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VILLAGE AND OPEN-COUNTRY  
NEIGHBORHOODS







OLD-TIMERS IN A SWISS VILLAGE

“The more we are together,  
Together, together,  
The more we are together.  
The happier we’ll be.”

The Century Social Science Series

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# VILLAGE AND OPEN-COUNTRY NEIGHBORHOODS

BY

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WESTERN STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE  
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR HORACE PLUNKETT  
K.C.V.O., F.R.S., ETC.



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TO  
THE MEMORY  
OF HIM WHO WILL REMAIN  
MY TEACHER  
CHARLES HORTON COOLEY



## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

For many years I have suspected that the manner of settlement of American farmers—each isolated on his own farm—is not agreeable to the demands of the social side of human nature and now I am convinced that it is indeed so. These studies of Professor Terpenning have brought me over to the view that it will never be possible to achieve an altogether satisfactory rural life in this country so long as farmers live as dispersed as they do. The stack of evidence assembled by our author as to the superiority of the clustered life of cultivators in the Old World is to me overwhelmingly convincing. He makes it plain that European village neighborhoods enjoy a richness of companionship and coöperation that we cannot hope to attain in the open country.

I hope these studies will startle and impress all who have to do with the betterment of rural life in the United States. If American farmers have made a huge mistake in settling on the land in the way they have, what can they do about it? If it is out of the question for them to quit their present homes, barns and orchards and create rural villages, what shall they do in order to escape the isolation and loneliness which they experience? Have we in automobiles and good roads means of devising substitutes for the intimacy and neighborliness of the European village? Or shall we preach that there is no way of social salvation for our country dwellers save concentrating their dwelling in a country village?

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS.



## PREFACE

There is a difference between worry and constructive thought. The former we experience when we lie awake at night and struggle with a problem concerning which the mind goes round in a "vicious circle," with no contribution to the solution of our problem. Unless we can break up this vicious circle by introducing fresh suggestions into our train of thought, we might as well go to sleep. By the introduction of such suggestions, which have a bearing on our problem, constructive thought is made possible. We find such suggestions by getting out of bed and reading a book on the subject or by consulting a friend whose experience has been in some respects similar and in some respects different from our own. America has been worrying about its rural life problems. We realize that agriculture is not prosperous and that rural people are not happy; that we don't make use of scientific knowledge in farming or of efficient methods in business or of soul-satisfying organization in community life; that our politicians "play horse" with us and insist on doing all the driving, that our middlemen rob us, our institutions neglect us; that our farm laborers, our farm sons and daughters, our farm owners, are all going, or yearning to go, to the cities; and so agriculture is not prosperous, and rural people are not happy. Such thinking contributes about as much to the solution of our problem as that of the ten million hens that have tried to solve the problem of getting across the road between the wheels of a moving automobile.

We have occasionally been reminded, usually by foreign observers, that we needed "information collected from the

experience of the Old and the New World" and that our researchers, "if only to conserve the country life movement in the United States, would have to range over the civilized world, and to be historical as well as contemporary."<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the books of such observers have been allowed to go out of print and their advice has been largely unheeded. In our ethnocentrism we call European farmers "peasants" and assume that their ways are out of date. Accordingly we have taken it for granted that they have nothing to teach us, and so have failed to profit either by their mistakes or by their successes. I have undertaken this comparative study of village and open-country neighborhoods in search of positive, constructive suggestions for the aid of rural students and organizers who, I hope, will find in the variations of village organization wisdom for the direction, and reasons for the hastening, of the reorganization of American rural neighborhoods, which is vaguely but surely on the way.

Among the controversies concerning American rural life, there is one fact on which observers are agreed. All admit that American rural neighborhoods or communities are undergoing rapid social changes. If these changes are to be in the way of greatest progress, the leaders who guide the development will need to make use of many constructive suggestions. In studies of rural social organization, too much emphasis has been placed upon secondary groups, institutions, and social agencies, and too little on the primary group such as the family, play group, and neighborhood. Of the primary groups, the one most neglected is the neighborhood; yet it is probable that the open-country neighborhood is the weakest unit in our American rural social organization and so most in need of a study.

There are many studies of rural communities but

<sup>1</sup> Plunkett, *The Rural Life Problem in the United States* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910), pp. 4 + 170.



hardly two students agree on a definition of a rural community. Some use the words *community* and *neighborhood* interchangeably. Authorities who distinguish between them seem to agree, however, that the community is a larger and less intimate unit of organization than the neighborhood, and differs from the neighborhood in that it makes use of more formal organization and of indirect or long-distance communication instead of the face-to-face sort. The neighborhood is that group in which no introductions are needed. I do not assume that it is possible to study the neighborhood entirely apart from the other primary or secondary groups, or that rural organization can be studied entirely apart from urban organizations; but I do believe that a study from the neighborhood point of view may be productive of a better understanding of social organization in general. If the problem of neighborly suspicion and of the lack of solidarity in the American neighborhood unit could be solved, effective and rational coöperation among American farmers and between farmers and urban populations, in economic, political, and social organization would be greatly facilitated.

It seemed to me that no more fertile field for study which might lead to neighborhood improvement could be found than a comparison of our open-country form of rural organization with that much older system of the village which prevails generally throughout Europe. This study should suggest practical possibilities in the way of neighborhood improvement, since, with the improved means of communication and transportation, American farmers might now generally avail themselves of the advantages of village organization. They might do this in either of two ways, which are actually being adopted by an increasing number of families. They might take up their residence in the village and make use of their automobiles and good roads in going to and from their farms, or they might con-

tinue to reside on the farms but take possession of the village as a center of a larger neighborhood for educational, religious, recreational, and other social purposes. The latter would seem to be the more likely alternative, since the open-country system is very thoroughly established, and its complete abandonment would be a very costly change. In the light of recent developments in rural life there is already much to encourage one in looking forward to a time when the minimum effective social unit, other than the family, in rural social organization, no matter whether called *community* or *neighborhood*, will include the rural village and surrounding farming territory, and when the farmer will associate quite as intimately with his neighbor banker, merchant, or school superintendent, as with the farmer on the adjoining farm.

The growing pains of the present stage are, nevertheless, very acute. A large share of the farming population are unable to avail themselves of the advantages of large-scale organization because of poor roads, lack of automobiles, or distance from the village, or are unwilling because of a sense of loyalty to the old small-scale institutions which are doomed to perish. On the other hand, that small minority who have broken away from the cross-roads church, district school, farmers' club, and other small-scale institutions and have joined the village church or village school or county farm bureau, find their efforts almost equally futile. If it could be shown that, in the language of Herbert Spencer, "growth is accompanied by an increase in mass," and that there are certain advantages of the village system which might be realized in this enlarged neighborhood; the process might be accelerated and the painfulness lessened.

Throughout this study, I have tried to keep in mind the fact that social organization as a system of coördinated activities fitted to conditions is of two kinds, for which the terms "formal" and "informal" are perhaps as applicable

as any. There are some such activities which entail the consciously purposeful coöperation of the members of a group, and the method of coöperation is usually more or less formalized, involving, perhaps, the adoption of a constitution and by-laws and the election of officers, or, at least, the conscious division of labor. There are other such activities which are largely taken for granted and are of the nature of folkways. These are habitual or traditional ways of doing things. They are related to the first, or formal, sort as Natural Selection is to Artificial Selection. The formal, conscious organization may in time become a matter-of-course, informal, and unconscious organization; but both kinds are to be found in all sorts of groups. The increase of the informal organization may make possible the decrease in the formal, as the acquirement of habit decreases the need for conscious behavior in the individual; so that any study of the degree of adequacy with which the social and economic needs of any group are being met must include the investigation of both kinds of activities.

Since so little work had been done in this field, the plan for this study needed to be somewhat tentative; but, in connection with each line of inquiry, concerning which there were known norms of efficient social organization, I sought to observe the comparative degree of conformity to such norms, as well as other advantages or disadvantages in each of the two forms of neighborhoods, village and open-country. The aim was to discover what characteristics of the village unit had survival or other value and in how far these advantageous characteristics are attainable in American rural life.

A strong presumption in favor of a causal relation between the social characteristics and the form of organization is suggested where the study of the comparative situations of people of the same race and formal training, who live in both the village and open-country systems,



brings to light peculiarities which are measurable in terms of social efficiency. Again, such a presumption is justified where, in the comparison of the social efficiency of peoples of a variety of races, nationalities, religions, and economic conditions who live in villages, there are shown to be certain peculiarities not to be found in the open country, or where certain characteristics are shown to exist in very different degree in the two situations.

Any comprehensive list of friends to whom I owe most grateful acknowledgment is impossible. The farmers and teachers and preachers and social workers and public officials who have neglected their work and their rest to accommodate me in this investigation are legion, and I shall begin my acknowledgments by laying a wreath in memory of the unknown helpers who have made the book possible. The man from whom I first asked advice, and from whom I asked it most often, and who always gave it most patiently, was Professor Charles H. Cooley. Other Americans whose counsel I have found very helpful are Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of the American Country Life Association, Professor Arthur Evans Wood of the University of Michigan, Professor Charles A. Ellwood of the University of Missouri, Dr. Ernest Burnham of the Western State Teachers' College, Mr. Henry Israel of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, Dr. C. J. Galpin of the United States Department of Agriculture, Professor Dwight Sanderson of Cornell University, Professor Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, Professor Edward A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, and Professor John M. Gillette of the University of North Dakota. The European authorities whom I have consulted, and who have gone to great pains in criticizing my plan, in suggesting places for study, and in furnishing me with printed matter and other means of getting information, are Sir Robert Greig

of the Board of Agriculture for Scotland, Dr. Paul de Vuyst of the Ministry of Agriculture for Belgium, Professor Vaclov Smetanka of the Academy of Agriculture for Czecho-Slovakia, Dr. T. Lemlke, Oberkonomierat, Berlin, Germany, and Mr. George Russell, Editor of the *Irish Statesman*. The foreign organization which has been of most help is the Horace Plunkett Foundation, and besides the very wise counsel of Sir Horace himself, and of his secretary, Colonel E. V. Longworth, I wish to mention three of the Foundation workers, Miss Florence Marks, Miss Margaret Digby, and Mr. Karl Walter, who have been most kind in furnishing me with library facilities, supplying me with letters of introduction, and giving me every courtesy. Nor should I omit in this connection Mr. H. F. Norman of Plunkett House, Dublin. I am grateful to the editors of *Rural America* and the *American Journal of Sociology* for permission to use in the American chapter material first published in their pages and to the Director of the Extension Department of the Western State Teachers' College, for the permission to use other material published in the book, *Social Organizations Working with Rural People*.

Since the study may be read by students and others interested in rural social organization in the various countries in which the study was made, I have not reduced foreign money values to dollars and cents or changed hectares to acres or kilometers to miles. Exchange rates and the equivalents of hectares in acres and kilometers in miles are given in Appendix III.

WALTER A. TERPENNING.

KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN.





## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

It may seem strange to others, as it did to me, that the author of this book should ask me to write him an introduction. I promised to give it a first reading and then decide whether one whose limited knowledge and experience—and, consequently, whose point of view—must be so widely different from his own could say anything of interest to those for whom he writes. We Irish have played our part in making the United States what it is, but not on the country side of things. In the earlier years of the half-century during which I have kept in close touch with men and things in “the greater Ireland beyond the seas,” as we like to call his country, I had hoped that my countrymen would have seized the opportunity of occupying some portion of the farm lands I saw opened up to settlement. It was otherwise ordained. We have policed American cities: we have aspired to teach their citizens how to govern them—a service for which we have not received the gratitude that was our due! I have, however, consistently concentrated upon the study of the rural side of American life. In this book I find an approach to what I may conveniently and compendiously call the rural problem in complete harmony with the fundamental principles that have guided my life-long endeavour to interest urban majorities in the welfare of those who live and work upon the land.

The few—and they are very few—who realise that civilisation is not exclusively a thing of the cities find themselves increasingly struggling against the current of modern thought. Twenty years ago I perpetrated a little book entitled *The Problem of Rural Life in the United States*. I should not mention it had not our author done

so in these pages, and if it were not out of print; although it can doubtless be found by any student who cares to read my innermost thoughts upon the subject here treated. It will be seen that I am not a newcomer in the field which Dr. Terpenning has explored. I happened to be a good deal in Washington in the latter part of President Roosevelt's second administration and had access to the most accessible of the world's statesmen. We had ridden the same range in our ranching days. In addition to the thought and action by which he is best remembered, he had just declared two related national policies, to which he had no time to give large practical effect. The one was for the preservation of the natural resources of his country, which were being exploited with reckless disregard for unborn generations; the other, upon which I had many conferences with him and his more intimate associates, was for the rehabilitation of country life. Since that time I have studied the problem which this policy sought to solve in many countries besides the United States and my own. I say without hesitation that President Roosevelt was the first to see it steadily and see it whole. His Country Life Commission, under the Chairmanship of Liberty H. Bailey of Cornell, and with such men as Walter Hines Page, Gifford Pinchot, "Uncle" Henry Wallace and Charles S. Barrett, made a nation-wide survey of farm life. They were before their time, but they sowed better than they knew.

The distinctive feature of this Roosevelt policy was his insistence that agriculture must be regarded and treated not only as an industry—incidentally still the most important industry in the country—and as a business, but also as a life. And this last in a sense not applicable to any other productive occupation. A sailor, to whom I had made this claim for the patriarchal calling, protested that the same might be said of *his* avocation. This I denied. "Not if you have a wife," I said, "in every port; besides,

man cannot live on fish alone." Writing in more serious mood, after the most extended and laborious study of the social life of rural communities I have come across, Dr. Terpenning has satisfied himself that this element contributes to the national life an outlook and a quality which must be preserved if that life is to maintain its true relationship with the dominant civilisation of the modern city.

It would be an ill service both to the author and his readers to attempt any summary of his book. It must be read in its entirety, judgment being reserved until the end is reached. He is, before all things, an idealist. If there is one thing I have learned in the course of my own work it is that when you have to dig deep, look all round and see far ahead, idealists are ever the most practical of mankind. In reading his manuscript, which I had to do hastily, the first thing I set myself to discover was the central idea which induced Dr. Terpenning to embark upon such a bewildering variety of personal experiences among the Old and New World rural communities he wished to understand. His central idea is finally expressed in the word *neighborhood*. By this he implies a human relationship wholly independent of the new means of communication which apparently, but not really, do away with the distinction between town and country. When he had learned all there was to know about the rural surroundings of his earlier years, it was a fine adventure to go and live the life of agricultural villages in countries from which came most of the immigrant population of the United States and to study at first hand a vast range of rural social orders, from those developed under the Irish agricultural organisation movement in the west of Europe to the Russian *Mir* in the East. I cannot doubt that the conclusions reached after such a study will appeal to all who are potential leaders of the "American neighborhood," which the author tells us he had primarily in mind throughout. They will deeply



sympathise with his declared purpose to rehabilitate rural life by doing "something to overcome its chaotic and anarchic condition with its resulting unhappiness and inefficiency."

This diagnosis tempts me to say a word on the timeliness of Dr. Terpenning's intervention in the age-long town and country controversy. It might appear that, since the Roosevelt endeavour to call public attention to the issues discussed in this book, the urban trend had advanced with such an accelerating speed that no countryward movement of political, economic, or social thought could be looked for now. In the two decades which have elapsed, the rural exodus and urban concentration have proceeded apace. At the same time both the industry and the business of agriculture have not been neglected. The Federal and State Governments, collaborating with universities and colleges, have increasingly afforded the farmers facilities for the application of science to their industry. Every year the farmers themselves are using their coöperative organisations to get fresh control of their business with non-agricultural interests, the marketing of produce having the best record of achievement. To bring to fruition all this earnest endeavour—to give to agriculture its rightful place in the national economy—there seems to me to be one thing needful. That is to get back to the Roosevelt idea and deal with the third part of the problem—to supplement better farming and better business with better living. To those thinkers and workers for agricultural prosperity who have that cause at heart, this book should be a fine stimulus and inspiration.

HORACE PLUNKETT.

The Horace Plunkett Foundation  
10 Doughty Street  
London, W. C. 1  
September, 1930

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VILLAGE AND OPEN-COUNTRY  
NEIGHBORHOODS



# VILLAGE AND OPEN-COUNTRY NEIGHBORHOODS

## CHAPTER I

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PRIMARY GROUPS

EVER since the masterly enunciation of his theory of primary group organization and idealism by Professor Charles H. Cooley,<sup>1</sup> sociologists have given at least "lip-service" to that theory. But many students of rural social problems and leaders in rural social organization have misunderstood or disregarded the principles therein set forth. Their neglect is especially noticeable in respect to the significance of rural neighborhood organization. Such students and leaders have concerned themselves mainly with the more elaborate or secondary groupings, and, while preoccupied with much needed economic and political reforms in general, have overlooked the primary needs, the satisfaction of which constitutes the *sine qua non* of such secondary group reforms.

In view of this obvious lack of appreciation of the importance of primary groups and of their functions in generating primary ideals, the systematization of which forms the basis of secondary groupings, it seemed advisable, in connection with the discussion of this subject, to make some brief statement of the theory of primary group organization.

No writer is likely to improve upon Professor Cooley's description, and I therefore quote him at length:

<sup>1</sup> *Social Organization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), Chapters 3-5.



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1. "By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and coöperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a "we"; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we" is the natural expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling.

"It is not to be supposed that the unity of the primary group is one of mere harmony and love. It is always a differentiated and usually a competitive unity, admitting of self-assertion and various appropriate passions; but these passions are socialized by sympathy, and come, or tend to come, under the discipline of a common spirit. The individual will be ambitious, but the chief object of his ambition will be some desired place in the thought of others, and he will feel allegiance to common standards of service and fair play. So the boy will dispute with his fellows a place on the team, but above such disputes will place the common glory of his class and school."<sup>2</sup>

2 He says that the most important of the primary groups are the family, the play-group of children, and the neighborhood or community group of elders. "These are practically universal, belonging to all times and stages of development, and accordingly a chief basis of what is universal in human nature and human ideals." They are the nursery of human nature, since in them is found the "intimacy and fusion of personalities," and since "they give the individual his earliest and completest experience in social unity." They are "the springs of life, not only for the individual but for social institutions." They are the source of what Professor Cooley calls primary group-nature, "of which everything social is the outgrowth."<sup>3</sup>

3 In the intimate association and coöperation of these

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter 3, pp. 23, 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Chapter 3, pp. 24-27.

groups there sprouts and grows that characteristic which is variously named but without which no officers would be elected, no constitutions adopted, and no legislation passed. Kropotkin speaks of this quality as a feeling or instinct of human solidarity and sociability, and says it is more fundamental than love or sympathy.<sup>4</sup> Speaking of coöperative groups in general, Walter Bagehot helps at a definition of the term when he says, "The coöperation in all such cases depends on a felt union of heart and spirit, and this is only felt when there is a great degree of likeness in mind and feeling, however that likeness may have been attained."<sup>5</sup> Giddings has a similar idea when he speaks of the consciousness of kind, which consciousness, he thinks, is the basis of all our social life.<sup>6</sup> This requisite to successful social organization is generally identified as *coöperative character* by observers of European coöperative organization, and Mr. Fay makes it understandable when he defines ideal coöperative organization and says it "implies a bond of union over and above casual relations of the money tie."<sup>7</sup> Professor Cooley uses the term *moral unity* and calls it the mother of all social ideals. These ideals—the scarcity of which is bewailed by our rural social reformers—loyalty, lawfulness, freedom, and the derivatives of these three, truth, service, kindness, charity, generosity, mutual aid, justice, equality, freedom of speech, press and assembly, even human nature itself, as expressed in sympathy, sentiments, and the feeling of right and wrong, require for their genesis the socializing influences in the family and neighborhood groups and nothing else. The process in these groups is mainly what Professor Bristol calls active adap-

<sup>4</sup> Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1914), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Physics and Politics* (The Colonial Press, 1900), p. 213.

<sup>6</sup> *Principles of Sociology* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1896), Chapter I.

<sup>7</sup> C. R. Fay, *Co-operation at Home and Abroad* (London, P. S. King, 1925), Chapter I.

tation,<sup>8</sup> and the influence of secondary groups upon them, to use Professor Cooley's figure, is like "the tide setting back into creeks, and does not commonly go very far." These creative, face-to-face associations are the source of that pattern-inventing and pattern-carrying process discussed by Professor Charles A. Ellwood and Dr. Clark Wissler.<sup>9</sup> They agree that language, i.e., oral communication, is the first element of culture and becomes the main vehicle of the cultural process,<sup>10</sup> "not only the carrier but the formulator of the social world."<sup>11</sup> And they might have added that the family and neighborhood groups are not only the carriers but the formulators of language.

The task, then, of those who would exercise constructive social control, is one of guarding the functions of primary groups, and of guiding the extension or systematization of primary ideals. There are two difficulties which stand in the way of the realization of primary ideals on a large scale in our society, "Namely, moral weakness of a personal character," and the "difficulty of organization."<sup>12</sup> We shall never accomplish effective team-work until, to use Professor Finney's figure, we have some good individual horses and have them properly hitched. If the primary ideals are to be made flesh and dwell among us, we need not expect to pull them out of thin air; but the incarnation must take place first in kinsmen and neighbors. And "besides personality—or rather correlative with it—there must be an adequate mechanism of communication and organization."

So far as attention to secondary groups is concerned,

<sup>8</sup> *Adaptation* (Cambridge, Harvard Univ. Press, 1921), Chapter I.

<sup>9</sup> Ellwood, *Cultural Evolution* (New York, The Century Co., 1927), Chapter I; Wissler, *Man and Culture* (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1923), Chapter V.

<sup>10</sup> Ellwood, *op. cit.*, p. 12, 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp. 52-53.



reformers need mainly to shield the primary groups from the encroachments of industry or interference of hampering legislation, and provide for the dissemination of primary idealism through the improvement of communication and the perfection of the mechanics of large-scale living together. Sociologists and social organizers may well give further consideration to the suggestion of Professor Cooley concerning the specialization of function among primary groups. He suggests that democracy is a system of idealism which emphasizes neighborly virtues, while Christianity reflects the family ideals.

“Moreover, modern democracy as an historical current is apparently traceable back to the village community life of the Teutonic tribes of northern Europe, from which it descends through English constitutional liberty and the American and French Revolutions to its broad and deep channels of the nineteenth century.

“And Christianity, as a social system, is based upon the family, its ideals being traceable to the domestic circle of a Judaeian carpenter. God is a kind father; men and women brothers and sisters; we are all members one of another, doing as we would be done by and referring all things to the rule of love. Insofar as the church has departed from these principles it has proved transient; these endure because they are human.”<sup>13</sup>

One might think of the neighborhood and family groups as correctors of each other's defects, and some consideration of this functional specialization might help us in locating the most needy groups. What are the virtues most needed in our society? Are they the Christian graces of brotherhood and charity, or the democratic ones of justice, equality, and democratic lawfulness? The neighborhood ideals seem obviously to be weaker than those of the family, and the neighborhood organization seems to require more attention than that of the family.

In 1909 Professor Cooley wrote:

<sup>13</sup> Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp. 51-52.

“In our own life the intimacy of the neighborhood has been broken up by the growth of an intricate mesh of wider contacts which leaves us strangers to people who live in the same house. And even in the country the same principle is at work, though less obviously, diminishing our economic and spiritual community with our neighbors.”<sup>14</sup>

Since that time the principle has continued to work until the American rural neighborhood, as will be shown in Chapter IV, has become the weakest link in the chain of social organization. Those who expect “farm relief” to be a panacea for all rural ills need reminding that the wandering Jews, without any settled national identity whatever, have probably always achieved a more satisfying neighborhood life than American farmers. The value which Jews and other alien peoples have put upon neighborhood association is surely one of the main reasons why they have shunned farm life in America. This same lack of a satisfying neighborhood life has played its part in decreasing the American farm population by 3,889,000 between 1920 and 1928.<sup>15</sup> Professor T. N. Carver’s statement, to the effect that the story of the good Samaritan was not for farmers, since every farmer knows who his neighbor is may have been true of the Galilean farmers, and to some extent, of American pioneer farmers, but it is no longer so.

The limitations of time and money are often given as the greatest obstacle in the way of rural social organization. This does not seem to be the case, however, as prosperity in the country is not always accompanied by better social organization. The increase in wealth in a rural community is more often followed by an increase in what has been called the worst pest of the country, the non-resident landowner. The tenant who takes his place cares less about social organizations of the community than does the

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Gillette, “Rural Life,” *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1929, p. 1091.



poor owner-operator. Professor Carver has well stated this:

“For example, we used to persuade ourselves that all that was necessary to keep the young men on the farm was to make farming profitable and increase the farmer’s income; but we discover that just the opposite of that is true. That is to say, farmers are leaving the farm most rapidly where farming is most prosperous. This is borne out absolutely by statistical evidence. Wherever in this country farming is very prosperous and farm land has risen in price, there you find the largest percentage of farmers living in towns. I know of no earthly power that will preserve a country from ruin and decay if absentee landlordism prevails.

“No, the reason these men retire and go to the town is because they can afford to. If they could not afford to live in the town they would stay on the farm; but if the land becomes valuable enough through good farming and good marketing conditions to enable a man to live on the rent of his land, he will go to the town and live on that rent unless the living conditions in the country are such as to hold him. The problem of country life is not solved when you have made the farmer prosperous. The next thing, the important thing, is to make country life so attractive that farmers will stay on the farms even though they can afford to live in the town. Until that problem is solved the country life problem is not solved at all.”<sup>16</sup>

The place to begin this herculean task is in a re-organization of rural neighborhoods.

<sup>16</sup> Henry Israel, *Unifying Rural Community Interests* (New York, Association Press, 1914), p. 11.

7. Two difficulties which stand in way of finding ideals  
 1. moral weakness or general doubt  
 2. difference of opinion

8. Way to preserve a country is to reorganize rural neighborhoods.

## CHAPTER II

### THE LIFE STUDY METHOD

**T**HERE is a story in Plato's Republic which has been told many times, but which is still applicable to the methods of observing social phenomena. It is the story of a group of captives who are chained in a cave, with their backs to the opening. Outside the cave is a highway, and along the highway is a stone wall. Beyond the wall a fire is burning, so that the shadows of passers-by are cast on the walls of the cave. The captives sit and look at the shadows and think they see reality, until one of their number breaks loose and goes out and investigates and returns to explain to his fellows that what they see on the walls of their cave is not reality but only the shadows of reality. Reality, according to Plato's idealism, was constituted by the eternal forms, or ideas, not by the physical appearance.

This is not the place for an extended treatise on Idealism, or on the psychological approach to sociology; but if we are to see anything deeper than thin shadows, it seems appropriate to insert here a brief reminder of the fact that society is a mental concept, that it is alive, that its life is human life, and that profound comprehension of the nature and substance of any social group can result only from the use of a method of study which allows for a subjective grasp of its eternal forms, a dramatic insight into functional interactions, and a vital contact with its emotional and cognitional processes, as well as a statistical or quantitative analysis.

One's neighborhood, like the kingdom of heaven, is within him; and the only way in which the social scientist can

get complete access to it is through sympathetic introspection. Those who are satisfied with the amusement of tracing its shadows and trying to weigh and measure them will get no nearer reality than did Plato's captives, who sought it on the walls of their cave. Our inability to isolate social phenomena, since we ourselves are members of the society we study, is a handicap only as we try to study such phenomena exclusively with the instruments of old-fashioned, physical science. One can never understand a man's life without living it vicariously, and can never succeed in living it vicariously apart from living one's own. As one can never understand fatherhood and sonship fully without having been both a father and a son, so he cannot understand village and open-country neighborhoods without having been a village and an open-country neighbor. We need not expect to find the neighborhood running around apart from individuals, but had best look for it in the thoughts and feelings of men and women and boys and girls. *reality*

No method of quantitative measurement alone can determine fully the neighborhood responsibility for that discouragement, discontent, and bitterness which drives American farmers to cities or suicide. No purely statistical investigation can compute the degree of accountability of neighborhood disintegration for the failure of rural cooperative organization in political, economic, and social enterprises. It would be as futile as to try to measure exactly the greed (for greed is not exclusively the sin of millionaires), the lust, the jealousy, or the other deadly sins attributable to this disintegration.

Professor Cooley, himself an expert statistician, emphasized the limitations of the physical measurements in sociological investigation in his first book, "Human Nature and the Social Order":

"Persons and society must, then, be studied primarily in the imagination. It is surely true, *prima facie*, that the best way of



observing things is that which is most direct; and I do not see how any one can hold that we know persons directly except as imaginative ideas in the mind. These are perhaps the most vivid things in our experience, and as observable as anything else, though it is a kind of observation in which accuracy has not been systematically cultivated. The observation of the physical aspects, however important, is for social purposes quite subsidiary: there is no way of measuring men which throws more than a very dim side-light on their personality. The physical factors most significant are those elusive traits of expression already discussed, and in the observation and interpretation of these physical science is only indirectly helpful. What, for instance, could the most elaborate knowledge of weight and measures, including the anatomy of the brain, tell us of the character of Napoleon? Not enough, I take it, to distinguish him with certainty from an imbecile. Our real knowledge of him is derived from reports of his conversation and manner, from his legislation and military dispositions, from the impression made upon those about him and by them communicated to us, from his portraits and the like; all serving as aids to the imagination in forming a system that we call by his name. I by no means aim to discredit the study of man or society with the aid of physical measurements, such as those of psychological laboratories, but I think that these methods are indirect and ancillary in their nature and are most useful when employed in connection with a trained imagination.

“I conclude, therefore, that the imaginations which people have of one another are the *solid facts* of society, and that to observe and interpret these must be the chief aim of sociology. I do not mean merely that society must be studied *by* the imagination—that is true of all investigations in their higher reaches—but that the *object* of study is primarily an imaginative idea or group of ideas in the mind, that we have to imagine imaginations. The intimate grasp of any social fact will be found to require that we divine what men think of one another. Charity, for instance, is not understood without imagining what ideas the giver and recipient have of each other; to grasp homicide we must, for one thing, conceive how the offender thinks of his victim and of the administrators of the law; the relation between the employing and the hand-laboring classes is first of all a matter of personal attitude which we must apprehend by sympathy with both, and so on. In other words, we want to get at motives, and motives spring from per-

sonal ideas. There is nothing particularly novel in this view; historians, for instance, have always assumed that to understand and interpret personal relations was their main business; but apparently the time is coming when this will have to be done in a more systematic and penetrating manner than in the past. Whatever may justly be urged against the introduction of frivolous and disconnected "personalities" into history, the understanding of persons is the aim of this and all other branches of social study."<sup>1</sup>

In the last paper which Professor Cooley read on the subject of this chapter,<sup>2</sup> he was still calling attention to the need, especially in rural social studies, of sympathetic interpretation of social phenomena. In that paper he illustrated the quantitative method by the procedure of an ornithologist who first shoots his bird and then procures an exact description of its feathering and other external characteristics, while the life study method is like that of the ornithologist who climbs the tree and hides in the foliage, where he observes the nesting habits of a pair of live birds. The reason for favoring the life study method, which he defined as "one of intensive observation of living forms, continued for a period of time," the aim of which is "to give a life-like or dramatic picture of typical functional behavior," as contrasted with the exclusively statistical or quantitative method, is that "distinctively human or social behavior, being a phenomenon of patterns rather than quantities—can be stated in quantitative terms only by a fiction of some sort, which is often useful and hence justifiable, but removes the procedure from the sphere of exact science; and, second, the idea of the quantitative having an exclusive claim to be the true or perfect form of knowledge, or the only one that makes science possible, flows from an obso-

<sup>1</sup> Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp. 120-122.

<sup>2</sup> December, 1928. Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, published in *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 248-254.



lescent philosophy from which it would seem desirable to escape."

If one is to make a living rather than an anatomical analysis of a neighborhood, he must use a descriptive technique which "combines the insight of literature with the disinterestedness and factual truth of science." He must make a mixture of the "visible or audible with imagination of the psychic process going on behind it." This would be true even though one were able to make use of such equipment for recording and measuring face-to-face interactions as that suggested by Dr. Carr,<sup>3</sup> a microphone, amplifier, telephone, and dictaphone, or a talking movie. A good share of the "figures" in rural social studies no more prove the conclusions we draw from them than does similar reasoning demonstrate that bumper crops are due to Republican administration.

The method of this study is a combination of statistical investigation and sympathetic observation, and will, therefore, appear somewhat unscientific to those who demand only data which are conformable to mathematical formulæ and conclusions in terms of coefficients of correlation. As further evidence of "unscientific" attitude, I frankly confess that after having lived eighteen years on a farm, having had seven years' experience in rural social work, and having studied and taught courses in rural sociology, I am not entirely dispassionate in regard to rural social problems, and, still further, I admit that some of the conclusions about American farm life were half suspected before I had collected any statistics on the subject. I shall appropriate a variety of grains as grist for my mill. The English boy, for instance, who knocked at my door and interrupted the writing of this page to inquire if he might get his "booll" on my hedged-in "loown" suggested to me, when taken

<sup>3</sup> Carr, "Experimentation in Face-to-Face Interaction," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 1930.

with other equally casual observations, certain conclusions about English neighborhood life.

The information for this study was collected by means of interviews, conferences, letters, questionnaires, reports, newspaper files, and wide reading. Officers, leaders, and laymen in the various organizations were consulted, and also others, who were free from the institutional point of view and whose varied contacts made them well qualified to express public opinion concerning the different organizations and institutions studied. As suggested in the foreword, the plan, as well as its accomplishment, was the result of the advice and coöperation of many authorities at home and abroad. Professor Edward A. Ross suggested the probability that there were handicaps to the village system in the way of farm management. He spoke of seeing the Chinese farmer carrying to his village home, on his shoulder, the windlass and rope of the well from which his fields were irrigated, in order that they might not be stolen while not in use. The original plan of the study, which had to be revised from time to time, included such subjects of investigation as the matter of losses suffered by the villagers from theft or neglect, the extra time spent as the result of separation of residence and land, the advantages and disadvantages in productivity *per* men and *per* acre, the favorableness of the village system to occupational coöperation such as "changing works" or coöperative use of machinery.

My colleague, Dr. Nancy Scott, during her year's study in Czechoslovakia, observed that there was much more emulative rivalry and joyousness in the work of Czechoslovakian village farmers than in that of American farmers. I undertook to discover the conditions in this respect among other rural workers. I sought to find out if the village neighborhood was apt to be more favorable to neighborliness and coöperation among housewives in the care of children and other household duties, to compare the suc-

cess of the two systems in coöperative marketing, supply, credit, and productive enterprises. I proposed to compare village and open-country neighborhoods in regard to the effectiveness of their institutions of religion, education, family life, recreation, charities and corrections, public health, legislation and government. I thought to answer the question as to whether, in villages where there was freedom of worship, there was less wasteful competition and individualism in religion, a higher percentage of the population in church attendance, better-trained ministers, and better-equipped churches than in our rural neighborhoods with their "fifty-seven varieties" of denominations, and as to whether accepted moral standards were more fully realized.

I wanted to know if there was any relation between the forms of neighborhood groups and differences in illiteracy, inequalities between rural and urban schools, coöperation between parents and teachers, regularity of school attendance, and delinquency among pupils. I was curious to know if there was a similar relation to account for the differences in the number of broken homes and in family life in general, and to see if the village furnished illustrations of a better opportunity for wholesome acquaintance of young men and women before marriage, and of a more helpful competition among parents in the matter of child guidance. I wondered if I should find the play groups of children better and more easily supervised, organized play more common, less commercialization of recreation, and a larger percentage of children and adults enjoying wholesome forms of recreation in the village than in our rural districts. In the matter of administration of charity, I wished to compare the two groups in respect to the amount of individual poverty and suffering, and to discover in which dependents were more likely to be rehabilitated, and in which neighborly relief was more common. In the study



of corrections, my objective was to reveal any possible relation between the two systems and the difference in the amount of crime and delinquency, and in the readiness with which the pressure of public opinion was felt. And, finally, I set for myself the stint of measuring, as nearly as possible, the comparative effectiveness of village and open-country in regard to the extent to which the recognized standards of public health were realized, the efficiency of the enforcement of sanitary measures, quarantine laws, and other public health regulations, and the readiness with which medical and nursing care is obtained. It is needless to say that before this plan was carried out as fully as the following chapters indicate, I thought the study would rival in one respect at least, Herbert Spencer's work which was planned in twenty-four hours, but which took twenty-four years to complete.

## CHAPTER III

### THE HISTORY OF NEIGHBORHOODS

**M**Y interest in the history of neighborhoods was stimulated first by an article by W. E. B. Dubois of Tuskegee Institute in which he claimed for Africa the distinction of having invented and transmitted to other peoples the village form of social organization, along with jazz music.

The value of an historical investigation in connection with this subject may not at first seem obvious. I offer little justification, however, beyond that which applies to the study of history in general. The evolutionary approach to the study of society implies that everything has a history, and that we grow out of the past, not outgrow it. It follows, then, that we must know the past in order to understand the present.

We want not only to understand the present; we want to anticipate the future, and the study of history enables us to discern general trends in the social development. If any extraneous justification for seeking suggestions for the improvement of American rural neighborhood organization in the constitution of European peasant villages is needed, the great age of such village associations as revealed in their history is enough to convince sceptics that they contain something in their make-up which has been of great survival value.

Perhaps the greatest incentive to historical study is the hope of the attainment thereby of that perspective which not only enables one to formulate values but to harmonize them, and valuation is at the heart of this study. An understanding of history is the basis of that "valuation by criti-



cism”<sup>1</sup> as opposed to that lower, instinctive mode, valuation by experience. If society is to be motivated increasingly by telic or purposeful and rational consideration in the place of a pure trial and error, or genetic method; if it is going consciously to profit by the mistakes and the successes of the past, it will need to know the past. A study of the history of any phase of human society ought to correct the most common defect of those who theorize about all things human, i.e., the mistaking of complexes for simplexes and of mysteries for commonplaces.

As a case in point, a certain behaviorist-psychologist undertakes to explain hypnotism by saying that it is just as simple as rocking the baby to sleep; all that is necessary in either case is to get the individual preoccupied with a single idea, the idea of going to sleep, the sway of the cradle, the crooning of a lullaby. I should state the matter differently and say that rocking the baby to sleep is as mysterious as hypnotism. It is always safe to take a sceptical attitude towards simple explanations of human nature as it expresses itself in individuals or groups, and a fuller historical knowledge would shield us from the temptation to sacrifice truth to simplicity, not only in thinking of civilized people, but of our so-called contemporary ancestry existing in savage groups.

Human life is many-sided and probably always has been complex in comparison with lower animal life. It is possible that our primitive grandparents who lived before historical time were controlled predominantly by the sanction of survival, and later by that of the hedonic, while we are now under the influence of creative sanctions;<sup>2</sup> but it is not likely that these sanctions represent separate stages of development. The motives of self-preservation and of

<sup>1</sup> Weatherly, *Social Progress* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1926), p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Hobhouse, *Mind in Evolution* (London, The Macmillan Company, Ltd., 1901), pp. 388, 389.

pleasure and pain are not entirely out-of-date, and there probably never was a time when creative achievement was not in some degree a criterion of behavior. The main difference is probably in the characteristics which have survival value and the types that survive, the things which give pleasure or pain, and the ways in which we seek the one or avoid the other, and in the objects of our creativeness. The conception of an individualistic stage of human development when self-regarding impulses were the only ones, and when the law of self-preservation was the only law is no longer generally held.

Drummond's "Ascent of Man," the thesis of which was the idea that self-preservation was not the first law of nature, called attention to the fact that the fiercest struggle of all was that for the survival of others, parents for offspring, for instance. Drummond said that the food and drink of the world was "love food" and "love drink," i.e., starch, sugar, wine, milk, etc., all representing the sacrifice of life of the parent plant or animal for the purpose of nourishing the young until it is able to maintain itself. He argues that the highest sort of affection is the result, not of the development of sex attraction, but of the appeal of the helplessness of infants. Prince Kropotkin in *Mutual Aid* tells of his observation of coöperation among all kinds of lower animals, and of savage and civilized men. He shows that we must have had something similar to neighborhoods before we became human and that the development of a human nature was largely the result of such association. He insists that all lower forms of life, even of microscopic forms, associate for mutual aid, and that the higher forms associate on a basis of a variety of common interests, such as fighting, hunting, and the joy of social life. His thesis is that such coöperation is as important a factor in evolution as the "reign of tooth and claw" which Huxley and other Darwinians emphasized.

There is enough in a name so that it has generally been assumed that "savage" people were lacking in kindness, loyalty, and other neighborly virtues; but Kropotkin gives many illustrations of unselfish, neighborly, and loyal behavior among the lowest savages. Bushman comrades would go to their certain death before they would desert each other. One traveling through the woods would call out three times before eating his meal to see if there was not some one within hearing to eat with him. Husbands were kind to their wives, and fathers to their children. If an Englishman wanted a Bushman for a slave, he captured a child, and the mother would go into voluntary slavery rather than desert it. At the death of a child, the mother or an aunt often committed suicide in order to accompany it into the other world. In a recent book in which New Zealand savages are described, the story is told of their once having besieged a body of Englishmen; but before making an attack the savages sent the English supplies, because they "disdained to fight against men who were weak from want of food."<sup>3</sup>

Professor Cooley has reconciled the old argument of the particularists on this subject of the comparative importance of coöperation and conflict in social evolution, by showing that coöperation and competition are two phases of a single process, and that the change in respect to these has been one of the kind of competition and coöperation, not the proportion of each.<sup>4</sup>

Professor Edward A. Ross argues that the first human group may have been made up of a neighborhood of mothers and their children. The fathers were at most not very important members of society, since most of their time was spent away from home fighting and hunting.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Chatwyn, Alys, *The Duchess of York* (London, London Book Company), p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> Cooley, *Social Process* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), Chapter IV.

<sup>5</sup> Ross, *Principles of Sociology* (New York, The Century Co., 1920), p. 77.



Professor Weatherly suggests the possibility that we are not descendants of Pithecanthropus, Eoanthropus, or Neanderthal man, but that they were "varieties which failed in the struggle and were eliminated."<sup>6</sup> Why they failed, and why a definitely human type emerged, is a matter of speculation, Professor Weatherly says, but he quotes Carveth Read as saying that the chief factor in the differentiation was a shift from a vegetable to a meat diet and the resulting demands of the chase which forced men to organize into hunting bands. This would bring about a "higher degree of coöperation with an accompanying stimulation of faculties."<sup>7</sup> Again Professor Weatherly says:

"In the social and cultural contacts of primitive man the stimuli were also simple and direct. Nearly all associations were in those bodies for which Professor Cooley has, in an illuminating discussion, proposed the name 'primary groups'. In such groups the contacts are characterized by intimate, face-to-face association, and for them the 'we' sense is the natural one. To the early simple groups this description is particularly applicable."<sup>8</sup>

Professor Cooley makes a conservative statement concerning the origin and influence of the neighborhood:

"Of the neighborhood group it may be said, in general, that from the time men have formed permanent settlements upon the land, down, at least, to the rise of modern industrial cities, it has played a main part in the primary, heart-to-heart life of the people."<sup>9</sup>

The evolution of systematic group life is variously described by anthropologists, sociologists, and other theorists. As has been suggested, some have thought that individual

<sup>6</sup> Weatherly, *Social Progress* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1926), pp. 61-62.

<sup>7</sup> Read, *Origin of Man and His Superstitions* (Cambridge University Press, 1920), Chapter II.

<sup>8</sup> Weatherly, *Social Progress* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1926), p. 65.

<sup>9</sup> Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 25.

interests predominated at first and that they gradually became subordinated to social interests, mutual aid and cooperation; but the prevailing theories suggest that the evolution of group life has involved not so much a change in respect to solidarity as one of size, complexity, and group attitudes towards nature. Professor Weatherly says:

“The primitive groups are always small because the nature of the social bond and of economic conditions precludes large societies. They are usually simple or compound families. After the family or horde comes the clan, and then, in successive steps, the tribe, the tribal confederation, the people, the state and the nation, and these steps generally, though not always, involve an increasing size in the group. If we are to suppose that this historic trend is to continue we may possibly assume that there is yet to be achieved a world grouping which shall include the whole race. In certain respects it may be said that this larger union is already in process of development. Stated in more specific terms, as intra-group socialization has hitherto run along with increasing size of the social body, so now intergroup socialization on a world scale appears to be a probable consummation of the process.”<sup>10</sup>

Professor Hobhouse gives three principles of this progressive association: kinship, authority and citizenship.<sup>11</sup> Professor Hayes states them as follows: a. instinct and biological necessity; b. the vagaries of custom; c. rational acceptance.<sup>12</sup> Professor Baldwin lists three stages as instinctive or gregarious, spontaneous or plastic, and reflective or social proper.<sup>13</sup> Comte's law described another three phases of philosophical growth which may be considered as principles of association, the theological, metaphysical, and positive or scientific. The recapitulation theory as

<sup>10</sup> Weatherly, *Social Progress* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1926), pp. 171-172.

<sup>11</sup> Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1915), Vol. I, p. 40.

<sup>12</sup> Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology* (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1915), pp. 171-172.

<sup>13</sup> Baldwin, *The Individual and Society* (Boston, Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, 1911), p. 36.



stated by Draper assumed a cyclical growth comparable to infancy, childhood, youth, maturity, and old age. The stages are credulity, inquiry, faith, reason, and decrepitude.<sup>14</sup> More understandable and more *apropos* as far as this study is concerned, is the statement by Professor Cooley,

“The central fact of history, from a psychological point of view, may be said to be the gradual enlargement of social consciousness and rational coöperation.”<sup>14a</sup>

When one observes the readiness with which such groups are formed, it is not difficult to conceive of the first neighborhood group as a play group. My young daughter observes an English girl inspecting her from across the hedge. They smile, pass the time of day. My daughter is a little lonesome; the English girl is a little curious, and, invited or uninvited, the English girl soon finds herself inside the gate. A social organism is formed. Projects are soon contrived which demand a larger integration. The peculiar international combination attracts other English children, as well as the other Americans. Presently there is a whole yard full of *socii*. Before the day is over, or possibly about the time it is over, some anxious parent comes to inquire for her daughter. Our daughter's parents are glad to inform her, and thus the neighborhood grows. Whatever there is of likeness makes for understanding; whatever there is of difference keeps up the interest.

Whatever the integrating project of the first neighborhood was, is a matter of speculation; but it is safe to say that it was not coöperative marketing or public health work. Whatever the overt act which instigated the association, whether hunting, fighting, working, or playing, it is probable that the more fundamental factors in such association were

<sup>14</sup> Draper, *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, p. 590.

<sup>14a</sup> Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 113.

a consciousness of kind, curiosity, sociability, and the play impulse. In our neighborhood organizing, we still need to put more emphasis upon the joy of social life and such fundamental factors. As to the constitution of the primitive neighborhood, it is safe to assume that it was a homogeneous, intimate, compound family, comparatively simple in organization, and exhibiting mutual aid tendencies, not only in the maintenance mores but in play and other social intercourse. The neighborhood as a definite entity having specialized functions emerged from the family when men, or, more probably, women or children, having no consciousness of kinship, were impelled or attracted into the initiation of some coöperative enterprise. As Professor Weatherly suggests, this primitive neighborhood has evolved from that simple association to its present multitudinous form through the process of culturization, civilization, and socialization.<sup>15</sup>

The separation of the neighborhood from the family has never been very great. The difference between their respective functions in so far as the instigation of ideals is concerned, as suggested before, has been mainly that of emphasis. So closely are the two groups related that changes in either one affect the other, and yet the family, being primarily a biological institution, has varied less and is not so passively adaptable. Some form of neighborhood, however, is primeval and its beginning is purely a matter of speculation. "It is man who makes monarchies and establishes republics, but the commune seems to come directly from the hand of God."<sup>16</sup> The historical neighborhood has varied from time to time, place to place, and race to race. It varies in form, size, solidarity, adaptability, and technique of control. Its primary social function as the generator of pri-

<sup>15</sup> Weatherly, *Social Progress* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1926), p. 157.

<sup>16</sup> De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I, Chapter 5.

mary idealism remains constant, as does its effectiveness in performing this function.

When it comes to the matter of the origin and development of rural village and open-country neighborhoods as we know them, historians are not very convincing. They disagree even as to the origin of the particular form of the English village community, and there is some evidence that the individual occupation of the land was practised before the time of the English Enclosure Acts. There is plenty of proof for the statement of Professor Cooley that among our Teutonic forefathers the village community was apparently the chief sphere of sympathy and mutual aid for the commons all through the dark middle ages, and that "for many purposes it remains so in rural districts at the present day."<sup>17</sup>

Lord Ernle, writing in 1893, gives a very clear description of the village community and of the change to the individual occupation of the land.<sup>18</sup> He says that the village forms the core of the agricultural history of England and that the change to the threefold division of the landlord, tenant-farmer, and wage-earner, as well as the individual occupation of agricultural land, has been a slow but continual process, beginning at least as early as the reign of Henry III, i.e., 1216-1272. This change, which was carried out by means of enclosures, was socially and economically regrettable because of the distress which resulted from divorcing the peasantry from the soil and in the break-up of agrarian partnerships. As to whether the change was a new invention or a reversion to an older system is unknown, for the question of the genesis of the village community is a matter of controversy. Three students discuss the subject at great length and are unable to agree as to whether the

<sup>17</sup> Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 25.

<sup>18</sup> Lord Ernle, *The Land and Its People* (Hutchinson, 1925), Chapters I and II.



village community in its English form, as a group of men cultivating their lands in common and having rights and duties in common, is of historical origin or of primitive development. The first of these was Sir Henry Maine, who, in tracing the village community, its institutions and customs, showed an interesting parallel between English and Indian phenomena.<sup>19</sup> Frederic Seebohm,<sup>20</sup> writing in 1883, and again in 1926, chronologically traced back the existence of certain characteristics of English villages to the Roman occupation and argues that the village community in its English form had its origin in the event of this occupation. He cites various descriptions of the open-field or run-rig system, Piers the Plowman in the fourteenth century, the manor of the reign of Edward III in 1348 and 1349, the hundred rolls of Edward I in 1279, and various other sources to show that the system was fairly uniform throughout England. On the other hand, he piles up evidence to show that the early German, Welsh, and Irish systems, uninfluenced by Roman organization, varied greatly from the English type. They were nomadic, shifting tribes of kinsmen, whose customs were described by Caesar, writing of the Germans, and by Sir John Davis seventeen hundred years later, in describing the Irish. The reason for this difference in the two systems, according to Seebohm, is that Romans forced serfdom upon the conquered people and the village community is simply the shell of this serfdom. The manorial system, he thinks, must have grown up as a compound product of barbarism and Roman institutions mixing together. His conclusion is that the present freedom of the individual and the growth of individual enterprise and property "imply a rebellion against bonds of communism and forced equality alike of the manorial and tribal

<sup>19</sup> Maine, *Notes on the History of Ancient Institutions*.

<sup>20</sup> Seebohm, *The English Village Community, 1883* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 4th ed. 1926) and *The English Village, 1926*.



system." George Lawrence Gomme, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and Director of the Folklore Society, in 1890, seven years after the publication of Seebohm's book,<sup>21</sup> wrote a very scholarly book on the village community. He debates with Seebohm the subject of the origin of the English village community, insisting that it is due to the earliest instincts of the race, not to the political thought of a governing class or to the commercial necessities of a trading class. His contention is that the English village community is similar to other ancient village forms and must therefore be reckoned with as one of the phases through which practically all mankind must have passed, its history being the story, not of a British institution, but of a human institution in Britain. He thinks that the stage which probably preceded the village community for all races is illustrated by the system which prevailed among the Bushmen, who simply dug holes in the ground and sheltered them with skins. They were kept together by no attractive forces, but only by forces which originated from the outside. The permanent dwelling and the beginning of the village community both date from the time when blood kinship began to be recognized and utilized as the foundation of political societies.

The common interest in the procuring of food may, in some measure, have formed the basis of the original settlement in primitive villages, but the cement which bound together the individual atoms of the upper strata of village communities in India and Europe was the tie of kinship. The persistence of the village community among economical conditions which were not primitive is due to the resistance which all primitive institutions offer when confronted with a system which must in the end overthrow them. Gomme gives as illustration of primitive people who have

<sup>21</sup> Gomme, *The Village Community* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, n.d.).

lived in village communities having many characteristics in common with the English village, the Indian primitive peoples, the Fiji, Basutos, and Dyak savages.

Instead of being a product of Roman civilization, the English village proves itself a survival by its actual opposition to political phenomena of civilized history. The security of land tenure which villeins had always enjoyed was so firmly established in Celtic and Teutonic traditions that even the Norman lords did not dare to do violence to the village public opinion on the subject for whole centuries, and the final struggle against enclosures was a determined one. On the other hand, whatever was artificial in Romanized Britain disappeared with the conquerors. The city of London, a Roman product, was of no use to the traditionally agricultural Britains, and so it fell with its builders. The villages, however, were as little affected by the coming or leaving of the Romans as the villages of India would be affected if the British were to leave India.

“If we took away all the military strength of Britain from India, there would remain the village communities to be administered, not conquered, by the next military empire who desired to acquire the wealth of India. . . . When the Romans took away their military strength from Britain, there remained the Celtic communities—the clans and the tribes—just as intact as they were before the conquest.”

As to the origin of the open-country neighborhood, there are only fragmentary references which suggest that the practice of the occupancy of isolated dwellings existed among any people before the time of the enclosure of English open fields. Certainly the prevailing custom was some sort of village residence, but this was somewhat varied, and it is possible that there were exceptions to the rule of village organization. Seebohm quotes one Giraldus Cambrensis as saying that the Welsh had summer and winter houses built neither in towns nor villages but scattered along the edge

of the forest, and that they followed the cattle to the hills in summer and to the valleys in winter.<sup>22</sup> A quotation from Green's *A Short History of the English People* (p. 3) suggests similar residence among the Germans.

“In the very earliest glimpse we get of the German race we see them a race of land-holders and land-tillers. Tacitus, the first Roman who sought to know these destined conquerors of Rome, described them as pasturing on their forest glades around their villages, and plowing their village fields. A feature which at once struck him as parting them from the civilized world to which he himself belonged, was their hatred of cities, and their love, even within their little settlements, of a jealous independence. ‘They live apart’, he says, ‘each by himself, as woodside, plain, or fresh spring attracts him’. And as each dweller within the settlement was jealous of his own isolation and independence among his fellow settlers, so each settlement was jealous of its independence among its fellow settlements.”

Authorities are unanimous, however, in the idea that the system of individual occupation as we know it resulted from the movement for enclosures, which falls into two periods, 1485-1560 and 1760-1820. It would be difficult to find a better illustration of the very great fighting strength of the village form of organization than this struggle against Enclosure Acts. The final failure was probably due not so much to a lack of political strength as to the need for a more economical system of cultivation than was possible in open-fields. In order to understand this need, it is necessary to know the method of open-field cultivation.

The clearest description of the open-field, or common-field, form of cultivation as it existed in connection with the English village community, is that of Lord Ernle in his book *The Land and Its People*.<sup>23</sup> In the open-field arrangement, the land of the village, or the manor, was divided into three unequal parts. The lord of the manor, who held his

<sup>22</sup> Seebohm, *The English Village*.

<sup>23</sup> Lord Ernle, *The Land and Its People* (Hutchinson, 1925), Chapter I.



privileges as the result of inheritance or the favor of the king, in whom the original title of all lands was supposed to be vested, was in possession of a block of the most accessible and most desirable land, which he held in individual occupation. Lord Ernle writes:

“A far larger part was cultivated on coöperative principles by villagers in common, as an association of co-partners, both free and unfree, under a rigidly regulated system of management which was binding on all the members of the association.”

Beyond the arable land, and less accessible to the residences, was the common pasture. This pasture was separated from the holding of another manor by a strip of waste which was left in its natural wild state.

“Common rights were exercised over the waste land and pasture by the lord of the manor, by virtue of his ownership, and by the village partners, by virtue of their arable holdings, and by the occupiers of certain cottages, to which rights were attached.”<sup>24</sup>

The “demesne land,” that held by the lord of the manor, was cultivated by the open-field farmers, who were required in this way to pay their rent for their holdings in the village partnership. All dwelt in the village, which consisted of church, mill, manor house, and the houses of the villagers who cultivated the open fields. Like the Germans, the English liked, if possible, to locate the village on the banks of a stream. Around the village lay the meadows, fenced into individual lots from March until after the hay was cut, when the fences were taken away and the ground used as a common pasture. The meadows were sometimes distributed to the same individuals each year and sometimes changed from one to another.

Next to the meadows came the arable land, cultivated in a compulsory rotation; one-third was planted to wheat or rye, one-third to barley, oats, beans, or peas, while the re-

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*



maining third lay fallow. Like the meadows, the arable land was held in separate occupation from seedtime to harvest and used as common pasture during the rest of the year. The pasture and the waste land beyond that which was arable were held in common, the waste being of use in furnishing fern and heather for bedding for animals, and thatching, as well as wood for temporary fences, tree-loppings for winter browsing, acorns and other food for swine, and fuel and timber. The village partners were not all of the same social grade. There were serfs, freemen, and various intermediate classes. The holdings were not always of the same size, and the duties to the lord varied, some villagers being required to render military service, some manual labor or the work of animals, while others paid rent in money or produce. All classes were in some sense dependent upon the lord of the manor. In the hall of the manor house the lord or his steward received homage, recovered fines, held the view of frank-pledge, or enrolled the villagers in their tithing. Outside the doors of the hall stood the gallows. The villagers had to fill the lord's barn with sheaves, shear his sheep, malt his grain, cut his wood. The serf, or villein, worked for the lord only in seed-time and harvest, but the other classes helped with the work of the demesne during the whole year. The villagers were classified according to the specialized services which they owed to the lord of the manor. But according to Lord Ernle the great point was

“that practically the whole of the inhabitants of the village, as freeholders or tenants, or squatters who had made good their titles to encroachments by length of occupation, had some interest in the soil other than that of wages. Few, if any, were landless wage-earners.”<sup>25</sup>

The village community was adapted to the conditions of the troubled times in that it furnished the villagers a pro-

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

tection similar to that furnished industrial workers by the guilds. The manorial courts took the place of assizes, quarter sessions, and county courts. The village enabled villagers to repel attacks of plunderers more successfully than they could have done had they lived in isolated and detached farm houses. It ensured some degree of continuity of cultivation in spite of frequent absences of men on military service. Each village was a "self-supporting and self-sufficing"<sup>26</sup> community.

The defects of the system which eventually led to its abandonment were as follows:

1. It fostered stagnation.
2. The innumerable walks and footpaths between holdings of arable land represented a great waste.
3. There was much waste of time in traveling between buildings and fields and from one holding to another.
4. It compelled the treating alike of all kinds of soil.
5. It necessitated exact conformity in the matter of the time of sowing and reaping of crops.
6. The idleness of one person meant loss to others.
7. Drainage was practically impossible.
8. The fertility of the arable soil was lost because of the waste of manure on pastures and the constant cropping of the same land.
9. Stock breeding on improved lines was impossible.

The remedy for these defects was individual occupation, in accordance with which men could secure full fruit of their enterprise. It was mainly for the purpose of realizing such economic remedies that the system of enclosures was introduced. A suggestion of the value of enclosures had been furnished by the enclosure of the demesne land and by the fencing of meadow and arable land for part of the year. The enclosures began on a small scale some time before the close of the fifteenth century. The first ones were of small tracts to be used for working oxen or other livestock; but

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

at the end of that century the movement began on a more comprehensive scale.

There were two great periods of enclosures in England 1485 to 1560 and 1760 to 1820. The first period was concerned with the conversion of arable land to pasture, and *vice versa*. The second was motivated by the advantages to be obtained from raising clover, grasses, and roots, and the saving of manure. Both periods aroused much opposition and resulted in the appointment of investigating commissions, and in many acts of parliament. Those who profited by the movement were denounced as "greedy bulls," and as "caterpillars of the commonwealth who eat up the patrimony of the poor." The need for clover and grasses, emphasized in the second period, was for pasturage and fodder for sheep, the raising of which had become very profitable. Sir Thomas More said that enclosures turned men into sheep, and claimed that the enclosures led to depopulation and split rural classes asunder. Sir Francis Bacon records having mentioned his opposition to enclosures to Queen Elizabeth.

Several books were written which argued for the economic advantage to be obtained by enclosures. *The Booke of Husbandrye*, by John Fitzherbert, was published in 1523. This was an able attempt to show the superiority of enclosures and separate occupation over tenancy in common. Lord Ernle says that

"had England listened to him, it might have escaped some of the misery caused by the transformation of common arable farms into sheep-walks, and the consequent loss of employment, rural depopulation, and destruction of houses and farm buildings."<sup>27</sup>

Other books of the same sort were: *Hundredth Good Pointers of Husbandrie* (1557) and *Five Hundredth Pointes of Good Husbandrie* (1573), by Thomas Tusser: *Four*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*



*Bookes of Husbandrie* by Barnabe Googe (1577), which recommended the raising of rape and turnips for cattle, crops which required enclosures. Another writer of the seventeenth century, Sir Richard Weston, urged the raising of grasses and turnips.

But though enclosures had some economic advantages, the students of the resulting social conditions, even those who justify the change on the basis of economic necessity, admit that they resulted in a loss socially. Although the loss of bread through the reduction of arable land was one of the arguments in favor of early legislation against enclosures, most of the opposition, like that of Sir Thomas More and Sir Francis Bacon, was prompted because of resulting social evils. Most of the students who have discussed these social results of enclosures and the accompanying change from village to open-country, rural residence, are concerned only with the immediate or direct results, results which seem in some cases less important than possible indirect and remote things involved. Among the immediate and direct results were the creation of a greatly enlarged and turbulent, landless labor class, unemployment, poverty, discontent, rural depopulation, and general social disorganization and demoralization. Some of these evils were very serious; but most of them were not so far-reaching as social changes, which may be considered in some measure outcomes of the enclosures and of the break-up of the village system.

In every country in which the system of rural village residence has existed, Italy, Spain, France, England, and Germany, it has been so closely related to feudalism that many people have not discriminated between the two forms of social organization. During the unsettled times which followed the collapse of the Roman rule, these countries developed a great military system, the primary purpose of which was self-defense. The plan adopted is known as the



Feudal System, and originally it meant no more than that any one holding a part of the conquered land bound himself to help defend the whole. The ruler of a land owned all of it, in theory, and gave out large tracts of it to a nobility who pledged themselves to give military service in defending any part of the ruler's domains. The nobles, in their turn, made grants of portions of their holdings to their followers, upon similar conditions in regard to military service, in addition to certain other conditions. In the earliest days of the feudal system, the underlings, or vassals, held no legal titles of ownership to their holdings. They understood that they could hold possession as long as the overlord was willing that they should, which would usually be as long as they fulfilled the stipulated conditions. The rendering of various services, more or less menial, including the military, involved from the very beginning the idea of social inequality.

This system was not, at first, universal even in France and Germany, where it made more rapid progress than in England. Many of the holdings called "allodial estates" were free from feudal dues. The need of protection soon drove most of the holders of such lands to give themselves up to the feudal lords. As the system developed, it became more complex and more burdensome to the vassal. The conditions of tenancy came to include such duties as paying the ransom for a captured chief, sharing the expenses of marrying a daughter or knighting a son, dividing an inheritance with the lord, and paying a fine for selling land. Besides military service, they paid rents in produce, money, or service. They were required to have their corn ground in the lord's mill, their wine made in his presses, their bread baked in his ovens. If the vassal died without an heir, the land reverted to the lord; if he left a minor child, the lord took possession of the child along with the land. He chose husbands for female wards. The lords coined money,

held courts, executed criminals, and waged private wars. Under the feudal chiefs were various castes of freemen and serfs. The largest group were the serfs, and their condition was little better than that of slaves. They were bound to the soil, could not leave the estate without permission, and were completely dependent upon the chief.

Under the feudal system, even the village took on a military aspect. The tower, with its donjon-keep, the castle, the surrounding wall, with its galleries for watchmen, the gates, the portcullis, the drawbridge, the moat, made of the village a great military stronghold. The motive back of the organization of the feudal system, then, was identical with one of the advantages which gave the village community its great survival value, i.e., protection from enemies. Feudalism and the village community came to be very closely associated, and it is possible that the oppressive influence of the former upon the latter had something to do with the overthrow of the village system; but feudalism was not the main cause. It would seem that the form of the village neighborhood, although in one respect an adaptation to serve the same need which called forth feudalism, was the more fundamental factor, and therefore to its overthrow and the hostility of the system which followed, may be justly attributed the overthrow of the feudal system and the introduction of a more centralized national military system, which, with the accompanying weakness of local organization, leaves the individual and local group powerless in the hands of selfish state governments in so far as military service is concerned. The enforcement of the selective draft and the "steam-rollering" of the opposing public opinion of local groups during the World War were a demonstration of the helplessness of the individual and the loss of local autonomy resulting largely from the break-up of the neighborhood solidarity.

Another indirect and remote influence of the disintegra-



tion of the rural neighborhood is the present struggle between capital and labor and the unequal contest between agrarian and urban classes.

The discontent and class hostility growing out of the oppression of the new landless, wage-earning class evolved from enclosures, furnished the motivation for the organization of agricultural laborers which recognized no common interests with employers and which widened the gap between classes. The progress of this organization is discussed in another chapter. The point to be emphasized here is that a multitude of these embittered laborers flocked to industrial cities and migrated to colonies. In the cities they multiplied the labor problems of the industrial revolution and gave impetus to the movement of a similarly explosive organization of urban labor. In the colonies the influence of the conflicting points of view of a similar sort were no less momentous than at home. The American Revolution was a struggle not only between the English government and the colonies but between social classes in both countries.

In his work, *The Green Rising*, President Bizzell, of the University of Oklahoma, shows that, before the Revolution, small holdings predominated in all European countries but England. The English control in America made inevitable an effort to transplant to American soil the capitalistic agriculture, with its system of large holdings in the hands of an aristocracy. If the agrarian struggle which grew out of this was an important factor in the American Revolution, the fighting force of which was furnished by lower-class farmers and laborers, it is safe to say that the emigrating sufferers from enclosures furnished the same impetus to the Revolution which they furnished in the struggle between urban industrial employers and employees.

As another possible remote influence, it is interesting to note that the *laissez-faire* philosophy, which was to have such an influence in government and social organization in

general, which had its origin in England, came into most general practice after the second great period of enclosures, 1760-1820. This theory grew out of the confusion of the beginning of the industrial revolution and was closely related to the Darwinian biological doctrine, which over-emphasized the "free fight" idea. But it seems probable that this "pig-trough" philosophy, with its opposition to all the efforts to restrain the power of the strong, shield the weak, protect children, control monopolies, etc., and with the general social chaos which accompanied it, could not have come into such general practice and popular acceptance had not the near-communistic partnerships of the old-open-field, rural communities been broken up, leaving society without this great example of organic neighborhood interdependence, and driving multitudes of homeless, detached farm laborers to factories, until, according to the historian, Green, "by 1826 not a third of the population was left to live on the land." Although the theory is now generally discredited it is still strong in English rural class relations and is only beginning to be questioned in the American rural neighborhoods. Certainly those who call the American farmer an individualist, meaning that he does not readily practise team-work in community affairs, could find much of the same quality in the contemporary English farmer.

One of the most expensive "costs of progress," if progress it was, which accompanied the change from the village community to the system of individual occupation, was loss of the solidarity, strength, and efficiency which characterized the village form of association. The sense of neighborly interdependence was greatly weakened when communistic agriculture was broken up. The hedges between their private fields and the distances between their isolated dwellings separated men psychologically as well as economically. Another disintegrating factor, since social unity



is a unity of differentiation, was the loss of the constant reminder of neighborhood interdependence furnished by the elaborate division of labor between different classes in the village community such as the landowners, freemen, sokemen, villeins, bordars, and cotters;<sup>28</sup> and between specialized workers such as stewards, bailiffs, various kinds of reves, beadles, various kinds of herdsmen, woodwards, haywards, etc., in fact a procession as long as Chaucer's pilgrim train and including most of the representatives in his entourage. As the change was accompanied by "an ever widening gap between the enterprising and industrious and the shiftless and lazy";<sup>29</sup> so there was an ever-widening gap between the individuals in each of these classes.

Although Curtler marshals a great array of facts in favor of enclosure, he is not entirely unmindful of such unfavorable influences as these, and refers to H. Halhead, a writer of the seventeenth century,<sup>30</sup> who mentioned, among other evils of enclosure, the *overthrow of many churches and congregations*, the *decrease of hospitality*, *increase of idleness*, and the *filling of market towns with displaced country people*. England and Scotland have suffered more from the breaking up of the village community than have other European countries since in those two countries the change to the open-country system of residence was most nearly general. In the other countries, the rural neighborhood is often a combination of the two systems and the village center furnishes a nucleus.

In general, it can be said that, both in countries where the village system prevails and in those where the open-country neighborhoods are common, there appears to be an increasing interest and responsibility in rural affairs on the part of national governments, an increasing concern

<sup>28</sup> Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of Our Land* (Oxford University Press, 1920), p. 26.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

for rural welfare on the part of urban populations, and an increase of conscious effort at meeting rural needs being made by local neighborhoods. Particular historical facts will receive some mention in the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER IV  
THE AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD

*Holy Land.*

And I saw the holy country,  
Coming down from God out of heaven;  
And in its midst was a grassy dooryard,  
And round the yard was a picket fence,  
And in the yard a little, joy-filled house.  
Beyond the yard were vistas of broad fields,  
And the dwellings of distant neighbors.  
And I heard a voice,  
My sister's voice, in joyous, childish frolic.  
But my homely paradise is lost;  
The house of joy is gone;  
The dooryard choked with weeds.  
And yet I linger in its desolation,  
And, perchance, one day my son  
Will sow my fire-cleansed substance  
Among its dreary ruins.

**I**F one were to write a biography which would fit the typical American country boy, it would include such items as the following: He enjoyed a happy childhood in a family consisting of father, mother, brothers, and sisters. His humble, isolated home provided him with comparatively comfortable, healthful, and congenial surroundings in which he developed habits of frugality, industry, regularity, promptness, and an introspective meditateness. He acquired a set of the old-oaken-bucket, ingrown, family sentiments. In addition to family affections he came to have an affection for, and a sense of responsibility to, domestic and wild animals and even the plants which he cultivated. He

gained an understanding of cause and effect and of natural laws more fundamental than can be learned in any classroom or city neighborhood. He came to realize the limitations of the power of money as no city dweller is likely to do. He built a foundation for a more comprehensive religious life than is included in the forms of any organized church. He evolved a set of sound personal values which cannot easily be upset by artificial classifications. His playful imitation of work and his participation in the various functions of the farming occupation gave him a sense of the necessity and the dignity of labor, a sense which makes him a persistent foe of all parasitical existence. His ownership of pets and of home-made toys and his observation of the true relation between wealth and individual effort, together with his developing sense of causation and differentiation in the peculiar social life of the family, produced in him a profound respect for individuality and a regard for earned private property.

With these most desirable characteristics, there were other habitual adaptations which in a larger social life became counter-selective and spelled unhappiness, inefficiency, and futility in various sorts of coöperative functions. The intimacy and informality of his small-scale social life taught him a more or less just disregard for, or allowed him to remain in ignorance of, polished manners and the importance of appearance. He attended a district school, where he learned more about gender than about number and case. Here he became gradually aware of peculiarities resulting from a defective, pre-school, social group, peculiarities which he interpreted as inferiority. Here his desire for self-assertion and his fear of "making a fool of himself" came into collision as they had never done before except on rare occasions when he had been removed from the home circle. Here the serpent with knowledge of good and evil entered the confines of his psychological garden, and the demons of



sex, bashfulness, and ambition conspired to harass his unsophisticated consciousness. Here his home-grown, privileged-character complex came into head-on conflict with the democratizing equality of the play group, and here the habitual morality of an isolated home-life began to show signs of strain. The poorly-trained, incapable, overworked teachers, who followed each other in quick succession, the vulgarly suggestive pretense at sex separation in the school-room and on the playground, and the unsupervised, individualistic, every-man-for-himself games, did little to rectify the defects of pre-school socialization. He helped to make up the congregation of a rural church and Sunday-school, where he came into contact with all the idealism the neighborhood possessed, acquired some appreciation of great music, gained a familiarity with, and a more or less misinterpreted knowledge of, some of the world's greatest literature, which furnishes a foundation for an appreciation for much of the best in the fine arts, and where he listened to the sermonizing of honest but ignorant ecclesiastics, who drove him alternately to the extremes of disgust and ridicule for everything religious or the torture of "conviction" for the indiscretions of Adam. If anything, the church, with its individualistic gospel, accentuated and deepened the conflicts of his expanding social nature, and only incidentally did anything to aid social development. It concerned itself with socials and recreational activities for purposes of revenue, but the by-product of sociability thereby generated was its most saving grace.

In the course of human events, our hero was graduated from the mewling and puking and shining-morning-face stages and entered that prolonged sighing stage. The urge of his developing sociability drove him out into a quest beset with more hardships and adventures than has attended the search for any other holy grail. In addition to the satisfactions and joys of a rural family life, he began to demand

those of a neighborhood. In his search he lost the one and failed to find the other. No sociologist has ever found it either.

The students like Dr. Charles Galpin<sup>1</sup> who have come nearest to discovering the American rural neighborhood have found that it was a very indefinite, loose-jointed, and generally unsatisfactory social unit. By starting at a neighborhood center and traversing every road radiating from that center, it was possible to locate all the farmers who did their trading there, and to show, in graphic portrayal, what constituted a trading neighborhood. It was possible to do the same sort of a thing with banking, church, school, and various other neighborhoods. But when the maps were all made, it was found that no two of them coincided. In fact the centers did not always coincide. Efforts to locate rural neighborhoods subjectively have not been much more successful. Dr. Galpin, in discussing the subject, "Why Farmers Think as They Do,"<sup>2</sup> mentions three peculiarities which seem to me to amount to saying that the farmer has no neighborhood, and that he has no time for it if he did have one, and that the one he has is too homogeneous.

I quote his paragraphs in my order:

"Although a farm home may have two neighbor homes lying within the distance of one mile, the likelihood is that the greater number of neighbors live at least three miles away, out of sight and hearing. This situation approaches a condition of solitary living. At least we can understand the situation better if—granted that it is an extreme illustration—we try to analyze the effect upon a simple family of having an abode so far from people as to be living in an atmosphere of uninterrupted privacy. The key to understanding such a life is that the life is all one's own.

"The American farmer never locks his office door and goes home to his family to forget his work. His work things, his crops, his

<sup>1</sup> *Rural Life* (New York, The Century Co., 1918) and *Rural Social Problems* (New York, The Century Co., 1924).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17 and 18.

animals—why, they are alive. They are, as it were, a part of his family. Nearness to work is the essence of farming. The real farmer never dismisses his lambs and calves and colts for the night, any more than he does his children when he tucks them in. He is on call. How different it is with the banker, merchant, doctor, carpenter, artisan!

“In America farmers are, broadly speaking, in groups together. Farmers live together as pines grow together in pine forests, spared the presence of other kinds of trees.

“But bankers for neighbors have physicians, merchants, contractors, real-estate brokers, and the like. In terms of forests, city people live like a jungle of all kinds of trees and vines. One can only begin to realize how peculiar this fact is when he asks himself what would happen to American democracy if all the barbers in America lived in barber groups, all hardware merchants in hardware groups, plumbers in plumber groups, lawyers in attorney groups, clergy in ministerial groups, and so on to the end of the chapter? The bare statement of this question shows what an eccentric fact, especially in a great democracy like ours, is this fact of the segregation of farmers off by themselves in their everyday home life.”

Another almost humorous illustration of the confusion of students in the matter of rural neighborhoods and communities is the list, equal to Heinz's fifty-seven varieties, of definitions of such neighborhoods and communities. In the introduction to his book on the subject, R. M. Maciver likens the community to a country “recently discovered or rediscovered and over-run by explorers.” But he adds, “Of this country no comprehensive chart is yet available.” In comparing the statements of many authorities, it has seemed to me that no searcher ever came nearer to locating this country than Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield came when he said that it is not a collection of people merely, much less a geographical area.<sup>3</sup> He writes:

“A true community, is more or less a social organism, with enough independence to have its own specialized institutions. A

<sup>3</sup> Butterfield, “The Rural School as a Community Center,” *Education*, June, 1916, Vol. XXXVI, No. 10, p. 651.



community has individuality, personality. In a sense it is self-sufficing, can live on its own resources. At least it is a social entity."

When it comes to details of this country, the discoverers have not yet found out whether it has a village as its center or not; and they are arguing as to whether it is ever to acquire one in case it lacks one now. When students are confused on the subject, what must be the state of mind of the farmer himself, who would like to know who his neighbor is. The fact is that instead of being the only person who does not need the story of the good Samaritan, as Professor T. N. Carver used to suggest, the American farmer is most confused about the question of who his neighbor is or what he could do about it if he did know. The reason for this state of affairs is to be understood, if at all, only by reviewing a long and complex historical development.

One factor is suggested by an article in a recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, an article which calls attention to the fact that Americans have not suddenly become a lawless lot with the passing of the eighteenth amendment; but that we have always been such as the result of our inheritance, coming down from the lawless, cantankerous stocks who had been harassing Europe for several generations before the American colonies were founded. Many of them were religious, energetic, ambitious, courageous, and independent, freedom-loving people; but they were hard folks to live with.

Who were the colonists? Some of them were the victims of religious persecution, who became persecutors themselves as soon as they got settled and had time to see to such matters. Some of them were as fanatical as the Russian martyrs who suffered martyrdom for crossing themselves with two fingers instead of three. Some of them were political radicals who would have been transported if there had been any one here to do the transporting. Some of them



were land-hungry proletarians, who saw in colonization a chance to grab some cheap land and so rise above their fellows in reputability. Included in their number were aristocrats who were as lacking in neighborly virtues as some modern aristocrats. A few were irresponsible, foot-loose adventurers, who were interested only in picking up whatever gold they might find lying around, who had to be forced to play their parts in the new neighborhoods by a program of work or starve. A goodly number were paupers, or downright criminals, who would not have stood a chance if there had been any immigration laws. The record of quarrels, crimes, oppression, treachery and rebellion, to say nothing of the treatment of the natives, show a large share of the colonists to have been in many respects an anti-social, unneighborly aggregation of European offscourings. "Our American pioneers were the foremost individualists of Europe," says Professor Sims.<sup>4</sup> He mentions the fact that Oliver Cromwell almost came.

"So the New World received a consignment of venturesome, pioneering, martyr-like, non-conforming, self-sufficient, go-it-alone, law-ignoring, picturesque men called Puritans and Cavaliers."

In addition to these there were, of course, many high-minded, idealistic settlers, who showed great economic and social adaptability, and there were a few experienced farmers who had had the socializing discipline of living in rural village neighborhoods. The greater success of the English colonies, as compared with the French and the Spanish, has been attributed to their having a greater proportion of settlers of the latter sort.

"Agriculture<sup>5</sup> was the only safe basis for a permanent colonial policy, and the gradual supremacy of England over her rivals

<sup>4</sup> Sims, *The Rural Community, Ancient and Modern* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920).

<sup>5</sup> Bizzell, *The Green Rising* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1926).

was largely due to the recognition of this fact and the selection of settlers who were adapted to agricultural endeavor." The French and Spanish settlers, "with rare exceptions, were either unprogressive peasants or daring and reckless adventurers."

The confusing complex of classes in the first settlements and the nature of the later pioneers, together with the conditions of life in that great game of leap-frog which was carried out all the way to the Pacific Ocean, were not conducive to the establishment of ideal neighborhoods.

While it is difficult to judge exactly the proper proportions in the mixing of likeness and difference in the constituency of the population in order to build a neighborhood, it seems obvious that a greater homogeneity among the colonists would have been an advantage. The failure of American rural neighborhoods in maintaining the traditional solidarity and communal idealism of European peasant villages was probably not due, however, to the defects of coöperative character or heterogeneity of the early colonists so much as to various other factors.

In fact, before leaving Europe, many of the first settlers had achieved an effective group organization and efficient leadership which, in the case of the Puritans, had stood the strain of persecution and the handicap of having no very permanent abode. Moreover, the conditions of life in the New World, the hardships due to rigorous climatic conditions, sickness, and loneliness, the hard work, self-denial, and frugality involved in meeting the economic needs, the danger from wild animals and Indians necessitated coöperation of a high order to enable the settlers to survive the first few years. Probably the best test of coöperative ability among the colonists is the fact that a communal form of organization was established in all three of the early settlements of Salem, Jamestown, and Plymouth. The evidence of scholarly research into old records shows that the village community was a common form of neighborhood

organization adopted by New England settlers.<sup>6</sup> It is not true that this system was adopted because of the absence of any other pattern of organization. As was mentioned in Chapter II, the first enclosures, which resulted in the institution of the system of individual occupation, took place between 1216 and 1272, and the first period of extensive enclosures, 1485-1560, was finished before the settlements in America were made. The colonists must have been familiar with a change which caused such disturbance.

These early communities in America were evidently fairly exact copies of the European models, in so far as political, social, and economic organization were concerned. The likeness is evidenced by the records and by such relics as the New England commons and town meetings. They had the same division of labor, the same open-field cultivation, the same power to force conformity to community regulations. The agricultural point of view is shown by such illustrations as the custom which prevailed in Massachusetts of allowing constables to impress artisans or handicraftsmen to aid farmers in harvest time.

In the northern states the village community gradually gave way to the system of individual occupation, and in the South, where the traditions of feudalism predominated, the plantation form of agriculture preserved much of the feudal spirit up to the time of the Civil War. The Revolutionary War, which, as has been suggested,<sup>7</sup> was a war of "embattled farmers" incensed by class oppression, was evidence of the effectiveness of colonial neighborhood and national rural organization. The degeneration of American neighborhoods seems not so much the fault of anti-social characteristics of colonial settlers as of such characteristics among the later pioneers and the methods adopted in the

<sup>6</sup> Herbert B. Adams, "Village Communities of Cape Ann and Salem"; Irving Elting, "Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson River." *Johns Hopkins University Studies*.

<sup>7</sup> Chapter II.



settlement of the middle and western states. In describing the method of settlement in Russia, Professor Sims says:

“Now the village community is a form peculiarly adapted for colonization, and this process of colonizing fresh country by sending out detachments from overgrown villages seems to have gone on for a long time in Russia; so that the communities which still exist there present a complete network, all bound by ties of nearer or more distant relationship to each other, every village having some ‘mother village’ from which it has sprung.”

Nevertheless, this system of settling fresh territory was not followed in our American settlements. The method which was followed is well described by C. K. Hart in his book, *Community Organization*. This method was selective in other respects than that indicated by the well-known quotation, “The cowards never started, and the weaklings died on the way.” A process of selection which drew individualists to the frontier was similar in its effect upon the new rural neighborhoods to that which Professor T. N. Carver describes in connection with the migration to cities which tend to attract

“those members of our population who are easily herded together and to leave in the country those who are strongly individualistic, who prefer to be their own bosses, and who have the capacity for self-direction.”

The pioneers contained a large proportion of malcontents and people who felt crowded when they had neighbors on two sides of them. The conditions of frontier life enabled the pioneer, as Professor Hart suggests, to keep the pig in the parlor if he wanted to, and it was nobody’s business but his and the pig’s. These conditions did not attract the individuals who possessed the most neighborly qualities. The most courageous of the dissatisfied or at least unsatisfied members of the old neighborhoods pushed out into the wilderness and established trading posts and “took up”



land. Their less courageous fellows followed and also "grabbed" all the land possible. Soon other unhappy ones whom the old neighborhoods produced in the same generation or the next found it necessary to jump over the first frontier and establish a new one. In this leap-frog manner the covered wagons spread individualistic population from New England to Oregon and California. The land-hungri-ness and other peculiarities of the pioneer and the liberal policies of the government and railroad companies in the distribution of homesteads resulted in the staking of such large claims that individual occupation seemed more convenient than a village system. The use of government troops to protect settlements against Indians made it unnecessary for settlers to live in consolidated neighborhoods for purposes of self-protection. Another fact which might have influenced the settlement of new territory as well as the re-settlement of old territory in accordance with the open-country system was the general adoption of that system in connection with Enclosures in England, since English influences, of course, affected American public opinion more than did those of any other country.

Surely one reason for the neglect of neighborhood organization since colonial times is the preoccupation of farmers, both pioneers and old settlers, with economic factors and national politics. And while effective participation in national politics and the supplying of economic needs both require strong neighborhood organization, it has generally been assumed by American farming people that they could jump the latter. The problems that arouse farm groups to action are usually of an economic nature. The influences which motivated the formulation of public policy between the Revolution and the Civil War were the liberal land policies of the government in distributing the vast public domain—policies which rapidly transferred the undeveloped areas from public to private ownership, the rapid

increase of population from immigration, the increasing use of farm machinery and implements, the increase in the number of breeds of live-stock, the development and extension of transportation, the extension of farm markets, and the acquisition of scientific knowledge.

The public domain at the close of the Revolution amounted to 827,844 square miles, which amount was increased, by purchase and annexation, to 3,726,500 square miles. Up to the year 1820 this domain was sold for revenue, but has since been parcelled out to settlers, railroad companies, and others, for the purpose of developing the country. At first the land was sold in very large blocks, the minimum being 600 acres; but after the year 1862 the homesteads were limited to 160 acres, upon which personal residence of five years was required before the title became valid. The tendency was for every settler to take the maximum number of acres, and, when the five years had expired, he was likely to be well established in his lonely, individual occupation. Although the problems of the pioneer were not essentially economic, his point of view inclined him to think them such, and this attitude, together with the government's policy of settlement, and the pioneer's extreme busyness, did not encourage coöperative effort and conscious neighborhood solidarity.

Some of the other influences were not more encouraging to the formation of consolidated neighborhoods. The policy of the government in the fostering of transportation facilities, for instance, tended to increase the isolation of settlements. Railroad companies were given amounts ranging from every alternate section of land within six miles of the road to every alternate section of land within twenty miles of the road. This splitting up of territory in section strips made the homesteading method of settlement by the government and the distribution of holdings by the railroads unfavorable to the establishment of unified neighborhoods.



The control of water rights and other advantages, often gained by the railroads through fraudulent methods, making the settlers dependent upon the companies instead of upon their own united effort in the development of irrigation, had a similar influence. The great influx of polyglot peoples as land-hungry as Pakom in Tolstoy's story, *How Much Land Does a Man Need?*—the rapidity with which settlements were made, allowing little time for the building of neighborhood machinery, militated against neighborliness among early pioneers. The various language groups like the Germans, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, and Finns, tended to settle in more or less homogeneous neighborhoods; but the disintegrating influences of pioneer life were inclined to break down their communal traditions. The rural neighborhood needs neighborhood machinery, as does a gold-mining neighborhood, an oil-digging neighborhood, or any other; but the isolation of the pioneers made them less conscious of such need and so delayed all conscious organization.

The effort to organize American farmers, on every scale from neighborhood to national, has proved a Herculean task. Instead of following the law of all healthy growth, "first the blade and then the ear and then the full corn in the ear," these efforts have usually reversed the process. In general the only needs of which the farming population has been conscious are the economic ones, and instead of trying to supply these needs through the only dependable means of neighborly, coöperative self-help, the American farmers from the beginning and almost continuously to date have obligingly turned over the conduct of their affairs and the guarding of their interests to the tender mercies of palavering politicians. In so far as the farmer's representatives have been sincere in their efforts to comprehend rural interests, they have reflected the farmer's narrow attitude, which is based upon his unhappy neighborhood



existence, where conflicting interests instead of constructive, common interests have been in the foreground of his consciousness.

There is no better illustration of the futility of the efforts of the weak organization of agricultural interests in the struggle against the smaller but more powerfully organized interests of other groups than the manner in which industrial organizations have "played horse" with farmers in the matter of tariff legislation. This struggle also serves, incidentally, as a good illustration of the insulation of arm-chair, economic theory, which, because of the lack of connecting neighborhoods, has failed to make contact with agricultural psychology. In order to understand this, one needs only to contrast the American neighborhood with the German Dorf, where one man may get an Agricultural-College education and the whole village become scientific through imitation. No single subject has involved a greater waste of breath than the perennial discussion of the subject of tariff for protection, a discussion which began as far back as 1789, when the Madison Tariff Bill was passed; and the end is not yet.

This is not the place for a tariff history or a lengthy discussion of economic theory; but it is probable that few of the farmer's tariff victories have been more profitable to the farmer than that of the Fordney-McCumber Act which, according to the Farm Bureau figures, added \$125,000,000 to the aggregate income of farmers in wool, spring wheat, flaxseed, lemons, and sugar; but cost the farmers \$1,500,000,000 in increased prices paid for tariff-protected commodities which they bought. In view of the increase in his production, living, and transportation costs, and the decrease in his foreign markets and property values resulting from this form of class legislation, the economically-inclined students of protective tariffs for the farmer agree with Mr. Herbert Quick that the talk of such tariff is "bunk, abysmal

bunk.”<sup>8</sup> And yet this is only one of many illustrations of the farmer’s trying to get what he wants without making use of the natural method of growing it. What he most needs is a satisfying neighborhood life, and to acquire that he must plant the seed and fertilize and cultivate it with the same patience that he uses in getting a “catch” of alfalfa. His experience with “know-nothing” parties, from Populism to Free Silver, has left him almost as dissatisfied as ever. Perhaps the only assistance he need expect from politicians who are largely controlled in their thinking by industrial capitalists is in maintaining the sacred rights of private property in the abstract, almost the only kind of sacredness which such capitalists recognize. Likewise, almost the only assistance which he need expect from the radical-labor politicians is in the destruction of such sacred rights.

It must be admitted that farmers have had some influence on politics and have gained some advantages more or less permanent. The struggle with the railroads which began in the early 70’s and led to the appointment of the Interstate Commerce Commission with power to regulate freight rates and prevent rebates was partly a farmer’s victory. The Non-Partisan League of 1915, though short-lived, showed the possibility of the development of political power by farmers. There are various acts of Congress, beginning as far back as 1862 when the Land Grant Colleges were established, and including the Hatch Agricultural Research Act of 1887, the Adams Agricultural Research Act of 1906, the Agricultural Extension Act of 1914, the Federal Farm Loan Act of 1916, the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, the Agricultural Credit Act of 1923, the Purnell Agricultural Research Act of 1925, the Farm Relief of 1929, and lastly the appointment by President Hoover of a board of educators

<sup>8</sup> Quoted by Bizzell, *The Green Rising* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1926).

and sociologists to study social trends, rural as well as urban—all acts which show political consideration for rural needs. The increase in such consideration has been in inverse proportion to the numerical voting power of the farm population. I know of no way of accounting for the latter fact except that agricultural organization has been making some headway.

The good seed for such organization was sown in 1874, when the Grange adopted the program of “meeting together, buying together, selling together, and, in general, acting together for our mutual protection and advancement as occasion may require.” Most of that seed fell upon poor soil, and the “birds” played havoc with most of the rest of it; a little took root with the result that here and there are to be found coöperative societies in communities like one of those discussed later in this chapter where the farmers have had the neighborly discipline of coöperative endeavor for a period of thirty years. The coöperative movement has grown until the United States Department of Agriculture could report in 1926 a membership of 2,700,000 in coöperative marketing organizations alone. The coöperative movement has shown a gradual and healthy growth and is coming to be recognized by statesmen and organizers as a safe method, not only for using constructively whatever dynamic forces the neighborhoods may have developed, but for generating new neighborhood energy.

The time required in introducing the coöperative idea to American neighborhoods as compared with that required in any of the European countries where farmers have well-organized neighborhoods to start with illustrates the advantages of such European neighborhoods over ours. While the movement is still considered as being largely in the experimental stage in America, it took only five years to get beyond that stage in Ireland. In his *Ireland and the New Century* the writer of the introduction to this study tells



how he and a few other Irishmen "set themselves the task of bringing home to the rural population of Ireland the fact that their prosperity was in their own hands much more than they were generally led to believe," and how they were met on every hand with politically organized opposition and the social inertia of the population whom they sought to aid. He himself attended fifty meetings before a single society resulted therefrom; but in five years the movement had reached such proportions that it was possible to organize it permanently on a national scale.

Although it has been slow, the only very disappointing phase of the progress made by the movement in America is that it has been too much preoccupied with the supplying of economic needs and has forgotten the "better living" part of the program which, at the suggestion of Sir Horace Plunkett, fired the imagination of President Roosevelt for the launching of the American Country Life Movement. The American Country Life Association, the programs of various religious denominations, the rural schools and departments of rural education, the Farm Bureau, the county agents, the county Y.M.C.A., the boys' and girls' clubs, the County Nursing Association, Boy and Girl Scouts, Camp-fire Girls, and a great variety of other rural organizations are partly the result of the recognition of more comprehensive neighborhood needs and are increasingly supplying the demands of better living in rural communities. The needs which have constituted this demand, and the inadequacy of the present accomplishment have been shown in many ways, most of which have been given broad publicity by candidates of political parties and other organizers of farmers.

As a teacher I have made many observations which confirmed my impressions of the inadequacy with which rural needs are met and which I had gained in eighteen years' residence on a farm, extensive study of rural life, and

seven years of experience in rural social work. The recent great increase in popularity of higher education, for instance, in America seems to me to be not so much the result of a corresponding increase in intellectual curiosity or desire for culture as the recognition of the fact that going to college is as desirable a means of escape from unhappy neighborhood conditions as is migrating to the city factory.

It is safe to assume that the city drift and resulting "folk depletion," about which so many writers and speakers are worried, is due, mainly, not to any malicious conspiracy on the part of urban people to rob the country of its young people, or to any fundamental and necessary defect in the farming occupation, or to farm life in general, but to the fact that the city is far ahead of the country in furnishing the individual with the opportunity for right development, which is possible only through social organization.

It would be interesting to know how much of the American fondness for evangelism, which used to be so rampant in the Middle West, and how much of the popularity of our many kinds of intolerance were due to the cantankerous nature of unneighborly neighbors who would like to remold each other "nearer to the heart's desire." The childish and anarchistic ideas of personal liberty, expressed in the violation of the prohibition law, furnish another illustration of defective neighborliness. Again the many ideal communities organized by religious and other idealistic groups in America<sup>9</sup> reflect the unsatisfactory conditions in the ordinary neighborhoods in the motives which inspired their founders, the programs which they sought to realize, and their failures.

In political philosophy, in so far as Americans can be said to have any, and in so far as it shows itself in business ideals and popular discussions of all problems, from individual to national problems, the old *laissez-faire* abstrac-

<sup>9</sup> Communities of the Past and the Present, *Time*, March 10, 1930.

tion of the "economic man" is still prevalent, although the gentleman was declared by his inventors, the economists, to be outlawed long ago. The townsman still *professes* to believe that "business is business" in the sense that neighborly sentiment must not enter into it; but he finds it difficult to practise since he received such intensive training at the hands of community-fund canvassers, and since he began to eat head-lettuce salad once a week with his competitors in Rotary and other luncheon-club meetings. The individualism of the "business-is-business" theory is now more general among farmers than anywhere else. This philosophy stands squarely in the way of all neighborhood organization, even that having economic objectives.

The difficulty about which one hears most in the complaints of organizers and students is that illustrated by one of my students who had been told that the problem of the country was a dearth of leaders, but who returned from a term's experience in teaching a rural school to report that the trouble was that there were none BUT leaders in the country; the dearth was one of followers. Every organizer of rural social or economic coöperative enterprises and every student of rural neighborhoods has met the individuals so well described in the coöperative classic, "The History of the Rochdale Pioneers."<sup>10</sup>

"In most working-class societies, and, indeed, in most public societies of all classes, a number of curious persons are found who appear born under a disagreeable star. They breathe hostility, distrust, and dissension. Their tones are always harsh. It is no fault of theirs; they do not mean it; they cannot help it. Their organs of speech are cracked, and no melodious sound can come out; their native note is a moral squeak. They are never cordial and never satisfied. The restless convulsions of their skin denote a 'difference of opinion'; their lips hang in the form of a 'carp'; the muscles of their faces are drawn up in the shape of an amendment, and

<sup>10</sup> Holyoake, G. J., *The History of the Rochdale Pioneers* (London, Swan, Sonnenschein & Co.; New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), p. 21.



their wrinkled brows frown with an entirely new principle of action. They are a species of social porcupine whose quills eternally stick out. Their vision is inverted; they see everything upside down. They place every subject in water to inspect it, where the straightest rod appears hopelessly bent. They know that every word has two meanings, and they always take the one you do not intend. They know that no statement can include everything, and they always fix upon you whatever you omit and ignore whatever you assert.

These people join a society ostensibly to coöperate with it, but really to do nothing but criticize it, without attempting patiently to improve that of which they complain. Instead of seeking strength to use it in mutual defence, they look for weakness to expose it to the common enemy. They make every associate sensible of perpetual dissatisfaction until membership with them becomes a penal infliction and you feel that you are more sure of peace and respect among your opponents than among your friends. They predict to everybody that the thing must fail—until they make it impossible that it can succeed—and then take credit for their treacherous foresight and ask your gratitude and respect for the very thing that hampered you.”

I heard complaints of several such individuals in the study which concludes this chapter. Rural neighborhoods certainly have more than their share of them; but, unless too plentiful, they constitute no very insurmountable obstacle, since only organized resistance is very effective, and such conscientious and constitutional objectors cannot even conspire effectively. One or two such individuals may even be an advantage although this is not very obvious to organization leaders. These non-conforming individuals do for the group something similar to the service illustrated by the newspaper story of the scheme to ship codfish alive in vats of water. It was soon discovered that the inactivity of the cod during transit allowed the flesh to become flabby; but the problem was solved by putting a catfish into each vat. The non-conforming catfish kept the cod sufficiently stirred up and exercised while en route to market to preserve the solid quality and freshness of their flesh.

The purpose of the first part of the study which follows is to give a general view, gained by personal observations and personal knowledge, of a typical Michigan community which, like the prevailing type of rural community in every state, was in need of almost everything which social organization must supply.

In the year 1886, when I was a few days old, my father bought an eighty-acre farm in Goodland township, Lapeer County, one of the counties in which were gathered the data for this study. This community, of which my home was to be a part, and with which I have been in close touch ever since, was only a few years beyond the pioneer stage. Some of the earlier settlers had arrived about twenty-five years before, had cut off the timber, and had got started at farming. I, the oldest child in our family, sat in the high chair and was rocked in the cradle which my grandfather, one of those settlers, made by hand for my mother, the oldest child in his family. This grandfather had found it necessary to carry provisions home from town on his back because there were no roads, and I remember his stories of hunting deer and wild turkeys on his own farm. The community was bounded on two sides by a swamp, on one by a German settlement, and on the other side by a state road, beyond which was another school district. The community was about four miles square. The land was low, level, and fertile, with quite a variety of soils, including clay, black loam, and muck. In its natural state it grew beech, maple, oak, basswood, hickory, elm, ash, pine, hemlock, and tamarack timber. The farms averaged about one hundred acres each, with approximately four-fifths of that amount under cultivation. The families were of Yankee, Scotch or English stock, with a small percentage of Germans. There were occasional controversies between individuals over line fences, ditches, damage done by stray livestock, and similar difficulties. The only thing over which



the community as a whole was ever divided was that of politics. I remember seeing my uncle shake his fists and threaten to "lick" a man who failed to become enthusiastic over "Free silver." The chances were sixteen to one that neither of them knew the meaning of the term.

In my opinion, however, the lack of social organization was not due to any deficiency in the spirit of team work. Even in politics the community was united when it came to opposing for a county office a candidate from the German settlement. Men were continually reminded of their interdependence by barn-raising, threshings, and various kinds of "bees" where coöperation in work was necessary. They "changed works" in haying and harvest and other busy seasons. They found a common market for their products and traded at the same places.

Instead of being a disintegrating factor as in most urban communities, the church was one of integration, since it had no competition and was attended by practically all the families. The misfortune of a fire was a matter of community concern, and relief work in general was taken care of in neighborly fashion. There never was one family "on the town." Wedding parties always included many besides the families of those who were married, and funerals were attended by the whole community. In so far as they were conscious of common interests, few communities have practised more thoroughly the Socialist slogan, "All for each, and each for all." Their failure to get together in formal organizations on a program of other community projects was simply because they were not aware of needs which could be supplied only by such means.

In this community few families were out of debt, but at one time there were only two of the forty-two families who did not own the land, or at least part of the land, which they worked. None of the farmers were wealthy, and many of them had started in as humble a way as had my father,



who bought his farm when there was not a building nor a fence nor a ditch on it, when not a foot of it was cleared, and when there was no road to it; and he went into debt for it besides. A large variety of crops and all kinds of live stock were raised and marketed, but more money was received for the hay than for anything else. Housewives were generally expected to buy the groceries with money from the sale of butter and eggs, but prices were low, and few there were who did not possess more than a dictionary knowledge of economy. Hay was often as low as five or six dollars per ton, and I remember that on one occasion a Scotsman came to the Farmer's Club meeting exulting over the fact that eggs had gone to twelve cents per dozen, so that gathering them was just like "peckin' oup the pennies." The most serious problem in most homes was that known as "making both ends meet."

On the whole our home was among the least thrifty-looking. We had a six-room house, a large barn, a building which served as a pig-pen, granary, and hen-house, and an above-ground cellar. The house was the only building ever painted, and it had received only one coat. Our lawn, like most of the neighbors' lawns, was cropped by the poultry and other live stock. This made mowing unnecessary, but it also made impossible my mother's coveted flower garden. Only one neighbor mowed his lawn. The most noticeable effort at beautifying the homes was the planting of trees around the houses and along the roadsides. Most farmers had left several trees in each field on their farms; but if asked their reason for doing so, they would have said that the trees were for the purpose of furnishing shade for live stock, not for beauty. Our barnyard proper extended to a point not more than three rods from the house; and the well, from which all the water for household use had to be carried, was beside the barnyard fence.

About one-fourth of the families had windmills, but only

one family, until very recently, had water pumped into the house. Other household conveniences were equally scarce. The lack of conveniences was offset by the labor of children, who performed innumerable "chores." Only two families were childless. In all the others children were expected to begin helping with the chores at eight or nine years of age, and they very soon began to do some work in the fields. I do not know that any of them worked hard enough to injure their health; I know of none who began younger nor worked harder than I, and I was unable to distinguish between much of my first work and my play, a large part of which was imitation work. Most women and girls helped to do chores; the German women and a few others worked in the fields regularly, and most women helped during especially busy times, such as the haying and the harvest times. Because of its monotony and the lack of conveniences, the work of the women was more difficult than that of the men; but no man worked less than twelve hours a day during spring, summer, and autumn.

Ours was a decidedly patriarchal family in most respects. In so far as we children were concerned, it was ours not to question why when we found ourselves under orders, or at most the only explanation necessary was, "Because father says so." We were more fortunate than many of the other children, however, in that we were allowed to have some private property, including live stock and whatever we would raise in our corners of the garden. We were encouraged to start bank accounts with money which we received from such property. My mother looked after household affairs without many suggestions from father. She was sometimes consulted about business affairs; but father, like other "heads of families," was the final arbiter. For at least part of the year there were one or more hired men in three-fourths of the families. Unless the man employed was a neighbor's son, his employer's home was his. No

women had hired help with the housework except for short periods. During those short periods the hired girl was usually a neighbor's daughter. On the whole, the home life was happy. With the exception of six or seven men who frequented saloons, no one cared to spend more time in town than was necessary for trading and other business.

The community's resources were limited in the matter of formal education and the improvement of our minds. During my first term of school, when I was eight years old, I did not miss a day. After that I was kept out to work during the spring and fall, and I was unable to attend all of the time during the winters because of bad roads and our long distance, two miles, from school. My experience in this respect was similar to that of the other boys in the neighborhood. Less than a half dozen boys were allowed to attend regularly until they had finished the eighth grade. Several did not attend so much as I, but no truant officer nor member of the school board ever objected to our staying out for the purpose of working. Girls attended more regularly.

The school board was made up of three of the leading farmers, but they paid little attention to school affairs aside from hiring the teacher and buying the wood with which to heat the schoolhouse in winter. The teacher found it necessary to take entire responsibility for the securing of any new equipment or making improvements in the building or yard. The County School Commissioner did not make more than three visits during my experience. We were a long distance from his office, and the roads were poor. Aside from academic training, the teachers seem to me to have been as efficient as the ordinary teacher now. There were sometimes as many as fifty pupils in the school, some of whom were as old as eighteen years, and it needed a forceful person to keep order. Most of the teachers took a helpful interest in the children.



After finishing the eight grades, three girls and seven boys went to high school. One of these girls and one boy died before finishing. The two girls and six boys who graduated from high school also graduated from college. One girl and five boys have done graduate work at the University of Michigan. Four of the boys have Ph.D. degrees, the girl a masters' degree, and all six have been college or university teachers.

Without the school, poor as it was, the neighborhood would have been quite illiterate. Books were scarce, and only one family subscribed for magazines. Our own home library contained several family and stock home-doctor books—evidence of the visits of book agents—the Bible, *Pilgrim's Progress*, *The Royal Pathway of Life*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *The Lives of Great Americans*, a temperance story called *The Old Doctor's Son*, a book on elocution, a book of readings and recitations, my mother's and father's fifth readers, a book on the subject of breaking horses, our school books, and a few others of less importance. Only one neighbor had more books than we, and our family borrowed many from him. About half the families took farm papers and weekly newspapers.

The community took very little interest in health and sanitation. The township health officer was a farmer who was no better informed on the subject than the rest of us. He lived at the opposite side of the township from ours, and was never known to interfere with the even tenor of our manner of living except once when he "served notice" on a man who neglected to bury the carcass of a dead horse. The notice was unheeded, but no further insults of like nature were forthcoming.

There was not a bathroom nor bathtub nearer than the village, ten miles away. Babies were supposed to be washed regularly, but the regularity was soon abandoned. Men and boys took baths in the creek when the weather permitted

and the farm work was not too rushing. Most of the wells were built of crock or stone. They were shallow, located conveniently to the barnyard, and, in many cases, much too close to manure piles. There was only one family in which toothbrushes were used regularly. Most housewives made some effort at keeping flies and mosquitoes out of the houses, but were not very successful. Our house was poorly built, and the wind sometimes blew through our rattling windows with sufficient force to blow out the light, so we did not suffer from the lack of fresh air; but no one ever thought of sleeping with windows open.

Although nearly every family had plenty of food, it was not always of the most wholesome kind. Butter, eggs, and cream were often traded for less nourishing food.

Mothers took pride in being able to do a hard day's work the day before their babies were born, and no one thought of consulting a physician before that time. Sometimes physicians were never called, as there were several midwives in the neighborhood. When a physician was called, one visit was thought to be all that was necessary. I remember that two of our neighbor women died in childbirth. With few exceptions mothers nursed their babies, but natural food was soon supplemented by the family fare. The community's information concerning the health of infants—and of older people as well—was largely gained from such authorities as Dr. Chase's *Receipt Book and Household Physician*. Few contagious diseases were quarantined, and many parents thought it wiser to expose children to whooping cough, measles, mumps, and chicken pox, so that they might have them while they were young when these diseases were thought to be less severe. There was no nurse nor physician nearer than the village, and a hospital was so far away that no one ever went to one. Patent medicine peddlers found us good customers and delivered many bottles of Pain Killer in our community.

There was no formal organization whose business it was to foster interest in play and recreation; but there was a general understanding that it was quite proper for children up to about twelve years of age to want to play, and that they should have time and opportunity to do so. Most of the play among children was of a wholesome sort, especially that in their homes, where they were well supplied with pets. My brothers and sisters and I had an extraordinary variety of them. We had dogs—including several litters of puppies—cats, tamed birds, doves, bantam chickens, ponies, donkeys, and rabbits, besides lambs, pigs, and other orphaned domestic animals which had to be bottle fed and became pets in this way. The children's play was not confined to the family group. Where families were not large enough to supply the right number of players, neighbor children were likely to get together for games. In school we lacked variety of games, and those we had were largely of an every-one-for-himself nature. This resulted in many fights, enjoyed by all except the combatants. Much of our play was of a seasonal sort. The creek, for instance, furnished us skating in winter, and fishing and swimming in the summer. In all our play, supervision was entirely lacking with the exception of the very little for which the teacher had time at school, and for the almost negligible amount furnished by our busy parents in the home.

There was no general recognition of the need for play among the older boys and girls. A great deal of friction developed between parents and adolescent children, especially between fathers and sons because of the attempt of the former to suppress the desire of the latter for recreation. With the exception of hunting and trapping and those sports which were engaged in when there was little work to do, the recreation of young people was frowned upon. Dancing, card-playing, and Sunday ball games were opposed by the church people because they were thought to



be sinful, and there was little time for recreation which was acceptable. The few days, besides Sundays, which were looked forward to by the young people during the busy part of the year, were the Fourth of July, and those days on which were held the county fair, horse races, and an occasional picnic. Organizations which contributed to the need of sociability more, perhaps, than to the purpose for which they were organized, were the W. C. T. U., the Ladies' Aid, the Farmers' Club, and the Gleaners' Lodge, all of which organizations held meetings very irregularly and accomplished very little. One of our hired men gave some recognition to the sociable nature of such organizations when, in ordering a kind of chewing tobacco called "Town Talk," he used to refer to it as "Ladies' Aid Tobacco."

The machinery of religion consisted of a Methodist church, in which were held a preaching service, a union Sunday School, and, for a short time, meetings of a young people's society. At one time nineteen of the forty-two families had one or more members who were members of the church; and practically all of the other families took some interest in the church activities. Some notion of the church situation can be had from the fact that ours was one of three charges, all of which together paid the minister less than five hundred dollars. The preachers who dominated the church life were men of little education but of large fanaticism. From force of habit they spent much time in extolling the accomplishments of the denomination, although there was no probability of competition. Once a year, a series of revival meetings was held. In these meetings the youth of the countryside and certain unregenerate older people were urged to flee from the wrath to come. With all their superstition and reactionary theology, and incorrect English, the ministers did not fail to emphasize the idea that there is a difference between right and wrong,

and that sin is entirely unsatisfactory. The congregation found true religious expression in the singing of the hymns and the reverent reading of scripture.

There was a good understanding among the neighbors as to what was expected of each in the matter of morals, but many failed to live up to the standard. Our house was never locked at night. For many years no one was arrested for stealing, and no serious thefts were heard of. There were a few men who were notorious liars. It was not expected that a man would be strictly honest in a horse trade. For a number of years there was a store in one neighbor's home, where a great deal of whiskey was sold in patent medicine bottles. Five men were hopeless drunkards and there was one wife-beater. Wherever men congregated, one heard smutty stories. Four men and two women were notoriously immoral. Among the young people there were several cases of delinquency, but few recidivists. Eight young men, most of whom were first offenders, were arrested and paid fines of one hundred dollars each on a charge of rape on a very immoral girl from another community. The girl was under sixteen years of age. I knew of only one illegitimate child.

The center of the community was ten miles from a town having a population of seven hundred, and nine miles from one having a population of five hundred. The larger part of the trading was done at the town ten miles away, since the roads to the smaller town were all clay, while there were several miles of gravel on the road to the larger. There were not more than six miles of graveled road in the community. Gravel was not plentiful, and the roads were kept up by the pathmaster system, in which each farmer was allowed to work out his road tax. Each pathmaster was likely to take a special interest in the road in front of his own farm, while most farmers thought of road work as a chance to rest up from the spring's work on the farm. In

getting credit for work done, it was customary to count a day's work for each man, one for the wagon, one for the team, one for the boy who drove the team, and one for the dog that lay under the wagon. The roads were always muddy in the spring and fall, and they were often impassable because of drifted snow in the winter. Nearly all the road fences were made of rails or boards, so that the snow drifted in great banks which had to be shoveled out of the way.

For many years there was no free delivery of mail, and few farmers went to town oftener than once a week. No one got much mail anyway. No one took a daily paper until the coming of free delivery. The telephone was slow in coming, but was much used when it did come; there were eighteen families on one line, all of whom sometimes tried to talk or listen at the same time. Meetings of various sorts in which the people of the community got together were frequent; but there were seldom opportunities for meeting people of other communities, especially townspeople. All the communication with townspeople had to do with the matter of buying and selling.

Up to eight years of age, I had not eaten more than a half-dozen meals away from home except at my uncle's or grandfather's. At twelve years of age, I could not have directed any one to five homes outside the community. I have talked with several other people who were neighbor children, and find that their acquaintance was equally limited. As a result of the lack of communication, our community had many illustrations of what Professor Cooley calls the individuality of isolation. We had many freakish characters whom Dr. Galpin would charitably describe as being "right handed in their own ways of doing things." Among these I remember many who were such eccentric characters that I find it difficult to think of fictitious names for them that seem at all appropriate, and so I shall leave them nameless.



One used to entertain us schoolboys at a distance of half a mile by the use of a most original line of profanity, which seemed to be intended not only for the cows but for all Lapeer County. Another very religious neighbor, whose outstanding characteristic was likewise the originality of his profanity, used to preface his tirades against man and beast with the ingenious expletives, "Crotch hemlock, geminy crimus, rabbit the luck!" Some expressed themselves most fully in singing, and one of these used to monopolize most of the Farmers' Club program in singing, by request, generally his own, such gems as "The Old Leather Breeches," "Joe Bowers," and "So We Went a-Courting 'Cause We'd Nothing Else to Do." Another singer specialized on "Dick Darby, the Cobbler."

One of the oldest and richest men in the neighborhood used to wear his clothes until the ravages of time and the elements had nearly obliterated them, but he explained to me the last time I saw him, as he did every other time I ever saw him, that he was not "stintin' himself on nothin'." Another old gentleman was unfavorable to innovations in general and to automobiles in particular. They frightened his horses as well as himself. But he finally got revenge when the pathmaster gave him the job of building a culvert in front of his house. He built it about two feet higher than the road and lived happily ever after watching the cars bumping over it. One modern Quilp used to discipline his wife with a tug out of the harness; another used to say, "I gol, women are too plentiful for me to live alone," and he never did. The most characteristic expression of another was that he "could drink it or leave it alone," but he always drank it. The neighborhood theologian used to assert that he could "prove by the Bible that salt water'll take the ticks off'n sheep." One hired man had the happy faculty of developing hysterics whenever there was especially hard work to do.

I remember as a small boy the excitement among the neighbors when it was announced that Mr. and Mrs. X. were going to move to their farm, which had been rented for many years. Both were college graduates, both high school teachers, and Mr. X. had been a superintendent of schools. As leaders they had an advantage over most rural community organizers in that they were working in accordance with that principle so well stated by the Young Men's Christian Association, "The resident forces are the redemptive forces." The first effort which Mr. and Mrs. X. made toward the socialization of our community was, naturally, through the organization in which they were most likely to succeed, the district school. Mr. X. taught during the winter term and Mrs. X. during the spring and fall. Perhaps their contribution to the school might be summed up under three heads:

1. They brought to the school work more purposefulness.
2. They brought to it a broader outlook.
3. They made it more of a community center and "hitched it up" more closely to other community interests.

They became active in the church, Sunday School, Young People's Society, and Farmers' Club, making use of these in developing leadership among the young people. No child before or since their time has ever gone from this community to high school, and the community is indebted to them in many ways other than education. They were the most progressive leaders who have ever lived in the community, and they are the only ones who ever made a very great effort to develop leadership. On the whole the community has been unfriendly to the development of leadership and criticized evidence of it as "trying to run things."

There was no organization whose business it was to secure better legislation and government, although most organizations discussed politics. There was never any organization which specialized in charities and corrections;

but an informal community understanding made it impossible for any member to suffer any obvious privation without neighborly relief, and it was not easy for a delinquent to escape the resentment of the community. Various groups were induced to pack barrels of clothing and food, and to give money for relief of famine and fire sufferers outside the community. In general, however, the matter of charities and corrections was "everybody's business" and, therefore, carried on in a hit-or-miss fashion.

Apart from the work of Mr. and Mrs. X., no very serious effort at community organization has been made. Besides the organizations already described, there were two agencies which made some effort at meeting community needs. They were the Farmers' Club and the Gleaners' Lodge. The Club held monthly meetings during the winters for several years, the average attendance being about thirty-five. The programs of the club included discussions of farm problems, music, readings, and refreshments. The programs of the Gleaners were similar, but they added the items of life insurance and coöperative buying of binder twine.

Although an understanding of rural social needs is necessary before those needs can be supplied in an organized way, there was never any serious study of them in this community. Most farmers assumed that all rural needs were economic or economically determined. There was no thoughtful discussion of the general principles of human living together in any organization. Even the civics taught in the district school was confined to the description of the machinery of government. The only effort at improving the physical appearance of the community was that of individual farmers who set out shade trees in front of their homes and took some pride in the appearance of their farms. The only effort on the part of any organization to encourage such beautifying was in the district school where



the children were sometimes urged to plant trees on Arbor Day.

Since, as has been shown by Henry Israel,<sup>11</sup> better living and business are not in separate compartments, and since some organizations seek to supply both social and economic needs, the general item of economic needs is added to the list of needs as stated by the National Council. Since none of these needs were adequately supplied in the community described where there was a minimum of organization, it is assumed that they will not be supplied excepting through united effort, and the organizations in the two counties studied will, therefore, be judged according as they contribute to the following needs:

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Home-making.                       | 8. Legislation and government.              |
| 2. Rural education.                   | 9. Charities and corrections.               |
| 3. Rural health and sanitation.       | 10. Rural organization.                     |
| 4. Rural education and sociable life. | 11. Investigation of rural social problems. |
| 5. Morals and religion.               | 12. Teaching of rural sociology.            |
| 6. Communication.                     | 13. Country planning.                       |
| 7. Leadership.                        | 14. Economic needs.                         |

In the study which follows, of the county in which my old home is located, it was found that the old neighborhood had been enlarged, or was in process of being enlarged, but that, at the same time, it was losing some of its near-pioneer solidarity and definiteness, while the large-scale neighborhood organizations had less unanimity of support, as measured by memberships and services.

In the reports and advertising of so-called farmers' and county social organizations, the impression is given that these organizations are doing much social work among rural people. This study undertakes to show what is being done and where it is being done in two rural counties, both of

<sup>11</sup> *Unifying Rural Community Interests* (New York, Association Press, 1914), pp. 11 and 12.

which are typical, the largest town in Hillsdale County having a population of 5476, while the largest one in Lapeer County has a population of 3946. The counties differ in that Hillsdale is generally conceded to be very well organized, while Lapeer is considered to be poorly organized. My familiarity with these counties was another reason for choosing them. I lived for eighteen years in Lapeer County, and I have many acquaintances in Hillsdale County, where I have held two boys' camps and have done considerable work for the Young Men's Christian Association during financial campaigns.

The information for this study was collected by means of interviews, letters, questionnaires, and reports. Officers, leaders, and laymen in the various organizations were consulted; also others who were free from the institutional point of view and whose varied contacts made them well qualified to express public opinion concerning the different organizations. Among the latter, I interviewed thirty-two of the thirty-six supervisors in the two counties. I spared no pains to obtain accurate, first-hand data. This required a great deal of time and effort; and one whole summer, as well as many week-ends and vacation periods of the preceding year, were spent in traveling over the counties by automobile, until an exhaustive survey of the territory had been made. When possible I tried to get the information received from one person checked by at least one other informed person. The difficulty of this method may be judged from the fact that I had to make as many as seven calls in getting the information concerning the church membership of one township. Of course, no claim is made for a complete picture of all social activities. There are some informal, temporary organizations, parties, friendly visitings, etc.; but these have not been examined in detail. This study includes only those formal organizations which make some pretence at large-scale endeavor. They are as follows:

Churches.	Hospital Service.
Schools.	Federal Farm Loans.
Coöperative organizations.	Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Farm Bureau.	Young Men's Christian Association.
Boys' and Girls' Clubs.	Young Women's Christian Association.
Gleaners and Grange.	
Odd Fellows.	
Public Health Nursing.	

In connection with the study of the organizations, a thorough study was made of the improved means of communication in four townships. By means of a personally conducted field survey, I found and mapped the location of all the families in the four townships, showing which families have automobiles, telephones, daily papers, or local weekly paper, and which families live on county or state improved roads, or on the routes of rural mail delivery. In obtaining information concerning the churches of Hillsdale County, I was greatly aided by the county superintendent of schools, and by the teachers in the district schools. These latter, with the assistance of their pupils, mapped the church membership in their districts, sending me these maps, upon which they had located each family affiliated with any church, indicating the denomination represented. Others who aided in this study were ministers of several of the denominations, the Secretary of the County Ministerial Association, and many church officers and laymen. I also talked over the church problem with all the supervisors of the county except the one from Amboy township. In the study of churches I have made some use of data found in reports made under the auspices of the Inter-Church World Movement. The population statistics were taken from the United States Census for 1920. Church Membership in Hillsdale County is divided among twenty-four denominations, the survey of which furnishes a vivid illustration of the rampant individualism of the American open-



country neighborhood with the resultant wastefulness, futility and disorganization.<sup>12</sup>

Not so thorough a study was made of the churches in Lapeer County as was made in Hillsdale County; but it is evident that the situation is not very different. The number of farm families having one or more members who are members of churches is only 918. In ten typical school districts in seven different townships, there are ninety-six families affiliated with churches representing fifteen denominations. Four of those denominations are not represented in Hillsdale County, while thirteen denominations appearing in Hillsdale County are not represented in these townships. There are many more Catholics in Lapeer County than in Hillsdale County, but this is explained by the fact that, according to the 1920 census, only two and five-tenths per cent of the population of Hillsdale County are foreign born, while twelve and three-tenths per cent of the population of Lapeer County are foreign born.

One of the questions asked the thirty-two supervisors was, "Do you know of any church in your township or in the county which is doing anything out of the ordinary in the way of social activities?" Every supervisor agreed that the churches were solving the rural problem in the same way in which they solve all their problems,—by a preaching service generally not oftener than once a week,—and in many cases once every two weeks,—a Sunday School service, Ladies' Aid meetings, annual revival meetings, etc. This question was asked officers of other organizations and laymen as well, with the hope of finding some evidence of the elaborate rural programs advertised by the national headquarters of the Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian denominations. No trace of any such activities was found in either Hillsdale or Lapeer County. On the other hand, there was general agreement on the part of those inter-

<sup>12</sup> See Appendix I.

viewed that the church was more guilty than any other organization in the matter of duplication.

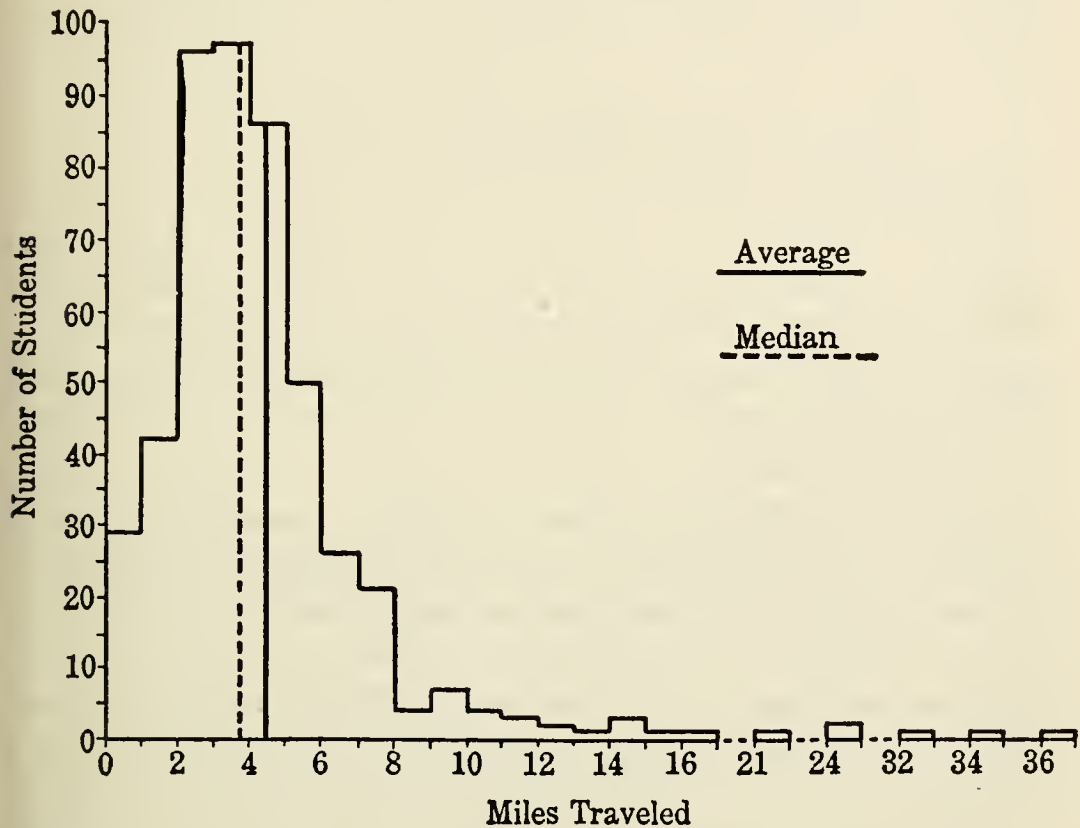
The truth of the observations of those questioned is borne out by the facts discovered in mapping the memberships. For instance, in Wheatland township, Hillsdale County, *one side of one mile of road has four families living on it, and they represent three different denominations.* In one school district of Lapeer County, there are *seven families in which there are church members, and they belong to five different denominations.*

There are about one hundred and thirty one-room rural schools in each of the two counties studied. Less than half of these are standardized. Neither county possesses one consolidated school. Neither county has a rural school teacher with a college degree. According to the supervisors, not one school is doing anything out of the ordinary in trying to solve the problems of the community. Most of the high schools of the counties offer courses in agriculture; but most of these courses are of very low grade, taught by teachers without special preparation, whose knowledge of the subject is ridiculed by the pupils who are better informed in a practical way than are the teachers.

The most significant data gathered are those having to do with school attendance. In the case of Lapeer County, the distribution of families having one or more children in high school was studied but not shown on the map; but in the case of Hillsdale County the location of such families and the high schools attended are shown. From this map the average and mean distance was computed. In both counties it was found that open-county schools were far inferior to village schools, and that very few children whose homes were more than six miles distant from a village high school were able to attend.

The farmers' coöperative organizations, of which there are twenty-seven having members in Hillsdale and Lapeer

counties, are strictly economic associations of farmers who get together for various purposes including the selling of farm products of various sorts, buying commodities which the farmers consume, and making butter and cheese. Among the farm products most commonly marketed through these associations are live stock, wool, milk, cream, and butter. Grain, hay, apples, and potatoes are also sold through them,



but the coöperative elevators have been least successful. A coöperative elevator at Columbiaville (Lapeer County), where there is also a thriving creamery, is doing very little business, and is about to shut down altogether. After looking around the building, it seems to me that its failure may be accounted for by poor management; it is in poor repair, and dirty. One of the large scales for weighing grain is out of order. The date on the inspector's card forbidding further use of the scales until repaired showed that the repairs



have been needed for over a year. The coöperative stores have been developed to such an extent that it is possible in some communities to buy through them anything which the farmers need. For instance, at Brown City, a coöperative store which draws most of its patronage from Lapeer County has well-stocked dry goods, grocery, and hardware departments. The coöperative movement has had a more healthy growth than any other farmers' organization, beginning, as it did, many years ago on a small scale in the most likely communities, and extending its scope gradually as the coming of good roads and other means of communication made this extension practicable. The Hadley (Lapeer County) Coöperative Creamery is thirty years old, and has had the same butter-maker for all except three months of that time. The information concerning the coöperative organizations of Lapeer County was given me in private interviews with managers and other officers who are well informed about them.

With the exception of two townships I undertook to get the data on the Hillsdale County coöperative organizations by mail, asking the managers, or presidents, to answer certain questions about the kind of marketing done, its extent, etc., and to locate on an enclosed outline map of the community the homes of the members. This method was not satisfactory. The following letter illustrates the difficulty of getting information in this way, and incidentally shows the defect of American coöperative organization, in that it is strictly a matter of "business is business," *the membership being unknown to each other*, or even to the officers. All they lack is *neighborhoods*.

September 25, 1923.

Mr. W. A. Terpenning,  
Kalamazoo, Michigan.

Dear Sir:

We regret that it is impossible for us to give you the information you requested in your letter of the 18th. We have a total of

approximately 700 patrons in this community and by this community we mean part of Hillsdale County and the adjoining parts of Calhoun, Branch and Jackson Counties. Probably between 500 and 600 of our patrons are in Hillsdale County. These are scattered over the entire Northwestern quarter.

It is impossible for us to give you the location of the homes of these farmers. We are not well enough acquainted in the country to know where each one lives. They move from farm to farm each year and new ones are added to our list almost daily, while others of course move away. Our cream is gathered by haulers and therefore our contact with the patron is through the hauler and not direct.

Very truly yours,

LITCHFIELD DAIRY ASSOCIATION,  
C. S. Bater, Manager.

Nevertheless, I have been able to discover that the cooperative organization has taken on much greater proportions in Hillsdale County than in Lapeer County, where I obtained the data by personal interviews. To begin with, there are eighteen such associations having members in Hillsdale County, while there are only nine having members in Lapeer County. No coöperative organization in Lapeer County reported so large a membership as the Litchfield Dairy Association, which in the letter quoted above reports a membership of seven hundred. Besides the Dairy Association, Litchfield has a shipping association with a large membership. Fayette Township, Hillsdale County, which is about half the size of the ordinary township, has a coöperative membership of thirty-one. Moscow, one of the poorest and most isolated townships in the county, has a coöperative membership of fifty-four. Reading Township has forty-nine members of coöperative agencies. From the data gathered, it is evident that the coöperative organizations of Hillsdale County have a larger membership than has any other county organization; but it is also evident that these coöperative organizations suffer from a lack of neighborliness among the members.

There is much confusion concerning the relation of the Farm Bureau work to that of the county agents. Because of this confusion, a memorandum of understanding was entered into, in 1921, between the Director of the States Relations Service and the executive committee of the American Farm Bureau Federation which provided that:

“In order to do away so far as possible with the confusion now existing in the public mind regarding the organization and work of the farm bureau as related to the county agents and the extension service generally, it is recommended that hereafter, in publications and otherwise, coöperative extension service shall be differentiated from the ‘farm bureau work’. That is, the farm bureau will have its relations with the extension service (consisting of the county agents, extension committees, demonstrations, etc.) as one of its departments.”<sup>13</sup>

This memorandum has not succeeded in clarifying in the minds of farmers the relation of the Farm Bureau to the extension service, especially to that part of the extension service supervised by the county agent.

The boys' and girls' club work is promoted by a different agent, who confines his efforts to the work with boys and girls, while the county farm agent works with adults and (according to the Hillsdale County agent) almost entirely with those adults who are members of the Farm Bureau. The Farm Bureau is a private organization of farmers whose field of activities is wider than that of advancing and coöperating in Agricultural College extension work as provided for by the Smith-Lever Act and in state appropriations.<sup>14</sup>

But the coöperation between these organizations is so close that no farmer with whom I talked was able to distinguish between them. The officers of the two organizations do not distinguish clearly between the two programs, for

<sup>13</sup> The Status and Results of County Agent Work. Circular 244, *U. S. Department of Agriculture*, 1921, p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*



I have a report of the Farm Bureau and one of the County Agricultural Agent which contain the same items. In Hillsdale County, the president of the Farm Bureau and the County Agricultural Agent agreed that a map showing the locations of the homes of the Farm Bureau members would be a fair picture of the distribution of the work of both agencies. Since, then, the County Agent and the Farm Bureau are promoting the same activities among the same people, their programs were treated as one. There was found to be a very great discrepancy in numbers between the membership in Hillsdale County and the membership in Lapeer County, and yet the distribution of members by townships would indicate that thorough canvasses were made in both counties, since no township has been missed. The explanation of this discrepancy is that the members in Hillsdale County are the result of its first membership campaign, while those in Lapeer County have joined on the second drive. The office record in Hillsdale shows 2200 members but in mapping them the actual number was found to be 1365. Lapeer had 200 members when first organized.

When counties are organized, the memberships are for three years. Then there is a second effort for members. Hillsdale was organized later than Lapeer, and the second canvass had not been made at the time of this study. Since these data were gathered, the second drive has been started in Hillsdale and is proving much less successful, from the standpoint of numbers, than the first one. The distribution of members in both the first and second campaigns reflect the method employed in those campaigns, the method of high-powered salesmanship exerted by paid organizers upon individual farmers. This method does not build neighborhoods nor does it capitalize upon whatever neighborhood strength may have been developed.

The club work with boys and girls is described by the Hillsdale County Agent as that part of the extension work

which is concerned with the promotion and supervision of project clubs among boys and girls. These clubs are organized by the county agent, who finds and trains voluntary leaders. These local leaders meet regularly with their clubs and are directly responsible for the club work. The members of the club choose the project in which they are most interested. In whatever project they choose—whether sewing, canning, cooking, handiwork, or gardening, they are instructed as to the best methods on occasional visits by the local leaders and the county agent, and by bulletins sent out by the Agricultural College. If they choose a gardening or crop-raising project, they are furnished with the best seeds and instructed in the best agricultural methods. If they choose a calf-, pig-, or poultry-raising project, they must have thorough-bred animals with which to start, after which they are instructed as to their care and feeding.

The Hillsdale County Agent thinks that the canning, cooking, and sewing clubs should be classified as contributing to the need of home-making; while the gardening, and crop- and stock-raising clubs contribute directly to the economic need. All work, he declares, has an indirect moral value in that it gives the boys and girls something constructive and wholesome in which to become vitally interested. He says that some effort is being made in the boys' and girls' clubs to encourage good habits, fair play, and honesty, while at the same time they seek to discourage smoking, the use of bad language, and dishonesty. In some cases, he says, boys have lost their membership by failing to live up to these standards. The club work is distributed fairly evenly throughout Hillsdale County, but is not very extensive in Lapeer County.

The Grange and the Gleaners' Lodges are good examples of small-scale organizations whose influence is on the wane. Both lodges are primarily fraternal organizations of farmers, having as other objectives, however, the educa-

tional, social, and economic benefiting of the farmer. Apart from the fact that the Gleaners have life insurance for members while the Grangers do not, there is little difference between the functions of the two lodges. Twenty-five years ago, the organizations were strong in the two counties, greatly interested in coöperative economic activities and in political campaigns; but their political influence is now, I believe, entirely negligible in both counties, and the only coöperative effort being made by either agency is a half-hearted attempt to get binder twine at a cheaper price than that charged by private dealers. Their main contribution can now be summed up under the head of rural recreation and sociable life.

During the last year the Hillsdale County Grange held a county picnic, but even this was poorly attended. The largest Grange membership in either county is that of Cambria Township, Hillsdale County, where eighty-six members are reported. The most active Gleaners' Lodge in either county is that of Imlay Township, where monthly social meetings are held during the winter season and attended by the majority of the members. The most nearly dead of any farmers' organization is the Farmers' Club; but I discovered three in Hillsdale County which are still meeting occasionally. Their programs are similar to those of the Gleaners and Granges and would have to be classed as contributing almost exclusively to the need of recreation and sociable life.

In several village communities the Odd Fellows Lodge has succeeded in getting a fair representation of farmers into its membership. The extent of the organization in Lapeer County, and the influence in the recreational and sociable life of the farmers seem to me to justify some study of the farm membership. I found more interest in the lodge work of the Odd Fellows than in that of the Gleaners and Grangers; but the lodge is not primarily a farmers' or-



ganization and makes no special effort at the solution of the rural problems.

The work of the Public Health Nurse was started in both counties by the Red Cross. After the war work was finished the Red Cross organizations in these counties had surplus funds, which they voted to use in the support of local public health nurses. They engaged three very efficient nurses for Hillsdale County, and one for Lapeer County. When the funds were nearly exhausted in Hillsdale County, two of the nurses were dismissed and the third instructed to work only in those communities which made contributions of a certain amount to the work. The result is that the Hillsdale County Nurse is trying to cover only part of the county, while the Lapeer County Nurse is trying to cover the whole county but is able to do so much less thoroughly. Both nurses visit schools, where they examine the children and recommend medical treatment for those in need of it, and where they give instruction on health subjects. Both visit families where a private nurse cannot be obtained, and give assistance and instruction in the care of the sick. Both have found it necessary to do some relief work, in that they often find it necessary to get help from the counties for needy families where there are patients needing operations or expensive medical treatment.

Because of the smaller territory which she has to cover, the Hillsdale County Nurse has been able to hold classes of mothers and young people in seven communities, and to coöperate more with such organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in putting on health programs. There seems to be no serious criticism of the work in either county, but neither board of supervisors has decided that they should finance the work.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is an organization of women having state, county, and local officers

whose purpose is, primarily, the promotion of the temperance cause and opposition to liquor traffic. But when I explained to the Hillsdale County President that my mother had been a member since I was a small boy and that, as I understood the organization, it was concerned only with the temperance work, she informed me that I had several things to learn about the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She went on to explain to me that in every county in the state, in which there are organizations, they are putting on a "full-rounded" program of activities in which women are interested. Among the other objectives of the Union, she said, are the safe-guarding of morals of little children, the promotion of wholesome recreation for boys and girls through clubs and classes, the bettering of the conditions of women in industry, the study of food values and of scientific cooking, the insisting upon a single standard of morals for men and women, the fighting against the use and sale of narcotics in any form, the reduction of crime and lawlessness, the opposing of corruption and incompetence in government, and the teaching of the English language to immigrants.

Upon further inquiry, I found that the organization sought to realize its objectives mainly through the discussions in the local meetings of the members. However, they have held several meetings at which the County Public Health Nurse has put on health and nursing demonstrations. The president explained that whatever she did in this work she considered done for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and not for the work of the Public Health Nurse. In the president's local community regular monthly meetings are held; but, in some of the other local organizations in the county, meetings are not held regularly, and the programs are confined to fewer things. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union showed a comparatively large membership of farm women. One township, which was fairly

representative in this respect, had eighteen farm homes represented in a membership of forty-nine.

Lapeer County had given up its Young Men's Christian Association work one year before the study was made. The work, which had been carried on for about three years, had been considered successful by association leaders; but the unfavorable publicity given the association because of its war work made it impossible to raise sufficient funds to continue the county organization. The Y. M. C. A. in Hillsdale County had been organized about fifteen years before and had been served by some very successful secretaries. It had also another advantage over the Lapeer County organization in that it was accustomed to draw on the local college, Hillsdale College, for leadership. Its ability to weather the storm of war-work criticism, however, had been due largely to the fact that many of the boys who had taken part in the activities of the organization had grown to manhood and have become subscribers, leaders, and committee-men. The selection of the first county committee was a very wise one, and several of its members are still active in the work. It has not suffered, as have most of the other counties of the state, from the rapid succession of changes in secretaries; nevertheless, it has been served by five different secretaries in ten years. This organization is generally considered by association workers to be the most successful county organization in Michigan, and its program has been given more publicity than that of any other county.

It is impossible to classify the various activities as contributing exclusively to explicit needs, as most activities are designed to contribute to several needs, as is the case with the club work, for instance, where the programs include physical, educational, religious, and social work. The discovery, enlistment, and training of leaders for boy's clubs, and the organization and supervision of such clubs. In general the program may be said to contribute to the needs



of rural education, health and sanitation, recreation, and sociable life, morals and religion, and leadership. It consists of the following activities:

Conferences	Personal interviews
Camps	Training in first aid
Hikes	Life-saving
Team and group games	Promotion of clean speech, sports, habits
Indoor and outdoor athletics	Vocational guidance
Practical talks	Lecture courses
Training in craftsmanship	Social gatherings
Sex education	Father and Son banquets
Health education	Student deputations in evange- listic services
Educational trips	
Bible Study	Coöperation with county fair

The county secretary, who is the only person who knows about the territory covered, volunteered to map the farm homes in which there are boys engaged in the association activities; but upon investigation, he decided that there were not enough such homes to make it worth one's while to map them. There would have been more than were shown on a map of the Young Women's Christian Association membership; but it would have shown the same characteristics. The boys who are getting the benefit of the county Young Men's Christian Association are predominantly town boys, with a few farm boys who happen to live within a short distance of a village on a railroad or improved highway easily accessible to the county secretary. The participation of the farm boy in the association work is almost negligible.

The organization of the County Young Women's Christian Association is similar to that of the Young Men's Christian Association. There has never been a county Young Women's Christian Association in Lapeer County. The village of Lapeer has a local organization which includes a

few farm girls, not more than a dozen, who live within a mile or two of town. There has been some talk of extending this organization to the county. Hillsdale County has been organized only for one year, and is just getting its program started; but this, according to the secretary, includes the activities which she classified as meeting eleven of the needs of rural neighborhoods. So far as farm girls were concerned, the program was almost exclusively a paper one. The study of the membership of the Young Women's Christian Association—information for which was furnished by the county secretary and her leaders—shows that *only thirty-one families* in which there are girls taking part in association work are actually farm families. Most of the direct benefit which the farmers have received from the Christian Association has been training in the service ideal, given them during the financial canvasses. Appendix II shows a similar conclusion to be largely true of rural organizations in general.

It is not assumed here that Sociology can be made an exact science, but a computation was made for the purpose of measuring, if possible, the correlation between the improved communication and membership in the various social organizations on the composite maps. The coefficient of correlation is very significant only between data in which one can show degrees of difference. In reality there are an infinite number of degrees of membership in the various organizations. And likewise there are an infinite number of degrees of communication among those who have the various means of communication. But these degrees of membership and communication cannot be measured with mathematical precision. Indeed, if there were some way in which one could sort out the members from the nominal members, those who are taking an active part in the work of the organization from those who simply allow their names to remain on the roll, and if one could sort out the real com-

municants from those who have the means of communication but who do not use them, the correlation between these two would undoubtedly be a very close one. The computation showed some positive correlation in thirty-eight of the sixty items. That the correlation was low is not surprising since the computation included such small-scale organizations as the church, a large part of the membership of which was gained before the time of improved communication. The large-scale organizations, like the Farm Bureau, are young, and a very large share of their membership is constituted by having made a financial contribution to the organization. The working membership would show a closer correlation.

Another computation shows conclusively that a large part of the farm population is almost or entirely untouched by any organization; for while, of the 939 families in Imlay, Goodland, Adams, and Allen townships, one family is represented in five organizations, four families in four organizations, fifty-eight families in three organizations, 168 families in two organizations, and 299 families in one organization, *409 families are represented in no organization whatsoever.*

In the last twenty-five years a decided increase in the size of rural communities has been made possible by the improvements in communication and transportation. As I noted before, as a twelve-year-old boy, I could not have directed any one to the home of a half dozen people outside our narrow community. I knew the way to only two villages. One of my schoolmates has told me that he knew even fewer people than I did. He did not know where all the families in this community lived. Several twelve-year-old boys of Lapeer County with whom I talked recently knew approximately twice as many people as I knew, and could direct one to six or seven villages. The young people of my age, except on rare occasions, never went to town except for



trading purposes. Now, most of the young people from this community attend picture shows and regularly enjoy other village recreational activities, such as dances and other parties.

But, as has been shown, not all farmers have been able to profit by the better means of communication and transportation. This means that in every community there are some individuals who have not availed themselves of the automobile, telephone, daily paper, or good roads, and are, as a result, in that class which Hart refers to as "groups that do not belong."<sup>15</sup> If there is a sufficient number of such individuals in a community who are religious, they may try to maintain the old neighborhood church. They find it very difficult to do so, because the old members who were formerly most interested, and new-comers, have automobiles and attend the village or city church. The old Farmers' Club in my home community was given up, and now members who were formerly most interested and new-comers who would have been interested, are members of the Farm Bureau and are coöperating with the County Agricultural Agent in a county-wide program. Thus it seems to me that social life, in the country especially, is suffering, not from any permanent defect in organization, but from that period of adjustment which Professor Cooley thinks is peculiar to our social organization in general.<sup>16</sup> The enlargement of public consciousness, which, as Professor Cooley has shown, follows the improvement of communication,<sup>17</sup> has been realized by only part of the people in the rural communities. The correlation between the membership in social organizations and advantages in the improved means of communication would indicate that adequate social organization must wait upon the extension of

<sup>15</sup> Hart, *Community Organization* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920), p. 46.

<sup>16</sup> *Social Organization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 158.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Chap. 8.

those means of communication to all members of the community.

Lack of the improved means of communication is undoubtedly the *effect* to some extent of the deficiencies which are discussed in the rest of this chapter; but it seems to me that that lack is mainly the *cause* of those deficiencies. The faults of organization observed in this study may be thought of as due principally to the failure of both rural and urban people to recognize the organic relationship between classes and individuals, and this failure in turn may be thought of as mainly due to the isolation of individuals and groups. The findings in this study justify Cooley's<sup>18</sup> contention:

“It is not too much to say that these changes are the basis, from a mechanical standpoint, of nearly everything that is characteristic in the psychology of modern life.”

Extensive familiarity with conditions in the country is not necessary in order to recognize faults of rural social organization. One of the most obvious of these seems to be the absence of what might be called THE ORGANIZATION OF ORGANIZATIONS, i.e., the lack of correlation between the different agencies in the field of social work. Seven years' experience in rural social work (The County Young Men's Christian Association) furnished me with many reminders of the old fable of the cock whose habit was to roost in the horse stable, but who, on one occasion, was knocked from his perch and found himself dodging around under the horses. Being somewhat worried about the situation, the cock addressed the horses thus: “Friends, let us step gently for fear we tread on one another.”

Only two officers admitted, without being questioned specifically about duplication,—concerning which I had been informed from other sources,—that any of the items on their programs were being duplicated by other organiza-

<sup>18</sup> *Social Organization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 81.

tions doing work in the same territory. The Hillsdale County Agricultural Agent admits that the Farm Bureau, the Coöperative Associations, the Granges, and the Gleaner Lodges are all doing coöperative buying. He declares that many farmers feel that the Farm Bureau is competing with their organization in this respect, and as a result, will not join the Bureau. He thinks that the greatest waste is in buying binder twine and other commodities in small lots, when, through one organization, they might buy in carload lots. He is quite willing to work out some system of correlation of such activities, but he knows of no effort so far to divide the territory or activities among the organizations. He thinks the most serious difficulty in the way of bringing about such coöperation is the difference in fundamental policy. For instance, the Farm Bureau advocates the regulation of prices through the free working of demand and supply, while the Grange believes in legislative price-fixing. This Agricultural Agent is not very hopeful concerning the prospect for more rational coöperation since the church has failed in this respect; but his way of encouraging coöperation is to call in the leaders in other organizations when he is putting on a demonstration. He believes the work of nearly all organizations to be in need of extension, but he accounts for the abandonment of farms purely on economic grounds, such as the shortage of help and the low prices for products.

The Hillsdale County Public Health Nurse accuses the Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association, the Grange, the Gleaners, and the Farm Bureau of having welfare departments which are duplicating the work she is putting on. The Young Women's Christian Association, for instance, has just organized in seven communities, and the County Secretary of that organization has given her groups of girls their choice between what she calls an educational program and a health



program, the health program being the exact duplicate of the work which the County Nurse has already been doing in all seven communities. The seven groups of girls all have chosen the health program because they are already acquainted with it through the nurse's work. The secretary invited the nurse to lead one of the groups and to go to the County Camp. She accepted both invitations and so had a chance to know exactly what was included in the programs. This County Nurse says that she often does some relief work which is a duplication of the work of other organizations because she finds it necessary to go to the supervisors to get things needed by poor families whom she visits. She thinks the most wasteful and harmful relief work is done by the church, their duplication of health work resulting in the inefficient use of leadership and in the overlooking entirely of some needy persons. She has no plan and has made no effort at closer coöperation, but is much in favor of it. The Lapeer County Public Health Nurse is of the opinion that there is very little duplication in her work; nevertheless she thinks that a better understanding between organizations would be helpful.

The Hillsdale County Boys' and Girls' Club Agent believes that there is not much overlapping in the items on his program, but says that other organizations, such as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association, are doing club work with boys and girls and that it would be a great advantage if their work could be so correlated as to enable them to use the same leadership at different times of the year or for different activities during the same season. All the officers consulted believe that there is a great deal of overlapping in organizations other than their own and that duplication is wasteful in various ways other than those suggested; i.e., the inefficient use of financial support and leadership. It was suggested that it makes inefficient use of the time of the

lay members, as well as of that of the leaders, that it results in the neglect of whole communities by all competitors, and that it often defeats in a large measure the purpose of the work. In the case of coöperative buying, for instance, there is the same reason for organizations getting together as for individuals doing so. Every person consulted is in favor of closer coöperation and correlation between organizations; but, with one exception, no one had a carefully-made plan for such coöperation and correlation. One minister thought that the social organization of a community should be based upon the needs of an individual, which he conceived as being of three sorts: economic, educational, and religious—corresponding to the Young Men's Christian Association triangle, body, mind, and spirit. This minister had decided that the fields of organized effort should be limited to the school, church, and some sort of an economic organization, such as a farmers' club or board of trade. All agree that the work of the principal organizations needs to be extended, and that the greatest difficulty in extending it is shortage of leadership.

A systematic study of the needs of the different communities in which the organization was to work was made by only one agency before organizing. The Hillsdale County Young Women's Christian Association made a study of seven communities. Almost the only checks to the number of social organizations in the country are the judgment and the pocketbook of the farmer who foots the bills. The average farmer is about as discriminating in such matters as the Duke in Chesterton's play called "Magic." Rector Smith asks the Duke for a subscription for the erection of a model public house. The Duke gives Smith fifty pounds. The Duke also gives the doctor opposing the erection of the model public house fifty pounds. Hastings, the Duke's Secretary, says, "The Duke is a very liberal-minded man." The doctor says, "Don't you know the kind of man, who, when you

talk to him about the five best breeds of dogs always ends up by buying a mongrel?"

The work of the Public Health Nurse is, in both counties, the outgrowth of the Red Cross work during the war. The leaders in the Red Cross asked for the county work, and the Red Cross organization, in both cases, helped to finance the new effort. There was some demand for several of the organizations from the communities concerned; but in most cases the invitation came from the outside, and the organization was perfected by paid organizers who came in with the attitude that the mill is more important than the grist and proceeded to elect officers and raise a budget.

The most interesting and most freely-given information that I received consisted of criticisms given by approximately seventy-five laymen concerning the work of the various institutions, the extension of their work, and the coöperation between them. The criticisms of the thirty-two supervisors form the most reliable index to public opinion which I received concerning these questions. These men are acquainted with every farmer in their respective townships. All the supervisors of both counties except those of Amboy township in Hillsdale County, and of Attica, Burlington, and Lapeer townships in Lapeer County, were interviewed concerning the following questions:

1. How many acres of good land have been abandoned within the last two years?

2. What do you consider the main reasons for its abandonment?

3. What criticisms do you hear concerning the following social organizations:

Boys' and Girls' Club Work	Public Health Nursing
Churches	Red Cross
Coöperative Associations	Schools
Farm Bureau and County Agricultural Agent Work	County Young Men's Christian Association
Gleaners' Lodge	County Young Women's Christian Association
Grange Lodge	



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4. What is your personal criticism of the above organization?
5. Are the churches or schools doing anything out of the ordinary?
6. Has the church situation changed since 1919?
7. Have you given county poor relief to farm families during the past year?
8. If it has not been necessary, how do you account for that fact?

The answers to the first question could not be given exactly, since the investigation was made before the haying season, and some of the abandoned farms contained fields of hay which were likely to be cut. In 1922, the law required the supervisors to report the idle land, but it had not been necessary to do so this year. At the time they were interviewed, they had very recently made the assessment, and, in doing so, had called on every farmer. They are men of good judgment, leaders in their communities, familiar with social conditions there. Their opinions are fairly typical of all those which I heard expressed. Twelve supervisors in Hillsdale County and nine supervisors in Lapeer County report abandoned land ranging in amounts from sixty to 600 acres per township, and averaging  $316\frac{2}{3}$  acres per township. All these twenty-one supervisors think that the main reasons for the abandonment of land are economic: either shortage of help or low prices for farm products. The seventeen supervisors in Hillsdale County all knew that Boys' and Girls' Club Work is being done in their townships. None of them had heard any unfavorable criticism of the work, and all of them personally think the work very desirable. Only one of the supervisors in Lapeer County knew that Boys' and Girls' Club Work is being done in his township; he is a leader of a club, and his son a member of one. No one found any fault with the type of work; all agreed that there ought to be more of it. As stated above, no supervisor in either county knew of any rural church which was doing anything out of the ordinary in the way of meeting rural social needs,

and in reply to the inquiry as to whether there had been any change in the activities of the churches since 1919, all agreed that there has been none.

All except four supervisors reported that there are co-operative organizations having headquarters in their townships, and these four said that there are farmers in their townships who are members of coöperative organizations with headquarters in adjoining townships. Only two of all the supervisors in Hillsdale and Lapeer Counties thought the coöperative organizations in their townships unsuccessful. One of these townships (Marathon, Lapeer County), has a very successful coöperative creamery; but a coöperative elevator proved a failure and is about to be sold. The failure of this coöperative elevator was attributed to poor management, while the failure of a stock-shipping association in Somerset township, Hillsdale County, was said to be due to poor management and the competition of the old shippers.

When questioned as to whether the activities of these co-operative organizations overlap, as do those of social and religious organizations, five of the supervisors declared that in their townships there was overlapping between the work of these coöperative associations and that of other organizations doing coöperative buying and selling. All five agreed that their coöperative organizations are in competition with the Farm Bureau; in two of the five townships, they are in competition also with the Grange, and in one of the townships, the Gleaners make a third competing organization. The supervisors in these five townships prefer the work of the coöperative associations to that of the other competing organizations; while every supervisor consulted thought that the coöperative idea offers the best solution to the marketing problem of the farmer.

With one exception, the supervisors of both counties were unanimous in reporting adverse criticism of the work of

the Farm Bureau and the County Agricultural Agent in their townships. One subject with which this criticism was concerned, was, in every case, the Farm Bureau's marketing of wool. Farmers have received smaller prices than those being offered by the local private buyers, and it has taken a long time for them to get their pay. One supervisor has not yet received his check for wool shipped two years ago. Another objection to the Farm Bureau is that, in its membership campaign, the canvassers promised many things which have not been accomplished. Still further objections are that the officers and organizers are paid too large salaries, that membership fees are too high, that too much of the money paid by the members is turned over to the state organization, and that the important activities might be accomplished in a more efficient manner through the coöperative associations. Some farmers were given the impression that the Farm Bureau would do away with the middlemen, but there are as many middlemen as ever; some of them expected the organization to exert a great influence in politics, but could not see that it has accomplished much in this way; they expected to get better prices for their products, while, instead, prices have been going down during the whole three years.

These criticisms as reported to me by the supervisors agreed very well with the following statements which I heard a dissatisfied farmer make in a conversation with the county agent:

“You aren't keeping prices up. They have dropped half. Why haven't steel prices and those of other products fallen? We members are out our thirty dollars, and that's all you can say about it. The head men have a lot of buildings, and we have nothing. A state man comes around once in a while, but men who work for farmers shouldn't have any more than farmers.”

He always referred to the organization as the “Farm Brewry,” and remarked that it had not only failed to im-



prove the bad conditions, but it was also partly the cause of them. The principal objections referred to the activities of the Farm Bureau, but, as already stated, the Bureau and the work of the County Agent are not thought of as being separate. The disappointment of the farmers as reported by the supervisors is further shown by the decrease in the number of members signed up during the second campaign. After the first campaign for membership, Lapeer County had only two hundred fewer members than Hillsdale, but on the second drive the total number of members in Lapeer fell from 2,000 to 348. No supervisor had any special fault to find with the activities of the Gleaners' Lodges, and they knew of no adverse public opinion concerning them. They were quite in agreement, however, that these lodges have so few members that they are not very important. With few exceptions, the lodges meet irregularly, and their main activities are in the way of friendly gatherings of a social nature. The same was true of the Grange; several lodges were said to be dying, and one or two were quite dead, their demise having been the result of perfectly natural causes.

Only eleven of the supervisors knew much about the work which the Public Health Nurse was doing in their townships. They all, however, expressed themselves as being favorable to the work, and they thought the parents and teachers were pleased with it. The only fault found was that there were some communities in which the nurse did not spend much time. No one knew of any important work which the Red Cross had done among the farmers of either county since the war; nevertheless all thought it a very efficient organization.

As in the case of the churches, no supervisor knew of any unusual efforts being made by rural schools in the way of rural social work. Both counties had recently elected women as county school commissioners, and several supervisors

were hopeful that a more progressive policy would be put into practice.

The Young Men's Christian Association had given up the county-wide work in Lapeer County a year before this study was made. The County Young Men's Christian Association of Hillsdale County has been working for thirteen years, but the County Secretary did not think the number of members among the farmer boys sufficient to be worth mapping. No supervisor knew of much that was being done outside of the villages. All of them were aware that there was such an organization in the county, and they thought the work desirable; but they were not expecting a great deal from it in so far as farmers are concerned. The same was true of the County Young Women's Christian Association of Hillsdale County, which had been organized less than a year, several of the supervisors being not yet aware of its existence. The principal criticism of it, like that of the other organization, was that its program was "mostly on paper."

The only other organizations mentioned were the Odd Fellows' Lodge, the membership of which was mapped, and the status of which was similar to that of the other lodges, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, about which the supervisors, with the exception of the one from Allen Township, knew little. The county president of the latter lived in Allen Township.

A question as to the number of people who had received poor relief during the year was asked the Hillsdale supervisors because the report of the county poor commissioner that there had been no relief given to farmers during the past year seemed incredible. Only three supervisors had given any relief to people living in the country. This relief consisted of paying hospital bills for two families, exempting one widow from taxes, and partly supporting another family.

The reasons assigned for the fact that so little relief had been necessary among farmers were as follows :

Many farmers move to the city or village before reaching dependency as the result of old age.

Families can live on a smaller income in the country than would be necessary in the city.

Most of the poverty in the country is relieved by neighbors.

The supervisors and other laymen whom I consulted were inclined to locate the defects of organizations in the leaders of those organizations, and, in general, I agree that the faults of social organization are perhaps most noticeable in their leadership. But I found the leaders of the different organizations studied to have few faults in common. Some generalization is possible, however, if the leaders are divided into three classes: paid leaders of county organizations, paid leaders of local organizations, and voluntary leaders.

The paid leaders of county organizations include such officers as the county school commissioners, the secretaries of the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations, the county Farm Bureau and Club agents, the public health nurses, the poor commissioners, and the county sheriffs. The paid local leaders include such leaders as ministers and school teachers. The volunteer leaders include such workers as the unpaid local officers of all organizations, Boys' and Girls' Club leaders, leaders of Christian Association groups, etc.

As far as the first class is concerned, I found that practically all of them had some special training for their work. They are all mature people who have had considerable experience. I found them all friendly and accommodating folks. They are people of pleasing personality, and seemed to me to be fairly sympathetic. All of them seem to believe in the importance of their work. None of them appeared to be lacking in energy or in willingness to do hard work. Some



of them are criticized for not spending much time in the field; but they have learned from experience that their problems cannot be solved by armchair reformers at long range. None of them gave me the impression that they are in rural work as a stepping stone to a city position. I presume that they would compare very favorably with the average paid leaders of city organizations; but it seems to me that in some respects rural life is in need of especially strong leadership because of the peculiar difficulties of rural social organization, and there are few of even these county paid leaders whom I should describe as strong, aggressive leaders. They have found incessant advertising so necessary to the life of their organizations that they have come to satisfy themselves with small accomplishments. They do not have great expectations of objectives worth many years' striving to obtain, and look only for those things which they think may be accomplished in a short period of time. They are lacking in the "Give-me-Scotland-or-I-die" attitude. They are not sociologists. Their technical training has been good in so far as agriculture, nursing, etc., are concerned; but they are trying to solve the problems of human living together without any general principles. They seem to think that coöperation with leaders of other organizations would be a good thing, provided the others took the initiative; but they do not realize that such coöperation is absolutely essential to the success of the work of all social agencies. They think of such team work as a possibility to look forward to, but not as the *starting point* in the solution of rural problems. They have rather hazy ideas as to the direction in which progress lies—whether toward more specialization or less, whether we should have more organizations doing fewer things more efficiently, or one organization, *their own*, doing the whole job. They may be thought of as particularists in that they either think the more or less specialized functions of their respective organizations all

that are necessary, or else see no relation between their functions and those of other organizations. Either they fail to realize the advantage of specialization, or their specialization is the sort that might better be called isolation.

The second class, paid local leaders, teachers and preachers, are lacking in all the respects of the first and in a greater degree. They are also lacking in some of the strong points of the first class. They have much less technical training than city teachers and preachers. Many of them are not thinking of the rural field as a life's work, but are looking forward to what they consider a promotion to a city school or church.

Concerning the third and largest class, the voluntary leaders, it is difficult to generalize. But certainly many of the fallacies of the first two classes are passed on to them. Most of them have a minimum of training other than that which they get from experience. They are busy folks. They are busy for three reasons. In the first place, farmers have less leisure than city workers. In the second place, because of the poorer means of communication, leadership in the country is more difficult and requires more time than in the city. In the third place, people who have been discovered to have ability as leaders are called upon to serve in more numerous capacities in the country than in the city, because of the greater relative scarcity of such people in the country. But these volunteer leaders have certain advantages over those of the other two classes. For one thing, there is never any doubt in their minds as to whose problems they are trying to solve; they are solving their own problems. Then they are also more likely to see life whole; they do not become institutionalized so readily. And being called upon to perform such a variety of functions, they are likely to develop some sense of relationships. The farmer has been called the balance wheel of our industrial life, because he is both capitalist and laborer; but he may, I think,

for similar reasons, be as truly considered the balance wheel of our social life in general.

As has been emphasized before, the most common reason given by farmers for the disadvantages of rural social life is the farmer's lack of ability to pay for urban advantages. Certainly this is not the only reason; but the majority of the farmers with whom I have talked, assert that they have been unable to pay expenses during the last few years. The economic difficulty goes deeper than the matter of supply and demand, but there are various factors which prevent the free working of this law in the farming industry. The effort which has been made to keep the boy on the farm is an important factor. The fact that the supply and demand for farm products fluctuates greatly while the supply of farmers does not is due also to the character of the farming occupation. One cannot leave his farm and enter another occupation as readily as can other workmen. Thoreau said one might as well be committed to the county jail as to a farm. If the farmer is to continue to finance his social organization separately, some more radical change in his economic situation must be brought about than that accomplished by the farm loan law, which makes it possible for him to borrow money at a half of one per cent less than the usual interest; or rural social organization will continue to be inferior to urban social organization.



## CHAPTER V

### THE SWISS COMMUNE

**T**HERE is perhaps no nation whose history reflects more of the power of the village form of rural social organization than does that oldest of modern democracies, Switzerland. Until the breaking up of the Holy Roman Empire, of which it was a part, its history was not separate from the rest of Europe. It was occupied by the Romans, overrun by the barbarians, and passed through a confused stage in which its rule was mainly that of feudal lords. Its unique history began in some such a revolt against the oppression of the nobles as that pictured in the story of William Tell. Beginning in 1315 with a confederation of three groups of communes, the cantons of Schwiz, Uri, Unterwalden, it has remained a confederation, with the exception of one brief period, for over six centuries. All fealty to Austria was dispelled in 1499, and its independence recognized by the Austrian Emperor in 1648. By the sixteenth century the confederation included sixteen German cantons. Because of the non-centralization of the federation, the country suffered great unrest during the Reformation and the period preceding the French Revolution. In the weakened condition caused by these influences, the French were able to overrun the country and establish the Helvetic Republic which fell when Napoleon withdrew his troops in 1803. Twelve years later, 1815, the Congress of Vienna re-established the confederation, with the present number of cantons, on the firm basis which has enabled the nation until the present time to enjoy continued peace and prosperity except for one brief Civil War (1847-1848). After

this war, a very just and liberal constitution was adopted which, with very slight modification, has served the confederation ever since.

According to this constitution, the national government is vested in a Federal Assembly called the *Bundesversammlung* which consists of two houses, the *Ständerath* or States Council and the *Nationalrath* or National Assembly. The *Ständerath* is made up of forty-four members, two elected from each of the twenty-two cantons, each of which decides separately the conditions of its elections. The *Nationalrath* is made up of members elected by universal suffrage on the basis of one member to every 2000 citizens. A cabinet or Federal Council called the *Bundesrath*, consisting of seven members, is elected by the two houses; and the President and Vice-President of this council are the President and Vice-President of the Confederation. All these groups are elected for three years, but the two officers for only one, and the latter are not eligible for immediate reëlection when their terms have expired.

The cantons are governed by councils, or *Landesgemeinden*, made up of citizens democratically elected according to various systems invented by the different cantons. In some smaller ones the election takes place in popular assemblies in connection with which picturesque ceremonies are carried out.

The government of a commune, in turn, is vested in a council, or *Gemeinderath*, consisting of a mayor and four or more councillors, the number varying in different parts of the country. These must serve without pay and do their work well. Each commune retains the power to manage all "strictly local affairs," and the meaning of local is probably more comprehensive than in any other system of so-called local governments. The rights of the cantons, or groups of communes, are also much more inclusive than what are called *states' rights* in America. The constitution of 1848,

which was copied after that of Zürich, took away from the communes some powers as those of fining citizens who came from other communes, denying marriage to citizens or fining them for marrying, and discriminating because of religious belief against citizens coming from other communes. It also took away from the cantons the right to coin money, collect customs, send ambassadors, and declare war. The constitutional revision of 1874 took from the cantons some of the responsibility for the protection and care of forests, rivers, roads, and bridges. The most outstanding characteristic of Swiss government remains, however, its local nature.

Although other factors such as the differences of race and language had a bearing on the matter, the strength of communal organizations must be taken into consideration in accounting for the tenacity with which the prerogatives of local government have been retained and the nation preserved as a confederation indeed. The conflicts in points of view between the different groups of communes were not greater than those between the states in our union, but the great difference which led to confederation on the one hand and to centralization on the other was as the difference in the strength of the communes as compared with our weak American neighborhoods. The Swiss individual functions politically only through his membership in the commune, and his ballot represents the public opinion of the commune. The hope of permanence of democracy finds its greatest justification in Switzerland, and Swiss democracy reflects the intimate friendly relationships of Swiss communes. This communal strength is also shown in the effectiveness with which different racial, language, and religious groups have disciplined themselves locally, and have perfected a system of living together which, throughout the centuries of its existence, has been unequalled anywhere for justice and harmony. The neighborly attitude of the government



shows no less in international than in intra-national affairs. Its reputation for strict neutrality and justice in its dealings with other nations made its beautiful city of Geneva the logical location for the seat of the League of Nations. Although the confederation is a very loose one in so far as centralization of power is concerned, and although there seems to be no excuse for the separate existence of Switzerland as a nation in race, language, or geography, it has built up a unique national life, and a national solidarity, a unity of differentiation, which is unexcelled. This solidarity is the result of a spontaneous loyalty and voluntary moral support on the part of most heterogeneous and independent communes and cantons. The Swiss national spirit, whether expressed in German, Italian, or French, compels the respect of every foreigner who comes to understand it.

Switzerland has many foreign visitors, a fact which finds recognition in the old joke of the schoolboy who, when asked to name the imports and exports of the country, replied "Imports: foreigners with purses, exports: foreigners without purses"; nevertheless one finds great unanimity among these visitors in complimenting the Swiss people on their hospitable treatment of foreigners and on their sterling qualities. The respectability, self-respect, independence, honesty, and friendliness of the citizens, whether bellboys or proprietors, are remarked by the most casual observers who tour the country and have dealings only with filling stations, garages, hotels, and restaurants. The good roads, the clean and orderly dwellings and streets, in city or in village, the carefully cultivated fields, the fat and sleek domestic animals, and the prominence on the landscape of beautiful school-houses and churches also proclaim these or other equally admirable characteristics.

All the observers with whom I have talked agree, however, that the best way in which to understand the spirit of Swiss society, is to experience it in the life of the commune.

The commune is the solid rock upon which Swiss national life is built. After crossing Switzerland in two different directions, I chose the commune of Russin in the canton of Geneva for the purpose of intimate study. It is a very old but up-to-date village located 12.7 kilometers from the canton capital, Geneva. Its history is the history of Geneva, and it goes back to the date of one Comte de Russin, 1412.

It has a population of 280, about sixty families, and seventy-five voters. The population includes farm proprietors, about twenty farm laboring people, four school teachers, a doctor, one barber, one beauty-shop proprietor, three café keepers, one carpenter and mason, one grocer, one blacksmith, and one constable. The number of laborers is increased during the summer to fifty or sixty by importing transient workers from the vicinity of Bern. Four resident workers are employed part of the time in a perfume factory in the neighboring village of La Plaine, and the resident doctor has an office in Geneva. The only non-residents who may be considered members of the village society are the Protestant minister and Catholic priest, who live only short distances away. There has been no recent change in the number of residents, although the number of laborers has been greatly decreased. A typical illustration of this decrease was furnished me by the mayor, who used to employ as many as twelve men on his fifty-hectare farm, but who now uses enough machinery so that he requires only four or five laborers. Only two resident families have moved away from the village in the last five years, and they are apt to return.

Since such a large proportion of the residents are engaged in farming, it is obvious that Russin has to depend upon having numerous needs supplied by other villages or by the city. It has no butcher or baker, for instance, but depends upon La Plaine, three kilometers away, for supplying meat and bread.

The combined holdings of Russin equal 300 hectares, the largest of which is the mayor's fifty hectares, while the smallest is little more than a garden spot. About sixty-five hectares of the land are vineyards. Forty of the farmers own all the land which they work. One man works land in a commune five kilometers away, but the longest distance which any of the others travel in order to work their fields is two kilometers. The distance traveled is not more than one kilometer on the average.

Grapes, wheat, dairy products, and vegetables are the principal products. Every farmer has his own wine-press and makes all his own grapes into wine. Wheat raising is subsidized by the government, which, at the time of this study, was paying the Swiss farmers, through the national coöperative confederation, a subsidy amounting to one-third of the market price for French wheat. The "riches of the Swiss" are said to be the dairy cattle, than which no finer specimens are to be found. The animals are practically all of the pure-blooded Swiss breed, and grades are so scarce that no one bothers to have cattle registered. The herd of the mayor of Russin contains several cows worth 2000 francs each and none are to be found worth less than 1000 francs. The live stock is taken to the mountain pastures in the summer, and stable-fed in the winter. Each family raises vegetables for its own use, but few besides, because the Geneva market is considered too far away for an extensive truck gardening business. The farmers work very long hours in the summer, but are using an increasing amount of machinery and contriving in various ways to make their work less onerous. Every building in Russin is lighted with electricity, as is true of most Swiss villages, and it was there that I saw the first electric lift for unloading hay and grain. Much of the machinery for chopping fodder and roots and for such work as pressing wine is run by electricity. The dairymen have running water in the



barns as well as in their dwellings. Up to the time the study of Russin was made I had completed the study in six different countries, but had found no more progressive, prosperous, or happy farmers than those of this Swiss commune.

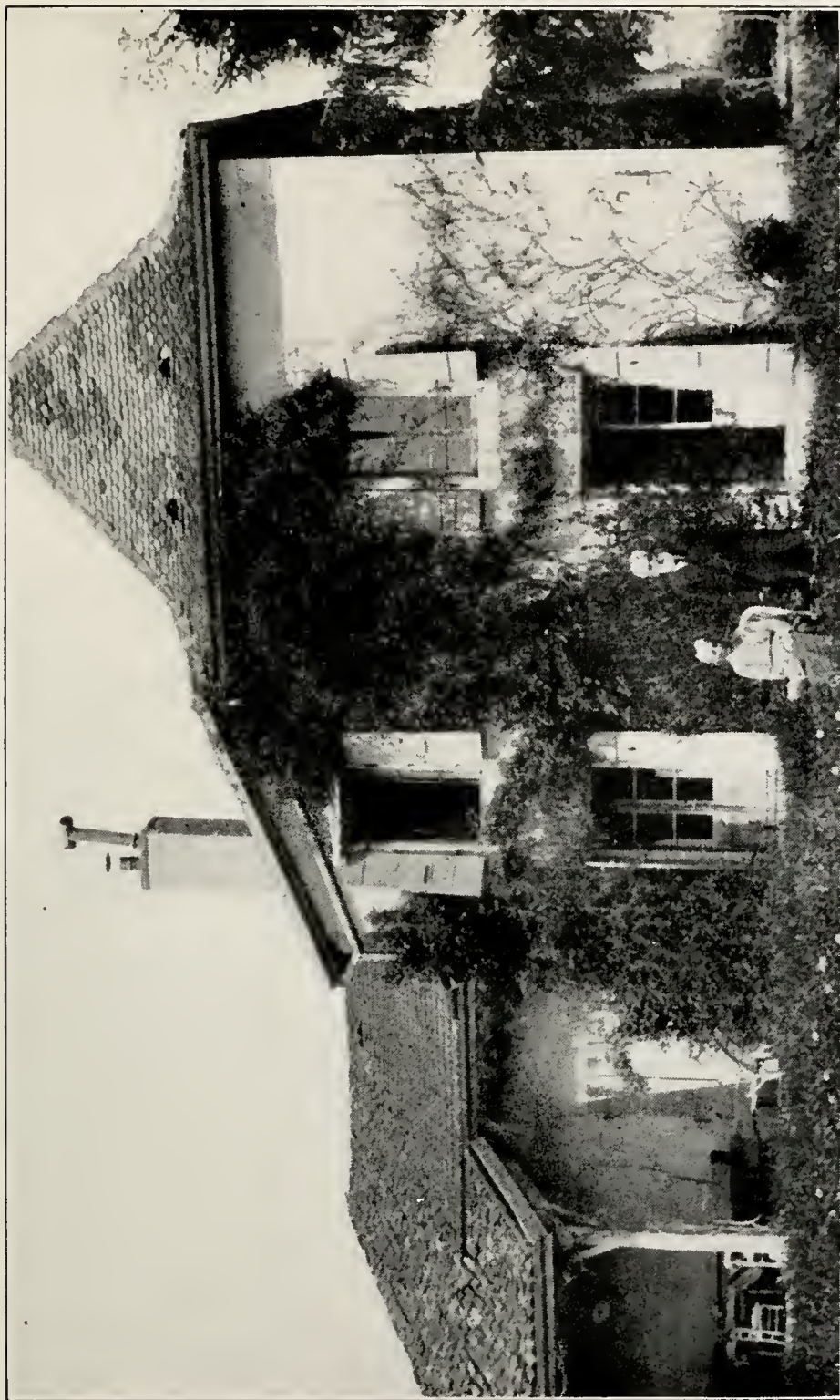
The good living which should accompany good farming and good business is readily observed in Swiss homes. The *châlets* and other dwellings, which are of such pleasing appearance on the outside that they seem to decorate rather than detract from the beauty of the Alpine landscape, are equally pleasing on the inside. The houses are much pleasanter inside and out than those of either Italy or France. The guests are entertained in a "front room" filled with elaborate furniture, heirlooms, and bric-à-brac. It and the other rooms are well decorated with pictures, many of which remind the visitor that Swiss farmers appreciate the splendor of the majestic mountain views which are visible from every foot of Swiss countryside. Every house in Russin has a kitchen, a dining-room, and from two to four bedrooms. All but the dwellings of the laborers are equipped with bathrooms, and there is a shower-bath in the village for the use of the workmen. All the dwellings are connected with the stables and other farm buildings, but the paved barnyards and the arrangement of the buildings is such that this is no handicap from the point of view of cleanliness. There are, on an average, three or four children per family, and the children as well as the housewives help with the field work during the grape harvest and other busy seasons. During such seasons the working days begin at daybreak and last until dark, but this does not prevent the housekeepers from keeping the homes orderly and clean. Running water, electricity, and good fuel lighten the work of housekeeping. The women appear not less happy than the men.

Like most Swiss villages, Russin is seen at its best in the school life. The school is housed in a beautiful, modern, stone building in which are located also the apartment of

the head teacher and the Mairie. The building was completed in 1918 at a cost of 125,000 francs, 25,000 of which were paid by the commune, while the canton of Geneva furnished 100,000. The villagers take more pride in their schoolhouse than in any other building. The building is well lighted and equipped and is kept scrupulously clean. Its equipment includes a moving picture machine, plenty of films for which are furnished free by the Bureau of Education of the canton. Several films are shown for the parents during the winter seasons. There were twenty-three boys and fifteen girls in attendance. The four children who had completed the work in the village school during the year previous to this study were attending high school in Geneva, and four more who were finishing at the time of my visit would probably do so the next. The mayor's daughter had recently spent five months in London learning English.

The pride of the village in general is emphasized in the minds of the children, and this pride and the excellent school spirit which generates from the relations of teachers and pupils on the playground as well as in the class rooms make discipline an easy matter. Corporal punishment is not allowed anyway, but the only punishment which is ever considered necessary is extra work or the loss of recess. The compulsory school age is six to fourteen years; and, although it is never necessary to do so, the Bureau of Education has the power to fine the parents of a child five francs a day for unexcused absences. "They come"! There are two rooms in the school, presided over by well-trained, capable teachers, a man and a woman. The head teacher was born in the village and has held his present and only position for eighteen years. He succeeded his father, who held the same position for forty years. The woman teacher is also a native of the village and has taught in the same room for many years. Besides the two full-time teachers, the children are

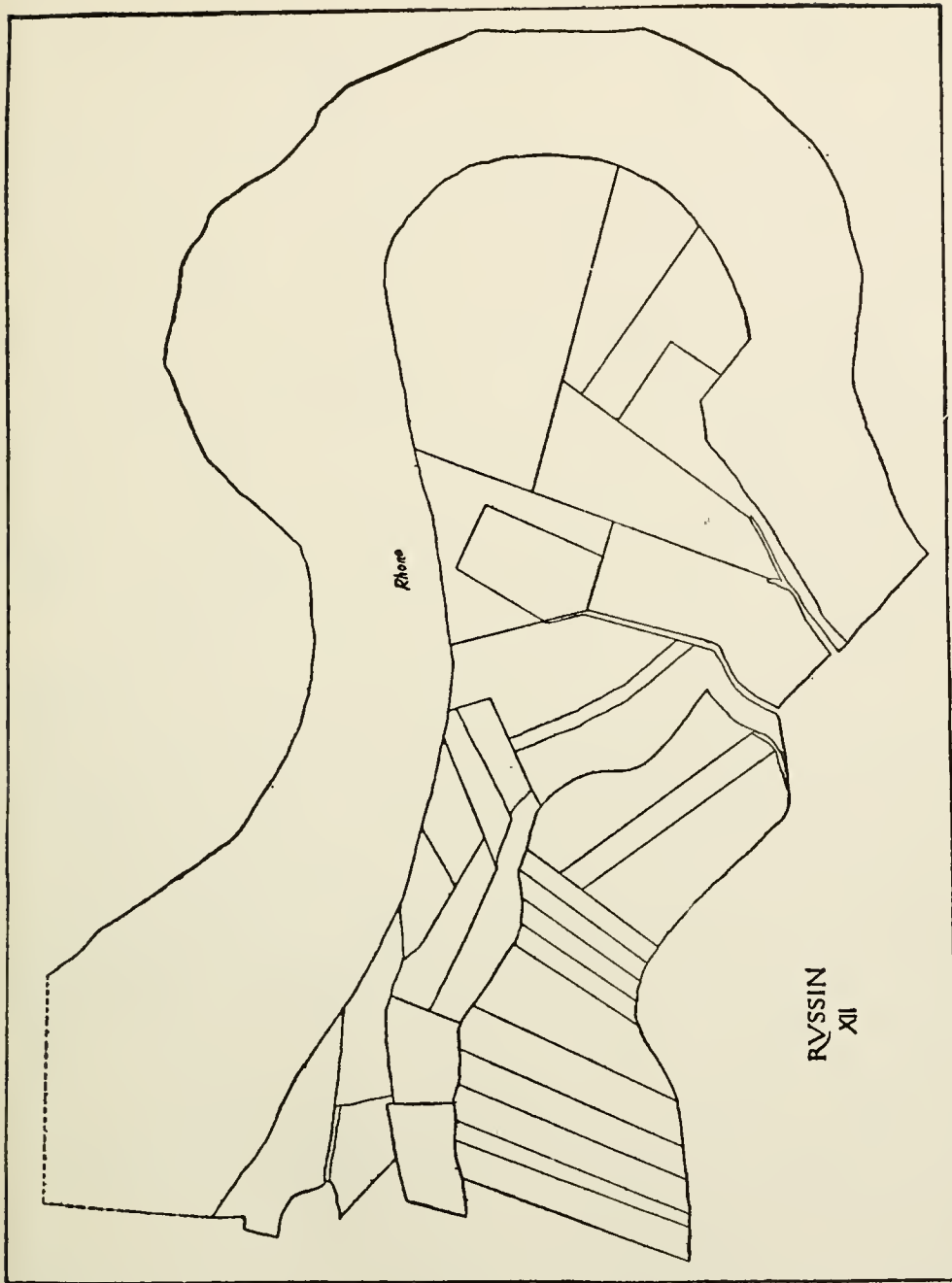




THE PASTOR OF RUSSIN, SWITZERLAND, WHO HAD SPENT FIFTY-FOUR YEARS IN THE SAME CHURCH  
AND PARSONAGE







PLAN OF RUSSIN, SWITZERLAND  
Showing the division of the holdings

taught music by two well-qualified teachers, and sewing twice a week by a *maitresse de couture*. The Catholic priest and the Protestant minister each spend one hour a week teaching Bible lessons; and a doctor from the Bureau of Health at Geneva gives the children regular health examinations. There is not one illiterate person in the village.

My first acquaintance with the village was in the company of the school superintendent, whose room I had visited, and who, himself a member of the village council, gave me a good *entrée* to the homes of the other members, including that of the mayor, where I was afterwards entertained and accommodated with much of the information which I required. The teacher was obviously a man of affairs in the neighborhood, and respected by adults as well as children. The room presided over by the woman teacher was also visited, and the school work, like the ideal group spirit which motivated it, evidenced most expert teaching.

Russin has a doctor in residence, but the nearest hospital, nurse, and dentist are at Geneva. The villages do not employ midwives in maternity cases, use very few home remedies, and few patent medicines. Every case of contagious disease is sent to the hospital at Geneva, and there had not been a death from such a disease in the five years preceding the study. Every school-child must show a good vaccination scar before he can enter school. This applies to children entering from other villages during the year as well as at the beginning of the term when the regular vaccination takes place. It is the teachers' responsibility to see that there are no unvaccinated children in attendance. The children of Russin have all been given free toxin-anti-toxin. It was not compulsory, but all children accepted the service. Once a year all school-children are given a free but thorough health examination; the chest size and lung capacity are measured; eyes, ears, and teeth are examined. All children who are in need of dental work get it free at the *Clinique*



*dentaire scolaire* in Geneva, and needed medical treatment is administered in the same way by the *Service d'Hygiène* in the same place.

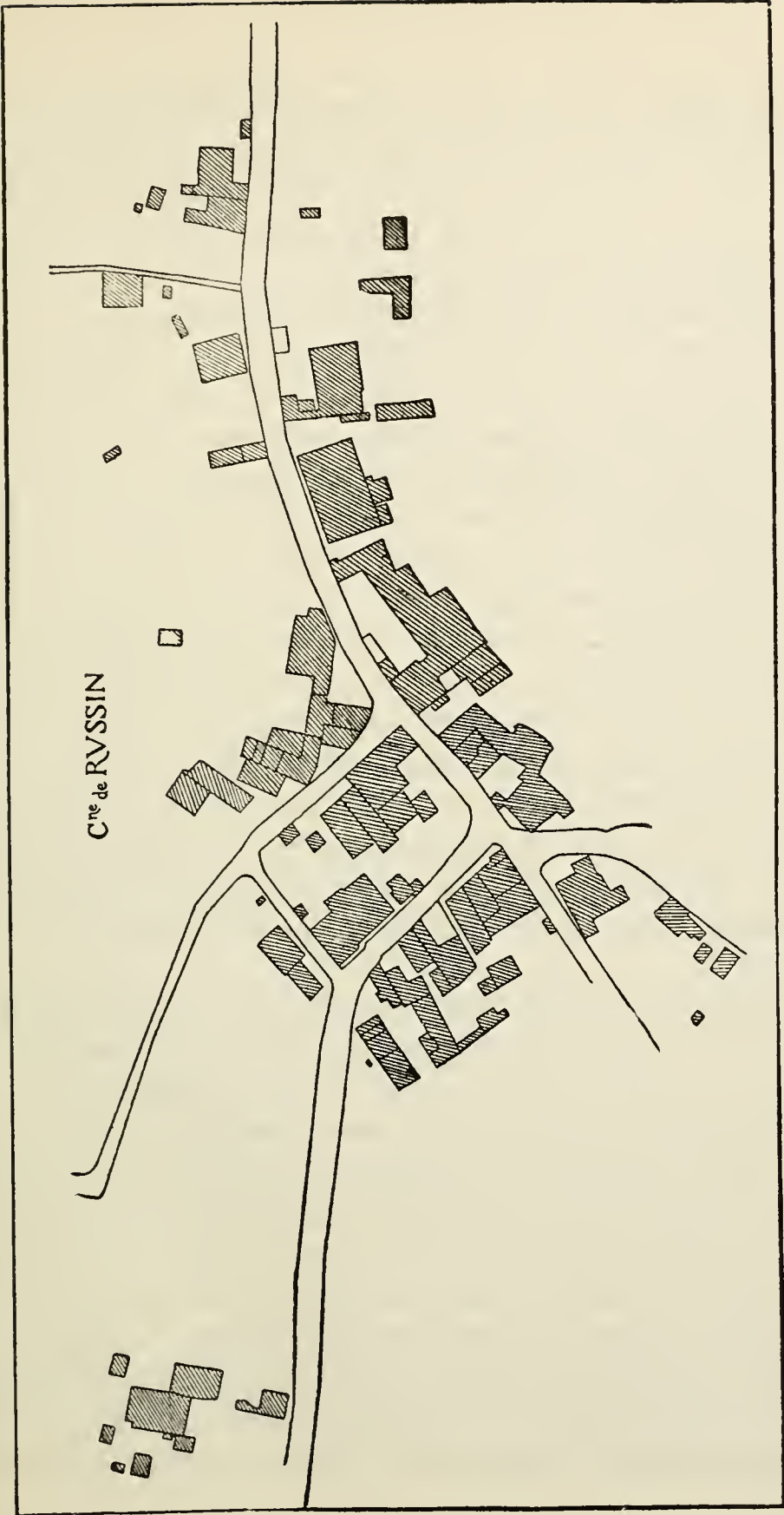
The premises of every villager as well as the street in front of his property are carefully cleaned at least once a week. This cleaning includes the washing of the paved courtyard. The *Service d'Hygiène* has power to take legal action upon the complaint of the mayor to enforce cleanliness, but such complaints are never necessary. The force of public opinion does the business. "Everybody cleans"! The shower-bath for the village workmen, located in the basement of the school building, the bathrooms with hot and cold running water in the homes of the farmers, the electric lights in every house and stable and, most surprising of all, central heat, in most of the farmers' houses, make Russin an aristocratic rural neighborhood from the point of view of an American farmer. These things are not new to Russin, for she has had them all for twenty years.

Russin is as respectable in its recreation as in other phases of its social life. It enjoys the work of a literary society, community singing, and orchestra music, as well as dancing on a variety of fêtes and holidays. The work of recreational agencies is limited to the fall and winter season as all villagers are too busy for such things during the spring and summer. During the fall and winter months there are regular meetings of a successful Literary Society founded by the woman teacher, a Young People's Society fostered by the minister, and a Music Club made up of musically inclined villagers in Russin and several neighboring villages, besides various unorganized forms of recreation such as ball games, skating, ski-ing, and hunting, and the programs and visitings of the fêtes and holidays.

One of the greatest events of the year is the annual "Promotion" day for schools and colleges. It was instituted at Geneva on June 5, 1559, on the occasion of the founding of

the College and the Academy, and has been celebrated regularly since that time. Chateaubriand was present at one of these ceremonies and is said to have been affected with great emotion. On "Promotion" day the *Ordonnance sur les Écoles* is read, prizes given to the students, and general festivities enjoyed, making it one of the most important public holidays. Other great days in the commune are Easter, which requires two days to celebrate, "Ascension," Christmas, and the *Escolade*, or "Scaling Day." The latter is a holiday for the Canton of Geneva and is observed on December 12th, the anniversary of the day on which the Savoyards did *not* scale the walls of Geneva.

The neighbors are very friendly, and the village life *tranquille* and agreeable. Both teachers, the pastor, and several other villagers agreed that, while there are occasionally small economic quarrels and jealousies, no one "holds a grudge." In such an intimate social situation, each neighbor knows a great deal about the others' business, and unequal business success sometimes leads to jealousies, while domestic animals sometimes get out of place and cause trouble; but the common interests by far overbalance any disturbing conflicts, and village life is usually friendly, and generates only constructive rivalries and coöperation. The cafés serve liquor, and here as elsewhere wine-drinking is associated with much conviviality. Children are not allowed to drink as they are in France, and, until about seventeen years of age, they are not allowed to attend fêtes or parties after eight o'clock in the evening at the latest. After that age, they are allowed a great deal of freedom even in the matter of courtship and marriage. Weddings are, at least, neighborhood affairs, and are often attended by friends from neighboring villages. At funerals, women as well as men attend the service at the home, but only men go to the burying. No woman goes to the service at the grave, regardless of whether the deceased is her husband, parent, or



PLAN OF THE COMMUNE OF RUSSIN  
Shaded areas show the location of the dwellings and other buildings



child. Formal social organizations and informal parties, etc., are usually open to the whole neighborhood and are not class affairs. There seems to be nothing resembling a stratification of classes in the commune. In general one can say that the Swiss village leaves little to be desired in the way of recreation and sociability for old and young, especially during the months when farm work is not urgent.

There is only one church in Russin, which, in the canton of Geneva, is the state church. The Catholic church is only about a kilometer's distance away, and the twelve Catholic families in Russin attend at least as regularly as the other families, all of whom are members of the Protestant church. After consulting the priest and studying the pastor's record of attendance, as well as questioning various members of the congregations, I found the regular church attendance to be about thirty per cent of the population. The attendance is much larger on special occasions, and that of the men and women is about equal. The Catholic priest says mass for men and women at different hours, so that one parent in the family can remain at home while the other attends. This system makes a larger attendance possible. All villagers are christened, married, and buried by one of the pastors.

The priest is a young man only two years out of school, but is most energetic and is respected by both Catholics and Protestants. The pastor, whose birthday anniversary I helped to celebrate, it being my own as well, is eighty years old, and has been pastor of Russin for fifty-four of those years. He came to the pastorate the year he was married and graduated from the seminary, and is still very active. He is well-trained, has an impressive personality, and might have secured many other and larger pastorates; but he has chosen to remain in Russin and has found the village life and work most satisfying. He still has plenty of "fire in his eye" and tells with enthusiasm of his long and adventure-

some experience as a village pastor. He is very liberal in his beliefs and questions his congregation very little in the matter of creed. One of the pleasantest findings of the study was the discovery of the good-fellowship which existed between the old pastor and the young priest. They are the best of friends. One follows the other in giving Bible lessons to the school-children, and they seem to be a well-matched team in everything but age. The old gentleman says of the young one that he is a good fellow and coöperates well. The young gentleman says of the older that he is a good fellow and coöperates well. Some American pastors of the same faith might well serve apprenticeships to these neighbors. Both pastors speak well of the morals of their people. Both they and the school teachers, as well as other villagers, insist that there is practically no delinquency among adults or young people of the permanent members of the commune, and very little among the transient laborers. The most serious wrong-doing on the part of the latter was the theft of a bicycle. The thief was severely punished. The old pastor stated that there had not been more than ten or twelve illegitimate children born in Russin or the two nearest villages in the fifty-four years of his acquaintance with them. Family and village life is very regular, and no crime has been committed in Russin in several times five years.

The only exception which I could find to such optimistic reports of village morals was the fact that a few individuals sometimes get drunk. One such neighbor had accidentally burned his house down while intoxicated a short time before, and the charred ruins, still undisturbed, were evidence that liquor-drinking was a problem even in respectable Russin. The neighbors, especially the school teachers and pastors, were very favorable to the proposal to prohibit all distilled liquors which was to be voted on in all Switzerland the following May. The woman school teacher scouted the

idea that drinking was not a problem in every village, and stated that the evils of the drinking of alcohol were explained to the children in the schools, but that its total prohibition would be difficult because its manufacture constituted such an important part of the nation's industry. She agreed unhesitatingly with the wife of the adjoint of Gattières, who when told the reason for prohibition in America, replied, "Ici on boît trop aussi,"—"Here they drink too much also."

Russin has five automobiles, is connected with every village and city in Switzerland by good roads, has good train and bus service, takes daily papers for every family, magazines for at least a third of the families, has at least a few books in every home, a library at the school, and telephone and telegraph accessible to every villager. The village is often reminded of the interdependence between it and its neighboring villages and between it and the city and outside world by many contacts, such as business dealings, high school and college attendance by village young people, the work of such agencies as the Bureau of Hygiene and of Education, the travels of villagers, visits of tourists, universal military service,<sup>1</sup> and many other kinds of long- and short-distance intercourse. Russin lives a most intensive neighborhood life, and, at the same time, shares the international interest and sympathy of her cosmopolitan neighbor, Geneva.

There cannot be much complaint concerning the effectiveness of the village organization in the production and use of leadership so long as it can grow its own of such quality as the schoolmaster and mistress of Russin and hold for fifty-four years such a leader as the Protestant pastor. The very efficient mayor and the other members of the village

<sup>1</sup> Beginning with sixty-seven days at twenty years of age and decreasing in duration annually until the individual reaches twenty-seven years, when the term is only thirteen days.







RUSSIN'S PRIEST, TEACHER, AND SCHOOL

council who gladly serve for the honor of office, as well as the voluntary workers in the many village social enterprises, are good illustrations of the efficiency of communal organization in turning out the by-product of leadership.

All Russin's voters vote. All the neighbors discuss political questions freely in frequent political meetings held at the school-house or in informal conversations on street corners. They are, in fact, so used to such discussions that they can take part in them without quarreling. Women do not yet vote, but they discuss politics energetically. They have few complaints about legislation and government; but, in common with most of the rest of the world's farmers, they are in favor of reducing taxes, anyway those assessed to farmers. Whenever villagers have any complaints to make concerning the administration of governmental affairs, they have the machinery through which to make their objections understandable to the authorities at fault. They reach the officials readily through their village council, and Swiss politicians are kept reminded of their democratic responsibility to their constituents by occasional use of the Initiative and Referendum.

Most disputes requiring mediation are settled by the mayor as unofficial arbitrator in his capacity of justice of the peace. Only two cases were carried to the Geneva Court during 1929 and 1930, and they were both conflicts between employers and employees in regard to wages. Here as elsewhere in village society, public opinion is the main source of social control.

Only two families were reported to have received aid during the year 1928-1929, and they received only small amounts for a short time. All the children in one family who were old enough to go to school were insured against sickness by the commune, and one wife whose husband was detailed for military service was paid 2.95 francs a day during her husband's absence, for the support of the one child in



the family. She worked to earn the rest of her living expenses. The answer which I received to the question as to how many parents who had children able to support them required relief was that Russin's system worked the other way around. All parents were wealthy enough to help their children in getting a start, but saved enough for themselves. Accident insurance is obligatory for Swiss employers. Many farmers in Russin have life, fire, and harvest insurance. Every cow in Russin is insured. There is state insurance against unemployment. The need for charities in Russin is almost equal to that of corrections. It is up-to-date in preventing both.

Russin has members in seven different coöperative organizations, and the Russin members are about the same for all of these.

1. *The Boulangerie Coöperative Agricole* makes wheat into flour and flour into bread which it delivers to 300 members in four villages, doing a business amounting to 120,000 francs annually. Every farmer in Russin is in its membership.

2. *The Moulin Agricole* for coöperative marketing does a business of 180,000 francs and has all Russin's farmers in its membership.

3. *The Syndicat Agricole* with thirty Russin members does a supply business amounting to 10,000 francs.

4. *The Syndicat d'Élevage du Bétail* is organized to promote the raising of better cattle, owns an experimental station in the mountains and 120,000 francs' worth of cattle. On May 6, 1926, this organization took the first prize for the finest cattle in all Switzerland at the annual fair or stock exhibit. One farmer has 105 cattle prizes nailed up on the side of his barn, and several others have showings which are nearly as large.

5. *The Syndicat d'Assurance du Bétail* is an insurance coöperative which accounts for the insurance of every head of cattle in the commune to the extent of eighty percent of its value.

6. *The Société de Laiterie* is the local coöperative which markets all the milk produced in the commune.

7. *The Société des Laiteries Réunies, Geneva*, includes the membership of the smaller milk coöperative and buys its product.

Thus Russin in her play, worship, business, and all other activities, lives a coöperative life. Her people have all the virtues of the Swiss, but the most outstanding quality which I observed was that neighborhood product, *coöperative character*.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE ENGLISH PARISH

**A**LTHOUGH many days were spent in digesting the literature on the subject in the library of the British Museum and that of the Horace Plunkett Foundation, most of the concrete information concerning the English neighborhood was acquired during a three-months residence in the very typical rural village of Edenbridge, Kent, and during numerous tours through the English countryside. Although the time spent was necessarily short, the work was greatly facilitated as well as made pleasurable by the most courteous and whole-hearted coöperation of the Edenbridge Parish Council, the Sevenoaks Rural District Council, and The Kent Rural Community Council, as well as the representatives of the local social organizations and the farmers of the parish. Not less helpful and encouraging was the advice and coöperation of the workers of the Horace Plunkett Foundation.

It was the workers of the Horace Plunkett Foundation who planned for me a fifteen-hundred-mile tour of rural England, a tour which furnished an excellent introduction to that "green and pleasant land." I had made a less extensive tour of England in April, 1919, immediately after having spent sixteen days on an ice breaker in the White Sea, during which I had seen nothing but snow and ice, and had suspected, until this second view, that my first impression had overemphasized the greenness and pleasantness. Such an overemphasis, however, is hardly possible.

When one gets away from the sights and sounds and smells of the countryside and investigates the comparative



reports on rates (taxes) land rents, prices paid for farm products, average farm incomes, and the number of farm bankrupts, he is likely to suspect that the English farmer is as sincere as the American farmer in his eloquent complaints of penury and in his demand for farm relief, and that possibly he is as much poorer than the American as it costs him to do all the hedge-trimming, flower-gardening, and general beautifying.

But, from a roadside point of view, the Englishman has much poorer evidence of poverty. As one follows the rambling country roads in England, he is impressed by the prosperous, even luxurious, appearance of English agriculture. He sees cozy, neat, and artistic dwellings, beautiful green fields and forests serving as backgrounds for herds of sleek cattle and flocks of fat sheep. He admires the well-trimmed hedges linking the paved or graveled highways and bounding the carefully cultivated fields. The odor, if not the view, of many hedge-hidden flowers convinces him of the validity of the doctrine that man's life began in a garden and ought to end there. He meets the leisurely farm workers driving their affectionately-groomed, giant horses. He may meet the still more leisurely farmer, wearing his Sunday clothes, making his weekly, or possibly tri-weekly visit to a village market. Nowhere do farm families seem to have more leisure for, or enjoyment in, strolling about the highways and foot-paths. Even the birds seem to sing more prosperously in England than in America. If I could discover the secret of the English countryman's sense of the beautiful, his artistic pride, his reverence for a tree, his high valuation of a flower garden, not for display but for private pleasure, his worship of hills and valleys, and groves and brooks and roadsides, his congenial companionship with domestic animals, in short, the secret of his genuine love of country life, I should whisper that secret loudly into the ears of American farmers. A still greater

secret would be the explanation of this English countryman's ability to pass on to English urban dwellers the un-Socratic conviction that "sticks and stones" can teach him something. It is probable that that explanation would account, in some measure, for many other peculiarities of English national and neighborhood life.

To the casual observer, as well as to the more thorough investigator, the structure of the English neighborhood appears to be a compromise between the American open-country variety and the rural village as it exists among most other European people. Although there are many more exceptions than among American farmers, the prevailing custom is for English farmers to reside on the land which they till, but the village constitutes a more vital social center, and the parish exhibits a much greater social unity than is found in American rural villages and their surrounding territories.

Every student who has tried to map an American community has found, as did Dr. Galpin,<sup>1</sup> in the first thorough effort, that he needed a separate map for every activity. As has been mentioned in an earlier chapter, the banking, trading, shipping, religious, educational, recreational, political, postal, and newspaper neighborhoods, in America, do not coincide; but the English parish, until recently, has been thoroughly unified in these respects, and is still largely so. The persistence of this parish unity seems surprising when one notes the irregularity of form of English parishes. As a view of the map will show, the parishes are most irregular, and, in some cases, the territory of a parish is not all in one piece. With few exceptions there have been no changes in the parish boundaries since Doomsday. It remains to be seen whether they can survive the modifying influence of good roads, automobiles, and other improved means of communication. This neighborhood solidarity has

<sup>1</sup> *Rural Life* (New York, The Century Co., 1918), pp. 74-83.

its roots in age-old tradition, and every side of social life bears its stamp. Even the parish graveyard reflects the neighborhood unity.

This unity, so powerful in the past, still has strength. Its power over its members as well as upon the larger groups may be largely traditional, but it takes some strength to foster tradition. The English farmer still has great respect for what "is done" and what "isn't done." With hardly an exception, he trims his roadside hedges, not because the District Council has power to make him do it, but mainly because of the same neighborhood public opinion which accounts for much of his doings. The District Council has such power only because of such public opinion. He plays his full part in the election of the Parish Council, and demands his share of representation on that body. The fact that that council seldom launches enterprises which require the assessment of the maximum legal rates is due mainly to his effective demand for low taxes. He elects and serves in the same manner the District and County Councils. He is jealous of age-old traditions of local self-government, and surrenders the administration of government functions to larger jurisdiction only when thoroughly convinced that such administration is more efficient, and he is not easy to convince. At the time that this study was made there was much agitation for taking the administration of roads out of the hands of district councils and putting it under the county councils, but the farmers were opposed to such a change and were marshalling their forces in opposition to the movement. Automobile drivers are often reminded of the lack of uniformity in traffic regulations, a sure indication of local control; but the remedy of large-scale traffic regulation will probably have to await the more general use of automobiles by farmers. The Local Government Act of 1894 did not mark the beginning of local social control. It is more likely that it was the result of the consciousness of



the weakening of such control, but it is still strong in comparison with that of American rural neighborhoods.

It is soon obvious, however, even to a superficial observer, that the parish unity is not one of likeness or equality in the constituency of the population, but that, on the contrary, it is one of differentiation. This differentiation is not one of race, but of well-established class status. In this respect the English neighborhood seems *not* to be a mean between the extremes of a typical American rural neighborhood and that of peasant village residence. Although it is probably impossible to reconcile the opposing views as to the origin of the English open-field or rack-rig farming, it is obvious that the social stratification of the present parish is a relic of that system, and probably has its roots in whatever may have preceded that system.

There are three clear-cut distinctions among those who live on the farms in an English parish: the land-owners, the farmers or renters, and the farm laborers. In general these classes perform specialized functions and constitute more or less separate mental wholes; but there is a sense of common interests and, in some cases, an overlapping of classifications. The sense of belonging to the native parish and even the native farm seems to account largely for the well-known lack of mobility on the part of the laborers; but this sense of neighborhood membership cannot be taken for granted from the mere fact of ownership or of residence on a farm. A case in point is that of a retired war profiteer who has lived for several years a thoroughly isolated social life in one of the parishes visited in this study.

There are large farmers and small farmers, land-owners who farm their own lands, farmers who work with their laborers or do all their own farm labor as well as manage the farm business, "week-enders" who work in the city and reside on a farm Saturdays and Sundays, city workers or officials who are commuters, as well as retired officials of

various sorts who maintain a country house and garden. On the fringe of neighborhood membership are the migratory families who establish a very temporary country residence during the hop- or the fruit-picking season and occasionally during grain or hay harvesting. The neighborly relations existing between these classes of farm occupants is no greater than that between them and the almost equally distinct classes dwelling in the village center, the clergy, teachers, tradesmen, factory workers, etc. It is not uncommon to find dairymen and other farmers maintaining a village residence. And anyway, after a thousand years with little change in their size, the villages have given up the ambition, if they ever had any, of becoming cities, and are quite content to be parish centers. The village tradesmen think they own the patronage of the parish farmers, and the parish farmers have a strong sense of possession of the village streets and institutions.

It must not be assumed that the sense of *belonging* and of common interests of all these established classes prevents class conflicts. In fact, the cross-purposes in which the energies of the parish are sometimes dissipated suggest that the weakness of such class stratification is nearly as great a handicap as the geographically disjointed structure of the American rural neighborhood. The unequal struggle between the farmers, with the help of at least the landowners and clergy, on one hand, and the farmer-laborers on the other is a good illustration of such wasteful conflict. The story of the class conflict, and the efforts of the parliaments and reformers to solve the problem of injustice and oppression which it has involved furnish one of the best illustrations of the powerful public will of the English parish, a will which has often been strong in the wrong direction, like that of the drunkard whose strength of will withstood all his friends' and neighbors' efforts at reform.

The first radical disturbances of the early classification

of villages as well as the system of tenure resulted from the invention of the scheme of the lord's letting the manor to a tenant at a given rent, payable either in money or in kind, in place of the former custom according to which the lord managed the cultivation of the demesne through his bailiff.<sup>2</sup> From this invention there arose the Farmer-Class. In fact the word 'farmer' is derived from the term applied to the rent paid for such tenure, i.e. 'feorm' which, in turn, comes from the Latin word 'firma.' The rise of the farmer was followed by that of a class of rural free laborers, no longer bound to the soil or their former masters. Other steps in the efforts to improve the conditions of the lower classes in general were the abolition of the slave trade in the Empire by the Grenville Ministry in 1807, and the abolition of slavery itself throughout the Empire in 1833; the peasant revolts after the Black Death, led by John Ball, Wat Tyler, Jack Cade, and others; and the series of reforms during the century following the Battle of Waterloo, which constituted the Social Revolution.<sup>3-4</sup> The latter included such items as national and compulsory education in 1856, and finally, free education in 1888; medical inspection in schools; pensions for the aged; compulsory, state-aided insurance for workers; special aid for the unemployed; sanatoria for the sick; new cottages and allotments for rural laborers; minimum wage scales enforced by Trade Boards; arbitration in trade disputes made a duty of government; the transferring of rural administration from county magnates to the people themselves (Local Government Act of 1888) and, later, the establishment of Parish and District Councils (1894), the setting up of local government boards charged with care of public health and the control of the Poor Law system; the establishment of the right of laborers to organize;

<sup>2</sup> Green, *A Short History of the English People* (London, The Macmillan Company, Ltd.), p. 246.

<sup>3-4</sup> *Ibid.*



workers' compensation; and the lightening of game laws. The rural laboring classes have had some talented champions.<sup>5</sup>

William Cobbett, who described himself as "born in a farmhouse, bred up at the plough-tail, with a smock-frock on my back," who, as a child, had endured heart-breaking poverty, and who toiled for twenty years in a vain effort to get possession of a holding, schooled himself to write and speak while serving as a common soldier, and for ten years (1820-1830) made an eloquent plea and led a courageous fight against the oppression of English laborers, whom he pictured as being "thin as herrings, dragging their feet after them, pale as a ceiling, and sneaking about like beggars—the most miserable people that ever trod the earth." He made some temporary progress in labor organization, published a labor paper, and, in his seventieth year, 1835, a year before his death, presented to the House of Commons a petition signed by 12,000 workers. Seven days after the presentation of the petition six Dorset farm laborers were transported for seven years for forming a village lodge of their union. The encouragement which Cobbett had given to the publication of penny papers for laborers was offset by 728 prosecutions for selling without paying government tax, and they were denied a free press for another twenty years. The tens of thousands of members whom he had won to the union soon dwindled to a negligible number.

Joseph Arch, a Methodist preacher, who, as a nine-year-old boy, in the time of Cobbett's greatest accomplishment, had been engaged in the work of scaring crows for twelve hours a day for fourpence, became the latter's successor as the champion of rural agricultural laborers. He gathered into agricultural labor unions a number which John Richard Green says equaled nearly 100,000 members, and, according

<sup>5</sup> F. E. Green, *History of English Agricultural Laborer* (London, P. S. King, 1920), p. 845.

to F. E. Green, equaled 71,835. These members often met by moonlight and faced dangers and sacrifices and universal opposition; but they demanded and obtained an increase in wages to sixteen shillings a week. A great spirit was shown by the workers during the time of this struggle. Sixteen women who were imprisoned in Chipping Norton in Oxfordshire for daring two strike-breakers to take their husbands' places, were, upon their release, met at the gaol by two four-in-hands; their return was heralded by music; and, before the house of the ringleader of the prosecuting farmers, they were ceremoniously presented with five pounds each.

"However," adds John Richard Green, "energy of reform was followed, as in 1835, by quick reaction; and the Trade Unionists felt their special claims neglected." F. E. Green explains the breaking of the union by the farmers' lock-out of 10,000 workers and the weakening which resulted from the emigration of thousands of members to Canada, where the government gave each land and a hut. "Farmers and clergy," he says, "played not a noble part." The loss of 5,000,000 sheep as the result of a wet season in 1879, the increased use of farm machinery, the weakness of the laborer through being voteless, and the ignorance of laborers helped to account for the decline of labor organization. Arch was elected to Parliament in 1885, but lost in 1886; dock men and gas workers were allowed to join and confuse the issues of rural workers; local government was monopolized by landowners and farmers who controlled the County and District Councils; the Small Holdings and Allotment Act was ineffective because those who administered it were overawed by those who possessed or occupied the land; the Parish Councils, to which laborers had access, could accomplish little because of the limitation in resources to a maximum rates assessment of sixpence to the pound.

Unions were stirred to new life after 1900 by the organization of the Labor Party and by favorableness of Liberals

to Small Holdings and Old Age Pensions, which interested them in political policy; and as the result of a visit to Denmark of a deputation of Suffolk farmers who reported that wages were higher although other costs were equally as high in that country as in England. This progressive period was soon forgotten upon the beginning of the World War in 1914. Farmers took advantage of the patriotic excuse for removing the laborers' boys from school without even the parents' consent. Wages increased more slowly than prices, and have not reached a respectable level since. With all the efforts of parliaments and reformers to alleviate the suffering of the oppressed members of parish neighborhoods, "the powers that be" in these neighborhoods have been able to hang on to their cherished local government and to administer it to their own advantage.

Two very sympathetic authors, Christopher Holdenby, an Oxford man, writing in 1913, and an anonymous writer, whose book, *England's Green and Pleasant Land*, was published by Jonathan Cape in 1925, both give very gloomy pictures of rural social life in England, showing little excuse for the assumed superiority and privilege of the upper classes and furnishing evidence of little progress in the interim between the publication of the two books. Holdenby used Whiting Williams's method for finding "what's on the worker's mind." He went out and lived and worked with the laborer. The following are fragmentary quotations which reveal conditions as he found them:

"To qualify for the title of country gentleman, one must have a 'Place;' run with the hounds, drive the partridges; but what need one know of country life?"

"There are still landowners in this country who take a broad-minded view of the duties of their position and of their obligations to the cultivators of the land . . . still the country has become the retiring ground, not only of the successful business man, but of the pensioned officer and civil servant who brings his social club life with him. He has come there because he is no longer on the active



list; he is meriting a well-earned rest; he has little energy left for a real participation in the life of the village and countryside—and small wonder. But even where families and estates bear the same ancestral title real intimacy with the land seems dying out.

“The countryman is just conscious that there is a difference between himself and the townsman, between himself and the week-end visitor, even between himself and the folk who have imported a little town life into the old mansion.

“He realizes there is injury somewhere; he does not know where to place it. Very naturally he fathers the wrong on those he sees wielding power around him. Suspicion has reached a painful point, almost stultifying action. I have often known a good act done for the village by the squire or parson criticised in these terms: ‘Ay, ay; it’s right enough, but wot d’you s’pose ’s’s goin’ to get fur ’is trouble? Somethin’, you bet, or ’e’d never a done it.’

“Mayfair usually meets the countryman only for week-ends on holiday, and the latter, in his hobnails, treads on the patent leather toes of his critics.

“A really beneficent and paternal landlord was extolling one of his tenants and boasting that he had never taken a holiday for forty years. It did not seem to occur to the squire that this was an appalling confession. But the toilers of the fields are human beings. I have made holiday with them when they have taken their first day off for five or six years. ‘I’ve often wanted to go over yonder hill a’fore, I thought as there must be a fine bit o’ country,’ as one man remarked to me after a ramble on a hill he had looked out on all his life.

“But village life has become so isolated even within its own insularity.

“But there is no personal influence in Brown’s life; he has no responsibility on the farm; there is no social life in the village; his home is mostly a makeshift; and this is the atmosphere in which father and grandfather grew up.

“There is a huge misunderstanding between employer and employed; the whole relationship has become distorted, human considerations have been ignored, though both boss and gang are intensely human individually. There is the fear of being caught resting or talking; there is the grudging of doing more than one is paid to do; there is, worst of all, the total absence of interest in the concern to which men are giving their lives and labor.

“Men may say, too, that the countryman works under such pleasant conditions—in the sunlight and fresh air—that he does not merit the wages of our factory hands or those who work below ground. But as a rule those folk have their mates, they are not alone; whereas my friends, if they are not on gang labor, may spend whole days by themselves. They take their lunch lonely under the hedge, and trudge home lonely at night, and see not a living soul all day.

“Sometimes I have set a man on a job by himself, and met with the suggestion, ‘All right, sir, but if I could ’ave a mate, we’d get through it a deal quicker.’

“I was less than two miles from where my friend lived, but the cottager had never heard of him, a circumstance which no longer surprises me in the country, now I know the ways of countryfolk.

“Unfortunately, the resident gentry have carried into the country something of town snobbery. Sam may no longer ‘walk out with his girl’ because her father has been made head groom. The coachman will not be on more than nodding acquaintance with the farm carter, and presumably their wives do not even know one another by sight.

“Scattered throughout these pages are many references to the country landlords, the resident gentry, and the farmers. My mate would probably class with those the local doctor, the successful miller, and corn merchant, the village schoolmaster, and sum them all up as ‘them as ought to know.’”

The anonymous author of *England's Green and Pleasant Land* very appropriately dedicates his book to the memory of the laboring men and women who died on Pisgah, who “died in the faith, not having received the promises but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.” He describes the laborers as living in unsanitary, leaky, cold, damp cottages which are too crowded for decency; undernourished, dirty, sick, few being physically what they might be “If child welfare were a national care.”

“Of the church, the big house, the school; only the

school," he says, "seems to have much to give in a solution of the problem."

He calls many of the aristocrats "who are to be found in illustrated weeklies which specialize in pages of snapshots of people of prominence in a society of hunts, local point-to-point, and coursing meetings, and national sporting figures merely barbarous vulgarians" in comparison with the cottagers who "put enjoyment of life as they understand it before some kinds of comfort."

"In what sense," he asks, "have these people (i.e. the aristocrats) been, are these people now the hamlet's betters? What have their opportunities of good health, and comfortable housing, or education and travel, taught them by which the hamlet has benefited? If they were sundered from our rural body politic to-morrow, would it not be advantageous to it?"

The rural classes and the conditions of laborers are discussed by J. K. Fowler<sup>6</sup> in a book published in 1892, from what appears to be the point of view of a beneficent employer as shown by his description of his father's Harvest Home programs, his own management of laborers, and his reference to the "lawless" and "misguided" men who agitated the question of labor organization in Cobbett's time.

His father's Harvest Home Festival showed some neighborhood solidarity and incidentally furnished one means of control of laborers.

"His custom was to invite some of the village tradesmen, such as the blacksmith, wheelwright, and carpenter, to join the festive throng, and these with about twenty of the laborers, old and young, formed with the family a company of about forty persons; my father took the head of the table, myself the bottom end."

Then followed a feast, with plenty of beer and tobacco, and address by "father," songs, and jokes.

<sup>6</sup> J. K. Fowler, *Echoes of Old Country Life*.



“Three of the men sitting near each other stood up, whilst one of the others, selected as a tolerably good singer, struck up the following stanza :

‘Here’s a health to our master, the founder of the feast,  
I hope to God with all my heart his soul in heaven may rest,  
And all his works may prosper that e’er he takes in hand,  
For we are all his servants, and all at his command,  
So drink, boys, drink, and see you do not spill,  
For if you do you shall drink too, for ’tis our master’s will.’ ”

After which they all drank until

“I regret to have to admit that the chief number of the company before their departure were generally intoxicated.”

In his own farm management he sought to improve conditions of his laborers by the following policy :

1. Apportioning a convenient section of the farm as allotments.
2. Allowing workers all the manure they wanted.
3. Charging only the rent he paid for land.
4. Holding a Harvest Home Festival Agricultural Show, the proceeds from which paid back the rent, to which were added as prizes a sovereign from himself and an equal amount from his wife.
5. Paying a commission per acre, per bushel, per lamb or per calf for working with machinery or live stock.
6. Giving twenty per cent of the prize money to workers when produce was shown at agricultural shows.

He describes labor troubles thus :

“Bodies of lawless men marched from village to village, breaking up every machine invented for the saving of labor. The farmers and trading classes were powerless to control them; the yeomanry were called out, and special constables were sworn to suppress the ‘Swing Riots’ as they were styled from the threatening letters which farmers received warning them that their farms would be destroyed, and ‘Swing’ in allusion, probably, to the penalty of hanging for arson. . . . These important outbreaks lasted for several weeks and then, in nearly every part of the county, a special commission of assizes was held, and at Aylesbury scores

of misguided men were arraigned for riot and arson, were mostly found guilty and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and transportation, and the country became gradually quieted.”

He refers to two men’s being sentenced to death, but they were reprieved three days before the execution and transported for life. One of them died in South Wales, and another was pardoned and returned to the parish and became a prosecutor in the court where he was sentenced.

S. L. Bensusan, writing in 1923, attributes the problem of the middleman and the separation of town and country to the lack of coöperation between the three classes who ought to be partners.<sup>7</sup> The partners will accomplish little he thinks,

“while they have a Central Landholder’s Association, a National Farmers’ Union, and two or three Agricultural Laborers’ Unions, all suspicious of one another, instead of one body representative of all parties working in the common interest.”

In another book the same author tells of seeing squire and parson on election day examine the laborers at the door of the schoolhouse, the one threatening unemployment, the other hell fire, for those who betrayed their country by voting for the wrong party.<sup>8</sup>

In 1910, Sir Daniel Hall<sup>9</sup> came to the conclusion that almost the only working part that the landlords took in agriculture consisted in the breeding of pedigreed live stock, and that as a form of social competition, and that they “must be crowded out unless they take some higher view of their function.”

It seems obvious from the unanimous agreement of those who write of English rural life from whatever point of view that the parish is divided into very distinct classes, that it is much more thoroughly classified than is the American

<sup>7</sup> *The Town Versus the Countryside* (London, P. S. King, 1923).

<sup>8</sup> *Rural England*.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

rural neighborhood. American farmers might be said to have a half dozen disjointed and attenuated neighborhoods, corresponding to the various group functions, all emanating from a common center but not identical in size or form; while the English parish has at least three rather emaciated neighborhoods, identical in size and form, superimposed one on the other. The upper strata in the parish have more of the quality which physicists call "viscosity" than American neighborhoods, but the isolation involved in the class division in the former have much the same weakening effect, so far as effective team work is concerned, as the fragmentary condition of the latter. The English class distinctions are, of course, a survival from the original rural communities; but the isolation is the result of enclosure and the decreasing functional *raison d'être* of the privileged classes.

When one compares the English rural neighborhood with that of Germany, a great deficiency in coöperation and neighborliness is easily discernible on the part of the English. This deficiency affects most disadvantageously the farm laborers. As has been suggested, not only is their general, social, and institutional life unsatisfactory and economic bargaining power lessened because of it; but one of the most serious handicaps is the loneliness of their work.

In a book published in 1926, Mr. G. G. Coulton gives a striking picture of the psychological effects of this loneliness upon the laborer's attitude. Speaking of his experience as a young man in the country districts of South Wales, he says:

"Over and over again, when the slanting shadows were beginning to show that beautiful countryside in its most beautiful aspect . . . over and over again in these moments, I found myself hailed by some lonely laborer . . . leaning on his hoe and crying to me across the field. It was always the same question, 'What's the time of day?' Job must have anticipated an English or Ameri-



can hired man when he used this figure, 'As a servant earnestly desireth the shadow, and as a hireling looketh for the reward of his work.' "

"The more a man finds real enjoyment in his work," says J. St. George Heath, "the less important do the earnings of that work become." And one of the easily observed peculiarities of English and American neighborhoods is the lack of opportunity, on the part of workers, for joyous expression of sociability in labor.

Of all the many writings on the subject of neighborhood organization, none seems to me to show greater sympathetic insight, and certainly none are more delightful or inspiring reading than that of the Irish poet, prophet, and philosopher who signs himself "A. E." Although he writes from the point of view of the promotion of the national well-being of the Irish state, many of his descriptions are true of English conditions.

"Our great nations and widespread empires," he says, "arose in a haphazard fashion out of city states and scattered tribal communities. The fusion of these into larger entities, which could act jointly for offense or defense, so much occupied the thoughts of their rulers that everything else was subordinated to it. As a result, the details of our modern civilization are all wrong. There is an intense life at a few great political or industrial centers, and wide areas where there is stagnation and decay. Stagnation is most obvious in rural districts. . . . Our rural populations are no more closely connected, for the most part, than the shifting sands on the seashore. Their life is almost entirely individualistic. There are personal friendships, of course, but few economic or social partnerships. Everybody pursues his own occupation without regard to the occupation of his neighbors. *If a man emigrates it does not affect the occupation of those who farm about him.*" (The italics are my own.)<sup>10</sup>

"Since the destruction of the ancient clans in Ireland almost every economic factor in rural life has tended to separate the

<sup>10</sup> Russell, *The National Being* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 34, 35.

farmers from each other and from the nation, and to bring about an isolation of action.”<sup>11</sup>

Any experienced promoter of English or American rural neighborhood projects will appreciate another quotation:

“If in a city people want an art gallery or public baths or recreation grounds, there is a machinery which can be set in motion; there are corporations and urban councils which can be approached. If public opinion is evident—and it is easy to organize public opinion in a town—the city representatives will consider the scheme and if they approve and it is within their power as a council they are able to levy rates to finance the art gallery, recreation grounds, public gardens or whatever else. Now let us go to the country district where there is no organization. It may be obvious to one or two people that the place is perishing and the intelligence of its humanity is decaying, lacking some center of life. They want a village hall, but how is it to be obtained? They begin talking about it to this person and that. They ask these people to talk to their friends, and the ripples go on weakening and widening for months, perhaps for years.”<sup>12</sup>

He describes the condition of labor thus:

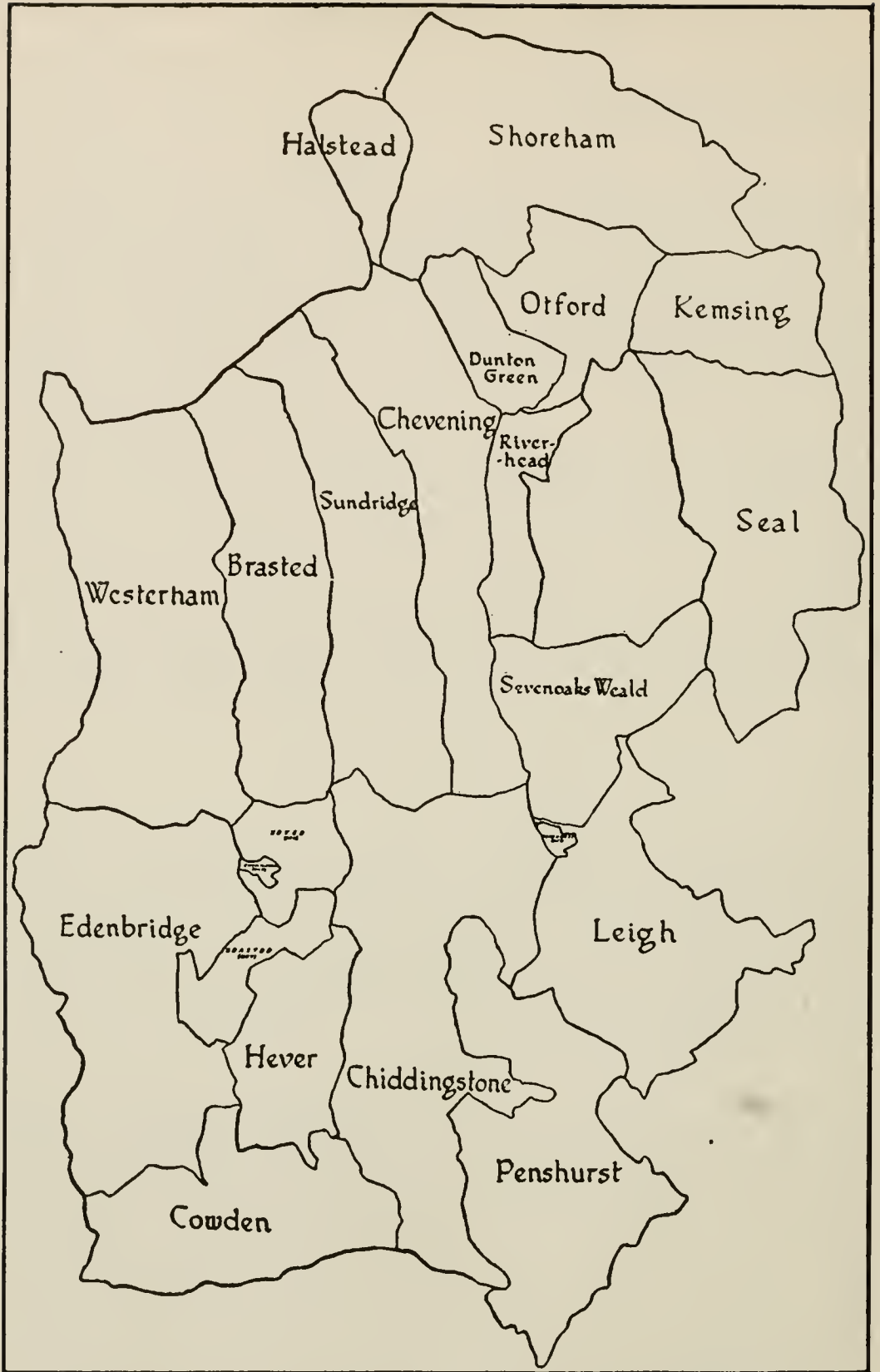
“Nothing is more lamentable, nothing fills the heart more with despair, than the multitude of isolated workers, sweated, unable to fix a price for their work, ignorant of its true economic value; connected with no union, unable to find anyone to fall back on for help or advice in trouble, neglected altogether by society, which yet has to pay a heavy price in disease, charity, poor rates, and in social disorder for its neglect.”<sup>13</sup>

With the introduction to the English Parish, gained through reading the writings quoted above and many others presenting similar pictures of it, I did not have such optimistic expectations that I was likely to overestimate the felicity of the neighborhood which I chose to survey. The parish selected was Edenbridge, Kent, a fairly typical,

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.



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predominantly rural, and average-sized parish, with a village center by the same name, having a population of approximately 2,500, and located twenty-six miles from London. According to its historians,<sup>14</sup> the parish can be traced in charters of three Saxon Kings, and its history is the history of England. The main street of its village center is an old Roman road. It suffered from the pestilence of 1349. Its men had a part, with the other men of Kent, in the rebellions of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade. The curate of Edenbridge signed the Renunciation of Papal Authority. The holy images were removed from its church by order of Queen Elizabeth. It protested the marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain. Its church was not mentioned in Domesday, but is thought to have been in existence then. Its tannery, which employs two hundred men, was deeded by one William Bele to his son in 1457. Its water mill has been in operation since time immemorial. Its bridge over the Eden River, from which it gets its name, is of equal antiquity. It is not surprising that its society is somewhat traditional. The agriculture is not specialized, with the exception of three dairies and one farm on which hops are grown. There are thirty-one farms, which vary in acreage from ten acres to estates of several hundred acres. The parish is served by two railroads and is well equipped with paved or graveled highways.

The organizations in the parish or in larger areas which included the parish, whose programs were studied and to which farmers have access, were found to number forty-five. The voluntary organizations are all thriving and have memberships which are large enough and have also sufficient support for efficiency in their various functions. The last one organized, the swimming club, reported at the close of the study, a membership of 400. In a review of the year's files of the Edenbridge Chronicle, the local weekly news-

<sup>14</sup> Henry L. Somers-Cocks and V. T. Bayson, Edenbridge.

paper, it was found that all but one of these agencies (the newly-organized swimming club) had conducted activities sufficiently important to be recorded in that organ of public opinion. A surprising thing for one who is familiar with American neighborhoods is that there was hardly a word of serious criticism unfavorable to the work of these agencies from either farmers or villagers. But when, in personal interview with the farmers of the parish, I undertook to locate the farmer families who were beneficiaries of the organizations, counting service in, or any other contact with, voluntary or other agencies, I found a lack of unanimity on the part of farmers in the participation in the support and benefits of social organizations which was comparable to that in American farming neighborhoods.

The apparent importance of parish organizations to farmers as shown statistically in Appendix IV, shrinks still more when one learns that only five of the families who claimed church membership were in regular attendance and only one of the twenty-eight of those who received invitations to hunts from Old Surrey and Burstow actually hunted. It is interesting to note that only one coöperative organization, the Kent Wool Growers' Association, was represented among the farmers and that by only one member. That one member was a woman, who had served a long apprenticeship in preparation for her work as a scientific dairy farmer, and took a professional pride in the efficiency of her management. She was also the one member of the Kent Milk Recording Society, although there were four large dairies in the parish, and kept a careful record of her herd. She was one of two employers who had any advanced ideas about the treatment of laborers. Her employees, with one exception, were carefully selected apprentices who were better paid than other workers in the parish, took a lively interest in every detail of management, felt perfectly free to offer suggestions, and received recommendations

and help in obtaining still more highly paid employment at the end of their terms of apprenticeship. The one exception was a thoroughly trained and responsible woman who shared the profits and referred to the business as "we." The other successful employer did not take apprentices, but managed to get similar loyalty and enthusiasm from his workers by means of similarly fair treatment and good fellowship.

Of the figures given in the schedule above, those on the number of memberships in the Agricultural Laborers' Union are probably the only ones which are too low. Although paid an average of thirty shillings a week and although much better housed than one would expect from reading the literature on the conditions of laborers, the employees of the parish were suspicious, secretive, and apparently restrained. Most of them were like the thatcher employed by the last farmer on whom I called, whose employer suspected him of belonging to the union. The farmer said that his thatcher "wasn't saying anything about it"; but he was careful to see that I had no opportunity to speak with the thatcher personally in order to find out whether or not he was saying anything about it.

School attendance is, of course, compulsory. The farmers showed no special interest in education, and since, because of the crowded conditions of the schools, the distribution of pupils in the council and church schools was made arbitrarily by the parish council, and attendance in Eden House, a private school, was limited to a few of the more financially fit, no effort was made to get statistics on such distribution.

The two formal organizations which were taken seriously by a large share of the farmers were the Conservative Club and the Farmers' Union. The only complaint about the Farmers' Union which I heard was from a man who had withdrawn from its membership because it had not supported him in a lawsuit over rates which he thought unjust.



The large showing in regard to the hospital was the result of a highpowered financial campaign in which many farmers had been induced to make contributions. The only evidence of overlapping between these organizations was the fact that the Community Council and the Nursing Association both did some public health nursing work. The Community Council, however, claimed to specialize in tuberculosis work, for which the Nursing Association was not equipped. In general there was an efficient specialization of function among social agencies, although the only designedly correlating agency was the recently organized Community Council.

The informal organization, in which no officers are elected, no constitutions adopted, and no membership dues collected, but which furnishes the solid basis of unconscious social emotion and incitement for the construction of consciously evolved and formal social agencies, is obviously not to be measured easily by quantitative computation. The effort to discover such taken-for-granted association failed to reveal any striking evidence for optimism in regard to coöperative character among parishioners. Only two farmers made a practice of "changing works"; few farmers or farm housekeepers borrowed tools or other necessities from their neighbors; and habitual borrowing was unpopular. No one gave evidence of much faith in neighborly responsibility. Possibly the best evidence in this respect was the custom during the hop-picking season for neighbors, both from the village and farms, who enjoyed the conviviality of the group work, the fragrant odor of the hops, and a day in the fields, to turn in and pick without remuneration, first with one paid picker and then another. The friendly rivalry, good-natured repartee, neighborly gossip, and playful pranks during the working hours and the picnic, dinner and tea, which I observed during a day spent in such a group, furnished a vivid illustration of the greater satisfaction

of well-organized group employment over lonely occupation.

Students of the parish who are doubtful as to whether there is any neighborhood there or not, will do well to observe the conformity in peculiar customs and attitudes of a people. Such customs and habits, whether instigated by the nation or the family, cannot be transmitted down to the family or up to the nation except through the channel of the neighborhood group. The Englishman, farmer and townsman, has plenty of such peculiarities of dialect, ideas concerning what constitutes a gentleman, traditions of thought concerning the worker's "place," and how to keep him in it, even how, when, and with whom to pass the time o' day. The English farmer has plenty of neighborhood, as well as of family and national traditions and conventions. He trims his hedge; hides his flower garden; lets hunters and hounds ruin his crops and hedges; wears spats, or overalls tied at the knee; says "good afternoon" to those of his class to whom he has been introduced; with his fork in his left hand, eats roast beef which he calls a "joint," drinks tea at four P. M., etc., because of what his neighbors will think or because he shares what they have thought.

The class distinctions which are complained of because of their disintegrating influence, nevertheless imply some understanding over and above their isolating and conflicting tendencies. Edenbridge had its classes, which were generally taken for granted. The only exception I found was in the case of a *nouveau riche*, already mentioned, and in that of what might be called an illustration of canine aristocracy, that of a charwoman who came into possession of a racing dog able to support her without work, so that now she is not speaking to her former employers. Her former employers have not yet accepted her new status. I was reminded of the importance of their classification when I made a bank deposit. The banker required my class, along

with other data, and in my ignorance of the subject, decided to lump me with "gentlemen," because, I suppose, of my evident leisureliness.

Styles and other conventions, though reflecting the organization by greater variation, were quite as important as in American neighborhoods, and Americans were soon made conscious, through significant glances if not in words, that straw hats and other articles of dress quite proper at home, were not being worn in Edenbridge. Ministers, teachers, and other interested citizens gave farmers credit for being as moral as villagers, even when morals were interpreted in such broad terms as contributing to the local hospital.

Considerable neighborhood spirit was shown by farmers as well as by villagers, though not in applause, by attendance at athletic contests with neighboring parishes and at stock and flower shows, and at a water gala which was held during the time that this study was being made; for farmers find time to attend such contests if not to attend the regular meetings of organizations which promote them, and they share the Englishman's traditional sense of sportsmanship. Were it not for sharing this traditional notion of the "sport of a gentleman," the farmers would soon put a stop to it; for all but one farmer with whom I discussed the matter agreed that the hunt was very destructive; but only one farm owner in the parish, and she a spinster, ever objected effectively to hunting. She put up barbed wire along the tops of the hedges and kept hunters off her farm for several years. She was regarded as being very eccentric.

Every farmer who had lived in the parish a year or more knew the other farmers of the same description. The man who reported membership in no organization was a newcomer who was nearly blind and so unable to get around much. He did not know his neighbors.

Perhaps the method of finding out what people believe by observing what they spend their money for, might be ap-



plied here. The farmers of Edenbridge were not extravagant in the use of the means of neighborhood life in the form of improved means of communication. Two-thirds of them reported having no automobiles other than trucks and tractors. Only one-fifth of them have telephones, although four-fifths of them have radios. All but one reported taking newspapers, ranging in number from one to eight. One-third of them subscribed for magazines. And all but one had private libraries ranging in number of volumes from thirty to five hundred. The roads of the parish were in excellent condition and in excellent repair. Their care was under the administration of the District Council, not the parish. Parishes have a daily delivery of mail to farmers as well as to villagers.

A beginning of the disintegrating tendency in the English neighborhood can be observed in the parish in the scattering of patronage in buying and selling. Only half the farmers did all their trading locally, and local trade in groceries, meats and liquor was divided between Edenbridge, Marsh Green, and Marlpit Hill. All farmers received their mail from Edenbridge, did their banking there, and patronized the local grist mill. Few farmers went often, and some never went, to London. One farmer who worked in London but who lived on a farm in the parish, did his trading locally. A few parishioners patronized clothing sales in the city.

In discussing the subject of coöperative organization with them, it was found that every farmer knew something about such organizations, but had little faith in them for Edenbridge. They were nearly unanimous in thinking that they would be good things if successful; but they doubted the local farmers' (meaning the *other* farmers') ability to work together. One dairy farmer was emphatic in this conviction. He said that they had the best possible market at their doors, and yet allowed middlemen to absorb all the profits of their industry, while Danish farmers marketed

their products in London coöperatively, and profitably. His reason for suspecting that English farmers would not accomplish such organization was his experience in trying to promote local agreement on prices of milk. The notion of the advantages of coöperation which farmers of the parish held was generally the economic one of collective bargaining in raising prices or in the appropriation of middlemen's profits. They had no idea of the need for such coöperation in promoting more efficient production, grading, etc., as a means of a more satisfying community life, as a means of "better farming" and "better living" as well as "better business."

One striking difference observed in the study of the parish as compared with the American neighborhood, was the fact that every farmer consulted in the parish preferred farm life and occupation to any other, and, while every farmer complained of the economic unprofitableness of farming—one insisting that raising chickens was the only profitable farm industry—not one had any notion of abandoning the farm and migrating to the city, as so many American farmers do. This attitude seems to me to be accounted for by a more satisfying neighborhood life on the part of the parish and the traditions of greater respectability of farm residence.

One reminder of the neighborhood's strength and solidarity is the part which its organization played in the World War, and the pride and care of its members which it has evinced in furnishing hospital care for invalided soldiers and memorials for the fallen. Edenbridge had a fairly efficient cottage hospital, and was in the process of building a large one at a cost of twenty-five thousand pounds. Its war memorial included over two hundred names, and like those of nearly every other village in England, proclaimed the survival of such solicitude beyond the hysteria of the actual conflict by the pathetically eloquent display of daily tributes

of fresh flowers. The neighborhood solidarity of Edenbridge was also demonstrated by the system of hospital administration and the pressure with which the financial campaign was conducted. The contributors were classified according to the amounts of free hospital service to which contributors were entitled, which classifications were in inverse ratio to each other, that is, the smallest contributors were entitled to most free service.

“It is a paradoxical phenomenon,” says A. E., “possible only in the Iron Age, that the highest instances of national sacrifice are evoked by warfare, the most barbarous of human enterprises”; but such sacrifice in a nation or in a neighborhood shows social consciousness and solidarity.

The neighborhood needs of banking, trading, service, and commercial recreation were being met by one bank, seven general groceries, two green groceries, specializing in vegetables and fruit, three sweet shops (candy stores), six meat markets, three drapers (clothing and dry-goods stores), one tailor shop and dry-cleaning establishment, one laundry, two iron mongeries (hardware stores), three garages and filling stations, one grist and flour mill, two plumbing shops, two cobbling shops, one carpenter shop, one paint and paper-hanger's shop, one nursery and greenhouse, two barber shops, one beauty parlor and one cinema (picture show).

No study of the parish life can neglect the influence of the public house. Edenbridge was served by eleven regular Public Houses, by one grocery and one drug store which sold liquor, and by two Travelling Public Houses which made weekly calls. The stores and Travelling Public Houses were unimportant as promoters of sociable life; but the regular Public Houses constitute effective “poor men's clubs.” The conviviality of these clubs, though not monopolized by workers, is an illustration of one advantage of the lower class over “them as ought to know,” who probably



drink as much, but do most of it at home instead of in congenial concourse at the "pub." The pathetic phase of the English liquor traffic is the fact that its conduct on such a scale means nothing less than the breeding of a nation of alcoholics. Although the traffic does not produce the spectacular results which the American tradition of treating and spasmodic sprees of individual drunkenness produced, the effect upon the general health of the moderate regular drinkers is probably worse. The American drank intemperately and irregularly, fought, beat his wife and children, and became a general nuisance; but, incidentally, deposited most of his alcohol in the gutter, where it did little damage. The Englishman, unfortunately, "knows how to hold his liquor." It is unfortunate that the American rural neighborhood has no institution which so generally fosters neighborhood conviviality as does the Public House, and equally unfortunate that the English parish does not substitute a less harmful one.

Briefly enumerating the characteristics of the English parish as compared with the American neighborhood, it seems to me that the following important peculiarities are discernible:

1. The geographical boundary of the parish is much more definite.

2. The geographical definiteness, however, is largely the result of an outgrown survival value and traditional usage rather than present utility.

3. The definiteness is beginning to decrease, as the result of the improvement of communication and the consciousness of the utility of larger organization in economic life, and political, educational, and other institutional administration.

4. This geographical definiteness, however, has been and still is an advantageous source of strength in internal social control and in positive and negative external social influence.

5. The traditional nature of the geographical boundary of the parish will make the reorganization and enlargement required by present large-scale economic demands, and the improvement of

communication more difficult than the similar change in American neighborhoods.

6. The internal structure of parish society shows a similar definiteness in respect to social classification.

7. This classification is largely caste and the result of traditional and functional distinctions and of the unequal distribution and inheritance of land.

8. This classification is largely functionless, as shown by the fact that many farmers perform quite as efficiently as their specialized neighbors the three-fold function of land ownership, farm management, and labor.

9. In so far as the classification is artificial and functionless, it is depressive, a source of conflict, weakening to the neighborhood strength, and a hindrance to progress.

10. That the classification is not entirely functionless is suggested by the fact that the sentiment in favor of change is concerned with greater security of tenure, not with more general ownership by farmers, and also by the greater neighborhood orderliness which it makes possible. Some systematization, even of an arbitrary sort, is better than none at all in neighborhood affairs in general, as in turning to the right or left when meeting a neighbor, a tradition in which English and Americans do not agree.

11. The classification involves a division of labor and specialization among neighbors, which is more or less progressively selective and congenially adaptable to the occupational capacities of the specialists.

12. The definiteness of organization holds for the functioning of social agencies which are designed to cover the needs of the whole neighborhood and waste little effort in duplication.

13. The caste and traditional nature of the classification is decreasing with the increase of democratic sentiment and the improvement of communication.

14. The functionless classification resulting from the unequal distribution and inheritance of land and other traditional distinctions is disappearing with the disappearance of the tradition of primogeniture, the increasing possession of allotments by laborers, and with the high land taxes which have made the ownership of many estates so unprofitable as to result in their breaking-up.

15. Although the geographical definiteness of the parishes' external structure and almost equal definiteness of internal classification are both largely traditional, artificial, and functionless, the

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parish still has considerable solidarity and strength, and some adaptability and social efficiency.

16. This solidarity, strength and adaptability, is evidence of the possibility of neighborhood efficiency under a system of individual farm occupation.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE GERMAN DORF

**T**HE very word "German" signifies "neighbors" and was originally the name given to Aryan tribes of uncertain origin who moved sometime before the Christian era from central Asia across the Caucasus into Europe and settled on the coast lands of the Baltic and North Seas.<sup>1</sup> Later the struggle with the Romans in the south and west and the pressure of the Slavonic tribes from the east defined the boundaries of Germany, roughly, as the Rhine in the west, the Elbe and Saale in the east, and the Danube in the south. The first Roman to come into contact with the Germans was Cæsar who, in his report of the Suevi, found them hardy, valorous, hospitable, chaste, and communistic in so far as land ownership was concerned. Tacitus in *Germania* shows them to be democratic, electing their kings and generals and having a form of self-government in which important questions were referred to popular councils.

The Germans were predominantly agricultural people and were village dwellers from the beginning of their history. The local independence which this form of organization fostered showed itself at an early date. Speaking of conditions among them in the time of Tacitus, Dawson says:

"Already certain characteristics showed themselves which were repeatedly to play a fateful part in the later history of the German people. Such were a marked propensity for intestine disputes and divisions, which made them an easy prey to the Roman power,

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Dawson, *A History of Germany*, p. 5.

a fondness for sectional amalgamations, leagues, and alliances, and the practice of entering the armies of Rome as mercenaries.”<sup>2</sup>

This local independence was to foil the plans of many rulers in attempts to achieve a national unity; but from the time of Clovis to 1914 it repeatedly showed itself adaptable to large-scale unity whenever there arose a capable leader or whenever a generally recognized common cause presented itself.

Perhaps this study should include the story of the conduct of a typical German or French village in the World War as compared with that of an American rural neighborhood. In speaking of war as a revealer, Professor Cooley says:

“War is not the whole of the drama, but, in the past at least, it has been the crisis, the test that brought everything into action and showed what the previous development had been. Growth goes on for generations and peaceful struggles of many sorts take place—industrial rivalry, competition of class and parties, conflict of ideas and sentiments—all having important results, which, however, remain for the most part obscure. But let a war break out between rival groups and they summon every element of power to the test, so that we soon learn where, as regards the development of the total force, we have arrived. It is a partial view, but revealing, and even the moral elements are more fully displayed than at other times.”<sup>3</sup>

The obvious objection to such a comparison, however, is the fact that the World War made a very different appeal to German and French people in general than it did to Americans, and that the possibility that the less successful coöperation of the American neighborhoods was due to the weaker appeal which motivated them rather than to any lack of ability to coöperate. The fact remains that, in matters requiring effective organization, American rural neigh-

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cooley, *Social Process* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 243.

borhoods had little part in the war. The liberty bonds were sold, the rationing requirements enforced, and the enthusiasm fostered by urban organization. The positive, organized effort on the part of the rural neighborhoods favoring the war was as ineffective as the opposition of those opposed to it. In Germany this was not true. The Dörfer accomplished their full share of organized productiveness. They generated their full share of enthusiasm for sending every fit man to the front, and every woman and child, fit or unfit, to the fields or factory. They stood every test of sickening sacrifice and endurance, while the final breakdown was one of urban, not rural organization. Similar efficiency was shown by French villages. To one who had a chance to observe the war organization of American neighborhoods, it is a question as to whether American farmers could be organized as effectively as were French and Germans, for any cause.

Since the war, it is significant that most of the complaint about the ingratitude and selfishness in the work of rehabilitation of returned soldiers in their neighborhoods, and of the neglect of invalids, has been limited to England and America. If the erection of memorials to American soldiers from rural neighborhoods waited upon the initiative of such neighborhoods, we should have few such memorials. One would have to visit many rural neighborhoods in America to find such a memorial, while he has to visit many Dörfer to find one without such a memorial or which is not still raising funds for one. But a better comparison of war efficiency of village and open-country neighborhoods would be that of the two systems within a single nation which has both forms. I found universal agreement to the effect that the work of organization for war as well as for other purposes was much more difficult in open-country than in village neighborhoods.

Aside from the historical reading and other library work,



and the data collected by means of letters and questionnaires, the first-hand, short-distance study in connection with this chapter was accomplished during an automobile tour of the provinces of Baden, Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg; and in an intimate association with the villagers of three Saxon villages over a period of two months. In the more intimate and exact observation during the formal survey and during the two months of participation in village life, attending church services, funerals, dances, entertainments, celebrations, being entertained in their homes and following the neighbors about their work in the fields and barnyards—I found little which seemed inconsistent with the impression of German life and character which I received and noted during the first days of superficial observation, mainly from the seat of an automobile.

As one enters a German village or drives through the countryside and mixes with the population even in the most casual manner, he gets many significant impressions, and such characteristics as the following present themselves strikingly; industry, thrift, orderliness, neatness, cleanliness, quietness, peacefulness, beauty, sentiment, religion, sociability, friendliness, kindness, reliability, self-respect. The indefatigable industry of German farmers is possibly the first and strongest impression which strikes the observer of German rural life. It shows in the almost absolute lack of a leisure class. Every man, woman, and child seems to be employed in some productive function. My first observation was during the potato and beet harvest. Everywhere groups including all ages were engaged in unremitting activity, digging, pulling, drawing, or unloading potatoes or beets. One writer calls the German women and children "knee farmers" because so much of their work is hand weeding or tasks which are performed in a kneeling position. Along with the impressions of industry went those of

patience and cheerfulness. The patient, ever-cheerful spirit of the workers was obvious in the faces of the men and women and the joyous, enthusiastic gestures of the children. The suggestion was not that "play is the work of children," but that work is the joyous self-expression of both adults and children. After watching the women workers—and women constitute the largest group of workers, I do not believe that they are less happy in their sociable work in the open fields than are American farm women who spend their time shut up in houses, sweating over hot stoves.

Although the spirit of the workers, like the taste of salt, is difficult to understand without experiencing it, one is made to feel it in many subtle ways, and no advantage of the village life over our open-country system seems to me more obvious or more important. Here were poor folks struggling with handicaps of a shortage of domestic animals, a shortage which made it often necessary to harness single milch cows to double wagons, use dogs for hauling, and even yoke a cow and a man or a woman to a wagon; people struggling under crushing loads of debt, of staggeringly heavy taxes; and yet here were people who seemed to be motivated not so much by dire necessity or even pecuniary motives as by a healthy rivalry in service, a spirit of companionship, good-fellowship, and artistic, joyous self-expression. If I were building a monument to the dignity of labor, I should chisel a rock into the form of a German peasant family group. No farmers ever adhered more fully to the injunction to pick up the fragments and let nothing be wasted than do German farmers. Their drawing or driving the poultry to the fields to do the gleaning, or to pasture on the grass, their conservation of everything which may serve as fertilizer for the fields, and many other customs, proclaim their consummate thriftiness. They could soon pay their national debt with what American farmers waste. And this is not the thriftiness of poverty only, but

is quite as noticeable among the well-to-do farmers as among the poor. This thriftiness sees to it that every inch of ground is raising something, grain, vegetables, fruit, flowers, or forest.

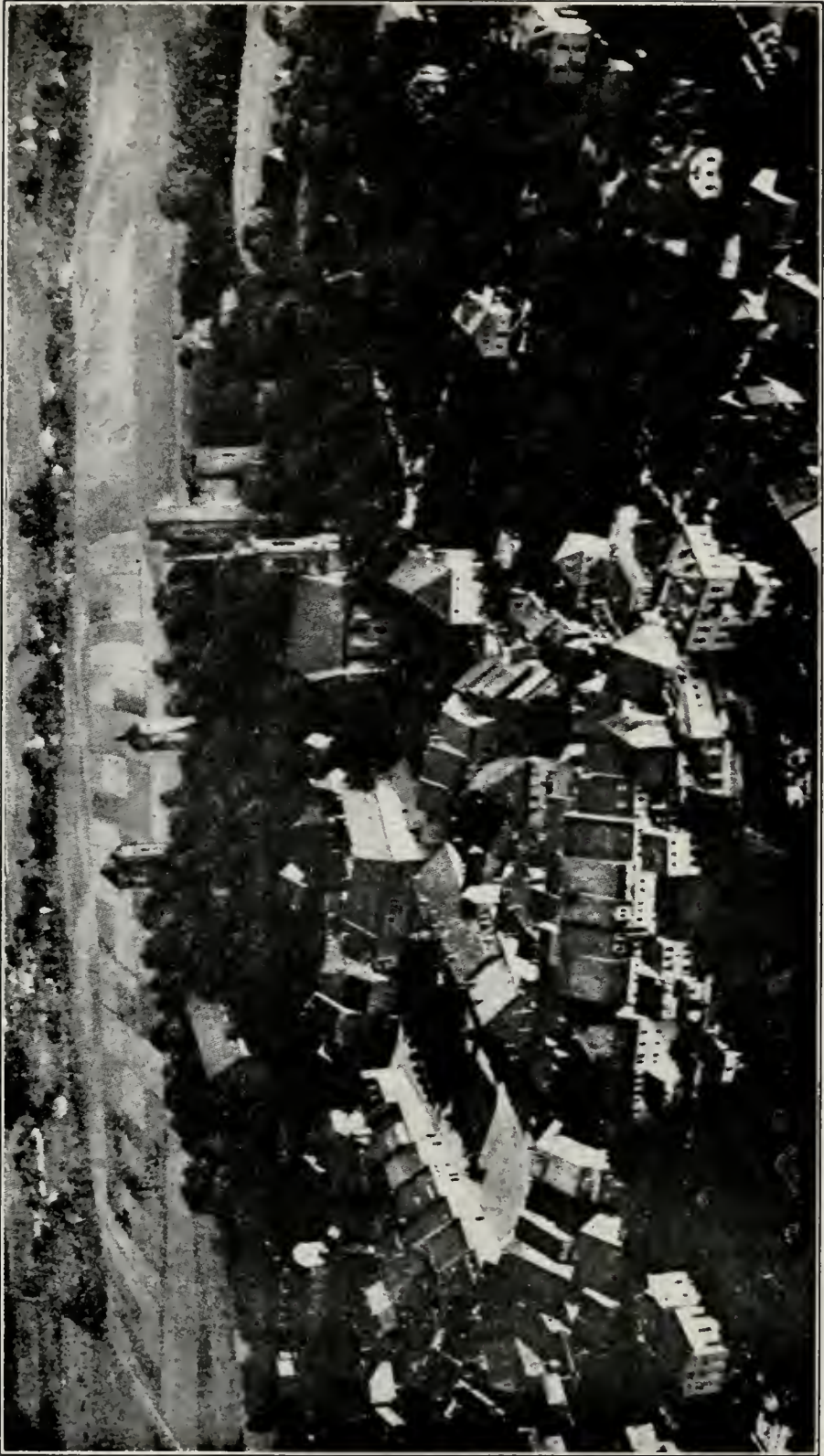
Closely allied to the thriftiness of the "Bauer" are his orderliness and neatness. Every stick of wood is in its place. One sees seed corn and tobacco leaves hanging from the rafters or beams of the barns in artistic and orderly arrangement. Everything, inside the buildings and out, every step in the process of planting and cultivation and harvesting of crops, suggests a thorough-going orderliness; and they need to worry much less than Americans about the proclamation of the oracle that the gods are "never so turned away from man as when he ascends to them by disorderly methods." Perhaps the two most emphatic reminders of this characteristic are the carefully-piled manure heaps and the most-painstakingly-cultivated forests. Manure-piling and forestry are managed scientifically and artistically in Germany.

Not only do the orderliness, weedlessness, and general neatness of the countryside and village scenes suggest cleanliness, but the shined shoes, combed hair, washed faces, and neat clothes of children and adults, the sleek coats of well-curried horses and work cattle, and the daily scoured doorsteps, intimate a close approach to godliness. It is difficult to await a chapter on conclusions to suggest an explanation of this cleanliness, so peculiar is it to the German village.

Perhaps the best preparation for an understanding of the meaning of peace and quiet is that experienced by one who makes a sudden change from the urban blare and clamor of Paris with its squawking automobile horns and general Babylonian din and confusion to the restful restlessness of a German Dorf. To German farmers the war is over, and peace on earth is an established fact. The enjoyment with







ONE OF THE KINGDOMS OF THE EARTH—A SAXON VILLAGE

him of quiet, green landscapes, of homely village scenes, of neighborly converse, of the satisfied and satisfying mooings and neighings and bleatings and gruntings and cluckings of contented, well-fed domestic animals and poultry, as well as of the well-oiled workings of the neighborly industrial and social machine, furnishes an agreeable change from the distracting sights and sounds and smells of Paris.

The broadest conception of beauty might be said to include some or all of the other characteristics mentioned; but one must notice the evidences of conscious effort at beautifying the village; the flower gardens, decorated houses, artistic stone walls, ornamental harnesses, etc. American farmers can learn much from Germans in the beautifying of country life. The above qualities seem to reveal a religious and sentimental flavor in German rural life; but in addition to these one observes innumerable evidences of religious sentiment in the way of wayside crosses, churches in good repair, and well-tended cemeteries. The easily observed signs of neighborly, conjugal, parental, and filial affection make one marvel at the gullibility of allied people who could be made to believe the propaganda concerning German atrocities with which their governments drove them into the World War. Perhaps this sort of sentiment is most obvious at the Christmas season, among these inventors of the institution of Christmas. The greetings which one neighbor gives another when they meet on the street, or as guests and hosts, and the enthusiasm of their friendly visitings savor of an aggressive friendliness which American neighbors might well imitate. The kindness which seems intrinsic in German character in all human, neighborly intercourse holds for the domestic animals as well. No horses or cattle could be better groomed or show more signs of kindly treatment than those which are the beasts of burden of the German people. The tameness of all domestic animals and poultry reflects the neighborliness which holds



from man to beast as well as from man to man. This sort of treatment stands in shocking contrast to the overloading and whipping and cursing of horses and mules and donkeys and oxen in Italy and Greece.

One soon discovers a dependability about German farmers which is not general in some other European countries. On inquiries for road information or other advice from villagers, the traveler receives such information in full detail and discovers its exactness when he comes to act upon it. The frankness of children is readily seen in such relations as in more thorough acquaintance. The face of a German peasant would be as good an advertisement for "The Old Reliable" as that of a Hollander. Mr. Branson's description of the Castle Engelberg farmer as one who is "putting culture into agriculture and getting out of it a life of abundant satisfaction,"<sup>4</sup> holds for German farmers in general; and one might roll the above characteristics into one general characteristic and label it "self-respect." The German peasant is not an over-proud individual, nor does he impress one as having a Uriah Heep variety of meekness. He and his children meet you, whether you are tourist, politician, or tradesman, without looking up or down, and deal with you frankly and unselfconsciously.

Now it is not here argued that such characteristics as the above are not to be observed among American farmers. There are farmers to be found in most American communities who work with a will for long hours and to the limit of their strength, who are sufficiently thrifty to prosper even in hard times, who keep their premises neat and clean and orderly, who plant flowers and shade trees and paint their buildings, who know how to "spiritualize the secular," who have affectionate families and love their neighbors as themselves, who are sociable, friendly, kind, reliable, and self-

<sup>4</sup> Branson, *Farm Life Abroad* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1924), p. 23.

respecting citizens. It is also admitted that there are exceptions among German farmers. But an American needs but short acquaintance with German villages and villagers to discover a much greater uniformity of such traits among the villagers than could be found among the isolated neighbors. The uniformity of German villagers is simply the external phase of a most effective formal and informal neighborhood organization, while the lack of uniformity, which makes it impossible to describe a typical American farmer, reflects the chaotic, even anarchistic, state of American neighborhood organization.

Although many other villages were visited, most of the intimate acquaintance and the formal survey were confined to three typical Saxon villages: Groszhartau, Kaditz, and Walda. Groszhartau is a thousand-year-old industrial and agricultural village, twenty miles east of the city of Dresden. It has a population of 1,550, much of which has been acquired comparatively recently, since the establishment of a shoe factory. The form of the village was originally that known as *Das Haufendorf*, i.e. it was a small settlement having an arbitrary location of farms and farm buildings.<sup>5</sup> It has a Rittergut, or large estate, with a castle. The village is divided into two sections, one of which is huddled around the Rittergut and sawmill, while the other is separated from it by a ravine which is several rods in width. The second division contains most of the business places and the shoe factory. The only large holding in the village is the Rittergut, which contains two square kilometers, or two hundred hectares. The small holdings average between five and ten hectares. This distribution is typical of the whole province of Saxony, which is the most intensively cultivated province in Germany and one in which village residence is general.

There are in Saxony 175,000 farms, of which 100,000, or

<sup>5</sup> Mielke, *Im Schatten der Dorfände*, p. 11.

fifty-seven per cent are smaller than two hectares; 27,000, or fifteen and three-tenths per cent are from five to twenty hectares; 9,500, or five and five-tenths per cent, are from twenty to 100 hectares; 744, or four hundredths per cent, are over 100 hectares.<sup>6</sup>

The soil in the locality of Groszhartau is kept very fertile, and every square inch is carefully cultivated. The land is rolling enough to allow excellent drainage, and sufficiently wooded to allow most of the farmers a small piece of woods. A stream flows through the village, furnishing water for the castle moat and for numerous ponds and streamlets for the use of ducks and geese, other stock, and washerwomen. Like most of the German countryside, Groszhartau has no fences, and stock is either kept in the stable or watched while pasturing. As in most German villages the dwellings of the families are either in the same building with those of the domestic animals and the storerooms for hay, grain, machinery, vehicles, etc., or in close proximity. Like all the villages in this section, Groszhartau is equipped with electric power, and all the farmers use electricity at least for lighting all buildings.

The unity of the society of Groszhartau is not one of likeness, but rather one of great differentiation, as shown by the following tabulation of the 974 members over twenty years of age in her 370 families:

48 Landwirtsehefrauen — Wives of farmers	43 Fabrikarbeiterinnen — Factory workers (women)
49 Landwirte—Farmers	6 Landwirtschaustöchter—Daughters of farmers
34 Landarbeiter und Arbeiterinnen—Farm laborers	22 Haustöchter — Unmarried daughters of other than farmers
274 Ehefrauen—Married women, not farm wives	52 Renter—People living on their incomes
165 Fabrikarbeiter — Factory workers	

<sup>6</sup> Niekammers, "Landwirtschaftliche Güter-Adreszbücher" (*Band IX, Freistaat Sachsen, 1925*).



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|---|---|
| 25 Bahn u. Postangestellte—<br>Railroad and postal em-<br>ployees                                       | 1 Rentmeister—Steward — Col-<br>lector of rents                               |
| 8 Angestellte der höheren Stufe<br>(Prokurist)—Clerks of higher<br>rank, such as a factory man-<br>ager | 1 Schlossverwalter—Castle care-<br>taker                                      |
| 15 Angestellte—II Grade,<br>Clerks of lower grade, such<br>as bookkeepers                               | 1 Leibjäger—Hunter  |
| 15 Angestellte—III Grade—<br>Apprentices  | 1 Forster—Forester  |
| 35 Hausangestellte—Girls who<br>do only housework   | 1 Landmesser—Surveyor   |
| 7 Magde—Girls or women em-<br>ployed for general work on<br>the farm                                    | 1 Pfarrer—Pastor  |
| 15 Zimmerleute—Indoor Car-<br>penters   | 1 Arzt—Physician  |
| 7 Maurer—Masons   | 1 Tierarzt—Veterinary   |
| 8 Tischler—Cabinetmakers  | 1 Nachtwächter — Nightwatch-<br>man   |
| 2 Stellmacher—Wagonmaker  | 2 Barbieri—Barbers  |
| 3 Schmiede—Smiths   | 2 Obstpächter — Managers of<br>orchards                                       |
| 2 Sattler—Saddlers  | 6 Schneider—Tailors   |
| 1 Kellner—Barman  | 7 Schuster—Shoemakers   |
| 1 Pfleger—Nurse   | 7 Bäcker—Bakers   |
| 2 Hausdiener — Men employed<br>in the house   | 3 Fleischer—Meatmen   |
| 4 Monteure—Electric linesmen  | 4 Gastwirte—Innkeepers  |
| 2 Elektricker—Electricians  | 3 Gärtner—Gardeners   |
| 1 Bautechnicker—Architect   | 1 Drogist—Druggist  |
| 3 Chauffeure—Chauffeurs   | 4 Vertreter—Representatives<br>(in the Gemeinderat, or Dis-<br>trict Council) |
| 10 Schlösser—Locksmiths   | 5 Materialwarenhändler — Pro-<br>prietors of small, general<br>stores         |
| 2 Klemptner—Tinsmiths   | 1 Kohlenhandler—Coal dealer   |
| 1 Buchbinder—Bookbinder   | 4 Schnittwarenhändler — Deal-<br>ers in small articles, odds and<br>ends      |
| 4 Lehrer—Teachers   | 2 Schuhhändler — Dealers in<br>shoes—possibly peddlers                        |
| 1 Schlachter—Butcher  | 3 Kristallglashändler — Dealers<br>in glassware                               |
| 3 Müller—Millers  | 1 Getreidehandler — Grain<br>dealer   |
| 3 Mäler—Painters  | 1 Viehhandler—Cattle dealer   |
| 1 Schneidemüller—Manager of<br>a sawmill  | 2 Rohproduktenhändler—Junk-<br>man  |

## 170 VILLAGE AND OPEN-COUNTRY NEIGHBORHOODS

1 Grünwarenhandler — Green grocer	1 Weber—Weaver
9 Schuhfabrikanten — Shoe-manufacturers	1 Scheuertuchfabrikant—Manufacturer of scrubbing brushes
1 Malzfabrikant—Candy manufacturer	1 Scheuertuchhandler — Dealer in scrubbing brushes
1 Seifenfabrikant—Soap manufacturer	18 Auszügler — Workers from other localities

It will be noticed that of the 974 members of the community over twenty years of age, only 137, or fourteen per cent, are classed as farm population. A good share of the population of 576 people who are under twenty years of age could be classified with equal definiteness, as most of the older ones are fully decided as to their life's work and are well on the way in their terms of apprenticeship or preparation for their occupations or professions. The village is economically self-sustaining and nearly self-sufficing, as suggested by the following list of its shops and professional services:

1 Fleischerei—Meatmarket	2 Friseure—Barbers and Hair-dressers
2 Gasthöfe mit Fleischerei—Inns with meatmarkets	4 Schneider mit Nebenberuf—Tailors with an additional profession
2 Gasthöfe mit Tanzsäle und Gärten—Inns with dance halls and garden	1 Wagen-Verleih-Geschäft—Livery
1 Konsumverein—Shop of the Socialistic Supply Association	3 Kohlenhandlungen — Firms dealing in coal
1 Drogerie—Drugstore	2 Strohändler — Dealers in straw
2 Gärtnereien—Nurseries	1 Arzt—Physician
5 Kolonialwarenhandlungen — Groceries	1 Schularzt—School Physician
3 Bäckereien—Bake shops	1 Zahnarzt—Dentist
2 Fahrradhandlungen—Bicycle shops	1 Tierarzt—Veterinary
1 Kuchengeratehandlung—Store handling kitchen utensils	1 Fleischbeschauer — Inspector of meat

Some economic as well as some social needs are supplied by the following social organizations and institutions:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 Kirche—Church                               | 3 Fahrradvereine (40 members each)—Bicycle Clubs  |
| 1 Schule—School                               | 1 Frauenverein—Woman's Club   |
| 3 Gesangvereine — Singing Unions              | 1 Volkskrankenkasse — Sickness fund of workmen (Employer has to pay two-thirds of the insurance tax; the employed one-third only) |
| 1 Militärverein—Union of old Soldiers         | 1 Hausfrauenverein — League of Housewives (Both women's clubs are for charity work)   |
| 1 Turnverein—Gymnastic Club                   | 1 Bauergenossenschaft — Agricultural Union  |
| 1 Stahlhelmverein—Union of Young Nationalists |   |
| 1 Reichsbanner—Union of Socialists            |   |
| 1 Jugendverein — Young People's Union         |   |
| 1 Kegeclub—Billiard Club                      |   |

Of the voluntary organizations there were only two in which the farmers did not furnish more than their proportion of membership, i.e. fourteen per cent. These two were the Turnverein and the Reichsbanner. The reason given for their neglect of the former was that they get enough exercise, and for their non-participation in the latter that they just are not socialistic. All but twenty of the 137 persons classified in the farm population are members of the church and attend its services regularly. The Bauergenossenschaft, or Farmer's Union, of Groszhartau, has forty members, including all but nine of the farmers in the village; and every member attends every meeting unless prevented by sickness or some other very urgent reason. The organization did business amounting to 45,000 marks during the fiscal year 1928-1929. Among the farmers who are not members are the Prince, owner of the Rittergut, who belongs to no local organization, and several of the larger holders. The larger holders, with the exception of the prince, are members of a district organization, called the Landwirtschaftlicher Verein. Eleven Groszhartau farmers, including the



“Pächter” or manager of the Rittergut, who is the president of the organization, are members of this Verein, and never miss a meeting. Two neighboring villages, Buhlau and Schmiedefeld, have Farmers’ Unions, of which every farmer in these villages is an active member. The Frauenverein, or Woman’s Union, of Groszhartau, has seventy-two members, of which eighteen, or twenty-five per cent, are farm women. The Groszhartau Feuerwehr, or local unpaid fire department, has forty-eight active members, of whom eight are farmers, and twenty-one associate members of whom twelve are farmers. There is a district farm Woman’s Union which holds its meetings in the neighboring village of Bischofswerda. It has a membership of ninety-three, eleven of these being from Groszhartau.

### WALDA

Walda is a strictly agricultural Saxon village of the “Angerdorf” type, i.e. it is an adaptation of the Roman form, or “Straszendorf,” having a systematic regularity, with farms and farm buildings placed opposite each other, but with wide streets opening into the main thoroughfare. This form of village Professor Mielke calls the most beautiful form of the east German villages of the plain. Every farm residence in Walda is of the “Huf” form, a courtyard with buildings on three sides and usually with a stone wall between it and the road. On one side of the yard, with its gable facing the street, is the building whose front end contains the lodgings of the farmer, the back end, on the first floor, stables, usually for cattle and possibly for swine, and, on the second floor, storage room for hay or grain. The courtyard is bounded on the back by the side of the barn proper (Scheuer), a building in which are stored hay, grain, and fodder. The other side of the yard is bounded by another building, the gable of which faces the street also. In



THIS SEVENTY-FIVE-YEAR-OLD WOMAN HAD NEVER LEFT HER NATIVE  
VILLAGE





this building are the horse stables and storage room for farm machinery and vehicles, in the rear, while the front is usually another dwelling called the "Altenteil," or house for the old. This dwelling is sometimes occupied by the family of a laborer; but when a farmer is sixty years old, he gives the farm, or at least the management of it, to a son or daughter, while he moves into the "Altenteil," thus remaining during old age on the estate.

Every farmer in Walda has a "Hufe," hide of land. Behind his buildings his land stretches out in the form of a long, narrow strip, the width of that occupied by his buildings, on the further end of which there is usually a small strip of woods. However, every farmer has some land in addition to the "Hufe." Every farmer in the village is well-to-do and has been able to acquire more fields and meadows in the course of years. These newer holdings are at some distance from the "Hufe," but no farmer has to travel more than a mile to work. There are many ponds in the village, and these are populated by hundreds of ducks and geese. There are many fruit trees of various sorts; every farmer has at least a small flower garden, while much garden stuff, as well as many fields of potatoes, turnips, cabbages and beets are raised.

Walda is one of the smaller villages, having a population of only 330, of whom almost 100 per cent are engaged in farming. It has no factories and almost no shops. Besides ordinary farms, it has a Rittergut, on which are a small castle, a church, school, mill, bakery, and grocery store. The mill employs a half dozen men, the school four teachers, while the church depends upon the pastor from a neighboring village. There is no postoffice, no bank, no meatmarket, no shoemaker or tailor. The mail comes from the nearby village whose "Landsparkasse," or county savings bank, and meatmarket serve Walda also. Several farm men and women in the village are skillful in mending shoes and tailoring,

and are glad to do repairing of the sort to earn a few extra marks. The Bauergenossenschaft takes the place of shops, and practically all purchases are effected by it.

Walda is equally economical in the support of village officials. It has a village government consisting of an unpaid *Bürgermeister*, who is under the authority of an "Amthauptmann," or chief magistrate of the district. Associated with the *Bürgermeister* is a "Gemeindevorordnete," or board of deputies of the Dorf, consisting of nine unpaid members. Every man in the village between the ages of eighteen and sixty belongs to the "Pflichtfeuerwehr," or voluntary fire department, which, of course, serves without pay. After the Revolution of November 9, 1918, Walda had a nightwatchman, who received a good salary; but he was considered a lazy fellow who preferred to spend his nights at the inn; so they dismissed him and organized a "Freie Nachtwache." According to this plan, every man in the village except the school superintendent has to be watchman about two nights a year. Each is paid 1.50 marks a night for his services. There is no sexton, or "Totengräber," in Walda. When somebody dies, his or her two neighbors on the right and two neighbors on the left, must dig the grave.

The village avoids importing laborers during the rush season by a thoroughgoing system of exchanging works. There are occasional conflicts of various sorts; but never do farmers become such enemies that they are unwilling to help each other at harvest time.

Unlike the heterogeneous population of Groszhartau, that of Walda exhibits great homogeneity; and its social unity is mainly one of likeness, not of differentiation. Aside from the proprietor of the Rittergut, who keeps seven servants and spends much of his time in travel, and three socialistic factory workers who live in Walda and serve on the board of deputies, but who are employed in a neighboring village, the whole population may be said to be farm-minded in the

sense that they are, if not primarily at least very intimately, interested in the farming industry. Perhaps the only socially unimportant and somewhat detached member of the neighborhood is the proprietor of the Rittergut, who holds himself aloof from village life. The three socialists are called uncomplimentary names and blamed for failures made by the board of deputies; but they are, nevertheless, very vital members of the group in that they furnish about the only variation in points of view. The miller is, in so far as his economic function is concerned, quite as interested in the farming industry as if he were tilling the soil. The school superintendent is a product of the village, where he has taught for thirty years, and has, for many years, held the office of *Bürgermeister*.

Walda has the following institutions and social organizations:

Die Kirche—Church	Jugendverein—Young People's
Die Schule—School	Union
Militärverein—Union of old soldiers	Pflichtfeuerwehr — Volunteer Fire Department
Gesangverein—Singing Society	Bauergenossenschaft—Farmers' Coöperative Union
Fahrradverein—Bicycle Club	

Perhaps the fewness and the cheapness of the social organizations account in some measure for the fact, a striking one, nevertheless, that these organizations have practically 100 per cent of the eligible farmer citizens in their memberships. Every eligible farmer, with the exception of the owner of the Rittergut, is a member of the church, of the *Militärverein*, of the *Fahrradverein*, of the *Pflichtfeuerwehr*, and of the *Bauergenossenschaft*.

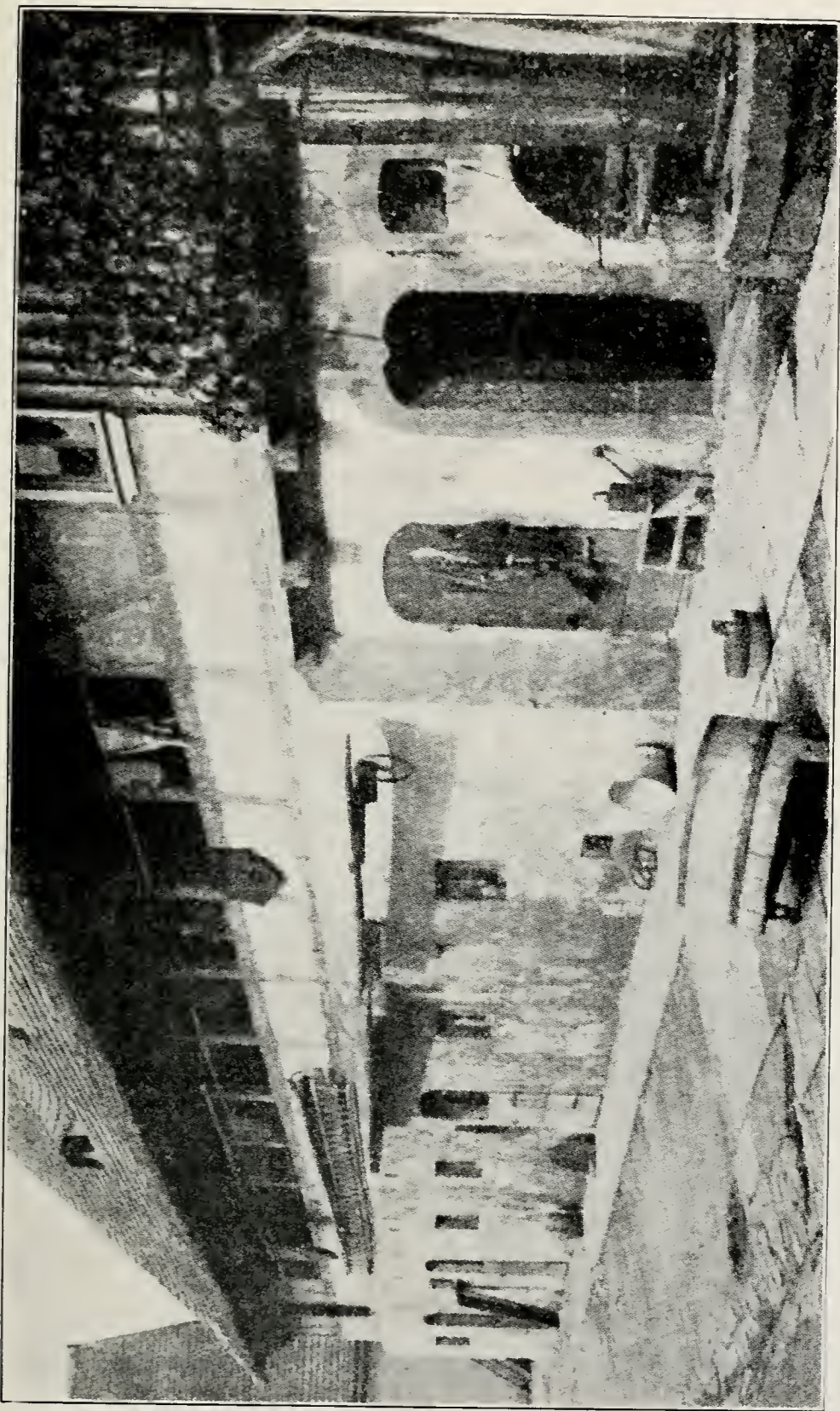
As suggested above, there is some division of labor among villages in meeting social and economic needs. The church at Walda is using a pastor from a neighboring village, not because of inability or unwillingness to support a resident pastor, but because there is a shortage of pastors. Two



neighboring villages have no schools, but send their children to Walda, making a school attendance there of eighty-seven children. The mill at Walda serves many villages. Walda does much of her shopping in neighboring villages. Moritzburg, one of these villages, keeps a *Gestüt*, or stud, of stallions, and Walda has a *Gestüt* of bulls, both of which are used by several villages.

When one comes to investigate the functions which the formal social organizations discharge, he finds much evidence of their effectiveness. There is no agency organized specifically for the purpose of supplying the needs of home-making, in any of the villages studied, but at least the two women's organizations in Groszhartau function in that respect. Certainly the need for a formal effort in such activity is not so great in the situation of village life as in our open-country neighborhoods. One of the objectives of formal organization of any sort is *to get people together*. Once this is accomplished, the discussion, comparison, competition, and coöperation necessary in meeting the need are bound to take place. But so far as home-making needs in a village are concerned, it is not necessary to bring the parties concerned together. The villagers' homes are no more separate than their fenceless fields; the contrast between good house-keeping and poor housekeeping is most vivid; the advantage of the former and encouragement in its emulation are emphasized in the natural course of village life. The farmers' houses in all the villages are well built, all lighted by electricity, all heated by porcelain stoves which are not only serviceable and extremely economical but also artistic, all equipped with comfortable and convenient furniture, and all are supplied with running water or other convenient water supply. I have not seen a German farmer's home in which there was not being made a considerable effort at beautifying.

When one considers the amount of outdoor work which



BAUERNHAUS, KADITZ, SAXONY





German women do, one would expect them to be tempted to neglect their housekeeping; but I have never seen a dirty German home. I have counted as many as six framed wall mottoes in a German home, and the conduct of the household seemed to be quite consistent with the sentiments expressed in them.

The family relations are thoroughly formalized; and although the prevailing notions of the family headship seem somewhat out-of-date as judged according to the American standards, or lack of standards, the system works in an orderly fashion. The formalization, which includes a carefully-observed division of labor in which children are given responsibility and tasks to be performed with regularity, enables the members of the family to avoid wasteful conflicts and to get a discipline in organized activity. Perhaps the best test of home-making efficiency is the behavior of children, and German village children, in general, seem to me to leave little to be desired in the way of polite, orderly, frank, and straightforward conduct.

Certainly no people have outdone the Germans in the high value which they have placed upon education or in the effort which they have made to perfect the educational system. Their success has brought educators of every nation to observe German schools and to try to imitate them. The greatest cause for pride on the part of German educators has not been in the possession of a few great leaders, or in fine-spun theories about the subject, or even in the organization of a hot-house brand of education in a few experimental schools, but rather *in the thoroughness with which every child, whether rural or urban, has been exposed to the best possible teaching*. As the result of such accomplishments, Groszhartau has only two illiterate people, one of them deaf-and-dumb, while the other is blind. Both Groszhartau and Walda have beautiful and thoroughly modern four-room schools, equipped with as convenient and well

adapted furnishings, playgrounds, etc., and with as efficient teachers, as those of the neighboring city of Dresden. The superintendent usually resides in apartments in the school building and he and his associates are looked upon, not as strangers within the gates, but as full and permanent members of the neighborhood.

Most of my information concerning the conduct of a German school was acquired second-hand from my three children, who were in attendance; but I have interviewed a number of teachers, visited the school repeatedly, and attended one *Schulfest* (School festival). Attendance is compulsory; but, upon a written request from the father, farm children may be excused for a week or so during harvest or in other busy seasons when children can be of great help with farm work. A two-weeks' vacation is taken during potato harvest in order to allow children to help with the work. There are fourteen weeks of vacation during the year. Attendance is for six days a week. The hours are usually from seven to twelve in the morning, and from two to four in the afternoon; but these hours vary. The older children are in school at least twenty-four hours a week, however. The children who, in the judgment of the teacher, need feeding are given a meal at ten o'clock, which consists of at least one cooked food such as rice or noodles. The only recess for all children during the school period is the *Turnstunde*, or hour of gymnastics. This is such strenuous exercise that my nine-year-old son reported, after his first day's experience, that he thought our gymnasium work at home didn't amount to much.

It is customary for village schools to have at least one *Ausflug* or excursion a month. Under the care of a teacher, they take a train or bus and travel to some point of interest. The government pays the fare for a certain number of kilometers of travel for each child each month. The children acquire much miscellaneous information on these trips, and

they are sometimes required to practice sketching, and are given lectures on the places they visit.

The discipline of the modern German school is not the mechanical, inhuman sort associated with the old-time German educational system. There is usually a splendid camaraderie among teachers and children, and the conduct of the school is in many respects as informal as the hours of attendance. On the last day of my children's attendance, their teachers dismissed their rooms to allow for the taking of snapshots and the ceremonies of saying "good-by." This school, which is fairly typical, measures up to the requirements so well stated by Professor Cooley:

"When, after hearing and reading many discussions about the conduct of schools, I ask myself what I should feel was really essential if I were entrusting a child of my own to a school, it seems to me that there are two indispensable things: first, an intimate relation with a teacher who can arouse and guide the child's mental life, and, second, a good group spirit among the children themselves, in which he may share. The first meets the need we all have in our formative years for a friend and confidant in whom we also feel wisdom and authority; and I assume that we are not to rely upon the child's finding such at home. The second, equal membership in a group of our fellows, develops the democratic spirit of loyalty, service, emulation, and discussion. These are the primary conditions which the child as a human being requires for the growth of his human nature; and if I could be sure of them, I should not be exacting about the curriculum, conceiving the harm done by mistakes in this to be small compared with that resulting from defects in the social basis of the child's life. And it is the latter, it seems to me, which, because of its inward and spiritual character, not to be ascertained or tested in any definite way, we are most likely to overlook."<sup>7</sup>

In Germany every teacher must have a thorough preparation for his work, and this preparation must include a knowledge of music.

In our children's experience, every day's association,

<sup>7</sup> Social Process, p. 62.



from the first day's most hospitable reception to the last day's most affectionate "Good-by," was made enjoyable and intellectually stimulating by the friendly *esprit de corps* and well-organized spirit of team-work. The fearful, worried, *Ausländer* newcomers, hardly able to speak a single German sentence, were taken in and, although it was the middle of the term, immediately made to feel comfortably at home, as they would have been in few, if any, American schools under similar circumstances. They were surprised to find children, as well as teachers, in each of their rooms able to speak some English and anxious to serve as interpreters. The older girl, thirteen years old, found several of her age who had studied English for as many as three years. All three children were invited to parties and had parties given in their honor. They were called for as early as six o'clock in the morning by volunteers who escorted them to the depot or meeting place on *Ausflug* days. Their associates vied with each other in explaining the system and in showing them what was expected of them. Their mistakes in the German language and the humor of their efforts at pre-verbal communication were as amusing to their schoolmates as were their schoolmates' and teachers' mistakes in English to them; but the amusement was of a friendly, charitable sort. There was a minimum of the suspicion and ridicule and irritating, embarrassing discrimination which is usually shown the "new scholars" in an American rural school. Perhaps the most distinctive thing about the group relationships in the school was the fact that the German children had the mechanics of polite hospitality and group intercourse. They not only felt a friendly interest in the foreigners and in each other, but *they knew exactly how to express that interest and friendliness*. This attitude and treatment applied to the foreigners' parents as well. The only humiliating part of the experience, from the foreigners' point of view, was the discovery that,

although they were well up to grade at home, they were far behind German children of the same ages. The eighth grader was far behind in arithmetic, for instance, where the Germans were studying Algebra and Geometry. The Americans were equally behind in language and art study.

The most significant observation, in connection with education, in so far as this study is concerned, were the evidences, in the thoughtful seriousness and advanced interests of the German children, as compared with those of American children of the same age, of a powerful, intellectual, moral, and spiritual *neighborhood background*,—evidences which are too few, not only in American primary schools, but among college and university students. I can think of no more striking illustration of such evidence than that which I found in the autograph book of my thirteen-year-old daughter, which she circulated among some of her classmates on the last day of school. The reader is likely to be familiar with the triviality and frivolity of the jingles found in similar autograph books among American school children. Absolutely none of that sort were to be found in the German selections. Instead, there were such quotations as the familiar one from Goethe: “Edel sei der Mensch, hilfreich und gut,” and such proverbs as “Ohne Fleisz, kein Preis.” (Without industry, no prize.) Some of the same seriousness is reflected in the following quotation from the printed letterhead of a young friend who writes me regularly from Groszhartau:

“Deutsch sein heiszt schlicht und echt sein, nicht mehr vorstellen wollen als man ist, auf allen tauschenden Schein verzichten um der Geradheit und Innerlichkeit willen. Deutsch sein heiszt: den Wert der Person nach *innen* verlegen.”

“To be German means to be simple and genuine, to desire no pretence at being more than one is, to renounce all deceptive appearances, for the sake of truth and inner integrity. To be German means to value a person according to his inner character.”

The popularity of advanced education varies from Dorf to Dorf. Groszhartau has only two graduates of agricultural colleges, and they are in the same family, the manager of the Rittergut and his son. Another son is in high school and will attend an agricultural college later. Walda, on the other hand, sends the majority of the boys and girls to the *Landwirtschaftliche Schulen* (Schools of agriculture). The various farmers' organizations put on educational programs, including lectures by college professors and other authorities. The villager's education is not complete when he leaves the institutions of formal education, nor is it limited to formal lectures and discussions. It is continued indefinitely in less formal but not less effective ways in the village school of experience.

Perhaps the more favorable condition of the health of German men as compared with that of Americans, as revealed in the selective draft, is due partly to the fact that the health program of the German schools, like the improved educational methods, is carried out in the rural as well as in the urban schools, while the public health administration of the American educational system, is reserved mainly for urban children. All the children in Groszhartau are examined regularly by the school physician; and no one, not even the resident general practitioner, objects that the custom is socialistic. Plenty of exercise in the open air for women and children, as well as for men, plenty of plain but wholesome, well-cooked food, and unworried, unhurried habits of life contribute to the health of the German farming people. The seriousness with which the *Wohlfahrtspolizei*, or welfare police, carry out their work of inspecting the dwellings of workmen and of wandering groups is another factor. The most effective factor, however, seems to me to be the coöperative spirit on the part of the neighborhood group which not only encourages positive, healthful living, but insures the observance of quarantine



and vaccination regulations, as well as conformity to laws of sanitation. The system of state health insurance for all workmen makes it possible for them to get adequate hospital and medical care. The worker gets some relief (*Unterstützung*) besides the medical care, but this is not sufficient to support his family. In case of an accident the workmen get an annuity (*Unfallrent*); and a system of old-age insurance provides an annuity for every workman or workwoman, sixty to sixty-five years of age, throughout Germany. This insurance system not only makes unnecessary much voluntarily organized relief work, but prevents much suffering.

The best way in which to appreciate the recreation of a German village is to participate in it. The village spirit at play is the village spirit at its best, and is then, it seems to me, in greatest contrast to the American rural neighborhood when at play or on holiday. Next to play, in vividness of the revelation of group spirit, is the joyous sociability, the animation, and the enthusiasm and hilarity of the conversation of a convivial group of visiting neighbors. With all the busy-ness of village life, the villagers find time for recreation and visiting. There are, for instance, thirteen holidays which are observed in all villages. One of the most important of the village feast days, the date varying necessarily in different villages, is the Kirmes (*Kirch'-messe*) a celebration of the anniversary of the founding of the village church.

Speaking of hog-killings as social affairs is not a joke in Germany. They have a more respectable name for them, and call them *Schlachtfeste*. The Schlachtfest has become an institution, and the best hotels advertise one each year. The German villagers seem to contradict Doctor Johnson's dictum to the effect that a man is not at his best while he is eating, and although it may be a little too strong to say that eating and drinking have been spiritualized by them, it is

not too much to say that eating and drinking have been highly socialized and made to contribute to conviviality and neighborliness. Although they still drink intoxicants moderately, they have begun to substitute much lemonade and other patent soft drinks, besides much coffee. As one can easily see by the list, more of their social organizations have for their main purpose the promotion of recreation and sociable life than have any other single purpose; and some contribute to this need also whose main purpose is something else. The German rural neighborhood is thoroughly committed to the desirability of recreation and sociability for old and young, and sees to it that its members know how to have a good time and have the leisure and the means for doing so.

A letter received from my young friend of Groszhartau, Herr Gerhard Müller, since my return to America, told of one organization which we had missed in the survey which he had helped me make of Groszhartau's social organizations, and told also of several celebrations held after my visit. Details from this letter are particularly interesting as showing the formal ceremonial which traditional usage has shaped for all social events of the village. No one needs to work himself into a nervous breakdown in "getting up" the program or in keeping it going according to schedule. As the German saves himself from nervous embarrassment and awkward stammering in leaving one partner at a dance for another by the formal raising and pressing of his partner's hand, which is his definite leave-taking, so in larger social events of the village he has gradually evolved pleasant, but definite, ceremonial forms which make it possible for every member of the neighborhood to have a truly good time, since every one knows exactly what is expected of him, and does it, and no one has to wipe the sweat of agony from his brow after his small part is done.

I quote several paragraphs from this letter:

“. . . It occurs to me that in my list of Groszhartau organizations I forgot one, that is the Civil Union (Zivilverein). In the main this organization is composed of people from the lower strata and has as its object that the members should carry each other to the grave at burial and should help to support each other's dependents. So it is a sort of burial insurance (Begräbnisverein). But that does not at all prevent it from holding an anniversary celebration each year, in the form of a ball. . . .

“In this letter I am sending you some pictures showing the rebuilding of our stables which were destroyed in the fire. You see that a spruce tree has been raised above the rafters. As soon as a building is ‘prepared’, that is, as soon as the skeleton of the roof is raised, then the festival of the raising (Richtefest) is celebrated. A tree, decorated with gay ribbons, is placed on the gable of the house. Then the builder gathers together his workers and all who have helped with the work to a feast (*Der Hebeschmaus*). At this spread speeches are made—and drinking is not forgotten.

“As you learned during your stay here, there is no lack in Groszhartau of different organizations. One of these began on last Sunday its festival of the banner giving,—presentation of colors—(*Fahnenweihe*)—for, with us, a real club must have a real banner. (‘Denn ein richtiger Verein muss bei uns auch eine richtige Fahne haben.’) This organization was a singing society (*Gesangverein*).

“In such a festival naturally the whole village takes part. Weeks before, the event has been arranged for and preparations made. On the evening preceding the celebration the whole village is beautifully decorated. Garlands are strung over the streets in many places. The houses are decorated with banners or gay papers. In the evening the celebration begins with a *Kommers*. (By *Kommers* we mean a gathering where, for the most part, people sing.) The different singing societies of the village are present; and various singing societies of the region round about also meet with them and bring their songs. I am very sorry that I could not show you one festival of a singing society during your stay here. Men's choral societies are especially common in Saxony. The program is closed with some theatrical piece.

“As I went to bed very late on this evening, I was exceedingly astonished to be awakened early the next morning by the loud playing of a march, which was played under our windows by the band of the fire brigade. Every festival of any importance has such a rising greeting (*Weckruf*) of a band on the morning of the cele-



bration, when music sounds through the whole place and brings a special salute to special guests of honor and those who are prominent in the festival arrangements. As my father had been chosen sponsor (*Fahnenpate*) of the new banner which was to be presented, we received a salute also.

"In the forenoon there is a festival service in the church; after which a wreath is laid on the monument of those fallen in the World War, in memory of the singers who had fallen.

"About one o'clock comes the high point of this rural festival, the festival procession. First comes the band of the voluntary fire department, blowing good march music. Then follow all the visiting choral societies, with their banners. Then come young women who have been chosen for the honor of carrying the banner. This banner is first carried in its covering through the whole village in the procession. Then come in coaches the sponsors of the banner, the pastor, who presents the banner, the special guests, etc. Finally there come the choral societies of the village, the society responsible for the festival bringing up the rear in festive array, in top hats!

"This procession moves through the whole village to the place of the celebration; the president makes a speech; the pastor presents the banner; and the many choral societies of the region come bringing their good wishes and present ribbons or pegs for the new standard. At the close several songs are sung.

"About five o'clock the general bustle ceases and dancing begins in earnest in both inns. It was very early in the morning before the festival came to an end."

Groszhartau has no trouble in "keeping the boy on the farm." The villagers have developed, through centuries of living together, sufficient technique in keeping life colorful, a technique impossible, and finally lost, to our isolated and lonely farmers, whose lives we so often hear referred to as "drab." Morals and religion in a German rural community furnish good illustrations of Professor Cooley's statement:

"Ideals of human wholes like the community, the nation, the commonwealth of man, merge indistinguishably into the conception of a greater life, the object of faith and hope, continuous in some way with ours, but immeasurably transcending it."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cooley, *Social Process* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 420.

I know of no group in which one can better observe this merging than in a German Dorf, with its hoary history reaching back to at least the Middle Ages, with its genealogies of families who have lived in the same houses and tilled the same soil for dozens of generations, with its monuments and landmarks, and with its relics which connect the present with the past, around which worthy traditions and memories cling. Here, if anywhere, are reminders of interdependence and of an organic, larger life. Here, indeed, is cause for faith and hope, and demand for devotion and sacrifice. Here is a unanimous participation in the process of continued creation, which lends a dignity to one's being and relates creator and creation.

Organized religion need not take all the credit for the reverence and veneration of the neighbors in the presence of sacred symbolism, nor for the spiritualization of secular things to the extent that characterizes German villagers. The village neighborhood fosters a spirit which is closely akin to that of religion. And yet the village church and its leader fill a vital place in the neighborhood life, and I was able to discover none of the apologetic attitude which is so common among American rural clergy.

Although Walda was a comparatively small village and without a resident pastor, the church building was kept in good repair, the grounds and cemetery in perfect order, showing evidence of thorough, though unpaid, perpetual care. So compliant is the state to the will of the village, that it is not unusual for state money to be appropriated for the repair and support of the village church. There is a generally recognized need for organized religion, and the support for church work is forthcoming without the necessity of resorting to "Ladies-Aid" methods. Relieved from the financial strain, the pastors and their assistants have time and energy for a full program of constructive work. They know the parishioners. They take responsibility for their

religious education from childhood. They not only christen, marry, and bury them; but they take a lively, positive interest in their everyday affairs. I made five calls at the Kaditz parsonage, and on the occasion of each call, found the pastor engaged in instructing children in preparation for confirmation. Such instruction is sure to be much superior to that of the Sunday School teaching which generally constitutes the only religious education of the American country child. Most parents would not allow their children to take lessons in dancing from as incapable and poorly prepared teachers as those in charge of American Sunday Schools.

The village church, however, need no more take the credit for the morals of villagers than for their reverence. The village organization, the intimacy and interdependence of the citizens, not only necessitates considerable conformity and systematic behavior on the part of old and young, but fosters high moral idealism and a golden-rule brand of emulation in service. The morality which characterizes German rural people is not exclusively a negative sort, but the village displays effectively many *verboten* (forbidden) signs; and the negative morality is likely to be enforced by many means of social control, even gossip, threats, and calling names. Village public opinion is a force to be reckoned with, and village neighbors seldom flout it. Although many German farmers drink intoxicants, drunkenness is very unusual in a village. Germany has one of the lowest rates of illegitimacy among European countries, and the rate would probably be much lower were it not for city statistics. Such destructive depredations as those tolerated by American neighborhoods on Hallowe'en, or the petty thieving of apples, melons, etc., which are winked at in such neighborhoods, would not be allowed in a Dorf. Some village morality may be motivated mainly by the necessity for conformity, like passing on your right or left in the street or



on the sidewalk. There is not much use in a man's trying to sleep after his next-door neighbor has begun the day's work when the next door is as close as that in a Dorf. The villagers, therefore, agree on the subject of early rising. They get up at five o'clock in the summer and six in the winter. So emphatically counterselective are most formalized varieties of immorality that they do not survive for so long in the intimate life of a Dorf as they might in an isolated neighborhood. A petty thief cannot be tolerated in a situation where a man's crops, tools, and various other possessions are far separated from his dwelling and so are quite unguarded.

The main highways connecting villages and cities throughout Germany are all hard-surfaced and for the most part in excellent condition. The government-owned railroads run in all directions, are very cheap, and surprisingly efficient, in view of the sacrifice of 5000 locomotives in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles. The telephone and telegraph system, equally cheap and efficient, is government-owned, and run in connection with the postal system. The postal system is excellent and reaches every door, but none of these means of communication appear to be used by German farmers more than the same ones are used in America. The railroads are used more for transportation of products than for passenger service, in so far as farmers are concerned. Few farmers have telephones in their homes, but all have easy access to them in the village. All the farmers in Groszhartau subscribe for weekly agricultural papers and practically all have daily papers, but few take magazines. Every farm home has a few books, including some on the subject of agriculture. Nearly every farm home has a radio. But there is only one farmer in Groszhartau who has an automobile. (The Rittergut has a tractor.) Neither Walda nor Kaditz, however, has a single automobile. Even driving horses are luxuries, and many farmers do not have

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a horse of any description, but depend upon cattle, often milch cows, as beasts of burden. The great advantage of German farmers over American farmers, in the matter of communication, is the face-to-face or short-distance sort. Here the village form of organization has its greatest advantage. Where neighbors actually join house to house, and field to field, without even a wall or a fence between them, it is difficult for one to keep a secret. It is useless for a farmer who has acquired a scientific agricultural education to try to keep his advanced methods to himself if he is doing strip farming under such conditions. And if he has had the democratic discipline of village life, he will not wish such secrecy, but will take pride in demonstrating advanced methods.

“Something there is that doesn’t like a wall.” And the New England poet, Robert Frost, might have added “Hedges and line fences.” That something is neighborliness, democracy, science, or even morality. Walls and isolation are congenial to snobbishness, privilege, ignorance, and secret sins. This intimacy of the village results in the development of certain mechanics of polite, neighborly intercourse, which are no less an advantage to this kind of communication than are printing, telephone, telegraph, etc., to the long-distance sort. Even back in the Elizabethan period Thomas Nashe, in *The Unfortunate Traveler*, complained that Germans took half an hour to say “Good Day.” They still take considerable time for such niceties; but it is time well spent if one values good fellowship, peaceful neighbors, and successful coöperation.

There appears to be no more active interest in the discovery, enlistment, and training of leadership in the village than in American neighborhoods. The more natural process of discovering, enlisting, and training followers; the organizing practice in the various social organizations; and the full and free self-expression and friendly rivalry

fostered by village life, tend to bring out any salient initiative which the population possesses. Either a more nearly adequate supply of leaders or the honor which accompanies responsibility must account for a different spirit on the part of leaders in the village, for one does not there hear the complaint, which is so common to American rural leaders, of being overworked. Even the *Vorbesitzer* (chairman) of the Groszhartau *Landwirtschaftlicher Verein*, the outstanding leader among the men of the village, and his wife, who was active in the women's organizations, both of whom were making great sacrifices for the advancement of village affairs, never once in the many conferences which I have had with them complained of the demands that were made upon them by the agencies in which they were working.

The principal advantage of the village over the American neighborhood, as I see it, is the fact that in the village children are brought up from infancy seeing enough of their fellows so that they are not tortured with bashfulness and fear of men's faces to prevent their showing what they have in the way of leadership ability. If leaders are born out of situations, the village furnishes the proper situation, awaits patiently the natural period of gestation, and provides the needed pre-natal, and post-natal care. When it appears, the village intuitively recognizes it, is not ashamed of it, and does not drive it out to seek foster parents, but nourishes it tenderly on the only sustenance upon which it thrives, responsibility. After a man has spent a lifetime in leadership, the village prolongs his service by the erection of a fitting monument or memorial, keeping him still in the place of leadership. When American neighborhoods furnish the proper situations, our educators and organizers will cease to be so exercised about the leadership problem.

The political situation in Germany, at the time this study was made, was unusual; and any figures on the percentage

of the eligible population voting, or other statistical data, would not be typical of village organization in general. The excitement over the Young Plan and other political issues was somewhat out of the ordinary. A suggestion that the farmers have largely had their own way in the matter of legislation and government, in so far as they concerned the villages, was the fact that the only demand which I heard in questioning them upon the subject was one for reduced taxes. German farmers, at least in Saxony, are conservative, and any agitation for radical change of any sort is branded as communistic. This seems inconsistent with the fact that some villages had as many as nine political parties. The variety, however, in such villages, was furnished mainly by the industrial part of the population. Every farmer in Kaditz was a member of the party known as the *Deutsch-National*.

One other significant observation impressed me, and that was the freedom of speech, press, and assembly which was taken for granted. Cities like Dresden, with thirteen qualified parties, enjoyed the greatest freedom of discussion, each party having its own newspaper. The villages received these papers and equalled their fellow politicians of the city in the freedom and fervency of their argument. The village had this advantage, in the way of encouraging sobriety of statement and polite manners, that the arguments took place at closer range.

Although conservative in the sense that they are opposed to radical change, they are at least mildly socialistic when it comes to government insurance of buildings, crops, and animals, and government insurance for health, accident, unemployment, and old age; or when it comes to government ownership of railroads and the cheap rates which it ensures; or to other state aid which is favorable to farmers.

When questioned about charitable organizations, the first thing a German farmer tells you is that the system of







WINTER IN A GERMAN VILLAGE

government insurance and annuities makes it unnecessary to have any very elaborate eleemosynary organization. Needs not covered by the insurance funds are likely to be taken care of informally by the neighbors. The temporary inconvenience of a fire is the occasion of neighborly accommodation. A recent illustration occurred in Groszhartau when the cattle and other animals of the unfortunate farmer were housed and fed for several weeks by neighbors. On several occasions Walda has inserted appeals called *Brandbriefe* (literally, "fire-letters") in the *Bauernzeitung* (farmers' newspaper) for members of the village who have suffered losses from fire; and these appeals have met with good response.

When it comes to the subject of crime and delinquency and their treatment, the situation in a German village and that in an American rural neighborhood are very different, although comparative statistics would not be very significant because of the unreliability of such statistics in the latter group. And of course there is a great variation in the situations of the latter, especially since prohibition enforcement has driven racketeers from large cities to take possession of country communities in the locality. There is seemingly less falling below minimum standards of behavior in the German village than among American farming communities, however.

In the village of Kaditz there has not been one person convicted of a crime or misdemeanor within the memory of the assistant pastor, who has lived in the village and has been intimately associated with every neighbor for twenty-six years. The lower rates of crime in European countries as compared with the rate in America seem to me to find their explanation not mainly in superior police, laws, or courts, but in the preventive influences of European rural and urban social organization in general. Perhaps Sherlock Holmes is for once really prophetic when he says:



“The pressure of public opinion can do in the town what the law cannot accomplish. There is no land so vile that the scream of a tortured child, or the thud of a drunkard’s blow, does not beget sympathy and indignation among the neighbors, and then the whole machinery of justice is ever so close that a word of complaint can set it going, and there is but a step between crime and the doek. But look at these lonely houses, each in its own fields, filled for the most part with poor ignorant folks who know little of law. Think of the deeds of hellish cruelty, the hidden wickedness which may go on, year in, year out, in such places, and none the wiser.”

As well as the enforcement of moral laws many other social needs are left mainly to informal organization. But while there is no definite agency in the village charged with such needs as country planning other than the *Wohlfahrts-polizei*, who simply inspect buildings and enforce certain minimum requirements, the German countryside could hardly be made more beautiful or planned in a fashion to make it more economically or aesthetically productive.

In the matter of coöperative, economic needs, German farmers no longer look upon coöperative credit, or upon coöperative production or supply organizations, as experiments. Coöperation in Germany has had a long and interesting history, and its growth has been a healthy one from the beginning. The movement is traced briefly by Mr. C. R. Fagin in a study made in 1925.

The history began with the organization of the first coöperative credit association. The founders were Herr Schulze, mayor of Delitzsch, and Herr R. W. Raiffeisen, burgomaster of a group of villages of Neuwied. Herr Schulze founded a Friendly Society for distress or sickness and also an association of shoemakers for the purchase of raw materials, in the year 1849. In 1850 the first loan society was formed at Delitzsch and a second one in Eilenburg, and two years later the parent society became

a self-supporting institution with capital stock. Herr Raiffeisen also started a coöperative society for the distribution of potatoes and bread to the poor at Weyerbusch (near Coblenz) in 1848. The next year he organized a group of philanthropists in Flammersfeld into a loan society which sold cattle at easy rates to poor, unorganized farmers. In 1862 he founded the first farmers' coöperative society proper at Anhausen. It was a loan society in which the borrowing farmers were themselves the members. It was not a joint stock company, which is a union of capitals, but a thoroughly coöperating union of men who associated for the purpose of doing joint business, conducted in an unselfish spirit on such terms that all who were prepared to assume the duties of membership should share in its rewards in proportion to the degree in which they made use of their association. In some societies, including other than farmer members, Raiffeisen allowed share capital; but after 1873, he determined to abide entirely by the original plan of a strictly coöperative system, as in the Anhausen model. Other important steps in the early history of the coöperative movement were:

1856—The publication of a book by Herr Schulze explaining the scope and object of his work.

1859—Organization by Herr Schulze of a congress of banks and establishment of the *Allgemeiner Verband der Deutschen Erwerbs und Wirtschafts Genossenschaften* (General Union of German Industrial Coöperative Societies).

1869—First coöperative law passed by Prussia.

1869—The beginning of negotiations of Raiffeisen banks with wholesale dealers rather than with retailers.

1872—Organization at Friedburg of the first legally constituted supply society.

1873—The formation of the *Hessische Verband*, a union of the fifteen supply societies (*Haupt* or *Einkaufs Genossenschaft*).

1886—Agencies organized into wholesale societies (*Haupt* or *Einkaufs Genossenschaft*).

1889—Prussian law made an imperial law permitting coöperative societies to organize with limited liability.

1895—Beginning of the final stage in the development of the supply society into a national business federation.

The coöperative idea has grown until it is now applied to every department of agriculture.

The villages of Groszhartau, Walda, and Kaditz all make use of the credit and coöperative agricultural societies. Groszhartau has also a Konsumverein (coöperative store). There is no longer any argument among the farmers about the advantage of credit and agricultural coöperation, but some of them rather inconsistently oppose the Konsumverein as a communistic organization. It is in a very prosperous condition, however, as the industrial workers from the shoe factory support it loyally. The movement nowadays does not seem to have much of the religious flavor which furnished so much of the motivation of the original organization as conceived by Raiffeisen, who insisted that all members profess the Christian religion and stated that the object was to improve the situation of its members both materially and morally. The advertising of the movement has not limited the statement of the advantages of coöperation to pecuniary gains, but has insisted that coöperation meant better living as well as better farming and better business. The following story quoted from a life of Raiffeisen will illustrate:<sup>9</sup>

“About an hour’s walk from Neuweid on the Rhine is situated on a plateau bordering the Westerwald the little village of Anhausen. The district is not very fertile, and the inhabitants are mostly small peasant proprietors, some with only sufficient land to graze a single ox or cow. An owner of ten acres is a rich man. Before the year 1862 the village presented a sorry aspect; rickety buildings, untidy yards in rainy weather running with filth, never a sight of a decently piled manure heap; the inhabitants themselves

<sup>9</sup> A. Wuttig, *F. W. Raiffeisen*—translated by C. R. Fay.







VILLAGE NEIGHBORS  
Groszhartau, Germany

ragged and immoral; drunkenness and quarreling universal. Houses and oxen belonged with few exceptions to Jewish dealers. Agricultural implements were scanty and dilapidated; and badly worked fields brought in poor returns. The villagers had lost confidence and hope; they were the serfs of dealers and usurers. To-day Anhausen is a clean and friendly-looking village, the buildings well kept, the farmyards clean even on work days; there are orderly manure heaps on every farm. The inhabitants are well if simply clothed, and their manners are reputable. They own the cattle in their stalls. They are out of debt to dealers and usurers. Modern implements are used by nearly every farmer; the value of the farms has risen, and the fields, carefully and thoroughly cultivated, yield large crops. And this change, which is something more than statistics can express, is the work of a simple Raiffeisen bank.”

The spirit of the *Landwirtschaftlicher Verein* of each of these villages is still true to the original conception of coöperation, which implies a “bond of union over and above the casual relation of a money tie.”<sup>10</sup> The organizations include in their programs other activities such as educational lectures, discussions, and demonstrations; and the members are neighbors and friends as well as coöperators. The lack or weakness of this spirit is perhaps the greatest fault of American coöperation, and we can imitate no phase of Germany’s formal organization more profitably than this attitude on the part of the coöperative groups.

More interesting than the formal economic or social organizations, perhaps more important, and certainly more subtle and difficult to comprehend, is the *informal* organization of a village. The social psychology, the unconscious moral unity, the spirit of a group is something, in a sense, more fundamental than the conscious social organization; but there is no generally accepted technique for measuring such intangible phenomena. It is in respect to such informal organization, however, that I think American neighbors can most profit by an acquaintance with German villages. I

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*



can probably do no better in an attempt to effect such an acquaintance than to relate as accurately as possible some of the incidents and observations of my personal experiences with German neighbors.

My first "simple and necessary" relations with a German farmer were the result of my appeal to him for help to get my automobile out of the ditch. He carried several loads of planks and a heavy wagon jack for a considerable distance from his home to the car, worked at least a half hour in the mud, and then refused to accept pay for his services. The two months' experience with German farmers furnished no exceptions to such kindly treatment. There was some discussion as to whether the school should accept our children in the middle of the term when they had no knowledge of German, and the school was already crowded. The first teacher to urge their acceptance was a veteran who had had a large part of his underjaw blown away by a shell in war against America.

My first day's visit in a German village was typical of the whole-hearted coöperation and friendliness which I found throughout the study. I called first upon an *Oberjustizrat* (judge), an old gentleman to whom I had been directed, who had suffered a nervous breakdown and had retired to the village before the war. After a most hospitable reception in his quiet, comfortable home, I explained my business, and asked him if he would not write for me a letter of introduction to the manager of the Rittergut. This he did not think wise, but he accompanied me to the manager's home in order to introduce me. On the way he showed me the beautiful park and grounds of the castle, the grave of the old prince who had died recently, and who, he explained, had been a very efficient business man. He then took me to the castle itself, where we were received with apologies because of the condition of the place, but were shown the first story, including the rooms occupied by

Napoleon I during that gentleman's stay in the village. The reason that we were not shown the upper stories was that the furniture in them had just been attached for a debt, as were all the crops of the Rittergut. The judge explained that the young prince was a very impractical fellow whose business education had been interrupted by the war and who had made some foolish business deals which had nearly lost him his estate. He had a few weeks before signed a note for 600,000 Marks with a bank which closed the next day. The prince's business affairs were nearly hopeless; but the estate was in perfect condition, and apparently prosperous. The apparently prosperous condition of the farm, however, could not be credited to the owner, who had nothing to do with the management, which was the responsibility of the manager, whose residence we next visited. In the absence of the *Pächter* himself, I was turned over to his son, a young man who had recently been graduated from an agricultural school, who seemed immediately to understand just what I was after, and who proceeded to show me everything about the place, as well as to answer most patiently my many questions. The judge excused himself after inviting me for *Kaffee* at the close of my day's adventures.

I was first shown the stables, where workmen and work-women were cleaning the stalls and caring for fifty-five thoroughbred Holstein cows and many pens of pigs. The woman in charge of the pigs was looking after a large, new litter. She kept half of them in a basket while the other half were with the sow. I was surprised when the woman entered the sty, to see that the old sow made no disturbance, but gruntingly assented to any change she wished to make. All the animals were tame. The cow, horse, and pig stables, on the first floor, formed one side of the big quadrangle-barnyard; the storage for vehicles and tools, the opposite; the castle, the back; and the dwelling of the *Pächter* and unmarried workers, the front. On the second floor, on the

sides, were the dwellings of married workers' families, and storage for hay and grain. About one-sixth of the space in the yard was occupied by long, carefully-stacked manure heaps. As we passed one of the piles, I noticed a peculiar-looking instrument sticking in the side of the pile. Upon examination it was found to be about three feet long, and as I was unable to identify it, my host explained that it was a thermometer for taking the temperature of a manure pile. He then went on to tell me that manure-piling was a science in Germany. As soon as the temperature of the pile reaches sixty degrees, it has to be packed down, lest it become feverish. The packing process causes the bacteria to stop working and the temperature to lower. All the farmers in the village, the young man said, understood scientific manure culture, and were very saving of anything which could serve as manure; for they knew that well-prepared manure was much better for the soil than *Dungmittel* (commercial fertilizer). The care of the health of the manure pile is as vital to the welfare of German agriculture as is that of the agriculturist. The final test of good care, my friend explained, is the lack of any odor from the manure. He took pride in demonstrating the fact that the Rittergut piles were odorless. Beside the manure heaps was a large box-chariot on wheels, which was used, I was told, for the transportation of poultry from the yard to the fields, where they were allowed to pasture for a short time each day. The poultry were as tame as the other live stock, and demonstrated their willingness to climb into the poultry wagon.

I was next shown the apartments of the laborers, which I found to be small but clean and fairly comfortable. One man with his wife and small son took great pride in their apartment and were especially enthusiastic about their new radio. They did not resent our intrusion, but on the contrary urged us to stay and visit. I was very pleased





THE CASTLE OF GROSZHARTAU  
Napoleon's Saxon headquarters



by the friendly relation which appeared to exist between the young man and the workers, a relation which I later found was duplicated between the workers and the manager himself.

The last and most delightful experience of my stay at the Rittergut was a view of the dwelling of the *Pächter*, and the prolonged visit which followed. I was shown first the well-equipped office, where the office work, including scientific bookkeeping, was transacted. We then went to the two dining-rooms (one for everyday and one for special occasions), and the parlor. They were tastefully decorated, and beautifully and most comfortably equipped, having plenty of serviceable furniture, pictures, including half a dozen oil paintings, beautiful porcelain stoves, and various interesting works of art in the way of sofa pillows, drapery, etc. There were a variety of flowering plants. The rooms were well lighted, and well ventilated by large windows on the two sides of the building. Each window still held a large box of flowering plants. The young man was as proud of his radio as was the workman. He had made it himself and explained as enthusiastically as any American amateur that he had gotten Pittsburgh and Schenectady. I was shown every room in the house, including the large modern kitchen, furnished with running water and other convenient equipment, the potato and wine cellars, even the bedrooms of the whole family. I found the young man's room especially interesting because I was finding the young man so. Besides the usual bedroom furniture, including the typical big feather tick used as a cover, not to sleep on, he had a large desk which showed signs of much use; and there were interesting pictures and several bouquets of prize heads of grain on the walls. He took from the desk a large stamp album and showed me a very fine collection of postage stamps. One drawer of the desk was nearly full of paper money of the period of inflation, 1922-1923. He later pre-



sented my small daughter with several million marks in bills of all denominations for her collection. He called my attention to a library of books on various subjects, including several scientific ones on the subject of agriculture. He showed me his fine camera and photographic apparatus, apparatus which he later demonstrated on the whole family, using a flashlight and an invention which enabled him to take his own picture.

When we finished the tour of the rooms, we returned to the dining-room, where I was told that I must share his dinner or he would be offended. This was followed by a long visit during which many questions were asked and answered. I found my host more interesting than anything else I had seen during the day. Here was a young fellow, twenty-three years of age, who loved farming and village life, and who would not change occupations with any one in the world, no matter how unprofitable agriculture became. I tried, upon further acquaintance, to analyze his attitude and to discover if possible, the ingredients of his point of view. I found his attitude a complex one. He seemed to me to have an almost ideal home situation. He and his parents and young brother and married sister were very congenial. He had had a happy boyhood. He had been brought up to work well and regularly. He had been given a thorough preparation in the way of formal education for his work. He was allowed plenty of responsibility in the affairs of the farm and the home. He was of a scientific turn of mind. He carried a book of tables in his pocket for the purpose of computing yields of various crops. He took great pride in the application of advanced scientific methods in agriculture. He showed me giant heads of wheat and compared them with those of ordinary wheat and then explained the new German system of planting instead of sowing wheat which accounted for the difference in size and for the doubling of the yield. He was proud of knowing

how to test potatoes and grain and how to judge the fine points of domestic animals. He took me, on later visits, to the fields where he showed me some excellent crops of sugar beets and other vegetables, and discussed the care of the soil which made such crops possible. He had great interest in the history of agriculture, had studied the origins of the various groups who make up the German population, and, although he had traveled little, was informed about present conditions in the different states of Germany. He had made some study of racial characteristics of different peoples, and had some rather strong convictions about racial differences. He took a lively interest in politics, and while he was not in favor of the old system, he was not at all sympathetic with radical views on the subject. He had thought seriously about various social problems and could discuss such matters intelligently and sympathetically. He told me of the conditions in villages, of the housing shortage, long hours of labor, small wages, short vacations, irregular employment, and of other factors which induced some native rural workers to migrate to cities and caused a labor shortage on farms; a problem which was being solved unsatisfactorily, he thought, by the importation of Poles and Russians, who usually came with a minimum of possessions, leaving their children at home and planning to remain only temporarily. He was very favorable to the mixture of the large estates and small holdings such as exist in Saxony, and justified the law making it necessary for the owner of a Rittergut who wished to sell more than one-third of a large holding to turn it over to a city or to the state instead of selling it in small blocks to individuals. He thought these large estates had a specialized function in the way of large-scale agriculture. He was a member of the church, knew what preachers were paid in various parts of the country, and was informed about religious problems such as that of the big Catholic population on the

borders of Saxony and Prussia who wished to gain their freedom from German rule and set up an independent government like that of Czechoslovakia. He knew about the educational system and was glad that teachers, as well as preachers, were again government officials and were as well paid as before the war. He knew his village, its places of business, its social organizations, and he helped me more than any other individual in the discovery of data in this study. He knew the organization of the village from the point of view of a most active participant, and he later was to be my host at a variety of social functions, parties, celebrations, and church services, introducing me and my errand to many of his neighbors. I have been no prouder of guests than of this "dirt-farmer" and his family at a dinner and grand opera in Dresden, where I discovered that he could wear a dress suit as gracefully as he wore overalls. I have found no person other than trained sociologists who appreciated better the problem of this study, or who seemed to furnish a better illustration of the combination of culture and agriculture.

In Germany's art center, Dresden, I visited an interesting college. It was formerly a college for training veterinarians, but is now specializing in training *Hufschmiede* (shoers of horses and oxen). It is attended by young men from all over Germany. The students must have completed an apprenticeship of three years under an experienced blacksmith before they may take the "finishing course" of five months in this college to develop their skill in this most delicate part of their chosen profession. I was at first somewhat amused at the idea and wondered what they could do to keep busy for five months in such an institution. After my inspection of the college, I wondered how they got through their work in that time. They listen to lectures, illustrated and unillustrated, read books, and work in a shop which is fully equipped with the most improved and





*Above:* The approach to the Rittergut

*Below:* The Home of the *Pächter*, the Poultry Wagon, and Scientifically Piled Manure Heaps

GROSZHARTAU, GERMANY



modern machinery and tools. They have access also to a large and interesting museum in which are found horse shoes, mule shoes, ox shoes, and ass shoes of every age and nation; all kinds of hoofs illustrating diseases, injuries, and problems with which the Hufschmied must deal; knives, rasps, and other instruments with which to work; ropes and apparatus with which to handle vicious or unbroken animals; and even the style of apron which a well-dressed blacksmith should wear. This museum and the books on the history of the subject would give one an interest in, and considerable knowledge of, history and geography in general. It was one of the best illustrations which I have found of Professor Cooley's contention that any subject may be cultural if taught in a cultural manner. I was interested in the fact that the president's assistant was to receive a doctor's degree when he completed his dissertation. I found the school an excellent illustration of German thoroughness and a help in understanding German character; and my intended half hour's visit stretched to half a day. I thought the president's attitude typical of that of German farmers when he insisted that an affection for domestic animals was a desirable virtue and urged that patience and kindness were most needed in their discipline.

I asked many questions in the course of my morning in this school and succeeded in asking only one which the president, who showed me around, could not answer. That was as to the care which American Indians gave their horses' feet. He knew nothing about the subject, and begged me to write some of my friends who might be informed about the matter or possibly have relics for the museum, a request with which I complied. I can understand now why my blacksmith friend out in the village takes such a professional attitude towards his work. He is "vocationally well placed and well qualified." He has an alma mater, or rather an "almus pater," and he is associated with a



group of self-respecting and respected alumni who are secure in the patronage and appreciation of "steadfast and immovable" neighbors.

One of the most instructive experiences of my stay in Germany was being entertained by a village school superintendent. I was accompanied by my host's nephew, a teacher in the school which my children attended. We arrived just in time for a sumptuous "Mittagsessen" (noon-day meal), were most cordially received in the superintendent's comfortable apartment in the school building, and were feasted, toasted, and variously entertained, and later shown the architecturally beautiful and well-equipped school-house. Then I accompanied the schoolmaster to a neighboring village which sent its children to his school, in order to attend the funeral of a mother of some of his pupils. The woman was a twenty-seven-year-old mother of seven children, a victim of one of Germany's "Four Horsemen," tuberculosis. This funeral was my first reminder of the fact that the loss of a member of a German neighborhood is a loss indeed. I know of no illustration which makes more vivid the contrast in the recognition of importance to the neighborhood between the two systems here studied than the event of the loss by death of a resident of a German *Dorf* as compared with a rural funeral in the United States. In this as in most other situations, the *Dorf* has the mechanics and symbolism appropriate for neighborliness.

The woman whose funeral was being held was the wife of a farmer with no unusual claims on neighborhood recognition. However, she had lived all her life in the village, as had her ancestors for many generations before her; she had played her part in neighborhood affairs, and now the neighborhood was to show its concern as tenderly, reverently, and properly, as if she had been a national celebrity. As was the custom, her neighbors on the right and left had dug her grave in the village churchyard, would carry her

body from the home to the church on their shoulders, and would perform all the services of sextons and pallbearers. This service, the unpaid perpetual care of the grave, the monuments with their permanent inscriptions, as well as the fresh flowers kept on all graves, proclaim a neighborliness that is more lasting than life. Upon our arrival, the relatives were already gathered in the *Hof* or courtyard in front of the door of the dwelling, from which we could hear the wails of the seven children. The minister and undertaker, the pallbearers, the leader of the choir of children, and all the men of the village were dressed uniformly in top hats and black clothes, and finally the women neighbors, also formally dressed, came marching in in perfect order, taking their places for the short service at the house. Practically all the men, women, and children carried flowers, usually wreaths, and, in contrast to American mourners, seemed to understand exactly what was expected of them. The children sang; the minister prayed; the pallbearers lifted the casket to their shoulders, and all marched to the grave, where another service, including a sermon, took place.

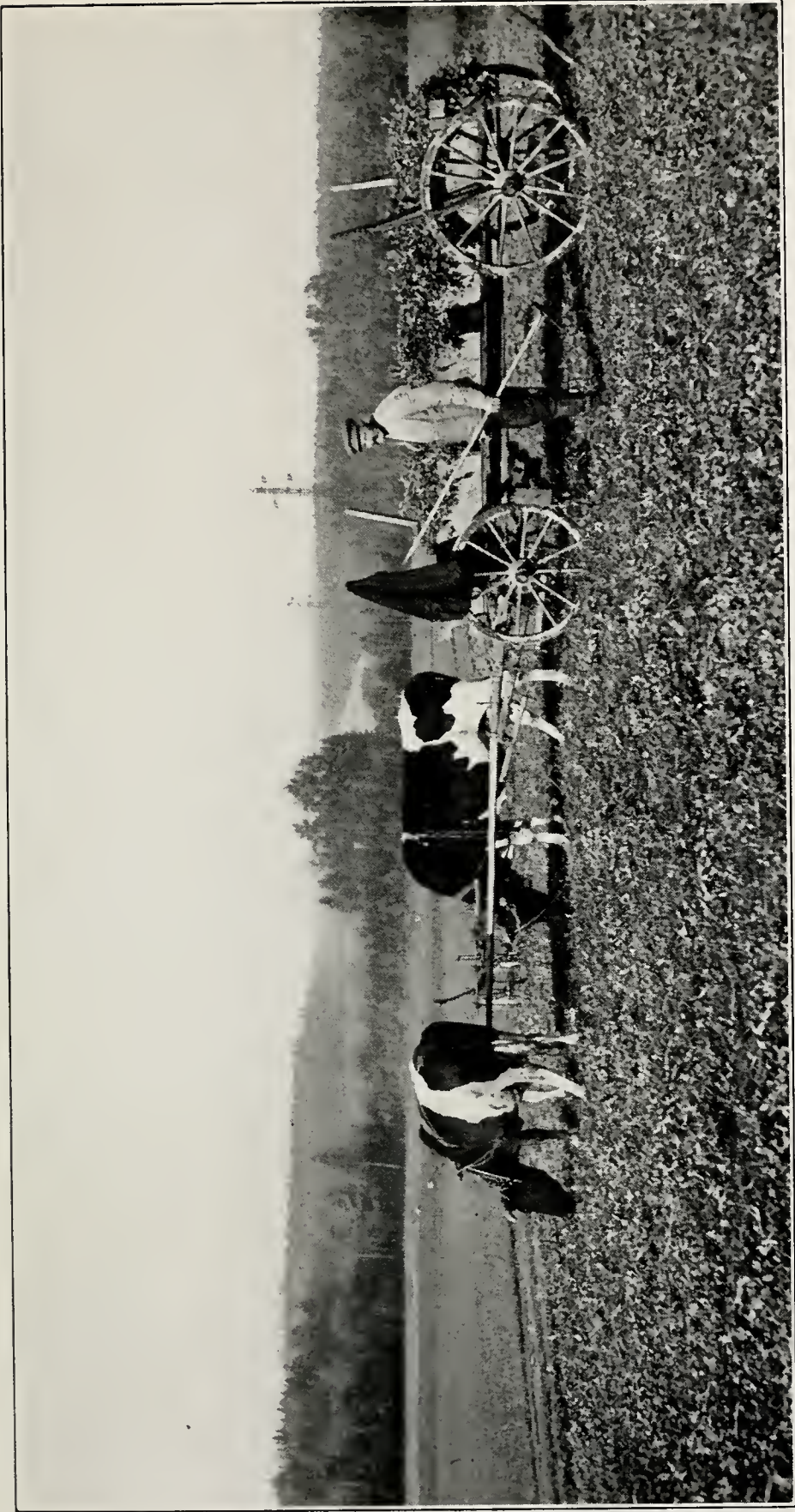
The funeral of a German villager is a neighborhood, not just a family, affair. Every German village reminds itself formally once a year of its losses, when it holds a "decoration day" on a Sunday in November, called *Totensonntag*. On that day it decorates not only the graves of soldiers, but every grave in the churchyard. So impartial is the carrying out of this tradition that the village of Kaditz, in which I witnessed the observation of one *Totensonntag* did not neglect the graves of some French soldiers, whose only claim to the honor of such neighborly burial and care was the fact of their having been prisoners of war in the village in 1870. After the funeral we returned to the teacher's home, had our afternoon coffee, made a tour of the farms and the mill of the village, took an auto-

mobile ride to three other villages, and finally finished our busy day with a delicious *Abendessen*, or evening dinner.

Rural churches in America serve more or less as social as well as religious institutions, and even the Sunday service is likely to be accompanied after the sermon, if not during it, by neighborly visiting. Such is not the case, however, in a German village church, at least in the ones I attended. My first experience in church attendance was on a cold Sunday during a time in which the building was unheated because of a change from a furnace to an electric heating system. The congregation were in their places regardless of the cold, and although I was only five minutes late, myself and the boy friend whom I found anxiously waiting for me in the churchyard, were the last persons to arrive. Among my notes on the event are the following: "Men and boys upstairs; women and girls downstairs; everybody very serious; perfect order; not a single whisper, or even a smile; everybody singing, praying, or taking part in responsive reading; everybody suitably dressed; a dogmatic sermon listened to seriously; minister abruptly disappears; audience leaves quietly and promptly. Singing most enjoyable part of service."

The *Kirmesfest*, a sort of combination of a home-coming and a Thanksgiving holiday, is an excellent recognition of the doctrine of a "time to keep silence and a time to speak." It is a two-day celebration held annually on a Sunday and Monday; but the exact date varies from village to village. The out-of-town guests begin to arrive Saturday evening. The Sunday program includes special church services for adults and children. After the Sunday morning church service the feasting and visiting begin in the family circles; and the community social activities begin Sunday evening in dancing and various kinds of parties held in the *Gasthäuser* or village inns. The feasting and visiting continue during the next day, and dancing and other amusements





TWO-COW-POWER TRANSPORTATION



follow through most of the night. I attended both days' activities as a guest at the Rittergut in Groszhartau, enjoyed all of them, but found the Monday evening's program most exciting. Aside from the evening's program the *Kirmes* made three emphatic impressions upon me. I marvelled at the unexcelled hospitality of the villagers, at their capacity for enjoyment of simple social intercourse, and at the free and frank self-expression and general good manners of the little children. Old and young of our party repaired early to the Gasthaus, which was one of four large ones in the village, each of which could accommodate about five hundred people. The entertainment was of a harmless, hilarious sort, entered into fully by every person present, with the exception of the prince, who witnessed the performance from his high box seat and maintained a very dignified separateness. The evening began with much drinking of beer, wine, coffee, and lemonade, and a less energetic, since it was so soon after the noon feast, eating of a great variety of *Kuchen*. This was followed by the performance of a play (the room being provided with platform and curtain), some vaudeville skits, instrumental music, singing, a lengthy demonstration of gymnastics by *Türner* and *Türnerinnen* from all the *Turnvereins* in the district. The dancing, which constituted the climax of the program, began late, but lasted until three o'clock in the morning, so that every one had a chance to dance as much as he wished. The sets were necessarily short, since the entertainment had to pay expenses, and the charge was only fifty *Pfennige* for seven sets. The dancing space was crowded, as room was allowed for a sufficient number of tables so that those who did not wish to dance could play cards, drink, eat, or visit. There were no formal chaperons, and no evidence of need for them. Perhaps one reason for this was the fact that the party was attended and participated in by whole families; and the pressure of family



opinion and sentiment was enough to influence any who might not have had regard for the public opinion and public sentiment of the village. I could not help being impressed throughout the entertainment with the unrestrained, joyous, and yet orderly, hilarity of the villagers, as contrasted with the bashful, bored, and boresome, tired and sleepy "yawners" with whom I have often sat at similarly designed functions in an American farming community.

I think I got no nearer to one phase of Germany than I did in visits to two of the many old castles which I was shown, Wesenstein and Groszedlitz, not far from Groszhartau in the province of Saxony. Wesenstein was built by one Count von Bulow in 1413. It is built up the side and on the top of a high mountain, and much of the castle is hewn out of the solid rock. Seven stories high, it has horse stables in the top story. There are two underground passages, one leading to Castle Dolma, a walk of three-quarters of an hour, and the other to Groszedlitz, an hour's walk distant. Wesenstein has an ancient chapel which is now used as the village church. This is the only use to which the castle is now put, however, as no one has lived there for a hundred years. The building is in good repair, and the furniture, pictures, tapestries, etc., are kept as they were when the castle was occupied by the nobles and rulers of olden days. The visitor is shown many rooms with their mosaic floors, and beautifully decorated walls and ceilings. He is told the significance of the heroic, historical scenes pictured on the walls. He is told the story and shown the picture of the jester in whose beer the landlord put a mouse when he saw that the jester was beating him in a drinking bout, and who replied when asked how he liked it that it tasted good but felt as if he had swallowed a kernel of grain. The visitor is led through underground passages to the old prison, a huge room hollowed out of solid rock,

with only one opening through which to see the light of day, and that a very small hole through twenty-five feet of rock. He is taken to the torture chamber and shown the opening out of which prisoners were sometimes pushed to die mangled deaths on the sharp rocks hundreds of feet below. He is told of the old traditions and of the brave deeds of the great heroes whose ghosts still cling to the old castle.

After viewing this reminder of old things and old ideas, we made a tour of the village at the castle's feet, a village which seems hardly mindful of the glories of its past, but has not really quite forgotten. We repaired to the Gasthaus, where we ordered a dinner of foods of which the nobles and rulers of the old splendor never heard, and danced to the music of which they never dreamed, from a modern radio. We visited with the proprietor, who had been in the war, who had traveled a little, and who spoke English. He asked many questions about America, proudly showed us his infant son, and suggested that he would be glad to put us up if we wished to get better acquainted with the village. He never mentioned the castle.

Groszedlitz was the beautiful summer palace of August the Strong. The palace was built under his supervision, and was intended only as a residence for servants. The real palace was to be something much grander and was to be connected with the city of Dresden by a beautiful drive. The enterprise was suggested by Versailles and was to be an imitation of the grandeur of that palace. But August ran out of funds, never finished the drive, and had to live in the servants' quarters. This does not impress one as serious hardship when he enjoys the delightful landscapes which surround the palace, and when he sees the magnificence which the King accomplished regardless of his financial disabilities. But the castle, and gardens, and hunting preserves are no longer the pleasant place of Kings.

At the close of the World War, the castle and the Rittergut were taken over by the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* (workers' welfare department of the state), the castle and gardens were converted into a grand state school for undernourished children of workers; the hunting preserve, into a great state farm where unemployed workmen are furnished employment and comfortable homes.

I watched the children at their play, listened to their singing as they marched from the playgrounds, inspected their clean, artistic, modernly-equipped rooms, and observed their cellarful of wholesome food. I saw the herd of thoroughbred cows and the flock of hens which furnished the milk and eggs to rehabilitate the underfed youngsters. I was shown a pen of fat hogs which were soon to be the victims of a *Schlachtfest*. And I appreciated the grandeur of the landscape as I could never have done in the time of *August der Starke*.

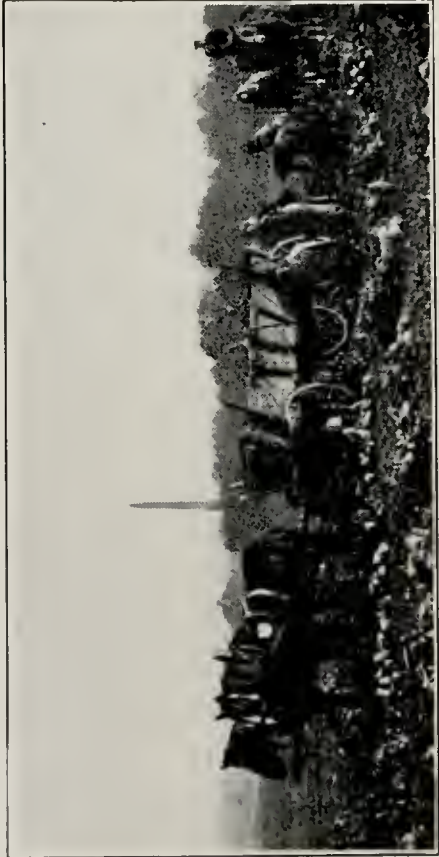
The extent to which village psychology is influenced by village traditions and history would be difficult to discover. Nor can one always be sure of the quality any more than of the quantity of such influence. One need not share the village life for very long, however, to be convinced that having a worthy history is of very great significance in village society and that the nature of the influence of such history upon the village neighborhood is similar to that upon the individual of having a worthy family line. Long-cherished ideals are as vital a part of neighborhood life as they are of individual life.

The conception of God "is never stronger upon me," said Professor Cooley<sup>11</sup> "than when I think of the men of the past who strove and fell for the right as they saw it. I am ashamed to do less." Fortunate is the individual whose neighborhood furnishes him with stories and other symbols of such men and whose institutions preserve the

<sup>11</sup> *Life and the Student* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), p. 253.







SOCIABLE SAXON SOIL

ideals for which they strove. I found no better illustration of the sense of dignity, the consciousness of having a reputation to live up to, and the spirit of reverence engendered into neighborhood life by a knowledge of a long and praiseworthy history than that of the old village of Kaditz. The village was settled by Sorbs about 500 A. D. These people were fishers and farmers, traces of whose life still remain; but they were conquered by the Germans in 928, and later a group of Slavic people came down the Elbe and settled here. These Slavs gave the village its present name. The first authentic history of Kaditz was recorded in 1273, when it is mentioned in a church document as being under the Archdeacon of Nisan. These early settlers brought with them many ingenious arts and dexterities, with knowledge of how to cut stone, how to make pottery, how to plait, to weave, to cook, how to catch fish with a net and shoot with arrows. They sowed grain and bred cattle. They built durable dwellings in a well-planned and well chosen settlement. They divided the holdings into narrow strips which began at the river, their main means of transportation, and extended back to wooded lands. The present divisions of land still show traces of the Sorbian and Slavic arrangements. What was formerly the lord's estate is still held intact as a separate holding.

The Church history has been very carefully kept since the Middle Ages. The *Pfarrer* showed me a great pile of well-bound old books which he kept in his office and which gave a complete church record running back to the sixteenth century. This record includes some interesting information of many generations of Kaditz churchmen. The early pastors cultivated land, *Pfarrgut*, as did the schoolmasters. In 1555 the pastor kept five cows and pastured them in the churchyard. An old book tells of the time when the church demanded a tenth of the farmer's products, and had the privilege of collecting its share of the grain before



it was drawn from the field. Each *Huf* had to contribute Easter eggs and Christmas pennies; but after 1555, when a school was built, both eggs and pennies were shared with the teacher, the custodian of church property.

Throughout its whole history, Kaditz has been peculiarly agricultural, and the story of the farmers' neighborliness is the most exciting part of the history. The following quotation, which is freely translated, is taken from a history of Kaditz written by one Otto Trautmann, a railroad secretary.

"From ancient times the peasant proprietors of Kaditz have formed an extremely close union. The 'neighbors,' that is the owners of village holdings, were all on an equal footing,—a preferred place was given to the judge only in court affairs—in historical times they were all without exception, related to each other, and for this reason the village formed a union of extraordinary firmness, of living joy in helpfulness, and a powerful group consciousness. Neighbors helped each other. . . . Occasionally neighborly helpfulness was put to hard tests."

These hard tests were most frequently fires. The whole village was practically destroyed by fire March 19, 1818.

"In hard times they counted upon the help of the neighbors—whether it were in oats, straw, hay, carting, hard labor, money, or land—in the hardest times other villages were appealed to—they seem never to have counted upon help from the city."

One of the first things to which the assistant pastor called my attention, as he showed me around the village, was the symbol of clasped hands which appeared on various monuments, symbolizing the spirit of fraternity which had characterized the village since the earliest times. This neighborhood ideal had become established in all the institutions of Kaditz, and, although the village was only two kilometers distant from Dresden and although it was dependent upon Dresden and inseparable from it in such interests as fire protection, water supply, and the meeting

of some recreational needs, it still maintained its ancient and powerful neighborhood integrity. Before my canvass of Kaditz was completed, the village caught fire one windy day and burned to the last dwelling, incidentally illustrating one of the disadvantages of village residence, but it is a safe prophecy that, when it is rebuilt, it will be discovered that the spirit of neighborliness was not consumed.

My last visit to a German *Dorf*, like the first one, was in the company of my delightful old friend, the *Oberjustizrat*, who escorted me to a place called *Klein Drebnitz*, where lived a friendly farmer whose home the judge often made the objective of his daily cross-country walk. We found the farmer, who had been given notice of our intentions, waiting to open the gate for us. I have never had a more enthusiastic reception from a stranger than that which our host accorded us. One of the first bits of voluntary information he gave me was to the effect that he had a brother in Chicago who was at the head of a book company employing forty workers, and who had recently offered to buy return tickets for him and his five brothers and sisters if they would visit him for a month or so. None of the family had accepted; but the old man's hospitality became even more enthusiastic when he heard that I lived near Chicago and that, upon my return, I should call upon his brother, and send him a postcard upon that occasion. I was repeatedly surprised in seeing how well acquainted with every American a German feels if he has a relative in America.

The first thing our friend had planned for our edification was a demonstration of a small private threshing machine. I had seen one before, but had not watched one work. The farmer explained that the advantages of such a machine over a large one which finished the job in a few hours were that one could thresh whenever he wished, as much as he wished, and that it left the straw in better condition for handling. The straw was dressed into bundles and bound

by hand, and then packed away for use as bedding for stock. The power for the machine was furnished by a motor; but some of the neighbors used horse power for theirs. He took much pride in his large barn full of grain, and in showing me how difficult it was to find a kernel of grain in the straw which his machine threshed. He had a chopper attached to the motor which chopped, very finely, the straw which he wished to use as feed. He seemed to be not very sorry over the failure of a barley crop for which he had been paid 2,000 marks in insurance. He expressed his approval of government insurance again as he told me of receiving six marks a week in accident insurance because of a crippled hand which he had cut on a disk of glass when a bench on which he was sitting collapsed.

We were shown the other modern farm tools and machinery, and also an old relic of a buggy which, the old man jokingly observed, he drove when he went to pay his taxes. The subject of the amount of taxes farmers had to pay was the first one we discussed which was serious enough to sober the old man's sense of humor.

We were shown the stables in which both the old man and his son took a mighty pride, for they were 100 per cent clean, and the most luxuriously comfortable of any I had seen. The cattle and horses stood in bedding to their knees, and even the pigs could find nothing to complain about. All were well fed, and an automatic water system enabled the cattle to water themselves whenever they wished. We were reminded again of the state's interest in agriculture when our host told of having a pen of hogs killed by the state veterinarian because they had cholera; but he assured us that either the man from whom he had purchased them or the state would pay for the loss. We were taken to the fields and shown the extent of the farm, and we were introduced to a neighbor with whom the old man said he had exchanged works until their farming was almost a com-



munistic affair. From the field we returned to the house, every room of which we inspected, and where we were entertained with more samples of the old man's humor. Another sober moment, however, occurred when he showed us some framed pictures of beautiful horses which he had raised, and which had been commandeered for the war.

We were shown the library which included the usual books on agricultural topics, were given copies of the agricultural periodicals which he and his neighbors all took, and were shown pictures in the family album, and letters from the brother in Chicago. I came away feeling that I had gotten something more than information about German village society, that I had found a good friend, and that he was also a friend of America. If learning how to take a half hour in saying "Good-by" is a German accomplishment, I should be glad to have American neighbors imitate her even in this, for my family and myself shall remember with much pleasure many such leave-takings, and the memory of having heard my Rittergut manager's son say that it was "like parting with relatives" and my seventy-six-year-old Oberjustizrat's insisting that he *must* see us again will keep fresh in my mind a new understanding of true neighborliness and a new appreciation of its value.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE FRENCH COMMUNE

FROM the time of the Roman occupation to the breaking-up of the feudal system, the agricultural history of France was not very different from that of England and Germany, at least in so far as neighborhood organization was concerned. Here, as in other Roman colonies, the Romans either imposed their will upon the colonies in the matter of the peculiar form of the village community, or made possible a long period of peace and orderliness in which the villagers could develop their organization in their own way. The universality of the system of village residence at the close of Roman occupation, and the variation which resulted after that occupation, would seem very good circumstantial evidence that the village community was to some extent a Roman invention. It is certain that in no country did Rome have a better opportunity to impose her will than in France, and no country enjoyed more of the orderliness which Roman occupation brought. As we have often been reminded, the Romans found Gaul divided into three parts. Racially, they left it so; and biologists claim that the old racial distribution still persists in modern France.

“Nordics, Alpines, Mediterraneans, were then grouped geographically much as they are now. When Cæsar brought it (France) out of the twilight of barbarism into the light of world history, he found the south inhabited mainly by the slender, dark-complexioned race known as Mediterraneans, the north mainly inhabited by the tall, blond race known as Nordics, while the intermediate uplands were

occupied by the stocky, round-headed Alpine race, living in subjection to the Nordic aristocracy which had conquered the uplands a short time before and were beginning to push down through the fertile corridors between the uplands to the conquest of the Mediterranean south.”<sup>1</sup> This author contends that where the Nordic establishes himself among other races, he is “instinctively aristocratic” and has always assumed the supremacy, in France as elsewhere.

The Romans found an aristocracy, among the Gauls, made up of those who owned and rode horses, who were closely associated with the chief, and who were rewarded by him with certain privileges. The Romans left an aristocracy, one developed soon after their occupation, a landed aristocracy, which was vigorously supported by persistent Roman institutions. So persistent were Roman institutions that conquering races, including the Franks, emerged into modern history from under the yoke of Roman laws and Roman political and economic systems. The system of aristocracy and its supporting institutions was as satisfactory to the Frankish chiefs as it had been to the Roman rulers. Clovis, instead of rewarding his chiefs with nothing more than horses, arms, and chattels taken from temples or towns, as had been the custom among the Franks, was able to give his vassals and his bishops land and houses. This adaptation formed the basis of the institution of feudalism, which was to persist in France until the beginning of the Revolution.

Of course, for many generations, the strength of feudalism had fluctuated inversely as the strength of the kings. A weak king gave the feudal lords an opportunity to assume control of the country, while a strong one generally meant the weakening of feudal power. A large part of the agricultural population was not under feudal control at the

<sup>1</sup> Stoddard, *Racial Realities in Europe* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), p. 76.



time of the Revolution, but it remained for that most violent upheaval to put an end to the age-old institution and free the last of the serfs. Most of the feudal lords disappeared suddenly, and the communes proceeded to destroy the records of all sorts, including the land titles, and made a distribution of the lands among themselves by means of auction sales. Many of the records of these sales are still to be found in the archives of the communes.

The reason this change did not result in an abandonment of the system of rural village residence in France, as had the development of enclosures in England, is due mainly to the difference in the time required in making the changes and in the nature of the processes. The redistribution of the lands of France was accomplished in a very short time. The farmer proprietors left well-furnished, luxurious castles, in some cases dwellings large enough to house a dozen families. The less comfortably housed villagers simply took possession of apartments in the chateaux and castles, or of the more comfortable houses of neighbors who had themselves appropriated castle apartments. Then again, the redistribution in France did not result in the enclosure of large holdings which required the traveling of long distances from the villages. There was no immediate need for the erection of new buildings, and when the time of such need transpired, there was not the urgent inducement to live nearer to the holdings as was the case with the large enclosures in England. The "cake of custom" soon hardened in the new neighborhood institutions and helped to fix the old system of village residence in the new situation.

The change, as it occurred in England, was not a revolution, but a gradual, cautious, and experimental process, and of such a nature that it seemed to demand individual occupation. So general is the village system of rural residence, and so recent the feudal institutions of which it was to



GRASSE—LES BLANCHISEUSES

If one thinks they are just washing clothes, one does not know  
French women



next city, the villages present a very "closed-up" appearance. There are few lights to be seen from the streets even early in the evening, and none from anywhere a little later; for the villagers, unlike their relatives in Paris, go to bed early. The villagers themselves appear to foreigners, upon casual appraisal at least, as not expecting company.

Perhaps it is ungrateful to mention such things, in view of the most hospitable entertainment and whole-hearted coöperation which I was later to receive; but French villages, like the city of Paris as compared with London or Berlin, impress one as being dirty. Not that one observes accumulations of filth, but they appear dingy, possibly largely because of the almost entire lack, in most cases, of any effort at decoration. The gray walls and the gray buildings and, in the Maritime Alps, the gray background, furnished by the rest of the landscape, contrast strikingly with the colorful aspect of a German Dorf. One sees from the roadside no flowers, no gardens, no shade trees, no shrubbery, designed to beautify the homesteads. I once lived in an American village in which the principal object of pride was the graveyard, but even the graveyards in French villages wear a gray look. About the only evidence of pride or village self-respect to be seen from a steering-wheel view is the marble war memorial with its long list of names. Although, in actual cleanliness, the French villages compare favorably with French cities such as Nice, where the sewerage is discharged into the Mediterranean only a few rods from the famous promenade and bathing beach of the millionaires, they fall far short of the standard of cleanliness which is obvious in the German village. Unfortunately the contrast is not confined to buildings and streets. One looks in vain for the carefully polished shoes, unsoiled dresses and suits, neatly combed hair, and the shining morning faces of children, as well as adults, which are universally evident among German villagers. One sees few



shocking illustrations of disorder in the French villages; but they lack the positive, aggressive orderliness of the *Dorf*. The industry of French farmers is perhaps, in some respects, equal to that of the German farmers; but their industry seems to lack some of the patience and joyousness of the latter, and the scarcity of positive, external orderliness is true also of the French farmer's psychology of work. He alternates between overwork and lazy leisureliness.

One frequently sees overloaded, overworked horses and other work animals being abused by their over-emotional drivers. In contrast to such over-ambitious industry, is the often amusing necessity of disturbing by loud tooting the slumbers of teamsters before passing them on the narrow roads. The industry of the French farmer is hardly consistent. The care of horses, mules, donkeys, and cattle, in France, leaves much to be desired when compared with the affectionate attention which such creatures receive in Germany and England. Rural France resembles Italy much more in this respect. The work animals are often thin, carelessly-groomed, and unkindly treated. French teamsters take little pride in their teams, and the English fashion of decorating harnesses is not common.

Perhaps the greatest contrast which is revealed to a student of rural neighborhoods in France and Germany is the fact that external and superficial observations of the commune are not so dependable as those of the *Dorf*. When one gets behind the scenes and sees French rural life from the courtyard, where he will be welcome if he is reasonably polite and has serious business there, he will not find the French farmer unfriendly, or extremely suspicious, or unable to make his hospitality understandable to a foreigner. One soon discovers from his more favorable viewpoint and from fuller acquaintance that the appearance of poverty is mainly an appearance, and that back of these unlikeable

characteristics is a trait which in some respects is as admirable as many of those of the German.

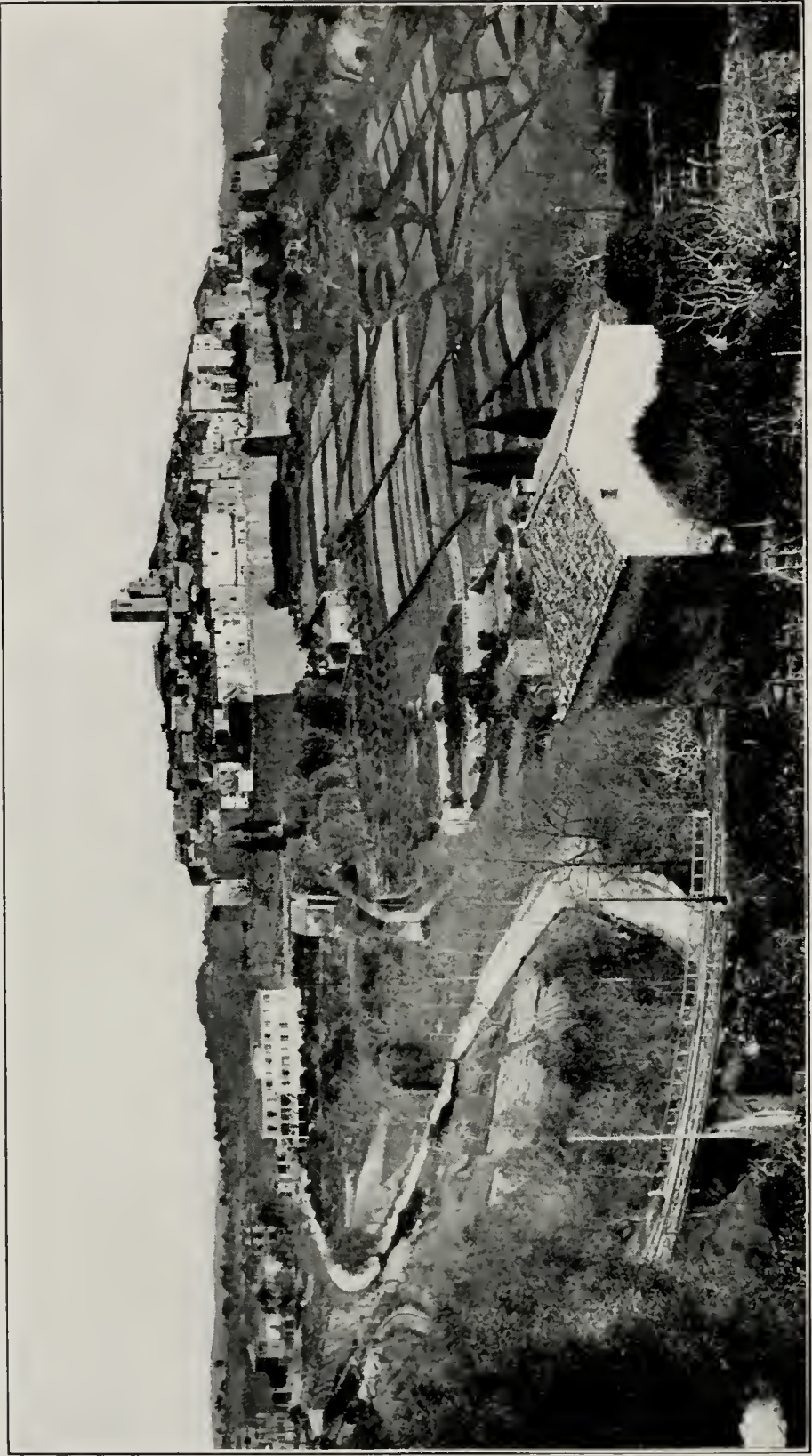
The French peasant is not living just in the present. He is thinking of the dowry which he is going to give his daughter (there is not likely to be more than one), of the start which he is going to give his son. No parent loves his children more. He does not plan to be a burden to his children in his old age. His saving of paint and flowers and decorations is due, in some measure, to a frugality which approaches the extreme of downright stinginess. His thoroughness and patience, and consistency, are sufficient, for instance, to keep fertile a land which has been planted continuously throughout historical time. How he puts to shame the New England farmer in this matter! He is neighborly enough to be able to live congenially with his fellows in the rock villages of the Maritime Alps, which, in the physical propinquity and concentration of their life, surpass anything in the way of human habitats outside of American city tenements. He is sufficiently clean in his habits to keep his women folks scrubbing clothes at the picturesque wayside tanks and pools, until Marianne might well be represented as a washerwoman. Many of the contrasts which at first appear striking are not more significant than the fact that he drinks his alcohol in wine instead of beer, and probably takes a little more of it. I have found no more agreeable objects of study than the French villagers of the communes of Provence. Many of them are now my good personal friends.

“The best that we find in our travels is an honest friend,” says Stevenson, in his *Travels with a Donkey*, which adventures took place in southern France. “He is a fortunate voyager who finds many. We travel, indeed, to find them. They are the end and the reward of life.”

I know of no more likely place in which to find honest friends than in these mountain villages. Such villages are







SAINT-PAUL (A.M.) VUE GENERALE

Note the terraced fields, Saint-Paul du Var, France

the natural habitat of friendship. I was first attracted to these villages by their romantic history and picturesque appearance. They are located on the hills along the Mediterranean, where human life in Europe had some of its earliest beginnings, and where many go to end it. Some of the villages located nearest to the sea have been health resorts and winter playgrounds for many generations, since Pliny the Elder sent his freed servant here to recover from tuberculosis; and since rich Roman patricians resorted here for amusement and diversion before the days of American millionaires.

Some of these villages have survived not only the past history of France but much of that of the ancients. Here lived the ancient Ligurians, who were supposed to be of Greek origin, and who left us their ruined forts and camps. To these regions ventured the Phœnicians and Carthaginians. The Roman legions made their first contact with these people under the consul Sempronius Gracchus in 237 B. C. and a later contact, again under the republic, in 200 B. C. Here Marius and Pompey and Cæsar came and saw and conquered, Cæsar losing half his legions here. Here came Alaric the Goth, with his pillaging, burning, murdering hordes, and here fought the ravenous Vandals, the Burgundians, the Suabians, and the Lombards. When dangers no longer assailed these villages from the mountain passes, enemies came up from the sea in the forms of Saracen, Moor, and Arabian pirates and free-booters. Some of these villages were old in the eighth century. The hectic conditions of their life were relieved by the coming of the conquering Charlemagne, and since that time, this borderland has been oppressed by all the troubled history both of France and Italy. This territory was harassed by Guelphs and Ghibellines, and served as the battleground of bands of mediæval soldiers carrying their fantastic weapons and dressed in the most picturesque costumes the



world has ever seen. No part of the globe has seen much more of war and peace, play and work, life and death, than these ancient habitations, whose grayness might well have been that of troubled, worried youth, if not of old age. Perched on their rocky crags, they have watched the human race for so many generations that they appear to have become indifferent concerning it.

The two communes, Gattieres and Carros, which were chosen for intimate study, are located on steep cliffs overlooking the valley of the Var. They were less influenced than most such villages by that army of the wealthy unemployed who infest Riviera winter resorts. These villages are located, the one nineteen, and the other twenty-three kilometers from Nice, and about fifteen and nineteen kilometers respectively from the seashore. When one approaches these villages by way of the winding highway which leads along the river valley, especially on a hazy day, of which there are many, one is surprised not to have passed them by unnoticed, so nearly indistinguishable are they from the rest of the mountainous background. When one discovers them, they present an unreal, story-book appearance, and one wonders how they ever got there. Did some brutal, ravenous city chase them down the valley until they took refuge on these heights and there remained, like treed kittens, unable to find their way down? One expects them to turn out to be merely relics of a hoary past which every one but themselves has forgotten, instead of living, laughing, weeping, working, and playing, eating and drinking, more or less modern neighborhoods. One is surprised on taking out his watch and comparing it with the clock on the church steeple, to find that the latter is quite up-to-date.

As the traveler draws nearer, he has no doubt about the intent of these villages to turn their backs upon him. He is confronted by impregnable stone walls, either separate ram-



parts crowning the cliff, or the almost unbroken walls of dwellings, whose few recently cut windows are apparently only for the purpose of looking out, as they are too high for one to look in. When the visitor reaches the single narrow, steep, crooked path which leads from the highway to the maze of narrower, steeper, crooked streets and passage-ways within the walls, he expects to be challenged by a guard in armor, from his beat on the old wall or his station in the tower. But the watchman is these several centuries off duty, and the only enemy to which the village is inaccessible is the modern automobile. The automobile, at least, must respect old age; so the visitor leaves his car and approaches the open gateway, where he is surprised not to be met by knights in armor and plumes, nor by long-bowmen in leather jerkins, nor men in slashed doublets with sloping halberds, nor yet by gay musketeers. There is no fight nor parley at the portcullis, nor conquering dash up the stone-paved street. One is likely to make his way leisurely, at least before reaching the top of the street. The only parley which is likely to take place is with some friendly donkey driver whose usually modest beast forces the intruder into a doorway in passing, or with some top-heavy washerwoman or gatherer of fuel, carrying her burden on her head. No one seems to suspect the visitor of being a spy from a neighboring village, or a returning crusader, or a wandering troubadour. Most of the lords and ladies whom he meets simply say, "*Bon jour, monsieur,*" and pass on, intent upon the matter of gathering firewood, or picking olives, or carrying water. Impelled by adventuresome curiosity and encouraged by such tolerance, he continues on his way into the puzzling tangle of streets which are so narrow in places that he need not be a giant in order to span the opening between the dwellings on either side. He finds them paved with small cobblestones, the gutters at the sides filled with trickling spring water, coming down from

the ever-flowing fountain in the square at the summit of the hill. In some places the street will be roofed with arches, in others by rooms connecting the dwellings, and elsewhere by a narrow strip of blue sky. Often these old streets, with their winding stairways leading up to dwelling rooms or down to stables, remind one of nothing so much as the catacombs. The houses are not only close together but some are as high as five stories. One is surprised to find on his way up the main street a very respectable building labeled *La Mairie*, the town hall. Nearby (in Gattieres and Carros and in many other villages in the same building), is a fairly modern school. There is also a postoffice, with the public telephone and telegraph. The visitor will be welcome to visit the school, call on *Monsieur l'Adjoint*, or assistant Mayor, inspect the village archives, and, when he reaches the highest and holiest peak in the village, to meditate in the old church or go romancing around the chateau of the grand seigneur of older times. The grand seigneur is not at home, and he has no objection to sociological guests. The curious one is free to roam these old streets by night or day, listening to the murmur of conjugal conversations and the peaceful prattle of contented children behind the thousand-year-old walls. I thought of the inscription on a slab before the sarcophagus of a man and wife in the catacombs of St. Callistus, announcing that the pair had lived together twenty-five years and never had a fight. I wondered if they would have dared to make such a claim had they lived in Gattieres or Carros. If the Russian peasants live so close together that a man cannot burn his neighbor's house without losing his own, the residents of these villages live so close together that a man cannot quarrel with his wife privately. The spot where the newcomer is most likely to feel at home is in the small public square in the center of which is the fountain, and around which are tanks used by industrious washerwomen. There are







LIGNE DU SUD DE LA FRANCE—SAINT-JEANNET

The shadow of a rock.—St. Jeannet

likely to be a half dozen women doing their laundry, and, if any one thinks that is all they are doing, he just does not know French washerwomen. The square and the wash tank are the places where the great process of socialization is continually going on at high pressure. Here is absolute freedom of speech and assemblage, and if they had a press, it would be free also. Here public opinion is formed and enforced, and here the discussion is limited only by the interests and knowledge of the various discussers. He who has anything to bring to the attention of his fellows is spared the inconvenience of hiring a hall, buying a license to parade, or even getting the recognition of the chair. There is no chair, and there is no objection to parading or discussing. Here democracy is as young and vigorous as in the time of Pericles, and here the stranger will encounter nothing more unpleasant than friendly, human curiosity.

If the stranger within the gates shows himself neighborly, he will not wait long for an invitation to inspect the inside of a home, which is just as homelike as if they had a name for it. In the two, or three, or more, rooms over the stable or beside it, the spirit of French family life and the flavor of French hospitality are soon evident. The enthusiasm of the greeting from all members of the family makes one less worried about French emotionalism, and the readiness with which refreshments are offered reminds one that he was expected after all. As he is allowed to inspect the great- and great-great accumulations of heirlooms and other keepsakes, and as he listens to the stories of the generations of the family who have inhabited those old rooms, he begins to appreciate something about the commune and family groups, of which it is composed, which is lacking in many of the transient, near-nomadic neighborhoods of America, where many of the members do not live in one place long enough to get acquainted with their



grandparents. The caller will feel more at home when his host or hostess brings out the family album and exhibits the family tree. He will be reminded that a beautiful landscape may not grow common even in a lifetime, when he is taken to the windows and is shown the distant, blue Mediterranean or the snow-covered Alps, or the mountainside covered with walled terraces and olive groves, or the valley with its tangerine and orange orchards, and its flower and vegetable gardens. So uneven is the summit of the cliff on which the village is perched that though house is joined to house, as is field to field outside the village, most dwellings have at least one belvedere window; and the villagers appreciate the beauty of the view more, perhaps, than does the outsider who sees it for the first time. The peculiar form and location of the village, though probably designed for defense alone, has proved to have other virtues of less transitory importance. The bird's-eye view of the surroundings reveals a scattering of buildings which appear from the distance to be more desirable as dwellings than some that are inhabited; but upon investigation these buildings are found to be vacant or used only for storage, or for family lunchrooms or headquarters during the seedtime or harvest season. The village dweller will explain that he not only loves the view but that there is plenty of fresh air coming up from the sea, and that in the hot summers the shady streets are as cool as cellars. He would soon get lonesome if he were to remain in the isolated storehouse.

I was pleasantly surprised to find it unnecessary to await a long probation before being initiated into the esoteric group of old, young, and middle-aged who feast and dance and celebrate so frequently that one needs to study not more than a couple of villages at a time in order to receive all the recreation one requires. The village, with all the houses facing inward toward a central court, and so close together that the village resembles one large castle



or rambling structure rather than an aggregation of single, independent dwellings, presents a much more friendly appearance from the point of view of the court and fountain than from the valley below, and the ways of life and spirit of the people reflect this *inner, intimate* friendliness. This friendly neighborliness is as attractive to the student of human relationships as are the sunlight on the old walls and the shadows in the arches and doorways to the artist. The only traces of color which one can find within the village are in the crumbling old church and in some of the dwellings of the more prosperous neighbors, or perhaps in some of the clothes spread on the wall to dry; but the colorfulness of the neighborhood life, especially as it appears on fête days, seems to offset the drabness of the physical structure of the neighborhood. The general aspect of the village structure, the donkeys with their packs, the fuel gatherers with their baskets on their heads, the wayside washerwomen, seem to belong to another age; and the electric lights in every house and stable, the daily papers on the tables, the conversation of the villagers, seem strangely inconsistent. On fête days, the jazz orchestra, the latest styles in dress and haircut, and the performance of the fox trotters, make the villagers appear very much like a crowd of visitors from Kalamazoo, Michigan.

So similar are the villages of Gattieres and Carros that they can well be treated together in discussing much of their social organization. Their histories, of which the villages know little, except that Napoleon made his way through them on his return from Elba, have been very similar. From their positions commanding fords of the Var River, they were considered of great strategical importance, and from the earliest period of European history such villages were harassed by many kinds of troops and were fought for over and over again. No one knows just when these villages were built; but they have very ancient and

eventful histories, having been bought and sold and captured many times. In one summer, 1593, during the wars of religion, Gattieres was taken and retaken several times. On April 22nd, for example, it was taken by Claude Grimaldi, and four days later it was taken by the Seigneur of Vence. A page out of its history tells how a duke of Savoy, Amedee VII first called *The Black* and later *The Red*, and who might have been called, like Demetrius, *Poliorcete* (taker of cities) took under his protection twenty-six chateaux, which comprised what were called the *Terres Neuves*, among which was Gattieres, a territory containing at that time one thousand hectares on the border of Provence. These chateaux were in need of protection because of the war between the Angevins and the Durasiens, who were fighting for the lands of Provence. The date of the beginning of the protectorate is fixed, approximately, by the fact that Amedee succeeded his father in 1383.

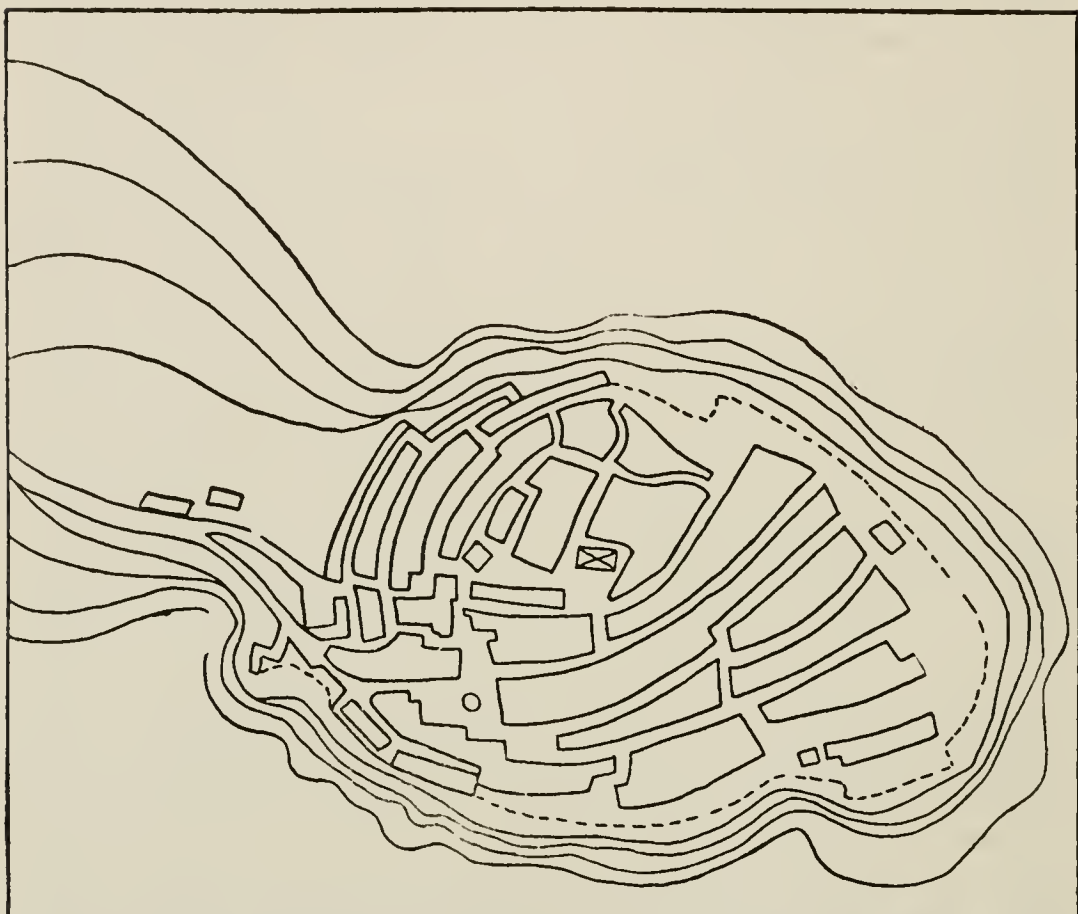
The village has been sold repeatedly. There is in the archives a record of one Allegret de Mauleon's having sold it, October 25, 1388, for two thousand florins, after Jean Grimadli, Baron de Beuil, had disposed of it only five months earlier for just half that price. The dukes of Savoy held the village, off and on, for many years; and one of them occupied the now badly-ruined chateau, as a threat to the Angevins, who hoped to retain the right bank of the Var, considered the gateway into the northwest of the Maritime Alps since the Roman Prætor, Bæbius, permitted the use of the *Via Juliana*, had passed this way in 189 A. D. From 1688 to 1697 Gattieres was found fighting against the Dukes of Savoy; but in 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht, the Duke of Savoy, on becoming King of Sicily, regained Gattieres. The wars of the Spanish and Austrian successions were disastrous for all the villages of the Var valley. In these wars Gattieres was usually on the side of France. By the Treaty of Turin, 1760, between France and Sardinia,

Gattieres became a permanent part of Provence. The present land holdings of the village are approximately what they were in the fourteenth century, about one thousand hectares. There have been few recent changes inside the walls, but several dwellings have been added on the outside.

Considerable inconvenience was experienced in getting the map showing the plan of the village streets, houses, and a portion of the lands surrounding the village, showing the shape of a few of the holdings. The local authorities, who were very willing to show me the old archives in the council room, appeared to be afraid that I might want to make an attack upon the place, when I asked them to let me copy the map. I was put off and kept waiting for several weeks, with the statement that I must wait until *Monsieur le Maire* came from Paris, where he lived, and granted the permission. He finally refused permission, but allowed me to make a map of my own. The maps of the holdings revealed a system, or rather lack of system, of land divisions which appeared on paper very much like the plan of a crazy quilt of the sort which our grandmothers quilted. The lines follow the picturesque old stone walls, which support the terraces, the walls of which were built according to the old Roman pattern, by serfs, during the Middle Ages, and which have seen but few changes, and those only by way of repairs, since that time. Each proprietor is likely to own land at opposite extremes of the territory, and few have their holdings all in one piece. The scattering allows each to have a variety of soils, climates, and altitudes, without having to travel, ordinarily, more than two or two and a half kilometers at the farthest. One discovery which one makes, as he studies the map of the holdings, and one which reminds him of the nearness of the village to the Middle Ages, is a remnant of the old "commons," which now has shrunk to three small patches. These the poorer members of the neighborhood are allowed to use. The archives con-



tained the records of a distribution of the holdings of the village under the dates of 1625 and 1720. There must have been another upon the departure of the Seigneur in 1789. The archives contained a large cupboardful of records, many of which were tabulations of dues owned by villeins to the lord, and accounts of village expenses; but the only



MAP OF VILLAGE OF GATTIERES, FRANCE

Showing the street plan and the arrangement of dwellings where house is joined to house

recent use which has been made of them was a careful study made by the wife of the mayor, who planned to write a history of the village, but who has not finished the work. Carros, the other village studied, has had a similar history, with the exception that it has been almost continuously under French control. It is known to have been a Roman post, from inscriptions which have been unearthed. Relics

of Merovingian rule have been found, and there is record of its having been owned by an illustrious family named de Blacas, who have been traced back to the twelfth century. The altar of its old church is dedicated to St. Claude.

Its most recent history, to be found in the council room, is in the shape of a diploma of highest honors for twenty samples of its products exhibited in 1923 at the *Exposition Agricole et Horticole de Lyon*, and, in 1927, a first prize for a modern village judged on the basis of hygiene, organization, and coöperation, which was presented by the office of the *Regional Agricole Du Midi*. (Office of the Southern Agricultural Region.) The only recent historical record to be observed outside is the war memorial, with its list of those killed, who number fourteen, as compared with the seventeen of Gattieres.

Although having a smaller population than Gattieres, Carros has more land, 1512 hectares, according to the record in the council room. Gattieres has a population of 535; Carros, 384. There has been a very decided decrease in the population of Carros during recent times. That of the older time was approximately 900. In 1914 there were over 500. The decrease during the last few years has resulted mainly from the migration of young people to cities, and, to some slight extent, by a slight excess of deaths over births, while there have been practically no acquisitions, with the exception of four families of Russian refugees who have settled outside the walls. Gattieres has not suffered such a decline, although the excess of deaths over births is slightly greater, and the rate of migration fully as great. The reason for its more nearly holding its own is that, during the last five years, about forty Italian and Polish families have moved in, and are being employed in near-by stone quarries and in work on the roads. The average decrease during the last five years has been about ten each year. There are twenty-nine families in Gattieres who

do not make a living off the land, while Carros has only five such families. Formerly, every family owned land. This is still nearly true of Carros, those who work only rented land being confined to the four Russian refugee families and three or four others.

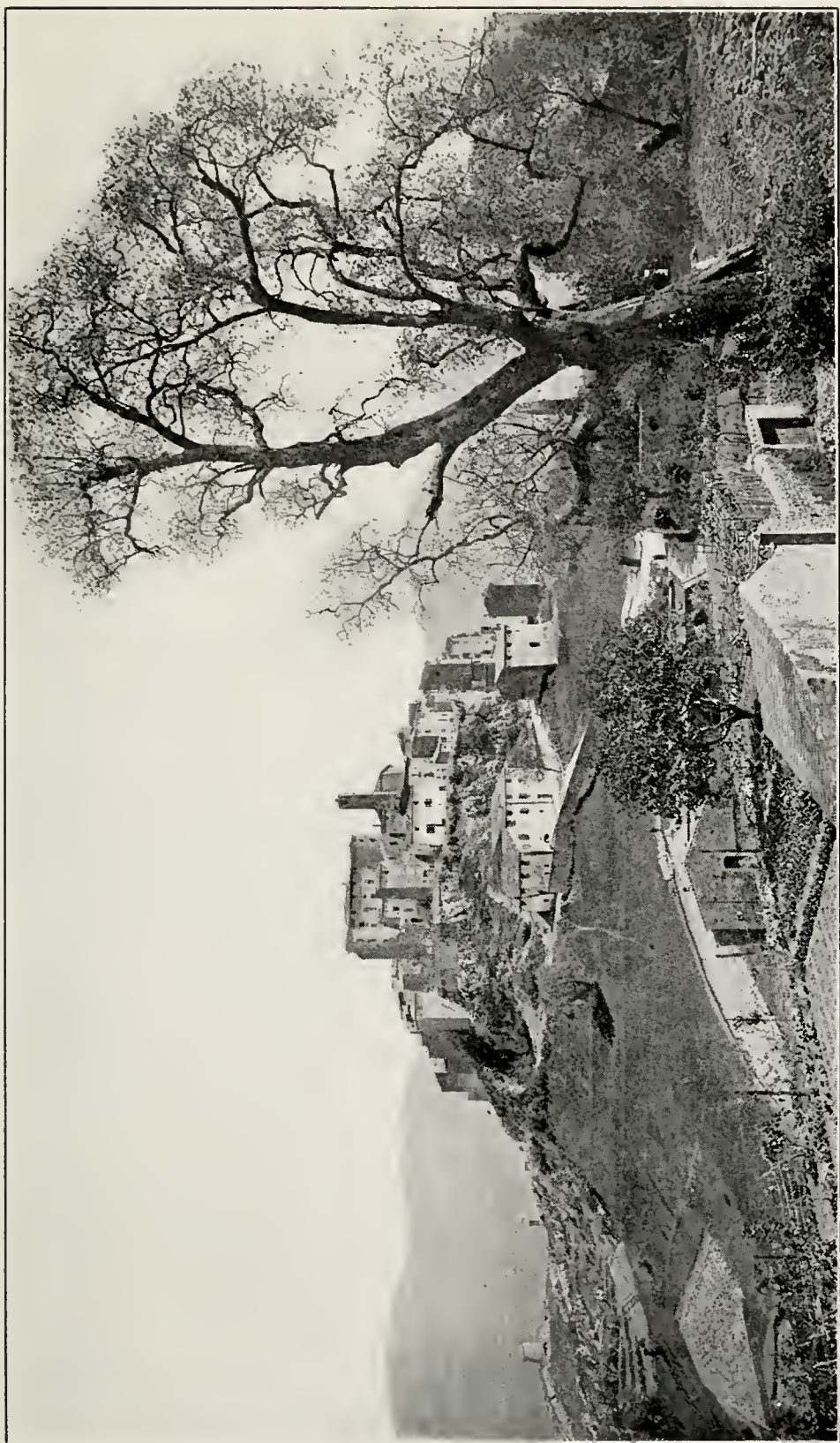
Besides the laborers, some of whom are employed on the land part of the time, the families, or individuals, engaged in occupations other than farming are:

Gattieres		Carros
0	.....Butcher .....	1
2	.....Bakers .....	1
3	.....Grocers.....	2
1	.....Blacksmith .....	1
	Hotel	
4	.....Restaurant .....	2
	Liquor dealers	
1	.....Liquor and Tobacco.....	1
2	.....Teachers .....	1
1	.....Priest .....	0

Many other needs are supplied by traveling peddlers, cobblers, etc.; and Nice gets some village patronage.

As to the characteristics of villagers, I found them to be consistent with the qualities which are generally recognized as common to other Frenchmen. The villager is systematic, and no wonder! The intimacy of his concentrated living would compel a systematization of the more intricate village affairs, as it does the passing of his neighbor on the narrow streets. The purposefulness of the villager's activities and the consuming ambition to realize his objectives of doing well by his children, insuring an independent old age, and other like aims, force him to systematic planning and systematic habits of thought. If the townsman is also inclined toward system in his thinking, it is probable that he has learned it from the villager, rather than the villager from him. The villager is philosophical. The purposefulness of his life lends it a dignity, gives it

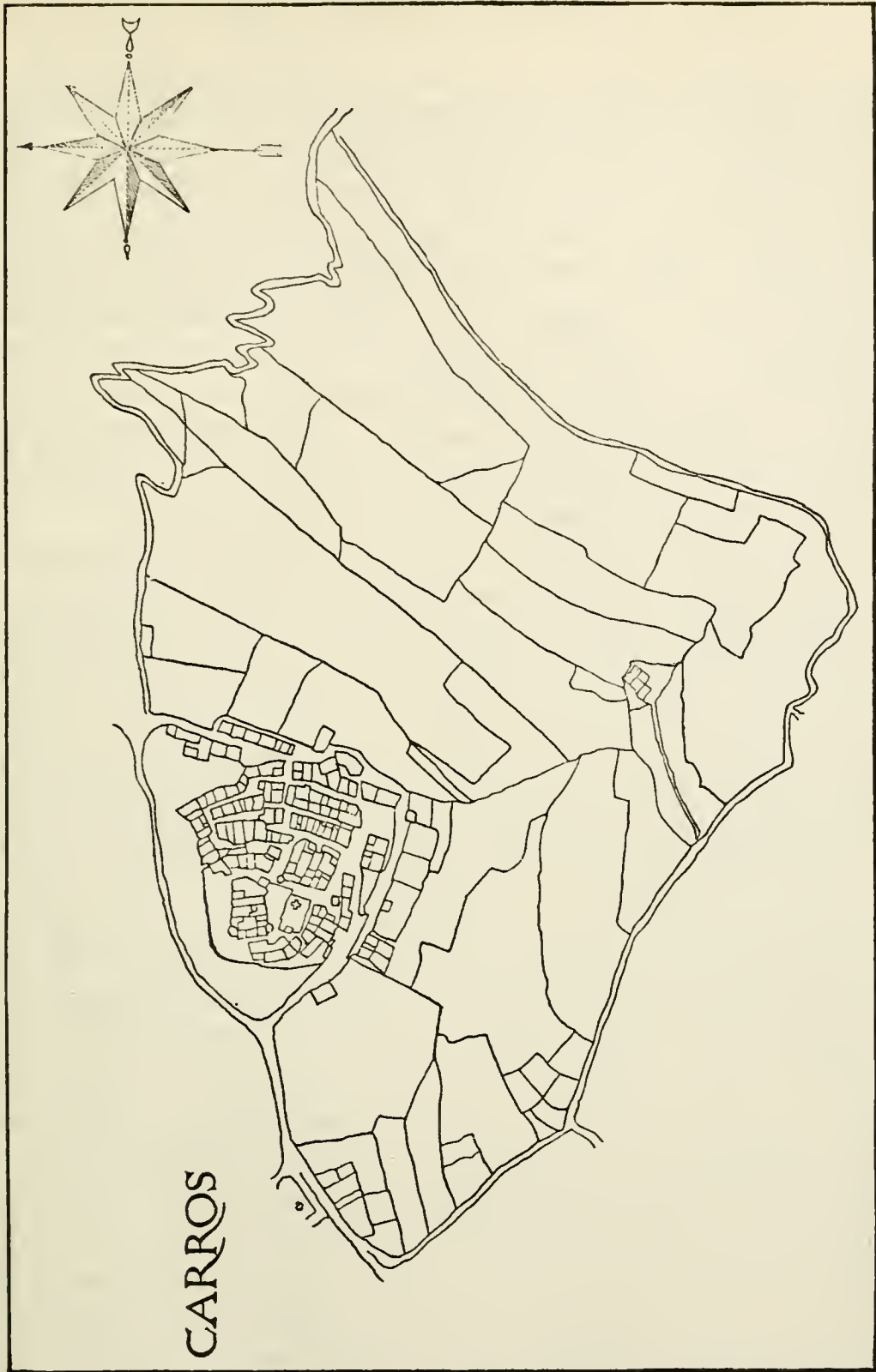




LIGNE DU SUD DE LA FRANCE—CARROS, FRANCE

“A city set on a hill cannot be hid”





MAP OF THE VILLAGE OF CARROS, FRANCE

Showing the concentrated village center and the scattered holdings



meaning; and what is the meaning of life but philosophy? The importance of the family tree, the consciousness of the continuity of human life, as it progresses from generation to generation, suggests a similar philosophical thoughtfulness. The villager evidences the threefold tendencies mentioned by Professor Wendell.<sup>2</sup> When confronted with facts, he either tries to suppress the unwelcome fact, treat it as negligible, or change his system. The first two efforts are likely to be energetic, before he changes his system, as in regard to the facts of drunkenness, out-of-date farming or business methods, or the use of bathtubs. The villager is polite. It pays to be so, if one values neighborliness.

The size of the holdings varies greatly, and the inequality in this respect is much greater than formerly. They vary in both villages from the fraction of a hectare to approximately two hundred hectares in Carros and fifty in Gattieres. Much of the poor soil of the larger holdings is not worked at all, and only the best soil is worked intensively. The reason given for the neglect of olive groves and the abandonment of poor soil is the undependability of the crop, the low prices of the product when there is a crop, and the scarcity and expensiveness of labor. Some of the proprietors are wealthy enough not to need to work the land. The crops raised are the same in both villages and include olives, from which the oil is extracted locally; grapes, most of which are made into wine; flowers of many kinds, including wild or sour orange blossoms, which are manufactured into perfume in the old perfume city of Grasse; oranges and tangerines for fruit; pears; and vegetables, some of which are sold in the Nice market. The amount of work necessary to the raising of the various crops is most unequal. The olive requires practically no care, the only work connected with the crop being the very slow and tiresome task of picking the olives. The ground

<sup>2</sup> *The France of Today* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), p. 296.

upon which vegetables are raised is cultivated by hand in most laborious fashion. It has to be fertilized a great deal, and is spaded, or rather hoed, sometimes to a depth of two feet. Practically no ploughing is done, and a minimum of machinery is used. The reason for this is partly the small and irregular shape of the terraces, and the need for most careful cultivation.

The arrangement of the houses is the acme of simplicity, most of them containing not more than four and often only three rooms. The kitchens are small, but sometimes serve as dining-rooms, and even share with the best bedrooms the function of living-rooms. The only heat is usually furnished by the cooking stove, for which the gathering of fuel is an arduous task. Water has to be carried from the fountain, and the only sewage system is that of the gutters, down which the overflow from the fountain trickles. The stables for the donkeys, or mules, goats, sheep, hens, and rabbits—which list usually comprises all the domestic animals excepting the dogs and cats, which are privileged characters—are located under the house within the walls built to raise the floor of the dwelling at least to the level of the street; or, in case the uneven rock foundation is on the street level, the stables are beside the family dwelling. The two homes, that for the family and that for the live stock, are, with very few exceptions, in the same building. The cats and dogs share the human dwellings, and one of the common peculiarities to be observed in houses is the cat-hole beside the front door. One old lady in whose home we were entertained was amused at her small dog's presumption in appropriating the cat-hole for his exits and his entrances as well as for a place of refuge from which to threaten the passers-by.

There is no decoration on the outside and little on the inside of the dwellings. As has been suggested, the accumulation of keepsakes, as well as of family traditions in homes

where families live for unknown generations, is very great, and these, though not generally in evidence, contain many decorative items, the handmade treasures, worked by many artists. One of our friends exhibited seventy hand-spun and hand-woven sheets, which she had been willed by another old lady who was not a relative but who had been her neighbor from childhood. She did not use the sheets, but refused to sell any of them because she had heirs, to become, in their turn, the inheritors. The old clocks on the mantles, the ancient pictures on the walls, the bric-a-brac, and the general grayness of the walls, inside and out, all speak of the old age of the village housekeeping.

There are, on an average, slightly less than two children per family, and these apparently live up to the reputation of French children for being spoiled. They seem not to be pampered, but they are allowed to have their own way in most matters, and get little discipline other than that which they furnish themselves. The young children, and even the older girls, do not spend much time on the streets late at night, but are allowed to attend the parties and remain until the close. When one three-year-old went to sleep in my wife's lap at a late party, and she sent word to the mother to come and take possession, the reply came back to put the youngster on the floor and he would wake up. Such seeming neglect does not reflect any lack of affection, but rather a lack of worry about the children's welfare. There are always plenty of parents and of other children within short range to look after one's offspring, without his special parents being on the spot. No villager ever heard of such creatures as chaperons; for the whole family is sufficiently free from the cares of housekeeping to be able to attend every public function, and *toute en famille* is a descriptive phrase which one often hears with reference to village gatherings. The household cares do not keep women, even the wife of Gattieres's Adjoint, from enjoying the open air



and also from helping the men with the labor in the fields. The housework requires, on an average, about two hours in the morning, and some of the housewives are free for work in the fields all afternoons.

The family life is very systematic, and husbands and wives, although still to some extent selected for each other by parents who are too anxious for their children's success to trust such choices to the children's inexperienced judgment, seem to adjust themselves successfully to a working partnership in which the wife supervises the household affairs while business and farm management are the prerogatives of the husband. The reason there is no French equivalent for the English word *home* is that the word *foyer* which is more comprehensive, including the family circles of both husband and wife, takes its place. The French family, in the village or in the city, is a wheel within a wheel, and when one marries, he or she becomes a member of a tribe, not of just a family.

Some consideration of courtship and marriages helps one to appreciate the spirit of the villager's home. There is not supposed to be much courting until after engagement. The eligible prospects for both sons and daughters are scrutinized closely by parents and families with an eye to the prospect of support or of dowry and of character, and the promising ones are given subtle encouragement. If the families of the prospects are satisfied and the prospects have no serious objections, the engagement is announced, and the wedding arranged without great delay. Few French peasants are married twice; but all of them have two wedding days. The civil marriage takes place before the mayor or one of his adjoints who, in the presence of the wedding party, reads the articles of the civil code relating to conjugal duties, witnesses the consent of the parents, hears the declaration of finances, and sees to it that the bride, as well as the bridegroom, endows her mate with all her worldly

goods. The dowry is not an unconditional gift, but is safeguarded by the notary, who sees to it that the amount is secured to the bride and her children by proper legal formula. Should she die without children, the dowry reverts to her family. It is assumed that there will be children and that they must be adequately provided for. The husband is allowed the use of the dowry only during the minority of the children. Some one has said that the only objection to this system, from the bride's point of view, is the fact that she cannot enjoy her property until she is dead. Not only is the support of the children, as far as possible, provided for, but the civil code obliges not only sons and daughters, but sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, to support their parents and those of their partners in marriage. The second wedding is that known as the nuptial benediction, and it takes place at the church. Following this, there is, of course, a dancing party or general celebration in honor of the bridal couple.

The frugality for which peasants are noted assumes a more favorable significance when one understands the purpose of the miserliness. The stinginess has probably been over-emphasized by some writers. The villagers in Gattieres and Carros are well fed and comfortably clothed. The food which I have been served has been plain but tastily prepared, and the persistent urging of my hosts and hostesses to drink wine as well as more expensive drinks, of both which commodities they all seemed to have an abundant supply, convinced me that their saving habits were not stronger than their hospitality. One peculiarity of French etiquette holds for the villages as for urban society. The conversationalists address every one present, no matter how large the party; and for several people to converse in this way at once is more common than the subdued duets or trios of conversation so common in America.

The food appears to be clean, but the peasant houses,

especially in villages where there is no supply of running water and water has to be carried from distant springs or reservoirs, disclose a fairly universal democracy of dirt. The walls are soiled, the ceilings hung with cobwebs, the furniture dusty, and the brick floors in need of scrubbing. The housewives appear to enjoy entertaining company more than housecleaning, and their preference is perhaps a wise one, if judged with a view to neighborliness. If French peasant women are to be pitied, it is not because of their overwork at housekeeping, or an excess of childbearing, but because of the hard work which many of them do in the fields. On the whole, they seem to me to have a fairly good understanding of the proper ingredients of a home, even though they have no name for it.

The public school system in France is as unified as that of an American city. The center of the single organization by which it is controlled from beginning to end is the Ministry of Public Instruction in Paris, the head of which is the Minister of Public Instruction. This officer is a member of the cabinet, attends the regular sessions of the legislative body, and, incidentally, is replaced with every change of government. He is also, by virtue of his office, head of the University of Paris. So busy is he with political matters, however, that most of the duties of the conduct of educational supervision are attended to by his nominal lieutenants, of whom there are three who have distinct functions. These officers, who are not changed with each change in government, are directors respectively of the three phases of education, primary, secondary, and superior; and the Vice-Rector, not the Minister, who is called *Rector*, is the actual head of the University of Paris. The latter official is the most powerful officer in the system and actually performs the duties of Minister of Education, as the presiding officer of higher education and of secondary and primary as well. This centralization results in great uniformity in



the system, and this uniformity reaches to such remote rural villages as Gattieres and Carros. The *dossier* of their teachers is on file in the office of the ministry, and they must measure up to the educational standards which hold for urban education. All degrees which are recognized by the educational system must be earned by state university work or by examination, and village teachers must have degrees so earned.

Except in small villages, boys and girls are taught separately. They are so taught in Gattieres, but Carros has co-education. My first of many interviews in Gattieres was with the teacher of the boys' school, whose room I visited. His room and his personal appearance showed some of the lack of worry about external appearances which was noted in the rest of the housekeeping of the village. He seemed to be on good terms with his boys, however, and, besides teaching them the usual subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, hygiene, and music, he takes his pupils on botanical expeditions and shares their play. During his two years' stay in the village he has organized a *caisse d'école*, a school fund, which is a common institution in French schools. It is a fund contributed by the village council, wedding parties, and public-minded citizens, and it is used to aid the children of poor parents who are unable to buy adequate school equipment. The fund is administered by the teachers, who find it very helpful in most neighborhoods. The hours of school are usually from eight to eleven in the morning with a quarter of an hour for recess, and from one to four in the afternoon with another quarter of an hour for recess. The schooldays are Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. School is held throughout the year, with two weeks of vacation in the summer, twelve days at Easter, and ten days at Christmas. Attendance is compulsory between the ages of five and thirteen; but there is no truant officer, and Gattieres has two boys who are habitually



LIGNE DU SUD DE LA FRANCE—GATTIERES  
Concentrated living together. Gattieres, France





absent, being kept at home to work on the land. The inspector comes once a year, but does nothing about such matters. No corporal punishment is ever used in disciplining children, but they are sometimes sent home to be dealt with by parents. Last year (1928-1929) only one child went from Gattieres to continue his education at a higher institution. The teacher of boys at Gattieres conducts an evening school of one and one-half hours three times a week. This work is voluntary on the teacher's part and is taken advantage of by young men who are working during the day. The girls enjoy an educational program similar to that of the boys. Those in Gattieres are taught by an elderly woman who has held her present position for many years. The boys and girls of Carros are taught by a young married woman who has recently come to the village from the city of Paris with her husband (an artist suffering from tuberculosis).

Neither village has a doctor in residence all the year round; but in each physicians from Nice have summer homes. The nearest doctor's office is at St. Jeannet, seven kilometers away. There are midwives in both villages, but they are not generally employed. There is no dentist in either village, and villagers who have dental work done have to go to Nice. The nearest hospital is in Nice. Patent medicines can be bought in the villages, and many villagers doctor themselves with home remedies.

Both villages have a great advantage over many of their neighboring villages in that they have abundant water supplies coming from springs farther up the mountainside, piped to the central court, or square, of the village, where it overflows from a large reservoir and continually washes the gutters of the narrow streets. Gattieres has no formal regulations about sanitation in the way of keeping streets clean, etc., and many evidences of carelessness in such matters are to be seen. There are no manure piles outside the stables, however; and the refuse of the stables and the

home is more or less promptly removed for use in fertilizing the soil. Gattieres is not so unsanitary but that one of the physicians of Nice has his summer home about one rod outside its walls; and at the time this study was made, three invalids, suffering from incipient tuberculosis, were boarding at a local restaurant.

Carros has a further advantage in being blest with a public-minded mayor who has undertaken to improve social conditions in the village. The program which he has promoted and fostered has made of Carros an exceptionally clean village, and has demonstrated the possibilities of village organization, when properly led. That story of the mayor's program and leadership, is, however, full of surprises of the O. Henry sort, and I record it at some length, for the consolation and encouragement of some of my American farmer friends who have fought, bled, and nearly died, in the cause of rural regeneration. Incidentally, the story illustrates the problem which induced me to try for first-hand information and knowledge of rural social conditions rather than depend alone upon the published reports and statistics of the organizations trying to ameliorate those conditions.

My first enthusiasm over the affairs of Carros was kindled when I read the report of its reform in an illustrated booklet published in July, 1927, and called *Un Village Modèl* (A Model Village), by Doctor Fernand Barbary, *Inspecteur Departmental des Services d'Hygiene des Alpes-Maritimes*. The booklet was evidently published soon after the reforms of the inspector had been established; and the chief object of Doctor Barbary was, of course, to inspire other villages in the department of the Alps-Maritimes to "go and do likewise." In the introduction Doctor Barbary mentions some of the difficulties to be overcome in introducing reforms into the villages of his department. They sound very much like the difficulties encountered by

would-be reformers in every land. He speaks of the very elementary ideas of hygiene possessed by the inhabitants of these old villages, and of the apathy, indifference, and age-old habits which must be fought. Then the doctor-inspector finds his task made more difficult by continually having to manage the tender susceptibilities of mayors and village councils and of the inhabitants in general. There is in all human beings a tendency to resent the criticism implied in any attempt of others to better their condition. Doctor Barbary has evidently found this to be true in his unselfish labor to establish better conditions in the villages of his department. The booklet, designed to circulate among the villages of the department, praises the perfect coöperation of the mayor of the village of Carros with the inspector. The law of April 5, 1884, gave the mayors of villages full authority to protect the public health; so the good-will of the mayors is most essential before any reforms can be instituted. With the help of the mayor and with the mayor's official sanction, almost any hygienic reform can be legally instituted. Mayors of other villages had often proved unwilling to inaugurate any changes which might be obnoxious or apparently burdensome to their constituents. Not so the Mayor of Carros. With the perfect collaboration of this mayor, the doctor-inspector was able to effect an organization which he offers in his booklet as an object lesson to other mayors and to other villages.

The aim of the inspector and the mayor was to organize a small rural center in a model village, where would be popularized and put into practice simple notions of rural hygiene, individual hygiene, and social hygiene. Before putting their project into execution, they tried to get the citizens of the village interested in it, through meetings, conversations, and object lessons. They put forward simple, practical aims; no heaps of manure in the streets, but their immediate transportation to the fields, after they had been



covered with lime; the cleaning of the streets in common; the drying up of ponds; the sanitary care of stables; the carrying of household filth and sweepings to a designated spot sufficiently distant from the village, where they were to be burned.

Owing to the beautiful coöperation of the mayor of Carros the inspector-doctor was able to put these reforms into operation, as well as many others. They, the mayor and the inspector, found the village school badly lighted, gloomy, with rickety steps, with evil-smelling, unusable toilets. They converted it into a well-lighted school, with walls freshly painted, with borders depicting the olives and grapes, native fruits of the country, as well as some of the most lovely scenery in the environs of the village. They saw to it that the school had sanitary toilets and a lavatory in the entrance hall, that the children might find it easy to have clean hands. They endowed the little school with money for prizes to encourage emulation in good school work.

The mayor and the inspector established at the entrance to the village a dispensary, with arrangements for first aid. Here they had a waiting-room, a room for consultations with mothers before and after the birth of children, a large room for the giving of first aid. Every room was well-lighted and provided with all equipment necessary for the work it was supposed to do. The wife of the mayor, who was a trained nurse, assisted in the consultations with mothers regarding pre-natal and post-natal care, on dates announced not only in Carros but in two neighboring communes as well. The first-aid room contained, among other pieces of equipment, sterilized bandages, sterilizing agents, and anti-toxin, anti-tetanus, and anti-venereal serums. Soon after the establishment of this dispensary the inspector-doctor, having explained to the parents the advantages of having children immunized against diphtheria, himself gathered all the children of the village at the dispensary

and administered toxin-anti-toxin. The mayor and the inspector, working together, having instituted so many hygienic reforms successfully, wished to centralize the social activities of the village in one building, which should be called *La Maison des Carrosois* and this, too, was done. Over the door of the building were carved the words: *PAIX—UNION—TRAVAIL* (Peace—Union—Work). This home of the villagers of Carros contains shower baths, with hot and cold water. Special days for the use of the showers are reserved for women and children. There is also a room in this building for the *Syndicat Agricole*, a coöperative organization of farmers, another room for the *Caisse Mutuelle de Credit*, and still another for the library, the library room containing some statuary and some native potteries of Provence, together with a very fair beginning as to number of books. The baths and the library are entirely free. During the summer the mayor, who has a summer home in Carros, with, of course, the coöperation and sympathy of the inspector-doctor, gave free exhibitions of films—exhibitions held in the open air—of object lessons in hygiene, improved methods of agriculture, and of natural history. These exhibitions elicited much interest.

In all the cleaning, repairing, and improving, the church was not forgotten. It was completely renovated and restored, without the destruction of its ancient beauty.

But, in 1927, Carros, enjoying the sunshine of the Riviera during the daytime, was gloomy and dark at night. The enterprising doctor-inspector and the mayor entered into negotiations with the municipality of a neighboring commune as to the creating of an inter-commune syndicate with the project of having electric lights brought to both villages. In this effort, too, they were successful; and the narrow, steep, cobblestoned streets of Carros are now lighted and safe at night. The dingy rooms in the old stone houses which formed the ramparts of the village in the Middle Ages, are

now cheered and brightened by little incandescent bulbs, hanging from the smoke-blackened ceilings.

The mayor and the doctor-inspector are not yet satisfied. They have added to the number of fountains in the village, so that there are now six fountains in the little village continually pouring forth the pure water from mountain springs; but these reformers look forward to the day when running water shall be brought into every home.

Already deaths from contagious diseases have lessened in number. Carros is on its way to becoming, in very truth, a model village; but the first surprise and touch of humor which appeared in my first-hand continuation of this exciting story was the discovery that the *Inspecteur Departemental des Services d'Hygiene des Alpes-Maritimes* and the illustrious mayor of Carros who coöperated so beautifully were one and the same person! I enjoyed this and went to some pains to get acquainted with a gentleman with such a delicious sense of humor. I called at his office; but, as is sometimes the case with American officials of the sort, he was not in it. However, I was later received at his beautiful home in Nice, given permission to copy the street-plan of the village of Carros, and was assured of his further cooperation in my study. I then, unfortunately for my over-enthusiastic optimism, repaired to the village to inspect its modernity.

And here comes the second joke! I was informed by the adjoint (an ex-soldier who lost one leg in the war) who was supposed to be in charge of the bathhouse, the clinic, et al., that the bathhouse, the clinic, et al. were locked up and had not been in use since the departure of the director after his and his wife's enterprising summer vacation. When asked for an explanation, the adjoint told me the far from humorous, but, to me, familiar story of the most unselfish sacrifice and work of the reformer and his wife, of the opposition which developed, increased by hostility over the mayor's



action in getting rid of a young priest whom he believed to be immoral, aggravated by the pain of getting a new idea, and of the final disillusionment of himself and others who dared to believe in the efficacy of prophesying. But happily the story is not yet finished. The school was not locked, and in it I found an animated teacher whose coöperation had not been mentioned in the booklet, but who had done more to materialize the great vision than any other resident. I found a group of equally animated youngsters, who were glad to have company because they were proud of their room and of their work. I thought I discerned some of the mayor's spirit, which was also as animated as it had been three years before.

I visited the church, where I found a large, clean, light, well-ventilated, artistically-decorated auditorium, where villagers might resort when they wished to meditate in the presence of beautiful and holy symbols, without the distraction of secular sounds and sights; and I was told that the men of the village, as well as the women and children, come to this church on the Sabbath to pray and to listen to a dignified and sympathetic priest. I traversed the narrow streets, where the mayor's spirit still walks, and I observed less filth than was evident in neighboring villages. I resolved that when I returned to review some of the valleys of dry bones in American neighborhoods, I should think of the good Doctor Barbary, mayor and doctor-inspector, and of his wife, and that I should take courage, but not become too optimistic.

Neither Gattieres nor Carros has suffered any deaths from contagious diseases since the war, when Gattieres lost two children from typhoid fever. Quarantine laws are carefully observed in both villages, and the schools are inspected annually by a doctor to see that all children are properly vaccinated against smallpox. One old lady, whose own home showed few signs of sanitation, defended the healthfulness

of the village in which she lived, and accounted for it by the abundance of fresh air.

When I asked one of my friends of Carros to give me a list of the recreational organizations of the village, he hesitated a moment, puzzled; but when he understood, he remarked, "C'est les voisins." (It is the neighbors.) Well, why not? That answer, I found later, applied to practically all the recreational activities in both villages. The forms of recreation included dancing, on a variety of occasions; card-playing; *jeu de boule*, a kind of outdoor bowling; and, perhaps, one should add, drinking (also on a variety of occasions) and friendly visiting. Wherever these activities are going on, they are sure to be enjoyed by all villagers, either through active participation or through vicarious enjoyment. Women do not, as a rule do much bowling, and some of the old people no longer dance; but all find sufficient enjoyment watching these activities to spend as much time in their peculiar kind of vicarious participation as the actual bowlers or dancers. Whatever financial support is required is furnished by the villagers in voluntary contributions or by the village council as a matter of course.

The list of activities is not great, but the occasions in which they play a part are many. The list of holidays, for instance, includes a fête, lasting four days, of the village patron saint (St. Blaise for Gattieres, St. Claude for Carros), New Year's, Christmas, Easter, the Feast of the Virgin, Armistice Day, Bastille Day, and the annual flower show. Besides these there are wedding parties and various functions which are considered neighborhood affairs. The Sabbath, in both French and German villages, is quite lacking in Puritanical flavor. Dancing on Sunday afternoon or evening is not uncommon, and, in one village, St. Laurent du Var, eleven kilometers from Gattieres, there was dancing at eight-thirty every Sunday evening. The Sabbath is generally observed by the French villagers as a day of







FIRST PRIZE AT THE FLOWER SHOW, VENCE, FRANCE, WON BY MY FRIEND, THE ADJOINT OF GATTIERES

neighborhood recreation and sociability as well as of worship, and in these villages the Sabbath approaches as nearly as in any place I know to the ideal of being made for man and not man for it. The sunshiny days in the olive-picking season may tempt the villager to break the Sabbath, but he is much more loath to break the recreational part of it than he is to miss church service. Perhaps one recreational activity in which fewer French villagers participate than is the case among Germans, but which is greatly enjoyed, is that of music. While the Germans glory in grand opera, the French villagers take enthusiastically to American jazz, and seem to derive as much satisfaction from it. This may account in some measure for the fun which non-dancers get out of a dancing party. The satisfaction to be derived from drinking and eating *together* and of neighborly conversation is enjoyed by all ages and in all seasons. The only problem in this connection which presents itself to an American, is that of "de-alcoholizing" such sociability.

Students of French life, like Professor Wendell, who has served as lecturer on the Hyde Foundation at the Sorbonne and other French universities, insist that the sex immorality of French novels and plays is no more typical of French family life and general social life than are most American picture shows typical of American life. The reason given for such literature is that of Maupassant, "L'honnête femme n'a pas de roman." (The virtuous woman has no story.) It is argued that the regularity of family life and sex relationship is so uniformly monotonous that the public demands something out of the ordinary in its literature, as American factory girls are said to demand stories of duchesses. The custom is further condoned by the fact that girls and young ladies are allowed access only to a very select and respectable literature. However true or untrue the explanation may be, it is, in so far as urban society is concerned, quite in accord with observable facts in the vil-



lage life. There is some vulgarity and even obscenity to be observed among the over-stimulated revellers in the wine-shop, and among rowdies at parties, but evidences of overt immorality are very scarce. In the last five years there have been four illegitimate children born in Gattieres, and they were in a family of Italian immigrants, the father of whom was unable to marry the mother because of having another wife in Italy. The *toute en famille* nature of the fête celebrations, in which everybody danced with everybody else's wife, husband, or sweetheart, without any evidence of jealousy or exclusiveness, could hardly be true, in view of the natural sex jealousy of human nature, if sex integrity were not general.

The regulation of family life and sex relationships is no more obvious and taken for granted than is similar conformity in other moral phenomena. The conformity of French peasants to the ideals of honesty is similarly general. For instance, the hunt for fuel is a continuous and pressing one, so pressing that the neglect and careless destruction of forests by fire is non-understandable. My entrée to Carros was the result of a friendship which began when I gave a ride to a young man whom I overtook one rainy day while he was carrying, on his head, a bundle of firewood which he had gathered on the mountainside over two kilometers from the village. And yet, with all the urgency of fuel gathering, it is not uncommon to find tempting piles, uncorded and unmeasured, by the roadside, where an armful or two might be taken without leaving evidence of the theft. If thieving were common such chances would not be taken. There are no fences between holdings, and lines are not always well marked. There would seem to be plenty of opportunities for conflicts over property trespasses; but, although such conflicts are more common than any others, there had been none in either village, during the year preceding the study, which were too serious to be



settled by peaceful arbitration, in which the mayor, as part of his unpaid function, acted as arbiter.

The mayors of the rural French villages are usually non-residents, as is the case in both Gattieres and Carros. The mayor of Carros is a physician in Nice, while the mayor of Gattieres lives in Paris. These non-resident mayors are considered by the villagers to be quite unbiased. The mayor of Carros told me that there had never been a case of a dispute over family, property, or other matters in which his people had not appealed to him, generally successfully, before resorting to the courts. The village disputes have not always been harmonized with such facility, and there is much evidence in old records of lawsuits and wasteful conflicts. One writer of a decade ago, Sir Frederick Treves,<sup>3</sup> says, "Almost every peasant has, or has had, or is going to have, a lawsuit." However, the system of peaceful relations is now fairly thoroughly formalized and practiced.

Many villagers were asked if drunkenness were not a problem, and the answers were unanimously "no." The unanimity is understandable in view of the fact that there were only three teetotalers in both villages.

The motive of morality does not impress an observer as being a religious motive. It seems rather to be the result of an informal and largely unconscious social contract, necessitated by the intimacy of neighborhood contacts. The weakness of the religious appeal in moral matters is shown by the failure of the church to prevent the artificial limitation of the size of the family. Another strong motive of morality is similar to that of the peasant's frugality, and to his limitation of the size of the family, i.e. the desire for the success of the family. This motive is largely parental and a family attribute, but the family is such an inclusive one, embracing all the relatives of both husband and wife, that it tends to merge with the neighborhood. The commune

<sup>3</sup> Sir Frederick Treves, *The Riviera of the Corniche Road*, p. 73.

is as good an illustration of the organic relation between the institutions of the family and the neighborhood as one could find.

Mark Twain's quip to the effect that Frenchmen do not know who their fathers were may have been the best retort which an American could make to the Frenchman's contention that Americans did not know who their grandfathers were; but the significance as a joke is probably based on the reading of French literature, and certainly not on observation of rural family relations. French peasants are as well acquainted with their ancestors as any, other than royalty, Daughters of the American Revolution, or other real or imitation aristocracy. The Frenchman knows his grandfather, can tell you the old gentleman's financial situation, and the amount of the dowry which his grandmother brought to the partnership, and is familiar with his ancestor's reputation. Such details are recorded with, and as carefully as, the marriage ceremony. The French peasant knows how his success or failure has been influenced by the behavior of that ancestor. He has many neighborhood reminders of his responsibility to the generations who come after him. He knows that a failure to provide an adequate dowry for his daughter or a respectable inheritance for his son, or a reputable family character for both, may condemn them to undesirable marriages and may condemn to degradation the generation to follow. The sins of the fathers are visited directly upon the children to many more than the third or fourth generation, in a French rural village; and disgrace is shared by all the "in-laws" as well as by the blood kin. Truly, in the commune, the "evil that men do," and the good as well, live after them, and both are sure to be investigated fully whenever a descendent reaches a marriageable age. These are family motives primarily; but they are neighborhood and national ones as well, as is demonstrated by their uniformity.

Almost the only full remission for sins to be expected in the village is that promised by the priest. Such remission, and the services at wedding and funeral, together with the ceremonial entertainment of women and children, seems to be the priest's consecrated function. I saw no evidence of a very aggressive moral influence of the church, although I attended church with unusual regularity during my stay in France. I attended masses, high and low, in the villages studied; in several others I interviewed the priests, and tried to acquire a sympathetic understanding of the religious life of the communes. On the five occasions on which I attended church services at Gattieres, I counted only two men besides the priest and the priest's assistant called the *bedau* and myself, and these two were present only once and that on the Sunday which fell during the great fête of the village, the fête of St. Blaise. This was the day of the largest attendance, when the image of the saint was carried through the streets; but the total attendance was only 107. The average attendance on other days was forty-two, of whom eighteen were adults (three men, the priest, assistant, and myself) four boys, including the three *enfants de choeur*, eight girls, and thirteen women. The old church, which had the appearance of being filled to capacity with altars, images, pictures, candelabra, memorials, and decorations, had a seating capacity of only two hundred and fifty. The kindly, seventy-eight-year-old priest chanted very well, but spoke poorly, because of throat trouble. He passed the collection plate himself, and was so shocked when I deposited the only bill, that he almost stopped and thanked me. In an interview later, he ascribed the absence of the men to carelessness, occasionally excusable, and to the need of work at olive gathering. He thought that there were no "free thinkers" and no protestants. The old priest only smiled and had nothing very definite to say in defence of the villagers, but he said benignly that the men were "good



fellows" in spite of the fact that they did not attend mass regularly.

There was a better showing at Carros, where there was a non-resident priest, the former resident priest having been driven out through the influence of the mayor. There was a larger, more modern church, and a fair representation of men were in regular attendance. In both places all christenings, marriages, and funerals were conducted by the priest.

The attitude of the congregations seemed to me to be in as great contrast to that of German Protestant congregations as were the respective forms of the two services. In these French villages the worshippers came straggling in to the mass, some only a few minutes before time for dismissal. There was considerable looking around, whispered visiting, and occasional giggling. I remember one old lady's slamming the door when the service was half over, and every person present, with the single exception of the priest, looked around. Some grinned and joked about the incident; but the old lady went her way to make the most of the few minutes left before the close of the service. Some seemed to make no effort to follow the service, and some did not need to do so, they knew it so well. Some of the older people and a few young women appeared very devout, while the majority of the congregation always behaved in a very natural, human fashion, and resembled American rural congregations more than German ones.

I should not call French villagers irreligious, however, regardless of their apparent carelessness. Aside from the influence of the church, the neighbor has many reminders of the fact that he is a part of a greater life, which has no beginning and no end, and which includes not only his family and that of his wife, but a neighborhood as well. This consciousness not only furnishes him with moral motivation, but gives him a *sense of social and spiritual security* which is comparable to the physical security which his

ancestors felt in establishing themselves on the top of the cliff. This consciousness is essentially religious, and, like a sense of humor, it will help to save one from his sins.

The villages studied, and most of their neighbors, are no longer isolated. They are connected with each other and with the city and the outside world by means of excellent stone roads. The villages of Gattieres and Carros both have postoffices, which are also telephone and telegraph offices, as is true of all villages of their size throughout France and Germany. Every family takes a daily paper, with the exception of about a dozen in which the parents are illiterate, or who borrow of a neighbor. It is customary to pass papers around. Nearly every family has a donkey, mule, or horse. One citizen of Gattieres has a radio. Four have automobiles, and bus lines run from both villages to Nice and other coast villages and cities. The villages are connected with the outside life by other less obvious means of communication. Both have city-dwelling mayors, who keep in close touch with their constituents. Even the mayor of Gattieres, who lives in Paris, makes frequent visits and even officiates at many of the weddings. The great migration of young people to hotel service in Nice and to various kinds of work in other parts of the country, means that Gattieres and Carros are continually informed even about world affairs. The unanimously-hated, compulsory military service by young men serves a similar function.

There are a number of people in each village who never leave the village for any purpose, while many of the outside contacts are largely unconscious, and villagers still feel isolated, this isolation being given by many young people as a reason for their migration to the city.

An illustration of the unconscious nature of the contacts which the improvement of communication has brought was furnished me by my wood-carrier friend. I asked him what relations the village of Carros had with other villages. His

reply was "None," but a few days later he accepted a ride with me to Gattieres to attend the St. Blaise fête, and, upon our arrival, had no trouble in finding dancing partners. He took with him as a present to a friend living in Gattieres, a rabbit. When we were about to start for Gattieres, he asked if an old neighbor lady might not accompany us. She wished to visit her married daughter in Gattieres, and to attend the fête. On the way to Gattieres, my young friend informed me that a whole bus-load of old and young from Carros was coming to the fête in the evening. He also told me that many marriages took place between citizens of different villages, and gave me many illustrations of a knowledge of the affairs of other villages, and of inter-village coöperation and conflict. The electric light system of his village was acquired through combination with a neighboring commune, and the supply coöperative (Syndicat Agricole) of which he was a member, was an inter-village organization having its headquarters in Cannes. The relations with other villages are not less conscious than many of those within the village, and there is perhaps no better illustration of the informality of village organization than that exemplified by the functioning of the village social process in supplying the need of leadership. Later in the month I noticed that the great Carnival of Nice could be traced in the villages by a trail of confetti.

I am sure that the need of a formal organization for the training of leadership is recognized by the villagers of neither Gattieres nor Carros. It is another illustration of the whole neighborhood's being the organization. The whole of the village activities serve as laboratory experiments, and the need for having certain things done which require responsible leaders furnishes the motive for the discovery, enlistment, and training of leadership. If a young person shows any signs of having leadership ability, he is very likely to get the needed encouragement in the way of neigh-



borhood appreciation, and is sure to find exercise for his talent. The freedom of village life, encouraging a full self-expression, and its intimacy, making possible a thorough comparison of talents, insure the revelation of leadership ability and a necessary training. The raising of money to defray expenses and the arranging of the recreational program of the village fête, to be described later, were left entirely to young men, who did their work most efficiently. The arrangement of programs for other holidays and village functions serves in the same way to give practice in leadership. The choir boys in the church seemed to me to be getting an excellent training for the priesthood. The village council gives twelve men a leadership training which would be helpful in national politics.

The machinery of the government in the village consists of a council of twelve men, including a mayor and two assistants, called adjoints, and a constable. The council holds regular and special meetings, and it is the civic machine through which the village functions. The members are elected for six-year terms, but are not so independent after election as to neglect village public opinion. The mayor often appoints an investigator to feel the pulse of the village and report to the council before action is taken on a proposition. The winning of this council is the objective of promoters.

National politics are not so far removed from local significance by centralized government that villagers fail to take advantage of the privilege of suffrage. Every eligible voter in both Gattieres and Carros voted in the last election, and this was not unusual. The excitement over the local council election would see to it that all voted. The honor of holding the lowest office is great enough to assure acceptance of practically any citizen to whom is offered the nomination. The interest in communal, departmental, and state political affairs is lively, and the discussions so ex-

citing that the two political clubs of Gattieres, *Cercle Républicain* with its seventy-five members, and *Progrès Républicain* with its thirty-five, by common consent agree to refrain from talking politics except during political campaigns. There are more conflicts over politics than over anything else except property. These political clubs meet regularly, but their activities are confined to card-playing and other recreational pursuits. The only lack of freedom of speech in political matters during campaigns seems to be the reluctance of restaurant proprietors, liquor dealers, and other business dealers, to take sides, for fear of alienating patronage. Although successful national politicians may not be the best of their kind, the thorough acquaintance of the voters with their candidates for village office insures a wise choice.

I found little interest in, or understanding of, any legislation other than that having reference to taxes and the civil code affecting village conflicts and affairs. A few complained that employers' liability was needed only in industry and insisted that farmers should not be bound to its support. Few are affected by it, however, except that the law obliges them to carry employers' liability insurance. French farmers all sounded like Americans in their hostility to high taxes. However, this and other forms of insurance make unnecessary much charity organization.

The only church charity in either village consisted of the distribution of four hundred francs by the priest of Gattieres. Nearly all of this amount had been given to the illegitimate family of four children, whose parents could not marry because of the previous marriage of the Italian father. The school fund had helped a half dozen children. Small contributions of money and goods, on which I could get no exact figures, had been made in informal, neighborly assistance to needy persons. Poverty which, from external appearances, seemed to exist, was not considered

to be much more of a social problem than was drunkenness. There was no real distress among the poorer villagers. Relief is generally given in money, with no recommendations as to its expenditure. As an illustration of the usual sort of relief, we may take the case of a young widow in one of the villages whose husband was drowned while fishing a few years ago. The neighbors all contributed for her help and raised a fund amounting to three thousand francs. Various forms of insurance, fire, crop, and employers' liability, help to prevent poverty. Unlike the case in Germany, in France most of the insurance companies are private.

As to corrections, there had not been a person convicted of crime in either Gattieres or Carros during the previous five years. I inquired repeatedly as to delinquency, once of a half dozen men in a group, including a retired school teacher. I asked if there were not cases of wilful truancy, window-breaking, etc., by children or young people, and every person questioned insisted that there was no such problem. They could give no reason for such angelic behavior, but insisted that such things just were not done. Although the neighbors have access to officers and correctional machinery, the only force I could observe, excepting during the fête, when the constable was conspicuous, was that of public opinion. Crime and delinquency just are not a part of the neighborhood program.

Lack of a consciousness of a need for formal social organization is shown by the fact that neither village has an auditorium large enough for a public discussion by all the villagers. As in the villages of Germany, conscious, formal, social organization is reduced to a minimum; the informal understandings, folkways and mores, are the rule.

As one would guess from the externals that every German farmer was well-to-do, so he would guess from a similar point of view that about every rock-villager was pov-



erty-stricken. Both guesses would be wrong. Men who were in position to know, who understood my purpose, and had no reason to mislead me, school teachers, mayors, and old residents, informed me that with the exception of the Russian refugees, Italian laborers, and a very few other families, the citizens of Gattieres and Carros were well off. But their prosperous condition was not thought to have been due, to any great extent, to formal, coöperative organization. The only coöperative organization in either village were the flower "syndicat," through which all flowers used for perfumes were sold; and the *Syndicat Agricole*, which did all the business of both villages in the way of buying certain commodities like fertilizer, seed, vineyard poles, etc. Occasionally standard groceries were bought through it. There had formerly been an olive syndicate, but the failure of the crop during the years 1923-1928 had made it unnecessary, and the crop of 1929-1930 was being marketed without the organization. Membership in the coöperative agencies was taken for granted, as a neighborhood proposition; but no one seemed to know how much he saved by such membership. Membership cost three francs, and the economy came through lower prices for things bought, not in dividends. It was the neighborhood way of doing certain business.

Besides formal business coöperation, there is much lending and informal coöperation. My wood-carrier could think of no other illustrations offhand; but before I left he insisted on my visiting owners of apartments in the old chateau, in which he had no interest other than a neighborly one. His friends wished to sell the building to some one who would be able to repair it, and he thought I might find some prospects for them. He promoted its sale as enthusiastically as a professional real-estate agent, telling me of the general belief that the seigneur had left a large caché of money hidden in its walls or foundation when he left

hurriedly one midnight in 1789, a caché which he thought would surely be uncovered in making the repairs needed. The coöperative business had not always run smoothly. Two years ago the mayor of Carros, who had created some opposition to his leadership by his part in ousting the young priest, tried to extend the coöperative activities, but gave up in discouragement because of the conflict which resulted.

The inter-village relations were greater on the part of smaller villages called *hameaux*, than among communes. The smaller villages are not so nearly self-supporting, though of course neither Gattieres nor Carros is entirely self-supporting any longer. The outside contacts mentioned in the discussion of communication are not of such a nature, since they are generally with individuals not engaged in farming, as to encourage progressive agricultural methods, and there have not been many changes in methods made in a hundred years. The only evidence of any particularly progressive spirit I observed was that of one of my neighbors who had produced a beautiful multi-colored *chaux fleurs* (cabbage flowers), to be used in fancy salads, which he exhibited with great pride, selling me a few seeds at a great price.

The farmers of the rock villages do not work in the fields as long hours a day as Americans, and they have very few chores to do after the field work. The limit is about ten hours, and the day's work is generally finished by five o'clock in the afternoon.

As in the preceding chapter, some personal experiences and observations are related with the hope of lending the appearance of a more lively reality to the description of village neighborhood organization. Of these experiences and observations there is none better than that of my introduction to the spirit of the commune at the fête of the patron saint of the village of Gattieres, a celebration which lasted four full days and nights—Sunday, Monday, Tues-

day, and Wednesday, every session of which, morning, afternoon, and evening, I attended from its beginning to its end. I saw every item on the program, participated in most of the events, and came away convinced that French peasants could give American farmers lessons on the subject of how to have a good time.

The celebration began with a church service in honor of the saint, a mass held Sunday morning. After the mass was said, a large image of St. Blaise was carried by four men through all the streets. The priest, his assistant, and the choir boys preceded the image, and a procession of women and children followed, marching and singing. They stopped in the public court, or square, long enough to shout a cheer for the saint. Although the men of the village were not much more conspicuous in the ceremony than in the church service, they were all gathered in the square to watch the procession. Other church services were held on Monday and Wednesday mornings, the last one being in honor of St. Agatha. The church services were the least exciting of the activities.

The dancing began Sunday afternoon, lasted until six o'clock, and was continued in the evening from nine until two o'clock Monday morning. It was conducted on a "sawdust trail," consisting of a rock floor, covered with sawdust to a depth of two inches, and located under a large tent in the only level place in the village large enough for the purpose. The music for the dancing was furnished by an eight-piece orchestra which played strictly up-to-date music in the following order: waltz, fox trot, mazurka, and polka. The sets were long and always included one encore; but the intervals between sets allowed for a sufficient rest, visiting, various kinds of slapstick comedy, the smoking of cigarettes, and the drinking of wine at the bar located handily at one side of the tent. These intervals were also taken advantage of by the committee in charge of selling



tickets on the raffing of a sheep. The price of each ticket was one franc until the last evening, when, in the presence of the sheep, which was led in and tied to the tent pole, the remaining tickets were auctioned off by the handful. There must have been several thousand tickets sold. The auction and the locating of the lucky number caused great excitement.

The dancing program was hilarious from start to finish, although it lasted, with the interruption for the evening meal, from three o'clock each afternoon to the early hours of the next morning. The orchestra shared the hilarity, cracking jokes and making humorous announcements between sets, and trying once each evening to tire the dancers out by playing for one lengthy set a tune which died away at the finish of the strain and, when the tired dancers were about to start for their seats, started in again for another repetition.

The readiness of the neighborhood to accept new members was illustrated by the dance. Although we had known only a few people in Gattieres before the fête, my wife and I were given plenty of opportunities to dance every set. On the last evening I was ceremoniously presented with a beautiful fountain pen as a prize for being the best dancer, a prize which I deserved as much as I did the *croix de guerre*; and a member of the committee who had frolicked with my wife came masked in the stars and stripes in her honor.

I was not the only regular attendant. The majority of the villagers were as regular as I. I saw one old lady, at least sixty-five years of age, who took no active part in the dancing, but who sat in the same chair during every minute of every session. The tent was as full of old and young on the last evening as on the first, and the spirits were as high as at the beginning. Even the small children who continually danced and played around the center of the tent

stayed to the finish, appearing no sleepier than their older sisters and brothers. It was, indeed, a family affair, *toute en famille*.

In addition to the dancing there were other activities equally interesting. On Monday morning, after the church service, the crowd gathered at the village entrance to receive the nineteen racers who took part in a walking race from Nice to Gattieres. As each competitor arrived, he was cheered by the crowd, and the orchestra played a piece in his honor. The race was promoted by a business man of the city, who furnished the cash prizes for the first, second, and third winners. While the race was in progress, the fête committee sold every villager a bouquet of artificial flowers, which served as a ticket to all activities of the fête. The "ticket" was not obligatory, but every one purchased one at his own price. "C'est les voisins."

Perhaps the most pleasurable of all the activities was the home-coming of sons and daughters and other relatives and old residents. The crowd was several times the population of the village. If one would know the meaning of neighborhood, let him participate in a French village fête.

I have not been entertained by royalty; but I am sure I should not enjoy it so much as I did the courtesies which we received at the hands of an old lady and her son in a dingy, three-room apartment in an age-old stone dwelling, located in the shadow of the crumbling old castle of Carros. The first floor of this dwelling housed the family donkey and other live stock. The surroundings were humble, our repast simple, but the spontaneous friendliness of our reception, the gracious spirit of our entertainment, and the genuineness and sincerity of the *bon voyage* which they wished us in leaving, could not have been surpassed by that other nobility which formerly inhabited the luxurious castle. We were feasted in the ten by twelve-foot room which served as kitchen, dining-room, drawing-room, cellar, ken-

nel, and woodshed. We were allowed to inspect the best bedroom, in which villagers take a mighty pride. We were shown the quilted petticoats, hand-made linen, and various keepsakes handed down from great grandparents. We were shown the family photographs. We were told the family history, including the story of the mother's marriage at fifteen and of the father's death seven years later, leaving the then one-month-old son, and a three-year old sister. We were introduced to the sister's seven-year-old daughter, who arrived for a visit to her grandmother and uncle during one of our calls. We were shown the little girl's medal, pinned on the front of her dress, a medal which had been given her for the excellency of her school work. We were allowed to judge specimens of the school work. Before our departure another visitor arrived, a young lady who, we were informed by way of introduction, was our host's fiancée. We had planned to ask some questions concerning village social organizations, but there was no time in the conversation about more interesting subjects, and anyway we forgot about them. As we were leaving, the mother and son pressed upon us a quart bottle of expensive brandy and a beautiful bottle of red wine, the disposal of both of which I should not like to have reported to our Carros friends.

#### IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE AISNE

In addition to studying the communes of Provence, it seemed wise to make a survey of a village in Northern France, since the northern villages are much more typical of France as a whole than are the rock villages. The one selected was Belleau, near which so many American soldiers are buried. It was not chosen because of sentimental reasons, but because it seemed fairly typical of the smaller northern and central villages and because I had friends at Chateau-Thierry who were willing to help me in the study.



The only possible objection to choosing it was the fact that it was destroyed in the war and has been rebuilt since, but this, again, is true of many northern villages. I could see no evidence of the neighborhood's having been influenced greatly by the presence of American workmen on the war memorial or the caretakers at the cemetery. It seemed to be an interesting fact that, although there were no specifications as to the location of the new buildings to be built out of government appropriations, the peasants with few exceptions reconstructed the village in its original form; and not one located his dwelling outside the limits of the old commune. Belleau has a population of 175, including sixty-eight families and fifty-four voters. The population shrank from 199 in 1914 to 155 in 1921 and has since increased to the present number mainly by importing laborers. It includes ten families who do not make a living off the land. These are merchants, artisans, and laborers on the war memorial. The population is practically stationary except for the laborers, who are only temporary members of the community.

When I asked the American who is in charge of the American cemetery, who has been intimately acquainted with the villagers for the last ten years, what he considered the outstanding characteristics of the population, he replied, "work and frugality." In the busy season the peasant and his family get up very early, eat a breakfast of coffee and rolls, and go to the fields before daylight, taking what the English would call a "snack" of bread, cheese, and a bottle of wine, to refresh them in the middle of the forenoon. They return to the village for the midday meal for themselves and work animals and then return to the fields for an afternoon's work, which lasts until after dark. One reason for exceptionally early rising in the haying season is the fact that hay is bound in bundles by hand, and the binding is much more easily and more rapidly done while the

dew is on the sheaves. This caretaker gave me testimony of other equally interesting characteristics when he insisted that he, who is a refined and educated man, would rather live among these French peasants than anywhere else in the world. He found them unanimously friendly, honest, and accommodating. He enjoyed the quietness and regularity of village life. He found many peculiar customs but had evidently given up the idea, if he ever had it, of converting them to taking baths or adopting American farming methods.

I found the citizens very willing to help me in my study. The mayor, for instance, entertained me in his home, showed me his farm buildings and live stock, took me for walks around his fields, where a crew of workmen were plowing, dragging, drilling, and sowing lime, and answered questions as long as I could think of any to ask.

The size of the farms varies greatly, the combined holdings amounting to only 400 hectares, half of which are in one farm, the remaining holdings including some with as few as ten acres. The large holding, the three medium-sized farms, and practically all of the small holdings are owned by the farmers who manage them. The distance which is traveled in going to and from the most distant fields is only three kilometers and not considered a serious handicap to farm work. The products raised are corn, wheat, beets, hay, pasture, and cattle. There were formerly vineyards, but they are now abandoned. The soil is of a very fine quality, carefully cultivated and fertilized regularly. The only illustration of progressive farming was the use of tractors on the large farm. No farmer was an agricultural college graduate. The live stock was of a very mediocre sort and included no animals in which the owners took any special pride. Even the young mayor admitted that they all went on farming as their fathers had done before them.

The school system is as unprogressive as are methods of

farming. No child has gone from the village to an institution of higher learning in the last five years. The school-room was orderly; and a good spirit seemed to exist between the teacher and pupils,—twelve boys and six girls, the only discipline ever needed being that of persuasion. The compulsory education law of March 28, 1882, is fairly well observed, few parents ever keeping children out of school for the purpose of working. The present teacher has held his position for ten years. His mother, who now lives with him in his apartment in the school-house, was formerly a teacher in a neighboring village. The condition of the school building, which houses the "Mairie" as well as the teacher and the school, is good, having been rebuilt since the war. Like the teachers in all French villages, Belleau's teacher is given to understand that he may remain in the same school during his lifetime or until he wishes to retire or to accept a more desirable position. He is satisfied to remain. There are six illiterate old people in the commune.

Perhaps the worst comment on the educational attitude of Belleau is the fact that there is a fairly well-equipped Agricultural College, *École d'Agriculture de Crezancy*, only nineteen kilometers from the village, and yet no student from Belleau has ever entered the institution. I visited the college, and found it well organized and equipped to give very practical instruction. The methods include classroom instruction, demonstrations, and plenty of opportunities for participation in all the processes of scientific agriculture. The expenses of the courses are very reasonable, being only 2,000 francs, or eighty dollars, a year. The surroundings and the living quarters are pleasant. The President complains, however, that farmers are hardly interested enough to attend lectures and demonstrations given at the college or in the villages, and the college has to depend upon the sons of Parisians for fifty per cent of its student body. The conservative and traditional nature of French



villages makes the way of scientific agriculture and other progressive movements difficult and slow.

The number of rooms in the dwellings varies from three to six. These are not especially well kept, and the household equipment is not elaborate. After the war one woman used some of the reparations money to buy a beautiful enamelled kitchen range, but she never uses it for cooking purposes. It usually serves as a flower-stand. The lady was found making soup on the fireplace while a bouquet decorated the new stove. She explained her action by saying that her mother always made soup there. Why mess up the new range? Nearly all the dwellings in the village are under the same roof as the stables for live stock, and all of the womenfolk help with the farm work, averaging about four hours a day at such work during the winter and more during the busy season. The housework must be done in not more than six hours; but this is not too difficult since the families are small, the largest being that of the mayor, who has three children, the average number being less than two.

The nearest physician, dentist, and hospital are at Chateau-Thierry, ten kilometers away. The use of patent medicines is common, and some home remedies are used, but people do not try to doctor themselves in serious cases of sickness, nor are midwives employed. The children are vaccinated soon after birth and every seven years thereafter. They are not given toxin-anti-toxin, but there is an annual health inspection in the school. No medical or dental treatment is compulsory or is given free. Quarantine regulations are carried out carefully in cases of contagious diseases. No one had died of a contagious disease within the five years preceding the time of this study. The mayor has authority to compel villagers to keep the streets clean, but what efforts at sanitation are made are generally the result of public opinion and custom.

One ninety-four-year-old man in the village has a large enamelled bathtub which he bought after the war. He keeps it in the garden and uses it only for catching rainwater for the same. I did not try to explain to him how necessary bathing is to health. The caretaker of the American cemetery says he apologizes, not for being occupied but for the manner of his occupation, when any of his French friends call and find him bathing. He says they think Americans must be very dirty to require so much bathing.

This American, who had lived with them for ten years, thought the villagers enjoyed eating together more than anything else, and said that neighborhood feasts would last for hours and that the feasting and conviviality of a wedding were "good for three days." He told me that the "life of the party" at every dance was a sixty-three-year-old lady, the widow of a former schoolmaster, who "danced every set." She had recently appeared at a masquerade dressed as a bride and at a later one rigged up as a clown. The dances are held alternately in the two cafés and last until morning. The dancers often go home, change their clothes, and go to work without any sleep. My American friend described these parties as being "good wholesome fun." Parties as well as weddings and funerals are attended by all the neighbors.

No church services had been held in the village since the destruction of the church building in the war. The new memorial church presented to Belleau by American soldiers was near completion, and was almost ready for use at the time the study was made, but meanwhile those who attended services went to several different neighboring villages; so I was unable to get any very exact figures as to the attendance. The highest estimate which I heard in consulting various people was fifty per cent. I attended one of the nearby churches, where the people of Belleau might most conveniently go, but saw no evidence of such a large at-

tendance. The village in which the services were held was much larger than Belleau, but the total attendance would not equal fifty per cent of Belleau's population. I could see no evidence of religion's being taken very seriously in this service or in village affairs. On the day I attended the mass, an appeal was read for relief for flood sufferers, but the manner of the reading by the near-sighted, unprepossessing priest did not command much attention. The American caretaker, whose wife was a French Catholic, was himself the only Protestant in Belleau and he attended services about as regularly as any of the neighbors. There were no free-thinkers; and all the villagers were christened, married, and buried by the priest; but in other matters the church seemed of no more influence than in the rock villages in Provence. The one answer to the question as to the reason for non-attendance was "indifference."

Although the church seemed to function very little in moral matters, I could find no evidence of much serious moral turpitude. No crime had been committed in five years; there had been very few petty thefts or other delinquencies; and only one illegitimate child had been born. The few delinquencies and quarrels or conflicts had been settled out of court, the most serious being disposed of in conference with the mayor. I was reminded of the prevailing American notion of French morality by the shocked sense of propriety of the peasants who had seen American flappers in their short skirts and rolled stockings sitting cross-legged and smoking cigarettes during a visit at the American cemetery. All villagers drink wine, but drunkenness is unusual, and they were disgusted with American tourists whom they had seen coming to the cemetery in a half-drunken condition and, upon alighting from their luxurious automobiles, stopping to consume still more liquor before making their patriotic inspection of the graves. Such conduct and the behavior of one group of Americans who



had assisted in the preparation of bodies for removal to America, and who were said to have housed Parisian women in the village during their stay, furnished these French villagers with their conception of the morality of Americans. They insisted that my friend was not an American; he was French.

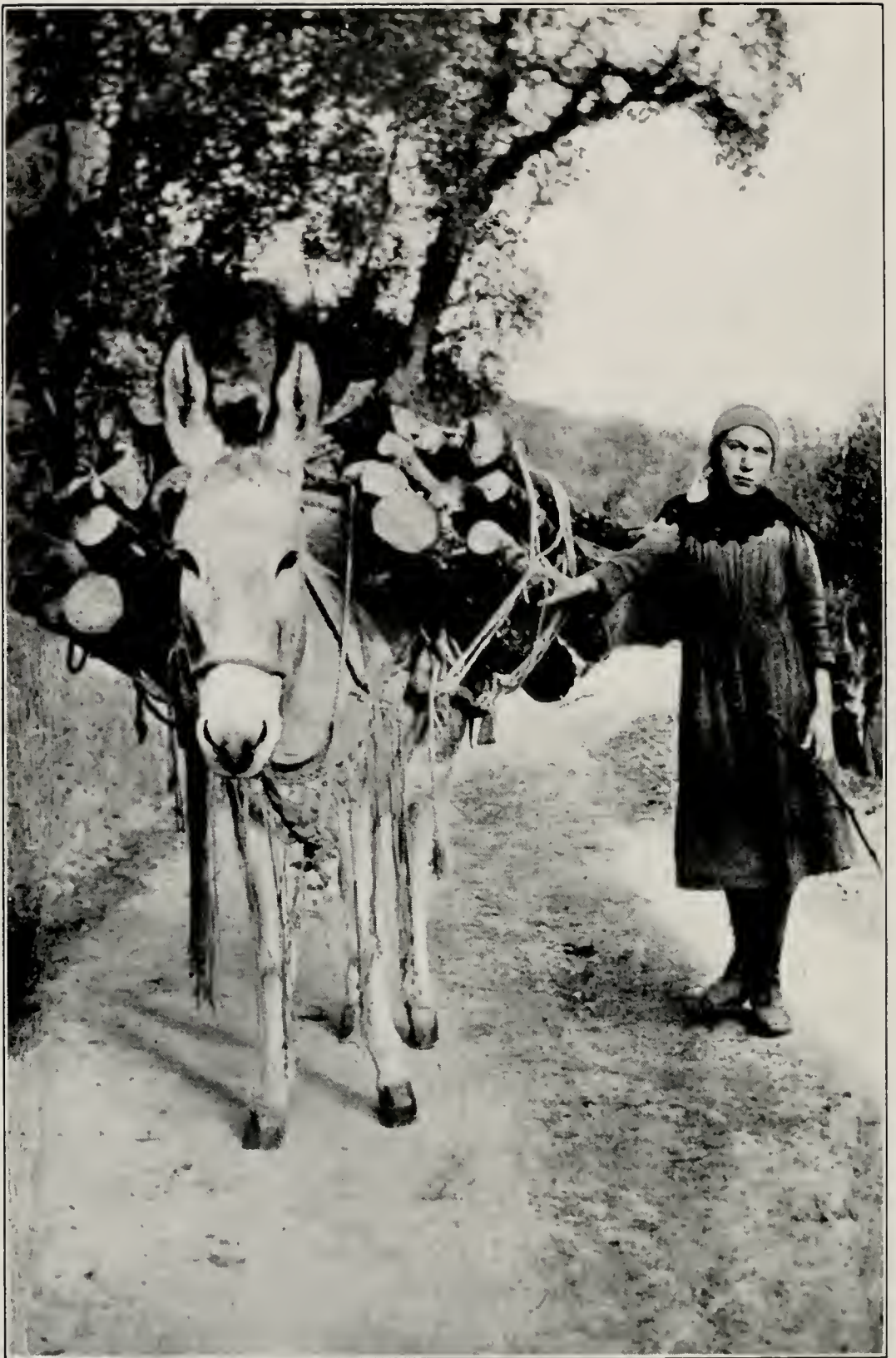
In respect to means of communication, Belleau was not behind other peasant villages. Five families have automobiles. All the villagers who can read subscribe for, or borrow, newspapers, and six take magazines. The school-teacher has started a small library, which is used mainly by the school-children.

As elsewhere, the municipal council manages most of the village affairs. It is not difficult to find competent and willing candidates for the honorary service on this board. The mayor was not a native of the village, but had lived in Belleau ten years. He had spent his boyhood in another village, where he had received the usual unorganized training for leadership, and was considered very efficient in his position.

All but a very small number of qualified voters vote regularly, and all men discuss political questions freely but not frequently, politics being forgotten most of the year. The discussions are most likely to take place at the *Mairie*, but are heard on all sides during election time. They are usually peaceable. Women are not interested. The only laws complained about are, as usual, those concerning taxation. As usual, again, villagers seldom come in contact with courts in other ways than for the purpose of peaceful settlement of ordinary business affairs requiring formal recording by a justice.

According to the mayor's records nineteen families had received financial aid during the year; but this number included those who were still receiving funds from the government appropriation for reconstruction work. Twelve





MODEST VILLAGERS—NEAR PERINALDO, ITALY



were said to have received other aid. The ordinary relief is administered by the *Bureau de Bienfaisance* (Welfare Bureau) and had been given in the forms of medicine, clothes, food, and other necessities. Insurance makes unnecessary much public relief. Every farmer who has employees has at least accident insurance, which is compulsory, to protect him and his employees in case of accident to the latter. Most farmers have fire and health insurance, and workers have unemployment policies. Through The Society of South Aisne Stores, which is in some sense co-operative, accident insurance is obtained at two francs a day. This organization furnishes every infant, born to a customer, with free *layettes* or outfits of infants' clothes.

The Society of South Aisne furnishes an organization through which farmers may buy or sell almost any commodity. Aside from this organization, there was no marketing, supply, or credit coöperative. There is much co-operation in farm work and in the way of neighborhood use of tools. One neighbor, knowing that another still has grain in the field goes and offers the help of himself and his team. Such exchange of work is general. They accommodate each other in many respects. The American cemetery caretaker was sufficiently a part of the neighborhood to profit by such accommodations. He told of being furnished loads of manure for hotbeds by farmers who were much in need of more manure than they had and were having to buy commercial fertilizer. As in Southern French villages, I could find no fundamental reasons for the scarcity of formal coöperative business or social organization other than the fact that they did not realize the need of it. The quarrels and jealousies were few and of short duration. No one "held a grudge"; neighborhood affairs ran as smoothly as well-greased machinery. The neighborhood lubricating oil of good fellowship made unnecessary much of the work supplied elsewhere by formal organization.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE ITALIAN COMMUNE

**I**N debate on the reply to the speech from the throne, June 21, 1921, Mussolini demanded that the functions of the state

“be restricted to the creation of those conditions which are necessary for individual activity in economic life, agriculture, industry, trade, and are advantageous to the consumer; they should be similarly restricted in the field of science and art. The state should not confer privilege on one class to the detriment of another; should not be a manufacturer, or farmer, or trader, or ship-owner, a railway company, a banker, a coöperative society, a newspaper proprietor; it should abstain from establishing monopolies, and a form of censorship through the postoffice and schools; it should not support the idle by means of doles, or enrich the favored few and impoverish the rest of the community by means of state contracts granted for reasons of political protection or as gifts disguised under the mantle of coöperativism which claims to be a productive force, whereas it merely squanders the money of the community through technical incompetence and speculation.”<sup>1</sup>

The book from which the above is quoted is an apology for Fascism; but the only change in the situation of agriculture which the author mentions is a decrease in the number of agricultural strikes. The Fascists, like the Bolsheviks, found national politics and industry more easily “reformed” than the rural village folkways and mores. The main Fascist reforms which have reached the rural villages are in the way of social reorganization of children and young people and the limitation of political free-

<sup>1</sup> Bianchini, *The Work of the Fascist Government and the Economic Reconstruction of Italy*, 1925.

dom of speech. The tour of Italy, from Venice to Naples, and then back north to San Remo, revealed nothing else of importance in the way of rural changes, economic or social.

The Italian study was difficult and, in some respects, less satisfactory than others because of the necessity of depending upon interpreters. I succeeded in finding one, however, who was expert, who was familiar with the village selected, and who was quite able to understand the significance of the study. The commune chosen was *Perinaldo*, one of those picturesque rock villages scattered along the Mediterranean side of the Maritime Alps. It is one of the more remote places which are little influenced directly by the resort population of the Riviera, who earn their bread by the sweat of some one else's brow.

Writing of the village in 1898, Mr. William Scott gives a description which is still very accurate:

“Imagine a vast and splendid amphitheatre of hills, approximately in a horseshoe form, with its long axis placed north and south. The sides are covered with verdure; pines and chestnuts clothe the upper slopes; enormous vineyards cover the lower ones, where the regular terraces look like seats prepared for millions in a grand spectacle of the gods. The open southern end of this grand arena stretches along the valley to where the sapphire blue of the Mediterranean fills up the far horizon. Nearly across this amphitheatre, towards the upper end, an irregular ridge runs almost at right angles; and, scrambling along the highest portion crowning the summit, clinging to the steep slopes, basking in the full Southern sunshine, and towering high above all rivals, lies the village of Perinaldo. . . . The cross streets are simply stairways in tunnels. . . . The upper street, though narrow, is fairly open, but the lower ones are weird and strange. One seems to be wandering in a dream and stumbling across the oddest kinds of dark corners and dusky vaulted passages; not to mention the mules which take up all the roadway with their bundles of brushwood or fodder.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Scott, *Rock Villages of the Riviera*, pp. 173-174.



Perinaldo has had a long and eventful history, still ascertainable in village records and inscriptions. The lintel over one of the doorways in one of the two churches gives the date MCCCCLXXXVI. In the Municipio, visitors are shown documents which go back as far as the sixteenth century, and one refers to a convention dated 1355. These documents deal with such matters as the collection of tithes, appointments of vicars, repairs of the church, dues to the Marquis, fines, lawsuits, etc. In 1738 the church was repaired out of public funds. In 1763 the Marquis was paid twenty-nine lire and given the usual presents of one sheep, a hundred eggs, twelve fowls, and fresh cheese. In 1733 the gathering of snails on any one else's land was prohibited on the score that such trespassers made snail-gathering an excuse for other depredations. (It reminds one of the trespassing of American picnickers in the country.) The fines from such damages were divided on the basis of one-third to the authorities, and two-thirds to the victim of the damage, who had to share the amount with the accuser or informer, if there were one. (This might work on prohibition enforcement.) If the damage were done at night, the owners of land adjoining that damaged might collect from the same person any damage done to their property within six months previous to that time. Searching for fruit or collecting leaves on another's property was prohibited. In order to discourage the stealing and selling of fruit, it was forbidden to buy it at night or from children or women who were not heads of families. Inn-keepers were not allowed to buy it at all without obtaining a license from the village authorities. The record goes on mentioning trouble over petty thieving, however, and tells one story of a conflict with a neighboring village over the use of the common forest. The most serious result of the latter was the arrest of two donkeys whose drivers were caught gathering leaves in the common property claimed by the commune





PERINALDO, ITALY



of Perinaldo. Although the village is now apparently very quiet and undisturbed about the doings of mediaeval bishops and trespassers, much of its history seems still to cling to it and to be revealed in its external aspect as well as in the dusty old records. As one walks its antique streets and associates with its goats and donkeys, one has no trouble in projecting himself imaginatively back into the Middle Ages.

Like most American villages, the only reliable source of information in the matter of the size of its present population is the actual census report. The American villages and Perinaldo differ in their reasons for inflating the size of the population, however. Perinaldo's citizens are likely to make mistakes of a thousand or so, not because of a "will to believe" in a cityward growth, but because of the strong tendency in Perinaldo's citizens to be a little out of date. Perinaldo must be expected to be a little absent-minded when one remembers that she was past her middle age at the close of the Middle Ages. The first answer to the question, "What is the population?" was "2500." This sounded like too round a number to be accurate, so the question was repeated until the answer was gradually deflated to "1875," a number which included the scattered homes of farmers who had broken away from the village and adopted the open-country form of rural residence, but who considered the village their social center and received their mail through its office. Excluding these outsiders, the exact population on record at the mayor's office was 1,647.

Before the World War the population had been well over 2,000 and stood at that figure as late as 1921. Of the present population of 1,875, 715 are voters. There are now within the village limits 454 families, about 410 of which are engaged primarily in agriculture. Most of the families engaged in other occupations have small pieces of land and

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cultivate at least a garden. Besides the very small number of day-laborers, the non-agricultural population is distributed as follows:

Grocers .....	8	Blacksmith .....	1
Butchers .....	3	Electrician .....	1
Tobacconist .....	1	Shoemakers and shoe re-	
Restaurant and Liquor		pairers .....	7
dealers .....	2	Barber .....	1
Public wineshop .....	1	Policeman .....	1
Proprietor private oil mill..	1	Priests .....	2
Workers in coöperative oil		Catholic Sisters, teachers...	2
mill .....	7	Other School teachers.....	4
Postoffice employee .....	1		
		Total .....	43

The loss of population was due to various causes more or less common to all the rock villages of the region. Twenty-two men were killed in the World War. The young people have been migrating at a great rate because of what they considered better economic opportunities and more desirable social advantages. A low birth rate was not at fault, as the average number of children per family was only slightly less than five.

The village is far from being self-supporting or self-sufficing. It had three peddlers in its court on one of the days on which I visited it. They were selling dry goods, notions, and men's clothing.

The reason given for the permanent residence in the isolated farmhouses instead of a temporary use of them during seedtime or harvest, was the long distance which those holding property on the rim of the village territory had to travel in going to and from work. This distance was seven kilometers on one side of the village and six on the other. The change was generally considered an inconvenience in other respects.

The farming of the village of Perinaldo, in so far as

export products are concerned, is very specialized, being limited to two crops, grapes and olives, which were pressed locally and marketed as wine and olive oil. Almost every foot of the land cultivated has had to be terraced. The terraces, unlike those around French villages, which were discontinued below the top of the mountains because of the unfavorable climate at such high altitudes, were continued, in the mountains around Perinaldo, to the highest peaks. The highest terraces were not too cold for either olives or grapes, but most of the grapes were raised nearer the lower slopes along the Vallecrosia River, which threads its way through the valley at the head of which the village of Perinaldo is located. Besides olives and grapes, the neighborhood produces vegetables and other fruits for home consumption. Every man who farms on a scale larger than that which one would refer to as home-gardening owns at least some of the land which he cultivates. The holdings vary in size from small garden spots to areas of twenty-four acres, so that the average is smaller than in French villages, but in other respects agriculture is similar to that in French rock-villages.

Most of the homes are dark, dingy, and crowded. They average between three and four rooms each, which one enters by climbing small, winding, stone stairs, either up or down, according as the rooms happen to be above or below the street level. Most of the homes are above this level, however, as the buildings are often as much as five stories high, and one family seldom occupies more than one story, with live stock in the basement or on the ground floor. No coal is burned, and the villagers are very saving of the olive and brushwood which constitute the only fuel. The water supply is distributed about the village in at least half a dozen places, where it flows from ever-running fountains and is carried in pitchers and pails to the houses. The wash tanks are to be found beside each of the foun-



tains, and the water, after overflowing from these, trickles down the gutters of the steep and narrow streets. Only one building, the restaurant, has an underground sewerage system, running water, and toilet. There is not a single bathroom in the village. The housekeeping seems even more primitive than that of the French rock villages. Nearly every family has a stable in which are housed, as a rule, at least one goat and a donkey or mule. Horses are luxuries.

There were sixty children in the primary and 142 in the higher grades of the school. The primary department and the part of the building occupied by the higher grades were visited on different days, and the difference in cleanliness may have been accounted for by a thorough house-cleaning in the interim; but the one was very dirty on the day visited, while the other was clean, orderly, and rather tastefully decorated. The primary grades were in charge of Catholic sisters, and, on the day visited, were in a most disorderly state. The disorder was not caused by the visit, as it was already in full swing, as one could readily hear, before we put in an appearance. The children were shouting and obviously unmanageable. Upon our arrival, the tumult was not increased, but simply diverted to the company, and my interpreter and I were immediately surrounded with untidy and ill-mannered children who insistently demanded the return of the Fascist salute. The other grades were in the control of a teacher who had taught in the village continuously since 1885, together with three under-teachers. The training of the teachers, as well as the curriculum, is prescribed by the Mussolini government. Each teacher in either the urban or rural schools must earn a diploma before he is allowed to accept a position. This diploma requires considerable higher training. The subjects to be taught and the hours given to each are as follows:



PERINALDO AND ITS PRODUCTS





Religion .....	1½	hours	per	week
Gymnasium work .....	3	"	"	"
Singing and games .....	3	"	"	"
Sewing, gardening or housework.....	3	"	"	"
Drawing or writing .....	2	"	"	"
Recreation or outside games.....	1½	"	"	"
Reading and Language.....	6	"	"	"
Natural Science (for one year).....	4	"	"	"
Arithmetic .....	4	"	"	"

During their last year, pupils add geometry to their studies, also algebra and quadratics, history and geography. The samples of the work of this last year seemed at least equal to work done by American children of the same age. No Perinaldo child is attending an advanced school now, and only one has done so recently.

The village has no doctor, dentist, nurse, or hospital, the nearest being at Ventimiglia, twelve kilometers away. Confinement cases are taken care of by local midwives, who are ignorantly said to be more expert than physicians; and many patent medicines and home remedies are used. The only very progressive efforts being made in promoting public health and sanitation are those of the council, which upholds certain standards of cleanliness, and the head teacher's campaign of propagating standards and habits of healthful living. The streets must be kept reasonably clean or the person held responsible is required to pay a fine of twenty-five lire for each infraction. The only communicable diseases reported during the last year were whooping cough and colds. When in other years more serious diseases have developed, the patients have been quarantined and school has been closed. School children are vaccinated regularly. Few villagers patronize a dentist, and offending molars are sometimes extracted, as neighborly good turns, by residents who happen to have a pair of pincers.

The recreation of the villagers is in somewhat of a tran-

sition stage, being more or less complicated by the military organization of the village. This organization is designed to meet the needs of all young people and now includes the following organizations and numbers:

Ballila—boys under fourteen— 53	Picole Italiani—girls below fourteen—57
Avanguardisti—boys between fourteen and eighteen—24	Giovane—girls between fourteen and eighteen—17
Milizia Fasciste—boys over eighteen—70	Fasciste—girls over eighteen— 70

Third class, Fasciste, for both boys and girls, is an honorary organization which is limited to seventy of each sex, and the vacancies are filled as soon as any are made by removals for any cause. The most common causes are those of migration from the village and behavior unbecoming a member. The program is very simple, consisting of attendance at mass on Sunday and gymnasium practice, fitted to the age of the group, on Wednesdays and Fridays. A recreation room has been provided by the council, and it is to be kept open every evening. It is in charge of an organization of young men, called *Dopo Lavora* (After Work). The room is to be used only for reading, card-playing, and such recreation. It is to be provided with a bar in order to prevent the otherwise "necessity" of going to the public house. This is about the only admission of a "problem" of the liquor traffic.

An outsider who had recently married a village girl had secured a seven-year-contract for the use of a schoolroom as a cinema, and he was to begin showing carefully censored pictures very soon. Dances are frequently held on Sunday afternoon and evening. These are attended by old and young. When holidays come on week-days, their celebration is often postponed to Sunday, so that all may take part without missing any work. The list of such holidays,

which are celebrated by church services, feasts, and dancing, is as follows:

Christmas	dead is taken from a box in
New Year's	the monument, and the names
Festival of St. Anthony	are read at a public service
“ “ St. Luigi	Feast of St. Nicholas, the pro-
Armistice Day—On Armistice	tector of the village.
Day the list of the twenty-two	

Weddings, parties, and funerals are usually attended by all villagers who are interested, whether relatives or not.

In interviews with the priests, teachers, storekeepers, and others, I could get very little definite data on the morals of the villagers. There were about twelve men in the village who habitually drank to excess, making it necessary for the Guardia (police) to look after them. Many others drank enough on Sundays and holidays to make them cause disturbances and require cautioning, and occasional fining, by the police. The problem of drunkenness was not considered as serious a problem in Perinaldo as an American would expect. While the American farmer used to go home drunk and murder his wife and children, the Italian villager does not cause much of a disturbance. There are plenty of neighbors only a few feet away, and they, or the ever-present Guardia, take care of a disturber as soon as he becomes noisy or quarrelsome or in any way disturbs the peace. Little besides wine is drunk, and few become crazy drunk on it. Only one man causes any serious inconvenience. He is a native who moved to France, where he became a French citizen, and then returned to his boyhood home, where he has committed depredations which have brought him to court fifteen times in four years. The citizens are becoming discouraged with him and are planning to have him returned to his adopted country, or transported to some distant locality.

There have been five illegitimate children born during the

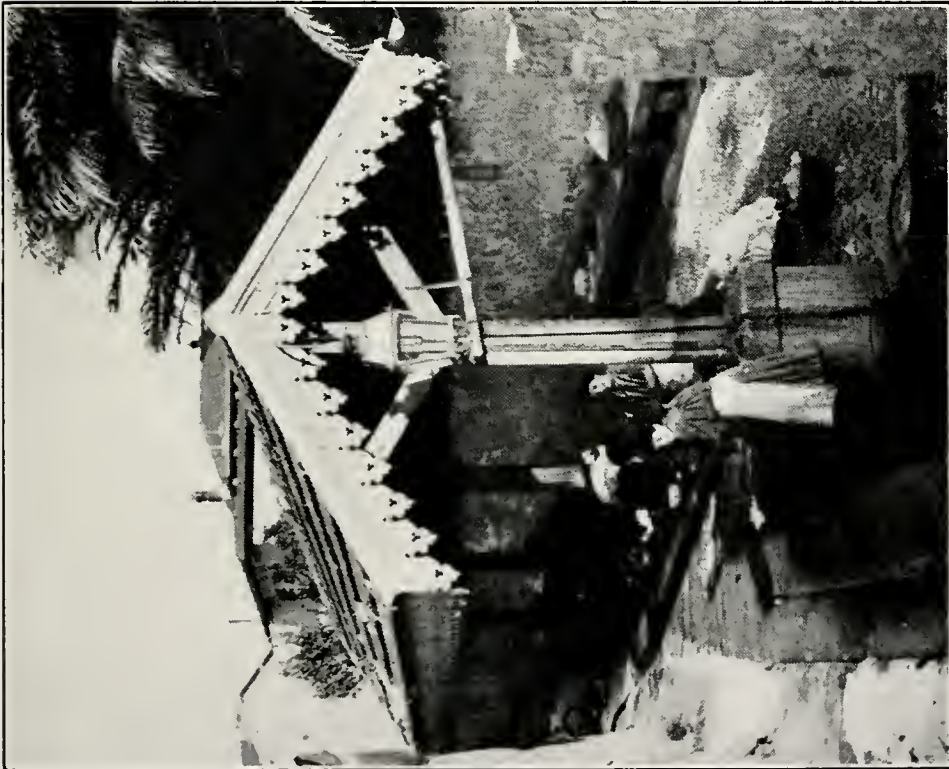


last five years. Until recently such children have been taken to a home at Oneglia, a distance of one hour by train; but a government allowance to mothers of illegitimate children now makes it possible for the children to be kept at home. Such children and their mothers are discriminated against in various ways. The mothers find it difficult to marry, and live in disgrace. The fathers are not exposed, and the children are kept in ignorance of their male parentage until in later years when some neighbor generally confides his suspicions to the child. However, the priests and others consulted concerning the matter agreed that many mothers of illegitimate children become honest women forever after, which fact seems favorable to the treatment which such mothers get in the village society.

The most definite information which I could get from the priests concerning Church attendance was the statement that three-fourths of the men, women, and children attended the two Catholic churches. On a visit to the larger of the two churches during the Sunday morning mass, I found only 17 men, 35 women, and 23 children in attendance. The congregation of the smaller church was leaving when I arrived, but it appeared to be considerably larger, having something over 135 people in it. There were said to be no Protestants, Jews, or free-thinkers in the village.

A good highway of crushed stone connects the village with the paved highway along the shore of the Mediterranean. There are no automobiles owned in the village, but a bus makes regular trips to the shore several times a day. Nearly every family has a donkey, mule, or horse. There is not a telephone in the village, but the postoffice is also a telegraph office. There are many villagers who never leave the village except to go to work in the fields.

About a hundred daily papers are sold, and these are passed around among those who can read and who are interested enough to do so. The school distributes a weekly



BORDIGHERA, ITALY  
“This is the way we wash our clothes”





newspaper to the children every Wednesday, and has a small library, which is gradually being enlarged as the result of gifts solicited from any likely prospect who happens to come along. The superintendent of the school, who is in the best position to know the facts, estimated that one-ninth of the population was illiterate. He hopes to eliminate illiteracy among the young people.

There is one radio in Perinaldo, and that is in a barber shop, where only a few people can listen at a time. The village interests in outside affairs are stimulated to some extent by the correspondence and visits of migrated young people, by military service, and by business contacts, as well as by the calls of peddlers and occasional tourists or resorters who stray inland.

The population within the village is not so great but that every citizen knows every other citizen, and all have frequent concourse with each other. The joy of social intercourse appears not so great, however, as in the villages studied in other countries. Visiting groups are seldom seen on the streets, although they are usually found in the places where liquor is sold. One evidence of their lack of enthusiasm for social intercourse, as compared with the other villages studied, is their custom of postponing the celebration of a holiday to the following Sunday, in order to save time for work. Germans and Frenchmen have no temptation to work on a holiday.

As is usually the case in rural villages, there is no conscious effort on the part of any specialized organization in the training of leadership. The new Fascist organizations for boys and girls are performing a useful function in developing leadership, however.

The local government of the village is in the hands of a mayor, called the Podestà, who is usually not a resident, but happens to be in the case of Perinaldo; a secretary, who is not a resident, but who makes two visits a week; a

council, and an employed police officer. The village affairs are quite thoroughly regulated in many respects by the present national government; and no one hesitates to admit that the only thing to do is to keep still whether the regulations are desirable or otherwise. No one criticizes the government! Every citizen is, ostensibly at least, a Fascist. Nevertheless there is sufficient interest in affairs of government to insure 100 per cent vote. Every eligible voter votes. Conflicts of a family or neighborhood nature are generally settled without resorting to courts. Instead of referring such disputes to the mayor, or Podestà, as is the custom in French villages, the Italian villager, as a rule, takes his grievance to the priest, who is glad to act as mediator.

The organization through which all official relief is administered is the *Confraternita*, or the *Congregazione di Carità*. This was formerly a church organization, but has been taken over by the national government. Its president, who happens in Perinaldo to be the school superintendent, hears appeals, orders investigations, and administers relief. No relief is given without careful investigation as to the need, made by the president or the four members of his council. These officials keep an up-to-date record of all needy persons. 1600 lire have been distributed to nine people during the year. Since one of these is in need of permanent relief, the amounts given to the others must be very small. The money comes from the national government, like that for the public school system, and from inheritances and memberships.

Although citizens insist that drunkenness is not a problem the main correctional measures were necessitated by intoxication. These cases, however, are not generally more serious than quarreling or loud talking in the streets. These and other delinquencies are generally taken care of by small fines.

The government officials visit the village every two months to collect taxes and to pay bills.

Relief is made unnecessary in many cases by compulsory life and accident insurance, which applies even to children. One gets 300 lire for a broken arm, 30,000 lire if permanently incapacitated, and the family receives 10,000 lire in case of the death of a member. Crops and animals are sometimes insured, and a few citizens have fire insurance. There is no unemployment insurance; but the government tries to furnish work for every able person by building roads, etc.

There are two coöperative organizations in the village of Perinaldo. *Casa Rurale* buys fertilizer, seeds, and drugs for treating trees and plants. Every farmer is a member of this organization and does all his business in these commodities through it. The *Consortia* is an organization of the larger olive growers and is a manufacturing and marketing coöperative. The smaller growers do not find it economical to join the coöperative but pay the *Consortia* a commission for manufacturing and selling their product.



## CHAPTER X

### THE IRISH NEIGHBORHOOD

IT would be difficult to find a better illustration than the history of Ireland of the validity of the contention of this study that the form of the primary group, the neighborhood, is of vital importance in the social life of a people. The history of Ireland is not the history of the British Isles, and the failure on the part of Englishmen to recognize this fact has led to many of the woes of the Irish people and has made many of the efforts to help them as futile as the solicitude of A.E.'s well-intentioned female elephant, who, "seeing some motherless chickens, said, 'I will be a mother to the poor little things,' and lay down on them to keep them warm."

Although the written history of Ireland did not begin until the time of the coming of St. Patrick with the first strong wave of influence from the Roman world early in the fifth century, the traditional accounts reach as far back as 320 B. C.<sup>1</sup> This was about the time of the coming of the Gaelic race; but the chroniclers, who were thoroughly trained in memorizing stories, history, and genealogy, tell of four former colonizations, so that we have reasonably accurate information concerning Ireland from a much earlier date than we have concerning any other European country with the exceptions of Greece and Rome.

These tribal neighborhoods practiced the open-field and common tillage system of cultivation, and the greater strength of the bond of kinship is suggested by the fact

<sup>1</sup> Gwynn, *The History of Ireland* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1923), Chapter I.

that Irish neighborhoods preserved the institution of collective ownership of land nearly eight hundred years after the village community began to pass away in England.<sup>2</sup> Sir Horace Plunkett says:

“The sudden imposition upon the Irish, early in the seventeenth century, of a land system which was no part of the natural development of the country, ignored, though it could not destroy, the old feeling of communistic ownership, and, when this vanished, it did not vanish as it did in countries where more normal conditions prevailed. It did not perish like a piece of outworn tissue pushed off by a new growth from within: on the contrary, it was arbitrarily cut away while yet fresh and vital, with the result that where a bud should have been there was a scar. . . . What was chiefly required for agrarian peace was a recognition of that sense of partnership in the land—a relic of the tribal days—to which the Irish mind tenaciously adhered.”<sup>3</sup>

Mr. George Russell agrees that “when the state broke up the clan or communal system, the small farmers became a pathetic figure in the modern world.”<sup>4</sup>

Regardless of many well-intentioned and generous concessions on the part of the government, designed to heal the wound caused by confiscation of common lands, it remained an open sore until Parnell’s time and the passing of the Act of 1881 giving the rights of the three F’s, fixity of tenure, free sale, and fair rent. This act established the principle that the tenant had an interest in the land independent of the landlord, that the landlord’s power to sell his own interest must be limited by law, and that the rent charged must be determined by a tribunal. The political concessions and efforts of the government, during Gladstone’s administration and since, to ameliorate the hardships of Irish peasants have been largely offset by economic influences, and neither the *laissez-faire* treatment before

<sup>2</sup> Plunkett, *Ireland in the New Century* (New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1908), p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21 and 22.

<sup>4</sup> Russell, *Coöperation and Nationality*, pp. 7-8.

nor the socialistic interference afterwards accomplished much in the face of the disintegrating influences of the industrial revolution and the foreign agricultural competition.

“Since the destruction of the ancient clans in Ireland,” says A. E.,<sup>5</sup> “almost every economic factor in rural life has tended to separate the farmers from each other and from the nation, and to bring about an isolation of action.”

This isolation, and the misunderstanding on the part of the English, generated bitterness in the minds of Irishmen, forced them to look on all Englishmen as aliens, and induced them to pursue an age-long and largely vain political campaign in which the peasant’s attitude is well illustrated by A. E.’s story of the drunken workman who was determined not to do a “han’s turn” until Ireland was free, and Sir Horace’s story of the peasant who ceased planting potatoes when he heard of the Home Rule Bill of 1886, “which seemed to bring the millennium into the region of practical politics.”

In his history of Ireland,<sup>6</sup> Gwynn says that the English conquest of Ireland, from Elizabeth to William IV, was directed to despoiling the Irish people of their lands, and shows how this resulted in centuries of agrarian agitation and in successive attempts to undo a very terrible injustice. It led, during the reign of George III, to the organization of rebellious groups known as *Whiteboys* and *Oakboys*, who harassed the landlords and did much damage to property. It drove thousands of Irish farmers to America, where they helped to foment and to win the War of Independence. The potato blight and resulting famine of 1846 brought the emigration from Ireland up to 100,000; but the despair of

<sup>5</sup> Russell, Geo., *The National Being* (New York, The Macmillan Company, n.d.), p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Gwynn, *History of Ireland* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1923), p. 373.



the Irish farmers which followed, 1847-1850, was worse than potato blight and increased the rate of emigration to 200,000 a year, and in 1851 it was just under 250,000.<sup>7</sup> Most of this flood of emigration went to America, taking its creed of hate of the British government and of Irish landlords, a creed which was to flavor world politics always against the British Empire. "What is migration in other countries is emigration with us," said Sir Horace Plunkett; and America got the main impact of this flood of embittered and turbulent, erupting humanity. In America the Irish immigration constituted at least two problems, both of which can be explained only by taking into consideration the traditional psychological traits which had their roots in the ages of tribal community life, and which survived persecution and starvation and the process of transplanting into alien soil.

Before Americans began to brag about their Irish inheritance, there was a long period during which the native stocks looked down in typical ethnocentric fashion upon the Irish immigrant, referred to him as "the dirty Irish," and sang of his keeping "the pig in the parlor." Americans who had been in the country a little longer bewailed the low standards of living which prevailed in the city tenement homes into which most of these newcomers were established. Other immigrants, such as the Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, and Germans, who spoke no English and had no more land hunger than Irishmen, rushed to the "free land," over fifty per cent of them settling on farms. To such an extent have Irishmen taken possession of American cities that A. E.'s statement to the effect that all Irish cities "are across the Atlantic" is hardly a joke. The "Irish question" was still a question in America, and its explanation is nowhere more clearly stated than in the language of "Ireland in the New Century":

<sup>7</sup> P. 462.

“It is not the physical environment and comfort of an orderly home that enchain and attract minds still dominated, more or less unconsciously, by the association and common interests of the primitive clan, but rather the sense of human neighborhood and kinship which the individual finds in the community. Indeed the Irish peasant scarcely seems to have a home in the sense in which an Englishman understands the word. . . . What the Irishman is really attached to in Ireland is not a home but a social order. The pleasant amenities, the courtesies, the leisureliness, the associations of religion, and the familiar faces of the neighbors, whose ways and minds are like his and unlike those of any other people; these are the things to which he clings in Ireland and which he remembers in exile. And the rawness and eagerness of America, the lust of the eye and the pride of life that meet him, though with no welcoming aspect, at every turn, the sense of being harshly appraised by new standards of the nature of which he has but the dimmest conception, his helplessness in the fierce current of industrial life in which he is plunged, the climatic extremes of heat and cold, the early hours and few holidays: all these experiences act as a rude shock upon the ill-balanced refinement of the Irish immigrant. . . . I am convinced that a prime cause of the failure of almost every effort to settle them upon the land was the fact that the tenement house, with all its domestic abominations, provided the social order which they brought with them from Ireland, and the lack of which on the western prairie no immediate or prospective physical comfort could make good.”<sup>8</sup>

And so the lack of the old, satisfying, neighborhood life has continued to motivate Irishmen at home and abroad to rebellion and migration and political agitation until their efforts have culminated in the establishment of the Irish Free State. They have gone on, generation after generation and century after century, looking backward or forward to a golden age, and singing of the harp that “hangs as mute on Tara’s walls,” and dreaming of a freedom which, to be interpreted, meant an attainment of the sense of security and appreciation and of the opportunity for free self-expression which the old communistic, tribal community pro-

<sup>8</sup> Sir Horace Plunkett, *Ireland in the New Century* (New York, E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1908), pp. 54-56.







AND HE WAS IRISH, TOO

vided. But the desire for this freedom, like that of the individual for the conditions of the pre-natal state where all needs are supplied without effort, has led them, for the most part, in the opposite direction. The striving for it in wars domestic and foreign, in the reckless following of political leaders, in the pathetic economic struggles, and even in the search for religious consolation, has disintegrated them instead of bringing them together. This disintegration went on almost unchallenged until 1889,—went on until the descriptions which one reads of the isolation and loneliness and futility of the aggregations of people which once were communities almost equal in pathos the similar descriptions of American rural people. The rural population was said to be no more connected than the sands on the seashore, and there were no economic or social partnerships. “If a man emigrates, it does not affect the occupation of those who farm the land around him.”<sup>9</sup> The demoralizing influence of these conditions resulted in the degeneracy of “Patrick Maloney” to that stage where he was likened to the “primitive cave-man in the darkness of his cave unilluminated by any ray of general principle.”<sup>10</sup>

The reaction to this social disorganization and personal demoralization began in 1889 when a very small group of Irish prophets, led by Sir Horace Plunkett, developed faith enough to believe that folks who could conspire could cooperate, and inaugurated the coöperative movement, not for better business only, but for better farming and better living. They had the temerity to suggest that the keys to the millennium were not in the possession of pneumatic political demagogues, that Home Rule would not obviate the necessity of planting potatoes, and that the six million

<sup>9</sup> Russell, Geo. (A. E.), *The National Being* (New York, The Macmillan Company, n.d.), p. 35.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

pounds paid as agricultural rent and three millions in alleged over-taxation were not the exclusive causes of Ireland's woes. They dared to make the uncomfortable and uncomfoting observation that their only ever-present help in their long protracted time of trouble must be neighborly, coöperative self-help. The prophets were figuratively stoned and cast out, but they persevered and wrestled with the angel spirit of mutual aid which had been incarnate in the Gaelic tribes and which had survived the ravages of civilization and Christianity and partizan politics to such an extent that in five years the prophets were able to start the Irish Agricultural Organization Society Ltd., and in fourteen years to report the establishment of over eight hundred societies, which were working out their own salvation no longer with much fear and trembling. These coöperative societies have concerned themselves not only with coöperative credit, supply, and marketing, but have started village libraries, fostered education, encouraged tolerant religious relations, and sought to solve A. E.'s problem, "to enable the countryman, without journeying, to satisfy to the full his economic, social, intellectual, and spiritual needs."<sup>11</sup> The leaders of the coöperative movement were instrumental in getting passed an Act of Parliament establishing a Department of Agriculture and other Industries and Technical Instruction in Ireland, and also in shaping the policies of that department.

Other movements, like the Gaelic Revival and the Gaelic League, seeking to do in the intellectual and social spheres what the coöperative movement does in the industrial sphere, have received inspiration from the Coöperative Organizations. The investigation of the measure of success of coöperative social life in two neighborhoods was the objective in the survey which follows.

<sup>11</sup> Russell, Geo. (A. E.), *The National Being* (New York, The Macmillan Company, n.d.), p. 31.



Because of the shortness of time for the Irish study, a survey of the more primitive western villages of Ireland, where the Gaelic language is generally spoken and where the village residence is more general, was not attempted. The two neighborhoods selected as being typical of Eastern Ireland were *Newtown Mount Kennedy*, in Wicklow County, and *Ballyragget*, in Kilkenny County. These villages were typical excepting that Ballyragget was unusually successful in coöperative organization. Both neighborhoods have interesting histories which are not exclusively ancient. As the visitor is driven around in the vicinity of Newtown, he has pointed out to him the place where the Black and Tans were encamped and where they committed various soldierly depredations. He is shown the residence of the great British soldier, General Butler, and where the 10,000 pound picture, "The Roll Call," was painted, and the house where Captain Seagrave, the automobile racer, was born and reared. He is shown an old, dilapidated building which served as a hospital during the last plague of cholera and beside it the death house, where bodies were stored until they could be interred in unmarked graves on the hillside.

In Ballyragget one has no trouble in accumulating interesting historical facts, for every school child is taught local history, which furnishes as much romance as do the story-books. It is thought that the village was formerly called Tullabarry, but it has been called by its present name since 1220, when an Anglo-Norman gentleman by the name of Richard le Raggad owned the lands on which the village still stands. In the thirteenth century there were a castle and chapel here, but their exact location cannot now be ascertained, although there are landmarks which are thought to be remains of the castle moat, graveyard, and other ruins. The present castle, which is now used as a chicken coop, granary, tool-shed, and barn, was built about 1485 by Mairgred Ni Searoid, who married the Earl of

Ormonde. It is a square, five-story keep, built of large, cut stones. Although internally it seems greatly fallen from its high estate, to all external appearance it towers over its surroundings as haughtily as ever. Its thick walls and roof are in excellent repair, and seem sturdy enough to stand for another five centuries. The school children are told the story of the various owners who have held the castle. Among these was Queen Elizabeth, who came into possession of it in 1600, when the previous owner forfeited his right by rebellion. Shortly before that time Edmond, second Viscount of Mountgamet, did some remodeling and put in a large cut-stone chimney-piece, on which he engraved his initials, and the date, 1591. The most interesting part of the castle which one sees at present, after climbing its long, winding stair, is a bench of stone in the watch tower. It is called Mairgred Ni Searoid's chair, and one may sit on it and wish for anything he wants. I wished that American rural neighborhoods might develop some worthy traditions, cherished ideals, and social solidarity.

A half-mile from the village stands an old church, founded by St. Patrick himself, and dedicated to him. The present building was begun anterior to the Norman conquest and finished in the fifteenth century. One of the items of interest in connection with this church is a stone which projects several inches from the wall of one of the gables, and which is called the "clock stone" because it is so situated that at twelve o'clock no ray of the sun touches the rest of the wall but continues to shine on it. Several other near-by churches have similar "clock stones."

The local history, as taught by the head master of Ballyragget's school, includes such details as the records of the ownership of religious relics, even that of a piece of "the true cross," which was owned for some time by a local noble family.

There are two events of village history which the boys

and girls find especially exciting. One of the events happened on April 10th, 1600, and made Ballyragget famous. It was the occasion upon which Black Thomas, Lieutenant General of Queen Elizabeth and Earl of Ormonde, was taken prisoner by Ówny McRory O'More, chief of Leix, and a relative of Rory Oge O'More, whom Englishmen called the "Robin Hood of Ireland." This famous capture took place at a spot within sight of Ballyragget. A conference had been arranged between the Earl and O'More. Each leader went to the meeting place with a small company of loyal associates. O'More took with him a Jesuit priest, Father James Archer, to act as an interpreter, since the earl claimed to be unable to understand Gaelic. After an hour's discussion of the points of difference, which produced no results, the Earl of Ormonde broke out into a tirade of abuse against Father Archer and the pope, not so much through hatred of them and their religion, since he was himself a Catholic at heart, but in order to make a show of extreme loyalty before some Englishmen who were present. The priest resented this, at least the offensive allusions to the pope, and expressed his indignation with strong language and in a loud voice, uplifting at the same time, to give more vehemence to his words, the staff he carried. Some of O'More's soldiers imagined that the Earl was about to draw his sword on the indignant priest, and, rushing forward, they pulled the Earl from his horse and made him prisoner. A general mêlée followed, in which the Earl's forces were driven from the field and the Earl taken as a captive into Leix.

The other event is called *The Siege of Ballyragget* and took place about three o'clock one February morning in 1775. The Siege was the culmination of a struggle between the *Whiteboys* (a lawless group of workers and tenants whose methods of conduct seem to have been similar to those of the American Ku Klux Klan) on the one side, and



the landlords, agents, and other loyalists of the neighborhood, on the other. Their offensive was sufficiently aggressive to drive one Mr. Rob. Butler, a Catholic landlord, out of the county. In his absence, his brother, a Catholic priest, and others, formed an anti-whipping league. The league was well organized, supplied with arms, and drilled by an ex-army man. They had one skirmish with the Whiteboys and succeeded in putting them to flight. This angered the latter, who determined to march on the town and wreak vengeance on the inhabitants. Upon the morning appointed they marched into town by way of the street which now passes the schoolhouse, and surrounded the Butler house, where fourteen of the enemy had retired on hearing of the attack. The Whiteboys invited them out to fight, called them cowardly scoundrels, and dared them to open fire. The fourteen leaguers showed their strategy by leaving a light burning in the first story to mislead the Whiteboys as to their location in the house, and opened fire from the upper-story windows. The surprise was so great that the attackers were put to flight. As they left the town, carrying their dead and wounded, they threatened to return and burn the whole place. However, almost the only weapons used by Whiteboys since have been those of poetry, with which school boys and girls have been besieged. One poetic lament for those who fell in the Siege concludes each stanza with the line, "Cursed Ballyragget that never gave man relief."<sup>12</sup>

Ballyragget seemed to me at the time of my visit to be as free from ballyragging as any village I have visited, and her cats, like the rest of those in Kilkenny, are as peaceful as the most respectable English or American cats.

The farmers of Newtown Mount Kennedy and Ballyragget furnish examples of both of the systems of village and open-country residence. As one travels through the open-country part of the neighborhood, although most of the

<sup>12</sup> From notes furnished by the schoolmaster of Ballyragget.

farms are small, one sees some homes which would bear Miss Purdon's description of Heffernan's house in her novel *The Folk of Furry Farm*:

“Why, there was no more snug, well-looked-after place in the whole of Ardenoo than Heffernan's always was, with full and plenty in it for man and beast, though it wasn't to say too tasty-looking. And it was terrible lonesome. There wasn't a neighbor within the bawl of an ass of it.”

Greater extremes are to be found in Ballyragget than in Newtown Mount Kennedy. Ballyragget has the largest farm, and, at the same time, has village homes which join house to house in solid rows on both sides of the street. Supplied with letters of introduction from Plunkett House, Dublin, I received in both neighborhoods whole-hearted hospitality and every possible help in getting the information I sought. The general characteristics of the neighborhoods are given on page 304.

I was unable to get accurate figures on the total acreage owned by villagers in either neighborhood, but the largest farm in Newton Mount Kennedy contained one hundred acres, and the smallest, twenty acres; while the largest farm in Ballyragget contained seven hundred acres. Some shopkeepers had smaller patches which they used for gardening or pasturage, and farm laborers have one acre each with a cottage. When the question was asked as to how many farmers owned the land which they cultivated, the answer was invariably, “All of them.” It seems that since 1880, when Parnell, the agrarian political leader, got his three F's—fixity of tenure, fair rent, and free sale, all farmers have come practically to own the farms which they work. They pay rent as they pay taxes for a certain time to a government Land Commission, and the fixity of tenure and the opportunity to sell their equities freely during this time give them a strong sense of ownership which is impossible under an ordinary landlord system. In both

## 304 VILLAGE AND OPEN-COUNTRY NEIGHBORHOODS

	NEWTOWN MOUNT	
	KENNEDY	BALLYRAGGET
Population .....	305	472
Number of Families.....	59	75
Number of Voters.....	107	165
Recent Change in Population.....	None	None
Percentage of Population having farms...	90%	45%
Other occupations, businesses, and professions represented in the population—		
Dry Goods Merchants .....	1	2
Grocers .....	9	6
Liquor dealers .....	3	4
Painters .....	0	1
Blacksmiths .....	1	2
Doctors .....	1	1
Midwives .....	1	1
Postmen .....	4	5
Masons .....	0	3
Police .....	5	4
Priests .....	1	2
Protestant Preacher .....	1	0
Teachers .....	3	10
Civil Bill Officers.....	1	1
Bailiffs .....	0	1
Peace Commissioners .....	2	0
Hardware Dealers .....	0	1
Baker .....	0	1
Butcher .....	1	1
Manager, Coöperative Poultry .....	0	1
“ Coöperative Creamery .....	0	1
Garageman .....	1	0
Undertakers .....	0	1

neighborhoods the principal products are oats, wheat, barley, potatoes, turnips, dairy products, sheep and hogs. In Newtown Mount Kennedy, while there are a few scattered farm homes around the village, many of the farms reach the village limits and the farmer residents of the village have short distances to travel to their farms. In the other neighborhoods, most of the farmers live on isolated







MAP OF BALLYRAGGET, IRELAND

Showing the street plan of the village and the arrangement of the surrounding farms

farms, and some of those who reside in the village have a mile or two to travel. Perhaps my most monotonous question, "Are there any farmers who do not like farm life or the farming occupation?" was unanimously answered in the negative.

Newtown Mount Kennedy, being nearer the Dublin market and having better soil than Ballyragget, is the more prosperous community, and this prosperity shows itself in better homes. The houses average from two to four rooms in the first village, but few in the second have more than three rooms. A very large share of the houses in Ballyragget have only two rooms, and, unlike Newtown, many of the homes are in rows of attached one-story apartments. The oldest house, built in 1720, is in Ballyragget. The number of children per family in each village averaged between five and six, which number makes housekeeping in a two-room cottage a difficult task. None of the houses in either village have stables under the same roof. Newtown Mount Kennedy expects soon to have electric lights in all homes, and now has running water in about half of them. There is a spring less than a mile away from Ballyragget from which water could be piped to supply the whole population, but there is much opposition to the movement to secure this water supply, on the basis of the great cost which it would involve. A very small share of the cost of their magnificent church building and two luxurious parsonages would have supplied the village with this excellent spring water; but they cannot afford it. Not many farm women work in the fields, but most of them do chores and so-called "odd jobs."

If the school should be judged on the basis of the relationship between the teachers and pupils and on the spirit of the group, Ballyragget should rank high, although the school buildings are old, dingy, and poorly equipped. During my two-hour visit at the largest school I did not see a single child who was not busy and happy. While the teach-



ers might have appeared to some critics to have been too much preoccupied with religion, and while the curriculum might have been criticized in regard to such matters as the kind of history taught, I was able to discover some things unquestionably desirable which are not included in the ordinary curriculum. For instance, I admired the beautiful school grounds and was told that the grass was mown, the hedges trimmed, the other shrubbery and plants cultivated, by the children themselves. I was shown two bushes located between the front gate and the schoolhouse, and was told that none of the children would go near them because two birds had trusted them enough to build their nests there. The principal, who had long been secretary of the coöperative agricultural bank, could not keep from trying to develop coöperative character in the boys and girls in his school. The teachers were not so overworked but that the principal could spend two hours talking to me, nor is he too busy to go out and play with the children or take them on an occasional excursion.

The retired teacher who had just completed twenty years in the Newtown Mount Kennedy schools had taken up farming. He had for many years been the secretary of the Newtown Coöperative Credit Society. I was entertained in his home, and I found him quite as interested in the village economic and social affairs in general as in education. All the teachers in both neighborhoods were residents indeed, and expected to remain in their positions until retirement. The minimum requirements in their scholastic preparation had been only two years beyond the primary school, but their general ability and their attitude towards their work seemed to me to offset in some measure the deficiencies of scholastic preparation.

Each neighborhood has three schools. Newtown has one Protestant and two Catholic schools, one for boys and one for girls, in the village; and Ballyragget has one infant

school for children under eight years and one primary school for children from eight to fourteen, as well as one primary school, located outside the village, which is under the supervision of the parish priest.

In Newtown Mount Kennedy there are 185 children in school, and in the parish of Ballyragget, 245. The compulsory school age is from six to fourteen, and the law in this regard is carefully enforced. Unexcused absences are reported to the police, and offending parents who keep children out of school to work may be fined. Few parents require any coercion in keeping their children in school. Only one child is in attendance at a secondary school from Newtown Mount Kennedy, and he is the son of the retired teacher, who is preparing himself to teach. Ballyragget has six children in secondary schools. Only one farmer, a citizen of Ballyragget, has had an agricultural-college education; but Ballyragget has a short course in agriculture held four hours a day for three months in the winter season. This had been attended by twenty farmers during the year. Each village has several illiterate older people, but all young people are able to read and write.

The most encouraging things about the educational situation in the two villages seemed to me to be the strength or character of the teachers and the lengths of time they serve. The teachers had strong personalities, and they stay in the villages long enough to get acquainted with both parents and children and to know the peculiar problems of the community. In Ballyragget one teacher had served in the same position for twenty-two years, and another had served for thirteen years. One who had served only two years had taken the place of a retired teacher. Newtown Mount Kennedy had one teacher who had served twenty-seven years, one for twenty years, and one for eight years. I got one good suggestion for teachers and parents from the Irish schools. Though corporal punishment is seldom used, it is not pro-

hibited; but ten minutes must elapse after the wrong act before punishment may be administered. The most discouraging factors in the educational situation in these Irish villages were the lack of gymnasiums, of good libraries, and of other modern equipment. The shabby appearance of the schoolrooms was in great contrast to the splendor of the Catholic churches in both communities.

The children in the schools looked well-nourished, and they were comfortably clothed. In an interview with the doctor in Ballyragget, I was told that there had not been a death from diphtheria in the territory which he covered in ten years, and that there had not been a death from any contagious disease during the previous year. The nearest hospital, to which all contagious cases were sent, was four miles away. Only twelve patients had gone to it for any reasons during the year. There is a dentist eight miles away and all children, in both neighborhoods, who are found to be in need of dental treatment, are taken care of by the state in case they cannot afford to pay for professional services. This is also true of general medical treatment. The dentist employed by the citizens of Newtown Mount Kennedy lives ten miles away, and the general hospital which they use is also at that distance; but there is a tubercular hospital two miles away. This village has a resident doctor and a dispensary. Both villages have midwives who work under the direction of a physician. All school children are given free vaccination, and all contagious diseases are carefully quarantined, those of Ballyragget, as before stated, being sent to the hospital. Children are not usually given toxin-anti-toxin unless they are sick or have been exposed to diphtheria; but it is always available for such cases, and is free for those who cannot afford to pay. Any free general examinations or free treatment of children must be applied for by the parents, and some parents are negligent.



The doctor in Ballyragget was one of the most enthusiastic advocates of getting the public water-works for the village, and was a most aggressive leader in public health work in general. He was looking forward to a time, which he hoped to be near, when all school children would be given free health examinations in the schools. He had been largely instrumental in seeing to it that all public wells in his neighborhood had been tested. Neither village had a public bath, and the larger village had only six in private homes. The general appearance of both villages was good in so far as sanitation was concerned, and the police in both places are charged with the duties of enforcing various sanitary measures.

The ordinary kinds of recreation in Ballyragget and Newtown Mount Kennedy were football, hurling, Rugby, dancing, music, fêtes, concerts, parties, and, as elsewhere in Europe, drinking and visiting at the public houses or in the homes. Aside from the Gaelic Athletic Association in Ballyragget, and an inter-village league at Newtown, there was little formal organization in recreational activities. However, very little was required; for, although not all recreational events were considered family affairs, all ages participated, actively or vicariously, in some form of recreation. The neighborhood observes twelve holidays during the year. Among the neighbors friendliness and good-fellowship were the rule. Various well-informed individuals testified that there were no lasting feuds or jealousies between neighbors, and few serious class distinctions.

While my stay in Ireland was short, and I was unable to attend a church service, it seemed obvious to me that village life there was dominated by the church as in no other country visited. The church buildings were by far the most imposing in the villages, and the church, even in the poorest villages, liberally supported. The church attendance came nearer to including all the members than in any of the other

countries. In the village of Ballyragget there is only one Protestant family, and there are not more than a dozen Protestant families in the whole parish. The village priest, as well as several laymen, insisted that every Catholic family was in regular attendance at Sunday services. All who were not Catholics were members of a Protestant church and were equally regular in attendance. Newtown Mount Kennedy had six Protestant families and a Protestant church, which was nearly as beautiful as the Catholic church. Both churches had loyal memberships. In both villages the ministers of both denominations were considered permanent members of the communities, one having held the same pastorate for fifteen years. Both the priest and the Protestant minister in Newtown Mount Kennedy, and the priest in Ballyragget, made a practice of visiting the schools regularly for Bible lessons. I found the relations between the churches friendly and tolerant. The Irish churchmen of both religions seemed to me to be much more coöperative than many representatives of different denominations of Protestant churches in American neighborhoods.

Priests, teachers, and parents agreed that there were very few serious delinquencies among old or young in the communities. Policemen were interviewed in both villages, and they complained only of occasional drunkenness and quarrelling, and, still more seldom, cases of petty thieving. Most of their time was spent in watching the traffic, seeing that saloons were closed on time, and checking up on school attendance.

Both villages reported that no crimes had been committed by villagers during the preceding five years. Two illegitimate children had been born in one village, and three in the other, during that time. There was general agreement that family life and sex relations were very regular. I made it a special point to inquire as to the length of time that village husbands and wives had known each other before mar-

riage, and was informed in every interview that, as a usual thing, they had known each other from childhood. I found no instances of marriage on short acquaintance, and, although several admitted that financial considerations played a great part in courtship, it was insisted that happy marriages were the rule.

I found only one habitually incorrigible drunkard. He was a former British soldier, who kept the Newtown police busy locking him up for drunkenness and disorderly conduct.

The relief work in both neighborhoods was quite uncorrelated and largely of the "hit or miss" sort. Newtown Mount Kennedy had three funds for relief purposes, the Legion fund for families of soldiers, church funds, and appropriations from the rates. About ten families needed permanent care; but only six of these were supplied from the rates (taxes). The amount from the latter source was only seven shillings and sixpence a week, except for the unemployed, who received fifteen shillings for a certain length of time depending on the term of employment in the last position held. The applications for doles were signed by the police; but little investigation appeared to be made in most of the relief work. In Ballyragget, the above-named charities were supplemented by a special fund, which was administered by the priest, the principal of the school, or the teaching nuns, who found needy children in school and purchased school supplies or, occasionally, clothing for them. Insurance against employers' liability was compulsory for farmers as for other employers, and the various other kinds of insurance were common, though all were supplied by private companies.

Although the suffrage of women is restricted in Ireland, rural women, as well as rural men, take an interest in political affairs, and sixty-five per cent of the eligible voters of Newtown Mount Kennedy and Ballyragget vote. Politics



are discussed freely; but differences seldom result in quarrels or serious divisions in the neighborhoods.

The traditional disrespect for law which sets the Irishman "agin the government" is said to be the result of hatred for England and the oppression of the old governing class; but this disrespect seems hardly to hold for local governmental regulations. The five police officers of Newtown, who patrol a territory three miles distant from the village in two directions and nine miles in the other two, and the four officers of Ballyragget, who cover a territory reaching four miles in each direction from the village, are respected citizens and get the support of public opinion in enforcing the law. These police officers are always imported from distant neighborhoods in order to insure their having an impartial point of view; but they soon get very well acquainted because of their many duties. Although their headquarters is in the village center, the number of officers on duty and the effort they make to cover the surrounding country, make possible some measure of police protection for the most isolated farmer in the neighborhood.

Newtown has five automobiles, and Ballyragget has fifteen. Nearly all families take daily papers; but very few take magazines or have libraries. Both villages have railroads, buses, and paved roads connecting them with other villages and with the city; but many old people have never made the trip to Dublin, which is only seventy-five miles from the farther of the two. In one village there are only two telephones, but these and the telegraph service are accessible to all the villagers.

The saying, "By mutual intercourse and mutual aid great deeds are done and great discoveries made," was something more than a copy-book maxim to the secretary of the Newtown Credit Society, who recited it to me. He told me how the farmers of the neighborhood had made the great discovery that by coöperative organization they could sup-

ply their own credit needs, and how they had been doing so for twenty-five years, during which time the society had not suffered a single loss. The membership consisted of every farmer in the neighborhood who was likely to need cooperative credit. Ten did not need such credit. The year's business had amounted to £137, lent to twenty-three men. Not much effort had been made at other kinds of coöperative organization; but many of the farmers had joined a coöperative store in a neighboring village. Ballyragget was the headquarters for three large coöperative organizations and for several small, informal ones. The three large ones were the Ballyragget Agricultural Bank, the North Kilkenny Coöperative Poultry Society, Ltd., and the Ballyragget Coöperative Creamery, Ltd. The small organizations consisted of several small groups of farmers who had bought a threshing machine, a mower, or other expensive piece of machinery, in partnership.

The coöperative bank has been doing business for twenty-nine years, without a single loss. It had never made a membership campaign since its organization, but it had 240 members. Its members were of two kinds, borrowers and depositors. The borrowers paid two per cent less interest than that charged by other banks, and the depositors received one per cent more than other banks paid. The annual report for 1929 showed a total membership of 219, with thirty-seven loans granted, of an amount averaging sixteen pounds, eleven shillings, and tenpence. The number of depositors was twenty-nine. The school-teacher secretary thought that the educational value of the organization was of more value than the financial saving.

The Poultry Society was twenty-four years old, and had not made a second campaign for members, but had, nevertheless, a total membership of 490. It had suffered some serious losses and discouragements during the first four years, but during the twenty years under the second man-

ager the losses had all been retrieved and business for the year 1929 had amounted to 26,000 pounds and had included the coöperative purchase of seeds, fertilizer, and various commodities, besides the poultry and egg business. The 1929 report showed that the liquid assets exceeded the current liabilities by £4,280, 17s, 4d.

The Coöperative Creamery, aged eleven years, has only eighty-five members, but it serves all the dairy farmers in the parish. The membership fee is only half a crown (sixty cents); but it pays dividends to members. The last report showed that it had received, during the year, 162,719 gallons of milk, that it had sold milk, cream, butter, and cans to the value of £5,308, and other agricultural goods to the value of £1,656. The gross trade profit amounted to £479. The value of property and assets was £5,175.

The success of the coöperative organization of Ballyragget, as well as that of Newtown—a success which the managers told me had brought to them students of six different nations, to find out how it was done—seemed to me to have been due, mainly, to three important factors. The first factor is the sympathetic supervision and educational work of the national organization, of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, and of the Department of Agriculture under the leadership of Sir Horace Plunkett and his associates. These agencies had seen to it that the young, local societies were properly started, and certainly no organizations more than coöperative societies need to pray the Scotchman's prayer: "Oh Lord, start me richt, for ye ken hoo hard it is to get me richt whan ance I'm wrang." The annual reports of the societies studied, for example, show a knowledge of business methods which the untrained farmer does not have. The national agencies have tutored the leaders in technical matters of organization and have put them in touch with markets and other agencies. They have promoted laws favorable to coöperative enterprises.



The second factor which seemed to me to be of vital importance was the fortunate selection of well-trained and responsible managers, officers, and workers. The managers, the secretaries, and the treasurers whom I interviewed were all men who understood their work and who could be depended upon by their fellows. An example of the type of workers employed was the butter-maker of the creamery, who had taken a long course in butter-making at the agriculture college and had then served an apprenticeship in another concern before taking the position at Ballyragget. The third factor is the informal coöperative discipline which the nucleus of village members had received in their primary group activities, the result of which was of such a seminal nature that it soon grew to the stature of at least a parish neighborhood.

I shall close this chapter with brief reports of two interviews, the most exciting one and the last one which I enjoyed in Ireland.

After reading his books, especially *The National Being*, which well justifies its translation into many languages and which came nearer to convincing me that I had nothing more to say than any book I have read, it was a thrilling event for me to be allowed an interview with Ireland's great editor, poet, and philosopher, A.E., or Mr. George Russell. One reason that I enjoyed meeting him so much was the fact that he justified many of the conclusions which I was beginning to formulate. His experience with Irish coöperative enterprises had convinced him that organization must be based upon the small face-to-face group and grow "like a germ" to the more elaborate groupings; that the beginning with state organization was "like building of a house, roof first"; and that the effects of coöperative efforts upon *character* were its most valuable results. He thought the purely economic coöperatives in America were "like concrete without enough cement in it." The kindly, unselfish,

optimistic, and progressive spirit of this man, who is so close to the life of Ireland, seemed to me to typify the best in Irish village life.

The worst in Irish village life, which is not very bad, I found while on my way to the train, when I stopped to watch a villager, an old man, at work patching the thatched roof of his two-room cottage. He showed me how it was done. He admitted that good thatchers were scarce, and that few were learning the trade, but insisted that he would not do the work for any one but himself. When the conversation became more interesting, he climbed down from his roof and invited me to enter his "castle." He showed me evidence of its great age, of the good workmanship of its builder. He called my attention to the accumulation of bric-a-brac and pictures and other wall decorations. He told me of friends who had gone to America. He mentioned his loneliness since the deaths of his wife and son. He showed me pictures of the latter, who had been murdered while doing his duty as a member of the Garda or police. He let me read a letter from his son's fellow officers. He was a friendly, peaceable, law-abiding, self-respecting, hard-working man, but like the roof on his house, he was a little out-of-date. He had never had anything to do with coöperative societies and did not have much faith in them. He did not think the village could afford to pipe the spring water down the hillside or that it needed a public water supply. He was having no part in any progressive movement. I was not surprised that he was lonely.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE DANISH SOGN

THE best symbol of the early history of Denmark is that of the statue of Holger Danske, the rugged old viking who is to awake from his long sleep in Kronborg Castle and come to the aid of Denmark with his mighty sword whenever she is in serious danger. He and his fellows, whose burial-mounds still furnish the most romantic views on the Danish landscape, found their Valhalla amid the clatter of spear on shield, of battle-axe on crested helmet, and, in the din of inter-tribal warfare, carved out a background of valiant struggle which lent tone to a thousand years of Danish history.

“War to these early Scandinavians was the breath of existence, the only object in life worthy of ardent pursuit. While so much as one drop of blood remained in their veins they were prepared to fight. They died Berserkers. After death they believed in a heaven of fighting gods, with whom they assembled each morning and went forth into battle. Those who fell in the fight would arise when the evening came to take again the axe and spear and sally forth to that never-ending battle of the gods.”<sup>1</sup>

From 800 A.D., when authentic Danish history began, to 1864, when Denmark fought her last battle, this little nation, with a territory half the size of the State of Indiana, has exulted in her full share of European victories and suffered her portion of defeats. She has furnished her share of national heroes and villains, of Hamlets and Claudiuses. Her story is not very different from that of England in the struggles between monarchs and nobles, church and state,

<sup>1</sup> Harvey and Reppien, *Denmark and the Danes*, p. 67.



kings and people. She has not been behind other European nations in her record of invadings or in fighting of invaders. The long and hideous nightmare of wars and rumors of wars came to an abrupt end in 1864, however, when Denmark was fortunate enough to be hopelessly defeated by the combined armies of Prussia and Austria in a struggle over the possession of Schleswig.

The four horsemen of famine, pestilence, death, and destruction, had ridden Denmark to such a state of degradation and despair that many of the most thoughtful of her leaders thought her recovery was impossible; but, at the call of her greatest modern viking, Bishop Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig, a poet and prophet, she rallied to the new war cry, "What outwardly has been lost shall inwardly be regained," and courageously set about a conquest of internal development in culture, education, social laws, science, and agriculture. While there are still old scars upon her national being, such as an abnormally high rate of illegitimacy, no nation has ever made a more brilliant recovery. The inherent vigor and intelligence and cooperative character of her people, which have made possible the accomplishment of this internal development, well deserve the attention of the multitude of students which she attracts from the ends of the earth.

There is no subject of modern sociological investigation which offers a greater variety of the proverbial blind-men-and-the-elephant type of particularisms than the findings of these students in regard to the wonders of modern Denmark's social and economic miracles. As these students approach the subject from their different points of view, they find the explanation of Denmark's phenomenal social and economic success in the excellency of Danish family life, or in the democratic distribution and tenure of agricultural lands, or in the application of science to the farming industry, or in the folk high schools, or in economic co-

operation, or in some other factor in the complex of influences which have contributed to Danish progress. One notable exception to this tendency is to be found in a book published shortly before this study was made, *The Folk High-Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community*, the joint authors of which were three Danes—Holger Begtrup, Hans Lung, and Peter Manniche. Although these men are all educators, they know Denmark too well to attribute her accomplishments to the educational system alone. Giving full credit to other influences which have been at work in recent Danish history, these authors simply claim for the folk high schools an important share of the credit for the eighty years of Danish development.

“When the typical features of this history are given due prominence, it will again and again be seen that it is possible to reach a clear understanding of the rise of the peasantry only when we reckon with the influences emanating from these schools for adults.”<sup>2</sup>

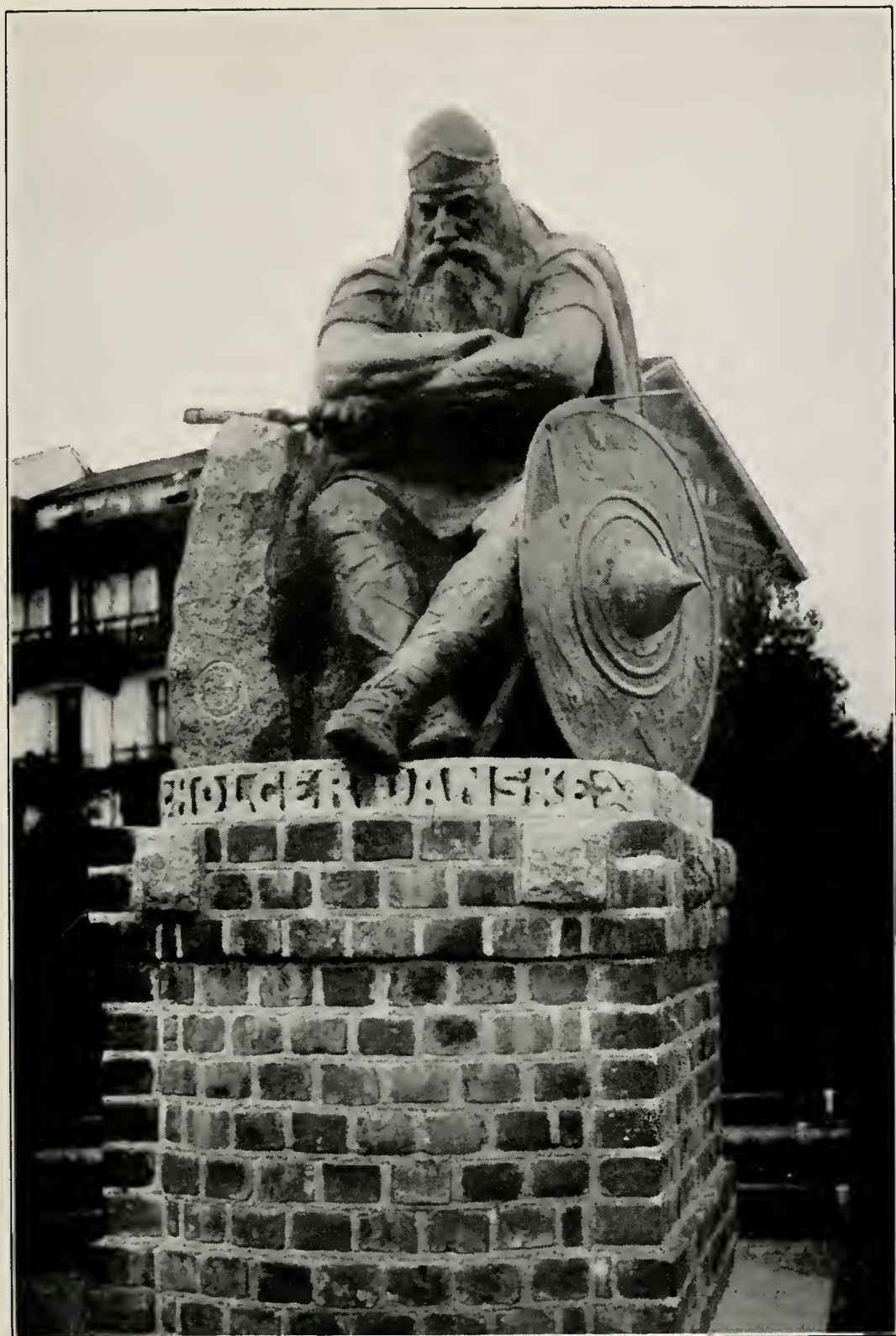
In touring Denmark in the springtime, one gets some very pleasant impressions of her thrifty and neighborly people. He sees beautiful, homelike dwellings located in village and open-country, and attached to well-kept out-buildings, usually in the form of a quadrangle of which the house forms one side. In approaching one of these farmsteads, it never occurs to one to ask, as is so often the case in an American rural neighborhood, “Now, I wonder if any one *lives* here?” The evidence of *living* there is very obvious. The buildings are in good repair—the thatched roofs, the painted houses, the neat yards. Usually in front of the houses are flower gardens, as beautiful as those in Germany, and much larger. In the center of the garden stands a flag-pole and on it the beautiful Danish flag will be flying seven days a week. Around the buildings are well-

<sup>2</sup> Begtrup, Lund and Manniche (Oxford University Press, 1926), *The Folk High Schools of Denmark*, p. 18.

cultivated fields which again resemble those of Germany. In my traveling about the country, I discovered not a single poor crop. In luscious pasture fields are long rows of cattle, usually of the red Danish variety, tethered in straight lines and cropping the grass as evenly and systematically as mowing machines. If the weather is cool, every cow will be clad in a warm blanket. During this tour and during my residence in the village studied and at a folk high school from which various excursions were made, I saw not a single poor or dirty domestic animal. Most of the animals, even the poultry, are tame, and I saw no evidence of their mistreatment in any way. The rolling countryside is well decorated with virgin beech forests and patches of evergreens, the work of expert reforestation. The villages are eminently respectable and, unlike American rural villages, they are respected even by the state-owned railroad systems, who show their esteem not only for human life but for human sentiment by maintaining decent depots and safe crossings. The institutions such as churches and schools, places of business, and industrial plants exhibit this same regard for neighborhood sentiment and public opinion. One needs to investigate no more thoroughly to observe that Denmark has something to teach America. If this study has failed to make the most of that teaching, the fault has been with the student, not with the very large number of people from whom information and assistance were sought, every one of whom showed a willingness to do much more than was required.

On the advice of Professor Peter Manniche of the International People's College at Elsinore, to whom I had been directed by the Horace Plunkett Foundation, I chose for the survey the village of Gundsomagle, located in the County of Roskilde about thirty-five miles from Elsinore. This village was chosen because it was fairly typical in respect to those characteristics which I wished to study, and





HOLGER WILL COME TO THE RESCUE WHEN DENMARK IS IN DANGER



because I was able to make helpful contacts there through Professor Manniche, whose boyhood home it was. A week was spent at the International People's College, where I lived in the dormitory, attended lectures, made free use of the school library and the private libraries of faculty members in reading material which was not available in the library of the British Museum or of the Horace Plunkett Foundation, and interviewed faculty members and the celebrities who visit that high school with almost daily regularity.

At the close of the week, I was accompanied to Gundso-magle by several members of the faculty and two bus loads of students, whose observations I found helpful and who assisted in getting photographs and maps. The professor of Sociology, Mr. John Barton, and an expert student interpreter, Mr. Graverson, remained to help me in the intensive survey which lasted for three very busy days and a good part of three nights. Some notion of the reception which we were given and the coöperation which we received may be had from the fact that we were entertained royally, being served refreshments as many as seven times a day, transported wherever we wished to go, given every courtesy, and finally delivered back at the high school without being allowed to pay one penny for entertainment or other service. We visited large farms, small farms, and middle-sized farms. We visited the schools and attended church. We inspected the coöperative and private stores, a coöperative and a private creamery, the woodworking shop, a blacksmith shop, butcher shop, bakery, grist mill, and many homes. We interviewed men, women, and children who were informed about every phase of the village life. In our questioning and observing in this short-distance manner, we were able to discover very little which seemed at all inconsistent with the very favorable publicity which Denmark has been receiving.



I was unable to find out much about the history of Gund-somagle, but it is evidently a very old village, its church having been built in the twelfth century. This church and the peculiar division of the lands surrounding the village are the most interesting historical relics. The latter seems to me to be of very great significance in this study since it illustrates an important variation from the division of communal holdings in England. In Denmark the change from communal agriculture to private ownership of land was not accompanied by a sudden breaking up of communal life in other respects. The holdings in the immediate vicinity of the village were cut up into V-shaped divisions, the lines of which radiated from the village like spokes in a wheel. This system possibly furnished the author of an article referred to in a later chapter with the suggestion of division of American farm lands in a system described as apple-pie order. Beyond these "apple-pie" divisions, there were usually isolated, open-country farmsteads; but a majority of the villagers were enabled to continue their village residence, living on the apex of their V-shaped holdings. These villages formed the nucleus of the *Sogn*, or neighborhood, and kept the old communistic traditions in much of the institutional life and neighborly coöperation of the villagers. This system meant the formation of fields which were not altogether convenient for cultivation, and a redistribution has taken place in many cases, but the compromise which it represents, between the village community and the system of enclosures as carried out in England resulted in a neighborhood change which was much less abrupt. Although no one mentioned it in this connection, this peculiarity seems to me to be of such fundamental importance that it cannot be neglected by any student who wishes to account for the success of Danish economic coöperation or the fact as stated by Hart <sup>3</sup> that the village "is

<sup>3</sup> *Light from the North* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1927), p. 91.

itself an educational institution." Gundsomagle is one of the villages which preserves the pattern of this "apple-pie" order.

Gundsomagle has a population of 750 in less than 300 families containing approximately 500 voters. This population represents a slight increase since 1924. The reason given for the increase is that several large holdings have been cut up into small ones. One farm, for instance, was divided into eighteen small holdings. Most of these small holders live outside the village, however, and increased only the school attendance and other patronage of the village. The population is almost exclusively Danish, and there is only one English-speaking man among the resident villagers. There is a great variety in the size of the families, the largest being that of the barber, which contains fifteen children. Among the villagers who make a living in other ways than farming are one teacher, one telephone manager, two butchers, three carpenters, three blacksmiths, one coöperative store manager and two assistants, two private storekeepers, one barber, two leather shoemakers and shoe salesmen, and one maker and salesman of wooden shoes, one miller, one harness-maker, one saddle-maker and upholsterer, and one insurance agent. Among the constituents of the village and neighborhood population, I could find absolutely no suggestion of a class stratification in the sense that there were groups which tended to form separate mental wholes and to look upon each other as superiors or inferiors. There were, to be sure, inequalities in wealth and education, and variation in interests; but whatever classification existed was of a perpendicular or functional sort, not a stratification. In some places, it was claimed that the organization of farm laborers had resulted in some conflicts and friction with employers, but many of the laborers in Gundsomagle are themselves small holders who work for others only during spare time, and most of the

others are looking forward to becoming small holders and already feel themselves of the farmer class. Most of these laborers are the sons of farmers who are not needed at home or who wish to get the training to be had on a large farm, and, as a result, are laborers only temporarily. Practically all the employers are themselves farm workers. The latter fact is more characteristic of Gundsomagle than of other neighborhoods since its largest farm is only approximately one hundred and fifty acres in extent, while there are many of less than twenty acres.

This social democracy is partly the cause and partly the effect of a most democratic distribution of land which, with the exception of the fact that there are no very large holdings in Gundsomagle, corresponds roughly with that of the country as a whole. In the parcelling out of the communal lands which began during the eighteenth century and was completed during the first part of the nineteenth century, the area of the manors was not increased, but the territory which had been cultivated by the peasants simply came into their personal possession. Since that time, the average size of the holdings has been decreased by the division of large estates into small holdings. Most tables divide the groups of holdings into only three sizes, but Hertel,<sup>4</sup> in a survey published in 1925 with state subsidy by The Royal Danish Agricultural Society, tabulates them as follows:

1. Of from	0.55	—	10	hectares	.....	109,145
2. ———	10	—	15	———	.....	25,494
3. ———	15	—	30	———	.....	43,364
4. ———	30	—	60	———	.....	22,552
5. ———	60	—	120	———	.....	4,039
6. ———	120	—	240	———	.....	916
7. Over	240	hectares	.....			419
Total .....						205,929

<sup>4</sup> *A Short History of Agriculture in Denmark* (Copenhagen, The Royal Danish Agricultural Society, 1925), p. 19.





MAP OF GUNDSÖMAGLE, DENMARK

Note the nucleus of the neighborhood, the village center, and the apple-pie order of the holdings



Since a hectare equals approximately two and a half acres, the above table shows that there were at the time this survey was made about 5,400 holdings of more than 150 acres, 65,900 between thirty-seven and a half and 150 acres, and 134,600 of up to thirty-seven and a half acres. The average size of the latter small holdings was fifteen acres, and they made up about one-fourth of the total area, while more than a half of the total area was in group 3, and only one-fifth in large estates. According to this survey,<sup>5</sup> as far back as 1919, ninety-two per cent of these holdings were managed by the owners, and that percentage has greatly increased since that time. So important has this system of democratic land tenure been in Danish agriculture, that many particularists would agree with Sir H. Rider Haggard<sup>6</sup> that it is the most fundamental factor in the lessons to be learned in Denmark. He summarizes his conclusions as follows:

“(1) That in a free-trade country of limited area lacking virgin soil, coöperation is necessary to a full measure of agricultural success.

(2) That only freeholders, or farmers holding under some form of perpetual lease . . . which in practice amounts to much the same thing as freehold, will coöperate to any wide extent.

(3) That the accumulation of estates which for the most part descend intact from one owner to another, and are hired out piecemeal to tenants, is not conducive to the multiplication of freeholders, nor therefore to the establishment of general coöperation.”

Of the farms immediately surrounding Gundsomagle, there were two of approximately 150 acres, twenty-five which average about seventy-five acres, thirty which average about fifteen acres, and two of five acres. There was not one renter. Practically every farmer lives on the land which he cultivates but, because of the survival of the old

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> Haggard, *Rural Denmark and Its Lessons* (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., new ed., 1913), p. 274.



divisions of holdings, this allows for village residence in the case of the majority of the neighbors. Gundsomagle, in her distribution of land, has realized very fully the economic ideal of Bishop Grundtvig that "very few should have more than they need and fewer still should have less than they need." The products of the neighborhood were typical of the country as a whole and consisted of wheat, rye, oats, barley, potatoes, turnips, carrots, milk, cheese, beef, pork and poultry.

The work on most of the farms is done by the respective owners and their families, since the farms are so small that little hiring or coöperation in work is necessary. To my persistent questioning as to whether there were farmers who did not prefer farm work or farm life to any other work or life, I was unanimously informed that there were none. The best evidence of this satisfaction is the length of time farmers remain in the neighborhood (in most cases a lifetime) and the consummate pride with which even the small holder shows off his home. There is not a house in the village which has a poverty-stricken appearance on the outside. Whether roofed with thatch or tile, on a large holding or on a small one, they are in good repair and show evidence of some effort at beautification. I saw at least a dozen from the inside, and found the interiors most pleasant and spotlessly clean. In the home in which I found lodgings, I counted forty-one framed pictures in three rooms, six of these being oil paintings. It was not unusual in this respect, and even the poorest homes had one or two oil paintings. Every home had the windows full of flowering plants, as well as a large garden full of them outside. The number of rooms in the houses varied, but in most cases was adequate for the family. The house was always attached to the other buildings in the quadrangle or located within a few feet of them, but this nearness seemed to be no serious problem as the stables and farmyards were kept clean

and the manure neatly piled or promptly scattered on the fields. The village homes were usually supplied with running water and always with electric light. Many of the farmers used electricity for power as well as light. The women do chores and sometimes work in the fields, but this does not prevent them from being expert housekeepers. The caller in a Danish home may not find the table set in readiness for serving tea or beer, unless he calls by appointment, but in other respects the home will appear as if the housekeeper were expecting him. Perhaps here is the great advantage of villagers over open-country dwellers, namely, *that they are habitually expecting company and company manners and company style become habitual*. The competition in home-making and the sharing of home tasks by all members of the family makes the Danish home what Dr. Hart called the neighborhood as a whole, "an educational institution."

The Danish educational system seems to get the largest number of the votes of the investigators as the *sine qua non* of Danish progress. Perhaps this is because the greatest number of those investigators are school men. It is certain that that system has some very interesting characteristics, and no phase of Danish progress can be explained apart from Danish education. While the quality of education in general is of a very high order, the most distinctive phase of the system, in so far as rural life is concerned, is that constituted by the Folk High School movement. This movement comes as near as possible to being something "new under the sun." The building of the institution of the Folk High School has been influenced by many humble builders, but it again comes as near as possible to being the shadow of a great man.

The great man was Bishop Grundtvig, the son of a Lutheran clergyman. He was educated for the ministry, and during the process of that training became very critical of

the Danish educational system. He did considerable preaching, during which he came into serious conflict with ecclesiastical authorities, but his long life was full of many varied activities outside the church. His biographers mention, as determining factors in his character, an unfortunate love affair, a religious crisis, his observation of the disastrous war with England and the impoverishment of the country which followed the peace of 1814, and his three years' travel and study in England. He studied the German poets under an inspiring teacher. He was Denmark's greatest poet and writer of hymns. He became greatly interested in Nordic mythology and became the author of several books on it and allied subjects. In one of these books, *Scandinavian Mythology*, published in 1832, he set forth his ideas on education, which were incorporated in the later organization of the folk high schools. The formation of the purpose and policy of these schools was his greatest contribution—a contribution of which every Dane is justly proud.

Grundtvig's objective was the realization of that freedom for all classes in which the spirit of the Danish people might be awakened from the torpor which followed 1814. The suggestion was not put into successful practice until 1851, when Kristen Kold, a shoemaker in Jutland, started a school of only fifteen students in his own small house. The movement thus begun did not make much headway until after the defeat of 1864, which left Denmark in even greater despair than that of 1814. The program of these schools was based upon the assumption that education involves two things, knowledge and intelligence, the latter being the capacity to criticize old knowledge and to develop new knowledge. Since the other schools were meeting the first need, at least for one class of people, the folk high schools were to undertake to develop the faculty of intelligence. This was to be accomplished through the teaching



of such subjects as history and sociology by teachers who were participators in community living, and who would seek not so much to enlighten as to enliven young people from eighteen to twenty-five years of age who had come to question the meaning of life and to struggle seriously with life's problems. The assumption was that when such young people were fully awakened, they might easily acquire the information needed in their daily occupation. The schools were to avoid the pernicious suggestion that education was a temporary process by making no scholastic entrance requirements, giving no examinations, and holding no graduations. The students were not to be taught out of text books, but by means of the "living word," the fullest expression of personality, and the students, not the teachers, were to ask the questions. Grundtvig was a thorough-going democrat, and he conceived of the folk high school as an institution where freedom of speech and democratic community ideals should allow for the fullest self-expression on the part of both students and teachers. Nothing "practical" was to be taught, nor was the school to be a so-called religious institution; but the teachers and students, who were to include farmers, artisans, even university graduates, were to share a more abundant life and nourish themselves in common on whatever there was of value in the accumulated culture of Denmark. The folk high school was to democratize this culture.

Kold, in establishing the first successful school, was true to Grundtvig's ideal. In line with the latter's theory that specialized brain-workers get nervous and manual workers get dull, Kold saw to it that students and teachers had the opportunity to work together as well as to think together. He advocated the Emersonian doctrine of plain living and high thinking. He taught that one may be noble-minded even though he milks the cows and clears away the dung. The free spirit of his school is illustrated by two conversations

quoted by Professor Begtrup.<sup>7</sup> In reply to a new assistant as to what the assistant should teach, he said,

“I always speak an hour every morning, and toward evening I usually tell the pupils something about my life; between these times you must see that the youngsters are occupied so that they don't make a rumpus. That will be your job, and you can yourself decide what you will teach them.”

To a young man who said that he was glad to listen to the talks, but sorry that he could not remember them, Kold replied,

“Don't worry about that, it would be another matter if it were a question of acquiring ordinary information. But it is like that which happens out there in the fields. If we put drain-pipes into the ground, we must mark the place in order to find them again. But when we sow grain there is no need to drive in pegs, for it comes up again! You may be sure that whatever you have listened to with pleasure, whatever has really found good soil in you, will certainly come up again when you have need for it.”

After seventy-nine years of service in which the number of schools has grown from one to seventy, and after 300,000 people, including thirty per cent of the rural population, have received the direct benefit of their program, the movement is still in line with Grundtvig's vision. In a study of the movement, Hart<sup>8</sup> says,

“I found only this, that broadly arranged social and intellectual stimuli were made to play—in an atmosphere of utmost freedom—upon the plastic minds of young adults.”

There is a small beginning, however, of a new emphasis in the movement, which I am fain to prophesy will not be confined to Denmark. This new emphasis is finding expression in the institution in which I spent an exciting week eating at the common table with students and faculty, spad-

<sup>7</sup> Begtrup, Lund & Manniche, *The Folk High Schools of Denmark* (Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 104, 105.

<sup>8</sup> *Light from the North* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1927), p. 9.

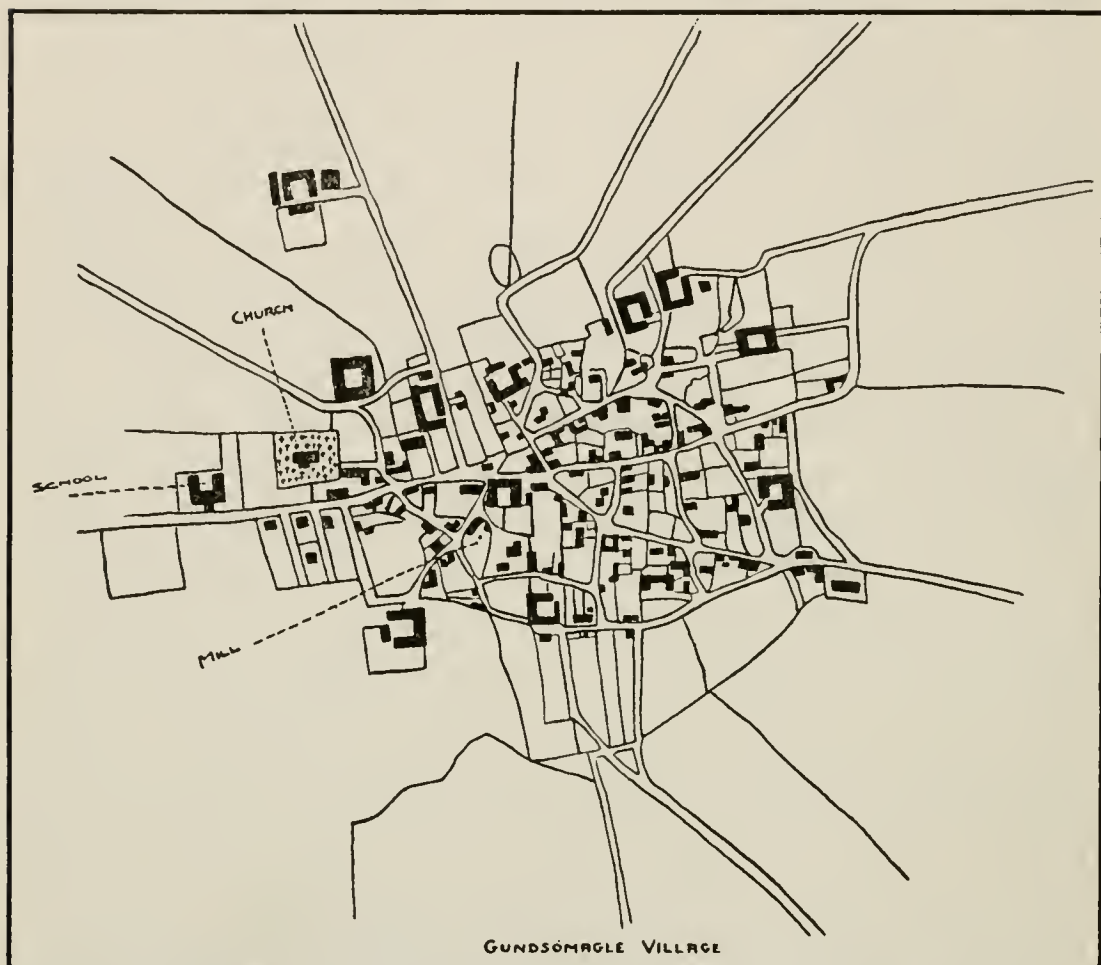
ing the garden with them, visiting, singing, listening to lectures and class discussions, even enjoying the thrill of lecturing to students who did not expect to get so much institutional recognition as a life certificate for listening to me. In most respects, the International People's College at Elsinore is a typical folk high school, but it has two distinctive characteristics. Those distinctive characteristics are its truly international character and its program. It has a polyglot faculty, and there were nine nationalities represented in the student body at the time of my visit, while its program allows for a more aggressively active participation on the part of students. They are made definitely responsible for important contributions to class work, for talks after the morning song, for feeding the chickens.

The institution was founded by a Dane, Professor Peter Manniche, a second Grundtvig, who, according to Kraks Blaa Bog, the Danish *Who's Who*, is only forty-one years old but who had had the education of a rural village experience as well as the Copenhagen university, had taught in and served as principal of a workers' school, *Studrekredsforeningen*, and who served as a soldier during the World War. As war made Grundtvig a poet, it made Manniche a conscientious objector, and he found himself faced with the problem of how he might continue as a teacher, and, at the same time, work against war and militarism. "The idea of an international college came to him," he says,<sup>9</sup> "as a religious inspiration, and, in the light of this, he determined to pursue it in spite of apparent difficulties." With the financial aid of an international grant of philanthropists and the manual aid of twenty-four students coming from eight different nations, the college was begun in 1921 in a beautiful spot one mile from the city of Elsinore. The institution has grown until it can now accommodate 115

<sup>9</sup> Begtrup, Lund & Manniche, *The Folk High Schools of Denmark* (Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 156.



students, and it, like other folk schools, gets some support from the State, which leaves it free to shape its own policies and administer itself. The curriculum is a very adaptable one, depending largely upon the demands of the students; but the students demand most frequently such courses as



MAP OF GUNDSÖMAGLE VILLAGE

Showing streets, buildings, and holdings

International Relations, Sociology, Geography (Economic and Human), Modern Languages, History, and Literature. The formal curriculum, however, is only a part of the educational program; and the students agree that the informal exchange of experiences and comparison of points of view; the community singing, folk dancing, playing, and working; the excursions to such points of interest as Kronborg Castle, the scene of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the old Carmelite





VIEWS OF DANISH VILLAGE FÊTE  
No one stayed at home



monastery, the modern sanitorium of Montebello, various urban and rural coöperative agencies, and other places in Denmark and Sweden; and the contact with enlarging personalities in interviews and lectures by the international group of celebrities who frequently visit the institution; are as helpful as the class work. The international character of the school is an advantage, not only in bridging the gulfs of estrangement and suspicion between nationalities, but in adding a zest to the formal discussions of every subject taught. This added zest can be appreciated only by experiencing it. The International College is doing for the friendly and constructive international relations of those who come under its influence what the folk high school movement has done for the friendly and constructive intranational relations of all classes in Denmark, i. e., it enlightens and enlivens them.

I have dealt at length with the Danish folk school movement for three reasons, all of which impinge upon my subject. In the first place, I would call attention to the fact that the idea did not come out of thin air or untutored inspiration. The movement was conceived mainly in response to the needs of the rural population, and got its support from the Danish rural neighborhoods. The ideals and the spirit of the movement have been and are the ideals and spirit of those democratic intimate neighborhoods, ideals and spirit which were simply transplanted into an educational system. The movement could no more have grown out of the impotent, disjointed American neighborhood conditions than men can gather grapes from thistles.

“For we cannot have community education<sup>10</sup> such as this Danish folk education is, without communities. The community must grow with the individual: the community must make room within its own activities and beliefs, provide time within its own busy affairs,

<sup>10</sup> Hart, *Light from the North* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1927), p. 113.

and supply materials of experience within its own ranges of work and culture, by the use and help of which its own young people—a few score at a time—may have the chance to make up their minds as to what they are going to do with their own lives.

“This is the essence of these Danish folk high schools; they are the community germination plots, in which the new minds, promising the new intelligence needed for the new day, are defended and cultured, enriched and released into the growing uses and the expanding life of the community and of the world.”

In the second place, the economic coöperation and political power of Danish farmers, about which so much has been said and written, cannot be understood apart from the influence of this movement in leadership and “followership” training. The basic informal organization and coöperative character necessary to the accomplishments of the formal organization of Danish rural people was largely developed in the folkways and mores of mutual aid in the unified rural neighborhoods, but the nationally inarticulate leadership of these neighborhoods in general found its voice in these schools.

In the third place, the village of Gundsomagle, in particular, seemed to me to exhibit to an unusual degree the possibilities of the enlarging and animating influence of the newer idealism incorporated in the International College. The founder of that institution is not without honor in his own country. I found his picture in the homes of his old neighbors; I found the neighborhood eager to claim him as a son; I saw a thousand old and young villagers and their friends, at a *fest*, listening attentively and understandingly to an hour's address which he had previously delivered to a London audience. During my stay at the college, the whole parish Council of Gundsomagle visited the college for half a day, and two farmers of the group who addressed the faculty and students showed as much *sang-froid* as the famous author or the German general or the representatives of the League of Nations had shown on their visits

during the same week. For ideas and persons from other nations I found an interest in and a hospitality that was not so obvious in other neighborhoods. The villagers were eager to entertain the students and teachers of the college on the occasion of their visit to the village. Hosts and hostesses exchanged addresses with their guests and agreed to correspond with them. Two colored girls from New York found themselves very popular and were urged to have their photographs taken with various smiling villagers. In my survey I had to answer as well as ask many questions.

I found three children twelve years of age who had learned to speak English. The local school, presided over by a well-trained and cultured gentleman who played the pipe-organ for services in the local church, showed much of the spirit of freedom and neighborliness of the folk high schools. The compulsory school age in Denmark is seven to fourteen, and the Gundsomagle school has in attendance sixty-nine boys and sixty-one girls. The record of attendance shows an increase from fifty-five in 1900 to 130 in 1930. This increased attendance is quite out of proportion to the increase of village population and is mainly the result of the increase in small holdings in the neighborhood. Boys and girls are taught together as in the folk schools, and they generally play together. No child has gone from this school to a university during the twelve years of the present teacher's administration, but the previous year two had gone to continue their education in a grammar school in a neighboring village. At the time the study was made, four children were in such a school. It was estimated that about one-sixth of the villagers have attended an agricultural or folk high school. The agricultural schools, it was claimed, were becoming increasingly popular. A short course for farmers is offered every winter, and attended by about 200 farmers. Coöperative organizations send out the lecturers for these courses, but the farmers pay two crowns



each for their support. All teachers have to meet rigid scholastic requirements, and the country is well supplied with teachers' seminaries in which they may get their preparation. In one large grammar school which I visited, I was surprised to see how well-informed the various teachers were in regard to the subjects which they did not teach. Gundsomagle's school is adequately housed and furnished with modern equipment. The teacher stated that there were practically no unruly children, and that it had not been necessary for him to punish in any way more than four or five children in his twelve years of service. The compulsory attendance is enforced by a system of fines which increase with the number of absences, but never exceed one crown a day. The head teacher's assistant has held his present position for ten years, and it was estimated that the average length of service of Danish rural teachers in each position was between fifteen and twenty years, a very low labor turnover.

The principal claimed, and his statement was confirmed by other villagers, that there was not an illiterate person in the neighborhood. There had been three feeble-minded children during his twelve years' acquaintance, but two of them had been placed in institutions and the third had moved away.

The school had no moving picture machine, but made use of lantern slides. It had a library of 500 volumes, and maintained connections with the county library so that it could have the use of many more. It had a fine gymnasium and playground, and the children are allowed many excursions. They take one long trip every year, as do the children of all Danish schools, the transportation being furnished by the state-owned railways.

The children enjoy 119 days of vacation during the year. They are distributed as follows: Fifty-two Sundays, four political and religious holidays, ten days at Christmas, five





VIEWS OF DANISH VILLAGE FÊTE  
An example of village social coopération



days at Easter, three at Whitsuntide, thirty during the summer, six during potato harvest, and seven to be taken at the discretion of the teacher. The village has twelve holidays besides the fifty-two Sundays on which the stores are not allowed to open. The programs of these holidays supply much of the need for recreation and sociable life. A village about five miles away is a summer resort and has a ballroom which is much used by Gundsomagle. There is, of course, as in other village neighborhoods, much recreation of an informal sort, and the hospitality and good company manners which a guest enjoys are evidence of much practice in such entertaining. Most villages have sports associations, but Gundsomagle is lacking in this.

Denmark has an efficient ministry of Public Health, the local administration of which is carried out by neighborhood doctors. Gundsomagle's doctor and nurse are three miles away, and the nearest hospital is six miles away. A midwife lives one and a half miles out of the village, and she does the obstetrical work excepting in cases where there is serious difficulty, when the doctor is called in. The villagers do not doctor themselves or use patent medicines to any great extent. Every child is vaccinated before entering school, and contagious diseases are carefully quarantined. Public Health Unions, the finances of which are furnished partly by the State and partly by the individuals served, see to it that all children and adults, who cannot pay for medical or dental services, get such service when needed. There are special unions for the wealthy who get no help from the State.

The butchers are required to have every animal inspected, before it is killed and after it is dressed, by the local veterinarian, to make sure that the animal is not diseased. The expense, which amounts to four crowns a call, must be borne by the butcher. Private butchers are allowed to dress only animals which are for domestic consumption.

The cleanness of the streets is not enforced by statute, but is the result of village pride and public opinion. Although Gundsomagle has a sewerage system and public water supply, it cannot brag of bathrooms and sanitary toilets. The hogs dispose of the garbage. The lack of sanitary equipment seemed to me to be the result, not of inability to afford such conveniences, but of the lack of a conscious realization of the need for them.

The morals of the villagers appeared to be what might be termed neighborhood morals, not church morals. The church is a very old one, and the building and churchyard were obviously objects of great neighborhood pride; but the moral influence of the minister, if measured by church attendance, was not great. On the Sunday on which I attended there were twenty-two in attendance, and the minister informed me that the congregations averaged between twenty and thirty, a small showing for the only church in a population of 750. The reason given for non-attendance was usually that going to church was not the custom or that the member wished to rest on Sunday. Disinterested authorities claimed that State support made the pastors too independent, that most of them were very conservative, and that they failed to discuss subjects of vital importance to their people. It is claimed that preachers who are exceptions to this rule have no trouble in getting an audience. The Gundsomagle minister appeared to me to be an intelligent, earnest man, the Lutheran order of service and the music were beautiful, and the small congregation most orderly and reverent; but my interpreter insisted that the sermon was of a doctrinal sort which could not be expected to attract many hearers. There were only two freethinkers and one atheist in the village, all of whom were members of the church; and all the villagers are christened, married, and buried by the pastor; but religion is not a very aggressive moral influence in the neighborhood. In an interview

with the pastor, his principal complaint of the people in accounting for religious conditions was the presence among them of a growing materialism. My observation of neighborhood economic and social coöperation and village life in general led me to think that there was no serious lack of spirituality, but that it was simply not expressing itself in formal religious observance and church attendance. The spirituality is that of neighbors, not of churchmen.

The worst accusation that is made of Danish moral life is that in respect to sex morality. It is estimated that as many as one out of every four births in Copenhagen are illegitimate and one in nine for the country at large. The pastor, who was the only local person who seemed not inclined to compliment the community, thought these figures much too high for Gundsomagle, but admitted that there were many marriages which took place only a short time before the birth of children to the contracting couples. Family life was claimed to be usually happy and regular. The usual absence of delinquencies of other sorts among the villagers was insisted upon by pastor, teacher, and all persons interviewed. There had not been a crime committed during the teacher's twelve years of service. The unanimous pride of the neighbors in respect to everything pertaining to village and family social and economic life, though very significant in itself, made me inclined to discount slightly some of the facts with which they furnished me. I was unable to find any evidence for my suspicions until the last evening of my visit. Though beer was served in practically every home, I was told by every person interviewed that there was no drink problem in the village or nation, and that cases of drunkenness were unheard of except on very rare occasions such as the great provocation of a village celebration. This insistence seemed inconsistent with the amount of liquor which I saw the grocery stores selling and the advertising of one brewery, Tubarg's, to the effect that

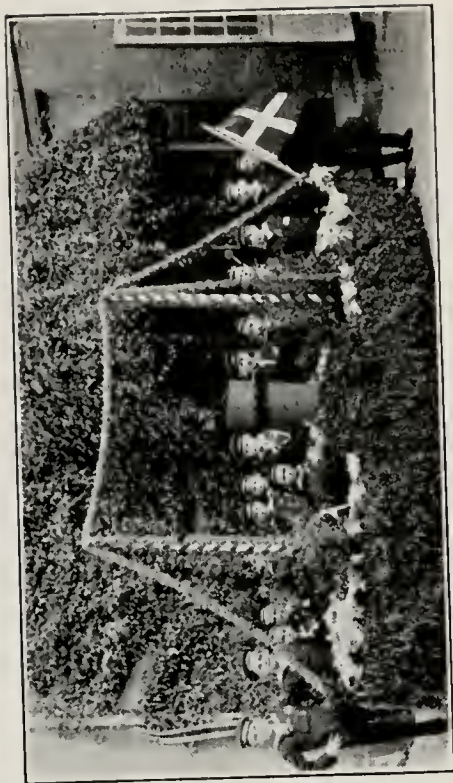


it had sold bottles of beer enough in fifty years to go fifteen times around the earth if placed end to end.

On this last evening my helpers and I started down the street, when we ran into an excited group of children and a few adults gathered around three drunken workmen who were very badly dishevelled and ferociously determined to fight, until their associates who were holding them, decided to let them go. When released they decided that it was supper time and postponed the impending slaughter. The crowd dispersed, spreading the news, and we very soon began to receive assurances from various neighbors to the effect that the parties to the brawl were non-resident road workers, and that such a thing had hardly ever happened before. One villager who had heard that our study might be published emphasized the unusualness of the incident, and hoped that no mention of the matter would be made in the book. I am sure that the neighborhood indignation must have made the way of the transgressors hard on that occasion at least. There is no question in my mind but that drinking of intoxicants is a problem here as elsewhere, but the great excitement over this incident, as well as the confirming assurances, convinced me that such disgusting exhibitions were unusual. Here, as elsewhere in Europe, it is unfortunate that conviviality and the exercise of sociability are not enjoyed without subjecting at least some of the most sociable individuals to alcoholism.

The positive morality, if not religion, of the villagers shows itself in mutual helpfulness in misfortune. Sickness, for instance, was said always to bring neighborly help, flowers, and visits. The increase of such positive morality may reconcile churchmen to the carelessness in regard to formal religious creeds and observances which in some cases are of little more import than the disappearance of the superstition which discourages folks from starting a job on Monday or lighting three cigars with the same





VIEWS OF DANISH VILLAGE FÊTE  
Village life in a live village



match. The old awe for the church has gone the way of the fear that any disturbance of the Viking hills would cause the land to take fire and burn up. The last man in Gundso-magle to see one of these burial mounds lifted up on pillars among which phantom horsemen rode had died recently. Along with this change has gone an increase in respect for man-made laws and government.

Harvey and Rippien<sup>11</sup> give three reasons for the fact that in less than a hundred years, Denmark has risen from a condition no better than that of other European countries to the greatest grower of farm produce, according to its area and population, that history has seen. Those reasons are a favorable system of land tenure, advanced and well-developed methods of coöperation, and a close alliance between the theoretical scientist and the practical farmer. Legislation has had an important part in bringing about this favorable condition.

The Danes got constitutional government in 1849 as a concession from King Frederick VII, and the first constitution was modeled after that of England, with the exception that each man was allowed one vote when he became thirty years of age, in the election of members of the popular chamber. It is interesting to note that this one-vote-for-one-man idea still holds in such affairs as the management of coöperative organizations. The constitution has been revised, repeatedly revised, but, from the date of its adoption to the present time, the government of Denmark has been increasingly susceptible to the will of the people, especially the will of the agricultural population. The fiercest struggle between conservative and progressive elements in the voting population has involved the question of national defence. This contest, which was the paramount issue in the last election, began in 1870 when it was decided that both houses of parliament, the *Landsting*, or Upper House,

<sup>11</sup> *Denmark and the Danes*, pp. 103-104.

which represented the king and the large landowners, and the *Folketing*, or Lower House, which constituted the popular chamber, should possess co-equal power in the adoption of the Budget. The Right, or Conservative Party, demanded the fortification of the capital, Copenhagen. The Left, or Democratic group, insisted that such fortification would be not only expensive and futile, but actually harmful. In 1875 a strong monarchist politician, Herr Estrup, was elected Prime Minister, and for nineteen years, held his position in the face of fierce opposition and succeeded, largely by unconstitutional methods, in building both land and sea fortifications for the city. He made concessions in every other respect such as allowing old-age pensions, sick-clubs, and the regulation of parish relief; some of which were opposed by radicals on the grounds that their adoption would delay the resignation of the autocratic Ministry. During his administration his minority dwindled to as low as nineteen votes out of 102 in the *Folketing*, and, after his resignation the Right Minority decreased still more until in 1901 it retained only eight seats out of 114. The first great political boon which has assisted Denmark in the development of agricultural resources was granted before 1870, however, when the government provided a very efficient State railway system which has furnished farmers with economical transportation and communication.

In recent years, a new Socialist party has gained strength, winning their first majority in 1913 and their last one in the last election. The influence of this party is largely shown in legislation relating to land tenure, although it has not stood alone in the demand for such reform.

Great progress has been made during the last half of the nineteenth century and since in the democratization of land tenure. In 1848 the renting of holdings at rent to be paid in labor was prohibited. In 1875 Credit Union Banks were started with State aid to help small holders purchase land.

In 1880 small holders' loan societies were formed for the same purpose, and the State then began its present policy of awards for well-managed small holdings and funds for traveling expenses of small holders, short courses, and night schools, and other agricultural enterprises. In 1899 the government passed an Act appropriating 10,000,000 crowns for loans to small holders. According to this Act, the purchaser need furnish only one-tenth of the purchase price. In 1904 the law was changed, no longer confining the loans to farm laborers, and increasing the amount to be loaned by 15,000,000 crowns. Other similar Acts making further loans and changing regulations concerning such holdings followed in 1909, 1914, 1917, and 1924. As a result of this policy, 88,333,333 crowns were appropriated for the purpose of farm loans and 10,825 State small holdings established by the year 1923.

There has been, and still is, much single tax agitation in Denmark; and a law of October 4, 1919, on the terms for the sale of property in public possession, was passed to prevent private speculation in land values, a form of speculation which has generally been recognized as being as illegitimate as stock market manipulation, or taking a "flyer" in the market, or speculating with insufficient funds; but which no other country, with the exception of the U. S. S. R., has seriously undertaken to curb. This law, which represents the present governmental policy, determined that land owned by the State should be parcelled out into lots of the size to support a family without extra help. The purchaser pays no cash down, but only interest for the first three years. The State also grants him a loan, under similar conditions, for the construction of farm buildings. The loan is finally repaid, when the owner is well-established, at the rate of one per cent per annum. The purchaser receives a deed to his property, but speculation is prevented by a stipulation according to which the State reserves for



itself the priority purchase right in case the owner wishes to transfer the holding to another not his natural heir. The influence of single tax theory is seen in the provision that at the periodical valuations at which the rate of interest and the market price of the land is determined, the increase in the value of the land accruing from the labor of the small holder or the capital invested in improvements is disregarded by the appraisers. The State also loans funds to associations which purchase large estates for the purpose of parcelling them out in small holdings.

It is significant that the law of 1924 makes careful personal requirements in granting loans. The applicant must be a citizen, between twenty-five and fifty years of age; who has not been judged guilty of an act which public opinion considers dishonorable without receiving honorable satisfaction; has not received parish relief which has not been repaid in accord with the Public Poor Relief; has supported himself by farming for four years after his seventeenth year; submits testimonials from two reliable persons thoroughly acquainted with him as to his industry, sobriety, thrift, and ability to manage a small holding; submits proof of the possession of some partial means necessary for acquiring possession of the property; and proof that he is unable, entirely with his own resources, to acquire a property of the nature described in the law.

Hertel <sup>12</sup> well states the significance of the legislation on small holdings as follows:

“The work of the legislative body during the past generation to forward the establishment of independent small-holdings has been done, not only from economic motives, but from social and ethical as well. Often, and rightly, attention has been called to the advantages to be derived from the fact that a steadily increasing number of persons become farmers, bear the economic responsibility for the yield of their farm and learn to do business inde-

<sup>12</sup> *A Short History of Agriculture in Denmark* (Copenhagen, 1925), p. 58.

pendently. For them, as for other farmers, a work with living organisms, animals and plants, in their own home under healthy conditions, develops valuable human traits, which, at the present day in particular, are of great social importance. Often, most often, commendable industry and contentment are to be found in the homes of the small-holders; there a healthy race grows up, trained from childhood in homely virtues, learning to love work under an open sky with a broad horizon; the young men work on other people's farms from the time they are confirmed until they are married, but constantly keep in view the hope of one day owning their own land."

The above description seemed to me to be very true of the small holders of Gundsomagle. One of the small holders who entertained me and showed me his place was as proud of his property and his neighborhood as any Dane I met. He insisted on my walking over all his fields; inspecting his chickens, cows, pigs, and horse; enjoying the luxuries of his garden, house and larder; and made me late for my next appointment. He had known that I was coming, and had himself and his family dressed in their good clothes, and the walks in his garden raked so that there was not a footprint showing. He was a member of the parish council (*Sogn Raad*), and was well-informed about politics. He and his neighbors were the only farmers whom I found during the study who actually bragged about their low taxes and their prosperity. They did not want any new laws or changes in old ones. Two members of parliament whom I interviewed—one a Social Democrat, and one a Liberal—agreed that the farmers of Denmark were fairly satisfied with the present laws.

This does not mean that they do not take an interest in politics, however, and I found nearly as large a percentage of the Gundsomagle eligible voters voting as in the best of the other villages studied, over eighty per cent. Perhaps the high voting age of twenty-five years has something to do with this large percentage. All parties were represented,

and the parish council was made up of five Social Democrats, three Liberals and one Radical. Politics did not tend to disintegrate the neighborhood, as the opposing parties were very friendly. A member of one party who spent a half day showing me places of interest in the neighborhood took me to the homes of members of both of the other parties and enjoyed the hospitality as much as I did.

The nine members of the Council which manages neighborhood affairs are elected all at once and serve for four years. They have considerable power, but cannot sell land without the consent of the County Council, and cannot increase taxes for neighborhood purposes more than ten per cent of the present rate. There are two constables who look after military conscription, perform civil marriages, look out for foreign laborers, and keep order. The task is not very difficult, and one of the officers was about eighty years old. The parish Council with the help of the constable administers poor relief, but there is not much more need for such relief than for corrections, and several old residents could not remember when any one had committed depredations serious enough to bring him into court. Two laborers' families had been receiving aid from the Council. At sixty-five years of age old people get public support through pensions. They are encouraged to avoid accepting it then by an offer of a larger amount two years later. The need for relief is further prevented by fire, theft, life, health, and unemployment insurance.

I found nothing very unusual in the matter of communication. There were in the village twenty-four automobiles and seventy radios. Everybody took a daily paper, and nearly all subscribed for magazines. All had at least small private libraries. The village was not on a railroad, but was well served by buses, and connected with other villages and the city by paved or gravelled roads. Most of the farmers have telephones. The advantage in communication for a



neighborhood which was partly open-country lay in having a nucleus of village dwellers and a strong neighborhood unity among the scattered population.

The characteristic in which Denmark is universally acknowledged to be far in the lead of other nations is in economic coöperative organization, and it is the study of this which fascinates most students.

“The farmer has become the scientist in his work and the co-operator in his economic life,<sup>13</sup> and through science and coöperation he has achieved, within the limits and stabilities of the existent world order—such a control over his own destiny as to be rightly called independent.”

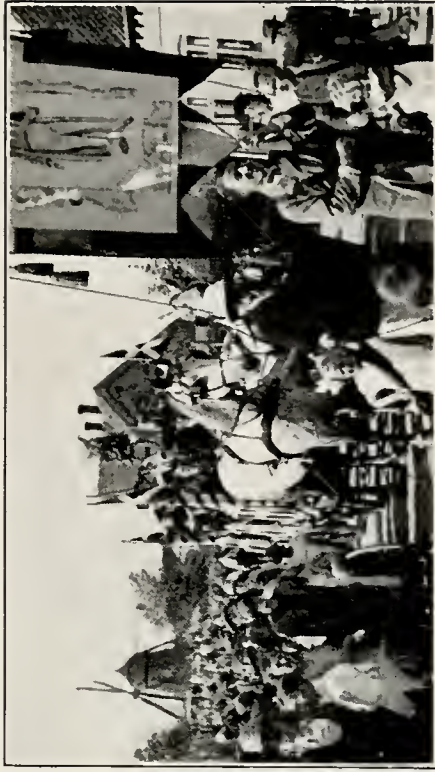
The accomplishment of this coöperative independence is a long and complex story, although the usual efforts at giving the history and explanation of the phenomenon begin no earlier than the importation of the idea of Credit Societies from Germany in 1850, the depression following the defeat of 1864 and the formation of the first “Workers Society” at Thisted, Jutland, in 1866 in imitation of the “Rochdale Pioneers.” The first typically Danish coöperative enterprise was that in the business of dairying. The first coöperative dairy was organized by a group of farmers of Hjedding, Jutland, in 1882. In the three years which followed, eighty such dairies were started, and between 1885 and 1890 the number was increased to 600. In 1924 there were 1,350, or eighty per cent of all the dairies in Denmark. During that year they did a business amounting to 820,000,000 crowns on an average of 600,000 crowns for each dairy. Over ninety-six per cent of the milk delivered to these dairies is made into butter, the remainder being used for direct consumption or for making cheese. Two-fifths of the butter which is exported from Denmark is handled by eleven Butter Export Societies comprising 550 dairies. The

<sup>13</sup> Hart, *Light from the North* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1927), p. 38.

coöperative dairies are federated into various federations culminating in the Danish Dairy Societies Association. The next enterprise to be organized coöperatively was that of slaughter-houses, the first of which was started in 1887. They met with much opposition at first from private concerns, but, in 1924, their business turnover amounted to 500,000,000 crowns, or eighty per cent of the total business, and claimed a membership of 170,000 farmers. The coöperative egg business began with the formation of local circles for the collection and sale of eggs, and this, in turn, led to the organization of The Danish Egg Export Society in 1895. The annual coöperative egg business equals 20,000,000 crowns, and the membership in 1924 equalled 45,000. In addition to the business of the coöperative egg societies, the slaughter-houses do a large egg business for their members, so that about one-quarter of the export trade in eggs is coöperative.

There are now about twenty Cattle Export Societies with a membership of 24,000, selling annually about 45,000 cattle valued at 16,000,000 crowns. In 1906 those interested in the growing and exporting of seed corn and root seed began to do business coöperatively, and, in connection with the Danish Central Distributive Coöperative Society, marketed as high as 6,000,000 crowns worth of seeds a year during the war. When Denmark changed from corn-exporting to a corn-importing country, the demand for foodstuffs was met by the coöperative organization of foodstuffs societies, the first of which was formed in Jutland in 1898. The 1924 reports show a turnover of such coöperatives amounting to 142,000,000 crowns. The purchase of fertilizers was formerly carried on by the foodstuffs coöperatives; but in 1916 a separate national society was founded for this purpose and this national organization now embraces 1550 local societies with a membership of 74,000, and does an annual business of 26,000 crowns.





DANISH VILLAGE FÊTE  
A neighborhood-building event





These are the principal coöperative societies, but there are still others such as the Danish Coöperative Cement Manufactory and the Danish Coöperative Coal Society, besides various organizations for coöperative credit. There are also various coöperative organizations which are not interested primarily in buying or selling, such as the Breeding Societies, 335 for horse breeding, 1228 for cattle breeding, 127 for goat breeding; the 900 Cow Testing Societies; the 2,000 insurance societies furnishing mutual compensation for loss due to disease, accident, or death of animals, or that suffered from damage done by hail, wind or fire; and associations in such domains as coöperative electrical works, coöperative marling societies, coöperative bakeries, coöperative steam-threshing and motor societies.

This, then, gives some notion of the beginning and the present extent of the coöperative movement in Denmark. Gladstone called coöperation the greatest social wonder of his time. One wonders what he would say of it in Denmark at the present time. As to the effect of such coöperation, the various writers state them differently. There can be no question but that it was one of the salient factors which enabled Denmark to survive the American and Russian competition in the grain market—which forced her into the production of pork and butter instead of corn—and to recover from the post-war depression during the last half of the nineteenth century. Many present economic advantages are obvious.

Productively, the Danish farmer is simply forced to adopt scientific methods in the agricultural processes by which his goods are grown and prepared for the market. The organization will not tolerate losses due to his carelessness or ignorance, and in that organization he has an agency which is vitally interested in providing the information and other means necessary to scientific production. The control societies, and cow-testing associations as well as short co-

operative courses in scientific agriculture, are designed to meet this need. The coöperative stud societies and the coöperative ownership of expensive farm machinery make possible, even for the small holder, the productive advantages which non-coöperative farmers can obtain economically only through large-scale production. Specialization is another advantage of large-scale production which the smallest-scale farmer in Denmark enjoys. He does not have to waste his energy in selling and delivering his product, but can give all his attention to its production, since he has a scientific and responsible marketing organization to relieve him of such functions. He is furnished with information about the market which enables him to produce in response to the demand, and the history of Danish agricultural production shows it to have great adaptability. The societies which save him the worry and risk of buying his seeds, foodstuffs, and implements and insure his getting good quality, serve a similar productive purpose. There are many opportunities for Danish farmers who have talents for business or leadership in organization to exercise such talents, but one who wishes to concentrate on the primary utility of farm production is free to do so. Moreover, there is another less tangible influence which has an important bearing on his productive efficiency. The Danes themselves frequently emphasize the spiritual results, the development of mind and character, as among the advantages of coöperation. The sense of human solidarity and the consciousness of being associated with one's fellows and having a part in a great coöperative enterprise lend a dignity to the common tasks of agricultural production. If any one thinks this a fiction, he need only listen to my small holder friend discuss his vocation of coöperative farming. What is true of production is largely true of consumption. The Danish farmer buys at wholesale, not retail; he consumes efficiently, economically, and scientifically.



The most immediate and obvious results of coöperation are, however, in the realm of exchange. The Danish farmer is bragging about his profits, while farmers of many other nations are weeping about their losses, mainly because he has solved the problem of scientific marketing. With a co-operatively guaranteed product, his market, in competition with English and other individual marketers, is always sure, and no rapacious middleman can call on him to stand and deliver a hundred per cent of the surplus over the cost of production. Three times a day, he demonstrates the fact that he can carry his products, without the aid of middlemen, to the very plates of London consumers. He cannot only grow the product, but grade it, deliver it, manufacture it, store it, and distribute it as well as finance all these processes coöperatively.

I know of no suggestion which needs more to be taken seriously, not only by American farmers, but by farmers and townsmen as well in our society than that which comes under the head of distribution. I have been in no nation in which there seemed to me to be less need of forcing the economically successful individuals to exercise their acquisitiveness in collecting postage stamps or in some other socially harmless enterprise. Almost every student is impressed with the absence of invidious class distinctions and extremes of demoralizing wealth and poverty in Denmark. The villagers in Gundsomagle, the members of the faculty of the International People's College, and Danish statesmen deny that there are such distinctions or extremes.

The advantages of large-scale organization again ensure to the small Danish farmer his fair share in the distribution of profits, and the spirit of coöperation militates against the oppression with which the great inequality in the distribution of wealth is associated in other countries. The possession of small holdings by farmers who in other nations would be farm laborers or renters is sometimes given

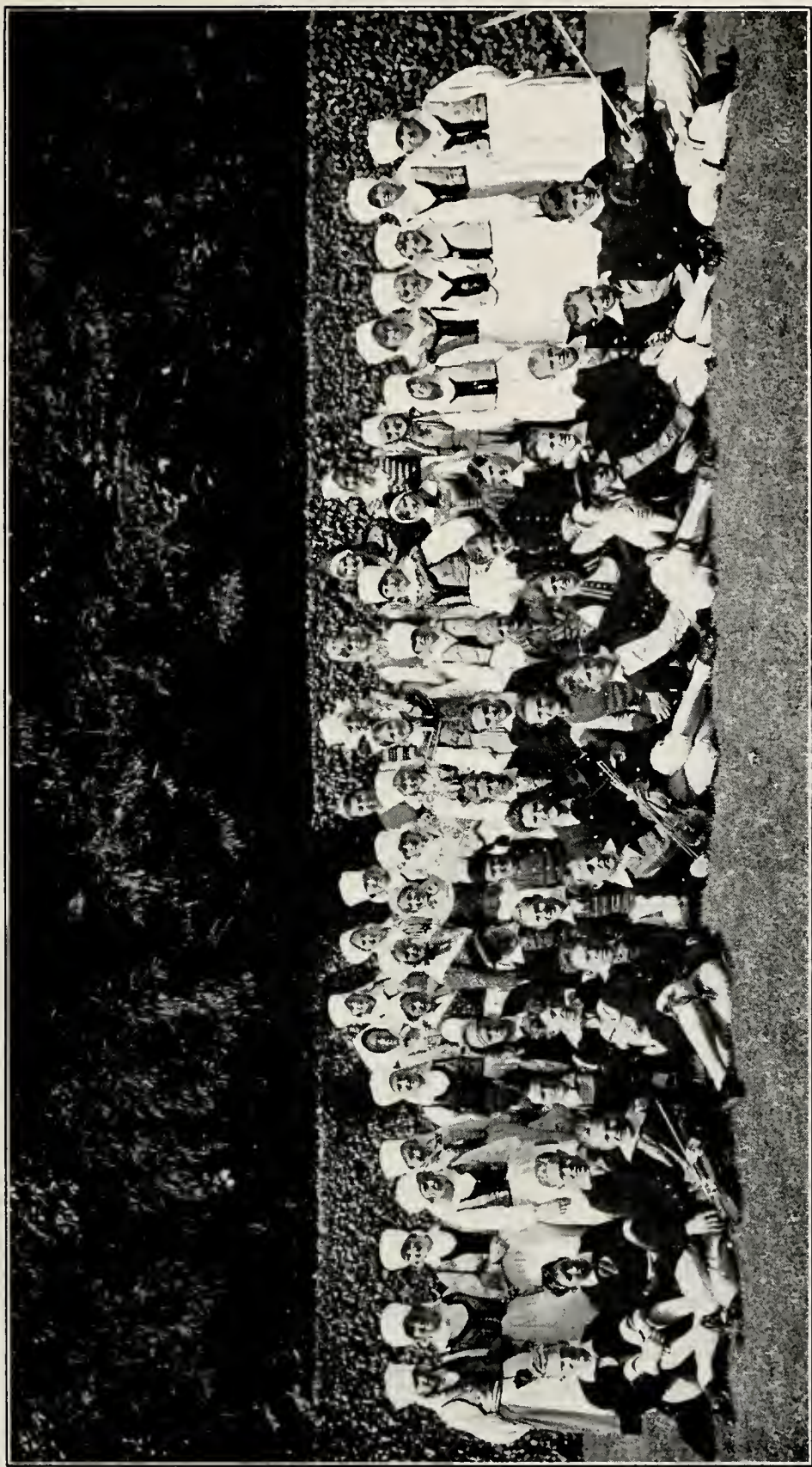
as an explanation for the success of coöperation in Denmark, but I submit the suggestion that coöperation is quite as much the explanation of the possession of small holdings by such farmers. It takes more than long term loans and low interest rates to account for the success of the small holdings. Coöperation, for the Danes, has helped to solve the problem of being too much alike in the things in which we ought to be different and too different in the things in which we ought to be alike. The fact that Denmark has remained predominantly an agricultural nation regardless of the handicap of poor soil and climate is largely due to coöperation. The coöperative organizations have been the most dynamic formal organizations which the farmers have possessed, and the respect which Danish politicians have had for agricultural interests can be credited largely to coöperation. Coöperation has helped to enable the Danish farmer to realize a large measure of organic freedom, to have comfort, culture, and good surroundings for himself and his family without ceasing to be a farmer.

Many of the effects which are often attributed to Danish coöperation are probably as much cause as effect, and one of these is a fine sort of neighborliness which characterizes Danish rural people. There have been many other farmers who needed coöperation quite as much, and who have had plenty of reminders of the possibilities of coöperation furnished them by propagandists, but they lacked those characteristics best described as neighborliness which coöperation increases but cannot invent. The explanation of Danish coöperative success must go back much farther than the organization of the first coöperative society.

Green writes of the Conquest of Britain by the Danes in 866:

“At the accession of Æthelred, the third of Æthelwulf’s sons, who had mounted the throne after the short reigns of his brothers, these new assailants fell on Britain. As they came to the front,





VILLAGE FOLK DANCERS—DENMARK

Who have something more than a dictionary knowledge of joyous self-expression





the character of the attack wholly changed. The petty squadrons which had till now harassed the coast of Britain made way for larger hosts than had as yet fallen on any country in the west; while raid and foray were replaced by the regular campaign of armies who marched to conquer, and whose aim was to settle on the land they won. In 866 the Danes landed on East Anglia, and marched in the next spring across the Humber upon York. Civil strife as usual distracted the energies of Northumbria. Its subject-crown was disputed by two claimants, and when they united to meet this common danger, both fell in the same defeat before the walls of their capital."<sup>14</sup>

The conquest of Britain in the twentieth century by the Danish coöperative dairy and bacon societies was something of the same sort, and success was due largely to the possession of a united front on the side of the conquerors and the lack of it on the part of the conquered. The divided, competing Britains fell in defeat before the walls of their capital. But let not British or American agriculturists imagine that the remedy for their disunity and concomitant futility is simply the temporary assembling here and there of a few of their economically deterministic representatives, the collection of membership fees, election of officers, and incorporation to buy binder-twine, in fact, *anything short of the slow creation of socially intelligent and responsible neighborhoods in which the seeds of coöperative character can germinate, grow, and fructify.*

Gundsomagle is such a neighborhood. In comparison with her, the average American or English rural neighborhood is socially a parched and dreary desert. Productively the American or English rural village is an abandoned woman subsisting on the gratuities of old paramours and the fleeting attentions of passing strangers, despised and neglected even by the railroad companies, while Gundsomagle is a fecund consort of a faithful spouse who cherishes

<sup>14</sup> *A Short History of the English People* (London, the Macmillan Company, Ltd., 1917), p. 46.

her with prideful constancy. The neighborly virtues which account for the success of her flourishing coöperative store, which pays nine per cent dividends and has a semi-annual business turnover which amounts to 105,049.51 crowns, and her forty-two-year-old coöperative dairy which handles the annual milk supply of 2,500,000 kilograms from 900 cows, has been growing for as long as the grass on the viking hills which decorate her landscape. Only seven of her farmers sell their milk to the cheese factory which, because of the small demand for cheese, is a private concern. There are two private stores which have to depend for patronage almost entirely upon the relatives of their proprietors. The Control Society has its veterinarian test every one of the 900 cows once a month and inspect the premises of the owner. The lack of suspicion and jealousy of the co-operators and the efficiency of the management of the dairy are witnessed by the age of the organization and the fact that the manager has held his position for thirty years. Co-operative agricultural business is taken for granted and has long been past the experimental stage in Gundsomagle.

Gundsomagle and the rest of Denmark have found the third alternative for which society has been searching, a happy medium, an Aristotelian mean between the extremes of smothering socialism and starving *laissez faire*, a compromise which does not kill personal initiative nor deny the individual all sense of security and corporate strength. Instead of restrictions on Danish immigration, the United States would do well to offer inducements for the importation of Danish coöperators to inoculate our social soil with the spiritual alfalfa of Danish coöperation. Thus endeth the chapter of a survey which was to this study of village and open-country neighborhoods what a delicious dessert is to a dinner.



## CHAPTER XII

### THE RUSSIAN MIR

**A**LTHOUGH I had previously had an opportunity to observe European rural villages in Norway and Sweden, my first extended acquaintance was among those in the Archangel district of Russia, especially those scattered along the Onega River, where I served as an International Y. M. C. A. Secretary in 1918 and 1919. With two other workers, I had been invited to start a program of rural social work in the Volga district, but intervention having taken place while I was *en route*, I was ordered to work with the Allied Expeditionary Forces on the northern front. I was sent to the front three days after my arrival in Archangel, and remained there, with the exception of one week, to complete my year's contract with the organization. During this time I lived with peasants and had an excellent opportunity to share their home life and to work, play and worship with them.

My personal knowledge, then, is of the old Russian village, the old village at its worst, not its best, for its social and economic life was badly disrupted by its "beneficent" deliverers from Bolshevism, who forced men, women, and children to serve the military enterprise. I might also add that my own state of mind was not altogether favorable since, although not a combatant, I was too active a participator in what seemed to me then, as it still seems, one of the most disgraceful exploits in which my nation had ever taken part.

It was, nevertheless, this year's experience of the neighborhood life of Russian peasants, enjoying the hospitality

of their homes, observing their work, attending their church services, schools, parties, celebrations, weddings and funerals, listening to their music, reading their literature, and studying their history and politics, that first suggested to me the desirability of studying the village form of neighborhood organization with a view to finding variations which might profitably be imitated by American rural neighborhoods. I discerned characteristics growing out of the intimacy of village residence which it seemed to me would justify at least a speeding up of the improvement of our neighborhood communication by means of which such intimacy might be approximated in our open-country organization.

Among other things, I perceived a strength and stability of the Russian village neighborhood which, as I intimated in a book written in 1923,<sup>1</sup> seemed to me largely independent of forms of government. Instead of depending alone upon the glowing official reports of the progress of the collective organization of the villages under the Soviets, and the writings of other students who have visited the country and studied conditions from a different point of view, I wished to make a first-hand survey of a village organized for collective agriculture. Accordingly I made application to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics for permission to visit the country in order to make such a survey at the close of the study of the other European neighborhoods. After keeping me waiting for six weeks, my application was unconditionally rejected by the U. S. S. R. Since no reasons for such rejection were forthcoming, I was led to infer either that I was not considered a fit person to make such a survey or that the Soviet government did not want a first-hand survey made at the present stage of the development of the collective program. The latter supposition seemed the more likely since I had been recommended by such men as

<sup>1</sup> *To Russia and Return* (Evansville, Burkert-Walton Co., 1922), p. 24.

Sir Horace Plunkett, Mr. Paul Kellogg of the Survey, and Mr. Frank Lawley of the International Labor Office, and since, as will be seen later, the collective program involves some very serious administrative problems. The study, therefore, had to be confined to my observations of the old village, to the writings of other students, official reports, and interviews with such authorities as the Russian consuls and the Secretary of the Society for Maintaining Cultural Relations with Russia, as well as with several highly intelligent Russian exiles.

In my preparations for the work in Russia, I did considerable work on the language, both in class in the University of Michigan, and with the help of a tutor. I never became very proficient, however, and found it a great convenience to be furnished with an expert interpreter during all but two weeks of my stay in the country. My interpreter was a well-educated Russian who had been a sculptor before the war, and I found him very helpful, not only in the work of translating, but in interpreting the life of the people. He helped to clear up some of my illusions concerning peasants. He called my attention to the fact that Russian artists of various types had been much preoccupied with the life, customs, music, and folklore of the peasant populations.

My intimate acquaintance with the Russian village and a protracted study of other phases of Russian life in comparison with conditions in America have led me to believe that not only the origin of their respective attitudes and habits of thought, but the different degrees of effectiveness with which Russian and American rural people have impressed their attitudes and habits of thought upon the life of other classes and upon the nation, are to be understood only in connection with their forms of neighborhood organization. American farmers have been largely inarticulate; but Russian literature, art, science, philosophy, and



politics, all speak the language of peasants and idealize their neighborly mores and folkways.

Nothing about a nation is more real than its spirit or general attitude, and no Russian better typifies the spirit of the people than does Count Leo Tolstoi. At five years of age, he was told by his brother Nicholas about a most mysterious stick, buried by the side of the road at the edge of a certain ravine, a stick on which was written the secret which would make all men happy. He searched for the secret all his life, and at his own request was buried, in memory of Nickolenka, on the spot where the stick was supposed to be hidden. No man ever made a more persistent search than he, and no writers have ever outdone his contemporary Russians in faithfulness and ardor in the great quest. Tolstoi sought the secret, and found it to be the Christian solution of the problem of class oppression. He writes :

“The way is to confess our fault, to cease to lie, to repent, and to go to the assistance of the people, not with words only, nor with pence that have first been wrung from the people at the cost of pain and suffering, but by breaking down the artificial barriers existing between us and the working people, and not in words only but in deeds acknowledging them to be our brothers; altering our way of life, renouncing the advantages and privileges we possess, and, having renounced them, standing on an equal footing with the people, and together with them obtaining those blessings of government, science, and civilization which we now, without consulting their wish, seek to supply them with from without. For in this renunciation of their power by the powerful lies the only possible escape from the ills our pseudo-Christian world is enduring. Escape lies only through the renunciation of a false and the confession of a true Christianity.”

No nation's literary men ever tried harder to write the great secret. And no nation's writers ever were more preoccupied with rural subjects, and it seems to me that no writers, with the exception of the Hebrews, ever equaled the Russians in championing the cause of the oppressed

classes. The creators of Russian literature—Pushkin, Lermontoff, and Gogol—dealt mainly with peasant subjects. Pushkin told in some of the world's most beautiful poetry the folk-tales which his grandmother and nurse had told him, tales which many generations of Russian peasants have told their children. Lermontoff, though a poet of nature, suffered exile for his opposition to Russia's oppressors. Gogol's comedy, *The Inspector General*, which Kropotkin says was a model for every dramatic writer after Gogol, ridiculed the ruling classes so extravagantly that his later comedies were not allowed to be staged. Turgeneff, Goncharoff, Tolstoi, Dostoyevsky, and Nekrasoff all wrote copiously and sympathetically of peasant life.

Many of Tolstoi's countrymen have found the secret to be a musical stick, and no nation's music has realized more fully the purpose which Beethoven ascribed to it, that is, "to bring about a oneness of emotion and thus suggest to our minds the coming time of universal brotherhood." It is embarrassing even to think about the mumbling rendition of "Old Black Joe," or even "The Star Spangled Banner," by a group of Americans as compared with the joyous, wholehearted singing of dozens of folk-songs by Russian peasants. A friend of mine who is a musician tells me that much of the greatest Russian music is built upon the folk-tunes which all peasants know. The Russian philosopher Bakunin was on the track of the same secret in his philosophy of mutualism when he said that one man could not exploit another to his permanent advantage. Their scientist, Kropotkin, made a great contribution to the search in his study of *Mutual Aid, a Factor in Evolution*. The Russian churchman is not far from the same secret when he worships before the holy picture of a saint who was canonized for making a practice of entertaining travelers who passed through the forest in which he lived. The communist statesmen think they have discovered the secret in the mystic

word "Tavarish," or comrade. Maxim Gorki, their spokesman, thus states it:

"Into all this dreary, laborious life, saturated by the bitterness of the humble, a simple, luminous word was cast: 'Comrade.' It was not a new word to them. They had heard it and uttered it. But hitherto it had given forth the same empty, muffled sound as all the other well-worn words which men may forget without losing aught. They took it up and began to utter it warily, guardedly, lightly swaying it in their hearts as a mother rocks her new-born babe in its cradle, adoring it. And the deeper they saw into the clear soul of the word, the brighter it seemed to them. 'Comrade,' they said. Now here, now there, a flame flickered up that was destined to grow into a fire which would spread over the whole earth, the clear consciousness of the kinship of all men. It spreads over the whole world and burns to ashes the spite, the hatred, and the ferocity which deform us. It takes hold of every heart and melts them all into one single world-heart, the heart of true and noble men. In the streets of the city where cruelty had reigned shines the simple word, deep as the heart, 'Comrade.' "

Nations, like individuals, must choose between private things and common things, and I am persuaded that the reason why we have chosen the former while Russians have chosen the latter is to be understood only as one considers the difference between our neighborhoods and theirs. In accounting for the friendliness, the hospitality, and the communal spirit so obviously prevalent among Russian people as compared with the rampant individualism, mutual suspicion, and lack of effective coöperation among our people, there is perhaps no factor of greater importance than the fact that among them the predominant sentiment reflects the attitude of eighty-five per cent of their population who live in the *mir*, or rural village, while our population of farmers and descendants of farmers, reflect the point of view of the open-country dweller. Mutualism is the logical philosophy of those who live so close together that one cannot burn his neighbor's house without losing his own, and



the pig-trough philosophy is the product of that way of life in which a man begins to feel crowded when he has neighbors on farms on two sides of him.

Some one has suggested that it is perfectly safe to teach Americans Christianity, since they will not do anything about it, while it is dangerous to teach it to Russians, who take it seriously. Any one here who dares to suggest that Christianity should be anything but "sermons and hymns and old maids' tea-parties" is called a radical and a Bolshevik, while a Russian who accepts private profit is considered an outsider and not allowed to vote. This is not intended as an apology for Bolshevism, nor a justification of *laissez faire*, but is simply an effort to call attention to the difference between the two kinds of neighborhood organization and to show the relation between these different forms and the motivation which on the one hand has resulted in what seems to us the most irrational system of communism, and on the other, has resulted in what seems to them an equally irrational distribution of wealth. The inclination to do something about the problem of land speculation, industrial exploitation, illiteracy, and other anti-social factors, the united enthusiasm with which Russians have gone about doing it, as well as the direction which their efforts have taken, would seem to indicate a powerful group consciousness, and a coöperative ability, which are lacking among our farmers and other working folk. This consciousness and ability seem to me to be the result of long practice in coöperative living in the *mir*. Even the offer by the Russian representatives on the League of Nations advisory committee of complete disarmament, and their request that the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament be frank and open and attended by full publicity, reflects the attitude of peasants in their neighborhood affairs, while our inability to coöperate in international affairs is in direct proportion to our inability to co-

operate in neighborhood affairs. Would not a strengthening of our disjointed rural neighborhood, together with our superior educational facilities, modern agricultural machinery, advantages of communication and transportation, and much greater accumulated wealth enable us to make as progressive strides in the direction of human happiness as they have done—in whatever direction they are going? Might we not find the meaning of life, as did Tolstoi, in the lives of this class of producers, if the class were well organized as neighbors?

I went to Russia at the time when the great "poison gas" campaign of American newspapers was just getting well under way, and my advisors furnished me with interesting bits of misinformation concerning Russian people which was fairly representative of the newspaper knowledge possessed by the rank and file of Americans. One friend who had spent some time in a Russian city, in answer to my question as to the kind of a fellow who ought to attempt to work with Russian peasants, replied, "He should have a nerve as placid as the sea, a disposition to which obstacles were an added impetus to succeed, and the stomach of an ox!" The general impression was that Russian peasants were ignorant, lazy, dishonest, dirty, and vulgar. Although the mud and dirt of Archangel was somewhat of a relief after the many days of seasickness suffered en route, my short stay there seemed to confirm these impressions. My disillusionment, however, was speedily accomplished when I took up my residence in a rural village. I found peasants who possessed quite the opposite of these qualities.

We have been calling the peasants ignorant because of the high rate of illiteracy among them, but many of our philologists would starve if they had to make a living under the conditions in which the peasants thrive. Our judgment in this respect is like that of our intelligence testers who

call people unintelligent who do not happen to know the same things the intelligence testers know. Perhaps our assumption of their laziness is due to our chivalrous objection to their allowing their womenfolk to work. Russian women can saw as much wood or make as much hay as their husbands; but their husbands work as hard as they and are not lazier at home than they are in America where they do much of our heaviest work. We had to depend upon peasants to draw all our canteen supplies to the front, and often had to leave large convoys of goods in their care. To my knowledge, we never had so much as a stick of gum stolen by a peasant. We had several stolen by American soldiers.

So far as cleanliness is concerned, it was a surprise to me, after having been reared among American farmers, to find peasant families having private bath-houses and every member of the families taking baths and putting on clean clothes every Saturday afternoon. As to refinement, there is a certain kindness of spirit and a sociability and polite hospitality among peasants which impress a stranger as being the soul of refinement.

I spent more time in the village of Klesheva than in any other place, but my experience with the peasants there was in no way exceptional or essentially different from that in Cheshuga, Checkuevo, Oberzershaya, or other villages in which I worked. Its population of slightly over two hundred was about the average for villages in that part of Russia. The villages in the Archangel district are farther apart than the average of one to every four and seven-tenths square miles throughout the country. The only persons in Cheshuga who did not make at least part of their living by agriculture were the priest, teacher, coöperative store-keeper, a hunter and trapper, and a ninety-year-old drunkard and beggar.

The holdings were fairly evenly distributed, and were



usually cut up into narrow strips, most of which began at the Onega River, which furnished a means of transportation between the holdings and the village. There was no complaint about the distance which farmers had to travel in reaching their holdings as is the case in some parts of Russia. There were a few pasture fields and meadows which were fenced, but most of the holdings were marked only by stakes driven a few rods apart along the borders. The farm tools, machinery, and methods were extremely primitive; but the peasants were very resourceful, and many of them could surpass more specialized craftsmen in such functions as building a house or shoeing a horse or making a clasp for my trunk. Several villagers were skilled in making *volankies* (felt boots), which are the warmest and most comfortable footwear for winter use that I have seen. If necessity is the mother of invention, Russian peasants must have had many such mothers. The ordinary peasant does not have more than a half dozen tools, but there seems to be little limit to what he can do with them. The following quotation from my book,<sup>2</sup> was written some time before I had read the only poem which Browning wrote during his year's residence in Russia, *Ivan Ivanovitch*, in which he makes the statement that a peasant could shave himself with his ax:

“One day as I was taking advantage of the four hours of daylight for the purpose of looking over a new village in which we had just located, I heard a strange noise coming from the second story of a barn. It sounded like some sort of machinery. I wondered if some enterprising peasant had imported an American fanning mill or feed grinder.

“As I walked up the bridge to investigate, I discovered a woman over in one corner of the barn running a contrivance which for ingeniousness beat any patent churn or washing-machine found in homes of American farmers. The machine was a hand-made, stone-process, flour mill.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

“The mill consisted of two flat stones placed one above the other. There was a hole through the upper stone which served as a hopper. To one side of the upper stone was attached one end of a round stick, the other end of which stuck through a hole in a board in the ceiling. This board and the stick were the only things about the mill, except the woman, which were likely to wear out. The lady’s husband could get another in five minutes, anyway. (I mean another board or stick.) All he would have to do would be to take his axe and make a few magic passes at a tree. I am inclined to think that a real expert Russian could fill a tooth with an axe.

“Power was applied to the stick causing it to revolve in such a way that it described a cone. The power which caused the stick to revolve was not water nor wind nor electricity, but a combination of these which was brought into contact with the stick through a slight pressure of the lady’s hand.

“The only friction about the machine was that between the stones, where it ought to be. It required no oil other than that known as elbow grease.

“I asked the lady what the capacity of her mill was, and she said she could grind her little pail full in about an hour and a half,—very good, I thought, for a one-woman power machine. I imagine that a good healthy woman might grind several bushels in a lifetime.

“I asked the lady to let me try the thing, and she very willingly consented. I think she would have been willing to let me grind the whole pailful, but my curiosity was soon satisfied.

“I was quite surprised, however, to see how easily it turned. I couldn’t help but compare this and other Russian inventions with the old barrel churn which my mother used to turn, and the washing-machine which she used to rattle, and the cradle which she used to rock.

“For real comfort and ease in operating there is no invention which can equal a Russian cradle. It is made of a small, limber pole, one end of which is attached to the wall. The pole is suspended from the ceiling by a rope which is attached to its middle. At the other end of the pole a basket is hung, and in this the baby is placed.

“If you are busy around the house, all you have to do is to give the teeter a start occasionally and it will run itself. If you are in bed (the place for the teeter is beside the bed) you just reach out a foot, give the basket a little kick, and go back to sleep.

“The surprising thing is that these people invent these things without ever having studied physics or geometry or engineering.

“I daresay that the lady who ran the flour-mill could not tell whether the spindle described a cone or a parallelogram, and I would wager that even the landlord would not know whether the tetter was lever number one, two, or three.

“The Russian peasant has not served an apprenticeship, and does not belong to the carpenters’ union; but he can build a log house which is so snug that it will hardly let in fresh air. The logs are fitted together in such a way that there is little room for chinking. What little room there is is filled with reindeer moss.

“All the windows are double, and serve the purpose of letting in light. (The peasants seem to think that this is what a window is for.) Ventilation is left mainly to the big brick stove, another piece of home-made furniture which lasts as long as the house does. The stove is so large that it will hold several armfuls of four-foot wood. The wood is allowed to burn to coals, and then the chimney and door are shut. It is not necessary to carry more wood for several days as the bricks hold the heat for a long time. One fire a day is all that is necessary for the coldest weather.

“There does not seem to be much that is beyond the genius of one of these people, whether it is in the line of making a suit of clothes, or a snare with which to catch birds.

“The Russian peasants ought to send missionaries to the poor ‘dark people’ of American farming communities and teach them how to do things with their hands.”

The long, commodious houses in Klesheva were for the most part arranged along one street, and nearly all of them were on one side of the street. The street ran parallel with the river, and on the opposite side from the houses were the private bath-houses to which reference has been made. All the buildings in the village, with the exception of the church, were built of logs.

For a description of the homes, I quote again: <sup>3</sup>

“My landlord and landlady lived in the village of Klesheva. All Russian peasants live in similar villages. If you ever happen in town you will do well to call on them. You will find them in the log

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56-58.



house (all the peasant homes are log houses) with the front gable end and porch decorated with flowers painted in bright colors, like all the other front gable ends and porches in the village. It is on the right side of the street, depending, of course, on the way you are going. If you find difficulty in following these directions, ask somebody. Any one will be glad to tell you the way. Of course, if you do not understand Russian—well, it won't make any difference whether you find the right place or not, for my landlord and landlady are just like all the other landlords and landladies.

“When you have found the house, you need not stop to knock, but walk right in. As you enter, you had better be careful or you will bump your head, for the door is very low. If you are polite, you will remove your cap and cross yourself before the icon and holy pictures on the wall in the corner opposite the door.

“You will then proceed to shake hands and say ‘zdrasvietye’ to every one present, including Anna, who is eleven years old, and who will greet you quite unabashed. Unlike American boys and girls, Anna has been so accustomed to seeing folks be polite that it doesn't embarrass her.

“Your attention will soon be drawn to the stove, for the first thing my landlady will do will be to attach to it, by means of a small stove-pipe, the samovar, in preparation for serving tea.

“The stove is a brick affair, taking up about an eighth of the room. It reaches to within two feet of the ceiling. On top is a nice, warm, hard bed on which you are likely to find some children taking a nap or having some fun.

“You may be a little shocked to find that the back part of the house is the dwelling place of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, while the front part is reserved for the family. . . .

“But you will not have time to look around very much before you will be invited to drink tea. By using the samovar, the hostess can have it ready in about five minutes.

“In order to prevent your making the *faux pas* I made, I must tell you how to drink tea in Russia. If you are a man, you will expect to drink tea from a glass. If you are a woman, you will be served a cup of tea. I was curious about this custom, but the only explanation I was able to get was that the skin on a man's fingers was tougher and could stand the heat of the glass better than a woman's fingers.

“Don't forget and drop the lump of sugar, which will be passed to you, into your tea. Place it between your teeth and let the tea

get sweetened as it goes through. If you stay, you may be fed on *bleny*, which are Russian pancakes, and you are sure to be offered some black bread. . . .

“And before you leave, don’t fail to admire Anna’s handwriting. It will be shown to you, for Anna and all the girls and boys of her age are learning to read and write and are very proud of it.

“If you are one who imagines that Russian peasants are a filthy lot, you had better notice my landlady’s floors. The reason they are so white is that she rolls up her sleeves and takes off her shoes and stockings and gets down and scrubs them by hand until they are as clean as the table.

“Please assure Mr. and Mrs. Baimakoff that I have not forgotten the delicious dinners I have had in their home nor the delightful baths I have had in their bath-house nor how cosily they tucked me into the robes and blankets for my cold rides along the Onega River front.”

The school at Klesheva was a clean, well-lighted room presided over by a capable teacher. The seats were comfortable; the walls were decorated with pictures, including those of the man and woman who built the school; and the other equipment, though limited in amount, was of a practical sort. There was a chart on which were colored pictures and tables for measuring land and cord wood and making other computations. The children were enthusiastic about the school work. I found children and parents quite as familiar with great literature as are American rural people.

Not even the Germans were more musical, and the best singers among the various groups of soldiers with whom I worked were the Russians. They enjoyed marching up and down the streets singing and playing accordions. The best program we were able to arrange was one of singing and folk-dancing by five young peasant fellows. Recreation was mainly of an unorganized sort, but was enjoyed by all the villagers. No children needed to be taught to play, and they enjoyed varieties of fun, from sliding down the banks of the river to rough and tumble scuffles in the street.

Men, women, and children seemed exceptionally strong







A RUSSIAN PEASANT KITCHEN

and healthy, but their healthiness could hardly be accounted for by the observance of many of the up-to-date measures of sanitation. The unsanitary toilets were usually beside the passageways which ran from the dwellings to the stables. During the winter it was not unusual to find crates of chickens beside or under the brick stoves. In spite of this the houses were remarkably clean.

The ventilation of the homes was poor, for the only ventilation was furnished by the brick stoves, which were kept closed tightly most of the time. The water supplies were very poor. I could account for such healthiness only by the fact of the peasants being a vigorous stock to begin with, and by the fact that they eat wholesome food, drink only boiled water in the form of weak tea, and that all members of the families get plenty of exercise in the open air.

I was an uninvited but honored guest at a Klesheva wedding and, with all the other villagers, followed the service at the church with much interest and enjoyed a good share of the three days' feasting and dancing at the home of a relative of the bridegroom. Weddings, parties, funerals, etc., are neighborhood functions among Russian peasants.

I attended church services regularly, and found everything connected with them, from the ringing of the melodious bells to the expressions on the faces of the worshipers, most interesting. I had heard a Moscow choir on two occasions during its tour of the United States, but it seemed not much superior to the singing of these villagers. They sang without accompaniment or books, and the chanting of the deep-voiced priest and the treble of the children in response furnished a range of tone almost as great as that of the famous choir. The services were formal in the sense that the order of service contained many beautiful forms, but great variety in the behavior of the worshipers at any one time. Some could always be seen bowing before icons or holy pictures while others crossed themselves or knelt

in prayer. No one went to sleep in his seat, for there were no seats; the whole congregation stood or knelt during the two-hours' service. No one showed any signs of being tired until long after I began hitching from one foot to the other. The congregation included all villagers, men, women, and children, and there was perfect order, and attention to worship throughout. No one could watch the expression on the faces of the worshipers and accuse Russians of not taking their religion seriously.

I remember, on one occasion, watching a four-year-old boy who came with his father and stood almost motionless, until his knees began to tremble and he could not keep from gaping. Again, I watched a little girl who held to her mother's hand and went through all the motions of bowing and kneeling as gracefully as did her mother. She wore a headdress and a beautiful scarf, but she seemed no more concerned with her finery than did the other colorfully-clad ladies. I looked in vain for that old familiar, bored look that is so common in American congregations, and as I observed the almost continuous motions of the worshipers in their bowing and kneeling and touching their heads to the floor and crossing themselves, I wondered if our religious stimuli did not need to be brought more in contact with our motor nerves. Everything about the place, from the ministrations of my good friend the priest to the trembling blaze of the great array of honey-scented candles, seemed to be designed to lend a worshipful atmosphere to the service. I needed nothing more than to observe the reverence of the villagers in Sunday services to understand why the Soviet government should find some opposition to their program of the communistic organization of peasants because of their anti-religious attitude. This same reverence was evident in the service of blessing the waters, when the worshipers followed the priest to the river and gathered around a hole in the ice, standing with their hats off although the weather



was twenty degrees below zero, and participated in the service of prayer and thanksgiving for their water supply. At another season of the year, they march around through their fields, stopping at great, rough-hewn, Greek crosses for the blessing of the fields. These crosses were scattered along the wayside and through the fields where the plowman and the reaper could be reminded of Him who blesses their labor. Russians could teach American farmers the "spiritualization of the secular."

I can remember no evidence for thinking that Russian peasants, as I knew them, were behind other European villagers in morals. American soldiers have confirmed my impressions in this respect. The village priest, who was a thoroughly refined and cultured gentleman, whom I knew better than any other villager, and who entertained me repeatedly and presented me with many souvenirs which I prize dearly, made no complaints about the morals of his parishioners.

The only village relief of which I was cognizant was that of the beggar already referred to, who had come to his low estate through drinking vodka, and who used to go about mumbling "He who serves me, him will God bless," and accepting his daily bread in the form of "hand-outs" from the other peasants. He had had all his fingers and thumbs frozen off while in a drunken stupor, but he had managed to live for ninety years. He got no relief from the church, but I found the church service familiar in one respect—a collection was taken, and it included contributions for charity.

In matters of national government, the peasants of the old village had little direct influence, but they managed their local affairs with little interference and with few destructive conflicts. The business of the village was more disrupted, if possible, than anything else, but there was a coöperative store which, in normal times, had done all the

supply business of the community. The most significant observation concerning the old village is that the present Soviet government's rural program was preceded by a long experience of what might be called spiritual communism. As to the success of the Soviets in teaching this spiritual communism new tricks, I must cite other and more recent observers.

My reason for wishing to visit the Soviet Republic in 1930 was to study a collective village. It seemed to me that a system of collective production, consumption, exchange, and distribution would be the supreme test of coöperative neighborliness. Permission to make the survey being denied, I undertook to discover as accurately as possible through indirect means the nature of the collective movement and the measure of success which it had attained.

There are two kinds of farming which the Soviet government is promoting; State farming, and collective farming, both of which might well be termed collective farming. These forms were briefly described in the *Bank for Russian Trade Review*, February, 1930, page 9.

The State farm, or 'Sovkhoz', is owned, as the name implies, by the State, and is under the control of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture. The workers employed on these farms receive a fixed wage.

The collective farm of 'Colkhoz' is worked not by hired workers, but by the members of the farm. The existing collective farms can be roughly divided into the following three categories.

To the first category belong those farms in which members unite for the purpose of cultivating the land, but do not pool their resources. After gathering in the crops each peasant is compensated in accordance with the extent of his land.

To the second category belong the collective farms in which all the means of production have been pooled and the produce obtained is divided among the members.

To the third category belong the agricultural communes in which all the property and the produce are collectively owned and used.

Every member joining a collective farm must contribute imple-

ments, tools and so on according to the value of his share in the enterprise, but he has no right to claim the return of them should he at a future date decide to leave the collective farm.

With the development of the enterprise a considerable part of the profits is allocated to the share capital and utilized for the acquisition of machinery, tools, implements and other means of production. Should the members decide to close down their farm the capital of the enterprise is transferred to the State department controlling the collective farms and is utilized by the latter for the purpose of increasing the resources of existing or for the establishment of new collective farms.

The general objectives are set forth in the official report on the five-year plan for economic construction.<sup>4</sup>

“The degree of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. in regard to the increase of crop yields, has clearly mapped out the road for agricultural progress in the Soviet Union. Supplying agriculture with technical equipment through the aid of industry, improvement of the status of the lower and middle peasant groups, accelerated development of State farming on a large scale, of collective farm organizations, and of coöperative associations, raising the cultural level of the peasantry as a whole,—such are the problems to be faced. These problems are only different aspects of the general object to be attained, which is the rapid growth of productive forces of the village and its organization along socialistic lines on the basis of machine technique and scientific cultivation of land. The development program in agriculture has been drawn up in accordance with these general objectives.”

The report goes on to elaborate the program which is to be carried out during the period 1928-29 to 1932-33, and in the promotion of which twenty-three billion rubles are to be invested. About five and eight-tenths billion rubles of this amount are to be a direct investment of the State in agriculture. This scheme for “the upbuilding, on a scale heretofore unknown, of the socialized sector in agriculture” includes such ambitious objectives as the extension of the planted area in the organized territory from two and three-

<sup>4</sup>“The Soviet Union Looks Ahead” (Official Report, 1930), pp. 81-93.



tenths million hectares in 1927-28 to 24,000,000 hectares by 1933; the organization of 20,000,000 persons, or 6,000,000 peasant households, in collective agriculture; the acquirement by State and collective farms of 860,000,000 rubles' worth of agricultural machinery; to increase the yield in the socialized area twice as fast as in agriculture as a whole; the reclamation of waste land covering an area of 2,000,000 hectares; and the obtaining and use of 7,000,000 tons of mineral fertilizers a year.

The report frankly admits that there are unusual difficulties involved in the problem of the reorganization of farming on a collective basis, and that the technical principles of collective farming have not been clearly formulated. The guiding practical idea, however, is stated as "that of central machinery and tractor stations serving a group of villages, and of their eventual transformation into centers of power supply and agricultural aid in a broad sense." According to the latest official reports, this program was far ahead of schedule.

In the April, 1930, issue of the *Bank for Russian Trade Review* (p. 10) the situation is summed up as follows:

"The reorganization of agriculture in the Soviet Union has seen extraordinary development in the past six months with the result that whole regions have been collectivized. It is estimated that this spring about one-half of the total agricultural area in the U.S.S.R. will be in the hands of collective farms. The peasants have joined the collective farms in large numbers by pooling their land, implements and live stock, with the result that the area under collective cultivation will this spring be seven times as great, and the number of families included in the collectives ten times as great, as in 1929."

In the May, 1930, issue (p. 78) of the same publication, the following figures are given:

"The five-year plan did not anticipate such a rapid rate of increase in the number of collective farms as was witnessed in the

past year. In the year 1927-28, 445,000 private holdings were drawn into collective farms and in 1928-29 this number increased to 1,040,000 holdings, although the estimates in the five-year plan were for only 564,000 holdings. It is now anticipated that in 1929-30 10 million holdings will be amalgamated into collective farms.

“The 1930 harvest of the collective and State farms is estimated to provide more than 50 per cent. of the total marketable grain produce, although according to the five-year plan this source was estimated to yield 43 per cent only in the year 1933.

“The area under cultivation of the collective farms in the last three years has been as follows: In 1927-28, 1.4 million hectares; 1928-29, 4.3 million hectares; 1929-30, about 35 million hectares. The area under cultivation by State and collective farms this year will form about 33 per cent. of the total while the original estimates were for only 13.5 per cent.

“As we see from the above figures, the amalgamation of small private farms into large collective units is now proceeding at such a rate that it can be safely predicted that in the course of next year entire districts will be formed into collective farms in the U.S.S.R.”

The first article in the *Weekly News Bulletin* published by the press section of the *Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries* contains a similarly optimistic statement:

“The past year has brought with it considerable progress in the improvement of agricultural technique: more mineral manures and agricultural machinery, the sowing of selected seeds, and still more important, the social reconstruction of the villages, along with their technical reconstruction. The first year of the Five Year Plan has shown considerable increase over the program laid down with regard to the socialisation of agricultural labour. Collective farm construction has swept in a great wave over the country-side and in many districts is two and three times in excess of the Plan, while the sowing area of collective farms has increased 330 per cent., as against the 112 per cent. hoped for under the Plan.

“The first vast mechanised Soviet Farms have dealt successfully with their tasks and are providing the Soviet State with the requisite thousands of tons of grain. Soviet and Collective Farms

have tractor stations at their disposal, and thousands of acres of land are for the first time being turned by machinery."

The article ends with the following concession, however:

"The coming year cannot be expected to do away immediately with all the difficulties encountered on the economic front. On the contrary a resolute and selfless struggle with these difficulties will be required. The results of the past and the prospects for the coming year, however, testify eloquently to the expediency of the economic policy being followed."

There are two suggestions, other than the inducements of more efficient economic organization, to be found in the official documents quoted above, which help to account for the phenomenal progress of collective agriculture.

In the article quoted from the May, 1930, number of the *Bank for Russian Trade Review*, the following significant statement appears:

"Collective farming is but another form of coöperation. The Russian peasants have long been familiar with that aspect of coöperation which concerned itself with the disposal of their produce and the supply of their requirements. At present the old method of coöperation is being extended to include productive activity in farming."

The other suggestion is found in the fact that the movement is designed for and confined to the poorer peasants. The poorer members of all classes have always been more favorable to socialism than those who have had more capital to pool. The unofficial reports contain other explanations for this great accomplishment of the collective organization. There were three books published in 1929 by scholarly authors who were thoroughly proficient in the Russian language; who were familiar with Russian history, literature, etc.; who had had opportunity for long and intimate observation of Russian peasant life both before and after the revolution; and who were as unbiased as men



could well be on such a desperately controversial subject as the present conditions in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. They were *Russia To-day and Yesterday*, by Dr. E. J. Dillon; *Humanity Uprooted*, by Maurice Hindus; and *Civic Training in Soviet Russia*, by Professor Samuel Northrup Harper. The first of these books is so favorable to the Soviet government that Communist speakers on Hyde Park Corner in London have repeatedly quoted from it in my hearing.

In matters touching the organization of peasants, these authors are mainly in agreement, although their approaches to the subject of rural conditions are somewhat different. Although the coöperative and collective program fostered by the government purports to be a strictly voluntary one, these authors agree that the one great ever-present problem of the Soviet government is the conversion of the peasantry to Marxism; and all tell of discriminations against private agriculture which are designed to force the peasants into the new organizations. The scheme for the political evangelism of the peasants and the five-year plan for the collective organization of agriculture are one and the same program, and quite in accord with Lenin's dictum that "Soviets plus Coöperation equals Communism." The collective organizations are open only to qualified voters, and membership in one of them is linked with all the privileges of suffrage, and delivers one from the danger of suddenly falling into the hated and persecuted koolak class as the result of an earned or accidental prosperity. If he is a member of a coöperative or collective organization, he will not be discriminated against in the matter of his children's education, in having to pay extra taxes, in getting credit on easy terms, and in being supplied with commodities in which there is a shortage. The inducements to fall in line with the "socialized" economic and political program are not confined to the usual results of large-scale

and coöperative processes, but include all the advantages which the resourceful organizers can invent. These advantages, natural and artificial, coupled with the age-long coöperative proclivities of Russian rural villagers and the enthusiasm of propertyless peasants for pooling all wealth are the principal factors which account for the collective movement's having exceeded all expectations.

While the figures of what has been accomplished and the estimates of what is about to be accomplished make very good newspaper publicity, there are, nevertheless, reasons for thinking that the Soviet government does not wish to have the collective experiment studied concretely and at short range or by outsiders just yet.

The Russian *mir* was originally a Russian village community, and the tribal traditions have been less disturbed in it than in any other European nation. This tribal tradition and the concomitant neighborhood solidarity and social responsibility were favorable to much of the revolutionary policy. In fact, the beginnings of the revolution might be traced to the agitation by Russian writers and other intelligentsia who, as has been suggested, were largely the advocates of reforms for the peasants. They were the prophets of the peasantry in the sense that they spoke for that class. The Russian revolution was like every other great revolution in that it was a conspiracy between representatives of the upper and lower classes, including not only proletarians and peasants, but parlor Bolsheviki. In its conception, it was a sympathetic conspiracy between intellectuals and peasants, for there was no proletariat.

Speaking of the intellectual, Hindus says: <sup>5</sup>

“The Revolution itself is largely his creation. Long before there ever was a proletarian in Russia he had dreamed of the Revolution, had actually built barriades and had fought behind them and was hanged for doing it.”

<sup>5</sup> *Humanity Uprooted* (New York, Jonathan Cape, 1929), p. 225.

The peasant furnished the humanity; the intellectual gave that humanity expression. The old tribal tradition, the neighborhood solidarity, and the fact that the peasantry constitutes about eighty-five per cent of the population, make the opposition of the peasants to any uncongenial phases of the revolution an almost insurmountable obstacle. For this reason, the Soviet government has made concession after concession in land policy, grain collection, etc., and has postponed the final struggle for the complete conversion of the peasantry to Socialism until the crisis of all other problems, internal and external was passed, and until their program appears more like a Menshevik than a Bolshevik policy.

The insistence by the Communists that collectivism is only another form of coöperation is a testimony of the cleverness and diplomacy of the communist leaders. The coöperative movement began in Russia with the freedom of the serfs in 1861, made rapid progress after the revolution of 1905, and had become one of the features of Russian rural life by 1914.<sup>6</sup> The favorableness of the Soviet government after 1921 to all forms of coöperative organization among the peasants seemed paradoxical in view of the voluntary nature of such organization and the authoritarian socialism of the government. In the editorial of a study of Agricultural Coöperation in the Soviet Union made in 1928 by a German, G. Rathner, and translated by M. Digby of the Horace Plunkett Foundation in 1929, appears the following statement:

“If the rulers of Russia, with a theoretical prejudice as strong as that of any capitalist against an autonomous form of non-profit-making business association, have found agricultural coöperation essential to the redemption and progress of Russian agriculture, the significance of it, to those concerned with economic problems

<sup>6</sup> Harper, *Civic Training in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge University Press, 1929), pp. 166-167.



of rural life, transcends that of all other experiments pursued in the social laboratory of the Revolution, . . .

“That this, in fact, has been the persuasion and practice of the Russian Government since 1921, emerges from the cumulative evidence of this survey, more convincing than any legislation or other declaration of policy, though in these also the tendency was manifest.”

That survey showed that the number of agricultural co-operatives had increased from 27,000 before the war to about 100,000 or nearly four times as many in 1928. That apparent favorableness seems now to have been only a step in the gradual process of weaning the land-hungry peasant population away from its persistent private-property complex. The weaning process is not yet complete, however; and the trick of calling collectivism the rose of coöperation does not make it smell so sweet that the peasants are thoroughly reconciled to a difference in flavor.

Referring to the peasant, Hindus <sup>7</sup> says:

“He was always an eager and hopeful coöperator; he always has realized, and never so much as now, that his only hope of salvation from material stress lies in coöperation. Too immense is the population that lives on the land, and the average land-holding in Russia must remain small, too small to warrant the individual purchase of needed implements, and the peasant understands that this is the case. He is coöperating with his neighbors, with the community, in so far as he must, to cheapen prices of city products, to raise those of the village commodities, to increase production through joint use of machinery. These forms of group action appeal to him, stir his enthusiasm, evoke a ready and eager response. But coöperation to him is not an end in itself. It is only a means to an end—the end being personal possession. He balks at the point of distribution, and that of course shuts the gate to real communism, which presupposes communal distribution just as emphatically as communal production. Here lies the basic conflict between the peasant and the Communists, the parting of their ways, the tugging of lines in opposite directions.”

<sup>7</sup> *Humanity Uprooted* (New York, Jonathan Cape, 1929), p. 168.

At the close of his chapter on the Soviet Coöperative Movement, Harper<sup>8</sup> says:

“The problem is to bring into this work of socialist construction the broad masses of poor and middle peasants who are filled with petty-bourgeois views, to a certain degree not believing in collectivism, and whose civic instinct is much weaker than that of the working class.”

Dillon<sup>9</sup> tells how the peasants were captivated by the prospect of free land which Lenin dangled before their eyes and which they hoped to own as land had been owned under the Tsars, but which the Communists intended should belong to the community and be tilled by coöperative groups, while the Central Government should buy the produce at low rates and sell it abroad at prices that would beat foreign competition.

“Such is the origin of the fateful discrepancy between peasantry and Government, a discrepancy which may be characterised by an old Russian saying: ‘The scythe has struck a rock’. The peasant, when defending his interests, is impervious to argument and his obstinacy is invincible. He belongs to those races whose members by keeping silence express much, and by speaking reveal nothing. If he appears to give way, it is only for the purpose of obtaining a truce to enable him to strengthen his resistance. And when thoroughly exasperated he has recourse to violence or any other drastic methods of ‘direct action’ within his reach, as in the case of the Government ‘Correspondents’ to-day—men who reside in the villages and keep the authorities informed as to who is well-to-do there and should be more heavily taxed, etc. Many of them have come to an untimely end of late.”

The policy of the Soviet Government is a unified policy embracing not only collectivization and mechanization, but a most ambitious and aggressive political and cultural educational campaign, a campaign for enhancing class con-

<sup>8</sup> *Civic Training in Soviet Russia* (Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 187.

<sup>9</sup> *Russia To-day and Yesterday* (London, Dent, 1929), pp. 125-126.

sciousness and class hatred, and a campaign for eliminating the so-called "opium of the people," religion. Many peasants resent the interference in their traditional modes of living. The philosophy of materialism is uncongenial to their mystic habits of thought. The arbitrary and artificial classification of the villagers into koolaks, middle, and poor peasant categories comes into conflict with the neighborly mores. The revolution in moral doctrines shocks their ethical sensibilities, especially where those doctrines impinge upon family and neighborhood relations. The militarization of the nation is inconsistent with the peasant's peace-loving propensities and with the powerful pacific appeal with which Lenin won their loyalties and stopped the war, so far as Russians were concerned.

And yet this greatest of all movements towards rational progress through socialistic organizations has reached proportions of which no outside observer ever dreamed, and the commotion which it has caused is to the slight disturbances produced by reforms in other nations as an earthquake is to a charge of dynamite. The efforts of foreign propagandists and lying newspapers will have no more effect in stopping the movement than would a dipper of water in quenching Vesuvius. Perhaps in the long run no factor will be so powerful in determining the survival or *démise* of the movement as that of its comparative productive efficiency. If, at length, it can compete with other systems in productiveness, it will probably survive in Russia and may spread to other nations where the obstacles in its way are not too great. In the short run, however, it will have to reckon with the psychology of the peasants and with the well-nigh impregnable fortification of their old neighborhood organization. The reformers have shown great fortitude and energy, and an earnestness which makes the triviality of most other reform movements both humorous and pathetic.



This movement toward the "socialization" of the life of a mighty nation has shown great adaptability, especially in those respects in which it touches the life of the peasants. The most recent change of policy is the decision to make haste more slowly in work of collective organization. The obstinacy of the peasant neighborhoods will require more compromises, some of which may have to become permanent. The Soviet Government may have eventually to recognize a fundamental difference in points of view and in the conditions of productive efficiency between proletarians and peasants. It will find in the peasant population a stubborn foe to any assault upon its cherished ideals, and a stalwart ally in winning or conserving any objectives which appear to be to its advantage.

## CHAPTER XIII

### CONCLUSIONS

CONTRARY to the teachings of behaviorist psychologists, I believe that what we call the spirit or the soul of an individual or of a group is a very real, though intangible, thing. I think it quite probable that I have been influenced by those emanations of the spirit of neighborhoods which no man, other than a poet, is likely to express fully in words and which no one, certainly, can express in statistics. My conclusions and suggestions may savor of these emanations. I confess to having had several preconceived ideas. The one most persistent preconception, which soon proved to be a misconception, was the notion that a study of European rural villages would reveal great similarity between them, and that the points of similarity could readily be contrasted with open-country neighborhoods by means of charts and statistical diagrams which could make obvious at a glance advantages and disadvantages of the two systems of rural residence. I expected to be able to describe, in greater or less detail, a typical European rural village. This ambition, however, was so quickly, though painfully, dispelled, that I think the study has suffered little by it. While it is much easier to describe a typical rural village of a certain European country than it is to describe a typical American rural neighborhood, such a description has to be limited to very few characteristics.

My first conclusion, then, is that there is great differentiation among European rural village societies. My second conclusion is that, in the comparison of the two systems,

the advantages have not all been on one side; but my compliments to American neighborhoods will have to resemble those of the Reverend Sam Jones to his wife. He used to return from one of his evangelistic tours and announce to her that he had not seen more than a half-dozen girls on the whole trip whom he would rather have than her. I must say to the American rural neighborhood that I have not discovered more than a thousand peculiarities of European rural villages that seem to me superior to her main characteristics. A suggestion of possible advantages of the open-country system lies in the fact that in almost every European country it is beginning to furnish the village system increasingly aggressive competition.

In this investigation I have found nothing to contradict and much to confirm the hypothesis which helped to induce me to undertake the work, namely, that there is a close relation between the characteristics of neighborhood organization and what "A.E." calls the *national being*. The neighborhood is the heart of the nation, and when it fails to perform its function because of organic weakness or decrepitude, there is not much use of politicians' prescribing national hair restorers or corn plasters. I do not wish to suggest the particularistic view that the neighborhood is the one and only cause of everything, but rather that its sickness or health is one of the most important predisposing causes of national ill-being or well-being. There can be no national well-being apart from individual well-being, and *vice versa*; and one of the connections between the two is the neighborhood. No program of congress or parliament, even though it include such desirable items as old-age pensions, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation, is of any value unless it can reach the individual citizen, and this it cannot do effectively *unless it makes the connection by means of the neighborhood*. On the other hand, no private individual is likely to develop any worthy



vision and have it incorporated into the life of the nation unless it grows from seed generated in the soil of the neighborhood and nourished by the neighborhood until it pushes its branches up into the larger life. "The farmer should be bigger than his farm," said Mago, the Carthaginian; but *the farmer cannot grow to the fuller stature of citizenship unless he develops first to the bigness of a neighbor*. The neighborhood is a connecting link (in many cases, as in America and England, a *missing* link) between individualism and good citizenship. If America is ever to attain the ideal of good citizenship she must develop the kind of neighborhood conditions in which citizenship can grow.

The blame for the problems of our society is often laid at the door of the family, but the family seems to be hardly guilty when one considers the nature of those problems and the specialized function of the family. The corruption in our politics, the partiality of many of our courts, the bias of our press, the predatory nature of much of our business, the assumption on the part of some of the representatives of our institutions that their institutions are run for the purpose of furnishing them jobs, as well as the extreme individualism which makes coöperative business enterprises and the political endeavors of our farmers so futile seem to me to be largely due to the prevalence of the motivation which is idealized by business men in general and by the masses of our population, that is, the motivation of private profit or enlightened selfishness. Not only business is business, but so are politics, and so, to some extent, are the professions. But the generation of the ideals of equality and justice is not the special function of the family, and the above problems are not the effects of a degenerate family life.

The great temptation is the temptation of a son. If you are a son, you ought to be a privileged character. You ought not to have to get your living as other folks do, that is,

work for it. Command these stones that they be made bread. If you are a son, you ought not to have to abide by the laws of nature. Cast yourself down from the pinnacle of the temple, and it won't hurt you. If you are a son, you ought to have more than your share of this world's wealth, the kingdoms of the earth. The reason for this is that parental and filial love, plus the great variation in status in the family, encourage the notion that we should be treated everywhere with the consideration due the older or younger, male or female, parent or offspring. Because they expect special consideration, my banker refuses to allow his relatives, even his wife, to do business at his bank, and for the same reason, one of my colleagues confides to me that he hates to see one of his relatives coming into his classes. But when we participate in the affairs of a well-regulated neighborhood, we meet on a common footing and soon get the privileged-character idea knocked out of us. Our defects are not so much those of the lack of ideals developed in the family, as the lack of those developed in the neighborhood. Our society is tempted of the devil because it is a society of sons, not of neighbors.

We have been much preoccupied with the *form* of government. But the best possible form would be no good without the right kind of people to run it, and almost any form would do if we had the right kind of folks to run it. If we get such folks, we shall have to raise them, and then hold what Professor Arthur Evans Wood calls some "judiciously selected funerals." We shall have to raise such folks in well-regulated families and neighborhoods. It may be objected that the greater impact of the rural population of Russia, for example, upon the national life is due not to the form of neighborhood, but to the predominance of rural people in the population. Professor Cooley has shown in his discussion of public opinion that influence is not a matter of numbers. The decrease in percentage of

our people living on farms from sixty-five per cent to half that proportion, has not been accompanied by a decrease in the influence of our farmer class, at least in so far as politics are concerned. It is also quite generally assumed that there is a relation between the amount of mutual aid practiced by a people and the amount of accumulated wealth, and that the ratio is an inverse one. But no one would argue that our farmers, who now constitute one of our poorest classes, are as successful in coöperative endeavors as are the more wealthy class of our citizens.

According to Green, the author of *A Short History of the English People*, Karl Marx was fired with his socialistic radicalism by observation of conditions in England which resulted from enclosures. Similar conditions of anarchy in America have resulted in a sort of conspiracy between economists, biologists, and profiteers to justify the outworn theory of *laissez faire*, on the basis that men are not born equal and so, by divine right, the strong should devour the weak as the big fish eat the little ones. I shall take neither side of this argument, but maintain the same uncomfortable position as that of a dog in a busy tennis court, and insist that the solution of our social and economic problems is mainly that of neighborliness, and, in this matter, I am sure that European rural villages have something to teach us.

Now if neighborhoods are to function effectively, their organization must allow for three things: proper relations within themselves, proper relations between themselves and the secondary groups, and that adaptability which makes possible orderly, progressive change. The time was when the first of these was almost sufficient; but the time has come when no neighborhood liveth to itself alone, nor can it expect to be self-sufficing, or self-sufficient. In primitive, traditional society, there was little demand for change, and adaptability was, if anything, counter-selective; but in our



age the only constant thing is change. The nature of this change is suggested by Professor Cooley: "The central fact of history, from a psychological point of view, may be said to be the gradual enlargement of social consciousness and rational coöperation."<sup>1</sup>

I shall try to evaluate village and open-country neighborhoods on these three points. However, I shall deal mainly with the first requirement, believing that, given the first, the second and third are likely to follow. As a general proposition, I am persuaded that right relations within the group are, like love, largely a matter of the right kind and amount of propinquity, and that the right kind and amount of propinquity are the more easily attained in a village system. I know of no better basis on which to judge neighborhood organization than that of the effectiveness with which neighborhood social and economic needs are met.

My first conclusion as to these needs is that they are met more fully in a village neighborhood than in open-country neighborhoods, by informal organization which makes unnecessary so much formal organization. One of the main functions of formal organization in open-country neighborhoods is the bringing of the neighborhood together. They are already together in village neighborhoods, and attention to, discussion of, and action upon, neighborhood problems, naturally result from this "togetherness." The opportunity for emulation, i.e., conformity, rivalry, and hero-worship, together with the opportunity for self-expression, appreciation, and security, so necessary to individual happiness and efficiency, is provided for in large measure by this informal organization.

The first of these needs I should state as that of *making allowance for variation in the population*. An old philosopher suggested that when God made the universe, He had

<sup>1</sup> Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), Chap. XI, p. 113.

three choices; He could have made a universe of a vast number of things, all alike, or a vast number of things, some alike and some different, or a vast number of things all different. He took the third choice and made a universe of a vast number of things all different. The rural population is no exception to this rule. Variation is the basis of the evolutionary process, and unless rural neighborhood organization makes allowance for the unlikeness in the rural population, neither Natural nor Artificial selection will function as progressively as it might.

If rural neighborhoods were what they should be in other respects, their members would not readily migrate or emigrate for the purpose of obtaining congenial occupation, and members would not be denied self-expression from a lack of provision for variation in the human element in the way of a division of labor and of social function. Such a provision would further help the farmer to overcome his economic determinism, that is, the idea that economic well-being would constitute social well-being. Recognizing the fact that there is more than one kind of utility, he would stop singing his old song, "The Farmer is the Man that Feeds Them All," and would be reminded that folks need something besides feeding.

Specialization, and the interdependence which it implies, would increase the social solidarity, which is so weak now in American neighborhoods. Aside from the influence of the isolation of farm residence, it is largely because of the fact that the farmer's neighbor is a farmer that he feels so independent. If his neighbors included his banker, his grocer, his doctor, his garage man, he would receive many reminders of neighborhood interdependence, and something similar, so far as the farmer is concerned, would happen to the banker and grocer and doctor and garage man.

Another of the universal human needs is that of *appreciation* and, for most of us, this has to be of the short-distance

variety. We want, at least, in addition to the appreciation of future generations and other remote groups, that of our intimates, and the opportunity for a full self-expression of our varied talents should be associated with neighborhood appreciation.

Want of the sense of economic and social security, a want which is fostered by the nature of the farming occupation, as well as by the isolation of American farmers, makes *security* an urgent need which American neighborhoods must undertake to supply, and the inclusion of other occupations and professions in the rural communities, making them more nearly self-sufficient, would be an advantage in this respect. Again, that attribute of a group which we refer to as a "fertile mind" in the individual implies a many-sided group. If the group is to be resourceful in the conduct of its affairs, it must contain a heterogeneous membership.

"The likeness in the communicating persons is necessary for comprehension, the difference for interest. We cannot feel strongly toward the totally unlike because it is unimaginable, unrealizable; nor yet toward the wholly like because it is stale—identity must always be dull company."<sup>2</sup>

It would seem to be true in a neighborhood, as in the larger society, that we need as many types as possible so long as they are good types, and that each member needs to *mind his own business in a public spirit*.

It is very obvious from the lists of members of rural villages who make a living in other ways than farming, that even the smallest village neighborhoods have realized a *greater division of labor* than have open-country neighborhoods. The varied social activities which the programs of such villages include offer an equally superior opportunity for specialization in social functions in general. In the

<sup>2</sup> Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 153.



chapter which follows, the question is discussed as to whether this deficiency on the part of the open-country neighborhood is a necessarily permanent disability, and, if not, how the defect could be remedied.

Much of what has been said above applies to the subject of the work and business and living connected with the farming occupation. But some of the particular details of such work, business, and living will bear further discussion. After much lonesome labor on an American farm, during which my only companions were a team of horses and a dog, I can speak as one having authority on the subject of such work. I can remember the impressions of loneliness which were mine as I rode along, mile after mile, over dreary country roads, while accompanying my father to market, a loneliness which found expression in the pathetically thoughtful and reminiscent singing of the hymns which he had learned in his boyhood. Much repetition taught them to me as unforgettably as they were taught to him. My father sang of that "unchangeable home," and "Oh, to grace how great a debtor, Daily I'm constrained to be." I know of no loftier sentiments than those contained in some of these old hymns, but I would socialize the farmer's songs and make them include the sentiments of brotherhood and neighborliness as well as the seeking of a heavenly home.

I remember with equal vividness the heart-breaking agonies of "leaving home," which so many American boys have suffered, not so much in search of a better father, or mother, or sisters or brothers, as in search of a neighborhood to meet the needs of an expanding social nature. Such a neighborhood must make provision in its work and elsewhere for "emulation in service."

It was my colleague, Dr. Nancy Scott, who first suggested the possibility of the advantage of group work in village neighborhoods by telling me of the *unusual joyousness* of the workers in the rural villages of Czechoslovakia,

a joyousness which she had never observed among American farmers. She thought they succeeded in realizing much of the play spirit in the hardest of their labor. My observation of other European villages has led me to the conclusion that Czechoslovakian farmers are no exceptions in this respect. The village worker, whether blacksmith or school-teacher, has a more professional attitude than has the American farmer, and shows in his work more joyous self-expression, which is the soul of art. He realizes more fully the Browning ideal,

“Rejoice we are allied, with that which doth provide.

And not partake, effect and not receive.”

He has more of the spirit of work illustrated by Kahlil Gibran in his book, “The Prophet”:

“And what is it to work with love? It is to weave the cloth with threads drawn from your heart, even as if your beloved were to wear that cloth. It is to build a house with affection, even as if your beloved were to dwell in that house. It is to sow seeds with tenderness and reap the harvest with joy, even as if your beloved were to eat the fruit. Work is love made visible. And if you cannot work with love, but only with distaste, it is better to leave your work and sit at the gate of the temple and take alms of those who work with joy. For if you bake bread with indifference, you bake a bitter bread that feeds but half a man’s hunger, and if you sing though as angels, and love not the singing, you muffle men’s ears to the voices of the day and the voices of the night.”

The advantages of the village system in respect to the motivation and the quality and quantity of work seemed to me to result from three peculiarities that are generally associated with that system. In the first place, most of the work in which European rural villagers engage is *group*, or gang, labor, if not of groups of neighbors or hired laborers, at least, of family groups. It is certain that *fellowship in labor* is more necessary to some individuals than to others; but most workers worry less about the “time of

day" if they are allowed the camaraderie and rivalry and other concomitants of group work. Perhaps the best way to understand the advantage of sociable work as compared with the lonely sort which predominates in rural America is to participate in both kinds. I remember that one of my father's hired men who used to work well in company developed a headache when he had to work alone. This tendency is not due to the need for the presence of a boss, but to the fact that man is a social animal. American farmers enjoy the threshing season, for instance, regardless of the dirt, and hard work, and long hours, because it is the one occasion of the year when they enjoy the luxury of mutual aid and sociable toil. As soldiers endure the undemocratic discipline and the filth and squalor and hardship of army life, so workers could endure the most tedious and unpleasant occupations if they were organized into squads, companies, and regiments.

Another peculiarity of European villages, which some may think trivial, but which impressed me as being important, was *the presence of women and girls in most of the labor groups*. The question has been raised as to how many women would prefer factory work if there were no men there; but I have not heard it suggested that the presence of women workers was probably quite as agreeable to the men workers. To come back to the illustration of army life again, it is a well-known fact that modern military authorities make a great effort to remedy the abnormal condition of the separation of soldiers from women folk, and consider the presence of women nurses and ambulance-drivers and canteen-workers, as well as the work of civilian organizations in providing female companionship for soldiers, of great military value. I am convinced that the co-working of men and women and boys and girls on village farms is not only an advantage so far as the motivation, quality, and quantity of the work is concerned,



but that it may be so in the matter of the physical health of the women and girls, and the moral health of all. The exceptions to the latter statement are the cases where the women work as long in the fields as the men do and then do their housework besides.

The third advantage of the village at work is that, whether the work is done by a group or not, much of the village agriculture is of the sort called "strip-farming," or, in any case, is not isolated by hedges and fences, and so allows for much *neighborly observation and imitation*. It would be difficult for an enlightened, scientific farmer in a European village neighborhood to hide his light under a bushel, and his interest in his neighbor's success keeps him from wanting to conceal it.

The one unavoidable, serious disadvantage of village work is *the distance which some villagers have to travel in going to and from their fields*. Few would admit this to be of much importance; but the fact that many European farmers are beginning to resort to the system of isolated occupation in neighborhoods where formerly all lived in villages, and the practice in some places of building temporary dwellings on the farms to live in during seedtime and harvest, seem to be good evidence that the separation of dwelling and holding in the village system is a felt handicap. I did not find that the loss of property through theft was a serious disadvantage. I found, with few exceptions, that lands were more intensively cultivated, that more care was taken of soil fertility, that farm buildings were kept in better repair, and that farm machinery and tools were better sheltered and cared for in village communities than in our neighborhoods.

The very great variety of kinds of homes, both in our rural neighborhoods and in European villages, makes any comparison of the two systems, in the matter of home-keeping, difficult. There is a vast difference between the

homes of Russin and those of Perinaldo, and between the best and the worst to be found in almost any American neighborhood. In villages where there are class distinctions, as in German Dörfer, between the Ritter and the Pächter, on the one hand, and the small holders on the other, there is, of course, great variation. The homes of farm laborers almost everywhere in Europe are notably poor. In general, however, it can be said that there is much greater uniformity among the rank and file of homes in a village than is true of open-country neighborhoods. This conformity, which is true of other phases of village life as well, is due to the better opportunity for imitation which the intimacy of village residence makes possible. A similar opportunity for the constructive functioning of the other two forms of emulation, rivalry and hero-worship, is furnished by village residence. I have found many interesting and even humorous illustrations of this, such as the great pains which some German farmers take to get unusual varieties of flowers in order to outdo their neighbors in flower gardening. The most important emulation of villagers is that which applies to child-care and child-training, the lack of which in modern American neighborhoods is emphasized by Professor Ernest R. Groves.<sup>3</sup> Because of this and the greater opportunity for social contacts outside the family, village children are spared the torture of bashfulness and their parents the humiliation of children's misbehavior when company comes—torture and humiliation which are taken as a matter of course in most of our neighborhoods.

I do not think that my boyhood experience was very unusual in this respect, and I remember vividly the harrowing details of my first meal in a strange home. I accompanied my mother on a trip to town, where she went to purchase two bushels of peaches. After the purchase, we met one of my mother's village friends, or rather, her only

<sup>3</sup> *Rural Problems of To-day* (New York, Association Press, 1922), p. 44.

village friend, who invited us to lunch. My mother accepted without consulting me in the matter. When we arrived at the lady's home, the ordeal was ready, and I was assigned to a chair beside the lady's daughter, a small girl of about my own age. I suddenly lost my appetite and my voice as well. I was unable to eat a single mouthful or speak a single word. I have had few escapes, even those from German submarines, which were as great a relief as that felt upon leaving that home of my mother's friend. I found village children well-behaved, courteous, unabashed, straightforward, and unafraid, even of foreigners, and, if I were to pick out the most important advantage of village society over that of the open-country, it would be the advantage of *the greater opportunity for the socialization of children.*

I found more *mutual aid* among the housewives and mothers in the work of housekeeping and child-care, especially during sickness or other misfortune, than is practiced in our neighborhoods. This characteristic was again common to other phases of village life. I did not find the custom, which is very common in village communities, of having the dwelling of the family and the other farm buildings under the same roof, as serious a disadvantage as I expected. The farmyards and stables and water supplies of many American farmers are often too close together for comfort and for health; in most cases, within flying distance for flies; and there is usually less effort made at cleanliness than is made in villages.

Education, supposing that it contains anything else, must at least include the socialization of the individual. It is not only a social process, but a socializing process. I have found no statement of the objectives of education which seemed to me an improvement upon that of my teacher and colleague, Dr. Ernest Burnham: "Every citizen vocationally well placed and well qualified, and every citizen socially intelli-



gent and responsible." In so far as education is a social process and so a social problem, it involves at least four relationships: those between parents and teachers, those between parents and children, those between teachers and children, and between children. It is in respect to such relationships that the European village organization can furnish progressive suggestions for our rural neighborhoods. The advantages of the village are mainly in the informal neighborhood organization which affects these relationships, not in the curriculum, school equipment, scholastic preparation of teachers, or in the administration of the school system. Some of the villages surpassed our rural schools in the latter characteristics; but there is great variation between the different countries in these important matters.

Among the peculiarities of villages in general, as compared with open-country neighborhoods, which facilitate these educational relationships are *the greater length of service of the teachers and their more professional attitude, the complete acceptance of the teachers by the neighborhood as permanent residents and full members of village institutions, and the greater opportunity for observation by the parents of school work and school recreation, the greater opportunity for observation by the teachers of family and neighborhood social conditions affecting their pupils, the greater opportunity for natural neighborhood association among the children from infancy, and the lesser separation of the children from their homes*, the shorter distances they have to travel making it possible for them to go home to lunch. Most European rural villages have histories and heroes symbolized in buildings and monuments, and both the traditional and the conventional background give the village boy and girl a better start in the attainment of the thing we call culture, as "an enlarging membership in the social whole."

In general, I did not find the village neighborhood inferior to the open-country neighborhood in respect to *health and sanitation*. I should not argue that physicians, nurses, and hospitals were more accessible in villages, however, or that villagers were much better informed concerning the laws of health and sanitation. I did find, nevertheless, that there was much greater social responsibility in village neighborhoods in enforcing and observing regulations of health and sanitation. In such matters as the care of barnyards and stables, cleanliness of streets, avoidance of contagion from contaminated water supplies, observation of quarantine and vaccination regulations, and similar neighborhood responsibilities, the village is superior to our open-country neighborhoods.

Villagers, with few exceptions, do not bathe more regularly than American farmers, but one gets the impression from the provisions made for the washing of clothes in all villages and from the number of women who are constantly engaged in washing them, that frequent changes of clothes take the place of bathing unless, as Mark Twain suggests, "they keep one outfit for washing and another for wearing."

The advantage which seemed most obvious to me and which is fundamental to most of the other advantages was that of *recreation and sociable life*. I know of no place where the spirit of youth is freer or the work of middle age more sociable or where old age has a greater variety of pleasant interests to keep it from subsisting exclusively on memories than the rural village. I know of no social organism, with the exception of the family, in which the organic relation between the individual and the group is a more intimate and constructively effective union. No other form of neighborhood, rural or urban, seemed to me to offer a better opportunity for the humblest member, as well as the most powerful, to make his contribution or to receive

his share of the distribution of social goods. This is chiefly due to the fact which has been mentioned before, that the villagers are naturally together and do not have to depend upon the spasmodic, organizing efforts of individuals who in American neighborhoods enjoy little success because they either have, or are likely to be assumed to have, axes to grind, and because of the very great difficulty of the simultaneous assembling of American neighbors. If social neighborhood responsibility is to be comprehensive, it must apply to the failures as well as the successes. Our American sculptor, Lorado Taft, has criticized American neighborhoods for failing to recognize and encourage talented young people, waiting until they have achieved success abroad and then laying great claim to their accomplishments. But a comprehensive social responsibility cannot develop unless *all* the members of the neighborhood receive public attention, and this is much surer in a village society. The intimacy of village life ensures this through allowing for a freer, more natural expression of sociability.

I did not find more formal recreational organizations represented in villages than in American rural neighborhoods; but I found the memberships of the former much more inclusive and participation in recreational activities more general. The enjoyment of the same recreational activities by all ages of villagers together seemed to me a decided advantage over the custom in American neighborhoods of confining such activities to children's and young people's groups.

This tendency in the village, together with the fact that there are always parental or other adult, unofficial supervisors within sight and hearing of recreational groups, furnishes much more natural and effective supervision than that of official supervisors and chaperons. The intimate acquaintance from infancy and the discipline in the social



amenities allowed by the village, especially that between boys and girls, make supervision less necessary. The village is far ahead of the ordinary American rural neighborhood *in the mechanics of politeness and of social intercourse in general*, and this I have come, after experiencing it, to consider a great advantage. Courtesy is the oil which lubricates social machinery, and it is, in my opinion, because of this lubricating function more than because of the enforcement of formal courtesy by ruling classes that villagers observe more generally the forms of polite social intercourse. It is a great advantage to know how to behave and what to do when company comes, if you have as much company as villagers do, and it is worth while taking a half-hour to say "au revoir" if you want your company to come again. Professor Edward A. Ross calls my attention to the fact that all Chinese peasants live in villages and says he was told in China, "The simplest peasant would know how to bear himself if he suddenly found himself in the Emperor's presence." I should consider the expensive European liquor traffic worth the money, if its only effect was the encouragement of conviviality. European villagers can give us lessons in hospitality and in the enjoyment of neighborly visiting and good-fellowship. A friend of mine says a man should tell his wife occasionally that he loves her *still*, and so neighbors should take time to let each other know that they appreciate neighborly association. Villagers do this, and their appreciation leads them to show an interest in each other's affairs which American farmers would consider unwarrantable trespass. The birth and the death of a neighbor, and most of what goes between, are considered neighborhood affairs.

In *morals and religion* I think American farmers would succeed better if they reversed the commandments and began with the new one of loving their neighbors as themselves. I do not believe that official national reports of crime

and delinquency are as dependable as the observation of local teachers, ministers, police officers, parents, and others interested in the morals of a neighborhood. After persistent questioning of such representatives, I am persuaded that the statistics which now show a very great difference in the amount of crime and delinquency in American and European nations would be even less complimentary to America if we had exact knowledge on the subject; and I am sure that a similar comparison between American open-country and European village neighborhoods would be at least equally unfavorable to the American rural neighborhood. I expected the reverse to be true in regard to certain offenses such as stealing or crimes against property, owing to the separation of farms and dwellings in the village system; but I did not find such offenses considered a serious problem in any of the villages studied.

Formerly compact residence functioned largely as a protection against armed enemies, but this is no longer so, and it functions as a protection against external enemies only in so far as the rural villagers are in conflict with the economic and political interests of other groups. It still has an important *raison d'être* as a *defense against internal enemies*, however. No wife-beater or drunkard or maniac or other degenerate is likely to do much damage in a village before he runs amuck. This fact accounts for the almost universal agreement among European farmers, that drunkenness does not constitute a serious problem. Adequate police protection is more easily provided in villages than in our rural districts, but the credit for enforcement of moral standards in the former seems to me to be due much more to the greater strength and activity of that old man-of-all-work, public opinion.

I found great variation in the influence of organized religion in villages, but what has been said of village teachers is true of village preachers, and the Christian unity of vil-

lage neighborhoods is to that of American neighborhoods as the general unity of the one neighborhood is to that of the other. This sort of unity makes the work of village *charities and corrections* a simple matter, requiring no very elaborate organization or scientific management. Most of the correction in the village, like the charity, is of a neighborly sort. The intimacy of the village life soon teaches the villager where his rights leave off and the other fellow's begin, and the neighborly suggestions enforce the teaching. There is a thorough understanding of what is expected and of what to expect. There is, however, in every village some social machinery for dealing with offenders who are not amenable to informal treatment, and there is similar provision for charitable needs. The suffering from degrading poverty in Europe is, for the most part, confined to cities; and while this is somewhat true of America, there are many exceptions. Insurance and other preventive measures are much more generally used in villages than among American farmers.

The peculiarities of villagers in respect to *legislation and government* are that a much larger percentage of eligible voters vote, that there is a better opportunity for discussion and the dissemination of knowledge of the subject, and that *political strength is as much greater than that of our farmers as the village unity is greater than that of our rural neighborhoods*. While there is some more or less chronic grumbling among villagers as to taxes, the only "weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth" against legislation and government which I have heard among farmers was in open-country neighborhoods in America and in England. So far as I have been able to discover, the problems which occasion such complaints are much more acute in the latter countries. The political, economic and social power and reputability which are attached to the German title of *Von*, and conditions of land ownership in other coun-



tries, are not entirely a traditional advantage. It is true that such disreputable words as *villain* and *pagan* had their origin as appellations for European tillers of the soil, but they applied only to the lowest classes of such villagers. The terms *moss-back* and *hayseed* are applied to American landowners and countrymen in general. The King of Italy addresses Mussolini as *landowner* as well as *cousin* and *Head of the Government*, and this reputability of European farmers, I take it, is due to the past and present honor of their class, which has its main source in the form of their neighborhood organizations. This reputability was one of the factors which accounted for the ravenous land-hunger of our pioneers, a land-hunger which induced them to neglect neighborhood organization and to grab so much territory that their neighborhoods are comparatively impotent and themselves "land poor."

In the *development of leadership* the village has advantages in so far as its general social organization is superior to the open-country variety. Any group tends to function through its best members when the group is an organized one and when the members are well known to each other and have had the discipline of democratically-organized living together. In this respect the village neighborhood cannot be excelled by any common, primary, or secondary group other than the family. There is no general, organized effort in villages to discover, enlist, and train leaders; but the informal organization accomplishes it more effectively than any consciously organized effort is likely to do. The other necessary side of effective group activity, which might be called "followership" is developed by the same process. The difficulty with American rural neighborhoods is not that the farmers are all leaders, as has been suggested, but that they are neither followers nor leaders. Such neighborhoods will have to give birth to both leaders and followers, and this phenomenon can take

place only after a long period of gestation in which the pre-natal conditions to be suggested in the next chapter are met.

In the *work of formal, social organization* in villages, I found surprisingly little overlapping in territory or in programs, and an equally surprisingly small amount of balking or the leaving of gaps of neglected sections untouched by their programs. There was no formal organization of organizations or very conscious effort to correlate the work of the various agencies; but the intimacy of the village relationships, again, made such conscious effort unnecessary. The village agencies are too efficiently economical to allow the waste of duplication or to suffer the loss of the support of prospective members.

In the study of the success of villages in *meeting economic needs*, I have been preoccupied mainly in investigating the effectiveness of coöperative credit, supply, and marketing associations. I have found village coöperative societies more successful than those in American neighborhoods in the proportion of the neighbors in their respective memberships, in the percentage of the members' business done through their organization, and in the spirit and coöperation of the members in meeting other needs quite as important as the economic ones.

I shall close this chapter with the discussion of communication, since it seems to me that it is in respect to the effectiveness of communication that the village form of social organization derives its most fundamental advantage. By communication, I mean the "mechanism through which human relations exist and develop," as stated by Professor Cooley,<sup>4</sup> the improvement of which makes possible social enlargement and animation. It is the efficiency of communication which is fundamental to effective formal or informal social organization anywhere, and to the im-

<sup>4</sup> *Social Organization* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), p. 61.

provement of which we must look primarily for the revivifying of dead neighborhoods such as that pictured in the quotation at the head of the next chapter, which can be easily located in some American rural districts, and for the bringing of a more abundant life to those which are not so desiccated. The universal advantage of the village in respect to communication is not in the number of automobiles owned by villagers, nor in their use of telephones, nor in their reading of daily papers, books, or magazines, nor in their possession of facilities for travel, such as good roads, trains, and buses. While many of them have these things, the one universal advantage, the greatness of which one appreciates only by experiencing it, is the short-distance, face-to-face communication which enables every villager to be a communicant and to share to the full measure the village social life. Through this the social organism profits by whatever constructive variation it contains in its population; through it the village formal and informal social relations thrive, through it the neighborhood lives and moves and has its being.

Largely as a result of this advantage of short-distance communication and of the democratic, internal relations which it fosters, the village neighborhood naturally acquires two characteristics which facilitate relations with urban and national groups, characteristics which are lacking in American rural neighborhoods. These characteristics are *neighborhood strength* and *neighborhood self-respect*. The infringement upon their rights by industrial, commercial, and political interests is the cause of much resentment among American farmers; but there is no very effective expression of such resentment, to call attention to such infringement of rights. *The farmer's point of view, as a combination of the points of view of capitalist, employer, and laborer, needs effective expression in our urban and national discussions;* but because of rural disorganization,



especially because of rural neighborhood disorganization, the American farmer is largely inarticulate.

Village dwellers *do not suffer from inferiority complexes*; their self-respect and their offensive and defensive strength are generally taken for respectability by other groups; and rural, urban and national interests exhibit much greater equality of influence than is found among such interests in America. Besides affording an effective voice in larger affairs outside the village, the village system seems to me to have an advantage over our open-country system in the matter of adaptability both passive and active. Such active adaptation as that practiced by Hollanders in shutting out the sea could hardly have been accomplished by isolated, open-country dwellers, any more than the latter could emulate such passive adaptation as the innumerable kinds of conformity practiced by all villagers.

It is true that there are cases of stagnation in both systems; but I found no instances in villages of a tendency, not uncommon in American farming districts, to change habits too readily, like the hypochondriac who tries every new "cure." If change is to be orderly and progressive, the neighborhood must strike the mean between the two extremes, stagnation and instability; it must make the proper combination of the ingredients of progress, of old and new, of continuity and change, of likeness and difference. The European village succeeds better in this mixing process than does our rural neighborhood. The persistence of village residence after the most obvious need for it, i. e., protection from enemies, is past, is an illustration of the conservatism which hangs on to the good things of the past until they are proved to be no longer valuable; and the use of the most scientific methods of agriculture in Groszhartau, Germany, or of electric lights in Gattieres, France, illustrates the possibility of up-to-dateness in vil-

lage organization. Where stagnation is found in both systems, it seems to be the result of quite different influences. In the village it may be attributed largely to an excess of certain elements of strength such as village pride, respect for law and order, or the control of the younger generation by the older; in the open-country neighborhood stagnation results from weakness of various sorts, from the absence of young people and young ideas, from the lack of variation necessary to a fertile group mind, capable of social invention, from the want of energy and ability to promote and organize new projects, or, possibly, from deficiencies of intelligence due to folk depletion.

## CHAPTER XIV

### RECOMMENDATIONS

“The hand of the Lord was upon me, and carried me out in the Spirit of the Lord, and set me down in the midst of the valley which was full of dry bones.

And caused me to pass by them round about; and, behold, there were very many in the open valley; and, lo, they were very dry.

And he said unto me, Son of man, can these bones live? And I answered, O Lord God, thou knowest.

Again he said unto me, Prophecy upon these bones, and say unto them, O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord.

Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones, Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live;

And I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I am the Lord.

So I prophesied as I was commanded; and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and the bones came together, bone to bone.

And when I beheld, lo, the sinews and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them above; but there was no breath in them.

Then said he unto me, Prophecy unto the wind, prophecy, son of man, and say unto the wind, Thus saith the Lord God: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.

So I prophesied, as he commanded me, and the breath came unto them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army.”<sup>1</sup>

The first recommendation for rural neighborhood organization which I ever read was one in which the author advocated the arrangement of the countryside into what

<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel, XXXVII: 1-10.



was called "apple-pie order," a rearrangement of homes which would settle the farm families in a concentrated hub in the center of a territory divided by roads radiating from the center like spokes in a wheel. This was to allow the advantage of a compact neighborhood and, at the same time, make it possible for them to reach the fields by traveling the shortest possible distances. I have since read many other suggestions equally beautiful and impossible. Here is one clipped from the *Literary Digest* of February 15, 1930:

*Flats for Farmers.*

A man from Waterloo, Iowa, is reported recently as predicting "that farmers presently will be living in apartments; vast structures like the city beehives rising at every crossroad so that a hard day with the hoe may be followed by a spin in the Ford back to the marble lobby full of rubber plants, a bath in such warmish water as the 'superintendent'—rechristened from janitor—may have on tap, a tight tuxedo and dinner among the shaded lamps and shadier dishes of the communal *table d'hôte*." Possibly this prophet, Mr. P. L. Bryant by name, is right, remarks Dr. E. E. Free in *New York* (published by New York University).

The engineering, the transportation, and the economics of the plan are practical enough. The chief question is whether farmers want apartments. It may be that they do. There is a tacit assumption among sociologists that city overcrowding is a necessity of poverty, high rents, and lack of space. Perhaps it is nothing of the kind. Possibly this generation really prefers to crowd together a hundred or two to the acre, like David Harum's narrow Baptists who sat seven in a buggy. If farmers, perfectly well able to live in a field, give it up for imitation of city dog-kennels, that will unmask the truth.

The apartment house may be mankind's unconscious psychological equivalent of the large family. Neighborly acquaintance and sympathy are vanishing from the city warrens, but there is still the sense of many people close at hand, of less loneliness under the roof.

Having still in my memory the work of helping to move my father's buildings across an eighty-acre farm, I shall

not undertake to re-settle American farmers in actual village residence. I am not so sure of Browning's contention, "Whatever we have thought or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist," at least right away; and I shall bear in mind, in my recommendations, the advice of Professor Hobhouse:

"Before we can decide whether any purpose which men may propound to themselves is valid and reasonable, we must determine, first, whether it is self-consistent . . . ; and secondly, whether it lies within the limits of practical possibility."<sup>2</sup>

I wish also to be the first one to suggest that the conclusions and recommendations must be tentative, and so avoid being accused of inconsistency when, with age, I come to advocate different ones. I shall be content if the evidence, not the conclusions, prove of permanent value. While I wish to be less dogmatic as to details in my recommendations than in the chapter on conclusions, I have a very persistent conviction that the American neighborhood must do something to overcome its chaotic and anarchic condition, with its resulting unhappiness and inefficiency. I say *American* neighborhood because this book is written primarily with the needs of American neighborhoods in mind. Most of their defects are to some extent defects of English neighborhoods as well. *The principal difference is that English neighborhoods think they once were happy, while American neighborhoods know that they never were.* If I were taking a text for this chapter, I should choose the one which I heard a street-corner revivalist use. As I drove past, I heard his brief question and brief answer:

"What must I do to be lost?"

"Absolutely nothing, my friends, absolutely nothing!"

But if the rural neighborhood is to be saved, its salvation will be the consummation of both faith and works. I do not

<sup>2</sup> *Social Evolution and Political Theory* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1911), Chapter I, p. 7.

believe that any absolute, cut-and-dried, fool-proof, twinkling-of-an-eye plan of salvation is possible; but past accomplishments and present trends suggest sufficient hopefulness to encourage prophecy. The most fundamental basis for hopefulness is the sociological fact that what has been called "social distance" is not absolutely determined by physical distance. I have known some American rural neighbors who lived miles apart who were at the same time closer together than some Russian peasants who lived in the same house and practiced collective agriculture. So far as the problems of American rural neighborhood organization is one of the transition from the small-scale to large-scale association, the solution is no more hopeless than the growth from childhood to manhood. I once got some suggestions as to the possible methods of neighborhood redemption from attendance at an event such as had never happened before in a certain centralized school district in which a teacher got up his nerve to prophesy. He said: "There is going to be a school fair next Friday."

And then the knocking began. But he prophesied again, and added that certain members of the neighborhood were going to make voluntary contributions to defray the expenses, which included such extravagances as prizes for winning schools, and paying an outside speaker. And behold, when Friday came, over one thousand people from eleven rural schools came together bringing displays of pets, toys, vegetables, fruits, grain, flowers, school work and enthusiasm which filled every room of the Millburg centralized school building. They stayed all day, for the pet parade and the errorless ball game between the victorious East Enders and the West Enders. After the game the teams and spectators went home to do chores, and even the prophet was doubtful whether they would return for the evening program of music, dramatics, dancing and speaking. But long before the adjournment of the commit-



tee whose business it was to make plans for a bigger and better fair the next year, every available chair in the auditorium was occupied, and there stood up an exceeding great army. About midnight they went home, not to raise more corn to feed more hogs to buy more land to raise more corn—but to raise more corn and potatoes and grapes and wheat and flowers to the glory of God and of boys and girls and men and women.

In a little book called *The Richer Life*, Walter Dyer tells the story of one Anton, an apprentice clock-maker of Flanders, who spent his time at the monotonous work of making little one-handed clocks for the wealthy people of Flanders. The poor people could not afford clocks. Anton became tired of making clocks for people he did not know, for he had a soul in his body, a restless, starved soul that made him long for better things. As he went about the streets of a Sunday he heard of the good gray monks that lived beyond the hill. He heard of their manner of life, for they had plenty of time for devotions and scholarly pursuits, and thinking that it must be an ideal existence, he decided to apply for admittance into the monastery. The monks took him in as a lay brother, and set him to weeding the garden. They soon learned that he was skilled with tools, and gave him the task of building the new altar in the chapel. He did the work so well that the abbot gave him the job of carving a legend in the space in front of the altar, and the legend which the abbot picked out was one that sounded well and fitted the space. It was this: *Where There Is No Vision, The People Perish*. Anton went about carving in a most painstaking manner, and, as he carved, he kept saying the words over to himself, "Where there is no vision, the people perish." And he found himself wondering what the words meant. He asked the abbot, who said they were the words of a very wise man and had to do with the soul's salvation, not a very satisfactory answer to Anton. He asked the other

monks, but they could not help him. He became discouraged with the life at the monastery, for he said that if the saying were true, they should all perish, since not even the good gray monks had a vision. One day, in discouragement, he left the monastery and went to see the old master clock-maker for whom he worked in the town. Anton told him about the legend, and the old master clock-maker said that a vision was something good and lofty and desirable which the soul may see, and, having not, may reach forth to obtain. He said that without a vision the body may live, but the soul is starved. He explained that men may eat, and drink, and sleep, and laugh, and work, and quarrel, and beget children, and die, but all to no purpose, and so the wise man had said, "Without a vision, the people perish." Then Anton asked what he might do to get a vision, and he was told to go back to his bench making clocks, and let his vision find him working. After a time the master died, and Anton took his place. And then, one day, he got a vision. He thought of the poor people of Flanders who could not afford clocks, and conceived the idea of building a huge clock with two hands like one he had seen that came from the south. He built it, placed it upon a tower in the market place, and under it he carved and painted the legend, "Where there is no vision, the people perish." And then there came to Anton greater visions. He thought of the country people who, because the roads were so poor, seldom came to town and so were little benefited by his clock. With great difficulty he made the burgomaster see his vision and induced him to build smooth roads running in all directions. Anton was given many honors, and when he died left Flanders the richer for his vision.

Prophets and organizers and other leaders will perform a more important function in the making and re-making of American neighborhoods, where so much depends upon formal organization, than they do in European villages,

where informal organization is so powerful. The approach to the problem, then, would seem to be the discovery, enlistment, and training of leaders. Perhaps, in view of the present tendency, a better statement would be simply to say that the approach to the problem would be the training of leaders, since the American way seems to be to attempt to train for leadership the whole population and to leave the discovery and enlistment of leaders to that selective process.

I should put first in that training a thorough grounding in the science of social relations and the social process. The leaders must be made aware of the fact that the social process is largely unconscious and that, as with individuals, so it is with groups:

“There’s a divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough-hew them how we will.”

Some rough-hewing or “score-hacking” is necessary; but the rational, conscious, social control of any group is only half the process, and the leader must be prepared to wait upon the slow, largely unconscious growth of the group. If they are to avoid the pitfalls of particularistic, monoptic points of view which disintegrate rather than integrate society, they must understand the very great complexity of modern social life and at the same time appreciate, in so far as it is possible, the working of the great unconscious forces and general trends in the social process. Briefly stated, that training must comprehend the organic interdependence which characterizes every phase of the complex relations between the social group and its members, and the slow, largely unconscious, evolutionary process which characterizes social growth.

A good test of the comprehensive grasp which is necessary to effective neighborhood leadership would be the ability to appreciate Plato’s old story of the captives in a cave,



who see, not reality, but only the shadows of it. A neighborhood leader must be nothing less than a philosopher who can see behind the scenes of the neighborhood drama and understand its psychological organization and process. He must be able to understand that there are only two ways in which American farmers can become neighbors indeed. They may adopt the structurally compact village form of residence, or by means of formal organization and through the use of improved communication and transportation, they may realize the psychological compactness which European rural village neighborhoods develop informally.

Rural leaders must be able to see that there is "an evident extension of the local areas within which communication and coöperation prevail, and, on the whole, an advance in the quality of coöperation as judged by an ideal of moral unity." They must be theorists, theorists who are capable of conceiving neighborhoods and nations as most intricate organic wholes which have histories and which are in a process of growth which is characterized by integration and differentiation. A leader so trained will be conservative, because he will see that we grow out of the past, not outgrow it. He will not be in a hurry, for he will be an evolutionist, *not* a revolutionist. No matter how thorough a specialist he is, he will see the whole through the window of his specialty, and will coöperate freely with other specialists.

And there must be many specialists. In the cultivation of this unweeded garden, the American rural neighborhood, there is room for many workers. There must be philosophers who can discern a meaning in the common, work-a-day life of this garden, and who can lend patience and hopefulness to the other gardeners. There must be scientists whose laboratories will include both the neighbors and their habitat. Among the leaders there must be some teachers with significant personalities, as well-trained in Sociology

as in Psychology and Teaching Methods, who will not despise the material with which they work, who will see in the rural school a life work, and who will number themselves among the resident forces, not regard themselves as mere sojourners. There must be students who will realize that there is nothing on land or sea quite like their neighborhood, students whose intellectual curiosity will impel them to investigate its special needs. Dreamers and prophets and preachers, with a give-me-my-neighborhood-or-I-die determination, must connect the neighborhood life with the only larger life we know, must generate some home-grown visions, and must see to it that great traditions and worthy ideals become flesh and dwell among us. Let there be some socialized physicians and nurses and dentists, who will be as much concerned with neighborhood well-being as with private profit, who will doctor the group as well as the individuals, who will prescribe knowledge for the ills of ignorance, and whose treatment will begin, not with the impossibilities of senility, but with unborn possibilities. And then there is room for the devotees of sportsmanship, not of the sort that follows the hounds and glories in the chase and the tearing to pieces of living creatures, or that which gloats or despairs around the gaming table, but rather that sort which motivated the ancient Athenian in building up a strong and beautiful and disciplined physique, and which won the admiration of his neighbors as expressed in a crown of wild olive. The neighborhood must raise some statesmen who are as harmless as doves in addition to being as wise as serpents, statesmen who will not only represent the economic interests of agriculture, but who will also have the social comprehension to rise above party platitudes and the degradation of vote-trading politics and represent every constructive interest. If such are to be found or developed on such infertile soil, the neighborhood must secure the service of a socially-minded business man, who

will be the farmer's servant, not his master, and who, as manager of the farmer's coöperative, economic enterprises, will bring to the agricultural economic life the business ethics and efficiency of the banker in place of that of the horse-trader or second-hand automobile dealer.

Among the cultivators there must be some skilful unskilled laborers, some hewers of wood and drawers of water and diggers of ditches, who can hew wood, and draw water, and dig ditches artistically; for whom the secular has been spiritualized, who glory in the plowing of straight furrows and in the growth of plant and animal, who find, in the work of the fields and stables, a joyous self-expression, and whose contagious spirits are free to expose the unimmunized youth of the countryside.

The neighborhood needs singers and tellers of tales. It needs poets to teach it harmony. It needs a Shakespeare to "hold, as it were, a mirror" up to its human nature. It needs artists who can find in the common life some fragments of the ideal. I have not found them all in any one neighborhood; but they are not apparitions, and they are scattered in village and open-country. Sometimes I have found them in disguise, posing as librarians, or County Agricultural Agents, or Farm Bureau presidents, or Y. M. C. A. secretaries, or even humbler folk. They are not happy in isolation, and any neighborhood may have them all in its membership if it will offer them inducements. The first inducement is that they be allowed congenial intercourse with each other.

As suggested before, the formal organization of open-country neighborhoods must accomplish much that is done by the informal organization of a village. And the first of the formal efforts which I would suggest would be an *organization of organizations*, or rather of the leaders and representatives of organizations. As president of a city social workers' club, I once saw the jealousies and suspicions and



antagonisms which had hampered the city's social work gradually disappear in the pleasant process of eating and visiting and thinking together. I know of no place where this sort of organization is more needed than in rural social work, where it often happens that one specialized agency assumes entire responsibility for meeting neighborhood needs and demands credit for everything accomplished. I can imagine myself getting no farther with this suggestion in the presence of thoughtful critics without being interrupted with the question as to what leaders should come together and from how large a territory.

I should be inclined to put the matter on the old scriptural basis of "Whosoever will may come." There would probably be no need of overflow meetings in the beginning and I could see no harm in allowing some poor wandering follower without the wedding dress of official appointment to "crash the gates." I should not be surprised if the prophet with his organic theory should find himself alone at the first meeting. But he should be able to report an enthusiastic session and then go out into the highways and hedges and try to persuade a few leaders from local organizations, especially such as were most favorably inclined towards a closer coöperation among social agencies, and seek to imbue them also with his organic conception.

It ought to be possible, without much study, for leaders who are acquainted with a community to discover conditions which all would agree should be remedied. It might be good policy to begin with a reminder of the fact shown in this study, that there are many gaps in the territory covered by every agency, rather than to show the reverse side, the overlapping of programs. When a sufficient number become interested, a thorough survey might be made, to find out what the needs of the community are, and how inadequately those needs are being met. I use the word *inadequately* advisedly, because most of the investigations which

the individual organizations have made have been made with quite the opposite purpose—to show what wonders their work has accomplished. This has helped on financial campaigns, but has given the public an erroneous idea of the situation. I should include this survey in the program for any county regardless of the surveys made in it or in neighboring counties by other people, for nothing will so effectively arouse discussion, nor so thoroughly convince those concerned of the importance of coöperative endeavor. The publication of these data will help to continue the discussion which is necessary to organization. The united action, begun in the survey, should be kept up, along with the united deliberation, by diverting it to other projects of most common interest. Since finances are of such vital importance, the organizations might be induced to try the community-chest system, that system as it has been employed in some cities having resulted in the collection of more money for each organization with less inconvenience to both contributors and canvassers.

The improvement of the means of communication is another project for which leaders of rural organizations might be induced to make united effort if they could be made to appreciate its necessity to the expansion of their own work.

The Hillsdale County Fair is one project in which practically every organization in that county already has a part. It is true of social organizations as of individuals, that if they can get together on one or two common interests, they are likely to discover more such interests. The sociability factor should not be neglected, for good fellowship is perhaps the most important element in the accomplishment of our aim. The age-old socializing process of eating together, and the joys of social intercourse have kept many organizations together long after they have ceased to function in other ways. With these efforts toward good-fellowship,

however, the objective should not be overlooked. The discussion by representatives of each organization should be directed to such subjects as these:

What are the needs which my organization seeks to supply?

What has my organization done and what does it hope to do in meeting these needs?

What information does my organization have which would be valuable to other organizations?

What information does my organization need which other organizations might be expected to have?

How can we discover, enlist, and train more leadership?

How can we use our leadership more efficiently?

Perhaps the evil day should be put off as long as possible; but eventually, when sufficient good-fellowship has been developed to stand the strain, the subject of rational correlation of activities should be tackled and worked out in accordance with the discoveries made in all that has gone before. The process could hardly reach this stage without the discovery that certain organizations are best fitted to do certain things, and that they are persisting in doing certain other things for the purpose of securing good advertising material, a purpose which would be unnecessary when an organic organization should be perfected. With this discovery, it is altogether likely that some organizations would voluntarily make adjustments in their programs. Again, the discovery might be made that some organizations had ceased to perform any useful function which could not better be performed by some other agency. Some small-scale agencies may as well pass on their useful, experimental knowledge to large-scale agencies and give up the ghost, which is about all there is left of them.

Another activity for the leaders' organization might well be the working out of a neighborhood program of correlated activities arranged in such chronological order as to prevent any conflicts of special efforts at reaching the constituency of the various agencies such as lectures, demon-



strations, or entertainments. This correlated neighborhood program might be published in a handbook and distributed freely to every neighbor by some enterprising advertiser or advertisers. The whole-hearted support of the neighbors in such special efforts might be encouraged by the whole-hearted support of the officers and leaders themselves. The neighborly spirit of the librarian who displays on a special table or shelf all the publications dealing with the subject of health and sanitation during "Health Week," for example, might be emulated by all specialists. The representatives of the various agencies might come to consider such coöperation an important part of their legitimate functions when they come to see the importance of the building of a neighborhood to the accomplishment of their special aims.

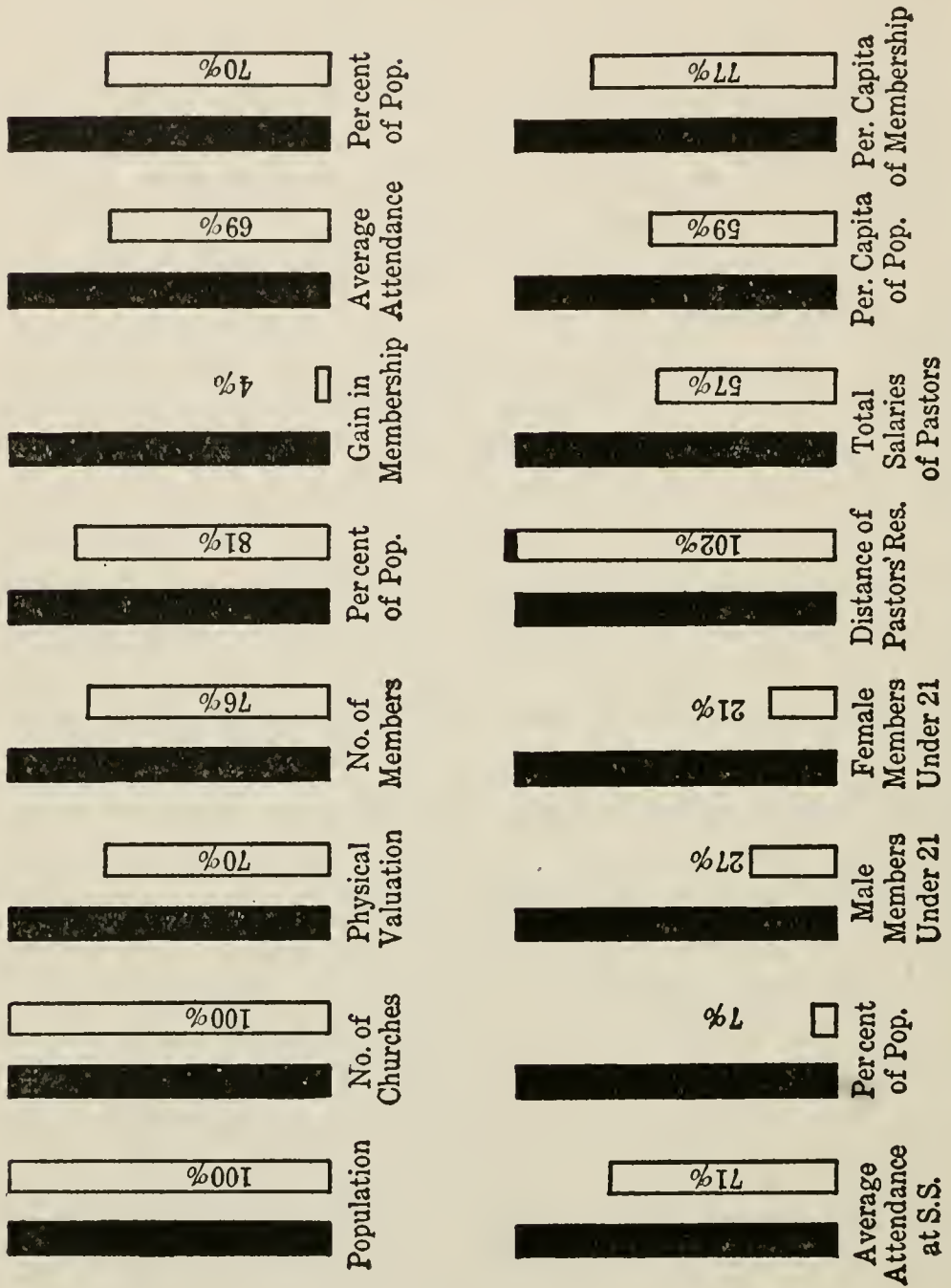
Again, this group might concern itself with the problem of helping the tax-paying neighbors to get their money's worth out of governmental, free publications on various subjects such as the distribution of Congressional seeds, the use of films and slides, pictures for schools, demonstration and extension lectures, and the many helps which now get the attention of such a small minority of the farmers. They might well study the problem of making the present non-conducting vacuum of a neighborhood, a point of contact between the elaborate, and yet futile, paper programs of other national and state organizations.

One complaint concerning the open-country neighborhood is that it has no adequate machinery for getting what it wants. American county government is a headless horseman, without so much as a skeleton head on the pommel of the saddle. We criticize county and township units as being too large or too small; we deplore the absence of unity among their administrative departments. There is confusion as to what functions are proper for local administration, and an utter lack of that *community consciousness*

necessary for efficiency in any form of local government. Everything is wrong with it that could be wrong, and country people might as well surrender their governmental affairs to the state and live in a political vacuum. But the problem of local *government* is no more acute than that of other rural community machinery. It reflects the lack of definiteness and unity of community organization in general. Not merely in matters of government, but in *all* functions, the rural community is in need of *machinery through which to function*.

This leaders' club might constitute itself such a machine and serve as a sort of clearing-house for ideas. A promoter from within or without the neighborhood might approach it as he approaches the council of a European rural village and invite its action upon his suggestions. Even book-agents might come to court its approval. Any time the club ran out of interesting subjects for discussion, it might amuse itself by the revised version of "I spy" in trying to locate the neighborhood. If they are wise, they will begin by seeking its center, for the neighborhood, like every similar organism, is a nucleated group. That nucleus, like any other, will be the point of organization, and my wager is that it will turn out to be a rural village. In the patient, thoughtful search for the neighborhood, it will be created, and although in the beginning it may be without form and void, it will take on form and definiteness. When once created, it will be found to contain the butcher and baker and electric-light maker, the day-laborer, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the storekeeper, the banker, the hotel-keeper, the doctor, the lawyer, the teacher, the preacher, the librarian, the editor, the picture-show proprietor. It must contain them, for, if their various functions are to be performed with modern efficiency, they must be related to the recipients of their services in a most intimate, neighborly acquaintance. These neighbors of the farmer will be found in the village center.

424 VILLAGE AND OPEN-COUNTRY NEIGHBORHOODS



Comparative Efficiency of Village and Open-Country Churches.  
(Village Churches Represented by Solid Lines.)



It is quite possible that not all the present villages will constitute such centers. Some may have to pass away like the cross-roads store and the small-scale social organization; but *each neighborhood will contain one such nucleus*. It is likely that the leaders' club will be able to enlist the good offices of the villagers in discovering the village boundaries, for they will be vitally interested in the search. It may be necessary to hold a plebiscite to determine neighborhood boundaries, but when they are fixed, the neighbors must guard them at least as jealously as the nations guard theirs.

There are, of course, many bits of gratuitous good advice which the leaders' club might well remember. I would put first in the list the suggestion that it will not be necessary to import a different rural population with which to work. All that will be necessary is for this present one to be born again, born of the spirit of neighborly coöperation. But those who officiate at the birth must be no bungling midwives. They must be the most expert obstetricians. There is no place in the new rural leadership for cynics or snobs or "outsiders" who assume a superior and condescending attitude toward rural people. Instead of assuming the "come-out-from-among-them-and-be-ye-separate" attitude, they must go in among them and be inseparable. They must also have received a thorough technical and cultural training which will qualify them not only as technical specialists but also as social engineers. The leaders must remind each other that neighborhood building is not a while-you-wait process, and remind each other also of the danger of being in a hurry.

We may expect the "great society"—to use Graham Wallas's term—like the great economics, to give up its puerile "evangelization-of-the-world-in-this-generation" point of view, and to begin to make and execute plans, the realization of which will require many generations. The sense of insecurity and fluttering anxiety in which leaders

of rural social organization find themselves is largely their own fault, and when rural social organizations, through their leaders, get the evolutionary point of view that everything has a history, they will resolve to have a history if they have nothing else. They will abandon their "Let's-try-it-out-this-year-and-see-what-will-happen" attitude and will adopt one of "The-first-hundred-years-are-the-worst."

From the standpoint of the church, this will mean less emphasis on the revival-meeting, "come-and-get-saved," twinkling-of-an-eye gospel, and more emphasis on the method of constructive religious education, that of character-building. Christian Associations will not be expected to get the young people of their boys' and girls' clubs into their promised land in a miraculous manner, a pillar of cloud by day or of fire by night, attendance at a summer camp, or a county conference, but by means of a coherent, consistent, and rational program which will grow up with the boy or girl. Other organizations will look farther ahead than the next year's election or this year's increase in the alfalfa crop, and will adopt the Turkish proverb, "The devil has a hand in anything that moves quickly."

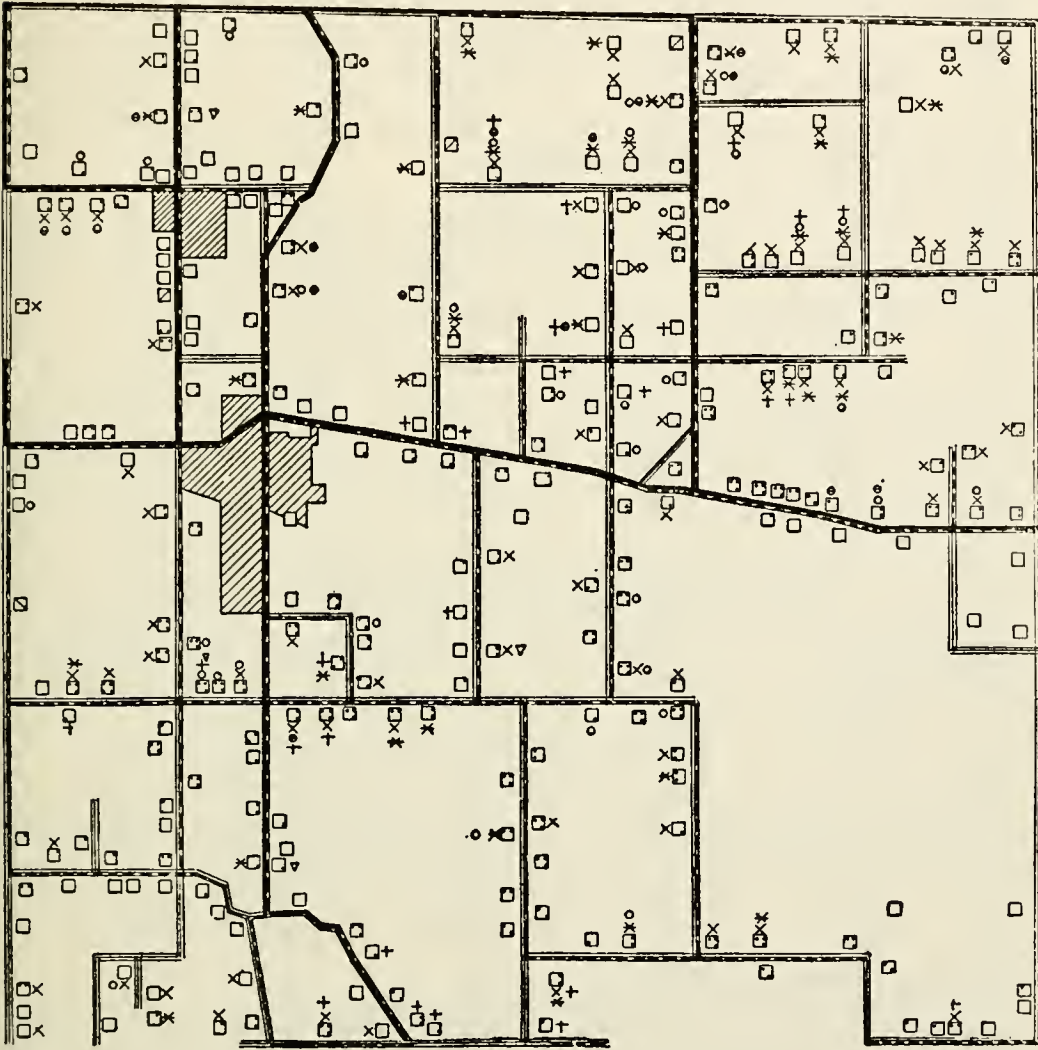
When rural social organizations come to realize that "growth is attended by augmentation of mass," they will mourn less about the breaking down of small-scale structures and the building up of larger ones, and will try to hasten this sort of metabolism. The growing pains are acute, and there is real suffering connected with the expansion from the small-scale church to the community church, or from the district school to the consolidated school; but the pain will be easier when the sufferer discovers that it was "foreordained before the foundation of the earth."

And let the leaders' club not get faint-hearted and stop prophesying when the knocking begins. That is the first evidence that the dry bones are coming together. "There is no pain like the pain of a new idea," said Walter Bagehot, and

IMLAY TOWNSHIP

- ≡≡≡ Unimproved Road Without RFD Route
- ▬▬▬ Unimproved Road With RFD Route
- ▬▬▬ State and County Improved Road Without RFD Route
- ▬▬▬ State and County Improved Road With RFD Route
- Location of Home
- ◻ Vacant House
- Automobile
- Telephone
- Daily Paper
- Weekly Paper

- X Church Members
- \* Members of Cooperative Organizations
- Glaners
- ⊙ Odd Fellows
- ⊙ Visited by Public Health Nurse
- + Farm Bureau Members
- X Grangers
- ∨ Boys and Girls Clubs
- ∇ Have Children in High School
- ∇ Have Received Farm Loans
- ⊠ Have Had Patients in Hospital
- ⊠ W.C.T.U.



the upsetting of the *status quo* will be likely to bring down upon the upsetters curses instead of benedictions. Unless the leaders have stomach for plain-spoken criticisms and protests, they may be sure that their call to prophesy was some other noise. Until our neighborhood nerves are strong

























enough to stand the strain of free discussion, we need not expect to get very far with the process of effective neighborhood organization, nor need we expect the nation to recover from its hysteria in the matter of free speech, press, and assembly. The neighborhood, like the nation, needs to invite such discussion, not only from the agreeable majority, but from the disagreeable minority; first, because it may be right; second, because, if wrong, it will be in a better frame of mind to be set right; and third, in order not to spread the non-conforming wrong idea, as persecution and intolerance are bound to do.

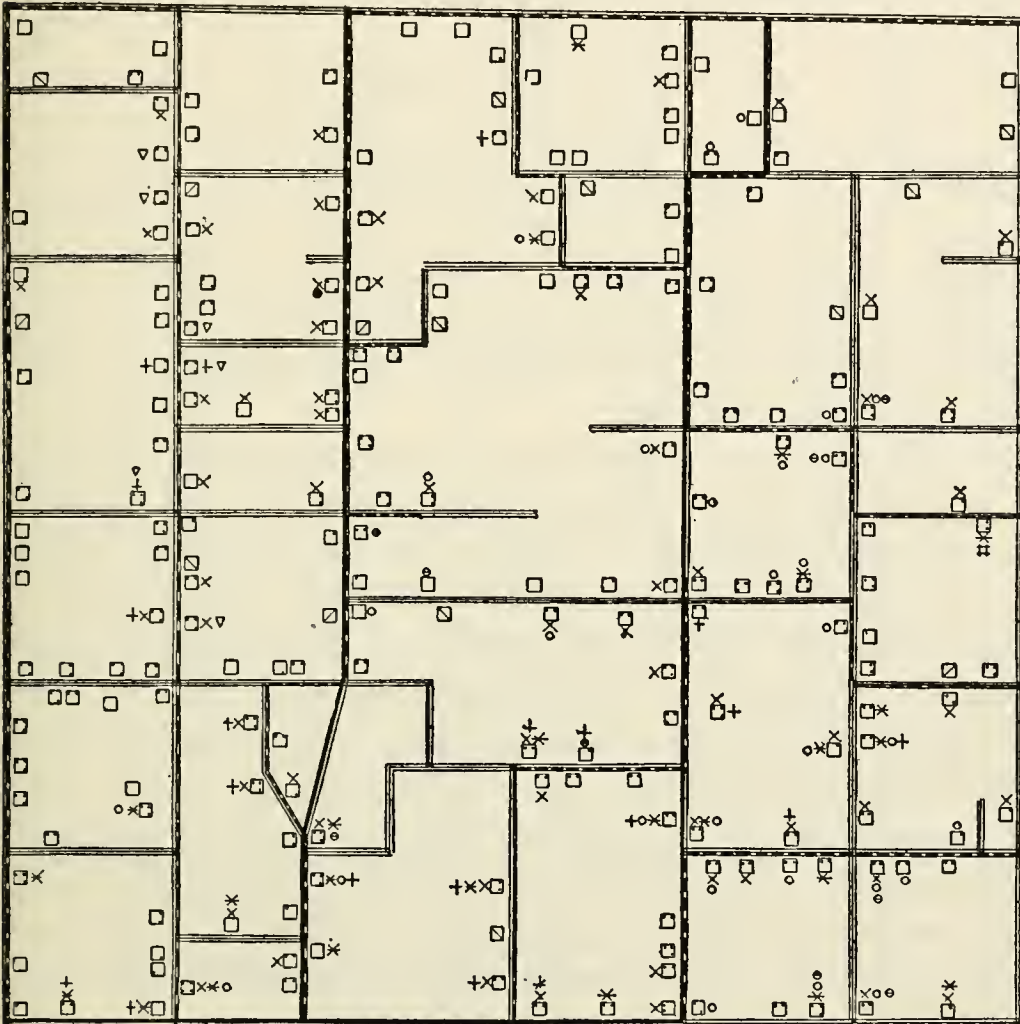
The leaders will not accomplish much, however, apart from the rest of their organizations, the followers, or without social equipment and machinery. The fine-spun theories of the sociologically trained leaders about the organic relation between society and the individual and the evolutionary nature of the social process will have to take very practical and definite form in the thinking of the neighbors. While the problem of leadership training is, in some sense, the localizing of the leaders' general interests and their fixation on the needs of the humblest individual in the neighborhood, that of the followers is largely the overcoming of provincialism or their "back-door" point of view. At seventy-five years of age the author of the introduction to this book learned to drive an airplane. Something similar must happen to the isolated farmer. He must get an airplane point of view, and his social organization must reflect that point of view.

There would, of course, be little reason for optimism in regard to our social organization unless its increase in scale were combined with an increase of rationality. The extension of the local areas in which organization takes place would not be progress unless accompanied by more rational coöperation, and this increased rationality appears in the increased responsiveness of organizations to real instead of

GOODLAND TOWNSHIP

-  Unimproved Road Without R.F.D. Route
-  Unimproved Road With R.F.D. Route
-  State and County Improved Road Without R.F.D. Route
-  State and County Improved Road With R.F.D. Route
-  Location of Home
-  Vacant House
-  Automobile
-  Telephone
-  Daily Paper
-  Weekly Paper

-  Church Members
-  Members of Cooperative Organizations
-  Gleaners
-  Odd Fellows
-  Visited by Public Health Nurse
-  Farm Bureau Members
-  Grangers
-  Boys and Girls Clubs
-  Have Children in High School
-  Have Received Farm Loans
-  Have Had Patents in Hospital
-  W.C.T.U.



imaginary needs. But that does not mean that we ought not to increase the scale of organization in every way possible, for its increase in scale may be thought of as a condition to its increase in rationality. This increase in rationality is observed in the increase of specialization, which is an advantage in social development as in economic and for the











same reasons, viz., that it results in operations easier in themselves and in the execution of those operations more efficiently. The work of a specialist in teaching is easier and more efficient than that of a non-specialist, since it avoids waste of time and energy in changing from one occupation to another, such as is necessary in the work of a teacher-preacher. The advantage of a specialist over the Jack-of-all-trades is not greater from the point of view of individual workmen than from that of the industry as a whole or from that of social organizations in general. But the specialization of social organizations, not less than that of industry, is limited by the extent of the market. Under ordinary circumstances, the district school cannot command the specialized services of such teachers as Mr. and Mrs. X., whose work was discussed in the chapter on the American Neighborhood.













But this increase in the scope of social organization will not take place unless in some way the notion of interdependence is spread out to include the larger whole. There is no greater contribution which Sociology has to make to social work than that of the organic view of society. There seems to be a missing link between the national and local organizations. Yet the national and local organizations need a very close contact, the one to check its theory with practice, the other to guide its practice with theory. This failure seems to me to be due largely to the fact that local social workers think in too narrow terms, like the New England farmers who discovered the stranded transcontinental flier, and in response to his inquiry as to where he was replied, "You're in Charley Knowles's cow-pasture!" The bad results of this cow-pasture point of view are shown on the maps by the areas in which no agency is doing anything.

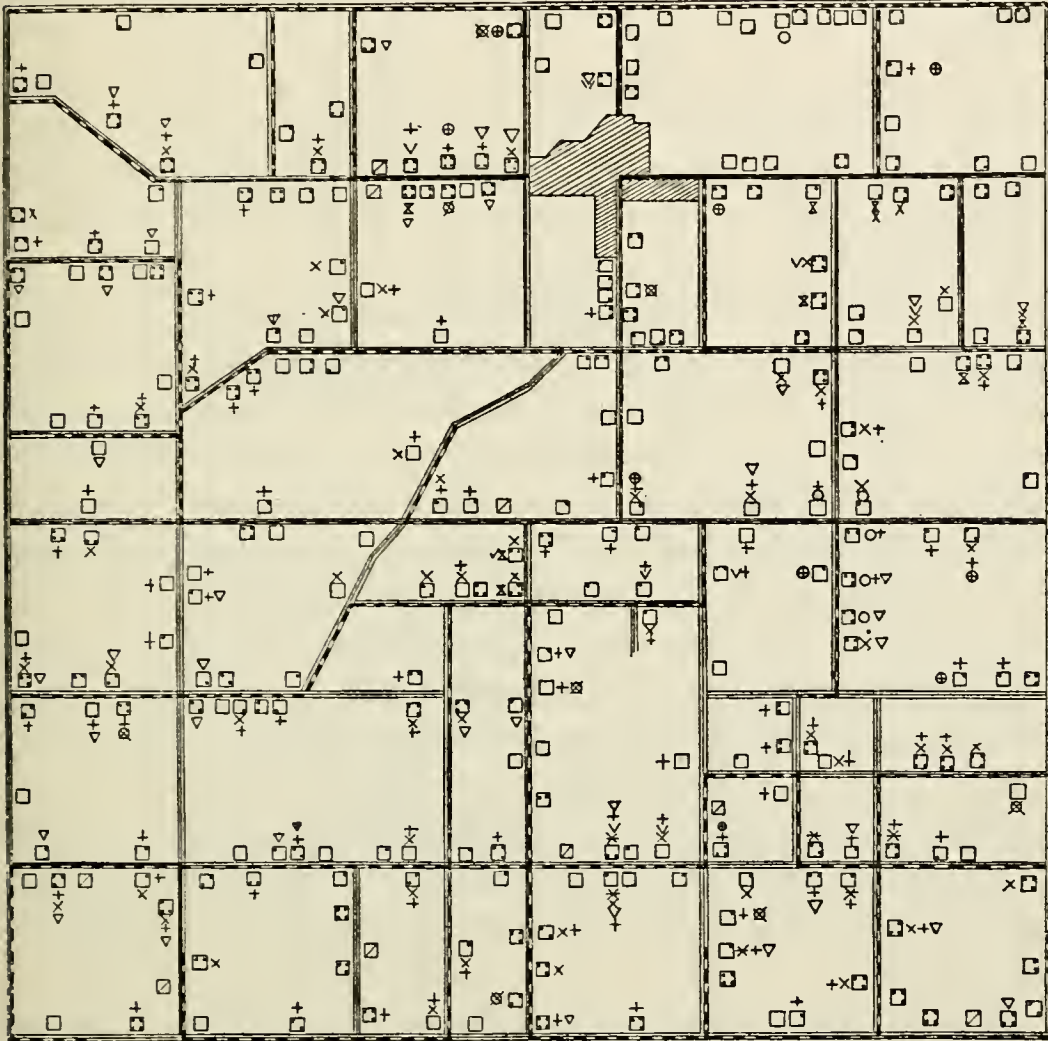
But we need the organic view not only as an antidote to our provincialism, but in order to overcome the tendency



ADAMS TOWNSHIP

-  Unimproved Road Without R.F.D. Route
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-  State and County Improved Road Without R.F.D. Route
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-  Location of Home
-  Vacant House
-  Automobile
-  Telephone
-  Daily Paper
-  Weekly Paper

-  Church Members.
-  Members of Cooperative Organizations
-  Cleaners.
-  Odd Fellows.
-  Visited by Public Health Nurse.
-  Farm Bureau Members.
-  Grangers
-  Boys and Girls Clubs.
-  Have Children in High School.
-  Have Received Farm Loans
-  Have Had Patients in the Hospital.
-  W. C. T. U.



towards cut-throat competition, not only between local organizations whose problems overlap, but between those specialized organizations whose leaders over-emphasize the importance of their specialty in comparison with the other specialties. Unless our rural social agencies can get a suffi-

cient understanding of their organic relationship to enable them to correlate their work as city social agencies are beginning to do, we, like Spencer's smith, shall continue to pound out dents in parts of our social life only to find them reappearing in other forms and places. The overcoming of the farmer's provincialism would overcome his freakish, kangaroo individuality, which has developed in his isolation.

Perhaps no one concerned needs more to become aware of the fact that the farmer is not a different creation from the urban dweller than the farmer himself. His inferiority complex, which has caused him so much trouble in that it has forced him to depend upon mercenaries to fight his political battles, is due to the fact that the farmer has come into contact with the city man through the city man's newspaper and on the city man's doorstep, where the farmer's not the city man's peculiarities were assumed to be inferior. The farmer can never make his greatest contribution to our organic life until he becomes his own spokesman, and he will gradually become articulate only as both he and the city man become aware of their organic relationship, when, through the improved means of communication, they become so well acquainted that they wish to live together, and when each comes to realize that the other has something of importance to say. The recognition, on the part of the farmer and the townsman, of their interdependence will result in important changes in our social organization.

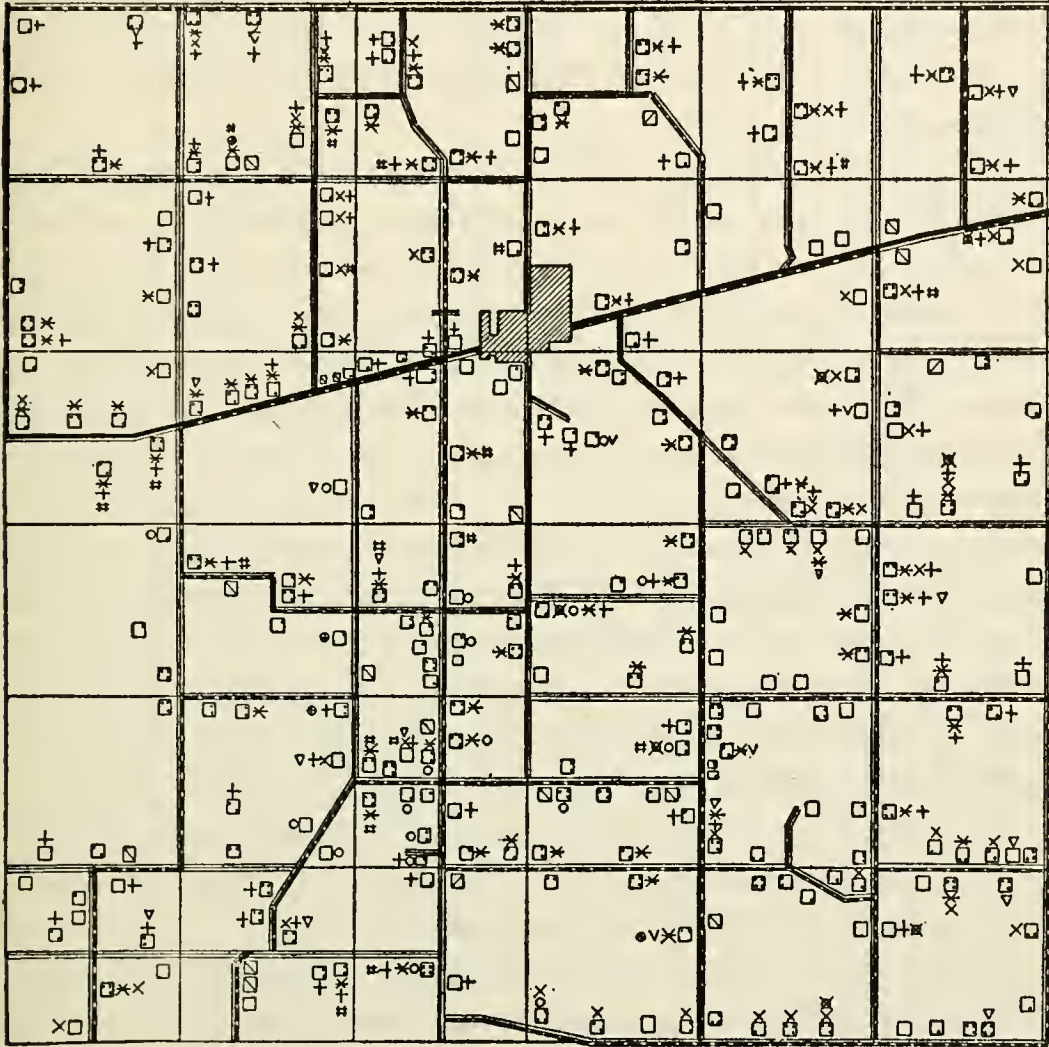
As suggested in the preceding paragraph, rural organization must not be something entirely separate from urban organization. For example, the farmer should no more be expected to pay for the education of his children separately than should the barber, whose ability to pay is probably no better.

This view does not imply that rural schools, churches, and

ALLEN TOWNSHIP

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- Location of Home
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- Automobile
- Telephone
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- Weekly Paper

- X Church Members
- \* Members of Cooperative Organizations
- Gleaners
- Odd Fellow
- ⊕ Visited by Public Health Nurse
- + Farm Bureau Members
- ⊗ Grangers
- ∨ Boys and Girls Clubs
- ∇ Have Children in High School
- ∇ Have Received Farm Loans
- ⊗ Have Had Patients in Hospital
- # W.C.T.U.



other institutions should be abolished. Some exclusiveness in this respect may be advantageous, but the advantage does not lie in preventing farm boys and girls from becoming contaminated with city ideas. I should agree with the ruralist as to the desirability even of having specially trained



teachers, pastors, and other social workers; but not for the purpose of narrowing the farmer's environment. Rather, the advantage of having a rural pastor working with rural people, is that such a pastor could best help his people to see the whole since he and they would be looking at the whole through the same window, the window of rural life. The important consideration is that they should see the whole and recognize their relation to it, that the specialization of rural organization shall be a real specialization, not isolation.

This consciously rational and formal organization, bringing with it constructive competition, comparison, and cooperation between city and country and between the neighbors themselves, must do for open-country rural neighborhoods what is done for village neighborhoods on much easier terms. This new organization must include the womenfolk. Many tendencies seem to indicate that they are going to play a prominent part in it. A few years ago President Little of the University of Michigan argued that women were fitted by ages of evolution as the adjusters of relations between fathers and children to be experts in social relations. Just as present tendencies in international organization reflect the increasing self-expression of women who have always gotten their way by means of charm and tact and argument instead of murder; so this same self-expression, when organized, will see to it that women's special neighborhood interests get more attention.

One of these interests is that of home-making. The first division of labor, we are told, was that organized on the basis of sex; the women staying at home to look after the children and to do the drudgery while the men enjoyed the exploits of hunting and fighting. Part of the drudgery was that of home-making, and this has continued to be so, especially in rural districts, until our time. The division of labor on the basis of sex is not likely to disappear altogether. I

do not recommend that it should. But I am very sure that the drudgery of rural home-making will disappear, and it will do so through organized effort in which women themselves take the lead. I do not wish to specify what she shall eat or what she shall drink or wherewithal she shall be clothed; but one lesson which European village women could teach American rural women is that housekeeping might be simplified and organized in such a way as to require much less time and effort. When European village women can do their housework and a man's work besides, it is obvious that they do not expend on the former the time and energy which American farm women spend. Some progress in this respect has been made in the building of bungalows and other smaller houses. Further progress will be made in the use of modern household equipment. If the Middle-Age villages of Perinaldo, Carros, and Gattieres can contrive to get waterworks and put electricity in every house, American neighborhoods ought to be able to do it. If even French peasants with all their economy, can afford to let bakers make their bread, why cannot American farmers as well? If there is any truth in the generally accepted theory that there is an advantage, from the standpoint of efficiency and economy, in specialization and large-scale production, then the farmer's wife ought to enjoy that advantage. She had best enjoy the advantage of such production in the washing of clothes and the canning of fruit and vegetables, and in the preserving of meat or in its use while fresh, as well as in the work of the bakery. Instead of enjoying the above advantages, the great majority of American farm women are still following most of the advice of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, who wrote in 1534:

“It is a wyve's occupation to wynowe all maner of cornes, to make malte, to washe and wrynge, to make heye, shere corne, and in tyme of nede to helpe her husbande to fyll the muche-wayne or dounge-carte, dryve the ploughe, to loade heye, corne and suche

other. And to go or ride to the market, to sel butter, chese, mylke, egges, chckyns, capons, hennes, pygges, gese, and all maner of cornes. And also to bye all maner of necessarye thynges belongynge to housshold, and to make a trewe rekenynge and acompte to her husbande what she hath payed.”

They might go back still farther and listen to Columella, who suggested that the country-house should “also be agreeable to the owner’s wife, if he wishes to get the full measure of enjoyment out of it.”

The main handicap in the way of coöperation in home-making and in the enjoyment, by American rural house-keepers, of many of the advantages which village peasants afford is, as in all other rural organization, that of isolation. *The serious problem is whether this isolation and the anti-social folk-ways and mores which it has produced can be overcome.* The same is true of farm work in general. American farmers could get some “farm relief” by reading the *De Re Rustica* of Cato, who died in 149 B. C.

“When they (our ancestors) sought to commend an honest man, they termed him good husbandman, good farmer. This they rated the superlative of praise.

“Know that with a farm, as with a man, however productive it may be, *if it has the spending habit*, not much will be left over.

“Be a good neighbor. . . . If the neighborhood regards you kindly, you will find a readier market for what you have to sell, you will more easily get your work done, either on the place or by contract. If you build, your neighbors will aid you with their services, their cattle and their materials. If any misfortune should overtake you (which God forbid!) they will protect you with kindly interest.”

And again, they might profit by reading the *Rerum Rusticarum* of Marcus Terentius Varro, who was the agricultural authority for Vergil’s *Georgics* and who taught that the farmer should direct his efforts to two ends: profit and pleasure. He discusses four questions in connection with the study of agriculture:



1. What are the physical characteristics of the land to be cultivated, including the constitution of the soil?
2. What labor and equipment are necessary for such cultivation?
3. What system of farming is to be practiced?
4. What are the seasons at which the several farming operations are to be carried out?

Varro makes four suggestions for the choosing of a neighborhood, as to:

1. Whether the neighborhood bears a bad reputation;
2. Whether it affords a market to which our products can be taken and whence we may bring back what we may require at home;
3. Whether there is a road or a river leading to that market and, if so, whether it is fit for use;
4. Whether there is in our immediate vicinity anything which may be to our advantage or disadvantage.

“Of these four considerations the most important is whether the neighborhood bears a bad reputation.

“Nature gave us two schools of agriculture, which are experience and imitation.

“We should do both these things: imitate others and on our own account make experiments, following always some principle, not chance.”

The nature of the farming occupation varies so greatly in the different parts of the United States that any detailed, standardized plan for such work would be impossible. There are many variations to the problem of farm labor between the extremes of market gardening in the vicinity of a metropolis and sheep-herding on the western plains. There is not a single process, however, to which scientific methods are not applicable; and the American farmer, in whatsoever kind of agricultural production he may be engaged, must come to enjoy the scientific enthusiasm which motivated my friend of the Groszhartau Rittergut. This does not mean that every American farmer must avail himself of a long agricultural college education, but that he must have

a neighborhood in which the leaven of such education can ferment. Such a neighborhood must allow for imitation and rivalry and coöperative production. In such a coöperative neighborhood the leaven of scientific agriculture effervescing from a single individual, the county agent, will soon leaven the whole. Let this happen, and the work of the American farmer will come to possess the thrilling fascination and furnish the joyous self-expression of the work of an Edison or a Burbank or a German villager. The Department of Agriculture, the agricultural college and experimental station, and the County Agent are equipped to do their part in the consummation of this accomplishment. The building of a neighborhood will have to be depended upon to furnish the sociability in farm work which seems to me to be a great advantage of the labor of a European villager. But this sociability will not much longer be associated in village or open-country with hand labor.

I saw a little dog run over by a London 'bus. He gave one faint cry of protest against the brutal mechanization of this modern world, and died. The opposition of the Gandhi's and the social inertia of the most conservative handicraftsmen will have little more influence in withstanding the revolutionary advance of the capitalistic, labor-saving mechanization of our time. This movement will make no exception of agriculture, and even the remotest Russian communist peasant will soon be riding a tractor and engaging in large-scale machine production. The possibility of group-work in such production is assured by the prevalence of such work on Russian Soviet and collective farms and in our own western grain fields, which furnish the best illustrations of mechanized agriculture. The possibility of such a movement, as a neighborhood builder, is shown by the coöperative ownership and use of agricultural machinery on the farms of Denmark. When American farm-women come out of the kitchen and American farm-men are

freed from the inefficient, fourteen-hour-day labor, they will have more time for neighborliness; and I see no reason why they should not enjoy together some of the romance of the new agricultural methods. I see no reason why the relief from the drudgery of inefficient housekeeping should make of the American woman a "pamperer of lap-dogs," or why her enjoyment of the sunshine and open-air exercise of congenially sociable work in the fields should make her any the less a mother of men. The enjoyment of a picnic dinner and a bottle of grape juice under a shady tree, with no dishes to wash afterwards, would be as pleasant for her as for her French village sister. Serving afternoon tea in the cow-barn, after the manner of the Edenbridge dairy-woman, might be good for her and for the cow-barn as well.

But if she is unfitted for work in the fields and persists in baking, and doing laundry work and tailoring and the canning of fruit and vegetables, let her do such work in an efficient, up-to-date manner in a sanitary, machine-equipped factory or shop at so much an hour. The industrialization of German villages furnishes permanent and congenial occupation to men and women who do not enjoy farm work without necessitating their leaving their friends and neighbors. Such industrialization also furnishes remunerative employment for rural workers who would otherwise have to be idle or migrate during the winter season. The American neighborhoods might well import some neighborhood industries or start some of their own to serve this need. Coöperative business, to be discussed later, might help to supply this need of congenial and convenient work.

The subject of rural education seems to me to require no lengthy treatise so far as rural organization is concerned. The enlargement of the neighborhood has already brought with it many illustrations of the possibilities of the consolidation of schools, enabling farm boys and girls to profit by general primary and high school training equal in quality



to that of urban children and at the same time to get some instruction in agricultural science. Teachers' colleges and Normal schools are anxious to help in extending this movement. Its spread awaits only the development of communication and transportation and the overcoming of the social inertia of unneighborly neighborhoods. A beginning has been made toward enabling the farmer to get the benefit of the taxes he pays toward teacher-training institutions. The increase in the educational requirements of teachers must go on until rural teachers are as well prepared as urban ones. The sequel will be, as already suggested by way of illustration, the making of rural schools public schools indeed, not semi-public schools as at present.

The longer and more efficient service of rural teachers will follow as rural neighborhoods become more attractive and teachers in Normal schools emulate such men as Dr. Ernest Burnham in sending out graduates with the determination to make rural education a life work. The rural school of the enlarged neighborhood will function increasingly in meeting the needs of public health and sanitation. In every village studied, the greatest contribution to these needs was made in or by the village school. This important work cannot be left entirely to the school system, however, nor to the untrained and uninterested farmer health officers, nor, again, to the spasmodic efforts of socially-minded and well-meaning city Chambers of Commerce and Rotary Clubs. There should be set up in every rural neighborhood a specialized machinery including public medicine, dentistry, nursing, hospital care, clinics, and health education with power and inclination to enforce sanitary measures.

The enlargement and enlightenment and enlivenment of the rural neighborhood will be fostered by an enjoyment of wholesome recreation and sociable life by boys and girls and men and women. I do not know or care whether this is finally to be accomplished by the multiplicity of recreational

organizations which are now making such feeble efforts in the field, or by one specialized agency, or as a by-product of the other agencies who use recreational and sociable measures to bring their members together for their respective specialties. I have, nevertheless, observed various factors in European village life which seemed to me to be suggestive of possible helps in this accomplishment. As I shared the hilarity of the young and middle-aged of Gattieres on the dance floor, and watched the happy expression on the faces of the aged, vicarious, dancers, and listened to the laughter of the children romping around the tent pole in the center of that rustic ballroom, I shed the last vestige of Puritanism, and became convinced that the playful joy of life belongs to every man, woman and child by virtue, as O. Henry would say, of all the "unwritten, sacred, natural, inactive ordinances of the equity of heaven." I see no reason why recreational activities among American farmers should not, to a greater extent than is usually the case, be family affairs in the sense that all the members, old and young, of the neighborhood should enjoy them together. If old and young, male and female, strong and weak, and every other classification, have some social contribution to make to each other, I can think of no likelier place for them to make it than in neighborhood recreation. I am sure that American farmers can capitalize on recreation in the work of neighborhood building.

One need which is generally recognized, at least by the old, is the supervision of the recreation of the young. In America this need is recognized by the presence of chaperons at social functions, during the part of such functions which are least in need of chaperoning. This sort of supervision is supplied in the village recreational life in a more natural manner by the attendance and participation of the parents. The play of children after school hours is supervised as naturally by the presence, within sight or hearing,

of the parents of some of their number. I did not find a single village in which it was not taken for granted that every person should have some form of recreation and in which opportunity was not allowed for such enjoyment. They work as hard as we do. Some of them, like Russin, have been exposed to as much Puritanism as we were. I see no explanation for the difference in attitude on the need for recreation other than the difference in the form of the neighborhood. If we get together, we shall be as playful as they. If we can be taught to play, the getting together in other interests will be facilitated. But *village* children do not have to be taught to play, nor do they have to be given prizes to induce them to do it.

The greater neighborhood recreational use which is made of Sundays and other holidays, as well as the greater number of holidays, seems to me to be partly the cause and partly the effect of the greater play spirit of villagers. There seems to be no notion of any incongruity in the close association of religious observance and recreation. The increase of this attitude in American neighborhoods will benefit both recreation and religion. If we made more use of our Sundays, and the few other holidays we have, in such manner rather than as occasions for overeating or doing odd jobs, they would be of more service in the creation of neighborliness. What has been said of recreation in general, can be said of friendly visiting. We can emulate the art of neighborly conversation and conviviality of peasant villagers.

One naturally expects the Christian church to be a strong moral force in a neighborhood. This, as has been admitted, is not always true, even in a village where it is more likely to be taken seriously than in open-country neighborhoods. The membership of the village church is more inclusive, but in some villages the members are more likely to take their moral perplexities and conflicts to the mayor than to the



minister or the priest. The Catholic Church performs a worthy function even in villages where it seems not to be an aggressive moral influence, in that it satisfies the love for pageantry and beautiful forms. All village churches may be said to furnish consolation and comfort in bereavement. In this the situation is not very different from that in our neighborhoods. In most of the villages studied the ministers of religion christen and marry the villagers, and thus lend a certain dignity and seriousness to family life. For many villagers the church furnishes a convenient retreat where they may go for uninterrupted meditation, as they do not in our neighborhoods, owing to the fact that they are not conveniently located and are often locked up except during Sunday services. The important difference, however, between the two kinds of neighborhoods is that *while the village churches function more or less efficiently as neighborhood builders, most of our rural churches actually militate against such constructiveness*. When one finds representatives of three destructively competing denominations in three families on one mile of road, he may be sure that religion is not an integrating factor in that neighborhood. American farmers have a right to demand a reformation of religious institutions in this respect, and if the ambitious denominational leaders do not concede to this demand, their churches deserve to die the death which so many have already suffered. The creeds must be liberalized to the extent which will enable intelligent, self-respecting citizens of various persuasions to join and unite in neighborhood organizations or else divide up the territory and segregate the members of the Church of God in one neighborhood, the members of the True Church of God in another, and the members of the Only True Church of God in still another.

If one does not believe that the disgusting spectacle of denominational religious organization in typical rural

neighborhoods in America is not the fault mainly of ambitious bishops and other institutionalized churchmen and that a socialized neighborhood church would not appeal to the majority of rural people, let him visit such community churches as the one mentioned in the study of Lapeer County, Michigan, or that at Bluegrass, Indiana. The weakness of open-country neighborhoods is taken advantage of by those who hold positions of authority in the various denominations, and, as a result, the church memberships include only those who do not know any better or who feel that the only hope of reform lies in boring from within. When the churches stop squabbling about such momentous questions as to whether Eve was the cause of Adam's fall or whether he was a "bad egg" from the beginning, and put on a constructive, love-your-neighbor-as-yourself program, their ministers will be paid more than five hundred dollars a year and they will have a part in neighborhood integration and moral propagation. A long step would be taken in this direction if the ministers of the twenty-four denominations in Hillsdale County, Michigan, for example, would repent and be baptized in the spirit of the young priest and the old pastor of the Swiss village of Russin. The ministers of religion will have to imitate the county agents and demonstrate Christianity. I have in mind no panacea for moral problems other than that of neighborliness as taught in simple Christian doctrine. Perhaps some legislative enactments will help, but they will accomplish nothing apart from neighborhood enactments.

It is not likely that we shall soon acquire anything very radically new in the way of organization for legislation and government. If, however, the rural village and the open-country are to become of one spirit and one flesh, the political institutions will need to make provision for the dissemination of accurate scientific political knowledge and for a free discussion in joint conference of every point of view

which the new neighborhood can furnish. When this happens, rural statesmen will inject into the national being a sanity and balance which the exclusive interests of capitalists or industrial laborers can never compass. The new miniature state will develop many internal problems on which to exercise its political talents for orderly progress, and it will take to heart the advice of one Samuel Hartlib, a contemporary of Milton, who wrote, "The improvement of a kingdom in matters of husbandry is better than conquering a new kingdom." As the findings of the chemist and bacteriologist are taking the place of the phases of the moon as a guide to his sowing and reaping, so the principles of the economist and the political scientist must supplant the political tommyrot which so far has guided the farmer's ballot. This cannot happen until it is no longer necessary for the economist and the political scientist to come into touch with the individual farmer in order to deliver their findings.

If the new neighborhood is going to proceed with the same old human nature and is to be a dynamic and progressive organism, it will have need for agencies of charity and correction, since human nature always has two sides to it and progress is always accompanied by some degeneracy. If what is opportunity for one is the lack of it for another, the best neighborhood must expect both economic and moral failures. The new neighborhood must, however, take equal responsibility for failures and successes. In the provision for the economic failures, the neighborhood must avail itself of the services of the actuary in sharing the risk. In the provision for the casualties in the fight for moral freedom, the neighborhood must have equally skilled services in the work of rehabilitation. In both, the emphasis, like that in public health work, must be on preventive measures. The typical Commissioner of the Poor, who is more appropriately called the Poor Commissioner, must be re-



placed by a social scientist; the poorhouse must be replaced by a "home," and be superintended by one who has other qualifications than that of being a "good farmer." The village neighborhood can furnish helpful suggestions in the way of a greater use of all kinds of insurance and neighborly assistance in the prevention of poverty, and in the greater influence of public opinion in the prevention of crime and delinquency. Its neighborliness, also, makes the work of rehabilitation much more effective.

The solution of the problem of meeting economic needs, which are here assumed to be only a phase of a very complex chain of needs, is not entirely solved by village neighborhoods. The poverty of a village, however, is more like that which existed before the invention of private property, that is, group poverty, and its misery has the advantage of more company. A poor American is, therefore, *very* poor in comparison. The American neighborhood had best forego some private things in exchange for common things.

The scientific Swiss or German or Danish farmer can suggest many alternatives to "farm relief" for relieving the farmer. His first suggestion is that the farmer should stop cheating himself, and be guided in the business of farming by scientific cost accounting. Every cow and every hen must give account of herself, and for them both every day must be a Day of Judgment. The second suggestion is one that, if carried out, will meet more than the American farmer's economic needs, that of relief through *coöperative manufacturing, marketing, supply, and credit*. Unless he can be relieved of his cherished "independence" and of his suspicion and "neighborly" antagonisms, to the extent that he can do coöperative business, there is little hope for his economic salvation. Undoubtedly he needs sinking funds, and possibly government subsidies to offset the government favoritism to industrialists, and he will need relief from gluts and surpluses, and certainly relief from dishonest politicians;

but unless he becomes a coöperative producer, consumer, and exchanger, the accommodating middlemen will continue to relieve him of the gluts and surpluses of his income and of the chance to live a satisfying life. I should not insist that the farmer's economic salvation rests entirely upon self-help, however. When his neighborhood is sufficiently enlarged and well-organized to command attention, the industrial laborer may discover that he has economic interests in common with the farmer in lessening the city-ward migration and in bringing about efficient production and distribution of both farm and industrial products. Even the profit-blind industrial *entrepreneur* may make a similar discovery. The business of the American farmer is of national, even international, significance, and he need have no conscientious scruples against demanding at least the removal of the governmental tariff discriminations which have cost him so dearly.

Other suggestions, such as the better care of farm machinery, which every villager could teach him, are likely to be realized in the more efficient neighborhood organization. Coöperative farmers will take more interest in each other's use of credit, and in other productive and consumptive activities, even in their morals. If open-country neighborhoods are to rival in neighborly efficiency village neighborhoods, they must acquire through formal, conscious, and organized effort certain mechanics of neighborliness. The first and most important of these is improved communication. They must make more use of face-to-face communication in informal intercourse and in the formal, popular assembly. That will mean the general use of good roads, automobiles, and other means of transportation. They must supplement this short-distance communication with the long-distance variety, telephones, radios, newspapers, magazines, and books in every home. The telephone will enable them to make as economical use of the telegraph as

do village neighbors. The farmer must, for purposes of both "intra" and "extra" neighborhood affairs make use of every invention to improve communication in respect to swiftness, permanence of record, expressiveness, and diffusion. He will have much to communicate in discussion of the subjects of this chapter.

I wish to close with consideration of the equipment of the rural village which it is hoped will become the dwelling-place of an increasing number of actual farmers and representatives of agricultural interests and which is to form the nucleus of the rural neighborhood. The present preoccupation of the village with city life may turn out to be less a problem than some students think. The union of the village and open-country is to be a sort of companionate marriage, and the village may continue to flirt with the city, and even to accept presents from the same, which she will enjoy with her spouse. Some of those presents are included in the list of items which follow.

In getting ready for the wedding, the village may well try to make herself more attractive. This preparation will include village planning, in which many experiments are being tried. The details of this planning must be left to experts; but it might begin with provisions for a public square at the village center, a square which will be to the neighborhood what Trafalgar Square is to London or what the old courtyard is to Gattieres. It might have a beautiful fountain in the center, in imitation of Gattieres and London. Some beautiful work of art in the form of sculpture, as a memorial to a peace-loving patriot or as the symbol of a worthy ideal; a piece of greensward with shade trees, shrubbery and flowers, in token of the communal life which farmers once lived; seats where villagers might sit and discuss the weather and Einstein's theory of relativity, might add to the attractiveness of this public square. From this square beautiful shaded streets, as well paved as the



country highways, would radiate in all directions. Around the square would be ranged the coöperative stores, bank, postoffice, and other places of business; there would be an artistic office-building for the doctors, dentists, and other public officials, a hotel and restaurant with rest-rooms, fit for self-respecting farmers and townsmen; there would be a police station, and a newspaper office, where an agricultural newspaper would be published. In a quieter spot, but equally conveniently and beautifully located, should stand the library, with some books in it, a room to house an art gallery, and possibly another room for an historical collection; for there is not much use in compulsory education to overcome the farmer's illiteracy unless he has more to read than is furnished by the missionary effort of agents for Dr. Chase's Third, Last, and Complete Receipt Book and Household Physician or Practical Knowledge for the People.

In a similar location should be placed the Consolidated Public School, with well-equipped gymnasium and spacious playground and lawn, all of which should serve in the life-long education of the neighbors. In still another similar location should stand the neighborhood's Cathedral, where farmers and blacksmiths and bankers and doctors should learn to sing out of the same hymnbooks. In still another similar location, or possibly in connection with the school, where the commercial suggestions would not disturb it, should be located the combined auditorium, opera house, and cinema, large enough to serve the whole neighborhood. Perhaps by the time it is built the picture show may be purged of its abominations. At some place within the village or on its outskirts should be located a beautiful park and picnic ground, where nature lovers might assemble without destroying the farmers' crops and dispositions. Beside this park the neighborhood hospital should be built. In another convenient location should be placed the Railway

and Bus Station and Airdrome. The village power and gas plants, water works, and coöperative creamery and other manufactories, the blacksmith, wood-working and machine shops, garages, filling-stations, and similar institutions would occupy their well-chosen zone. Along the beautiful streets in the residential section should be distributed comfortable and beautiful dwellings, with flower and vegetable gardens, hedges, and shade trees. This, then, is the kind of a rural neighborhood which at some time in the future must supply its members with congenial employment, with recreative leisure, a comfortable subsistence, relief in want, sickness, and distress, protection from within and without, and full opportunity for religious, moral, and intellectual culture. Instead of being a "poor relation" to the city and the nation, its social and economic organization will enable it to make its full contribution to urban and national life. That organization, in order to withstand the rains and floods and winds which will beat upon it, must be founded upon the rock of neighborliness; and it will find no higher standard to emulate than the moral unity of the European village community. As it approaches this ideal, and once again begins to produce its full quota of leaders and statesmen, the city and national being will increasingly take on the complexion of a neighborhood.

*APPENDIX I.*

FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY OF CHURCHES IN LAPEER AND  
HILLSDALE COUNTIES

Number of Farm Families Represented in the Churches of  
Hillsdale County

Methodist Episcopal .....	308
United Brethren .....	168
Baptist .....	143
Congregational .....	114
Christian .....	53
Mennonite .....	29
Wesleyan Methodist .....	27
Lutheran .....	16
Adventist .....	16
Presbyterian .....	16
Evangelical .....	15
Church of God.....	8
Disciple .....	7
Catholic.....	7
Free Methodist .....	6
Episcopal .....	4
Winbrennarrian .....	4
Church of Christ.....	3
Christian Science .....	3
Dunker .....	3
Universalist .....	2
Union .....	2
Free Will Baptist .....	1
Methodist Protestant .....	1
Total .....	956
Total number of farm families in Hillsdale County	3900



## APPENDIX II.

### SUMMARIES OF DATA AND COMPOSITE MAPS OF HILLSDALE AND LAPEER COUNTIES

#### SUMMARY OF THE DATA FURNISHED IN MAPS OF HILLSDALE COUNTY

Not all of which were considered of sufficient interest to publish.

Township	Church	High School	Farm Bureau	Boys' and Girls' Clubs	Public Health Nursing	Y. W. C. A.	Hospital	Farm Loans
Litchfield . . . . .	48	23	106	15	12	0	11	0
Scipio . . . . .	47	18	69	6	1	0	10	1
Moscow . . . . .	38	21	58	1	3	0	2	2
Somerset . . . . .	36	17	75	5	5	0	0	8
Allen . . . . .	40	14	105	7	4	0	7	2
Fayette . . . . .	23	13	62	8	2	0	1	0
Hillsdale . . . . .	22	10	14	1	2	0	3	0
Adams . . . . .	68	44	109	11	11	0	8	3
Wheatland . . . . .	67	43	114	12	12	1	1	4
Reading . . . . .	47	27	101	3	18	1	4	2
Cambria . . . . .	70	34	82	5	11	4	10	0
Jefferson . . . . .	44	26	56	9	5	5	10	0
Pittsford . . . . .	82	36	105	10	7	7	6	0
Camden . . . . .	30	21	67	1	7	0	12	0
Woodbridge . . . . .	50	53	94	10	11	6	0	1
Ransom . . . . .	66	27	96	6	4	0	0	2
Wright . . . . .	80	37	96	4	6	5	4	2
Amboy . . . . .	98	35	57	4	1	0	0	1
Total . . . . .	956	499	1465	118	122	29	89	28

## SUMMARY OF THE DATA FURNISHED IN MAPS OF LAPEER COUNTY

Township	Church	High School	Farm Bureau	Boys' and Girls' Clubs	Public Health Nursing	Odd Fellows	Gleaners	Co-op. Assn.
Marathon . . . . .	32	6	11	4	8	28	0	76
Oregon . . . . .	34	5	20	0	0	25	3	64
Elba . . . . .	42	8	14	0	2	0	20	11
Hadley . . . . .	57	9	9	0	3	0	4	53
Metamora . . . . .	32	9	8	0	4	0	6	78
Lapeer . . . . .	99	8	11	0	3	0	11	29
Mayfield . . . . .	23	8	19	0	5	0	8	18
Deerfield . . . . .	32	8	20	0	1	1	0	48
Rich . . . . .	31	4	13	0	0	10	7	11
Burlington . . . . .	58	11	29	3	0	0	0	32
North Branch . . . . .	16	14	24	4	5	0	38	67
Arcadia . . . . .	88	11	11	9	4	0	14	0
Attica . . . . .	88	11	11	9	4	0	14	0
Dryden . . . . .	14	24	31	0	1	0	51	0
Almont . . . . .	74	12	45	0	2	11	0	65
Imlay . . . . .	85	4	23	0	0	16	36	40
Goodland . . . . .	62	7	19	0	1	11	30	27
Burnside . . . . .	86	11	32	0	0	0	10	49
Total . . . . .	981	165	354	20	41	102	239	681

Two of the most thoroughly rural townships in each county, Imlay, Goodland (Lapeer), Allen, and Adams (Hillsdale), were chosen for the composite maps. On these maps is shown the location of the families having the different means of improved communication.

### APPENDIX III.

#### RATES OF EXCHANGE QUOTED BY THE CONTINENTAL ILLINOIS BANK AND TRUST COMPANY, AUGUST 22, 1930

English, 1 Pound Sterling.....	\$4.8725
Irish, 1 Pound Sterling.....	4.8750
Danish, 1 Krone.....	0.2682
French, 1 Franc.....	0.03940
German, 1 Reichsmark .....	0.2390
Italian, 1 Lire .....	0.05250
Swiss, 1 Franc .....	0.1946

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1 Kilometer .....	$\frac{5}{8}$ miles—approximately
1 Hectare .....	2.471 acres



## APPENDIX IV.

### EDENBRIDGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

NAMES & CLASSIFICATION	NO. OF FARM MEMBERS	TOTAL NUM- BER OF MEMBERS	NUMBER OF FARM FAMILIES REPRESENTED IN EACH	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBER- SHIP COM- POSED OF FARMERS
<b>Home-making:</b>				
Woman's Institute .....	42	140	38	30%
Mothers' Union .....	14	42	14	33%
<b>Rural Education</b>	Only one family had sent children outside the parish to a private school. All others attended local schools			
<b>Schools:</b>				
Council School.....	..	..	..	..
Church School.....	11	55	9	20%
Eden House .....	..	..	..	..
Amateur Dramatic Club...	0	20	0	0%
Rural Traveling Library..	0	20	0	0%
<b>Rural Health and Sanitation</b>				
Cottage Hospital—Twenty-four farm families contributed.				
Edenbridge Nursing Association—5 farm families nursed.				
Infant Welfare Center—No farm family served.				
<b>Rural Recreation and Sociable Life:</b>				
Edenbridge Band .....	1	30	1	3%
Angling Society.....	5	50	5	10%
Boy Scouts .....	..	..	..	..
Cubs .....	8	80	7	10%
Rovers .....	..	..	..	..
Cricket Club.....	11	55	10	20%
2 Darts Clubs.....	6	60	6	10%
Swimming Club .....	60	400	45	15%
Men's Indoor Sports Club	24	245	20	19%
Old Surrey and Burstow (Hunting) .....	28	..	28	..

## 456 VILLAGE AND OPEN-COUNTRY NEIGHBORHOODS

Territorials .....	0	30	0	0%
Tennis Club .....	0	30	0	0%
Whist Club .....	2	..	2	..
Badminton Club .....	..	..	..	..
Morals and Religion:				
Parish Church and Sunday School.....			16	
Baptist Church .....			..	
Presbyterian Church .....			6	
St. Paulinus Church Institute.....			1	
Calvinist Chapel .....			..	
Salvation Army .....			..	
Legislation and Government:				
Conservative Club.....	34	62	34	56%
Sevenoaks Liberal Association .....			1	
Women's Unionist Association.....			..	
Sevenoaks Rural District Council.....			1	
Edenbridge Parish Council.....			..	
Kent County Council.....			1	
Junior Imperial League.....			2	
Charities and Corrections:				
British Legion .....			..	
Rural Organization:				
Kent Rural Community Council.....			2	
Economic:				
Edenbridge Fanciers' Society.....			20	
Edenbridge Garden Society.....			3	
Farmers' Union .....			19	
Agricultural Laborers' Union.....			2	
Edenbridge Trades Association.....			1	
Marsh Green Agricultural Society.....			28	
Kent Wool Growers' Association.....			1	
Kent Milk Recording Society.....			1	
Marsh Green Cottage Gardening Society.....			1	

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Another interesting computation which shows that the forty-eight social organizations were not serving farmers to a very great extent is the following:

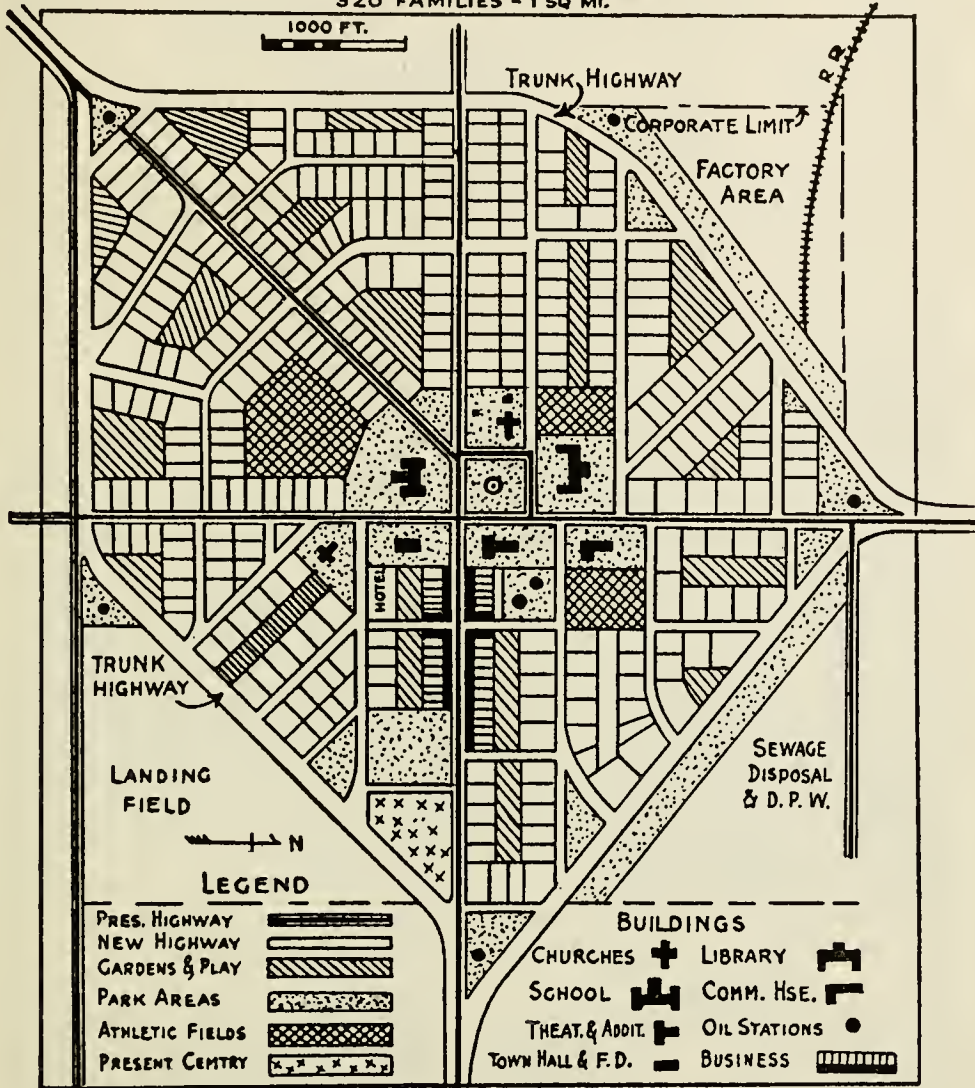
45	farm	families	were	connected	with	1	organizations
38	“	“	“	“	“	2	“
34	“	“	“	“	“	3	“
28	“	“	“	“	“	4	“
20	“	“	“	“	“	5	“
16	“	“	“	“	“	6	“
7	“	“	“	“	“	7	“
6	“	“	“	“	“	8	“
4	“	“	“	“	“	10	“
1	“	“	“	“	“	11	“
1	“	“	“	“	“	12	“
1	“	“	“	“	“	no	“

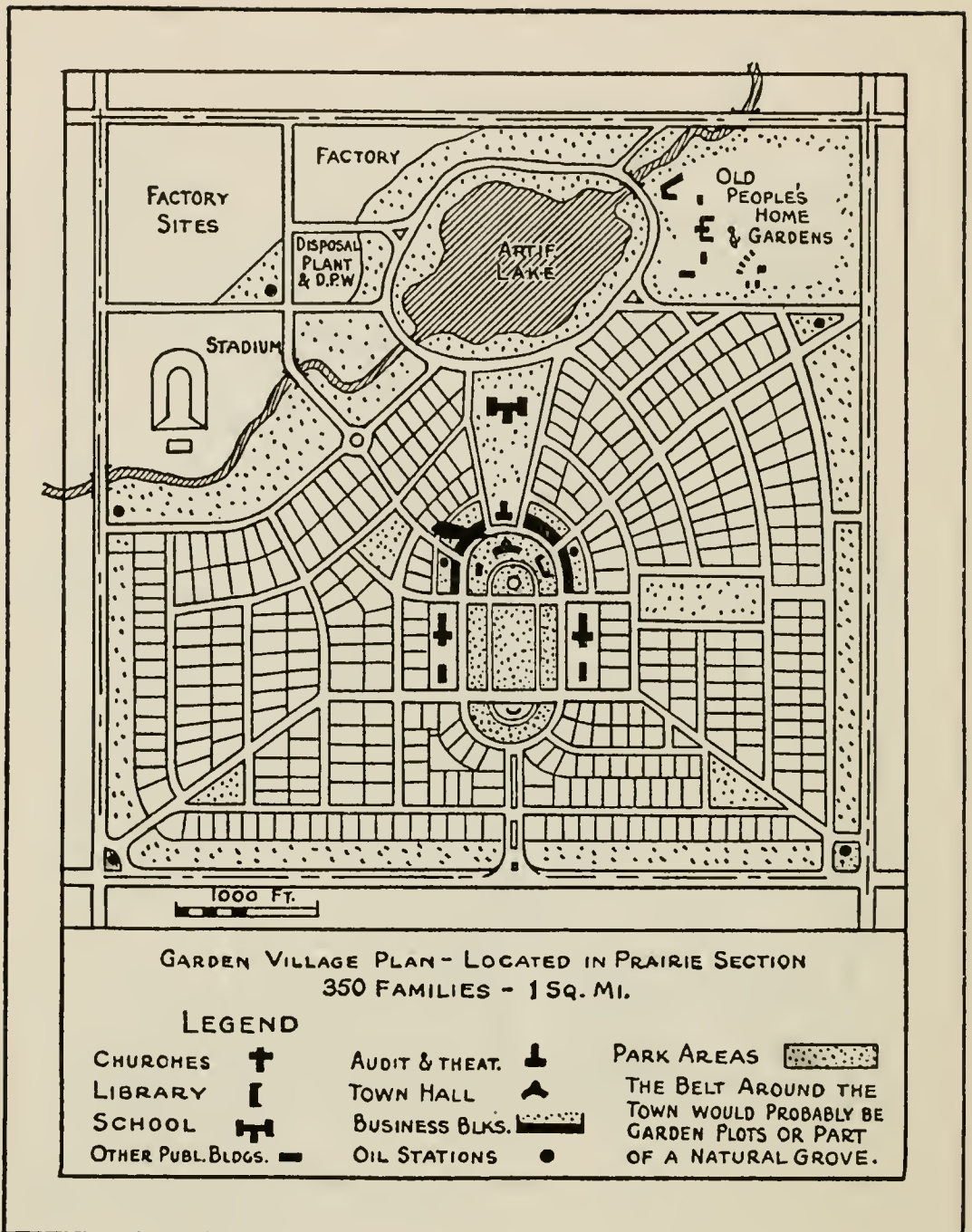


## *APPENDIX V.*

The following plans are designed to suggest the possibility of constructing or reconstructing attractive and convenient rural villages. They are adapted to the topography of the location, route the through traffic around the outskirts, allow for one acre per family, and provide for convenient zoning and artistic arrangement. The re-plans make necessary a minimum of change.

RE-PLANNING OF VILLAGE OF RICHLAND, MICH.  
320 FAMILIES - 1 SQ. MI.





GARDEN VILLAGE PLAN - LOCATED IN PRAIRIE SECTION  
350 FAMILIES - 1 SQ. MI.

LEGEND

- |                    |    |                |   |   |   |
|--------------------|----|----------------|---|---|---|
| CHURCHES           | +  | AUDIT & THEAT. | ⬇ | PARK AREAS  | ▨ |
| LIBRARY            | ⌈  | TOWN HALL      | ⬆ | THE BELT AROUND THE TOWN WOULD PROBABLY BE GARDEN PLOTS OR PART OF A NATURAL GROVE. |   |
| SCHOOL             | ⌈⌋ | BUSINESS BLKS. | ▨ |   |   |
| OTHER PUBL. BLDGS. | —  | OIL STATIONS   | ● |   |   |







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