CULTURE CHANGE IN A LOW-GERMAN RURAL COMMUNITY IN CHAMPAIGN COUNTY, ILLINOIS

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URBANA, ILLINOIS
I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY SUPERVISION BY Fayl Emma Corner

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BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF Master of Arts

In Charge of Thesis

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This thesis does not claim to record unique theories or to find new facts, but instead to describe social interaction in the group of which the student is a part, for this task of description and interpretation is an objective manner. The thesis is not a history nor an economic treatise, but historical and economic data have been used to show a probable genesis of the culture which has been the result of experience in historical and economic situations.

The minute description of the commonplace of daily life have been included not because they are unique, but as if they were. Intimate data is gathered for the purpose of discovering relationships among phenomena. A painstaking gathering of these data is the only adequate way of discovering such relationships—relationships which have, perhaps, not been suspected before. An item of housekeeping, for instance, may seem trivial in the recounting, but if some gesture or procedure here has meaning in the situation in terms of the culture of the group, that gesture may be potent as a means of social control. For instance, the bedroom of the "mams und frans" is always on the first floor and adjoining the kitchen. On the face of it this fact seems to be related to the incidental architecture of the house, or seems to have some such obvious explanation. However, when other facts are known, it is patent that the position of the bedroom of the parents is itself a culture element significant in the organization and control of the family economy.
PREFACE

This thesis does not claim to record unique theories but to find new facts. What has been attempted is a complete and minute description of social interaction in the group of which the study treats. The effort has been made to approach this task of description and interpretation in an objective manner. The work is not a history nor an economic treatise, but historical and economic data have been used to show a probable genesis of the culture which has been the result of experience in historical and economic situations.

The minute description of the commonplaces of daily life have been included not because they are unique, but as if they were. Intimate data is gathered for the purpose of discovering relationships among phenomena. A painstaking gathering of these data is the only adequate way of discovering such relationships—relationships which have, perhaps, not been suspected before. An item of housekeeping, for instance, may seem trivial in the recounting, but if some gesture or procedure here has meaning in the situation in terms of the culture of the group, that gesture may be potent as a means of social control. For instance, the bedroom of the "mann und frau" is always on the first floor and adjoining the kitchen. On the face of it this fact seems to be related to the incidental architecture of the house, or seems to have some such obvious explanation. However, when other facts are known, it is patent that the position of the bedroom of the parents is itself a culture element significant in the organization and control of the family economy.
Obviously, an important consideration in so minute a study of a social group is the investigator's relation to that group. It is not enough in an investigation of this kind to consult county and institution records. One must have a better entree than is gained by selling magazines or soap from farm to farm. The investigator must be an outsider, capable of seeing the facts objectively, but he must also be able to gain for himself in that group a position of trust and confidence as well as maintain for himself a position which will make group members respect him in some conventional connection. The present investigator achieved these prerequisites unwittingly. Coming into the district in the fall of 1923 as a new teacher, she had been warned by the county superintendent that the school was a hard one because of the attitude of the people. This man, still retaining a war psychosis, observed, with only part truth, that the people spoke German—not a literate high German, but a homely, unwritten dialect. There was in competition with the American school, a German school whose chief subjects of study were the Catechism of the Lutheran Church and the history of that church. The new teacher was immediately interested. Here was an adventure. And such it proved to be. In spite of orders from above she refused to forbid the children the use of their own vernacular on the school grounds. A visit to the German school showed a conscientious Lehrer in the person of the pastor who certainly knew how to transfer knowledge and skill from himself to his pupils. That he mixed his unorthodox pedagogy with the fear of God and a reverence for the group's past did not hurt the situation any. His students learned all the sub-
jects prescribed for the first eight grades. The Lehrer and the 
new teacher became friends. Church holidays and confirmation 
school hours were arranged to the mutual advantage of the schools 
and a friendly relation for the first time existed between them. 
The people were friendly but in awe of the teacher. They were 
made distinctly uncomfortable because they felt that every year 
their people and homes were subjected to sneering or amused scrui-
tiny. The attitude of the school authorities fostered this feel-
ing. However, the new teacher, since this was her first school, 
knew nothing of what to expect in a rural district and so every-
thing was taken as it was. The result was an open door whenever 
she came around. It was not long before she was so completely 
accepted that she was being entertained in the kitchen and sit-
ting in at the meal eaten from clean white oilcloth covered tab-
les.

Two years in the school as teacher served to widen the 
acquaintance and deepen the mutual friendship between teacher 
and group. The teacher relationship was severed at the end of 
the second year. Ever since, there have been visits back and 
forth, and when in the course of her subsequent college career, 
the one-time teacher selected this group for formal study, co-
operation was immediate and has been complete and untiring.

Wherever in the study the results of interviews are en-
closed in quotation marks they are the exact words of the person 
speaking except that grammatical errors and peculiarities of 
diction have been ignored. No attempt has been made to dress up 
the content of the replies.

The cooperation of many persons has made the collection
of these data possible: the county court house records were placed at the disposal of the investigator, the information at the county abstract office was made accessible. Thanks is particularly due to Rev. H. A. Schroeder of the Frieden Church at Flatville, whose excellent memory and keen insight into the problem were of prime importance in assigning meaning to the events in his records. Two surviving immigrants have given their highly intelligent aid in collecting and compiling data and many persons have given freely of their time and have made sincere efforts to help with their large store of information in gathering the more intimate details of this work. Hospitality was extended in many places and thanks is here especially extended to the family of Mr. P. R., whose home has so long been home to the investigator. A sense of trust is experienced by virtue of the confidence re­posed in the writer.

For this there are two criteria: (1) The unitary character of the group must be recognized from without; that is, people must habitually refer to the locality by an actual or implied characteristic of the occupants; (2) the group must be internally aware of its existence as such; there must be what is called "group cohesion", or "group consciousness". The first criterion is not sufficient in itself. To illustrate: in a certain community there is a district known as "Piety Hill". The people living there are designated as "Church Nicks" and "Piety Nields". The reason for this name is that at one time a group of people who lived there were members of the Congregational Church, as they were divided off in another religious group, feeling
CHAPTER I

THE GROUP

The Group Viewed from Without:

A spot map of the immigrant settlements in the state of Illinois shows a wide distribution of various immigrant groups that have settled in the years after the civil war. The distribution of immigrant settlements is significant in showing, in a general way, the process of adjustment of one culture group in the midst of another. But in order to see the manner in which this adjustment takes place, detailed observations of the group are necessary. Such observation requires acquaintance with the general and specific knowledge already accumulated, and with the methods of investigation already refined.

A first task in the study of a social phenomenon is to determine its distribution. If a settlement is chosen, it is essential to determine whether the statistical selection is a social group. For this there are two criteria: (1) The unitary character of the group must be recognized from without; that is, people must habitually refer to the locality by an actual or imputed characteristic of the occupants; (2) the group must be internally aware of its existence as such: there must be what is called "group cohesion", or "group consciousness". The first criterion is not sufficient in itself. To illustrate: in a certain community there is a district known as "Piety Hill". The people residing there are designated as "Church Mice" and "Piety Hillers". The reason for this name is that at one time a group of people who lived there were members of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. As they were divided off from another religious group, feeling
against them ran high for a time. All their actions were ridiculed. Their abode became known as Piety Hill. Upon investigation this area proved to be one of high mobility. The population changed rapidly, yet the name of the area persisted notwithstanding it had been several years since a single Cumberland Presbyterian family had lived there. The existence of a group implies more than an imputed existence by outsiders.

The second criterion would be sufficient for purposes of definition as far as the group itself is concerned, but it is doubtful if a compact group exists without recognition as such from the outside. There are certain "categoric" contacts by the group members with the world outside which will serve to show the unitary character of the group. The community need not be economically self-sufficient; nor need it be independent in other respects. There are necessary contacts with physicians and tradesmen. The school system also may form a point of contact with the outside. Peculiar characteristics noticed by incoming teachers and by school inspectors serve to characterize the group as different. It would seem from observation that the recognition of a group from the outside proceeds regularly. In this connection it is well to form an analogy from the idea expressed by Shaler: the progress in human relations from categoric to sympathetic contacts. A group of people come into an area that has not been in any way prepared for their reception. In this way a rural uninhabited area differs from a city Ghetto or other restricted spot where people move stage-wise from the area of first settlement into more cosmopolitan areas within the city. There is no expectation at all.
near the locality as to the type that is unwelcome. In the cycle of adjustments, the group is first discerned as a certain number of people moving into an area. The next impression is the same as that made by an equal mass of anyone else—the land is occupied. Then contacts begin. For example, the settler goes into town to buy some lumber. Then the process of assigning to categories begins. It is discovered first that his language is such and such. He is classified as a German, a Swede, or whatever he is. Others of his kind come and are discovered to speak the same language. One category is formed and the group placed in it. As other characteristics are noted, they are set down along side of the first ones. Perhaps someone observes that they are for example, Lutherans, or Catholics. The group is then characterized say, as a settlement of Lutheran Swedes, or German Catholics. As long as contacts remain on the economic level or are formal contacts between governmental agents and governed the group will remain intact unless the members actually move out. There will be but little assimilation of the new material culture so long as relations remain on this impersonal level. Separation between groups is also fostered because, while people are observed only from a distance—while their nature is unknown and their actions seem strange—suspicion on the part of the beholder causes a reinforcement of the desire not to be too close. This seems to have been the case in the group studied. There is an attitude of suspicion on the part of their neighbors. The Frisian ways are strange; the people stay to themselves. Other German as well as other culture groups cannot speak or understand their language. They work long hours, they work on civil holidays, they are never
seen at farm bureau meetings, they stand in little knots on street-corners when they come to town, some of them wear old-fashioned clothes, they do not come to the polls to vote. Because American ways are not in their tradition, their lack of contacts makes the process of levelling slow in starting and retards its progress.

Group unity is strengthened by the same means that have elicited attitudes of suspicion on the part of outsiders. Because the community is subordinate to the government, there are forced contacts and interference from the outside. English-speaking schools must be established and maintained according to certain standards. Since it is not in the traditions of the group to foster higher education, teachers cannot be supplied locally; they must be sent in from the outside. These come with attitudes set in advance by prevailing aversions for variable cultures. It is difficult to enforce rules because these are made without regard for the traditions of the local cultures. It is difficult to get materials for the school room when it seems unnecessary to have toys such as colored pencils and papers in the school room. Are not the children sent to school to work rather and to play? The English speaking teacher cannot understand the speech of the beginners and they cannot understand hers as only the Frisian language is spoken in the children's homes. The new teacher—and usually she is a beginner—may be given orders to forbid the use of the home language on the school grounds. It is a clash between unlike folk-ways. In rare cases the militant teacher may seem to carry her point for a time. The home dialect is not spoken (aloud) on the school grounds, but
neither is English. The children stand about and look at each other and giggle or remain silent. No amount of coaxing will start games or cause any participation whatever. This report comes from several of the older pupils in the school and from teachers who have met defeat in their inept techniques.

Four teachers have contributed letters telling of their experiences while staying in the district. Two of these letters illustrate this personal clash of cultures. One writes: "I came to this school in September of 1916. There was everywhere a good deal of talk about the war in Europe but these people seemed as yet to have little notion of it all except that the fatherland was at war over something. Most of them insisted that Germany was being molested and regretted the tearing up of the country. Many of them expressed their relief at not being there and having to fight.

"Just before I started to teach at Maple Grove, the county superintendent warned me that I was going into a very difficult school. He said it was now necessary to apply double pressure and get these children Americanized so as to prevent their parents' alliance with the German cause in case America were drawn into the war. My first commandment was to insist upon the English language at school at all times, and within a month after school started the children were to be examined by an official from the office to see that they knew the important patriotic songs, the "Creed of an American" and the preamble to the constitution of the United States. The children from the third grade on up were to know Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address". Since this was my first school you can imagine that I was a little awed
at the task, but thought it possible. I wanted to do my best as I knew I would have to make teaching a lifetime job. I went early to the schoolhouse that first morning. It was immaculate—newly painted and papered inside, windows washed, floors and desks sand scrubbed, shining windows, with clean white muslin curtains. I was about as happy as I have ever been since at anything. I myself was full of sympathy for the allies and shocked at the reported atrocities of the enemy. Here was my golden opportunity to do my bit for the cause of America. Although I hoped that Wilson would keep his campaign promise if elected again, I had heard enough to cause me to doubt the possibility of America's staying out of the big scrap. Also, I had cousins in the English Army who had enlisted from Canada. One of them had been killed.

"I lived at Mrs. X's as all the teachers had done since the school started. Country life and its inconveniences were not new to me and I liked the beautiful hospitality that I found here. Things went well for a time. I was too busy organizing the school and trying to get my beginners lined up to do anything about the commands of the county superintendent. I decided that I needed the help of the older children in understanding the youngest pupils and if I forbade the children to talk German I could never get at them in any way. However, after I started teaching the children to read, I became independent of this help in school as the older children helped the little ones at home and they were soon telling me little things in fragmentary English. I thought to get along this way, introducing the flag ceremonies as part of the opening exercises, teaching American
patriotic songs among others, and so on, but the county superintendant would have none of that. I must "fill them full of Americanism—I must make them love America" and etc.. So I began.

"The change in action toward me was not long in coming. Mrs. X. began to leave me to myself more. I was treated very politely. After the meal the family all left me for other parts of the house or farm. I had nothing to do but go to my room. Of course my room was cold and I formed the habit of getting into bed when I got home and reading or marking papers or doing home planning there before supper. I went down for supper and breakfast. The family became more and more polite. One day I came home from school to find a stove in my room, with a good fire. On top the stove was a bucket of water and on the stand a wash bowl. That meant that I was to do all but eat in my room. I did.

"At school the children, who had been crazy about me, stayed in little knots, staring silently, and whispering to each other. They were never troublesome in school but one morning the flag was missing. I said nothing. The next morning when I got down to breakfast the family had finished, and the table was nicely set with one place service. The breakfast was delicious as always. I ate nothing hot—just drank a cup of coffee and ate cold breakfast food and fruit. I poured my own coffee and ate breakfast. That day I dismissed school early and carried my resignation to the secretary of the board. I told him that I was heartbroken, that I did not understand what I had done to merit such a dismissal. All the answer I got was, 'You can't make us over. We don't have to go by the American school to learn some-
things after we are old. We are good Americans without all the flag talk. We are not ashamed of our language.

"This was about Christmas time. A few mornings later I was surprised to find a package of three letters of recommendation in the mail—one written by each school officer out there. In three weeks I had found another school. A further surprise awaited me at the end of the month—a check for three weeks salary drawn on the church treasury, to cover the time of my idleness!

"If by group you mean that one knows they feel themselves a part of humanity set off, this most certainly is a group I have never seen a place where more people did and said the same things in the same way as they did in this school district".

This letter shows the change in attitude toward an outsider who first comes into contact with the group in a categoric manner. While the teacher had never been received as an insider, the group had got over the novelty of receiving a new teacher each year and had assigned that teacher to a certain institutional relation. The relations between teacher and community were already prescribed and were in working order until disturbed by the method of the teacher. She was accepted as long as she performed the functions allotted her and did not offend the self-respect of the group. The manner in which her changed relation was indicated is significant. There is something symbolic about it in that it shows how the group behaves as a unit. The hostess' actions symbolized and epitomized the intentions of the group. There was in the meantime no breach in the administration of hospitality.; indeed, extra expense had been incurred to contribute to her comfort.
When I asked one of the board member why Miss S. re-signed, he said, "The children didn't like her". I said, "Oh, come now, tell me why she left." The explanation was as follows:

"The children do not like anything that the parents don't want them to like. This teacher was insulting us and making it seem like we were not good citizens and that we were ignorant. You can't tell what notions a child will get from a teacher if they like her. That's why the children don't like a teacher that the parents don't think is good for them."

Another letter is from a teacher, who, though she managed to keep the school till the end of the term, had a rather hard time of it. Miss T. writes regarding her experiences at Maple Grove as follows:

"It was just after the war that I tackled my first school. I was as green as any young thing that ever came out of a teacher's college. I was full of notions about educating the parents through the children, and in my talks with the county superintendent before I came out here I told him of my ambitions in this line. He told me that Maple Grove was a real place to try my missionary zeal and was quite sold on the idea. I came out here with a condescending attitude toward the farm population in general and foreigners in particular. (Life has taught me a lot since.) I started the thing by trying to organize a parent-teachers club. When I issued invitations to the parents they all came, thinking something was wrong at the school. The idea did not go over. The parents were not interested in the American School and I could see plainly that this seven months' session was being forced upon them every year. They heartily disap-
proved of the school's being used for any but school purposes and programs at Christmas and a box social sometime before corn shucking was done in the fall. It seems that what one person did they all approved. I never saw any evidence that the members disagreed among themselves as to what should be expected of the school and the teacher. After about six weeks the parents began expressing wonder at the fact that the first graders did not know their letters. In vain I explained that the new method did not bother with that. However, when the children were actually demonstrating their ability to read by sound and by sight, the parents said it was all right. Even so they saw to it that the children were taught the letters at home.

"I found the people very easy to convince provided the thing I proposed proved practical. Selling weiner sandwiches at the box social was something new, but when we cleared more money than they had made in years by this new addition to the thing, they praised it.

"My worst trouble came when I insisted upon organizing the play group and saw no sense in segregating the boys and girls on the school ground while they were being watched. They all walked home together and played together outside of school, so I saw no reason for their not doing so on the play grounds. This caused a great deal of talk and many tales began to be carried about the neighborhood about boys going into the girls' toilet, writing naughty things to each other and such things as that. I replied that it was time the people were waking up and trying to become like other people and that the other schools did not segregate the children. Things drifted on, however,
and the end of the term did not come too soon to suit me. There is not much to be said. I always went home on week-ends and sometimes during the week after school. I never visited among the people. I shocked them by insisting on having a napkin at the table. I tried to correct the children's table manners by talking about the subject at school. I was not at all reticent about telling them that they could be little missionaries in their own homes and teach the others not to eat with knives, etc...I had been considerably shocked to be handed a piece of wonderful apple pie on a plate with a knife with which to eat it. All the time I was there I was half angry and wholly defiant in attitude. I never conceded that I was wrong. All I wanted was to reform the terrible things that I saw. I have got over that somewhat, but still believe that those people, though nice and hospitable are awfully crude and backward. Think of speaking a foreign language in America when none of them would want to go back to Germany. I have since taught in all American schools and have steered clear of any such messes as I got into at Maple Grove. Are they a solid group—I'll say they are, solid in sticking together, and solid in the heads, too, believe me. Me for American ways for residents of and benefitters by America! ............" This letter is not expressive of an unusual attitude.

The feeling of ethno-centrism is universal. Barring cases where prestige obviously enters, the characteristics possessed by the subject are universally—from the savage to the modern—rated as the most desirable. This sentiment is represented in organized form of chauvinism and the disregard for other civilizations. Various tribes designate themselves by words meaning 'men', other
groups being lower in the animal scale. The same sentiment is found in proverbs of all times. The Romans had an old saying, "Patriae fumus Igni alieno luculentior"—the smoke of our own chimney shines better than the fire of a stranger. The Italian proverb says, "Ad ogniuucello, il suo nido e bello"; the French, "Chaque oiseau trouve son nid bien"; the bird likes his own nest best. Goldsmith, in "The Traveller", expresses this sentiment:

The shuddering tenant of the frigid zone,
Boldly proclaims the happiest spot his own,
Extols the treasures of his stormy seas,
And his long night of revelry and ease.
The naked savage panting at the line,
Boasts of his golden sands and balmy wines
Basks in the glare or stems the tepid wave,
And thanks his Gods for all the good they gave.
Nor less the patriot's boast, where'er he roam,
His first, his best country ever is at home.

Kipling's "Recessional" is typical in regard to the contempt for other groups—in this case, the Americans whom he designated as "The lesser breeds without the law".

Folk literature will yield many more such examples. Ethnocentrism is universal; the implied differential responses with the associated sentiments or ideas are the elementary source and designation of social groups.

Merely being different carries with it a connotation of inferiority. It is difficult to treat differences objectively. The various points of dissimilarity are usually arranged into a graded series whose order is determined by the subject in that he starts with his own characteristics as number one in the series. The teacher quoted above objected to a folkway because it seemed inconsistent to her. She saw no "sense" in segregating children on sex lines at school and then permitting them to walk home to—
gether. It did not occur to this critic to look to the inconsis-
tency in her own folkways. Right behavior is everywhere defined
according to convention. The matter of appropriate dress is en-
tirely dictated by usage. The story is told of a Japanese
'schoolboy' in California who presented himself to his mistress,
ready to answer the door, clad in a new suit of "B. V. D's".
When asked to explain his appearance, he opened a magazine to an
advertisement of the clothing in question, showing a whole family,
father, mother and children, seated comfortably about the room,
all clad in the advertised article. It was up to the mistress to
explain the matter of appropriate dress.

Our culture offers many such inconsistencies. We permit
boys and girls to go swimming together in the scantiest attire,
yet forbid similar apparel on other occasions. Certain girls'
schools employ no males except older men, and parents send their
daughters, interested, as they should be at this age, in men, to
these schools. However, associations outside the institution are
unregulated.

Since a folkway may not bring with it the history of its
origin in a specific context, we cannot know the exact meaning of
the behavior which it calls for. To be consistent means to act
in the same way on similar occasions. When we brand a folkway as
inconsistent, we forget the basic characteristic of a folkway—a
bit of behavior that has been developed out of an unknown situ-
aton and that has survived its old context. By its very nature a
folkway may be inconsistent with the culture amidst which it con-
tinues to function—it may have been developed in reference to a
situation that has passed out of being. Sumner is careful to
point out that folkways do not necessarily keep pace with the rest of the culture—useful folkways may be replaced and useless ones survive. Folkways do not present norms for any situation at all except those in which they function directly. Folkways are specific; they are never rules governing a class of events. It is not an East Frisian folkway to segregate the sexes; the folkway merely says that children are to be separated on sex lines at school. To say, then, that there is "no sense" in keeping the sexes apart at school and allowing them to walk home together becomes a statement which betrays an entire lack of appreciation of the nature of culture.

The one common mistake that these teachers made is that they attempted to change things. They tried to put over a reform by negation rather than by substitution. John Dewey once said that in order to teach any new thing successfully, it must never run counter to the emotional set of the individual or group to whom it is offered. The truth of this statement is very well illustrated in this group's response to situations described.

The Frisian language was dying out in this settlement before the war. A person, who taught the school four years before the war (1910-1914), said that many of the children spoke English when they first came to school. Nothing was ever said about their speaking one language or the other and they seemed to expect to speak English at school. In 1916 when this same teacher, then married, came to finish the term remaining after the resignation of the teacher quoted above, she said that she was surprised to hear that all of the children spoke German. She said then that it might have been because someone told them not to. However,

since she was only taking the school until they could get someone she did not bother to say anything about it.

"Because they had been told not to" is the stimulus that set off a very complicated reaction. The Low-German language was serving the oncoming generation less and less as their contacts with the outside widened; English was gradually replacing the group language. English school meant English speech. The group had grown used to the public school and although it was English, had fitted it into a definite place in their relation with the environing group. However when adverse attention was called to it, they became self conscious. They were put upon to defend their integrity and loyalty. They began to realize that already English was replacing German, they realized that they were being criticized for being different, so they rallied to reinstate these differences as symbols of their self respect and of the values of which the group had been the carrier. Into a situation already highly charged because of the war involving the Fatherland, and because the implication that individuals in a neutral nation were required to conform to the whim of others, had been projected an element that was designed to bring into expression the emotions of the group. They immediately responded with a defense reaction which took the form of rallying to the old group symbols which had been slipping away inobtrusively. Those in high places forgot that though governments may change by revolution, culture change is a much slower process.

Differential Responses Viewed from within the Group:

The next step after having determined whether the group is recognized from without is to find whether or not the group...
itself is aware of its differentiation by others and of its own corporate existence. The best testimony of such cognizance is found in the collective symbols. A group symbol may be any behavior way or any object. The former may have any degree of complexity or simplicity which is recognized by the group as identifying it peculiarly. Looking from the outside these symbols are called peculiar characteristics which are held by the group as such. From the inside they are acts or expressions with particular ideational content, or phrases which are used to call attention of the group to themselves as a distinctive formation, at least in their conception, and therefore in actuality. In the group studied it has been determined that the first in this series of symbols, when they are arranged in the order of their importance as functional devices is language. In this case the East Frisian form of the Low German Dialect is the particular form of speech peculiar to this group at least within this country. There are other forms of Low-German spoken by people of the county and state, but this group and the others cannot use their own languages to communicate with each other.

The question may here be raised as to the basis for the formation of a series of group symbols arranged in order of their importance as instruments in organization. This involves the whole philosophical problem of order. So that these points may be discussed adequately and logically, the right to the decision to regard the problem of ordering from the empirical viewpoint must be supported. The empirical viewpoint is that way of looking at things which grows out of personal observation—out of experience with events. Opposed to this view is the scientific
viewpoint which can only be arrived at through the empirical
via the fictional activities of the mind. Thus for instance,
empirical time is dependent upon events which are experienced.
Empirically speaking, when one sleeps and when one is uncon­
scious, time has ceased to be as there are no events for the ex­
periencer. On the other hand, the statement is made that scien­
tific time is independent of events. What is the process by
which the empirical concept gives way so that a statement like
that may be made? It is through the so called fictional activi­
ties of the experiencing mind. In order to go from time which
is dependent upon events to time which is independent of events
involves the process of correlation and abstraction. One goes
to sleep on a pullman for instance at ten o'clock in the even­
ing. When he awakes from dreamless sleep at six the next morn­ing
he finds that he is about three hundred miles farther away
from the starting place than the last time he was conscious of
the passage of time. Thus he says that time must have elapsed
during which the world of events had ceased to exist for him.
Or, one falls on a slippery walk at four in the afternoon and
wakes up at six in the evening in a strange white bed in a hos­
pital. During the interval of unconsciousness time had ceased
to be, for the experiencer, but some time must have elapsed be­
cause here he is at the hospital, and the outdoors which was
light at his last moment of consciousness is now dark. Thus is
it possible finally to arrive at the notion that time is inde­
pendent of events; the passage from an empirical concept of time
to the scientific one has been accomplished.

In the discussion of the problem of ordering, which is
involved in this arrangement of group symbols in the order of their importance as functioning mechanisms, the empirical viewpoint is taken because it is experientially derived material that is being dealt with. While a point of view needs no more support than its statement carries, it is well to offer a reason for this choice of viewpoint.

The question has often been raised as to how one may assign places in a series without having determined these positions by a process of measurement. The fact is that order is prior to and may be entirely independent of measurement. Placing a number of things in a series does not imply that there is anything definite about the space between any two members of a series. Empirical order consists of the following: (a) It is a property of groups—more than two—(b) it involves a serial relationship, (c) it involves arrangement. The statement that empirical order is a property of groups, means that there must be at least three members, as a group must have a first member, a last member and at least a member in between in order to establish relationships; the contention that ordering involves a serial relationship merely means that one member follows another. That arrangement is also involved means that each member of the series has a place which is definitely determined. Nowhere is order dependent upon measurement—nowhere is relationship or arrangement concerned with the distance between any two members of the series. Thus when any units are arranged in a series there is no logical opposition to be met. Upon this basis the symbols of group solidarity have been arranged and first in order of functioning importance, has been placed the language of the group.
As before stated this dialect form is peculiar to the group in the vicinity. When the attempt was first made to record the members of the colony a plat map of the two townships—Compromise and Rantoul—was used. From this map it was seen that there are a great many German names in the area. The names thus did not provide a key to the location of the group members. For this information the people had to be consulted. "Aren't these German also?" they were asked. "Oh, yes, I guess they are German, but they might as well be French—they do not belong to us—they speak a different German". "Well, are not some of them Lutherans?" "Oh, of course, but they don't belong to our congregation or to the other one—we are from Frisia and our language is different."

One day the Farm Bureau was under discussion. One man made a statement to the effect that "we" do not go in for things like that. When he was told that all the neighbors had joined, he said that that was different—other people could do it, but they didn't know about such things and are content to be getting on as they had hitherto.

When asked why they did not favor the reelection of the county superintendent of schools the answer came that he thinks "we" are not fit to be in America. "In administering school laws, he always sees that we get the worst of it. He sends us teachers to try to get us Americanized."

Thus there is this constant reference to themselves as a group. When at first the investigator asked for the recipe for some food new to her, she was told that "We do it differently from you—you wouldn't like it if you made it", and she did not
ask again for recipes, though later many were given her.

Instances could be multiplied to great length where the group members refer to themselves as a separate formation. The whole conversation and expression are filled with the pronoun "we" used as a distinguishing mark. Their attitudes are organized for differential response. The innermost bounds of this "we" is the language.

A subdivision under this classification is the symbol "our congregation." The language group is the larger and functions in all things concerning the community as a whole. However, a division dating from 1880 made of the language group two congregations. Thus the term "our congregation" is the smaller and less inclusive, but more intimate term. This division is not discernable in the functioning of the group as seen from the outside. It is an internal functioning division and the term "congregation" is almost synonymous to "family" so intimate, or primary is the nature of the social interaction in this smaller group.

References to this smaller group are even more frequent than to the language but not as inclusive. They are more numerous because the smaller group has more activities in common. However, when any issue is at stake which concerns the group inclusive of the two congregations, they rise as a man to meet it. The case of the dredge ditch drainage project that the township attempted to put through is an example in point. Because of the nature of the topography, the greatest expense would fall on the people of the "Flats." As their land was already adequately drained, they were averse to paying for the project for the
benefit of people who meant nothing to them unless equity in a business sense were maintained. They fought it in the courts and won the case. Cooperation is freely given within the group.
CHAPTER II
METHODOLOGY

A methodology is not only a statement of what was done in order to gather the data for a piece of work; it is the logical defense of the whole process of selecting the subject of research, of the collection of the data, of its manipulation, of the investigator's right to use material as he does, and a test of the validity of the conclusions drawn or of the relations established among phenomena.

The first question arising in such a research project as this is the determination of the group. This was discovered by gathering evidence of its recognition as such from without and the evidence of cognizance within.

Relation of the Investigator to the Group:

When the group has finally been determined in the manner discussed above, the investigator's relation to the group must be determined in practice and deserves analysis. This is a particularly difficult relation to establish because of the fact that any group with so many intricacies as are found in human interaction will be disturbed by the entrance of another factor no matter in what capacity that factor enters. A body of knowledge must be assumed to have exteriority: that is, the body of knowledge is not changed by the activities of the knower. The table known to the knower must not have suffered change by his knowing it. However, if an axe were brought into relation with the table, the table would no more be the same as before the relationship was established. It is just so in a group of human beings. The knower corresponds to the axe in its relation to
the table. His activity in reference to the group modifies the group formation. This is because of the multitude of factors entering into social interaction in any group, and the displacement in one part has the effect of changing all other factors relative to each other.

Though the change be set down it is not thereby accounted for. The fact remains that the group is changed by the entrance of an outsider into it and when thus having entered it, he is no longer studying the group as it was but as it is with him in it, and that is a far different thing.

This can be reduced, for the sake of clearness, to a philosophical problem. Suppose that we have the ordered relationship as follows: A sits next to B and C to D and so on.

Now enters a factor X. If X places himself above or below he is not in the series at all. If he places himself to the right of D, or to the left of A, he takes the place of another member that should precede A and follow D. Thus also if he puts himself in between any two members. So here is the dilemma: X must remain out to prevent disordering the group or he must go in and be no better off for having changed the thing he wanted to study.

It is just so with the investigator. If he enters a group, that group immediately modifies its action because of his presence. He is one to be dealt with in some way and in making provision for his being there, the order of group life is disturbed. If he remains on the outside he is no better off, as he can never get the view from without that he would get from the inside. As a mere observer the meaning of the behavior is not fully grasped. This explains the missionary spirit of some of
the teachers who go to the school there. The teacher as such is
definitely on the outside though she may sit about the stove with
the family where she rooms. In this way folkways are seen as
strange behavior, totally irrational and inadequate, the language
is heard as queer garbled German intermixed with English, the in­
sistence on certain ways of doing things is totally baffling.
The view from the outside then is not a satisfactory one. Get­
ting the account from a group member is not satisfactory either
both because of the fact that the mere calling attention to phe­
nomena covers what is most valuable, but because this view, like
the view from the outside is partial.

So, because it is impossible to enter the group without
affecting its internal organization, and because it is undesirable
to take a partial view, and also because the outsider misses the
most precious manifestations of group life on account of his in­
ability to see group life as a relationship, the situation be­
comes this: the relation of the investigator to the group must be
dual. The investigator must be both an insider and an outsider;
and because neither of these relationships is possible in fact,
the relation must be an "as if" one.

This was accomplished practically as follows: The inves­
tigator entered the group as a teacher and when the teacher-patron
relationship passed out of being, she remained as a friend. The
reasons that this process accomplished the purpose are: The teach­
er enters the group in a categoric connection. Her niche is
carved for her to occupy. The English school has been there long
enough and is locally controlled to the extent that the teacher,
as long as her behavior is confined to that which the group has
agreed is appropriate, is not a disturbing factor, any more than
the automobile salesman or the chicken buyer who comes out from
town to fill the prescribed duties of his occupation. If the
auto salesman would start to rebuild the garage or the chicken
peddler should insist upon carrying the hen house to the front
yard, there would be trouble. However, if the teacher is sympa­
thetic enough and has developed an objective and non-evaluative
attitude toward culture phenomena, she may be able to get an ex­
planation of things as she finds them, even as the auto salesman
and the chicken buyer may find out the reasons for the placing of
the garage and the chicken house if they show a non-condemnatory
interest.

The Investigator's Attitude.

This brings up the matter of the investigator's attitude
toward the group. For some reason, although she had never heard
of sociology when she went there, the investigator who was then
the teacher, was immediately interested in the things she found.
She did not share the county superintendent's view of the matter
that things should be changed by coercion. It is because of this
attitude of not evaluating things in terms of a norm or standard,
or trying to start a revolution that accounts for the fact that
she stayed two years as a teacher and that she left only friends
behind when she left that position. This left the whole field
open and many visits were exchanged back and forth. When the
time came it was an easy matter to gain the entire confidence of
the group and to come into it as a member with a rightful place
at the fireside and ask whatever favors were necessary for the
investigation.
This point of attitude cannot be too much stressed. A scientist does not evaluate. In describing the rose he does not complain of its fragrance or color. Neither does he compare it with that of the tulip or make plans for changing roses into tulips. Thus when a person goes into a group to serve it in any capacity, the objective procedure is to take everything as he finds it. There is no reason to suppose that things that are different are necessarily inferior. The missionary zeal that prompts the efforts to reduce all culture to a common form justifies itself on no other basis than the assumption that all that is different is inferior. All such rating has an inherent weakness in view of the fact that any investigator has a right equal to any other, logically speaking, of counting his own position as number one in a graded series.

Further, in order to be rightly appreciated, culture must be seen as a whole. Culture is an integration of elements and no one phenomenon has grown up independently of the rest. It is the missing of this relationship between culture elements and the failure to appreciate its interdependency that leads to hasty judgments and abortive efforts at reformation.

This is a fallacy of the popular sociologist. Thomas and Znanecki in "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America," say in their Methodological note: "One fallacy of the common sense sociology is the implicit assumption that any group of social facts can be treated theoretically and practically in an arbitrary isolation from the rest of the life of the given society. This assumption is perhaps unconsciously drawn from the general form of social organization in which the real isolation of cer-
tain groups of facts is a result of the demands of practical life. In any line of organized activity only actions of a certain kind are used and it is assumed that only such individuals will take part in this particular organization as are willing to perform these actions, and that do not bring into this sphere of activity any tendencies that may destroy the organization. The factory and the army corps are typical examples of such organizations. The isolation of a group of facts from the rest of social life is here really and practically performed. But actually in so far as such a system functions in a perfect manner there is no place at all for social science or social practice; the only thing required is a material division and organization of those isolated human actions. The task of social theory and social technique lies outside of these systems; it begins, for example, whenever external tendencies not harmonizing with the organized activities are introduced into the system, when the workmen in the factory stage a strike, or the soldiers of the army stage a mutiny. Then the isolation disappears; the system enters, through the individuals who are its members, into relation with the whole complexity of social life. And this lack of real isolation, which characterizes a system of organized activity only at moments of crisis, is a permanent feature of all the artificial, abstractly formed groups of facts such as 'prostitution', 'crime', 'education', 'war', and so forth. Every single fact included under these generalizations is connected by innumerable ties with an infinite number of other facts belonging to various groups, and these relations give every fact a different character. If we start to study these facts as a whole, without heeding their con-
nection with the rest of the social world we must necessarily come to quite arbitrary generalizations. If we start to act upon these facts in a uniform way because their abstract essence seems to be the same, we must necessarily produce quite different results, varying with the relations of every particular case to the rest of the social world. This does not mean that it is not possible to isolate such groups of facts for theoretic investigation or practical activity, but simply that the isolation must come, not a priori, but posteriori, in the same way as the distinction between the normal and the abnormal. The facts must first be taken in connection with the whole to which they belong and the question of their later isolation (must be treated separately)."

Thus no person entering a group has any justification for trying to change any particular item in a social system without seeing its relation to that system. This does not imply that remedial efforts should cease. The persons who find themselves in need, for example, of a settlement worker's services are those who have brought old patterns into a new setting. Thus rather than leading to an absurdity, this contingency supports the contention that culture is a complex and there must be a perfect working relationship between mechanisms for getting along and the external situation. A means of living can no more than function adequately to meet the needs of those concerned and avoid inconvenience to those about them. When a culture has accomplished this it is justified and does not stand in need of change from the outside.

How the Group is Studied:

How that the group is established, the investigator's relation to the group determined and accomplished and her attitude

prescribed, the next step is the actual gathering of the data with which the searcher is concerned.

The method used was as follows: first the county courthouse was visited to determine just what data were available there in the way of public records. It was discovered that the courthouse would yield the following things: the birth and death records, the land ownership and turnover, the assessed valuation of the land from year to year, the listing of taxable property of all kinds, the naturalization records, the marriage records, the records of any crime or legally punished misdemeanor, and maps of land ownership from the time of the swamp land grant to the present.

Then there were the documents examined locally. Since the land in the area was primarily farmland, maps of land ownership were particularly important.

The pastor of the church was consulted for the verification and easier use of these records and for the data from the church records in regard to the number in the community, marriages, births and deaths. School records were used to find the number of pupils enrolled each year in both the English and the German schools and to determine teacher turnover. These sources are the only ones discovered which give objective data. The remainder of the material had to be secured from the people themselves.

At least one day was spent in each home and if possible a night also on the first visit. Two other visits followed. These varied in duration from a few hours to a couple of weeks. Altogether over ninety days were spent in the homes of the people besides the two years the investigator spent there as teacher.

Some leading questions were asked and they were always answered, but no formal questionnaire was used, both because
these are too suggestive of the reply and because the people have a distrust of things which are written. It is not a commonplace with them to assign things to paper; writing material are for legal documents and necessary letters and are not lightly regarded. Also it was suspected that the sight of a person transcribing a record might make the informant self-conscious and cause him to speak for the audience rather than to tell his tale naturally. A little practice and familiarity with the territory makes it possible for an interviewer who has to gather facts all day to write them down correctly, even to names and dates, each night after everyone else has retired.

Then there were the documents examined locally. Since the investigator does not read German hand writing it was necessary to have help in translating the letters gathered. This was done by a former pupil who graduated from high school the year before. Her translations have been pronounced lovely renditions—correct and idiomatic but preserving the spirit of the original. These documents were letters from the old country which served to show the type of living there and the attitudes toward various phases of life. Others were letters from members of the group who had moved out. These were used to show any change in manner of living or in attitudes or values as a result of different surroundings.

Incidentally pictures were gathered which had been sent over from the old country and those that were taken here to show any relation between house and farm plans in the two countries. Maps of the home province were ordered from Berlin to show the topography in Frisia.
Nature of the Data Gathered:

The selection of what is sociological data from the mass of material that is purely social is a task that depends on one's viewpoint for its final achievement of a dividing line. All the facts pertaining to life in any condition save isolation are social facts. Thus history, economics, social psychology all are social disciplines because they exist by virtue of the fact that people live together. The selection from social data of that which is particularly sociological is accomplished by a process of abstraction—selecting some factors and disregarding others until a system is built up from those elements which are seen to be constant. Thus when through this process the elements common to all social activities are selected they are called sociological because they are the processes and mechanisms peculiar to conditions of human interaction on the social level. When the particular facts of all the wars of history are forgotten and we look, not for what distinguished the War of the Roses from the American Revolution, but look for what these wars have in common, we have gone from war as a social phenomenon to war as a sociological process. By this same process combat of all degrees is so systematized as to be put on a theoretical basis as to conditions preceding, during and resulting from conflict in all forms. The first hint of the possibility of a science of sociology is contained in the popular observation that history repeats itself.

It is the same in studying the process of assimilation of immigrants. It is observed that the Jews become Americans by 1. Park and Burgess, An Introduction to the Science of Sociology
such and such means, that the Italians become assimilated in certain other ways. To derive from all of the separate ways of assimilation those processes and mechanisms which are common to the thing wherever it is found is to arrive at a principle of assimilation.

There are many opinions as to the subject matter of sociology and its differentiation from other fields of interest. According to L. L. Bernard, we find that "psychology studies the inner or organismic patterns. Sociology studies the external or collective behavior patterns, the organization and behavior of men in groups. Psychology measures psycho-physical phenomena. Sociology measures social or collective phenomena, communication, environmental pressures, and multiple response". These both study the essential objective of "an adjustment which is for man essentially collective as well as individual."¹

Stuart A. Rice compares sociology and political approaches by noting that "the phenomena of politics are functions of group life. The study of groups per se is a task of sociology."²

Roscoe Pound and Harry Elmer Barnes show how jurisprudence and political science study the place of law and politics in social control, whereas sociology studies the whole process and all the other elements in social control as well.³

Charles E. Merriam, looking at the behavior problem from the viewpoint of the political scientist, feels that "the nature of mass rule must be examined; that the character and range of

². Quantitative Methods in Politics, Preface.
³. Ogburn and Goldenweiser, op. cit. chs. xxvi, xxvii.
popular interest in government and the methods of utilizing it must be reexplored.¹

In the economic approach we may distinguish between Vilfredo Pareto's natural science of economics which studies objective factual data of commodities, distribution, wages, and the like, but which becomes sociological when the social, relational, and human factors become dominant, such as labor, labor organization, standards of living, human values. Again, in the economic approach to the study of physical environment, the chief emphasis is that of mastery, while in the sociological approach it is a matter of interpretation of relation to culture, evolution, and institutions. The economic approach emphasizes technologies, specialisms, such as finance, banking, and behavior merely as a basis of economic analysis, whereas sociology is interested in all their functional and organization aspects.²

At the first Institute for Social Research held at the University of Chicago Robert E. Park distinguished between the historical and the sociological approaches. "The distinction between the aims and methods of history and sociology, so often confused with each other, offered, in his judgment, the clearest way of stating the objective and interest of sociology. History seeks to revive an event of the past with all its individuality of time, place, and sequence. For history, like the memory of an individual, enables us to relive the past in the perspective of the present. Sociology, on the contrary, is interested not in what is individual, but in what is general, about an event, or events.

². ODUM AND JOCHER, An Introduction to Social Research. p. 134
Sociology studies the event, not for itself, but in order to describe the common processes of change in which this event and like events take place. A process in distinction from an event has no location in time or place; from the standpoint of sociology it is universal, that is to say, it can be repeated. The aim of history is the unceasing recording and re-interpretation of interesting and significant human experience; the goal of sociology is to describe, explain, and ultimately to predict the typical patterns of human behavior. The historical method is one of criticism, as the authenticity of the document, the relative reliability of different sources, the validity of interpretation, and the like. The sociological method is that of science, as the working hypothesis, and the technique of comparison and experimentation in order to arrive at findings verifiable by other persons using the same methods.\(^1\)

Russell G. Smith makes an aim of his study of the development of human society a "sociological synthesis" by which he means "the drawing together of certain facts and theories in the effort to solve a sociological problem", which in turn is the problem of how society has "come to be as it is now."\(^2\)

His method, however, is that of studying particular factors first. The concept of the sociological method as one of analysis and of finding and relating constants and variables in society is also representative, and, of course, is in no way antagonistic to that of synthesis. In somewhat the way in which induction may be said to require ultimately something of deduct-

\(^2\) Syllabi of lectures at Columbia University.
tion for the complete scientific product, so analysis in the long run must have synthesis if sociological standards are to be maintained and synthesis must be conditioned by analysis.\(^1\) Pitirim Sorokin regards sociology as a 'generalizing discipline among other social disciplines' but one which 'deals with characteristics which are repeated in time and space or which are constant for a given class of social phenomena no matter in what society or at what time'. The main functions of sociology seem to be to describe the constant and universal characteristics and relationships, to find the correlations between social phenomena and non-social environment, and to determine the constant relationships between special social phenomena such as religion and politics.\(^2\)

Other concepts, not inconsistent with these, seem to incorporate the characteristics of the general, the synthetic, and the analytic, all implying the study of the whole of society, rather than merely parts, although manifestly it must take due cognizance and make ample analyses of such parts as may be necessary. Eugenio Rignano makes sociology include the special social disciplines, such as economics, and he emphasizes the significant use of deduction in the case of economics where induction seems necessary in other branches. At the same time, his emphasis is primarily upon analysis, and he shows how the laws of Ricardo and Malthus, as well as the assumptions of Comte and of many of the single formula social theorists are interdependent upon the process of analysis. He deplores the tendency to hasten

2. *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, ch. 1; see also his *Contemporary Sociological Theories*.
synthesis before adequate detailed analyses have been made. At the same time, a chief premise of his "laws" is that sociology cannot "occupy a fractional domain, like some sciences, but must make a synthetic study of society as a whole." Thus "sociological discoveries should ascend gradually from particular laws to more and more general laws".

In the sociological as well as in other approaches it is not possible nor desirable to make formal definitions. In the case of the sociological approach this would be particularly difficult because of the rapidly expanding range in method and emphasis and because of the confusion of past sociological theories and tendencies. The very diversity and range of the present sociological approach ought to prove one of its newest and most important emphases is that upon the scientific method. In this pursuit of method and of scientific status, in the meantime, the sociological approach will make valuable contributions. It will achieve new results in the concrete study of many problems, some of which are borderline and tentative, and it will broaden the view of all approaches in social research and pave the way and itself make actual contributions for scientific method in the social sciences. In the meantime, with closer and closer cooperation with the other approaches, it is engaged in attempting social study through such subjects as social organization, institutions, cultural evolution, groups and individuals, personality and adjustment culture and inheritance, special aspects of all the other approaches as needed and called for, and a large number of concrete problems, such as population, war, the family,

child welfare, marriage and divorce, social legislation.\textsuperscript{1}

Another illustration of the sociological approach may be found in summaries of trends and contributions in the sociological field. A survey of recent contributions and events in the general field of sociology indicates certain apparent tendencies. Some of these tendencies, are, of course, summations from the years immediately preceding and most of them are approximate only, but they give substantial evidence of current direction. There is a decided tendency on the part of sociology to coordinate and correlate its work and research more effectively with the other social sciences and to draw upon them more and more for special data needed in the synthetic study of society. Examples of this are abundant. Thus sociology has tended to increase the variety of its approach to the study of society and the mass of its data until the number of students, teachers, and authors is constantly increasing and the amount of published material is little sort of overwhelming. In the midst of this situation there is therefore, a clearly evolving recognition of the essential problem involved in gathering, evaluating, assimilating and synthesizing this growing mass of new data now everywhere so hopefully and attractively being recruited. There is fortunately another very definite tendency toward differentiation and specialization to the end that "specialisms" within the field are producing data and method for the scientific study of society such as has not yet been approximated. These specialisms extend to both major divisions of the subject and to concrete segments within these divisions, thus bringing about, as a result of these studies, objective and

\textsuperscript{1} Ogburn and Goldenweiser, The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations, ch. xxx.
descriptive studies of greater value and developing more effective method. There are also beginnings of the process of integration and correlation, so that the results of the combined present tendencies give promise of a more and more scientific method and more comprehensive results in the whole field of sociology. Some of the examples of specialization and differentiation may be noted. There is a group which is making special studies in the field of population with increasing emphasis upon the importance of biological factors. Among those are Pearl, Hankins, Huntington, East, Russell, CarrSaunders, Reuter, Thompson, Woolston, Swinburn, and others. Another group including Wisler, Goldenweiser, Boas, Lowie, Radin, Malinowski, Sapir, Hooten, Kroeber, Levy-Bruhl, Faris, Cole, and others, have substituted concrete new anthropological materials for old terminologies, and have also contributed much data to the cultural research and theory represented also by Ogburn, Tozzer, MacCurdy, Willey, Herskovits. This group has also made important contributions to the current material on race, and along with Hankins and others have offset another group of students of race represented by Stoddard and Grant. There has also been a renaissance of interest in the Negro and of studies dealing with specialized phases of his life and contributions, among which are those by Peterson, Radin, Herskovitz, Weatherford, Woofter, Johnson, Odum, Metfessel, Locke, Scarrboro, Kennedy, and others in the field of social psychology there has been a notable list including Allport, Bernard, Bogardus, Hart, Ellwood, Znaniecki and Williams. The emphasis upon the educational significance of sociology has resulted in contributions by Giddings, Snedden, Peters, Groves, and
Hart, and has resulted in a special group in the American Sociological Society's annual meeting. Contributions to the study of the community begun by Hart, Lindeman, and MacIver have been greatly augmented by Steiner, Lynd, Pettit, Bowman, Follett, McClanahan, and others. In the field of social work and public welfare, Gillin, Steiner, Tufts, Eliot, Abbott, Breckenridge, Queen, Walker, Delso, Odum, and others, have made contributions, while to the study of social problems Gillin, Wood, Odum, Parsons, Beach, Baker-Crothers and Hudnut, Dow, and others have added volumes, exclusive of more elementary texts by Ross, Hart, Keller, Marshall, and a score of studies of citizenship. New books on the family include those by Groves, Ogburn, Goodsell, Mowrer, and others. In the field of history, theory and method, additions have been made by Giddings, Sorokin, House, Rice, Barnes, Chaddock, Small, Hankins, Chapin, Park, Burgess, Ogburn, Willey, Davis, Thomas, Douglas, Spykman, Odum, and Jocher. There has been, finally, an increasing number of studies on general "sociological" subjects and on evolution and religion, many of which have come within the field of sociological analysis. Another important tendency has been that which emphasizes social research, in which the American Sociological Society has taken an important part. Definite divisions of the annual meeting have been devoted to reports on research problems, projects and methods, while during the year the Society has kept the emphasis constantly upon recruiting personnel, reports, and materials.

See also The American Year Book, 1925, pp. 973-981. It is not to be understood that all the efforts mentioned are "scientific", or even "sociological" in the exact sense of the word. They do, however, illustrate the present "approach" with all of its limitation and promise. (Quoted by Odum and Jocker, op. cit., p. 182)
The nature of the data to be gathered had to be determined in advance just sufficiently to justify the undertaking as a sociological study. Too much selection implies conclusions formed beforehand and betrays the fact that the investigator is looking for something definite. This destroys the inductive nature of the method. We were looking for culture facts—that is, sociological data as opposed to mere social facts generally which would include history, economics, religion, education, etc. as water tight divisions of interest. These other facts were not disregarded, but were recorded as showing the possible derivation of the phenomena we were particularly interested in.

There are two ways in which this gathering of data may be accomplished. The culture situation may be seen as a whole and the particular details may be tabulated. That is, one has learned from other studies and from experience in living in groups that one can expect that a given culture is composed of certain elements. Thus a settlement known to be Italian is seen in the light of all that we have seen or heard of similar situation. The other way is the reverse: the details are noticed first without their relation to the whole being seen. The difference in the two approaches is analogous to the working of a dissected picture puzzle. In the first method one is shown the puzzle all fitted in correctly to form the picture of a horse. In the second method one is given the pieces to fit in as best he can and only when a good part of the puzzle is finished does the manipulator see the figure he is assembling. This latter approach was the one used and it seemed to be the more natural one because of the way in which relations were established between the group and the in—
vestigator. A folkway was noted and by a process of working back
along it, its connection was discovered. This lead finally to the
appreciation of the whole culture complex.

How Data is Manipulated—Tests of Validity and Reliability:

The chief task of all science is to establish cause-effect
relationships. In any scientific piece of work therefore, it may
be expected that some attention be given to this task. This study
undertakes this task only in the sense of trying to trace sequences
and the order of events. The logical limitations of this process
will be seen to be inherent in the nature of the study.

The fallacy of "post hoc ergo propter hoc" gave to the
world all of its systems of magic and most of its superstitions.
Bad luck is thought by some to come as a result of breaking a mirror,
probably because some one once broke a mirror and then had
some bit of misfortune. This error is not confined to systems of
magic of some long ago time. This error permeates popular thought
and often a minute and careful weighing is necessary to enable
even the most sophisticated to evade its lure.

Another error in reasoning as to cause-effect comes when
there is a confusion in primary and secondary causes. The Chicago
Tribune on December 25, 1918 carried an article in its health
column on the causes of pellagra. The article stated that in many
cases of chronic and aggravated alcoholism pellagra followed. The
writer went on to state that this information did not invalidate
the older notion that pellagra was caused by malnutrition, as
chronic alcohol indulgence rendered the digestive system incapable
doing its work and the result was pellagra through malnutrition.
In citing alcoholism as a cause of pellagra it was seen that this
was secondary, though still one of the chief causes, as no digestive disorder was worse than that caused by pickling the stomach in alcohol over long periods of time.

When a statement is made that some phenomenon appears to be without cause, one of two things is meant: either that there is no cause or that the cause was undiscoverable under the conditions. Now whether it is assumed that some things occur entirely without cause or that those things which appear to be causeless are so only because of the present inability to discover the cause makes no difference as far as the handling of materials is concerned. In either case the cause is for the purpose unknown.

As a matter of fact no attempt has been made in this study anywhere to correlate any two facts for the purpose of establishing a cause effect relationship. Sequences however are observed and their probable meaning noted. Sanction for this procedure comes out of the material. In the first place this is the first study of its kind which has been made of this culture group so far as is known. Consequently, no generalizations can be formed which exclude the possibility of negative cases which might be found elsewhere. The investigator after observation, had then to devise a way not only to get the information, but could make generalizations only on the bases of personally observed facts. There was no control group, so that the validity of the data could not be established by correlation with the results from other studies. One could be used were time no factor. It is the intention of the investigator someday to offer a study with a control group. At present the study must stand without such corroboration. The scientific spirit which claims its first commandment as reliabili-
ty must be trusted to have kept the investigator within the bounds of verity. One method of checking the results of any investigation is to correlate it by a repetition. Even this method cannot be used as the situation can never be the same when a different observer is introduced, and it would also be different if the present investigator were to repeat the study. It seems at present, in all events, impossible to trace various culture phenomena back to causes. The causes are not as a rule unitary but plural and the contribution of each factor to social change is incalculable by any means so far known. To assume togetherness in time and space to imply a cause-effect relationship is to commit the usual error known as the "post hoc ergo propter hoc" fallacy.

Facts were recorded as found. In support of this procedure we may simply state that social phenomena are ultimate data. In dealing with social facts the closed system of causal explanation is the only one that it is possible to use. The question of the ultimate genesis of a folkway is no more necessary to their study than is the absolute proof of the infallibility of a creed necessary in proving that the church functions in community life. Proof pro or con should be outside the question entirely. All that we can observe is that here are certain culture phenomena. How they came to be that way is not our problem because it would get us no where to try to determine their becoming. All we are interested in is functional relationships among social manifestations. Neither do we take a certain social phenomenon and try to reduce it to any other level. Social interaction in terms of visceral manipulation is digestion or physiological
chemistry, not social interaction any longer. Thus we avoid the futile and impossible task of pushing things back to ultimates. For instance, the attitude of the East Frisians toward voting is a culture fact; they are against it because they say that their vote is not important and they don't want to bother with it. While this may be a surface statement and it is possible to trace it back to some ulterior conditioning, this is not necessary because it does not function on the basis of its origin but on the basis of its existence now. For the same reason we do not care to reduce the feeling against the outsider to its hypothetical seat in the viscera. The law of emergent evolution states that although the phenomena of one level have their origin in the level below, when they have emerged upon the level where they now function, they can no longer be stated in terms of the level from which they have arisen. This is to say that although prejudice may be accompanied by or may be traced to certain visceral changes, when it is located there it is not social interaction but physiological chemistry. So we are content to keep the explanation of the phenomena of society on the level on which we find them functioning. In fine, data were used in such a way as to be in keeping with the purpose of the investigation: to study sociological phenomena. The validity of the data is checked against two assumptions—the necessarily assumed veracity of the investigator and the fact that social phenomena are ultimate data.

The Processual Use of Data:

While the first task in any field is to record and to describe, a discipline that has gone no farther than that is not a science. The following are the four stages a discipline must pass
through before it has fully established its methodological matur-
ity: (a) the name finding stage, (b) the descriptive stage, (c) the
classifying stage, (d) the systematizing stage. According to this
classification very few so called sciences have reached their ma-
jority. The biological sciences are still in the third stage, the
physical sciences have arrived at the fourth stage and the science
of mathematics has passed it and has returned to the philosophical
nest whence it arose. The accusation that is made that the social
sciences are still in the first and second stages is based on the
assumption that the use that some sociologists are making of their
data is representative of the stage of development in this field.
Of course, if the scientific attitude is held, the mere statement of
this condition as a fact implies no evaluation of the field of so-
ciology or of sociology as subject matter. However, the works of
those who have gone from the recording and the descriptive stages
to the ones beyond them stand as proof of the assertion that so-
ciology has passed beyond the second and third and is in the fourth
stage of its career. It all depends upon whose sociology is read
as to the stage it can be said to be in. The comparison of facts
found in one situation with those found in another, the corrobora-
tion and the refutation of premises or principles by new data, or
the establishment of a sequential order among phenomena, are ob-
viously of the fourth stage. For example: the sequence be-
tween contact with outside patterns and the internal structure of
the group is a valid scientific procedure. By the study of vari-
cous cases generalizations can be built up. The processual treat-
ment of the sociological subject, to use but one principle of sys-
tematization, discloses that the action in social groups follows
certain principles that have been set up by means which have the
sanction of the logical method. A few concepts which pertain to
this point of attack are: control, adjustment, disorganization,
accommodation, individuation. In brief the group is observed as
acting upon its members and upon the environment. "Things are
what they do in a group." Especially are the effects methods and
sequences in social interaction observed.

The objection may be raised that all of these concepts
and all of the laws of social science are too new and have ap­
plied to too few cases to be set down as valid principles. That
may be, but it seems that the age of the science is no guarantee
that it will not all be discovered some day to rest upon false
assumptions. The science of physics is one of the oldest of the
sciences. It is a commonplace that its most basic concept has
been entirely replaced by another that makes the entire rebuild­
ing of the science no remote possibility. Any science must be
built upon assumptions and the very nature of an assumption im­
plies that it may someday be replaced by another.

The attempt has been made in this thesis to use the data
processually, proceeding on the assumption that "things are what
they do in a group." The group has been considered from the
standpoint of its organization and in its functional aspects.

Logical Implications of the Method:

This method has several implications. An attempt has
been made in the first place, to use the method of the cultural
anthropologist. We have gone into a group, lived with it, and
have in this way discovered relations between culture phenomena

and have attempted to discover the function which the folkways play in organization or economy of the social group. This part of the method is not assailable as it is already established by its wide use. It is comparable to the method of "studying the criminal in the open" employed by Thrasher in his study of "The Gang", Zorbaugh in "The Gold Coast and The Slum", Wirth in "The Ghetto", among others.

In the handling of our data we have followed the methodological procedure laid down for any scientific study. By common consent of logicians this is, first, a generalized description, second, classification of data, and third, formation of abstract concepts and hypotheses. The first condition has been met. The writer has set down faithfully all items observed and gained from objective sources. The thesis contains a minute description of the daily lives of the people and of their action and behavior in all situations possible to enumerate within the time allotted to the study. Temporal and spatial requirements have been carefully observed. In the second place, we have classified what we have observed, using classifications already formed to contain data pertinent to this study. A glance at the table of contents will demonstrate this point. As to the third point, nothing new is offered. Principles already contained in the literature have been verified in a new way. Although nothing new is offered in the way of methodology, the application of the methods to a local settlement of East Frisians in a situation such as this one studied has not, so far as is known, been attempted before.
CHAPTER III
THE SETTLEMENT

European and Early American Setting:

The community which forms the object matter of this study is located in Champaign County, Illinois, and comprises parts of Rantoul and Compromise Townships. The map facing page 56 shows the location of each farmstead and family.

The area was settled just after the Civil War by a group of East Frisians. Frisia is that part of the German Republic which is situated in the north-west part of the country, with the sea to the north and Holland to the west. The Frisian history is a long one, and dates back to the time of the invasion of the country by the Saxons. Indeed, the Frisians were found in the first century of the present era by the Romans in occupation of the coast lines stretching from mouth of the Scheldt to that of the Ems. The first historical notice of the Frisians is found in the annals of Tacitus.

Much of the land is swamp, having been reclaimed from the sea and fenced in by dykes. Almost every part is near the peat fields and this commodity is mined and sold by many of the people. Settlement is entirely in small villages of a single street, the houses being on either side and the lands at the back door are the farms. The traditional occupation is the tilling of the soil.

The people of East Frisia are still independent in spirit, and have a functioning local government that is a purely representative democracy.

Their language is a dialectic form of the Low-German and is more nearly akin to the Anglo-Saxon than are the other Germanic languages.¹

¹This language is a branch of the Germanic family of dia-
The people have long been non-migratory. Poverty among the landless peasantry is extreme. The group that settled at Flatville numbered not one landowner among them. Anything out-
lects which was formerly spoken along the coast of the North Sea and on the coast islands from the Rhine to the Ems. Of all of the Germanic dialects this is the one that is most nearly akin to the Anglo-Saxon, so that the two tongues are sometimes classed together as Anglo-Saxon-Frisian. Thus we have Anglo-Saxon "mona", Old Frisian "mona", MOON, but old High German "meno", Gothic "mena"; or again, Anglo-Saxon "aecer", Old Frisian "ecker", FIELD or ACRE, but old High-German "Ascher", Gothic, "Akrs". On the other hand the Frisian has many points of association with the Dutch and Islandic which are not found in Anglo-Saxon, as "of" or "wer", TRUE, while the Islandic and Anglo-Saxon have the so called "breaking" of the vowel which does not occur in Frisian, e.g., Anglo-Saxon "beorn", Icelandic "biarg", HILL, but old Frisian and old High-German "berg".

The Anglo-Saxons once occupied the land between the Frisians and the Scandinavians, and of the Anglo-Saxon dialects, the Kentish stood nearest the Frisian. The Frisian language is divided into numerous dialects, many of which now differ from each other to a surprising degree. Indeed so divergent are many of the words in the vocabularies of the various dialects that some of the commonest terms become unintelligible outside of a small area.

The Frisian language may be divided first into East and West Frisian, and the former of these again into East and North Frisian. The East Frisian, using the term in its restricted sense, is subdivided into the Weser and the Ems dialect. This group has been gradually supplanted by the Low-German (Plattdeutch) so that what is now often called East Frisian, is in reality a Low-German dialect. In 1890 thirty two persons on the Island of Wangeroog, and about two thousand in the Saterland of Oldenburg still spoke East Frisian. The North Frisian group, which formed the vernacular of about twenty six hundred people in 1885 is divided into seven dialects on the mainland and three on the islands. The dialects of the coast have been influenced not only by the low German but also by Danish and the island dialects which seem to show in addition the presence of West Saxon elements.

1. It is reported that sugar was such a luxury that a lump of it would be suspended from the ceiling on a string and each one in turn dipped it in his tea very quickly so that it should not melt. It was very unusual for any one to have money except a few coins that were used for stamps. Many children have grown up without knowing what coins looked like except by the illustrations in the school books. Most things were purchased by exchange of commodities and there was little consumption of things not produced at home. School supplies were handed down from "generation" to generation as were garments of all kinds.
side of the bare necessities of life.

No one travelled. Occasionally a student would go through who had been as far as Berlin or the sea, and he was looked upon with as much suspicion as if he had been a pirate or a robber. Most people never left their home communities after they were married and no one ever moved unless his house fell down or was burned. Young men always served in the army for a year and many of them went to sea for that period. Some few followed the sea for a living as the land was scarce and when there were too many sons, some of them had to leave the land. It was these who first came to America.

The land to which the group came was swamp land. It was put up by the government in 1858 as swamp land and was sold for one dollar an acre tax exempt for a period of ten years provided certain improvements were put in. The land all about had been settled, leaving only these swamp areas. Into these came this group of East Frisian peasants. The first three men who came had gone from Frisia to Adams County, Illinois. The three men had brought with them three wagons, five horses besides the four used to pull each wagon, a number of calves and a few cows. One wagon contained lumber for a temporary shelter and the others contained plows, spades and a few articles of furniture as were thought necessary. This caravan arrived in Thomasboro about noon of March 30, 1889 and by that time the ground was so soft that it was impossible to go on. Spring had been early and the ground had thawed. "How we prayed for a freeze that night", one of them said. They waited around till eleven o'clock at night before
the ground was solid enough to bear the weight of the loads. Af­
ter traveling all night—a distance of six miles, they stopped the wagons on a small mound where they were sheltered from the wind by a thicket of hard maple. This is the spot where Maple Grove School now stands.

On this site they put up a shanty with a lean-to kitchen in which they built a brick fireplace, hauling the brick from the old yards then located north of Urbana. Supplies were hauled from Urbana and from Rantoul, trips often being made on horseback. They received mail once a month at Thomasboro, but if they wanted it any oftener they had to go to Urbana. When the spring crops were in, the families of these men arrived from Adams county, the oldest male in the arriving party being a six year old child.

Now that the women were there it was necessary to stake out new sites for houses. This the women did while the men worked in the fields, and the first house built in the settlement after the first shanty, was a two room and summer-kitchen structure, built entirely by the women. Fit wives for pioneers were these women. It was in their tradition that a woman might work in the open. They worked and were happy in helping in common cause of making a home in a new land. By the year 1870 there were nineteen fam­ilies, all but the original four of whom had come directly from Frisia and had taken up the land as renters and as owners, buying from the government.

A vast amount of labor went into that land. Much of the draining was done by spade. One of the three remaining original settlers tells how they actually sloped acre after acre toward the ditches they had dug with spades and horse drawn scoops. They
didn't mind, however, for here was land-land that was theirs "by a paper" and no one could take it away. It was more land than they ever dreamed of back in Frisia where even front lawns are sewn to vegetables. Little by little roads were worn from trails and wagon tracks and finally worked up to drain from the center. Women worked on the roads, in the fields and in the house. The birth rate was low so that the colony did not grow very fast in numbers. Chart shows the growth of the colony in numbers since the original settlement. This low birth rate was not due to hardship but tradition. The birth rate in Frisia is low, three or four children to the family being the rule.

There was, in fact, no unfamiliar hardship in the new land, the old men relate. They were all used to hard work and had expected nothing else from the start. The rich black soil yielded as none they had ever seen before. No crop was ever lost for any reason whatever. The land always gave the full amount expected. In a few years it was worth many times the price paid for it.

The people were devout Lutherans. During the first years of the settlement, services were held in one of the homes. Later a small building was erected two miles from the site of the first house and a traveling preacher who served Rantoul, Paxton and other places preached and held eucharistic service every six weeks.

On April 30, 1874, the members of the congregation resolved to erect a church building. The minutes of the assembly state that the church should be "forty feet long, twenty-eight feet wide, and fourteen feet high." There were to be six windows and twenty-six pews. The first minister was the Rev. G. H. Fischer who held the charge from June 15, 1874 until September
In 1879 Rev. Ave Lallemant became pastor. Two years later the church tried to discharge him because he had insisted upon having his brother, who was a fugitive from the law somewhere in the East, help him to teach the German school which had been established before the church was built. Over this issue the congregation divided, a portion of the congregation holding that the pastor could be discharged, the other adhering to the old Lutheran tenet that "God calls in and calls out" a pastor and that the congregation may not interfere.

After meeting for a year in the old school house, the new congregation constructed a new church building and a year later a parsonage. That church building is still in use. It is located seven miles east of the village of Thomasboro on the one-slab hard road. Next to it stands a fifteen room parsonage.

All the pastor's families there have been large. Indeed they are larger than those of the members of the congregation, for reasons which will appear in the discussion of the culture of the group. There has been no exception to this statement. In no case has the pastor been a Frisian; all they have come from other parts of Germany but all of them are of Low-German stock.

The parochial school house stands just to the east of the parsonage and the pastor is also the teacher. Until the year 1928 regular school instruction was given there. The morning was used in pursuing the common branches in English and German and the afternoon was given over to teaching of German, the church history, and the Catechism, all in high German, the lan-

1. Church records
guage in which all church services have been carried on. Since the time of the division in the church, the two communities have in most respects been separate. This study deals with that half of the original congregation which withdrew from the then existing church. These families set up their own church one mile from the original settlement. The members of this new congregation are the first arrivals here, the others having come later and settled farther to the east. These later comers were of a different economic class of Frisians than the first settlers, among them being some who had been landowners abroad. This was not true of a single one of the original settlement of whom this study treats. They were all young men, who had either returned from the army or who had been out for only a few years. Passage to America was bought out of the laborious savings of the family. The whole family combined to save money to permit a son to come to America. It had been their experience that the money was soon repaid, and the one who was sent always provided the means for sending the younger brothers when the army term was over. The sons in America then sent enough money back home to permit the old people to spend the rest of their lonely days in comfort.

Conditions by 1900:

By the year 1900 the settlement presented a very prosperous appearance. Fields had been fenced, roads were in good condition most of the year. Many large houses had been built; outbuildings were of very good type and well cared for. In fact the whole community presented a very thriving appearance. Champaign and Urbana were still the trading centers, as they had been,
but a small store and post office had been established at Flatville, the site of the old settlement. This store had come about as a slow growth. The proprietor who had been a lad of seven when his parents brought him to America, had started by letting his neighbors buy from him when they ran out of kerosene and other staples. He was never much of a farmer and finally he set up shop in a barn that he had moved to the edge of the road. He made good as a storekeeper and postmaster. However, the post office was discontinued in 1904 as the roads were good enough to render it unnecessary.

The German school at this time had an enrollment of thirty six pupils and the English school had five. The old English school building had been torn down and the same lumber had been used to erect a much smaller and more compact structure. At this time the only inclusive organization continued to be the church. Farm produce was marketed independently, being hauled to Urbana, to Rantoul, or to Thomasboro to be loaded into cars. No roads had been oiled at this time and there were still seasons when travel had to be on foot or on horseback. The chief trading center was Montgomery Ward and Company, then a small mail order house which put out a catalogue of fifty pages. Up to this time no woman had ever had a "ready made" dress; only recently have the women ceased to make all the clothing except the men's Sunday suits, which are reputed to have lasted for a decade or two. In 1900 there were eight driving vehicles in the settlement, most of the people still went to church in spring wagons and even in "bed" wagons, picking up all the neighbors on the way who had not got out their conveyances.
There was still little time for leisure; the generations that were bred to hard toil still directed the activities of the settlement. All day visits were in vogue among the women and this meant cooking for all the men who belonged to the visiting family. The purpose of these gatherings was usually to sew for the household. Not everyone had a sewing machine so these meetings were held at homes where there were machines.

**The Settlement in 1910:**

No marked change was noticeable in the appearance of the settlement at this time. There were a few more houses and farming was done on a larger scale and formerly. Farm machinery was coming into use and there were two tractors and one threshing machine run by the boiler type of engine. This machine made the rounds, a day or two here and there until the threshing was done. There were two automobiles here now, belonging to two brothers. Power washers were increasing in number and the gasoline engine was being used by the women as well as the men. Most of the trading was done in Champaign and Urbana, with the exception of things bought by mail. All grain was now hauled to the elevator in Thomasboro, but was still done independently and perhaps no one knew any more about the marketing process than that he finally sold his grain and received a check for it. The roads had been oiled and were in good condition.

The church at this time was functioning as usual and it had been newly painted and decorated and new furniture had been bought. Services were conducted in German every Sunday and there was one English service on Sunday afternoon, the fourth Sunday of the month.
The English school had grown; it now had twenty-two pupils during the winter months when the big boys were not needed in the fields. The German school had thirty pupils. No person had as yet gone to high school and very few finished the eighth grade. The German school offered instruction as far as the fourth grade. The school laws did not interfere as no one took the trouble to inspect the German school.

Most of the people were very prosperous, had well furnished homes and were wearing ready made clothing.

The drinking water at this time was not good and few people drank it using either beer or wine or coffee or tea when thirsty. During this year one man put in three driven wells and there was much talk about the good water to be had from this type of well. Since then every farm has a driven well.

The World War:

Some of the families took a German paper or two and kept the settlement posted on the war situation. There was no great concern at first; Europe was always having some kind of war and little attention was paid to it until it began to assume large proportions. There was never any perceptable pro-German feeling after the issue had become vital and America had entered the war.

Many inspections were made uselessly. They bought Liberty Bonds freely, considering them good investments. They trusted the government. They had never meddled with politics and few if any of them ever cast a vote in an election, though most of them were naturalized citizens. When the call to arms came many volunteered and all others submitted quietly to the draft. Three from the settlement lost their lives in France. One became insane as
a result of recognizing a cousin after he had run his bayonet through him. He died two years ago in a government hospital. During this time when many able bodied men had gone to war, the women helped to carry on the work of the farms and life went on as usual. The settlement weathered the war both personally and financially, as they did the depression that followed in 1920-22. The Present Conditions:

The settlement presents a very prosperous appearance and it is prosperous in reality. The post-war slump has not affected them noticeably. "I do not see what all the fuss is about with this farm relief business," said one of the smaller farm owners, "I am sure that none of our land is in the hands of the banks, and while we are not making as much money as we did in 1918, we are making as much as we did before that, and more." Another added, "It is not that the farmer has less now than he had before the war; he has more. That is why he is not satisfied to go on slowly and make a decent sum of money. He wants to become wealthy in a season, as it once seemed that he would in 1918."

Not because it is important in itself, but because it is an index to adjustment in the new land, the increase of wealth from the penniless state at the time of settlement, to now, when these people are rated as among the most prosperous, is given here (Table No. I.).

The settlement is pleasant to look at. Few houses are modern in that they have electricity and modern conveniences, but all are spacious, clean, and comfortable. The surroundings are well kept. A broken fence is rare. Some few lanes are impassible in bad weather but most of them are either cindered or oiled.
The church has changed little with the years and is well-kept. There is now a pipe organ which is pumped by hand. The house of worship is as clean throughout as are the kitchens of the worshippers.

The German school has a neglected appearance. It is dusty inside and needs paint and varnish. The old desks on which the children of the "second generation" carved their names are still there. The pastor has given up instructing in the common branches and holds the confirmation school in his home in a large room which has been given over to this purpose.

The English school has taken over the children who formerly attended the German school and this school is well-equipped for a country school. The school yard is still divided into two sides, one for the boys and one for the girls and they meet at the gate to go home as they had come, together.
DIAGRAM I

Growth of Frisian colony in ten year periods.

Rantoul Township

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Compromise Township

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1920

1910

1900

1890
### Table I
Wealth of Sixty Families by Items Named

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* Have inherited money from relatives who lived in Nebraska, the Dakotas, and Minnesota. Wealth before this not ascertained.

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Table IV

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| Miscellaneous | |
| 1918 | 1 violin |
| 1919 | 2 " |
| 1925 | 2 ukeleles |
| 1927 | 1 flute |
Plate I

Rear Elevation

Front Elevation

Typical Home of East Frisians at Flatville, Illinois.
Plate II.

Typical Farm Plan of East Frisian Homestead at Flatville, Ill.
Plate III.

FIRST FLOOR PLAN

SECOND FLOOR PLAN

Typical floor plan of Frisian Home at Flatville.
CHAPTER IV

CULTURE TRANSPLANTED

Traditional Behavior in a New Setting:

A glance at the map of East Frisia which faces page as well as an examination of the historical account of the Frisian people given in the preceding chapter shows that the land they occupied was swamp land, usually considered undesirable because, although it is highly fertile, it is quite likely that a crop may be lost at any time by a flood. In the homeland, indeed, this land had been taken from the sea, and the sea had been forced to stay out by laboriously built dykes or sea walls. Constant vigilance is necessary in order that the sea does not again claim the land that they have salvaged. The early history of the country also shows that that particular locality was used as a last refuge by a group of people who refused for several centuries to give up their independence and withdrew into this undesirable place and stayed there. The threat to let in the sea and to drown their foes along with themselves secured their freedom from molestation.

When representatives of this group came to America to settle, they followed tradition in choosing from among the cheap lands available, land that was swamp. The area first settled by this Frisian colony was land which the Government of the United States had designated as swamp land and had offered for sale at one dollar an acre, with exemption from taxes for ten years provided the land were drained in that time. Of course it was necessary for the people to choose cheap land; for they were landless in the old country and poverty was the rule. These men and
women had worked hard in the old country to keep from starvation. One old man from the settlement, said, "I have seen people who would have gone hungry except for neighbors because a careless boy spilled the milk from one milking or allowed the wind to scatter the seed by leaving the lid off the seeding bucket when he was planting. That is how close we lived to the starvation point. Many persons grew up without ever owning a sum of money equal to our dollar here. Many women wore the same Sunday dress for twenty years and thought nothing of it. Houses are built from logs and mud bricks and the roof is made of straw. The animals are sometimes brought into the living rooms in the winter time so that the people will get the benefit of the heat they throw off. In this country we use manure for fertilizing. In Frisia it is dried and the undigested seed picked out to be fed to other animals. Here in this country we see farms where whole fence corners are not planted. In Frisia we even use the space in front of the houses and between the houses and the street. The taxes were so high that we could never count on having anything left. You see we had wonderful crops, but there would be years in succession when all we got was fodder because of the floods. So when we had a good crop we not only had to save what we had over for lean years but we had to save seed each year for two or three years ahead in case there would be no crop the following year. In that case we could not afford to buy seed, it would be so high."

An old Fresian folktale tells better than anything else the attitude toward leaving the place of one's birth. This story was related by an old man of the settlement and he says it
came from an old school reader, but that he had heard it ever since he could remember.

"One day when all the children were playing out by the ditch they noticed a stranger coming down the road. They all immediately deserted their play and went screaming into the house.

"When the mother had quieted them they all stood behind the window looking out to watch the stranger passing. To their horror he did not pass but came into the yard from the front of the house. He knocked on the door and the father who had been working in back of the house came out to ask him his business.

"I am a poor student who has been sent away from school and I am on my way home. All my money has been stolen and I have no food and no place to stay all night. I saw that your house is larger than the rest and thought you might let me sleep with the animals in the straw. It is going to be such a cold night!"

"Since it is the custom in Frisia never to turn down any request for food and shelter the boy was admitted into the house and ate with the family. Instead of being put with the animals, he was given a place by the fireplace in which to sleep as his clothing and shoes were wet from walking in the marsh.

"The next morning the lad, who had made himself extremely agreeable to his host and hostess, told them that he had the day before sent a message to his father asking him to send him money and telling him of his plight. He asked permission to stay there and help the farmer until the money should come, when he promised to repay him all that he had done for him.
sion was given him to stay.

"Now this farmer had a lovely daughter just fifteen years of age. She was a fine girl who always worked for her parents and helped to care for the little brothers and sisters. Since she had no big brothers she often helped her father in the fields as well as being clever with her needle and a good cook.

"As the days passed and no letter came from the boy's father, he was allowed to stay because he was very helpful in the field and even in the house. The mother was very watchful of her daughter as she was promised to a boy in the village, the son of a poor farmer like themselves, but whose father was a trustee in the church. Every night the girl used to start for the home of the boy—that is the custom in Frisia, the girl visits the boy's house— and the student went about the village for a walk.

"One morning nearly a half year after he had first come there, the boy received a letter from his father with money in it. It was necessary the next day for him to take a wagon and go to Aurich to have the money turned into cash. He started about four o'clock in the afternoon and was to be back in the morning. About eight o'clock that evening there was a knock on the door and the man to whom the daughter was engaged walked in. He sat about anxiously and finally inquired as to whether the engagement was to be considered broken. At the expression of surprise from the parents he replied, 'She has not been by my house in two months. It is said, and I have seen it too, that she is always by the student'.

"'Is she not by your house tonite?', asked both parents at once.
"No, no more than she has been in a long time. We have not seen her.

"It was soon found that she was nowhere in the village. Since it was winter, the village young men quickly put on their skates and streaked toward Aurich on the frozen canal that runs along to that county seat. No where did they encounter the wagon and when in the town they found that the couple had not been seen. Just as they were about to leave they found near the road that led away from the canal, the horse and the wagon tied to a post. Not a thing was in it and no trace of the pair was found that night.

"The years wore on and the incident was talked of over the fires. It was a great lesson to all in the village not to have dealings with strangers. Several years after the boy and girl had disappeared from the village, a sailor lad came home and told of having met a woman picking up drift on the shore who said that she was from his home village. She was an old hag, thin and sick. She was almost ready to die, yet she said that she was not yet thirty five years of age. The people of the village immediately recognized that this was the woman who had gone away with the student nearly twenty years before.

"Now when little children sit at the windows of a summer evening and look out over the marsh, and when lovers pass arm in arm through the village streets, they point to the phosphorescent lights that roll over the marsh and shudder as they say, "There is the girl who left her home. Those are her eyes burning themselves out trying to see the old people by the fire in her house. And when the winter brings snow and howling winds, the little children
are told, 'Hush, and be glad that you are by our fire. Do you not hear the crying of the girl who left her home and who wants to come back?'

An old folk song which is sung to most any tune has the same theme:

The wind is howling on the moor
It wants to come in at the door.
The wind is howling on the sea,
It wants by our dear fire to be.

A child is crying on the moor,
She wants to come in at our door.
She prays and cries to you and me
To let her by our fire place be.

We sit and drink our tea tonite,
And look into the fire's dear light.
We think how we should feel if we
Were wandering by a stormy sea.

Dear children never leave your home,
For feet are sore and tired that roam
And when your hair is gray like mine,
You'll like to see your own fire shine.

This is a part of their tradition and it shows an attitude against leaving the home place. Moves are not lightly undertaken.

In view of this fact it was asked how immigration had been possible.

"Well, you see, we had heard a lot of things about the new land from the teacher in the school. Then sometimes we got a newspaper which the teacher read to us when we would gather in front of the fire in the winter time. Then the young men who came back from the army were always talking about the new land of America and that many people were going there. I guess that is how it got started. Then some of the young men had to go to sea because there was not enough land for everybody so it was not such a different thing after all. Instead of just going to sea..."
the young men started coming to America. I guess we act the same way over here, you see if a person gave up his land in the old country and moved away he couldn't come back if he didn't like it. There would be no place for him. I guess we just got used to that and don't like to move.

All of this testimony points to the fact that the tradition of the East Frisians was brought with them and functioned in the new situation as far as land holding was concerned.

**Attitudes Toward Work and the Land:**

"I don't suppose the modern generation knows what work is, compared to what it was when you were a young man," was said to an old man now ninety years old as he sat killing flies under a tree last August.

"No. We used to work early and late and all day long. The young ones now days think they are dead if they have to work during harvest more than twelve hours. We never thought of anything else but work. You hear a lot about not overburdening the young these days. Look at me! Not a hump in my back! and I carried heavy loads since I could walk, almost. We had to. Life was hard in the old country and not much easier when we got here.

Do you see that land over there that slopes toward the ditch? Well, I was one of the men that helped drain that land. We took teams and put scoops on behind and scooped that land off toward the middle there. Then we widened and deepened that ditch by using shovels and hoisting the dirt up out of there and hauling it out into the road. We packed it down there and that is how the roads got higher than the land on the sides. Then we dug more ditches in the same way along each side of the road and all
around our farms. Why when we lived over on the other side of the fence there and I used to work over here my wife would tell the children I had gone down to Wangeroog to work. You see Wangeroog is an island near our coast line and it was always a kind of joke when we went across the big ditch here to work. Yes, we used that expression for years. You don't hear it any more now. Then you see we had to build bridges across the ditches. These were wooden of course, the first ones were just logs to walk across except where the wagons had to cross the roads. No siree, the sun never shone on our faces in the bed in those days. We never had fences for years until we started raising so many cattle and they were always getting mixed up. We just let the ditches divide the land. That is the way it is in the old country. Nobody fights about fences because we just have ditches. Some places they make dirt walls to keep the ditches from overflowing and then the grass grows on them and they are there forever it seems like. They are a lot prettier than fences. Anyhow we didn't have much wood back there."

An old lady reporting through an interpreter said, "Well, you see hard work never hurt me. I am eighty seven this month and feel fine. I have got these new teeth and I can eat everything I want. That is what keeps you young. My folks were like all the rest of the people. There were four of us children. I don't think large families were so many—most people think the Germans had lots of kinder, but we had to work so hard it was too hard to have lots of them. Of course I always worked in the field in the old country from the time I was able to. I was always large for my age so you see I was lots of help. I still helped in the field
here until six years ago when they made me stop. I like it. I would like to do it yet. You get lots of fresh air and if you don't try to do more than you can stand, you can last to work again tomorrow. That's the way I look at it. We didn't have time to get into trouble in the old days. We never thought about dress. We thought about boys though, you bet. I guess we thought about them as much as the girls do today but we didn't think about so many at a time. The first thing a boy looks for in a girl now is how pretty she is. In those days that helped too but when it came to a show down, they married the strong girls who could work. How did we manage the house and the field and the babies too? Well, there wasn't much to the house. We just had beds and chairs and stoves and tables and cupboards. We had wooden floors. We sanded them on rainy days and scrubbed them white. The good days we got done the best way we could by scrubbing with a broom. We did the housework at meal times when we came out of the field. You see it was a little different than at home. At home we have the old grandmas to do the housework but you see they didn't come with us so we had to manage ourselves. We didn't go every day into the fields. We had to wash and iron, churn, milk, make cheese, grind meal, take care of the chickens and sew for all the family. We just worked in the fields when they needed help."

The following letter is an answer to a letter received by a German whose son was in America.

"Dear Son in America: God bless you while you are away from your dear home. A cup is always on the table for you when we drink our tea and we look into the flames to see your dear face smiling back at us. May God bless you and keep you from harm all
the days of your life.

"We got your letter and it came while school was still open but we could not wait. All the neighbors had heard of it and they came running to our fire to hear the letter from our boy. So we sent Enje over to get the teacher that he should tell them a holiday for the morning. Soon the teacher came and then we all wept before we could open the letter so glad were we to get it and so fearful lest some ill had come to you. When we had prayed a while we opened the letter and the piece of blue paper nearly fell into the fire. Next time you must stick it tight."

"There is not much news to tell here. Soon Christmas will be coming and the Christ Child will visit the children. We will be very happy together because I told you that Lena was going to marry—well she was married and now has a nice fat baby boy. It will seem fine to have a baby in the house again after so many years. Fritz' little girl is lying now in the church yard since the harvest fever six months come next Thursday. Fritz never talks much any more. He says that he wants to go to America but that he will have to go to the army. He was sick when his regular time to go was so he has to go now that he is married. That will leave him nothing at all. He is bringing his Annie here to stay. That is a good thing because she is going to have another baby soon and we can help each other. I am not so young anymore and with Fritz gone there will no one but the neighbors to do the chores.

"You say that you have all the papers from the land now? Please put them where they will not take them back. When they try to take your land you can show them the papers. Be sure to
take care of them. If you have everything—you are as a king.

Land is everything. One cannot move land away from you and if one has the land by a paper one cannot be made to leave the land.

"The schoolteacher says that he has a third cousin who went to America. He is settled in Minnesota. They have their land by a paper too and when he stands in the door he cannot see his fence. He must be a very rich man."

"God bless you, dear son, for the money you always send. I have still some left from the last half year as the neighbors will not let me to buy the milk so I have bought a cow and can milk it with their help. The cow is dry now but she will be fresh in March. Then Annie shall have the calf for herself. She can sell it in Aurich and can have herself a new dress and coat."

"Two months ago the storm blew the east side of the roof so much that it leaked the rain. Hans fixed it and when I wanted he should have some of the money you sent from America he said he should not like that. So I want you to see if you can send him some thing from America—anything a boy would like. He is going with Harm's Hilda and they want to be married but he has not been by the army yet. Hilda is too young to be a wife as she is frail from the harvest fever yet."

"Dear son, it is time to stop as the teacher has several more letters to write before the boat shall go. God bless you and keep you in the new land. We pray for you every night and at every meal. Your mother."

Another letter has the same theme. This is one which was written in America and sent to the mother in the old country,
and when the younger son came to America he brought it with him.

"Dear Parents and all at home: God bless you at home while we are happy though heart sick in the new land. I was so happy to get your letter. Tell the teacher thank him. I am always glad that we could learn to write by the school even though when we were young we were anxious to be men and work in the field. The book reading is good too but it is all English here and I cannot do that. The church is German though and it is like going home to go to the church. The pastor gets a paper printed in Hamburg and sometimes there is mention of our province. He reads it to us on the afternoon from Sundays.

"You need not fear about the land. It is not in this country to take away the land. The government wants we shall stay and make it good land. They fear that we will become rich and move to another place. It is not so however, as the land by one paper is more better from the land by the other man's paper. We have the fine crops here. There has not been any bad one since we came. Always it is right for the selling, too, and our products are shipped to Chicago. That is a big city like Berlin I guess, that is about one hundred twenty miles from here by the railroad cars. There goes several trains every day. I am going to go there some time when I am old and cannot work so much.

"I have not yet taken a wife, dear mother, as there are few women here of our people. I am not so forward with the girls as some as you know so I am standing by the side waiting. I am sending money in this letter by two pieces of paper. The biggest one is for Fritz to come by the ship to America. Now I want a very particular thing to be done. Can you make the arrangement with
old John for his Lenie? We used to walk down the canal together and if she is not promised I want Fritz to bring her to America and she will be my wife. I will bring her new pans and dishes from the Urbana town and we will build a new house right away when I get your letter. She can have a store bed and curtains for the window and a carpet for the parlor. We will have a parlor. I will buy her also a big lamp with flowers on it. We are burning the kerosene and it makes a fine light, much better than candles. She can come here and stay by the neighbors and if she wants to marry some one else she can do that but if she likes me and thinks I am a man for her, I shall be very glad to have a woman for myself. I now have one hundred acres of land by a paper and it is all mine. Some of it is still full of water but we are working fast to get the ditches all in. The land is so low that it must be sloped off to the ditch from the middle and from the sides. That is much work and if I have someone by the house for the chores it will not be long until we can be having a real home place here. We hope that some day we will feel here just like we did at home but it seems a long time to wait. In many ways it is more comfortable here. One is never sick as these marshes are not formed by the sea. It is not crowded at all. We are making more money than we ever saw before. If Fritz wants to bring himself a wife also there is enough money for all in the paper I sent. It is good if he should do that because a man needs a home in this big land. He will finish the army next month, is it not so? Then he must go. He knows how to come. When he gets by New York there are those there who will put him on the right train. He will come to Chicago and then to Rantoul.
We will get them there in the wagon. Oh, my mother, make this as soon as possible. My only regret is that you can not come. Never fear, though, you have the daughters and we will always send the money. You must not feel so far away. We are close to you in our prayers at night and always by the table. When I am plowing I can shut my eyes and smell the dear land under me and say it is mine, mine, all mine. No one can take it away. I am king as you said. Then the tears come for my dear father and mother far back home. Maybe at the end of ten years we can visit home.

"Now I must stop dear mother before the tears of home love wash the letter clean. God bless you in the dear home so far away. I am waiting anxiously for your letter. Again God bless you dear parents, neighbors, friends. Your son and neighbor, Jacob."

These letters show the attitude toward the land. A landless peasantry for generations and living on the same land for years come to regard as their own the land that they till. Mr. C. said, "It was almost like our own land only when the assessors would come around and look at the crops in the field and examine the animals so that they could get the very largest tax possible, did we realize that the land was not ours. Even though we were not owners, we were responsible for the tax. It is just as well that way, as, if we did not pay the tax on the land we would be taxed for something else. The Government saw to it that we had only enough to live on and they were not so particular about that either."

So, into a new country, where land could be owned for the labor they had spent on land for others, came this group of
Frisian peasants. Moving was not in their traditions, experience had set as the ultimate thing of value land, always land. When they got it they kept it. It was part of themselves. The very worst thing a man can do is to sell his land. During the slump that came in 1922 it was hard for some of the men to keep from mortgaging land but they did not do it. When asked why they did not mortgage, one said, "Well, when you once let someone else get a paper on you, it is easy to lose the land. It is better to save money in some other way. We can live without town supplies for the table, we can wear old clothes, we can get along. It is the worst thing to get a paper on your land. We and our fathers worked so hard to get this land that we must keep it. Then we would have no homes if we got papers on the land. Town people are slick. Before we knew it they would have our land".

The Church as a Carrier of Tradition:

As was said in the introduction, the church here is not important as an organ of the Lutheran doctrine. Although the split from the original church at Flatville was made ostensibly on a doctrinal point—that of the sanctity of the ministerial call, the pastor himself says that he never raises doctrinal points in the sermons because the people have never come into contact with any controversy that would make this necessary. He learned long ago to confine his sermons to the things the people were interested in—the land, the work, their prosperity, sickness and health, the blessings of God, and he learned too, to chastise them for their sins or lapses in everyday living. They expect the church to be static, to comfort them in trouble, to exhort them in their indifference, to point out the source of their hap-
piness and prosperity.

The church then is a social institution and as such functions as a carrier of culture rather than as a dispenser of doctrine. This is easily seen by the fact that the church services are in German (except for one sermon a month during the last eight years). The church language is High German, it is true, but the children study the catechism at home from the time they are little tots and the High German they read is explained by the mother or grandmother in Low German. Thus the church to them means the language, the home tradition. When the attempt was made to introduce the English catechism into the confirmation services, it was said that the old people stayed at home. They could not see that there was church any more.

Up until twenty years ago the church did not stand out against the marriage practices of the old country. There was much feeling expressed when the church stepped in, and according to a ruling newly made by the synod, "churched" the men when this occurred. The congregation had been warned first by the pastor and given a year in which to discontinue the practice. There are a few cases along in the first years where a church trial was held and punishment was meted out to the offender. As the people are now extremely reticent on this subject, this is only information available.

The church has always regulated the matter of dress. Nowhere in the Lutheran doctrine is there any reference to dress. In the everyday lives, the regulation has not been so strict, limits only being set, and advice given against extremes. However, confirmation dress has been the subject of much regulation. For
years until 1918 the girls had always worn black dresses for confirmation. The class in 1918 however, had got some new ideas from seeing the confirmation services in other places, and decided to have white dresses. The matter had been discussed all through the settlement. Every one knew that the white dresses were being made but no one thought that when it came time for the confirmation, the girls would really wear them. The pastor, who has a family of girls of his own, was rather glad to see the innovation but of course would not permit his girls to start the change. He was quite a little concerned as to what the effect would actually be. He knew that the congregation expected him to refuse to confirm the girls in the white dresses. When he had not done this, he was a little disturbed as to what the reaction would finally be. There was a great deal of ill feeling as a result of the incident, but it has been forgotten, and since then the girls have had white dresses on confirmation, and some have worn blue or pink.

The church stood against bobbed hair for several years. However, the young children wore the hair cut straight off at the neck or ear line and this is the way that the older ones started to wear bobbed hair. No one bobbed long hair at first—those who had short hair as children failed to let it grow at the proper time. When the pastor confirmed his own children with bobbed hair, the objection of the church was removed and bobbed hair became the thing over night, almost.

All important problems in regard to community life are discussed in the church. When Mr. X. bought the first automobile, he was brought up before the church and made to show that he had paid cash for it and had not put a paper on his land. He did not ob-
ject to this, he expected it as a matter of course. He was also cautioned as to the use of his automobile and told that the expense of the car should not be taken out of his church money and that he should not use the car on Sunday mornings except to bring people to church or to take them home.

In this capacity the church functions in a different way than it does as an agent of social control. Here it does not always regulate the conduct of the people but shows itself as a medium through which changes take place. All problems are brought to the church for settlement.

The German School and the English School:

The German school was an outgrowth of the confirmation school. When the first school laws were applied in this community, there was only the confirmation school which was in session about ten weeks in the year to prepare the children for confirmation. All not confirmed attended this school for this period and so when they became of the age for confirmation they had had sufficient instruction in the catechism, the church history, and had learned the church songs, how to read and how to write High German. The rest of the time was spent in work either in the house or in the fields or both.

In the home the children who were not old enough to go to the school sat about while the older children read aloud and were corrected by each other and while the content of their High German reading was explained in the home dialect.

By the year 1890 the English school was an established institution but the attendance was rather spasmodic, only the younger children attending during the time that the confirmation school
was in session. When they were not needed in the fields the older ones who had been confirmed were allowed to go to school. During 1924 this condition was still in existence. There was for a period of the year a continual fight going on between the county superintendent and the pastor of the church over the German school. In the years that followed the beginning of the English school the German school had grown. The morning was given over to the teaching of German and the church catechism and history. The afternoon was used to teach the common branches in both languages. However, as the pastor could not fulfill all the formal requirements as a teacher, he and his school were continually under fire from the county superintendent's office. Last year (1923) the German school was discontinued. The pastor was sick of the hectoring about it and told the people that it was no use to stand against the natural course of events. He still has the confirmation school and last year the pupils who attended that did not attend the public school. This last summer a new law was passed by the state legislature which provides not only for an eight months minimum school term instead of seven but also states that all children under fourteen shall be in day school under regular instruction at all times that that school is in session except the actual hours they spend in confirmation school. This law is necessarily complied with. The children go twice a week to confirmation school from eight to eleven in the morning. The rest of the time they spend in the English school.

This change in the schools is not in any way an index to social change in the community. The change is seen thus only from
the outside. What has happened is that the people, guided by their pastor, have ceased to struggle against the inevitable. What they have done is to accept the change in order to avoid friction and to get along, but they have never ceased to control the operation of the English school and they have succeeded in keeping its relation to their culture and to their lives strictly within the limits they have imposed. The function of the school is defined: the children attend it at the command of the law. They speak English there when that is insisted upon. However, the teacher must attend strictly to the business of teaching the formal branches. That this plan is not wholly successful is easily seen because the social changes which will be discussed in a later chapter have to come from somewhere. Though it is impossible to give the source of any change we cannot assume that a category remains absolutely closed when there are such unaccountable ways open as young children's minds.

The Home and its Relation to the Solidarity of the Group:

It is one of the traditions of the group that the word of the parents is law. Children are not managed by laying down rules. It is done by the long and thorough process of conditioning them to obedience. In the first place the child while he is just able to talk never receives even a piece of food from the table without the permission of the parent. He would never think of going to the cupboard without asking permission first. This program is continued to adulthood and even after marriage the son will consult his parents and the wife her husband before any important step is taken. This situation is shown up by the
One of the teachers as given in the methodology.

"The children do not like the teacher if the parents think it is not good for them."

One of the merchants in Rantoul tells the following tale:

"Mr. X, a man of about forty five, came in to look at a new tractor. He was well pleased with it and I had made him a good price on it as these fellows always pay cash. I expected any moment to be asked to deliver it but when everything seemed settled he said, 'Well, we will see what pa thinks about it.' I told him that if money was the question that his note was solid gold to me. He assured me, however, that the money was not the question. I just surmised that he was going to ask the old man about it as it was quite a big step. Sure enough he came back the following Saturday afternoon and the old man was with him. He looked it all over, and they talked in Low German about it. Finally the son came in and handed me a check with his own name on it and told me to deliver the tractor the next Monday."

It is often said that German men are the bosses in their homes. This is a generalization which is not corroborated by observation of the home life in the Flats. When for some reason there is a big question before the family, the wife is consulted by the husband. This usually happens when the issue is of enough interest to the woman to make her care about the problem. The reason too, is that many of the women have enough money of their own to be independent. Their fathers were successful and while land is usually left to the sons, the daughter gets her share in money, either paid upon the death of the parents or paid by the brothers as her share of the estate. This money
while it is always on call if needed is drawn on usually only for needs of the women, such as clothing and luxuries. Issues usually discussed by the adults in the family are the purchase of land, the marriage of the children, any proposed building or improvement in the home. When houses are remodeled it is considered distinctly the woman's business as to how it shall be done. Business is commonly discussed with the wives.

The children are always taught to prefer home to any other place. When they contemplate a move of any kind, they are in the habit of thinking what it will do to the family. The family stands by the child as long as he asks its protection. When he ceases to do that he is indeed an outcast.

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CHAPTER V

WHAT IT MEANS TO BE IN A GROUP.

The Neighborhood as a Form of the Primary Group:

Typical examples of the primary group are the family, the play group and the neighborhood. A primary group may be characterized as "that group wherein a member shares according to his needs and contributes according to his ability". According to this strict standard not many neighborhoods can be described as primary groups. This type of action is not literally true of the Frisian group. Cooley's definition more nearly describes the conditions in this primary group: "By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation. 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 the 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 asser-

1. Phrase attributed to Robert E. Park of Chicago.
tion and various appropriative passions; but these passions are socialized by sympathy, and come, or tend to come, under the discipline of the common spirit. The individual will be ambitious, but the chief object 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".

In most society the members act as individuals because most human relations are secondary. Conduct is individuated and each individual looks out for himself. There is a definite line between "mine" and "thine" and every bit of service or commodity given implies a return in kind. Men do not hesitate to make ladders of the lives of other men; the battle for supremacy is hard and the spoils are to the victor, whatever may be the price in terms of the happiness of others of his kind. In the primary group this is not true. One's neighbor is never a means to an end—he is a person whose rights and comfort are to be considered along with one's own. In the group under discussion there are several outstanding examples of behavior that have grown out of primary group relations.

Mr. M. B. has been ill now for eighteen months with a kidney disease and is in bed. During his illness his farm of one hundred ten acres has been entirely managed by the freely given labor of his neighbors. This means that his crops have been put in, his field plowed, his produce marketed and the money returned to the family. The house is also cared for in the same way. Mr. B's farm is run as efficiently as when he did it himself. He is recovering, now, and the doctor says that it is
all due to the fact that he had time to stay in bed and receive
the care he needed over a long enough period to effect a cure.

Mrs. T. has been in bed for ten months with a disease of
cancerous nature. She can never recover as the cancer is in the
right temple and is slowly eating her brain away. She is thirty
two years old and the mother of three children—a girl of four, a
boy of eighteen months and a baby of three months. Her family
is being kept together by the neighbors. They take turns in
spending the day with her. Sometimes older girls go for most of
the day and do the work and look after the mother and children.
Neighbors canned her fruit this summer and fall and cooked the
harvest dinners and served them. Her neighbors will probably
continue to care for her until death releases her from her suf­
fering. Some of these neighbors are relatives, it is true, but
they are not in attendance anymore than others of the congrega­
tion. It is the neighborhood's concern when anyone needs help.
Profits are foregone and real losses incurred so that a member
may be served first.

Mr. A. had a cow for sale. He was to hear from a man in
Thomasboro the next day as to whether he wanted the cow for one
hundred fifty dollars. That night Mr. B's cow died. He had no
other cows due to be fresh soon and he needed a cow to raise the
calf. Without hesitating Mr. A. dropped the man in Thomasboro a
line telling him he could not have the cow and turned around and
sold her to Mr. B. for one hundred dollars.

Mr. R. has no children and his nephews have all the land
they need. He owned a very fine eighty near the edge of the set­
tlement. He was offered one hundred and seventy five dollars an
acre for it in 1927 by a man in Rantoul. He took some time to consider it and in the meantime learned that Mr. T. wanted some land to put his son on as he was yet too young to give up all of his own to his children. Mr. R. sold the land to Mr. T. for one hundred twenty five dollars an acre.

Mr. K. lost four cows when a wind storm buried the animals under the straw stack. These were all the cows he had and he had no animals for milk or for breeding. His land holding was small and the earnings were not adequate to permit of the purchase of four cows at once. He bought two cows at a low price from a neighbor and one day when he returned from church he found two half grown calves in his lot—a young bull and a heifer. He had an idea whose they were and thought they might have got lost. But when he called up his neighbors no one knew anything about them. Of course he then understood and made public the statement that he thanked whoever did it. This seems a rather casual way to receive a gift worth seventy five dollars but a child says no more than that for his living from his parents. Mr. K. knows that he can probably repay the donor by helping someone else whose need is greater than his own.

Mrs. P. lost all of her year's brood of little chickens when the lamp with which she heated the brooder shed burned the shed down. Several mornings later when she went to do her chores she found the old brooder shed full of little chickens of a different breed from hers. She knew of course that they had come from the neighbors and she was not very much surprised though of course very happy. She did not feel at all as if she were accep-
ting charity; she took it as the good will of her neighbors and knew that she would in some repay them for their help.

The elevator company had been advising the threshers for years to keep an account of their labor for each other. Once when they decided to call a meeting for the purpose of settling up they met at one of their homes. A statement of each other's indebtedness was presented. After poring over it for half an hour they decided to start paying up. Soon there was a wild confusion of checks and money on the big table and everyone was howling with laughter. Finally old Mr. T. said, "Well, neighbors, I'll be damned if I ever thought we'd come to this! Pretty soon I'll be paying my neighbors to give me a lift into town and the frau will be buying a shoot off the geranium plant. No sir, it's nonsense. The elevator can keep accounts if they want to but we are neighbors and not in business with each other." And so it was settled and all arose and stretched and slapped each other on the backs, and moved toward the cars parked in the lane. That was the end of the business of trying to keep accounts in that circle. They had met as neighbors and they departed each in debt to the other for an unknown amount.

Neighborhood Relations:

About 1902 a telephone line was run from Thomasboro to Flatville. It fell into disuse in a few years and the property of the line deteriorated in value. Some of the men from the Frieden Congregation formed a company and bought the property of the old company. They issued shares of stock and the buyers became the owners of the telephone company. They met and gave each man in the district certain lines to put in repair and they put telephone
boxes in the homes of all who agreed to pay the annual rental. It is significant to note in this connection that the neighborly spirit was still operative in this situation. Although some persons bought as high as ten shares of stock, it has been a "one man, one vote" proposition the whole time. One man bought more than one share because he happened to have more of a commodity which is called money. That did not give him the right to act as more than one man, was the argument advanced by the man who now holds the largest number of shares in the company.

The map on page 48 gives the location of this system and shows its three branches. These branches show the growth of the system, the red line being the oldest, the green line and the purple line shows the newest extensions. This system in no way corresponds in its growth to the growth of the colony either in direction or in area. The phone system seems to have grown from the center toward the edges of the group and it is just within the last ten years that the members have been put in connection near the north and north east ends. The first line run out to the edge toward the north and east was to connect a father's with his son's dwelling. He had money enough to put in this line and then others came in on it. This system serves to keep the colony very close together. It is frankly used as a news dispenser. No one hesitates to say, "I heard over the phone that Harm sold his corn", or "I heard over the phone that Eddo's folks are coming to your house Sunday". The daily commonplaces are of interest to the neighbors and no one thinks of resenting it. Everyone on the line has a certain ring which is a combination of "longs" and "shorts" and each
one's ring is known to every one else. Even the children know the rings before they go to school. In families where there are enough members to make it possible, someone is always stationed at the phone when a ring comes. While some of the younger ones have secret sessions on the phone arranged by just opening the phone and talking at a set time, this is not seriously engaged in as no one thinks of resenting or even taking into account the fact that others are listening to the conversation. Sometimes for some reason the ring is too weak to extend to the party called and then one is always sure of help because some one who is nearer will repeat the call and wait for the caller to answer.

When a person is ill all that is necessary to secure help is to ring the phone and ask someone to call the doctor as the doctor at Thomasboro is the only non-Fresian on the telephone line. Someone will immediately put in the call and direct the doctor to go to the person asking for the call. Then, too, when there is corn to be shelled and hauled, one goes to the phone and announces it and asks who can help. Special church meetings are announced in the same way. The "line ring" is six long rings and when this comes everybody flocks to the telephones and the announcement is made. At one time the school needed some long planks for tables for the box social and the neighbors near did not have any. A call was entered on the phone telling of the need and by the time school was out the long boards had been delivered. Just so when some one wants some articles from town, and does not find it convenient to go. He goes to the phone and gives the line ring and asks if any one is going to town. There
is sure to be some one going so the order is given and even if it is out of the way to bring the things to the house it is done and nothing thought about it.

Sometimes some one wants to go to town and the family car is in use or the individual desiring to go does not drive a car. In this case he simply inquires over the phone if any one is going to town and it is usually not long until he gets a reply that he is welcome to "ride along."

In this neighborhood there are as yet only four persons who have trucks for hauling. There is no hesitancy when someone is shelling corn and the persons helping have no trucks to ask to borrow the truck of a neighbor if it is not in use. This is done as a matter of course, just as members of a family borrow each other's belongings. When any one has any equipment that is better than his neighbors he is distinctly hurt if it is not borrowed. Mr. P. had just purchased a new car, keeping his old one, which was still a very good car, for rougher use. When the new car was just a few weeks old, Mr. T. was all ready to go to town and could not get his car started. He accordingly went over to his neighbor's and asked the use of his old car. Mr. P. refused to allow his neighbor the use of the old one and insisted that he take the new one. So all piled in while Mr. T. started the new car of his neighbor. He had said when he insisted that Mr. T. take it that if his new car was too good for his neighbors he couldn't see much use in having it.

There is an old bachelor in the neighborhood who lives alone except for a feeble minded lad who lives with him. The man
is very unattractive and is sick most of the time though he is able to be out and to do small things. He farms just a small twenty acres and this is accomplished with the aid of the neighbors in the regular way except that Mr. T. does not return any of the labor. The women in the colony go as often as necessary to clean up the house of this member and others sew and mend for him and also do his laundry. The man is not indigent, but has just enough to live on as he has been so long unable to farm. At Christmas time he remembers all of the children in the church with some small gift that he has made himself during the long year, much of which he spends inside the house. The man never lacks for cheer as his neighbors visit him often and pass the evening playing rook, and talking over old times.

**Attitudes Towards Unfortunate Members:**

There are two cases of what may be called unfortunate members. One is the case of the boy who, through being left a cripple from infantile paralysis is unable to follow the traditional occupation of the group. The second is that of the woman who was deserted by her husband. The fourth son of one of the members of the group had been from infancy a very frail child, and when he was about fourteen he was stricken with infantile paralysis. The deformity was not apparent at first and so he did not receive the proper attention until it was too late to revive the starved muscle fibers and the whole left side became shrivelled up. This made it impossible for him to engage in the labor of the farm so some other means of living had to be found for him. After much consideration about it a meeting was held in the church and it was decided to set up this member in a small store.
in Thomasboro. Accordingly a store building was selected and the men and women went to clean and paint the inside and fix it up for him. The father then set the son up in business and the people patronized him. They took all of their products there and sold them to him for less than they could get from selling them directly to the consumer.

The second case is that of a woman deserted by her husband. This woman had married an outsider against the advice of the group as he was known to be a shiftless fellow who had worked on the railroad at Thomasboro. He was German but he was not a Frisian and had given no evidence of having any serious intention in life and had certainly never demonstrated just how he expected to make a living for his wife. When they were married he rented a forty acre strip from one of the men in the colony. No one called on the disobedient member, but people always kept in touch with the situation and many times there would be loads of coal and wood delivered that she never saw come. The children always had shoes. It was the same way with clothing. Groceries were also sent and no one knew who sent them. Just after the fourth child had been born, the husband failed to return home. There were some notes due at the bank and he was greatly in debt as it was, so he took this way out. The neighbors then stepped in. There had never been much of an income and the house had practically no furniture. So when things were talked over, the wife and children were taken home by one family until arrangements could be made. Now there was a man who had retired from active farming who had a six room house in Thomasboro which
was vacant. It was not modern of course and it had rented for six dollars a month. It was a little run down but he offered to give the house rent free for as many years as it was needed if the people would fix it up. It was accordingly painted and papered and fixed up for the woman and her family and they were moved into it. It had been furnished and everything was supplied for the family. Some years later Mrs. S. relates, "My oldest boy was nine years old and the next girl was eight. I had a boy of three and one of a few days of age. I told the neighbors that I wanted to take in washing but they would not hear of it. They told me it was much more my Christian duty to stay at home and to raise my children and teach them to do right. I was about the most unhappy woman in the world after it all turned out the way it did—marrying him when they didn't want me to. Well, they moved us to Thomasboro in March. We lived there fourteen years and in that time we never wanted for anything that it was right for us to have. When we got there everything was ready. The nicest furniture I had ever seen and everything was clean. The drawers had new sheets and towels and everything like that in them. There were dishes in the cupboard and the pantry and cellar were filled with food of all kinds, canned fruits and vegetables, jam and jelly, pickles, potatoes, meat fried down, everything one could want or need. For awhile they brought me a gallon of milk every day but in the summer they gave me a cow as there was plenty of free pasture and the boy could take the cow over and bring it home. They gave me chickens and I sold the eggs besides having all we needed. They clothed the children and me. When they would
meet to sew they made the clothes for us and they sent for things from the mail order houses. When the boy there was big enough he worked for the people in the summer time. I wanted him to do it for nothing but they paid him and put it in the bank for him because they said he might need it when he grew up. They had already paid off all the debts by husband had had. I never did know who did that but it was over six hundred dollars.

"When Rolf was eighteen they heard of a store in—Iowa in a Low German Settlement that had been for sale for sometime. Mr. R. went out to see about it and came back and said that it was the thing for us to do so they sent Rolf out there and gave him the money to start out with. He made it pay and then sent for us and we were moved out there. Rolf then became connected with the elevator there and I baked pies for a restaurant and the other children worked for me and went to school. Annie went then to business college after she finished the eighth grade and then she got a job in the bank. That is how we are back here now with a new car. It isn't such a big one but we are happy with it and it is paid for. Rolf has wanted to pay back the money for my husband's debts but no one will tell us about who paid them. It was the same about all the help we got. No one knows anything about it. That is why we are all so happy. I have never been sorry since my husband left as we have been so well looked after. The children are all getting along. The youngest is in high school and he says he wants to be an electrical engineer. We are trying to get ready to send him to the university and I think we can do it as he can get a job and help himself too. Yes, if you have lived away in a city all your life you have ne-
ver known what a neighbor is nor what it means to have neighbors like we had. We owe our lives to them. That is why I tell the young people out here who are beginning to be ashamed of their folks that they ought to be glad they live in a place like this."

When a Member Moves Away:

Not many members have moved out of the settlement. When they do they are mourned for a long time before the time to leave. The B family who lived near the school house was planning to move. At school the children all went about with their arms about the little B girl and brought to her in their lunches the choicest food of well stocked pantries. Everyone talked of the impending move of the B family. Time went on and still the family were talked of. It was then the first of October and the move was to be made in March. The family were invited out times without number and many parties were held. The women all contributed some pieces of hand work to the new home. Christmas was a sad one as no one could forget the fact that the next Christmas the B family would not be with them. The move was to be of about twenty five miles. This was a family who had settled temporarily on land that was later to go to the brother of the wife and so since he was to be married in the spring, the family had to get out. They were to become tenants on the farm of a large landholder, also a German though not of this settlement.

When the time came for the move, the neighbors had already made several trips to the new place and had painted and papered it nicely and had done quite a little fixing up of the
house and the outbuildings. The family was moved in the trucks belonging to the neighbors and there was much real weeping that night after they had departed. Several of the young people had gone along for a few days to see them settled in the new home.

Another family consisted of a father, a mother and five young children. They occupied a farm of forty acres and it was too small as there had been too many sons for the amount of the land in the family. It is the Frisian custom to keep on dividing the original land holding among the sons when they marry until the area given each becomes too small for the support of the family. This is done because it is hard to buy land adjoining theirs as there seems to be a sentiment among surrounding non-Frisians against letting the settlement grow any larger. Thus if the group is to be kept together the land must be subdivided. Mr. F. then decided that since there was a good opening for an elevator in a town about seventy five miles away that he would go there and take over that business. He had just received the inheritance from his mother and since there was no more land available he had decided to leave the farm. This move was not contemplated for so long a time as that of the B family and when the news went over the phone that the F family was moving it was a blow to the whole neighborhood. Every one blamed the husband for wanting to move his family among strangers. Mrs. F., who was a woman of frail health, could hardly reconcile herself to the fact of leaving her neighbors. Every time it was mentioned she wept. When the time came to move, her neighbors came and packed the furniture and dishes for her and helped her to get everything ready for the move. Several of the neighbors had already gone with the family
to look at the home in the new place and had helped the F family in papering and cleaning it. Everyone said it was a nice house as it was modern and not so old, whereas the old house occupied by the F family needed a good many repairs.

The move was finally accomplished and two of the women went along and stayed until the family were settled in their new home.

The following is the letter which was written soon after the family moved away. "Dear Neighbors: This letter is for all of you and you can read it over the phone if you want to do it before Sunday. You have not an idea how lonesome it is here. The people are nice to me but I cannot go to the door because my face is so red from all the time crying which I cannot seem to be able to stop. The house is very nice but I could come back and live in the barn among the dear neighbors and then I should be much happier. Never do I hear the dear language except when the children talk to me. John is never at home as there is so much to be done and we cannot afford to have any help yet until the business begins to come in. That will be after corn shelling and that is a long time to wait.

Johnny started by the school. He had to go back to the first grade because he is so bashful that he did not read. The teacher came to see me and she is very nice. Not so young so she will be good for Johnny. Johnny wants to know how Miss Corner is. I told him that I am writing a letter to the neighbors. He says to tell them all he wants to come back home. He has never called this home. Seems to think that we are going back. I
suppose he never has known what it is to move away. I know now what it is, it is the saddest thing.

"Well, dear neighbors, when are you coming to see me? I live for that time. It is like a wilderness here. John wants that I should go by the church so I am going to go this Sunday. He bought me a store dress the other day because he says that town people have to look like that. It is nice but it is too short. The saleslady said it was just right though so I will use it. My coat is longer and I won't take that off. The church is English. I do not understand that so well but if it is the word of God I am lucky to find even that so far away from my dear home.

"I could make this letter much longer telling you how homesick I am but that is not the best to do for I have to get used to being here, but how can I ever do that when the children all talk of home every hour of the day and cry to go back? It is terrible, dear neighbors. Well, I will close now. God bless you all in the old home and please remember me in your prayer who is with you in every thought of my heart. Please come as soon as you can have the time. It is a good road as you know. Love to all.

Attitudes Toward Lost Members:

The difference between soul and person as used in this neighborhood is strangely like the difference that Burgess makes between individual and person. A "soul" is a member in good standing in the community—one who is a member of the church, and who conducts himself as a neighbor is expected to. In sociological terms this person is an integrated personality—"a soul" in the language of this community as distinguished from a mere human
individual who has no place in the group. In this colony there is but one "lost soul"—one "lost individual" because even to say "lost soul" is to use a meaningless combination of words. This individual is a man of about fifty six years. He had a quarrel with the pastor of the church about eighteen years ago and when the new pastor came he continued in his attitude. He was brought into the church and given a hearing and warned that he would be excommunicated if he did not change his attitude and come and receive the communion. This he has refused to do because of the fact that he dislikes to admit that he is wrong. This member is referred to in common conversation as "lost" and in the prayers at the church he is also prayed for and so designated. The neighbors do not visit him except to exchange work and for such things as collecting telephone bills. There are no neighborly visits and no invitations. There is no hard feeling expressed, only sorrow as one might mourn for a friend who is dead. Even after he left the church he continued to send in his part of the church expenses until one day he received a package of checks that had never been cashed. He took the hint and has never sent another one. The man has shown no signs of demoralization. He stays at home, is a good farmer, honest in his dealings and has a kind word for every one. He sends money anonymously every year to an orphanage in Wisconsin—a Lutheran "Kinder-Heim". The postmaster at Thomasboro has told of this case. When it was brought up before the church, they decided that it was just as well, that though he could never buy salvation for his soul, the orphanage needed the money.

The Primary Group Solves Some Modern Problems:

In the entire history of the colony there have been
just a few cases of disorganized family life. In each of these cases the group has taken care of its problem. In the handling of the problem which is so difficult in our secondary social organization, this group has done the very thing that social workers are trying to accomplish. It is significant to note that in this group there is no giving of charity. There can indeed be no such thing as charity in a primary group. Members accept help in one way or another as a right instead of as charity. This group has approached the ideal at which modern relief systems are aiming. In the question of relief giving there are two problems—one is the adequate care of the dependent family so as to save the needless expenditure of health and strength, to prevent the payment of too great a price for the necessities of life on the part of the unfortunate, and the other is the problem of preserving a normally functioning personality under conditions of living that are not the usual ones. This group has met both problems. Dependency does not result in pauperism, but in an extra effort to prove worthy of the help given by neighbors in time of need by becoming as soon as possible, self-supporting members.

These are examples of the attitudes and action of a primary group. The old religious idea of "saving a soul" takes on real meaning in primary social organization. The phrase may be interpreted from the standpoint of the person's place in the group and of the preservation of the personality from disintegration. The individual by this means continues to act as a person in his social milieu.
CHAPTER VI.

RELATIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE

This chapter will describe the differential responses of the group to various situations which involve dealing with persons outside the group.

The Attitude Toward Those Met in Economic Dealing:

"Business is business" expresses the attitude that prevails in economic relations. Almost all purchases are paid for in cash at the time of delivery. It is thought best to keep all personal obligations out of the business relation. When for some reason a person finds himself out somewhere without money, and needs to get some article from a store, he says upon returning home, "I forgot to take enough money along today so I had to borrow some gas at the station." This expression is regularly used when "charge account" is meant. It is not the translation of an idiom from the home language, but is expressive of the attitude toward business dealing. To buy is to receive in exchange for payment; otherwise, the article is 'borrowed'. This in general is the attitude of the older members of the group. Deferred payments for luxuries are not indulged in at all. Automobiles are paid for by cash when purchased, and so are radios and pianos and furniture. The first man to buy a piece of farm machinery on the payment plan was severely censored. That was in 1924 and he was one of the 'third generation.' Since then there have been five tractors, three binders, and a small amount of other farm machinery bought on the payment plan. In no case has the New Year found any group member in debt to an outsider. When this is about to happen, the
neighbors see to it that the member has the money in hand to discharge the obligation. It is a tradition of the group that the year shall be started debt-free.

The attitude toward outsiders that remain in the group is consistent with the attitude toward those who are really outside.

The Teacher:

Nearly every September there is a new teacher. While the teacher has a unique place in the group and is tolerated in a special capacity, she must fill that place and not overstep the lines that have been drawn defining her relation to the group. The two letters from which excerpts were given in the "Methodology" show what happens when a teacher attempts to get out of her place. Portions of two other letters follow:

".......I taught Maple Grove School in the school year of 1926-1927. I was the first teacher who did not board in the district.......I did not want to become too intimate with the people as I had heard what a hard time the other teachers had had there... ...I was not rehired because they thought that the homes were not good enough for me. ........they disapproved of the fact that I taught the children to have better manners. I told them that they should not correct the people older than themselves but that they could show by their examples what was the right thing to do.....

"I did not come into close enough contact with the people to know much about them but I had heard from other teachers that one had to watch his step.

"I liked the children and when I did anything that was
not quite according to the ideas they had about it, I formed the
habit of looking into their faces for the effects of what I had
proposed doing.....I turned the children loose for their first
recess and I noticed that they collected in groups—boys on one
side of the grounds and the girls on the other. When they came
in I suggested that the next time they all play together. I saw
very soon that I had said the wrong thing, so I went on to tell
them that was merely a suggestion, that they could do it the way
they wanted to. I got to know just when I was about to overstep
the mark set for me.

"Another thing that almost wrecked me was the fact that
the school was in habit of using the Lord's Prayer at the opening
exercises in the morning. I knew that it was against the law, so
I left it out the first morning. The children told me of it at
recess and in such a way that I knew that it had better be inclu­
ded. One day when the school nurse came just as I was about to
ring the bell, a little girl came up and asked me to leave out
the prayer because "she might tell on us."

"I have been continually surprised at myself for taking
the promptings of the children as to what I should do and what
I should not do, but early found it a very workable proceding.
We were friendly and I always took their advice when it was of­
fered in the right spirit."

This evidence supports what was found in the letters of
the other two teachers. It is clearly shown that the teacher has
an expected role and is not bothered as long as she plays it.

The letter following is from a young man who taught the
school at a later date.

".......I guess that I did not mind my own business. I was anxious to make an impression upon the county superintendent because I was under the impression that his recommendation had more weight than the judgment of the local board members who because of their little education could have no idea of what good teaching was. That was where I was fooled. They did not seem to care so much how or what the children learned as how the teacher acted in the district. I had to watch my step as I had never thought necessary before. I started to tell the children about the evolution theory in the physiology lesson. That did not last long. Though the people had no idea what the thing was all about, it had a bad flavor and they saw that it was left out of the school teaching. ........

"It seems that just as long as the teacher does what they want, he is all right. When he oversteps the mark it is just too bad."

The investigator's own experience in the district is illustrative of the same point. She was sent in there—a new teacher—to Americanize the children. However, she saw no reason for making any changes in the way things were being done. In this way a good impression was made and in time she came to occupy a secure place in the group esteem. She was not a good teacher at all; she had never been trained to teach and though she got along very well with the older pupils, the beginners had to be helped at home by the parents who always had taught the children to read their catechisms. A game was made of learning to speak English.
The teacher pretended that she was a lost traveller and could not understand a word of the language that the children spoke, so they had to speak to her in her own language. At recess they were told to use whatever language they wanted to as they were then not talking to the teacher, but to themselves. The teacher then tried to learn the language of the children and in this way they felt that their own language was not inferior to the English.

This experience goes to show that the teacher is not judged on the same basis in this community as he is in other places. He is not judged as a teacher at all, but as a person who is thrust into the group. His success is measured by the degree to which he stays within the line.

The Preacher:

This district has had few preachers because of the fact that the Lutheran Church here subscribes to the doctrinal tenet that the pastor is under call from a divine source and has intimation from that source as to when his work is finished in any one place. The present pastor has been there about seventeen years. He is indeed a pastor—a caretaker and leader of his flock. Though he never tries to use his own authority in going against a custom in the group, he is allowed a voice when no one else would be heard. His family is exempt from the requirements imposed upon members of the group. The girls in this family bobbed their hair as soon as the mode began and have all looked forward to getting as much education as possible.

The pastor relates, "There had never been a choir in the church and I thought it a good thing to have one. No one came to the meeting that I announced for the purpose. They do not want to
ever step out ahead of any of the others and thus no choir has ever been formed in the church.

"One time the death of a member necessitated the electing of a trustee to fill his place. Every eligible man was named before I succeeded in getting the lists closed. The one elected won by a margin of four votes. He was very apologetic as he stepped out and faced his neighbors. He begged them not to think that he had put himself forward in front of them, that he was simply there to do as the Lord asked him."

The pastor then is conceded to be on a plane above the members of the congregation. He is very careful never to appear to notice this fact. When his family come into the church they scatter throughout the congregation and finally make the rounds of all the pews, as Sunday follows Sunday. The children of the pastor dance in their home and the congregation consider the pastor's business. The pastor and his family are in the group, not group members.

Tenants who come into the Area:

There is only one non-Fresian tenant family in the district. They occupy the place from which the F family moved. When they came in they were courteously treated and visits were made to get acquainted. The house had formerly been equipped with a telephone—one of the intercommunicating ones—but when the C. family had been there a few days it was taken out on the pretext that only stock holders had phones and that there were no shares to be had. This is not true as many of the members of the group are not stock holders and there are several unused boxes in storage in the barn of one of the group members. It is evi-
dent that only group members share in the intimate life of the group. Aside from this the C. family has been well treated and the children, who had at first been left out of the playgroup at school soon mastered the language and now are running about with the other children.

**How Persons become Members of the Group:**

Besides the regular means of being born into the group, the evidence seems to indicate that the only other way that persons enter the group is at a weak point in its structure. There are two cases in which outsiders have come into the group as members, and both are women who have married into it.

The mother of Mr. S. was a Swedish woman who had come into the S home to care for the wife during an illness that resulted fatally. Since the mother had been ill more than a year, the woman had made herself indispensable in the home. After about three years she married the father of the children and the group expressed its approval. She has filled her post well and has in every way been taken into the life of the group, though they have never stopped referring to the fact that there is a little difference in this family. A member of the third generation, a young man with a family of two children says, "I don't know whether it is just my imagination or not, but I have always seem some differences in the actions of my neighbors toward us. Of course I have never known any other ways than the ways of the people here, and I do not feel strange or out of place. The children at school once told me that I was not really German at all—that my mother was a Swede and I have always remembered that. It made no difference in their treatment of me, but I have never forgotten it."
The other case is not such a simple one. Miss M. taught in the school for the four years before the World War and as was the custom, lived at Mrs. X's. In this family there were two granddaughters who had been brought to live with the grandparents after their father had failed to provide for them following the death of his wife to whom he had been unfair and even cruel. He was at this time an outcast from the group and no one had been able to bring him to himself. In vain had the group tried to reclaim the lost member and even the church had failed. He was still a member because he chose to call himself one, but he was never at home, always either drunk or sunk in some kind of scrape.

The teacher was in some way thrown into contact with him and it was through her help that he again became a man. The two were married after the man had straightened up and had regained his place in the esteem of the group. The marriage is considered by all to be the best thing that could have happened. The wife is completely accepted and many comments are heard as to the way she has improved the home that was once so nearly wrecked. The group mechanisms had failed in bringing the lost member back again, and when the methods of the stranger succeeded, she was counted as having earned the right to be called "sister".

It is evident that the attitude of members toward those outside the group is quite different from the attitude toward members. To those who keep their position as outsiders, there is a prescribed attitude and when all the conditions are met, there is no friction. To those placed in the group, such as the teacher and the preacher, they have assigned a role. When that role is played faithfully, there is no trouble and when these
individuals do not come out of the niche carved for them, and do not insult the self-feeling of the group members, they are never brought into conflict with the traditions.

The matter of persons entering the group may be significant from the standpoint of theory. The statement was made that persons enter the group through a weak point in its structure. Park and Burgess, in their consideration of the areas of transition in the city, state that the periphery of the group is the point of its least resistance to innovations and that it is here that new ideas enter and that transitions are made. This is because the group influence is not so strong at these points; it is too far from the center. Something of the same nature has been noticed in the group of Frisians at Flatville, but this question of persons entering the group may be a slightly different matter. Two cases are too few to establish a theory, but they seem to explain this entry in terms of the concept of Park and Burgess. If new ideas enter an area on the edge because that is the most vulnerable point due to its position in relation to the center, or the controlling elements of the group, it may mean that these new patterns come in because the old ones have ceased to function adequately for the purposes of living. This evidence may indicate that outsiders enter a group because they have gained their right to enter by serving the group in a capacity in which other group members had failed. No generalization is offered on the strength of these two instances. The case of the Swedish woman who entered the group illustrates the point. The other case is a much clearer one. The first marriage was a failure and the man became lost to his group. It is evident that here was a completely demoralized
individual and it is also plain that all of the mechanisms of the group had failed to bring him back. When this outsider showed that she had accomplished the feat, she was thankfully received.

Other research may serve to throw further light on this point. The whole history of the case work method seems to testify that the theory may have backing. For example, outside agencies must enter a family for any purpose whatever only when that family finds itself unable to cope with some particular situation. It is under these conditions that physicians may be called even though the ailing man may have expressed himself as not believing in medicine.

These particular ways of doing things when they are just casual and incidental may be summed up in what are called folkways. They assume various proportions according to the conditions amidst which they are set down. They remain functioning incidentally so long as they are not challenged. When they are insisted upon and show folkway particularly outstanding or which has been the cause for complaint from the outside may become a group symbol and people thus made conscious of it will rally around it and it is then placed as an index of their culture rather than as a mere incidental way of doing something.

The transition may also take another direction. Maybe are systems of behavior norms that have grown up from feasibility in group life. The decalogue was evolved out of the experience of living in groups. All moral values have been so derived and have been made more powerful by the addition of the religious sensation. Not even through change in location and in relation to other cultures are norms altered that are often
CHAPTER VII

GROUP ORGANIZATION

Control Mechanisms in the Primary Group:

The question of group organization always brings up the question of social control. Because of the growing complexity of life certain mechanisms are set up for group control of behavior. As a culture grows up, certain habits of living are established through one way or another: it may be because they have proved useful in a given situation and then have persisted as a matter of group habit, or because they were imposed by the prestige of a member who originated them, and were continued as a way of least resistance.

These particular ways of doing things when they are just casual and incidental may be summed up in what are called folkways. They assume various proportions according to the conditions amidst which they are set down. They remain functioning incidentally so long as they are not challenged. When they are insisted upon and some folkway particularly outstanding or which has been the cause for complaint from the outside may become a group symbol and people thus made conscious of it will rally around it and it is then placed as an index of their culture rather than as a mere incidental way of doing something.

The transition may also take another direction. Mores are systems of behavior norms that have grown up from feasibility in group life. The decalogue was evolved out of the experience of living in groups. All moral values have been so derived and have been made more powerful by the addition of the religious sanction. Now when through change in location and in relation to other cultures, new moral standards are forced upon a group, they are often
taken over and given an interpretation in the light of group experience. This giving of new interpretations to the laws forced upon them was what has probably happened in the case of the Frisians. That they were Christianized after their pastoral and agricultural mode of life had been established is shown by their legends which contain an account of an old tree that was located in the district and which was worshipped by the people. When Boniface came into the area to Christianize the people he cut down this tree and paid for the act with his life. The religion then that the subsequent missionaries forced onto the Frisians, was taken over and interpreted according to their own previous way of thinking.

The difficult question comes in drawing lines between customs, folkways, mores, etc., which are just incidental to group life and those which are more definitely social control mechanisms. The question is by no means solved when it is stated that the line has been drawn as precedence permits: where the folkways give place to mores. The question is still open because in a group that is primary in nature it is impossible to find just what makes members act as they do. The primary nature of the group makes a unique control situation. Not much coercion is needed but on the other hand it is impossible to say what it is that acts as coercive force in this contingency.

So, the non-material culture of the group has been set down beginning with symbols at one end and running through folkways, customs, ceremonies and proverbs, in what may seem to be a graded series and according to precedent it is; but there are no means of being sure that the mechanisms mentioned ac-
Group Symbols:

Basic to its organization is the "we" of the group. It is expressed by various collective symbols, by which we mean any behavior pattern or object in any degree of complexity or simplicity which is recognized by the group as identifying it peculiarly. The first of these symbols is the East Frisian dialect, as was stated in the "Methodology." The language group is the larger and more inclusive one, and the church congregation is the smaller division of the language group. Thus language is a symbol of the group because group members refer to themselves by the name of the language. When these allusions are made they are talking about the whole settlement, regardless of the religious congregations. When they speak of "our congregation", the smaller group is meant.

The process by which these things became group symbols is implied in the history of the group. For a thousand years they have been a solidly organized group and have shown considerable ability to withstand pressure from the outside. The characteristic which was at first merely a distinguishing mark has taken on added significance and contains a kind of challenge to which the group rallies.

For several years before the World War, the language was gradually passing out of being as a group symbol. The people were coming to identify themselves naturally with the new environment. The English language was as a matter of course spoken at the English school. Due to increased contacts with the outside the home language was ceasing to serve as a symbol—it was
a convenience. There is no evidence that the Frisians thought of themselves as anything but Americans until suspicion rested upon them because of evidences of their group solidarity and because of their language. Under these conditions they became self-conscious and when they tried to argue that their use of the language in their homes was justified, they met hostile attitudes on the part of their hearers. They were held in suspicion and put under surveillance. As a result the people rallied to the old group symbols. However, the conduct of the people was above reproach even from the most emotional war psychotic. They answered the draft and volunteered and bought Liberty Bonds and did their part in every drive for funds and for Red Cross work. But out of a feeling of inferiority developed at the recognition of the fact that they were different from others came a compensation which took the form of re-establishing the home language as a group symbol. People who had begun to try to speak English among themselves reverted to the home language at once and even the men, who had abandoned its use entirely on the street, again spoke it in the towns where they went to trade.

"Congregation" has signified the smaller group ever since the split in the two churches in 1880. The neighborhood group is synonomous with the "congregation". The "congregation" is also a group symbol. This symbol is referred to when the members speak of the group as a whole. It is used in a sense inclusive of "the whole congregation". It is used to indicate a close relation, as for example,"he belongs to our congregation." When young people of the one congregation become interested in those from the other congregation they are reminded that the person in question does
not belong to "our congregation."

Folkways.

Folkways by their very nature are those little behavior ways which are intimately, though perchance uncritically, connected with group life. On the outside, the institutions and other culture items are seen as characterizing marks. One must get into the group before he meets with the functional meaning of folkways.

Folkways characterize the various phases of their organization. The Frisian cooking and the eating habits show many of these little behavior patterns. The way the table is set, with the oven-browned dishes and cooking knives and forks always placed for the housewife even when the rest of the table is dressed up, is an example. Oven cooking has come down as a consequence of the type of stoves that were used in the home-land.

The division of labor as a phase of social organization also has come out of the past. Women do not milk cows, churn, nor separate milk when the separater is run by hand. They do take care of the chickens even when it is bitterly cold or storming and the men are sitting by the stove. During housecleaning nothing save heavy lifting is done by the men. The women do the papering and the painting as well as linoleum cutting and laying and the washing of windows. The women may also paint the house.

The man brings in the coal for the stoves but the women carry the corn cobs which are used for the kitchen fire. Women help in shucking the corn and in hauling of various kinds but no woman ever goes to the elevator with a load of corn, oats or wheat. "Women's work" is something set apart.
Another folkway is seen in the possession of the hope chest or the "bridal room." This is either a room or a part of a room or a compartment above in the rafters in the house in the old country, where the girls of the household lay away the things for use when they will be married and start keeping house for themselves. From the time that the girl is six or eight years of age people give her things for birthdays and Christmas that will be useful in her future home when she grows up. Dishes are especially welcome as are linens of all kinds. In the larger houses a front room downstairs is usually set aside for these things. The family begins when the daughters are about ten years old to give them the larger pieces of furniture such as sideboards, dressers, chairs, tables, etc.. When the girl is about eight or nine, she begins to make things for her hope chest, which is a large box inherited from the mother or made by the father. Every girl at the time of marriage must have the following articles: twelve sheets all with hand work on them, twelve pillow cases, thirty six towels of all kinds, six everyday comforts for the beds and six for special occasions; a dozen hand worked scarves of various sizes, two dozen dish towels, curtains for the house, three bed counterpanes, all of which articles must be made by hand, and which must have the initials or the mark of the owner in the corner. Each bride must also have saved a pile of old muslin and linens to be used in case of illness and for cleaning purposes. The bride must also be supplied with personal clothing to last a year or so. When a young couple sets up housekeeping, the husband furnishes the house and the land except in cases where there is a large family on the husband's side and no boys
on the wife's side of the family. As to other furnishings the bride must provide all that have been mentioned and may furnish anything else except the bed, the kitchen stove, and the table from which breakfast is eaten the first morning of married life. For several months before the marriage, preparations are made. The furniture is moved in and everything is put in place. This is done by the parents as the bride does not come into the house until she comes in as a married woman.

Weddings take place anytime from ten in the morning until six in the afternoon, and are always celebrated by a big dinner at the home of the groom rather than at the bride's home. The couple are escorted to the door of their home that night and when they have entered, the door is locked from the outside by the neighbors. The key is hung on a nail by the window so that the next morning it may be reached from the inside of the house.

By means of marriage the status of both the man and the woman is changed. They sit in different places in the church. The man establishes a new family seat and the wife sits with the husband's mother and family instead with her own. Then when neighbors meet, it is the custom of the older women to stay in the kitchen and send the youngsters into the sitting room. When a girl is married she no longer goes into the sitting room with her friends but stays with the wives in the kitchen. The husband too, is expected to stay with the married men. The married person is esteemed more than those not yet married. To be unmarried at an age when marriage is the usual thing is to be pitied indeed. Such a one is lonely because the young group is too young and one
is not admitted into the group of the married. There is small place in the social system for an unmarried man, but an unmar­ried woman is the loneliest object imaginable because this is a society where the home is really the unit; one is one of the heads of the family or a child in the family—there are no other classifications.

Another folk way is the entrance of all comers through the back door. The arrangement of all of the houses in the settlement makes this the most convenient way to enter. The back door usually faces the lane and a walk leads through the gate to the back door. No one ever thinks of using the front door for anything except as a means of getting out to scrub the porches and wash the windows. The accompanying figure shows the plan of the typical Frisian home in Flatville. There is a front door in the home in Frisia, but that a garden is planted over the whole space in front of the house without provision for a path to the door. The back of the house has the back door. In the case of the old country homes this is the same as the door into the stable, one inner door leading into the kitchen and the other aisle leading into the stables. The front of the house is given over to a parlor which is used about twice a year—at Christmas and when the preacher comes for Sunday dinner. Off the parlor is a bedroom used as a guest room as far as the bed is concerned, but which is also the "bridal room", and is empty only when all the daughters have gone out as wives. This parlor contains a few stiff chairs, a sideboard, an organ or piano and is covered
Ceremonies

Folkways and ceremonies are closely connected. A ceremony not only has a regular time sequence but also has reference to some value beyond the act itself.

Butchering is a ceremony. As the colony is too big for everyone to attend each butchering, lists are made out and there is a regular routine of changing personnel every year. When the time comes for butchering the proper persons are called and these lists are strictly kept because to leave out a person who was expecting to be invited is equivalent to leaving a member off one's calling list. Neighbors are notified by phone several days in advance of the event and they come bringing their pans, kettles, knives, spoons and sausage mills on the day appointed. This is a true ceremony because everything is done in a certain way and the affair has "social" significance as does any invitation party.

New Year visiting is a ceremony. Seven days are celebrated in connection with New Year's. They are designated as the first New Year's Day, the second New Year's Day, and so on. The morning of the first New Year's Day the wife makes the New Year's cakes. These are made of a very thin batter of flour, sugar, eggs, and water or milk, and are baked on a pan resembling our waffle iron except that there are no pits in it. The result is a plain thin cake, very crisp when allowed to stand in the warming oven for a few minutes and across the cake is the greeting, "Happy New Year" (Frühlegan Na Johr), written in script. On the afternoon of the first New Year's day the women start out with
their husbands and married sons and daughters-in-law. The cakes are left at each house, one for each adult member of the family, and the cakes are eaten while the visit is made. These visits are short, as one wants to make as many calls as possible and to receive as many as he can in the seven day period. The children do not partake of the cakes unless they can slip some of them out of the pan in the warming oven of the kitchen range where they are kept for this period.

Courting is another ceremony. Although as was stated before, children are promised tentatively to each other by their families, the actual courting follows the customary procedure. In the old days before the horse and buggy became common, the young man would walk up the lane at the house of the girl to whom he desired to pay attentions and whistle at the gate. The man of the house then came out and the two of them talked for awhile and the young man withdrew. If while he was talking he saw the girl of his choice come to the window and stay a few minutes, he prepared to come back a week later. If she came to the window and left immediately, the young man did not return. If he returned and if the family approved of him, he was admitted to the house and sat and talked to the parents, the girl of his choice going on about her task of sewing or other work. In another two weeks, the young man came to supper which was known to have been prepared by the girl in whom he is interested. At this time there are on display samples of the handiwork of the daughter. When the rest of the family has gone to bed, the young man may stay until midnight. It is then taken for granted
that the couple have become engaged. From this time on the young people may visit each other twice a week. It is very unusual for the couple to go anywhere together. When the girls go out they go in crowds; the young fellows do likewise. At a party, they pair off and when the party is over, they again go in crowds until all the girls have been taken home.

At the present time things are a little more informal, but parental vigilance is the same and the old crowds are hardly ever broken up until after marriage.

Baptism is a ceremony of the church and of the group. This ceremony of course admits the individual into the church to be protected until he shall arrive at the years of discretion and become confirmed. The rite of baptism also gives the child his name. An illegitimate child is not baptized until some one will stand in place of father to him and give him a family name. The point is that this ceremony admits as much into the group as into the church.

Confirmation, while it is a church ceremony, is symbolic of maturity. It is tacitly understood that no immature girl is confirmed and the boy's first man's attire dates from his confirmation. The age for confirmation is around fourteen and is always on Palm Sunday, the first communion being taken at Easter Services. Confirmation past, certain things are expected of the individual which are not called for before. He thus enters into the world of adult duties as well as of adult privileges. The boy, provided his schooling is finished, is at liberty to court his future wife and the girl is permitted to receive company. The age of childhood is definitely past and the confirmed person
is socially responsible with the parents for hospitality extended for calls to be returned, and such things. The boy also does his part in the exchange of labor and is permitted to sit with the older men in the church. He is expected at this time to have some plan whereby he can begin saving money for marriage, so the family gives him a piece of land the income from which is his own, or else he is permitted to leave the homeplace and hire out by the month if the father does not need his labor on the farm.

It is the same with the girls. They may hire out as maids to other members of the community who need someone as steady help. These are as yet only old couples whose own children are all married and gone; there is no one else who employs a maid.

Proverbs:

The proverbs of a group are never measurable in their relation to social control except roughly through the frequency with which they are referred to. These have not been listed under social control agents for the reason that they are not often called as witness for the explanation of behavior nor are they appealed to when coercion must be used in bringing a member into line. They indicate more than anything else, attitudes and values in the lives of the East Frisians, because wherever they are found, proverbs are a crystallization of the common and most frequent attitudes of the people. Because certain things are values in the eyes of a people they are set down in proverb form.

In presenting these proverbs which were collected through many months of living among the people, nothing is said as to their origin or as to their connection with any other proverbs. The assumption is that wherever like values exist in a culture
there will be like expressions. Though it would be interesting to trace these proverbs back to their literary sources, this angle of the thing has no connection with this problem. These are of course translations. They were given the writer in the Frisian and their meaning was transcribed literally by persons in the settlement. They have been reworded and given a form more clearly understandable, but care has been used to preserve the literary quality of the original.

"It is better to die in your own kitchen than to be mourned as dead by your family when you have left your home." This proverb refers to the home love of the people. Nothing is worse in their estimation than to leave the home of one's childhood and go out into the strange world. This sentiment they share with other peasant peoples. The traditional picture of home is old folks around the family hearthstone.

"When the sea wind blows the salt will be smelt by the young men and the carrion by the old."

"Mothers' tears can bring the son home but they cannot wash off the mud of travel."

"The ship rocks most on the journey out."

"Where love is around the fireside, the wind whistles softly outside."

"Bad times make the hearthplace sweeter and good times keep the sons away."

Work has been esteemed and there are many proverbs in its praise.

"The best grease for the plow is the sweat of the back."

"The house is as good as the good wife and as bad as the
“Beer is to be drunk when the work is done.”

“The soil gives best where the sweat drops heaviest.”

“When the sun shines on a man in the bed it is the Sabbath or the fever.”

“Bad soil is best watered by sweat.”

“When the collector comes twice for the tax it means that the wife has called twice for the husband to leave the bed.”

“When the frost kills the garden plants the master has slept too warm.”

“Bad crops are from God and the tiller.”

“If the heart is asking to leave, the plow does not cut the furrow.”

Frugality is another value and this thrifty attitude has been embodied in the proverbs of the people.

“When the crop is heavy the heart is light.”

“When the fire is laid in the oven, the good wife does not tarry with the cooking.”

The homely virtues are prized highly and their praise is sung in proverbs.

“She has a gold tongue in her mouth; it will never turn green.” This proverb refers to the fact that no one is to be talked about unkindly; green refers to objects of brass which corrode when given the chance.

Vanity is not condoned. “If a man marries a wife with two dresses he must find his own dinner in the pot,” and “It is not good to have a mirror in the kitchen, the soup will be burned.” Again, “Lace on the cap means mice in the pantry”,

and "One dress is for the good wife, two are for the vain woman, and three are for the harlot." "Clean hands are for the table and the bed."

Various other observations have been set down in like form: "When the tax collector comes to the door the wife puts away the best dress for another time," refers to the fact that the tax was levied according to the means to pay, and if anyone showed signs of prosperity the tax was increased.

"When a son is born, the soil is glad." The birth rate is Frisia is low and many times it is a matter of concern as to who shall care for the old folk and keep the land when the present ones are too old. In the same vein: "Two sons—two daughters; two daughters—many tears."

"If a son says that his father is a fool, he has not lived long," refers to the respect in which old folk are held.

"When money rattles in the pocket, the head will be unsteady at the plow," seems to admit that hard work is the result of necessity.

"Wherever the clouds come thickest, there is the lazy man to catch the rain."

"When the rats are lean it means that the children will need a heavy shirt the winter", refers to the fact that when food is not plentiful, the body heat must be increased by a shirt of extra warmth.

"War takes the best sons and love the best daughters, but when the rain comes it brings most good to the good soil." The Frisian young men of course served in the German army and the people were accustomed to being used for cannon fodder. This
rather pessimistic outlook—that fate takes the best and leaves the worst—is rather lightened by the last of the proverb.

Group Mores:

These things are set down in this order because the problem is being considered from the standpoint of social organization, and things fall into order as they function in the units of this organization. Mores by definition are not things which control individual behavior. One's moral standards, no matter how much he has cut himself off from his group (short of absolute isolation) are standards by reference to the group standard. If each individual in the world lived alone, his activities any line would be governed by very simple rules; because there may be a wide range between action that allows life to continue and behavior that brings death.

In the main, the mores of this group correspond to the rules laid down in the decalogue. These the church sanctions, but to these the group adds others which have come out of their past, and also gives a unique interpretation to the Laws of Moses.

The first and most noticeable of the mores is the attitude prescribed toward other group members. This must always be the same as that toward one of the immediate family. "Love thy neighbor as thy own" sums up this rule. And it is really a point in the mores. It is as inviolable as any law in the decalogue. Instances of the operation of this rule have been shown elsewhere.

Respect for the aged is in every culture though the form of respect taken differs widely. The judgment of the el-
ders is always asked for when questions come up in the home and even hilarious children stop in their play to listen to the grandmother or grandfather tell for the unnumbered time the same old story of his childhood. A child seldom answers back to an elder and in case this is done he is not whipped but is told that he has disgraced himself, that if the neighbors knew of his wrong doing they would think he was a stranger.

To show very much affection is not in the mores. That there is love between persons in the family is undoubted but after a child gets to the walking age he is not fondled or caressed, and all demonstrations of affection are looked upon as silly. Yet there is no coldness—quite the contrary. Babies are fed, washed, dressed, put to bed and taken up without any fuss whatever. They are handled very firmly and there is no play time about the dressing process. To friends long absent there is no kiss of greeting as seen when our friends return. There is hardly a handshake around. The person has simply come home and the thing they want most is to hear him talk. Demonstrations of affection between husband and wife are considered shameful.

The criticism may be made in this connection that many of the rules and conditions stated do not differ from our own culture. The statement was made in the preface that these data are not recorded because they are unique but as if they were; for even though the whole world is governed by a code similar to the decalogue, they are often interpreted in ways peculiar to the given group.

"Thou shalt have no other Gods but me" is interpreted to mean that there is nothing in this world that is to be valued too
highly. Money is not an end in itself and it is "curse money" if it cannot be used to help a neighbor.

The provision against graven images was for a long time interpreted to mean that no picture should be found on the walls. In their place there are mottoes of a religious nature. In the last few years some religious pictures have appeared though there are no such things in the church.

Swearing is unheard of. Now that again depends upon the interpretation. Any expression not using the name of the deity or any attribute of the deity is not swearing. There is no lack of expressions to take the place of oaths and they are mostly phrases containing reference to animals or they may assign an uncomplimentary name to the person at fault.

Keeping the Sabbath day has been mentioned before and this is interpreted to mean that in the half day in which there is a church service, no labor shall be done which is unnecessary. The afternoon, as before stated, may be given over to some quiet labor such as sewing, tinkering, and the like.

Honoring father and mother has been referred to before and this commandment was shown to have very real meaning.

"Thou shalt do no murder" has a unique interpretation, it is equivalent to murder to wish harm to a neighbor. There is an expression in the language which means "to make a stranger of a neighbor is to murder him." This commandment is also used as an argument against birth control and of course it forbids abortion.

"Thou shalt not commit adultery" has been in the past given an interpretation which was older than the decalogue in the
experience of the group, that is, a custom that had prevailed before the acceptance of the Christian religion. Adultery has been to them simply unfaithfulness and promiscuity in relations basically sexual. Thus the practice of not marrying until the woman became pregnant, did not in any way violate this commandment. That however, has passed and the church law has come to take precedence over this custom.

"Thou shalt not steal" is interpreted to mean that when money or any commodity is lent, no interest shall be charged to a member of the group. Money is deposited in the bank and interest is received on it, but this is immediately withdrawn when necessary and lent to a neighbor without interest.

Lying is unheard of in neighborhood relations. Bearing false witness against one's neighbor is a great sin and cannot be even imagined as the neighborhood would soon break down under the conditions brought about by disobeying this commandment.

Covetousness is not a problem as there are no class distinctions because of possessions. Evidence has been offered elsewhere that a man expects his neighbor to share the benefits of any possession he may have.
CHAPTER VIII
THE YOUNG AND CULTURE CHANGE

Some Sources of New Models:

In every society the most mobile section of the population consists of the young folk just before and after marriage. They are the ones who make the most contacts, as they are the least tied by habit and responsibility to the social order. The younger generations in a mobile society, one may judge, have always worried the elders because they are the most likely to take on variant ways. An examination into the group studied shows this tendency; the younger set have undergone a more rapid loss of the differential culture than have the elders.

To notice culture change is a relatively simple matter, but to trace that change to its source is often impossible. Any observed culture trait always represents a part of a complex phenomenon both as to its origin and as to its functioning. Therefore, change in any one element cannot be said to be simple and to affect only that one item. Neither are the changes in other groups any check, for the "gestalt" may be entirely different. A new behavior way injected in a group which has made readiness to change a part of its culture is not disturbing. Because their attitudes are incompatible with the new ways, the same change introduced into a group that is differently organized may adversely affect the group organization and the efficiency of the members. On the other hand, a gradual incorporation of new models may forstall disturbing accompaniments of culture change. In this study it was noticed that changes coincided in time with the generation making the most contacts. In a few cases, where the group had been pen-
etrated in some unusual way, new models have entered. This is not saying that the cause of any one change can be attributed to any one factor. There may be enough cases of coincidence, however, to show the trend of change. Changes noted are seen to arrange themselves into changes in material and in non-material culture. It is not feasible, however, to divide the changes thus as material objects may be the instruments in the change of the non-material culture. In view of this fact, the culture changes are noted first and then the problem is attacked from the angle of the part of the material culture instruments in bringing about change, whether of material or of non-material culture.

One source of new models is the high school. The district school offers the first eight grades, and since education of other than the leaders (ministers, teachers, etc.), beyond the elementary branches is not in the culture, the model for more general advanced schooling must come from the outside. High school attendance in turn becomes a factor of very great influence in producing a conflict of attitudes in the individual as is shown in the following documents.

"I think I went to high school because I wanted to keep from just settling down into the same old rut that everyone out here is in. I went to visit a friend in Thomasboro and she had some high school girls staying with her when the roads were bad. These were girls from Leverette. They talked so much about the fun they had that I wanted to go, too. I made up my mind that I would go. I asked my mother about it and she said that the life of a woman on the farm was hard but she said that wherever you went you had to work. I told her that I wanted to be a teacher
and so I wanted to go to high school. It took all of my eighth grade year to persuade her that I should go. But as I had been confirmed already and she didn't need me at home, I was allowed to go finally. My papa said that it all depended on how high headed I got the first year if I could go ahead and finish.

"Yes, I am glad that I went. I made some friends and learned something but sometimes I think I would have been better off if I had stayed at home. Seeing excitement makes you dissatisfied and even if I do appreciate my home there are so many things that I would want to change if I could. It is no use to start to change anything, though, because there is no place to end. I am so lonesome now that I am back home in the same old place.

"I certainly did change while I was in high school. I learned to dress differently. I started to use powder and rouge and lipstick and to have my hair set with combs. I learned how to dance and how to give the boys a "line" as it is called. Most of all I learned that one can never be satisfied with going backwards. I do so want to get out of here. I want to get a school and teach but I never made a good grade in English and History and so I don't think I have much of a chance yet. One thing I did not like about high school and that was that everybody had to do everything alike or they did not "rate" and they were laughed at. I know how they laughed at me when I was ashamed to go through the hall in my gym suit. They laughed at me when I met some of the neighbors on the street and talked our language with them. They are not kind to people who have not got everything like they have it. On the whole, though, I would do it again."

"You asked me why I went to high school. You ought to
know that it is because you told me about it and told me that I had the ability to make something of myself. I remember when we used to stay after school and clean the boards for you and you used to bring us library books from town. You brought me some historical novels and that got me interested in the history of Europe. Do you remember that story of the Protestant Reformation that you gave me for Christmas? That was what decided me to go into the ministry. You said that I was a dreamer and you used to like the things I wrote and told me to keep a diary. I guess it was just curiosity that made me start. I knew that I wanted to be like the boys I met at your house that weekend you took us in to the football game. I just got a glimpse of what college would be like. I decided then to try it. It was the minister who finally decided me to come here and study. I like it. I hope someday to be a real minister but I am having a hard time to swallow some of the things I read. I have been reading "The Outline of Science" and that evolution idea certainly sets me around some. I wish you would answer me and tell me what that has to do with it as it is contradictory to everything I am studying. This is not a very well written composition but I hope it answers your purpose."

"I went to high school because I wanted to learn to be a typist. I am not strong physically and I will never go in the corn field and ruin my health as my two older sisters have done. I hate the old farm and I am going to be a pioneer and start getting out of slavery. My high school diploma is my Emancipation Proclamation. It should read this way, 'To whom these presents shall come, this certifies that— has cut the apron strings and burned the bridges behind her. She is going from the corn field
to the wide wide world to see how other people live.

"I'll say I am glad I went. I don't want to be as dumb as I was before. I am a lot different. Nobody likes me anymore in the country. They think I am stuck on myself. Well, I am a little farther along in the world than they will ever be, and it seems to me that they should not find fault with me when they are so far behind me that they can't even talk to me so I will be interested in what they say. I've had a little taste of education and I'd like to have more but I won't get that; I can go jump in the lake as far as going to college goes. They would rather see me dead.

These excerpts show change in the children who went to high school, and they also show the disturbing effect of this access to new schemes of life organization. In the first document, the subject is frankly disappointed at having to come back to the less adventurous schematization. It is a change from the movement and color of the world outside. She has hit upon the real problem of those who would change things in the social order, "It is no use to try to change anything as there is no place to end." This person had more of a notion of the "gestalt" quality of culture than those who go in from the outside and try to change things. This unrest may stop short of more serious consequences and it may lead to a violent conflict of the individual with the culture of the group. The third letter shows a further stage of this reaction from the glimpse of the novelty of the outside, which is viewed romantically rather than practically, and represents an example of acute personal disorganization. She has

1. Documents gathered in this study.
finished high school business course and wants to find a career which will take her into the world which she has pictured incor rectly. This is seen in the fact that when she succeeded in get ting a position she could not adapt herself to the standards of behavior among her co-workers and quit in anger the second day. Another position was ended for the same reason after two weeks time. After this she returned home but was so restless that her family were at a loss to know how to cope with her. She wants to go to the university but that is as yet too abrupt a step for the parents to sanction; they think that they have given her enough education as it is and they attribute her restlessness and unhappiness to the fact that she has gone to high school. This of course is the correct construction but the solution may lie in further equipment and training to enable her to compete successfully. The other members of the group censure her and say "she wants to be something," a phrase which implies resistance against differentiation with the threatened disruption of solidarity. This means that the individual is trying to be different and being so is implying that group standards are no longer acceptable to the member who is "trying to be something."

The writer of the second letter has solved his problem and the way of doing it is interesting. He has gained the end of doing an unprecedented thing by following a course that must per force be sanctioned by the group. His question in regard to his reading shows some of the unrest that is going on. The group did not all take seriously his notion of becoming a minister as he was one of the unruly boys of the settlement when he was going to high school.
When members of the group begin to show differential response there are two things that the group can do about it: they can expell these members and tell them to go elsewhere if they are not satisfied in the group, or they can endeavor to cope with these varients and to adapt themselves to the change. This group has taken the latter method. They have acted in a way to preserve the unity of the group. There is nowhere in the data any indication of the group's refusing to tolerate a member who "tries to be something." While this latter procedure will result in a more rapid change within the group, it will prevent breaking down the group organization, as an attitude of extreme intolerance would do. In this latter case if all members showing varient behavior were expelled from the group, its very existence would be shortened because when those who were of like mind died off, there would be no group. So, the fact that the group is accommodating itself to changes on the parts of its members seem to forcast a surer future for the group as such. The pastor as a leader of the congregation has recognized this problem and has made an attempt to accommodate himself to the changed ways of the young folk. The parents of the girl who is experiencing a period of intense conflict are doing the same thing; they are trying to find a way out that will establish her happiness. If they were not they would tell her that she could settle down at home and behave herself or else go and get a job and live where she wishes. They are incurring the censure of neighbors in pampering this child, yet the very ones who are finding fault with these parents' tolerance are themselves trying to find ways to make their own children more content in group life.
second generation in the center of the group. One of the persons named is an outsider.

(c) Those of the third generation showed a much longer list than the others in like position and more than the second generation on the periphery. Sixteen are outsiders.

(d) Those of the third generation on the periphery show more than four times as many friends among them, and more than one half are non-Frisians.

These data show the extent and nature of contacts, the persons named being "best friends", which implies some degree of intimacy. The change in contacts is patently coming by generations.

In a like manner it will be observed that the generations show differences in regard to work hours and leisure time. Table is arranged to show the hours of leisure time in three generations. These changes in the hours of work may or may not be connected with a change in attitude. It was impossible a priori to say whether or not changing hours of work were coupled with attitudes toward the change or were a casual change as a result of more power machinery. It had to be ascertained therefore, if there were attitudes toward work which would coincide with the differences in hours of work. This was found to be true, but whether the attitude motivated the change or was made afterward to justify it, is impossible to say.

One man who proudly explained that he had worked from fourteen to sixteen hours a day all of his active life, answered, "Yes, you bet we worked. I am glad that I had to. That is what makes people strong and it keeps you away from the things that..."
Burgess in his study of the city points out that it is the point of greatest mobility of any location that shows the most disorganization, and that the area that he calls the interstitial area has the most unsanctioned behavior. The notion of the marginal man developed from like observations. The marginal man is a former group member who has turned his back on his group but has not become incorporated with any other. He may be too haughty or too much changed to return to his own. He is an individuated person. If he is not too hostile to his own group, he may be a carrier of the outside culture from one group to the other. This marginal man, because he assumes no responsibility, is apt to become demoralized. Either this or reintegration in his own or with another group faces him. This type has been called the "allrightnick" by Park and Miller. ¹

In an effort to observe the effect of the differences in the degree of social contact, the following plan was carried out. Ten persons in the center of the group and of the second generation were asked to name their ten best friends. The same request was made of ten persons of the third generation in the same part of the group. The persons near the periphery of the settlement were given a like task, both generations being used as before. The diagram on page145 shows the results of these tabulations.

(a) Those of the second generation in the center of the group have the shortest list of best friends and none of them are outsiders.

(b) Those of the second generation on the periphery of the group show a list which includes a wider range of persons than the

¹. Park and Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted, p. 101
DIAGRAM II

Number and Location of Contacts by Names of Best Friends

Location of friends named by members of second generation

○ Persons asked to name friends
  • Friends named
  ○ Non-Frisians

Location of friends named by same generation, periphery.

○ Persons asked to name friends
  • Friends named
  ○ Non-Frisians.
DIAGRAM II (cont'd)

Number and Location of Contacts by Names of Best Friends

Location of friends named by third generation, center.

○ Persons asked to name friends
• Friends named
○ Non-Frisians

Location of friends named by third generation, periphery.

○ Persons asked to name friends
• Friends named
○ Non-Frisians
are wrong for you. We worked early and late and all the time. We had to. The young fellows now are a lot of lazy ones and they will live to be sorry."

Another of the first generation was a little more lenient. "Yes we worked because we had to—I guess when you get old you like to remember all the good things about yourself as well as about everything else. I have likely forgotten the days when I was so sleepy I hated to get up in the morning and the days when my back ached so I could hardly move. I don't believe we liked work then any better than the men do now but we had no choice about it—it was work or starve. One thing of course, we didn't see anybody having a free time so it was easier to stick by the work. I don't blame the young fellows now—they have machinery that will do in a day what it took us weeks to do and it is just as well. The only thing that worries me is what they do when they are gone on the road so much."1

"I work as hard as is necessary for any man to work. A twelve hour day at farm work is all a man ought to stand. Life is just work, work, work, it is true, but that don't mean that you can't knock off once in awhile and see that you get a little rest. Of course in the busy season everyone has a certain amount to get done but we don't put in the days they did when our fathers were working the land. We have the machines to help us—they had their backs."1

"I work hard enough but I don't kill myself. There is no sense in that. I don't let my wife work herself to death either. I want her to take care of the children and I can make the farm go."

1. Documents from this study.
We get more rest and more fun than our fathers did and they got more than the grandfathers. Maybe the time will come when a button will do all the work and we will be spoiling for more buttons to touch."

"I work when I can't get away before my father catches me. If I can get the old bus started I am off. The farm can go to the devil and me with it but I won't work any more than I have to. No use in being a slave. I work in the busy season until I get hot and tired and then I get cleaned up and beat it for Champaign to see a good show. My father has more money than he will ever spend and I should kill myself by adding to it. I'll get mine some day and so will Annie and then watch me sell out and go into selling cars and farm machinery. That's what I've always wanted to do but hot chance on this place. If a fellow don't farm he is a leper or something. Nobody has any use for him. You can put all that down in black and white. I am sick of the farm and the slavery that goes with it — mud, snow, ice, sleet, rain, heat, sweat, blood.... No siree, I am for living long and being happy. ....... "

Various expressions were heard when questions regarding leisure time were asked. One of the first generation commented, "I quit work to go to church and to go and help a neighbor that is sick or in trouble. I quit if I am sick enough to go to bed. It depends on when it is whether I quit to make a trip to town. Usually the women can manage a trip to town."  

One of the second generation made the following comment: "We quit for church and to help a neighbor and to make a

I. Interviews with group members during the study.
trip to town. If it is not some busy day like threshing or butch­
ering or when it looks like rain and we want to get a piece plowed
before it is too late, we don't mind stopping to go to town or to
do something like that. I stop when I feel sick because often
if you do that you don't get so bad.

A member of the third generation commented: "I stop most
going any time. Of course we have to go to church and I stop to help a
neighbor if he needs me worse than I need to work. I go to town
on sale days if the women want to go and I like to take the family
to a good show once in a while. It takes their minds off the
work and they feel more like going at it again when they come
back. Too steady a grind isn't good for anyone. The work will
keep and we will get along with less of it and a little more fun
and live as long as we want to anyhow." ¹

Table 3 shows the different things for which work is
stopped. It will noticed that the replies are again differentiated
on generation lines.

Attitudes toward parents' occupation, though they may be
no different in this group from the contrast found in other rural
groups, may indicate a tendency to follow occupations other than
the traditional one. At least these attitudes do show that there
is more than one occupational model.

The following letters are sent by school children and ex­
press attitudes toward their own future occupations. They range
from the third to the eighth grade children.

"I want to be a farmer when I get big and I am going to
have all the mashinry I can buy and to automobeels. I will let

I. Records made during interviews with group members.
the hired men do all the work and I will go to town and then come back and look after the machinery."

"I am going to marry a town man when I get big and then we will have lots of shows and not so much work. I will have a house with a bathroom and I will scrub it all white. My babies will always look cute like the ones in the catalogue. I won't work like my mama does."

"I want to be an auto mechanic and make lots of money and not have to work so hard. I like machinery and I don't like to work in the field. I want to take my mama with me when I go to town to work."

"I want to be a teacher and teach the children to sing and to play. I am taking piano lessons by the minister's girl now and I won't stay on the farm any longer then. I will live in town and go to the show every day."

"I want to be a farmer. Every time somebody invents something, the farmer has an easier time and when I get big the roads will be better and the cars will be faster and I can live in the country and be away from the noise and the dirt and can be a real farmer and not have to work so hard after all. I like the farm."

"I will never get married that is a sure thing because they have to work too hard on the farm. I am going to go to high school and then get a job selling in a store. I would like that all the pretty things there and the nice people. I will manicure my hands and then have nice clothes and wear silk stockings every day and curl my hair in a permanent."

"I want to be a salesman and sell cars and farm ma-
chinery, there is big money in that and they don't have to work all
the time either. I may be a radio expert as that is getting more
all the time too."

The above excerpts are representative of the sixteen
such documents received. Twelve of these expressed the wish not to
remain on the farm. Of the four who wished to stay, three saw the
farm as it would be in the future and not as it is now.

Divisions on generation lines are further shown in atti-
tudes expressed toward various general topics of interest. These
expressions were just casual; they did not come as the result of any
direct questioning.

A member of the first generation speaking of education
says, "They tell me that the world don't use the ones who are ig-
norant. It may be necessary then to get an education".

Another says, "Education would be all right if it didn't
do so much harm. The young folk get to thinking that the books will
give them wisdom that they can't get except by the living. Then they
off and do foolish things. It is spoiling the home life. It
takes the children off the farm and the women go into men's work.
It is all right for them as has it, but we have never been used to
having it and why can't the world stay out and let us alone?"

A member of the second generation comments: "The kids
that get educated have got the big head. They want to be something
and don't know how. They look down at the rest of us. If the state
would mind its own business they'd turn out some real worker s and
not a lot of people looking for soft jobs."

One of the second generation adds: "In our young days we
did not need an education and we never missed what we never had.
But you can see yourself that the world is changing. The land is getting so small that all of the children can't stay on it and some of them will have to get out and do something else. That means that they will have to have an education. I don't always see what it means to study some of the things that they have to study but I don't expect the school men to come out and tell me how to farm so I keep my mouth out of their business, too. My boys can go to high school if they want to but I am offering them a mechanic course when they get through the grades. They can do as they like. No matter what they do the education won't hurt them. I mean all that if the boys get along well in the school. It is no use to send those people that won't work to school. They won't get any farther and they just have a good chance to get more used to loafing. You have to keep a lazy boy on the farm and then you can see that he works."

One of the third generation affirms: "I am going to high school and maybe to college. I want to play football and be a track man. That is the only thing any more that makes you something."

One of the women of the third generation says: "I did not get to go to high school but I want my children to go. The life is hard on the farm and I don't want them to have to stay if they don't want to and want to do something else. Some educated people make me tired but if they don't act smart with it, it is all right. The only thing is it makes the people that don't have it feel like they are not as good as the ones that have it."

The notion of a "good time" shows a trend as do the
foregoing items. Two replies answering the question, "What is your idea of a good time?" are given verbatim; one from a girl of seventeen and one from a boy of eighteen. The summary of the data is given in table which follows the quotations.

"A week of good times? Well, I'd want to go to Champaign and see a picture show every afternoon and in the evening I would go to a dance or another show. I would want to eat all my meals in restaurants and have icecream for every one of them, even for breakfast. I would order lettuce salad with mayonaise, celery, jello and chilli and beef steak. I might get tired of that for a year but then I could think of something else I could do when I got tired of what I was doing. I would want about a hundred dollars to buy clothes with, too."

"I'd like to stay in bed every morning till I got ready to get up. Then I'd want to take my own car and go to Champaign and see life. I'd go to shows, take a trip to Chicago with some other fellows and I'd go to Springfield and see where Lincoln is buried and where he used to live. I'd go to some more shows and a couple of dances and then come home and tell everybody about it. I would never get tired of this kind of a life."

Table III
Showing a tabulation of the replies as to what constitutes a "good time".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Number of persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shows</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trips</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating in restaurants</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spending much money</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to college</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to see the world</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No attempt was made to gather data on the following subjects in any systematic way. Several of the young people however, expressed themselves at various times on the topics of current interest. There were several who expressed themselves in regard to marriage.

"Most girls in town have a choice as to what they are going to do when they quit school. They can either get married or go into some kind of work that they like. In the country the girls have to stay home and work on the home place or get married and work for the man. A girl should know that a marriage is not just a good time and a chance to run the house as she wants it. They think that because a fellow is good to them before they are married that they won't have anything to do but look pretty afterwards. Every person should be let to do something else before he or she marries."

"I think marriage is the best thing there is for the farm girl. She is brought up to look for it and when she is married she has what she wants—a home to do in as she likes. I am very happy and I think it is because my folks told me the man to take. I have known him all of my life and he has known me. I would never had married a stranger because we would have to get used to each other's ways and you never can know a fellow when he is trying to get you to marry him. It is the same for the fellow. He should know his wife for years and then he knows what he is getting too."

This comes from a young man: "When I marry I want a girl that I can step out with and not be ashamed of her. So many women get sloppy after they are married. Then a fellow looks around for
somebody else. I think a man should respect his wife as well as want her. I read a lot from magazines and that is where we all get our ideas about things. All that the others told you they got out of magazines, too. Of course they believe it and that is why they told you that way. I think the man and the woman should agree about everything and they should talk things over. No woman should work in the field. That is not right and they are not strong enough for that either. Some of them are and brag about it but the ones that are dead don't talk so loud."

The expressions in regard to divorce were many. There was not one in the second generation that could see that it was ever justified. One old lady said, "If a marriage isn't good both are to blame. In every marriage there are some things not so good, but you can take the good and manage to live through the bad and then it is all the same at the end anyhow. If a man is cruel, let the neighbors whip him. The neighbors should not let any divorces be but they should see that the people behave themselves."

Several members of the third generation expressed themselves as in favor of divorce if there was no other way out. The general consensus of opinion was that divorce is no more necessary now than it ever was, but the people are not as tolerant of hardship or inconvenience for the culture provides a way to break an unpleasant home.

Not much space is given here to these subjects as there are few cases of family disorganization until the last few years and the opinions of the members of the group are not yet shaped in regard to the problems. Later developments are given space in a
subsequent chapter because family disorganization is discussed there in the light of group organization.

Material Culture Mediums:

Material culture mediums may provide the means of changing the non-material culture. There are some of these material objects that are definitely classifiable as instruments of contact. As has been implied, the setting down of these material objects as instruments of contact and hence as elements in culture change is not assigning any definite role to any object.

The group began to adopt the use of the automobile in 1909. Two brothers were the first purchasers. Since that time the number of cars has steadily increased. Table shows the number of automobiles by years from 1909 to 1929.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Automobiles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are only six radios in the entire congregation, so that this article has not as yet assumed the same place in this group as in the surrounding area. The presence of these instruments does show that this form of contact with the outside is keeping pace with inventions though not uniformly so. This is a contact that is both different and wider than that offered through
the newspapers. A canvas of the six homes showed the following use of the radio:

**TABLE V**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>church</th>
<th>markets</th>
<th>jazz</th>
<th>orchestra</th>
<th>speeches</th>
<th>music</th>
<th>hours used</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>never</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>2 hrs</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>seldom</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>3 hrs</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>seldom</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>often</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>9 hrs</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>often</td>
<td>home ec.</td>
<td>hour</td>
<td>1 hr</td>
<td>3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>at night</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>none</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 hrs</td>
<td>3-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Every family patronizes various mail order houses for clothing, furniture, and other commodities. In every house there are several mail order catalogues and it is from the illustrations in these that the women make the clothing for themselves and the children. Any little innovation in furnishing comes from the catalogue, "I saw it in the catalogue", "It is in the catalogue" stamp a style as authentic. Among the younger people the catalogue furnishes a guide for the arrangement of furniture in the home, particularly the dressing of windows and beds. When they go to town and see some article that is new, they come home and look at the catalogue and see if they can find it there. If it is not there it is seldom approved but if it is, it is not long until it is imitated or purchased.

Reading matter may and may not show the number and kind of contacts, depending upon what is actually read, but papers and magazines do provide a source of new models. Table shows the number of newspapers and periodicals subscribed for in the last ten years.
Table VI

Number and kind of pieces of reading material taken and time for which subscriptions have run.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of matter</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Champaign News-Gazette</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbana Currier</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rantoul Free Press</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herald Examiner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Tribune</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prairie Farmer</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm and Fireside</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every Woman's Mag.</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walther League</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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It will be noticed that there are only two non-English papers and these are a church paper and a dialect paper. The dialect paper is not read by all as it is taken by only fifty four out of eighty two families. The third generation seems to be chiefly responsible for the general nature of the reading. Those of the first generation had gone to school in Friesland but there it was not the custom to do much reading outside of school and the confirmation classes. High German was taught in both these places and the newspaper in question is written in a dialect form. A canvass showed that no woman of the second generation reads anything printed. They all read the letters they receive that are written in High German. The reason is that reading has not been
necessary in this primary group, and training was not sufficient to make reading a pass time.

It is probable that the movies may furnish some new models. In the absence of data from control groups, tabulating the number of times a person attends a movie shows only the number of times that a given subject attended the movies. Data were gathered on this point for an eight week period from June 15 to August 13, 1929. During the week it is possible to see the following number of shows: Rantoul two, Champaign ten, Urbana four, a total of sixteen. If a person were to attend all the possible number of shows in the eight week period he would be able to see sixty four different shows.

Table VII

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<th>Number of shows attended</th>
<th>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 20 30 40 50 60 64</th>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1 8 80 51 22 83 7 3 3 4 1 0 0 0 0 0</td>
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Again just how the movies affect culture change is not clear. Several children have been named after movie stars, some of the girls are letting their bobbed hair grow because they saw it in the movies. In five of the homes visited there were a number of pictures of movie stars in the home. In fourteen others, an interest was expressed in getting these pictures.
Many of the sources of new patterns are not of a nature to be set down. A chance remark, a stray paper, an advertisement sent through the mail, a picture show, the display in a store window, the remarks of a chicken buyer, a song heard on the radio, may set up a process whose course cannot be traced. It may be said however that the contact is the necessary antecedent and may be taken to be the new element in the closed system. From these contacts the new action ways emerge; but the existing culture and the individual attitude are always factors in this system.
Table VIII

Showing the hours of work and leisure time in slack and busy seasons arranged by generations.

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Table VIII (Continued)

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| 26 | 8-10 | 7-10 | 1-4 |
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| 36 | 12-13| 6-8  | 1-3 |
| 37 | 8-10 | 8-9  | 1-5 |
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| 39 | 9-10 | 7-8  | 1-5 |
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| 44 | 10-12| 8-10 | 1-3 |
| 45 | 12-14| 6-10 | 1-5 |
| 46 | 9-10 | 7-10 | 1-3 |
| 47 | 10-12| 6-8  | 1-4 |
| 48 | 12-14| 10-12| 1-4 |
| 49 | 10-12| 1-8  | 1-2 |
| 50 | 8-9  | 6-8  | 1-6 |
| 51 | 10-13| 7-10 | 1-4 |
| 52 | 9-10 | 5-6  | 1-5 |
| 53 | 10-12| 5-10 | 1-6 |
| 54 | 8-9  | 4-8  | 1-6 |
| 55 | 6-7  | 3-4  | 1-8 |
| 56 | 10-12| 5-10 | 1-4 |

Average hours of work in busy season:
- First generation: 14.16
- Second generation: 13.00
- Third generation: 10.73

Average hours of work in slack season:
- First generation: 10.00
- Second generation: 8.13
- Third generation: 7.79

Average hours of leisure time by generations:
- First generation: 1.50
- Second generation: 2.38
- Third generation: 3.05
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Diagram III

Decrease in hours of work
Increase in hours of leisure
arranged by generations

- Hours of work -
- Hours of leisure -

1 2 3 generations

1 2 3 generations

1 2 3 generation
CHAPTER IX

THEY SEE THEMSELVES AS OTHERS SEE THEM

Since their first settlement the lives of this little group of Frisians have been ordered exclusively in reference to their own group. Any standards of behavior outside the group did not exist for them. Of late there is evidence that this condition is passing and that the Frisians are seeing themselves as others see them. The following observations are given in support of this statement.

New Americans and the East Frisian Dialect:

One of the most outstanding signs of change is the growing sensitiveness of the younger people in regard to the language spoken in their homes. Many young people have expressed the idea that they don't see why any one should want to study "the old German language." Interviews with the older people many times brought the remarks that the young ones were ashamed of their language. A certain young woman refused to go to town with her parents because they all talked German on the street and everyone turned and looked at them.

One Sunday when the writer was in the settlement she noticed that the school children in calling one another on the telephone had different names for each other than their right ones. Inquiry as to the reason for that brought the answer that they used those names all the time when they were away from their folks because they didn't sound so old-fashioned and German.

A number of persons were asked if they used their language in public places. Almost invariably the answer given by the young
er ones was that they avoided it whenever possible. They volunteered their reasons. "Everybody looks at you and thinks you are some kind of strange animal and then they laugh at you." "It sounds dumb—as if you didn't know how to talk." "People don't like it because they think you are talking about them." "It makes me feel so ashamed for myself that I am an old dutchman and don't know anything."¹

The second generation uses the language as always and their answers showed contempt for the persons who laugh at them. "If they don't like it they know what they can do. It is none of their business how we talk." "I don't care about what the people think about my talk. I can buy and sell most of them that laugh at me."¹ While the latter remark may show that the individual is compensating for a feeling of inferiority by putting forth the statement about money, these replies do serve to show the difference in attitude between generations.

A canvas of the school children as to what language is used at home elicited eleven false statements out of twenty five answers. The question was asked by a certain teacher when she first went there, and had no connection with this study. When she later called the attention of the children to the misstatements they were willing to admit that the answers were not correct but that they wanted the teacher to think well of them. "It sounds so funny to say your folks don't talk English; people will think you come out of the backwoods", "The kids in Thomasboro laugh at the kids out here and say their parents can't speak English," "I wish my folks could talk English—then I could tell them

¹ Documents collected by writer.
how the other kids feel when you talk German."

Change of Names as an Index to Self Consciousness:

The change in the spelling of names is coming in with the new generation in a more frank way than in the older persons. Several persons had changed their names many years ago, giving the English spelling or even the English meaning to the German name. They asserted that this was because the mail went astray and that no one ever spelled the name correctly. However, the simplicity of some of the names shows the rationalization in these cases.¹

First names have also shown change. The following is a list of the names of all the babies born in a certain two year period between 1910 and 1925. Girls: Annie, Hilda, Edna, Ida, Freda, Bertha, Pauline. Boys: Rudolph, Rolph, Henry, Fred, Herman, John, Walter, Ehme. The list that follows gives the names of children born in a two year period between 1926 and the present one. Girls: Gloria Dolores, Nancy Jane, Eloise, Gertrude, Helena Mae, Eileen Lou, Elizabeth Dorothea. Boys, Henry, John, Charles, Manning, Junior, Junior, Merle, Richard, Eugene.

"The Looking Glass Self": ²

When a group passes from home grown folkways and primary group norms of behavior to behavior that is integrated in reference to the standards of the larger culture, certain processes may be inferred to have been at work. Cooley's concept of the Looking Glass Self was not formed to apply to a group but to an individual.

¹. Examples cannot be given because of the promise not use any name in this thesis. Anyone wishing to corroborate this point can do so by looking on the plat maps of 1893 and again in 1913 and noting the change in the spelling of the names.

However, action in this primary group has been shown to be so inte-
grated in regard to common norms that what is true of the indi-
viduals may be true of the group. Cooley shows by means of the
"looking glass self" how the idea of the self is built up, but does not indicate what the process is when a group changes from
regarding itself in one reflecting medium to regarding itself in
another. Between these two acts there must be definite steps that
have brought about this turning. If these steps were known, the
whole scheme of social change in the group could be set down and
not only could every new reaction be traced to its source, but the
new ways could be fitted exactly into their place in the social
"gestalt" and their function defined. However, since these pro-
cesses cannot be set down as indicated, all that can be said is
that there is some process by which a group turns from the reflec-
tion of itself in one medium to the reflection of itself in another
medium hitherto disregarded.

When incompatibility exists between two groups, the dif-
ferences that are noted by the one between it and the other may be
a cause for self congratulation. Even under these conditions there
may be imitation; a group may adopt the weapons of the adversary.
This course seems to be quite apart from making any change in the
picture of the self. Now, from this point, two developments are
possible: even while a feeling of hostility exists between the two
groups, one may take on the behavior ways of the other and in this
way change in the direction of even a hated opponent and then in
the course of time differences may be levelled down, hostilities
cease, and the groups become thoroughly assimilated; or the develop-
ment may be in the opposite direction: the group may become self conscious and continue to react by rallying about group symbols and thus put forth the self seen in the medium of the home culture as superior to that reflected in the medium of the larger culture.

This brings up another question. Suppose that the group comes to regard the surrounding culture as being important as a reflecting medium, and sees itself as it is measured by that standard. Does that fact in itself indicate that change will follow, and if it does follow, will that change be patterned necessarily after the culture in which the reflection is seen?

The answer to these questions on anything but an empirical basis is something to look forward to when enough studies have been made to make the establishment of a principle logically acceptable. It is hoped that this study will start the list of contributions to that end. In the group studied the process has been shown to have been as follows: the group at first saw itself in the medium of its own culture and refused to see its reflection in the culture outside. Then while antipathy was still directed toward the outside culture, the instruments of the adversary were taken over. At the termination of this process the group is largely seeing itself through the medium of the non-group culture. It is not pleased with the reflection that it sees there and there are easily discernable efforts to change the self reflected. That change is being patterned after the surrounding culture.

Now if this process had been strictly followed, it would be expected that the group should be shown to have started in the same direction as the outside is going, but could be demonstrated not to
have arrived at the point that society on the outside has reached. This is just the point of difficulty, because no study has been carried on to find out just how far the group outside has come. Whether or not this group is following the same course as most rural groups or not would be shown only by more studies of this kind. Their condition in comparison with the larger world would also necessitate measuring how far the world outside had come. In some cases it seems to be true that the change in the group is just a partial one. In education, for instance, they are just now at the place that many were twenty years ago—they regard a high school education as sufficient for all of the contingencies of life. But just how representative of the general population is the statement in this regard? Upon the answer to questions like this rests any attempt to answer the question of the how far the group studied has come in relation to the rest of the world.

As a result of the conditions named above, all that can be said of this group is that they are changing, that this change seems to be in the direction that all people are going, that for this one group that change seems to have been patterned upon the surrounding culture. The change has been noted by generations and the three generations represented seem to be in the traditional position as far as change is concerned; the older generation is almost stagnant, the second one has moved out slowly, and the youngest and most mobile generation is forging ahead of the others.
CHAPTER X

STRESS AND STRAIN AND PRIMARY GROUP ORGANIZATION

The group under consideration has shown a continuous though subtle change from the days of the first settlement till the appearance of the "third generation". Individuals of that generation are the active members. The group was primary in the beginning and has continued so until the present time. The restlessness arising from contact between the two cultures has produced tensions but has not destroyed the primary character of the relations between the members. Though the third generation is the mobile part of the population the second still provides the intellectual and moral leadership in the life of the settlement. Titles and investments are still in their hands. The question of just how long the group can retain its superior social organization and its efficiency or primary character under the new conditions is impossible to predict. The source and nature of these stresses are set down in this chapter.

The Church and the New Generation:

The dilemma involved may be introduced by a quotation from a group member. He analyses the situation in the following far-seeing manner. "I am not a pessimist. I have five daughters and three sons of my own who present to me many problems that I have never met before and so I am not looking upon the rising generation with the shocked eyes of a man just awakened from a twenty year's nap. But it is a problem of quite a different sort when children act according to the things they think are right and those things happen to differ from the conception that the parents
I have of what is right. This makes the parental control a futile thing indeed. I am frankly worried about the outcome. Do not misunderstand me; I am not preaching. I mean by outcome, not whether or not these children will be saved: there are many paths to that end and we have not even mapped them all, let alone travelled them; but what is worrying me is that the congregation will be broken up into many small enemy camps if this state of affairs continues without some attempt on the part of the elders to understand what is going on."

There is a war on between the generations and it is not recognized as such. The children are the big problem and are making a great deal of trouble in the once peaceful neighborhood.

The church is losing its hold, according to the pastor, and yet every move that he makes is to keep up with the young folk is censored by the parents as being something unheard of. They do not see the aim of the pastor's activities. Church parties held at the pastor's home are not well attended as they used to be. However when it was proposed to offer the young people some more modern forms of entertainment the move was not sanctioned by the elders. "They have the idea that they can keep the youngsters in the old pasture by building the fence higher. What they need to do is to put attractive fences around the new pasture to which the people are moving". The young people come into the church and look around. If they see that they are observed they come in and sit down. If not, they are off on the roads for the day.
Marital Tensions:

Since the beginning of group life in the old country, marriage was a condition that it was impossible to relieve if it were proved unhappy. If one had married a mate who was capable of making one happy it was well and good. If not, then there was nothing to do about it. Marriage was as unquestioned as life itself. To separate from a spouse who was rendering home life miserable was just not done. It is a sign of the changing times, therefore, when it is seen that there is some indication in the group that marriages may be broken for cause.

There have been several cases of separation in the group but as yet no divorce. The first case of separation occurred in 1923 when a young wife of a few days went home to her mother. The neighbors said that the husband had been cruel to her and that she left him to get over it as best he could. After the wife had been at home for a couple of months the couple were again living together and now have two children. The husband still does a good deal of running to town; but husbands and wives do not as a rule attend the movies together. Either a number of men or a number of women go together.

Another case is one in which the husband was so often intoxicated that the wife decided to leave him. She brought the three children back to her mother's home and it was almost a year she permitted her husband to speak with her. They are again living together having been reconciled by the pastor and the two families. The husband still drinks but when he is drunk he sleeps in the barn, so it is said, and does not come home until he is sober.
The third case is one in which the man became involved with a woman in a small nearby town. The wife tolerated him for several years and finally came home to live with her mother. As her mother is old and has no other help she is still staying there but at present there is prospect of a reconciliation.

The fourth case was nearly a divorce. The couple, the eldest members of the third generation, had been married five years and there had been five children, none of whom had survived infancy. The charges against the husband were extreme cruelty. The case was brought into the courts and the preliminary hearing was held. The case was held over and there was a withdrawal of the charges and the couple are again living together.

When the case was discussed in the neighborhood, the woman was blamed because she had tried to get a divorce. It was thought that she could have left her husband without dragging the matter into the courts. Just after the case had been started, the men of the neighborhood waited upon the husband to hear his side of the story. They had long suspected that he was not behaving as he should and the neighborhood had known that the marriage was not successful. When the husband swore at his neighbors instead of talking about the matter, they decided that he was guilty and they tied him to a post in the barn lot after dark and horse-whipped him. This is the first instance of its kind in the neighborhood and while the practice had been common in the old country, it had never been necessary here before. When one of the men was asked how it happened to be done he said, "Well, Old Eddo said that was the way they did it in the old country so we just did it while we were excited."
When the case turned out as it did, the opinions of the group turned about and the comment was that since the woman had started something and had had all the scandal in the papers, she would have done better to have something for her trouble.

It is not clear whether this gradation from temporary separation through permanent separation to near divorce can be called a natural sequence or not. Studies pertaining to city conditions seem to disclose that separation and not divorce is characteristic of the more disorganized areas. This separation implies at least temporary desertion and indicates tensions. But in some of the cases separation was planned as a means of bringing the erring member back into normal relations to the group. Such technique would be futile were there not a culture and a group back of the individual. It is indicative however, of a breakdown of group control when in the first place the group standards have failed to keep the marriages of the members bearable and further breakdown is implied when the case finally goes to the divorce courts, because it indicates that not only has the group failed to keep the member within bounds but has not succeeded in bringing him back once he is out. It would seem then that in this group, divorce and not desertion is indicative of the greater degree of disorganization.

Disregard for Customs and for the Opinions of Elders:

The young people of the group are making moves in the direction of independence of parental control. Many times parents lament the fact that the young ones are on the road until all hours of the night and there does not seem to be much that they can do about it. They have laid it to the automobile. The atti-
tudes among these young people is variously expressed. "Dad
gives me a pain in the neck," says Walter, eighteen, "He expects
me to run the car at twenty miles an hour and to be home at nine
o'clock. He's just a back number and of course does not know all
the new ideas. A horse won't go at twenty miles an hour but a car
will go sixty all night if you want it to."

"I feel sorry for ma", says Pauline. "She never had much
of a good time in her life and so she can't miss it, but we are out
to get some fun out of life and what the old folks don't know won't
hurt them."

"I listen to pa and act real sorry when I have been out
late, but I wink to myself and stay out as long as I like the next
time."

"We don't intend to be bad and we aren't. We just want to
have a good time. Here is all this money and these cars and then
they expect us to sit down and watch the corn grow and get plenty
of excitement out of that. No chance in this age for that sort of
stuff," was the comment of another young son.

The girls as yet have not become such a problem as the boys
have because they do not take to the roads as easily as do the boys
nor do they offer as much resistance to keeping the conventional
hours. The girls are a problem chiefly in regard to their dress
and their desire to get an education. Many have expressed them­
selves as unwilling to settle down to marriage as soon as the ol­
der members think they should.

Until two years ago there was no form of organization a­
 mong the younger ones that is similar to that found in intersticial areas in the city. Summer before last a German lad came to
one of the homes and asked for a job. He was bumming through the
contry and he was taken in and has remained there. The parents
are suspicious of him and look upon him as one of the chief causes
of the disobedience of the children. However, the lad stillholds
his place as he is a good worker, and is employed by a member of
the third generation. Since this boy has been there, two organiz­
ations have sprung up. Both are underground affairs. The "Barn
Rats" as they call themselves, is a club of boys and young men
who meet in the barn of one of the members and there they read
"off color" magazines and look at pictures of naked women, play
cards and shoot craps and gang in the typical deculturized fashion.
The existence of these activities is suspected but the existence
of the organization is as yet undiscovered. The ones who belong to
the club have pledged themselves to think for themselves and not to
let the old folks bother them. They are out for a good time and
for new experience which they get in the ways mentioned above as
these things are not allowed by the group. They are encouraging
their members to stay in school and to go into other occupations
if they so desire.

"The Pioneers" is a club of girls who have pledged themselves to not marry unless they want to and to encourage their mem­
ers in going to school and in going into town to work if they
wish. They dress as they please and all wear extreme clothing
and a great deal of makeup on their faces. This is clearly com­
pensatory behavior. They have taken on behavior ways whose meaning
to them is freedom from the standards of the home group. These
things are to them symbols of the outside world and by taking on
the marks of the town girl they are making up to themselves for
the fact that they are still bound very closely by traditions of the group.

They have a collection of books among which is a set of etiquette books, a number of fashion magazines, and a book called "Sexology for Girls" put out by a press in Hollywood, California, another on "Psychology of Womanhood" from the same source. These girls meet in the home of the member who has these things in hiding and they are supposed to be a group of very good friends. The meetings are simply talk fests and as yet the club has done nothing noticeable.

The Children and Neighborly Feeling:

Frequent comments are made to the effect that the children are making enemies of life long friends among the older people. The actions of the younger members are a matter of very grave concern; trouble arises among the neighbors over the fact that so-and-so took their boy out in his car and got him in the habit of running around. Whenever the older folk come together, the talk is all of this problem of the young people. One parent puts the blame on the other for letting the children run wild and dissensions arise. However, the group has remained intact as far as its functioning is concerned in the various institutionalized forms. When they meet in any of the accustomed ways the old habits of cooperation and mutual aid continue to work though there are sharp things said both to and about each other.

These conditions bring up a problem that is, perhaps, peculiar to this type of group organization. If neighborliness as it is found in this group is the outcome of living together in mutual trust of each other over a long period of time, is that form
of interaction adequate when the conditions upon which this inter-
action was built up have become a thing of the past? In other
words how long can a group remain primary with all of this ferment
going on?

The notions of "stress" and "strain" indicate the fact
that disorganization is imminent unless a corporate aim can be
found to integrate the members. Strain, in the engineer's termin-
ology, is the pressure exerted from without on a piece of material
or a structure. Stress is the activity set up in the material or
structure which finally breaks it down. Stress is the problem of
the nature of the materials. Strain is the problem of the distri-
bution of pressure so that no one point in the structure will suf-
fer unduly. In the social group stress is represented by the pro-
cessed going on within the group that imperil its existence.
Strain is the force of the outside example and culture traits and
the lure of ways not sanctioned by the group. While engineers have
stated that stress and strain are reciprocal forms of activity,
this does not place the two concepts in a cause-effect relation-
ship. Neither can one say in respect to the social group that
strain has caused the stress, yet how can there have been stress
without the strain? If strain sets up stress, then it is sure that
the stress must have been caused by the strain. The dilemna is
met by postulating that the existing organization of culture within
the group, through individual attitudes and new models from the
outside together determine the outcome. The varying degree of pres-
tige and diversity of culture are of course significant. At pre-
sent the stress and strain are still in balance. The old forms of
neighborliness are still in full force and operation. The group,
judged by its functioning is still primary. Now as to whether the process will become one of disintegration and final disorganization, or whether the problem will assume its place in the scheme of things and life will go on with the old forms of interaction continuing, is a problem that can only answered by facts. For those facts it will be necessary to wait some years and then, using this study as a starting point, it will be possible to retrace a process that cannot, at this point, be predicted.
CHAPTER XI

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The subject of this study is a culture group whose settlement contains four generations. The method of approach is that of cultural sociology. The problem is that of groupal organization and adjustment in a new setting. The study begins with a small, primary group of migrants. The group is traced through a sufficient number of years to observe the change affecting the culture and consequence of the mixing of standards and behavior norms with those of the strange world about it. Still the essential characters remain but the stress between generations is narrowing the dilemma.

In a study of this kind, conclusions should be made cautiously. To be afraid to draw any conclusions in a study is to confess oneself in the grip of the scientific method to such an extent as to make all of one's efforts an apology to logic. Before stating the conclusions which have been reached, it is well to state the experiences in method gained in the study itself.

In so far as no previous study of this culture group has been made, no control is available for the study. Such a check-up would be eminently desirable, but because of the absence of such studies, no comparison has been possible and few citations can be made.

This study has contributed no new generalizations in the way of method. It is shown however, that the method of cultural sociology when applied to a local group, can yield material that is theoretically and practically significant. This study adds one
more to the list of those using data processually, and is a study from the standpoint of group organization. The writer takes all responsibility for any factual statement made, as she was the only investigator in connection with the work. It is hoped that after a lapse of a few years during which time attempt will be made to keep in touch with this group, that another gauge of its cycle of culture and organizational process can be made. By that time, perhaps, other studies of this kind will have been made and the findings of this one put into some kind of relation to the theories in the field of sociology. There is also always the possibility that further study may serve to modify some of the laws now accepted, or to prove hitherto serviceable concepts inadequate. The real scientist welcomes either possibility.

Several findings of the study have failed to substantiate popular notions in regard to immigrant groups. Though there is no exact data on the birth rate in Frisia, it is known to be traditionally low. Few large families were found in the settlement. The "cowed German housewife" whose life is popularly supposed to be bounded by "kitchen und kinder" was entirely wanting.

In the developing of the data yielded by the study, several hypotheses have been set up as follow:

(I) That an individual enters a group from the outside at the weakest point in the structure of the group, and makes a place for himself in advance of his entrance by virtue of the fact that he has replaced or supplemented some inadequate mechanism which has failed the group in its need. This hypothesis grows out of the cases of the two women who married into the group. Both went in and performed the feat that the group could not or did not.
(2) That the desertion-divorce sequence noted in secondary group organization is reversed in groups whose organization is of primary nature. Data has shown that divorce and not desertion is representative of the greater degree of disorganization.

(3) That the concept of the "looking glass self", whatever its validity in personality processes, is inadequate when applied to a social group in that it does not account for the fact of change nor does it indicate the direction of that change. The concept remains a label for a process and fails to explain causally the phenomena of change in a group.

(4) Finally a critical theoretical problem has been raised as to how long a social group which has been primary in its organization can survive the stress incident to resisting strain or change without disintegrating and losing its primary character. The only answer to this question had to be empirically derived and as such has the limitations of its derivation.

All of these hypotheses can be tested only by further studies of social groups from the standpoint of their organization.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Since this is a field study, the bibliography is short; it is merely a collecting and arranging of the works cited in the foot-notes.
