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Rural Population Groups

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THE PURPOSE

Those who are dealing with rural progress are coming to realize the value of developing the affairs of country life on the basis of natural groups in their functional relations.

Thus it is recognized that there are certain functions best performed by the neighborhood, others by the community, others by the county, and still others by the state and nation.

This study seeks to analyze the status and relationships of neighborhoods and communities in a typical Missouri county, and to show what appears to be the present trend in functional responsibility between them.

The results shown should be of value to county extension agents, teachers of vocational agriculture, social workers, secretaries of chambers of commerce, teachers, ministers, and others interested in a rational development of the small town and the open country.

Rural Population Groups

E. L. MORGAN AND OWEN HOWELLS

Abstract.—Boone County was taken as the area for this study because it appeared to be typical of the greater part of rural Missouri. Fifty-nine primary population groups (neighborhoods) and fifteen secondary groups (communities) were found. Primary group consciousness was found to vary from high to low-minus, owing to local factors. It was highest in those neighborhoods which were some distance from a community center and in those in which the opportunities for social contacts were greatest. The school was found to be the strongest factor in the maintenance of primary group consciousness. Inter-group consciousness was developed best through the consolidated high school followed by the church, the lodge, and the store. Neighborhood boundaries were cut across in the efforts of the people to reach preferred points for such service as church, trade, school, lodge and blacksmith shop. Thus a farm family has at a given time, a number of separate and conflicting group loyalties. In the midst of this the neighborhood is losing much of the force it once had. This is being transferred to the larger community, which usually includes a town or village. This larger rural grouping is new and now has less vitality and intensity of group consciousness than the neighborhood, although it appears to be on the gain. It is this larger group, which is a combination of country and town, that will be of increasing importance in the development of rural affairs. The status of a community depends upon physical, economic and social factors which in a few cases are entirely beyond the power of the community to modify. The future of most community centers depends upon the ability to render superior service to the adjacent farm population. The negro primary groups are gradually becoming less intense in their social solidarity due to the competition of the larger community centers.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

The Nature of the Study.—There is a growing recognition that in the past the boundaries of our legal, political, and educational divisions have been set in an arbitrary fashion with small thought to the natural groupings of the people concerned. While in most cases people have adjusted themselves to these arbitrary boundaries, they do not always do so, nor do they succeed in any case without a certain amount of dissipated energy. There is every indication that the organization of the economic, social, educational, and other interests of farm life will necessarily become more complex and complete as the farm life becomes fuller and more satisfactory in these respects. If, then, organization in the past has been haphazard and if organization is to continue more rapidly in the future, it would seem that any effort directed toward the determination of the natural population groupings would be of practical value in such future organization.

The present study* is an analysis of the rural primary population groups of a typical agricultural county of Missouri. The specific task

*This study was conducted in cooperation with the office of Rural Life Studies, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

being: first, to discover the first rural grouping above the family in which there is exhibited a community of interest with regard to any of the major needs of life; second, to chart the geographic area which this group occupies; third, to study the characteristics of the group; fourth, to determine its function; fifth, to determine its relation to and with other groups.

Procedure.—It was believed that in most cases these primary groups would be identified with a group name and as it seemed that the rural schools offered the best means of finding these names the cooperation of the County Superintendent of Schools was secured. To each rural school teacher information cards were mailed. Each teacher was asked to fill out one for each family in her school district, giving the section, range and township of the home and the name by which the neighborhood in which the family lived was known. Answers to the latter question will be found in tabulated form in Table 1.

TABLE 1.—DESIGNATIONS OF PRIMARY GROUPS BY RURAL FAMILIES IN ANSWER TO QUESTION "WHAT IS THE NAME OF YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD?"

Neighborhood name given as	Number of replies
1. School District.....	1298
2. Community Center.....	683
3. Other than (1) or (2).....	555
4. None.....	105
Total.....	2643

Further information concerning group names was secured from old residents and from the newspapers of the county. These group names and their areas were tentatively plotted on a map showing the names and holdings of the landowners of the County.

The second step was to visit each primary group area with this tentative map. With information supplied by well informed persons in the neighborhood, the map was corrected to conform with the facts presented. When there existed any doubt in the mind of the informant as to the group in which a particular individual belonged the person in question was sought and his own statement accepted. Map I is the result of this verification of the primary population groups. It was used in the further study of group relations. In the presentation by map of this study, Map I is used as a base map for calculations. Figures and letters appearing after group names refer to location on this map.

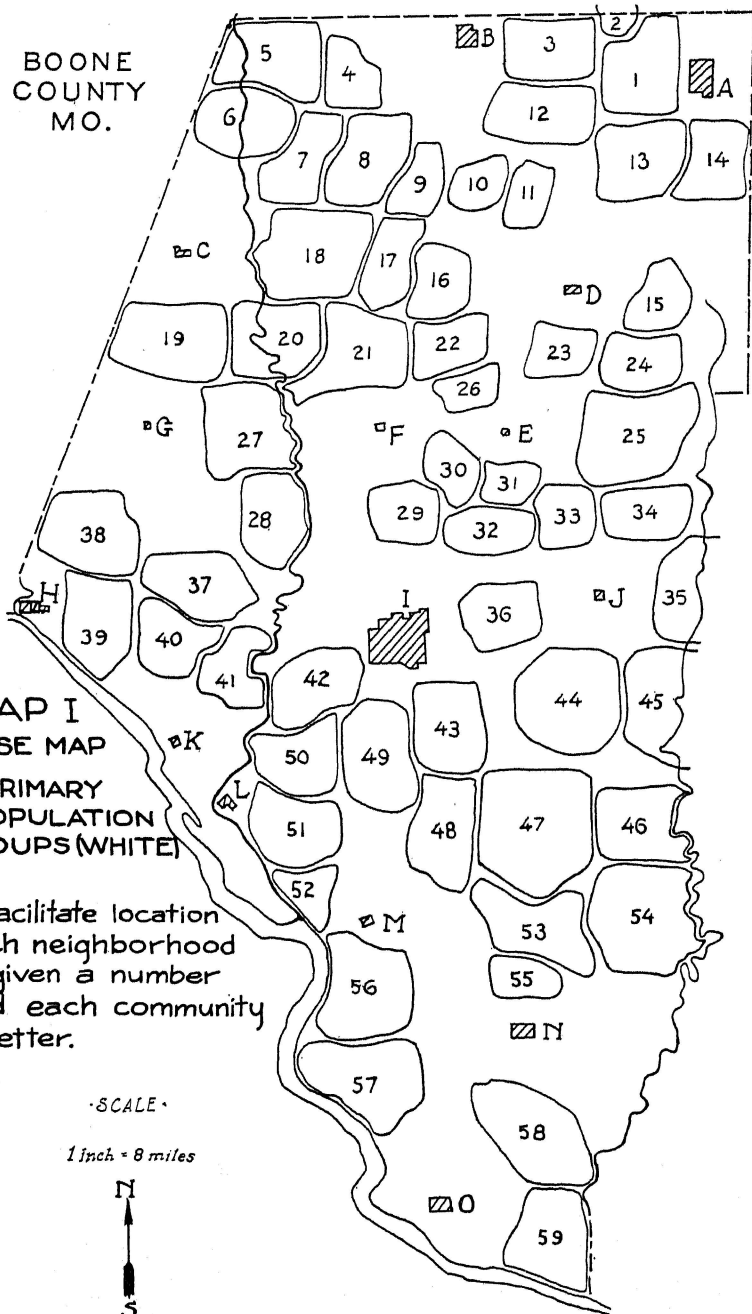
Questionnaires were then sent to the schools, the churches, the farm organizations, and the lodges for information concerning membership, attendance, and activities. These inquiries were supplemented by

BOONE
COUNTY
MO.

MAP I
BASE MAP
PRIMARY
POPULATION
GROUPS (WHITE)

To facilitate location
each neighborhood
is given a number
and each community
a letter.

SCALE
1 inch = 8 miles



personal interviews. Data on the community boundaries were obtained by visiting each store, bank and blacksmith shop in the county and plotting the community boundary according to the method of C. J. Galpin¹. In a similar manner a determination of the church and lodge areas was obtained from members of the organizations concerned. Finally recourse was had to information in the offices of the county clerk, the county collector, the county assessor, and the county superintendent of schools. The thought throughout was to study the group in action, to see what it was doing and what place it was occupying in the lives of the people.

Primary Population Groups.—A number of definitions have been offered of the primary population group, all of which have the implication of a group characterized by intimate acquaintanceship, mutuality of interest and purpose. Charles A. Ellwood and Charles H. Cooley, in particular, have made contributions in defining the Primary Population Group. The former says, "It means that each individual must, to some extent, lose his personality in his group; that is, subordinate his activities, more or less completely, to those of the larger unit. In other words, they develop a group will and a group individuality. Thus, social groups may come to have quite as distinct characters as individuals²." Likewise Cooley says, "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 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.³" Guided, somewhat, by these definitions, along with experience with rural groups, a tentative assumption was made at the outset of the gathering of the data for the study. This assumption was to the effect that in the existence of every normal individual there is one or more groupings above the family in which he recognizes a community of interests with others. That is to say, he speaks of "ours", "we", and "us". To a certain extent his personality has been submerged in that of the group, he views events in relation to the group, he has become part of the group will, and he has a "we consciousness". It was further assumed that the group must recognize some ties of common interest on the one hand but on the other, it must be the simplest of the groups recognizing the common interest.

1. Rural Life P. 5.

2. Introduction to social psychology. P. 15.

3. Social Organization P. 23.

Part I.--General Findings

THE COUNTY STUDIED

Boone County is just north of the geographical center of Missouri. The county is rolling and prairie with a small part of river bottom land. Topographical features, however, are not such as to create the hill and valley groupings found in a mountainous country.

The first settlement was made in 1812 and later an extensive migration came up the Boone Trail and the Missouri River from Kentucky and Virginia, to spread out and people Central Missouri. The early settlers were farmers, and Boone County has remained essentially an agricultural county.

TABLE 2.—POPULATION OF BOONE COUNTY AND COMMUNITY CENTERS FOR YEARS 1900, 1910 AND 1920.

	1920	1910	1900
County of Boone.....	29,672	30,533	28,643
Ashland.....	342	341	401
Centralia.....	2,071	2,115	1,722
Columbia.....	10,392	9,662	5,651
Hallsville.....	225	195	157
Harrisburg.....	168	146	110
Hartsburg.....	211	175	105
Huntsdale.....	95*	91	121
McBaine.....	140*	75*	61*
Rocheport.....	458	434	593
Sturgeon.....	728	663	708
Farm Population †.....	14,842	16,656	19,014

*Estimate.

†Includes non-incorporated community centers of Brown's, Hinton, Woodlandville, Shaw, and Sapp.

Of a population of 29,672 at the present time, 65 per cent are classified as rural. This is higher than the same figure for the State or the Nation. Out of a total of 3,325 farms, in 1920, only 158 were owned by people of other than native white stock. Twenty-eight owners were foreign born and 130 were colored. There are 648 farms of less than 51 acres but only 245 farms of more than 260 acres. It will be seen then that Boone County is one in which the "family sized" farm predominates and one in which the ownership is in the hands of a rather homogeneous group.

In 1922 the land value for the State averaged \$64 per acre; in Boone County it was \$70 per acre. At the same time there was a valuation of over \$10,000 on the average farm of the county, while the livestock and grain production per farm was above the average for the State. Twenty

per cent of the farms are operated by tenants, but for the State 28.8 per cent are so operated⁴.

A railroad running east and west cuts across the northern border of the county and a second one crosses the southern end. Spurs from each extend to Columbia, the county seat, located near the geographical center of the county. The highways, generally speaking, are good. Several gravel roads are open throughout the year. The dirt roads, if impassable after severe storms, are usually well kept. Two primary state highways cross the county.

Only one town, Columbia, has sufficient population to bring it out of the rural classification. As the site of the State University, a Bible College and two Junior Colleges for Women, its agricultural interest is overshadowed by that of higher education.

LOCATING THE RURAL PRIMARY GROUP

Contrary to the experience of investigations made in other states the rural primary group was neither a clear-cut entity in which there was no hesitation in replying to the question, "what is the name of this neighborhood?" nor was it a "vague abstraction," or "the tangled skein of human relationships". A common reply to this question, in Boone County, was found to be, "You mean, what (school) district this is?". Further questioning would bring forth such a typical statement as, "Well, I guess you would call it Hinton neighborhood. This is the Brown (school) district, but we get our mail from Columbia and we trade mostly at Hinton." Nor was there always unanimity in the designation of the group name by those concerned. In the instance just cited two neighbors might have each selected a different designation for the name of their neighborhood, i. e., the school district or the trading center—the rural mail route apparently having little or no influence in developing a group will.

In this connection one must bear in mind the dual conception of neighborhood. On the one hand, there is the physical and geographical sense of neighborhood wherein a school house or church is possessed of a location value in the thinking of the individual. By means of the church building, he offers a convenient means of describing the location of his farmstead. To him there may be little, if any, of the spiritual element tied up in the association of the church building. On the other hand

4. Logan and Mays, Missouri Facts and Figures P. 42

5. Kolb, J. H., Rural Primary Groups, Research Bulletin No. 51. Exp. Sta. University of Wisconsin. P. 66.

Sanderson, Dwight, and Thompson, W. S., The Social Areas of Otsego County. Bulletin No. 422. Exp. Sta. Cornell University. P. 24-28.

6. Sims, N. L., The Rural Community, p. 141.

7. Zimmerman, C. C. and Taylor, C. C. Bulletin No. 245, Exp. Sta. North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, p. 31.

there is the phase of neighborhood somewhat more difficult of description but which we may term the psychic, the spiritual, or the personal neighborhood. It is this phase which possesses the "we consciousness" which was emphasized as a criterion of group consciousness. That is to say, there is a recognition of a community of interests, a common purpose, and a loyalty on the part of those persons making up the group which finds its concrete outlet about the church or the school. The two

TABLE 3.—PRIMARY AND SECONDARY GROUPS IN BOONE COUNTY.

Primary Population Groups—Neighborhoods			
1.	Angel	31.	Stephens
2.	Appleman (Audrain Co.)	32.	Switzler
3.	Dinwiddie	33.	Palmer
4.	Lick Fork	34.	Glenn-Judy
5.	Rucker	35.	Stephens (Callaway Co.)
6.	Perche Church	36.	Zaring
7.	Rileyburg	37.	Midway
8.	Riggs	38.	Walnut Grove
9.	Locust Grove	39.	Linden
10.	Findley Bridge	40.	Hickory Grove
11.	Gallup's Mill	41.	Valley Springs
12.	Far West	42.	Fairview
13.	Union	43.	Grindstone
14.	Grassland	44.	Harg
15.	Elkin-Owen	45.	Millersburg (Callaway Co.)
16.	Middletown	46.	Ginlet
17.	Pinnacles	47.	Deer Park
18.	Butler-Simms	48.	Rock Bridge
19.	Bethlehem	49.	Bethel
20.	Red Rock	50.	Vawter-Turner
21.	Dripping Springs	51.	Warren
22.	Friendship	52.	Providence
23.	South of Hallsville	53.	Hayden
24.	Flynn-Zion	54.	Englewood
25.	Murry	55.	Salem
26.	Pig Bottom	56.	Easley
27.	Wilhite	57.	Wilton
28.	New Providence	58.	Oldham
29.	Pratherville	59.	Claysville
30.	Oakland		
Secondary Population Groups—Communities			
A.	Centralia	I.	Columbia
B.	Sturgeon	J.	Shaw
C.	Harrisburg	K.	Huntsdale
D.	Hallsville	L.	McBaine
E.	Brown's	M.	Sapp
F.	Hinton	N.	Ashland
G.	Woodlandville	O.	Hartsburg
H.	Rocheport		

phases cannot be sharply distinguished, it is true; there is something of both in either conception of neighborhood, and yet it seems possible to say of a neighborhood that one or the other of the elements is dominant. For this reason, it invariably happened that a detailed explanation was necessary before the desired information was obtained.

At times a certain arbitrariness was necessary in fixing boundary lines. The Red Rock (20) and Dripping Springs (21) areas where a landlord's holdings are largely in Red Rock, but cross the creek into the Dripping Springs area offer an example of this arbitrariness. During periods of flood or heavy rain the creek is impassable, hence if a house were to be erected on the land in question it would certainly be placed on the Dripping Springs side. For that reason the area as it stands is included with the Dripping Springs area although owned by a man living in Red Rock area.

THE ORIGIN OF PRIMARY GROUP NAMES

Map I and Table 3 indicate that 59 groups were located. These are aside from those involving the school district as such, or the population centers. Table 4 is an analysis of the origin of these primary group names. It will be seen from this table that in all, 30 of the names have been derived from individuals. Nine of these 30 are also the names of school districts. Without exception the individuals have been landowners within the neighborhoods to which they have given their names.

In 11 cases a natural phenomenon has given the group its name. It may be noted here that in seven of these instances the designation is also that of the school district or church.

In five cases the name is that of a school and church, although in only two cases, Bethlehem (19) and Bethel (49), are Bible names used. In five other cases the name is that of a church alone and in three cases the neighborhood is the remnant of a former population center. The miscellaneous groupings derive their names largely from chance and are almost devoid of significance. Midway (37), included in this class, is so named because it is half-way between Columbia and Rocheport.

OBJECTIVE MANIFESTATION OF THE PRIMARY GROUP

The fact is unescapable that a group or association gives expression in some form of coordinated activity and this expression is almost invariably manifested in an objective manner. Table 5 is an attempt at the tabulation of the objective expression which the primary groups take, or the activity about which the group exhibited a "we consciousness."

As was noted in the introduction, two determinant forces of group consciousness present in many counties are absent in Boone County. The first of these is the religious group, whose peculiarity of belief or

TABLE 4.—THE ORIGIN OF PRIMARY GROUP NAMES.

Name of Primary Group	Name derived from						Name of Primary Group	Name derived from						
	Individual	Phenomena	School & Church	Church	Former Population Center	Miscellaneous		Individual	Phenomena	School & Church	Church	Former Population Center	Miscellaneous	
Angel.....	X						Switzer.....	X						
Appleman.....	X						Palmer...z.....	X						
Dinwiddie.....	X						Glenn-Judy.....	X						
Lick Fork.....		X					Stephens (Call.).....	X						
Rucker.....	X						Zaring.....	X						
Perche Church.....				X			Midway.....							X
Rileyburg.....	X						Walnut Grove.....		X					
Riggs.....	X						Linden.....							X
Locust Grove.....		X					Hickory Grove.....		X					
Findley Bridge.....	X						Valley Springs.....		X					
Gallup's Mill.....	X						Fairview.....				X			
Far West.....			X				Grindstone.....		X					
Union.....			X				Harg.....	X						
Grassland.....						X	Millersburg (Call. Co.).....	X						
Elkin-Owen.....	X						Ginlet.....							X
Middletown.....					X		Deer Park.....		X					
Pinnacles.....		X					Rock Bridge.....		X					
Butler-Simms.....	X						Bethel.....			X				
Bethlehem.....			X				Vawter-Turner.....	X						
Red Rock.....		X					Warren.....	X						
Dripping Springs.....		X					Providence.....					X		
Friendship.....				X			Hayden.....	X						
South of Hallsville.....						X	Englewood.....							X
Flynn-Zion.....	X						Salem.....				X			
Murry.....	X						Easley.....	X						
Pig Bottom.....	X						Wilton.....	X						
Wilhite.....	X						Oldham.....	X						
New Providence.....			X				Claysville.....	X						
Pratherville.....	X						Total.....	30	11	5	5	2	6	
Oakland.....			X											
Stephens.....	X													

habit serves to set its adherents off in an exclusive group from the rest of the community. The second force is the nationality or ethnic factor. The Boone County descendants of the Kentucky and Virginia immigrants have proved themselves a homogeneous lot and even the few Germans of an early immigration have all but lost their race consciousness. There were found only four open-country primary groups of the negro race with any semblance of activity and only three of these were functioning with any degree of efficiency.* Obviously, with such homogeneity among the people, other forces, such as those mentioned in Table 5, were found as the basis of primary group association.

In ten of the cases, it will be observed that the expression was found in an activity in connection with the school district, which appeared to

*See rural population groups (negro), page 38.

dominate other influences in determining the group consciousness. In five of these ten cases, the Parent-Teacher association through programs and entertainments maintained a year-round occasion for group meetings. Other activities included a community club, farm clubs, and an amateur theatrical group.

TABLE 5.—TYPES OF MANIFESTATION OF PRIMARY GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS.

A. School District	D. School, Church and Store.	J. Store
Angel		Rucker
Dinwiddie	Dripping Springs	Pratherville
Grassland	GINLET	Providence
Zaring		Easley
Hickory Grove	E. School and Store	Claysville
Linden	Wilhite	
Vawter-Turner		K. Railroad Stop
Grindstone		
Warren	F. Church, Store and Blacksmith Shop	Stephens
Hayden		Switzler
B. School and Church	Riggs	L. Natural Phenomenon
Far West	Harg	Lick Fork
Union		Pinnacles
Bethlehem	G. Church Building	
Walnut Grove	Locust Grove	M. None at Present
New Providence	Appleman	
Bethel	Friendship	Butler-Simms
Valley Springs	Salem	Rileyburg
Red Rock		Pig Bottom
		Palmer
	H. Church Activity	Glenn-Judy
C. School, Church, Store and Blacksmith Shop.	Perche Church	
Stephens (Call., Co.)	Oakland	N. Miscellaneous
Murry	Fairview	Findley Bridge
Midway		Gallup's Mill
Millersburg	I. Store and Blacksmith Shop	Elkin-Owen
Deer Park	Wilton	Flynn-Zion
Englewood	Rock Bridge	Middletown
	Oldham	South of Hallsville

In eight of the cases the activities growing out of an adjoining church end school give rise to the group expression. In talking with the older settlers, one is told that the church was the first building erected and that the school followed shortly afterward on a nearby site.

In an agricultural county one would expect to find the blacksmith shop retaining some importance in spite of the inroads of the tractor and the automobile on the use of the horse plow and wagon. In three

cases the blacksmith shop shared with the store the credit of being the primary group center. In two other cases the addition of a church and store was found and in six instances a concentration of interests at one point is seen when the blacksmith shop is reinforced by a school, a church and a store.

In two cases a combination of store, church, and school was noted in connection with the primary group and in two cases the manifestation of group consciousness depended upon a natural phenomenon. Once there was a combination of school and store.

The church as a geographical center is found in four cases. These are instances where the spiritual influence of the church is not directed in channels that produce a localized group consciousness. The church, in these cases, serves as a convenient landmark, in designating the geographical area surrounding the church. However, in three cases the activity of the church both spiritual and secular, but especially the latter, gives objective manifestation that is more than geographical.

A store in five instances is the center about which group life gathers. In two of these the store is all that remains of once prosperous villages during the day of Missouri River navigation.

In two instances a stop on the railroad seems to be the only present object about which neighborhood consciousness clings. These stops include a loading chute for livestock and a shed to await the coming train. In both cases there were at one time thriving coal mines nearby.

Of the five instances cited under "none at present" Rileyburg (7) and Butler-Simms (18) carry a tradition of earlier days when the neighborhood and larger community revolved about the "big man" of the group. Palmer (33) or Glenn-Judy (34) have a group consciousness built around the ownership of land and kinship, of which the only manifestation now is the "exchange of work", the lending of tools and other neighborly acts. Pig Bottom (26) is reminiscent of an earlier group whose social activities perpetuated the group name.

The miscellaneous grouping of six cases include such objective manifestations as, a correspondent to a weekly newspaper, combination of a family grouping within a church or school, an abandoned mill, and a bridge.

INTENSITY OF PRIMARY GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS

All association is a matter of degree of intensity and as there are variants in the individual response to the primary group demands and loyalty, so we may distinguish between the crystallization of the group spirit among some different neighborhoods. It is readily recognized that there is a variety of interests claiming the attention of the individual. These cross and recross in a maze of currents and always there

is an ever widening sphere of interests clamoring for notice. As it is impossible to mark off sharply the limits of the individual's interests just so is it equally unreasonable to expect to set primary group boundaries and have these boundaries include all of the interests of the entire group. While recognizing these limitations, it still seemed possible to distinguish between the virility of the groups. Table 6 is an attempt to tentatively gauge the consciousness prevalent in the fifty-nine groups under consideration.

Of necessity, this classification is arbitrary and subjective, representing an evaluation of the strength of association in a comparative way. Objective standards were aimed at, in the frequency with which the group came together for any purpose, the readiness with which the group name was accepted and recognized by those living within and without the area and by the frequency with which activities occurred that demanded a conscious recognition of group organization. The classification of "high", "medium plus", etc., is recognized as representing the comparative evaluation of the writers and yet it appeared that only in such a way could a comparative judgment be exercised.

In a consideration of Table 6, it will be seen that seven are classed as high in intensity of group consciousness. These are the ones which in the discussion of objective manifestation of the group spirit were found to have a number of interests served at that point. They approach the type which in Part Two of this study will be dealt with under the designation of "Community Centers." Indeed there was often a question as to the grouping in which these neighborhoods under consideration might be placed. When there occurs the unifying influence of a store, an adjacent church, or school, or all of these, with a blacksmith shop in close proximity, there is such a concentration of interests at one point that the needs of community life may be met there in a large measure. The frequency with which meetings occur and the opportunity for informal gatherings give the members of this group a vigorous type of group consciousness.

Of the ten which are given a medium plus rating, three have the group spirit fostered by an excellent church. Programs of secular and religious activities include nearly everyone in the neighborhood. The Warren school district (in Group 51) through an unusually active Parent-Teacher association maintains an active social life among the members through the winter by means of plays, parties, and socials. The remaining members of this group are ones in which the store is a predominant factor.

Twenty-five of the primary groups are classed as medium in group consciousness and of these, ten combine a school district and a church, seven are school districts with a Parent-Teacher association, and in

three the group consciousness finds expression in a small store. In only three of these twenty-five cases is there no tangible object with which group loyalty may identify itself. These represent a carrying over of group feeling from a former period when through the influence of the landowners and local institutions there was set a group consciousness of such strength that an appreciable amount is still found.

TABLE 6.—AN EVALUATION OF INTENSITY OF PRIMARY GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS.

Name of Primary Group	High	Medium+	Medium	Low	Low—	Name of Primary Group	High	Medium+	Medium	Low	Low—
Angel.....				X		Palmer.....				X	
Appleman.....				X		Glenn-Judy.....				X	
Dinwiddie.....			X			Stephens.....					
Lick Fork.....				X		(Callaway Co.).....			X		
Rucker.....		X				Zaring.....			X		
Perche Church.....		X				Midway.....	X				
Rileyburg.....			X			Walnut Grove.....			X		
Riggs.....	X					Linden.....		X			
Locust Grove.....					X	Hickory Grove.....			X		
Findley Bridge.....					X	Valley Springs.....			X		
Gallup's Mill.....				X		Fairview.....		X			
Far West.....			X			Grindstone.....			X		
Union.....			X			Harg.....	X				
Grassland.....			X			Millersburg.....					
Elkin-Owen.....				X		(Callaway Co.).....			X		
Middletown.....			X			Ginlet.....			X		
Pinnacles.....				X		Deer Park.....	X				
Butler-Simms.....			X			Rock Bridge.....		X			
Bethlehem.....			X			Bethel.....			X		
Red Rock.....			X			Vawter-Turner.....			X		
Drippings Springs.....			X			Warren.....		X			
Friendship.....					X	Providence.....			X		
South of Hallsville.....				X		Hayden.....			X		
Flynn-Zion.....				X		Englewood.....	X				
Murry.....	X					Salem.....					X
Pig Bottom.....					X	Easley.....		X			
Wilhite.....		X				Wilton.....	X				
New Providence.....			X			Oldham.....		X			
Partherville.....			X			Claysville.....			X		
Oakland.....		X				TOTAL.....	7	10	25	10	7
Stephens.....					X						
Switzler.....					X						

Of the ten groups of low degree in intensity none is characterized by any marked degree of loyalty. These primary groups are in the main dependent for solidarity upon kinship bonds, natural phenomena, or geographical location.

A similar statement is true of the members of the low minus classification. Here the association is largely geographical, such as a station stop on the railroad, or a bridge over a creek. Three cases are those of churches whose physical plants serve as orientating points. Another was

at one time the scene of neighborhood parties and is now remembered largely in that connection.

Tables 7, 8, and 9 give a statistical summary of this chapter. Recognizing that the fewness of the instances at our command lessens the validity of correlative indications, there may yet be some value in briefly pointing out these indications.

TABLE 7.—ORIGIN OF PRIMARY GROUP NAMES CORRELATED WITH THE PRESENT OBJECTIVE MANIFESTATION OF GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS.

Manifestation	Origin of Group Name						Total
	Individual	Phenomena	School District Church	Church	Former Population Center	Miscellaneous	
School District Activity	6	2	0	0	0	2	10
School and Church.....	0	3	5	0	0	0	8
School, Church, Store, Blacksmith Shop..	3	1	0	0	0	2	6
School, Church, Store..	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
School, Store.....	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Store.....	4	0	0	0	1	0	5
Store, Blacksmith Shop	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
Store, Church, Blacksmith Shop.....	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Church Building.....	1	1	0	2	0	0	4
Church Activity.....	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
R. R. Stop.....	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Natural Phenomena.....	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Miscellaneous.....	4	0	0	0	1	1	6
None at present.....	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
TOTAL.....	30	11	5	5	2	6	59

TABLE 8.—ORIGIN OF PRIMARY GROUP NAMES CORRELATED WITH INTENSITY OF PRIMARY GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS.

Origin of Group Name	Intensity of Group Consciousness					Total
	High	Medium+	Medium	Low	Low—	
An Individual.....	4	5	10	7	4	30
Natural Phenomena.....	1	1	6	2	1	11
School District and Church	0	0	5	0	0	5
Former Population Center..	0	0	2	0	0	2
Church.....	0	3	0	0	2	5
Miscellaneous.....	2	1	2	1	0	6
Total.....	7	10	25	10	7	59

In Table 7 the highest correlation occurs between the school district and the individual of which there are six occurrences. There is a high correlation here because of the custom of naming the school district after an individual who donates a site for the schoolhouse. Activity in the school and church is correlated with the same institutions as determinants of the group name in five cases. The store and the individual correlate four times—because the store is usually known by the original owner's name. Other correlations are scattering.

In Table 8 the individual shows a higher correlation in the high and medium columns than his proportion to the total number of instances would lead one to expect. However, the correlation will approach the normal curve when plotted.

TABLE 9.—OBJECTIVE MANIFESTATION OF PRIMARY GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS CORRELATED WITH INTENSITY OF GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS.

Manifestation	Intensity of Group Consciousness					Total
	High	Medium+	Medium	Low	Low—	
School District Activity.....	0	2	7	1	0	10
School and Church.....	0	0	8	0	0	8
School, Church, Store and Blacksmith.....	4	0	2	0	0	6
School, Church, and Store.....	0	0	2	0	0	2
School and Store.....	0	1	0	0	0	1
Store.....	0	2	3	0	0	5
Store and Blacksmith.....	1	2	0	0	0	3
Store, Church, and Black- smith.....	2	0	0	0	0	2
Church Building.....	0	0	0	1	3	4
Church Activity.....	0	3	0	0	0	3
R. R. Stop.....	0	0	0	0	2	2
Natural Phenomena.....	0	0	0	2	0	2
Miscellaneous.....	0	0	1	4	1	6
None at present.....	0	0	2	2	1	5
Total.....	7	10	25	10	7	59

Table 9 bears out an earlier observation to the effect that the greater the number of services found at a center the higher becomes the degree of group consciousness. A combination of store, church, school, and blacksmith shop gives the highest number in the "high" column.

THE SCHOOL DISTRICT AS A FORCE IN CREATING PRIMARY GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS

In addition to the districts maintaining a high school, Map II shows there are 79 rural school districts for white children. These have an enrollment of 2,521 pupils. Outside of Columbia there are five first class, and two third class high schools. Of the first class high schools, three are in consolidated districts which maintain their one-room grade schools. There are nine rural schools of the first class and twenty-one of the second class as inspected by the State Department of Education, a rating that placed Boone County first and second respectively on these lists, as compared with the other counties of the State.

Replies to questionnaires concerning the use of the schoolhouse were received from the 79 rural school teachers. The answers were amplified with information from the county superintendent of schools, the director of boys' and girls' club work of the College of Agriculture, and by personal visits to the schoolhouses.

From these facts, which will be found in tabulated form in Table 10, it will be observed that only three districts reported that the schoolhouse had not been used for any purpose other than school sessions during the school year 1921-22. These were located near the larger population centers. The other 76 districts reported a total of 676 meetings held in the schoolhouse during the year. Of these, 253 were of a recreational and social nature, taking the form of the box or pie supper in most

TABLE 10.—CHARACTER AND NUMBER OF MEETINGS IN RURAL SCHOOL BUILDINGS

	Farmer	Social	Parent Teachers Association	Political	Picnic	Religious	School Dinner	No. Meetings Held	Total
Meetings.....	78	253	202	41	29	72	73	--	676
Districts Reporting.....	27	76	28	19	22	17	64	3	79

cases. A community fair, several bazaars, blackface minstrels, home talent plays, and Christmas parties were among the other entertainments reported. While the total number of meetings is not large the evidence shows that, almost without exception, social affairs of this character in the neighborhood are held in the schoolhouse only. Of course in many cases the schoolhouse offers the only meeting place for affairs of a secular nature, and no question of the propriety of using the school plant for such entertainments arises. The logic of the situation is apparent when we observe from the table that 17 schoolhouses were used in which to

hold religious meetings. It becomes obvious then that the schoolhouse is recognized as common property, a truly "we thing" of the entire group and its use by the diverse elements in the group is considered eminently proper.

TABLE 11.—NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND FAMILIES LEAVING SCHOOL DISTRICT. NUMBER OF SCHOOL VISITORS AND TOTAL ENROLLMENT.

	Districts Reporting	Families	Children
Removals.....	34	117	200
Visitors.....	74	2343*	----
Enrollment.....	79†	----	2413

In 64 districts the closing day of school is observed with a basket dinner and program at the schoolhouse. Patrons of the school, even those without children in school, are reported as joining in the dinner and merrymaking, expressive of the earlier type of neighborliness. The 15 teachers who reported that the custom of having a basket dinner on "the last day of school" was not observed in their schools were teaching near the larger community centers. Fourteen other districts reported that two or more basket dinners had been held at the schoolhouse during the year. It seems almost axiomatic then that as the village or population center is approached the dependence upon that center for social life becomes more marked.

The Parent-Teacher association is reported by the county superintendent of schools as holding 202 meetings in 28 districts during the year. These are monthly meetings held at the schoolhouse. The younger children look forward to these meetings with great eagerness as they are usually taken along and allowed to play about while the meeting is in progress. A strong Parent-Teacher association appears to be a potent influence in developing a group consciousness about the schoolhouse.

There were found one hundred and seven boys' and girls' clubs in the schools, carrying on some organized form of project work during the year. There were 946 children engaged in the various projects of grain judging, stock judging, garment making and the like. Since a great deal of this work is done at home or with the advice of the parents, there results an inevitable strengthening of the bond between the home and the school.

Table 10 further shows that 27 of the schoolhouses were used for a total of 78 meetings of farmers. In addition to this, but not included in the reports, there were two or more meetings held in practically

every schoolhouse in the county by representatives of the two leading farmers' organizations of the State.

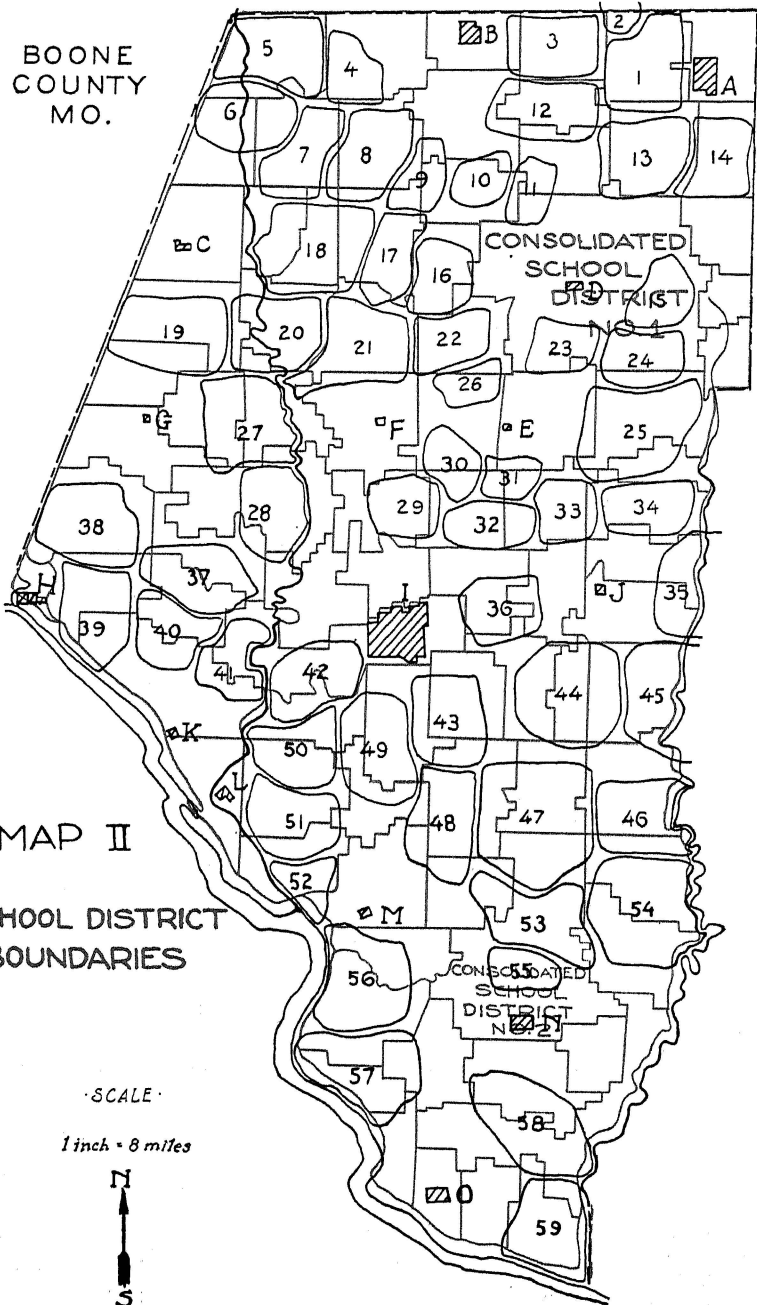
In addition to the foregoing statistical data, there accrued during the course of the study, a fund of information not susceptible to tabulation. The conviction grew that the school district presented the one primary grouping that was most constant and the one which was accepted without question by everyone interviewed. With rare exceptions, when the query was made, "What is the name of this neighborhood?" the reply would be "You mean what (school) district is this?" A representative citizen replied, "We don't go by the neighborhoods up here. We just go by the school district." Indeed, as is shown by Table 2, of the 2,643 replies made by the school teachers to this question 1,298, nearly half, gave the name of the school district as the neighborhood name.

It is not difficult to understand why this situation should occur. As observed in the introduction, Boone County is without divergent ethnic groups or religious sects that tend to distinguish one group from the others. The population, being highly homogeneous, must create its primary group boundaries on other factors.

The school district has the faculty of including the largest number of people in a common cause of any of the group determinants discovered. Thus, everyone is vitally concerned with the school tax. At least once a year the school election brings to mind the mutuality of interest in school affairs. The school district as a primary-group force cannot be fully appreciated until a study is made of the social cleavages that may occur in a school-district quarrel, or of social reconciliations effected by the common cause of the school district. Certainly no other institution or organization is responsible for as many of the intimate face-to-face contacts as we find here.

It may be objected that the school line is an arbitrary one of the surveyor's transit, pulling people in willy-nilly, regardless of nationality, social or economic differences. Whatever force there may have been in this objection when the lines were first laid one comes to feel that now the people have adjusted themselves to these lines without any great difficulty. The irregularity of the present school district line as seen in Map II is a practical demonstration of the foregoing statement. This irregularity indicates that these changes from the original school district line can represent nothing but an adjustment on the part of those concerned. When the frequency with which a petition is granted to change the school district line is observed, it becomes apparent that the problem of adjustment is continuous. This possibility of change prevents a static condition and marks the school district as responsible to the needs and desires of those concerned.

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Evidence of a concerted movement occurs too. Thus, when Perche Creek inconvenienced the children on the east in reaching the White Oak schoolhouse the district was divided and a new district established so that the children would not be under necessity of crossing the creek.

The school as a point of social contact is brought out in Table 11, where it is noted that in 74 of the schools there were 2,343 visitors to the school during the year. Surely there is in that visiting a forging of the group consciousness not to be overlooked.

In the same table, it is seen that in 34 of the districts there were 117 families that moved from one district to another, necessitating that 200 children develop social relations anew in another district. The places vacated by these are occupied by newcomers. Considered in the light of the total number of families there are not enough removals to disrupt group organization, but sufficient to keep group spirit fluid and in a continual process of gradual adjustment.

Aside from the direct contact of parents in the social affairs at the schoolhouse an indirect contact is noted through the pupils. The school as a disseminator of neighborhood news has only been slightly affected by the telephone and the daily mail. Aside from the influence on the child, the school acquaints the families with each other, an influence of real importance in maintaining group consciousness.

The school district as an effective unit in everyday life has been recognized in many ways. The secretary of one of the stronger farm organizations of the State made the statement that the policy of his organization is to use the school district as the unit of organization because it reaches the man "at the cross roads" and at "the fork of the creek." Its most virile units are those which most effectively capitalize the school district. During the political campaign of 1922 the dominant political party of the country voted to conduct the campaign by school districts rather than by voting precincts as of former years. The National Council of Defense in 1917 recommended the extension of county organization by the creation of Community Councils in every school district.

As data were being gathered, there was a recurring impression of the consistency with which the school district proved to be the primary group unit most readily acknowledged by those concerned. There were, to be sure, other group affiliations, exerting a lesser, an equal and even a transcending influence on group consciousness. It is these, and not the school district as such, that are included in the Base Map. However, in Map II the school district map is laid over the Base Map, giving an illuminating diagram of the dual nature of group association. Therefore, where a neighborhood is noted on the base map that is not at the same time a school district, it is not to be assumed that the school district is not

distinctly taken into account, but rather that another dominant force has had to be reckoned with. Cases in point are the Butler-Simms (18) and the Perche Creek (6) groups. In the former the men responsible for the patriarchal domain have passed away, but the name remains, a stubborn thing to eliminate. But along with the conception of Butler-Simms neighborhood is the underlying conception of the Prowell or the Barnett School district. Perche Church is situated at a point where four school districts meet, creating a distinct group feeling built upon the organizing influence of a strong church. The coordinate group consciousness of church and school neighborhoods was well illustrated by the Perche Church community fair held in September, 1922. Exhibits were confined to the four school districts. There was in evidence a marked sense of satisfaction with the Fair as something reflecting credit upon the efforts of the Perche Church neighborhood while at the same time there was a distinct pride in the complimentary remarks made and the prizes awarded to the school district in which the individual lived. That is to say, a man would recognize a community of interest in both the Perche Church neighborhood and his school district at the same time. This dual conception of neighborhood is further illustrated in those areas immediately surrounding the community centers.* Here the contribution of the center satisfies many of the needs, which at points further removed are only met in the schoolhouse. Hence, although the school district's functions have been reduced to a point where the community center is the greater influence in forming a group consciousness, the conception of the school district remains, even though a secondary consideration. Areas will also be observed on the Base Map which are removed from the immediate influence of the community center and which are not included in any primary group boundary. These unbounded areas mean that here the school district is almost without competing interests in determining group consciousness and as such is not given a place on the base map.

THE CHURCH AS A FORCE IN CREATING PRIMARY GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS

Exclusive of Columbia, there were found 60 churches in various states of activity. This is a loss of 14 churches since the survey of Rural Churches in the County was made in 1917, by Dr. Bruce L. Melvin. Of those now classed as active, eight are without regular ministerial services although steps are being taken to obtain ministers.

In an effort to gauge the effectiveness of the church in forming group consciousness, questionnaires were sent to representatives of each

*Discussed on page 42.

church in the county. This was followed in most cases by a personal interview and a search of the church records.

The 60 churches reporting have a total attendance of 5,578 individuals or approximately 92 persons of all ages to a preaching service. The average number of families in a primary group was 28 so that an average of 92 persons to a preaching service indicates that neighborhood lines are crossed in attending church services. This is obviously true in such cases as the Mt. Pleasant or New Liberty Churches near Ashland, which report an attendance of 200 and 250 respectively. A glance at the Church Map (III) confirms this impression and it was further verified by observing families driving past one or more churches in order to attend denominational service of their own choice. On the other hand, families were often observed attending services of a neighboring church on Sundays when their own was without preaching service.

TABLE 12.—NUMBER, FREQUENCY, AND CHARACTER OF MEETINGS IN RURAL CHURCHES, AND ATTENDANCE AT THEIR SERVICES.

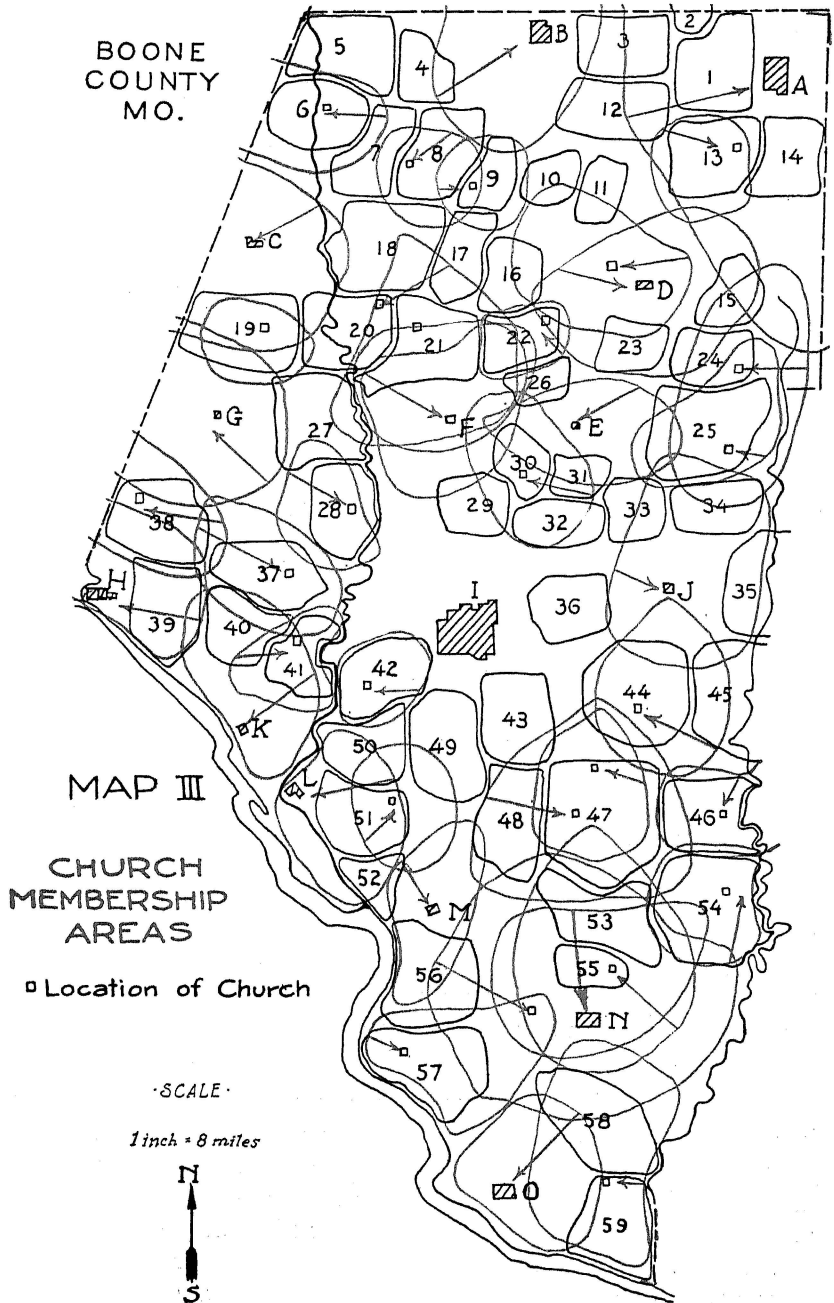
Organization	Attendance						Frequency		
	No. Reporting	Men	Women	Under 18 Years	Total	Average	Weekly	Semi-Monthly	Monthly
Church	60	1865	2210	1503	5578	92.9	6	11	43
Women's Societies	22	----	451	----	451	20.5	1	2	19
Young Peoples' Organizations.....	13	----	----	----	585	45	10	2	1
Sunday School.....	38	----	----	----	2125	55.9	38*	--	--

TABLE 13.—INFLUENCE AND ACTIVITIES OF RURAL CHURCHES.

No. of Churches Reporting	Influence of Church			Secular use of Church		Picnics, Dinners, etc.	
	Growing	Stationary	Waning	Yes	No	Yes	No
60	16	15	29	23	37	34	26

*Four of these do not meet during the winter months.

A reported attendance of 5,578 persons in these 60 churches (Table 12) does not indicate a high church attendance in the open country. The population in 1920 of the county exclusive of Columbia was 19,280. As will be seen from Table 12, forty-three of the churches have only one meeting per month, or the equivalent of one-fourth time pas-



toral service, so that the amount of time devoted to the rural church by its members is small. Indeed if church services were held in all of these churches on the same Sunday there would be approximately only one-fourth of the rural population present that day. A statement somewhat disconcerting for the rural church is made by a rural minister who says that many of those who formerly attended the country church are now attending one in town. He says further, that only exceptionally do these people transfer their membership to the town church. In such cases neither the country nor town church is receiving anything but nominal support.

The one-fourth time pastoral service usually means a preaching service on Saturday night and another on Sunday morning although there are, in a few cases, as many as four preaching services in 36 hours. One church reports services on Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday evenings, and on Saturday morning and Sunday morning, during one week of each month. During the summer and fall the "protracted meeting" occurs at which time there is a preaching service each evening as long as interest is maintained. In 11 of the churches the preaching services occur twice each month and in six churches there is a weekly preaching service.

In 22 of the churches, as is seen in Table 12, there are women's organizations such as the Missionary Society, or the Ladies Aid. A large part of the effort of these organizations is exerted for the financial support of the church through bake sales, suppers, etc. These 22 organizations are seen to have an average membership of 20 plus. Nineteen of them meet monthly, two meet twice each month and one meets weekly. These meetings are sometimes held in the church and at other times at the home of one of the members. None of the churches reported a men's organization as among the activities of the church. There were 13 young people's societies reported with an average membership of 45. In ten cases the meetings are held weekly for religious purposes, two semi-monthly, and one meets monthly for social and recreational purposes.

Thirty-eight of these churches reported a Sunday school, although four of them hold services only in the summer when the weather is pleasant and the roads are good. There is a total Sunday school attendance of 2,125 persons, an average of 56 present at each meeting. The Sunday school is a very real part of the church life and is given zealous attention. A blacksmith was overheard to refuse an offer of extra pay for completing some work on a Sunday morning because he did not care to miss Sunday school. There was no decided objection to Sunday work as such, since he offered to complete the work after Sunday school.

It is in the Sunday school too, that local leadership comes into its own. The church service is largely dominated by the minister, but during the Sunday school hour the local people are in a position of authority. To some of these, Sunday school represents one of the few opportunities that come in life to assume public leadership among their neighbors.

From Table 13 we find that 34 of the churches have an annual basket dinner which takes the form of a "homecoming" event. Many of the former members and ministers of the church return, glad of the opportunity of renewing friendships of former years. The morning services are held followed by the dinner, while the afternoon is spent in discussing plans for the ensuing year, visiting, song service, etc.

The same table shows that out of a total of 60 only 23 churches are reported as being available for services other than religious ones. Whenever another meeting place is available there is a tendency to discourage the use of the building for secular use.

Of passing interest is the evaluation made by persons familiar with the work of each church. Table 13 indicates that 16 churches were thought to be increasing in influence, 15 are stationary, while 29 are believed to be waning in influence. Eighteen of those expressing a lack of confidence in the motivating influence of the rural church of which they had personal knowledge, were ministers of these churches.

The analysis of the origin of group names which is found tabulated in Table 4 points out the fact that in five of the fifty-nine cases cited the church was in a direct manner responsible for the selection of the group name. In five other cases the church was indirectly the origin of the group name. Evidently, at that time, in the first half of the 19th century the rural church was an extremely vital thing in the lives of these people.

It is not to be inferred, however, that the rural church is consistently losing prestige. Table 9 indicates that in intensity of group spirit three of the medium plus groups have their mainsprings within the church. Thus a man in speaking of the Perche Church neighborhood said, "Yes, those folks down there think they are a nation unto themselves." There has, indeed, grown up something which, while intangible, is akin to family pride, a something that creates a thrill of pride whenever the neighborhood is mentioned favorably or, of resentment, when it is spoken of in terms of disparagement. In less highly developed form this spirit of neighborhood was found in connection with a Woman's Circle at the Oakland Church (30). This organization, somewhat non-sectarian in character, has taken into account a program of personal and neighborhood improvement for all of the women in the neighborhood. At Fairview (42) a Community Club meeting at the church built up a strong group spirit during the winter. These three churches are examples

of the psychic neighborhood built up around a church building as previously discussed.

On the other hand such churches as Locust Grove (9) or Friendship (22) represent neighborhoods in which the church building has the implication of physical aspect in the main. As such, it is a place on the landscape which offers a convenient means of orientating the individual, or in directing others. This condition does not indicate that the spiritual church housed in the building is failing to function efficiently. Some of the churches in this class are the strongest ones in Boone County and are continually given proof of their religious strength.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD STORE AS A DETERMINANT OF GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS

Table 4 indicates that in each of 19 of the neighborhoods there is a store. Further inquiry brought out the fact that in six other neighborhoods the store had been abandoned. Replies to questions in every part of the county were given by both owner and customer. These were almost unanimous in agreeing that farmers were constantly increasing the amount of their purchases in the larger towns.

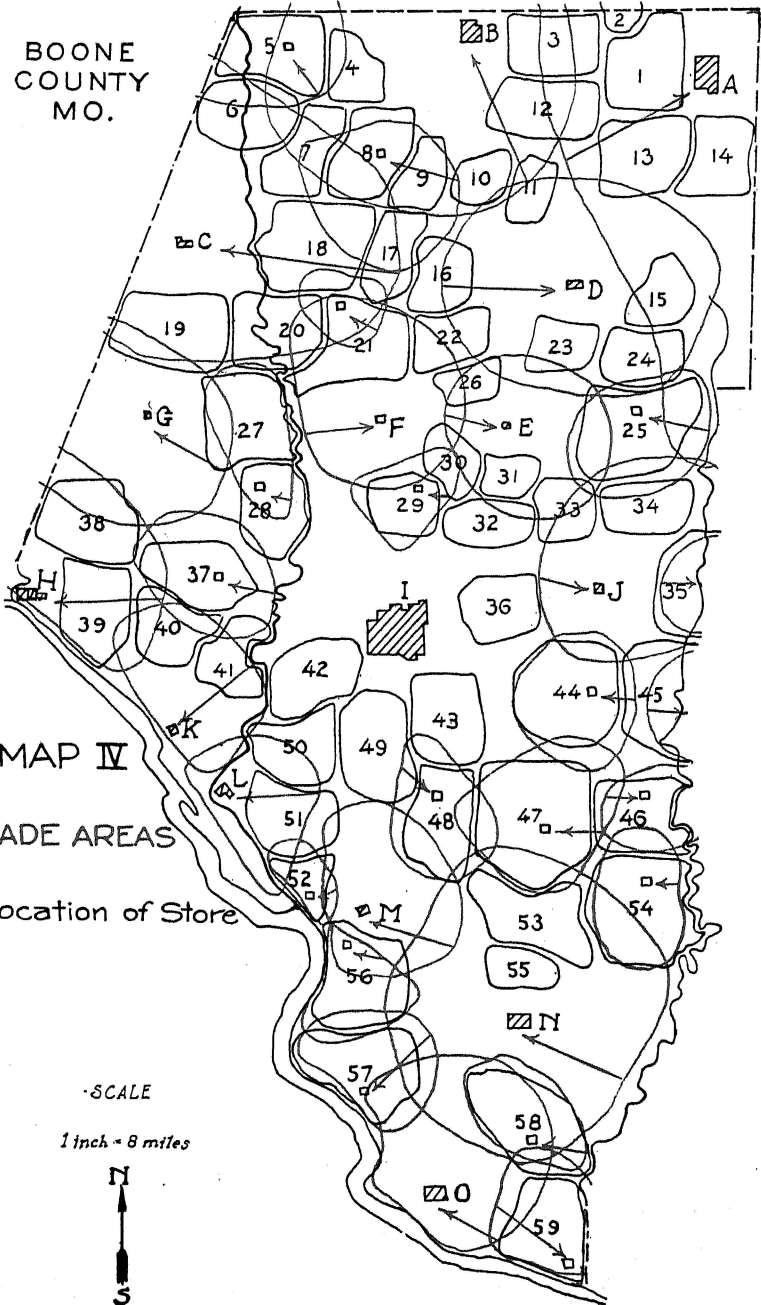
In the territory outside of Columbia, there are 64 stores handling groceries. Serving a population of 19,280 there is an approximate average of 66 families per store. (There is assumed the usual average of five persons per family.) This means of course that the community center stores such as Centralia or Sturgeon, have a greater number than 65 customers and the neighborhood store a smaller number. In view of the fact that about 58% of the food consumed on the farm is the product of the farms it would appear that the number of customers patronizing the neighborhood store is too few to give a volume of trade necessary to support an efficient store.⁸

Map IV indicates that the trade area for these stores, small as it is, nevertheless is overlapped by the trade area of other stores. Thus Rock Bridge (48) is seen to divide a territory 2 miles in length and 1 mile wide with Deer Park (47) on the south and an equally large area on the west with Sapp (M). This "neutral" area is one in which the people may, and do, go in either direction in accordance with determining conditions.

While there are families that confine their purchases to the neighborhood store so far as that is possible, it is not the rule, and in any event recourse must be had to the community center stores for the purchase of clothes, shoes, harness, tools, etc. There is a constantly increasing complexity of demands. The neighborhood grocery store supplies the

8. W. C. Funk, Value of Food, Fuel, and Use of House, U. S. D. A. Bul. No. 410.

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day to day needs of groceries but the specialized store is required to meet the more unusual needs. The small neighborhood store may carry a few simple drugs, the community center store a larger number, but a prescription can be filled only in the specialized store of the larger center.

The trade area of the neighborhood store will be noted to extend from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in each direction. As might be anticipated, this area is enlarged in proportion to the number of needs that can be met at the same point. It is apparent, that the individual will go a little further in order to complete several errands at one time rather than make a separate trip to satisfy each.

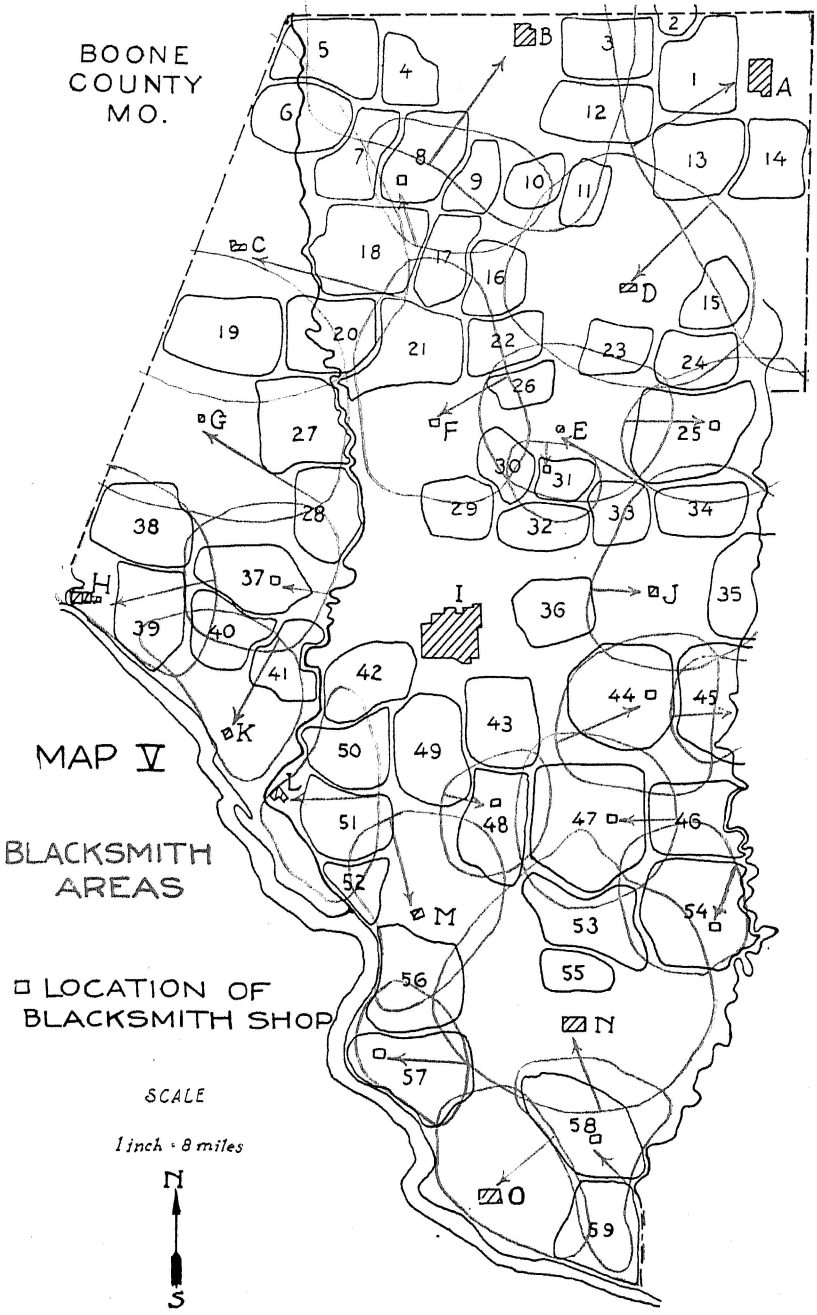
In considering the various aspects of the country store as a neighborhood force it is clear that, like the country church, it has lost much of its former prestige and some of its functions have been supplanted; yet it would be an error to assume that the store is without effect in moulding group consciousness. There is vitality left which makes itself felt. If the store has lost much of its glory as a public forum, there has arisen nothing to take its place as the debating place of the countryside. Like the school, the store retains some of its functions as a disseminator of news. Not all of the farm homes have telephones and word left at the store is sure to reach throughout the neighborhood in a short time. Because it is still a congregating place, it is there that the announcements of a sale, a meeting or an entertainment are to be found.

MINOR FORCES DETERMINING PRIMARY GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS

The Blacksmith Shop.—The neighborhood blacksmith shop is fighting a losing battle with the forces of machine industry and invention. One by one the shops are closed, admitting the economic impossibility of the hand worker to compete with the machine. From an enterprise that was at one time as essential to neighborhood life as the store itself, the blacksmith shop has become one that can command subsistence from the community center alone.

Map V and Table 5 indicate that there are still eleven neighborhoods that support a blacksmith shop. Eight of these, however, are in the neighborhood centers which approach the classification of community centers, that is, in those places where such a number of interests are served at one point that most of the needs of community life may be met there.

With two exceptions, these shops are owned by men who spend much of their time in other pursuits. The small volume of business makes it imperative that the smith have some means of supplementing his income from the shop. As a result, his presence at the shop is an



uncertain quantity. When he has an order for work, or by appointment, he may be found there. At other times the shop may be closed.

His equipment is scanty, hence he does not attempt tasks that do not fall closely within the limitations of the primitive blacksmith shop. He shoes a horse, turns a plowshare, and repairs an occasional farm tool or machine. At such times as his shop is open passersby stop for a chat and a visit. Unlike the community shop, the customer awaits in the shop while his job is being done. To a limited extent the blacksmith shop exerts an influence in building up a primary group consciousness, but in bowing to the inevitable march of progress, its influence is a waning one. In no case does it prove a prime factor in forming a group consciousness.

Farm Organizations.—There are two farm organizations in the county, the Missouri Farmers' Association and the Farm Bureau. The former is built on a local unit known as the farm club, ten of which were found to be active. Five of these reported business meetings only and four reported an occasional social program in which women and children participate.

The business meetings are held in connection with a shipping association and as a rule, mean an annual meeting at which time dividends are declared on the previous year's business. There is even in this circumstance a feeling of "belonging" to something, on the part of those people who may pay the membership fee to the organization. Growing out of the club are those casual gatherings when livestock is shipped, or a car of coal is bought cooperatively and unloaded at the station. A semi-monthly farm journal devoted in a large measure to the interests of the organization furnishes an additional bond with the wider community of the State. It appears that these events are too perfunctory and rare to be said to exercise any marked influence on group consciousness.

The farm bureau was organized in 1922 and is now carrying out a definite program of work in charge of a county agricultural agent. While the organization is not sufficiently developed in this county to warrant its being classified as a major factor in the development of group consciousness, still it is exercising a marked influence. Its work is being developed on a combination of neighborhood and community basis with frequent gatherings in connection with the work of the various projects which comprise its program of work. A weekly paper devoted to the interests of the farm bureau, the persistent educational work done, and the beginning of cooperative buying and selling obviously lead to the development of a conscious group spirit.

The Newspaper.—The correspondent of the weekly newspaper performs a function in outlining a growing group spirit. Even after the

neighborhood lines are subconsciously recognized and the group is, to all purposes, functioning as such, the fact is often not openly recognized until the weekly items from that section begin to appear in the newspaper. Gradually there grows up a rather definite idea of who is to be included in the report of a particular neighborhood. Just as the school district creates a group consciousness, after the lines have been drawn, so does the newspaper perform a similar function, in a less decisive manner. From the weekly items in the paper the members of that group learn the news of the neighborhood, news that may be old and yet its appearance in the paper is awaited to add the stamp of finality and assurance to the fact.

TABLE 14.—PRIMARY GROUPS REPRESENTED BY NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS.

Rucker	Dripping Springs	Linden	Englewood
Riggs	South of Hallsville	Fairview	Wilton
Middletown	Murry	Providence	Oldham
Pinnacles	Midway	Easley	Clayesville

Table 14 indicates that 16 of the groups are represented in the columns of the newspapers and to that extent take on a semi-official status in the thinking of the readers of the papers, and to the group itself, the group name comes to have a more precise meaning. It is worth noting too, that 13 of these correspondents are in neighborhoods included in the medium or higher groups in intensity of group consciousness.

It is not contended that the newspaper correspondent is the original determinant of group consciousness except in the case of South of Hallsville (23) but rather that its effect is exerted after the primary causes have held sway. In the one case mentioned a vague general direction has been converted into a specific area with a fairly well developed group consciousness. The newspaper, lends a strengthening effect to the group bond and intensifies by so much the group feeling already present. Its place is a minor one in determining group consciousness but it cannot be ignored.

The Individual.—How, and why, one individual can so stamp his personality upon his fellowmen as to set going a live and virile sense of group consciousness about himself, is a study in leadership with which we are not concerned here. It is enough to know that it did occur and occurred frequently enough that, as will be noted from Tables 3 and 4, some 30 of the 59 primary groups derived their name from an individual. The individual's impress may have been made through material possessions, through the number of his relatives, or through sheer personality. John Butler, of the Butler-Simms neighborhood, must surely have been one of this type. This hard-working, thorough-going Irishman, who

could carve out of agriculture alone a small fortune within a life time, who could be hospitable to a fault, and who could set up a reputation of being "King of the Black Feet*" probably would have moulded his environment under any circumstances. Glenn and Judy (34), McHarg (44), Riley (7), and others, while not so spectacular as Butler, were of such metal that their influence would have been felt anywhere it had been placed.

An analysis of these 30 primary group names based on the name of an individual reveals the fact, that in 11 cases the individual owned a store. Thus, there was a Riley's store, later when a blacksmith shop and a harness shop were added, the locality became known as Rileyburg.

In five of the instances where the individual's name became attached to the group he had donated a site for the schoolhouse. In a consideration of the school district names it was found that in 52 cases, the donation of a building site had caused the district to be named after the donor.

In four cases a mere preponderance of relatives gave the neighborhood its name. In three cases there was a combination of the family name with a church, a school district or a station stop on the railroad.

Two cases were more complex. While named after individuals, they were at the site of coal mines and located on a railroad. A store and a number of houses went to make up a little settlement. When one mine became worked out and the other caved in, the signs of activity passed away from both settlements and in each case there remains to mark the site of a once thriving center only a coal refuse dump, a shed for passengers awaiting the train, and a chute for the loading of live stock.

The remaining two instances gather names from the owner of a grist mill, long since deserted, and from the erection of a bridge over the Silver Fork. For a number of years the bridge was the only sure means of crossing the stream.

Of the 30 men, who left their names as a heritage to the neighborhood, few remain.

In talking with the older people in these neighborhoods, it became evident that the personality of the man had much to do with the establishment of the old neighborhood. There was surely a more virile force surrounding the individual then than there is now. Conditions were different, too. The smaller, more self-sufficient unit of that day gave scope to the big man of the neighborhood that the present day of enlarged vision and extended communication of the neighborhood denies. It appears then that the former strength of the individual in determining group lines is giving way to other influences.

*A facetious term applied to people living in the Butler area (18).

Natural Phenomena.—The natural phenomena grouping, as will be observed from Table 4, occurs next to the individual in the frequency with which it is responsible for the group name. Eleven of the 59 group names originated in this fashion. Group consciousness, it seems, may become fixed about natural phenomena in two ways. In the first case the fame that attaches to the spectacle may become a matter of local pride. Those living in the vicinity begin to identify themselves with it, and there develops a feeling of proprietary interest in connection with it. A true "we consciousness" and local spirit become apparent. Lick Fork (4) and Pinnacles (17) are two examples of this class. The intensity of group consciousness is low but what there is, is definitely associated with the phenomenon from which it receives its name. A church built on the banks of Lick Fork some years ago was given the name of Perseverance. In the official records it retained that name but the designation among the people has always been "The Lick Fork Church".

The remainder of this grouping, nine in number, fall more nearly into the second conception in which some institution such as the church or school has arisen beside the natural phenomenon. Such loyalty, then, as is discovered is involved more with the institution than with the phenomenon. The latter is merely nominal, being so little out of the ordinary that slight attention is given it. Locust Grove (9) and Walnut Grove (38) are today only small clumps of trees. Likewise, the others, with the exception of Rock Bridge (48), require a strain on the term "natural phenomenon" to be included.

One is led to conclude then, that the natural phenomena strictly speaking, in Boone County, except as correlated with other forces, are of slight weight in the forming of a group consciousness.

The Exchange of Work.—Two generations ago such events as "log rollings", "barn warmings", "corn huskings", "apple butter stirrings", and "threshings" were frequent in Boone County. These served the double purpose of providing recreation and of mutual aid, since aside from the fellowship enjoyed in working together and in seeing a needed task completed the working bee was followed by some form of merry-making and feasting. The recreative faculties of the people of this earlier stage of our agriculture were always keenly whetted because of the rarity of social contacts. Any opportunity of satisfying the gregarious impulse was eagerly sought. Perhaps at that time there was no better test of the limits of the neighborhood than to enumerate the guests at one of these "work fests" and social gatherings.

The pioneer system of life has passed, and its customs must inevitably follow. A more prosperous agriculture and the rise of new rural institutions have developed the beginnings of a class spirit and with it

has come the wage earner. A statement, not infrequently heard, was, "Mr. ----- has several boys but they never trade work. When one of the boys goes to a neighbor's farm he expects his day's wages and he doesn't aim to work more than eight hours either". A "good neighbor" was frequently spoken of as the one who traded work.

Although this custom has almost disappeared, there were some activities found of the nature under discussion, fighting a stiff rear-guard battle. There is no attempt to use the work to be performed as a means for a social gathering and while the satisfaction of the gregarious impulse cannot be gainsaid, still, the main business of the day is purely an exchange of work.

Chief among these is the "hog killing", a farm operation that can be done most economically when several men are engaged. One man reports that "Whenever I hear of a hog killing I whet up my knife and am off". Inroad is being made on this custom in a few cases where a butcher's gang is hired from the town to come to the farm and do the butchering at a specified charge per head. In a few other cases the custom of hiring "hands" was observed. In 30 cases it was found that the work was performed by the neighbors on a trading basis.

At threshing time a similar procedure is occasionally noted. The arrangement is for the thresher to furnish along with his machine two men to assist in its operation. The other help is provided by the farmer. The thresher arranges his time so that he will thresh all of the wheat in the neighborhood on one visit, assigning acceptable dates to each patron. These in turn arrange among themselves for the labor, usually supplied in the form of time honored "threshing ring". However, the common practice has come to be that of the thresher employing a complete gang of workmen for the season, making all arrangements for their food and shelter. The farmer is called upon to supply only the fuel and water for the machine.

A variety of other farm operations calling for an additional "hand" were found. In many instances these jobs can be done by one person but the addition of one or more workers lightens the task. Gathering corn is a type of work wherein three men can cooperate to good advantage. Cleaning the water pond can be done by one person, although an additional one lightens the labor as much by the presence of a companion as by the amount of labor performed. The exchange of work on this scale is rather common.

There were two instances of the old-time working bee found. The first case is that of a man notoriously derelict in his farm work, who, when he finds himself hard pressed for time in completing his farm operations, will give a husking bee or a tobacco stripping, followed by a dance and party in the evening. The second case is that of the "wood chop-

ping" rather frequently held at the home of a neighbor, who, because of illness is unable to do this chore for himself. Occasionally one hears of the "sugaring-off" party, at which the invited guests watch the last stages of the cooking of maple sugar, later eating that delicacy along with other refreshments provided by the host.

The influence of the exchange of work on group consciousness, although elusive for mapping or statistical purposes and of less importance than in former years, is yet a tangible expression of neighborhood life. While there is a tendency particularly on the larger farms to supplant this exchange of work by day laborers, the exchange of work like spontaneous mutual aid in sickness or accident, will continue to serve as a criterion of neighborhood spirit.

The Community Center as an Organizer of Group Consciousness.—

The base map (No. I) is in many places without primary group boundary lines. This is noticeably true in the areas immediately surrounding the community center. However, one should not infer that such areas are without primary group affiliations. Except under the most unusual conditions it is inconceivable that a man should be without primary group relations, and these unbounded areas are not to be taken as indicating such a condition. It has already been noted in connection with the study of the school district that, all other interests failing, there still remains the school district to give force and point to a primary group loyalty.

It will be seen from Table 2 that of 2,643 replies received to the inquiry, "What is the name of your neighborhood?" 683 gave the name of one of the community centers as the neighborhood name. Referring again to the discussion on the school district, it will be remembered that as the community center was approached, the school district became less capable of dominating the social life of the people concerned. Concrete evidence was offered in the number of suppers, entertainments, and parties held in the schoolhouse, decreasing in frequency as the center was approached.

From the treatment accorded other groups in this study, it is obvious that there was a feeling that for each service performed a group sets up its own group feeling. Within the group the individual gets this sense of belonging and has the feeling of possessing a whole in common with the others who live near him. The personnel of these different groups will rarely coincide, each will differ from the other in some particulars. Each group meets an urgent need, which if not met within the group must be sought elsewhere. These needs of those living around the community center are met within the center.

Because the shading from open country to community center is so gradual, a marking off into primary group areas in the vicinity of the

community center is quite difficult. However, these primary groups may be conceived of as a fringe surrounding the community center, and for practical purposes we may think of the area as the walking distance from the center.

The community center does not develop so intense a loyalty as does the small restricted neighborhood. It is difficult to fix a sustained loyalty to as many diverse, not to say antagonistic, institutions as one finds in the larger community center. A high degree of intimacy is inherent in the concept of neighborhood, a condition lacking in the community center, which finds it necessary to break up into smaller groups for its neighborhood spirit.

SUMMARY OF PART I

Primary Population Groups, while not obtrusive, are discernible over the entire county, while they possess stability still they are flexible and susceptible to change.

A group recognizes a name for itself, a name that frequently has lost connotation with present circumstances. Names can be ascribed roughly in five categories: the Individual, the Natural Phenomenon, the Church, the School, and Decadent Villages.

The group, in most cases, forms about some existent need of life and the satisfying of this need gives rise to some objective manifestation of group life.

The degree of group consciousness varies within wide limits. The more diversified the manifestations the higher the group consciousness. A variation was observed in the readiness with which the group name is recognized, in the loyalty of the members toward the group, in the efficiency with which the group functions and in the degree to which the life of individuals is influenced by the group.

Within the group there is a high degree of intimacy. The unit is small in geographical area. Each member of the group knows every other member intimately. Rarely does a primary group area extend more than a mile and one-half from the center.

It was seen that the group area is increased in size in proportion to the frequency of contacts, hence anything that stimulates frequent gatherings tends to enlarge that area.

A school district was found to be the most prolific of all objective manifestations as a developer of social contacts and as an organizer of group consciousness. It offers the largest common meeting ground for the people. The schoolhouse is consciously recognized as common property, and as a democratic meeting place for the group.

When other manifestations of the group spirit are evolved the school district exerts a conscious and telling force as a dual representative of group spirit. Because of the machinery of change inherent in its organization, it does not risk any fossilizing process.

Proximity to a community center (secondary group) determines the number of social contacts and the amount of group consciousness the school is responsible for. The closer the town the less the group consciousness.

The country store was found to be an effective creator of group consciousness although less so than the school. Changing conditions are undermining its influence as they are that of the church, but to a lesser extent. The strength of the neighborhood store as an organizer of group consciousness lies in the extent to which it permits of an exchange of ideas, facilitates social contacts, and combines a fairly constant group.

The church has been a potent force in determining the group name. It was found to be a frequent manifestation about which primary groups rally, but its force as an organizer of group consciousness is believed to be less than was formerly the case, and when measured objectively it is found to be a lesser factor than either the school or the store.

Few social contacts are developed by the church aside from those with the religious motive paramount. The building is rarely used for non-religious purposes. In an age of increasing social contacts on the part of other agencies, the church has not increased the contacts emanating from it. Services and pastoral ministrations have remained stationary or have declined. One-fourth time service is the rule.

In 36% of the churches there is a woman's organization, in 20% a young people's society, and in 63% there is a Sunday School. In none is there a man's organization. Where subsidiary organizations exist, they were found to be potent influences in the creation and maintenance of group consciousness.

The minor forces rarely assume strength to dominate group thinking and action. They are of little consequence in determining group consciousness. They were found to act rather as strengtheners of a spirit already developed. Thus, the outstanding individual shows a decided loss from former days when he was frequently the dominant force in group behavior.

Part II.—Secondary Group Relationships of the Primary Population Group

A GENERAL STATEMENT

In the discussion of the primary group we observed that the main interests in life were only partly cared for within the neighborhood group. There was a variation in the extent to which the primary group was able to make a satisfactory adjustment to life's conditions. To some extent all the groups treated as primary were under obligations to a larger group in various degrees. Such default as obtained was met, in common with other neighborhoods, at what will be called the community center, a term that will come in for more exact definition later.

Part I dealt with a study of the primary group itself. Part II will consider the primary group in its relations with other groups. Part I bridges the gap between the family and the primary group. Part II will carry the primary group to the next largest group outward. As in Part I the objective manifestations of the primary group were discussed, so in Part II the objective manifestations that hold a number of primary groups will be taken into consideration.

Map I indicates 15 community centers, each being designated by a square and a letter. The community map (No. X) is an attempt to picture a fused community of these different areas on the basis of the group interests served at the center. Unless specifically mentioned, Columbia (I), a city having a population of 10,395, will not be included in the statements concerning the community or community center. For purposes of explanation and not of definition, we would say that the community center is a place where nearly all the needs of life for practical purposes may be met. As the division between community and neighborhood is approached, it is obviously difficult to discern an exact point at which the division may be said to occur. Hence, the distinction must be arbitrary. For that reason, there would be no quarrel with one who preferred to term Shaw (J) a neighborhood, or with one who would place such a group as Midway (37) among the community centers. Any classification of group organization into neighborhood and community, primary or secondary, is obviously artificial. There is, however, a progressive increase in the complexity of relationships as we pass from the family on to the world community and the use of various terms seems justified only to differentiate in a general manner between those groups of a low order of complexity and those of a more involved character.

THE TRADE CENTER OF THE PRIMARY GROUP

Nothing so well exemplified the gradual spreading of the group unit, and nothing can illustrate the manner in which the individual

becomes a member of increasingly larger groups, as does the trade area. It seemed possible, in Boone County, to discern three area groupings with some degree of clearness. The first already discussed is the neighborhood store which acts as an emergency purchasing center. Its customers are confined to members of the primary group. The second is the small community center store. The proprietor devotes all of his time to the business. The stock of goods is greatly enlarged over that of the neighborhood store and there is a neatness about the arrangement that speaks of experience and competition. The trade area is greatly enlarged. The store is able to meet the ordinary needs of life so far as they may be expected to be met in a general mercantile store. The stock, though small, is rather complete. There is a limited choice of hats, shoes, dry goods, hardware, harness and the like. There is no specializing on the part of the stores. This type of store depends for its patronage on a number of the primary groups. The third grouping is found at those centers with an area large enough to support the specialized store. Here is found the clothing store with a stock to meet the desires of the most discriminating, stores given over exclusively to shoes, hardware, etc. So far as the residents of the primary group, which we have been studying, are concerned, the sales are largely on a cash basis. The community centers themselves are an important factor in sustaining these specialized stores.

Map IV indicates a conflict in trade areas, that is, the trade area of one center disputes certain territory with another center. It means that the people living in this common or neutral area are fortunately enough situated that they can visit either community center as fancy may suggest, or necessity warrant. Usually the individual makes a choice of centers in which he does most of his trading, but it is not an inflexible choice.

A further study will also disclose the fact that the trade area line cuts across the primary group lines. That is, the primary group spirit is not carried into a single trade center, but breaks up to form new affiliations with a larger group, although always conscious of the more intimate association back in the primary group. This phenomenon of the large community cutting across and dividing the primary group is observed in the other areas such as the lodge, the church, etc. It indicates an adaptability on the part of people, and that neither primary or secondary group lines are haphazard formations, but based on practical values such as convenience, state of roads, variety of wares for sale, etc.

As will be seen from Map IV, the trade area of the community center extends slightly more than five miles south from the store. Along the Missouri River, the trade area to the south and west is abruptly short-

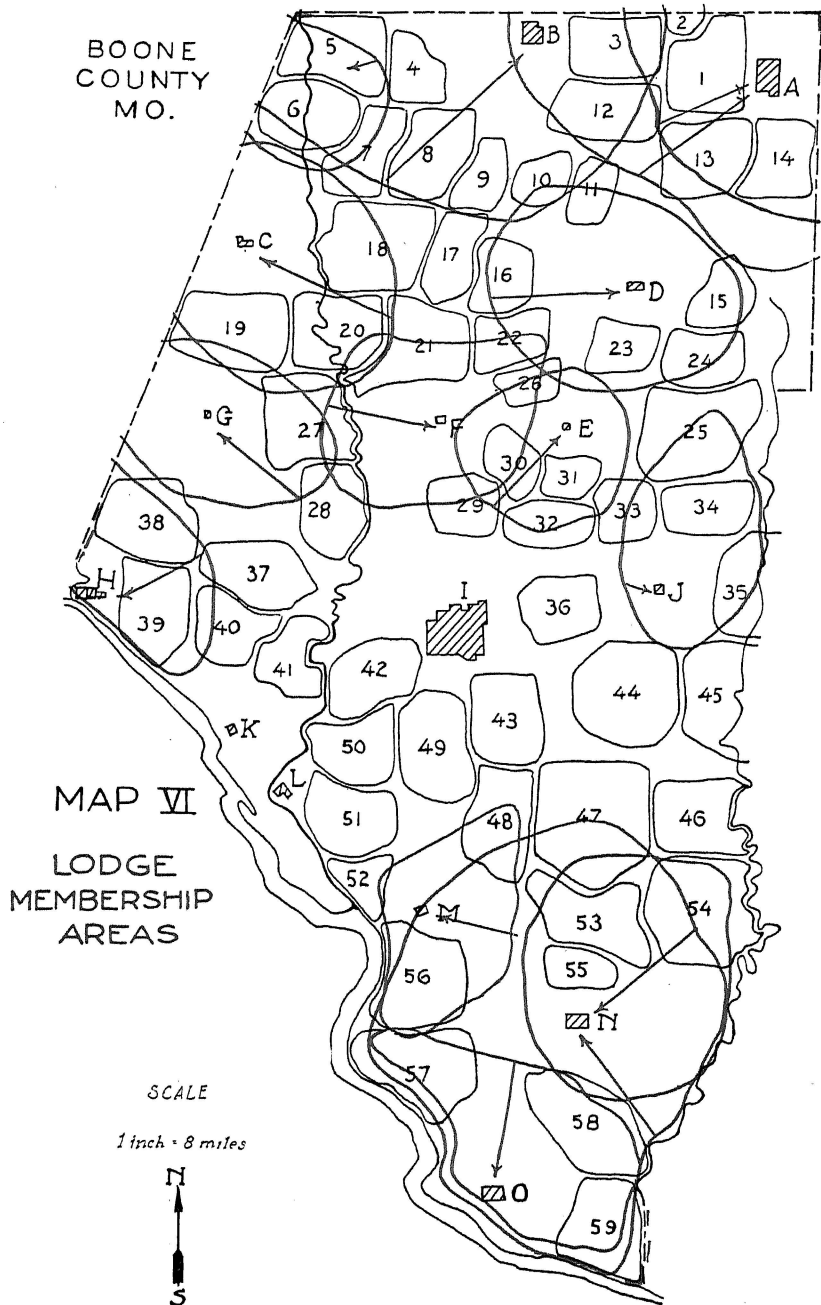
ened but in other directions the distance is somewhat constant. Within this area there is developed a sense of community, which if not as marked as in the smaller neighborhood, is at least, not much less so. One is inclined to see in the community store merely the old country store as a thing which has adjusted itself to the changed conditions. The stock of goods carried need not be large, since wholesale houses are within easy reach at Columbia (I) and at cities in adjoining counties. Agents from these houses call twice each week and if the store is not conveniently located to a railroad, a truck solves the question of early delivery. This economic dependence upon the next larger unit is given specific reinforcement then through the visits of the traveling man, and the frequency of visits to the city by the truck. Each brings the latest news from the city which is passed down to the frequenters and patrons of the store and thence to the primary group. In this way there becomes fixed in the community mind an allegiance to the larger community, as against those other communities with which there is little or no personal contact. The traveling man and the truck symbolize the interdependence of the large and small communities, the store in turn being the connection between the larger community and the primary group.

THE FRATERNAL ORDER AND THE PRIMARY GROUP

Table 15 indicates that there are six fraternal orders with membership open to men, and five others which include both men and women. There are 33 lodges of these orders for men, and 24 which have a mixed membership. In the lodges open to the men, there are 2,647 members, and for those admitting both men and women there are 1,005. It should be remembered, however, that many of these lodge memberships are duplicates, i. e., a man may belong to several different organizations.

The average distance from the lodge hall of the furthest member on each road leading out from the community center is slightly more than 5 miles, an average that approximates a similar one for the store. The same set of factors govern the distance, somewhat, i. e., the distance to the next community center where there is a competing lodge of the same order, the state of the roads, personalities, etc.

The membership necessary for a lodge precludes its organization on a neighborhood basis. The national authorities of the lodges recognize this fact by arranging certain "jurisdictions" to be assigned to each lodge. Membership is then restricted to the lodge within whose jurisdiction the applicant resides. In studying Map VI this fact must be borne in mind, else a mistaken conception of the normal lodge territory of Centralia and Ashland will be obtained. The Odd Fellows have no lodge at Sturgeon, hence, applicants must join the Centralia lodge;



while the Masons have no lodge at Hartsburg, necessitating prospective members living in Hartsburg becoming members of the Ashland Lodge. A truer conception of the lodge area is seen by those boundaries indicating a representation of the same order in each of these four centers.

TABLE 15.—FRATERNAL ORDERS, WITH NUMBER OF LODGES, MEMBERSHIP, AND MEETINGS.

	Membership open to,			Average per lodge, per year	
	Men	Men and Women	Total	Men	Women
No. of orders	6	5	11	----	----
No. of lodges	33	24	57	----	----
Total membership.....	2647	1005	3635	80.2	41.8
Lodge meetings per month..	67	32	97	23.7	16

TABLE 16.—FREQUENCY OF, AND ATTENDANCE AT LODGE MEETING.

	No. of lodges	Meetings per month				Total attendance	Average per meeting
		Irregularly	1	2	4		
Men.....	33	15	8	6	4	638	19.3
Women....	24	6	1	14	3	403	16.7

As indicated by Table 16, the frequency with which meetings are held varies with the organizations. One of the most popular among the men, having four lodges in the county, holds weekly meetings, another with six lodges holds semi-monthly and another with eight lodges holds monthly meetings. The 15 which hold irregular meetings are ones in which the insurance feature is the point of interest. Members are faithful in the payment of dues but meetings are infrequent except at such times as a membership campaign is being waged. Some of these having irregular meeting periods are dying out. The lodges open to the women meet more regularly than do those open to the men only. The life of the lodge of mixed membership depends upon the social and recreational program offered rather than upon the insurance feature.

Comparing Table 16 with Table 15 it is seen that the attendance at the lodge meetings for men is less than one-fourth and for women less than one-half the membership. However, this proportion, exceeds to a large extent the proportion attending in the city of Columbia, where even the largest lodges in point of membership have difficulty in obtaining a quorum.

Granting that there is a degree of friendly partisanship and antagonism among the various groups, the fact remains that for the members, at least, the lodge sets up a "we consciousness" group larger in area than that of the neighborhood. Furthermore, the degree of intimacy is only slightly less than that of the neighborhood itself. The frequent association necessarily breaks into the narrower neighborhood relationships. Beyond this, there is built up a loyalty to an even wider community in the state and national organizations. The tangible bond is found in the organization publications, the visiting brothers, and the lodges of instruction exemplified by the state officers.

The lodge area, like that of the store, is seen to cut across neighborhoods. Again the primary group is seen to break up and reform in a new and larger group—still conscious, however, of the original primary group lines. There is seen, too, a similar conflict of area. In the case of the lodge, this neutral area is not as marked or extensive as with the store area because of the jurisdictions mentioned above, giving exclusive territory to the lodge. Moreover, the different orders rather approximate the area of each other in assigning jurisdictions.

THE HIGH SCHOOL AND THE PRIMARY GROUP

The Consolidated High School.—Maps II and VII indicate that there are two consolidated districts, No. 1 with the high school at Halls-ville, and No. 2 with the high school at Ashland. The chief gain from consolidation has been in each case a high school. The one-room school-houses have been retained, gaining efficiency from the unified supervision. A movement is now under way in one district to arrange for transportation to a central school building.

What has been said in Part I concerning the school district might with lessened emphasis, be repeated in connection with the consolidated district. While losing something in virility, there is a consciousness of a larger community than the small school district. There is the same clean-cut group line, as sensitive as ever to change. Group contacts, although not so numerous as in the one-room school district, are yet frequent. The high school entertainment is taken to each of the rural schoolhouses, under the guidance of the superintendent of schools. A Parent-Teacher association is organized in each rural school with the advantage of more seasoned advice with regard to programs. The superintendent of schools makes inspection trips each month. The teachers hold a monthly conference. All these emphasize the inter-relation and wholeness of the consolidated district.

The individualism of the rural schoolhouse is broken into also by the fact that group meetings are on the basis of the consolidated dis-

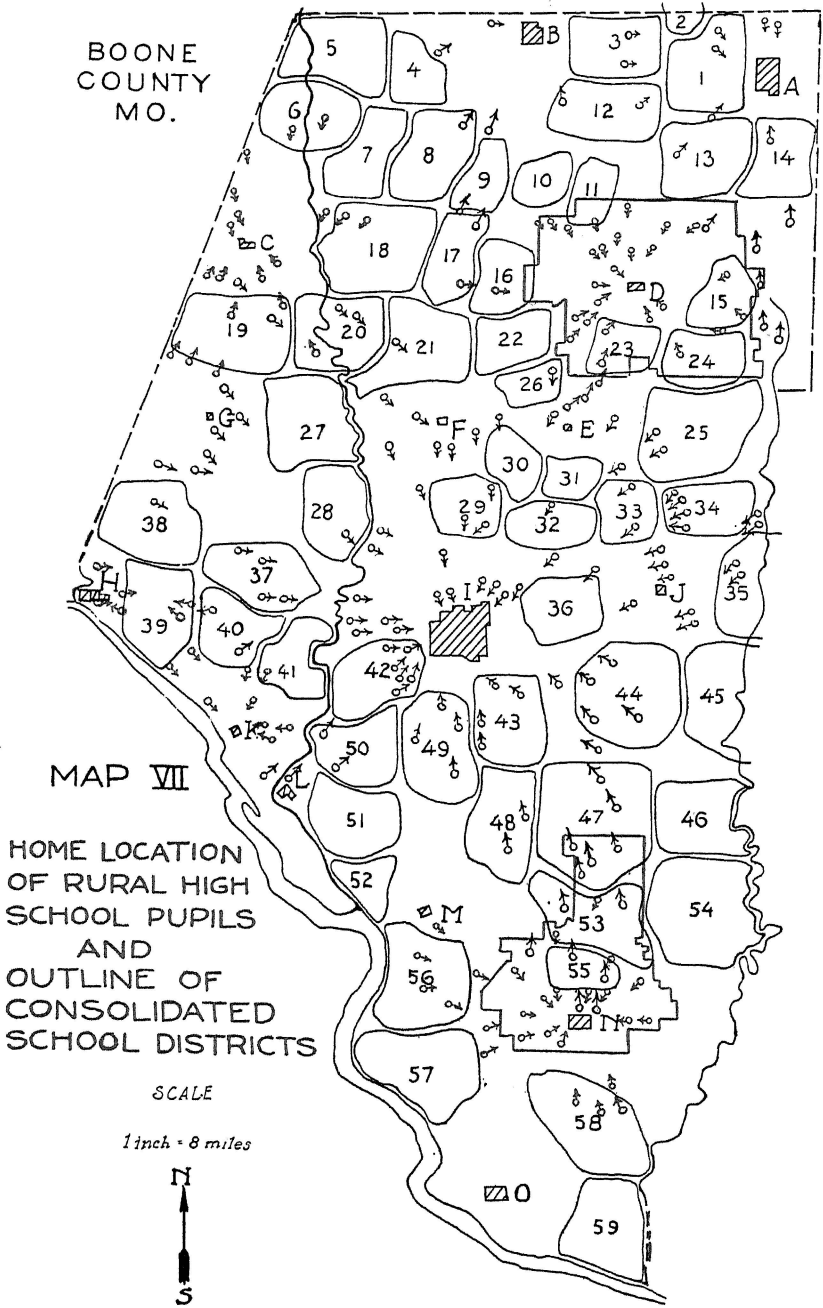
tract. Thus, the graduation exercises of the rural schools are held together, school exhibits are on the basis of the entire district, a harvest festival in one district depends for its success on having each of its rural schools prepare an exhibit for the festival. The annual school election and the tax levy take on heightened vigor as organizers of a larger group consciousness in the consolidated district. The consolidation means a higher rate of assessments and the same forces oppose or favor the rate year after year. There are in both cases a progressive and conservative element so called, hence the conservative from the north end of the district finds himself aligned with the one from the south end and perhaps at sword's points with his neighbor, a progressive. Such a state inevitably weakens the smaller primary group bond in favor of a larger group.

The Hallsville and Ashland consolidations were effected in 1916 and 1919 respectively, so that the time has been too short to develop many striking illustrations of a consciousness of things in common, but certain incidents may be interpreted in this light. Thus, when a technicality caused the consolidation at Ashland to be dissolved by the court, 30 members of the erstwhile consolidation subscribed sufficient funds to keep the high school in operation pending a new election. Recently, at a meeting of the patrons of the consolidated district at Hallsville, the patrons agreed to purchase 38 calves for the calf club. These were exhibited at the annual fair of the consolidated district.

The Town High School.—A comparison of Map VII with the other maps showing community center enterprises indicates the coincidence of the high school area with that of the fraternal order, and the trade area of the community centers. There is the same cutting across of the primary group lines necessitating a revamping of relations in the formation of the new group.

The high school area tends to develop and reinforce the trade area because the pupil in going to the community center daily proves a convenient means of performing errands or making purchases. Such errands or purchases have to be made necessarily at the community center where the pupil attends school so that the high school trade center is made use of even when a second trade center is otherwise more convenient. The more the pupil uses the facilities of the village, the firmer becomes the community claim upon the family concerned.

In a number of ways the primary group spirit is built up into a larger consciousness. The amateur play has in its cast pupils from every part of the area. The rehearsals and the performance give the children and the parents practice in team play that goes far in forming a new group consciousness. Members of one area raised funds to send the high



school basketball team on a long rail journey. Auto transportation for the shorter trips is readily obtained. Indeed, it is necessary to observe the enthusiasm displayed over high school athletics in order to realize the extent to which the individual of the community identifies his interest with that of the success of the high school athletic team.

When one cheers for the athletic team, comes to town to attend the play or entertainment, brings a pie for the Parent-Teacher association supper, the town high school contributes definitely to heightening a group feeling that like the school district and the consolidated school district has already strong motives, economic and otherwise, for group feeling.

Map VII is a departure from the others in two respects. In the first consideration the homes from which high school pupils come are spotted. This was done because of the exactitude that could be brought to bear in such a case. The second difference is the introduction of Columbia into the study. While that city is not a part of the study it seemed worth while to give a hint as to the extent to which the smaller community centers amalgamate to form still larger ones. Other areas of Columbia appear to act as does the high school area, but for the purposes of this study the concentration of widespread primary group and community center interests into Columbia can be sufficiently indicated by this one illustration.

There will be observed a thinning out of attendance at high school as the community center is left behind. Obviously along with this thinning out goes a lessening influence of the high school over the lives of the people, and an increased influence of the primary group.

The consolidated school district and the town high school must be recognized as powerful forces in developing the inter-group feeling radiating from the community center.

MINOR FORCES AT THE COMMUNITY CENTER AFFECTING THE PRIMARY GROUP

The Blacksmith Shop.—The neighborhood blacksmith shop is declining, and we noted that, as a rule, there is not sufficient demand on the smith's services to justify his continual presence at the shop. The blacksmith shop has become a community center enterprise and even there the smiths report a closing of half of the shops that were in operation 25 years ago. Altogether there are 25 blacksmiths in the community or town centers. These usually have well equipped shops.

The blacksmith trade area, as will be seen from Map V, conforms in general to the trade and lodge areas. Because of the smith's reputation for special work he may attract trade from unusual distances; but with an occasional exception, his territory is governed as are the other areas, by the convenience in reaching his place of business as well as by the proximity of competition.

There is not the degree of visiting at the shop that was found in other business places. There is more noise, the smith is busy, and the patrons are few and lacking in intimate acquaintanceship. Usually the shop is somewhat removed from the main part of town. More important, is the fact that the patron is combining his visit to the shop with other errands. Leaving his equipment and instructions with the smith he proceeds to the transaction of his other business. Whatever spare time he may have is spent at the store or on the street, where he engages in conversation with other visitors to the town.

There is a cutting across of neighborhood lines in the town blacksmith's trade territory and a marked infringement on the territory of the neighborhood blacksmith. The latter is due to the better equipment of the community center shop, to the fact that the smith is always at his shop, to a more finished ability in blacksmithing, and to the tendency of the patron to combine the transaction of other business with his visit to the blacksmith.

The blacksmith shop, then, is of minor importance in itself as a developer of an inter-group consciousness from several primary groups, but taken in conjunction with other major and minor factors, it represents a logical claim for a part in the building of such consciousness.

The Bank.—The bank further illustrates the widening circle of group relationships, and the futility of seeking hard and fast definitions as shown by Map VIII. Seven of our community centers are without banking facilities at home, and yet, in this day, when credit plays so important a part in our economic life as it does, it would seem that the

bank is, to some degree, an important adjunct to community life. Though the bank has an important relation to the community, there is a much more intimate relation between the banker and the individual. As the extender of credit the banker is necessarily conversant with the individual's exact financial condition. His advice on investments is sought and heeded and as the banker becomes the confidant of his client in matters of finance, he often becomes aware of the more intimate details of his family life, his hopes and his cares.

However, the extent to which an institution produces group contacts, and to which it develops a "we consciousness" will determine its force as an organizer of the neighborhood or community. From this viewpoint, it will be seen that, whereas the store is practically an indispensable institution of which the population makes frequent use, the bank offers a service which many persons never require. Moreover, most of those who do patronize the bank, do it at irregular periods and with no great frequency.

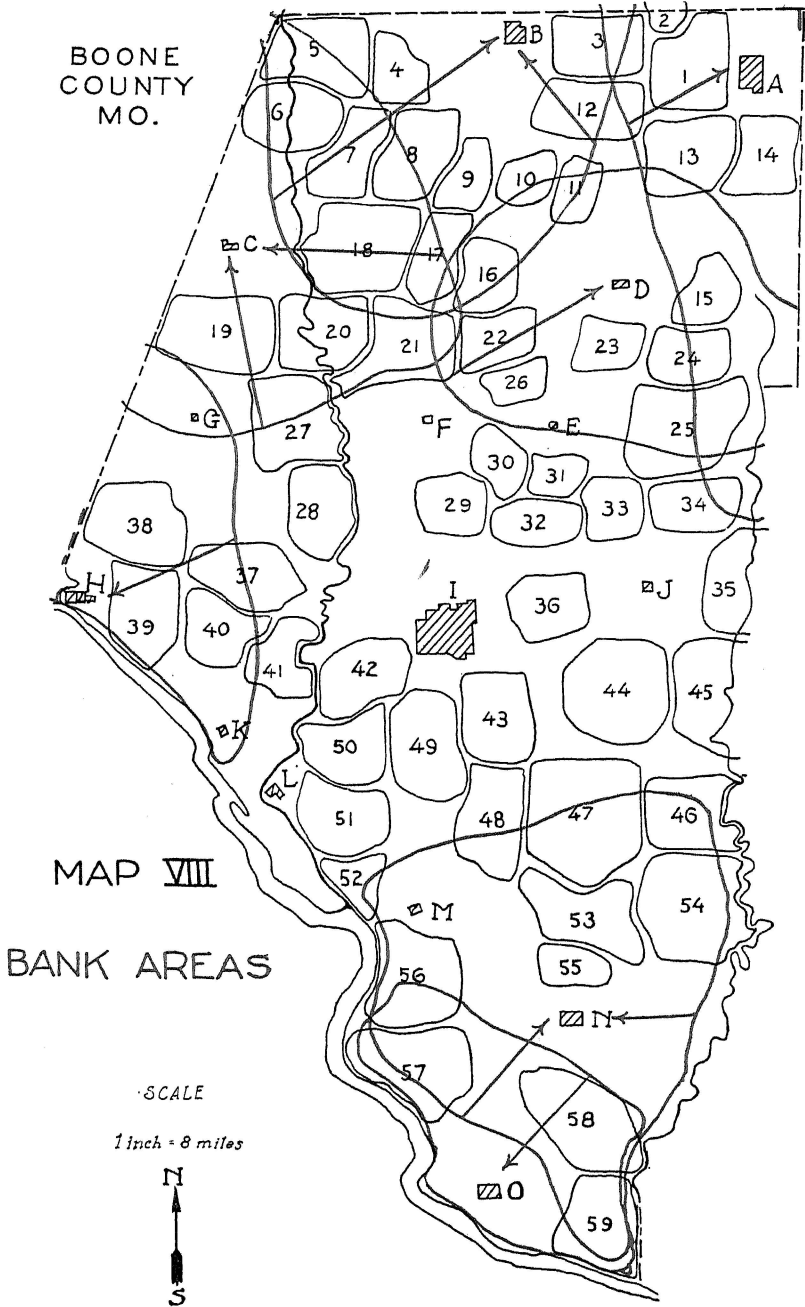
There is, then, a banking community larger than the one set up by the lodge, the store, or the blacksmith shop. As it extends beyond these areas it becomes increasingly less capable of creating a substantial loyalty toward the community center. Lying between the community of the trade center and that of the specialized store of the city, the bank community exerts a minor force in developing an inter-group consciousness. Where it reinforces the smaller community areas, its contribution is stronger than where it operates alone.

The Barber Shop.—The barber shop is a community center enterprise that exerts the least influence among those noted in developing inter-group solidarity. Its custom is drawn largely from the townspeople rather than from the members of the primary group.

Its appeal is stronger for the young man than it is for his father. One can see in the barber shop for the young man, what the older one finds in the store. The barber, often a young man himself, has the faculty of surrounding himself with the younger set of the community center. Good fellowship abounds, and if the charge of encouraging loafing is laid at its door, a similar charge may be made against the store.

Four of the centers at the time of the visit by the writers were without a barber shop, although in two cases a shop had been a part of the community center a short time previously.

While the shop is of lesser importance in determining community consciousness than are the other institutions mentioned, its influence as a minor factor cannot be disregarded.



The Mill.—As the barber shop is largely dependent upon the patronage of those living within the community center proper, so the mill is dependent upon the patronage of those living outside the center. Six abandoned mills in the smaller communities of the county indicate that the milling of flour, including grist grinding is being concentrated in the larger population centers.

The practice of milling wheat in the community has not disappeared. It is not likely to vanish completely although the grinding of corn and the sale of feed and fertilizer is becoming more important. A somewhat apparent generalization is that the mill has passed from the neighborhood viewpoint to that of the community and even transcends the boundaries of our fused community (see Map IX). A second generalization is that the mill, despite its response to changing conditions does not maintain the commanding position of an earlier day, when the grinding was slow and there was much waiting for grist to be ground which was conducive to social intercourse.

With the decrease in patronage a wider area becomes necessary for the surviving competitors, nor is it necessary for the patron to wait any length of time for service. Visiting goes on, to be sure, but more numerous and varied acquaintanceships may be found on the streets or in the stores. Six of the community centers, as will be seen from Table 18, are without mills, the members of these communities being obliged to patronize the facilities in neighboring communities. This lack militates against the claim of the mill to being a community fixture, on the one hand, and offers still another example of the varying size of community interests. As an organizer of inter-group associations, the mill is of slight force.

The Elevator.—The elevator is again typical of the service group that steps over the smaller community bounds. Somewhat of necessity the elevator must have railroad facilities, a fact which in itself limits the number to four outside of Columbia. Because of the size of the area necessary for the successful operation of an elevator, a keen sense of community throughout the elevator territory is not possible. However, in the cases where the elevator is cooperatively owned there does come into being a stronger "we consciousness" than in the community area of the privately owned concern. Like the mill the elevator handles feed, fertilizer, binder twine, etc., and the cooperative elevator is more and more buying carload lots of such commodities as salt, coal, and farm implements for distribution to cooperators through the elevator. Such cooperative purchases clearly have a tendency toward increasing the sense of interdependency among the members.

The Physician.—Because of the personal factors involved, the physician's practise does not form as closely knit community as some

of the other enterprises considered. To a degree, in his professional rounds the physician does act as a go-between among the primary groups but his ministrations are too irregular and his professional ethics too binding to be dependable in the process under consideration.

The office of the physician at the center serves as a convenient means of obtaining advice on current minor matters, or further medicine that would not otherwise warrant a special trip to the center.

In many ways the physician aids in developing a community consciousness conforming somewhat to the trade area, but in another view the physician's practise provides an excellent illustration of intercommunity relations. On serious cases, he often calls a physician from another community for consultation. If he performs surgery he is under the necessity of calling on the second community for a physician's help in administering an anaesthetic. If his surgery is limited, or his case calls for hospital care, he is again emphasizing the interrelation of communities by referring his case to a surgeon in the larger community, or by going to the hospital himself, where he will be assisted by physicians of that community. As an organizer of the inter-group consciousness the physician has only a minor place.

TABLE 17.—NAMES OF COMMUNITY CENTERS, WITH CHARACTER OF SERVICES RENDERED AT EACH.

Center	Lodge	Trade	Bank	Blacksmith	Barber	Physician	Elevator	Mill	High School	Total
Centralia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9
Sturgeon	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9
Harrisburg	X	X	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	8
Hallsville	X	X	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	8
Brown's	X	X	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	3
Hinton	X	X	0	X	0	X	0	0	0	4
Woodlandville.....	X	X	0	X	0	X	0	0	0	4
Shaw	X	X	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	3
Rocheport	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9
Huntsdale.....	0	X	0	X	X	0	0	X	X	5
McBaine.....	0	X	0	X	X	X	0	0	0	4
Ashland	X	X	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	8
Sapp	X	X	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	3
Hartsburg.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	0	8
Total.....	12	14	7	14	9	10	4	8	7	85

THE FUSED COMMUNITY

In discovering the points at which the primary groups failed in producing a satisfactory and complete life, it was observed that they became dissolved with similar groups to meet the needs they could not supply themselves. The particular need sought was found to be met in one of the community centers and the area surrounding this center was spoken of as "The Community", but, there are a number of groups, such as the store, the lodge, the bank, or the church group, each with a community of its own. They never coincide, as will be seen from the various special area maps, and they differ in their power of directing the thought and action of their members. However, as Map IX indicates, there is a pull toward the center beginning at the outermost boundary line of an interest served at the center and this pull is increased as each new boundary line reinforces the drive of the others toward the center, and conversely lessens the contrary pull of the competing centers. Where only two boundary lines of competing centers are in conflict, the positive and negative pull toward either of the centers is feeble and awaits the reinforcing element of new boundary lines. Then, although each group forms its own community, it seems logical enough to assume that there arrives a point when the accumulated force of various boundary lines has overwhelmed the pull of competing centers and the drive is consistently toward the one center, e. i., the people within this area all make use of the center's offerings so far as that is possible. This area would be the fused community shown on Map X obtained by averaging the boundary lines of each of the areas shown in Maps III, IV, V, VI and VIII. For practical purposes, and bearing in mind its limitations, this area would be termed the community of which the cluster of buildings, stores, lodges, churches, etc., is the center. Even then as Map X indicates, the community area is not exclusive for its center. The community boundary lines still conflict and where they do, it is merely an indication that the pull toward the competing centers is neutralized. In practice the merchant recognizes this area, which is called "fighting ground."

In some respects the community center may be compared to the heart of the vascular system. There is a flow of blood toward the heart from all over the body. The main vessels enlarge from the contribution of the smaller tributaries and as the flow is followed toward the heart the relation between heart and blood vessels becomes more vital and apparent. As the large vessels approach the heart a superficial examination does not indicate the differentiation between the heart proper and the blood vessels. There is then a return flow from the heart to the outermost extremity of the body. Again, the farther one makes an examination from the heart, the less apparent is the heart's influence.

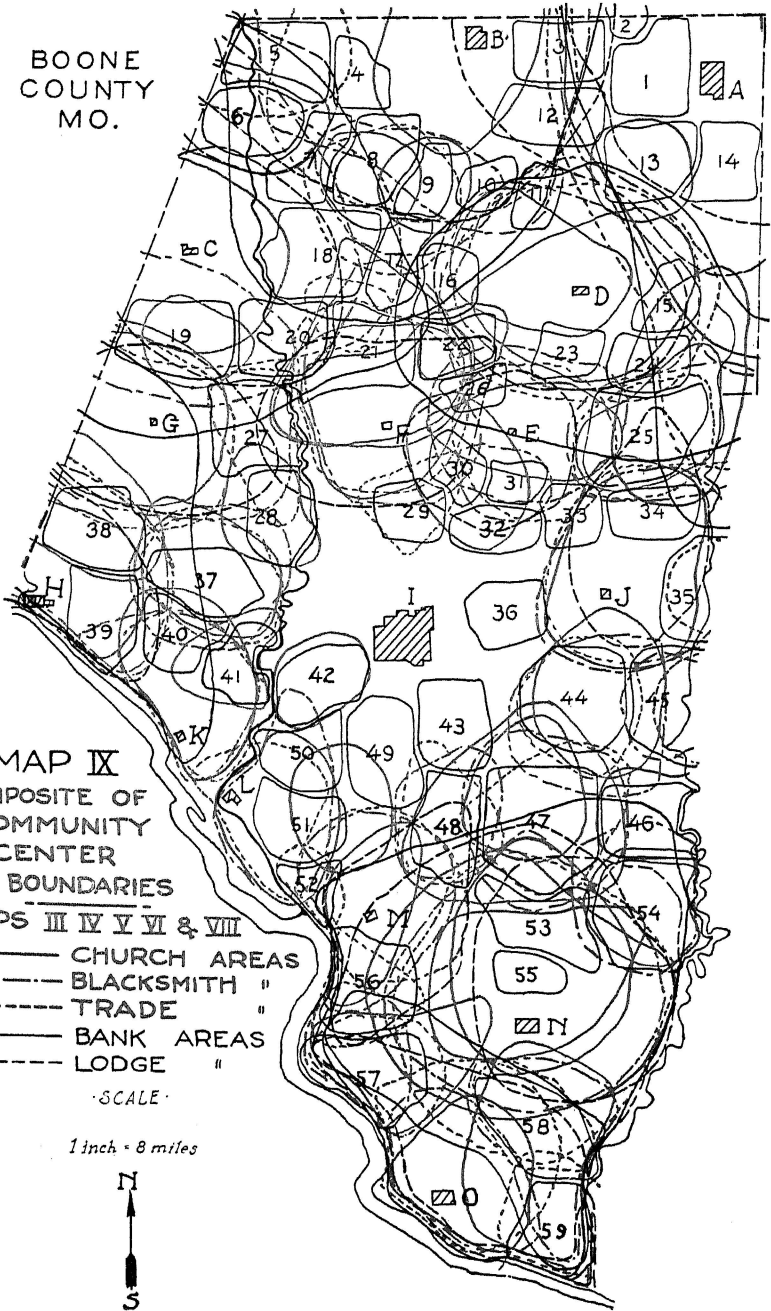
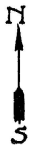
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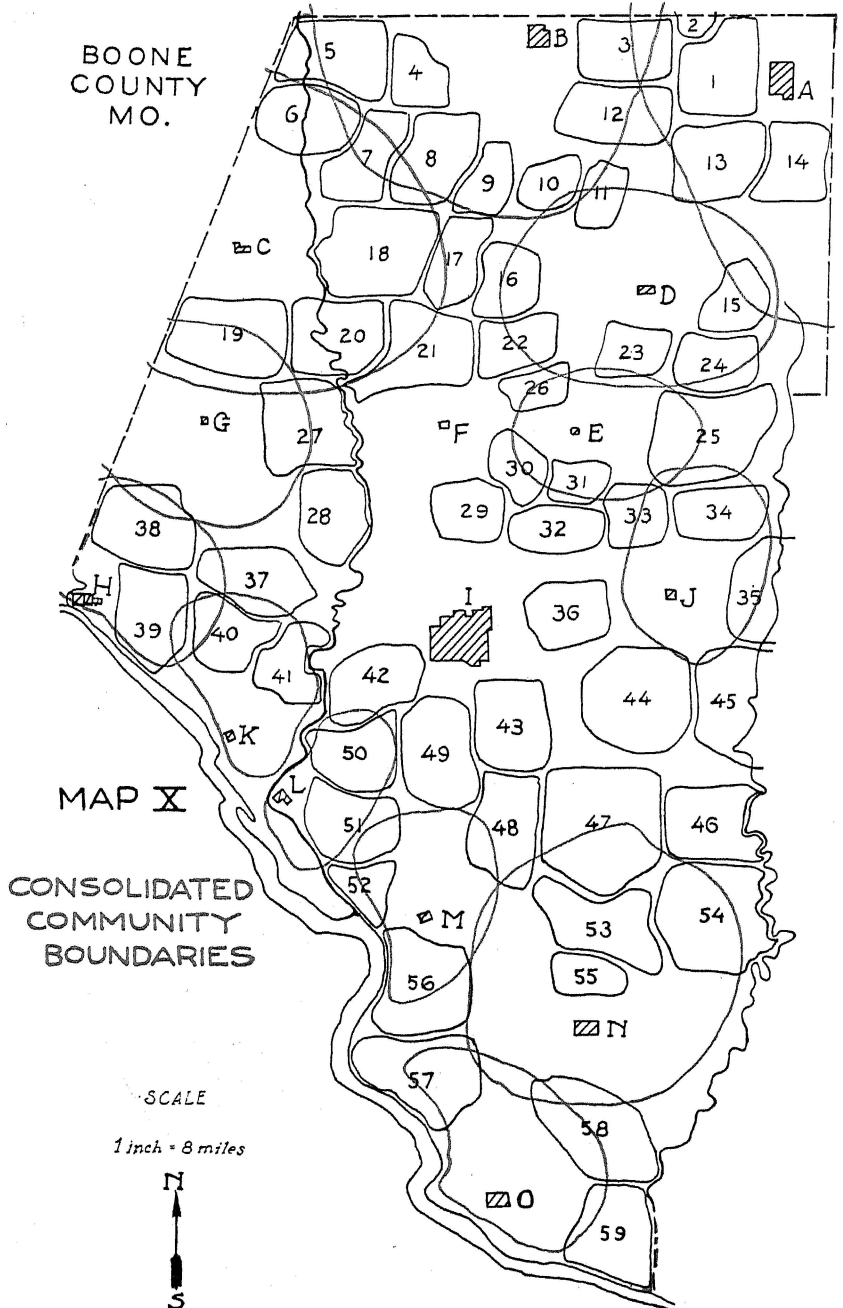
MAP IX
COMPOSITE OF
COMMUNITY
CENTER
BOUNDARIES
MAPS III IV V VI & VIII

- CHURCH AREAS
- - - - - BLACKSMITH "
- TRADE "
- BANK AREAS
- - - - - LODGE "

SCALE

1 inch = 8 miles





In like manner from all over the tributary territory there is observed the flow of social phenomena toward the community center. From many sources, the neighborhood store, the lodge, the school, the church, the bank, the home, etc., there is an accumulating flow of interests leading toward a center. The more distant from that center the observation is made, the less apparent and vital does the relation appear and the less pronounced are the reciprocal relations. As the community center is approached the relation becomes increasingly manifest until at last, as has been pointed out, there is difficulty in determining where the community center begins and where the other factor ends. Finally, the contribution of the community center to its tributary area gradually fades out with distance until difficulty is experienced in evaluating the extent of that influence. Where interests are few and feeble the community bond is of the same nature. As the interests increase in number and strength so does the community bond.

However, the primary group lines are not dispensed with. Part of the members of a primary group may trade at one center creating a group loyalty to that center, the rest of the members of this primary group may trade at a second center with a consequent loyalty to it.

There is still a conscious loyalty to the primary group also. This capacity for retaining loyalty to the primary group in spite of a number of other associations is characteristic of the individual. The cutting across of primary group lines by community boundaries without destroying primary group loyalty is a tribute to the strength of primary group association.

SUMMARY OF PART II

The primary population group was found to be deficient in its ability to meet the major needs of the people. Thus the loyalty of the individual is divided between the primary group (the neighborhood) and the secondary group (the community).

The territorial grouping about the community center, like that of the neighborhood, is a pragmatic one and obviously somewhat arbitrary. The primary groupings were found to be flexible, i. e., their lines were cut across. A number divide their allegiance among two or three secondary groups. The merging of one group into another is so smooth that it is extremely difficult to determine exactly where one ends and the other begins.

The individual usually holds a single primary group loyalty, but may divide his loyalty between two or more secondary groups. This larger group consciousness is not as intense as was found within the

primary group. The group is larger in area and population, contributing to a lessened degree of intimacy, loyalty, and group consciousness. A high degree of group consciousness appears to be dependent upon intimacy.

The maximum strength of community consciousness was found about those centers which, without excessive duplication of services, were able to meet the ordinary needs of human existence. The farther the individual lives from the community center the weaker becomes his recognition of common interest with it. This is obvious, since his recognition of common interests with others depends upon the frequency with which he associates with the other members of the community.

To some extent the community center group is influenced by the content of thought of its primary groups. On the other hand, the content of thought of the community center is very largely a sublimation of the thought of its constituent groups. As the individual, on going to the neighborhood store formulates his views from the ones advanced by the storekeeper, but at the same moment changes the views in some degree that the storekeeper will pass on to the next customer, so does the community center act as a means of interchange and consequent crystallization of group opinion for the primary group. It is by the same procedure that the county, the state, and the national will is developed.

The larger trade center furnishes a link between the primary group and the next larger community. The community center store is superseding the country store slowly, but nevertheless surely. Due to the many contacts that it develops, the store of the community center is, perhaps, the most potent influence in determining the bounds of a community consciousness. The trade area presents the most satisfactory example of the expanding area. From the neighborhood store to the community center store on to the specialized store are mere gradations in area.

The consolidated school district and the high school have great strength in directing the loyalty of the primary group toward the community center. They bring an inheritance of loyalty from the smaller school districts to the larger area. This is especially true of the consolidated school district. This unit will probably gain force as a determinant of secondary group consciousness as time goes on.

The fraternal order, because of its exclusiveness, the number of people included, and because of the nature in which its territorial boundary is determined, is considered a major force in the development of community consciousness and the formation of the ideals of the primary group.

Other factors which have been given a minor classification such as the blacksmith shop, the bank, the physician, etc., while of lesser

strength than the preceding factors, nevertheless exert a cumulative effect in building up the sense of common interest and purpose among the members of the community.

Finally, the apparent fact may be pointed out that the community is just a super-neighborhood. As the neighborhood is made up of the families meeting the simple needs in common, so the community is made up of neighborhoods meeting more complex needs in common. The characteristics of each closely parallel the other.

Part III.—Rural Negro Primary Population Groups

THE RURAL NEGRO PRIMARY POPULATION GROUPS

The negro population of the county, outside of Columbia, consists of 264 families. Table 18 indicates their distribution, 175 comprising small groups in the towns of Centralia, Sturgeon, and Rocheport, and 89 distributed among four open country neighborhoods.

Map XI shows these rural groups to be Mt. Celestial, Mt. Hope, Sugar Grove, and Log Providence, together with their locations.

Mt. Celestial although situated in the open country has most of its members living in McBaine and is therefore a combination of an open country and a town grouping. It maintains a fair degree of strength through the support of the families living in McBaine. They drive from 1 to 5 miles to attend lodge, church, school, and social functions at this open country neighborhood center. Like the other negro centers, Mount Celestial once enjoyed a high degree of prosperity. Now with the negro population moving into town, it would be in a feeble state, characteristic of the others, if it were not for the proximity of McBaine and its negro population.

TABLE 18.—TABULATED DATA RECEIVED FROM QUESTIONNAIRES TO COLORED SCHOOLS.

School District	No. of pupils	No. of families	Schools used for Adult use	Trade	Lodge	Church	Social Center
Centralia.....	43*	41	0	A	A	A	A
Sturgeon.....	26	40	0	A-B	A	B	A-B
Rocheport.....	16	94	0	H	H	H	H
Starr.....	18	47	0	L	L	D*	L-D†
Gillaspie.....	23	5	4	E	A†	A†	E-A†
Grindstone....	18	8	1	I	I	B†	I
Carlisle.....	25	11	12	I-44	I	B†	I
Hayden.....	36	18	4	47	C†	C†	C†
Total.....	205	264	21	----	----	----	----

*Letters and numbers in columns 1, 4, 5, 6, and 7 refer to Map I.

†Letters marked thus refer to Map XI.

Mount Hope is rapidly following the course of Mt. Moriah, a former adjacent neighborhood that has disappeared in all except name. Sugar Grove and Log Providence are not quite holding their own in the face of a dwindling negro population in the open country.

TABLE 19.—ORGANIZATIONS OF RURAL COLORED PRIMARY POPULATION GROUPS WITH FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS AND ATTENDANCE.

Organization	No.	Attendance		Meetings		
		Male	Female	Weekly	Monthly	Annually
Lodges.....	3	45	0	-	3	-
Cooperative Store	1	22	0	-	-	1
Churches.....	3*	109	199	1	2	3
Young People.....	1	4	4	1	-	-
Women.....	3	0	47	1	2	-
Sunday School	3	42	61	3	-	-
Basket Dinner	3	63	87	-	-	3
Total*	7	176	199	1	5	4

Of these four neighborhoods, Table 19 indicates only one, Log Providence (Hayden school district), to be without major interests in one of the community centers. These open country families, usually owning their farms and somewhat prosperous, are the remnants of thriving colonies of the past. Their group developed around the church as the group name would indicate and shortly afterward there followed a lodge hall, rather than the school, as was observed among the white primary groups. This is due in part to the fact that the schools are administered by the white school boards and although the policy of the board may be liberal, there is a desire to find evidence of permanency in the negro settlement before expending school funds on a building.

The intensity of group consciousness is not marked in any of the four groups under consideration. The small number of families at Mount Hope, along with the present lack of institutions about which the group spirit may rally has almost eliminated group consciousness. Log Providence, due to its isolation from the larger centers, approaches a medium degree of intensity of group spirit. A cooperative grocery store has been struggling along for the past three years, a full-time pastor preaches three times each Sunday and the lodge hall nearby holds frequent fraternal and social meetings. All of these contribute to the maintenance of the group spirit in spite of the emigrations of the people to town.

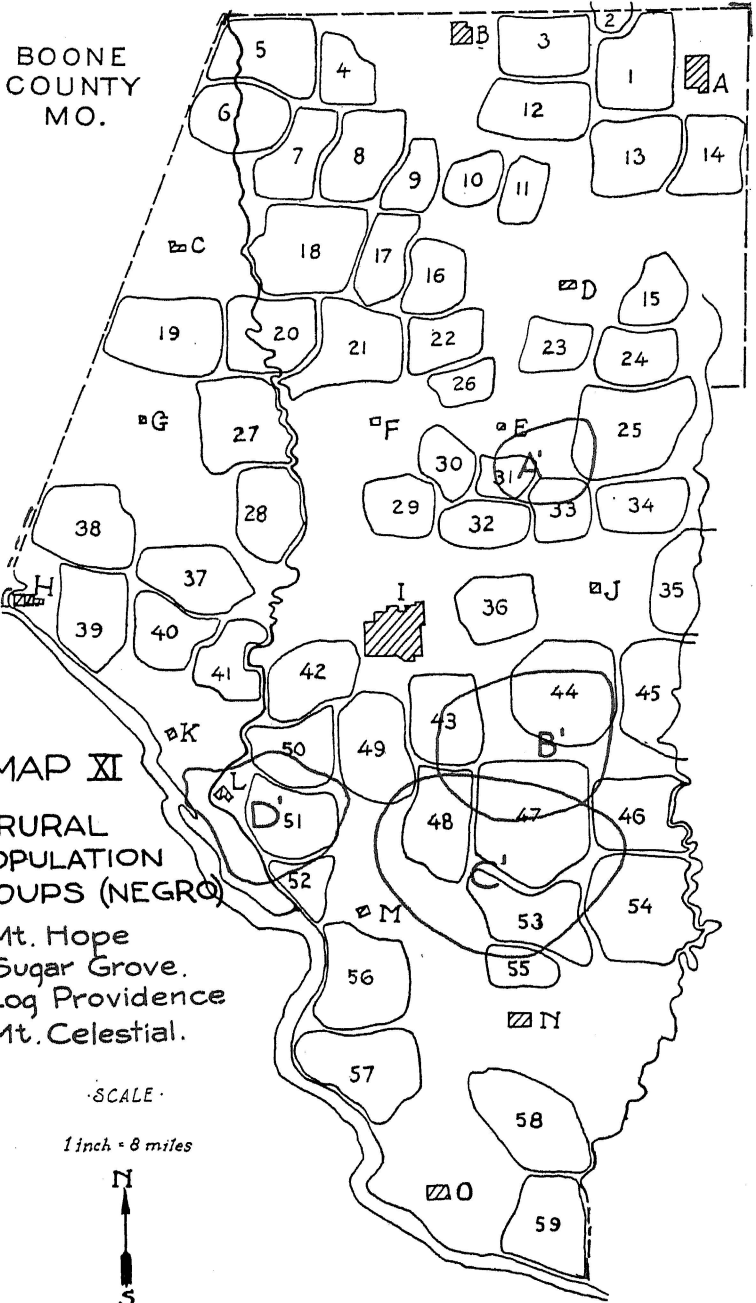
Both lodge and church hold a high place among the negroes. Recognizing, of course, that three instances are almost without value for

inductive purposes, attention may be drawn to the fact that in all cases the number of men at church exceeds that of the women, a condition opposed to that found among the white primary groups. There is only one store owned by negroes in rural Boone County. This is a cooperative one at Log Providence. The stock of goods is small and the store consequently fails to command a very loyal patronage.

There are five rural schools with a total of 120 pupils. The schoolhouse is not a social center among these groups as it is among the white groups. A total of 21 meetings were held during the year at the schoolhouse, but many of these were school entertainments at which the adults were present incidentally. It is only at the lodge hall that the negro social life is given free play. It may be suggested that this represents in a degree, a spirit of independence among negroes, since the lodge halls is supported entirely by those participating while the schoolhouse receives the major part of its support from the white tax payers.

In hearing these people tell of the frequency with which families are moving to Columbia or other towns, the impression is obtained that the rural negro primary group in Boone County is on the decline. In some quarters this is encouraged because of the expense of maintaining a school for negro children out of funds raised largely from the whites. Thus a man reported that whenever a negro started to settle among them he was first asked the number of children he had. If he had any, he was not encouraged to stay, since the presence of fifteen children in the district may require the establishment of a school for them. There were already ten in this district and property owners were on the alert to prevent the entry of others.

Certainly there is an increasing amount of the religious, social and trade life being transferred to the larger centers. The former closely knit neighborhood is being enlarged (Map X) to include a larger area but a lessened degree of group consciousness.



Final Summary

In Boone County the rural primary population group is everywhere discernible. Characterized by a high degree of intimacy and responsive to changing conditions they are always undergoing changes in area and constituency. Each group is the result of an attempt to satisfy some need of community life. The vitality which the group exhibits is conditioned by the efficiency with which this need is met. This variation in vitality ranges within wide limits.

A consideration of the specific group institutions indicates that the school district has greater strength as an organizer of the primary group spirit than any other studied. The waning influence of the country church and store promises to continue and while extinction may neither occur in the near future or ever be complete there is a decided tendency in that direction. The inference was drawn that the country church and store were outgrowths of the state of social organization of their time. They were meeting a need that could not be met in easier fashion and as that state of social organization is rapidly disappearing under the influence of improved communication and transportation, so are its institutions. Other institutions and forces make lesser and varying contributions to the formation of the primary group consciousness.

Part I concerned the direct relations of the primary group. Part II dealt with the inter-group or secondary relations of the primary group. The necessity of completing the needs of community life forces the primary groups to associate for the fulfillment of these needs just as the needs of the primary group required the individuals to associate for the satisfaction of simpler ones. It was observed that each interest served through this inter-group cooperation developed its own adherents and geographic area. This area including the individuals therein was termed a community. Consistently in the recasting of the primary group units to form the larger one, primary group lines were ignored. It was noted, however, that the primary groups without sacrificing their own consciousness, sense of being, or loyalty were capable of developing a new and larger group consciousness. This larger group consciousness was inferior in vitality and intensity to that of the primary group.

Such a community was discernible for each need of life and while in no case did the area or tributary population coincide, it was observed that for practical purposes, these areas were in general, similar enough that it was possible to average the areas to form a community common to all. The village where these services were consummated was termed the community center. In proportion to the distance which the individual lived from the community center did his sense of loyalty to that center vary.

The store, the lodge, and the consolidated school district and high school were found to have the most productive elements for developing an inter-group consciousness. Minor services reinforced these interests in forming the common or fused community.

There has been an attempt throughout the preceding pages to translate into print the conviction gained during the study, of the instability and complexity of man's relationships with his fellow man. Group lines were found to be subject to variations in many ways and disposed of in an elaborate network of interests. The phenomenon of group life begins with the family and finds the individual a part of ever widening circles, each catering to definite needs in his life. Within each circle he sets up a community of interests with the other members thereof, but always more or less conscious of other circles claiming his loyalty. From neighborhood to world community the synthesising of group relations is so perfect that only by fixing upon arbitrary limits can the separate stages of community be delineated.

Just as in the primary group there were degrees to which different ones approached a self-sufficing unit, so there are in this respect shades of communities. A distinction was drawn between the group that was evidently not sufficient unto itself and the next higher group that was so for nearly all purposes. But, it is readily perceived that the community so described is not strictly self-sufficient, nor for that matter, is any other community short of a world-wide one. For some services a wider area is required than for others and an even wider area for still others. Viewed in this light and carrying out the implications of the thought, a true conception of social organization is had when the world itself is recognized as the ultimate community. Because the interrelation is so well organized and the machinery runs so smoothly, we are forgetful of the truth concealed in the life process. It is only when the mechanism is disturbed that we become cognizant of the real situation.

Improved means of communication and transportation are rapidly breaking down the isolation of country life. There is as a result a dissolution of the old groupings and a constant rearrangement of the new. It is reasonable to suppose that these revolutionary changes will continue to affect country life and produce corresponding changes in primary population group phenomena.

While it was observed in the study of the primary groups that the neighborhood has lost its self-sufficiency and much of the prestige of former years, there are exceptions to this generalization. These exceptions were the neighborhoods in which the institutions have adjusted themselves to changing conditions. Because they were amply filling a need in the lives of the people and filling that need better than it could

be done elsewhere, they are continuing to function as virile forces in neighborhood life.

It was observed that the local community has superseded a smaller unit, the neighborhood. We can see ahead of the local community still larger areas, for the forces are still operating that have already displaced one small unit in favor of a larger one. Is there then, any reason to suppose that as the local community center neglects its service function of providing a full and satisfactory life to its tributary area that it will not go the way of the smaller unit that failed to meet satisfactorily the inexorable demands of human needs? There should be, in the successful stand that a few neighborhoods are making, a moral for the community center. The dictum is "render service or disappear".

It would seem then, that the community center which consciously sets out to meet the needs of changing conditions is, other things being equal, the center which will thrive on improved means of communication and transportation. That center will frankly face the fact that its existence will depend upon the success with which it recognizes its function as a middleman to its constituent primary groups and makes it appear desirable for the members thereof to give undivided loyalty to the community center. That center will serve its area as the members desire to be served, not as the center wishes to serve them.

This appeal for cooperation between the townsman and farmer is too often made with the tacit demand that the farmer also do his full share. It is desirable that he do so but from the farmer's viewpoint the overtures must come from the other side. The farmer has little to lose in the dissolution of one community center if another stands ready to give more efficient service. If there is a trend toward cooperative buying and selling the merchant must fit himself into the new scheme of things. Opposition will only drag out a useless fight. Today 15 miles on a good road with an automobile is equivalent to 5 miles of yesterday with its inferior roads and animal locomotion. The lesson for the future is that change is inevitable and that the individual or community that succeeds must be alert to foresee and take advantage of prospective changes. More than ever are individuals and communities becoming interdependent, specialized parts of a larger whole—dependent more and more upon the services of others. If this civilization is to continue, it will be through an increasingly better adjustment of man with his fellowmen, an adjustment that starts back in the primary group and sees the world as it really is—an interdependency of individuals and groups.