provides that the annual meeting should be a meeting of the entire community and that "special community meetings should be called as often as there are vital questions to be considered by the community." The development of such community councils was encouraged, but was not promoted. "It has been the policy," wrote Dr. Morgan, "to cooperate with those towns which make definite requests. The service rendered is in the form of advice and always follows the expressed desire of the people for action." Upon Dr. Morgan's retirement from Massachusetts this work was not followed up, and there is no evidence as to its permanent results there. It is known, however, that the bulletin he published spread the idea to other states where individual communities have used the general plan, adapting it to their local situation. In general, such community councils have been organized in communities where a need was felt for the better integration of the organizations already there. The plan has been aided in various states by advice and suggestions from extension workers and executives of such organizations as the Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A., and from school administrators.

In a community in western New York, having a village of 650 people and as many more in the open country, a community council was organized in 1921 at the suggestion of the high school principal. Since that time, it has been responsible for promoting many community improvement projects. A very successful Old Home Day celebration and picnic, held annually in the school park, has

been the chief money-raising activity of the council for financing its projects. The council has sponsored community band concerts each summer, a spring clean-up and mosquito control campaign, as well as Boys' and Girls' Scout troops. It has equipped and maintained the school park and helped to finance the local library, local athletic teams, local charities, and welfare projects. For a number of years it has sponsored a local flower carnival and a community stunt night. During 1936 a community survey was sponsored with particular attention given to the feasibility of a local public water-supply system. This council is truly a representative group of the organized elements of the community. It seems to be able to resolve differences of opinion and community conflicts within its organization. A test of this kind came recently when plans were being made for the Old Home Day program. It was apparent to nearly everyone that there were too many large community picnics. The firemen had theirs, the community council theirs, and the library people theirs, all planned to raise money. Leaders were beginning to rebel at so many events of the same nature, particularly when the same individuals were called upon to do the same work three times within two months. Consequently, the community council and the library people combined in sponsoring the Old Home Day. All elements of the community, whether they agree or disagree, are represented on the community council, where differences of opinion come into the open and are talked through to a satisfactory adjustment. As a consequence of its community council this community is able to solve internal disagreements and to present a united front whenever it is to her advantage to do so.

In a neighboring community a similar council was formed in 1929 as the result of a talk by an extension worker of the Department of Rural Social Organization of Cornell University at a Better Home celebration sponsored by the local unit of the Home Bureau. The president of the council for the first six years was a local physician, who is well liked by all and who is still a leader in the movement. Concerning it he says: "In practice, the council has tried to be a coordinating agency. It has been very careful not to weaken the activities of any group, but has attempted to strengthen and encourage them whenever possible. Meetings are now held

for business purposes every other month, making as little demand on the time of the people as possible. Each fall a program of community events for the entire year is drawn up and committees are appointed in advance for each event. Care is taken to distribute the load so that as large a number as possible are drawn in to serve the community, and also so that particularly talented and willing individuals are not overlooked."

Activities sponsored annually by the community council are: Hallowe'en party for both children and adults, Christmas carols and an outdoor Christmas tree lighting project, Community Fun Night, Community Church Night—an annual union service project which has promoted cooperation between the churches, School Night—an annual event when citizens visit the school, volleyball and softball leagues, and cooperation with the firemen on the annual Labor Day Picnic. During 1936 the council sponsored a community survey, which was carried on by committees on various subjects, assisted by an extension worker from the Department of Rural Social Organization. Included in this project was an evaluation of the local school buildings and a consideration of the advisability of centralization, of the need for improving meeting facilities, for providing more adequate storm-sewers, for removing old buildings, and for obtaining water-supply and sewage-disposal systems. Facts were obtained on conditions and presented to the council. As a result a new school is being built.

This council includes practically all the active leaders of the community, with the exception of a few who devote their entire attention to some one organization. Most of the new ideas and proposed activities for the community are first publicly talked over at a community council meeting and then disseminated to other groups and citizens in the community.

In some cases, community organizations have combined the idea of open membership to all individuals in the community and a council made up of representatives of various groups, as well as some elected at large. At the Third National Country Life Conference, a plan [20] was presented for establishing a community council based

[20] Dwight Sanderson, "Some Fundamentals of Rural Community Organization," *Rural Organization:* Proceedings of the Third National Country Life Conference, p. 75 and diagram.

on the principle of representation of common interests of different organizations rather than merely representation of existing organizations. So far as is known, this plan has not been given a trial, but it seems worthy of further consideration and experimentation.

IV. Special Interest Community Organizations

There are other so-called community organizations which do not attempt to include all phases of community life, but are devoted to the advancement of one or more specific interests on a community basis. They may be called special interest community organizations.

1. Village Improvement Societies. Particularly in New England and in the northeastern states Village Improvement Societies are fairly common. Their chief aim is to tidy up and beautify the village, but this aim often expands into village planning and the promotion of such needed facilities as parks and playgrounds. Inasmuch as these are village organizations, they do not include the whole community, but they have not infrequently formed the beginning of a real process of community organization. Unfortunately, there is little available literature concerning these societies, as they are purely local and have not become federated or been promoted by any overhead group. Little has been written about them except in the local press.

2. Community House Associations.[21] Just after the World War considerable interest was shown in the erection of community houses as war memorials and to serve also as community centers. The interest was stimulated by Community Service, Inc. Many new houses were built and old buildings were remodeled for such use. Since then, many community houses have been built, ranging from remodeled one-room schools or country churches, or one-room halls, to elaborate buildings housing many activities. With the increase in the number of consolidated schools and high schools, the tendency has been to erect a school building adapted to community needs. The school then becomes the community center. School buildings have been put to this double use partly because they are maintained by taxation and partly because a school board is respon-

[21] See Blanche Halbert, "Community Buildings for Farm Families," *Farmers' Bulletin 1804,* U. S. Department of Agriculture, September 1938.

sible for their management and upkeep—both difficult problems for associations of private citizens. In other instances the community house has been erected as the home of a community club, thus from the beginning being an integral part of a community organization. More often, community houses have been erected by stock associations, under various names, which have operated them both as meeting places for organizations and as social and recreational centers for the community. In some states legislation has been passed permitting their erection through tax assessments, sometimes allowing the creation of special districts for this purpose. Such authority, however, has not been widely used.

This is not the place to evaluate or describe the function and operation of community houses, but it is important to recognize that they have, in many cases, been the chief means for bringing about community organization. A community which has a building maintained as a center is to that extent organized, and it has a physical basis for the development of solidarity. These buildings are erected and maintained for the common good of all and not for the use of any one organization or group of organizations. The gatherings there greatly stimulate community *esprit de corps.*

3. **The Grange.** The local or subordinate Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry often functions as a sort of community organization, in that it is concerned with all phases of community welfare and that its membership is fairly representative. Because it is a secret fraternal order, however, and restricts its membership chiefly to farm families, it tends to build up a class consciousness on the part of the farmers. In many of the more progressive Granges, open meetings, that is, meetings thrown open to the public after the business has been conducted, are held frequently or regularly and a definite attempt is made to have them serve as community meetings. 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.

In 1935 the Grange was organized in two-thirds of the states and had a total membership of slightly over 600,000. The local, or subordinate, Grange is affiliated with the county or Pomona, the State and the National Grange, through which it exerts influence on

legislation affecting the interests of agriculture. The chief value of the Grange, however, lies in its educational work through the program of the lecturer's hour and in its social activities.

4. **Parent-Teacher Associations.** Parent-Teacher Associations, and similar school improvement leagues, have as their primary aim the development of a better understanding between parents and teachers and the obtaining of their cooperation in the process of educating the children of the community. From this it is but a natural step to concern with all phases of child welfare and, therefore, with better community conditions. From the fact that the parents of all classes are interested in the school, the Parent-Teacher Association has a community-wide constituency. When it develops a strong organization, it often undertakes to serve as a general community club. In the opinion of Professor J. E. Butterworth,[22] who has given careful study to the history and functions of the association, this is an undesirable tendency, and he believes that it will be of greater service if it confines its efforts to school and educational interests. It is evident, however, that with the expanding activities of the school, there is a broad field of interest for the Parent-Teacher Association. However this may be, it is evident that, in many a rural community, the Parent-Teacher Association has done more toward bringing all elements of the community together, and so becoming the foundation of community organization, than any other agency. This was illustrated in the case of Waterville (See Chapter II, p. 24), and it is also strikingly apparent in the following account of the situation in Belleville, New York.

> . . . The Union Academy of Belleville had for more than a century been a community project, supported by contributions from the people in the area that it served as a high school.[23] Belleville was the center of a rural community in which harmonious relationships existed among the churches and in which the academy served as the chief unifying influence. There seemed little opportunity for improvement of this

[22] Julian E. Butterworth, *The Parent-Teacher Association and Its Work*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1929.

[23] Emily F. Hoag, "The National Influence of a Single Farm Community," *Bulletin 984*, United States Department of Agriculture, Dec. 1, 1921.

Charles Josiah Galpin, "The Story of My Drift into Rural Sociology," *Rural Sociology*, vol. 2, June 1937, pp. 115-122, p. 117.

community situation. When the schools of the community were centralized in the interest of promoting the welfare of the historic academy, the chief change in the school system was the transportation of the grade school pupils to the central building. The organization of a P.T.A. soon after the centralization brought into relief an aspect of community life which had not been apparent before. The people who made up the organizations of the community, who were concerned about the institutions of the village, who contributed to the support of the academy, and who sent their children to the academy, were those economically able to do so most easily. They were the people whose interests were rooted in the locality because of their ancestry, their attachment for their old school, and their ownership of profitable farms. Now every child in the community attends the school in the village center. The tenant's child, who formerly attended the open-country one-room school, now goes to the same building as the high school pupil. The academy is no longer the same selective institution, in terms of opportunity to attend an adequately equipped school. Every parent in the community has an interest in the central school, or Union Academy, as it is still known. Meetings of the P.T.A. have brought together all of the people of the community. Parents come to the meetings who have never before attended any of the organizational meetings in Belleville. It is to the P.T.A. that credit must be given for bringing these people into more active community relationships. Since they have been brought into this kind of cooperative relationship with the other people of the community, it is easier to enter into other activities with them. The intimacy of acquaintance within the district has been increased and the possibility of doing things on a community-wide scale has been enhanced.[24]

5. The Farm Bureau. Soon after the Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics was well under way, it was found that much more permanent results could be obtained if the people interested in its program were organized. (See "What a Community League Can Do" at the end of this chapter.) The first Farm Bureau was organized in 1913, but it was not until the World War and the rapid expansion of the extension work that the Farm Bureau plan was vigorously promoted by the United States Depart-

[24] Eugene T. Stromberg, "The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization," *Bulletin 699*, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.

ment of Agriculture. One circular entitled *Farm-Bureau Organization Plan* started with a heading "More Farm Bureaus Needed to Federate Agricultural Forces for National Defense."[25] Farm Bureaus were organized rapidly during 1917 to 1920, and most of them followed the plan suggested by the federal department of agriculture of a county organization with local community committees, with community meetings for developing a community plan of work.[26, 27] In states where the Grange, the Farmers' Union or some similar organization was not strong, these local community committees found that they needed to have frequent community meetings and a definite community unit in order to maintain interest. Thus, in several states, local community units of the Farm Bureau were developed which met regularly. The following is an example from Missouri.

A Community Organized[28]

One of the goals the Scott County Farm Bureau is working toward is community organization. The plan is to get the various communities of the county organized so that the county agent work can be done much more effectively and also so that anything of importance and of interest to the various communities can be discussed and worked out by those communities through their organization.

I will explain briefly the workings of one community, "Minner," three miles east of Sikeston, which is organized and doing effective work. This community consists of three country school districts, and practically all the farmers in this community are members of the Farm Bureau. After becoming members of the Farm Bureau, they wanted to perfect a local organization and get busy doing something. A meeting was called in the Minner church building, at which time the house was crowded with men, women, and children. A chairman and secretary of the community were elected. The chairman appointed per-

[25] L. R. Simons, "Farm-Bureau Organization Plan," *S.R.S. Doc. 54,* United States Department of Agriculture, 1917.

[26] L. R. Simons, "Handbook on Farm-Bureau Organization for County Agricultural Agents," *S.R.S. Doc. 65,* U. S. Department of Agriculture, September 1917.

[27] L. R. Simons, "Organization of a County for Extension Work—The Farm-Bureau Plan," *S.R.S. Doc. 89,* U. S. Department of Agriculture, January 1919.

[28] From the "Missouri Homestead," May 25, 1922. (By E. W. Foard, County Agent.) Reprinted by permission of *Wallace's Farmer.*

sons to head the following lines of work: Crops, live stock, dairying, horticulture, poultry, community welfare, and home economics.

The week following the organization meeting, the parties heading up the lines of work got together and mapped out a program of work along the various lines. In this program each person set a goal to be accomplished along his particular line. For instance, the horticulture man chose as a goal the securing of six farmers who would set out this coming fall a family orchard of from one-half to one acre. The live stock man decided to organize a pig club and among his pig club members to train a stock-judging team to compete at the local fair next fall. Other aims along the live stock line were to get farmers in the community to use good rations in feeding live stock, eradicate the community of scrub males, etc. It would take too much space to give the entire program of all of the leaders.

Meetings of this community are held regularly once every month. At these meetings, the chairman, who is one of the county farm bureau committeemen, gives a report of the county farm bureau meeting; also, each of the leaders tells of progress made in his line of work and new business of interest to the community is disposed of. The community has purchased a number of farm bureau song books. A number of these songs are sung at these meetings and every other feature of a social nature is carried out.

We have already seen how the extension service in West Virginia fostered community organization under the auspices of the Farm Bureaus.

The community organization work of the Farm Bureau has been chiefly in those states in which it is an agency for adult education in agriculture and home economics, working in cooperation with the extension service of the state agricultural college. In some states, such as Indiana and Ohio, the Farm Bureau has become chiefly an organization for cooperative buying and selling and for influencing legislation, and has no direct relation to the extension service. In these states it is a very different sort of group from that in states in which it forms the county organization of the extension service. Both types, however, send delegates from their state federations of farm bureaus to the American Farm Bureau Federation, which represents the whole movement throughout the country so far as national legislation and policy are concerned. In 1935 there were twenty-six states in which there were over 1,000 Farm Bureau

members, and the total membership for the whole country was 281,916.[29]

In the states where the Grange and similar farmers' associations are strong, the Farm Bureau has avoided creating another local organization, but its work is carried on through community committees and is based on community programs. The first step in formulating the community program was to map the community, which in itself tended to make the community idea concrete and to give the community identity. The program of work of the Farm Bureau is composed of various "projects" with definite goals for accomplishment. Although most of the projects have to do with the improvement of agriculture and homemaking, definite attention has also been given to those dealing with "community institutions and activities."[30] The Home Bureaus, or homemakers' clubs or women's branches of the Farm Bureau, as they are called in various states, usually have community or neighborhood units which meet regularly and they give even more attention to community projects than do the men's groups.

Thus, although it is primarily devoted to agriculture and homemaking, the Farm Bureau, or Farm and Home Bureau Association, as it is called in New York State, has usually stressed the community as the local unit of its organization and has had a large influence in promoting community organization. Its membership includes village men and women, as well as farm families, and its community meetings are often the only ones in which the community gets together. It is, therefore, a form of community organization, and the work of the Extension Service has been one of the strongest influences promoting community organization.[31]

6. **Commercial Clubs.** In many rural communities, the local commercial club, board of commerce, or business men's association, however named, functions as a general community organization.

[29] Ralph Russell, "Membership of the American Farm Bureau Federation, 1926-1935," *Rural Sociology,* vol. II, pp. 28-35, Table I, March 1937.

[30] L. R. Simons, "The Farm Bureau Community Committee and Program of Work," *Extension Bulletin 65,* Cornell University, pp. 20, 28, 29, April 1923.

[31] Dwight Sanderson, "Community Organization for Extension Service." Reprinted in *Proceedings* of First National Country Life Conference, pp. 208-222, Ithaca, N. Y., 1919.

In all cases, it is *a* community organization, but specifically devoted to the business interests. In many cases, however, farmers are included in the membership and the club includes all aspects of community welfare in its program of work. This is particularly true in fruit-growing communities in the Far West and South, where fruit-growers are business men and many business men are fruit-growers. It is true, of course, that such organizations usually do not give much representation to the women of the community, but that does not necessarily mean that the women have no influence on their policies. It is interesting to note that the first Farm Bureau was a bureau of the Binghamton Chamber of Commerce, that local commercial clubs have always been active promotors of the Farm Bureau, and that, until the latter obtained county support and was commonly housed in the court house, the two organizations often had their offices together. We know of no study of the role and activities of the commercial club in the rural community, but, if we had the information, an important chapter about rural community organization could be written about it.

7. **Service or Luncheon Clubs.** Such organizations as Rotary and Kiwanis very frequently have much the same function as community organizations of men, and in recent years, there has been a notable movement toward including leading farmers in the membership of village clubs. Where they have not been made members, there has been a definite policy of inviting farmers as guests which has been fostered by the Better Town-Country Relations Committee of Kiwanis.[32] In southern New York there are several Ro-Ki Clubs, which seem to be indigenous to the villages and which include village business men and farmers. In Virginia and North Carolina there is a new movement of Ruritan Clubs, the chief purpose of which is better rural community organization. This movement is now ten years old and, in September 1937, had 37 local chapters and about 1,500 members. The reports of its Rural Needs Committees presented at the tenth annual convention of Ruritan National in January 1938, show the scope of its interests. Including reports by committees on rural utilities, the rural church, economic

[32] Carl C. Taylor and Nat T. Frame, *Urban-Rural Relations.* Chicago, Kiwanis International, 1928, p. 168.

opportunity for youth, recreation, education, beautification, business, agriculture, safety, and health, they form one of the best programs of rural community organization. The purposes of the organization are best indicated by the following quotations from a leaflet issued by its Public Relations Committee:

> A Ruritan Club is composed of business and professional men and farmers. A man before being asked into the club must, in the opinion of a majority of the members of the club, be a good citizen, willing to treat others fairly and squarely and believe in a square deal for all with whom he comes in contact.
>
> 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 these 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, 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 for rural community organization. It is particularly fortunate in having a definite policy of not permitting too rapid growth of its locals and of making sure that local units have a clear understanding of the purposes of the organization. As one delegate put it at the 1936 convention, "If we over-reach, if we get crazy for numerical growth, and clubs are chartered faster than they can be completely affiliated, faster than the members can acquire the real spirit of Ruritan, we will be in for trouble." An account of the founding and early development of this organization will be found in an article at the end of the chapter.

8. **The Larger Parish.** As has been pointed out by Dr. Brunner in his survey of this movement, [33] the term "larger parish" has been applied to various forms for the better organization of the

[33] E. deS. Brunner, *The Larger Parish: A Movement or An Enthusiasm*. New York, Harper and Bros. (Institute of Social and Religious Research), 1934. See Chapter I, History and Definition. Quotations following reprinted by permission of the publisher.

church life of a rural community, so that it is difficult to give a precise definition of the term as currently used. Dr. Mark Rich, who has made an exhaustive study of three larger parishes in Tompkins County, New York, gives the following definition as including the essentials of the larger parish: "A larger parish may be described as a group of churches in a larger rural community working together to serve all the people of the area with a diversified ministry." However the larger parish is conceived, it has one common characteristic, that it is a community organization for the better cooperation of the Protestant churches in meeting their common problems and for furnishing a type of ministry that would be impossible for any one of them. Where larger parishes have been laid out in areas which did not form a natural community, in which the people did not regularly associate together on a community basis, they have had difficulty in maintaining themselves and have often failed, or reorganized. The associational type of larger parish, in which the churches of a community form an association called "The Larger Parish," with a council composed of representatives from each church, and with a staff which serves all the churches, seems to be the type which has most promise of general success, because it has a more realistic approach to the psychology of the existing situation.[34] The staff employed by the parish as a whole usually consists of a woman director of religious education, but the ideal is that each of the pastors of the various churches shall have some special qualifications and shall assist in the program of all the churches in the field of his specialization. Thus, one may have particular ability in the field of religious education, another for work with young people, another as an organizer of financial campaigns or in work with men. In any event, this plan does not involve the consolidation or federation of any of the existing churches, although it may well lead to this, as has been the experience in several instances. It proceeds on the sound principle of community organization, that the best way to obtain cooperation is to get organizations to working together for a common end which they could not attain individually. In this way, whatever the form of the larger parish may be, it is a

[34] Cf. Mark Dawber, *Rebuilding Rural America.* New York, Friendship Press, 1937, pp. 83-90.

definite force for community organization in the field of religion. Probably no phase of community life has, in the past, had so much competition and has so prevented community organization through divisive sectarianism.[35]

After making a critical analysis of the successes and failures of larger parishes throughout the country, Dr. Brunner comes to the following conclusions regarding the merit of the plan:[36]

1. Where the conditions for success noted above, or a majority of them, have been met, the larger parish plan is a helpful and practical solution for many rural church problems, more practical indeed than many others. The qualification is important. To attempt a larger parish plan under conditions that all but foredoom it to failure is no advantage to any person or parish.

2. The larger parish, when not handicapped by unsolvable competition, can minister more effectively to all the people of an area as people, regardless of denominational ties, than can the average rural church. The ministries of religion can be carried to remote parts of a community that otherwise might not be able to afford them.

3. The plan presents a way, if overhead administrators are permanently agreed, to increase the efficiency of interdenominational cooperation on the community level.

4. The pooling of the religious resources of a sociologically homogeneous area make possible specialized and better trained leadership, just as the centralization of schools in a similar area offers better educational leadership.

5. Similarly, a wider, more diversified program, fitting all age-groups, and more important and interesting projects are possible than under traditional conditions.

6. A bona-fide larger parish can and usually does improve community spirit.

7. It can also afford worthwhile opportunities for developing leadership and other abilities and for self-expression on the part of the members.

8. A real larger parish offers a far more satisfying job to a minister than is obtainable in the average rural church circuit or in the average competitive village church situation.

He also proposes "that a larger parish should meet the following

[35] Cf. Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community*, pp. 521-526.
[36] E. deS. Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

criteria and should measure up to the following standards accepted in the literature and in the experience of successfully functioning larger parishes": [37]

1. The territory included is an economic and/or social unit.
2. The territory has adequate resources, under normal economic conditions, sooner or later to support the larger parish.
3. The churches of the parish combine their finances, at least as regards the salary of the staff and preferably for all items.
4. The staff consists of two or more persons with special training or interest in the field of responsibility to which each is assigned.*
5. There is a functioning parish council.
6. The parish gives, or at least sincerely aims to give, many-sided service to the whole territory it serves and to every person within it.
7. The parish has exclusive possession of its field so far as Protestant work is concerned, or at least has cooperative relations with other religious groups and with community organizations.
8. The parish recognizes its interdenominational obligations.
9. The parish is assured of the continued support of the denomination or denominations concerned regardless of changes in administrative personnel.

9. **The Consolidated School or High School.** As has been previously noted (see Chapter IV, p. 58), the consolidation of schools or the establishment of a larger high school district has been one of the most frequent causes of community discord, but it has also done more than anything else to improve village-country relationships. The school is the one institution maintained by all the people which represents their common aspirations and ideals. In religion, they are divided by sectarianism, in government, by party politics, in business, by conflicting economic interests; but they are all concerned with the education of their children, desiring to give them the best possible advantages. It is for this reason that the high school or the new consolidated school, which usually, but not always, includes a high school, has become the most important institution for the process of rural community organization. Evidence of this has been seen in the case studies already given, particularly

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 67.

* It is recognized that some one-man larger parishes can, and do, make such efficient use of competent volunteers as to qualify under this head.

of Blackwell and Waterville, and in the fact that the Parent-Teacher Association has become so important a factor in community organization, as illustrated in the examples above. Thus, as a result of their nation-wide survey of 140 rural communities, Kolb and Brunner have come to this conclusion.

> From every region and by every method of study came the report that the school, more especially the high school, was the most important and decisive single factor in determining town and country community solidarity or in defining community areas. This is a conclusion of much significance, and it will receive further reference at various points in the study of the institutional relations in rural society. As time goes on, the number as well as the proportions of farm and village youth mingling in and graduating from high schools will be sure to increase. This situation, quite different from that of the previous generation, can be counted upon to have much influence in welding town and country.[38]

The same conclusion has been reached by Thaden and Mumford in a recent study of high school communities in Michigan. They say: "For a goodly number of reasons, therefore, the area served by the four-year high school was considered as the most satisfactory unit in an initial demographic community mapping which was to encompass the entire state."[39]

The place of the school in the community and the relation of the community to the educational process are receiving consideration in all the more recent discussions of problems of rural education. In a recent textbook on the small high school there is this statement:

> 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 strength, its weaknesses, 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

[38] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, p. 131. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[39] J. F. Thaden and Eben Mumford, "High School Communities in Michigan," *Special Bulletin 289,* Michigan State College Agricultural Experiment Station, p. 4, January 1938.

> and appraising the community; (4) the school should also cooperate with other agencies in co-ordinating community activities and life; (5) the school, through its staff, pupils, program, and facilities should enrich other community activities immediately and directly.[40]

Thus, in a recent report of the Advisory Committee on Education, composed of a notable list of educators and representatives of public opinion, which has been transmitted to the Congress by the President, and which recommends an elaborate system of federal aid to all phases of education, we find the following significant statements. They represent fairly the spirit and philosophy of the report.[41]

> In rural areas, the school system should be as efficiently organized and as well supported as in urban areas; *so far as feasible, school attendance areas should follow community lines* (p. 12. Italics are ours. The committee elsewhere emphasizes the importance of the community unit and how it should be located).
>
> 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 (p. 11).

To aid in this, the committee proposes federal aid for the erection of school buildings and specifies that the plans should be reviewed to determine, among other things, "the adequacy of the proposed buildings with respect to educational design, location, *usefulness for community activities,* safety, comfort, and convenience." (p. 43. Italics ours). It elsewhere recommends aid for rural libraries and that they be housed in rural schools wherever practicable.

This all goes to show that the school is now being conceived of as a community institution and that its building should become "a true community center," as was shown to be the trend in our previous discussion of community buildings. It is not necessary to attempt an outline of the opportunities or obligations of the school

[40] R. Emerson Langfitt, Frank W. Cyr, and N. William Newsom, *The Small High School at Work*. New York, American Book Company, 1936, p. 374. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[41] *Report of the Advisory Committee on Education, House Document 529*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1938, 75th Congress, 3rd Session.

in this new role, or of the procedures and methods which it should employ to meet them, as this may be found in the current school literature;[42] but we should recognize the central position of the school in any program of rural community organization, and we should consider its potentialities in this field as well as what it is now doing. An interesting example of what one school accomplished in community organization is given at the end of the chapter, "The Capleville Spirit, and How It Grew," and a general survey of the influence of centralized schools on community organization in New York State is given in the bulletin by Dr. E. T. Stromberg, previously cited. Scores of similar instances might be mentioned.

In this chapter we have seen that some type of formal community organization is often desirable and that there is need for adapting its structure to the local conditions, but we have also found that there are many existing community organizations for special purposes. Whether any formal community association is necessary or desirable must depend upon the diagnosis of the social situation in each community. This brings us to the problem of practical procedure in furthering the process of community organization, for, after all, we are primarily interested in its progress and in how its aims and objectives may be accomplished. The structure or mechanism by which these aims are to be attained is but a means to them.

ILLUSTRATIVE CASE STUDIES

I. Bentley Community Farmers' Club[43]

This community is, roughly, seven miles square, and it takes its name from the township. There is a village of about 200 population about two miles from the edge of the district. A description of the history of the community and of its population and agriculture is given in the bulletin from which the following account of the club is adapted.

The Bentley Community Farmers' Club was organized in 1918. Mr. Wold, who had farmed in the community since 1904, conceived the idea

[42] See the 1939 *Yearbook* of the American Association of School Administrators, Washington, D. C., National Education Association, 1939.

[43] E. A. Willson, Rural Community Clubs in North Dakota, *Bulletin 251*, Agricultural Experiment Station, pp. 59-61, 1931.

of organizing a club, discussed it with neighbors, and asked the county agent to attend the first meeting and help perfect the organization. The county agent attended meetings quite frequently, especially during the early years, and usually gave a short talk. Mr. Wold, who was the first president and always has been an active leader and worker in the club, said with respect to club activities: "We decided to feel our way in order to include nothing that would antagonize any one in the community and to incorporate something of interest to all."

Mr. Wold laid down the following rules which they have tried to follow and which he considers responsible for the success of the club:

Consider the other fellow.

Don't undertake too many activities at once.

Don't start what you can't finish successfully.

Keep politics and religion out.

Get everybody behind every project.

Leadership, the more leaders the better.

Appoint committees to consider and report on all proposals and undertakings in order not to make snap judgments which may cause difficulties and hard feelings.

All members and not a few should vote on any proposal.

Of the 70 families interviewed, 43 are represented in the community club membership. Members of 24 other families attend meetings more or less regularly although they are not on the membership roll. In addition, 10 village families or individuals are members.

Several of the Catholic families are among the most active leaders and workers in club activities. One of the active workers, the wife of a young Bentley farmer, came to the community a few years ago to teach school. She was reared in the city, disliked the country, and intended to teach in a rural school no longer than necessary. She was drawn into the Bentley community social life through the community club, learned to like the community and rural life, and now she says that nothing could take her away from the farm home which she and her husband are making in the Bentley area. City or town life no longer has any attraction for her. She has absorbed the community consciousness of Bentley.

A distinguishing characteristic of the Bentley community club is the large number who can be classed as leaders. Most of the leaders at present are young men and women of the second generation.

The activities of the club include plays, music, community singing, talks by members, outside talent, community news notes, recitations, one-act plays, and lunch. Several members are called on at each meeting for extemporaneous talks of a few minutes on an assigned subject. One out-

standing play is given each year in one of the large barn lofts in the community.

An orchestra composed of several club members usually provides music for club meetings in addition to community singing and other musical entertainments.

Meetings are held in a one-room school house across the road from the church. The church barn provides shelter for horses when roads are impassable for automobiles. The school room which was originally used for meetings became too small. The building was raised and a basement was built which is now used for club meetings. This was financed with funds derived from the annual play. A separate community hall was contemplated, but to obviate the possibility of its being used for dances so near the church that plan was dropped. Locating near the church was essential in order to have shelter for horses in the church barn.

In the community, there is a very active homemakers' club which has sponsored a number of 4-H Clubs on different projects for boys and girls. Most of the children in the community of club age are members of these 4-H Clubs.

Good leadership, the diversity of activities, the stability of the population, the large proportion of young people remaining on farms, the spirit of cooperation, and the lack of religious prejudice and conflict would all seem to be factors associated with the success of the Bentley community club. But what factors are cause and what are effect? The club may be responsible for making the people satisfied with the community, for holding the young people on farms, and for stabilizing the population.

Responsibility for the community consciousness and the fine spirit of cooperation can be traced to the early days of settlement. The first school teacher in the community, back in the early 80's when the nearest railroad was 50 or 60 miles distant, was a man who evidently had some ability as a music teacher. He taught school in the Bentley community for a number of years and, whether or not he was much of a teacher of the three R's, he left a lasting impression in the community by teaching the school children to sing. He trained and led the church choir and, in fact, developed in the community the habit of singing together.

It was natural that the children who sang together in school should sing together in the church choir, and so the children of Catholic families sang in the Lutheran church as there was no Catholic church within a reasonable distance from the community. Then a pastor who was a musician and had several musically inclined children came to the Bentley rural church. The young people met at the parsonage to practice for the choir. Because the pastor's children were popular, the parsonage became the

social center for the young people of the community, regardless of religious affiliation. Thus there developed in the young people who were growing up in the Bentley community, and who now constitute a majority of the farm operators and homemakers, a cooperative spirit, a social solidarity, a community consciousness. These factors are undoubtedly largely responsible for the stability of the population, the satisfaction with farming and the community, the absence of conflict and jealousies, and the outstanding success of the Bentley community club. These factors made possible the effectiveness of good leadership and the development of divers leaders. But responsible for the factors were a school teacher who taught the children to sing together and a pastor who kept them singing together after they finished school.

II. Salt Creek Community Club [44]

This community club, a sample of those in Montana, was formed in 1916 but died out in a year. Later it was reorganized as a social club, but this too, lasted only a short time. Then about 1920 there was another organization, largely to serve as a unit of the county farm bureau but under the name community club. It has functioned ever since.

The primary purpose of the present organization is to provide for social affairs and the general improvement of the community. Membership in the club is on a family basis; that is, there is one membership for an entire family. About eighteen families belong to the club. All the members live in the open country.

The financial support of the club is derived from the annual dues of one dollar per family.

At present meetings are held once a month in the school house but there is a desire to build a community hall. The meetings are of the combined business-educational-social type. The estimated average attendance at meetings is sixty-five.

There are four standing committees: executive, program, social, and roads. It is the policy of the club to have a committee serve for about three months. There is no written constitution.

The club frequently has an outside speaker, especially the county extension agent. It has helped to buy a piano for the school and has aided in starting a local Sunday school. Plans are being made to have a community fair and a 4-H Club Achievement Day.

Recreational activities are emphasized. Home-talent plays are presented nearly every month throughout the year. Occasional dances are

[44] Adapted from J. Wheeler Barger, "The Rural Community Club in Montana," *Bulletin 224*, Agricultural Experiment Station, pp. 35-36, 1930.

held. A Fourth-of-July picnic, a big community Thanksgiving dinner, and a New Year's watch party, preceded by a supper, are special-day observances. The club sponsors a local baseball team which plays various other rural community teams. Hamburger and weiner "feeds" are an established part of the regular club meetings. Practically all literary and musical numbers of the programs are presented by local people, but occasionally outsiders are invited to contribute to the entertainment.

Among the other things which have been accomplished are: cooperating with the county health nurse in a local health campaign; collecting money for an orphans' home and for flood relief; grading the roads; improving local farm production, especially by the introduction of certified seed wheat; cooperating with other community clubs in the county in county-wide matters; forming a debating team to discuss questions with representatives of other groups; and cooperating with the county extension agent.

One of the most difficult problems has been to refrain from devoting all the time to social affairs so that none was left for other community needs. The factors of success have been (1) giving everybody a voice and a part in the organization's affairs, and (2) choosing good leaders who will devote adequate time to the work.

III. The Barcelonia Farmers' Club [45]

This open-country club in Wisconsin illustrates both the result of outside stimulus and the power of its own adaptability; it illustrates also a carrying-on period much longer than for most organizations, together with some of the necessary adaptations; and finally it illustrates a "much-changed" organization almost as active as in the days of its origin.

The Barcelonia Farmers' Club was first organized in the fall of 1915 in the home of S. A. F. Kulemisky, one of its first members and promoter. Its present name and motivation probably go back to the work of Dr. C. J. Galpin. It was suggested as a possible answer to the local need by a representative from the County Agricultural School. The early history of this organization closely resembles some of those described in the Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 271, "Rural Clubs in Wisconsin," by C. J. Galpin and D. W. Sawtelle, published in 1916. Extracts from its present constitution show a striking resemblance to a constitution therein suggested.

[45] Adapted from Kolb and Wileden, "Special Interest Groups in Rural Society," *Research Bulletin 84*, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, pp. 80-82, 1927.

At first only men attended, and meetings were held weekly in Mr. Kulemisky's home for almost two years. Collective buying was first taken up. Clover, timothy, and alfalfa seed, posts, bran, grains, corn, and flour were ordered in large quantities—sometimes even carload lots. Thus the farmers would receive the benefit of reduced prices accruing from collective buying. However, this plan was not wholly successful.

Later more attention was paid to subjects that would interest both men and women of the community, and women were invited to attend the meetings. These meetings were held in the various schools in the township of Barcelonia, alternating from school to school. This schedule, however, was not satisfactory as most members and prospective members would attend only meetings in their respective school districts, but they did not care to journey across the township to attend a meeting in another district. A great many people at first opposed community club meetings in school houses as they were of the opinion that schools were built for school children only. After much discussion it was finally decided that the school building was the best available place for people of the community to get together and discuss matters of interest to everyone. The Luther school building was thereupon chosen as the regular meeting place of the club. It is still being used today.

When women came into the organization, the meetings decreased in frequency. Today they are held once each month with the exception of July and August. Other changes which have taken place are the gradual dropping off of marketing activities and a somewhat proportionate increase in social activities. The programs have also become more varied in nature and more educational. Numerous new projects have been taken up from time to time, and frequently old projects have been dropped. A few of the projects are here enumerated.

One of the first and more outstanding of these projects was adapting the school building to community use. This was done by installing a gasoline air-pressure lighting system to replace kerosene lamps and by buying folding chairs.

During the World War much emphasis was placed on the various war drives, such as food conservation, saving-stamp drives, and liberty-loan drives. Much responsibility for these drives was assumed directly by the organization. After the war was over, patriotic projects were still carried on. This club claims the distinction of being "one of the first to erect and complete a memorial to those who made the supreme sacrifice." First a plot of ground was purchased as a memorial park and a tree appropriately planted for each of the three boys from the town. More money was then raised, more land purchased at the same place, and a

monument erected and dedicated. Starting in 1922 the poppy drive in the town of Barcelonia was conducted by the members of this organization and $100 turned over to the American Legion. The poppy drive is still sponsored annually by the club.

Numerous projects of a farm- and home-improvement nature have always been sponsored by this club. In addition to its collective-buying activities, it has urged the testing of dairy cows and eradication of tuberculosis in the town. The control of root crop diseases (this being somewhat of a trucking section) has been discussed and specialists called in. It has encouraged fruit growing and held pruning and spraying demonstrations.

Numerous projects of a civic nature have been undertaken, among which have been the urging of paving and surfacing of roads through the town, the widening and grading of curves, marking of railroad and street car crossings, the removal of places of business or amusements of a questionable character, and giving relief and flowers to the sick of the town. These things have been done without regard to direct return to the membership.

Throughout the club's history, there has been emphasis on the social program, outstanding in which has been the annual picnic and outing. Also, each year, a play is given by the club, and there are several short plays at the regular winter meetings. Debates have been held occasionally. One year the club had its own baseball teams—one for women and one for men.

When this study was made, this organization was in its eleventh year and had about 70 members. The stated membership requirements were "young enough to enjoy and old enough to understand the meetings; and a fee of 50 cents per person per year." About half the members ordinarily attended each meeting, and there were usually as many non-members as members present. Their policy is to have programs planned by a program committee appointed from month to month.

This organization is one of the outstanding financial ones studied, its assets running around $1,000. Some of this is of previous years' accumulation, now out at interest, which is a source of some friction, as certain of the members continually want to spend it. The other outstanding difficulty today is that other organizations, in copying its plan, are gradually encroaching upon its territory, and limiting what was one time a township organization more and more to the school district in which the meeting place is located. It is interesting to note that the president of this organization had held an office for seven years and the secretary for six years. At the time the study was made both had their

principal employment in the city about five miles away but made their homes on farms in the district.

IV. The Why of the Country Life Conference [46]

Now that several hundred Country Life Conferences have been held in West Virginia we can speak with assurance about their value as stimulants for community betterment. Individuals like to have a mirror held up to them occasionally and so do communities. However, it is no incentive to know how to look if we have no standard to go by. But when a standard has been decided upon, we like to know how we compare with it.

A method of measuring and comparing rural communities has been worked out in West Virginia where the agricultural extension division is as interested in the human as in the business side of farm life. This extension division sends out one or more teams every week end who use the Country Life Conference plan for scoring communities. This is a survey of a rural community combined with the stimulus for improving it. Its purpose as stated on the score card—a circular of twenty-nine pages—is to "Lift the Country Community by Its Own Boot Straps."

The county agent has done the advance work; local choirs furnish the music, and local ministers lead the devotions.

Although several hundred conferences have been held throughout West Virginia, its purpose is as vague to most of the audience as it is to the readers of *The Dairy Farmer*. But they have heard good reports from other communities where conferences have been held, and they form an eager, expectant audience.

The one who is in charge of the scoring tells them something like this at the first meeting on Friday evening: "The purpose of a country life conference is two-fold, one the spiritual and the other the scoring. If we did not have a minister on this team, these meetings would be more like farmers' institutes. But we believe that the spiritual part of our lives is the most important and that our religion should not only prepare us for death, but should help us to live. If we are not better farmers and better neighbors because of our religion there is something wrong with it.

"The other phase of the conference is the scoring. For years we have had standards for cattle and corn and apples, etc. We have had rather well defined standards for individuals, too. Then in 1917 Mr. Nat Frame,

[46] This entire section IV, "The Why of the Country Life Conference," by Georgine R. Harris, is quoted from *The Dairy Farmer*, Des Moines, Iowa, September 15, 1923. Reprinted by permission of the Meredith Publishing Co.

director of agricultural extension of West Virginia University, conceived the idea that we might have a standard for communities. He combined the important phases of rural life; community spirit, citizenship, recreation, health, homes, schools, churches, business and farms. As a standard for each he selected a community where one of these elements was fairly ideal. He found some community where farming methods were up-to-date, another where the rural churches were helping the spiritual growth of the community, a third where health conditions were what they should be in the country, and so on. These he combined into an ideal 1,000 point community; 200 for farming and 100 for each of the others.

"In 1917 this score card was used in three communities, and the next year they were scored again to see whether it had been a success. Marked improvement was shown as a result of the scoring and the next year it was brought to twenty other communities. Now more than 100 have been scored, some of them four times and nearly all of them have raised their score each time.

"The score card is simply a measuring stick, and we have come to help you measure your community. We live among you and talk with you and keep our eyes open, and with your help and that of the county and home demonstration agents, we get a pretty good idea of your community. By Sunday evening we will be prepared to tell you how much your score is and how you compare with your neighboring communities. We will know what your good points are and how you can improve.

"We feel somewhat responsible for the success of these meetings, but the real test of this conference comes after we leave. The score next year will indicate whether or not this conference has been a real success.

"We will do much of the scoring here tomorrow afternoon, but before we can do that we must know what the boundaries of your community are. We have made a map showing the roads, creeks, schoolhouses, churches, etc. Now, a community center is something of a magnet; it draws people from all directions. From how far do people come here to Vandalia to church or social affairs or the store or school?"

There is often a twilight zone and little neighborhoods that do not feel conscious of belonging to any community, but in West Virginia the physical features such as mountains, valleys and streams help to determine boundaries. There are from 75 to 300 families in a community. They usually know each other but do not feel "community conscious" because of their loyalty to their small neighborhood groups. In many cases the trade center and voting place is outside the community.

At our request someone makes a list of all the families in the community. With this list before us they cannot shove lawbreakers off on

other communities or include noted people who are not members of their community.

The history of the community has been prepared by some older resident and thus these interesting and valuable stories are recorded and saved for posterity. We often find that the early settlers and retired ministers and teachers who live in the community are better educated and more cultured than their successors and in special talks on particular needs of that community we impress on them the need for keeping pace with the times in their schools and churches as well as their farming and finances.

The minister of the team preaches the first of his series of four sermons Friday evening on "The Coming of the Kingdom." He takes the people where they are in their religious thinking and leads them on from personal to community religion. He knows that their religion is often one of feeling; a religion which looks backward, not forward; a religion which emphasizes the difference of beliefs instead of their similarities, but withal a religion that is very precious to them.

He strikes at their bickerings and their shortsightedness. He emphasizes the value of cooperation, social life, good roads, health, good homes, music, etc., and impresses his audience with the fact that all life should be permeated with the Christian spirit.

It is the combination of the sermons and the scoring that makes the conferences so successful. The scoring without the preaching would not accomplish much in many communities, and the preaching would not be so effective without the scoring. This holds true especially in West Virginia, for here the rural people are very religious and this must be taken into account if we are to build better communities. The ministers for the teams are selected carefully. They are men who are orthodox in their theology and who have the social point of view as well. They understand rural problems, and of course they are genuinely interested in rural folks. The Rev. A. H. Rapking, who originated this conference plan and who has taken part in ninety-six conferences, is now in charge of this part of the extension work.

The meetings are continued Saturday afternoon and evening and three meetings are held on Sunday with picnic dinner at the church. The entire community is present, first for union Sunday school and morning worship and then for the rest of the conference program.

On Sunday evening the final score is given. Each family has a copy of the score card, and when the itemized report is read, they put down the figures and keep them. The totals have ranged from 608 to 802. The county agent distributes copies of the bulletin entitled "Helping the Com-

munity Saw Wood on Its Community Program." This is thirty-nine pages of suggestions for raising the score and accounts of methods used by other communities.

A few of the most outstanding pieces of work that can be done to raise the score are pointed out. The details are left to the community council which the county agent has appointed and which reports at the next farmers' meeting or at a special meeting.

But to go back to the Saturday afternoon meeting when some of the scoring is done. Community spirit and citizenship are scored in the general meeting and then the women in one group score health and homes while the men score business and farms.

Under *community spirit* they are scored on the following topics explained in detail: history, community consciousness, rural mindedness, ownership of land, premiums won, noted sons and daughters, the community beautiful. Sometimes we hear: "Oh, no, we don't care especially about having new people come in. We like our own kind best." Such an attitude lowers the score. Usually the proportion of new and native blood is good and there are few tenants.

Under *recreation* they are graded on: grounds and equipment, play and athletics, outdoor gatherings, indoor meetings, use of outside talent, and hospitality. "We have a grove that we use for picnics, but no baseball diamond or any of those other things you mentioned."

"Where do the young men hang out?"

"Sometimes in the store, but usually in somebody's parlor."

"Courting and telling jokes are the chief amusement here for the young people," adds one man.

"Do you have many picnics, camps, sociables, etc.?"

"We used to, but the minister we have now has objected to everything like that."

And their score totals perhaps 57 points.

The old-fashioned family visiting, husking bees, etc., are passing and nothing is taking their place. Dancing is taboo and the people have found no good substitute. But as a result of these conferences a number of community houses have been built, and baseball diamonds made. Glee clubs have been organized and outside talent brought in and large community meetings held.

The conferences result in community betterment. The county and home demonstration agents find a more ready response to their suggestions. They knew what many of the needs of the community were, but it would have been a slow process by the usual method to educate the people to see those needs.

Discouraged local leaders take heart when their suggestions have been sanctioned by specialists in rural organization. No doubt one Sunday school teacher had a feeling of satisfaction when her community was scored down because they would no longer use the small chairs that she had helped provide and because they had discontinued the use of graded Sunday school lessons.

Those who can conduct singing schools or organize literary societies realize that they can be a help to the community, and many teachers are beginning to feel some responsibility for community improvement.

Older people no longer object strenuously to various forms of wholesome recreation, for they have been endorsed by an orthodox and perhaps the ablest minister they have heard. They are more willing to spend money for community buildings and roads and education when their value has been presented by people in whose judgment they have confidence.

Perhaps it was the scoring, perhaps the preaching that made the Mt. Storm people bury the hatchet and go on with the community building that was begun a year ago. At any rate the conference did it. Individual persuasion led one man to contribute $800 to the building of a much needed new road in Three Churches community, and the general meetings gave the others the stimulus to contribute time and material for eight miles of excellent road.

Competition plays no small part in the raising of scores. Of course, the grading cannot be absolute, but it is fairly accurate and forms a good basis for comparison with other communities and thus acts as a stimulus.

When Berlin was scored this year, they handed us an 1,800 word itemized report of work accomplished this past year and their score was raised from 748 to 798 and Berlin stood at the head of the list. Among other things they had culled fifty-six flocks of chickens, added ninety-four members to their farm women's club, had made fifty-three improvements in homes such as bathrooms, screened porches, electric lights, and had made very definite improvements in their Sunday schools. But Berlin will have to work harder, for Franklin, in Brooke County, has passed her with a score of 802.

Spray rings have been formed, schools standardized, communities beautified, and occasionally congregations united. The list might be extended to some length, but this gives an idea of results of Country Life Conferences.

The community score is not a long survey which is printed and read at leisure. The work is concentrated in three days. The entire community is represented—the church in which the meetings are held is

usually overflowing—the people hear what other communities have done, they learn where they are weak, and they get some real spiritual messages. They begin work while they are still enthusiastic and usually they keep on going.

A score card based on this has been worked out for cities and it is also being adapted to mining towns in West Virginia. It would, no doubt, have to be changed somewhat for rural communities in other states, but it has passed the experimental stage, and, with slight modifications to suit conditions and the psychology of the people, it could be used successfully in any state.

V. Greenwood Raises Her Score [47]

The Second Annual Country Life Conference was held at Greenwood in Morgan County, West Virginia, March 26, 27. On Wednesday night Rev. R. D. Marshall, pastor of the only church in the community, conducted the devotional service. Mrs. Iva C. Gould gave reasons for "Another Country Life Conference." Mr. Lawson reported the things accomplished during the year to raise the score. Rev. A. H. Rapking preached a sermon, taking for his topic, "The Soil in Which We Grow."

On Thursday afternoon the leaders and the scorers rescored the community. The building of a standardized school building, the introduction of soy beans on six farms, the organizing of Sunday school classes and an orchestra, the equipping of three homes with electric lights, the adopting of better feeding methods and rotation of crops, the building of two new tomato canneries, besides the general good program of the year, raised the score from 664 to 683, making a gain of 19 points. It was quite evident that in the raising of the score the county agent was a great factor. In the evening Mrs. Gould announced the score and gave the reasons for the changes in the score and told the people how Greenwood compares with other communities of the state. She also gave a short talk on farm women's club work.

Mr. R. J. Friant, county agent, presented the program of work which had been worked out with the leaders based on the findings of the score card for the coming year. Churches: organize a cradle roll, secure curtains for between the classes, and double the attendance. Schools: secure sanitary toilets and beautify the school grounds by planting trees and shrubbery. Social and recreational: build a community building, secure volley ball and organize teams. Homes: put on a paint campaign, and

[47] This entire section V, "Greenwood Raises Her Score," by A. H. Rapking, is quoted from *National Stockman and Farmer,* Pittsburgh, Pa., May 3, 1924. Reprinted by permission of *The Pennsylvania Farmer.*

also a special drive for kitchen sinks. Organizations: more 4-H Club members, more Farm Bureau members, and a farm women's club. And publish a history of the community.

Farm and business: farm demonstrations; one orchard, fifteen soy beans, two soil improvement, two dairy feedings, two swine feedings, one poultry, one butchering demonstration, one potato spray, one pasture and two West Virginia type poultry houses to be built. This program was adopted by the people. Before the folks left the church the farm women's club had been organized, and one man had offered to donate the land for the community building, besides offering to loan one-fourth of the cost of the building to the community. The final message was given by Rev. A. H. Rapking who talked to the people about "Our Heavenly Father." The interest in the messages and the conference as a whole was intense, besides the many earnest requests for the return of those who were on the program next year speaks well for another good year's work in Greenwood community.

VI. What a Community League Can Do [48]

Mrs. Grimes tells me she gets any number of inquiries from men and women who feel the need of some sort of organization in their communities, but do not feel certain as to how to organize a community league, or what to put it at after it is organized. "What would you suggest for our league to do?" "What can a community league accomplish?" "What is the best way to begin?" These are some of the questions asked.

Lately I have had the pleasure of going over the annual reports of some of Davidson County's community clubs and believe that, from these reports, I am ready to answer the questions above.

1. Do what needs to be done—look over the situation and see what the community needs and then set to work to supply those needs.

2. A community league can, with energy and patience, accomplish almost anything the community finally decides to accomplish.

3. The way to begin is to decide what the community needs most of all and then put all heads and hands together to get that particular thing.

Rather sweeping statements some of them, but looking at what some of these Davidson County community clubs have accomplished, they do not seem to me too sweeping. For example:

[48] This entire section VI, "What a Community League Can Do," by E. E. Miller, is quoted from *Southern Agriculturist,* Nashville, Tenn., March 1, 1922. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Morrow Headdon club decided at the beginning of last year that it would make additions to the school buildings and establish a four-year high school with courses in agriculture and home economics. It did it, raising in the community itself $1,963.95 for the enlargement and repair of the school house, and then putting $193.25 in cash, and considerable labor, into an electric lighting plant for the school. There was a community fair, a community exhibit at the state fair, a number of demonstrations conducted by the county agent, a boys' club and one for girls, with representatives of both winning prizes in county and state contests. Holes were patched in two pikes, the county was induced to work on two others; several cross roads were repaired. The year's work closed with a community Christmas tree at which every child in the community was remembered.

Elm Hill community club has its own club house and grounds, and the care and improvement of these was an important part of the year's work. This club devoted much energy to working with the railroad company for a needed switch in the community. It also secured action from the county in long-needed repair work. It organized and equipped a baseball team. It bought a piano for the club house. It conducts a circulating library. It had a community fair and fete day, and an exhibit at the state fair. It put on a campaign for home beautification and improvement. It held a social meeting with a musical program each month in the year. It had a sweet potato demonstration day, and sent a committee to West Tennessee to buy disease-free seed potatoes for the community. It organized a "Love Circle" to help care for the sick and to contribute to the burial expenses of any community member.

The Can Ridge club made a feature of livestock improvement, placing three pure-bred dairy bulls, one pure-bred beef bull and several pure-bred sows. It had entertainments for the benefit of the school, also a community Christmas tree. It had boys' and girls' clubs and club work, farm and home demonstration meetings, and social meetings. It enclosed the local school grounds of three acres, built a pavement from the front door to the well, equipped it with lights, a wall clock and an encyclopedia, and maintained high school courses through the tenth grade. It secured and helped in needed road improvement. It reorganized the community Sunday school.

Oglesby club bought an oil stove, a kitchen cabinet and the needed equipment for serving hot lunches at school and at community meetings. It placed six pure-bred Jersey bulls and several pure-bred cows in the community and improved the community's strain of hogs and chickens. This club runs a community store and reports considerable savings to the

community from it. A community improvement campaign resulted in the installation of three complete and three partial home water systems, two electric and three acetylene lighting plants, eight homes painted, a general screening of houses, the building of three miles of telephone line. The school was developed from a one-teacher to a two-teacher school, and a music teacher was put into it. The club is now investigating the building of a three-mile electric light line from the Brentwood power house; this line, if built, furnishing lights for school house, store, church and about ten homes.

The Joelton club centered its activities about its school which has just been made a Smith-Hughes vocational school. For it $2,789.50 was raised; two acres of ground purchased, on which playgrounds and school gardens with hotbeds and other equipment have been constructed. There are 24 boys of the community studying agriculture, and 16 girls taking domestic science. A community rally was held with 1,000 people in attendance. There was a community fair and a number of meetings with county agents for demonstration work of various kinds—pruning, tractor management, poultry culling, and so on.

These are some, and just some, of the things a community club or community league can do. No need of the community should be too small to engage the attention of such an organization; no community trouble so great that a live community league cannot remedy it, in whole or in part.

VII. Ruritan Clubs Are a Success [49]

The Ruritan Club, a brand new organization built especially for country people, is here and here to stay. At least, that is the impression I got when I talked to the splendid club last January at Holland, Va.

I had heard of this club on several occasions during the past year. I believed from what I heard that a club which allowed the people in a small rural community to plan for real growth would find a definite place in American life. Later when I learned that the Holland chapter of the Future Farmers of America had won first place in a national contest at the Royal Show at Kansas City, I felt sure that the 50 staunch members of the Ruritan Club had helped materially as a rooting squad behind the high school boys who were studying agriculture.

I found Holland, the birthplace of this unique club, a typical country town of only 350 people. The business men and the farmers felt the

[49] This entire section VII, "Ruritan Clubs Are a Success," by James Speed, is quoted from *Southern Agriculturist*, Nashville, Tenn., Feb. 15, 1930. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

need of an organization which would allow them to get together, so the Ruritans were the outcome. Twenty months ago the club was officially launched with 32 members. Today without any solicitation the membership has grown to the limit, 50. Twenty-five of these Ruritans are professional and business men living in Holland, while the other 25 are leading farmers who reside within that magisterial district. Since its organization the club has lost one member, who left the community, and it now has several applications for membership when there happens to be a vacancy.

Meetings are held once a month, usually in the gymnasium of the big consolidated school, where supper is served. At these suppers each member wears a big button. . . . As with most luncheon or supper clubs, singing and fine entertainment hold a prominent place in these good will get-together meetings. The only honorary member is the music teacher, and she coaches and leads the club in singing.

In the beginning the club was content to promote fellowship and good will among its members. It also hoped to bring the men in the town and the farmers out in the country into closer contact so they might learn to know each other. In this connection it might be well to state that both the Rotary and the Lions Clubs of Suffolk, Virginia, helped to organize this first Ruritan Club. The friendship begun through service by these clubs has borne fruit. Both of these clubs have been the guests of the Ruritan Club at Holland and in January the Ruritan Club took dinner with Rotary at Suffolk, the county seat. All of which means that a constantly increasing number of members in various clubs in Nansemond County can get together and help solve county problems.

Now for some of the things which the club has done or hopes to do in the rather near future. For some time a strong committee has been making a painstaking survey looking toward the electrification of many of the farm homes in the district about Holland. The light and power company might have done this same work; but the club felt that its own members could approach and convince the farmer in a saner manner than could an expert in public utilities. The chairman of this committee told me that one electric line would be put in next spring or early summer, and that others would follow. Under the contract the farmer is signing for light and power, it will merely be necessary for him to use or pay for $5 worth of current per month for three years. This will allow the company to pay for the new lines put in, and at the end of three years the farmer will pay the ordinary rate for the current he uses.

So much interest has been developed by this electric light and power survey that the telephone company is asking the club to make a farm

telephone survey. In this project the telephone company is agreeing to help in every way possible and hopes to secure enough new subscribers to put in a complete new exchange. This, by the way, will be the latest automatic dial system, such as is used in the larger cities.

This original Ruritan Club has created enough interest in the surrounding country for the development of three other similar clubs. The Ruritan Club at Boykins, a town of 637 people in Southampton County, Virginia, has been functioning successfully for twelve months. The one at Wakefield, which boasts 784 souls and is in Sussex County, is only two months old. The fourth club was organized January 23 at Chuckatuck, which is a town of 115 individuals. There are other communities which are interested and it is hoped that one or two other clubs will be launched shortly in the smaller towns. No matter how many clubs happen to be in existence, late next spring or early summer, the Ruritans of Virginia will hold a regular state convention. At that time state officers will be elected and an organization perfected for a further development of this unique movement both in Virginia and in other states.

During my whole stay in Holland, I felt the very great possibilities of a club of this type for rural communities which are too small to have one of the regular luncheon clubs. Then, too, the Ruritan Club has the added advantage of obtaining half of its members from the town and the other half from the country, thus giving an absolute cross section of the whole community when any problem has to be solved.

If in the future Ruritan Clubs could be developed in all portions of the United States, it would help the country districts to come into their own and to express themselves. These clubs would become clearing houses for the best in rural thought. They would build up a close tie of friendship between the little country town and the surrounding country.

VIII. The Capleville Spirit, and How It Grew [50]

"I wish you would tell me what a man must do to get the public road that passes his place fixed. I've asked this office twenty times to order the working of the county road that crosses my Capleville farm. But nothing has come of it."

"Do you really want to know what stands in the way of having that road attended to?" inquired the commissioner's clerk, as he looked up from his desk.

[50] This article on community building, by R. H. Leavell, is copied from *The Outlook* of April 28, 1920. It shows what has been done in Tennessee under capable leadership.

"That's what I'm here for," replied the first speaker.

"Then I'll make it clear as daylight to you. It happens that you are the fourteenth resident of that neighborhood who has requested us in the last ten days to repair the roads. And each one of you demands that the highway nearest his own farm shall be the one we tackle first. There was one 'kicker' in here a few days ago who named you, and said of course you'd get your road fixed all right, because you had money and rode in an auto. But I'm here to tell you that nobody out there will get anything done by our office until you folks get together and agree on what you want done and on the order of doing it. As things are now, whatever we might do would make us only one friend while we were gaining thirteen enemies. There's nothing doing until you get together."

"Just one question," answered the other. "If we should agree among ourselves, and inform you, will you promise to work our roads?"

"Yes."

Two weeks later twelve out of the original fourteen applicants marched in a body upon the commissioner's office, with a list of roads which showed the order in which they were to be made and repaired. And it is worth while to note that the highway across the farm of the man who had started the ball rolling was not the first one on the programme.

The results of such team-work were immediate and impressive, for within six months all of the roads listed had been completed. Common action had got for each individual the thing he needed.

The foregoing incident took place nine years ago. Capleville at that time resembled any other group of self-assertive American farmers. They were just like the sticks in the old fable before the sticks were tied into a bundle. Land was held in large tracts. Every owner was monarch on his own acres, and his chief interest in community and county affairs was to keep the taxes low. If one man suggested some improvement, promptly a lot of folks were against it, because they felt he was trying to put himself forward.

It's healthy of course for people to split in politics; but is it healthy for them to fight forward movements in education and religion just because the particular direction of some proposed bit of progress has not been fixed by one's own crowd?

And even in politics splitting can be overdone. In past years Capleville used to prove this at every election for magistrate. For although the community was large enough to have named one of the two magistrates each time if the people could have gotten together, yet they never did so. If one faction came out for one candidate, the other faction supported the other fellow. Germantown as a consequence always got both

magistrates; and, as Capleville had not supported either of them heartily, it was but human nature for these officers to feel little interest in doing things to please that community.

The root of the neighborhood troubles lay in the fact that the supply of leaders outran the demand, and the demand for followers far exceeded the supply.

But in the years that have sped since the road-making incident a new spirit has grown up. Today the religion of active neighborliness holds sway almost without dispute.

In the twin tabernacles of the Community High School and the Community Fair comradeship in doing things for Capleville has developed. This fact was concisely put by Dr. Malone, one of the fair directors, when at a board meeting he publicly answered my question as to why Capleville was so efficient and so different from certain other communities by declaring:

"We may differ in religion and in politics, but we are united about our school. For the rest, our success is due to the combination of our forces. We have two leaders, we are all willing to follow and we have learned to take a good suggestion from any one and put it through. It is team work for the community that has made the difference."

But how did team work grow out of factional strife? The main answer is found in the universal human faith in childhood. The highway to community fellowship has been the footpath of the children.

How this footpath has led to comradeship is made clear by the story of the growth of the Silleba Community Fair and of the Capleville High School. The fair was the contribution of a summer resident, Dabney Crump. Its expansion into a successful community undertaking was largely due to his farm manager, J. E. Gates, who, as President of the Fair Association, gave time and interest to the work in season and out of season.

The high school in its modern form is directly due to the unselfish enterprise of J. E. Thomas and other citizens of Capleville. When it had become known that a consolidated school would be located somewhere in the school district, Mr. Thomas forestalled competition from other neighborhoods by purchasing a considerable tract at the cross roads and by guaranteeing the payment for it. Others promptly backed him up. And so the consolidated school became a reality.

The children's school and the children's fair took the next great step forward some four or five years ago by joining forces. The fair bought land next to the school grounds, and built upon it an exhibit shed for livestock. The school opens its rooms for the indoor part of the fair

exhibits; and the fair allows the school boys and girls to shelter teams and autos under the livestock shed during the session.

The results of the team work and the team spirit that have grown up around fair and school are so significant that it should profit other neighborhoods to learn more of the details as to the development of these institutions. The former is in a striking way the projection of the personality of the founder.

And the clue to that personality is easily traced, if you should happen, as I did, to meet Mr. Crump in his Memphis office where he conducts his cotton business.

"You leave a wide-open trail," I told him when he entered to submit to an interview; "for I see over your desk the picture of a world's champion Holstein cow, and on yonder wall that picture of Santa Claus leaving rich gifts for children. And besides, the photograph of these fine little folks suggests that you can refresh your knowledge of childhood at the original source."

There are other guide-posts in this same room that help to explain why his Capleville neighbors call him, not "Mr. Crump," but merely "Dabney." One signboard that rests on his desk in a neat frame reads after this fashion: "He who keeps his troubles to himself has learned the secret of popularity."

An early announcement of one of the fairs reveals this same combination of interest in farming and in folks.

"It is our purpose," it declares, "to encourage the children and, through the children, their parents in their efforts to produce better livestock and better farm products and to build up in our immediate section a neighborhood spirit, without which no community can prosper as it should."

"When we held our first fair for the children at Silleba Stock Farm back in 1911, it looked like failure," Mr. Crump told me, "for the only ones who came as I recall it now, were from the homes on the place and from one neighbor's. We had offered prizes for garden products—corn, livestock, and so on. And the barbecued meat that Mr. Cox prepared couldn't be beaten. And yet there were not over twenty people, all told.

"By the next year people began to understand more clearly what we were driving at, and the response was much greater. And after that several citizens came to me and offered to assist in supporting the fair, because it was for the whole community. But I waited until it was plainly a going concern before consenting to its being taken over by the neighborhood."

The fair was very quickly, however, a "going concern." For by the third year so many were in attendance that the photographer complained

he could not get all of the children together for the picture. In spite of that, I am able to count in it sixty-nine children, not to mention some thirty grown-ups. The next year three hundred and fifty people attended; and there were so many entries for the twenty-five different classes in which prizes were offered that there was not enough house-room for folks and exhibits. This overflow proved unmistakably that the fair was a community event. With the consent of the incoming principal at the high school as well as with the general approval, in the fifth year Mr. Crump held the fair on the school grounds. During the afternoon of that same day nine other citizens came forward with additional prizes to be awarded at the next fair in 1916.

Not long afterward still more substantial proof was forthcoming of the community's endorsement of the enterprise. For a committee of citizens waited upon the founder to tell him that all felt it was unfair to allow one man to carry the whole burden. Thereupon, with his consent, they formed the Silleba Community Fair Association; directors were chosen, and a fund of nine hundred dollars was raised by local subscription. This money was used to buy three acres of land next to the high school for the fair grounds and to build a shed for live-stock exhibits. The remainder—some three hundred and fifty dollars—was set aside for prizes in the hundred and twenty-odd classes that were established for the next annual event.

In another way the session of 1915-16 proved eventful in Capleville progress, for it was then that Miss Mildred English became the community servant by accepting the principalship of the high school. One evidence of her work is found in the unanimity with which the people of Capleville welcome her leadership.

As I was curious to learn about her methods, I asked both men and women how she got things done.

A housewife gave this explanation: "The principal is herself always so ready to do whatever we want that when she wants us to do anything, why, of course we do it."

"She knows how to get people to do things," was the way a director of the Fair Association put it. "If some citizen feels gifted in what the old darky called 'vividness in the verbal exercise,' she gets him to talk to the boys and girls. If some one else doesn't like to talk, but is handy with tools, she calls on him to help out in that way."

"Miss English is a fine manager," my gray-haired host informed me.

Were I to add my own guess, I would say that to initiative and sanity of ideas and persistence, all proved by a series of things accomplished, the principal joins a happy faculty for blending with the background.

Now, even when a school principal proves her capacity as a community servant, it is none the less true that she must have modern equipment to produce the largest results. Fortunately, Miss English inherited such a school plant. The public-spirited action of private citizens, to which I have previously referred, in buying grounds for a consolidated school resulted by 1913 in the erection of a handsome and convenient T-shaped brick building.

When two years later the present principal took charge, growth in numbers and rise of interest in domestic science led to an appeal from some of the neighbors for a room and equipment to be used in teaching that subject; but upon this new move public opinion was not at first united. Possibly the enterprise of the teachers and the school-children had something to do with the final result. When nothing came of the first request for a domestic science course, they cleared out the basement and installed home-made and home-collected apparatus; and throughout the session the class was held there. Meantime public opinion had crystallized, so that the same session in which the children's fair was held under the auspices of the Silleba Community Association marked also the completion of a substantial brick addition to the school building at a cost of $6,500. And here modern and adequate equipment has been provided for educating young housekeepers to be homemakers.

How intimately school and fair and community are bound together is well illustrated by the way in which the principal gives the course in agriculture.

"I do not feel the need for a school farm," she told me, "for we have so many good farmers in our neighborhood, largely as the result of the fair's influence, that it is always easy to demonstrate the cultivation of each crop and the proper care of the different kinds of live-stock by auto trips to farms in the school community. And so many of the children come to school in 'machines,' it is easy to arrange for such trips."

Another instance of this interrelationship, between school, fair and community is found in the active interest of the farmers in the agricultural club work of the boys and girls. Last year it occurred to the directors of the fair to encourage the youngsters in raising thoroughbred stock. In the Girls' Poultry Club the Barred Rock was promptly agreed on as the Capleville breed. But in the matter of pigs there was a hitch at once. Stated as a general proposition, everybody would agree that only one breed should be raised by all; but when it came to cases, public opinion divided. The Fair Association wisely left the matter to a committee of men, one of whom had made a specialty of Poland-Chinas for years, and another had gone in for Berkshires. The third member was

neutral. The committee recommended Durocs. And now the fair's prizes for pigs are limited to that breed.

Arrangements were made with a Memphis bank by which each purchaser of pigs or poultry was allowed to make a note for the entire cost. And these notes were endorsed by the directors of the Association. A committee was sent to buy the pigs, and on the day that they came the school-children, with their fathers and mothers, turned out en masse at the railway station to give the blue-blooded newcomers a royal welcome.

The ownership of the pigs was decided by lots. One thousand dollars had been invested in the animals. But they had different values. That it pays to buy good breeding stock is shown by the record of the sow which cost the most. The price paid for her was $106. Out of her first litter nine pigs were disposed of for $283.25. And three prizes, with a total cash value of $35, were won at the Memphis Tri-State Fair. Three hundred and eighteen dollars and twenty-five cents as the gross return is a fine showing.

The skill of Charles Ford, the boy who bought this sow, was of course a factor in the result. Already he had developed something like a habit in winning prizes with pigs at Silleba Fair. The educative value of such experience in raising prize-winners is further emphasized by the fact that during the summer vacation Charles was regularly employed in an auto shop in Memphis, so that his pigs were just a leisure-time amusement that paid. He learned something, too, at that auto shop, as I can testify, since he helped my "flivver" get over its first mishap. Charles could hardly have done all this if it were not that Memphis is only a dozen miles away on the well-kept Pigeon Roost Road.

The location of the community at this convenient distance from a city of two hundred thousand is indeed one of Capleville's chief assets. It enables the school, for example, to get frequently the best of speakers for various neighborhood affairs, and grown folks and children can have the advantages of the city without giving up the solid satisfaction of the independent country life. This convenient location reacts favorably, too, on farming.

One result has been that this season, under the guidance of the Fair Association and of County Demonstration Agent Landess, a Sweet Potato Growers' Association has been formed, and one hundred and seventy-five acres pledged to this crop. The experience of the successful ones in the past has stressed the importance of proper storage; and this, too, is being amply provided for.

Other evidences of successful farming, stimulated by the Community Fair, are to be seen in the herds of Black Angus and Hereford, in the

flocks of fine poultry and the herds of Duroc pigs. An added sign of prosperity is to be found in the comfortable homes on many farms, made fertile by livestock.

When I asked the county agent what struck him most at Capleville, his reply was unhesitating:

"The most striking thing there is the way all the farmers pull together. Recently we sent a co-operative shipment of two car-loads of hogs—as large a shipment as there has been from the county this season—from that station. One farmer provided water for the pigs; another hauled it; a third furnished the gravel; a fourth took a man out of the field to shovel it, and so on. There were six or seven who helped. And when it came to settling up, there was no bill from anybody. Capleville is just one big team pulling together."

This team spirit is reflected even in the rules of the fair. Admission to grounds and exhibits is free. Although certain classes are reserved for the boys and girls, their elders may compete with them in the rest. Most interesting of all is the rule admitting to the prize competitions not only patrons and pupils of the school, but also "persons directly interested in Capleville Community."

"Persons directly interested" include Mississippians who send their children to this Tennessee High School and their livestock to Silleba Fair.

But such enrichment of community life and spirit would be impossible were it not for the excellent roads. These are so good that in some cases farmers haul products to the railway station here, although another station is nearer by two miles over rough dirt roads.

There are, of course, other things yet to be done. The obvious next step in efficient community life is, perhaps, the erection of a single house of God wherein to dedicate that spirit of unity which through the comradeship in fair and school has spread over the neighborhood. And those who know declare that the winning of such a goal is now only the matter of a little time.

When that union is accomplished Capleville will be prepared for its next significant gift to American life—the gift of a church which boys and girls will love, and which they will love to attend. Already the team of leaders has arisen and the principles insuring success to so great an enterprise have been discovered in the service of school and fair.

We Put Flat Rock on the Map [51]

Flat Rock is printed in clear letters on the pink rectangle that marks the state of Ohio. Three years ago it wasn't there. But within that time the Flat Rock Public Committee organized, wrote under its own letterhead to the largest map publishers, and convinced them that they should put our village on the map.

Ours is just an unincorporated village, our wide main street lined with trees and our few side streets are laid out in the fields of an Ohio farming township. We are a part of the farms around us. We wanted many things that incorporation of our town might get us. But we could not afford the expense of a politically elected mayor, council and all of that. Now, since the Public Committee is operating, we think no more of formal government.

Our committee has filled the bill by getting police and fire protection for us, along with roads and rail crossing warnings and many other things. And perhaps best of all, it became the inspiration for the Thompson Township Council, which is bringing to the farmers of our whole township many of the benefits which usually accrue only to organized towns. The way we did it, too, is simple and direct enough to be followed by any community which might want what we got.

It all started one sultry July night three years ago. Some of the Flat Rock folks were visiting in front of the stores, others were resting on their porches and lawns. Suddenly came the cry which strikes terror to every farmstead or unprotected village. "Fire! Fire! The orphan home's barn's afire." Flames were licking the sides of the dry structure on a farm which abuts our village. Since we are unincorporated, no government agency had arranged for fire protection.

I ran to the phone, called the nearest fire department—at the town of Bellevue, three miles away. They answered the phone at once but informed me they could not make the run until I got permission of either the Mayor of Bellevue or the Director of Public Safety, and gave some guarantee that the costs of the fire department's services would be paid for. This I did. The telephoning took about ten minutes. During this time, the fire gained headway and threatened nearby buildings.

Then and there a group of us decided that just because we were an unincorporated village we should not be deprived of ways and means to get things done for our town. At the same time we felt we were too

[51] By C. S. Hunsinger. Reprinted, with permission of the publisher, from *The Country Home Magazine*, p. 20, November 1937.

small a unit to undertake the additional expense and responsibilities of incorporation. We set out to create an organization that could function in situations where a mayor and city council customarily act.

At a meeting of all citizens we decided to elect a Public Committee of twelve. We nominated twenty-five men and women, placed their names on a printed ballot and left space for inscribing other names.

In short order all the ballots were turned into a box set up in the post office and the committee was elected. Within a few days it was on its way to fulfill its purpose—"to initiate movements for the best interest of our village."

Naturally, first and foremost of the things considered was fire protection. An arrangement was made with the Bellevue fire department to have them respond to fire calls at once. An ice cream social sponsored by the Public Committee brought in enough cash for a fund to pay the fire department for a run, in the event that the man who called it could not pay.

Next we had stationery printed. We believe this is important. A message on a letterhead that shows a whole community is speaking gets more results than scattered notes from individual citizens. When we write to the county, state or national officers it is as an organization that represents our entire area. Formerly we never had the means of doing this.

And what did our negotiations by correspondence and through personal calls of our officers get for us? From the County Commissioners we got a new mile of farm-to-market road put into town. A letter to the railway company brought us a signal bell at a near-by crossing which had always been a threat. For fifty years the name of the town, once called Louisville, had remained Louisville on tax duplicates and deeds. This confusion is being cleared up by a group request after many private complaints of the situation had gone unheeded. The council made an arrangement for police protection by the State Highway Patrol; drew up an agreement to build a large public cistern for additional fire protection. And, as I said, we actually put Flat Rock on the map.

With these projects completed, we decided that what could be done for an unincorporated village could also be done for our whole rural township, if there was a way of getting unified group action from the 1,400 people living on its farms. A bigger job? Yes.

We started talking about the idea. Why should a farming township, just because it has no organization to speak for it, have any fewer advantages than those which are easily secured by towns? Why not have something like a Chamber of Commerce to unite our interests and make

the most of our rights and opportunities? After we had all had our say on these questions, we called a public meeting and proposed a plan.

We asked every service organization in the township to become a member of a township council, the president or head of each organization to represent his own group on the community board. In our township that meant a council composed of the presidents of the school board and township trustees, of the P. T. A., the Farm Bureau, Farmers' Institute, Future Farmers of America, both the boys' and girls' organizations, the Superintendent of Schools and Sunday Schools, Director of Vocational Agriculture, Chairman of the Flat Rock Public Committee, the pastors or priests of each church. To these were added, in order that everyone be represented, whether they belonged to an organization or not, a representative business man, representative housewife and a representative young man and young woman, unmarried.

We made it clear that the council was to be absolutely nonpolitical and nonsectarian—its sole object to bring together the constructive forces in the neighborhood. After we had outlined the plan at the meeting, we gave time for it to be again talked around, to make sure that none were rushed into it. Then, by school children, we sent out printed ballots to every man and woman over twenty-one in the township, asking whether or not they wanted such a council. The count of the ballots surprised even the most optimistic enthusiasts of the idea. There were only three adverse votes.

We set off to make three immediate goals. First, we appointed a committee to make a special study of fire protection and submit their findings to the people of the township.

In order to get word to everyone we printed a small four-page bulletin. We went to the merchants in near-by trading centers and sold advertising in our paper, which would be the only one to reach every home in the township. In short order, we solicited enough advertisements to defray the costs of printing.

And the first issue of the *Thompson Township Council Bulletin* brought news of the council's first doings. The committee on fire protection reported that the state of Ohio authorizes township trustees to spend up to $20,000 on fire protection if two-thirds of the voters so petition. But the council found this expenditure unnecessary, for the fire protection committee called on the officials of Bellevue. Bellevue has up-to-date fire-fighting equipment, trained firemen and fast motors. The committee arranged to get the services of this department for the entire township if each resident posted a twenty-five-dollar guarantee.

Next we investigated insurance companies carrying fire risks in the

township, and found that 90 per cent of the farms were insured in a single company. The council conferred with the company officials and got an agreement from the insurers to guarantee for each policyholder the cost of a run of the Bellevue fire department. For the 10 per cent not insured in that company the committee got similar concessions from insurers by the payment of a slight premium.

But the committee did not stop here. The best way to save fire losses is to prevent fires or nip them in the bud. The council committee uncovered a fine array of material on fire protection. They got the state fire regulations and definite directions for complying with them. United States congressmen and senators supplied government publications on fire safeguards for the farm, and insurance companies contributed additional information. All this we turned over to various organizations represented in the council and, through these channels, it reached most of the township.

Since the first few minutes of the fire are the most important, the council undertook to supply, through cooperative buying, fire extinguishers at a rock-bottom price. It made these available to any who cared to purchase, at a price below the ordinary wholesale amount. At the suggestion of our Thompson Council, ours and the three neighboring townships are now entering a contract with the city of Bellevue to purchase cooperatively the most modern rural fire apparatus and equipment. This will be available for call by anyone—the same as in cities, because the township trustees are buying it out of their general fund.

For twenty years we had talked about a library. We had made several futile attempts to get one. The township council set out in earnest. First it learned from a study of the state library laws that there was a general fund available in the county treasury which could be drawn upon for library expenditures without raising taxes or making a special levy.

We decided to request this money from the county and use it to buy the use of the 20,000-volume public library at Bellevue, our nearest trading center. This we believed a wiser choice than spending our allotment on a few books of our own. Now Bellevue library issues cards to all residents of Thompson township, entitling them to draw books from the main library when they are in town, and the Bellevue library also sets up branch libraries of several hundred books each throughout our township. One is in the centralized school, one at the parochial school and one in the post office in the village of Flat Rock.

With this done we went on to other things. Every township has some special features of which it can be justly proud and anxious to

share with others. We have Seneca Caverns, the largest cave in Ohio, Maria Steig Catholic Shrine, which attracts thousands of visitors each year, and the Ebenezer Orphans' Home of the Evangelical Church. In order to bring these to public attention, the township council put the Rev. Father Faist in charge of a committee of boys from the manual training class of the public school. Attractively painted signs are now erected on three state routes that cut through our township, calling the attention of tourists to our sights which are off the main traveled road.

Each organization which is a member of the council has jobs to do. The Farm Bureau and Farmers Institute have been asked by the township council to make a study of farm marketing exchanges with the aim in view of establishing an exchange on our state highways.

The representative of the housewives on the council is directing the home beautification campaign and organizing a township clean-up day.

A committee makes up a community calendar listing the activities of public organizations, churches, societies, in the township. It is a feature of each issue of the Bulletin. The announcements are free to the groups with doings to proclaim.

We have begun a program for summer recreation. We are securing samples of all government publications and putting them on display in the centralized school, along with special information available from manufacturers and state extension services.

A complete list of aged and invalid people in the township is being gathered by the Rev. Mr. Wynn. This compilation kept up-to-date enables us to help those really in need.

Still another set of committees is engaged on a survey of electric power, running water and daily papers.

Our township has two telephone services. This often cuts us into two groups, because of a toll charge between the two lines. We are working with the Public Utilities Commission on a proposal that the two lines be united.

We now have complete electrification. A knowledge of the needs of the township and a record of the interests of the landholders in the project make impressive material to offer the power and telephone companies when they are approached for an extension of service at reasonable rates.

Other committees are responsible for work being done on reforestation, preparing a township history and arranging for a home-coming celebration. We have worked out a plan for rural addresses which makes every farm easily located by any caller. It's a convenience and in

case of fire almost a necessity. A soil survey, a township employment agency and a nature club are other projects under way.

All in all, fifty-two men and women are on committees responsible for this community work. And so well have they performed in the two short years we have been working together that four neighboring townships have undertaken plans similar to ours.

And we look to the far future, too. We are drawing up a ten-year plan for community development. This includes distant aims toward which we will work, and we'll try to make each immediate project a part of the long-range goal.

Because the future citizens of our community are the ones who'll take over its management, each high school student was requested to write an essay on what kind of a community he or she wants to live in ten years from now. The essays reveal that most of them want to live in their own township and have real notions of making their community livable through the planning and cooperation of a common council.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. a. In what type of rural community will the Farmers' Club succeed?
   b. What are the chief values of the Farmers' Club?
   c. What are its limitations?
   d. Will it have a permanent place in the rural community of the future? Why?

2. The West Virginia Country Life Conferences used the church as a chief cooperating agency, whereas, in Missouri, the church interests were left out of the Standard Community Association. Which is the better plan?

3. How can efficient members be obtained in the Community Council plan of E. L. Morgan if they are named by the constituent organizations? Will not their interests be chiefly controlled by those of the organization they represent? How can this be obviated? (See reading reference by Sanderson.)

4. What type of formal community organization, if any, would be best adapted to each of the communities studied? Why?

5. What are the arguments for and against a Parent-Teacher Association acting as a community organization for a general program of community improvement?

6. Can the Farm Bureau serve as a community organization for all purposes?

7. What may occur in the organization or location of a consolidated school or high school district which would hinder its being influential in the process of community organization?

8. If there were strong organizations of a Parent-Teacher Association, a Larger Parish, a Ruritan Club, and a Farm Bureau in a community, would there be any need of an inclusive formal community organization?

9. If a community is overorganized does a community council simplify the situation?

10. To what extent must a community organization recognize and work with the special interest groups in the community?

EXERCISES

1. Name what may be considered community organizations in your own community and describe what community functions they perform.

2. Is there need of a formal, inclusive community organization in your community? For what purposes? Of what type should it be?

3. Describe the ways (activities, services, or facilities) in which a consolidated school or high school might aid in the process of community organization.

4. Give, from the literature read, an example of how a "service club" aided in community organization.

READINGS

Become familiar with the main points in the following references without reading non-essentials.

1. E. A. Willson, "Rural Community Clubs in North Dakota," *Bulletin 251,* North Dakota Agricultural College, Agricultural Experiment Station.

2. E. L. Morgan, "Mobilizing the Rural Community," *Extension Bulletin 23,* Massachusetts Agricultural College.

3. B. L. Hummel, "Community Organization in Missouri," *Extension Circular 183,* University of Missouri College of Agriculture, pp. 9-24.

4. A. H. Rapking, "Education through Organized Community Activities," *Extension Circular 307,* West Virginia College of Agriculture.

5. W. E. Garnett and A. C. Seymour, "Membership Relations of Community Organizations," *Bulletin 287,* Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station.

6. Dwight Sanderson, "Fundamentals of Rural Community Organization." In Proceedings Third National Country Life Conference, pp. 66-77.

7. Eugene T. Stromberg, "The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization," *Bulletin 699,* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.

8. J. F. Steiner, *Community Organization.* New York, The Century Co., 1930. Rev. Ed., Chapter IX, pp. 160-174.

9. Eduard C. Lindeman, *The Community.* New York, Association Press, 1921, Chapters X, XI, pp. 139-186.

10. Edward Wiest, "Agricultural Organization in the United States." University of Kentucky, *Studies in Economics and Sociology,* vol. II, 1923.

CHAPTER VIII

PROCEDURE IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

From the standpoint of sociology, the process of community organization is one of integrating the groups and individuals in the community into a larger group, or of increasing the solidarity and ability of the community to act together as a group. From the psychological standpoint, it is a problem of revealing to groups and individuals their common needs which require community action for their realization and motivating them to act together for the common good; of showing them how certain of their special interests may be realized through community action and developing a willingness to subserve special interests and rivalries to joint effort for the larger common objectives.

The emphasis in any approach to the problem of procedure in realizing the aims and specific objectives of community organization which we have previously considered (see Chapter V) should be on the process and methods rather than on any particular mechanism or plan. The plan must depend upon the social situation in the individual community. The methods by which the *process* of community integration is initiated, by stimulating the emergence of objectives which will incite community action, are of more importance than any preconceived plan of organization. The sociological objectives must be approached through a study of the psychology of the community, its groups and individuals, and how its behavior may be influenced to the desired ends.

I. Community Analysis or Diagnosis

Obviously, the first step in attempting community improvement is to know the community. Before the physician can prescribe, he must diagnose the ailment, and to do that he must study the phy-

sique and history of the patient. A thorough knowledge of the community is particularly important for outside or employed leaders who wish to improve its organization, but it is surprising how often the local people themselves, even in small communities, lack a comprehensive knowledge of their community.

In general, a knowledge of such aspects of the community as are suggested in the "Outline for a Student's Description of the Social Organization of a Rural Community" (see appendix) is necessary for an adequate diagnosis of the social situation. A knowledge of the social structure and population composition of the community is essential, but equally important is an understanding of its behavior characteristics and the social forces affecting them. A community has a certain personality, just as does an individual.[1] The basis of this personality is to be found in its history, how it has developed; in the crises and conflicts of the past; in the traditions and customs which it has inherited; and in its present folkways and attitudes. Inasmuch as the community is composed of various groups, classes, and outstanding leaders, it is important to know what friendly relations or social distances exist between them, and what are the conflicting forces in community control. This will also involve the analysis of the personalities, ambitions, and motives of the leaders in various groups and factions.

Mr. Douglas Ensminger [2] has outlined a plan for diagnosing the individuality of the community which warrants study and trial for community analysis. He uses the following categories as indicative of the most important community characteristics. Under each category he gives criteria for describing the degree or quality of each of these characteristics: (1) farm-village relationships; (2) degree of organization; (3) organizational interaction; (4) assimilative character of community; (5) community self-sufficiency; (6) leadership; (7) community self-identification; and (8) community activities and events.

Out of such an analysis will come tentative hypotheses as to the apparent needs of the community, but whether they are realized

[1] Cf. Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community.* New York, Harper and Bros., 1938, p. 636.

[2] Douglas Ensminger, "Diagnosing Rural Community Organization," *Rural Sociology,* vol. 3, pp. 410-420, December 1938.

or not is another matter. How to incite an appreciation of these needs is the next step in community organization.

II. Dynamics

The basic problem is to arouse general interest in the common needs. A desire for improvement, of dissatisfaction with the existing situation, must be created before any action is possible.

A story is told of the sagacity of Dr. Robert R. Moton, late president of Tuskegee Institute, which illustrates this point. He had been showing a visiting professor around the institution and had taken him to see the living conditions of some of the Negro families in the vicinity. When they returned he asked the visitor what he would do were he at the head of such an institution to help improve the life of their people. The visitor had observed the windowless cabins in which many of the Negroes lived, and he at once replied that he would get them to cut a couple of holes in each cabin and let some light and air in. "Yes," said Moton, "but first you must get them to want to cut the hole."

The first problem after an analysis or diagnosis of the community is, then, to discover what are the dynamics which may arouse a sense of need. If there is complete satisfaction with the existing situation, there is no incentive to community improvement. The following factors are among the more important dynamics to action:

1. **Disorganization.** As we have previously shown (see Chapter V, p. 74), a sense of disorganization may give rise to a feeling of need for better integration. Thus, an excessive competition between certain groups or a conflict of dates between organizations may give rise to the feeling of need for a community calendar. Or the loss of some service, such as the discontinuance of a railroad, may stimulate action to provide a substitute or lead to fear of undue competition from another community.

2. **Competition.** Such competition may also be aroused by the development of new opportunities for communication, as occurs when a community is connected with a larger community by a hard road and by the increased use of automobiles. The instance of Waterville, previously studied (p. 26), is a case in point. In the past, competition was created by the development of a village on a

new railroad, which took business away from the established village. Today, the opening of a new state highway often has the same effect upon the old railroad village.

3. **Imitation.** Many a community is stimulated to new desires for improvement by the example of neighboring communities. Competition may also enter here, but often a consolidated school or high school has been seen to be desirable simply by observing the obvious advantages of the pupils in near-by communities having better schools. The same is true of a variety of community projects, such as a band or chorus, a baseball team, or a community house. Professor Willson [8] states that this was an important factor in the formation of several community clubs in North Dakota. The arousal of consciousness of need through imitation may often be promoted by getting people to make a trip to another community to see a new school building or community house, or to participate in some community event.

4. **Stimulation.** Outside stimulation through the work of some employed executive, such as a county or district school superintendent, an agricultural or home demonstration agent, or a Red Cross executive, may be the means of inciting local leadership to community improvement.

Motivation. Although the four processes named above may form the obvious dynamics for community change, in all of them there are more fundamental motives to which they appeal. Competition and imitation may be incited by personal and group pride. The personal enjoyment of better facilities, as in the case of a better school or community house, or library, with various trains of subsidiary motives, may be the dynamic. The desire for a volunteer fire company or better fire equipment, or a study of the purity of the water supply, may be incited by *fear,* but, in general, fear is not so strong a motive as a desire for security. Or, in some cases, the appeal of the needs of certain maladjusted or underprivileged individuals or groups, such as the need for a public-health nurse, may

[8] E. A. Willson, "Rural Community Clubs in North Dakota." *Bulletin 251,* North Dakota Agricultural College, Agricultural Experiment Station, August 1931. See also his "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota," *Bulletin 221,* August 1928, and Donald Hay, "Social Organizations and Agencies in North Dakota, A Study of Trends, 1926 to 1936," *Bulletin 288,* July 1937.

arouse altruistic impulses. Whatever the community needs may be, the motives which will appeal to various individuals, groups, and classes must be carefully considered, for they are the dynamics for action.

III. Defining the Situation

Through analysis and diagnosis to discover community needs, and through a consideration of the dynamics which seem to give the best probable motivation for action, the leader in community organization has the necessary preliminary knowledge upon which to proceed. This may be thought of as a reconnaissance which he makes for himself and by which he defines the situation. But his definition of the situation may not be that of others, who see it from different backgrounds and are influenced by different interests. If there is to be united community action there must be general agreement as to the most important community needs and the best means of meeting them. The beginning of the whole process of community organization is, therefore, dependent upon arriving at a common definition of the situation. Thus Park and Burgess say:

> 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 action. An abusive person, for example, provokes anger and possible violence, but if we realize that the man is insane this redefinition of the situation results in totally different behavior.[4]

The whole process of community organization, therefore, consists of getting individuals, institutions, and organizations to state their definitions of the situation and then to redefine them in the light of all the views so as to arrive at a common opinion of what is desirable and how it may be accomplished. Argument is resolved by obtaining a common definition of the situation.

The next step, therefore, is to get more people to see the needs which require community action. First, the situation should be

[4] Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1921, p. 764. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

talked over with those who are in positions of leadership and who have the confidence of the community, so as to arouse their interest and determine whether there is sufficient potential leadership available and whether it is probable that a general interest in meeting specific needs can be aroused among others. For, it must be remembered that community action cannot be forced too rapidly. Unless a few of the more intelligent and public-spirited people can be brought to see the needs of the community, it is doubtful whether a meeting of the community as a whole, or of its representatives, will support united action. There are cases, however, where the leaders are overconservative or reactionary, when it may be necessary to appeal to a community meeting so as to give opportunity for the emergence of new leadership. Often a considerable amount of informal discussion and preliminary education may be necessary with various individuals and groups before any formal community organization will have any prospect of success; and, indeed, it may develop that there is no need for such formal organization, if certain adjustments in the existing situation can be effected. If it is assumed that there are needs which can be met only by some more definite form of community organization, the first steps are to arouse a consciousness of need and to spread this feeling among a sufficient number so that there is probability of a favorable response if a meeting, either of the whole community or of a representative group, is called for considering the needs.

This whole process of determining what are the community needs and which of them need action first is primarily a matter of *defining the situation*. Some see it from one angle and others from another, for there are conflicting interests and motives. There must be a common definition of the situation, which will be chiefly influenced by a skillful assemblage and presentation of the facts, first to the few recognized and possible leaders and then to the community as a whole.

Professor E. C. Lindeman has made a very helpful analysis of the process of community action in the following ten steps, based on a study of a considerable number of actual instances:[5]

[5] Eduard C. Lindeman, *The Community: An Introduction to the Study of Community Leadership and Organization*. New York, Association Press, 1921, pp. 121-123. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. The whole of Chapter IX, "The

1. *Consciousness of need*; some person, either within or without the community, expresses the need which is later represented by the definite project.

2. *Spreading the consciousness of need*; a leader, within some institution or group within the community, convinces his or her group, or a portion of the group, of the reality of the need.

3. *Projection of consciousness of need*; the group interested attempts to project the consciousness of need upon the leadership of the community; the consciousness of need becomes more general.

4. *Emotional impulse to meet the need quickly*; some influential assistance is enlisted, in the attempt to arrive at a quick means of meeting the need.

5. *Presentation of other solutions*; other means of meeting the need are presented.

6. *Conflict of solutions*; various groups lend their support to one or the other of the various solutions presented.

7. *Investigation*; it appears to be increasingly customary to pause at this point, and to investigate the project with expert assistance. (This step, however, is usually omitted and the following one takes its place.)

8. *Open discussion of issue*; a public mass meeting or gathering of some sort is held, at which the project is presented, and the groups with most influence attempt to secure adoption of their plans.

9. *Integration of solutions*; the various solutions presented are tested, with an effort to retain something out of each, in the practicable solution which is now emerging.

10. *Compromise on basis of tentative progress*; certain groups relinquish certain elements of their plans in order to save themselves from complete defeat; the solution which results is a compromise with certain reservations. The means selected for meeting the need are not satisfactory to all groups, but are regarded as tentatively progressive.

We are not now concerned with all of these steps, but we shall recur to them, and it is well to get the process before us in outline. The essential point is that the consciousness of need is the first step in all community action, and that agreement on procedure involves a redefinition of the situation so that a goodly majority will see it

Process of Community Action," in which the different points are explained further, should be read.

alike. The community score card [6] used at the West Virginia Country Life Institutes, as previously described (see Chapter VII, p. 156), was but a means to arouse a consciousness of need and to define the situation as to the relative merit of the different needs.

Whether or not any formal community organization is contemplated, if community action on a given project or projects is desired, the essential steps in the process will require the above procedure and will involve most of the steps described by Lindeman. If it seems desirable to attempt a formal community organization, or to present the projects to the whole community, it will be necessary to decide whether it is better to call a meeting of all citizens, or whether it is better to have a meeting of representatives of various groups, either as a preliminary step or as the means toward a permanent organization. In either case, a meeting should not be called until there have been preliminary discussions with leaders and a thorough canvass of the community situation has been made, as outlined above. Otherwise, if an attempt is made to force an organization or project on the community, it may meet with an apathy which will forestall action or greatly delay it. A good example of such a premature attempt at organizing a community club is given in the account of organizing the Sunnyside Community Club appearing later in this chapter.

The procedure for a community meeting will depend largely upon the size of the community, which, as we have seen (Chapter VII), will quite largely determine the type of permanent organization feasible.

IV. Formal Organization

1. In Small Communities. The formation of a farmers' club or community club, which is the simplest type of community organization, is a relatively simple procedure, because such a club is based primarily on an interest in sociability and in most cases is essentially a neighborhood affair. That is, it is either actually confined to an open-country neighborhood, or it centers in a small village which has the intimate association of a neighborhood. This

[6] See also W. H. Stacy, "Tomorrow's Community," *Extension Circular 351,* Iowa State College Extension Service, September 1938. He gives a similar score card.

is illustrated by the following suggestions for organizing a club, based on experiences in Minnesota twenty-five years ago.

> The organization of a club is not complicated or difficult. A good way to start the movement is for someone in a community who is interested to invite two or more of his neighbors to meet at his home or some other suitable place. If an interesting program, including singing and speaking, by the young people can be arranged, so much the better. A dinner or supper should be provided, as eating together does more than any other one thing to break down reserve, formality, and distrust. It is much easier to carry out a movement of this kind after a good meal has been served. The proposition should be talked over, and it is well if a considerable proportion of those present have discussed the matter beforehand, in private conversation. No one need have any fear of joining the club, because there is no stock sold and no possibility of loss. It is simply a mutual understanding that the people in the community will take up collectively questions of interest to the community, instead of struggling with them individually.[7]

We have already described (Chapter VII, p. 155) how the West Virginia Country Life Conferences or Institutes created a sense of need through the use of the score card, and out of this procedure developed projects for community action. This procedure had merit in that it focused attention on obtaining action, through project committees, on means of meeting the immediate needs rather than on attempting, at first, to create any formal mechanism for community organization. As the process was repeated, some form of organization came into being rather automatically and gradually this resulted in the community council. In later publications,[8] the West Virginia Extension Service suggests that a meeting be called first, and committees appointed to determine the community boundary line and to nominate a community council, and that, after the council is formed, the score card be used for a survey. The latter procedure seems more logical, but it is a question whether the former

[7] A. D. Wilson, "Farmers' Clubs," *Extension Circular 46,* University of Minnesota, College of Agriculture, p. 4, October 1913. This also gives a suggested Constitution and By-laws, and Forms of Program and Order of Business.

[8] A. H. Rapking, "Education through Organized Community Activities," *Extension Circular 307,* West Virginia University, College of Agriculture, p. 9, June 1934.

procedure is not better strategy, so far as the psychology of the process is concerned.

In seeking to arouse interest in community improvement and ultimately in better community organization, the extension workers of the Department of Rural Social Organization at Cornell University have used the form reproduced on page 228 to determine the outstanding needs of the community. Copies are passed out at a community meeting, and each person is asked to check those items which he feels are most needed by the community. A summary of the returns, which may be had by calling off the items and asking for a show of hands, reveals the chief interests. Some of the items most wanted may seem impractical for immediate work, requiring preliminary investigation and planning, whereas others may be feasible for immediate action. Two or three of the most feasible are singled out for discussion and ways and means are considered for their realization. Project committees are then appointed, or the projects are assigned to existing organizations for action concerning the items, with the understanding that they are to report at a later meeting. This accomplishes the same result of defining the needs of the community, without attempting the elaborate system of scoring used in West Virginia.

In each case, however, the action is taken by a meeting of the whole community and, if subsequent events warrant, an attempt to form a simple type of organization is encouraged. As indicated in the last chapter, the type of organization will depend upon the size of the community and the complexity of its existing organizations.

In forming a Standard Community Association on the Missouri plan, Professor Hummel describes in detail six steps which he considers important in the procedure: [9]

I. Personal conference with representative community leaders.
II. Small group meeting of representatives.
III. First community mass meeting.
IV. Selection of program of work for the year.

[9] B. L. Hummel, "Community Organization in Missouri," *Extension Circular 183*, University of Missouri College of Agriculture, September 1926. Pages 14-23 should be read for the details.

V. Developing meeting programs for the year.
VI. Second community-wide mass meeting.

Needs of Our Community

Check (√) anything needed in this community.

...The centralization of our school district
...The consolidation of the churches
...Cooperation among churches
...Week-day religious instruction
...A vacation church school
...A village water system
...A village sewage system
...Electricity
...Improved street lighting
...Better fire protection
...Better law observance
...Better sidewalks
...Library facilities
...A book review club
...Better cooperation between farmers and merchants
...More local industries
...A Grange hall (or remodeled)
...A community hall
...A community council to plan local improvements
...A community calendar of organization meetings
...An annual community field day
...A discussion group on public problems
...Beautification of our homes
...Beautification of the church grounds
...Beautification of the school grounds
...Beautification of the Grange hall
...Beautification of the railway station
...Removal of dilapidated buildings
...Monthly community socials
...A local historical society
...Community dramatics
...Community chorus
...Community orchestra
...Community band
...Improvement of public dances
...Better movies
...Playground equipment at the school
...A baseball diamond
...A place for basketball
...A 4-H club for boys and girls
...Boy Scouts
...Girl Scouts
...Campfire girls
...Juvenile Grange
...Lectures on public health
...A class in home nursing
...A health clinic
...A well baby clinic
...A pre-school clinic
...Mental health clinic
...A toxin-antitoxin clinic
...Hot lunches at school
(Write in any others)
..._____
..._____
..._____

The usual procedure is first to create the organization and then to decide on projects or program of work. It is a question whether it would not be better to place the initial emphasis on agreeing upon needed projects of work, developing community *esprit de corps* and morale by working together for their accomplishment, and then perfecting the formal organization upon the basis of this

experience. The appeal of any sort of organization of this kind lies in what it can accomplish and not in the group as such. As a result of their study of the surviving standard community associations in 1936, Morgan and Howard [10] make the following observations concerning the plan:

> Insofar as the plan was a stereotyped one, it was not possible of general application to all types of small communities. Essential factors are a homogeneous stable population, predominant good will, experience in practical cooperation, reasonable economic well-being, and willing and competent local and county leadership.
>
> This comprehensive structural type of community development involving a set procedure should have been applied under the most favorable conditions only and not until a thorough analysis of the community had been made. As a fixed procedure, it should be thought of as a medium by which a particular type of superior community could proceed to that most difficult task of definite, comprehensive social and economic planning.

The two most common handicaps which these community organizations had were the difficulties of obtaining suitable convenient meeting places and the maintenance of adequate leadership. The methods of developing the program of work and of arranging programs of meetings were similar to those which have generally been used by Farm Bureaus.

2. In Larger Communities. In the larger communities, or those in which there are many organizations, it will be difficult to obtain a meeting of the whole community. Community integration will be dependent upon getting the cooperation of the various organizations and institutions. The *indirect* type of community council would be preferable. The general preliminary procedure would be the same, but the first meeting should be one of representatives of the various organizations. These first representatives may be selected better by the leader who calls the meeting, but subsequently they should be chosen by the groups they represent. It would be fortunate if the community leaders could influence the

[10] E. L. Morgan and Annabel Fountain Howard, *Community Organization in Missouri,* 1936. A manuscript report from which we are permitted to quote through the courtesy of Dean F. B. Mumford.

selection by private conversation, for one of the handicaps of any representative council is that some organizations appoint representatives who are not qualified for or interested in its work.

In the first plan of procedure for a formal community organization, Dr. E. L. Morgan [11] outlined the procedure in some detail. This outline is worthy of study and is, therefore, quoted:

1. *Conference of a Few.* Some local leader should call together one representative from each local organization or group and a few at large to consider: (a) The possibilities of and benefits to be derived from a general get-together for definite planning of the future of the community. (b) Whether the town cares to put in the necessary time, money and brains to produce results or whether it prefers to let "well enough" alone and let the future take care of itself. At this time it is best to have someone present from the Farm Bureau or Agricultural College to tell of the success of other towns and make clear the necessary steps.

2. *Organization Representatives.* These representatives should report to their respective organizations, each of which should appoint one permanent representative to become a part of the joint committee or council of organizations. (Model plan, See Chapter VII, p. 167.) There should also be chosen three or more members at large. This council is not another organization. It is merely the coordination of all local interests for united action.

3. *The First Work.* There are three specific things which a community council should do at first:

a. Bring about a thorough understanding among the various local organizations as to just what each is doing, viz.:
   Get a statement of the present purpose of each organization.
   Exchange plans of work for the next six months.
   Work out a calendar of gatherings of every sort for the next six months. Arrange these chronologically so that conflicts may be avoided.

b. Take up any specific items of community interest which should receive immediate attention.
   Consider special problems in agriculture or community life that need to be met at once.
   Develop plans for community celebrations, such as: Christmas,

[11] E. L. Morgan, "Mobilizing the Rural Community," *Bulletin 23,* Massachusetts Agricultural College, Extension Service, p. 14, September 1918.

July 4th, Labor Day, Thanksgiving, etc. Plans to be carried out by local organizations, not by the council.

c. Call in representatives of county organizations and ascertain what work they are prepared to cooperate in for your town.
These should include:
District Officer of the State Department of Health.
The Farm Bureau or Improvement League.
Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
County Young Men's Christian Association.
County Nursing Association.
The Boy Scouts and others.

4. The First Community Meeting. Plenty of time should be allowed to insure a perfect understanding among the local organizations. Sometimes this takes a year, but it is time well spent. After the items mentioned in (3) above have been achieved, the council should begin to consider the larger planning for the community. Call a community meeting to consider the questions mentioned under (1) above and these only.

A chairman and secretary should be elected and all mention of specific items of improvement avoided at this time, as it may often reopen old issues and arouse antagonism just at the time when the greatest harmony is needed. It will be found worthwhile to have someone present from a town that has made a success of community organization. The whole matter should be thoroughly discussed from all possible angles and a vote taken to determine whether the people really desire to go ahead.

5. *Committees.* If action is favorable, a few committees should be appointed. It is better to have a few general committees with sub-committees. The following have been found sufficient for all practical purposes:

a. Farm Production—soil, crops, animals.
b. Farm Business—farm supplies, sale of products, credit, farm records and accounts, surveys.
c. Conservation—purchase and use of food, canning, drying and storing, fuel supply, natural resources, points of scenic and historical value.
d. Boys' and Girls' Interests—Schools, educational clubs, social clubs, moral training, plays and games.
e. Community Life—the home, education, health, transportation, recreation, civic improvement, public morality.

These committees should be asked to do three things: (a) Study the town thoroughly along their respective lines. (b) Call in whatever help can be secured from state and county organizations, boards and institutions. (c) Work out two or three practical projects for improvement which will be submitted to the second mass meeting. These projects should be based on actual needs. [See The Community Survey, "Mobilizing the Rural Community," page 30.]

6. *The Second Community Meeting.* This should be merely an unofficial town meeting. The chairman of the first mass meeting should preside. The committee chairmen should report their projects, which should be taken up separately and put to a vote just like an article in the town warrant. While there will be nothing official or binding in this vote, still it will give sufficient attention to each project to prevent worthless ones being passed. Here again everybody should have his say, for it is better for opposition to appear now than later. Do not forget that a community will go no farther nor faster in its development than the majority of the people both see and believe.

7. *The Community Plan or Program.* Such projects as are adopted become the community's working program. It should comprise some projects which can be carried out at once and others which will require a period of years. The projects adopted are turned over to the community council, which acts as their custodian and directs their carrying out.

8. *Getting Results.* The local organizations carry out the specific projects. As their representatives come together in the council, they either choose or by general consent are asked to become responsible for definite things. They do this, knowing that they will have the sympathy and support of other organizations and also that they will be expected to produce results. If there are projects which no organization can carry on, such as cooperative buying and selling, it may be necessary to organize a new group to do this work.

9. *Council Meetings.* The council should meet regularly every three months, with special meetings as necessity requires. These meetings should be real conferences on the most important community matters. Reports should be made of work done by the various organizations, concerning the projects adopted and carried out by them. The remaining projects should be gone over to ascertain whether any of them can be begun during the coming three months. Other matters than the specific projects often come up at this time and receive consideration.

10. *The Annual Community Meeting.* Instead of one of the quarterly meetings of the council, there should be a meeting of the entire com-

munity. This should take the form of an annual meeting. Three things should be done:

(1) Reports should be made of work done by any organization or group during the past year.
(2) The council committees should report the working plans for the coming year.
(3) The chairman, secretary and committees for the ensuing year should be chosen.

In addition to these matters of business, there is usually a speaker from the outside who discusses some question of special interest to the community at that particular time. Special community meetings should be called as often as there are vital questions to be considered by the community.

This procedure is very definitely one for the establishment of a community council for long-time planning. It is the local phase of the present movement for planning; but it was launched a quarter-century ago, before a general interest in planning had been aroused. Although this procedure is thoroughly logical from the standpoint of sound community planning, it is a question whether it is best for maintaining interest in a community council. It seems to proceed on the basis of first converting the various groups in the community to the idea of the need for concerted planning and action through a council, and then considering what should be done; whereas we have previously shown that the dynamic of community action is in the creation of a sense of need. Usually these needs will be some tangible facilities, such as a better school, better roads, a playground, or what not. There is no evidence to show how well this procedure worked in actual practice, but the implication is that considerable supervision and help were given by the extension specialist from the agricultural college. It seems probable that, in most communities, it would be better to place more emphasis upon discovering the immediate needs of the community and setting to work to meet them in an orderly, well-considered fashion than to attempt to convert the various groups in the community to a program of long-time planning in the beginning. However, the various steps in the procedure have much merit and warrant thorough study. It rightly stresses the importance of taking plenty of time for the edu-

cation of the various groups in the community and not forcing community organization too rapidly.

As a matter of fact, it is questionable whether there is sufficient experience in this field of endeavor to warrant the advocacy of any stereotyped procedure in setting up a community council. The presumption is that circumstances will differ materially in each community and that the important thing is in the beginning to get the various organizations to working together in joint community projects, rather than to spend too much time in trying to work out the best type of organization or to give much attention to long-time planning. The need for long-time planning may better evolve out of the situation, when it will be felt as a real need and will have better support. When this stage has been reached, or as a means for determining the essential facts upon which to base certain projects (see No. 7, "Investigation," in the steps outlined by Lindeman above), surveys of community conditions will usually be found desirable.

V. Surveys

The people in most rural communities think that they know local conditions fairly well, and they are surprised to learn how much they do not know when they are closely questioned about the local situation, or when some question arises in regard to facts which will determine the merit or method of some particular project. The survey is only a method to get at the facts. The West Virginia Score Card is one way of making a quick reconnaissance to show the high lights and shadows of the community, and the check sheet, "Needs of Our Community," (p. 228 above) is an even shorter method of revealing the improvements felt to be most needed.

There is a popular notion that a general social and economic survey is the logical beginning of a program of community improvement. The reasoning is: If we are to plan, let us first have a complete picture of all the facts. If by this is meant a cursory study of the needs of the community as accomplished by either of the methods suggested in the last paragraph, the reasoning is probably sound; but, if it is meant to make a somewhat careful study of all

phases of community life, the reasoning may be logical, but the method is not best for educating the community. Many general community surveys have been made, particularly by outsiders, which have not resulted in commensurate action. One difficulty is that, when the survey is completed, there are certain problems which obviously demand immediate action, whereas others, for various reasons, must await favorable opportunity. Much time and energy will have been spent in collecting the facts concerning the latter problems, which will probably have to be restudied when the community is ready to act upon them. Meantime public attention has been diverted to a number of issues. It seems that the average person can grasp only so much of a picture at a time; few people have the ability to see the situation as a whole and to give it deliberate judgment. It is better to concentrate attention on the one or two problems in which most interest is shown, to use surveys to get at the facts needed for their solution, and then to make similar surveys of other phases of community life, when the opportunity seems ripe for attacking them.

In the "Process of Community Action" outlined by Professor Lindeman the sixth step arises from the fact that there is usually a "conflict of solutions" for any given problem. Usually the best means to resolve such a conflict is to get at the facts, to acquire a common "definition of the situation"; for so long as one group sees one aspect of the situation and another sees it in an entirely different light, there can be no agreement on what the facts are. What is needed is more facts, and their presentation from a new point of view, showing their relationship to the points at issue. Here is the place for the survey to determine the facts with regard to the points at issue. If it is thought that the community needs a new community house, then, what are the present facilities for community meetings or events, for the boys and girls to play basketball and to have social gatherings? What halls or buildings are there in the community and what are the restrictions on their use? What do they cost? How much investment does the community now have in them and what annual charges are involved for their maintenance? Can the community afford further investment of this sort and will it be able to support the building? How many groups

would use such a building and for what purposes? These are all pertinent questions which should be answered by some sort of survey, before a decision on the wisdom of attempting to erect a community building can be made satisfactorily.

One important point concerning surveys is that in so far as possible they should be made by the local people themselves. Often it will be advisable to invite someone from outside the community who has had experience in this sort of thing to assist in outlining the method and procedure of the survey, to develop the schedule or questionnaire to bring out the necessary facts, and to summarize the findings. This should be done as far as possible through a Socratic method of raising questions and issues and leading the local people in charge of the survey to think through the process for themselves under the tutelage of the advisor. For what people do for themselves and what they find out as a result of questions they themselves have raised will be learned much more thoroughly and will incite action much more readily than will the most seemingly convincing facts assembled by an outsider. Many surveys, well conceived and carefully made by experts, have failed to produce adequate results because they have not enlisted the interest and activity of the local leaders sufficiently so that they felt a personal obligation for producing results through community action.

This need for local people to have the facts is being utilized by many organizations as a means of planning their work more effectively and enlisting united action. Thus the Farm and Home Bureaus have used the survey method extensively for this purpose. Is it desired to improve the livestock in the community? Then get a committee to make a simple survey of how many pure-bred sires there are, and what proportion of the livestock is pure-bred or scrub. Is it a problem of nutrition? Are farm children getting enough milk? Then let a few women find out just how much milk the children in each family are consuming, and whether or not the family has sufficient milk. Even under what seem unfavorable conditions, the survey method has been found an invaluable device for convincing the people of their needs. Thus, in India, Dr. D. Spencer Hatch has made extensive use of this method, as shown in the following statement:

In the very first days of the school we start with the surveys, dividing the school into groups to make surveys regarding different conditions in different villages. Our students this year made surveys regarding the state of poultry, cattle, goats, bees, and bee-keeping, intemperance, health and sanitation, as a basis for improvements to be carried out in regard to these subjects. They later took part in two village exhibitions and finally in the central exhibition, which amount to "the showing of the results" of the reconstruction program.[12]

In this case the survey is utilized for the education of village leaders, but the same process is used in bringing home to the villagers their needs.

On the other hand, local leaders often make surveys with the best of intentions and with real interest, but they do not perceive what are the essential facts; or, having obtained the facts, they do not know how to interpret them. A rural pastor may make a survey of the church affiliations and attendance of the families of his community, and, having obtained the essential facts, may be quite unable to bring out their real significance. Here is the opportunity for assistance from an advisor who has had some experience in such work.

A good example of a community survey made by committees of a local community council under the guidance of an extension worker is given later in this chapter in the report, "Community Problems Survey of Clarence Center." This is also an example of the fact that, after a community council is well established, it may be wise to make a series of surveys of some of the more important phases of community life as the basis for planning for a long-time program for community action.

In some instances the survey may well be used to stimulate action along desired lines, even if no formal community organization exists or results from it. An example of this is to be found in the account of the survey made in Waterville (see p. 27), which greatly stimulated various lines of community action through existing groups. Although no definite community organization resulted, a new

[12] D. Spencer Hatch, *Up from Poverty in Rural India*. Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1932, p. 188. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

point of view was given to several of the existing organizations and a program of community improvement was definitely launched.

VI. Program

As indicated above, the most important factor in promoting community organization is to find those projects which will satisfy immediate needs and to get people to work together for their achievement. Integration comes through the give and take of working together in a common cause, for in this way various individuals and groups find that they can work together and that each can make a peculiar contribution to the common end. When the attitude of being able to work together has become somewhat established, it is time enough to consider a more fundamental analysis of the community situation through surveys, or other ways, and to attempt more deliberate, long-time community planning.

The first step in making a program, therefore, is to determine those needs which command the most interest and will afford the most enjoyment and the least conflict in their accomplishment. We have seen that the simplest type of community organization, the farmers' club, originates chiefly for the purpose of social enjoyment, and it may well be that getting together for social and recreational purposes should be the first step toward community organization in many instances. It is for this reason that so much stress has been placed on work in recreation and drama by the extension workers in rural social organization. It is much easier to achieve cooperation on this level, as has been pointed out by Professor F. H. Giddings:

> It is unnecessary to argue that immediate pleasure appeals to the mind more directly than considerations of remoter utility. There is a vast amount of cooperation, for example, in play, games, sports, and festivals, in which immediate pleasure rather than remoter utility is the motive. The mind here simply follows the law of activity in the direction of least effort. When immediate pleasure begins to be a diminishing return, the mind reaches out with new effort to discover and obtain the possible remoter utilities.[13]

[13] Franklin H. Giddings, *Descriptive and Historical Sociology*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1906, p. 353. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

Furthermore, it should always be borne in mind that the strongest bond of any group is in its shared emotional experience, and, although the shared emotional experience in play or recreation is not so deep, and, therefore, not so permanently controlling, as in some other types of experience, it does, nevertheless, have very real values for promoting better feeling and *esprit de corps*. Reasoning along these lines, Professor Newell L. Sims has advanced a principle which he believes should govern the program for community improvement:

> Cooperation in rural neighborhoods has its genesis in and development through those forms of association which, beginning on the basis of least cost, gradually rise through planes of increasing cost to the stage of greatest cost in effort demanded, and which give at the same time ever increasing and more enduring benefits and satisfactions to the group.[14]

He illustrates this with the example of the development of cooperative associations in Denmark out of meetings for social and educational purposes and cites an example told by Mr. Warren D. Foster of a similar process in a New England neighborhood:

> Homewood paid attention to the example of a nearby village, the leader of which had tried again and again to form a successful cooperative onion-selling society. The farmers were unable to do business together. Then they organized a singing society. They sang together for the fun of singing together, not for the music they produced. They acquired the habit of doing things together efficiently. A successful cooperative onion-selling organization was the inevitable result.[15]

The process is usually not so simple as this, and more research on the actual results of such procedures is needed, but the case illustrates the principle, which is undoubtedly a sound one to follow.

Another truth to remember in the selection of community projects is that those which affect the children of the community will make the widest appeal and will receive the heartiest support. This may mean better school facilities, a playground, or a Scout

[14] Newell L. Sims, *The Rural Community*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, p. 640 *et passim*. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[15] *Proceedings* National Education Association, vol. LIV, p. 52.

troop, but, whatever it is, there will be more people unselfishly interested in any project which affects their children, than in anything else, and, furthermore, such projects will usually involve all elements in the community.

In the early stages of building a community program, it will also be well to remember that community spirit and solidarity will arise more through true community projects, that is, those in which all the community are involved in a common activity, such as an Old Home Day or a community Christmas Tree, than in those projects which, however important in themselves, are of chief interest only to certain elements in the community. Both types of projects are necessary, but those which involve joint activity and, therefore, produce a satisfying shared emotional experience, will have a larger influence on community integration, and will better build up community morale.

When some sort of community organization has been established, a definite program of work for the year, with specific goals for each project or activity undertaken, will be found a chief means of maintaining active interest and obtaining results. If the organization has monthly meetings, programs should be arranged for them in advance and printed for the year. The annual program of work, widely used by the Farm Bureau, has been described by Simons [16] and Hummel.[17] Programs for the monthly meetings printed in advance have been found to add to interest and attendance in all sorts of organizations.

One feature of the program which should be stressed is allowing plenty of opportunity in the community council and in the community meetings for full discussion of projects proposed or under way. It is well to refer to the steps of community action outlined by Lindeman, remembering that there is usually some conflict over the solution of a problem and that, after investigation of the facts has been made, there should be opportunity for "open discussion of the issue," which should lead to an "integration of solutions" and an ultimate "compromise on basis of tentative progress." Only through discussion can consensus be obtained, and, without a strong

[16] L. R. Simons, "The Farm Bureau Committee and Program of Work," Cornell Extension Bulletin 65, p. 16, April 1923.

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

consensus, there is little advance in community organization. It is better to leave a project for the time being than to try to "put it over" by a small majority. Even if it succeeds, it will not be so readily accepted by the whole community; and the dissension aroused will make an agreement upon the next proposition more difficult. Reasonable unanimity is a very ancient requisite for action in rural communities. Bare majorities may be sufficient for carrying control in business corporations and for putting over business deals, but in the life of the rural community, where people are well known to each other and are daily associated in a nexus of group ties, only a reasonable consensus can bring about any steady growth of community organization.

In outlining the program procedure of the various committees of the standard community associations, Professor Hummel[18] gives some points which will apply equally well to a committee or to the community organization as a whole:

1. Three projects make a good average program.
2. Each project should be definite as to exactly what is to be done and how much is to be done.
3. Select only those things which the committee is sure can be done during the year (may be part of a long-time program).
4. Select only projects which will be appreciated by the people of the community when completed. In case of doubt, create a desire first.
5. At least part of the projects must produce visible results which will be seen and appreciated by the otherwise disinterested.
6. Some projects should produce immediate results, some during the latter part of the year.
7. The projects selected should be sufficiently different to give variety to the program.
8. Select projects which call for the cooperative effort of a large number of people of the community.
9. The program of work should carry some good services to every part of the community.
10. When all projects have been selected, look over the entire program and make sure that it can be done during the year.

[18] *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

VII. Leadership

Even with the best procedures and program, the *sine qua non* of success in community organization is effective leadership. The feasibility of any community program depends primarily upon leadership, upon leaders who can see the situation more clearly than the rank and file, who can see what ought to be done, and who are able to develop and maintain a following. The primary problem in community organization is, therefore, to discover and create leaders.

The primary leader in the movement may be an outsider, who acts as a stimulator, but, if it is to succeed, the final responsibility must rest upon local leaders. As Lindeman has pointed out,[19] it does not seem to matter who originates the consciousness of need, or acts as stimulator, so long as the feeling of need is spread so that it is accepted by the groups involved. Great care must be exercised in selecting the leaders, however, particularly in the beginning of community organization. The outsider or employed leader will do well to canvass the situation thoroughly and discover who are the accepted and trusted local leaders, and then stimulate the people to designate their own leaders for various phases of the work. It is important that the leaders should be thoroughly imbued with the values of community organization; but sometimes those who seem to be most alert to them, may not be dependable or acceptable to the group. It must constantly be borne in mind that, although leadership is fundamental, the strength of the movement will depend upon the degree to which it is accepted by the individuals and groups of the community. A consensus must be developed among them, so the program becomes theirs and not that of the few leaders. Community organization, if it is to be genuine and permanent, must be a democratic process, as has been so well brought out by Lindeman.

We shall return later (see Chapter XII) to a further consideration of leadership. Here we merely point out that the choice of acceptable, wise, and enthusiastic leaders is possibly the most important phase of procedure in launching a movement for better community organization, whatever its form or nature. Good leaders in

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 124, 125.

almost any kind of organization can integrate the community; poor leaders with the best of plans will meet a stalemate.

VIII. Principles of Procedure Applicable to Various Forms of Community Organization

The procedures outlined above have been directed toward establishing a formal type of community organization which will include all interests. It is believed, however, that many, if not most, of the principles discussed will apply equally well to the development of special interest community organizations, such as are described in Chapter VII (p. 171). An example is found in the similarity of principles of procedure advocated for the establishment of a Larger Parish, as developed by Dr. Mark Rich, which is given at the end of the chapter.

Having observed that the *raison d'être* of community organization is to meet community needs, and that integration is effected by working together in a common cause, let us next examine briefly some of the community projects for which there is most frequent demand when the community has inventoried its needs.

ILLUSTRATIVE CASE STUDIES

I. Organizing the Sunnyside Community Club [20]

(This situation is illustrative of the stimulation stage of the life cycle of an organization, and shows the influence of outside motivation and promotion in a locality where the people were unusually passive.)

This combination meeting and community fair was held in October in one of the rural schools. Although the county agent and I left the county agent's office about 7:15 P. M., we got lost on the way out and did not arrive at the school until 9:00 P. M. However, we were on time for the meeting. Mr. Little, the Smith-Hughes teacher from the neighboring high school, was just finishing the judging of the exhibits. The teacher, Miss Brown, then had a few people do such stunts as a peanut-on-a-thread race and peeling a potato for the entertainment of the entire audience. She then announced that they had two speakers for the evening, Mr. Little and Mr. Olson, who would furnish the program.

[20] J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, "Special Interest Groups in Rural Society," *Research Bulletin 84,* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, pp. 86, 87. Taken directly from the diary of one of the field workers.

Mr. Little first led the group in community singing. This was a large district and they had a fine school building. About 200 people were present at the meeting, perhaps half of them 16 years or under. The songs chosen were mostly old-time favorites and the leader had a good voice, but the audience did not enter into the spirit of the occasion. There was no accompanist.

Without any more introduction, the teacher looked to Mr. Little to give his talk. He first complimented the people on their exhibit, and then proceeded to tell them about community clubs in other parts of the county. He ended by asking how many people would care to organize a community club in that district, and about six hands went up—mostly children. Somewhat abashed by this, he took some notes from his pocket and started telling a series of unrelated Jewish and Negro stories. He finally sat down and the people clapped for him very liberally.

The teacher then announced Mr. Olson, the county agent. He first gave a few entertaining selections, and then very simply told of the need of the people of this district for an organization of some sort and of his work in the county. He then gave another dialect song, and sat down during a storm of applause. Miss Brown then asked him to give another reading which she had heard him give before. His comedy met with great approval, but during the serious part of his talk the noise in the room became so great that he had to tell them to do the talking or else be still.

Mr. Little was then called on again. This time, after a few more funny stories, he started again to talk about community clubs. He tried to get the people to talk and tell why they did or did not want a club, but could get no response. He then asked who did not want a club and no one expressed any protest. He then asked for a nomination for president, and one was finally made, and seconded, and voted on rather weakly. As vice-president, secretary, and treasurer were elected, the number of people voting gradually increased each time. Then the teacher and two young men were "elected" on a program committee to provide for the next meeting. As no one raised any objections, they decided to call this the Sunnyside Community Club at the suggestion of Mr. Olson, and to meet again in two weeks at the same school building.

During the entire meeting not a single local person, except the teacher, got on his feet to make a motion or to speak a word. Mr. Little presided throughout the entire organization period. He then assured the group of the willingness of those "at the school" to help them in any way desired, and thanked them for their attention and courtesy. Mr. Olson

was then called on to auction the baskets, as this was a basket social as well as a community fair.

II. Community Problems Survey of Clarence Center: *A Report Prepared for the Community Council by a Citizens' Survey Committee.*

Under the sponsorship of the Clarence Center Community Council a community problems survey was conducted in the spring of 1936. The purpose of the project was to evaluate the resources of the community and to discover its needs to the end that the Council might make plans for the future. The work of the survey committees was essentially fact-finding rather than promotional. It was hoped, however, that with the facts made available the Community Council would be in a position to assist in bringing about such changes and improvements as would make Clarence Center a happier and better community in which to live.

At a meeting of the Community Council on March 31 attended by Mr. R. A. Polson of Cornell University and by Mr. A. W. Harkness, district superintendent of schools, as well as by residents of the community, the purpose and value of a survey was discussed and a general plan of procedure approved.

The persons in attendance presented what seemed to them to be the needs of Clarence Center. They were discussed and grouped into four types of community problems. The council president, the Reverend Frank Welkner, appointed Dr. Daniel C. Fisher general chairman of the survey and Mr. H. A. Bartrip secretary. Four committees were appointed to gather data concerning the various problems assigned to them and to bring in recommendations for improvement. More than twenty people participated in the committee work.

Each of the committees (education, health, meeting facilities, and civic improvement) held an organization meeting with Mr. Polson and one or more additional meetings. Through the efforts of the committee members much valuable data were assembled which are presented herewith.

Education

EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT

Ask Mr. Harkness' (the district superintendent) cooperation on all school matters.

Investigate the possibilities of a centralized school, centralizing with Clarence.

What would it add to the tax rate?

How many districts would have to come into the centralized school of

Clarence before the State Education Department would approve the plan?
What would a new school building cost the Clarence Center School District, assuming the building was built for the first six grades?
Would it be possible to build into the school house a combined gymnasium and auditorium that could be used for community purposes?
What are the advantages in having a school board instead of a school trustee?
Should Americanization classes be organized for some of the foreign-born families in the community? How many foreign-born families are there?
How many of these are not American citizens?
How many of them would be interested in Americanization classes: English....., civics....., American history....., American literature.....?

Problem. The chief problem before the committee was an overcrowded school in a two-room building, approximately 55 years old.

Facts. The committee held its first meeting at the home of Dr. Fisher during the first week of April. The work of the committee was discussed and it was decided to secure information about the school and score the building, using the Butterworth School Building Score Card.

A second meeting of the committee was held on April 16. Mr. Harkness was asked to cooperate with the committee and to attend this meeting. He accepted very willingly, and furnished the committee with considerable data.

1. One solution of the problem would be centralization. As this presupposes a high school and as no new high school districts are being formed at present by the state department of education, the Clarence Center School should centralize with Parker High School of Clarence. This might mean transportation of all pupils to the Central School or only those of the higher grades.

2. Clarence Center could consolidate with the outlying districts if they would consent to do so. However, less state aid is received under this plan than under centralization.

3. The present school district could be retained with the following suggestions for relieving the overcrowded condition:

   a. Contract with Parker High School to transport the seventh and eighth grades to Clarence.
   b. Buy a bus and transport the seventh, eighth grades, and high school children, and possibly some high school children from other districts.

c. Employ a third teacher. This would mean that an additional room and equipment would need to be supplied.

Mr. Harkness suggested that he write to Mr. Ray P. Snyder of the State Department of Education, giving all information concerning the school district and asking him for recommendations. Mr. Snyder in his reply suggested that the district contract for seventh and eighth grades until it was able to take care of them at home. He did not favor a central school and said it would be impossible with so few pupils. A copy of Mr. Harkness' letter to Mr. Snyder, together with a map of the school districts in the town of Clarence, a page of statistical data concerning them, and a copy of the questionnaire used are attached to this report.*

Mr. Harkness also suggested that the committee see the board of education of Parker High School in regard to sending the seventh and eighth grades up there. The committee talked the matter over with the president of the board, and, after a board meeting, he reported that the school board would be willing to take the two grades, without charging tuition, but that the Clarence Center School would have to provide transportation as Parker High School did not have sufficient buses to carry them.

A report of the work of the Educational Committee was made at a special meeting of the Community Council, held shortly before the annual school meeting. A motion was then passed by the Council to recommend to the people of the district at the annual school meeting that a third teacher be employed, and that a suitable place be provided for an additional school room. At the annual school meeting held on May 5 this recommendation was presented, voted upon, and carried.

One item in the questionnaire related to the advantages of a school board in place of a single trustee. This question was also presented at the school meeting, and, after considerable discussion, three trustees were elected instead of one, as previously.

The Butterworth Score Card was filled out by the committee, with the help of Miss Mary Bluman, one of the local teachers. It was found that out of a score of 1,000 points for essential standards, the building and grounds scored 765 plus 90 for additional points. The additional points were received for drinking, washing, and toilet facilities, possession of a fire extinguisher, size of grounds, and condition in which they were kept.

* Appended to the original report; not reproduced here.

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

The committee has no immediate recommendations to make inasmuch as steps have been taken by the school district in electing a school board instead of a single trustee. The new board has made temporary provision for the overcrowded school situation by employing an additional teacher and by a rearrangement of the space in the present school building. It is also investigating the cost of better school building facilities.

Health

HEALTH COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT

Water Supply

Are the water supplies in the community regularly inspected and sampled?
Name the supplies that have been found unsafe after a series of tests.
Is the water supply for such public places as Grange halls, lodge halls, churches, schools tested each fall and every three months thereafter?
Can individuals conveniently arrange to have their water supplies tested free of charge?
Are the people of the community well protected by vaccination against water-borne diseases such as typhoid?
What percentage of school children have been vaccinated for typhoid during the past 5 years?
What clinics have been held so that adults unable to pay physician's fee have obtained the vaccine?
If possible obtain an estimate of what it would cost the community to install a water system?
What would this mean per $1,000 assessed valuation?
How much would a water system lower fire insurance rates?

Sewage and Garbage

How many outdoor privies are there in the village?
How is the sewage from these treated to prevent pollution of neighboring wells?
Are all privies screened so that they are fly-proof?
What provisions are made for garbage disposal in the community?
Is there any organized collection of garbage or does each individual have to dispose of it himself?
What restrictions are there in the town on dropping tin cans along the roadside?
Is there an established town dump to which people can haul their refuse?
List inadequacies.

Town Nurse

What need exists in the town for a town nurse?
What activities has the relief nurse been carrying on?
What are the recommendations of the town health officer with regard to a health nurse?
Who supplies bedside nursing for poverty-stricken families?

HEALTH COMMITTEE REPORT

The committee held two meetings, one for organization, and a second to complete reports. The following data were submitted.

Water System

Wells which supply drinking water to groups of people, such as the Williams Hall school well, A. G. Eshelmen's well, where several families obtain drinking water, and United Brethren Church well were tested intermittently. Twenty-five samples were taken from 8 sources the potability of which was 10 safe, 15 unsafe.

Clarence Center School—4 safe tests
Williams Hall—8 unsafe tests
U. B. Church—1 unsafe test

The remainder were private wells which were found both safe and unsafe according to time of year tested. Individuals may have water supplies tested free of charge by collecting samples and taking same to the Buffalo Laboratory.*

Vaccination against water-borne diseases, such as typhoid, has been given. No epidemic has ever occurred here from poor water supply.

Up to the present time the cost of water system installation has not been estimated, but the committee on water will furnish such information as soon as obtainable.

Sewage and Garbage

The sewage system is inadequate. We find 88 septic tanks, 42 unscreened privies which are not treated to prevent pollution of wells except for lime or the like.

The garbage question is taken care of by individual families. A private garbage collector gathers it for some, others bury or burn it. Tin cans and the like must be disposed of by the individual families.

* A summary of water samples from wells in the village of Clarence Center examined during the preceding seven years was appended to the original report.

Nursing

Conditions concerning nursing are very good. With a W.P.A. nurse at work, and with her transportation paid by the town board, no need exists for a town nurse.

The W.P.A. nurse's duties may be summed as follows:

a. Bedside work, preference given to relief cases.
b. Maternity, infancy and child hygiene.
c. School follow-up.
d. Assisting at Well Baby Clinic under state and county supervision.

The advantages of having a town nurse would be that she would: (1) meet the qualifications of the Public Health Council, (2) work more hours, (3) work directly under local health officer, (4) live in the community and (5) be available for emergency work.

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That more data be secured on the best method and estimated costs of an adequate and safe public water system. That there be regular semi-annual water tests.
2. That more data be secured on the best method and estimated costs of an adequate public sewage disposal system.
3. That as long as the services of a nurse working under W.P.A. are available in the town, no action along this line be taken, but that when this is discontinued, the Council recommend to the Town Board that a town nurse be employed.
4. That a town dump be provided by the Town Board.

SEWER ODORS *

Report to Clarence Center Community Council of committee appointed to investigate the undesirable odors arising from sewers in Clarence Center.

On October 21, 1936, Mr. Bates, district sanitary engineer from the Buffalo office of the State Health Department, visited Clarence Center at our request and went over this problem with us as town health officer. The following information and advice obtained from Mr. Bates is transmitted as a report.

1. The sewer in question was erected as a storm sewer and not designed to meet the requirements of a sanitary sewer. For example, a

* This was an assignment to a special committee after the health committee had completed its report.

sanitary sewer would need to have more fall to carry off the required daily amount while the storm sewer can be comparatively level because it is needed only in times of rainfall. Therefore, sewage emptied into a storm sewer, even though it has been passed through a septic tank, tends to become stagnant in dry weather and to give rise to unpleasant odors. Households using the storm sewer for sanitary sewer purposes have no legal right to do so. The local Board of Health can require households to disconnect their sewers or septic tank drainage from the storm sewer. This could also be done by the highway department. The State Health Department would back up either the local health authorities or the highway department in this step. If this were done it would be necessary for households now using this sewer to find some other means of disposing of their sewage, such as a subsurface tile field.

2. It was suggested by Mr. Bates that Clarence Center is large enough and compact enough to make it desirable and practicable to install a sanitary sewage system at a cost which would not be excessive. As compared with the communities of Clarence and of Harris Hill, Clarence Center is favorably situated in this regard. The costs of such a sewage system in those communities would be much greater because of the limestone rock being close to the surface and in Clarence because of the community not being as compact as is Clarence Center. Mr. Bates stated that he doubted if federal aid could be obtained for this project by the time that local sentiment was worked up and application made. This might have been accomplished a few years ago more easily. He also stated that it would seem that the logical place for a sewage treatment plant would be near the creek at the place where the Main Street storm sewer empties into the creek. He stated also that in his opinion Clarence and Harris Hill were too far distant to use the same treatment works and should eventually develop their own systems independently.

3. As a temporary expedient to stop odors in hot dry weather, it was suggested that the flushing out of the sewer line by the introduction of a considerable quantity of water by the pumper of the Fire Company would help.

Meeting Facilities

MEETING FACILITIES COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT

Canvass the community for a more desirable meeting place for the Home Bureau—a place they might fix up as a regular meeting place with the facilities they need for their work. Such a room would have to be adequately heated in the winter time.

Would it be possible to combine this with a new school building?
Determine the ownership of the fire hall and work out a plan satisfactory to the old fire company and the community for holding the fire hall in the name of an organization rather than in names of individuals.
Work out a plan whereby the youth of the community might use the gymnasium facilities of the fire hall without undue financial burdens being placed upon them.

MEETING FACILITIES COMMITTEE REPORT

Recommendations

The committee recommends to the Community Council:

1. That a new school building be erected if possible to serve also as a civic center.
2. That no further action be taken on the matter of the ownership of the fire hall or on the suggestion of remodeling it until the question of a new school building has been settled.

Civic Improvement

CIVIC IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENT

Storm Sewers

List the places where additional storm sewers should be provided to carry off rain water and seepage.

Sidewalks

List all properties in the village that should have sidewalks and estimate the cost of installing them.
List all properties that should have sidewalks repaired.
Outline a campaign for obtaining new sidewalks and repairing old ones.

Beautification of Streets and Homes

Outline a uniform landscape plan for the streets.
Outline an inexpensive plan for financing beautification of streets.
Outline a program of demonstrations for home beautification in the community.
List the possible agencies and individuals that could help in developing a program of beautification of streets and homes.
List all unsightly properties detrimental to the community, such as automobile graveyards, dumps, dilapidated buildings. Canvass possibilities for improving or removing them.

Fire Districts

Is water available to protect all houses in the village in case of fire? How much would it lower the taxes of the village if a fire district were formed?

Would the farmers in the surrounding territory be willing to vote for a fire district in case it extended out beyond a mile from the fire equipment?

Is the fire equipment suitable for fighting rural fires where only a small water supply is available?

REPORT OF THE CIVIC IMPROVEMENT COMMITTEE

Storm Sewers

One of the chief problems before the committee was the flood conditions existing in the village in the spring of each year or after a hard rain. Streets and cellars were usually flooded.

The committee found that considerable farm land east of the village drains down through one of the smaller village sewers instead of being directed toward the creek before it gets to the village proper, or instead of draining into the main sewer along Main Street. It also found that three sewer lines with 10-inch, 12-inch, and 12-inch tiles, respectively, are emptying into one 18-inch tile along Maple Street.

The surplus water from the eastern part of the village could be directed south into the creek before it reaches the village. This would necessitate crossing a county road and special permission would have to be secured. Another solution to this problem is draining the water into the main sewer along Main Street. But residents feel that their cellars might be flooded much more than they are now if more water was turned into this sewer. This was especially true of the United Brethren Church basement. The sewer directly in front of the church does not seem to have as much fall as elsewhere.

The second problem of three tiles emptying into one has been taken up by the town superintendent of highways. He presented this problem as a town project to the W.P.A. several months ago. Immediately after it was presented surveyors came out and surveyed the sewer and unofficial reports were received that this project would be approved, but to date approval has not been received.

COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That action be urged to alleviate flood conditions along the lines indicated in the report.
2. That a plan for community landscaping utilizing the idea of a

distinctive tree, shrub, or plant for Clarence Center be made and followed.

3. That the problem of sidewalks be laid on the table.
4. That the problem of a fire district being formed primarily for the purpose of securing the advantage of lower insurance rates be studied.
5. That the problem of unsightly buildings be laid on the table.

Summary of Recommendations

As stated earlier in this report it was hoped that the survey would serve to point out those projects that should be emphasized by the Council so that it could be of greatest service to the community.

It is recommended, after a review of the problems studied and the data collected, that the most needed and most useful addition to the resources of the community would be to provide a better meeting place for educational, civic, and recreational programs through the erection of a new school building. Such a building should provide for the regular school needs of the community and in addition should be so constructed and equipped as to be a community educational center in the broadest interpretation of the term. This would include meeting place facilities for such educational groups as Home Bureau, 4-H Club, Boy Scouts, and Cubs which are now functioning in Clarence Center as well as for other groups which may develop in the future. In addition it would include such facilities as a gymnasium which could be utilized for community recreational purposes and as a meeting place for civic groups.

It is recognized that a project of such magnitude should not be launched without deliberate and dispassionate study of its various phases by the community as a whole and particularly by the school board. Plans should be formulated with a consideration of: (1) the results of the educational facilities survey of the entire state now being conducted, (2) relationships with the school system in Clarence, and (3) relationships with nearby rural schools. For this reason this objective cannot and should not be attained in a short period of time.

In line with this recommendation, the question of developing Williams Hall as a community center should be laid on the table since that would be a duplication of effort.

Inasmuch as the development of an educational, civic, and recreational center as outlined would mean the expenditure of considerable money, it is recommended that no other project involving a considerable sum of money be launched until the above has been accomplished. This refers

particularly to the development of adequate and safe water supply and sewage disposal systems. However, it is recommended that a committee be appointed to study the best methods and costs of obtaining water and sewage systems, but no effort to be made to promote the same.

Other projects not involving great expenditures can well be undertaken at the present time.

The following is a summary of the recommendations to be made to the Community Council as a result of the survey of the needs of Clarence Center:

1. That an educational, recreational, and civic center be developed around a new school building.
2. That a committee be appointed to secure additional data on water and sewage systems.
3. That nothing be done about the question of the ownership of the fire hall or the development of it as a civic center.
4. That a committee be appointed to study and make plans for further beautifying Clarence Center.
5. That the Council record itself as favoring the creation of a supervised dumping ground for the town and request the Town Board to provide for same.
6. That the Council record itself as favoring the employment of a town nurse but only when the services of the present W.P.A. nurse are no longer available.
7. That the Council record itself as favoring the correction of flood conditions by the creation of adequate storm sewers and that a committee be appointed to follow through on this project.
8. That a committee be appointed to investigate the question of forming a fire district.

Acknowledgment is made to Cornell University for assistance and guidance in conducting the survey, to Mr. A. W. Harkness, District Superintendent of Schools, and to all committee members and local citizens who contributed to the success of the survey.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL C. FISHER, M. D.

General Chairman of the Clarence Center
Community Council Survey Committees

Some Accomplishments During the Two Following Years

1. A school board of three members has been developed, with one member elected each year for a term of three years to replace the old system of an annually elected school trustee.

2. A new four-room school building and community center has been constructed and so planned that it can be used as one unit in a future centralized school system.

3. The controversy over who should control the fire hall has been solved. The old stock company that owned the building sold it to the volunteer fire company which continues to use it as a meeting place for local organizations and as a garage for the fire truck.

4. The storm sewer deficiencies have been corrected to care for the periodic flood conditions.

5. The Rose of Sharon has been designated as the distinctive shrub of Clarence Center, and nearly every resident has purchased bushes through the Community Council.

III. Principles and Procedure in Organizing a Larger Parish [21]

The history of the larger-parish movement in Tompkins County, where it has been carefuly studied, and elsewhere demonstrates an essential connection between the method of organizing and the subsequent strength of the parish. A statement of principles and procedure is given here with the hope that it may help pastors and organizers of larger parishes to avoid pitfalls of the past.

Principles

1. The establishing of a larger parish is primarily an educational procedure as contrasted to what may be termed an artificial procedure. Artificial procedure is characterized as action taken by an official body, its representatives, or by laymen, without taking into account the intelligent interest of the constituency. When an executive in conference with several pastors announces his intention of assembling the churches which they serve into a larger parish, he is creating a parish by artificial methods.

On the contrary, when laymen and ministers are led to an understanding of the needs of their area, of the larger-parish form of organization and its limitations and advantages, and then together work out a plan adapted to local conditions—that is an educational procedure. Artificial action comes from overhead; educational action emerges from the

[21] Mark Rich, "The Larger Parish," *Cornell Extension Bulletin 408*, 1939.

informed will of the people concerned. Fiat or artificially created parishes are born in the shadow of death. Parishes born out of the desire of the people are more likely to endure.

2. The second principle is an outgrowth of the first. A larger parish should not be organized until there is a strong local demand for it. It is certain that no larger parish should be established against the wishes of the lay leaders in the churches. Perhaps the best that can be hoped for is that a minority group in each church will have given the question some study and will have come to believe in it, and that the whole church will have been informed and the proposition will have carried a large majority vote. Since a larger parish exists in the minds of the people quite as much as in its organizational setup, this local indigenous support is essential.

3. Denominational officials with churches in the area of a contemplated larger parish should be consulted and their approval secured before any steps are taken.

4. All the churches in the field of the proposed larger parish, without exception, should be taken into confidence about the proposed larger parish from the very beginning. If this is not done at first, it may seriously handicap the future of the parish because of the unfavorable response of churches invited in as an "after-thought."

5. Usually many pitfalls will be avoided and the organization of the larger parish expedited if some person from the outside, familiar with the plan, is available to assist in the organization of a larger parish.

Specific advantages of outside leadership are the wider experience which becomes available to the local group, the objectivity with which such a worker can view the situation, and the removal of grounds for accusation against the local minister who takes the initiative that he is trying "to feather his own nest" by widening his sphere of influence and increasing his salary. Some caution needs to be exercised in following expert counsel. The local situation may not be understood, and organization of a larger parish may be forced before the people are ready for it.

The testimonies of laymen, particularly those of young people who believe in the larger parish through experience, have been found particularly stimulating to those contemplating the organization of a larger parish.

Procedure

In the actual setting up of the larger parish eight steps are suggested.

1. The first step in organizing a larger parish is laying the groundwork of ideas which will make the people in the area receptive to and eager for closer interchurch cooperation. The pastor can do this through

occasional sermons, the dissemination of literature, enlisting attendance of leaders at conferences where such themes are discussed, pointing out the religious needs of the area, promoting a consciousness of common responsibility for the larger community, and particularly through a program of interchurch activities.

Such education can best be directed by the pastors of the churches concerned, but the use of "imported speakers" to voice sentiments on interchurch cooperation is highly desirable. The aim of the education should be gradual infiltration of the desired concepts and attitudes over a period of many months or even years. Every enduring larger parish must have foundations of good will, interchurch rapport, and a desire to serve the community.

2. A second step may be to make a survey of the area of the proposed parish. (In some instances this will be the first step.) The purpose of the survey is to determine the status of religious work, the needs of the people, to discover social, economic, and physical factors which bear upon the soundness of the area as a sociological unit, and to form judgments about the type of ecclesiastical organization desirable. This survey need not be detailed but it should be extensive enough to point to salient facts, and give an accurate picture of the area. It may be made by a local minister or ministers, laymen, or special workers from the outside.

3. A third step is to begin the actual organization of the larger parish. A successful method of procedure is to issue a call for a meeting to study the religious needs of the area and how to meet them.

There may be considerable variation in the way of calling such a meeting. It may be called by the pastors of the area, or it may issue from a denominational body or executive. The State Council of Churches may be the natural convening agent when the contemplated larger parish is an outgrowth of a comity problem. The county council of churches may include the establishment of larger parishes within the scope of its responsibility and act as a convener of first meetings. As a general rule, the interdenominational agency which most intimately represents the churches of the area can best be responsible for taking the initiative in calling the area meeting at the request of local leaders and with their full cooperation.

This meeting should enlist interested laymen, all ministers of the churches in the area concerned, and denominational executives. Rather than making this a mass meeting, representatives of the churches should be carefully selected on the basis of judgment and consecrated interest. The gathering should be held in the area of the contemplated parish, preferably in a public building. The selection of a capable local layman or

minister for temporary chairman serves to draw more interests from the local group. A temporary secretary should record all actions and important discussion.

This meeting may be devoted to an informal consideration of the religious needs of the area. The results of the survey should be at hand. Also information should be available about the several forms of interchurch cooperation, and if the group is sufficiently agreed an interest may be expressed in one of them. When interest warrants, a committee with representation from each church should be appointed to look more carefully into the proposition and to bring back a report at a subsequent meeting. The time and place of this meeting should be set.

4. Committee meetings should be called by the chairman of the group and plans worked out for presentation to the larger meeting. The plan formulated should be in line with the discussion of the larger group, but tempered and modified by the judgment of the committee.

5. When the general meeting again convenes, it is to consider the committee report. This may be adopted for recommendation to the churches, but it is likely that more than one general meeting will be devoted to its consideration.

6. When the general meeting adopts the committee report recommending the organization of a larger parish, the report should be referred to the churches for action. A capable minister or layman or field worker, who understands the proposal and believes in it, should be selected to present the proposition to each of the churches in the area. Some churches will wish to have a second opportunity to consider it. (It is assumed that information will have been given them from time to time through mimeographed sheets, the press, or through printed leaflets.)

7. When the churches vote for the proposed parish, each in separate session, the favorable vote should include the selection of a predetermined number of representatives to the larger-parish council.

8. The meeting of the representatives should be called for the purpose of organizing the parish council and inaugurating the program. The larger parish should not be organized unless at least three-fourths of the churches accept the plan, and sometimes not unless all the churches accept it.

Circumstances will sometimes arise which may make the term "larger parish" unsatisfactory to certain churches which obviously would be strengthened by such an arrangement. In such situations, through wise leadership the churches may be led to set up what amounts to a larger parish, except for the name. The reality is always more important than the name.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How may a knowledge of the composition of the local population affect a program for community organization?

2. What are the dangers in proceeding to community action on the basis of Lindeman's fourth step, "Emotional Impulse to Meet the Need Quickly"?

3. Are the two principles of long-time planning as advocated by Morgan and the more opportunistic procedure suggested in the text mutually exclusive or alternative, or may both be used?

4. Why is it important to bring out through discussion all methods of solution of a community problem? Should the discussion be in open meeting or in private?

5. What are the advantages of a community self-survey in contrast to a survey by experts?

6. What can be done in planning organization programs to satisfy the urge for immediate action?

EXERCISES

1. Enumerate any social distances between groups or classes, conflicting forces in community control, rivalries between leaders, or personal ambitions, in your community which would need to be taken into account in planning for community organization.

2. Describe the development of some community action in your community and show how many of Lindeman's ten steps can be distinguished. Describe their relative importance in the final outcome.

3. Describe any instances you have observed in your community in which community social events created better feeling and made possible community action.

READINGS

1. Eduard C. Lindeman, *The Community*. New York, Association Press, 1921, Chapter IX, pp. 119-138.

2. Mary P. Follett, *The New State*. New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1918, Chapters II-V, pp. 24-49.

3. Joseph K. Hart, *Community Organization*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1920, Chapter IX, pp. 141-157.

4. Walter Burr, *Community Leadership*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1921, Chapter V, pp. 133-151.

5. Mary Mims, *The Awakening Community*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1932, Chapter III, pp. 27-33.

CHAPTER IX

COMMUNITY PROJECTS

We have seen that in the process of community organization the important thing is to get the people and groups of the community working together to meet some common need. In working together a community esprit de corps is built up through the satisfactions of shared emotional experience, and diverse elements in the community forget their differences in loyalty to a common enterprise. What, then, are some of the more important projects which may well be considered in planning a program of community development? Of course, almost any sort of project may become a community project if it involves the sanction and participation of the community as a whole; but there are certain types of projects which are peculiarly adapted to community participation, some of which are specifically designed to promote community spirit.

Remembering Professor Sims' suggestion (see Chapter VIII, p. 239) that it is well to commence with projects involving least effort and cost with greatest immediate satisfaction and proceed to those involving more effort and less immediate satisfactions, we may divide community projects into three types: (1) community events; (2) community enterprises; and (3) community institutions. Each will be discussed in turn. This is not the place to attempt to write a handbook or manual of methods for each of these projects, for many of them have an extensive literature of their own. We shall merely seek to point out the peculiar values of each type of project as part of a community program, and give some references to source materials and sources of help in planning these projects.

I. Community Events

As their name implies, community events occur only occasionally or periodically and may be arranged under the auspices of a tem-

porary committee, although they are frequently sponsored by organizations, either individually or acting together through a joint committee. Inasmuch as they are but occasional, they are easier to promote than projects requiring more time and protracted effort for their completion.

1. **National Holidays.** National holidays have long been the occasion for community celebrations, and, although the Memorial Day and Fourth of July parades may become somewhat stereotyped, there is always opportunity to add new and interesting features to them and to provide other events, such as community picnics on Fourth of July or Labor Day, which will enlist general support. At Hannibal, New York, a New Year's Dinner and Celebration has come to be an annual community event, as described in the news item on page 280.

2. **Community Christmas Tree.** A custom which has gained favor in the last generation is the community Christmas tree. It should be in a central place and lighted with electric lights, if they are available. The singing of Christmas carols by school children, church choirs, and various organizations, around the tree on Christmas Eve or a few days before Christmas, make it a center of the Christmas spirit of the community. In many places, a permanent tree is used, or one is planted in a public place for this purpose.

3. **Old Home Day or Week.** Just as families are solidified by the coming home of their scattered members on Christmas, Thanksgiving Day, and family birthdays, so the community spirit may be stimulated by encouraging its migrant progeny to return for a day, or during a week, at which time there will be a picnic or dinner, or other celebration at which all may meet and renew acquaintances. The Old Home Day appeals to the primary interest in family reunions, and so strengthens community bonds. The rural community takes pride in its offspring just as does the family, and their return on such special days may have considerable influence upon the morale of the community. This was seen in the case of the summer colony of former residents of Wagram.[1]

At Clarence, New York, the community council celebrates Old

[1] Cf. J. F. Steiner, *The American Community in Action*. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1928, p. 75.

Home Day each summer with a program quite similar to the firemen's picnic. The day begins with a street parade, after which there is a program of talks, a baseball game, a cafeteria supper, and the day is concluded with an outdoor dance. Last year 500 people attended Old Home Day. Prizes were given for the oldest man attending, the oldest woman, the youngest baby, the largest family, and the person coming the greatest distance. Each organization in the community assumes some responsibility for some particular part of the work. The Masons took charge of the games and horseshoe pitching; firemen, bingo and concessions; Girl Scouts, fish pond; Boy Scouts, parking of cars; church organizations, kitchen and cafeteria supper; American Legion, hot-dog stand; Grange, the clam chowder; council treasurer, ticket booths; and the W. C. T. U., registration and attendance contests.

4. **Community Fairs or Harvest Festivals.** Harvest festivals are world wide and as old as agriculture. With the commercialization of county fairs there has been a marked growth of small, informal community fairs in recent years. These may be promoted by 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers of America, Granges, churches, or by all of them associating in a committee for a community fair. We have already observed the effect of one school fair in Tennessee.[2]

Community fairs vary from a simple exhibit at a country church or Grange Hall to a more elaborate setup with special buildings and grounds. In general, however, their permanent success will probably depend in most cases upon keeping them simple, so as to involve a minimum of expense, and making competition a matter of honor rather than of cash prizes. Interest may be added, and expenses provided, by a home-talent play or a musical entertainment by the local band or orchestra.[3] Descriptions of two informal community fairs are given later in this chapter: "Waterville Future Farmers' Fair" (p. 281) and "4-H and Home Bureau Day" (p. 282).

A special type of fair is the community flower show, popular in

[2] See Chapter VII, "The Capleville Spirit and How It Grew," pp. 202-209.

[3] John H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, "Rural Community Organizations Handbook," Sec. XIII, pp. 71-74, *Bulletin 384,* University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, June 1926. J. Sterling Moran, "The Community Fair," *Farmers' Bulletin 870,* Washington D. C., U. S. Department of Agriculture, December 1917.

many sections. Flower shows may be held in the late spring, summer, and early fall and enlist the participation of many women and children who would not exhibit in a community fair devoted to agricultural products, and they stimulate interest in the home flower garden. Suggestions for the organization and conduct of flower shows may be found in *Cornell Extension Bulletin 316,* "Amateur Flower Shows," by A. M. S. Pridham. They are summarized in the article, "Flower Show," by Lucile G. Smith (p. 283).

Another interesting type of exhibit which has recently come into vogue is the hobby exhibit. We are coming to appreciate that hobbies are not mere whimsicalities but worth-while avocations. The hobby exhibit furnishes an opportunity for showing the ingenuity and workmanship of the exhibitors. A brief account of a Hobby Exhibit at Webster is given later in this chapter (p. 286).

5. **Community Singing.** During and just after the World War there was a nation-wide interest in community singing, which has survived to a large extent and made a real addition to rural life. In the agricultural villages of eastern Europe community singing on the village green is an ancient custom, from which we get many of our folk songs and folk dances. Most people like to sing and in a crowd many will sing who would not do so otherwise. Good leadership is the key to successful community singing. The leader does not need to be an accomplished singer, if he or she knows the words of the songs, can beat time, and can establish rapport with the singers. Ordinarily community singing is incidental to some other event, but in many communities, where there is a suitable setting, such as the auditorium of a school, or village square, or park for outdoor singing in the summer, community sings at not too frequent intervals may be the means of furnishing enjoyment and developing musical appreciation. In some cases this has led to the revival of a new form of the old-fashioned singing school, as described in the item on singing schools in New Hampshire, given later in this chapter (p. 287).

6. **Field Days, or Play Festivals,**[4] have proved attractive events in many rural communities. The field days consist of athletic events and games for all ages and classes. More commonly

[4] See Kolb and Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

they have been organized by the school authorities, but often they have been backed by a local church, a scout troop or Y. M. C. A. group, or the Future Farmers of America. Where the grade schools have not been consolidated the high school has often fostered the field day as a means of getting the children of the country schools in touch with its work and opportunities. This has tended to make the country people feel that the high school is a community rather than merely a village institution and has promoted acquaintance throughout the community. One enterprising New York principal introduced a public-speaking contest for the country schools in the evening so as to include an educational feature in the day's activities.

Where inter-school baseball leagues exist the field day may be made the occasion for playing off the final games. The Civil Works Administration (C.W.A.) and the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) have done much to promote organized recreation in many rural communities.[5] Field days may help to crystallize public sentiment for more adequate facilities and for supervision of recreation on a permanent basis, locally supported.

7. Drama.[6] An amateur play may be put on by any organization, but it tends to become a community affair because of the general interest in the performance of a local cast. Amateur dramas are not only a most enjoyable and wholesome form of recreation, but they may have a distinctly socializing influence because real acting involves putting one's self into the part and gaining an understanding of various types of people and social situations. Also good team-work is imperative if the play is to be a success. The audience takes a particular interest in the acting of children, friends, and relatives, and enters into the spirit of the play much more fully than when seeing professional actors. The little country theater idea has taken firm root in rural America, and many high schools now have regular instruction or coaching in drama as a

[5] See Robert W. Murchie, *Minnesota State-Wide Recreation Program.* University of Minnesota, August 1934.

[6] See Kolb and Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 32. A. M. Drummond, "The Country Theater," *Lesson 153,* Cornell Reading Course for the Farm. A. M. Drummond, "Play Production for the Country Theater," *Cornell Extension Bulletin 82,* April 1924. Marjorie Patten, *The Arts Workshop of Rural America.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 20-67.

recognized feature of the school activities. But under whatever auspices, a good play tends to become a community event and is a sure means of getting the community together.

8. Pageants.[7] The pageant has the same dramatic values as the play but makes possible the enlisting of a larger number of members of the community. Because they usually involve more work and preparation than a play, pageants are suitable for special occasions and should not be attempted too frequently. It is surprising, however, what good effects may be obtained with a little equipment and a few rehearsals if the pageant is well planned and there is competent leadership.

For special occasions the historical pageant is not only a most delightful entertainment, but it is one of the best means of arousing community pride and spirit. The pageant imbues both actors and audience with a common loyalty to their forebears. Such an historical picture of the development of a community brings to its people an appreciation of their common heritage and they come to a new realization of their present comforts and their responsibility for the community's future. All sorts and conditions of people will work together in a pageant and enjoy the association. Each may have his part, but the actors do not stand out so as to become self-conscious, nor do most of them have to learn parts. Any rural community which really makes up its mind to do so can produce an historical pageant of its own, which will give new meaning and inspiration to the common life.

Pageantry, drama, and singing are combined in "Ye Olde Tyme Singing Skule," as held at Waterville, New York, for several seasons. This enjoyable community event is described by Mr. Townsend on page 288.

For the organization of all these community events, Dr. C. J. Galpin has given some helpful suggestions among them:[8]

[7] See Kolb and Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 32. Abigail F. Halsey, "The Historical Pageant in the Rural Community," *Extension Bulletin 54,* Cornell University, June 1922. Walter Burr, *Rural Organization.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1921, p. 208.

[8] Charles Josiah Galpin, *Rural Life.* New York, The Century Company, 1918, p. 285. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. See the whole chapter on country fêtes.

A good measure of formality is relied upon in city management for the success of public functions. People like formality in its place. Form—whether of the uniform, or the parade, or introductions, or ceremonies—gives body and substance to public performances. So, regard for the scheduled time, order, announcement, and general conduct of a great country fête will add to the general satisfaction of the people.

II. Community Enterprises

Projects which extend over some little length of time, but which do not involve permanent organization, may be termed community enterprises. They may be carried through by special committees which have no further obligation than the completion of the job.

1. Clean-up and Planting.[9] The clean-up or spruce-up campaign is now coming to be an annual event in many rural communities. It inevitably leads to plans for better planting of trees and shrubbery and better landscaping of private and public property. Boy Scouts, 4-H Clubs, and similar youth organizations may be enlisted in such a campaign. In many older communities, there are numerous old abandoned buildings which are eyesores and the removal of which would greatly improve the appearance of the community. The tearing down of these buildings might be made a W.P.A. work project. The good material could be used for building purposes, the rest for firewood.

2. Cemetery Improvement.[10] Usually the cemetery is cared for by an association, but its care might well become a community enterprise. The condition of the cemetery is a good index of community spirit. When people neglect the resting place of their dead, they are not likely to do much for the living. But once a feeling of shame for such neglect is aroused, the effort to clean up and beautify the cemetery can bring all elements of the community into a common loyalty as nothing else could do. This may lead to the revival of the cemetery association, the influence of which as a community organization should not be overlooked. One recalls the "Friendship Village Married Ladies' Cemetery Improvement

[9] See Walter Burr, *op. cit.*, Part III, Chapter IV, "Beautification," pp. 214 ff.

[10] See C. P. Halligan and H. K. Menhinick, "The Rural Cemetery." *Special Bulletin 175*. Michigan State College, Agricultural Experiment Station.

Sodality" made famous by Zona Gale [11] in her delightful stories of village life.

An example of the influence of cemetery improvement on community organization recently occurred in a nearby village. The local newspaper published a statement that an effort was being made to form a cemetery association for the purpose of cleaning up a century-old burying ground located in the very center of a small village. A representative of the County Improvement Association got in touch with the village leaders and offered his services, which were not accepted at first. Later, however, these leaders asked for help. The town board had made a small appropriation which had enabled them to remove the old briars and brush, but regrading was needed. A local monument dealer supervised the resetting of old monuments, and the National Youth Administration furnished four boys for a week to help with the labor. Fifty Norway spruce trees were obtained for a background screen planting, and volunteers dug them up and transplanted them. Local people supplied tools and gave hot coffee to the workers. Later expert landscape advice was given with regard to grading and planting. As a result, it is stated, "the entire community has taken on a new lease of life . . . since the cemetery improvement began," the Grange has revived, a new Parent-Teacher Association has been formed. These developments may not have been directly due to the cemetery improvement, but their work on this project showed the people that they could work together, and gave them new pride in their community.

3. **Community History.** One means of creating community consciousness is through the study of local history, which has many of the same values as the historical pageant (see page 266). Every community should have records and it should have some means of preserving important historical material. In New York there is a state law authorizing any township or village board to appoint a local historian, without salary, and to furnish safe storage for records. The custom of some rural newspapers of publishing on New Year's Day the local history of the past year serves much the same

[11] Zona Gale, *Friendship Village; Friendship Village Love Stories; Peace in Friendship Village.* New York, The Macmillan Co.

purpose. One of the best means of encouraging historical appreciation, which is very generally neglected, is the teaching of local history in the schools, not by formal instruction, but by getting the pupils to write papers in their English or history classes concerning topics of local history. In West Virginia the Agricultural Extension Service stimulated the community councils to have local histories written. Thirty-five or forty were issued in mimeograph,[12] and two or three were so highly prized that they were printed in pamphlets.

4. **Community Calendar.** One of the initial steps toward community organization which has been found most helpful in many instances, and which has often formed the beginning of further community integration, is the establishment of a community calendar. Some communities issue the calendar once a month in mimeographed form as a part, or as a supplement to, the church calendars; others print them in the local newspaper under a heading "Coming Events." Sometimes, the calendar is merely put up in the post office, churches, Grange hall, or on other bulletin boards. The most important functionary of this enterprise is the community calendar clerk, or an individual of similar title, who acts as a clearing house of meeting dates for the organizations in the community. This person keeps a record of all regular and special meetings called in the community, so that it is possible for any group sponsoring an event to call up the community calendar clerk and obtain information on open dates. This insures less conflict in the community over meeting times and permits an orderly distribution of events. Often this plan is carried further by having a monthly meeting of representatives of the leading organizations to arrange the calendar of special events and thus avoid friction over them. Not infrequently discord has been started by the Ladies' Aid or the Grange announcing a meeting or entertainment for dates so near together as to preclude general participation, which is very essential for success in a small community. In some communities an annual calendar is made up of the principal events of importance. Examples of both annual and monthly calendars are given on pages 290-293.

5. **Water Supply Inspection.** In many rural communities little is done to find out whether the well water is safe for drinking.

[12] Two volumes of these are to be found in the library of the New York State College of Agriculture.

This is particularly important for the wells furnishing water for the schools. By arrangement with the state or county health laboratories, facilities and instructions for obtaining water samples may be obtained, so that the communities can obtain the necessary laboratory analyses to determine the purity of the water. A good example of such a project is found in the report of the Community Problems Survey of Clarence Center, Chapter VIII (p. 245). In one New York county, where the school wells were examined, a considerable number were found to be of doubtful purity or dangerous.

6. **Music Teaching in Schools.** One of the handicaps of the one-room country school is the lack of specialized instruction, particularly in music. Where there is a sufficient number of pupils in the schools to warrant it, arrangements may sometimes be made for employing an itinerant music teacher jointly by several districts, on either a part-time or whole-time basis. Just what can be done will depend somewhat on state legislation, but usually, where there is a will, there is a way. In New York State there is a considerable number of such itinerant music teachers employed by several districts, the arrangements usually being made through the district school superintendent. This is the sort of enterprise that a community organization such as the P.T.A., the Grange, or a community council might well promote.

7. **Health and Dental Clinics.** Rural people also lack the clinical facilities which are enjoyed in cities, and it is difficult for them to attend clinics in the county seat or a city. Itinerant clinics are, therefore, provided by some state and county health departments, or are arranged under local community auspices. These have been found particularly valuable for treatment of pre-school children, for pre-natal examination of mothers, for examinations for tuberculosis, and for dental hygiene. The accounts of health and dental clinics given on pages 293 and 294, show what can be accomplished through community effort, particularly where central or consolidated schools make it possible to furnish facilities for the clinics in a central location.

III. Community Institutions, Organizations, and Facilities

A third class of community projects are those organizations, institutions, and facilities which are expected to be more or less permanent, and which, therefore, require more effort for their accomplishment and more careful planning for their continued maintenance. As they are more difficult of achievement, they should be attempted only when a community has learned how to work together in simpler community enterprises. Those projects should be undertaken first for which there is most demand and which give most promise of united support and immediate realization.

1. Musical Organizations:[13] Chorus, Band, or Orchestra. Every community has more musical talent than it suspects, if only the talent be organized and efficient leadership can be obtained. The amount of music in a community and the public interest in musical entertainments are among the most significant indexes of its general culture and progressiveness—even in spite of the radio.

The Village Band. A good village band is one of the most effective agencies for promoting community spirit and sociability. The village merchants have also found that it is an economic asset, and, in many country towns, they contribute liberally to its support. A band concert every Saturday night or twice a week never fails to bring a crowd of people to town. It is a common sight to see the streets lined with the automobiles of farm people who have come in to enjoy the concert and, incidentally, to do a little shopping and chat with each other and their village friends. Although it may be called by the name of the village, it is usually a community band, for farm boys who can play an instrument are always welcome and frequently form a considerable part of the membership. Many rural high schools and consolidated schools now have bands, and quite frequently, with reinforcement from older musicians, they are used for outdoor community concerts in the summer.

The community comes to have a real pride in even a moderately good band, and for holiday celebrations and other festival occasions it is an invaluable asset to community spirit. A crowd will always

[13] J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

follow a band. It exercises a sort of group leadership for which there seems to be no substitute.

In one small town, every Saturday evening, the high school operates a moving picture show which is preceded by a band concert. A part of the profits of the show goes to the support of the band. Thus the community finances and controls its own entertainment. Another small village had a fairly good band which had been playing in neighboring villages as the only means of securing an income, and it was thus drawing trade of farmers from its own village to those where it played. The first enterprise of the community council which was formed there was to build a bandstand and to see that the band was financed in order that it might play every Saturday night in the home town. In another community a council was formed for the primary purpose of bringing the support of the whole community to a fine band which had struggled along for several years with little local appreciation. The article on pages 296 to 298, "How Our Band Helped the Town," shows how community morale was restored by a good band.

Community orchestras are of equal value for indoor entertainments. They give opportunity for revealing the talent of the young women and the young men.

The community chorus or choral club has often taken the place of the old-fashioned singing school. If a good director can be secured, he will always discover more vocal ability than has been suspected. The people of many a rural community have been surprised at what they have been able to do under competent leadership. The accounts of choruses and choral clubs given on pages 287, 298, and 299 show the value of these organizations in community building. Where a chorus and band or orchestra exist, a musical festival or concert may well form a climax to the community events of the year.

2. **Athletic Teams.**[14] Baseball is an American institution, and every rural community will show its loyalty to the home team. Basketball and football are now equally popular in their seasons. The rivalry between community teams has a real value in promoting community spirit; and a community which cannot muster some sort

[14] See Kolb and Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

of ball team needs resuscitation or burial. To organize, equip, and support a ball team is a community project which will enlist the interest and support of many elements showing little enthusiasm for other projects and may be the means of developing their appreciation of other phases of a community program. But the ball teams are worth while in and for themselves and the enjoyment they furnish both players and spectators. Inter-community amateur leagues give zest to the games and heighten friendly community rivalry, where they are kept on a purely amateur basis and do not become commercialized. Such a league became one of the central features of a county-wide organization of community clubs in an Ohio county just after the World War.[15]

3. **Playgrounds:[16] Baseball and Football Fields, Basketball and Tennis Courts.** If there are to be ball teams, there must be suitable grounds on which to play, and many rural communities are sadly lacking in such facilities. Fortunately, here again the new high schools and consolidated schools have appreciated the necessity for ample play space and are providing suitable athletic fields wherever community sentiment is enlightened enough to support the expenditure. Where such community athletic fields are not feasible, a small playground with croquet and tennis courts, and a place for horse-shoe pitching, will prove a valuable community asset, as shown by the account of a small playground sponsored by a church, given on page 300. In some states legislation has been enacted to permit local municipalities (villages or townships) to acquire and maintain public playgrounds and recreation centers.[17]

4. **Picnic Grounds.**[18] We have noted that picnics are among the more important community events, often associated with other community celebrations. A good picnic ground, as centrally located as possible, with whatever natural advantages are available, and

[15] See Royal C. Agne, "The Clarke County Plan of Rural Organization." In *Rural Organization:* Proceedings of the Third National Country Life Conference. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1921, pp. 101-102.

[16] W. C. Nason, *Rural Planning, Farmers' Bulletin 1388,* U. S. Department of Agriculture, p. 10, March 1924.

[17] See *Laws of New York,* 1922, Chapter 391. An Act to amend the general municipal law, in relation to playgrounds and neighborhood recreation centers in certain municipalities.

[18] W. C. Nason, *op. cit.,* pp. 17-20.

with a minimum of equipment, is a real asset to any community. Mr. W. C. Nason [19] has described two of these and shown their value to rural communities which do not have many natural or easily accessible picnic spots. With the general use of the automobile, picnicking in general has become more common and community or family picnics have become more frequent. Furthermore, a community picnic ground, if it can be properly supervised to prevent abuse and camping, is an attractive feature to passing tourists.

5. **Swimming Pools.**[19] In many sections of the Middle West, where the "old swimming hole" exists only at certain seasons for lack of water, there has developed a keen interest in outdoor cement swimming pools. Some of these are operated privately as commercial ventures; others are under the management of state or county park commissions. Often, however, they are community enterprises, supported and operated either by taxation or by community organizations.

6. **Fire Companies.**[20] We have already noted (Chapter IV, page 68) the effect of the fire company on village-country relations. Formerly, the fire company was exclusively a village affair, but now, with motorized equipment, it is able to serve the whole community and is a community institution which commands the allegiance of all. The fire company makes an appeal to the spirit of adventure and heroism common to all young men and supplies something of what Professor William James called the "moral equivalent of war." Its drills, exhibits, and competitions develop the finest type of team work among its members, while its parties, festivals, and entertainments for raising money are always important occasions in the social calendar of the community.

The accounts of how the fire company was equipped and supported at Hartford, New York, given on pages 301 and 304, show how such a project may be the means of furthering community organization. In some states there is state legislation permitting rural communities to form fire districts, irrespective of village and township political boundaries, for the purpose of sup-

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[20] W. C. Nason. *Rural Fire Departments, Farmers' Bulletin 1667,* U. S. Department of Agriculture, July 1931.

porting fire companies by taxation of the whole community served. Detailed suggestions for the formation and operation of fire companies are to be found in an excellent bulletin by W. C. Nason.[21]

7. **Electricity Districts.**[22] The advantages of electric power for farm use and electric lighting for the house are revolutionizing farm life. With the help of the Federal Rural Electrification Administration thousands of rural communities have obtained extensions of electric lines, either through the more liberal policies of private utility corporations or through forming their own cooperative electric associations. Here is a project which appeals to most rural communities and which offers little opportunity for conflict in that potential patrons need not connect with the lines unless they wish.

8. **Libraries.**[23] The public library is often a community center, and getting adequate library facilities is a community project which has a general appeal. This project may start merely by obtaining a traveling library from the State Library and placing it in a store, school, or private home, where circulation facilities may be arranged. Many states have laws specifying aid to local libraries, and in most cases there is legislation permitting the village, township, or special district to support libraries by taxation. With increasing interest in adult education, better library facilities are becoming a necessity. The reading habits of its people is a good index of the intellectual status of any community, and books are one of the most important means of stimulating broader interests. Mr. W. C. Nason has given an excellent description of the methods of organization and operation of rural libraries, and several state

[21] W. C. Nason, *op. cit.*

[22] See L. D. Kelsey and H. W. Riley, "How to Get Electricity on the Farm," *Extension Bulletin 339,* Cornell University, pp. 5, 6, December 1935. Rural Electrification Administration, *Light and Power for the Farm,* Washington, D. C., pp. 2, 3. And *What Every Farmer Should Know about Rural Electrification,* pp. 3, 4, 5.

[23] W. C. Nason, "Rural Libraries," *Farmers' Bulletin 1559,* U. S. Department of Agriculture, April 1928. Ralph A. Felton and Marjorie Beal, "The Library of the Open Road," *Extension Bulletin 188,* Cornell University, November 1929. E. L. Morgan and Melvin W. Sneed, "The Libraries of Missouri: A Survey of Facilities," *Research Bulletin 236,* University of Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, April 1936. W. F. Kumlien, "Equalizing Library Opportunities in South Dakota," *Bulletin 233,* South Dakota State College Agricultural Experiment Station, June 1928.

colleges have published bulletins describing the library situation in their states and showing how they may be improved.[23] Further information and aid may be obtained from the Extension Division of the American Library Association, 520 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

9. **Community Houses.**[24] Community houses are filling a heretofore unsatisfied need in many a rural community. The kind of building desired in most communities is an auditorium or hall where entertainments, community sings, dramatics, and meetings of all sorts may be held, and which may possibly be used also as a gymnasium and for basketball games. Dining room and kitchen, rest rooms, game rooms, and library are also desirable as parts of the community house.

Many new community houses are being erected, but in the smaller places old buildings are being remodeled. Unused churches, old residences, hotels, and even barns have been made over into community buildings. In one Ohio village the old jail was remodeled as a community house. In these made-over buildings it is not always possible to have all the rooms desired and the uses to which they can be put are limited, but all of them serve as social and recreation centers.

There is one essential for a successful community house which should be emphasized. If it is to be truly a *community* house, all elements and organizations, or as many as possible, should support it. One group or organization may well take the lead in inviting others to associate themselves together in the enterprise, but the community house should not be controlled solely by a farm and home bureau, church, or any other group. It should belong to all the people of the community. For this reason several states have passed laws enabling communities to levy taxes for community houses and, in New York, several community houses which include public

[24] Blanche Halbert, "Community Buildings for Farm Families," *Farmers' Bulletin 1804,* U. S. Department of Agriculture, p. 40, September 1938. J. Wheeler Barger, "Rural Community Halls in Montana," *Bulletin 221,* University of Montana Agricultural Experiment Station, January 1929. D. A. Lindstrom, W. A. Foster, and Max G. Fuller, "Rural Community Buildings," *Extension Circular 470,* University of Illinois College of Agriculture, March 1937. Deane G. Carter, "Rural Community Building Plans," *Bulletin 322,* University of Arkansas Agricultural Experiment Station, June 1935.

libraries are being maintained under the library law with library trustees.

The following suggestions on the operation of community houses are based on the experiences of many of them as revealed by two surveys of community houses in New York State:[25]

1. Democratic control. A community organization to erect and maintain the community house. 2. Adequate support. A definite plan for adequately financing the erection, equipment, and permanent maintenance of the house, in charge of a committee on finance. 3. Capable management. A house committee to supervise its operation and one person responsible as house manager or director. 4. A working program. A comprehensive program of activities, developed in accordance with the expressed desires of a community, to provide for the participation of all. 5. A house for all. A definite policy to encourage the use of the house by all desirable organizations, on a cost basis.

In many parts of the country consolidated schools and high schools are rapidly becoming the community social centers, and, in communities where such a development is possible, it will be doubtful wisdom to attempt the construction and maintenance of a separate community house. But in many smaller or isolated communities, a modest community building will meet local needs for several years to come and will be a profitable investment. At present, the largest possibilities of community buildings are in the smaller communities, where meeting facilities are inadequate. The following description is an example of such a house in a small neighborhood of only 100 families in Lane County, Oregon:

This is a pioneer community in a mountainous region. Social life failed to develop around the schools, because the buildings were not suitable for community use. As a result, several years ago, the community raised a fund by popular subscription and built a small community house on the Eugene-Florence highway one mile west of the one remaining school. This building was used for entertainments and dancing. Six years ago, the building was enlarged, a stage was added

[25] George Eric Peabody, *The Rural Community Building*. M. S. Thesis, Cornell University Library, 1925. William Martin Smith, Jr., *Organization and Uses of Rural Community Buildings in New York State*. M. S. Thesis, Cornell University Library, 1927.

for dramatic purposes, and a wing was built on to house a kitchen and a small club room. . . .

The Goldson community is so primitive and so remote from other active social centers that, for the greater part of the population, the only social life they have is what they provide for themselves at the community house. This is very crude when compared with the cultural-social activities of the outside communities, but it is highly satisfying to all age groups. The gatherings at the community house were attended by almost the entire population, old and young. In the winter time dances were held in the community house one or two Saturday nights per month. These were very popular with the young people and younger married couples. The older folks came also to watch the dancers and visit and the smaller children played in and around the community building. Some ground had been acquired for a "yard" for picnics and a recreation field, but the field has not been developed.[26]

The articles on pages 306-314 concerning two community houses in Kansas and Illinois show what can be accomplished in larger communities with better equipment.

10. **Consolidated School or High School.** We have already noted (Chapter IV, p. 64, and Chapter VII, p. 182) that the consolidated school or high school has the largest role in cementing village-country relations and that it is tending to become a community center. For every community which is large enough to support such an institution, obtaining a consolidated school or high school will, therefore, become one of the most important projects in community organization. Inasmuch, however, as this involves large expense and the definition of the community area, it is a project which will arouse opposition and conflict unless the community is first well educated to its desirability. This project, therefore, should not be a first step in community organization, although in some instances, where circumstances force such a development, the new school may be the means of starting organization.

It is often thought that school consolidation, or centralization, cannot succeed in mountainous country with relatively isolated

[26] Oregon State Planning Board (prepared by Dr. Philip A. Parsons), *A Study of Natural Communities in Three Oregon Counties*. Portland, Oregon, State Planning Board, May, 1937, mimeographed, pp. 23-24.

schools; but it is interesting to observe that, in New York State, the county which has the largest area of centralized districts is Essex County in the Adirondack Mountains of the northeastern part of the state.[27]

That school centralization definitely aids in community organization has been shown in a study of such schools in New York State by E. T. Stromberg.[28] The auditorium and gymnasium, the library, and other facilities of the consolidated school or high school are being increasingly used for community purposes and in many states there is specific legislation authorizing and encouraging such uses.[29]

The present nation-wide interest in the better districting of rural schools will result in the creation of thousands of larger school districts, and rural communities should be alive to see that they are laid out to preserve the entity of those which can function adequately to meet the needs of their people.[30] Out of this whole movement will come a new organization of rural life based on the community district rather than the neighborhood one-room school district of the last century. The high school will have the most important role in the larger rural communities of the future, and it should, therefore, be placed in the village center of a community large enough to support it adequately. Smaller communities may be served by junior high schools or consolidated primary schools including the first six grades, each having auditoriums and other facilities to enable them to serve as community centers.

[27] C. J. Mousaw, "A Study of Educational Need and Opportunity in the Town of Crown Point, Essex County, New York," *Bulletin 907,* University of the State of New York, September 1, 1928.

[28] E. T. Stromberg, "The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization," *Bulletin 699,* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, June 1938.

[29] Cf. Chapter 16 of the *Consolidated Laws of New York,* Article 16, Paragraph 455, *Bulletin 1095,* Education Law, University of the State of New York, pp. 170-171, July 1, 1936.

[30] See Dwight Sanderson, "Criteria of Rural Community Formation," *Rural Sociology,* vol. III, pp. 372-384, December 1938.

EXAMPLES OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS *

I. New Year's Dinner and Celebration—Hannibal, New York †

There has existed in Hannibal for 24 years an organization called the Community Club. It is now a local unit of the County Home Bureau. Its interests are wide in scope, including every worth-while local enterprise. During the year 1925, the president conceived the idea of a get-together of all the people of the village and surrounding territory at least once a year. She mentioned the idea at a meeting and a committee was appointed to study the suggestion. They approved and suggested a dinner at the high school on New Year's Day. Invitations were extended to organizations and through the papers for everyone to bring a basket lunch, table service and coffee to be provided by the committee. Seventy-six people responded and enjoyed a fine dinner, followed by an attractive program.

It was the unanimous opinion that this event should be repeated. The following year more than 100 people responded, and the average for the ten years' attendance has been 140. The program is planned by a committee, who try to see that representatives from the three Granges of the township, the Eastern Star and Masonic Lodges, the three churches, and the eight district schools all have a part at various times. One year the entire program was in the nature of a recognition for the services of the high school principal who was completing thirty-five years of continuous service at Hannibal. Another program was given over to congratulations to the new master of the State Grange, who is a resident of this community. A fine vocal chorus has been organized recently, and they provided the music this last year. At other times, the high school orchestra and the town band have played.

This event brings together people at a time when they are not hurried to get back to work, when they have the leisure to visit and meet with no pressure of crops to get in or berries to can. One of the finest things about the affair is the homecoming of former residents, who come back knowing that they will meet many people and have a chance to catch up with events and changes which have occurred during the years. A community spirit has been developed and fostered and civic pride has

* Most of these examples of community projects are taken from news items in *Community Organization News*, a mimeographed news letter issued occasionally by the Department of Rural Social Organization of the New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, and available to interested community leaders in New York State.

† Paul E. Merritt.

been deepened by these annual meetings. One resident mentioned another fine feature when she said, "This is the one event I attend during the year which has not been captured by commercial interests. No one is asked for money and no one tries to make money. The school board gladly donates the use of the building as a public service to a worthy cause."

II. Waterville Future Farmers Fair *

Autumn is the season when fairs are one of the highlights in every community. They still continue because of their recreational and educational benefits. Apart from these regular organized fairs, the Future Farmers' Fair and Agriculture Exhibit, sponsored and conducted by the Future Farmers' chapter of the Waterville Central School, has proved to be of decided benefit both to the community and to the young farmers themselves. It is now an annual affair conducted entirely by the members of the local young farmers group. It is held during October each fall and made to coincide with the date of the regular monthly meeting of the Parent-Teacher Association, thereby allowing the Future Farmers to have charge of the meeting and to show the parents and friends of the community some of the actual results of the vocational agriculture program of the school. At our last fair there were over five hundred different exhibits, and all were owned by members as part of their home project work. The fair includes the different classes of dairy, poultry, swine, sheep, farm crops, and fruit. A special department for exhibits of 4-H members was also included. In addition, one or more educational exhibits such as crop diseases were also shown.

The fair is organized in a way similar to any large fair and gives the members valuable experience. At a regular Future Farmers meeting, the fair officials are elected by the members. They include a director and a superintendent, with an assistant for each of the departments. These officers have full charge of preparing and conducting their own departments.

The exhibits are judged by some nearby agriculture teacher, who makes three placings in each exhibit class. Ribbon awards are then made for each placing. In addition to these ribbon awards, various articles of merchandise are also given as premiums. A special committee of members is appointed to visit merchants and other business men of the community soliciting prizes. Last year 34 such premiums were secured, ranging all the way from a box of candy to a pure-bred calf. The

* K. S. Hart, agriculture teacher, Waterville Central School.

merchants all seemed willing to contribute and many offered premiums before they were asked. These premiums are awarded on a point system, a first placing giving three points, a second placing two points, and a third placing one point. In this way the winner of the most points, has first selection of his premium. This point system also serves to stimulate the members to bring more articles to exhibit at the fair.

For the benefit of the dairy members we have a showmanship contest, in which the contestant is judged not on his animal but on how well he has fitted and shown the animal.

The Future Farmers members take a keen delight in the fair. They consider it quite an honor to be elected to the fair board, and members look forward to the activity with interest. It proves to be more to them than other fairs because here they not only show their own products but have the fun and profit of conducting the fair themselves.

III. 4-H and Home Bureau Day, South Kortright, Delaware County *

We all feel that everything went off fine. We are beginning to wonder where we will put all our hobbies and flowers another year if the exhibits are much larger.

The sixth annual 4-H Fair held August 12 in cooperation with the Home Bureau, Almeda Fun Club, and the Community Flower Show committee was a decided success. The exhibits were in place from 1:00 P. M. until 5:00 P. M. and again from 7:00 to 9:00 in the evening.

One room was devoted to Home Bureau exhibits showing: a well-arranged living-room exhibit; a pressing exhibit consisting of pressing pad, a correctly covered ironing board, a well-pressed boy's suit and a lady's silk dress; a recreation exhibit showing the books used for Home Bureau recreation meetings; and a garden exhibit on planning a garden and fighting insects and diseases. A kitchen exhibit consisted of small articles which would help make the homemaker's work easier, outstanding among which was a woodbox on casters and a rack for tins, platters, and covers. A basket exhibit showed both reed and raffia baskets.

Another room contained 4-H exhibits illustrating the work of the three clubs in the community. The boys showed bookcases and shoe racks made in hand-work projects, scrap-books, vegetables, and mounted knots. The girls exhibited sewing boxes, laundry bags, dish towels, canning, desk equipment, posters on grooming and salads, record books, club uniforms, dresses, ensembles, and craft articles made at camp.

There were 45 entries for the Hobby Show consisting of samplers, scrap-books on various subjects, photograph albums, sea-shells, butter-

* Mrs. Madeline Sanford.

flies, hooked rugs, recipes, antique dishes, bed-spreads, crocheting, Christmas Seal Collections, stamp albums, history of Delaware County, and teddy bears.

The Flower Show, which was a new enterprise in the community, had 53 entries of cut flowers, potted plants, and arrangements for table decorations.

The afternoon program, given by the 4-H girls, consisted of singing, club histories, stories of trips to the 1937 State Club Congress, and remarks by 4-H leaders and Home Bureau project leaders. Demonstrations were given by the club girls on building an outdoor fire, hemming a towel, making cheese, forestry, and color in the bedroom. A style revue was held showing a linen school dress, a wool dress, a 4-H club uniform, and an informal party dress.

The annual 4-H awards were made at the conclusion of the program.

Plans are under way for a similar affair for next year with larger committees and better exhibits if possible.

IV. Flower Show. Let's Plan a Community Flower Show for August *

One small group has been very successful in conducting small flower shows without expense. These are carefully planned and the work is apportioned so that it is not hard for any sub-committee. They discarded entirely the competition for prizes since they had no money to buy them, and did not feel they should solicit them as often as they wanted to hold their shows. These shows are planned purely for the pleasure and satisfaction that they give in comparing specimens and showing new varieties. The shows are held in a barn that has been remodeled into a garage and is amply large to accommodate as many exhibits as they want. There is no overhead expense since the use of the garage is given by one of those interested in promoting the show. The tables for the displays are borrowed from a lodge hall.

The first season or two a contribution box was kept at the door with a card explaining that the money collected should be used to buy vases for the exhibits at these shows, which were to become a regular event. After enough vases had been acquired, the box was discontinued.

In the spring, a show is held at which early blooming flowers are shown. During the summer and fall other ones are held when there is a good showing of interesting material in the gardens.

* Lucile G. Smith, Department of Floriculture and Ornamental Horticulture, Cornell University.

A standing committee is responsible for the organization of each show, setting the dates and appointing the committees. These committees are changed for each show so that all who are interested have the opportunity of serving in different ways. Thus the hard work does not always fall on a few people.

These shows are both educational and social and many people who have little in common will find common interest in garden subjects. There are other reasons besides these for having a flower show. A true gardener is generous and likes to share some of the joys of his garden with others who will appreciate them. There are always some people who are interested in flowers and plants who cannot possess a garden themselves. They appreciate the opportunity of being able to enjoy the beauty that they might otherwise be deprived of.

Those that have gardens will find that new and unusual plants will be brought to their attention, and thus the interest in gardens may be maintained. A desire to have some of these plants is stimulated, and through this medium the beauty of the community is enhanced.

You probably do not need to be told that a flower show has many features that are worth while, but it may be timely to remind you that plans for a show should be made well in advance so that the details that will make it a success may be carefully worked out. Why wait for someone else to propose it? Begin now to make arrangements for a flower show in August. There are many garden flowers in bloom then and you will have plenty of time to make the plans. Get some other gardeners interested and organize a committee to take charge of the arrangements. They should be people who are public-spirited and dependable and would be anxious to make such a venture a success.

At this meeting select some tentative dates for the show. One or two days will be as long as necessary for a small show, as that is about as long as the displays will be in good condition without renewal. Be sure before the dates are finally set that there will be no conflicts with other affairs. Church, Grange, lodge, and other local activities should be considered in fixing the date.

At the first meeting committees can be appointed, thus apportioning the duties so that no one need be burdened with responsibility. The general committee will have charge of fixing the date, making the rules, preparing the schedule or list of the classes, and arranging for the expenses if there are any. This committee will also plan the arrangement of the hall or room in which the show is to be held.

The sub-committees have various duties, depending on the size of the show. The entry committee will list all the exhibits as they are brought

in, label them, and check them out as they are removed after the show. They may also make labels for the exhibits as they come in, using the proper plant names for the information of those who are not familiar with them.

The exhibit committee will see that the room is in shape for the exhibits to be set up, and will arrange for tables, containers, and any other such materials that are to be furnished.

The need for other committees, such as prize, publicity, information, judging, ticket sales, and commercial exhibits, will be determined by the extent of the show and the decision of the general committee in making the original plan.

In selecting a place in which to hold the show, be sure that the light is good both during the day and at night, if it is to be open at night. The light is very important in showing the color of flowers. The room should be large enough to accommodate all the exhibits without crowding and allow for ample room for the visitors. It should also be clean, for the displays should be given as good a setting as possible. Good ventilation will influence greatly the keeping of the flowers and add to the comfort of the people. Easy access to water is desirable. Ample parking space is also important.

Flower shows need not be competitive. In some communities they may well be planned for the satisfaction that the gardener gets from sharing his garden with others, and comparing his ability as a gardener with his friends' ability. In other places it may be desirable to make awards for merit. These awards may be simply ribbons, or certificates stating that John Gardener has been awarded first prize for his display of twelve blooms of pompon dahlias. Sometimes such awards are kept longer and appreciated just as much or more than a hoe or a table lamp or some other prize that might have been contributed.

A popular vote is often interesting and may serve as some stimulus for those who feel that there should be some recognition for the effort that has been expended. Many a gardener, like a fisherman, enjoys telling that more people voted for his display of zinnias than for any other at our flower show. And you may be sure that he will say *our* flower show, for everyone will soon consider that it is a community affair and that each one has a share in it.

Of course if it seems desirable the show may be judged and awards made for the outstanding exhibits. This will increase the work of the committees as arrangements must be made for judges, and also for the prizes. If there are to be prizes there are many possibilities. In most cases if the exhibitor is a garden lover, he will probably be well pleased

with some plants that may be contributed by other gardeners for this purpose. In a show where there is an admission charge, it may be possible to offer money prizes, and some who are interested may be willing to contribute for them. However, it would be really a worth while undertaking to put on a community show and do it without asking for money for prizes or asking the merchants for merchandise. After all, there is considerable satisfaction in being able to bring a vase of flowers to a show and making it possible for others to enjoy it without feeling that there should be a prize for this. Those who do not win prizes may be badly disappointed, and such a spirit should not be encouraged in showing one of the loveliest of nature's products, especially in a small show where there ought to be a spirit of friendliness.

No matter how small your show may be, or how simple the plan, high standards are essential to the success of any exhibit. A good flower show, well planned, carefully conducted, and effectively staged is an asset to the community and a credit to those who have promoted it.

V. Hobby Exhibit at Webster

The Webster Philatelic Association sponsored a community hobby exhibit and program one Saturday evening last January, just when indoor recreational activities were at their height. The exhibit opened at six o'clock and at eight-thirty the program started. The exhibits were arranged around the ballroom of the Masonic Temple, where the meeting was held.

Here is a list of the hobbies represented that evening: spinning, china pitchers, baskets, hand-made pottery, ink blotters, book marks, hand-painted china, telescope making, first issues of magazines, hand-carved chests and pipes, sea shells, music-appreciation study, surveyor's instruments, dish gardens, leather work, bead work, keys—miniatures, jokers, bird houses, needlework, poetry, old carpenter's tools, menus, aeroplane models, photography, coins, salt and pepper shakers, boat models, travel booklets, automobile licenses, philately, grain seeds, Indian relics, guns, iron trivets, art treasures, scrapbooks, collection of Japanese buttons, salt dips, quilting, and bridge.

Here is a copy of the program:

Welcome—Burr A. Judd, president Webster Stamp Club.
Response—William Fraatz, secretary, Hobby Council.
Trombone solo, "Sing Me to Sleep"—Miss Isabelle Marvin.
Five-minute talks:

Stamps—James Flynn.
Photography—Charles S. Foster.

Crafts—Mrs. Elston Holton.
Soprano solo, "Mother's Quilting Party"—Mrs. William Hallock.
Five-minute talks:
Coins—Charles W. Foster.
Archeology—John Bailey.
Girls' quartet, "Old Spinning Wheel," Elizabeth Rothfuss, Ruth Schutt, Helena Brewer, Frances Scharett.
Five-minute talks:
Aquarium—George Sly.
Other Hobby Council Members—J. B. Harzinski, Melvin Andrews, Howard C. Damon.
Vocal duets, "Out of the Dusk to You," Dorothy Lee, and "One Alone," Sigmund Romberg, by Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Day.
Magic—Kenneth Punnett.
Hobbies—C. Carleton Perry, extension director of Rochester Museum.

VI. Singing Schools *

The singing schools in Cheshire County, New Hampshire, attract both old and young and those who can and cannot sing. They are located in rural towns and meet in the town hall, the school house, or a private home as the case requires. The directors come from the nearby normal school to lead the singing in two communities; a third community has a local leader. Many members of the singing schools did not previously belong to any organization and were at a loss for something to do. Now they have a community interest and an organization of which they are proud.

The weekly meetings have a full attendance regardless of weather or traveling conditions. Once each month the Westmoreland community chorus, which was organized three years ago, has a social hour of games and dances. Local musicians from nearby towns visit the group and perform free of charge. One or more visitors attend each meeting.

The chorus has taken part in foliage festivals, at sings at the county farm for the shut-ins, at Christmas church services, at programs of other organizations as they are requested, and each spring in a special program prepared for the public. Last June "Pinafore" was sung most successfully.

The singing school is the only organization in the town whose regular members come from the five sections of the township. It is organized

* P. F. Ayer, rural organization specialist for New Hampshire.

as a club with very low monthly dues which are not compulsory. The community is proud of these singing schools. They furnish a common footing for everyone, and each person feels that he is needed to make the whole a success. To attend the meetings of the chorus one thinly clad mother and three sons ride seven miles in an open car. To be present at another chorus, a slight girl of fourteen years walks two miles, and two miles home again, alone. Neither the rain nor the cold keeps them away from their evening of song.

VII. Ye Olde Tyme Singing Skule *

We've just finished our third "Olde Tyme Singing Skule," and despite a measles epidemic and the depression, there was a large audience and the church exchequer was enriched by nearly $30.

Three years ago when we started our "school" there was a hurrying and scurrying to find suitable costumes, for every one of the 35 participants had to be attired to represent the same period as the songs we sang—"the days of long ago."

There were hoop skirts and bustles, floppy hats with large flowers and tiny bonnets. The men had "stove pipes" and "swallow tails," fancy vests and large ties. The costumes are an important adjunct; in fact, many say they're "half the show."

This year it was fairly easy to get costumes, for the garrets had been ransacked previously and we knew where to locate the articles we wished to borrow. Incidentally, we found our neighbors only too glad to loan.

In the first place, we had the "Professor," who kept time, "lined out" the songs, and divided the class for the "rounds."

One year we had "Aunt Sophronia's Orphans," a group of a dozen or more youngsters, wearing Paisley shawls and small bonnets. Aunt Sophronia was hard of hearing and carried an ear trumpet. Her occasional interruptions with a loud "Heh?" convulsed the audience.

At another school, Felicia Simpkins' children performed. This group consisted of eight little girls, wearing pantalets, and they sang a number of selections. The "orphans" sang several numbers and of course parents and friends helped swell the audience.

We first introduced the various members of the cast individually, and this gave a chance to display the old-time costumes. The program proper then opened with numbers by the chorus, led by the Professor.

"Grandfather's Clock" proved a favorite, as did "Long, Long Ago,"

* Ted H. Townsend from Waterville, New York, sent us the following story of a fine community event that took place in the Methodist Church Saturday, March 17, 1934.

"Oh Susanna," "Ben Bolt," "In the Gloaming," "Robin Adair," and "Cousin Jedediah."

The chorus numbers were interspersed with solos, duets, and readings.

Ye Janitor, Reuben Rastus by name, gave "Old Black Joe," while strumming his guitar. This called for an encore as did the song by the young lady with specs and cane who "Impersonated Grandma."

"Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines" proved a lively solo with chorus, and "When I Wore My Rose Satin Gown" was also well received. In the latter the young lady's gown matched the song.

And don't forget the "rounds." We used "Tom Tinker," "Scotland's Burning" and "Three Blind Mice" and all were heartily applauded. And the Negro Spirituals, "Go Down Moses" and "Bells over Jordan" seemed to please. In "Reuben and Rachel" the boys' and girls' voices alternated, making a contrast with the other numbers.

For "lining out," the Professor chose "Old Grimes." He would read two lines and then call on the chorus to sing.

Other old tunes used by the chorus were "How Can I Leave Thee," "Come Back to Erin," and "Seeing Nellie Home."

We also included hymns on the program this year, using "Father Again to Thy Dear Name," and "Jerusalem, the Golden."

There was a young people's orchestra playing selections at the opening and close of the program. Other instrumental numbers included accordion selections.

Names are important; the more uncommon, the better. Here are a few we used: Professor Crumb; Amanda Horn, the harpsichordist; Josiah Slim; Soloman Perkins; Patience Doolittle; Jedediah Doosenberry; Hezekiah Pettigrew; Minerva Middleditch; Miranda Simpkins; Lemuel Snodgrass; Dolly Freeheart; and Salina Baxter.

The first year, we made the school a "road show," visiting two nearby communities and receiving half the proceeds. Though we took in over $40 at home, these ventures returned but $6 and $15, so we decided to stay at home thereafter.

The Singing School is a real attraction in our community where friends are in the cast and the costumes have been resurrected from local attics. This attraction disappears in other communities, however.

There should be a special committee to look after the costumes. We omitted this the first year and found many last-minute troubles. Since then, everything has gone smoothly for certain persons have been responsible for the costumes.

We found there was little or no expense attached, we had a good time rehearsing, and a "pretty penny" was turned into the church treasury.

VIII. Newark Valley Community Calendar

Master Program of

This Calendar is published by the Newark Valley Parent-Teacher Association. The School office supplementary schedule will be issued on or about the 20th of each month during the school year. the 15th of each month to be

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday
First Week	**BAPTIST** Sunday School **10:30** Preaching Service **11:15** Young People's Service 6:30 Preaching Service 7:30 **CATHOLIC** Mass every Sunday except First Sunday **9:30** Mass First Sunday **11:00** Confessions every Sunday except First Sunday from **9:00** to **9:20** **CONGREGATIONAL** Morning Worship at **10:30** Church School **11:30** Pilgrim Fellowship 6:30 **METHODIST** Church **10:30** Church School **11:50** Epworth League 6:30 Occasional Evening or Union Services at 7:45	M. E. Home Guards 4:00–5:00 Village Board 8:00 O. E. S. 8:00	M. E. Official Board 7:45 Grange 8:00 P. E. O. 8:00 Baptist Philatheas (Daytime)
Second Week		Masons 8:00 Rebekahs 8:00	M. E. Youth Council Class 8:00 Congregational Couples Club 6:30
Third Week		O. E. S. 8:00	Grange 8:00 P. E. O. 8:00
Fourth Week		Masons 8:00 Rebekahs 8:00	M. E. Church School Board 7:45 Firemen (Last Tues.) 8:00
Fifth Week	(Morning hours are printed in **black face type**, afternoon and evening hours in regular type.)		Firemen (Last Tues.) 8:00

Regularly Scheduled Events

is acting as clearing house for the announcement of events not regularly scheduled. A monthly Information concerning such events should be mailed or phoned – 97 – the school office on or before included in the supplement.

Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
M. E. Tither's Ass'n 7:45 School Board 8:00 I. O. O. F. 8:00 Girl Scouts 3:45 Home Bureau	M. E. Midweek Worship 7:30 M. E. Choir 8:30 Congregational Choir 7:30 Baptist Prayer Meeting 7:30 Baptist Choir 8:30 Boy Scouts 7:00	Congregational Keystone Class 8:00 W. C. T. U. 2:30 *School Activity	Moving Pictures 8:15
Town Board 8:00 M. E. Federation (P.M., A.M.) P. T. A. 8:00 I. O. O. F. 8:00 Congregational Women's Society 2:30 Girl Scouts 3:45	M. E. Midweek Worship 7:30 M. E. Choir 8:30 Congregational Choir 7:30 Baptist Prayer Meeting 7:30 Baptist Choir 8:30 Boy Scouts 7:00	M. E. Home Builders Class 8:00 *School Activity	Moving Pictures 8:15 D. A. R.
M. E. Star Class 2:00 I. O. O. F. 8:00 Girl Scouts 3:45	M. E. Midweek Worship 7:30 M. E. Choir 8:30 Congregational Choir 7:30 Baptist Prayer Meeting 7:30 Baptist Choir 8:30 Boy Scouts 7:00	M. E. Brother-hood 7:00 *School Activity	Moving Pictures 8:15
M. E. Jackson Class 2:00 I. O. O. F. 8:00 Congregational Women's Society 2:30 Girl Scouts 3:45	M. E. Midweek Worship 7:30 M. E. Choir 8:30 Congregational Choir 7:30 Baptist Prayer Meeting 7:30 Baptist Choir 8:30 M. E. Toiler's Class A.M., P.M. Boy Scouts 7:00	*School Activity	Moving Pictures 8:15 D. A. R.
I. O. O. F. 8:00 Girl Scouts 3:45	M. E. Midweek Worship 7:30 M. E. Choir 8:30 Congregational Choir 7:30 Baptist Prayer Meeting 7:30 Baptist Choir 8:30 Boy Scouts 7:00	*School Activity *Various organizations throughout the year such as basketball, plays and demonstrations.	Moving Pictures 8:15

IX. Monthly Calendar of Truxton, New York (June 1937)

Tues.	June	1	8:00	Future Farmers Meeting, School
			P.M.	DeRuyter *vs.* Truxton, baseball, here
Wed.	June	2	8:00	Boys 4-H, Grange Hall
Thurs.	June	3	P.M.	Intra-mural Meet, High School
			8:00	Sophomore Entertainment and School Exhibit, School
Fri.	June	4		
Sat.	June	5	6:00	A.M. to 8:00 A.M. Breakfast served by Epworth Leaguers for funds to attend Epworth League Retreat, Session Hall
Sun.	June	6	10:00	Methodist Services
			11:00	Methodist Church School; Catholic Services
			12:00	Catholic Church School
			7:00	Epworth League, Parsonage, Truxton
Mon.	June	7	8:00	Girl Scout Troop Committee, High School
			8:00	Firemen's Regular Meeting
			8:00	T. N. T. Meeting, Grange Hall
Tues.	June	8	8:00	Grange Peace Flag Meeting
Wed.	June	9	2:00	Ladies Committee Meeting, Session Hall
			8:00	Joint meeting of representatives of several organizations to consider community activities, High School Library
Thurs.	June	10	8:00	Regular Grange Meeting
Fri.	June	11	9:00	Senior Ball, High School
Sat.	June	12		
Sun.	June	13	9:00	Catholic Services
			10:00	Catholic Church School; Methodist Services
			11:00	Methodist Church School
			7:00	Epworth League, Grange Hall, East Homer
Mon.	June	14	7:30	Girl Scout Meeting, High School; Boy Scouts, Fire Hall
			8:00	Boy Scout Troop Committee Meeting, Fire Hall
Tues.	June	15		
Wed.	June	16	2:00	Home Bureau Meeting, Mrs. Webster's
Thurs.	June	17		
Fri.	June	18		
Sat.	June	19		
Sun.	June	20	10:00	Methodist Services
			11:00	Methodist Church School; Catholic Services

Sun.	June 20	12:00	Catholic Church School
		7:00	Epworth League, Parsonage, Truxton
Mon.	June 21	1:30	T. N. T. Meeting, Mrs. Chas. Murray's Cheningo
		8:00	Class Night, High School
Tues.	June 22	8:00	Commencement
Wed.	June 23		Alumni Banquet
Thurs.	June 24	8:00	Regular Grange Meeting
Fri.	June 25		
Sat.	June 26		Beginning Epworth League Retreat, Cazenovia
Sun.	June 27	9:00	Catholic Services
		10:00	Catholic Church School; Methodist Services
		11:00	Methodist Church School
		7:00	Epworth League, Grange Hall, East Homer
Mon.	June 28	7:30	Girl Scout Meeting, High School; Boy Scouts, Fire Hall
Tues.	June 29	8:00	March of Time, Mrs. Webster's
Wed.	June 30		

X. Health Clinics, Moriah, New York *

The children were transported to the nearest dentist, who happens to be in a town three miles distant. This dentist gave the P. T. A. a price for examining a certain number of children. Additional work required was also paid for, of course, on reduced rates. The custom was to take the number that the dentist could care for each Friday afternoon throughout the school year. Each child was given a record of the work done to carry home. In some instances the parents wished to reimburse the P. T. A.

The need for glasses was not as widespread as the need of dental care, and the clinic was much smaller. An eye specialist who resides in a town 20 miles distant was called in for the eye examinations, and he made recommendations. His rates were also for the group, and his reports were sent to the parents. In this case quite a number of the parents purchased the glasses for their children, and the P. T. A. paid for those who were not able to do so.

The first year the P. T. A. sponsored the dental clinic a little over $100 was spent, and since then the amount has been a little lower, owing, I expect, to the follow-up work. The mothers were given the benefit of the Red Cross Nursing Course, the State Nutritional Demonstrations,

* Mrs. P. B. Yell of Moriah, New York, sent in this story of eye and dental clinics sponsored by the local Parent-Teacher Association.

and the films on the pre-school child, and pre-natal care. A number of state speakers on those various subjects have been entertained. The work carried on by this organization has been of great value, especially so because so many of our local families were hard pressed throughout the depression.

The money for these projects has been raised by home-talent plays, fairs, card parties, basketball games, and suppers.

XI. Every Child Gets Dental Care—and the Dentist Gets Paid! *

Recently I visited a community where every child has his teeth cared for, and at low cost.

No, it wasn't heaven. It wasn't even a rich community. It was Indian Lake, up in the Adirondacks of northern New York.

A queer place it was to find such an ideal state of affairs. To get there you take a branch-line railroad at Albany, go up the Hudson River 100 miles, then ride on a bus through the mountains for eighteen miles more. The village's one imposing building is its modern central school, where some 300 children from the surrounding territory are getting a good education.

Tourists are the chief "cash crop" of Indian Lake. The timbered mountains all about are picturesque, but their chief contributions are scenery, game, and fish, not lumber or minerals.

Yet the children of Indian Lake township have a better chance for good teeth than those in any other rural community that *The Farmer's Wife* knows about.

At Indian Lake scarcely any children were getting dental care a few years ago. For one thing, the nearest dentist was eighteen miles away. For another, parents had little money to spend on dentist bills.

Dr. H. F. Carroll, the town's only physician and the president of the school board, had been examining the school children every year and finding that dental defects were always the most common, yet year after year nothing was being done about them.

Finally he hit upon a plan. If Indian Lake could not get a dentist to come there and practice in the usual way, why not pay one a salary to care for the children's teeth? And why not have the school board pay it? Good health was commonly recognized as one of the chief aims of education, wasn't it?

Dr. Carroll put the idea up to the school board and it "took." Now

* Reprinted by permission from an article by Carroll P. Streeter in September, 1935, issue of *The Farmer's Wife*.

it so happened that a prominent dentist of New York City was looking for a location in the country just at this same time (1932). He was Dr. A. R. Beekman, a man who had among his patients several nationally known persons as well as certain rich people in France, who journeyed across the ocean every year to have him care for their teeth.

Failing health was forcing the doctor to give up his large city practice and go to the country. Hearing of the Indian Lake proposal, he made a deal with the school board, stipulating that from school funds the doctor shall be paid $1,500 a year, plus expenses of practice which amount to $300 to $500 a year. In return he takes care of the school children's teeth. In addition, he is allowed to practice among adults on the usual fee basis. Since he collects about $1,000 above expenses from his adult patients, his total net income is about $2,500 a year.

When Dr. Beekman began his examination of the children, he was appalled. Never in his experience, which included charity work on the lower East Side of New York City, had he seen conditions so bad.

Not only had most of the children been going entirely without dentistry, but their diet had not been of a kind that builds good teeth. For many of them it consisted chiefly of "pancakes and venison," pork, potatoes, and bread. Since few cows are kept in this community, the children were getting little milk, and besides they had but little fruit.

On completing his first examination of the 300 school children, Dr. Beekman found only five who did not need something done. That first year he filled 1,400 teeth—an average of four and a half per child—and pulled nearly 700 permanent teeth that were already beyond repair.

But that wasn't all. Believing that an ounce of prevention is worth a ton of cure, Dr. Beekman ruled that all school children should come to his office twice a year for a check-up. He keeps a record to see that they do. Trouble can't get far in six months.

Then Drs. Carroll and Beekman persuaded the school board to buy a pint of pasteurized milk a day for each child in the first six grades. The nearest supply of pasteurized milk is fifty miles away, but the board believes that the added safety of pasteurizing warrants bringing the milk that far. At 14 cents a quart the milk costs the district $85 to $90 a month. The school board also buys toothbrushes and tooth paste for the children whose parents feel that they cannot afford them.

The results? Well, instead of pulling nearly seven hundred permanent teeth a year, as he did the first year, Dr. Beekman had to pull just one last year. And that one was broken off, not decayed.

The children are not only keeping their teeth, but avoiding the complications which sometimes come later from infected teeth—arthritis,

heart trouble, infected tonsils, etc. They are missing out on a lot of toothache, too.

XII. How Our Band Helped the Town *

A town which has a band also has a certain prestige among other towns. Practically every one knows that is true, although hardly every one can tell just why it's true. One merchant says, "Well you know, 'Music Hath Charms!' If you haven't got a band in a town, you simply haven't much incentive to get out and try to advertise the town. It's no fun parading around with hat bands and banners and snake-dancing, if you haven't a band to lead you."

Stuttgart, Arkansas, had a band before the war, sponsored by some one. And although that hasn't been a great many years ago, no one seems able to remember just how that band came into being.

At the time the United States entered the fray it numbered 26 pieces, and from that membership of 26, 19 men enlisted, 19 men sailed for France, and, strange to say, 19 men came back home from over there, and every single man of the 19 had played in some one of the bands across the ocean during his enlistment.

After the war, when the 1920 crash came, it found Stuttgart's band disorganized, most of Stuttgart's business men and all the farmers of the locality facing hard times.

Stuttgart is supported by the rice industry, and rice farming is a little bit different from many other kinds of farming, in that it cannot be attempted on a financial shoe-string, or on a small scale. It must have artificial irrigation, and the machinery which makes that possible is expensive, both as to first cost, and cost of operation. No one can undertake farming in the rice industry, even on a small scale, with a capital of less than $5,000. From that it goes on up.

Farmers in Debt to Merchants. 1919 had seen rice selling at the highest prices ever known. It also had seen rice labor bringing the highest price ever known. But so many of the rice farmers made so much money on the 1919 crop, that they thought the bonanza had been found. Accordingly the acreage was greatly increased in 1920, labor was procured at prohibitive prices to put in and care for the crop, and when the bottom dropped out of all markets, farmers found themselves with thousands of bushels of rice upon which they could realize less than 50 cents per bushel.

* Reprinted by permission *The Farm Journal* (Philadelphia, Pa.) October, 1926, p. 11.

Every farmer owed the merchants who had been carrying him for the season. Almost every farmer owed the bankers. Nobody had any money, and every one knew that his losses weren't entirely through any fault of his own, consequently he thought the fault lay in some of his fellows. And the fine spirit of fellowship which had marked Stuttgart community in years past vanished like a snow in the summer.

The merchants didn't trust the farmers. Knowing their financial condition, they couldn't continue indefinitely in business without making collections. The farmers didn't trust the merchants or bankers, felt that they were to blame for marketing conditions, and every man hated practically every other man.

First Activity of Ad Club Was to Start a Band. Perhaps the merchants came nearer understanding the situation than any other group of persons in the locality.

At any rate, they formed an organization known as the "Stuttgart Ad Club," and the first official action of the organization was getting in touch with the director of that old pre-war band, Will Morrill, who has directed bands in various towns for the past 35 years.

He inserted ads in the local papers which requested a meeting of all persons interested in the formation of a band. Mr. Morrill says that such an ad will inevitably catch the eye of any man who has ever "tooted" a horn. It leaves a virus in his blood.

In less than a month a second band, the Ad Club Band, was ready to begin practice. It wasn't two months until open-air concerts were advertised. The band would play each Thursday evening.

Brought Farmers to Town. The rice farmers still had their cars (there was no one in the locality who had money enough to buy them from them), and they had the remains of their tanks of gasoline. So as this was an opportunity to get something for nothing from "those town slickers," they just drove into town and took in those free open-air concerts.

Once they were in town, it was inevitable that they should run upon some friend of other days in whom they still had a mite of confidence. And friends of this friend who chanced to pass along were stopped and introduced. Gradually a little nucleus of interest in town life, a little new-born trust in town people came into being, and conditions of morale began slowly to improve.

The encouraged merchants who formed the Ad Club decided that the matter, having gone thus far, should not stop. They based their next action on booster trips. Taking with them the band, they went out into the country to various small localities, arranging in advance for a

benefit supper to be served at so much per plate to the party of boosters.

While they ate, at a profit to the S. I. A., Missionary Society, or whatever organization had arranged for serving the meal, the band played lively airs, and while later the band members ate, the booster party mingled with those who had gathered to hear the music and to eat with them, and talked of the problems of the farmer, or of anything in which the farmer to whom they talked seemed interested.

And after the townspeople had shown themselves willing to spend their money in the rural communities, the people of those communities were much more inclined to talk over matters with the fellows from town. So in another way the band assisted in the rebuilding of the morale of the community.

Morale of Town Has Been Restored. The Ad Club grew more and more in favor with the farmers as well as the townsmen, and out-of-town trips to state and tri-state fairs were got up, with special rates, trains, and stops at all of the little towns of the rice district. Sufficiently representative groups from the outlying districts were attracted by the day of entertainment to go along on these trips, of which the band was always the feature attraction, to find that Stuttgart business men were earnestly endeavoring to advertise the rice industry, to increase the demand for rice, and the interest in rice.

You can't continue to hate a fellow who is doing you a good turn, and you can hardly hate a fellow, even if he is not doing a thing for you, if he invites you along to a party and helps you to have a good time with him.

After a few years' work of the band in our town, the town's morale has been restored, which it most likely never could have been without the band. So the value of the band to the town has been incalculable. It has brought back into being a good little town, that would perhaps have been utterly lost without the activities of the band. . . .

And one of the very best things the band has done for Stuttgart is the creation of an interest in music in the youngsters who are growing up, so that now Stuttgart has not only the Ad Club Band of older members, but it also has a very creditable boys' band, as well, whose concerts are equally well received by the folks of Stuttgart.

XIII. The Hannibal Community Chorus *

For many years there has been an appreciation of good music on the part of people in our town. During the last three years the Community Club has advocated a program of community singing in cooperation with

* Paul E. Merritt.

the village band. In the summer of 1936 the two ministers of the village were discussing the nature of the Thursday evening programs for the fall. At a meeting of the Community Club they suggested that there should be a singing school on Thursday evening of each week during the fall and winter months.

A committee was appointed to explore the possibility of getting paid leadership and inviting membership in the venture. The response was generous on the part of the people of the town and a young man was found in Oswego who would come, provided some time would be given to religious music. Some objected and withdrew. The others, about 30 in number, were willing to follow the leadership of the director. The first meeting was held in the M. E. Church after the prayer meeting, which was from 7:15 to 8:00. A good number turned out and showed great enthusiasm in the leadership of the director. The rehearsal lasted until 9:30. The following week the rehearsal was held in the community church, following the prayer meeting, thus saving on fuel and enabling people to come to both meetings. Works of serious nature and those of lighter vein were practiced.

The chorus was asked to sing at special Sunday evening services, at week day events, and it joined with choral groups from Fulton and Oswego in a number of song festivals. It helped sponsor a recital of the Westminster Choir when it came to Syracuse in the winter. The crowning event of the year was the rendition of Stainer's Crucifixion on Good Friday evening. It also helps in the community vesper services.

This summer the chorus is singing some Saturday evenings with the village band to appreciative audiences.

To those who are in the chorus there is the satisfaction of learning fine music, of joining with a larger group than either church could muster, and the realization that they are rendering a public service.

The community at large has one more reason for civic pride.

XIV. A Singing Community *

The Choral Club of Milton, Ulster County, New York, presented its second annual concert on May 21 in St. James Hall. The group is composed of both men and women and several girls of high school age. They come from both Marlboro and Milton. The director has been Miss Marian Shafer, head of the Music Department of the Central School District, and the pianist, Mrs. Kirsten Scott, a resident of the community. The Choral Club was begun in the fall of 1935 under the auspices of the Milton Parent-Teacher Association, rather as an experiment.

* Mrs. Herbert H. Bell.

It had been the custom of the firemen's organization of the village to have a Santa Claus and to give to all boys and girls who came a bag of candy with some fruit, apples, and oranges. They felt the need, however, of joining some group who might furnish a program to which the bag distribution would be a fitting end. So the P. T. A. and the firemen cooperated in giving a Christmas song service. The P. T. A. furnished the tree and the music; the firemen solicited funds for the candy and fruit, and brought Santa to the door on a shiny red new fire engine.

This cooperation was carried out two different years. This last year the Choral Club gave its concert alone. All the Christmas community song services have been free—open to the public.

The last two years the Choral Club has given a very fine concert in May to which an admission charge was made in order to defray the expenses of a leader. The charge for children was, however, made very small. Whatever was left, after expenses were paid, was given to the Milton Public Library which has to be supported by various and sundry means. The Catholic Church has always very generously donated the use of the hall, since both the Choral Club and the library are community interests. The interest of the library, too, has helped extend the sale of tickets beyond a possible musical appeal.

This year, three students from Vassar will give several numbers on stringed instruments to help vary the program. Their expenses over here from the college will be paid and a small fee given them. They are doing it chiefly to be neighborly and gain experience.

XV. A Church-sponsored Community Playground *

Our fine playground at Yates Center in Orleans County opened in the summer of 1932. With its lighted horseshoe court, tennis court, softball diamond, etc., it means that many people of both the church and the community have spent considerable thought, time, and labor to provide a place where good, clean, wholesome recreation may be enjoyed by both young and old. The new flagstaff, swings, fireplace, croquet grounds —all help to make it an attractive place. Convenient parking space allows many to sit in their cars and watch the games. In addition, benches are provided for those who wish to rest or watch the games. The real asset of such a playground is that it offers an opportunity for the young people to spend leisure time and energy in a most profitable way. As people pass this field on evenings, they cannot help noticing how many boys and girls and men and women take advantage of the recreational opportuni-

* Mrs. Elmer C. Wulf.

ties offered. The committee in charge hopes to add more equipment, such as teeter boards, swings, picnic tables, and a shuffleboard, as funds become available.

XVI. Community Week in Hartford, New York *

One of the high spots of life in my home town fifteen years ago was the traveling lyceum. At stated intervals during each winter the village was invaded by magicians, singers, lecturers, and entertainers of all kinds. If the purpose of the old lyceum was to provide entertainment for small boys, it certainly was a huge success.

Before 1925, however, the old lyceum series was replaced by the more concentrated, but nevertheless highly enjoyable, chautauqua program. This program, like the old lyceum, with its lecturers, singers, actors, and professional entertainers was a howling success from a boy's eye-view.

But vague rumors drifted to my ears from conversations in which I overheard my father engaging. It seemed that, although the programs were a complete success from the standpoint of boy entertainment, they were far from being financial successes. Balanced against the entertainment value there were at least two detrimental features of the programs. In the first place, it was hoped that the chautauqua might not only provide amusement for the community, but would also make a little money to carry on much-needed community improvements. Far from making any money, however, some of the community members were even paying out money to cover the cost of having the organization appear in the locality. So, instead of raising money for the community, it was taking a considerable amount of money out of the area.

This was just about the situation in which the village of Hartford, New York, found itself some ten years ago. Hartford is a little unincorporated village in the eastern part of the state, surrounded by dairy and general farms. Every summer, after chautauqua, the community found itself with less money in the pockets of everyone, no improvements in community facilities, and nothing but a few more or less pleasant memories to show for it.

Farming, like almost every other type of occupation in those days, was fairly prosperous. The village residents and their rural friends could perhaps dig into their pockets to help finance a chautauqua once a year, and could see the money go out of town without seriously feeling it. But the community itself could ill afford to do without certain improvements which cost a considerable amount of money.

* Duane L. Gibson.

Chief among these greatly needed improvements was fire-fighting equipment. The village residents recognized the need for it. There was no water district and many a fire had wrought havoc in the village within the memory of most of them. The farmers round about recognized the need for it. They had seen the damage which an insignificant grass fire or a carelessly handled match had caused. They knew, too, how difficult it was to get a fire truck to come the ten or twelve miles from the nearest city and how, by the time it arrived from that distance, most of the farm buildings would be burned to the ground.

What could a thoroughly awakened group of villagers and farmers do to raise money painlessly for such a worth-while project? How was a tiny village like Hartford to finance a fire truck, and a place to keep it?

The memory of the recent chautauqua was fresh in the minds of the "guarantors" who had just paid out $5.00 to $10.00 each to complete payment of the salaries and expenses of the troupe that had so recently left. The question of raising money for a fire truck came up at the "obsequies" of the chautauqua conducted by the guarantors, and the failure of the recent chautauqua to come anywhere near raising money for that, or any other, purpose was also tossed in as a gentle reminder.

Why not present a home-talent chautauqua, someone asked. There were one or two fairly good speakers in town and numberless potential actors and actresses who would be glad to do their bit. People always turned out well to see their neighbors perform. The cost of presentation would be low, the attendance should be good, and the possibility of making some profit should be great.

With this interested group as a nucleus, the home-talent chautauqua became a reality that very fall. Enthusiasm waxed high. Political lines —very strong in the village at that time—and creeds were momentarily forgotten in the newly-developed interest. With this enthusiasm, none of the problems confronting such a program seemed very great. The last week of October was set for the program so as to interfere as little as possible with the farmers' harvest season.

The finished product of the program that fall was quite respectable. The week's activities were given the title of "Community Unity Week," in keeping with the aims and methods of the organization. One branch of the Community Unity Week committee took charge of printing a 20-page program and of selling advertising in it.

The week began and ended with union services in the three village churches, also in keeping with the cooperative nature of the project. Three lectures were presented, one by a popular lawyer residing in the village, the other two by local ministers. Musical numbers and special features

were presented with these lectures. Two three-act plays, with home talent casts, were given, and a big community banquet of hot roast pork thrown in for good measure.

The entire week was a complete success, both from an entertainment and a financial viewpoint. Of course the lectures weren't delivered by world-renowned speakers, but they were on topics of vital interest to the community folk and were effectively presented by men who knew rural life and its problems and by men who were known and trusted in the community and whose prestige in leadership was already firmly established.

The two three-act plays were presented very satisfactorily, too. What if the man who took the part of "Grandpa" took his whiskers off to rest his face between acts and then forgot to replace them when he returned to the stage? What if the rather unsubstantial back walls of the stage setting did totter precariously at a crucial moment and threaten to smother the entire cast? The audience wasn't witnessing a professional presentation. They weren't expecting perfection. They were seeing their neighbors and friends taking part in plays and, because they knew the actors, they enjoyed the plays even more.

When the week was over and the few expenses that were incurred had been paid, the Community Unity Week executive committee proceeded to buy a truck chassis, to make arrangements for having it equipped with a chemical fire-fighting outfit, and to rent an old brick building in which to store the outfit.

I don't want to give you the impression that the profits from this one week's program paid completely for all this—the truck, chemicals, and a building for storage. What really happened was that the sizable profits which were made, together with the enthusiasm with which the movement was received, prompted the executive committee to obtain the truck and chemicals in advance of total cash payment having faith that the comparatively small additional sum necessary would soon be made up.

Further developments showed that this faith was not unjustified. Personal contributions were made, frequently by those whose homes were saved from burning by the new fire-fighting outfit. Every fall thereafter for five years, Community Unity Week was presented until at last a satisfactory goal was completely achieved.

Today the little community of Hartford has a fine pumper and chemical truck, a well-heated garage for the fire truck, and a fine volunteer fire company. The whole-hearted interest and help of everyone has achieved a worth-while goal.

XVII. Financing a Community Fire Company in Hartford, New York *

The village of Hartford is not incorporated. No fire district was organized. The entire community had helped to pay for the fire truck through funds raised by a home-talent chautauqua, and was to get the benefit of its use. It was merely assumed that the truck would go to any village home or farm in all the surrounding territory to give protection and save property. If all helped pay for it in the beginning, expected the use of it while it was in operation, then some way must be found to make all share in the upkeep.

A home-talent carnival was suggested as a logical follow-up for a home-talent chautauqua. Instead of selling concessions to a traveling troupe who would invade the town with a rough, tough crew of barkers and their kind, it was decided that the volunteer fire company should appoint a committee from their number to take charge of a "Firemen's Bazaar." Thus was born another cooperative venture.

The carnival was staged in the fall, at the close of the harvest season. Merchants and farmers were solicited by members of the fire company for contributions to the supply of prizes. Practically anything was acceptable—pullets, young roosters, bushels of potatoes, apples, jars of honey. There was little difficulty getting people to contribute. Faced with a personal representative of the volunteer fire company who represented service for them, the farmers and townspeople scarcely dared do anything else but contribute. The town was small, and everyone felt a desire to help the worthy cause.

All afternoon before the carnival, amateur carpenters busied themselves erecting booths along one section of the main street of Hartford village. There were candy and ice-cream counters, hot dog stands, baby dolls to knock over, the inevitable Bingo game, roulette wheels. A near-by town supplied the band for the occasion and the stage was set.

The evening brought hundreds of people flocking to the village—people from Hartford and from near-by villages and cities—those who were interested in the project and anxious to help it out, and those who would go to a carnival no matter where it was. The crowd milled about from one stand to another. It was like a revival of Old Home Day, but with an added purpose. And when the supply of prizes, of hot dogs, and ice cream, was pretty thoroughly exhausted, young and old alike were drawn to a village hall where alternate round and square dances kept their toes tapping until about one o'clock in the morning.

* Duane L. Gibson.

A lot of hard work for some and a great deal of good fun for nearly everyone, but has the venture been financially worth while? And the answer is a most emphatic Yes! Since its beginning about five years ago, the Firemen's Bazaar has expanded until, in 1936 and 1937, it ran for two successive nights each year. The fire company has been able to buy a new pumper to replace the earlier chemical truck. The *net* income from the bazaar, above all expenses, for the last two years has averaged $750.

This has not constituted the sole source of income of the fire company, during this period while they had been paying off a bond for a new truck at the rate of $400 a year in addition to current expenses. About $200 a year had been appropriated from the town taxes to help out. In 1938, no money was appropriated by the town because of the fine financial condition of the company. The bond for the new truck has been entirely paid for and the company has a surplus of about $400.

Why has this system been any better than outright taxing to support a town fire company? This is a perfectly fair question and one which I think can be effectively answered in favor of the system Hartford has used.

In the first place, the expense for contributions to supporting the fire company comes at a fortunate time of the year. It comes at a time of year when, if ever, the farmer has a little spare money, or at least an extra bushel of potatoes or a spare cockerel. It does not come in the spring, with the taxes, when every possible cent must be turned to buying grains for spring planting, fertilizers to make them grow, machinery to get them into the ground, and a thousand and one other items.

If the bazaar committee works with care, it is possible to get a distribution of the cost of supporting the company far more even than taxing by the township ever could. The truck goes anywhere in the entire community to provide fire protection and this more often than not means crossing township lines. By careful solicitation, everyone who gets protection lends his support to the maintenance of the company.

Then, too, I mentioned the tendency for people from near-by villages and cities to attend the carnivals—people who had no great interest in the cause, but enjoyed a carnival wherever it was. These joy seekers contribute to the coffers of the Hartford fire company without taxing the pocketbooks of local residents—an outright gain for the townspeople.

Setting the fire company apart from the general tax program emphasizes the cooperative spirit of the venture in a way which the ordinary procedure of taxing could never do. Through its voluntary, non-com-

pulsory nature, the community has remained keenly awake to the recognition of the true value of a fire company's protection.

The little community at Hartford, New York, has been well satisfied with its cooperative venture in fire protection. It recommends that a maximum of spirit and enthusiasm can do wonders for a community with a minimum of effort.

XVIII. A Kansas Community House *

For forty years the quiet county seat town of Marysville, Kansas, has, like other country towns, wished it could do something to bring the business men and the near-by farmers closer together. But the farmers appeared to think that the business men were selfish and the merchants blamed the mail-order houses and felt that they were misunderstood.

Entertainments for the farmers were planned and well attended, but after they were over the farmers' wives found it as wearisome as ever to sit in the stores after shopping was done and wait for their husbands to bring around the teams or cars for the homeward trip.

Two years ago the leading men and women adopted another plan. Just off the main street was a brick building, 50 by 135 feet, erected by a public-spirited banker for a church recreation hall. It had not proved popular and was about to be abandoned. The new organization transformed it into a Community House, and it is one of the striking examples of what public spirit can do when rightly aroused.

Entering its broad door one finds a large reception room. In it are the desk of the matron, easy-chairs, tables loaded with magazines, generous rugs, homelike comfort. In one corner is the office of the county Y. M. C. A. secretary; adjoining is a playroom for boys, with games and boys' books and papers; there is a public library of several thousand books; and finally a white nursery with beds and chairs for the little children. Opposite is a room for the women's clubs, with another library and more magazines.

This house is the town forum. Here meet the committees and societies; it is free to every one. Farmers' wives bring their babies and leave them in charge of the matron while they go shopping; they come here to rest while their husbands are busy in the stores. Short entertainments are given frequently, and if a distinguished visitor is in town he is asked to speak.

The country women make it a headquarters for their neighborhood

* C. M. Harger. Reprinted by permission from *The Country Gentleman*, February 26, 1916.

visits, sometimes twenty or more bringing their lunches and having a picnic dinner in the big room when they come to town for shopping.

In the basement is a great tiled pool filled the year around with aërated water and in charge of an attendant. The boys and girls of town revel in the plunge and it is the favorite resort of many older folks. In the rear is a gymnasium. The floor is used as a roller-skating rink and the gallery has a roller-skating race track. In the gymnasium are held the business men's dinners.

All this takes money—about $2,200 a year. The men and women of the town contribute the larger part, giving five to eight dollars a year each, the subscription carrying with it the privilege of the pool and the rink, for which a small charge is made. More than 200 out-of-town visitors a month register at the Community House. The townsfolk wander in and out as if it were their club—as in a sense it is. The receipts are ample for its maintenance and it is the pride of the county.

The Community House has solved two problems. For the town—it has made a place off the streets where the boys and girls can go and under proper management have entertainment, healthful and moral. It has brought the men and women of the city closer together and has made them better acquainted; it has helped the town spirit and crystallized it into neighborliness. For the surrounding country—it has developed a better understanding of the oneness of town and farm.

Farmers and their wives have met the city folk and have learned that all of them are really working out about the same problems. Many farmers have become contributors to the maintenance fund.

The success of this Community House lies in the fact that it belongs in spirit to the whole community, that it is free, that no dues or taxes are levied—it is the door of friendliness opened by men and women who want to extend good will.

XIX. Brimfield's Community House *

In a grove of trees on the road from Peoria to Brimfield, Illinois, was a squat shanty of rough boards, a popular dancing pavilion.

Late one night, in the fall of 1917, on the way to his home in Brimfield, O. F. Kelly came within sight and sound of that pavilion, saw its lanterns gleaming amid the trees, heard its squeaking fiddles and the loud laughter of men and girls, saw the couples whirling and gliding, and dozens of motor cars parked in the shadows all round.

The rest of the way home he sat hunched down at the wheel of his

* Reprinted by permission from *The Country Gentleman,* December 20, 1919.

car, thinking. When he reached home he tiptoed into the bedroom where his own eleven-year-old boy and his two little girls were sleeping, and as he looked at them he thought of what he had passed back there in the black shadows of the trees—the motor cars, the girls clasped in the arms of men, the midnight jazz of the orchestra.

Next morning, early, Kelly went to his office. He called up Dr. J. C. Moore, who had an office a few doors away.

"Come over to my office as soon as you can. I want to talk with you about something important," Kelly said. In a few minutes Dr. Moore was there. Then he sent for D. H. Johnson, a furniture dealer, and when the two were seated Kelly said to them:

"You know that dancing pavilion in that lonesome spot out there along the Peoria road?"

Yes, they knew where it was.

"Have you ever been past there late at night?"

No, they had not.

No Place for a Good Girl. "I came by there a little before midnight last night," said Kelly. "I stopped, looked and listened. Now I don't know what goes on there, but I do know that in this county there are several of those public dancing pavilions, out in lonely places in the country. I know that respectable young men and women of this place and respectable farmers' sons and daughters go out there at night to dance, and I am told that men and women who are not so respectable come out from the underworld of Peoria and Galesburg and that all mingle together there in the dance and that there is no supervision of it at all.

"Now here is the thing I have been thinking about. We all know that it is not right for any respectable young woman to go out to a place of that kind where any person on earth may go, too, and dance on the same floor with all comers—with no one to supervise the dances, no one to care. I wouldn't want my daughters there at night, and I have two little girls who will some day be young women. I wouldn't want my son out there in that public dance at midnight, and I have a son who will soon be big enough to go. And you wouldn't want your sons or daughters out there either." And he stopped and looked earnestly at the two young men there before him.

"Here's where we are at fault," continued Kelly. "It shouldn't be necessary for our young men and women to have to go to such places in search of entertainment. Yet what have we here to amuse the young men and women? What have we here to attract any young couple to come to this town? Not a blamed thing, and it's my fault and yours."

"There's the opera house," said Johnson.

"Opera house be —— I came mighty nigh cussin' about it," exclaimed Kelly. "Opera house! You've a nerve to call that ratty old hole an opera house and this town's got a nerve to ask anyone to come at heating it in winter; a cold, cheerless, uninviting barn. It's the only place in this town where anything like a dance or a picture show or an entertainment can be pulled off. Stop to think of it, will you?"

Kelly was walking up and down his office floor now, more worked up about the lack of amusement in Brimfield than his two business friends had ever before seen him.

"Not a gymnasium in this town," he went on. "Not a shower bath. Not a shower bath. Not a decent place for a basketball game. Not a place where a dance can be rightly held. Why, say, it's a crime! What good is it going to do us to succeed in business here if our children have to go away to other places for the fun that young folks must have? What good is it going to do us to build nice homes here if our children, as soon as they get big enough, go away to some city because this town is so infernally dull that no young person with red blood in his veins could live here? And all these farmers' sons and daughters round here; we haven't a thing in the way of entertainment to bring them in to this town.

"And if you want to leave sentiment out of it and put it on a basis of dollars and cents, I'm here to tell you that if the farmers of the community have to go to Peoria and Galesburg for their amusement they'll go there to buy their furniture and you, Brother Johnson, will soon be cussin' the mail-order houses and the motor cars, blaming it on them."

"What are you going to do about it?" asked Doctor Moore.

"That's what I'd like to know," said Johnson.

"All right, I've got the answer," said Kelly. "We've got to furnish them with a place here in which they can dance and play basketball and see shows and have entertainments; and we've got to build that kind of a place and do it right now; and after it's built, we'll have to manage it and see that something's going on there all the time, something so attractive that it will keep our young folks here at home and draw the young people of the farms here. We've got to make Brimfield the social and amusement center of this whole community. If we don't we might as well pull up stakes and move out."

Both Doctor Moore and Johnson had long seen the trend of the young people toward Peoria, with its 80,000 population, its modern shows and summer parks and amusements of all kinds, good and bad, but neither had thought of a remedy.

"Here's the plan that I have thought out," said Kelly. "We have here a good public school and a fine high school building. We have gone to great expense to provide for the education of our boys and girls in arithmetic and geography and grammar and all that, but we have made no provision whatever for their play. There isn't a gymnasium in that high school building of ours and there is no place in it for one. Let's build a big community house here—a theater, dance hall, banquet hall, picture show, gymnasium, bowling alley, billiard and pool hall, club room and church all combined. No cheap place, mind you; a modern, up-to-date place that will furnish entertainment to old and young."

"How will we get it?" said Johnson. "A thing like that will cost like sixty. Where is the money coming from?"

"I'll show you," said Kelly, and he called his stenographer in and dictated the following:

"We, the undersigned, do agree and subscribe to the number of shares set opposite our signatures, the same to be paid: Twenty-five per cent April 1, 1919; twenty-five per cent June 1, 1919; the balance August 1, 1919, for the purpose of securing a site, and building and equipping thereon a community assembly building the same to be incorporated under the state laws of Illinois for the amount of $10,000; each share to be twenty-five dollars, fully paid and non-assessable. The maximum subscription of any one individual shall not be more than ten shares."

Everybody Was for It. "There," said Kelly, after his stenographer had pounded it out on the typewriter and he had read it aloud. "I worked that all out in my mind last night as I lay in bed. It may not be in the best legal shape and we may have to get a lawyer to straighten it out after we get started, but it will do to begin with. I'll start the ball rolling with a subscription for ten shares," and he wrote his name and passed the paper to Doctor Moore, who wrote his name down with ten shares opposite it and handed it to Johnson, who subscribed a like amount.

Kelly explained that he had placed the shares at twenty-five dollars apiece so they would be within the reach of anyone, and he had limited the amount any one person might hold to ten shares so no person could buy a controlling interest.

"Now, let's go and see Pacey and find out what he thinks of it," Doctor Moore said.

Addison Pacey is editor of *The Brimfield News.* When they laid the plan before him he said:

"This is the best thing that was ever thought of in this town. I'll get behind this with all the pep I can put into it."

In that week's issue of his paper he had a long article announcing

and explaining the plan and advocating it, and from that time on Pacey and *The Brimfield News* were for it.

Kelly and Johnson and Doctor Moore had expected it would be an uphill drag to get the $10,000.

They began first with the business men of the village, and here they met with their first big surprise—everybody was in favor of it. It did not take any arguing to get a subscription.

The first man Kelly went to see was a small merchant, a little peculiar and old-fashioned in his ways and inclined to be close fisted. Kelly thought he might possibly coax him into taking one share, but it was doubtful. After Kelly had explained the plan this man took the subscription paper, laid it up against the wall, wrote his name on it for ten shares and said as he handed it back:

"I'm for anything that'll keep Brimfield folks at home. In the good old days of horses and buggies folks near here couldn't drive twenty-two miles to Peoria very handy, and they came here to trade. I've seen 200 buggies in this town at once, on Old Settlers' Day. But now motor cars are so common, the people round here can run down to Peoria in an hour, and, by gum, they're going there and spending their money. The plagued chinch bugs took this country forty years ago and now it looks like the automobiles are taking it. I don't know which are worse. I hate 'em both."

Brimfield is in the center of a very rich section of the Corn Belt. Land there has been selling for as high as $450 an acre. In the town are a number of retired farmers, and Kelly had supposed that as these retired farmers had always voted against bonding the village for a water-works system they would not subscribe for a community building. But here the three leaders of the movement met with another surprise. Nearly every one of those retired farmers, when the plan was explained to him, put his name down for ten shares.

Before the week was out the $10,000 had been fully subscribed and the people were asking for more shares; the solicitors had not been out in the country yet.

It was decided to raise the capital stock to $20,000 and put up twice as large a building as was first intended.

For this additional $10,000 the solicitors went out among the farmers. A surprising thing was the eagerness with which the farmers round Brimfield took stock in the company.

A farmer who lived three miles south of town said to Johnson: "I've lived here thirty years and I am not rightly acquainted with the farmers who live three miles north of town. We ought to be more neighborly, but

as it is now we don't have a chance to meet. If this community house is going to bring us closer together I want to see it built."

The $20,000 was soon subscribed. There were 245 different stockholders. One-half of them were farmers. Many were women. Many parents had subscribed for their children. More than twenty shares were taken by farm hands. Soldiers and sailors from the neighborhood who were overseas in the great war sent their subscriptions when they read about it in the home paper or in letters from home.

The organization was incorporated as The Brimfield Community Company, with seven directors, two of them farmers. These elected Kelly, Johnson, and Doctor Moore as the building committee and managers of the building for three years.

One thing the three managers were agreed about: They were not going to put up a barnlike building or any sort of architectural monstrosity, but they were going to build the most artistic, attractive, roomy, well-lighted, and modern structure their funds would allow.

Before they were through with it the building cost $30,000, and they were in debt $10,000, but that makes no difference; the way ahead is clear to pay it off.

Before the building was finished it was decided to make it also a memorial to the soldiers and sailors who went from that community to the war, and a bronze tablet to that effect was put over the open fireplace in the club room.

The community house has the appearance of a big home bungalow, with so many windows everywhere that it is as light and sunny inside in the daytime as it is outdoors. It is on a corner, the west front and north side facing the streets, the rear facing an open space, and the south side overlooking an open level more than 100 feet square, which is owned by the Community Company and is to be made into a children's playground. So there will always be sunshine and light and fresh air in the building from all sides.

Monday, on the opening day, there was a dedicatory address by Benjamin R. Vardman, a noted community worker from Des Moines, Iowa. This gave the people a chance to see the new auditorium; seventy feet long and fifty-four feet wide with comfortable opera chairs; a stage fitted with curtains and wings and drops and painted scenery; dressing rooms with hot and cold water; a gallery round the sides and rear; a high arched ceiling; and the two walls on the sides made mostly of glass, the windows were so high and long. The auditorium was filled that evening with 2,000 persons.

A Joyous Opening Week. Tuesday evening there were athletic con-

tests, the main event being a basketball game between teams from Elmwood, on the south, and Princeville, on the north, and boxing and wrestling matches.

Wednesday night was the banquet in the dining room in the basement. In telling about this dinner Editor Pacey said to me: "Now when you write about our community house, be sure and put into your story the menu we served at that banquet so the people of the country can see that we did the thing right."

Here it is: Strawberries; chicken with dressing, candied sweet potatoes; mashed potatoes and brown gravy; creamed peas; pickles; olives; Vienna rolls; ice cream and cake; coffee.

Thursday night was home-talent night. A play, "The Fascinating Fanny Brown," was staged by young men and women of the village and from the farms. The auditorium was so packed that hundreds had to stand.

"I don't think," said Editor Pacey, "that our community fully realized what the community house meant and the possibilities of it, until it saw that play that night. They had been going to Peoria to see theatricals, never dreaming that plays just as good might be produced at home by their own young folks in their own theater. It was a revelation to all of us, and that play that night and the enthusiastic audience that packed the building dispelled all doubt and assured the full success of the community house."

Friday night the grand ball was given. The new hard-maple floor in the auditorium was tried out for dancing.

Saturday night there was a carnival and bazaar, with a cafeteria supper in the basement dining room, booths for selling fancy work up and down each side of the auditorium, a fortune teller on the stage, and minstrel show in the club room with Dixie Jubilee Singers and the Mary Jane Dainty Dancers—all home talent.

That ended the dedication of the building. The roads had been good all week, the weather fine, and at every event the building was packed. The week gave a clear profit of $2800 with which to buy new equipment.

The Spirit of Neighborliness. Last summer the people had plenty of opportunity to get acquainted with their community house. Every Wednesday and Saturday night there was a picture show. The admission was eleven and twenty-two cents and an average of 400 persons attended. From fifty to seventy-five dollars was taken in each evening. As the expenses were only twenty dollars there was a good profit to the Community Company.

Early last spring a group of young persons from town and country

organized a dancing club and every second week they rented the hall for fifteen dollars and held a dance. Once a month the Old-Timers, a club of older persons, had a dance. This was a great feature in the community and dance floor and gallery were always filled.

Once a week there was a basketball game. A county circuit has been formed and this winter a county tournament will be held in the community house. The commencement exercises of the high school were held there and the seniors and juniors each gave their play there.

This winter a dance is given after the picture show, and young people come to it from as far away as thirty miles, driving in motor cars and returning after the dance. Besides there is roller skating in the basement, and bowling, billiards and pool. The managing committee is planning for this winter several community sings and, maybe, a sure-enough grand opera.

Editor Pacey told me that since the community house was opened the population of Brimfield had increased by upward of one hundred.

"The town stood still for years," he said. "I am too loyal to the town to say that it slipped back a cog or two in the years before we built the community house, but at any rate it didn't grow any. But in the last six months a dozen houses have begun building here. I can take you round and show them to you, but you have seen them yourself. I defy any town in this county, outside of Peoria, to show one-half as many new houses going up as we have in Brimfield. In the majority of them no building is going on at all. Why is it? It's the community house and the spirit of neighborliness here that are the sole causes of it. I know, because I have asked the people who have moved here."

The principal of the high school said that the community house was a great thing for the students.

"We haven't any town limits any more," he said. "We have simply moved the town boundaries out to take in all the territory within a radius of twenty miles. We haven't any town people any more, nor country people, but they are all people of the community of Brimfield. One striking thing I have noticed about the entertainments at the community house—that is, the look of proprietorship on the faces of the people when they come there. They walk in with the feeling that it is their building, that they own it, and, of course, they do. It belongs to them."

"Yes," wrote back the mayor of Brimfield, "it pays big dividends in the richest coin of the country—in better and happier people in town and country."

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How may amateur dramatics be used in promoting community organization?
2. What are the values and limitations of community pageants for stimulating community *esprit de corps*?
3. Is the establishment of a library or of a fire company the better project for promoting community organization?
4. To obtain the best effect for community organization, what principles should be observed in the promotion of community projects?
5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of supporting a fire company by the type of community projects described for Hartford, New York? (See p. 304.)
6. In what ways are community projects useful in promoting community organization?

EXERCISES

1. Describe some community project in your community, showing how the work done in accomplishing the project and the completed project itself affected community organization.
2. Describe some community project in your own community which affected community organization *adversely*. To what was this bad effect due?
3. Describe the procedure which would insure the best effect on community organization of a school-consolidation project.
4. Rank ten community projects in the order of the amount of "shared emotional experience" in each.

READINGS

1. J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, "Rural Community Organizations Handbook." *Bulletin 384*, University of Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station, June 1926.
2. Mary Mims, *The Awakening Community*. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1932, Chapters IV, VI, and VII.

CHAPTER X

COMMUNITY CONFLICT

Conflict is one of the major social processes in community life. It is a component part of community organization work and can be expected to appear when groups and individuals are making adjustments to meet new conditions. By no means is all controversy detrimental; in fact, the ultimate product of much of it is community improvement. Of course quarrels of long standing between traditional rivals frequently hinder or make impossible desirable community work. Those of short duration that culminate in a decision are frequently a phase in the adjustment to vital changes.

A knowledge of conflict is exceedingly important to such professional leaders as school principals, county extension agents, social workers, and ministers whose work is colored, for good or evil, by conflict situations. The important thing is to know where to expect conflict to arise and to be able to guide it so that it will ultimately result in community betterment.

> Where men are alert and progressive, they will never be free from such interest clashes. The community which knows no conflict is too often the stagnant, the torpid community. Here differences are tolerated because the interests they connote are not vital enough to prompt to action, and we find a fatuous peace where what is most needed is activity based on understanding and adjustment of these interests.
>
> But where action is undertaken, where one group cuts across the interests of another group, there conflict ensues. How are such situations to be dealt with? How is such conflict to be utilized? How may men acquire that understanding and control that shall make of conflict, not a disintegrative, but an integrative force? How may we develop such techniques for re-directing cross-purposes as shall further, not frustrate, community progress and shall create opportunity for further achievement? [1]

[1] The Inquiry, *Community Conflict.* New York, 1929, p. xiii.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CONFLICT SITUATIONS

Conflict may develop out of any situation where there is a difference of opinion or where one group stands to gain and another to lose. Wherever there are proponents and opponents, those who are for and those who are against, those who believe and those who disbelieve, controversy can be expected.

Conflict has for its immediate objective the elimination of one's opponent from the contest, either by getting rid of him entirely, or by reducing him to a status of subordination where he must acknowledge his conqueror's supremacy in the particular issue in which they are engaged. It may range from the violence of a combat to the death in which no quarter is given or asked, to the meditative deliberation of a championship chess finals played according to scrupulous rules of etiquette, and in an atmosphere of complete good will. Whatever its form or degree, its distinguishing mark is that the activity of one opponent "impedes or destroys" the activity of the other.

Competition, on the other hand, is opposition in which the objective of effort is not the overcoming of an opponent, but is the attainment of something which the opponent also desires. Where it occurs the activities of the two are not directed toward each other, but toward the attainment of the mutually coveted, extraneous objective. The elimination of the competitor from the contest, should it occur, is incidental, and wholly secondary to securing the thing desired.[2]

The following are typical rural community conflict situations:

1. School principals versus the ministers, who disagree over school activities interfering with church activities; or it may be the principal versus the school board; or the principal versus the Parent-Teacher Association.

2. Conservative churches versus liberal churches.

3. Quarrels between local organizations in overorganized communities because of conflict in meeting time. This often occurs when there is competition between organizations for the attendance of local people at money-raising activities.

4. Newcomers versus old-timers, particularly when newcomers attempt to enter politics.

[2] E. E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology.* Boston, D. C. Heath & Company, 1931, p. 293. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

5. Old-line Americans versus foreigners.
6. Rivalry between local leaders or organizations.
7. Those for and those against community improvements such as a new school building, centralization, or consolidation of local school systems, new fire equipment, snow-removal equipment, village zoning ordinances, public water and lighting systems, improved highways, and street beautification.
8. Farmers versus merchants over differences of opinion on buying and selling practices.

A classification of rural community conflicts, according to the basic drives that stimulate them, would throw many of them into such categories as: (a) a drive for economic and social security; (b) necessary adjustments to social changes and to the environment; (c) the desire to achieve or maintain a position of prestige and recognition.

Situations Precipitating Conflict[3]

In order to deal intelligently with conflict, a leader should be familiar with the particular situations that arouse antagonism. Certain combinations of social relationships are more likely to produce conflict than others, and the individual who is capable of recognizing such relations is in an advantageous position to influence human behavior. Some of the most common situations that precipitate conflict are described in this section.

1. Conflicts between personalities, especially between influential people, frequently lead to group quarrels. Usually when two leaders differ on an issue, friends and followers identify themselves with their leaders and the antagonism thus grows until it involves two major groups in the community. Disagreements resulting from political contests are a typical illustration of this. Such conflicts are often sheer rivalry without any basis of differences in political opinion between opponents.

2. A challenge to the security of a group will bring forth a strong defense reaction. A fire company election in a New York rural community illustrates this point. Two traditional factions

[3] Much of the following material in this chapter is adapted from "The Inquiry," *Community Conflict*. New York, 1929.

were getting along amiably in the fire company until one group challenged the ability of a member of the other group to manage the funds of the organization. The immediate result was a reappearance of the old alignment with each group trying to obtain the dominant position in the organization. The argument over the ability of one man was interpreted by the faction to which he belonged as a challenge to its status. The resulting ill will increased the feeling of insecurity in both groups and precipitated retaliation on the part of each.

A very significant conflict in many modern communities occurs when the modern school inadvertently challenges the traditional status of the churches. Particularly on holiday occasions churches are inclined to feel that the school is seriously competing with them, usurping the time of the children to the extent that they are unwilling to participate in church Christmas and Easter programs. Competition for the time of the young people sometimes develops into antagonisms between the ministers and the school principal.

The ministers in the village of Henderson were condemning the school principal as an irreligious man and were accusing him of taking the children away from the church. The real issue was that the greatly enlarged extracurricular program of the new centralized school was much more fascinating to the young people than the traditional church program, and their preference was for the school activities. The suggestion of the school principal that the churches and school combine in one large united holiday program was acceptable to most of the churches of the area. The vociferous objectors, however, refused to accept this as a solution. They maintained that the school had no right to interfere with the church which had priority rights to the time of the young people. As a consequence, the conflict continues but the objectors are so much in the minority that they can no longer effectively embarrass the school or its principal.

3. Group conflict may be initiated by a single move to which an individual retaliates. If the retaliation produces a rebuttal, a circle of conflict responses develops that grows like the proverbial snowball into a serious dispute; and the longer the "circle of response" continues, the greater the difficulty of breaking it. Many times has an

incidental remark or a trivial accident developed into a major disagreement. Take, for instance, the neighbor's window broken by some little boy's baseball. If an apology and a new window are forthcoming, the matter is probably settled. But if words pass between the boy and the person whose window has been broken, the chances are emotions will be aroused. If the property owner then appeals to the child's parents, the number of people involved increases. And if the parents take the child's side and respond to the property owner in a retaliatory manner, the conflict process may grow with mounting emotional tension on both sides. Additional people may enter the controversy, until what was originally just a broken window becomes a neighborhood quarrel. Other familiar ways in which antagonistic reactions of this type are generated are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Proposed changes from existing conditions will often arouse conflict. Some group will interpret them as undermining its status; and, as a consequence, will take a defensive stand against the proposals. If it is to be carried into practice with the least possible friction, any change in community life has to be introduced in a democratic way, with plenty of opportunity for free discussion and explanation. "Make haste slowly and with understanding" is the safest rule for impatient community leaders wishing to promote new changes. A plan handed down by proclamation from above frequently creates resentment against what otherwise would be considered worthy and desirable.

Failure to confer with the various groups and leaders concerned may lead to the defeat of a proposal, regardless of its merits. This was aptly illustrated recently in a small community where the county agricultural agent, upon the advice of his superior, was organizing a group of young farmers. He proceeded to start this new work without conferring with the various groups in the community, except his customary advisory board. It so happened that the agricultural teacher of this community was also interested in the same young men and had been encouraged by his supervisor to carry on work with them. However, when he heard of the county agent's move, he abandoned his plans and completely retired from the situation. His feelings were somewhat hurt at having been totally

ignored. In all probability he would have been willing to cooperate with the agricultural agent in promoting the work, had he been consulted. Because he was not, he harbored a critical attitude toward the county agent and the new program. His supervisor felt likewise and did not hesitate to express himself to that effect.

The handing down of cut and dried programs by officers or public officials often initiates conflicts. Most folks resent patronage. The following quotation illustrates this point:

> In my own community work I have had the hardest time of all in inducing officials and social organizations to get community problems out into the open early. They discuss them behind closed doors. They work out programs of action in the minutest detail. They think they have produced a perfect article. Then they flash it on the community full-grown, full panoplied. When some profane and more or less dense caviller fails to recognize the divinity of the creation of their Jovian brain, they fly into a rage, and make scornful remarks about the intellectual capacity of the average citizen. The average citizen retorts in kind. And away they go in a rough and tumble fight which shows little or no merit on either side.
>
> We can save our scorn of the intelligence of the average citizen. What ails us is the stupidity of the official and promoting mind, the false technique of most community programming.[4]

When the situation is seen in absolute terms, when differences are considered irreconcilable and when there is an unwillingness to search for a common basis of understanding, retaliation is often resorted to. This occurred in a small community where there was agitation for a community hall. The conservative church group said, "We will support the community hall if it will never be used for dancing," and the liberal church group said, "We don't want a hall unless it can be used for dancing." The argument continued back and forth and no hall was built. In a very similar situation in another community, the two groups that differed agreed to leave the matter to the judgment of a management committee. The conservative group, who did not approve of dances, agreed that they would not block the project by insisting the others should not dance so long as they maintained decency standards.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Conflict very easily arises when the control of a joint project of several organizations is vested in a member of one organization, and there is some suspicion that favoritism is being shown or deception practiced. Many a cooperative venture has been abruptly terminated by real or imagined favoritism or deceit.

The community of Oakville had recently constructed a new central school building. Following its completion arguments arose between the school board and organizations wishing to use the building as a meeting place. Organization leaders, including the local editor, mildly accused the school board of not abiding by its statements used to obtain votes for centralization. Editorially the local editor wrote:

> Going back to a pamphlet printed and published by the school board previous to voting on the central school district we read under the title of "Everybody wins in a central school district, because: No. 6, it offers community centers for the entire central district and No. 7, it provides an adequate meeting place for community organizations." The two above statements lead the public to believe that the school . . . could be used by organizations within the district as a great community center, for plays, entertainments, dances, with, of course, some discrimination. . . . In other nearby communities where central school districts have been formed the school is open to the taxpayers when such occasions do not interfere with educational plans. Education first for our children, but there is no reason for putting a glass case around our new building and keeping out those who support the school.

Occasionally leaders are so unwise as to use social pressure to force upon an opposing group the acceptance of a certain program. Assuming an attitude of superiority or of authority on the issue, forcing a vote, obtaining a legal decision in favor of the proposal, using a mass meeting or a local paper to bring pressure on the opposition are the techniques that are sometimes used. Seldom indeed is bona fide agreement obtained in this way, even if the leaders are successful in obtaining a favorable decision. It is often a short-lived victory. This action is almost sure to lead to deep-seated resentment and ultimate if not immediate open conflict.

Stifling the opposition often misses its goal of compelling agreement. Constructive action is not based upon compulsion, but upon understanding. Some of the techniques used to attempt to crush

criticism and to compel agreement are: denying opportunity for discussion; appealing for loyalty to the group—often used by political parties when troubled with internal rebellion; threatening a person's job unless he acquiesces; and appealing to conflicting personal interests—that is, pointing out to the individual who disagrees on an issue that his disagreement is to his own disadvantage. This last point is illustrated in the case of a crime survey in a New York community. Political leaders, afraid of criticism from local citizens in case publicity was given to the findings, suggested that the matter should be handled quietly without publicity, because it would give the community a bad reputation to wash its dirty linen in public. By such an appeal to community loyalty, the political leaders persuaded the others interested in publicizing the results of the survey that it was against their own interests to disclose the facts.

Distinguishing between True and Derivative Issues

The immediate issue of contention in a conflict situation is not always the true and fundamental issue. Derivative issues frequently complicate an honest analysis. In this section we shall discuss some of the factors that mislead us and prevent our seeing clearly the essential points of disagreement.

Individuals in a community controversy may realize their objections do not carry sufficient weight to defeat a proposal and will consciously or unconsciously create substitute issues. This is frequently the technique used to develop opposition to community improvement.

The agricultural village of Huntsville had its new centralized school for about two years when unpleasant rumors were heard about the undesirability of the school principal. She was accused of being incompetent, non-cooperative, and aloof. Rumors were being circulated that the school needed a new principal. The real issue, however, was the competition of school money-making activities with those of the fire company and the Grange. The central school board had instructed the principal that the athletic program would have to finance itself, and if admissions to athletic contests were not sufficient for this purpose that it would be up to the school faculty and the students to raise the money. Weekly motion-picture

shows in the school auditorium were promoted to make up the deficit in the athletic funds. They were so popular that the Grange and the firemen had difficulty in getting people to attend their chicken suppers, dances, and card parties. As a consequence their displeasure centered upon the principal.

This conflict was resolved by calling a conference of all interested parties and frankly discussing the necessity for money-making activities in the community. Most of the local critics were unaware of why the school was obliged to promote motion-picture shows. An understanding was developed of the needs of the various organizations, certain joint money-making activities were sponsored, and an agreement made for distributing them throughout the year so as to be less burdensome on local folks. A movement was also started by some of the leaders of the Grange and the firemen for placing an appropriation for athletic activities in the regular school budget.

Another instance of confusing true with derivative issues occurred in a certain school centralization where a group of large landowners were opposed to the project because of a prospective increase in taxes. Objections on this score would have been unpopular in the community; consequently, they based their opposition on the loss of control of school policies if their district centralized with the surrounding localities. This procedure might also be an example of private gain represented as community interest. A very similar procedure is exemplified by private individuals or small minority groups who give their attitudes as representing the community's point of view. A shrewd and vocal minority can frequently drive a good bargain and gain their own objective by claiming that their personal opinions represent the will of the majority.

Issues may be obscured by the introduction of irrelevant points until the original basis of disagreement is lost. Such tactics merely divert attention from the real issue. However, a move of this nature is not always detrimental. There are times, if a community is sharply divided into two factions and the fight is bitter with no hope of a rational consideration of the problem, when the insertion of another issue will split the two groups into four groups in such a way that former enemies will find themselves allied on the new issue. It is claimed that such a division has a tendency to modify the stand of those who have taken extreme positions and to create

a situation that will ultimately permit a rational reconsideration of the main issue.

Rivalry between organizations, or between leaders, attempting to usurp the same field of action often precipitates issues that would not otherwise appear. When organizations or leaders are found allied against one another, it is usually wise to determine whether or not there is a difference of opinion on fundamental issues, or whether the conflict is due to rivalry or opposition that can be removed by assuring the objecting group of continued status and prestige. This technique was successfully used in the reorganization of a fire company. Certain community leaders were dissatisfied with the management of the company and wished to replace some of the inefficient officers with more capable ones. Several of the officers to be retired, however, belonged to one of the major factions of the community. This clique prepared to challenge the change until it was assured that its representatives who were officers would, under no circumstances, be demoted, but would be advanced to more important positions. The change was executed smoothly with the election of capable persons to management positions and the distribution of honorary positions to the representatives of the objecting group.

It has been previously mentioned that failure to confer or dogmatically handing down plans from above tends to create conflict situations, and that including the potential opposition in all deliberations tends to minimize conflict and to create a common basis of understanding. Many a community project has been ruined because influential leaders and groups were unintentionally ignored during the early deliberations when the project was taking form. The establishing of a community council frequently runs into difficulty if all local organizations are not invited to participate in the first meeting called to consider the proposal. Later invitations do not make up for this oversight that arouses objections to the new proposal other than any true difference of opinion.

A community would in some instances achieve consensus if the local leaders were left alone and not interfered with by outsiders. Unwise suggestions or regulations from supervisors of local professional leaders, state officials, officers of state or national organizations often plunge local groups into conflict. Control of local groups from

without can be exceedingly destructive as well as constructive. In the process of organizing a Community Association, a Parent-Teacher Association in a southern community precipitated a serious conflict by asking the advice of the State Parent-Teacher Association officials. The Community Association had asked the local parent-teacher group to operate as an integral part of the new organization and to continue to assume its recognized function in the community. The state officials, however, advised the Parent-Teacher Association that it had a duty to perform in the community and could perform it best if it functioned independently of the Community Association. The acceptance of this advice created hard feelings between the two local organizations. The Community Association proceeded to organize its own educational committee, politely ignoring the Parent-Teacher Association.

In the consideration of conflict situations, it is always well to remember that they may have roots that run back into the history of the locality. An existing conflict may be only one of a long series. The difficulty may be an outcropping of some old alignment that has been revived or the most recent link in a chain of misunderstandings that have accumulated during the years. This was the case in an election of a fire chief. A newcomer to the community was very much surprised and somewhat flattered to discover that he had been elected to the very honorable position of fire chief. Later on he discovered that he was elected because he was the only eligible man who was not affiliated with one of the two traditional alignments in the community.

The material in this section has been presented to assist leaders to analyze conflict and to gain an understanding of its characteristics as it functions in their communities. The ability to anticipate conflict and to recognize its destructive qualities is a part of the everyday job of community leaders. Another part, and the most important, is to nullify the undesirable effects of antagonism or to use the potential emotional energy behind conflicts and turn it to constructive uses.

RESOLVING COMMUNITY CONFLICT

There are no infallible rules for resolving conflicts. There are, however, certain general procedures and approaches that have been

found helpful when skilfully used. The result of any genuine solution must, of course, be acceptable and emotionally satisfying to the participants. Otherwise what might appear to be a solution is but a lull in the battle.

Minimizing the Feeling of Difference

A general approach that is often used for resolving conflict is the manipulation of the elements of the situation so as to create attitudes of mind that will permit a search for a solution. This involves minimizing the differences and emphasizing points in common with the aid of techniques such as those described in the following paragraphs.

Issues that are impractical or considered extreme or radical may often be defeated by completely ignoring the issue or considering it of little importance. Thus a proposal that might have led to conflict will be allowed to die of its own weight as its unreasonableness becomes obvious even to its own advocates. Another method of minimizing differences is to emphasize the inevitability of change, the futility of objecting to major social trends that are going to occur whether we like them or not. Community surveys and score cards discussed in Chapter VII are frequently used to obtain an objective consideration of local problems. Potential opposition to community improvement projects has often been dispelled by an assembly of data that pictured existing needs and implied the inevitable changes that would have to be made if the community was to maintain or improve its relative position of status. An excellent illustration of this point is the Clarence Center Survey in Chapter VIII (p. 245).

The orientation of the conflict situation in relation to long-time trends or to the facts in the situation frequently relegates the argument of the opposition to a position of insignificance. This approach is sometimes associated with that of calling in the expert to present the facts and to give his opinion of a desirable solution. In some of these cases the expert assumes the role of a referee in addition to his role of giving expert opinion. It is, of course, also true that experts are retained by opposing groups to furnish ammunition for their contentions. Such a procedure is useless, for it merely feeds the

fires of controversy. As was pointed out in the first part of this chapter, conflict is often due to fear of losing status or "losing face," as in the oriental tradition. In many such situations discord may be avoided by action to remove this fear and to assure the groups concerned of continued status and recognition. The story of the fire company election related above illustrates the point. The potential antagonism of influential individuals or groups to a project which might be interpreted as reflecting upon their status is frequently eliminated by creating recognition to permit them to "save their faces."

Integrating Interests

True agreement must be a decision that gives satisfaction and is based upon an understanding of the interests and wishes of the conflicting parties.

> Neither the way of victory nor the way of compromise will accomplish this purpose. The victory of one or another side leaves the conflict antagonisms still in the ascendant; compromise leads to the repression of these antagonisms only to bring them forth in greater intensity at a later date. In neither are the valid interests of both sides accommodated in the final solution. Our aim must, therefore, be something more than this. It must be the devising of a way in which the needs of all groups are adjusted, the discovery of a solution which will add to, rather than detract from, existing satisfactions. To further growth, to encourage the continuing realization of the possibilities inherent in the life of the community, must be the aim of our statesmanship.[5]

Such an approach to community problems places the emphasis upon rational long-time community improvement, rather than upon the elimination of the particular conflict. Analyzing the basic problems, trying to obtain a recognition of the identity of interests of the contesting groups, utilizing the existing common interests or creating a common interest to redirect the energies of the groups into creative activity are the important approaches to a redirection of conflict into constructive enterprise. The case story of Prairie Center (p. 301) illustrates the use of these procedures.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

The opportunity to meet informally in a non-controversial atmosphere, to discuss without the necessity of coming to an immediate decision, is one of the essential means of encouraging constructive community action. Unofficial community councils, community improvement associations, and service clubs are specific groups in which this is possible.

In a wholesome community situation, with enlightened leadership, minority groups are aided to realize their goals. An attempt is made to incorporate them into the basic fabric of the community so that they have a position of status and of respect. This, of course, is almost the opposite of the situation that encourages conflict, that of denying minority groups the same rights and privileges enjoyed by the majority groups. The progressive community combines its local groups in a democratic working arrangement that carries on the essential group functions with a minimum of friction and a maximum of organization efficiency.

ILLUSTRATIVE CASE STUDIES

I. Prairie Center: *A Case Story of Overcoming Conflict between Two Traditional Factions*

Prairie Center is an unincorporated village of approximately 500 people in an agricultural and gypsum mining community of 1,200 population. Traditionally the community divides itself into three major groups which we shall call the upper group, the lower group, and the "Mennonites." The citizens do not use the evaluative terms, upper and lower; they are used here merely for convenience and clarity of presentation. Representatives of either group always refer to the opposition as "the other group." The "Mennonites" are considered neutral inasmuch as their religion prevents their participation in membership organizations. In the upper group will be found most of the leaders, merchants, and professional people of the community and a majority of the membership of local organizations. The officers and members of the Homemakers Club, the Community Council, the Lutheran Ladies Aid and Missionary Society, the Old Card Club, and most of the members of the United Brethren Church belong to the upper group. The Dorcas Ladies Aid Society in the Lutheran Church is the only organization, other than a card club, with leaders and members coming entirely from the lower faction. There are representatives from this element, however, on the governing board of the Lutheran Church and Sunday School and in the

Volunteer Fire Company. The upper group, however, holds the important offices and controls these organizations. The Farm Study Club, Dairymen's League, and the baseball teams seem to be neutral territory and to be composed of individuals from both groups, particularly interested in the programs of these organizations. Again the representatives from the upper group usually furnish leadership for these organizations. The conflict appears most definitely and frequently in the Lutheran Church with its two Ladies Aids, one for each faction, the Volunteer Fire Company, and the annual school meetings.

The story of a particular conflict over the management of the Fire Company illustrates a typical disagreement. A few years ago the lower faction took control of the Fire Company and, according to the leaders of the upper faction, nearly "ran it into the ground." A newcomer in the community was railroaded in as fire chief. This move was engineered by one of the leaders of the lower group, who was the real power behind the throne while the newcomer was in office. However, the new chief was apparently unable to manage the affairs of the organization. There were so many conflicts and accusations that the company almost disintegrated. These disagreements were not confined to the opposition of the upper group to the lower group, but often occurred between individuals of the lower group over how to manage the Fire Company. Feeling ran so high at one meeting that, upon adjournment, some of the ladies of the lower group staged an impromptu scrap in the village streets.

The leaders of the upper faction allowed the elected officers of the Fire Company to go their way without much assistance. Their action can best be described as a "hands off—let's see what you can do" policy. When the lower group's management was obviously incompetent and things were in pretty much of a mess, the upper group leaders stepped in and resumed control of the company's affairs with perhaps a little of the "I told you so" attitude.

The management of the school was another point of contention. The upper group was interested in improving the school; the lower group was interested in keeping down taxes. The group having the majority in attendance at the annual school meeting elected a school trustee of their liking. If this trustee managed the school so that he aroused the antagonism of the other group, he was almost sure to be defeated at the following election. Consequently, very little progress was made in school improvement.

New projects have been nearly always initiated by the leaders of the upper group. The methods they have developed to inaugurate improvement and to avoid frustration of their plans are approximately as follows.

The proposal is informally talked over at Homemakers Club meetings, the Old Card Club, or informal visiting in the community. After it is thoroughly discussed for some time, it is likely to come up for semi-official action at a Community Council meeting. This is not done, however, until the upper group has obtained fairly definite agreement among themselves. When consensus has been obtained within the group, they then proceed to carry out the activity if it does not require an official vote in the community. If it is a public problem upon which a public and official vote must be taken, they proceed to do so in as quiet a manner as possible without much publicity so as to avoid antagonizing the lower group. If the proposition involves politics or township government, it must carry the approval of the Republican Party leaders, whose local representative is a member of the upper group.

It is interesting to note that in recent years the most violent controversy has been over "who shall be elected to office." When this occurs, there is a tendency to compromise by electing one of the newcomers in the community, since they are considered neutral and have not obviously affiliated with either of the major factions.

One local leader has been sponsoring a community council since 1929. With the aid of several of the leading citizens of the community he has sponsored non-controversial projects such as a community Hallowe'en party for the children, and the community baseball teams composed of members of all three major groupings; he has encouraged the firemen with their Drum Corps; he has promoted an Annual United Community Church Service, and an Annual Community School Night, health clinics, and many other activities that brought people together in pleasant relationship. His has been a definite attempt to minimize the traditional alignment of the community in conflicting groups.

In 1936 a community survey was conducted to obtain a non-controversial objective approach to community needs. A specialist from the college of agriculture was called in to act as the expert and as a neutral outsider to supervise the survey. This was a strategic move on the part of the leaders of the upper faction, for the lower faction would more readily accept the results of a survey supervised by a neutral third person, particularly if that person carried the title of an authority. Two years after the survey was initiated, a letter from the Lutheran minister who was then president of the Community Council read: "We are proud to state a new school building is the result of the survey. It was voted five to one. The Fire Hall question is solved; the old company has sold out to the Volunteer Company. The storm sewers were constructed last fall. We have designated the Rose of Sharon as the distinctive shrub of Prairie

Center and almost every resident has obtained bushes through the community council."

One by one, the items that were up for discussion at the time of the survey are being put into effect. It would seem the campaign of the local doctor, with the assistance of the Lutheran minister and other local leaders, is being successful in slowly uniting the traditional factions of the community for constructive purposes. The factions still exist, however, and potentially are as strong as ever, unless they are handled with care and consideration.

II. They Built a School: *A Conflict of Personalities.*

Four miles from the thriving industrial community of Columbus, with some 15,000 inhabitants, in one of the many valleys radiating from this city, lies the small town of Factoryville with a population of approximately 1,200. Naturally enough, the two industries of Factoryville, being controlled and managed by different families, grew into rival camps. At the time of our discussion, the years of 1927 and 1928, the Left factory was in the hands of Mr. Lentz, a rich man of German birth, who arrived in town a young immigrant with nothing but the clothes on his back and an unusual amount of ingenuity and industry. Without benefit of education or the aid of influential friends, in a comparatively few busy years he was the richest and most important man in town.

The Right factory at this time was controlled by Mr. Roberts, an American by birth, of considerable wealth and large family connections. His family had been very ordinary, without financial or social standing until Mr. Roberts married a girl whose family was not only aristocratic but well-to-do. Because of his wife's money and prestige he was able gradually to buy up a controlling interest in the other factory and employed as many of his family as he could conveniently place in his plant.

The abandoned building of a defunct college was used for many years as a private academy and later as a public school. About 1890 the college building was removed and a modern wooden school building erected on the college grounds. Factoryville held its own in the educational world with a fine new up-to-date high school building.

The factories grew up about 1900, and by 1910 or so they were so well established that the owners found time to turn their attention to other than mere business activities. It was natural that they should choose the school, as it had always played an important role in the town.

As the factories employed approximately the same number of both men and women, Mr. Lentz and Mr. Roberts shared about equally when it came to political support. Neither Mr. Lentz nor Mr. Roberts was able

to control the school board for more than two years at a time. But while one was in control, he managed to undo whatever the other may have succeeded in doing, even to dismissing the teachers that the other may have employed.

Time moves on and in its movement is no respecter of persons or things. In 1926 the once fine building of 1890 was an excellent fire trap and none too large to house the children of Factoryville. Nearly everyone agreed that a new building was needed if the community was to hold its own in the educational world, as it had done for so many years. The plans for a new fireproof building were prepared and changed to meet the particular desires of the community. Not only were plans made for the new school building, but the two prominent men of the community also prepared for battle. Now here was a splendid opportunity for each rich man to show the other who was more influential in the town.

The school was their only battlefield. Village, state, and national elections held no attraction for them. The school site became the issue. Mr. Lentz had the baseball grounds to offer to the public gratis and Mr. Roberts the old college grounds with its traditions. When each man had offered his site to the public, the battle for votes was on.

The campaign for the site was brief. The employees in each factory were told how to vote. Mr. Lentz knew that the majority of the votes would be cast for the ball field and Mr. Roberts knew that the future children of Factoryville would be educated on the old college grounds, where their parents and grandparents had been educated. The traditions of the old college won by a very small majority, but now the war was just getting an impetus.

Immediately, a petition was sent to Mr. Lentz who controlled the school board at that time, signed largely by employees of his factory, asking for a new election on the question of the school site. Why? A large number of the voters felt the recent election was unfair, because:

1. The issues were too closely interwoven.
2. The fight was too warm to give a real decision.
3. It was wise to get the cool second thought of the community.
4. Many voters did not stop to visualize the new site as it would be when completed and graded.
5. Voters did not understand the exact size of the new site.
6. Disposition of the old site was misunderstood in the heat of the election.
7. Voters did not realize that the new site is near the ideal athletic field of the community.

8. The auditorium in the new building will give new impetus to school debates, plays, entertainments, etc., and will be better supported by the public if the building is centrally located.
9. As the school cannot be moved after it is built, the community should have more time to weigh very carefully and decide in a more thoughtful election.
10. Personal feelings and animosities prejudiced many minds in the recent heated election.
11. A second decision would settle the matter without rancor or spite and for the best interest of all.
12. The petitioners were interested in having this question settled fairly and thoughtfully and thought a large majority of the voters would welcome a further chance to express their wishes on the matter of a site for the new school.
13. The new site would be donated gratis.

A large city newspaper, hearing about the petition, published an article which read something as follows:

As a result of a petition, signed by the voters of the village of Factoryville, and filed this morning with Mr. Roethe, president of the Board of Education of that village, Factoryville faces a second special election for a school site. Those who signed the petition ask that another election be conducted. Many of the signers claim that they voted against the new site, but are now in favor of it.

The controversy over the proposed site, now being waged fiercely between factions favoring the baseball grounds, known as the new site and offered gratis to the school district by Mr. Lentz, and those backing the present site, was thought to have been settled and the breach between the two factions closed at the special election conducted a month ago, when the voters registered their choice in favor of erecting the school on the site of the present school. The subject is again the chief topic of discussion where two or more villagers meet.

There is a possibility that the board will take some action within the next few days. Whether they will call a special election could not be learned this morning. Mr. Roethe stated that the school board could not very well ignore the petition, but that he would discuss the situation with the other members before announcing his decision.

It is well known about the village that only one member of the board is an out-and-out spokesman for the present site, with the possibility of one other member supporting him. The other two members

favor the new site. In case of a tie vote, it is predicted that the president of the board would swing in line with those favoring the new site.

There were 513 votes cast at the recent election, the largest in the history of the village. The vote stood 286 to 217 against the new site and 267 to 233 in favor of the present site. There were 10 blanks on the first proposition and 13 on the second. The voters who cast blank ballots were against building any new school and the present petition contains many names of those voters, who are now claiming that the propositions were not made clear to them at the time of the election.

Both factions engaged counsel in the matter. Those who favored the present site stated that the election was legal and must stand. The other side claimed that many voted in the election who were ineligible. Being ignorant of the election law, whereby they were compelled to challenge the voter at the time of presenting his vote, they had failed to exercise that privilege.

The squabble reached the State Education Department, but it was understood that the state would have no part in the controversy. It was said that one state representative sent to investigate affairs was in favor of building the school in a more central location than it was at that time.

For some reason, the defeated board controlled by Mr. Lentz saw fit to discontinue the proposition of a new building. But the battle went on during another year, and what a battle it was! Mr. Lentz's army offered the following arguments in favor of the new site:

1. Centrally located.
2. Most children live on this side of the river and railroad.
3. Large level athletic field joining the school grounds.
4. Site gratis completely landscaped.
5. Village playground and park in the center of the village.
6. Building not flooded during periods of high water.
7. Building plainly visible from the main street.
8. Site preferred by the State Education Department officials.
9. Physical training as required by law cannot be properly taught on a hillside; level ground is required.
10. Old site too small.
11. Boys and girls should have a level place to play their games.
12. Children would be away from automobiles and where they would not be breaking window glass with their balls.
13. Removing old cemetery would improve the looks of our streets.
14. Room for expansion.

Mr. Roberts' army's arguments for the old site were:

1. Located at one side of town away from noise and automobiles.
2. Side hill a better place for a school building than a swamp.
3. Building has a picturesque setting among the old college maples.
4. Has been a school site for nearly ninety years.
5. Site ready for a building now.
6. The other election perfectly fair.
7. $25,000 to $35,000 required to prepare new site for school purposes.
8. New site means high taxes and higher rents.
9. Springs on a hillside will never damage property like a flood along a river.
10. The old site can be enlarged to any desired size.
11. Why give up the old site that has been used so long for educational purposes?
12. Why give up the old site so that Mr. Lentz can have an artistic setting for a private home?
13. A cemetery is a sacred place; no dead should be disturbed.
14. No smallpox nor black diphtheria disease germs will be dug up on the old site.

So the furious battle raged on for a year. The local paper carried in each weekly issue at least one or more articles on the school site.

Should any new facts develop, handbills were printed containing the latest news and distributed from house to house. The handbill news would be thoroughly discussed by the time the weekly newspaper appeared giving complete details concerning the matter.

One of the interesting issues was the matter of removing some bodies from the old burying ground on the new site. In the first place the land was "to be used as a burying ground while trees grow and water runs." The ground had been given to the village and was held most sacred by many. Then about 1850 many in the vicinity died of smallpox and black diphtheria. Many on both sides actually feared another such an epidemic if the bodies should ever be dug up.

It was said that Mr. Lentz wanted the new site so that he could build a castle on the hillside such as might be found in Germany, his home country. Mrs. Lentz is supposed to have shown a blueprint of the old school grounds to a very dear friend. The blueprint showed where the mansion would stand and the flower beds that Mrs. Lentz loved so well would be. This dear friend told another dear friend and so on, until a dear friend on Mr. Roberts' side heard it and out went another of those handbills with the latest news.

The second election was finally arranged for by the Board of Education. Just before the election Mr. Lentz and Mr. Roberts placed signed letters in the local papers requesting the voters to vote as they pleased and accept the results harmoniously.

The public did not desert the traditions of the old college. Today a fine brick building stands on the old college grounds.

As an impartial observer looks back now, he sees that the children of both sides have enjoyed the fine new building and all its conveniences for seven years, but many of their parents and grandparents have never been inside the building. One sees members of the same family working in different factories. The animosities that grew up during the school-site fight will not be healed in this generation. There are the persons who would speak their minds whether for or against their employer's wishes. And there are many who lost their jobs in the factories now bitter not only against their former employer but also against those that favored his site.

The effects that the terrible struggle has had upon the various social organizations of the community would furnish material for another story. Factoryville might have a fine consolidated school today, rather than just a village school, if Mr. Lentz and Mr. Roberts had thought of community welfare rather than of personal prejudice. Leaders of the various organizations today are supported by members that agreed with them on the school site and are treated indifferently or opposed by those who were in favor of the opposite site.

Perhaps by 1960, when the last bond on the building is paid, the community will have very largely forgotten the dispute over the school site. Their children will then, in reminiscent mood, have a good laugh over what their parents and grandparents did back in the good old days; but the children of those families in which family loyalty is strong may still have definite feelings on the matter.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Which kind of a community would you prefer to live in—one without serious conflict or one with conflict? Why?

2. If you were the principal of a school and there was serious conflict between two important local organizations, would you leave it alone or would you try to resolve it? Give your reasons.

3. If you were a new minister in a small village and you found antagonism between your Ladies Aid Society and the Ladies Auxiliary of the Fire Company because of competition in money-raising events, what would you do?

4. If you had been a citizen of Factoryville during the school fight, what would you have done about the conflict between Mr. Lentz and Mr. Roberts?

5. Is it always desirable to have a disinterested person preside at a discussion for the solution of conflict?

6. What are the essential requirements in a satisfactory solution of a conflict?

7. How was the bitter church conflict in the Daytona case story resolved?

8. What are the major factors encouraging conflict in the Mt. Gilead Community?

EXERCISES

1. List the issues that have created serious conflicts in your community. Name the groups and the leaders involved in each quarrel. (The leaders should be identified by their position or role in the community rather than by name only.)

2. List three or more group conflicts with which you are familiar and describe the procedures used to solve them. Suggest ways in which a more satisfactory solution might have been evolved.

3. Prepare an outline for the analysis of group conflicts which will reveal the phases or stages of their development and resolution. Use the outline to describe one of the situations included in Exercise 2.

READINGS

1. J. F. Steiner, *The American Community in Action*. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1928, "Mt. Gilead," Chapter VIII, p. 172, and "Daytona," Chapter XIII, p. 264.

2. Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Rural-Urban Conflict Series*. Publication of the American Sociological Society, vol. XXIV, No. 4, November 1930, p. 28.

3. Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York, The Ronald Press, 1935, Revised Edition, Chapter 9, "Processes of Social Interaction."

CHAPTER XI

TECHNIQUES FOR MAKING ORGANIZATIONS EFFECTIVE

An array of special interest groups and community organizations integrated into a working relationship is the essential social machinery for obtaining community action. The necessity of manipulating these groups into an effective pattern of organization has been described. This chapter will emphasize the techniques for making the constituent organizations in a locality more effective for doing their share of the community's work.

Organizations usually arise in response to the recognition of some common need. This recognition may be spontaneous and may arise out of the nature of the local situation, or it may be stimulated by someone who has come in from the outside, often a professional organizer, who arouses people to the perception of a need of which they were previously unaware. If the stimulation created for a new organization has popular appeal there is a brief period of promotion and a sharp rise to popularity; people wish to join the new group. This is frequently followed by a comparatively long period in which the original purpose of the organization is carried out. When this original job has been accomplished, however, there is usually a crisis. The organization declines slowly in membership and ultimately goes out of existence, or continues to struggle along, grappling at every new idea that the officers can think of to prolong the life of the group. Most of us have assumed that organizations once established should continue forever, rather than go out of existence when they have served the purpose for which they were organized. Those groups, however, that are able to change their purposes and so orient themselves to accept new goals and new work that needs doing continue for many years, with fluctuations in the membership and attendance according to the popularity of their program.

This chapter is not an argument for maintaining or giving long life to organizations that do not have a recognized purpose for existing, but rather it presents suggestions for making effective the organizations that are needed and to assist them to make larger contributions to community welfare. An effort will be made to point out some of the techniques which have been successful in overcoming difficulties in organization work.

Establish Definite Objectives

A clearly defined objective is a first essential for a successful organization. The group that has a specific goal produces more and gives more satisfaction to its members than the organization that drifts along a haphazard course. A firm belief in the destiny of an organization creates driving power—dynamic—for increasing the participation of its members in group activities.

> Most rural community organizations are short-lived. The period of crisis seems to come from about the fourth to the seventh year. This is especially true for such organizations as community clubs, farmers' clubs, parent-teacher associations, homemakers' clubs, and the like. Young people's organizations seem to meet difficulties even earlier. Organizations concerned with business activities live longest.
>
> If the road is to be lengthened, the first task for any organization is to make sure of its real purpose. Second, it must find just where it is along this road—through what periods or cycles it is now passing. Third, it must set about to overcome those problems which are peculiar to that period, and which tend to pull it down.
>
> On the other hand, there can be no reason for an organization to live longer, once its purpose is accomplished. It is better by far that it should step aside or make room for another. It may not be able to adapt itself to the changing needs of the time. In any case, success is not measured in terms of years or miles, but in tasks well done.
>
> Whether traveling a long road or a short road, every organization can greatly increase its effectiveness in the community, the county, or the state, by giving careful attention to its purposes, its problems, and difficulties. The clearer and more definite its purpose, the better its chances of success. The earlier its difficulties are remedied, the greater its opportunities for service.[1]

[1] J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, "Making Rural Organizations Effective." *Bulletin 403,* Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, pp. 3 and 4, October 1932.

Train Leadership [2]

Local groups are usually dependent upon their elected officers for leadership. There may be some supervision and stimulation from outside the community, but the real responsibility for keeping an organization going rests upon the local people themselves. Finding qualified leaders is not an easy task. It usually means persuading some capable and very busy person to assume the office. It is important, therefore, that organizations follow a policy of leadership training for their officers, not only for those who are now in positions of responsibility, but those who are potential leaders. The traditional method of training officers is to let them work up through the organization, starting off perhaps with simple committee work and progressing to committee chairmanship, and up through the various offices to the presidency. The Granges and lodges often use this method and call it "working up through the chairs." This arrangement is sometimes associated with a rule in the constitution or by-laws limiting the term of office to insure periodic progress through the chairs. Leadership training of this type might well be labeled "training by gradually increasing responsibilities." Almost the opposite of this method is the one of keeping a good officer in office as long as he will accept the responsibility. This permits a high level of accomplishment if the ability of the leader is exceptional, but it is inclined to create a crisis in the life of the organization when the inevitable time comes for that leader to relinquish his office.

An increasing number of organizations conduct training schools for their officers. These are usually sponsored by the county or state overhead groups or some educational agency, such as the Cooperative Extension Service. State Grange Lecturers' Schools, Parent-Teacher Association Institutes, training schools for Sunday school teachers, county leadership training conferences are a few of them. A modification of this plan is the state-wide organization conferences that are used to stimulate activity in the local groups and to prepare the local officers to function in their home areas. Frequently, however, the emphasis of these conferences is upon the program which the state or national officers wish to pro-

[2] For further information on leadership, see Chapter XII.

mote in the communities, rather than upon activities of local importance.

A third method of training local leadership is formal instruction either through correspondence courses, attendance at extension classes conducted in local communities by the staff of university extension services, or attendance at university short courses. Another method, and one very frequently used by the more capable leaders, is self-training by reading available books and pamphlets containing helpful information on the organization's undertakings. (See Appendix C for a list of organizations that distribute publications and furnish services helpful to local leaders.) Such material is usually designed for specific use in particular situations, rather than in the general aspects of leadership. Probably the most immediately useful material trains for particular leadership situations rather than for leadership in general.

Use Committees

The effective use of committees is one of the most fundamental techniques in organization work. The customary committees in rural organizations are: (1) for administrative purposes, to carry out some specific instruction or duty for the organization, such as arranging for a meeting place, obtaining the services of a certain speaker, or preparing the refreshments; and (2) for policy- or program-forming purposes, such as drawing up a proposed program for the coming year, or investigating a local situation and recommending to the organization what it should do about the matter, or drawing up or revising by-laws. The judicious use of committees greatly facilitates the work of an organization, eliminates unnecessary detail from the business meeting, and permits opportunity to gather data and arrive at decisions in a more leisurely and systematic manner.

> The head of a great commission of the United States Government states that his experience of more than twenty-five years leads him to believe that a committee of three is good in studying administrative problems, but that five is preferable in large matters where collective judgment is important. A committee of seven may be useful in very important matters. A committee of more than seven is a dead loss, nine being worse than seven, eleven being worse than nine. Large

committees divide the time in a rapidly mounting ratio, and it is simply impossible to get a real consensus of opinion.

Some, no doubt, would agree with the conference member who said that the best working committee is a committee of three, with two sick in bed. A committee of one is a device too seldom used.[3]

Committees of one are often more effective than larger committees to care for the administrative functions previously mentioned, unless the routine work is more than should be imposed upon one individual. Committees of three or five are adequate for practically all rural organization situations. The ancient rule for inviting dinner guests is a good one to remember when appointing committees—"not fewer than the Graces nor more than the Muses."

The custom of appointing an odd number of people to a committee has a sound sociological basis. The pair group is recognized as the strongest grouping of human individuals. It is, therefore, the tendency for a committee of four to break up into two pairs, and, if they disagree, there is no possibility of getting a majority vote. It is interesting to note that in committees of five, in which there is disagreement between two pairs, it is frequently possible for the odd individual, if he realizes his opportunity, to make a very shrewd bargain with either side in return for his support.

The naming of committees is customarily delegated to the chairman. This is as it should be, except for important policy-forming committees that the group as a whole wishes to elect. A just chairman, however, is more likely to appoint a truly representative committee than is the membership to elect one. Election by the majority is inclined to omit representatives from the minority.

If the committee is to examine a controversial subject, it should, if possible, be so constituted that all factions and points of view will be represented. Reconciliation of divergent interests is far easier in committee than in open conference.[4]

The matter of making committee memberships represent the divergent points of view in an organization is frequently overlooked,

[3] E. E. Hunt, *Conferences, Committees, and Conventions, and How to Run Them.* New York, Harper and Bros., 1925, p. 51. Reprinted by permission of publisher.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 52

and is a matter that should be called to the attention of many presiding officers. One organization president once asked if there was any better way of appointing people to committees than according to the month in which their birthdays occurred.

Call a committee together promptly after its appointment and before its members have time to cool. At the first session, see that a typewritten step-by-step analysis of the committee's task is laid before each member. If it is appointed to bring about the improvement of a road leading from the city, its task will be made out somewhat as follows:

1. When shall we invite the county road commissioners to meet with us?
2. Who is to prepare a statement of the cost of the improvement and the parties benefited?
3. Who is to be ready with the law of this case?
4. What evidence of public interest in the improved road should we have to impress the commissioners?
5. Should this evidence of public interest take the form of a petition in writing or a "petition in boots"?
6. Is there a particular individual whose "say so" goes with the commissioners?
7. What is the next step? [5]

Most committees that are required to report to the parent organization should do so in writing. Such a written report should include: (1) the committee's assignment, with a definite statement of the issue or issues discussed; (2) the facts bearing on these issues; (3) the interests involved; (4) the committee's recommendation.

Committees can well be used much more extensively than they are in rural organizations, particularly in dealing with matters of policy and program planning. Many a long and tiresome business meeting could be greatly abbreviated and made interesting by the systematic use of committees. Professional leaders working in rural communities have an obligation to demonstrate improved committee work and to teach its possibilities for making our rural groups more effective.

[5] From Lucius E. Wilson, *Community Leadership,* American City Bureau, New York, 1922. Quoted in E. E. Hunt: *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Plan Meeting Programs

Organizations usually succeed or fail according to the interest shown in their meeting programs. If an organized club is to contribute its share to the community welfare, it must have a constructive program contributing to fundamental human needs.

1. **Plan Programs in Advance.** Worth-while programs are planned in advance. Constructive work cannot be done when an organization lives from meeting to meeting, or where a committee is appointed at one meeting to "get up something" for the next. Regular meetings should contribute to the organization's long-time objectives or should aid in promoting the various immediate projects that have been initiated and are being carried on by working committees outside the regular meetings. Even those organizations primarily interested in recreational activities for their members cannot justify opportunistic programs, for it takes advance, constructive planning to have a successful party.

a. Yearly plans. A program-planning committee usually prepares a yearly plan of work if this method is followed. It is, of course, understood that there will be certain changes, but that the annual plan of work will serve as a guide for the coming year and will include the projects which the organization will emphasize. This arrangement permits systematic community work and when used with an annual report is very helpful in reporting an organization's contribution to the community.

b. Rotating committees. We have this exposition of rotating committees:

> The rotating method for planning programs for meetings usually consists of having a committee of three or five members, with the oldest member dropping out and a new member chosen at each meeting. This guarantees a permanent committee for three to five meetings.
>
> In addition to this rotating membership plan, some organizations use a rotating chairmanship plan, whereby the member of longest standing becomes chairman of the committee for the last meeting in which he has responsibility. This person can then start planning several meetings in advance of the time he will be chairman of the program committee.[6]

c. Delegating responsibility in advance. This method is often

[6] J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

associated with organizations that have an annual program of work. Responsibility for specific meetings is delegated in advance so that the persons in charge will know from a few weeks to as much as a year ahead that they are to be in charge of a certain meeting at a certain time. Home demonstration clubs have used this method to advantage for many years. Any system of planning programs in advance is, of course, much superior to appointing a committee at one meeting for the program at the coming meeting.

2. **Obtain Good Presiding Officers.** A good presiding officer or chairman is one of the first essentials for interesting programs. Many a group occasion has been made attractive by the skill of a presiding officer. Dr. W. H. Stacy, extension sociologist for the Iowa Extension Service, has drawn up the following suggestions for the chairmen of the Farm Bureau township meetings.

It is distinctly the chairman's duty to:

1. See that the meeting starts on time.
2. Have a definite understanding before the meeting begins regarding the numbers that are to appear on the program and the time which is to be allotted to each.
3. Locate the talent and help them to become acquainted with their place on the program.
4. Know how to meet emergencies and deal with situations which may arise due to cancellations or changes in the program.
5. Keep the program moving.
6. Hold discussions of the topic under consideration.
7. Diplomatically sidetrack matters which are distinctly out of place and prohibit extensive use of overtime by any individual or group of individuals.
8. See that each number on the program is presented to the audience in a courteous and friendly manner with a brief introductory statement that is informative and appreciative.
9. At all times be precise and orderly, and direct rather than dominate.
10. Suggest action, call for seconds to motions, ask individuals for their opinion and recommend that matters be referred to committees wherever such action will facilitate developments.
11. Follow recognized rules of parliamentary procedure.[7]

[7] W. H. Stacy, "Community Meetings," *Extension Bulletin 190*, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, p. 9, June 1933.

3. See that Members Participate. Good programs are the result of group effort. Plays, group discussions, debates, group singing, quartettes, stunts, group games, and reports of working committees all require participation of groups of people. This leads to a more successful meeting than the program that uses talks, music solos, and recitations. Group activities build up morale, interest in the organization, and increased attendance. Audience participation in the program assists greatly in "putting it over"; people feel it is their meeting if they have had a part in it and have enjoyed what they have done. Such group activity encourages the various individuals to identify themselves with the group. This is, of course, an essential of good organization work. "The only caution in this regard is that only reasonable demands be made of people. Most folks do not like to be made out a fool, or made the goat. They resent being asked to do more than they believe is their fair share." [8]

4. Recognize the Needs of the Community. "A constructive program is one that is worthwhile and one that meets the needs of the community. It is positive in its emphasis. In addition to providing an enjoyable time for the moment, it provides something for the people who attend to take home with them. It may be suggestive of greater possibilities in the future, rather than completely satisfying for the time being." [9]

5. Adapt the Program to the Occasion and to the Interests of the Audience. Good programs are timely, adapted to the particular occasion when they occur, adjusted to the interests, ages, and understanding of the audience.

Nothing is more pathetic than for an audience, all ready for a serious discussion on some pressing farm problem, to be obliged to listen for two hours to old jokes or poorly prepared readings. It is just as poor policy for a crowd of children or young people to be obliged to listen to a lengthy talk on cooperative marketing, or on the latest farm relief bill.

The old adage, that there is a time for everything, can well be applied here. Certain types of programs are good when timely, and

[8] J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

only then. Otherwise, the best programs fall flat. Thus, by use of a long-time plan, a program can be adapted to the seasons of the year, to the age and interest of the audience, and to the particular local needs.[10]

6. **Balance the Program.** Balanced programs are those with a central theme for emphasis which dominates the meeting and a variety of activities to make the occasion enjoyable and to relieve monotony, but subordinate to the central point of emphasis.

Some people like music, and most people like humor. To some, substantial discussion and argument has more appeal. Everyone likes a good time, but real enjoyment to be lasting and not become monotonous, must be made up of these various things in combination. However, no one combination is suitable at all times and in all places. There must be a certain amount of variety in topics for discussion, in types of music, in social activities, in projects, in the general type of meeting, and in presentation.[11]

The following outline prepared for the program chairmen of rural organizations suggests the essential points in a well-balanced meeting.

1. The first event on the program should challenge the attention of all individuals and secure their participation. Community singing is one of the best features to accomplish this purpose.
2. The business session can usually be conducted most effectively at or near the beginning of the meeting. It should be guided so that time is not lost in aimless general discussions. Plans requiring study may best be referred to committees. Organizations conducting a substantial amount of business need to have this handled in separate meetings of a board of directors.
3. Every member of the group can and should participate. A meeting which closes without every member participating in some manner is not completely successful. Community singing and refreshments provide the simplest means by which all can take part.
4. Every meeting should have its climax. There should be a feature which is thought provoking and outstanding enough so that individuals will remember it and talk about it after the meeting is over.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 14.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

5. The other parts of the program should be planned in relation to the main feature so that there will be unity and a development of interest toward the climax.

6. There should be a happy ending, and people should leave with a desire for more. It is far better to have the program short and interesting, with people commenting upon its brevity, than to have it loosely organized and drawn out so that there is the desire to leave before it is over. Plan for a variety of action and arrange so that there is a wholesome, happy ending.[12]

7. **Plan Shorter Programs.** The customary organization of meeting programs includes the business session, an educational lecture period, recreational features, and refreshments. Rigidly following this custom and the one of inviting several speakers often make a program of two to three hours in length. Experience now shows that about an hour and a half is the best length for most organization meetings. Business meetings can usually be abbreviated to fifteen minutes in the hands of a capable chairman who knows parliamentary procedure. One talk is adequate for any general meeting. The program chairman who imposes two or three long talks upon an audience should be reminded of the fact that the average effective sermon or radio talk of the present day is not over twenty minutes in length. A half-hour talk is nearly always more effective than an hour one. Recreational activities are more truly recreational if they are of short duration and provide participation for several if not all of those present. Refreshment is not an indispensable item and can often be eliminated or greatly simplified.

8. **See to the Physical Comfort of the Audience.** The physical comfort of the audience has a great deal to do with the success of any meeting. The essential requirements are: proper heating, good ventilation, comfortable seats, adequate lighting without glare, pure drinking water, clean rest rooms, adequate provision for the care of young children so that they will not disturb the meeting, safe parking facilities for automobiles, and the auditorium sufficiently free from distractions, so that the program can be heard. In addition to these requirements, the hall should be a place to which people feel free to come, against which they have no strong prejudices.

[12] W. H. Stacy, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

People must be comfortable and at ease, if they are to give their attention to the program. Many a speaker has failed to get his message across because the audience was physically uncomfortable and unable to listen to what he was saying.

9. Arrange the Group According to the Type of Meeting. An essential in planning large meetings is to arrange the seating of those who attend so that they will give their undivided attention to the performers. The customary procedure regiments the spectators in rows facing an elevated speaker's platform that gives those in charge of the meeting a position of prominence. The programs carried on under such conditions are usually formal with limited participation from the audience, except that of a ritualistic and mass nature such as group singing or saluting the flag. The very nature of large groups necessitates a formal seating arrangement and a dominant position by those in charge of the meeting to maintain an orderly consideration of the business at hand.

Fraternal groups usually seat the audiences along the sides of the meeting hall and reserve the center for ritualistic work. This condition is not the best for speakers, and often the chairs are rearranged in rows to create a more effective setup for guest lecturers.

Small groups, those under twenty-five, are quite different in their requirements. Often the goal at such a meeting is to encourage everyone to participate in the program and to do so whenever he feels that he has a contribution to make. The seating arrangement for this purpose is usually a very informal one, preferably around a table as is customary for committee meetings or small conferences, or in an informal circle that permits everyone in the group to see everyone else. The chairman of this type of group is on a par with the other members, and an effort is made to erase distinctions and to place everyone on an equal basis. The seating arrangement in an informal circle permits anyone in the group who is speaking to have the attention of everyone else. Many small organization gatherings should adopt this informal seating arrangement, rather than attempt the customary formal one. If such a practice were followed, organization officers would not find so much difficulty in getting people to talk or participate in the affairs of the group.

The size of the meeting place in relation to the number of people present directly affects the success of the meeting. The room should be just large enough to accommodate the group comfortably. If a small meeting is to be held in a large room, it is essential that the group be seated together toward the front of the room. It is always discouraging for the audience to look over rows of empty chairs to see the speaker and for the speaker to look over rows of empty chairs to see a few scattered listeners. Spotty seating should always be avoided. It is far better to have the back of the room empty than the front. Propinquity is of positive value to the success of organization meetings.

10. Stress Publicity. People cannot be expected to attend meeting programs of which they know nothing or to which they are unaware they are welcome. Simple advertising or publicity is an essential part of good organization methods. Some of the most effective ways of advertising organization meetings are: (1) a personal word-of-mouth invitation from neighbor or friend; (2) telephone calls from one of the officers; (3) announcements at school, church, or other public meetings; (4) letters or postcards sent through the mail; (5) handbills, circulars, or posters; (6) newspaper stories or advertisements; (7) yearly programs or booklets announcing the meetings in advance; (8) notices in community calendars circulated monthly through the mails, printed in the local papers, or posted on the community bulletin board.

Score Cards on Program Meetings

Score cards have been developed to aid in the planning of better meeting programs. The first following example emphasizes a varied and balanced program, the second is more inclusive; in addition, the second provides for a comparison of the score of one monthly meeting with another to encourage improvement.

Program Score Card[13]

	Perfect score	Score
1. PUNCTUALITY 1 point deducted for each minute late in starting after scheduled time.	20	
2. PRECISION AND DEPENDABILITY 1 point deducted for each delay or indecision on the part of the chairman or for slowness of talent to participate at scheduled time. Five points deducted for failure of talent to appear without acceptable reason such as sickness or arranging for a substitute.	25	
3. BUSINESS FEATURES 2 points deducted for each omission of (a) reading minutes of previous meeting, (b) report of County Farm Bureau business, (c) announcements by project leaders, (d) comments from the Bureau Farmer, or (e) reports of committees.	10	
4. EDUCATIONAL DISCUSSIONS Deduct 10 points if omitted. Deduct 3 points each for such faults as (a) not timely, (b) not well presented, (c) no discussion.	10	
5. RECREATION Did all have opportunity to participate in (a) music, (b) games, (c) refreshments, (d) social visiting? Deduct 5 points for each of these which was lacking. Deduct 3 points for each in which only a minority took part.	20	
6. REPRESENTATION Deduct 5 points for each quarter of township or community which was not represented.	10	
7. DURATION OF PROGRAM Deduct 1 point for each 5 minutes over or under the time allotted for the program.	5	
TOTAL	100	

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

Check-up Score Card for a Meeting[14]

Check success of each meeting. Have this done regularly by appointed critic or township officer for benefit of program committee.

		Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Advertised													
News in paper	4												
Cards, poster or letters	4												
Telephone calls	4												
At other meetings	3												
Planned													
Around one big idea	6												
Suited to audience	4												
People suited to parts	5												
Parts for different ages	4												
Variety of action	4												
Plenty of laughs	3												
Happy ending	4												
Audience Comfortable													
Seating	2												
Ventilation	3												
Light	2												
Hearing	3												
Timed													
Everything allotted certain amount of time	3												
Chairman with schedule	2												
Talent notified of time available	2												
Overtime prohibited by use of signals	2												
Started on time	4												
Closed on time	4												
Parliamentary rules observed	3												
Master of ceremonies snappy	5												
Plenty for Audience to Do													
Singing	4												
Games	3												
Stunts	3												
Management of Youngsters													
Discipline	2												
Special entertainment	3												
Refreshments													
Conveniently served	5												
Total	100												

[14] *Guide Book to Development of Township Farm Bureaus*, published by Rural Organization Section, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (R. O. 100).

Use Work Projects

Organizations are more effective in the community and maintain the interest of their members better if they have a series of work projects that are carried on outside the regular meetings. If organizations have clearly defined purposes for existing and definite contributions to make to the community, it is doubtful if work projects need to be emphasized. Because many organizations do not have definite goals, they can frequently be put to work on projects that are of value and of interest to the organization as well as of use to the community. In Chapter IX, many different types of projects are described, and on page 228 of Chapter VIII is printed a check list frequently used by organizations to obtain a vote of their constituency on projects that need attention.

Maintain the Interest of Members

1. The first requirement for maintaining the interest of people in an organization is to have a vital, constructive program working toward the solution of important community problems. Individual members must find satisfaction in the programs of their organization if they are to continue to identify themselves with the group. Factions and minority groups within the membership should be recognized and accommodated if possible when programs are being planned. A skilful leader can often do this so as to maintain the interest of a faction without offending the majority.

2. Another essential is a group of the right size for the function the organization is attempting to perform. If it is essentially a discussion group, it will have to be smaller than if the organization attempts to reach a large number who casually participate. A Home Demonstration Club with its highly developed program of participation for all who attend its meetings should never expect to be as large as a Grange or a Parent-Teacher Association which does not require so much activity from each individual member.

There is a "best size" membership for every organization. However, it may not be the same for any two organizations. It must depend upon the particular locality, type of organization, and program of work. In nearly every case, the groups with the smallest membership have the highest percentage of attendance and participation of

members; that is, as the membership gets larger, the percentage of attendance and participation of members decreases accordingly. On the other hand, organizations with a large number of members are able to undertake successfully more activities and projects. The problem of an organization is clearly one of finding out what it expects to accomplish, and then securing the proper membership to carry out the plan.[15]

The problem of holding members' interest in an organization is a more important one than enrolling them as members.

3. A third suggestion for maintaining the interest of members is to get them to participate in the activities of the organization as soon as they join the group. This means putting them to work on some phase of the organization's program. Of course, judgment and skill must be used in adjusting the jobs to the interests of the new member; certain individuals can immediately take a more active part than others because they are more capable or experienced in group work. Formal organizations often put the new members through a probationary period before assigning them to active duty. They reserve committee chairmanships and the offices for individuals with seniority rights, those who have been in the organization a long time. This frequently leads to the new member's loss of interest and his dropping out of the organization before it is his turn to participate and receive recognition as a member of the group. It is no longer a matter of bestowing a privilege upon an individual to elect him to membership. Rather it is the organization that should consider it a privilege to have the loyalty and affiliation of new members. The old method of reserving recognition and status for those with seniority rights is no longer useful in maintaining an active membership.

Change to Meet New Needs

Organizations must periodically make changes in their programs if they are to continue in a position of influence in the community. Most organizations have difficulty in doing this. Groups that make these changes do it in three ways:

1. They deliberately attempt to meet the needs through periodic check-ups. The more progressive leaders frequently use surveys such

[15] J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

as the Clarence Center survey in Chapter VIII, or the check list on page 228 of the same chapter, to check up on the needs of a community.

2. A similar but less systematic approach is to have leaders sufficiently aware of the real problems of the community to appreciate their importance and to insert them informally into organization meetings whenever the proper occasions arise. This, of course, depends upon enlightened leadership and a recognition on the part of organization members that it is their function to take up any new projects that need to be promoted in their community.

3. A third method of adjusting to new situations is the avoidance of elaborate rules and regulations that have a tendency to force adherence to formalities or to an elaborate constitution which creates rigidity and makes changes difficult.

> A constitution which specifies that no change can be made except by a two-thirds vote of the members, becomes virtually the unchangeable code of the organization from that time on. Often about the only changes of any importance possible are inactivity and demise. Some of the most effective rural community organizations found were those with no formal constitutions or those with very simple constitutions and by-laws which can be easily altered.[16]

Avoid Conflicts with Other Groups

Organizations must learn to work with each other if they are to be most effective. Conflict between local organizations is a waste of citizens' time and energy and robs the community of effort that should be devoted to constructive purposes. Inter-group conflict can often be avoided or solved if certain precautions are taken.

1. Organizations that keep aware of local needs are less likely to get into difficulties than organizations that claim priority rights to particular phases of community work. If the goal is the solution of certain needs, the help of similar organizations may often be welcomed rather than resented.

2. Overlapping memberships rather than mutually exclusive memberships aid in solving difficulties and in preventing them from arising between two groups.

3. A community council, in which leaders come together to plan

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

for the community, often prevents conflicts. In a council organization, officers have an opportunity to talk out embarrassing difficulties and to plan needed cooperative projects. Systematic planning also has the virtue of creating work for the organizations, usually enough so that no group has an opportunity to accuse another of infringing upon its territory; they are too busy doing what they have agreed to do in community council meeting. There is also the element of competition between organizations. If a group agrees to assume the responsibility for a particular job, there is a certain amount of compulsion to carry through the agreement, so that it will not have to report to the other organizations in community council meeting that it was unable to carry out its promise.

Summary

The presentation of techniques for making organizations effective described in this chapter by no means exhausts the possible methods of improving organizations. It is but a brief summary of eight of the more significant items that are frequently disregarded by volunteer and professional leaders. It will be recalled that the eight were:

1. Establish definite objectives
2. Training leadership
3. More liberal use of committees
4. Improved planning for meeting programs
5. The use of work projects
6. Maintaining the interest of members
7. Changes to meet new needs
8. Avoidance of serious conflicts

The local leader who masters these eight group-work techniques has gone a long way toward acquiring an ability to create more effective rural organizations.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Does an organization ever live too long?
2. Is it a good policy for a group to elect the same person president year after year?
3. What would you do if you were the third guest speaker on an evening program and it was 11:30 P.M. before you were called on to speak?

4. If a well-known speaker appeared unexpectedly at a meeting, should the chairman feel under obligation to call upon him?

5. What would you do if you were a County Home Demonstration Agent and had a local unit composed of older and economically comfortable women who were not interested in the county program but preferred to knit and play cards at their meetings?

6. To what extent should an organization's work be done by committees?

7. How can interest be revived in an organization through outside speakers?

8. How can a new member rejuvenate an organization?

9. Is it desirable to have the same persons officers in several organizations?

10. How can a leader bring about the realization that program changes are required to meet new needs?

11. How can programs be planned to meet the needs of all persons in the organizations?

12. How can an organization get rid of poor volunteer leaders?

13. To what extent can competition or conflict be used to make organizations effective?

14. To what extent should minority group desires be recognized when making organization programs?

EXERCISES

1. List the most common faults you have observed in the meeting programs of rural organizations. Suggest ways by which they could be corrected.

2. Outline in detail a procedure for planning a year's program of work for a rural school Parent-Teacher Association.

3. Describe methods whereby a larger proportion of an organization's members may be brought to participate in the program.

4. Describe briefly any other "means for making organizations effective" not mentioned in this chapter.

READINGS

1. Henry M. Busch, *Leadership in Group Work*. New York, Association Press, 1934, Chapters VII and VIII.

2. Jennie Buell, *The Grange Master and the Grange Lecturer*. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921.

3. Grace L. Coyle, *Studies in Group Behavior*. New York, Harper and Bros., 1937.

CHAPTER XII

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP *

Throughout the previous chapters we have repeatedly met the fact that community organization is primarily dependent upon leadership. We noted this first in considering the aim and objectives of community organization (Chapter V, p. 83, objective 9), for, if the community is to be able to act as a unit it must have leadership. We observed the roles of the leaders in the community case studies; we found that in the formation of community organizations the first step is to interest the leaders (Chapter VIII, see VII, p. 242); we saw that community conflict is often the conflict of its leaders (Chapter X); we saw that leadership training is an important technique for building up individual organizations (Chapter XI); and we will discuss the role which professional leaders of county and state organizations may play in community organization in Chapter XIII. If the community is to function as a group, it must have leaders, and the degree of its organization will depend largely upon their vision and efficiency. Indeed, the two concepts of leadership and community organization involve many of the same elements of social interaction.

I. What Is Leadership?

1. Leadership Defined. If the process of community organization is so dependent upon leadership, we need to get a clear understanding of the role of the leader, of the nature of the leadership relation, and how it may be developed. There are many definitions of a leader, but for purposes of community organization he is one who sees the need of its aim and objectives (see Chapter V) ahead of the rest and who can plan and enlist others in its program. There are two essential aspects of the leadership relation: the ability to in-

* This chapter is adapted from an unpublished manuscript on *Rural Leadership* by the senior author.

fluence others to cooperate, and a common purpose or goal. This has been well expressed in definitions given by Tead and by Bernard:

> Leadership is the activity of influencing people to cooperate toward some goal which they come to find desirable.[1]
>
> Any person who is more than ordinarily efficient in carrying psychosocial stimuli to others and is thus effective in conditioning collective responses may be called a leader.[2]

Pigors has emphasized the same idea in his definition:

> Leadership is a process of mutual stimulation which, by the successful interplay of relevant individual differences, controls human energy in the pursuit of a common cause.[3]

Pigors has also made a very timely contribution in showing the difference between leadership and domination, for this is one of the subtle dangers of the process of community organization. It is possible to get community projects done and to achieve a certain sort of community development, as is often seen in an industrial community which is dominated by the employer or in one in which a few business men "put over" a program; but real community organization must be built up through real leadership which involves a consensus of the whole group with regard to objectives which are symbolized in the leader. As Pigors states the distinction:

> Domination is a process of control in which by the forcible assumption of authority and the accumulation of prestige a person (through a hierarchy of functionaries) regulates the activities of others for purposes of his own choosing.[4]
>
> Leadership and domination may, therefore, be described respectively as liberating and binding trends in social relationships. . . .
>
> In leadership power is created through the integration of diverse purposes and the intelligent use of individual difference. . . . In domination, on the other hand, power is monopolized. . . .

[1] Ordway Tead, *The Art of Leadership*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935, p. 20. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[2] Luther L. Bernard, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1926, p. 520. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[3] Paul Pigors, *Leadership or Domination*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, p. 16. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

The leader liberates energy in followers by pointing out causes which give them an opportunity to express themselves and in the service of which their powers can develop. The dominator binds his subjects, because by exploiting their momentary desires or weaknesses, he forces them into a relationship which tends to keep them permanently subservient, and in which he can count on them to remain under his control.[5]

2. The Leader as a Group Mechanism. The importance of the group in relation to leadership lies in the fact that those who have no sociological knowledge of the group seem to think of the leader as a leader of a number of discreet individuals. They do not appreciate that the type of leader in which we are interested, i.e., a rural leader, is a leader only as he is a member of a group and that his position is an essential mechanism of effective group organization.

Every group exists as a means of satisfying certain purposes, wishes, or interests, of furnishing certain goods or values, to its members. In so far as the group acts with any degree of human intelligence and does not maintain itself as do animal groups merely through instinctive activities and adaptation through natural selection, existence is due to the degree that its members are able to exchange their ideas and to form a consensus of opinion, and to whether there is some means of interpreting what action will best meet the common needs and wishes of the group. It is the function of the leader to be the means whereby this process can be accelerated and the group can act more efficiently. Inevitably, some individuals in every group are superior to others in physique, in mentality, and in assertiveness. Such individuals in time of crisis will see the need of the group and will inspire the confidence of their fellows so that the group will accept their suggestions and will tend to look to them to take the lead in carrying them out. Such are the beginnings of leadership. The leader is a mechanism of the group and bears a relation to it quite analogous to that of the nucleus to the organic cell.

It is important, therefore, to recognize that leadership—at least the sort of leadership of rural groups that we are discussing—is a

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

product of group life and that it does not exist independently of a group. A man may be what is termed often a "natural leader," i.e., he may be assertive, self-confident, able, and genial; but if he is not accepted by a group, he has no leadership.

The success of the group depends chiefly upon the strength of its leaders, and, to secure the better development of rural groups, the most important matter is to improve their leadership. Failure to appreciate this fact is the basis of much of the failure of professional leadership, as we shall see when we come to discuss it.

3. Origin of Leadership. There are two types of origin of the group leader. In one, an existing group, either newly formed or one which has lost or become dissatisfied with its leader, meets a situation which demands immediate and effective action, for which it recognizes its need for a leader. The group, therefore, chooses one of its number as leader, one in whom it has confidence as being able to meet the situation. In this case, the leader is drafted or elected and he feels primarily responsibility for carrying out the wishes of the group and helping it to meet its needs as best he can. In the other type an individual perceives an unsatisfied need, or some new goods or values of which others are not generally aware, and in one way or another he interests others in making common cause to satisfy this newly created desire. This may occur as a movement within an old group or it may be an independent movement resulting in the formation of a new group, but in any case the instigator usually becomes the leader of the group which he has created. The latter type is what we more commonly think of as the true leader, i.e., one who creates his following and who is able to lead because he is ahead of the group in his thinking. Most rural leadership is probably of the first type, but a leader in community organization will usually be of the instigator type.

Whether the leader is chosen by the group or whether he creates the group depends on whether the needed group action is so obvious and pressing that it commands the common interest and desire for action, or whether the need is only potential and is not clearly within the consciousness of the individuals. In the first case the group senses the situation; in the second the leader sees the need and creates a group by bringing individuals to an awareness of it. In

either case, the leadership relation arises as the result of a new situation.

This origin of the leadership relation in a situation has been very well described by Butterworth [6] with regard to leadership in school administration. The leadership process in its entirety, he says, "is a conscious, adaptive process of a group similar in its fundamentals to a conscious, adaptive process of an individual. That is, there are the stages pointed out by Dewey in his analysis of a complete act of thought: a felt need; a definition of the difficulty; suggestions of possible solution; development of the bearings of these suggestions; and a conclusion." [7] Butterworth recognizes three essential elements in the leadership relation: (1) need for better adjustment; (2) group recognition of the need; and (3) confidence in the leader. As he indicates, this analysis has an important bearing upon the so-called qualities of leadership. "This analysis should lead us to see the incompleteness of the rather widespread notion that leadership grows out of the qualities possessed by the leader rather than out of the demands of the environment." [8]

4. **Functions of the Leader in the Group.** Among the more important functions of the leader in the group are the following:

(a) He is the group planner. He really leads only in so far as he is always just a little ahead of the group in seeing its needs and in planning ways of meeting them.

(b) He is the group spokesman. If the group is to have relations with other groups, someone must be able to state the group opinion.

(c) He is the group harmonizer. Every group is bound together by certain interests while some of the members have different interests which tend to create conflict between them. The leader is successful in so far as he is able to magnify the common interests of the group so that each member inhibits his differences upon

[6] Julian E. Butterworth, *Principles of Rural School Administration.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1926, Chapters X, XI. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 194-195. See also John Dewey, *How We Think.* Boston, D. C. Heath and Co., 1910, Chapter 6.

[8] Julian E. Butterworth, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

other subjects in allegiance to the accepted policies and activities of the group.

(d) He is the group educator. As group planner, the leader must bring the members of the group to see the solution of its problems, and action cannot proceed successfully until they are convinced of the feasibility of the methods proposed. Thus, if the vision of the leader is ahead of that of the group, he must assume the role of educator until they agree with him or until a consensus has been reached. Successful group action cannot occur without a wholehearted belief in its desirability by a goodly majority of the group, and to achieve this may require a considerable period of educational discussion.

(e) He is a symbol of the group ideals. He must, therefore, be loyal to these ideals in word and deed. This involves a primary loyalty to the interests of the group of which he is the leader. As soon as the group feels that the leader is really more interested in himself or in some other group, its confidence is shaken and his leadership wanes.

5. **Relation of Leader to Members.** The relation of the leader to members of the group as a symbol of their purposes and ideals is a subtle one which is self-perpetuating and cumulative as long as it exists. Psychologically, it is a case of "circular response." The individual is loyal to the leader because in making a response to a stimulus from the leader he is also stimulated by the belief that the leader will so act as to fulfill his desires if he does what the leader suggests. On the other hand, the confidence of the members of the group acts as a stimulus to the leader to make those responses which are desired by them. One is appointed as a member of a Community Chest committee to canvass for subscriptions. The chairman has undertaken a difficult task, but he has always made good in similar enterprises and his committee has confidence in him. His confidence in your ability to obtain the quota assigned you stimulates you to do your best, for you have faith in the chairman's ability to raise the quota for the district. You are interested to see the campaign a success and you know that, if each member of the group does not do his part, the chairman cannot succeed. The

faith of the members in the chairman also stimulates him to do his best and establishes a morale in the team.

Thus, the leader becomes a symbol for the ideals and purposes of the group. In so far as the leader realizes these ideals and purposes, he is able to form the stimulus for the necessary responses of members of the group; and the effect upon the individual member of the group and upon the power of the leader is cumulative as long as the relation remains effective.

There is another type of circular response between the leader and his group which has been well expressed by a former colleague [9] who is a keen observer of rural groups. "It seems," he says, "that people don't rally around a leader unless the leader *needs* them. Congress turned against the late President Wilson when he indicated that he didn't need their help." The leader who sincerely tells his group that he is dependent upon them for the achievements desired and who gives each full recognition for his services thereby wins their loyalty and stimulates their support.

Personal affection for a sympathetic leader seems to be essential for small rural groups, as country people tend to assert themselves through loyalty to persons rather than to abstract principles.[10]

Professor Ralph A. Felton also made an observation of certain seemingly efficient, well-trained, and conscientious leaders of rural women's groups, who were unable to command their affection. "I am not sure," he said "but that the first qualification of a good rural leader is someone that everyone likes whether she knows much about her business or not, for unless people like their leader, it doesn't seem that their brilliant qualities for leadership and their efficient training make much difference."

6. **A Leader Begets Leaders.** Lastly, a measure of the best leadership is the amount of leadership which it develops in others. The strongest group is one in which there are several potential

[9] Ralph A. Felton, formerly Extension Professor of Rural Social Organization at Cornell University, from whose field notes the quotation is taken.

[10] Cf. C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914, p. 144. "The many, whether rich or poor, are incompetent to grasp the truth in its abstractness, but they reach it through personal symbols, they feel their way by sympathy, and their conclusions are at least as apt to be right as those of any artificially selected class." Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

leaders, each of whom is a leader for some particular phase of the group life and any one of whom might take the place of the recognized leader and successfully direct the group activities. The successful leader seeks to discover, enlist, and develop such leaders and to give them the largest possible responsibility, so that the future success of the group is assured without regard to his presence. Instead of being jealous of competition, he encourages others to assume leadership. Many a seemingly successful leader seems to delight in trying to do the whole job himself; but his success is only superficial, for as soon as he leaves or is displaced, the group is no stronger than it was before he assumed leadership. This is one of the paradoxes of the best leadership. The less he is indispensable, the greater he is as a leader.

II. Are Leaders "Born" or "Made"?

When we say that a certain community or group has no leadership, two questions at once arise, if we wish to determine what may be done to improve this situation. First, do we mean that there is no potential leadership there, that the people are incapable of acting as leaders; or, in other words, is there something innate about leadership? Or do we merely mean that no effective leaders are in evidence? In the latter case, it is to be assumed that circumstances have not been such as to incite individuals to act as leaders, which raises the question as to whether we may create leadership by proper stimuli and training.

How frequently we hear it said, "He is a born leader." To what extent are leaders born or made? Obviously such statements mean that one is born with certain qualities which inevitably make one a leader. Furthermore, there is usually implied the idea that such a person was observed to lead among his playmates as a child and, as he grew older, seemed naturally to assume or be drawn into the place of leader in whatever group he entered.

So far as we know, no one has made any systematic study of these matters to determine to what extent these "born leaders" are leaders throughout life or in various types of groups, nor have any personnel or mental tests been perfected which indicate those traits of leadership which are clearly innate rather than acquired.

Yet we should probably agree that there are certain personal qualities which we commonly recognize as innate, which qualify for leadership and the possession of which brings those so endowed into positions of authority. (1) A good physique, strength, stature are physical qualities which have always commanded respect and are advantageous, other things being equal. These qualities become less important, however, as society becomes more complex, provided always that the leader has sufficient strength or endurance to maintain his efficiency. (2) Self-assertiveness and self-confidence are qualities which seem to be inborn in some individuals. If not excessive and if combined with other qualities, they tend to secure leadership. (3) Superior mental ability is undoubtedly innate and makes the individuals so endowed more likely to become leaders provided they are willing to assume the responsibilities involved. (4) Amiability, friendliness, and natural sympathy also seem to be traits which are native to some persons and which greatly increase their chances of leadership.

In a study of the personality characteristics of county agricultural agents Director H. C. Ramsower [11] found that "integrity, perseverance, faith, ability to plan, vision, initiative and courage" were the characteristics in which the most successful agents ranked highest, while "enthusiasm, vision, ability to plan, and initiative" were the qualities in which the poorest agents ranked lowest.

Notable examples might be cited in which persons lacking certain traits have purposefully qualified themselves for the positions of leadership which they have attained, although it must be admitted that these individuals seem to have been peculiarly endowed with a tenacity of purpose which enabled them to overcome their weaknesses and to achieve success. On the other hand, how frequently have new situations created crises which have called out qualities in individuals which were never recognized or which have aroused purposes and devotion which have made seemingly ordinary persons assume positions of leadership for which they themselves realize their limitations better than any one else. They have

[11] H. C. Ramsower, "Some Aspects of A Study of Leadership." *Proceedings* of the 39th Convention of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges, November 17, 1925, pp. 236-243.

succeeded because of their loyalty to the cause for which the group stands.

Not infrequently persons of ordinary ability, who lack self-confidence, and who have no experience as leaders, when they are encouraged to assume positions of leadership and are given some concrete help or training for it, develop into excellent leaders for specific groups. Their ability was not outstanding and they lacked self-assertiveness so that they never had become leaders, but after gaining a little self-confidence they were excellent because of their devotion to a cause in which they were sufficiently interested to learn how they might help in its advancement. On the other hand, we often find persons of undoubted ability, having seemingly all the qualifications for leadership, who are unwilling to assume its responsibilities, or who are so self-centered that groups will not trust them.

It seems evident, therefore, that leadership, *per se,* is not something innate, but that certain individuals are born with certain traits which make them better qualified than others, and that whether or not they become leaders depends upon their purposes and other traits of character; whereas some persons of ordinary capacity, who by training or other environmental influences have never had sufficient self-assertion to secure a place of leadership, often become effective leaders.

This being the case, the question arises as to whether it is possible to discover the sort of circumstances which stimulate these seemingly ordinary people to assume places of leadership. Can we create such circumstances as seem adapted to stimulating leadership? Furthermore, can we devise some specific methods of training which will aid in the development of leadership? The first question is how to stimulate purposes; the second is whether the ability to lead can be educated.

Here, again, we face the question whether leadership is a general attribute incited by the same stimuli and educable in the same way for all purposes. That is, does one possess leadership which will enable him to lead in any sort of a group under varied circumstances, or is leadership a specific relation within a particular field of human relations?

Returning now to our first question as to whether it is possible to stimulate leadership, we have already largely answered it by the above analysis of leadership. What we ordinarily speak of as stimulating leadership is stimulating the desire to lead by inciting motives of desire for prestige, desire for control, ambition, desire for service, etc. We hear a great deal about the college training for leadership, stimulating leadership, etc. As a result there is created in the students' minds a sort of superiority complex, that they are peculiarly qualified for assuming leadership and it is their duty and privilege to seek and assume positions of leadership for the benefit of their less fortunate fellows.

Leadership, however, depends not only upon the abilities of the individual, but upon the nature and changing purposes of the group of which he may become leader. First, is it true that there are certain qualities which will qualify for leadership in any sort of group?

The knowledge, abilities, and disposition, which make an effective leader of a literary club will not qualify him equally as leader of a poker club, of a bar association, of a trade union, of a political club, or of a cooperative association. Nor will the same type of leader be equally successful or even acceptable in the same organization at different periods in its history. Although its essential purposes remain the same, its immediate purposes, necessary to adapt it to changing environmental situations, vary from time to time. Thus a Grange needs a new hall and therefore a certain type of leadership, whereas a little later it needs a leader who can interest the young people or who can unite all elements of the organization who have become estranged by conflicts in other groups to which they belong. There can, therefore, be no such thing as leadership in general. There are certain abilities and attributes which are advantageous for leadership in most situations, but the abilities and knowledge which make for leadership in one group or situation are different from those applicable to others. Leadership is a relation, and it must always be specific; that is, one is always a leader *ad hoc,* for this group and for this situation.

Will not such a desire for leadership or conscious thought of being a leader tend to impede the relation which is essential for real

leadership? Is it not important that the would-be leader forget himself and devote himself in every way possible to working out ways and means of accomplishing those things which are essential for the group welfare?

It would seem, therefore, that if we would stimulate real leadership, it would be better to give training in specific techniques according to the interests and personal qualifications of the persons involved, and to arouse in them a desire to be useful in the groups in which they associate, rather than a desire to lead. Usefulness rather than leadership should be the motivation in training potential leaders. This is the principle involved in the training schools for local project leaders which have been so widely and successfully used by Home Bureau executives in New York State and elsewhere. Therefore, the essential thing in stimulating leadership is to give people a vision of the social tasks which need to be performed within the various groups to which they belong, and the possible satisfactions to be derived from such service both for themselves and for the group.

Turning now to our second question as to whether it is possible to create or develop leadership by suitable training, it would appear that it has been largely answered by the above discussion. Evidently it is not possible to train for leadership in general except in so far as training may be given in those abilities which are essential for effective leadership. Thus it is possible to give such training as will overcome a lack of self-confidence, as will give an ability to express one's self before a group, and as will enable one to form correct judgments more quickly. Obviously these are valid objectives for any formal system of education, and they are frequently undertaken by various types of organizations as a means of developing their own leadership.

It is also possible to give very definite training for specific types of leadership, as for Sunday school teachers, Grange lecturers, home bureau project leaders, in fact for any sort of officers or group leaders who have specific tasks. This training is very commonly given with more or less success according to the ability of the instructing staff. In the last twelve years the Department of Rural Social Organization of the New York State College of Agriculture has held

itinerant training schools for leaders in recreation and dramatics, in many instances with very definite improvement of the local leadership in these fields.

III. Stimulating Leadership

Motivation to Leadership. Much may be done by creating a situation which will be more favorable for the development of leadership. Few leaders come forward who have not already been engaged in group activities. The isolated individual rarely becomes a leader. When he does it is by associating himself with a group. To obtain maximum membership and participation in the various organized groups furnishes the seed bed in which leadership may germinate. Giving everyone a job through which self-confidence may be attained by achievement in activities useful to the group is an essential for the development of leadership.

1. The satisfaction of some personal need and the subsequent desire to share the means of satisfaction with others are important stimuli to personal leadership. They may be encouraged by stimulating activities which will satisfy personal needs. A good example of this method of arousing leadership is seen in the work of the county agricultural agent, who gets a good farmer to try out some "demonstration," such as spraying potatoes, liming his soil, or culling his poultry. If the farmer finds that this is a practical and profitable procedure, he has "demonstrated" this to himself, and his natural inclination is to tell others about it. So he often becomes the local leader in developing this sort of project. One woman who had been helped by the home demonstration agent in solving a problem of malnutrition in one of her own children came to feel so strongly the value of such a knowledge of nutrition that she became the local leader of the nutrition project and did most effective work.

2. Another stimulus to leadership is the perception of the common need, or the need of others. Most normal people if shown a real need of others, or particularly if it is a need which they have in common with others, will respond to the stimulus and will do what they can to meet the situation, though with a varying degree of initiative and leadership. The stimulus is not a desire for service, but is in becoming aware of a real need of others.

Farm people do not become aware of their social needs as readily as city people because the life of the farm is more self-sufficient. The vicissitudes of life in the city have brought about more associated activities than in the country. As previously indicated, the average man, whether of city or country, is not keenly aware of the needs of better educational facilities, but the townsman recognizes them more quickly, because very frequently his economic success is directly dependent upon his education. A rural parent who has been indifferent to better school facilities may be aroused to their importance by visiting a first-class school and seeing the better facilities and methods which it employs and the obvious difference in the attitudes of the children toward their school life. He becomes aware of the children's needs. So it is necessary to bring individuals who may become leaders into direct contact with the various needs of the community in such a way that a personal interest and responsibility may be aroused.

3. Personal initiative is often aroused through *imitation*. This may be due to the personal inspiration of a convincing public speaker, or the example of some person whose self-sacrifice and leadership encourage emulation; or the same result may be achieved by reading biographies, or biographical articles, concerning persons whose leadership has been of such obvious public service that it invites emulation.

4. *Suggestion* may play an important part in promoting personal initiative. The professional leader, or any leader, may occasionally go to a prospective leader for advice on a particular problem, or may drop a casual suggestion of a certain needed line of work. This may be repeated in a casual way, from time to time, with no effort to get the other person to act upon the matter. In many cases if this is skilfully done, the other party will think over the idea and gradually make it his own, until he finally comes to discuss it with others and stands sponsor for it in a way which brings recognition to him as the leader of this movement.

5. *Desire for recognition* plays an important, and not necessarily unworthy, part in stimulating personal leadership. Most people crave recognition from their fellows. If such a desire for recognition stimulates one to assume a place of leadership, the response

may be socially valuable if it is a sincere attempt to be of real service as a leader and to make a contribution to the life of the group and so to receive well-earned recognition, and is not merely an attempt to secure prestige for the satisfaction of personal vanity.

Whatever the stimulus may be it must affect the feelings if it is to obtain a response in action. The mere intellectual perception of a need will not stimulate action unless sufficient personal feeling is aroused to overcome inertia and the obvious work involved in leadership.

In one instance a leader was moved to action toward starting a community house when a gathering of young people, of which he had been a member, disbanded at the request of their host, because in playing a game in which they had been running about, some furniture was upset and chinaware broken. Exasperation with local gossip moved a woman to start a literary club, so that the women could have something worth while to talk about.

Whatever the immediate stimulus it must arouse a strong emotional drive if effective leadership is incited.

6. *Improving the Group Situation.* Leadership may also be created by inciting the group to perceive its needs and arousing a desire for action on its part which will necessitate the creation of new leaders or the giving of better conscious support to the existing leaders. This creates a new situation which favors the emergence of leadership. In any event it is much easier for the leader to function when the group desires his service, than when its members have a critical attitude.

Any device which will lead the group to analyze its weaknesses and needs and to develop consciously a program for attaining certain definite goals tends to accomplish this end. We have already described (p. 155) the West Virginia system of Country Life Institutes at which the community scores itself by means of a printed score card.[12] The value of this method lies in the fact that the peo-

[12] This procedure is fully described in *Circular 255,* Extension Division, College of Agriculture, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. "Lifting the Country Community," and the results are described in *Circular 265,* "Helping the Country Community Saw Wood," of the same institution. A more recent edition of this is *Circular 307,* "Education through Organized Community Activities," by A. H. Rapking.

ple have themselves created certain standards or ideals of their own as the basis of their scoring and then have collectively rated themselves upon these various items. In some communities they find the score decidedly low and are forced to agree that something should be done to remedy the deficiencies. They stand convicted as a community in their own eyes, and, if there is a spark of life in the community, they will make some effort to better the conditions. As a result many communities definitely agree on attempting certain needed improvements and in many new cases leaders come forward, or are chosen, who have not previously had any position of leadership, because they now feel that the community is behind them. Formerly they hesitated to take any personal initiative because they knew their action would merely invite criticism.

Another example of improving the group situation is the method by which the Community Committees of the Farm Bureaus develop their local program of work,[13] by first considering the main agricultural products, or sources of income of the community, and then the factors which limit profits, for each item, thus diagnosing the weaknesses of the agricultural situation. The remedies for each item are considered, and certain farm enterprises are singled out as demanding immediate attention. Definite "goals" of accomplishment in improving the particular enterprises agreed upon are set up and leaders chosen for each project. Thus a definite program of work is prepared based upon the needs of the community. Local sentiment tends to be back of the project leaders, because the goals for which they are striving represent the wishes of the membership.

IV. Developing and Training Leaders

If, as our previous analysis has indicated, leadership is not something innate but arises out of a situation and may be learned through practice, then it should be possible to provide definite means for the development and training of leaders. That this is possible has been demonstrated by such organizations as Boy and Girl Scouts, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and other groups which have developed

[13] L. R. Simons, "The Farm Bureau Community Committee and Program of Work," *Extension Bulletin 65,* Cornell University.

definite methods of leadership training. Herein is the advantage of such movements with county, state, and national organizations, which can maintain a supervisory staff and can aid the local group in its leadership problems.

Recognizing that it is impossible to train for leadership in general, and that different types of leadership require different sorts of training, it is, nevertheless, possible to give very tangible training for leadership. That leaders can be developed and trained has been one of the outstanding facts demonstrated by the Country Life Movement of the past generation. There are many rough diamonds in what seems to be common clay.

Training alone, however, will not develop and maintain leaders. As we have seen, people assume the responsibilities of leadership because of some dynamic drive, some appeal to the emotions, which incites them to champion a given cause or goal. Motivation is, therefore, as important as training and, if we seek to maintain leaders, we shall have to consider how they may be motivated to assume leadership and be restimulated to persevere in it.

1. Training by Actual Experience. Training *in* leadership may be obtained only through experience in it, just as training in teaching must be obtained through practice teaching or just starting in to teach, for the relationship of the leader to the rest of the group is essential for perfecting the art of leadership. It is well known, however, that experience is a slow and costly teacher. Various devices have been invented for training people on the job. One of the oldest devices for giving actual experience without entire responsibility is apprenticeship. This is frequently used for training leaders and might be much more widely used with profit. Thus a patrol leader in a Scout troop, a junior leader of a 4-H Club, an assistant county agricultural agent, an assistant pastor, is essentially an apprentice in leadership for these particular groups. Indeed, any committee chairman, or leader of a minor group, may be considered an apprentice in a certain type of leadership if he is working under the general supervision of someone in authority over him.

2. Training Conferences, Schools, or Short Courses. Various types of conferences, schools, or short courses for training local leaders have been found helpful by all sorts of organizations,

the length varying from a single session to a week or a fortnight. Training courses held once a month have been widely used for training Sunday school teachers. Reference has already been made to itinerant training schools for leaders in dramatics and recreation, conducted by extension staffs. Similar training schools for local project leaders are conducted by specialists in other lines of extension work, particularly in the various home economics projects.

An example of a one-day training school or institute for rural community leaders is seen in the following program from Iowa, where many such meetings have been held:

MONONA COUNTY PROGRAM FOR RURAL LEADERS TRAINING SCHOOL
Farm Bureau Hall, Onawa, Iowa, December 8-9, 1923

Friday, December 8

9:00 A.M. Registration and Getting Acquainted

10:00 A.M. Training School Called to Order
N. L. Hackett, Onawa Farm Bureau President
Invocation—Rev. Bennett, Turin, Iowa
Announcements—W. H. Stacy, Extension Service, Ames
Musical Selection

10:30 A.M. Discussion: "The Community, What It Is, How It Can Act, and What It Can Do"
Led by Prof. G. H. Von Tungeln
What Is a Rural Community?
A. W. Ruth, Lincoln Township (Whiting, Iowa)
How Large Is My Community?
Mrs. A. B. Robinson, Lake Township (Whiting, Iowa)
How Does My Community Relate Itself to the County, State and Nation?
J. E. McNamara, Postmaster and Editor of the *Castana Times*
Is Community Spirit and Community Thinking Desirable?
Mrs. W. W. Gingles, Center Township (Castana, Iowa)
Why Think in Terms of a Community at All?
F. W. Hawthorne, Center Township (Castana, Iowa)

12:00 M. Dinner

1:00 P.M. Call to Order. Singing
1:15 P.M. "Shall We Plan Our Work?" A. H. Thompson, Ames, Iowa
1:30 P.M. Discussion, "Settling Goals"
Led by Miss Neale S. Knowles, Extension Service

Saturday, December 9

9:30 A.M. Call to Order. Singing—Announcements
9:45 A.M. Discussion, "Planning of Successful Meetings"
Led by W. H. Stacy, Extension Service
How We Create Interest in Our Meetings
R. L. Oliver, Pisgah, Iowa
Can We Conduct Project Work through Meetings?
Miss Neale S. Knowles, Extension Service
11:15 A.M. Parliamentary Drill
12:00 M. Dinner
1:00 P.M. Call to Order. Singing
1:15 P.M. Discussion, "Why Be a Leader?"
Led by Prof. G. H. Von Tungeln
"The Kind of Leadership Agriculture Needs"
W. B. Whiting, West Fork Township (Whiting)
"Is Leadership a Privilege or a Duty?"
Mrs. G. B. Clappison, County Nurse
"Some Essentials of Leadership"—Rev. G. W. Dunn
3:00 P.M. Summary of Training School—N. L. Hackett, Onawa, Iowa.

The attendance at short courses for rural leaders at state universities and agricultural colleges will also be helpful to community leaders. Thus the New York State College of Agriculture holds short courses for leaders of Parent-Teacher Associations, and for Town and Country Ministers. For several years it held a very successful short course for Grange masters and lecturers.

3. Printed Information. Community leaders are in need of the best printed (or mimeographed) information on all sorts of factual material. Books on community organization, such as those cited on previous pages and in the bibliography, will prove helpful; and the reading of case studies of the experience of other communities will throw light on local problems. Handbooks on special

topics may be obtained from various national organizations, such as the National Recreation Association.

A most useful form of printed information is the well-annotated bibliography which gives the best literature upon given topics. A good example is "A Guide to the Literature of Rural Life" issued by the Federal Council of Churches.[14] Various national and state private and governmental agencies, such as those listed in the Appendix, furnish literature on special topics and they may be consulted through correspondence upon special problems within their fields of work.

4. Help of Outside Leaders and Specialists. Leaders in community organization may often aid the community to see its needs and to plan the best methods for meeting them by the use 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 or the Red Cross will be found helpful on many occasions. In several states the state extension services at the agricultural colleges employ specialists in rural social organization who will be glad to be consulted and to give any assistance possible.

Such an outside leader can bring to the local community leader the successes and failures of others and comment on the methods they have used and their results. He can also help community leaders to analyze the local situation and its problems. He may also assist the local leader to analyze his program so as to see the next step and the next job, and so keep him planning ahead, or, colloquially, "keep him coming." The outside leader may also assist him by putting him in touch with specialists, organizations, and agencies which may assist in technical problems.

5. Means of Motivation. The responsibilities of leadership are sometimes discouraging. For the development of leaders it is as important to renew their motivation, to give them stimulation for renewed efforts, as it is to increase their knowledge or skill.

Conferences and Conventions. Conferences and conventions of leaders are occasions for discussing their common problems and for

[14] Benson Y. Landis, compiler, *A Guide to the Literature of Rural Life.* New York, Federal Council of Churches, 1939, p. 15.

gaining new knowledge and skill. They are of equal value in giving the leaders new inspiration and building up and maintaining their morale, and through them the morale of their local groups. A leader must of necessity always be somewhat ahead of his group and have objectives which many do not share. Inevitably he has times of discouragement and a feeling of not being supported by his group. At conventions and conferences he comes into contact with other leaders who share his vision and ideals.

Among such an assemblage of leaders a definite morale is developed which strengthens their own self-confidence by making them feel that they are part of a larger group which shares their ideals and which is superior to the local group. This feeling is spread by them to their own local groups, which thereby recognize the standards of the larger group. Undoubtedly it is this need for the maintenance of the morale of leaders and their need for the social control of a larger group in upholding desirable aims and policies in their local groups which give rise to the tendency for all sorts of groups to federate and hold conventions.[15]

The annual Farmers' Weeks at the state agricultural colleges, state Country Life Conferences, and the annual conference of the American Country Life Association, as well as those of Parent-Teacher Associations and state and regional conferences of social workers, furnish opportunities for this sort of stimulation.

Faith of Others. One of the chief motivations of any leader is the faith of others in him. This may be the faith of the members of his group, or of a superior officer or professional leader under whom he is working. In any case the sincere expression of faith in his leadership is a chief motivation for his efforts to merit it. Recognition and appreciation are among the chief rewards of leadership and should be generously bestowed. This may be done both by the officers of the local organization and by the professional leader, either personally or in public. Too much public acclaim may incite jealousy of the leader's followers, but the personal expression of appreciation obviates this and should be given by all interested. Recognition and appreciation are but a form of ex-

[15] Cf. Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community*. Boston, Ginn and Co., 1932, p. 355.

pression of faith in the leader, and are the natural response of good followers. If we appreciate the services of our leaders, the least we can do is to give them ungrudging recognition.

V. Professional Leaders

The Role of the Professional Leader. The professional leader is essentially a paid expert, and, with rare exceptions, he is not a member of the local primary group. No matter how much a minister is loved and revered by his people, if there is any difference between them, or if there is a question to be decided with regard to what the local church shall do in a particular matter, the people feel that he is the minister and they are the church. In the nature of things, his position in the church is more or less temporary, and his leadership is more or less *ex officio*. The real power of his professional leadership is measured by the degree to which he can lead his people to see what activities are essential for the welfare of the church and the degree to which these activities will be undertaken voluntarily under their own leadership. In other words, the success of the professional leader is measured by the degree to which he can inspire, stimulate, discover, develop, and train primary group leaders.

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 attempt to act as a group leader; in so far as he does so, he prevents the best social organization of the group with which he is entrusted. How frequently do we see men in positions of professional leadership who seem to be able to get everyone to rally to them. Everyone is working and the group seems to prosper; but let the professional leader drop out, as he inevitably does, and the whole thing collapses and the group is little, if any, stronger than before. The reason, of course, is that he has, through the prestige of his position, through superior ability, and through his failure to recognize the importance of the primary group leaders, assumed all the functions of leadership himself, and the local leaders have been weakened rather than strengthened in their position as group leaders. To perform his function as stimulator, it is not essential for the professional leader to be the real group leader. The

interpretation of the situation and the stimulus to make a better adaptation to it may come from an outside leader as well as from within the group, as has been shown by Lindeman[16] and by Butterworth.[17]

Professional leadership is essential in certain fields where an ability for abstract thought is needed, which must necessarily come from getting an outside view, so to speak, of the group, acquired only from a broader knowledge, wider contacts, reading, travel, etc. Rarely is this function performed by the local group leader, and ideally it would be the function of the professional leader to be the teacher of the group leaders.

If the employed leader undertakes to be the real leader of the group, in the advocacy of progressive ideas and methods, he is very likely to lose the support of the more conservative members of his group. His position may become an impossible one so far as effective leadership is concerned. On the other hand, if he quietly educates local leaders so that they advance his ideas as their own and assume active leadership on their behalf, the employed leader may maintain his role as educator and stimulator of group thought without centering antagonism on his personal leadership.

To take concrete examples, let us suppose that the minister feels that graded Sunday school lessons should be introduced in his Sunday school, or the school principal thinks that the school should have a better library. In either case, is it his function as a professional leader directly to present this matter to the members of his constituency; or will he likely get better results and at the same time build up a stronger group tradition, if he quietly interests some of the leaders in these projects, in due time getting some of them to advocate these projects until there seems to be a general agreement for them, and the people endorse the proposals of the leaders? In such a case, the professional leader gives the stimulus to the improvement and he aids in educating the leaders and the group. The actual creation of sentiment for the changes is due to the work of the group leaders, and their leadership is strengthened by getting

[16] Eduard C. Lindeman, *The Community*. New York, Association Press, 1921, pp. 124-125.

[17] Julian E. Butterworth, *op. cit.*, p. 194. Chapters X and XI of this book deserve study by any student of leadership.

them to think ahead and stand for something the need for which is generally appreciated. Obviously, this requires that the existing leaders be converted to the new idea or that new leaders be created, with the attendant risks of creating factions.

In his relation to community organization, the employed professional leader, such as a school principal or minister, may become a real group leader, in so far as he is accepted as a more or less permanent member of the community. On the other hand, the county agricultural agent or other employed county or district leader could not be a member of the community unless he resided there, although he might be able to be the guiding spirit in the program of community improvement. An employed professional man who is resident in the community and who is acting as leader in any community organization should be particularly careful to work as much as possible through other leaders and make his chief contribution as group educator and planner.

Lindeman has brought out the danger to community, or group, growth, if the professional leader does not develop local 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 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. The principle is applicable even in cases where the leader's ability is superior to that of the community. . . . In a Democracy, the group must be permitted the right to make its own mistakes. Eventually, this process leads to the proper utilization of specialized leadership.[18]

Possibly the reason that many professional leaders are satisfied with what seem to be "immediate results," even though subsequent history shows them to be evanescent, is that they feel that, if they enlist many individuals in desirable activities and make a showing of notable events, something has really been accomplished; whereas,

[18] E. C. Lindeman, *op. cit.*, p. 190. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

unless the attitudes of the groups have been so changed that these activities represent a real conviction of their desirability upon the part of the group, there may be no permanent effect. In other words, we must recognize that social progress comes through changing the groups and that groups rather than individuals conserve and transmit new social procedures and mechanisms. The key to the group is the group leader. Hence, if the group life is to be permanently strengthened, the fundamental problem is to develop and strengthen its leadership, and, unless real group leadership is developed, the work of the professional leader, however brilliant it may appear to be, will have but little permanent value to the group. Instead of being able to grapple with and work out their own problems the better for having had the benefits of professional leadership, they will be more dependent upon it, and will be constantly recurring to the fact that, if Mr. ——— were here, we could do so-and-so. There is no reality to the group life which has to be carried on the shoulders of a professional employee.

To the extent that the professional leader recognizes his role and plays his part as a leader of leaders will he be successful in building up strong group life and will he leave it a permanent legacy, for which his memory will be blessed. The origin of the progressive development of many a successful community may be traced to the influence of an outstanding pastor or school principal, or to the stimulation of a county extension agent.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What differences, if any, are there in the leadership relations of a leader chosen or drafted by the group and one who attracts a following by his ideas?

2. Can a group act without a leader? How?

3. What is the relation of social crisis to leadership?

4. Are the same stimuli equally effective for inciting leadership with different people? How can one determine which would be most effective?

5. Can a professional leader become a true group leader? Under what circumstances?

6. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the principle of seniority for the selection of leaders?

7. Should a professional leader assume local leadership responsibilities?
8. How can a group get rid of an undesirable but influential officer?
9. How does group discussion stimulate the emergence of leadership?

EXERCISES

1. Describe the origin of a given leadership relation and the further development of the leader and his methods.

2. Describe an example of a leader whose leadership has been improved by training.

3. Outline a program of training to make the volunteer organization leaders of your community more effective.

READINGS

1. Paul Pigors, *Leadership or Domination.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, Chapters 1 and 4, pp. 3-20, 75-100.

2. Henry M. Busch, *Leadership in Group Work.* New York, Association Press, 1934.

3. Grace L. Coyle, *Studies in Group Behavior.* New York, Harper and Bros., 1937, Chapter I.

4. Joseph K. Hart, *Community Organization.* New York, The Macmillan Co., 1920, Chapter XIII, pp. 206-217.

CHAPTER XIII

RELATIONS TO COUNTY AND STATE ORGANIZATIONS

1. The County as a Community. The local rural community is but part of the larger communities of the county, state, and nation. In many ways, the local organizations are more closely affiliated with others of the same kind in a county organization than they are with organizations in their own community. In some instances, where counties are small, and particularly in the South, where county tradition is strong, the county forms a social and economic unit which makes it the most tangible rural community of the sort we have been considering. In many Southern counties, the villages other than the county seat are small and mere trading centers or railroad stations to which the people feel but little attachment, whereas the social life and more important business and government activities center in the county-seat town. At the other extreme, in New England, the county is a very loose governmental unit, and the town (township) tends to be the local rural community. Even in New England, however, there are county associations such as the Farm Bureau or the County Council of Churches. In most of the northern and central states, a county will include several villages which, with their surrounding farms, form natural communities more or less competing with the county-seat town.

There has been an increasing tendency to use the county as an administrative unit both for public and private agencies, particularly for those which have employed executives. This is for the obvious reason that the county is a large enough unit to be able to support and to operate efficiently a given type of service, for which the local rural community is too small. Kolb and Brunner have called at-

tention to this tendency and have listed the county-wide agencies found in two counties, one in New York and one in California: [1]

A New York County

†Health Unit
†Farm Bureau and Agricultural Agent
†Home Bureau and Home Agent
†Junior work with 4-H Clubs
*Council of Religious Education
Red Cross
*Boy Scouts
*Girl Scouts
Chamber of Commerce
W. C. T. U.
†Library
Grange
*Dairymen's League
Cooperative Marketing Associations

A California County

†Health Unit
†Farm Bureau and Agricultural Agent
†Home Bureau and Home Agent
†Junior work with 4-H Clubs
Sunday School Association
*Welfare League
*Y. M. C. A.
*Boy Scouts
*Chamber of Commerce
Federation of Women's Clubs
Parent-Teacher Association
*Cooperative Marketing Associations
†Library

* With paid personnel.
† Tax-supported and paid personnel.

Among the public or governmental services, the following tend to use the county as an administrative unit over most of the country: (1) Education, (2) Health, (3) Extension Work, (4) Public Welfare, (5) Library Service, (6) Tax Levy and Collection, (7) Police and Crime Prevention, and (8) Highways and Public Works. All these agencies and services directly affect community organization in the local rural community and must be taken into consideration in planning its program.

Furthermore, the county-wide private organizations have a similar impact on the local community. Thus, the county Farm Bureau makes up its program of work on the basis of the needs and interests of the local communities and, having adopted the program, it attempts to get as many communities as possible to make use of its services in stimulating the advancement of certain items of its

[1] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, p. 588. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

program in their work. The same is true of the County Pomona Grange, of the County Parent-Teacher Association, of the County Chapter of the American Red Cross, of the County Council of Churches or County Sunday School Association, etc. Many of these organizations or agencies have county or state executives who can assist the local community in stimulating its programs, and the local community is, therefore, influenced by them as well as by the desire to integrate its own activities. On the one hand is the centripetal pull to try to integrate better the existing groups and organizations within the rural community; on the other hand is the centrifugal pull of county and state organizations to stimulate their own special programs in the local units, irrespective of the peculiar social situation with regard to inter-organizational relationships of the local community. There are, therefore, many of the same problems of community organization in the relationships of organizations within the county which exist in the community.

The problem of community organization in the county is much the same as that in the local community, so far as general principles and procedure are concerned. Somewhat the same types of organizational structures for effecting the integration of county-wide activities are to be found in the county as in the local community, i.e., special interest county organizations or federations, informal county-wide groups, and county councils of agencies or county development associations. Each of these may be related to official county planning boards and may also have relations to state and national organizations.

2. Special Interest County Organizations or Federations. Just as within the local community the Parent-Teacher Association is a community organization for improving the school and the Farm Bureau may serve as the agency for carrying on a program for the improvement of agriculture, so in the county the County Parent-Teacher Association, the County Farm Bureau, or the County Council of Churches are county-wide organizations interested in improving the county as a larger community, and each local community in it, in the field of their particular interests. What is needed is some means of coordinating their efforts so that two or more of them will not be attempting to do the same thing in the local communities, or that there will not be an effort to start

tention to this tendency and have listed the county-wide agencies found in two counties, one in New York and one in California: [1]

A New York County

†Health Unit
†Farm Bureau and Agricultural Agent
†Home Bureau and Home Agent
†Junior work with 4-H Clubs
*Council of Religious Education
Red Cross
*Boy Scouts
*Girl Scouts
Chamber of Commerce
W. C. T. U.
†Library
Grange
*Dairymen's League
Cooperative Marketing Associations

A California County

†Health Unit
†Farm Bureau and Agricultural Agent
†Home Bureau and Home Agent
†Junior work with 4-H Clubs
Sunday School Association
*Welfare League
*Y. M. C. A.
*Boy Scouts
*Chamber of Commerce
Federation of Women's Clubs
Parent-Teacher Association
*Cooperative Marketing Associations
†Library

* With paid personnel.
† Tax-supported and paid personnel.

Among the public or governmental services, the following tend to use the county as an administrative unit over most of the country: (1) Education, (2) Health, (3) Extension Work, (4) Public Welfare, (5) Library Service, (6) Tax Levy and Collection, (7) Police and Crime Prevention, and (8) Highways and Public Works. All these agencies and services directly affect community organization in the local rural community and must be taken into consideration in planning its program.

Furthermore, the county-wide private organizations have a similar impact on the local community. Thus, the county Farm Bureau makes up its program of work on the basis of the needs and interests of the local communities and, having adopted the program, it attempts to get as many communities as possible to make use of its services in stimulating the advancement of certain items of its

[1] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, p. 588. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

program in their work. The same is true of the County Pomona Grange, of the County Parent-Teacher Association, of the County Chapter of the American Red Cross, of the County Council of Churches or County Sunday School Association, etc. Many of these organizations or agencies have county or state executives who can assist the local community in stimulating its programs, and the local community is, therefore, influenced by them as well as by the desire to integrate its own activities. On the one hand is the centripetal pull to try to integrate better the existing groups and organizations within the rural community; on the other hand is the centrifugal pull of county and state organizations to stimulate their own special programs in the local units, irrespective of the peculiar social situation with regard to inter-organizational relationships of the local community. There are, therefore, many of the same problems of community organization in the relationships of organizations within the county which exist in the community.

The problem of community organization in the county is much the same as that in the local community, so far as general principles and procedure are concerned. Somewhat the same types of organizational structures for effecting the integration of county-wide activities are to be found in the county as in the local community, i.e., special interest county organizations or federations, informal county-wide groups, and county councils of agencies or county development associations. Each of these may be related to official county planning boards and may also have relations to state and national organizations.

2. Special Interest County Organizations or Federations. Just as within the local community the Parent-Teacher Association is a community organization for improving the school and the Farm Bureau may serve as the agency for carrying on a program for the improvement of agriculture, so in the county the County Parent-Teacher Association, the County Farm Bureau, or the County Council of Churches are county-wide organizations interested in improving the county as a larger community, and each local community in it, in the field of their particular interests. What is needed is some means of coordinating their efforts so that two or more of them will not be attempting to do the same thing in the local communities, or that there will not be an effort to start

too many new programs of work in the local communities, or in the county as a whole, at the same time. It must always be remembered that in the smaller rural communities there is only a certain amount of leadership and that most of the people interested in the activities of one organization are the same ones who must be depended upon in other organizations. There is a very definite limit to their time for organizational participation. In a county-wide organization, the employed executive, who may not be intimately acquainted with the organizational situation in the local communities, may attempt to develop his own organization's program without giving due consideration to the affect of this step on organizational relationships in the local community. This has been one cause of friction between the Farm Bureau and the Grange in some states, or it may make for rivalry between the Boy Scouts and the 4-H Clubs, or between the Red Cross and the Home Bureau. Some years ago, the Red Cross organized local classes in nutrition, home nursing and first aid. In some communities, the Home Bureau was already doing work in the same subjects or contemplated doing it. The same women would necessarily be involved in this program in the local communities. When the county executives of the two organizations got their heads together, they arranged that the local units of the two groups combine their efforts and hold these classes under whatever outside leadership was available. There is no simple rule for determining whether two functions should be combined in one organization, or whether it is better to encourage separate organizations which will appeal to different leaders and to those specially interested in the particular topic. This will depend upon the local situation, the size of the community, the leadership available, etc., but it is important that there be an understanding and there be no competition for the same type of activity in the rural community.

One example of a county-wide organization to promote a particular line of work is the County Recreation Council. About a dozen counties in New York State have developed such councils in the last three or four years.

County recreation councils are an integral part of the program for training volunteer leaders for such organizations as the Home

Bureau, Grange, 4-H Club, Parent-Teacher Association, and rural church groups. After a training meeting, in which instruction is given to the representatives of these groups by a specialist from the Extension Service, a county recreation council is formed to carry on follow-up work. The individuals who attend training schools join together in a very informal organization with perhaps a president and secretary-treasurer. This group will meet once a month or once every two months to carry on practice work in recreation leadership, and to assist the leaders in gaining confidence in conducting games so that they can function as local leaders with some assurance of success in their home communities. It is customary to divide the membership of the council into committees, each of which is responsible for conducting one of the regular meetings of the recreation council. The committees are made up of five to seven individuals, whose responsibility it is to work up a balanced recreation program with each individual on the committee leading in an activity. By systematically appointing the entire membership of the council to committees, each person has an opportunity to gain some experience in recreation leadership.

County recreation councils also sponsor training schools in addition to those conducted by the specialist from the State College of Agriculture. Frequently there is local talent that can be brought into a council meeting to demonstrate some phase of recreation or to give additional training in music, dramatics, hobby work, or folk dancing.

The older and more experienced councils do some recreation program planning work. They are inclined to set up, at the beginning of each year, a program in leadership training. One of their most interesting projects is the organization of recreation deputation teams to go out and put on demonstrations in communities that do not have a representative on the council, thus gradually spreading the work over the entire county.

Other county-wide councils for promoting special interests are County Councils of Religious Education, County Councils for Adult Education, and County Health Committees.

During the last few years in a number of New York counties, the Farm and Home Bureau Association has created a County Ag-

ricultural Conference Committee, composed of agricultural and business leaders from its own membership and that of other county-wide agricultural organizations, but not appointed by them. The primary objective of such boards has been to study the agricultural needs of the county and to plan a long-time program of agricultural development. Recently, two or three of these Conference Committees have added a section to study the social organization of rural life as well as its purely agricultural problems, and have included in their membership leaders representing various aspects of rural life, education, health, public welfare work, recreation, etc. These conference groups are not regarded as permanent organizations, but are rather temporary volunteer planning bodies, which will study the needs of the county and make public the results of their studies for the use of all organizations and agencies concerned. It may well be that they will stimulate the creation of permanent county-wide councils or improvement associations for carrying on the work which they have outlined. The County Land-Use Committees, recently organized by the state extension services in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, will perform much the same function, as their aims are broader than their name indicates.

3. **Informal County-wide Groups.** In a rural Oklahoma county there is a Schoolmasters' Club, composed of school principals and superintendents, which meets monthly for social and professional purposes. In connection with its meetings, its members discuss informally the scheduling of inter-high-school events, such as athletic meets, dramatic performances, etc., and they arrange the visits of the school teams so that they do not overlap, or come too frequently. This has been carried on for several years and has resulted in a very amicable relationship between the various communities of the county with regard to these events. It is really the beginning of a county-wide calendar for a certain type of events.

In view of the fact that there is a frequent intervisitation between rural communities for community events, it might be well to try to establish a county-wide calendar for the more important events of inter-community interest. This has already been done in some cases by having a daily column in the county-seat newspaper which

circulates throughout the county, as in the following clipping from the *Ithaca Journal*.

COMING EVENTS OF RURAL INTEREST

April 29—Enfield Center—Grange card party at hall. Women bring sandwiches and cake.
April 20—Mecklenburg—Missionary Society will serve roast beef supper at church. Public invited.
April 30—Enfield Falls—Community Club card party at Community House, 8 P.M. Bring sandwiches, jello, and cake. Public invited.
April 30—Etna Grange Hall—Dance for benefit Grange. 9 to 1.
May 1—Varna—Rev. Mr. Slocum, missionary from China, will give talk to Sunday school in morning.
May 2—Newfield—Civic Association dinner at M. E. Church, 6:30 P.M.
May 2—Newfield—Dr. George Cheney of Corning will speak on school centralization at M. E. Church, 8 P.M. Public invited.
May 3—Newfield—Annual school meeting at high school, 7:30 P.M.

4. County Councils. There is an apparent need for a council of county-wide organizations engaged in promoting the public welfare, just as there is for the community. Such county councils have been in operation in various parts of the country for a number of years. Thus at the Third National Country Life Conference in 1920 Prof. E. L. Morgan, in a report of the Committee on Rural Organization, said:

> The work of the co-ordination of county agencies has followed the county council idea which provides for a rather formal coming together of representatives of both county agencies and of counties. This has resulted in an exchange of plans and projects among agencies, and a united approach to the problems that are county-wide as well as to those of the individual communities comprising the county. The county conference plan, bringing together both representatives of county agencies and local community leaders, has been used in some counties for as much as ten years with apparent success.
>
> A sort of community case committee has been developed, through which the specific needs of the communities of the county are definitely considered. This has resulted in certain county agencies being able to deal specifically with particular needs while other agencies have kept their hands off until the community was ready to consider another project. This has apparently eliminated, to a large extent at

least, the overloading and confusing of local leaders by ambitious organizations operating on a country-wide basis.[2]

Prince George County, Maryland, adjoining the District of Columbia on the south, has had a county council for many years, which has proved a very effective agency for county improvement. In Virginia the Cooperative Education Association actively promoted county councils during the 1920's.

In New York State several counties have county councils of welfare agencies. One of the first of these was formed in Tompkins County about ten years ago. Its purposes and organization are sufficiently indicated by the constitution, given later in this chapter. Its membership includes all the welfare, educational, and religious organizations which are county-wide in their activities, as well as public officials. Although it has engaged in no direct promotion of projects or programs, the mutual acquaintance with the work of other organizations and the discussion of the needs of the county have resulted in forming a public opinion among leading citizens which has greatly aided county improvement. In 1931 it published *The Tompkins County Handbook,* which was a directory of the public welfare, social, religious, and educational organizations, agencies and officials of the county, giving a statement of the aims and purposes of all the county-wide organizations, their officers, and the officers of all local schools and churches.

Just as community councils are formed either on the "direct" plan of inclusive membership, or the "indirect" plan of representatives of established organizations (see Chapter VII), so county-wide organizations have been formed as representative councils, as described above, or have developed as inclusive organizations with a general membership, often known as County Improvement Leagues or Associations. One of the first of these was the Hampden County (Massachusetts) Improvement League, which was established in 1913. This was primarily an organization for supporting extension work in agriculture and home economics and 4-H Club work, but it had a broad program including health and com-

[2] American Country Life Association, "Rural Organization": *Proceedings* of the Third National Country Life Conference. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1921, pp. 215-216.

munity improvement. The Otsego County (New York) Improvement Association was formed in 1919 and operated for two or three years, until its executive resigned to accept a position in another state. It supplemented the work of the existing Farm Bureau, and gave special attention to reforestation and road improvement.

On July 10, 1934, The New York State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration announced the selection of Tompkins County as the unit for a demonstration in rural development. This decision resulted from a recommendation of the New York State Agricultural Advisory Committee and the willingness of the Tompkins County Board of Supervisors to give the plan their full cooperation.

The keynote of the idea was to replan one county as to land use, highway systems, rural electric lines, educational and health facilities, school districts and community groups; to promote the beautification of farmsteads and countryside; to develop not only the land but the people on it.

While the immediate motive of the demonstration was to supply work relief, it was not a matter of mere temporary relief. The more important object was planning and developing a permanent rural life and achieving economic security and social welfare for the whole county.

During the first two years of its existence it had a technical staff of five persons, consisting of an architect, an engineer, a draftsman, a director of educational and social research, and the general director, with a stenographer. The following is from a leaflet issued by the Association in November, 1936, and shows some of its accomplishments and its organization at that time:

THE TOMPKINS COUNTY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

What It Is

The Development Association has for its purpose the promotion of the common welfare in all phases of county and community life through encouraging, organizing and furthering projects for better roads, schools, churches, recreational, educational and health facilities, and other desirable projects of various types; and through promoting community organization to gain these ends.

It is a cooperative enterprise among volunteer citizens, the County

Board of Supervisors, and the Extension Service of the New York State College of Agriculture.

What It Has Done

Through the two years of its existence, the Development Association has aided communities of the county in the following activities:

Creating a base map of the county, showing roads, streams, and political divisions.

Scoring and evaluating of all rural school buildings, grounds, and equipment to determine relative adequacy and to make recommendations for improvements.

Improvements for 30 school buildings.

Hearing tests with audiometers for 3,264 rural school pupils, followed by ear specialists' examinations for 131 hard-of-hearing school children. Lip reading instruction arranged for 52 pupils.

Psychological examinations for 131 retarded children; three opportunity classes recommended, one of which has been formed.

Organization of the county as a State Health District.

Promotion of Rural Electrification, resulting in nearly 100 miles of new electric lines in 1936.

Erection of 236 road intersection signs.

Planning of several new roads, bridges, and road intersection improvements.

Designing of a community house, a town machinery shed, a village library, a camp water supply, and a village water system.

Promotion of spruce-up activities through spring and summer months, cooperating with towns and villages in publicity for clean-up days; assistance with community flower shows; aid to schools, churches, and private property owners in improvement of buildings and grounds.

Improvement of State Game Farm, Farmers' Market, and a village playground.

Survey of community organizations and recreational facilities to determine the relative adequacy of local recreational programs and leadership in 66 villages, hamlets and neighborhoods.

Rural Youth Survey cooperating with State College of Agriculture. 1,105 young men and women 15 to 29 years of age interviewed concerning their activities, interests and problems. Recommendations made for improved recreational and educational programs.

Its Present Program

At present the Staff of the Development Association is engaged in the following activities:

Organizing of community councils to integrate better the effort of existing organizations for community improvement.

Preparing detailed plans and specifications for a camp to accommodate 100 children or adults.

Aiding with plans to improve the Cayuga Preventorium and several school buildings.

Drawing base maps of the nine towns for the use of Town Boards, Assessors, Schools, etc.

Promoting spruce-up activities in cooperation with Farm and Home Bureau, 4-H Clubs, and civic organizations.

Urging uniform town ordinances on rural zoning to control roadside development, encourage the best use of land areas, and to prevent undesirable suburban developments.

How It Can Help Your Community

The Development Association is interested in helping civic groups to help themselves. Staff help is available to a limited extent for engineering and architectural work for organizing various types of community improvement.

Volunteer citizens are serving on the following committees: Community Organization, Conservation, Education, Electrification, Health, Highways, Land Use, Markets, Rural Churches, Rural Work Centers, Social and Recreational Development, Welfare, and Voluntary Projects.

Any community, no matter how small, may request the appropriate committee to work with them on specific improvements.

Meetings

The members of the Development Association hold quarterly meetings in January, April, July, and October. Meetings are open to all interested citizens. An Executive Committee of seven persons is elected by the Association members to direct activities between the quarterly meetings of the Association.

Membership

Membership application is open to any interested citizen who will subscribe to the following statement:

> "Desiring to be identified with other citizens working for improvement in Tompkins County, I hereby apply for membership in the Tompkins County Development Association."
>
> There are no dues or assessments connected with membership in the Association, but members are expected to give a reasonable amount of time to promoting improvements in their own communities and throughout the county.

With the discontinuance of the T. E. R. A. and the transfer of federally aided work relief to the Works Progress Administration, relief funds were no longer available for the technical staff, which was reduced to a director, engineer, and stenographer. In 1938 the county supervisors failed to appropriate for the support of the T. C. D. A., but expressed a cordial interest in its work. At present it is in a process of reorganization with the director on part time, but the work of the organization will be carried on through its committees. The history of this organization illustrates the difficulty of maintaining such a program in an average rural county when it is not officially recognized as a part of the county government. It is felt that possibly, if an official county planning board were established by the board of supervisors, such a voluntary association of citizens might serve as an educational and promotional agency working with the planning board, whose executive might also serve the citizens' organization. The usefulness of such an organization has been thoroughly demonstrated, and a resumé of its work is now being prepared, but the means of adequately financing its work except through county or state aid is not yet apparent.

From the standpoint of local community organization, one of the most important functions of such a county association is that it can aid in their development through a study of community needs, in assisting in their organization, and by stimulating their activities as contributing to its general program. Thus a county-wide musical festival may stimulate a local community to develop its own musical

program, just as the county Farm and Home Bureaus stimulate the work of their locals in each community.

5. **Official County Planning Boards.** During the past four or five years, under the stimulation of the National Resources Committee and State Planning Boards, there has arisen a widespread interest in state and county planning. Many states now have official state planning boards and have passed legislation enabling counties to create county planning boards. In New York State, some fifteen counties or regions have established official planning boards.[3] In general, the county planning boards have given their attention chiefly to highways, waterways, and water-supply, parks, land use, reforestation, public utilities, etc., but some of them have made studies of the population and of social and economic areas, as a basis for planning centralized schools and roads to them. The leaders in the planning movement look upon it as a means for the more intelligent development of not only the physical, but also the human resources of the area. Indeed, all physical improvements are of value only as they improve the condition of the people, and, to plan them intelligently, the people and their needs must be carefully studied. Thus, the development of better park and playground facilities will have a very definite influence on improving social relations within the county. Such a problem as how to deal with the mentally deficient and prevent their increase is important to the taxpayers of the county from a purely financial standpoint, to say nothing of its effect upon the general culture and morality. Consequently, we may look forward to county planning boards assuming a larger role in county improvement.

One of the important functions of county planning boards in some states is to establish and enforce zoning ordinances. This makes possible the restriction of undesirable business and factory properties adjacent to residences, the control of unsightly billboards and other nuisances, etc. Wisconsin has led the way with legislation[4] permitting planning boards to establish land use zones, re-

[3] Harold M. Lewis and Alexander B. Pinkham, *County and Regional Planning Organizations in New York State.* Albany, New York, Division of State Planning, 1936. Mimeographed.

[4] Cf. W. E. Cole and Hugh P. Crowe, "Recent Trends in Rural Planning." *Wisconsin Zoning Law,* p. 126.

stricting the poor lands to forestry and recreational purposes and preventing their occupancy for agriculture. With the completion of land use surveys, county planning boards may have a large part in developing land use policies, which will have far-reaching effects on community organization.

County planning boards may also be of great service in making studies for projects involving the purchase by the government (county, state, or national) of marginal lands and determining areas from which people should be moved and where resettlement may prove successful.[5]

As more county planning boards become established and as they take a broader view of their function, they will be able to be of very material assistance to better rural social organization, by conducting researches and bringing together the factual data as a basis for public discussion. Such boards are part of the county government and the county supervisors or county commissioners will receive their suggestions, because they have appointed them for that purpose. These boards will not only have a large influence in developing long-time, well-conceived plans of county improvement which will also get the support of public opinion irrespective of current political issues and the influence of political expediency, but they will be a means of exploring the assistance which may be obtained from state and national agencies and forming a permanent liaison agency for cooperating with them, a function which does not at present exist in most county governments.

There is also a large place for a citizens' organization, either a county council or a county improvement association, to work with the county planning board, just as a Parent-Teacher Association works with and supplements the school administration. An unofficial volunteer organization that includes outstanding community leaders is very useful as an advisory group to the official county planning board and as an interpreter to the public of the value and significance of planning programs.

6. Relations to State and National Organizations and Agencies. As just indicated, there is a need for some office which

[5] Cf. Karl Shafer, "A Basis for Social Planning in Coffee County, Alabama," *Social Research Report No. VI,* U. S. Department of Agriculture, The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, cooperating, December, 1937. Mimeographed.

can keep in touch with state and national agencies, governmental and private, which can be of assistance in county development; but there is also need of an office which can coordinate the efforts of outside agencies and which can exercise an influence on their programs and policies within the county. Frequently, some one state or national agency will make a drive to obtain support for its particular program of work, which will enlist public support and absorb attention, whereas some other line of work may be more important for the general welfare and must await development until the first one is achieved. Furthermore, the opinions and desires of the local people must be considered in all plans and programs of state agencies. Thus, the program of a state highway department for road improvement may be ill considered and even detrimental to the best development of the county, if it has not had the views of those who have carefully studied the county's needs and who have planned the best location of central schools and high schools and determined the community centers which seem destined to be permanent and those which are likely to deteriorate on account of changes in methods of transportation.

There is, therefore, a very definite function for the executive office of a county planning board or a county council or improvement association, to keep a permanent file of data concerning each community in the county, and to be able to give an intimate picture of the present status of community organization and development, local leaders, etc., for the use of state and national agencies.

Some of the same considerations which have led to the formation of county conference committees or councils were influential in the formation of the New York State Conference Board of Farm Organizations, concerning which a statement is appended to this chapter. The principles of procedure which have made it so successful are worthy of consideration for county and community organization.

7. **Conclusion.** In some cases, because of proximity to a city or large town, or because the county boundaries are purely geographical and do not coincide with the natural flow of social and economic association, or because the county is too small to form an effective functional unit, the county may not be the best unit for the integration of inter-community effort. For the vast majority

of cases, however, the county is the natural unit within which communities associate most effectively for their common effort for rural improvement and which is recognized by governmental and statistical agencies as the unit of local administration. There is need, therefore, for a better organization of the county community, and through it, the process of community organization may be more effectively promoted, strengthened, and maintained.

EXAMPLES OF COUNTY AND STATE CONFERENCES OR COUNCILS

I. Constitution of Tompkins County Conference of Public and Welfare Agencies (as amended Oct. 27, 1930)

Art. 1. *Name.* This organization shall be called the Tompkins County Conference.

Art. 2. *Members.* The Conference shall consist of three representatives (preferably the president and two others) of the following organizations:

1. Tompkins County Chapter American Red Cross
2. Tompkins County Board of Child Welfare
3. L. A. Fuertes Council Boy Scouts of America
4. Tompkins County Council of Religious Education
5. Tompkins County Farm Bureau
6. Ithaca Council Girl Scouts of America
7. Tompkins County Health Committee
8. Tompkins County Home Bureau
9. Ithaca Chamber of Commerce
10. Ithaca Community Chest
11. Tompkins County Junior Project (4-H Clubs)
12. Tompkins County Junior Red Cross
13. Tompkins County Library Commission
14. Tompkins County Medical Society
15. Tompkins County Pomona Grange
16. Ithaca Tuberculosis Association
17. Board of Managers of Tompkins County Sanitarium
18. Tompkins County Women's Christian Temperance Union
19. Board of Managers of Tompkins County Laboratory
20. Tompkins County Association
21. Tompkins County Rural Musical Festival Committee

and the following Public Officials:

A. The Members of the County Board of Supervisors.
B. Tompkins County Commissioner of Public Welfare
C. Three district school superintendents
D. Judge of the Children's Court
E. County Probation Officer

The members designated by the above organizations shall represent them until their successors are elected or appointed and certified to the secretary.

Art. 3. *Objects.* The objects of the Conference shall be to hold conferences of the county-wide organizations and public officials, so that a better mutual understanding of their work may be secured by all concerned, that the needs of the county may be discussed and ways and means considered for their realization, and that matters of public policy with regard to the general welfare of the county may be studied and programs or projects developed.

The Conference shall be a body for conference and discussion and shall not undertake any permanent executive functions. It may adopt resolutions or make recommendations, but these shall be understood to represent the judgment of its members individually and shall in no wise commit the organizations represented. It may, as circumstances warrant, refer resolutions or topics under consideration to the constituent organizations for such action as they may see fit, to be reported to the Conference as a basis for its action.

Art. 4. *Meetings.* The Conference shall meet once each quarter, summer excepted, and special meetings may be called by the president or secretary upon vote of the Executive Committee.

Art. 5. *Officers.* The officers shall consist of a president, two vice-presidents and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to such offices.

Art. 6. *Standing Committees:*

1. Executive Committee. The executive committee shall consist of the officers, the chairmen of the standing committees and the chairman of the County Board of Supervisors. The Executive Committee shall have charge of the work of the Conference *ad interim* and shall act as a program committee.
2. There shall be six standing committees on (1) Family and Child Welfare, (2) Health, (3) Education, (4) Recreation, Music and

Drama, (5) Finance, and (6) County Planning, to which shall be referred the study of county problems in these fields and which shall assist the Executive Committee in preparing programs for the meetings of the Conference.

3. The members of each standing committee, as far as possible, shall be selected from those organizations in the Conference that are primarily interested in the work of the Committee.
4. The officers, chairmen of Standing Committees and a majority of the members of the Standing Committees shall be selected from the members of the Conference, and other members of the Standing Committees may be appointed at large.

Art. 7. *Tompkins County Social Workers Club.* In order to secure more frequent consultation of the employed executives of the welfare organizations of the County, there shall be a division of the Conference to be called the Tompkins County Social Workers Club. It shall consist of the employed executives or social workers of the following organizations, and the officers of the Tompkins County Council ex officio:

1. Tompkins County American Red Cross
2. Tompkins County Board of Child Welfare
3. L. A. Fuertes Council Boy Scouts of America
4. Tompkins County Council of Religious Education
5. Tompkins County Farm Bureau
6. Ithaca Council of Girl Scouts of America
7. Tompkins County Health Committee
8. Tompkins County Home Bureau
9. Tompkins County Junior Project (4-H Clubs)
10. Tompkins County Library Committee

and of such other county organizations as may employ executives. Other social workers of Ithaca may be admitted by vote of the members.

This club shall meet monthly and may elect its own officers and adopt its own by-laws subject to the approval of the Conference. It shall seek to coordinate the work of the various welfare organizations of the county and to bring to the attention of the Conference such matters as the work of the executives may show to be of importance for its consideration.

Art. 8. *Annual Meeting and Election of Officers.* Annual meeting shall be held at the spring meeting of the Conference, notice of which shall

be sent to all members two weeks in advance, at which time the officers for the ensuing year shall be elected.

Art. 9. *Amendments.* This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present at any meeting providing that such a vote represents a majority of the constituent organizations and providing that the proposed amendments be submitted in writing at a previous meeting and be included in the notices for the meeting at which it is to be voted upon.

II. The New York State Conference Board of Farm Organizations *

When Organized. The New York State Conference Board of Farm Organizations was organized in 1919 by the New York State Grange, the New York State Farm Bureau Federation, the Dairymen's League, and the New York State Horticultural Society to serve as a clearing house for the major state-wide farm organizations then in existence. It was found that all the farm organizations, although each had been organized for a specific purpose, had common interests. To advance these common interests the Conference Board of Farm Organizations took form.

During the early twenties the Cooperative groups formed the New York State Cooperative Council to deal with common interests. At that time the Dairymen's League and the newly organized G. L. F., together with other smaller cooperatives, held representation on the Conference Board of Farm Organizations. Also during the early twenties the New York State Federation of Home Bureaus and the New York State Vegetable Growers Association were admitted to membership.

The Cooperative Council became less active and ceased holding membership on the Conference Board, at which time the Cooperative Dairymen's League and the Cooperative G. L. F. were admitted as members.

Purpose. As already pointed out, the Conference Board of Farm Organizations was organized to serve as a clearing house for the major state-wide farm organizations. It still operates as such.

Member Organizations. New York State Grange, Cooperative Dairymen's League Association, New York State Farm Bureau Federation, New York State Federation of Home Bureaus, New York State Horticultural Society, New York State Vegetable Growers Association, and Grange League Federation Exchange.

Organization Representation. The membership of the Agricultural Conference Board is made up of three representatives from each member organization.

* By E. S. Foster, Secretary.

Selection of Conference Board Representatives. The president of each member organization is empowered to select the three representatives for his organization. This makes a membership of 21 persons.

Officers. The officers consist of a chairman, vice chairman, and a secretary-treasurer. These offices are now held, respectively, by Henry Marquart of Orchard Park, president of the New York State Vegetable Growers' Association, Fred H. Sexauer of Auburn, president of the Cooperative Dairymen's League Association, and E. S. Foster of Ithaca, general secretary of the New York State Farm Bureau Federation.

Executive Committee. The executive committee of the Agricultural Conference Board consists of the head or president of each member organization. In other words, the executive committee is made up of seven representatives.

Voting. No action is ever taken by the Conference Board unless it receives unanimous approval of all representatives present in Conference Board meetings. This requirement has been one of the answers to the success of the Conference Board. When a program is agreed to it receives the wholehearted and unanimous support of all the seven member organizations.

Finances. The constitution and bylaws provide that the Agricultural Conference Board may levy assessments of $10 per organization against each member organization when approved by the Conference Board. The Board is not limited in the number of assessments it can make per year. Rarely has more than one assessment been made per year. The Conference Board has no paid officers or office staff. Its expenditures largely involve stationery, postage, telephone, and telegraph services.

Meetings. The Conference Board holds four regular meetings per year or more upon call of the chairman or petition of any member organization. The executive committee meets more frequently to deal with minor problems.

Programs. Each year prior to convening of the Legislature, the Conference Board prepares a legislative program and submits it to the Governor, the leaders in the Legislature and the departmental heads concerned. Frequently Conference Board representatives appear at legislative hearings and state the position of the Conference Board relative to various legislative proposals and policies. Occasionally, the Agricultural Conference Board expresses itself concerning national problems and policies and transmits such expression to the Congress, the President, and the nationwide farm organizations such as the National Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Cooperative Council.

As a rule the platform committees of the major political parties seek

the advice and counsel of the Agricultural Conference Board in regard to agriculture and its problems. Prior to the gubernatorial election in 1936 and at their invitation, the Agricultural Conference Board appeared before candidates Lehman and Blakely and outlined the problems which the Conference Board deemed of importance to agriculture. During the nineteen years since the Conference Board has been in existence this procedure has been quite common, which indicates that the Conference Board is recognized as an authoritative spokesman for organized agriculture in New York State.

TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

1. To what extent can the County Farm Bureau or County Agricultural Extension organization function as a county improvement association? What are its limitations and responsibilities in this regard?

2. Would a council composed of representatives of county-wide special interest federations (e.g., County Council or Association of Churches, County Recreation Council, County P. T. A. Association, etc.) or a county improvement association with committees dealing with these various interests be most likely to be most efficient in promoting active programs of work in these fields?

3. What is the value of a county association for promoting the activities of local groups and for stimulating community organization?

4. If you were a member of the Board of Supervisors or County Commissioners, how could you justify the expense for a County Planning Board?

5. How would zoning ordinances affect rural community organization?

6. For what functions or services is the county unit superior to the local rural community? For what is the latter superior?

7. What is the obligation of the local community for supporting county, state, and national organizations such as the Boy Scouts, American Red Cross, etc.?

EXERCISES

1. Describe how county-wide organizations affect community organization in a community known to you.

2. To what extent do the organizations of the different communities in your county act together for the common welfare? What projects might they undertake to this end?

3. Show how zoning ordinances might improve the social organization in a county known to you.

4. List the county-wide organizations in your county which affect community organization.

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2. William E. Cole and Hugh P. Crowe, *Recent Trends in Rural Planning.* New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, pp. 17, 18; Chapter IV, pp. 119-143, "Recent Trends in Land Use Planning."

3. Kenneth S. Beam, *Coordinating Councils: How Shall They Be Organized?* New York, National Probation Association, 1937, p. 15.

CHAPTER XIV

RURAL COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN THE NATIONAL LIFE

We have discussed the nature of rural community organization and the techniques for improving it. In conclusion it may be well to consider what importance it has not only for rural people, but also for the life of the nation as a whole. These are days of stress and strain in our national life and we are being forced to re-assess the importance of the various factors which influence it.

One of the most striking changes in the whole social situation in this country has been the rapid shift from a predominantly rural population to one which lives mostly in towns and cities. Fifty years ago practically two-thirds (64.6 per cent) of the people in this country were rural, and most of the rural population lived on farms. Only a third (35.4 percent) of the population lived in towns or cities. Some time between 1910 and 1920 the urban population commenced to exceed the rural. In 1930, 56.2 per cent of the population lived in places of over 2,500 and only 43.8 per cent was rural, and about one-fourth (24.6 per cent) lived on farms. The proportion of the total population living on farms is probably not over one-half as large as it was fifty years ago. A considerable part of the rural population is in the city suburbs, in the metropolitan areas. In 1930, 7.3 per cent[1] of the total population was in rural areas of the "metropolitan districts." If this be deducted from the percentage rural, 43.8, it leaves only 36.4 per cent in the strictly rural areas. In short, the proportion of the population which is rural and urban has been nearly reversed in the last half century.

During the same period the birth rate has declined so that our large cities are no longer reproducing themselves and must depend

[1] See Warren S. Thompson and P. K. Whelpton, *Population Trends in the United States*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, p. 30, Table 10.

upon immigration to maintain their population.[2] Formerly city immigration was largely from foreign countries, but today it is chiefly from the rural districts of our own country.[3]

Furthermore our rural and urban populations are very unevenly distributed. The states in the northeastern quarter of the United States, including all east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio Rivers, and Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota, have 69 per cent of the urban population of the entire country, but have only 39 per cent of the rural population. Thus, if the suburban rural population is excluded, practically two-thirds of the rural population of our country is to be found in the South and West. In the states of the Northeast, particularly east of the Mississippi, urban culture has a dominant position.

Cities have ever been centers of communication and, consequently, they have the richest intellectual and artistic life. Ideas radiate from the cities; for they control the press, newspapers, magazines, and books, as well as radio broadcasting. In the last twenty-five years there has been, therefore, a very rapid urbanization of rural life.[4]

With the concentration of wealth and means of communication in them, the cities have naturally become the centers of all sorts of national movements—political, economic, social, and religious—and the urban point of view has tended to dominate many movements for rural social organization. This has been well stated by Kolb and Brunner:

> 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

[2] National Resources Committee. *The Problems of a Changing Population.* Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 127-135.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 99-103.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-53, "The Process of Urbanization."

as in other great functions of life, local opinion and action must be made more effective.[5]

As the cities came to have a majority of the population President Theodore Roosevelt perceived the necessity for measures which would enable rural life to keep pace with urban development, and on August 10, 1908, he appointed a Commission on Country Life. In his letter to Dr. L. H. Bailey, asking him to serve as chairman of this commission, he said: "But it is equally true that the social and economic institutions of the open country are not keeping pace with the development of the nation as a whole." As a result of its hearings and deliberations this commission made a series of recommendations, which initiated some of the most important movements for the improvement of rural life, such as those which finally resulted in the passage of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 for extension work in agriculture and home economics, and the Smith-Hughes Act of 1916 for federal aid for vocational education in secondary schools. In its report the commission said:

It is of the greatest consequence that the people of the open country should learn to work together, not only for the purpose of forwarding their economic interests and of competing with other men who are organized, but also to develop themselves and to establish effective community spirit.[6] . . . It is essential that all rural organizations, both social and economic, should develop into something like a system, or at least that all the efforts be known and studied by central authorities. There should be, in other words, a voluntary union of associative effort, from the localities to the counties, states, and the nation. Manifestly, government in the United States cannot manage the work of voluntary rural organization. Personal initiative and a cultivated cooperative spirit are the very core of this kind of work; yet both state and national government, as suggested, might exert a powerful influence toward the organization of rural affairs.

Steps should be taken whereby the United States Department of Agriculture, the state departments of agriculture, the land-grant colleges and experiment stations, the United States Bureau of Education, the normal and other schools, shall cooperate in a broad pro-

[5] J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935, p. 592. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

[6] *Report of the Commission on Country Life*. New York, Sturgis and Walton, 1911, p. 128.

> gram for aiding country life in such a way that each institution may do its appropriate work at the same time that it aids all the others and contributes to the general effort to develop a new rural social life.[7]

Here was a charter for rural community organization and the beginning of a national movement for the improvement of rural life.

The organization of American agriculture has proceeded rapidly since the World War under the stimulus of the difficult economic situation of the industry. Although agriculture is by no means as well integrated as the Country Life Commission suggested, there has been a very important advance in the bringing together of representatives of national farmers' organizations for conference and joint action in matters of national legislation, and this tendency has been more marked in some of the states, as illustrated by the New York State Agricultural Conference Board (see p. 403). In general, however, the agricultural organizations have given most of their attention to economic problems and have given relatively little serious consideration to comprehensive programs for building a better rural culture. Kenyon L. Butterfield was a member of the Country Life Commission. Under his leadership the American Country Life Association was formed, and for the last twenty years it has brought together in an annual national conference leaders from all the organizations and agencies engaged in programs of rural improvement. In some states the extension services of the land-grant colleges have given notable aid to building up better rural community life, as we have noted in Chapter VII.

Recognizing the increasing dominance of the city, the question arises as to what are the contributions of the rural community to our national life, to the greater society of city and country. The Urbanism Committee in its report "Our Cities"[8] has given a searching analysis of Urbanism and has well summarized the need for "Rural-Urban Balance":

> Even though, through the development of modern systems of communication and the close interdependence between country and city,

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[8] National Resources Committee, *Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy.* Washington, Government Printing Office, 1937, p. 53.

the rural and the urban world tend to be more alike, the differences and conflicts between them still persist. The city holds such fascination for country inhabitants that it often leads them to migration. The city dweller, on the other hand, having failed to find a satisfactory life in the city, often generates a nostalgic longing for more "natural" ways of living and seeks a refuge in the country. Because the city has become indispensable to civilized existence, but at the same time subjects man to so many frustrations of his deepest longings, the notion of an ideal mode of life lying somewhere between these two extremes has been a force ever since cities have been in existence. In modern times this ideal expresses itself in a movement known as "rurbanization." It embodies the effort to find a balance between agriculture and industry, between the open natural landscape and the congestion of the city. Model suburbs, garden cities, and suburban homesteads represent variations of this ideal, and the promoters of large scale decentralization of industry have also found argument for their program in the attempt to combine the advantages of urban and rural life in the same community.

If conscious social effort may be assumed to play a significant role in shaping the conditions under which man lives, the present crisis and opportunity in our national life calls for a prompt examination of the alternative modes of life that we might follow. If rural life or living in communities of small size is either wholly or in certain respects more desirable than living in small or large cities, the evidence to that effect should have a bearing upon the formulation of our national policy, insofar as that policy will further or hinder the rural or urban trend. It may well be that the future of our civilization will in large measure depend not upon man's ability to escape from the city but upon his ability to master and use the forces that move and control it. It is doubtful whether without the city we can hope to enjoy the plane of living that contemporary civilization makes possible. The central problem of national life in regard to cities is a problem of creating those conditions that are required to make cities livable for human beings in a machine age.

This is an admirable statement of the problem of the city and also raises the issue of what are the values of the rural community, for the rural community with its village center and open country is the form of "rurbanization" which seems to have the most promise for obtaining the values of a rural civic life, a unit of rural civilization.

One of the major problems in the maintenance of the values of our culture in a rapidly changing environment is that of insuring means of social control, by which "conscious social effort may . . . play a significant role in shaping the conditions under which man lives."

The importance of the community as a cultural unit for social control is being increasingly recognized by critics of our modern urban-dominated society and is one of the chief values of rural over urban society.[9] That the situation in the rural community gives a more definite social control is too well known to need argument. The lack of any pervading loyalty to established usages, and the free individualism of the metropolitan city, is one of the weaknesses of modern city life which is constantly emphasized. This theme pervades the analysis of Lewis Mumford in his book, *The Culture of Cities.* He believes that smaller cities make possible a better community life. This has also been explicitly stated by J. K. Hart:

> Most of our cities are now "states of confusion," without bounds or patterns or serious care for the moral and spiritual wastelands they encompass. The *group* has a pattern. The *community* has a pattern. In each of these the individual member could find meanings for his own guidance. The *city* has no pattern; it is a conglomeration. In it the individual can find no pattern—or rather he could find many, many patterns, bits of old group and community patterns, but no *city pattern*. He has, therefore, no *city morality,* no *city mind*. He still has the morality of his group, predatory or otherwise; he still has the mind of his nurture, provincial or primitive.[10]

It is this ability of the rural community to exercise a definite social control through its own community pattern of behavior and to form a public opinion through interchange of views of its different elements which makes the development of the rural community of peculiar value for the preservation of true democracy in modern society. The city is too easily dominated by mass psychology. Its people are swayed by the clever appeals and suggestions of the

[9] This paragraph and the two that follow are from Dwight Sanderson's "Criteria of Rural Community Formation," *Rural Sociology,* vol. III, pp. 380-382, December 1938.

[10] Joseph K. Hart, *Mind in Transition.* New York, Covici Friede, 1938, p. 107. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

demagogue. The masses who have lost their old ties of social control, and who are unable to grasp the complexities of urban life and to function successfully, are willing to accept the authority of the self-appointed Nazi or Fascist leader who promises them deliverance from their frustration. But in the rural community it is possible for the citizen to grasp the local situation, to do his own thinking, to be less swayed by public opinion and to have a definite, even if humble, part in the community life and activities. In a rural community the ordinary individual may have a satisfying status. To achieve this is much more difficult in the large city. This is not saying that these possibilities are by any means always or even generally realized in rural communities; however, they are realized to a very considerable extent, and there is the possibility of developing a fine type of social organization, which is much more difficult in the large city.

Modern civilization, particularly in cities, suffers from an uncontrolled individualism, and we see the necessity for recreating loyalty and devotion to the common welfare, if we are to maintain the basic values of a satisfying culture. 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. Because of the predominant influence of the city in contemporary Western civilization, it is of the utmost importance that a virile community life be built up in the rural areas. Nor should this development of rural communities be regarded or motivated as a mere nostalgia for the supposedly "good old days" of the past. Rather it would be developed as the best means whereby the people on the land may build up a new social organization which will give them a distinctive culture, making use of the utilities of modern civilization,[11] but not being dominated by them.

The rural community has a unique value for the national life

[11] Cf. R. M. MacIver, *Society, a Textbook of Sociology*. New York, Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937, pp. 272 ff., for a distinction between culture and civilization.

in that it creates a local unit of society which is neither wholly city nor wholly farm, but is a union of the village and farm in a culture which has elements of both the urban and the rural—which Dr. C. J. Galpin has called "rurban." It is the fact that the rural community is composed of two diverse elements that gives rise to the chief problem of rural community organization, namely, the uniting of villagers and farmers in a community of effort for the common welfare. It is the fact that they are interdependent and yet have diverse interests which creates the problem of integration. It is much the same sort of problem as arises between husband and wife; they must maintain their individuality and yet they are compelled to act in common with regard to most of the chief concerns of life. This process of adjustment and integration between village and farm is definitely a 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.

Ultimately our larger cities and their rural areas may become more keenly aware of their common interests and obligations and we may see the development not only of metropolitan districts, as defined by the Bureau of Census, but also of metropolitan regions which will include the cultural areas of which the cities form the centers. This process has already begun and is being fostered by surveys of metropolitan trade areas and regional planning, as well as by the interest of the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Bankers' Association in better relations with agriculture.

Meanwhile, as we have seen, the process of rural community organization is being advanced by various forces. Prominent among these forces are the service clubs, such as the Ruritan Club movement in Virginia (see p. 178), and also the community work of the Extension Service. Among the most important forces is the reorganization of larger rural school districts around the consolidated school, or high school, which gives a legal basis for a new community area. Also the larger-parish movement among rural churches rests upon a belief in the obligation of the church to create a spiritual life for the community. Indeed, the whole process of rural community organization is one of socialization within a local area in

which its people may become acquainted with each other and can grasp the total social situation. It is motivated by the fact that only through joint effort can the different elements in the local community obtain those institutions and advantages which they desire. 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. This is not to deny the role of the city in promoting democracy, for the history of democratic movements shows that many of the most important came from the cities, and the demand for economic democracy comes mostly from the cities; but this is merely to affirm the distinctive contribution which the better integration of rural communities may make toward the creation of a democratic society.[12]

One of the chief functions of community organization is that it makes possible the development of channels of communication with specialized services of state and national agencies which may be of assistance to its citizens. Much as it might like to be of service to them, a state health department cannot deal with an amorphous mass of rural people; but if they have a community organization it can serve them. The enlargement of outside contacts is one of the chief services of community organization. The best social life does not arise in isolation. "George Russell (AE), the great Irish statesman and rural leader, puts down as one of four fundamentals in 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."[13]

It is through the outreaching of the local community to other communities, so that together they may achieve their common ends, that the larger social consciousness and the larger democracy arise.

Every group once become conscious of itself instinctively seeks other groups with which to unite to form a larger whole. Alone it cannot be effective. As individual progress depends upon the degree of inter-

[12] Cf. Dwight Sanderson, "Democracy and Community Organization." Publication of the American Sociological Society, vol. XIV, pp. 83-93, 1919.

[13] J. H. Kolb and E. deS Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 598.

penetration, so group progress depends upon interpenetration of group and group. . . . The reason we want neighborhood [community] organization is not to keep people within their neighborhoods but to get them out. The movement for neighborhood organization is a deliberate effort to get people to identify themselves actually, not sentimentally, with a larger and larger collective unit than the neighborhood.[14]

Local community organization as a channel of communication has significance not only for its own citizens, but it greatly facilitates also the work of state and national agencies, whether public or private. We are living in an era of rapid social changes when it is necessary to obtain discussion and action by the people on many important issues. This is most easily accomplished through local community organizations, as was demonstrated during the World War by the organization of Community Councils of Defense (supra, p. v), and as is being shown at present in the work of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration through its county and community committees.

In an era of rapid change, such as the present, we have become aware of the need of attempting to make better plans for the future, and there has been a rapid development of the planning movement since the World War. This started with city planning for the elimination of congested traffic, zoning industrial and residence areas, the creation of parks and playgrounds, etc., but has now been extended to state, regional, and national planning, as illustrated by the reports of state planning boards and the National Resources Committee. In the main these planning bodies have dealt mostly with the physical basis of society—with land, highways, water resources, parks, etc.,—but the industrial depression has forced upon them the necessity of considering problems of population and of the conservation of our human resources. This is well illustrated in the recent report of the National Resources Committee on "The Problems of a Changing Population." The reorganization of rural school districts suggested by the President's Advisory Committee

[14] Mary P. Follett, *The New State*. New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1918, p. 249. Reprinted by permission of the publisher. Quoted in Sanderson, *loc. cit.*, p. 93.

on Education (supra, p. 184) would involve a tremendous task of social planning.

Such problems reveal that successful planning must seek to establish the local social and economic areas which are the primary units through which any plans will be implemented. Perceiving this, some of the state planning boards have already undertaken studies to map the rural communities. Furthermore, they 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 their participation in the execution of plans for larger areas.

Without local communities which can evaluate and utilize their plans, the studies of state planning boards will fail to accomplish the desired results. This relation has been so well envisaged by Lewis Mumford that we cannot do better than to quote him:

> . . . a final stage must follow, which involves the intelligent absorption of the plan by the community and its translation into action through the appropriate political and economic agencies. . . . Nor can a plan, as such, provide for its own fulfillment; to emerge as a reorganizing agent, it must help conjure up and re-educate the very groups and personalities that will bring it to fruition. . . . Regional plans are instruments of communal education; and without that education, they can look forward only to partial achievement. Failing intelligent participation and understanding, at every stage in the process, from the smallest unit up, regional plans must remain inert.[15]
>
> Once the human scale is overpassed, once the concrete fact disappears from view, knowledge becomes remote, abstract, and overwhelming; a lifetime's effort will not provide sufficient grasp of the environment. The more people who are thrust together in a limited area, without organic relationships, without a means of achieving an autonomous education or preserving autonomous political activities in their working and living relations, the more must they become subject to external routine and manipulation. The resorption of scientific knowledge and the resorption of government must go hand in hand. We must create in every region people who will be accustomed, from school onward, to humanist attitudes, cooperative methods, rational controls. These people will know in detail where they live and how

[15] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*. New York, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1938, p. 380. Reprinted by permission of the publishers.

they live; they will be united by a common feeling for their landscape, their literature and language, their local ways, and out of their own self-respect they will have a sympathetic understanding with other regions and different local peculiarities. They will be actively interested in the form and culture of their locality, which means their community and their own personalities. Such people will contribute to our land-planning, our industry planning, and our community planning the authority of their own understanding, and the pressure of their own desires. Without them, planning is a barren externalism.[16]

The current movement of the federal department of agriculture and the state extension services to promote county agricultural planning boards is based on this general philosophy of planning. If the movement can be enlarged to include the planning of better rural life as well as the agricultural industry, it will inevitably face the need of rural community planning, which can be done only through some form of community organization.

Thus we see the importance of the role of rural community organization, not only in developing a finer rural culture, but for the life of the nation as a whole. With modern means of communication and consequent interdependence, the better integration of our society is inevitable if we are not to have social chaos. Planning is essential. If the planning is done only from the top down, the inevitable tendency is toward bureaucracy or the totalitarian state. If we are to have a workable democracy, its foundations must rest upon the ability of localities to organize effectively and plan for the common welfare, and to cooperate with county, state, region, and nation in collective planning for the common welfare in these larger areas of community.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of having the initiative for local planning come from local leaders rather than from state and national planning specialists?
2. Why is it necessary to integrate local and national planning?
3. Why has such great emphasis been given planning activities during recent years?

[16] Lewis Mumford, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

4. What interest does the city have in rural planning?

5. If legal county and state planning boards are organized is it necessary for community organizations to be concerned with a planning program?

EXERCISES

1. Describe the activities and programs sponsored in your community as a result of projects promoted by county, state, or national agencies. Did the local community approve or disapprove of these projects? Why?

2. List the important improvement projects that have been promoted in your community during the past ten years. Indicate the organization and leaders that sponsored each project.

3. What are the problems rural communities should attempt to solve during the next ten years?

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APPENDIX B

Suggestions and Outline for a Student's Description of the Social Organization of a Rural Community

A study of your own community or one well known to you serves the purpose of laboratory work in this course, by compelling you to apply the principles and hypotheses of the course to a concrete situation with which you are familiar.

Much of the material called for can be obtained while you are at home during vacation time, but do not attempt to do the whole report then. Do as much as possible before, and then pick up the data you lack while there on vacation. Correspondence is not a very satisfactory means of getting the information you need, although some of it may be obtained that way, from persons who can be depended on for a prompt reply. For the most part you will have to rely upon your own knowledge of the community.

This outline is merely a suggestion and should not be followed slavishly. Most of the topics suggested will usually be significant, but, if they are not of importance with regard to community organization in your community, omit them. Treat the material in your own way, but be sure you include all the essential facts obtainable.

When authorities for statements are given, it is important that they be cited precisely. If from a publication, cite the book, paper, or journal, and the author, with page and date. If from a person interviewed or from a letter, give his name and position, if any. Note these sources in footnotes.

For suggestions as to content and method of treatment see Chapters II and VI above and the community studies in J. F. Steiner's *The American Community in Action*.

Keep close to facts. Give figures or estimates where possible, but be always on the alert for the meaning of the fact or figure. *Interpret* wherever you can. Watch for community changes and what influenced them. Don't waste words on padding, or ramble on and repeat, but be complete.

I. Community Map. Obtain a Geological Survey topographic map, rural free delivery route map, or any good road map of your community, and make a tracing. If no maps are available, draw from memory on a scale of one mile to the inch.

Show the main roads, making the state or hard roads in heavy lines, the railroads, and the streams. Draw the boundaries of the following service areas: groceries, bank, church, consolidated school or high school, Grange or farmers' organization, and any others that you think important. Obtain areas

by interviewing local leaders if you do not know them yourself. Then draw the boundary of what you consider to be the community area. Make each of these lines in a different color or in a different type of line readily distinguishable. (See figures 8 and 9, *Bulletin 614,* Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, and figure 13, p. 104.) Also draw the boundaries of the townships or other local government units, or the county line, if it appears. At the edge of the map indicate the distance to each of the adjacent village centers and cities. Show location of hamlets, open-country neighborhoods, churches, schools, Grange halls, etc.

In the report accompanying the map describe what determines the community center and what factors are most powerful in delimiting the community and giving it identity. Describe the relation of the community as to the political, trade, school, and church areas, to adjoining communities and cities. Make note also of any changes that have occurred in size or nature of the areas as they have existed since you have been familiar with the community. What effects are the larger places nearby having upon the community since the coming of good roads and better transportation facilities? Describe any neighborhoods within the community, what bonds hold them together, and the role they play in the community. Describe all physiographic features which have any direct bearing on the location or life of the community. Describe the relation of roads, railroads, trolleys, bus routes, telephones, postal service, and other means of communication to the community life and its social problems.

II. History. To understand the present social situation it is necessary to know something of the history of the community. Refer to local libraries and talk to old timers. Leave out insignificant details and do not bother too much with early history unless it has an evident bearing on the present situation.

Describe the first settlement; *crises* in the history of the community, such as bad fires, the coming or abandonment of a railroad, the establishment or closing of a factory or other industry, acute political, school, or church conflicts, and those occurrences which gave rise to lasting conflicts or cooperation; periods and types of immigration and emigration; outstanding leaders in the past and their effect on community pattern. What famous sons or daughters have gone out from the community? Do those who have left the community continue to influence it?

III. Population. Use U. S. Census figures for population of town, county, and village. Estimate population of the village (if unincorporated) and community area by multiplying the total number of homes by the average number of persons per family for the county concerned, as given by the U. S. Census.

1. Nativity and race.
2. Occupations.
3. Age and sex classes, as they deviate from normal.

4. Classes and social cleavage, outstanding families or kinship groups.
5. Mobility: movement into and out of the community.

IV. Communication vs. Isolation.

1. Transportation: roads, trolleys, railroads, bus lines.
2. Telephones.
3. Newspapers.
4. Mail facilities, rural free delivery.
5. Contacts and competition with other communities.
6. Degree of self-sufficiency or isolation.
7. Social effect of radio.

V. Social Process, Social Organization, and Community Integration.

The sections above give the physical setting and historical background of the present social situation. In the discussion of the preceding and the following topics consider:

1. The significant social attitudes and their effect on socialization and community integration.
2. Summarize factors and conditions tending to disorganize the community and those which are conducive to its organization. To what extent are the various groups competitive, conflicting, or cooperative, and what is their role in the community life?
3. Under each of the topics consider whether groups are independent or autonomous or to what degree or how they are controlled by an outside overhead organization, and the effect of these outside relations of the group on its relations to the community.
4. Do not attempt to make a complete description of community structure or describe its details except as they are necessary to understand the process of community organization. Leave out all facts which are not related to this process. The value of the analysis is in the insight it gives as to the factors and events influencing community organization.

VI. Economic Situation, in Its Relation to Social Organization.

1. Natural resources: soil, timber, minerals, waterpower.
2. Industries.
3. Agriculture: crops and products, markets, ownership and tenancy. Who are the landlords and where do they reside?
4. Manufactures, including craftsmen.
5. Merchants (consider influence of leading merchants, bankers, etc., on organizations).
6. Professionals: lawyers, doctors, ministers, teachers.
7. Banks or credit associations of any sort, and their relations to the community.
8. Relative economic status of the people: debt, savings, taxes.

VII. Churches and the Religious Situation.

1. Churches: number, size, and type of membership.
2. Buildings and equipment.
3. Activities and program of work.
4. Church organizations of men, women, young people, etc.
5. Sunday schools.
6. Length of pastorates; outstanding pastors.
7. Attitudes of church people; social effect of religious beliefs.
8. Conflict or cooperation; with each other; with other groups.
9. Dominant elements in churches; segregation of classes in certain churches.
10. Sects and sectarianism.

VIII. Schools and Educational Organizations.

1. Number and size; territory served.
2. Buildings and equipment.
3. Consolidated school or high school. History. How brought about. Conflicts over school districting or administration. Effect on community.
4. How many go to college? Effect on community.
5. School activities and relation to community life.
6. Parent-Teacher Associations.
7. Farm and Home Bureau, and 4-H Clubs.
8. Outstanding teachers, present or past, and their influence.
9. Libraries.
10. Book clubs and women's study clubs.

IX. Lodges, Clubs, and Other Voluntary Organizations.

1. Number, composition of membership, equipment, activities, and relation to other phases of community life.
2. Occupational organizations:
   a. Farmers' cooperatives, Farm Bureau, Grange, etc.
   b. Trade unions or occupational groups.
3. Lodges.
4. Social clubs, card clubs, etc.
5. Musical and literary societies.

X. Unorganized or Informal Groups, Factions, Cliques, Etc.

1. Loafing groups.
2. Neighborhood groups.
3. Kinship groups.

XI. Recreational Situation.

1. Physical facilities for recreation: community buildings, baseball field, pool rooms, drinking places.
2. Organizations for recreation: athletic clubs, scouts, etc.

3. Traditional forms of recreation.
4. Attitudes toward and conflicts in recreation. Dancing. Cards. Road houses and dance halls; by whom patronized; influences.
5. Recreational needs; e.g., availability of school facilities for out-of-school groups.

XII. Health.

1. Physicians, nurses (professional, practical, and public health).
2. Health organizations:
   a. Public. Board of Health or under what health unit?
   b. Private. Red Cross, Nursing association, Home Bureau, etc.
3. School health program, and its relation to local health agencies.
4. Health status: amount of illness, number physically handicapped, mentally deficient, mortality rates.
5. Hospital, dispensary, clinics, or other health facilities.

XIII. Social Welfare.

1. Number or proportion unemployed or receiving relief, or on sub-marginal farms with low standards.
2. What organizations or agencies are there for social welfare work? By whom administered?
3. Attitude toward those on relief or needing assistance.
4. Delinquency: amount, kinds, causes, how dealt with.
5. Slum areas, if any; characteristics, causes.

XIV. Political Situation.

1. Political structure: government, parties.
2. Dominant personalities of factions.
3. Political solidarity or strife and causes, voting.

XV. Community Activities, Customs, and Ideals.

1. Community events: fairs, old home weeks, holiday celebrations, community Christmas tree, clean-up day, etc.
2. Community organizations (i.e., those devoted to community welfare rather than special interests): village improvement society, commercial club, merchants association, luncheon clubs, community club or council.
3. Customs. What community customs or traditions are there? What taboos or social disapprovals?
4. Activity characteristics. Has the community any outstanding activities, e.g., is it specially musical, is card playing an absorbing pastime, is there a lively interest in athletics, are church activities dominant, etc.?
5. Ideals. Has the community any definite attitudes toward progress? Is it progressive or self-satisfied, ambitious or discouraged?

XVI. Leadership.

1. Outstanding or dominant leaders. Distribution of leadership. Family control.
2. Interlocking of leaders. Is leadership democratic or autocratic?
3. Means of developing leaders. Attitude toward new leaders.

XVII. Community Organization.

1. Characterize the outstanding movements or trends of the social process in this community as affecting its integration.
2. What are the needs for community organization?
3. Essential steps of a program for the community organization.

APPENDIX C

A LIST OF AGENCIES, PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS, AND GOVERNMENT BUREAUS WHICH MAY BE OF ASSISTANCE IN VARIOUS ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

National Private Organizations

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION, 60 E. 42nd Street, New York, New York.

Publishes: *Journal of Adult Education; Handbook of Adult Education;* discussion methods for adult groups; regional surveys of adult education; has variety of other materials available.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, 1634 I Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

A nation-wide organization composed of graduates of accredited colleges and universities. "Study guides available on fine arts, national problems, international problems, educational standards and trends, child development, and education for family life."

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Sponsors investigations in the broad field of education problems. Recently sponsored an American Youth Commission that has specialized in the problems of the 16-25 age group. Publishes an American Youth Commission Bulletin that contains current references to publications on rural youth problems.

AMERICAN COUNTRY LIFE ASSOCIATION, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, New York.

An association of individuals and groups interested in improving rural life which conducts annually a national conference on a theme which is of public interest at the time. Its objectives are: (1) "To promote discussion of the problems and objectives in country life and facilitate the means of their solution and attainment. (2) To further the efforts and increase the efficiency of persons and agencies engaged in this field. (3) To disseminate information calculated to promote a better understanding of country life. (4) To aid in rural improvement."

A student section composed of collegiate clubs and organizations, such as country life clubs, college 4-H clubs, holds an annual conference in conjunction with the parent organization.

AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, 58 East Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois.

In some states, New York, for instance, the Farm Bureau is the organization which cooperates with the agricultural extension service in carrying out its local program. In other states, Ohio, for example, they do extensive cooperative buying and selling, sponsor mutual life insurance, automobile insurance, fire and accident insurance. The *National* organization, known as the American Farm Bureau Federation, maintains a legislative representative in Washington. It handles administrative matters through a board of directors elected by delegates from the states. There is a women's division known as the Associated Women of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

AMERICAN HOME ECONOMICS ASSOCIATION, 680 Mills Bldg., Washington, D. C.

This organization is interested in education and research in home economics, and supports legislation having aims akin to those of the Association. It publishes occasional bulletins as well as the *Journal of Home Economics*. Membership is through affiliated associations or through individual memberships.

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION, 528 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

An association of libraries, librarians, library trustees, organized to promote library service. Its objective is "an adequate public library within easy reach of everyone in the United States and Canada." Gives advisory assistance to all interested in library establishment and development. Publications available at cost.

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 535 N. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

The Association is the national organization of the medical profession. It maintains a publishing department, a bureau of investigation, a bureau of medical economics, and several others. A source of information on health and medical practices.

AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS, National Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

Active in rural communities during peace times through disaster relief, public health nursing, home service, volunteer service. Publications available.

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION, 50 West 50th Street, New York, New York.

A national organization of people interested in public health. It aims to develop public health standards, stimulates recruiting and training of personnel, and promotes the effective control of preventable

disease. Its information service supplies reliable information on matters of public health. Its field service is available for making appraisals of state and community health work, maintaining regular consultation and advisory services. Publishes the *American Journal of Public Health,* a monthly magazine, as well as other occasional publications. Is affiliated with state public health associations.

BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA, INC., 2 Park Avenue, New York, New York.
For boys between the ages of 12 and 18; also cub scouts for boys between 9 and 11. Sea scouts are first-class scouts at least 15 years old. O. H. Benson is director of rural scouting. A series of mimeographed publications explain how the scout program has been adapted to rural needs. Information may be obtained upon request from the national headquarters.

CAMP FIRE GIRLS, INC., 41 Union Square, New York, New York.
Organized primarily for small groups of girls from the ages of 10 to 16 years. A group wishing to organize finds a "guardian" as volunteer leader, and then communicates with the national organization for instructions.

CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, 221 West 57th Street, New York, New York.
Maintains a study group department, a bibliography service, and an educational associate. Conducts summer play schools and organizes parent discussion groups. Issues a magazine, *Child Study,* 10 times a year ($1.00), and publishes numerous small pamphlets on special child training subjects.

COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF AMERICA, 167 West 12th Street, New York, New York.
The League is the national organization for consumers' cooperatives in the United States. It is an educational organization which gathers information from all possible sources, and acts as a clearing house for persons and agencies wanting information, speakers, or other services for consumer cooperative groups. The district leagues listed below are affiliated with the national organization: Central States Cooperative League, 3954 27th St., Chicago; Eastern States Cooperative League, 112 E. 19th Street, New York City; Northern States Cooperative League, 458 Sexton Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn.; California Co-op Council, 1723 West Pico Street, Los Angeles, Calif.; and the California Co-op Council, Northern Division, Box 307, Berkeley, Calif.

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, New York.
Coordinates work of religious groups in social service, race relations, international justice, etc., through the organization of state councils or federations of churches. Inter-church relations in rural communities are adjusted, as well as relation of church to other social agencies. Publishes, weekly, *Information Service,* an excellent digest of information on current economic

and social problems; has a pamphlet service, about which information is available on application.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, 8 West 40th Street, New York, New York.

Has for its aim the finding and presentation of factual material on foreign affairs, and claims for itself an unbiased and non-political and otherwise unprejudiced point of view. Maintains a forum in several cities. In order to make its findings more available than in the past, and to reach a larger audience, it has recently begun the publication of a series of books entitled *Headline Books,* which are available at a nominal price (35 cents for board covers). The first six titles contemplated include: "War Tomorrow. Will We Keep Out?"; "Dictatorship"; "Made in U. S. A."; "Peace and Party Platform"; "Clash in the Pacific"; "Flags and Drums."

GIRL SCOUTS, INC., 14 West 49th Street, New York, New York.

The program is planned to give girls from seven to eighteen a democratic group experience with practical knowledge in various fields such as home-making, health and safety, the arts, outdoor life, nature, and citizenship. Includes Brownies, Girl Scouts, and Senior Girl Scouts. Information available on request from National Headquarters.

LEISURE LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, New York.

Publishes *Little Books* on various leisure-time activities at 25 cents. Specializes in hobby information.

METROPOLITAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Welfare Division, Home Office, New York, New York.

The *health pamphlets* are designed for distribution in the homes of policy holders and others. They are well written, well illustrated, and can be had upon request. One series is on specific diseases, i.e., diphtheria, infantile paralysis, etc., another on health heroes. The latter might be used in club programs for health education.

NATIONAL BUREAU FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF MUSIC, 45 W. 45th Street, New York, New York.

Is particularly interested in encouraging group and community singing. Publishes a number of small booklets on this subject, copies of which are free and can be obtained from the Bureau.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC RURAL LIFE CONFERENCE, 240 Summit Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota.

A voluntary organization of Catholic clergy and laity, organized by the National Catholic Welfare Conference for the promotion of rural welfare, i.e., cooperation, wider use of facilities offered by agricultural colleges, improved conveniences in rural homes, better rural education, better health

facilities, boys' and girls' club work, religious education through vacation schools, etc. Functions through the parish, the local unit of Catholic rural life work. Publishes *Catholic Rural Life,* Frank O'Hara, Editor.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE, Rural Life Bureau of the Social Action Department, Eugene, Oregon.

Purpose is to serve Catholic Dioceses, parishes, organizations, and individuals with information and service concerning rural economic and social work. Operates under the following divisions: executive, education, press, social action, legal, lay organizations.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MENTAL HYGIENE, Editorial Office: 50 W. 50th Street, New York, New York. Publication Office: 373 Broadway, Albany, New York.

Publishes a selected list of books on mental hygiene and related subjects which can be had upon request, and pamphlets on such subjects as childhood, mental hygiene and education, etc.

NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS, Bureau of Country Life, 1201 16th St., Washington, D. C.

Is interested in establishing P. T. A.'s in rural schools. Offers assistance to its units in conducting discussion groups through leaflets, parent-education yearbooks, and other materials and through a field service of a specialist in parent education.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN, Department of Farm and Rural Work, 5 Columbus Circle, New York, New York.

Offers same services that organization offers its urban residents, i.e., education, lectures, health, plays, clinics, Bible study groups. Cares for farm families needing relief through its social service supervisor. Cooperates with all state and federal agencies of agricultural education. Sends trained field workers to live and work among people in open country and rural villages. Application for help may be made directly to the department. Publishes a quarterly *Rural Voice.*

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, Rural Department, 1201 16th St., Washington, D. C.

This is one of 21 departments of the National Education Association. It has four specific functions: (1) to facilitate discussion of problems of rural education; (2) to make constructive studies and disseminate information on rural education; (3) to further efforts and increase efficiency of persons engaged in rural education service; (4) to correlate all rural activities of the N. E. A. and to promote general advancement of rural education and rural welfare in the United States. Holds two conferences on rural education each year. Publishes: *Yearbook of Rural Education;* proceedings of reports and meetings.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF MUSIC CLUBS. Business Manager, Mrs. Paul J. Weaver, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Is influential in getting and maintaining powerful philanthropic state federations of music clubs; composed of about 5,000 clubs in the United States.

NATIONAL GRANGE (THE PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY), 970 College Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.

A national farmers fraternity for fraternal, educational, social, legislative, and economic benefits to farm families. Organized into state, county, and local granges. Maintains a lobby in Washington. Information about local granges may be obtained from the Myrick Bldg., Springfield, Mass.

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York, New York.

This organization is the national clearing house for information on recreation. It is glad to consider special recreation problems, and to send bulletin materials upon request. Conducts a special bulletin service for rural programs and community activities, is represented at rural conferences, maintains workers who train leaders in rural recreation activities, conducts an annual recreation conference. List of publications can be had upon request.

NATIONAL SAFETY COUNCIL, INC., 20 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

A non-profit organization, the purpose of which is to convince people that accidents have causes and can be prevented. It prepares programs and program material for stimulating interest in safety. Distributes films on safety, obtainable at nominal cost.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, 1133 Broadway, New York, New York.

A national organization that exists primarily for the purpose of social service and education among Negroes, particularly in urban areas, although it has recently spread its influence among Negro tenant farmers. Free literature and bibliographies may be had on request.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, 310 West 90th Street, New York, New York.

A national organization which exists for the purpose of furthering and disseminating information about new trends in modern education. Its publication *Progressive Education* may be obtained through the above address; subscription $3.00 a year.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, 8 West 40th Street, New York, New York.

Publishes pamphlets on public affairs suitable for rural program materials and discussion groups.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

A philanthropic corporation interested particularly in four subjects: rural education in the South; Negro education; health and welfare; and medical economics. It reprints significant articles or collections of articles on timely subjects and for specific purposes such as "Hospital facilities in rural areas." Publications are free upon request.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION, 130 East 22nd Street, New York, New York.

The Foundation was created for "the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States." Among its departments are listed: library, statistics, surveys, and exhibits. The publications of the Foundation include many books and pamphlets listed in its Catalogue of Publications which is obtainable on request. Its library service does extensive research on particular information requested.

THE TOWN HALL, INC., 123 West 43rd Street, New York, New York.

An educational institution founded in 1894 as the League for Political Education. Sponsors a weekly radio forum on public problems. An extension division sponsors large numbers of organized listening groups and furnishes them with discussion handbooks and program helps.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Public Policy Pamphlets and American Primers are two series of inexpensive bulletins on current economic and social problems.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, National Council, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.

This organization has a "small city, town and country" department. Activities include housing assistance, economic advice, vocational guidance. Has programs for urban groups, rural counties, immigrant-emigrant groups, university students, and a special program for Negro groups. Further information for local plans can be had from near-by groups or from national headquarters. Publishes a variety of program materials useful for rural groups. Maintains a loan library of films.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York.

Has a rural communities department which adapts its other facilities to small communities, sometimes through community units, and sometimes through extending its city and town work to surrounding areas. The association is made up of local units in cities, towns, and rural communities and student associations in colleges, universities, and normal schools. It also publishes considerable program materials useful for rural groups. *National service* works with all except the student group and includes the minority groups. It has a foreign communities department. *Leadership*

division is responsible for the training of a large group of volunteer leaders. This division includes the personnel bureau which handles the employed staff and the Girl Reserve activities, planned for the younger girls. The *laboratory division* does research in various fields on the needs of the association, i.e., health, music, etc. The *National student council* is the central organization of the student groups.

Federal Government Bureaus, Washington, D. C.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU, Department of Labor.

Investigates and compiles reports, and publishes bulletins on all matters pertaining to child life and child welfare, including infant mortality, juvenile courts, diseases of children, maternal and child health services. The Department publishes many bulletins on labor conditions in the United States.

FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION.

It is possible to obtain from this government office many helpful bulletins on farm loans, land banks, cooperative associations, and credit unions.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

Distributes free lists of all available government publications.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE, Department of Interior.

Distributes bulletins and information on recreation and travel opportunities in the United States. Some of the material is quite useful for program helps.

NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE.

This agency has compiled and published excellent information on our national resources and a great deal of additional data helpful for both local and national planning.

OFFICE OF EDUCATION, Department of Interior.

Collects, summarizes, and publishes information on education in the United States and in foreign countries.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION.

Distributes information on obtaining rural electrification systems.

SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD.

Pamphlets and program materials are available from this agency describing care of underprivileged groups. Most of this material relates specifically to the Social Security Act.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Distributes many helpful bulletins and films on all phases of agriculture and rural life. For information on the various materials available write

the Office of Information, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE.
This office makes available general information concerning all phases of government activities.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE.
Distributes bulletins and information on the improvement of rural health programs and the control of diseases.

State Agencies

EXTENSION SERVICE OF THE STATE COLLEGES OF AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS, 4-H CLUBS, HOMEMAKERS CLUBS, COUNTY AGENT WORK.
Official state source of information on agriculture, home economics, and rural life problems.

LIBRARY EXTENSION AND ADULT EDUCATION BUREAUS.
Sponsors traveling libraries and book loan service to rural schools, libraries, rural organizations, and individuals. Furnishes advice on all types of reading and library problems, and distributes materials for discussion groups and forums. The Adult Education Divisions are usually the official agencies for encouraging adult education work.

STATE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.
Where this type of organization exists, it is usually the official state council of Protestant churches. Sponsors an advisory service on church problems, inter-denominational conferences, training schools for Sunday school teachers, and the consolidation or reorganization of rural churches.

STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION.
Information on schools, colleges, and libraries. Some state departments distribute program and discussion materials.

STATE DEPARTMENTS OF HEALTH.
The official source of state information on health conditions and program materials.

STATE DEPARTMENTS OF SOCIAL WELFARE.
The official source of state information on underprivileged and handicapped people.

STATE GRANGE (PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY).
State Lecturer—Distributes program materials and sometimes maintains a loan library of plays.
State Secretary—Distributes publicity material and maintains Grange records.

County and Local Sources of Assistance

COUNTY AGRICULTURAL AGENTS.
COUNTY 4-H CLUB AGENTS.
COUNTY HOME DEMONSTRATION AGENTS.
COUNTY COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.
COUNTY LIBRARIAN.
COUNTY WELFARE COMMISSIONERS.
LOCAL COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.
LOCAL MINISTERS.
POMONA GRANGE—Master; Lecturer.
SCHOOL: County or District Superintendents, Principals, Physical Education Director, Librarian, Music Teachers.
OFFICERS OF LOCAL UNITS OF ALL STATE AND NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.
ALL LOCAL PROFESSIONAL LEADERS FOR SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS: Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Y. M. C. A., and Y. W. C. A.

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